In May 1944, during the first session of the parliament of the newly liberated South Africa, Nelson Mandela read into the record a poem written in 1960 by the African writer Ingrid Jonker (1933–1965). The poem mourns the death of a child shot by police during a protest meeting and foretells his resurrection. The poem ends with the lines: “The child, become a man, treks through the whole of Africa. The child, become a giant, travels across the entire world, without a pass.”

The passage to which Jonker refers is the hated internal passport that black Africans were required to carry, without which apartheid as an administrative system would have collapsed. The meeting at which the child was killed was held to protest against having to carry passes; now, in 1994, the reborn child strides unstoppable across the world, disdaining a pass. Not only does Jonker’s poem look forward to the defeat of apartheid; it also looks forward to a day when the borders of the nation-state will crumble, when the flood of a free people will be unstoppable across the world, disdainful of the borders of the nation-state.

The new government headed by Mandela never for a minute considered abolishing or even questioning the nature of the restricted-year passport issued by the erstwhile colonial power, Britain. Liberated or not, any child who treks through Africa without a pass will be stopped when he arrives at the South African frontier.

Despite its teetering economy, South Africa remains attractive to migrants. Of the 58 million people residing within its borders, some three million are immigrants of various degrees of legality, half of them from Zimbabwe. To obtain a visa that entitles him or her to work in South Africa, a Zimbabwean needs a passport, a letter from an employer, an address in South Africa, and proof of funds. Most find these requirements impossible to meet. As for getting accepted as a refugee, this is accomplished by the reluctance of the South African government to concede that political repression exists in Zimbabwe. Thus, paradoxically, Zimbabweans have for years been crossing South Africa’s inadequately monitored northern border unannounced, at a rate of some seven hundred a day.

Immigration is a burning issue in South Africa. Politicians blame foreign migrants for high crime rates, for overrunning the cities, for exploiting the social welfare system, for taking jobs from the locals. In 2008 there were outbursts of mass violence against foreigners that left scores dead. The South African authorities have responded to the challenge of undocumented migration with sporadic roundups and mass deportations. The exercise has been largely futile. Most of those expelled promptly turn around and come back.

I mention the case of South Africa not as typical of the postcolonial world, to illustrate what can happen when—unlike Australia—a country lacks the will and/or the means to close its borders to less affluent neighbors. Zimbabweans and other African migrants who find their way to South Africa resist there only precisely because they are at the receiving end of resentment and sometimes of violence from the locals. They are ill advised to appeal to the police for protection. On the other hand, they have yet to find themselves dispatched to a godforsaken island as punishment for entering the country through the back door.

Cross-border migration is a fact of life in today’s world, and numbers will only increase as the earth heats up, former pastures turn to desert, and islands are swallowed by the sea. There are messy but humane—or at least human—ways of reacting to this world-historical phenomenon, just as there are neat but inhuman ways.
of liberty in his famous lecture of 1957, the Rousseau bashers were those "express subordinates" of society who had "lost the joy of success by denying all courageous truths." Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, nobody has said it better.

Kwame Anthony Appiah replies:

Herder arrived in Königsberg in 1762 in order to attend the University, which he had established himself as Kant’s favorite student. Kant—this Kant, with his Hume-influenced skepticism and his contempt for philosophy—was a deep and lasting influence on Herder. Yet by the mid-1770s, when Kant’s transcendent-
dentral turn became evident, what had been a close and fruitful relationship turned to disaffection and debate. Herder was criti-
cal of critical philosophy; Kant, in his new phase, dismissed Herder’s conception of anthropology. The nineteenth-century his-
torician of philosophy Rudolf Haym had a point when he wrote that "a Kantian of the year 1765." Was that the end of the connection? Quite likely, silently opened the door for slav-
ery to spread into Alabama, Missouri, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and the Upper South, where, and only the impact of the Constitutional Convention that same week, the ordinance offered the slavery of South Africa, to which the

Quaker community had been, at least in part, informed by the later writing on race, backing away from the three-fifths clause, dismissed Herder’s conception of toward America. The post-
American Academy of Arts and Sciences has suggested that Sa’dallah Wannous 

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The Antology of works by the Syrian playwright Sa’dallah Wannous [NYR, June 27]. Ursula Lindsey is incorrect in stating that his fa-
mous play Siyör for June 5th—a powerful dramatic reaction to the naksa (setback), the disastrous June War of 1967—is being offered to an English readership for the first time. Two different translations of the play were published in 2014. One of them was produced by the naksa on Women’s June), based on the text of the play found in Wannous’s Complete Works (Damas-
cus, 1996), appeared in the anthology Four Plays from Lebanon, ed. by Marvin Carlson and Safi Mahlour and published by the Theatre Center at New York University. The other translation, which 2014 would seem to call into question Yale University Press’s assertion that Sentence to Hope (Damas- cus, 1968), published after Wannous’s death, was based on Wannous’s original manuscript. The notion that the battle lines can be drawn between the Enlightenment and the Counter-

The Northwost Ordinance “occupied an almost

out of New York and beyond.

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