REVERSE SAFARI. REFLECTIONS ON FLIGHT AND MIGRATION FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH TO THE GLOBAL NORTH

Safari a la inversa. Reflexiones acerca de la huida y migración desde el Sur Global hacia el Norte Global

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Abstract
The post-colonial flight and migration from the Global South to the Global North are consistent with, and the consequence of European explorations, colonization, proselytism, and globalization. In the 15th century, virtually no Africans or Amerindians had ever dreamed of conquering or establishing themselves in Europe. In other words, post-colonial and post-Colombian migratory movements are a reciprocation of the colonial era’s hospitality. This reciprocation has occurred, for the most part, without imperial ambition or forced proselytism. It has been consistent with the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Global South’s migratory movements to the Global North test the validity and limits of: (1) Judeo-Christian teachings about brotherly love and universal humanity; (2) some of the European doctrines, theories, and slogans such as French Universalism, “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité”; (3) Western regional organizations such as the European Union and the meaning of freedom; (4) the USA’s Declaration of Independence and the meanings of “self-evident truth of universal equality and inalienable rights to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness”; (5) the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (esp. Art. 13) and the Geneva Convention of 1951; (6) globalization in light of the ‘Brexit’; (7) our commitment to multiculturalism, interculturalism, and international solidarity in a spider’s web-like and globalized society. With respect to the African case, it is plausible to argue that the ‘Black Mediterranean’ phenomenon is reminiscent of the Black Atlantic or the Middle Passage. Moreover, Africans’ emigration also means, to some extent, Africans’ visiting or reuniting with their fellow Africans who have been scattered throughout the world (Afrexit) since the early days of the humankind. This statement must be understood in the context of the fact that Africa is the cradle of humankind.
Resumen

El escape y la migración postcoloniales desde el Sur Global hacia el Norte Global son consistentes con las exploraciones europeas, la colonización, el proselitismo y la globalización, además de resultar de todas ellas. En el siglo XV, prácticamente ningún africano o amerindio había soñado alguna vez con conquistar Europa o con establecerse en ella. En otras palabras, los movimientos migratorios post-coloniales y post-colombianos son una respuesta respecto de la hospitalidad de la era colonial. Esta réplica se ha producido, en su mayor parte, sin ambición imperial ni proselitismo forzado. Ha sido consistente con la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos de la ONU.

Los movimientos migratorios del Sur Global hacia el Norte Global ponen a prueba la validez y los límites de (1) las enseñanzas judeocristianas sobre el amor fraternal y la humanidad universal; (2) algunas de las doctrinas, teorías y consignas europeas, como el universalismo francés: “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité”; (3) organizaciones regionales occidentales como la Unión Europea y el significado de la libertad; (4) la Declaración de Independencia de los EE. UU. y los significados de "verdad evidente de igualdad universal y derechos inalienables a la vida, la libertad y la búsqueda de la felicidad"; (5) la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos de las Naciones Unidas (esp. Art. 13) y la Convención de Ginebra de 1951; (6) la globalización a la luz del ‘Brexit’; (7) nuestro compromiso con el multiculturalismo, el interculturalismo y la solidaridad internacional en una sociedad configurada como una teleraña, además de globalizada. Con respecto al caso africano, es plausible argumentar que el fenómeno del "Mediterráneo Negro" recuerda al Atlántico Negro o al Paso Medio. Además, la emigración de africanos también significa, hasta cierto punto, que los africanos visiten o se reúnan con sus compatriotas africanos que se han dispersado por todo el mundo (Afrexit) desde los primeros días de la humanidad. Esta afirmación debe entenderse en el contexto del hecho de que África es la cuna de la humanidad. Con respecto al caso africano, es plausible argumentar que el fenómeno del "Mediterráneo Negro" recuerda al Atlántico Negro o a la ruta del esclavo (middle passage). Además, la emigración de africanos también significa, hasta cierto punto, que los africanos visiten o se reúnan con sus compañeros africanos que se han dispersado por todo el mundo (Afrexit) desde los albores de la humanidad. Esta afirmación debe entenderse en relación con el hecho de que África es la cuna de la humanidad.

Palabras clave: África; Europa; migración; refugiados; Sur Global; Norte Global; colonización; Atlántico Negro; Mediterráneo Negro; Naciones Unidas; derechos.

INTRODUCTION

In Swahili, a Bantu language and lingua franca spoken in East Africa, especially in Kenya and Tanzania, and in Central Africa, especially in the eastern provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the
term *safari* simply means journey, travel, expedition. But for some reason and for many people, especially Westerners, the meaning of the term has been almost exclusively reduced to adventuresome expeditions, often via a relaxing ride aboard a 4x4 Range Rover vehicle, to such exotic destinations as Kilimanjaro and the Serengeti National Park, or the world renowned national park and wildlife refuge in north-central Tanzania (Gbotokuma 2015).

In reaction to most Westerners’ reductionist understanding and use of the term ‘safari’, Gbotokuma (2015) titled his memoir-travelogue, *Global Safari*. This book offers an account of his numerous travels and immigration adventures, dreams, and nightmares, from an African village to Europe, the Americas, and Asia. For more than three decades, Author has had the opportunity to live, study, and work in these parts of the world. He had and seized the opportunity to visit some of the world’s tourist attractions.¹

Inarguably, these visits make any African’s migration experiences as exotic and interesting as Westerners’ “safari” at the Serengeti National Park. Moreover, some of these experiences are, to some extent, and mutatis mutandis, as interesting as the exploratory and discovery adventures of Diego Cão, David Livingston, and Henry Stanley in Africa, and Christopher Columbus in the Americas, respectively.

So, as one can see, there are numerous ‘safari’ destinations beside Africa and the *Heart of Darkness* (Conrad 1899). Many Africans dream of, and enjoy their travels to the Global North or western hemisphere as much as Westerners dream of, enjoy, and fantasize about their going “on Safari” to Africa. But usually, it is much easier for Westerners to be issued a travel visa for their African safari than it is for Africans to be issued a travel visa to the Western countries. For example, many African and other Global South civil society representatives could not participate in the 2016

¹For example, Rome’s Colosseum and St. Peter’s Basilica, Athens’ Acropolis and Parthenon, Madrid’s *Palacio Real*, France’s *Château de Versailles* and Eiffel Tower [*Tour Eiffel*, in French], London Bridge and Big Ben, Orlando’s Disney World in Florida, Canada’s *Village Québécois d’Antan* and African Lion Safari in Hamilton-Cambridge, Ontario; Mexico’s *Pirámide del Sol* in Teotihuacán; China’s Great Wall and Beijing’s Forbidden City, South Korea’s *Namsangol Hanok Village* in Seoul, etc.
World Social Forum (WSF) in Montreal, Canada (4-14 August, 2016) due to “the overwhelming number of visa denials for members of their delegations.”\(^2\) Money matters and, believe it or not, the color line à la Du Bois (1903) continues to be the problem even in the 21st century.

The author’s long safari is, *mutatis mutandis*, reminiscent of and a part of modern-day migratory movements from the Global South to the Global North. It is also part and parcel of international tourism in a world that has become a global village. More importantly, that personal safari experience has been a catalyst for critical reflections on and understanding of millions of fellow humans’ complex and complicated migratory movements across the globe.

The post-colonial flight and migration from the Global South to the Global North are consistent with, and to some extent, the consequence of European explorations, colonization, proselytism, and globalization. In the 15th century, virtually no Africans or Amerindians had ever dreamed of conquering or establishing themselves in Europe. In other words, post-Colombian and post-colonial migratory movements are, to some extent, a reciprocation of the colonial era’s hospitality. Except for Jihadists’ and ISIS’ religion-related agenda, this reciprocation has occurred mostly without imperial ambition or proselytism. Afro-Brazilians and Sub-Saharan Africans do not migrate to Europe and North America to preach the gospel of and convert Europeans and North Americans to Santería, Voodoo, Animism, and Kimbanguism. Their emigration has been consistent with the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the Geneva Convention of 1951.

Our reflections on flight and migration consist of four parts. The first part is titled “European explorations, imperial agenda, and their contribution to contemporary migratory movements. This part is a brief look at ‘Afrexit’ or first human migration from Africa, some world renowned European explorers, the Berlin Conference, and the Middle Passage. The second part is titled “S.O.S. Migration Today”. It succinctly

deals with ‘the Black Mediterranean’ phenomenon that is reminiscent of the Middle Passage, modern-day slavery, sex tourism in Asia, ‘indentured servitude’ in the Persian Gulf, and the predicaments of Bangladeshi and Afghan migrants and refugees fleeing to Greece through Turkey. The third part is titled “Toward solutions of migrant and refugee crisis.” Selected tentative solutions include, for example, the Obama administration’s Partnership for Refugees, the United Nations Leaders’ Summit on Refugees, the European Union’s defunct *Mare Nostrum* Operation, and Pope Francis’ perspective on migrants and refugees. The fourth and final part consists of closing notes on global migratory movements and their meaning for *cosmocitizenship* or global citizenship.

1.欧洲探索、帝国议程及其对当代移民运动的贡献

我们的反思需要我们从全球南到全球北的当代移民运动考虑，我们需要从共同历史中汲取教训，并提醒自己一些与本议题相关的重大历史事件。对这些问题的反思极其重要，因为，“我们为自己所做的事情取决于我们了解自己，以及我们接受自己”（Callender 1977）。例如，我们愿意但又无法提供关于这一精彩历史事件的更多细节。许多研究和

1.1. Afrexit 或非洲的第一次移民

第一次事件是由于某些原因，在一个很长的时期内，人类从非洲，人类的摇篮，离开了那里，并定居在了他们现在的地点。我们愿意但又无法提供关于这一精彩历史事件的更多细节。许多研究和
out of Africa theories have shown those primordial migrations. Contemporary African migrants are descendants of some of those who had left the cradle approximately 60,000 years ago. These new migrants and *safaristas* or travelers are simply joining a long line of ancestors in experiencing the pains and pleasures of globetrotting, so to speak.

1.2. European explorations in a nutshell

The second event is a series of exploration adventures by Europeans, the most memorable of whom include, for example, Diego Cão, David Livingstone, Henry M. Stanley, and Christopher Columbus.

1.2.1. Diego Cão

The Portuguese admiral Diego Cão (1452-1486) traveled to Africa, especially the mouth of the Congo River in 1482 (or 1483). He returned there in 1485 and in 1487 to establish trading posts (Bobb 1999: xxi).

1.2.2. David Livingstone

The Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone (1813-1873) reached Lake Dilolo in the Katanga Province of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in 1854 and crossed the Kasai and Kwango river basins into Angola. His exploration was followed by Christian missionaries’ return to that area in the 1870s (Bobb 1999: xxii).

1.2.3. Sir Henry M. Stanley

In 1871, the British American journalist and explorer Henry M. Stanley (1841-1904) joined Livingstone, whose explorations he continued. He also assisted Belgium’s King Leopold II in establishing trading posts and in signing treaties with local chiefs along the Congo River on behalf of the King (Bobb 1999: xxii-xxiii). Undoubtedly, Stanley’s exploratory work paved the way for the Belgian King Leopold II’s claim over the Congo Free State at the end of the Berlin Conference in 1885.

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1. 2. 3. Christopher Columbus’s discovery of the New World

In 1492, the Italian explorer, navigator, and colonizer Christopher Columbus of Genoa (1451-1506) supposedly discovered the New World. His discovery opened the way for European exploration, adventures, and continuing global migration to the New World. Indeed, from American history, we learn that in the 17th and 18th centuries, European colonists – especially from England – sailed across the Atlantic Ocean to the American colonies. Some left the Old World to escape inquisition and religious restrictions or persecutions. Many of them came to the Americas to seek political freedom and economic opportunity. Moreover and sadly, Columbus’ discovery was also a catalyst for colonization and atrocities perpetrated against Amerindians and enslaved Africans who served as ‘house Negroes’, ‘plantation Negroes’, or ‘field Negroes’, buffalo soldiers, and Harlem Hell fighters in segregated units in World War I. The importance of Columbus’ discovery is apparent in the fact that one of the U.S. federal holidays is called Columbus Day, celebrated every year on October 12.

1. 2. The Berlin Conference

As far as African migration history is concerned, Berlin Conference is almost as important as the Middle Passage. Thirteen European governments plus the United States as an observer participated in the Conference. The event started on November 15, 1884 and ended on February 26, 1885, with the signing of the Act of Berlin that determined the Balkanization of Africa and the so-called civilizing mission. At the beginning, the civilizing character of the mission was apparent, for example, in the fact that King Leopold II’s sovereignty over the Congo resulted in putting an end to the Afro-Arab slave trade in his newly acquired “property.” Unfortunately, the Force publique or the King’s cruel military force in the Congo Free State had also perpetrated atrocities.


known as the African holocaust (Bobb 1999: xxiii).

1. 2. The Middle Passage and forced migration from Africa

The term ‘Middle Passage’ refers to the African slaves’ painful, humiliating, dehumanizing, and deadly crossing of the Atlantic Ocean between the 16th and 19th centuries. Millions of Africans were captured, sold, bought, and taken to the New World, supposedly discovered by Christopher Columbus. We could, in agreement with J. Meacham, summarize the predicament of African slaves and its contradiction with the American ideal of liberty as stated in the Declaration of Independence as follows,

“[…] in 1619…a Dutch man of war brought African slaves to Virginia. And so while settlers built and dreamed, people of color were subjugated and exploited by a rising nation that prided itself on the expansion of liberty” (Meacham 2012: 32)
Figure 1: LANDING NEGROES AT JAMESTOWN FROM DUTCH MAN-OF-WAR (1619)
In this image, the Dutch sailors, who have captured the blacks from a Spanish ship, are negotiating a trade with the Jamestown settlers for food. No record of the ship's name was made at the time. Image Credit: The Library of Virginia (Public domain).
Undoubtedly, what happened in the past continues to have impact on the present.

2. S.O.S. MIGRATION TODAY: HEART-BREAKING NEWS
2.1. The ‘Black Mediterranean’ and modern-day slavery
2.1.1. Black Mediterranean defined
‘Black Mediterranean’ refers to the tragic experience of sub-Saharan African migrant crisis in the Mediterranean basin. To improve their economic situation, many black Africans have tried to reach Europe. To this end, they have gone through racial violence and unspeakable human rights violations in North Africa, especially in Morocco and Libya, before the risky crossing of the Mediterranean. Hawthorne (2015) explains the danger involved by reminding the international community of the tragic fact that “the Mediterranean has been dubbed by many analysts the deadliest sea in the world and the deadliest migrant crossing in the world” (africsacountry.com). Her reminder refers to thousands of African and Middle Eastern migrants who have died during their attempts to seek liberty and economic opportunity. To this end, they go through risky crossings aboard overcrowded and unsafe boats from North Africa (Libya and Morocco) to southern Europe (Italy and Spain). Their predicament is, to some extent, reminiscent of the Middle Passage. Many sub-Saharan Africans are reported to spend a lot of rough transit time in Libya and Morocco, where they have to pay a lot of money to smugglers who transport them to Europe. According to the United Nations’ International Organization for Migration (IOM), some Africans trying to reach Europe are sold by their captors and smugglers in “slave markets in Libya.” In November 2017, a CNN exclusive report confirmed slavery in Libya, “Where [black African] lives are auctioned for $400” (Elbajir, Razek, 2017).

Platt, and Bryony 2017).

According to the British newspaper *The Guardian*, “More than 180,000 people were rescued from the Mediterranean and taken to Italy in 2016.”7 As of June 2017, the IOM recorded 71,029 migrants and refugees who have crossed the Mediterranean to enter Europe. IOM puts the number of deaths at 1,650. It notes that Europeans prefer Syrian refugees to black sub-Saharan Africans.8 Dr. Kehinde Andrews, an Associate Professor of Sociology at Birmingham City University, UK, explains the violent nature of the Black Mediterranean and racism as follows, “The Emerging Black Mediterranean concept draws on and expands the ‘Black Atlantic’ to engage with histories of both cultural exchange and racial violence in the Mediterranean basin. This framework is being used by scholars, activists, and artists to understand the historical precedents for the ongoing Mediterranean refugee crisis. It provides a framework for linking border fortification and xenophobia with racism”.9 The human rights violations perpetrated against black African migrants precede and follow their arrival in Europe, as the next section will show.

2.1.2. ‘Madamocracy’ and the exploitation of African women

Among sub-Saharan African migrants, there are thousands of voiceless women – mostly young girls – who are enslaved by mafia-related prostitution rings in Europe and elsewhere. Many of these poor women are afraid to escape because of many reasons, including but not limited to the so-called consequences of breaking “the *juju* oath”. According to the blog *Slavery in the 21st Century*, the pledge consists of “mixing the girl’s…hair along with her blood….If one disobeys the oath, it is believed that she or her family will be killed”.10 According to “People and Power”, an AI

9From a September 2016, email to the Author regarding a Call for Participants to discuss “The Black Mediterranean and the Migrant Crisis.” The discussion was scheduled for November 9th, 2016.
Jazeera Free Speech TV program aired on Sunday, June 10, 2012, sex traffickers bring their victims to Europe on the promise of a better life. The whole process causes the women to owe their bosses, also known as “Madams”, a huge amount of money ranging from 30,000 to 60,000 euros. This is what we are referring to as Madamocracy, or the ruling of, by, and for Madams.

2.2. Sex tourism in Asia and ‘indentured servitude’ in the Persian Gulf

African girls’ and women’s predicament in Europe is reminiscent of sex tourism and modern-day slavery in some parts of Asia and Persian Gulf. In Phnom Penh, Cambodia, for example, hundreds of thousands of girls – as young as 12 years old – are promised a better future in Thailand, but they end up as sex slaves. Technically, this phenomenon doesn’t fit under migratory movements from the Global South to the Global North category. However, it is the result of capitalism and the contact between Westerners and Asia. Additionally, it eventually makes Thailand a tourist destination for some Westerners.

In the Persian Gulf – Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait – many Asian and other foreign laborers’ dream ends up becoming a nightmare. Hundley (2013) and Morin (2013) refer to and decry their nightmare as modern-day slavery. The mistreatment of foreign laborers in this region of the world is apparent in the fact that their work has been transformed into “indentured servitude” (Morin 2013: 4). This phenomenon is comparable to the aforementioned Madamocracy.

11“Slavery in the 21st Century,” Wednesday, September 21, 2011. The acknowledgment of this modern-day slavery and the commitment to dismantle it was apparent in a conference on the theme, “The Ambiguity of Hospitality: A Survey of Assistance and Social Protection for Foreign Women and Minors Reduced to Sexual Slavery, or “L’Ambiguità Dell’Accoglienza: Un Percorso di Assistenza e Protezione Sociale per Donne e Minori Stranieri Ridotti in Schiavitù Sessuale, in Italian. It was sponsored by the Italian prime minister’s office, department of equal opportunity, Regione Lazio and several Rome-based human rights organizations, Campidoglio, Rome, June 22, 2001. The author, who attended that conference, wished some of those illegal and unethical activities were not taking place in the “Eternal City” and in the back yard of the Holy See.

12See Stop the Traffic, a documentary film directed by Emily Marlow (27 minutes). It investigates the horror of the child sex industry in Cambodia.
2. 3. Bangladeshi and Afghan migrants and refugees’ walk to Greece

Like Mexican and South American undocumented immigrants who walk in pursuit of economic opportunity in the USA, thousands of Bangladeshi illegal immigrants and Afghan refugees also walk hundreds, maybe even thousands of miles for months in their desperate attempt to reach Greece. Let’s remember that Greece is an economically troubled country that has needed financial assistance from the European Union. Xenophobia and the police crackdown on illegal immigrants have become common phenomena. The risky journey from Istanbul to Athens is facilitated by unscrupulous Turkish smugglers. Some Bangladeshi and Afghan migrants are reported to “lose their lives while crossing the river Evros to Greece from Turkey using rubber boats” (Kennedy 2012: 12). This predicament is reminiscent of the one to which we have referred as the Black Mediterranean. Ironically, while Bangladeshi migrants are fleeing their country for Europe, approx. half million of Rohingya, a Muslim minority group from Myanmar, have also been fleeing the Buddhist majority country due to their persecution there.13

2. 4. DREAMERS and undocumented immigrants in the USA

Contrary to the Black Mediterranean phenomenon, whereby African migrants use unsafe boats as means of transportation, Mexicans, Central and South Americans, including “unaccompanied minors” (Sherer 2014: 17), walk across the US-Mexico border under harsh conditions. Many of them spend a long time in Phoenix, Arizona’s “drop houses” and in “stash houses” in Edinburg, Brownville, and McAllen, Texas. Like sub-Saharan African immigrants’ transit time in Libya and Morocco, Mexican, Central and South American undocumented immigrants live in sub-human conditions, where “smugglers often hold them as ransom to extort more money from their families” (Fernandez 2012:14). Prof. Clifford DuRand,

a Morgan State University’s Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, described Mexicans’ crossing experience in an International Education Week talk titled, “Mexico-US Migration: They Walk, We Fly”.14

Nearly 12 million undocumented immigrants live clandestinely in the United States. They hope to overcome their nightmare and realize their American Dream through a comprehensive immigration law and a positive outcome of the DREAM Act. The acronym DREAM stands for “Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors”.15 In a nutshell, the American Dream Act of March 26, 2009 Amends the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 to repeal the denial of an unlawful alien’s eligibility for higher education benefits based on state residence unless a U.S. national is similarly eligible without regard to such state residence. Authorizes the Secretary of Homeland Security to cancel the removal of, and adjust to conditional permanent resident status, an alien who: (1) entered the United States before his or her 16th birthday and has been present in the United States for at least five years immediately preceding enactment of this Act; (2) is a person of good moral character; (3) is not inadmissible or deportable under specified grounds of the Immigration and Nationality Act; and (4) at the time of application, has been admitted to an institution of higher education or has earned a high school or equivalent diploma. [The Act] sets forth the conditions for conditional permanent resident status; [and] authorizes an alien who has satisfied the appropriate requirements prior to enactment of this Act to petition the Secretary for conditional permanent resident status.16

Tragically, under the Trump administration, the DREAM Act has become a nightmare. It has been phased out and the divided U.S. Congress has not figured out how to protect Dreamers.17 It is worth mentioning that

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14Morgan State University, Baltimore, Maryland, November 16, 2005. Mexicans’ and South Americans’ painful journey to the United States is also the focus of a documentary titled, “The Other Side,” a Bullfrog Films, Inc., production by Television Trust for the Environment, © 2001 TVE.
from 2018 on, undocumented immigrants’ predicament has become a big humanitarian crisis, especially with the migratory phenomenon known as caravan. In a nutshell, “Migrant caravan” (BBC News) refers to 7,000-10,000 Central Americans from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador who have reached the Mexico-U.S. border after traveling more than 2,500 miles (4,000 km). They fled their home countries for various reasons including, among others, poverty, gang and drug-related violence, persecution, and even climate change. Most of them are staying in temporary shelters in the border cities of Tijuana and Mexicali. Their dream destination is the USA, where they hope for a better life for themselves and family members who are left behind. Unfortunately, President Trump’s “zero-tolerance immigration policy” (Valverde 2018) treats them as invaders and criminals whose “invasion” calls for a military action.18 This policy has resulted in the highly controversial separation of migrant children from their parents at the U.S.-Mexico border.

2. S.O.S. MIGRATION TODAY: HEART-BREAKING NEWS

3.1. Partnership for refugees: The Obama Administration’s call to action

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there were approx. 65.3 million forcibly displaced people in the world in 2016. Of these people,

- 21.3 million are refugees seeking political asylum
- 10 million are stateless people.
- 54% of refugees come from three countries: Syria (4.9 million); Afghanistan (2.7 million), and Somalia (1.1 million).19

During his last months in office, President Obama strongly believed that this predicament called for global leadership, especially from the United States. That is why, on June 30, 2016, the White House issued a

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Call to Action and launched a Partnership for Refugees.\textsuperscript{20} The call targeted the private sector, whose expertise could help the government to effectively respond to the global refugee crisis. Originally, fifteen companies responded to the call, including, for example, Accenture, Airbnb, Chobani, Coursera, Goldman Sachs, Google, HP, IBM, JP Morgan Chase & Co., LinkedIn, MasterCard, Microsoft, TripAdvisor, UPS, and Western Union. Fortunately, many other companies have also responded to the call.\textsuperscript{21} They were expected to focus on three impact areas, that is, education, employment, and enablement or self-reliance. President Obama compared the refugee crisis to the Holocaust and urged the international community to act and show international solidarity in our spider’s web-like world. He brought his concern with the refugee crisis to the attention of the whole world by discussing it with the UN 71\textsuperscript{st} General Assembly.

3.2. UN: Leaders’ summit on refugees and the New York Declaration for refugees and migrants

Consistent with the Obama Administration’s Partnership for Refugees and the Geneva Convention of 1951, the 44\textsuperscript{th} President of the United States convened, on September 20, 2016, a Leaders’ Summit on refugees in conjunction with the United Nations’ 71\textsuperscript{st} General Assembly in New York. The awareness of the global refugee crisis is apparent in The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (A/RES/71/1),\textsuperscript{22} a resolution adopted by the UN’s 71\textsuperscript{st} General Assembly in New York on September 19, 2016.

It is particularly interesting to note the relationship that the Resolution establishes between the global migratory movements and poverty, hunger,

conflicts, human rights violations as well as climate change. The first paragraph of the Resolution’s Introduction reads,

Since earliest times, humanity has been on the move. Some people move in search of new economic opportunities and horizons. Others move to escape armed conflict, poverty, food insecurity, persecution, terrorism, or human rights violations and abuses. Still others do so in response to the adverse effects of climate change, natural disasters (some of which may be linked to climate change), or other environmental factors. Many move, indeed, for a combination of these reasons” (A/RES/71/1).

As a matter of fact, today, there is a new category of refugees called ‘climate refugees.’ This phenomenon is a real and imminent threat for the culture, lifestyle, and sovereignty of such vulnerable countries as Kiribati and Tuvalu. The vulnerable populations of these countries are likely to officially become the original climate refugees. The possibility of this predicament is apparent in an article, whose title is clear, that is, “The First Climate Refugees? Contesting Global Narratives of Climate Change in Tuvalu” (Farbotko and Lazrus 2012).

3. 3. European Union & Mare Nostrum operation

Figure 2: MARE NOSTRUM OPERATION
Photo courtesy: Marina Militare, Italian Ministry of Defense (Public Domain)
Mare Nostrum (Latin for “our sea”) is an Italy-led search and rescue mission in the Mediterranean. It was launched on October 18, 2013. It was funded by the European Commission. Its purpose was to safeguard human life at sea, and bring to justice human traffickers and migrant smugglers. Unfortunately, this humanitarian and life-saving operation ended on October 31, 2014. It was replaced by the poorly funded and less effective Operation Triton, conducted by Frontex, or the EU’s border security agency. This move has resulted in the increase of migrant deaths as smugglers moved from bigger wooden boats to smaller, overcrowded, and unsafe rubber boats.

3.3. Pope Francis

3.3.1. Condemning the “globalization of indifference” in Lampedusa, Sicily

As a part of his commitment and effort to draw the international community’s attention to the Black Mediterranean, Pope Francis’ took his first pontifical trip to the island city of Lampedusa, a port entry in Sicily, southern Italy. The purpose of the pontifical trip was to commemorate nearly 20,000 (twenty thousand) migrants who have perished trying to reach Europe. In his homily during the holy mass at the Arena sports camp on July 8, 2013, the Pope condemned “the globalization of indifference” towards the migrants and called for hospitality, understanding, and solidarity.”

3.3.2. The Prayer meeting with migrants on the Mexico-U.S. border

On February 12-17, 2016, the Pope traveled to Mexico where, on February 15, 2016, he met, among others, with impoverished indigenous communities in Cristóbal de las Casas, which is located in the state of Chiapas. On February 17, 2016, he concluded his visit to Mexico with a politically controversial stop in the border city of Juarez. Here he held a prayer meeting with a diverse group of people - Mexicans, central and south Americans - many of whom are forced to flee their countries in

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23See “Mare Nostrum Operation”; http://www.marina.difesa.it/EN/operations/Pagine/MareNostrum.aspx (Accessed June 20, 2017).

pursuit of a better life in the United States. Inarguably, this stop was “intended to counter the anti-immigrant messages that [were] driving the Republican presidential campaign in the United States” (Malkin 2016: 8). It is worth noting, *en passant*, that Pope Francis is categorically opposed to President Trump’s campaign promise to build a wall on the U.S.-Mexico borders. He believes that building walls rather than bridges is at odds with Christianity.

3. 3. 3. Meeting with Syrian refugees and criticizing the ‘Muslim ban’ and Christian hypocrisy

On April 16, 2016, Pope Francis visited Syrian refugees in Lesbos, Greece. He used this visit to teach the parable of the migrants by bringing twelve refugees to Rome. This episode became a basis for his criticism of what is also known as the ‘Muslim ban’, or President Trump’s controversial Executive Order (EO) temporarily banning refugees and travelers from seven [six] majority Muslim nations from entering the United States. Ivereigh (2017) shows the absurdity of Trump’s “Muslim ban” by reminding us of Pope Francis’ answer to journalists’ question regarding the Syrian refugees whom he brought back to the Vatican. “I didn’t make a religious choice between Christians and Muslims,” the Pope answered. “These three families had their documents in order. There were, for example, two Christian families, who didn’t. This is not a privilege. All 12 of them are children of God. It’s a privilege to be a child of God” (Ivereigh 2017: 1 & 6).

Speaking to a group of Catholic and Lutheran pilgrims from Germany on February 6, 2017, Pope Francis denounced some Christians’ hypocrisy. More concretely, he referred to the refugee crisis and religious intolerance in supposedly Christian nations such as the USA and many others. He stated in strong and clear terms, “The sickness or, you can say the sin, that Jesus condemns most is hypocrisy, which is precisely what is happening when someone claims to be a Christian but does not live according to the teaching of Christ. You cannot be a Christian without living like a Christian […]. You cannot be a Christian without practicing the Beatitudes. You cannot be a Christian without doing what Jesus teaches us […].” (Delancer 2017, Electronic Version). The Pope concluded his criticism of President Trump’s EO as follows, “It’s hypocrisy to call yourself a Christian and chase away a refugee or someone seeking help, someone who is hungry or thirsty, toss out someone who is in need of my help. “If I say I am Christian, but do these things, I’m a hypocrite” (Idem).
Pope Francis used his address to the German pilgrims as an opportunity to invite all nations’ leaders to use their political power as “service to the poorest, the sick (and) those who have abandoned their homelands in search of a better future for themselves and their families”. (Idem).

3.4.4 The Charlemagne Prize 2016 and Pope Francis’ Dreams for Europe

On Friday, May 6, 2016, Pope Francis received Charlemagne Prize at the Vatican. He received the prestigious German Prize for his role as Europe's "voice of conscience". In his acceptance speech, he reiterated his advocacy for the immigrants. He talked about his dreams for Europe, two of which deal with immigrants. He stated,

[...]. I dream of a Europe that cares for children, that offers fraternal help to the poor and those newcomers seeking acceptance because they have lost everything and need shelter.

[...] I dream of a Europe where being a migrant is not a crime but a summons to greater commitment on behalf of the dignity of every human being”.25

These statements are reminiscent of Pope Francis’ homily in Lampedusa in which he warned against the globalization of indifference in the context of the Black Mediterranean. The statements are also reminiscent of millions of refugees, U.S. ‘DREAMers,’ and undocumented migrants, many of whom face imminent deportation under the 45th administration’s zero-tolerance immigration policy.

4. CONCLUDING NOTES AND REFLECTIONS ON MIGRATION AND COSMOCITIZENSHIP

The Global South’s migratory movements to the Global North are human experiences that give us the opportunity to reflect on the human condition and coexistence in a spider’s web-like world. The phenomenon challenges us to reexamine our conceptions, perceptions, and the true meanings of universal fraternity, universal humanism à la Césaire (1958). In *Et les chiens se taisaient*, Césaire affirmed, through the rebel’s words,

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“Whenever a poor guy is lynched, and whenever a poor person is tortured, it is me who have been assassinated and humiliated” […] il n’y a pas dans le monde un pauvre type lynché, un pauvre homme torturé en qui je ne sois pas humilié, in French]. Additionally, the phenomenon challenges us to question the meanings of the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the globalization era. Last but not least, the phenomenon tests the validity and limits of:

4. 1. *The Civilizing mission*: If colonization was a truly successful “civilizing mission”, then migrations from the Global South to the Global North, which are some of the consequences of colonization, would probably be a different ball game with completely different rules. More specifically, these migrations would be based on reasons other than poverty and underdevelopment conditions. Regrettably, one hundred thirty-two years after the Berlin Conference, the so-called ‘Civilizing Mission’ is still far from being mission accomplished.

4. 2. *Judeo-Christian teachings* about brotherly love, hospitality, and universal humanity. Xenophobia, the rejection and exploitation of migrants in the Global North are at odds with the Christian message of universal brotherhood and brotherly love.

4. 3. Some of the European doctrines and theories such as *French Universalism and French Revolution’s* ideals of “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité”.

4. 4. Western regional organizations such as the European Union and the meaning of freedom, esp. the migrants’ free circulation within the EU. The racial and religious profiling and mistreatment of some *banlieue* residents are inconsistent with some of the rights guaranteed to all lawful residents of the European Union zone.

4. 5. *Globalization and cosmocitizenship* in light of the ‘Brexit’ and other anti-globalization movements. Regrettably, the British legitimate concern with national sovereignty is also a part of a growing domestic and worldwide nationalist and nativist movements, some of which are xenophobic, racist, and as such a hindrance to the realization of global citizenship. These movements have adverse consequences on migrants and
refugees, many of whom will have hard time entering the UK and many other countries. Of course, and unfortunately, in this situation, the color line à la Du Bois (1903) plays a crucial role and continues to be one of the 21st century’s problems.


4. 7. The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The migratory movements from the Global South to the Global North are consistent with Art. 13 regarding the right to freely leave one’s country and return to it and Geneva Convention of 1951, esp. art. 3 regarding refugee treatment. Three decades or so after the fall of the Berlin Wall, we need to discuss the wisdom of building a new wall on the U.S.-Mexico borders. Seven decades after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we need to question the legal and ethical basis for imposing a “Travel Ban” on some Muslim countries.

4. 8. International Accords and Treaties: Two years after COP21 and Paris Accord, we have to worry about the impact of Trumpxit26 on the effectiveness of this non-binding Accord. Moreover, we have to worry about the impact of Trumpxit on migration in general, and on climate refugees in particular.

4. 9. European Union’s Hospitality after the end of Mare Nostrum Operation in 2014 and after the dismantlement of La Jungle de Calais. One year after the October 2016 dismantlement of La Jungle de Calais, a huge kind of concentration camp for thousands of migrants and refugees in Pas-de-Calais, France, the city has launched Opération Séduction to improve its image and attract tourists. Let’s hope that the former residents of La

26By ‘Trumpxit’ I mean President Trump’s decision to withdraw the U.S. from Paris Accord. The decision was one of the worse applications of the American exceptionalism as defined by Alexis de Tocqueville (1954). He noted that the United States held a special place among all other nations because it was a country of immigrants and the first modern democracy.
Jungle have found a better place to live normally while dealing with other immigration-related issues.

4. 10. Our commitment to, and need for multiculturalism, interculturalism, demographic renewal, international solidarity, and human rights in a world that has become a global village. Regrettably, this noble commitment has been under assault in various corners of the Global North due to racism and its various manifestations, some of which we have witnessed in the USA and in Europe, among other cases.

4. 10. 1. The USA and “shithole countries” comments

On Thursday, January 11, 2018, President Trump met with some members of the U.S. Congress in concerted efforts to discuss common sense immigration legislation. The meeting took place at the White House. Regrettably, Trump is reported as asking the following questions, “Why should the United States take in immigrants from “shithole countries” in Africa over people from places like Norway? “Why do we want people from Haiti here?” “Take them out,” he said. Another country specifically named in connection with the ongoing political debate in the U.S. Congress regarding Temporary Protection Status (TPS) and Delayed Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) was El Salvador. Obviously, these questions – asked by a sitting U.S. President - show the questioner’s lack of understanding regarding the quintessence of the USA as a nation of immigrants from all continents. Moreover, the questioner ignores some of the main reasons behind migratory movements such as armed conflicts, poverty, persecution, and other basic human rights violations. None of these reasons is found in the case of Norway. Many local and international institutions – the African Union, the European Union, the United Nations, Diplomatic Corps, etc. – joined numerous individuals and institutions in the United States in deploring and condemning the vulgar and derogatory language used to refer to fellow citizens of our Global Village. The language used was vulgar, disrespectful, racist, and offensive to “1/4 of world’s population”.27 To anybody familiar with the history of the U.S. immigration laws, the language is reminiscent of “a Century-Old Racial Ranking [and...] racist rhetoric aimed at preserving what eugenicists and social theorists of the time called the “Nordic race” (Yee 2018: 22). In addition to being discriminatory, unpresidential, and a diplomatic gaffe, the comments are detrimental to the national unity of a country whose

motto is *E Pluribus, Unum* or Out of Many, One. Moreover, they perpetuate a *modus operandi* or *modus regendi* (a way of governing) that is based on the *divide et impera* (divide and rule) philosophy. Last but not least, the 45th President’s comments could eventually contribute to or galvanize nativist, nationalistic and white supremacist ideologies, all of which promote xenophobia and skepticism toward multiculturalism. This is likely to be the case, for example, for people who refer to the USA as a Christian nation and for the ones who strongly support the notion of English as the official language. They also oppose diversity programs and policies such as bilingual education, multicultural curriculum, and of course, Affirmative Action (AA), which they accuse of being a reverse discrimination. Many highly educated immigrants have also benefited from AA and H-1B Visa programs,28 thereby contributing to the myth of the aliens stealing jobs from U.S. citizens. Hopefully, Trump’s comments are not warnings regarding a temptation to go back to obsolete immigration laws, or continuing lack of political will to effectively deal with a comprehensive immigration law and to resolve DREAMERS and DACA problems.

4.10.2. White backlash as a threat to multiculturalism in Europe

Soon after Trump’s surprising presidential election victory in November 2017, many people have tried to explain it. One of the plausible explanations is the belief that Trump’s victory was attributable to racism. However, racism is found not only in the U.S., but also elsewhere. Beauchamp (2016) believes that it is a part of a global white backlash. According to Beauchamp, this phenomenon, also known as white resentment, has been apparent, for example, in Italy’s Northern League and Finland’s Finns Party that is committed to excluding non-European immigrants. The white backlash is also apparent in France through Le Pen’s *Front National*, a far-right and xenophobic party that sees immigration as a threat to French culture. In Germany, Neo-Nazis have been increasingly angry with the German Chancellor Angela Merkel for

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28 According to the U.S. Department of Labor, “The H-1B program applies to employers seeking to hire nonimmigrant aliens as workers in specialty occupations or as fashion models of distinguished merit and ability.” For further details on H-1B Program, see United States Department of Labor, Wage and Hour Division (WHD); https://www.dol.gov/whd/immigration/h1b.htm (Accessed January 25, 2018).
taking more Syrian refugees than any European country. Like the Front National, Merkel’s detractors perceive the increasing number of immigrants as a threat to the German culture rather than a solution to some of this country’s problems, including, for example, an aging population, low birth rate, and their consequences on German businesses. Despite immigration-related problems within the European Union, the free world should commend the French and German voters rejecting xenophobia and racism represented by the Front National and Neo-Nazis, respectively.

There are many other examples of racial resentment or white backlash in some other European countries due to the diversity resulting from many reasons, including, migratory movements from the Global South to the Global North as well as progressive immigration policies such as the U.S. Diversity Visa Lottery. This system is meant to diversify immigrants’ countries of origin, by opening the immigration door to ‘diversity immigrants’ through Diversity Immigrant Visa (DV) Program, consistent with Section 203(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA).29 It is worth noting that INA has been a morally courageous effort to rectify the racist Immigration Act of 1924 that favored the ‘Nordic race’ or Northern European countries.

Inarguably, international migrations and globalization are, despite some problems, useful and necessary experiences in the humankind’s quest for, and the march towards cosmocitizenship and greater prosperity, security, and lasting peace, consistent with the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs),30 and Global Migration Compact. Many developed and rich countries have failed to apportion 0.7% of their GDP to international development efforts. Undoubtedly, that failure has also contributed to the migratory movements from the Global South to the Global North and the resulting brain drain. The good news is that many migrants have contributed to their impoverished countries development through remittances, thereby transforming the brain drain into a powerful agency for international cooperation and solidarity.


With respect to the African migration, it is plausible to state that Africans’ emigration to Europe or to the Global North in general, also means, to some extent, Africans’ visiting or reuniting with their relatives who have been scattered throughout the world since the early days of the humankind (*Afrexit*).\(^{31}\) Of course, this statement must be understood in the context of the fact that Africa is the cradle of humankind. To some extent, the U.S. Diversity Visa Lottery has facilitated the reunification through the so-called chain migration, a phenomenon that seems to be on life support, given the 45\(^{th}\) administration’s opposition to it. This opposition was apparent in Trump’s unfortunate comments referred to above.

In response to Pope Francis’ Dreams for Europe and invitation to overcome “the globalization of indifference” towards immigrants’ sufferings in the global North, may the Martinican writer’s *DECLARATION DES POÈTES* guide our continued reflections on reverse safari.

> […] Les poètes déclarent que le racisme, la xénophobie, l’indifférence à l’Autre qui vient qui passe qui souffre et qui appelle sont des indécences qui dans l’histoire des hommes n’ont ouvert la voie qu’aux exterminations, et donc que ne pas accueillir, même pour de bonnes raisons, celui qui vient qui passe qui souffre et qui appelle est un acte criminel. […] (Chamoiseau 2017)

The Black Mediterranean, Madamocracy, the refugee crisis, and other problems associated with humans’ global migratory movements are anthropogenic problems. Our civilization, with its strengths and weaknesses, has created some of these problems. The European explorations and Berlin Conference and its so-called civilizing mission have contributed to these problems. Therefore, it is incumbent upon our 21\(^{st}\)-Century civilization, one that is characterized by globalization and the

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fourth industrial revolution,\textsuperscript{32} to solve these problems because, as Aimé Césaire reminded us, “A civilization that proves incapable of solving the problems it creates is a decadent civilization. A civilization that chooses to close its eyes to its most crucial problems is a stricken civilization. A civilization that uses its principles for trickery and deceit is a dying civilization”.\textsuperscript{33} A dying civilization will mark the end of reverse safari.

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