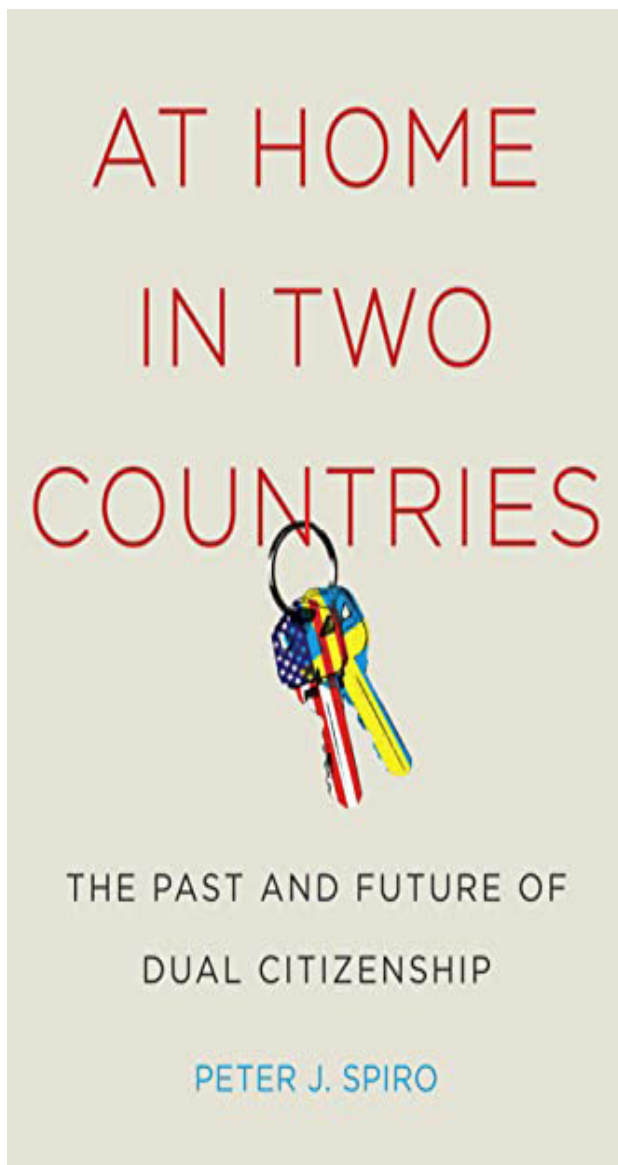


ROOTS & ROUTES

Vol 11, No. 12, December 2022



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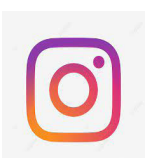
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Editor's Note



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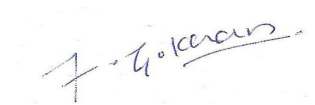
Greetings!

As December is the last month of this year, our efforts in this year deserve a mention. In 2022, the Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism (GRFDT) and its collaborators devoted their efforts to issues concerning migration, diaspora, refugees, and asylum seekers. In year 2022, the organisation collaborated with other reputable organisations such as the Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA), the Cross Regional Center for Refugees and Migrants (CCRM), the International Institute of Migration and Development (IIMAD), Metropolis Asia Pacific, Alianza America (AA), PICUM, Freedom Collaborative, and the South Asian Regional Trade Union Council (SARTUC) to hold webinars and lecture series on migration and diaspora. In the month of November, the organisation also organised the 4th e-International Conference, titled “Migration, Governance, and COVID-19: Perspectives, Policies, Opportunities, and Challenges.” It was a joint initiative of the Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism (GRFDT), India; the Center for Research on North America (CISAN), UNAM, Mexico; and the Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA), Philippines. For the coming years, GRFDT has a plan and is committed to working in the area of migration and diaspora.

The current issue of Roots and Routes presents an article, a report, and a book review. The brief article by Benedict Kuol is titled, “The Relationship Between Drug Smuggling, Displacement, and Immigration.” The article attempts to present the ill effects of drugs and their impact. The issue of drugs is not related to any one country, but is spread across the globe. The drug problem affects both developed and developing countries, as well as underdeveloped countries. The article argues that drugs and politics cause arm smuggling and how bad it affects countries. The current issue presents a report on refugees by Manjima Anjana. The report focuses on Refugee Day and the status of refugees and asylum seekers. The current issue also carries a book review titled “At Home in Two Countries: The Past and Future of Dual Citizenship,” written by Indriga Valiukaite.

We invite readers to participate and share their experiences with us to have a meaningful engagement. You can communicate with us through email at editorinchief@grfdt.com. We wish you happy reading and look forward to your suggestions and comments.

Happy Reading!



Feroz Khan

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DRUG SMUGGLING, DISPLACEMENT, AND IMMIGRATION



Origins of the War on Drugs

The most famous icon of the 20th century is Pablo Escobar, the world drug pin. Most of us know the *Narcos* tale; the glitter of money, women, political power, and the highest global death rates on the dark side. Pablo Escobar is a reflection of a global phenomenon equivalent to cancer that has cost countries billions of dollars in combating its effects and sources. One gentleman has been an icon in combating drug smuggling and drug dons like Pablo globally. Ronald Reagan, former American president, pioneered what is known as the war on drugs (Turner, 2022).

President Reagan reacted like a normal ‘fatherly’ president to the number of death rates all across the United States, as well as school dropouts, tax evasion,

political capture and worst, the potential rise of communism funded by the new global ‘gold.’ A good example of a communist movement that has benefited from the global drug trade is the left-wing Colombian FARC which bought weapons and ran a logistics wing on drug money (DW Documentary, 2019). As Ronald Reagan prophesized, since they opted for drug money in the early 2000s, they have been ever formidable. They require less territorial control and thus focus on smuggling routes.

The war on drugs has continued from its declaration by President Reagan to date. President Bush senior led a brutal war on drugs in South America, a covert war in Asia, and a street war in his own country. The former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, though controversial, is accused of ignoring Panamanian dictator Noriega with the excuse of war on communists (VICE news, 2022). The United States gradually grew as the world’s largest consumer of drugs, far more than Europe. Heroin from the ‘golden triangle’ in Asia as well as Afghanistan flowed to the United States. Thus, a disaster was in the making.

As the United States created the monsters and their puppets, they had to spend millions to bring such individuals down, as in the case of Manuel Noriega when global communism started to die. In Afghanistan, the United States is believed to have allied with heroin kingpins to counter the Taliban, hence the rise of people like General Dostum (Pictures, 2002). While the marines were fighting terrorists, the Drug Enforcement Agency had to ‘try’ to counter their allies. In conclusion, the west created its own drug habit and has harmed many fighting the habit.

Displacement, Immigration, and War on Drugs

Like the war for minerals in Africa, the war on drugs has proven to be disastrous despite the United States’ attempts to counter the global trade complemented by international agencies. Many Central American countries were victims of the United States’ war on

drugs. Asian countries such as Thailand, Singapore, and the Philippines are also the victims of the ill ways adopted by global administrations trying to counter drug smuggling.

The international drug trade came with its benefits to western countries and was led by none other than Uncle Sam. American gun culture has its benefits, as countless drug organizations need to quench their thirst for arms. Accusations of state involvement are common in countries such as Mexico, which annually receives three billion dollars' worth of arms from the United States. The arms will flow to Central and South America to organizations such as FARC in Colombia and international cartels such as the Medellin cartel of Pablo Escobar. Commerce is beneficial to both sides, considering the unregulated profit margins.

Gun violence is the number one cause of suffering caused by several global cartels across the Americas. One country stands out with a cartel that is potentially armed to the extent of facing elite state agencies. Brazil has seen election combat based on the need to curb crime, reduce death rates, and eradicate the drug trade in the country (VOX news, 2019). The same scenes were witnessed in the El Salvador election, where the candidate won based on an authoritarian style of leadership (Vice News, 2022). The drug cartels have shifted the social, political, and economic order in these countries.

In the case of Brazil, the world-famous favelas are a hub of cartels such as the Red Band (translated in English). The state has been forced to invest in elite training of police, purchase equipment, and fight its own citizens. El Salvador, which has the highest global rates, has seen desperation to the extent of multiple military deployments on cities without a change in statistics. Many desperate citizens are forced to immigrate to save their lives and seek better lives. In El Salvador, many dreams of peace in the United States or Mexico, increasing headaches for state officials in Washington who are caught up in local development or reluctance in accepting immigrants.

Consequences and Recommendations

Deaths of countless both on United States streets over drug crimes as well as in other countries are common.

The Philippines took headlines with a death rate that caught the eye of international monitors such as the United Nations and the European Union. In an attempt to save his country Rodrigo Duterte opted to use force to save his nation, with consequences that forced him to resign (DW Documentary, 2022). The United States has one of the highest crime deaths induced by drugs and fights an internal and external war to save its citizens.

Mass displacement is the most significant consequence, with hundreds of thousands forced to flee from Central and South America, Mexico, and Asian countries. In Mexico, towns have been abandoned as cartels fight for control of trading routes with the states. With the endless supply of American weapons, they butcher each other and the ordinary Mexican (VICE News, 2021). The only option for the displaced is to move to the cities, other towns, or cross borders to other countries. Pressure is exerted on states and international migration organizations as resettling has to be organized.

Political perceptions have greatly shifted in many Asian and American countries owing to the consequences of the drugs and the war on drugs. The Philippines, El Salvador, and Brazil elections saw desperate voters willing to shift ideals to accept authoritarianism to save generations. In most cases, Reagan's style of countering drugs leads to disasters. Thus, states and international organizations such as the United Nations and Interpol should invest in studies and remedies. Humans, as proven in history, rarely cope well with pressure. Thus, an emphasis on human rights in policing should be key, along with community involvement.

The human is a creature of ideals and social order all across the globe, and infusing ideals and moral norms into crime patrolling shall make them more effective. World leaders led by the United States should accept the damage and train citizens of these nations to reclaim 'Reagan's' ideals and win the war against drugs. Patience being constant and coordinated effort, legislations such as the legalization of certain drugs can be tried and tested. Like any other counter-insurgency, it starts with the leader; Europe and the United States must counter the illegal gun trade by its citizens.

In conclusion; 'It is not the drugs doing the displacement but the guns from world leaders and their supposed wars on substances which result to

deaths and economic displacement.’

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Benedict Kuol is a GRDFT Global Compact for Migration graduate as well as a Strathmore Finance major. He aims to be the best GRDFT Research Intern and is passionate about writing and research.

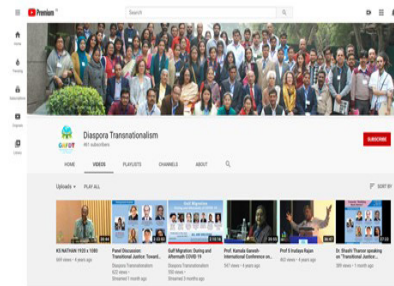
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HOPE AMIDST DESPAIR: WORLD HONORS REFUGEES ON JUNE 20TH

Hope Amidst Despair: World Honors Refugees on June 20th

The word ‘refugee’ invokes a diverse array of emotions, ranging from sympathy to vexation. For the rest of the world, refugees are a problem to be dealt with. However, for the millions of people who are no longer citizens of any state to merit enforceable human rights, the identity of ‘refugee’ is the only straw of hope they are left with. As the world acknowledges and honors their courage, bravery, and steadfastness in the face of adversities on this June 20th, the World Refugee Day, it is high time to acknowledge their human-ness that makes them as important as any citizen, no matter which state they have sought refuge in and what kind of atrocities they have fled from.

World Refugee Day falls each year on June 20 and is dedicated to the wellbeing of refugees around the globe. It was held globally for the first time on June 20, 2001, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Originally known as Africa Refugee Day, it was designated as World Refugee Day in December 2000 by the UN General Assembly and is marked by a variety of events in many countries around the globe in support of refugees. These activities are led by government officials, host communities, private companies, celebrities, school children, and the general public and often involve refugees themselves.

A refugee is a person who has fled their own country because they are at risk of serious human rights violations and persecution there. ([Amnesty International](#)). Unable to return home due to the fear of loss of life, refugees are forced under dire circumstances to continue their stay in a foreign land with no resources at their disposal except the bare minimum they managed to flee with and the ones granted to them by the host community or international organizations. They lead a precarious existence and are vulnerable to various threats like smuggling, trafficking, and pandemics, in addition to

the extreme difficulty in meeting even the basic needs of food, water, and shelter. Lack of formal citizenship and the resultant absence of any authority to take responsibility for ensuring their access to human rights pushes refugees into the precipice, from which they can only be pulled back through humanitarian actions aimed at improving their current situation, granting of asylums to provide the assurance of stability, and ensuring their rehabilitation, or if possible, safe return to their home countries.

The world has witnessed an increase in intra-state conflicts in the past couple of decades, and there has been a parallel explosion in the number of refugees. [UNHCR](#) puts the number of forcibly displaced people at 89.3 million, out of which 53.2 million are internally displaced, 27.1 million are refugees, and 4.6 million are asylum seekers. Of the 36.5 million refugee children, 1.5 million were born as refugees- a whole generation born to a chaotic and anchor-less world and brought up knowing nothing but instability and strife. While these statistics only reflect the documented numbers, the real estimates are expected to be much higher. The stakes have gone higher this year, as the Russian invasion of Ukraine resulted in the [largest refugee crisis](#) in Europe since World War 2, and the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan added another [5 lakh](#) to the 2.7 million refugees originating from Afghanistan.

The responsibility for ensuring the wellbeing of refugees’ rests on the global society and the civilizational value and progress it claims to possess. The responsibility can translate to effective actions in multiple ways like provision of humanitarian aid, granting of asylums, ensuring their access to education, medical facilities, and employment opportunities, even sharing of refugee intake, and peacekeeping efforts in destabilized countries carried out through the joint efforts of the international institutions, supranational bodies, global civil society, and the nation-states. In an anarchical world marked by instability, occasions like Refugee Day must be commemorated to remind us of

our commitments to our fellow beings on humanitarian grounds. As the theme of World Refugee Day 2022, “Together, we shine,” points out, we cannot afford to leave anyone behind.

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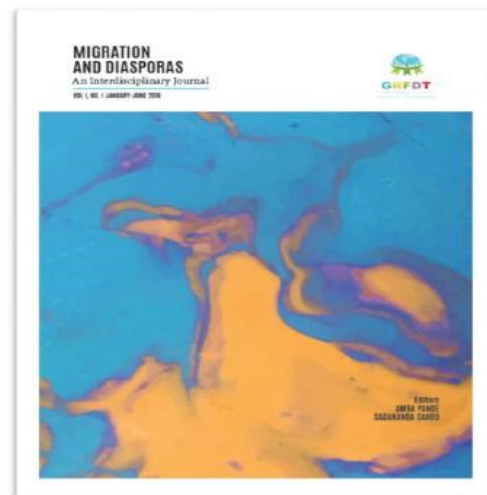


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AT HOME IN TWO COUNTRIES: THE PAST AND FUTURE OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP

At Home in Two Countries: The Past and Future of Dual Citizenship by Peter J. Spiro. New York: New York University Press, 2016. 208 pages.

In *At Home in Two Countries*, Peter J. Spiro, a former US Supreme Court law clerk and member of the National Security Council, describes the historical emergence of dual citizenship and suggests that, despite the resistance of some states, the dual citizenship has become increasingly tolerated and even, in some cases, promoted. The author considers various ways through which dual citizenship can be obtained (most notably by the naturalisation of migrants, marriage or birth) and describes the shift in global trends of treatment of dual citizenship by states from strong disfavour to general acceptance and even promotion. The author argues that this is unlikely to be reversed in the future and suggests that dual citizenship should be even treated as a right for individuals eligible for it and which states ought to facilitate.

Firstly, Spiro explains how, historically, the feudal approach to citizenship and the notion of perpetual allegiance caused major diplomatic disputes between US and European governments (Ch1). During medieval times individuals were considered bound to their sovereign in whose land they were born permanently. Naturalisation in another place was inconceivable. With increasing trans-Atlantic flows of migration to the US matched by the resistance of European sovereigns to acknowledge any transfer of allegiances, naturalisation in the US has resulted in dual citizens and states clashing with claims over them.

Spiro then moves on to explain how this tendency

of perpetual allegiance has declined by states acknowledging the rights of citizens to expatriates (Ch2). Although dual citizenship remained not tolerable - citizens usually had lost their former citizenship after

naturalisation elsewhere or were forced to select one if they were born entitled to two or more citizenships. It was impossible in the mid- 20th century under US law to actively maintain another citizenship without renunciation of the US one (Ch3).

This has changed post World War II, Spiro argues (Ch4). As interstate conflicts have declined worldwide, the perceived threat posed by dual citizens has equally declined. Previously, the citizens naturalising in another country were perceived as traitors, especially across the East-West divide, but this was no longer the case in the post-war period.

The focus also shifted away from states to individuals with the rising concerns for human rights and by the end of the twentieth century, US citizenship could not be terminated without the consent of individuals. Simultaneously, US citizens were free to keep other citizenships acquired at birth or by naturalization.

Spiro further argues that dual citizenship, with declining perceived costs, since then became increasingly tolerated by sending and receiving states alike and now is often even preferred (Ch 5 and 6). It benefits sending states by enabling close ties with diaspora communities which in turn promote the development of countries of origin by sending remittances. Dual citizenship also contributes to host countries by promoting the likelihood of naturalisation and migrant integration.

As dual citizenship has become increasingly acceptable, Spiro argues, it should even be considered a right (Ch7).

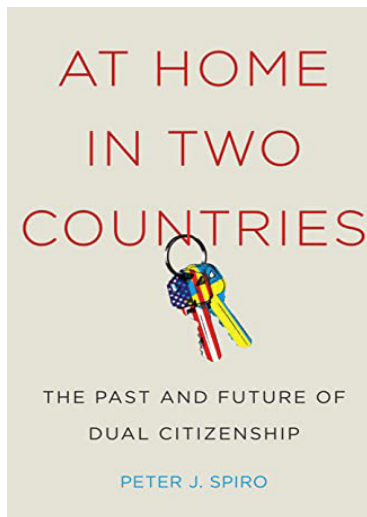


Photo Credit: <https://www.amazon.in/Home-Two-Countries-Citizenship-Migration-ebook/dp/B0189ASWDO>

Individuals who are eligible for dual citizenship should be able to obtain it and exercise self-determination effectively. Individuals who have established ties with two countries or more have an interest in the political life of those states and are affected by it and thus should have a right to participate in the decision-making and other processes. The states that require renunciation of citizenship by their citizens upon naturalisation in another country and vice versa object to effective self-determination of these individuals and thus dual citizenship should be considered a legal right to be protected.

Finally, the author suggests that with the increased tolerance of dual citizenship, the importance of citizenship will diminish (Ch8). In the case of mono-citizens, exclusive membership is associated with a higher membership price. Dual citizenship will tend to undermine the intensity of national identities. The author exemplifies his own experience in the book. Spiro was born in America and thus has American citizenship but has obtained second citizenship (German) for merely instrumental reasons as it was available to him through ancestry. He does not identify as nor speak German.

At Home in Two Countries: The Past and Future of Dual Citizenship makes a great historical overview of the emergence of dual citizenship and the global trends of its treatment. Nevertheless, a few points could be made regarding the analysis. Firstly, the book is centred on macro-level analysis and predominantly focuses on the US and Europe. A wider variety of countries to consider as well as a more detailed country to country comparison would have made the analysis even richer. As the author himself acknowledged, the acceptance of dual citizenship is increasing but there are still many countries that reject it. It would have been interesting to understand what accounts for the differences in the policy approach.

Secondly, Spiro suggests that with the rise of dual citizenship the significance of citizenship per se is in decline (as a source of identity). However, some studies suggest that often people who naturalise already have a strong identity of that country before naturalisation (see e.g. Donnalaja, 2020) and that process of naturalisation itself can further promote identity building (see e.g. Just and Anderson, 2012). Therefore, while the author obtained the second citizenship merely for instrumental reasons, it is not necessarily applicable on a larger scale. The book title itself implies that people who have two citizenships are ‘at **home** in two countries’ suggesting strong ties and identification with both places.

Overall, the book offers a great historical context of the development of dual citizenship that will be a useful read for policymakers, lawyers, scholars and anyone interested in citizenship.

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