

About the Campaign

For the Freedom of Movement and Equal Rights for All! Campaign Newspaper from the transnational Project http://alarmphone.org

Ferries for All

Towards an open Mediterranean space!

The slogan "Ferries not Frontex"¹ emerged in the days following the 18th of April 2015. More than 800 men, women and children drowned that day in the Central Mediterranean Sea. Only one week earlier, about 400 people had lost their lives in a similar 'tragedy'. A tragedy? No! It could have been anticipated. The mass dying was a direct and foreseeable consequence of the EU border regime. And the dying continues. This border regime has a clear symbol: Frontex, the EU's border agency.

In the first months of 2015, this agency proposed and insisted that rescue operations should be limited and that, instead, all resources and capacities should be mobilised for border control. Deterrence and death, selection and deportations: Frontex is the pacemaker for an inhumane politics. Calling for ferries represents the opposite of what Frontex symbolises: Ferries would guarantee safe and legal passages, and function like mobile bridges to connect three continents separated by the sea. A simple way to open the borders for everybody and to stop the death at sea immediately! Ferries not Frontex is thus a vision for an open Europe and a political demand for the here and now.

After 18th of April 2015, as a direct (re)action to the mass death, we considered chartering a big ferry in order to pick up refugees and migrants in Libya. It would have functioned also as a symbolic action of protest and civil disobedience against the deadly border regime, organised by wide alliance of civil society actors. In the end, it was not possible to realise this idea due to security reasons and the lack of funding. But the idea remained vivid and actors such as Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) sent large rescue vessels into the Central Med. Since then, and in correspondence with the incredible and ongoing struggles for the freedom of movement by refugees and migrants mainly in the Aegean Sea and on the Balkan route during the summer and autumn 2015, more and more refugee-welcome initiatives emerged within and beyond Europe. In September and October 2015, the mass movements' capacity to break through various borders pointed to the possibility of an open Europe, at least for a few months.



Nowadays the Mediterranean Sea is the deadliest border zone of the entire world. More than 3700 men, women and children died in 2015 in this area¹. That is almost five times more than in South East Asia and even 12 times more than in the US-Mexico border region. Already tomorrow this mass dying at the southern EU-border could become history! It's a mere political decision to entitle everybody to access commercial ferries and to suspend the cruel EU-visa regime. Nobody would be forced to take a rubber boat anymore and to risk their lives to reach Europe. However, death at sea is part of an inhuman determent policy. It is a crime against humanity, nothing else. And, one day, the responsible politicians should be brought to justice for these ongoing acts of killings and policies of letting die...

The only solution to really stop the death at sea are open borders and the freedom of movement for all refugees and migrants. Some politicians are in favour of a selective approach and want to give access to ferries only to particular groups, the so-called "real" refugees. This is part of an increasing tendency all over Europe to distinguish between "real and fake refugees" in order to divide and rule migrant and solidarity movements. However, even for these selected groups, access to ferries is far from being granted. Of course, while we appreciate every ferry seat that is given to refugees, we also need to emphasize that all those who remain excluded from this selection will have no choice to go on these small and overcrowded boats. Ending death at sea can only become a reality if ferry access is granted to all.

nation-states and their supposed superiority. The hypocrisy is obvious: "Our" social system – as far it is still exists in face of austerity politics – and "our" higher wages – as far as they are not attacked by increasing precarity – are built on (neo)colonial structures and hyper-exploitation along transnational chains of exploitation.

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And from arms trade to land grabbing, from climate change to the destruction of local economies: you hardly find reasons for flight and migration in the global south that are not caused by the global capitalist players and politicians of the global north. Yet collaboration with corrupt elites in the south is common practice, too. Also in the poorest countries we can find "islands of richness in an ocean of poverty". In January 2016, it was pointed out once again: the 62 richest people of the world own more than half of the population on this globe. It must be clear for everybody who opens their eyes: we do not have a "refugee and migration crisis" but one of justice and the (re)distribution of wealth.

"If refugees could use a ferry, a father would not have to witness his children, and a wife witness her husband

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At the present time, in February 2016, forms of repression and control, as well as racist parties and propaganda appear on the rise once again. Europe is at the crossroads: Will it create new walls and rigid fences throughout the whole continent, and accept death at sea as a daily consequence of closed borders? Or will it create a path into a different and open Europe for those who are arriving, and also for those of us who are already here? We probably have to expect contestations all over Europe in the coming months, and especially so along the external sea borders. Our campaign and this newspaper seek to contribute to denunciations of deadly European borders and, at the same time, wants to offer a prompt and concrete alternative: Ferries not Frontex!

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(1) Ferries not Frontex!
10 points to really end the deaths of migrants at sea: http://alarmphone.org/en/campaigns/ferries-not-frontex/

drown in front of their eyes."

N. from Afghanistan, who had to cross the Aegean Sea even a second time after he was deported.

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As Alarm Phone project we are in contact with travellers in distress at sea every day. In 2015, we were in direct and indirect contact with more than 1200 boats in all areas of the Mediterranean Sea. We try our best to support these people during this dangerous part of their journeys but we know, that our project never can be a solution. We see ourselves as a necessary emergency intervention and together with a lot of other projects of civil society we can counter the deathly effects of the EU border regime.

Without the civil rescue operations at sea, by Médecins Sans Frontières, MOAS, Sea-Watch and others, and those on land, by the many 'bay watch groups' and volunteers along the coasts of Greek islands, and without migrant community groups that accompany people at sea, as well as other activists who, like us, are ready to work day and night to respond to emergency calls, most certainly, thousands more would have drowned in the past year. "If you ask for ferries and open borders, everybody might come to Europe and our social systems will break down" – this is the main justification voiced by politicians, in the mainstream media, in big parts of society in many European countries to retain the current visa regime, which translates into denied access to ferries and results in the mass death at sea. But how convincing is this argument? Who is afraid of an open Mediterranean area? Why can we not perceive this ocean as a real bridge between Africa, Asia and Europe? As a free and common space for mutual exchange and inspiration, on a social and an economical level?

The vision of a free space obviously does not work within a capitalist system which is based on inequality and hierarchies and which needs borders to create differences of exploitation. The upper and middle classes fear to lose their privileges and parts of the northern population retreat into imaginaries of racially pure However, the false argument, 'everybody will come, if borders are opened', is nothing new. It was already used in northwest Europe, when the EU enlarged to the East and South. But reality was and is different. Certainly, many people from the global south would come to the north if freedom of movement was to be a reality. But, at the same time, many would also return if they were not trapped by complex asylum system. Many people would oscillate between their city of origin and other places in the world to build further social and economic relationships. Temporary or circular migration might become a wider global phenomenon, but both, the right to go and the right to stay, should be options for everybody and everywhere.

To sum up: for us, struggles for the freedom of movement and global social justice are strongly interconnected. We still believe that another world is possible. But it has to be a world without borders.

 according statistics from IOM, a state dependent agency for migration management
 published by the independent aid-organisation Oxfam



Western Mediterranean Sea The poorest have to take the highest risk

In the winter of 2014 the newly created Alarm Phone witnessed a deadly tragedy between Morocco and Spain: on the 4th of December, 29 people on their way from Nador to Almería, including eight children, died. The people on board were drifting for more than 48 hours in the icy sea. Although the Spanish rescue service Salvamento Maritimo, alerted by the Spanish NGO Caminando Fronteras and the Watch The Med Alarm Phone, conducted a search and rescue operation, they came too late and could only rescue 28 of the 57 persons on board. One of the migrant activists affiliated to the transnational network Afrique Europe Interact, connected to the Alarm Phone, knew some of the victims. These are the words he wrote to commemorate the children:

"Their story is now the story of all of us. Their parents, Sisqo and Magni were stuck in the dead end road which Morocco has become. So they decided for the fortune of their children to take the future in their own hands and to start the dangerous journey to a new life. ... Hope and fear might have been the emotions which troubled their hearts until the accident happened. 28 human beings were swallowed up by the waves, two of them were the twins of Sisqo and Magni. They were loved by everybody who knew them. Assun and Waten, two little wild kids, 3 years and 4 months old, always busy moving themselves and making move everybody around them. Today we are without them. They rest stars in our memories."1

APDHA (Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucía) reported that 131 migrants had died in the Mediterranean Sea between Morocco and Spain in 2014. For the year 2015 IOM (International Organization for Migration) counted 106 migrants who died at sea, 74 in the Western Mediterranean and 32 on the Canary route. times. For European passport holders it is much simpler: ferries leave on a daily basis from Tangier to Tarifa, the journey lasts one hour and costs about 38 EUR.

The route from the Western Saharan part of Morocco to the Canaries was one of the most popular routes fifteen years ago. Thousands managed to arrive on fishing-boats which left from Morocco, Senegal and Mauritania. In response to this arrivals, Frontex started its first big operation: So called operation Hera, combined with direct deportation of arriving migrants by collaboration with countries of origin and transit, was quite successful in blocking this route and many West Africans got stuck in Morocco. In the last years Morocco has taken over and been playing its role in securing Europe's borders in a very effective way. Moroccan goverment got payed millions of euros from European funds to prevent migrants from crossing: Permanent raids in the northern regions of Morocco close to the exclaves in combination with deportations to the southern parts of Morocco make it very difficult for migrants to cross the Mediterranean. So they are forced to look for other possibilities and the Canary route or even leaving Morocco for Libya are becoming options to escape the open-air prison which Morocco has become.

The more money migrants have, the safer the journeys become, even if they remain precarious and dangerous. Depending on the route, a trip on wooden boats with an engine costs between 1.000 and 3.000 euros. Avoiding the dangerous way over the sea or over the fences is worth at least 4.000 euros. The safest way is to be hidden in cars and smuggled into Ceuta or Melilla. This is also the most lucrative business for traffickers and it would not be possible without the cooperation of police members on

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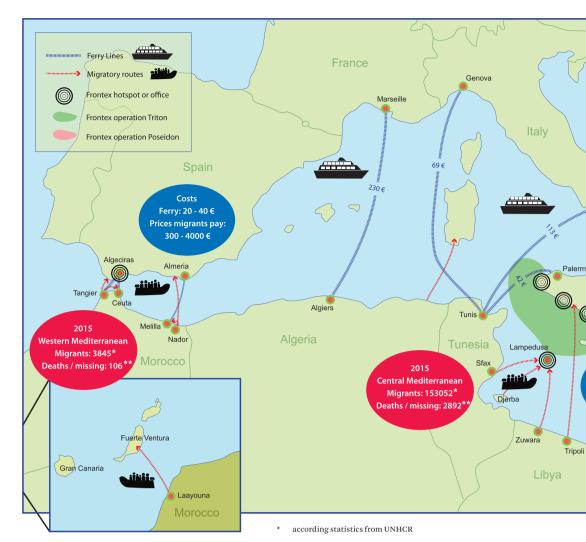
"If I could use a ferry, I would take it to Spain instead of a Zodiak because it's faster and less risky."

A. from Cameroun, who tried to cross several times from Morocco to Spain

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jump the fences" into the Spanish exclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. The risk of being beaten up by Moroccan auxiliary forces (a special unit of the Moroccan police created in order to protect the borders and known for their brutality and paramilitary structure) or Spanish Guardia Civil is high. As is the danger of being injured by the merciless barbed wire, intended to cause serious wounds. These injuries have often been the reason for migrant deaths, since those injured were not treated in hospitals but routinely abused in police custody. Many of these deaths went unnoticed until the Italian filmmaker Sara Creta filmed the death of Clément from Cameroun resulting from the injuries, police brutality and the lack of medical care after he tried to jump the fence.²

Migrants trying to reach Europe from Moroccoboth sides of the border. According to manycan take different routes: the poorest try toboth sides of the border. According to many"jump the fences" into the Spanish exclaves ofbetween smugglers and corrupt police forces:Ceuta and Melilla. The risk of being beaten uptraffickers know when these officers are onby Moroccan auxiliary forces (a special unit ofduty, they arrange a car and agree on signs sothe Moroccan police created in order to protectthat these cars will not be controlled.



grants to enter Europe. Human beings would not have to die trying to cross the sea in inflatable dinghies. Instead of losing a lot of time by earning money under highly precarious and exploitive conditions in order to pay thousands of euros for a trip, European passport holders pay less than 100 euros, migrants could invest their time and the money in education, learn-

Central Mediterranean Sea:

Malians mourn dead migrants – Frontex plans new "hotspots" and deportations

In the context of the global day of action for the rights of migrants, about 250 Malians came together on the 19th of December 2015 in Kita in the region of Kayes, which is very rich in resources and fertile grounds but the population is systematically excluded from these riches. During this protest action against the deadly EU borders, a mother who lost her son in the sea said: "How can Europeans be surprised about tragedies at sea, if their embassies refuse visa to our people and force countries of the Maghreb to chase us? Our only chance is the sea and smugglers become our hope, if we want to flee to other countries." 184 Malians were amongst the more than 800 people who drowned in the night to the 19th of April 2015 on their way from Libya to Italy¹. In one single week in April, at least 1.200 people drowned in the Mediterranean Sea², most of them near the Libyan coast. Over 5.000 migrants were rescued by the Italian coastguard and merchant vessels. Reacting to these mass rescue operations, ship-owners and trade unions of seafarers expressed their concerns in a letter to the EU³.

The Alarm Phone published a press release⁴ and launched a campaign against this policy of Frontex and Rösler, who held speeches in Berlin in February and again on the 22nd of April, defending his position. Protesters made Frontex responsible for an increasing number of deaths. In May 2015, some warships as well as boats of private organizations (MOAS, MSF, Sea-Watch) were sent to the Central Mediterranean to take part in rescue operations. Frontex and the military operation EUNAVFOR-Med against "smugglers", which began in June, were unable to prevent that about 150.000 migrants succeeded to arrive in Italy during 2015. Sea-migration continued even after the summer, as the gruesome discovery of dozens of migrant bodies along Libyan shores in October showed. Over the Christmas days, almost 1.000 boatpeople were rescued by the Italian coastguard.

ing languages or starting a business. Traffick-

ers and corrupt police officers profiting from

the lack of legal possibilities to reach Europe

http://afrique-europe-interact.net/?article_id=1258&clang=0
 http://saracreta.wix.com/into-the-forest#!media/c1bjb

would be history too.

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Another cheap option is to try to cross the Strait of Gibraltar with children's inflatable dinghies; groups of ten or fifteen migrants put their few means together to buy one and board it. The distance between the African and the European continent measures only 15 kilometres but the currents of the strait between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic are strong and dangerous. The migrants are often inexperienced with swimming and sailing the dinghies. They try for hours to reach Spanish waters and are intercepted by the Moroccan police most of the Mahmoud Traore is the author of the book "Partir para contar" (Set off to report) and was a migrant in Morocco himself who managed to arrive in Spain where he lives now. On a lecture organised together with Noborder Morocco, one of the founding networks of the Alarm Phone, he puts special emphasis on the constant accusations from Spanish Guardia Civil to justify their violent push-backs of migrants on the fences of the exclaves: of being organised in mafia like structures:

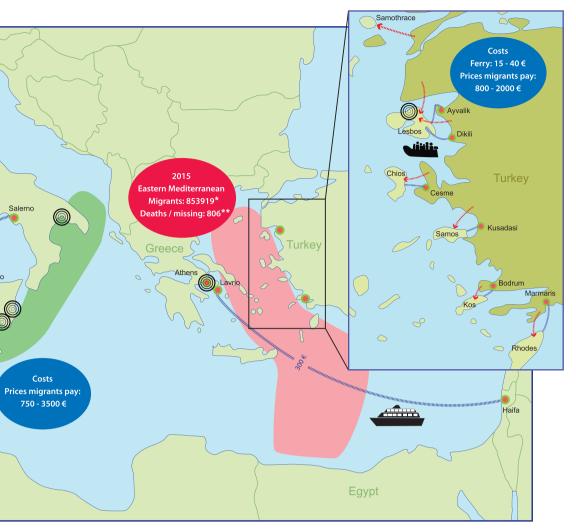
"A civil European on the other side, it makes him uneasy when he hears the word human trafficking. ... To say the truth: is it really us who are the mafia? ... "this guy (an Indian refugee he spoke to) paid both authorities to enter. ... But the Europeans, the head of states, don't talk about that. They only talk about illegal immigration."

Compared to the enormous risks migrants have to take, the amount of money they have to invest and the time they lose in trying to reach Europe, it's urgent that European governments ultimately agree on legal ways for these miThe Watch the Med Alarm Phone received a lot of calls from boatpeople and their relatives following the beginning of spring and tried to put pressure on European coastguards to rescue them. But due to the end of the Italian navy mission "Mare Nostrum" in November 2014 and the launch of the Frontex operation "Triton" with the aim to prevent the arrival of migrant boats rather than to rescue them, there was a lack of rescue capacities in the Central Mediterranean Sea. The German director of Operations Division, Klaus Rösler, demanded not to rescue boatpeople near the Libyan coast.

EU and Frontex adopted a new strategy, the socalled "hotspot approach": The aim is to establish closed camps at the borders of the EU, especially in Italy and Greece, where Frontex would help to "swiftly identify, register and fingerprint incoming migrants"⁵ to be able to deport those who are not wanted in Europe and to make sure that those who continue their journey to other EU countries could be sent back to Italy according to the Dublin regulation. EU governments demanded to prove in these hotspots that certain refugees really come from countries of war (e.g. Syria, Iraq or Afghanistan). Only after providing such evidence, "relocation" to other countries could take place. However, the EU "relocation" has completely failed so far, with only about 272 persons having been relocated.



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** according statistics from IOM, a state dependent agency for migration management

"If my friends could use a ferry, they would not be captured and tortured by Libyan militias and left to die in prison, just because they were seeking a life in peace and freedom."

E. from Sudan, who – recognized as a refugee, but without rights in Tunesia – had to risk his life and take a boat from Libya to Italy in 2014

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In Italy, the first hotspot exists on Lampedusa, where in December 2015 many Eritreans who protested against being forced to give fingerprints were put into detention. A second hotspot was established in Trapani/Milo on Sicily. From both camps, most of the people who were not accepted as refugees, were just thrown out on the streets with the order to leave the country, and in Trapani they were taken in again only after protests of NGOs. Frontex is also present in Pozzalo, a harbor town on Sicily, where many boats arrive, and where a third hotspot opened on January 19. "Doctors without Borders"(MSF) have denounced the poor and undignified state of this emergency camp and stated that until the Italian authorities improved services at the camp and recognised the dignity of the migrants, MSF would not collaborate with them⁶. More hotspots are planned in Porto Empedocle, Augusta and Taranto. Frontex officers are responsible for "screening" (trying to find out the nationality and take fingerprints of migrants) and "debriefing" (questioning migrants about their routes, smugglers etc.). Deportations organized by Frontex are already taking place from Lampedusa directly via Rome to Nigeria. In Sicily, people from the Maghreb are detained or thrown out on the streets without chance to apply for asylum. In October alone, 153 of them were deported to Egypt and Tunisia⁷. Frontex is also involved in negotiations with non-EU countries to take back their nationals and prevent them and also transit migrants from coming to Europe. To prepare and observe such kinds of agreements is the task of liaison officers of Frontex, sent to countries of transit and origin of migrants.

Deaths on sea, push backs, hotspots, detention and deportation – there are a lot of reasons to protest against Frontex and to demand the more and more cold sea-water spills inside. It is in these moments when they get in touch with us: they call the Alarm Phone, a hotline of activists and we call the Greek coastguard repeatedly. After several hours full of fear, they finally reach the island by themselves. They are able to get off the boat but all of them get wet and are without dry clothes. Some pray, some just cry from relief and others collapse due to hypothermia.

Normally, it is not at all difficult to cross the sea between Turkey and Greece. Only 17 km south of the beach from which they left is Dikili and in the opposite direction Ayvalik. The ferry trip from Dikili or Ayvalik to Mytilene takes about 90 minutes. The ticket costs between 15 and 35 Euros for a round trip – nothing compared to the prices paid for a "ticket" for an overcrowded rubber dinghy. During the main season, these ferries go daily. During off-seasons they run only Tuesdays from Dikili to Mytilene, leaving at 17.00, and from Ayvalik to Mytilene on Thursdays, leaving at 18.00.¹ This is mainly because the demand of tourists is not that high in the winter time. If refugees were allowed to take these ferries, they would run non-stop, also in the winter-season.

Only one week later, in the morning hours of the 5th of January 2016 and in exactly the same area between Ayvalik and Dikili, one of these tragic moments occurred that we will never get used to: one by one, the sea returned the dead bodies of 36 men, women and children. They had departed on different boats, and at least two had capsized. A few of them survived, but the new year began once again with senseless killings, committed by the European border regime.

In 2015, more than 850.000 travellers survived this highly dangerous trip while near-by safe ferry boats would cross the sea in the same direction. None of them would have chosen the rubber dinghies if the ferries had been available means of transport. The only obstacle is that in order to board these ferries, a valid passport with a Schengen- and/or Greek visa is required – impossible to obtain for those who are suspected to be possible asylum seekers in Europe. One thing is certain: all of these deaths could have been avoided if the ferry-lines between Turkey and Greece would be accessible to everybody. Even the mayor of Mytilene, Spyros Galinos, someone who clearly cannot be regarded as a radical human rights activist, demanded the opening of the Turkish-Greek land border or at least a ferry connection to stop the unbearable situation that again and again dead children, women and men are found on Lesvos' beaches or recovered by the islands' fishermen. Instead, the European solution so far consists of attempts to strengthen the European border agency Frontex and invest into Turkish security forces to reinforce border controls. These announcements so far have led only to the opposite of the desired effect: many people now try to escape Turkey more quickly so as to beat the possible closure of borders, even in weather conditions that bring them into life endangering situations at sea. The numbers of arrivals on Greek islands were higher in December than in August 2015, and in the first two and a half weeks of January 2016 alone, more than 35.000 people crossed the sea.

In Europe, many harsh plans seeking to gain back control and to close the borders are currently being discussed. For example, there is the idea to establish a direct ferry-line for deportations from the Greek islands back to Turkey for all those who Turkey will accept to take back, according to readmission agreements. There is already now a lot of investment flowing into the strengthening of so-called "screening-procedures", with Frontex-personal conducting interviews in the so-called "hotspots" on Greek islands to select some and reject all those who are considered as not being entitled to protection. Those who will be filtered out will face even harsher detention measures. These are only some of the planned measures.

In January 2016 we face the first consequences of these attempts to gain back control: procedures were launched to criminalize civil society actors who engaged in the rescue of refugees in distress. In mid-January the Greek coast guard on Lesvos arrested a team of Proem-Aid, a Spanish NGO whose team did the incredible job of saving lives at risk at sea. They are ac-

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"If I could use a ferry, I would not go to psycho therapy to help me to deal with the horror and trauma that I experienced at sea."

K. from Syria who arrived in 2013 through the Aegean Sea

freedom of movement for all. The fight against "smugglers" will not prevent people from trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea, but only increase the number of deaths. The only viable alternative is to establish a humanitarian ferry line that safely transfers people out of Libya and to allow all people to use the existing ferries from Tunisia to Italy.

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- (1) www.afribonemali.net/spip.php?article66153
- (2) http://maliactu.net/mali-beaucoup-de-maliens-dans-lhecatombe-de-la-mediterranee
- $(3) www.ecsa.eu/images/NEW_Position_Papers/2015-03-31\% 20shipping\% 20industry\% 20general\% 20letter\% 20eu% 20heads\% 20of\% 20state.pdf$
- (4) www.watchthemed.net/media/uploads/page/12/Ferries%20not%20Frontex.pdf
- $(5) \ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/2_hotspots_en.pdfairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-informatio$
- (6) http://allafrica.com/stories/201601051036.html
- (7) www.statewatch.org/news/2015/nov/eu-com-refugees-cris-state-of-play-27-11-15-returns.pdf

Aegean Sea

"We promise to give our best to tear down the borders that killed them."

27.12.2015, 5.20am – The beach from which they clandestinely departed is situated at the Turkish coast, between Ayvalik and Dikili. 70 people, among them several small children,

squeeze into a rubber dinghy until it is totally overloaded. Their destination is the island of Lesvos, about 27 km away. At sea, their engine overheats and breaks down repeatedly and

Let's take a look into the future: the killing of refugees at European sea borders will most probably be seen as one of the biggest crimes against humanity and human rights that were committed by Europeans in this decade. Merely in the Aegean Sea with its relatively short distances between the Turkish mainland and the Greek islands, more than 800 people lost their lives. It would be many more without the strong engagement of human rights activists. These activists, mainly of Syrian and Iraqi origin established a system of support to accompany boats with technologies such as WhatsApp in order to be able to alert in situations of distress. Also, diverse civil society actors that started to engage in the rescue missions, such as Médecins Sans Frontières, Sea-Watch, MOAS, as well as Spanish life-guards.

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(1) www.lesvosisland.com/How+to+travel+to+Lesbos+Greece/903/default.ecms

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cused for the alleged offence of trafficking people, while in fact saving the lives of those in distress.

After mourning the losses, toward the end every memorial ceremony, these are the only words left to say: We all feel ashamed in the moment when we hear about and face these deaths because we failed in our attempt to stop this murderous regime and to create a welcoming Europe. They had been on the way to change their lives on their own. Their death is the death in search for freedom. And that concerns all of us. We will never forget them. We promise to give our best to tear down the borders that killed them.



"Frontex produces the smugglers..."

How the border regime creates the market of illegalised migration

What can be more convincing than a reality check? The amazing and successful struggles for the freedom of movement last year in the Aegean Sea and on the Balkan route proved impressively an old thesis from the antiracist movement: without borders and visa-controls there's no "human smuggling"! In the long "summer of migration" when the border regime was overrun in September 2015, we clearly saw that the so-called smugglers got immediately unemployed. Who could doubt that? As soon as the refugees and migrants reached the Aegean islands and were able to travel through the broken borderlines by public transport first with commercial ferries to Piraeus, later on with buses and trains through the Balkans towards Germany and Scandinavia - they never needed to make use on clandestine and expensive 'agencies' anymore. Of course, no one would voluntarily make use of the dangerous routes from Greece to Italy on small boats at sea or hide in closed trucks at risk of suffocation when there were other, open ways.

migrants onto illegalized channels and thus continuously creates and keeps alive this shadow economy. The exclusion by borders feeds the market of clandestine travel agencies, following the logic of demand and supply. You can find "fair-traders", who keep their promises and guarantee the transport based on one payment. But you also find "criminals", who exploit the travellers for the highest profit, mistreat or even let them die, when they are in this vulnerable situation and depend on these agents. It follows a logic typical to capitalism that you can find operating also in the practices of banks and big companies.

The external and internal borders are functional for capitalism: to create differences and hierarchies, to keep fragmentation and imbalances, to exploit disparity and inequality. The death at sea, the suffering on the routes of flight and migration are an accepted or even intended price of population control and a direct consequence of a "productive" combination of

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"If I could use a ferry ...? Sorry, it's a nice dream, but naive. The suffering through the borders will go on."

K. from Syria, crossing the Aegean Sea in spring 2015

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"Frontex is needed to hunt the criminal smugglers and traffickers", more or less every day this dominant discourse is spread by politicians and the mainstream media – they repeat this barefaced lie. It is nothing else than an attempt to justify the deadliest border regime of the world. In fact, however, it is exactly the opposite: For 30 years or more, the intensified visa- and border regime forces refugees and

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exploitation and exclusion. That is the real background of the border regime, and the dominant discourses on smuggling are nothing more than a smoke screen to hide Frontex's role in the production of organized smuggling. Frontex and the "smugglers" depend on one another. And both would disappear in a world without borders.

Alarm Phone (AP)



The AP is an emergency intervention that explicitly supports the many existing migration struggles against a brutal and repressive EU border regime. It seeks to assist those who (had to) travel

on increasingly precarious migration routes. In the past decade or so, dangerous sea crossing have often become the only remaining corridor to enter Europe, costing thousands of lives. The AP understands itself as a proponent of the uncompromised freedom of movement for all and stands opposed to forces of migration control and management.

The AP offers the affected boat-people for 24/7 a second option to make their SOS noticeable. The alarm documents and mobilises in real-time. In this way, pressure to rescue is builtup, wherever possible. Additionally, pushbacks of refugees and migrants could be stopped.

The project is actively involved in all three regions through which migrants and refugees attempt to reach the countries of the EU: The Aegean Sea (between Greece and Turkey), the Central Mediterranean Sea (between Libya/ Tunisia and Italy) and in the Western Mediterranean Sea (between Morocco and Spain).

The AP is organised as a selforganised callcenter, carried out by about 120 activists from 13 countries. Most of them have been active at the external borders of Europe for many years, in networks as mentioned below. The project is independent and financed through donations. The number of the AP is disseminated mainly through direct contacts with migrant and refugee communities, also in the important transit countries of Northern Africa and in Turkey, through multilingual visitor-cards and by social medias.

In the short-term, the project focuses on rescue missions and the prevention of human rights violations. The death of refugees and migrants at sea could already be a matter of the past if the border- and visa-regimes were dissolved. Insofar, the project aims to create a Mediterranean space of mutual solidarity, with open borders for all people.

Afrique Europe Interact

AEI is a small, transnationally organised network that was founded in early 2010 and combines the struggle for the freedom of movement with the demand for a just development. http://afrique-europe-interact.net

Boats4People

B4P is a coalition of 14 organisations in 7 countries created to defend the rights of migrants at sea. www.facebook.com/boats4people

borderline-europe

borderline is a non-profit association, independent from political parties or governments, and active against the fortress Europe. www.borderline-europe.de

Forschungsgesellschaft Flucht und Migration

FFM has been in existence since 1994 and is a non-profit association of research and documentation mainly at the southern and eastern borders of EU. http://ffm-online.org

Noborders Morocco

Morocco Migrant Solidarity is a lose network of activists- migrants-people, demanding the freedom of movement and based in/between Morocco and Europe.

https://beatingborders.wordpress.com

NO-Frontex-Actiondays

15th to 18th of April 2016 in Catania Manifestations and Meetings, Commemoration in reference to the anniversary of mass death at sea in springtime 2015 **www.nofrontex.blogspot.it**

Voix des Migrants

VdM is an initiative organised by and for migrants to make visible the situation of migrants and refugees and to sensibilize and mobilise them to fight for their rights. www.voixdesmigrants.com

WatchTheMed

Watch The Mediterranean Sea is an online mapping platform to monitor the deaths and violations of migrants' rights at the maritime borders of the EU. Initiated in December 2013 as a part of the Boats4- People campaign by various networks. **www.watchthemed.net**

Welcome to Europe

w2eu demands the freedom of movement and provides information to refugees and migrants that might be useful on their journey to and through Europe. The general webguide in 4 **languages: www.w2eu.info**

Welcome to Greece-Guide:

http://w2eu.info/pritings.en.html?file=tl_files/ doc/Greece/2015-2-Welcome%20t0%20 Greece-English.pdf Welcome to Italy-Guide: http://w2eu.info/tl_files/doc/Italy/Welcome%20t0%20Italy%20web%20English%20 -%20final%20version_def_minimal.pdf Liveblog for the Balkanroute: http://live.w2eu.info/

Moving Europe

ME was founded in the autumn 2015 to support the struggles of refugees and migrants along the Balkanroute. http://moving-europe.org/

Booklet on "One Year Alarm Phone"

"Everything is possible, everything can be transformed by strong social movements! Through our Alarm Phone project and during this incredible year of successful struggles for the freedom of movement, we learned this lesson once again." Texts, documents, interviews, pictures: After one year Alarm Phone; Acts of Disobedient Listening; The telephone rings - Shift description; We are not a solution; We use our memories to take decisions; People would always call me on my private phone; To come better through their lifes; We cannot call our project a success; I had to transform my trauma; A vision of transnational society in practice; Western Med: Acts of Repression and Resistance; Political developments in the Central Med; Aegean Sea: The transformation of a border region; Beyond Borderlines...

alarmphone.org/en/intros/1-year-documentation/

Call out – smartphones urgently needed in Western Med!



... Especially between Morocco and Spain we often encounter difficulties to locate boats in distress because most of the people neither carry satellite telephones nor smartphones, which they could

use to send their GPS coordinates. Since the people in distress cannot indicate their actual position, search and rescue missions take much longer than they could have done and are more difficult. ... Many people lose their lives in the Strait of Gibraltar. They are forced to risk it since there is no legal and safe way for them to reach Europe!

The Alarm Phone will collect as many smartphones as possible and distribute them in Morocco, alongside with creating awareness for the importance of GPS data for rescue operations. If it is possible for you, please collect smartphones in your town, spread this Call Out and ask friends and relatives if they have a smartphone to donate! If you don't have old smartphones, and still want to support this campaign, money donations are also very welcome! Collected money will then be used to buy cheap used smartphones, that can be sent to Morocco.

Contact us via Mail for getting the information where to send the phones or transfer money to. Our email is:

morocco-phones@riseup.net

Find the full call here:

http://alarmphone.org/en/2015/12/03/callout-smartphones-urgently-needed-inwestern-med/