Turning a blind eye
How Europe ignores the consequences of outsourced migration management

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MEDECINS
SANS FRONTIERES

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Introduction

"We're not naive. And the fact that we cooperate in the framework of the Khartoum and Rabat process with the dictatorial regimes [does not mean] we legalise them... But we have to cooperate in the field where we have decided to combat smuggling and trafficking."
— Migration Commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos, March 2015.[1]

Refugees at the Hungary-Serbia border fence, 2015

The world is in the midst of a global displacement crisis. An estimated 59.5 million people were displaced in 2014, the highest level ever recorded.[2] The crisis is not new, but the numbers of people entering Europe are unprecedented. According to the Office for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), by 29 October 2015, 705,251 people had arrived by sea to Europe, a huge increase on the 216,054 new arrivals by sea for the whole of 2014.[3] More than half of those arriving in 2015 are Syrian refugees, and 85% come from the world's top ten refugee-producing countries.[4] Still, the numbers arriving in Europe represent a fraction of the overall crisis.[5]

The crisis comes on top of another crisis, one in part created by the European Union (EU) and its member states' ever-increasing efforts to "seal off" the continent – ie the constant, often silent and sometimes violent pushing-back of people considered to be irregularly entering Europe. Set in the context of an ever-increasing securitisation agenda, efforts to fortify itself have become the cornerstone of EU migration policy. These include physical barriers such as the heavily patrolled barbed wire and metal "fences", up to six metres high and stretching for kilometres, which have been constructed along numerous borders.[6] Meanwhile sea, air and land patrols, often under the coordination of Frontex,[7] are combined with sophisticated surveillance systems and ever more complicated bureaucratic obstacles created by complex visa requirements, obscure legislation and increased penalties for people without the correct documentation.

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[1] Avramopoulos: We talk to dictatorial regimes to fight migration, Euractiv, 5 March 2015: http://www.euractiv.com/sections/justice-home-affairs/avramopoulos-we-cooperate-dictatorial-regimes-fight-migration-312647

[2] Worldwide displacement hits all-time high as war and persecution increase, (Office for the) United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), 18 June 2015: http://www.unhcr.org/558193896.html

[3] The 2014 figures are also more than three-and-a-half times the 59,421 who arrived by sea in 2013. Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, UNHCR: http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/regional.php [accessed 29 October 2015]

[4] ibid

[5] Of the more than four million Syrians displaced outside the country, for example, the vast majority are in neighbouring countries, including more than two million in Turkey, and more than one million in Lebanon. See Syria Regional Refugee Response, UNHCR: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php [accessed 29 October 2015]

[6] Border fences have been built in the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla bordering Morocco, between Bulgaria and Turkey, and between Turkey and Greece. In September Hungary completed the construction of a 175-km-long fence along its border with Serbia, built in record time to keep out the thousands of refugees trying to cross its territory. The fence was extended in October to its border with Croatia. Austria is considering a fence along its border with Slovenia.

[7] The official title of Frontex is the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union. Set up in 2004, its role includes coordinating operations between EU member states to police the EU's external borders, training border guards and coastguards, and helping to coordinate the return of failed asylum seekers and others considered to be in Europe illegally. As part of wider border management missions, it sometimes operates outside the EU.

All of this is accompanied by numerous restrictive immigration policies and practices, including: restrictive interpretations of and overt disrespect for refugee law; obstacles to accessing asylum procedures; limited access to basic services including healthcare; and the increased and prolonged use of detention.[8]

Attempts to fortify Europe have not stopped at its borders. Rather, they have been reinforced by attempts to create a "buffer zone", ie to shift responsibility for migration management onto third countries so as to stop people from reaching Europe. Bilateral and multilateral deals with countries of origin and transit, predominantly in North Africa, the western Balkans and Turkey, include return and readmission agreements, financing and refurbishment of detention centres, and support to third countries to patrol their borders. In effect they to amount to externalisation or outsourcing of migration management by the EU and its member states to third countries. Past agreements have included the EU and/or its member states financing the construction or renovation of detention centres and supporting forcible returns in countries such as Libya, Mauritania, Ukraine, Turkey and Morocco. They often include the training and reinforcement of local security forces and border police, and have included joint patrols such as Frontex's Operation Hera with the Mauritanian and Senegalese authorities.

As world leaders from the African Union (AU) and EU nations prepare to meet and discuss cooperation and migration at the Valletta Summit in Malta,[9] MSF wishes to draw attention to some of the humanitarian and medical consequences that have resulted from the enforcement of past migration cooperation deals. While the intended impact may be to prevent people from reaching Europe, MSF has seen unacceptable unintended impacts. This includes widespread abuse at the hands of security forces and smuggling networks, including high levels of violence and sexual violence; expulsions of vulnerable groups to the desert; prolonged detention; and the criminalisation of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants, undermining existing legal frameworks for their protection.

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Handcuffed migrants being transported to a detention centre in Morocco, 2005

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[8] MSF has worked in European detention facilities in Belgium, Greece, Italy and Malta, often finding that conditions are substandard and that detention has a very negative impact on people´s physical and mental health. A suggested list of further reading is available in Annex 1.

[9] Valletta Summit on migration, 11-12 November 2015, European Council, Council of the European Union: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2015/11/11-12/

This briefing paper is addressed to the Valletta Summit and as such it focuses on examples from Africa, particularly from Libya and Morocco. These are the two most relevant examples based on MSF experience. They are also two of the most egregious examples, illustrative of the types of abuses associated with externalisation policies in numerous countries. MSF would like to emphasise that what we present here tells only a fraction of the story – numerous other deals, with related consequences, exist between African states and the EU, as well as the Middle East, the western Balkans and Turkey, as well as further afield.[10] On a global scale, the outsourcing of migration controls by Australia and the US has long been associated with numerous abuses.

Migration cooperation deals between the EU and its member states and third countries are increasingly negotiated as part of packages which include development programmes and aim to tackle the "root causes" of migration. Details vary, but third countries are usually persuaded or coerced via conditions linked to aid packages, exchanges on visa liberalisation, beneficial trade agreements or advanced political and economic relationships between them and the EU or its member states. Morocco, for example, concluded its agreement with Spain[11] in exchange for advanced political and economic status in the EU, obtained in October 2008. Meanwhile, Turkey in 2014 ratified a returns agreement with the EU[12] in exchange for launching talks – to be finalised by the end of 2017 – on liberalising visa requirements for Turkish nationals travelling to Europe. More recently the EU has offered Turkey a possible €3 billion to keep refugees inside the country.[13]

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[10] MSF is far from the only organisation to document the humanitarian consequences related to policies of externalisation. Human rights organisations, UN agencies, lawyers, academics and journalists have long highlighted abuses related to pushbacks, detention and readmission in Libya and Morocco, as well as further afield such as in Mauritania, Ukraine and Egypt. A suggested further reading list is included in Annex 1.

[11] Migration Policy Centre, Morocco Profile (June 2013): http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/migration_profiles/Morocco.pdf.

[12] Statement by Cecilia Malmström on the ratification of the EU-Turkey readmission agreement by the Turkish Parliament, 26 June 2014: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-210_en.htm

[13] EU offers Turkey cash, closer ties for migration help, Reuters, 16 October 2015: http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/10/16/us-europe-migrants-idUSKCN0S92HU20151016
More details of the offer are available from the European Commission factsheet EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-5860_en.htm

Return and readmission agreements are an increasingly central tool in migration policies and a major component of externalised migration management.[14] These sometimes require third countries to take back non-nationals, and there is an increased focus on flexible arrangements which are faster but also more opaque. While in principle return and readmission agreements should not affect asylum procedures, in practice there have been numerous abuses associated with them, including serious concerns about how asylum requests are processed; returns of people without establishing their asylum status; refusal to admit people at borders without determining their protection needs; and returns of people to countries where their protection is not guaranteed.[15]

The Arab Spring, which began in early 2011 among many countries in the Middle East and North Africa, has devastatingly given way to violence and civil war in some, and increasing repression in others. Four years into the Syrian conflict, the war rages unabated; since 2014 Iraq has descended into civil war; and the ongoing insecurity and conflict in Libya has made it one of the most dangerous countries in the world. Neighbouring countries hosting people displaced by the conflicts are themselves prone to attacks and spillovers of violence. Despite this, the EU and its member states continue to make deals with countries in these areas to prevent people reaching Europe.

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A young Syrian Kurdish refugee in Domeez camp, Iraqi Kurdistan, 2013

[14] While the EU has increasingly been adopting such policies over the last ten years, bilateral agreements go back further and have intensified since the 1990s. At EU level, while exact details vary and there are some differences between direct readmission and return agreements and those which form parts of "Mobility" and other deals, some examples (both in force and under negotiation) include with Algeria, Egypt and Tunisia, as well as with numerous countries including Bosnia and Herzegovina, FYROM, Pakistan, Serbia and Ukraine. At the bilateral level, agreements include Algeria with Germany, Italy, the UK and Spain; Egypt with Italy, Libya with France and Italy; Mauritania with Spain; Morocco with France, Germany, Portugal and Spain; Tunisia with Italy. Some of these agreements include stipulations that third countries must not only take back their own nationals, but also any person arriving from their territories irregularly, regardless of their original nationality. Meanwhile article 13 of the 2000 Cotonou agreement between the EU and the African Caribbean Partnership (ACP) requires all signatory countries to readmit their nationals and includes a provision for the possibility of adopting "if deemed necessary by any of the Parties, arrangements for the readmission of third country nationals and stateless persons".
European Commission, Migration and Home Affairs, Return and Readmission: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/irregular-migration-return-policy/return-readmission/index_en.htm;
MPC Migration Profiles Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco: Migration Policy Centre, June 2013: http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/publications/migration-profiles-fact-sheets/
The Cotonou Agreement, European Commission: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201306/20130605ATT67340/20130605ATT67340EN.pdf
[15] See for example, European Union managing migration means potential EU complicity in neighboring states' abuse of migrants and refugees, Human Rights Watch, 2006, EU: http://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/eca/eu1006/3.htm

Meanwhile, in October 2015, an EU "Action Plan on return" revealed intentions to deport up to 400,000 failed asylum seekers.[16] The plan states that if countries such as Niger and Eritrea refuse to participate, the EU may withdraw aid, trade deals and visa arrangements, while there may also be possible legal action and fines from the European Commission. This is in spite of the fact that, in 2014, 89% of asylum claims from Eritrean nationals made within the EU resulted in refugee status or some kind of protected status.[17]

In recent years, EU rhetoric and justification for entering into such agreements is increasingly framed as part of the "war on smugglers and traffickers". MSF has seen, however, that rather than curbing smuggling and trafficking operations, restrictive migration policies fuel them. State agents, sometimes linked to such networks, criminalise people on the move and abuse them. The more people are criminalised, the less recourse they have to protection, which in turn makes them easier prey for extortion and abuse by smuggling and trafficking networks which are able to act with impunity.

If nothing else, the situation at Europe's borders in the autumn of 2015 cast a spotlight on a fact that EU governments have been trying to ignore for years: closing borders does not stop people moving; it simply shifts their routes, pushing them into making ever more dangerous journeys. The real way to minimise the power of smuggling and trafficking networks is to reduce demand. This could be achieved in part through the creation of safe and legal alternatives for people in flight.

Since the year 2000, more than 30,000 people are estimated to have died attempting to reach Europe, the vast majority in the Mediterranean Sea.[18] Yet in November 2014, the EU voted to cancel the Mare Nostrum search and rescue programme set up in response to the 2013 Lampedusa tragedies. Concerned that people would die unnecessarily as a result of the cancellation of Mare Nostrum,[19] MSF launched three search and rescue operations,[20] one in collaboration with the Migrant Offshore Aid Station (MOAS), the first of which started in May. So far, the MSF and MSF-MOAS collaboration efforts have rescued more than 17,000 people.

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A wooden boat of 613 people rescued by the MSF ship the Bourbon Argos, 2015

[16] Secret EU plan to throw out thousands of migrants, The Times, 7 October 2015: http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/europe/article4578486.ece

[17] Asylum applicants and first instance decisions on asylum applications: 2014, Eurostat: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/4168041/6742650/KS-QA-15-003-EN-N.pdf/b7786ec9-1ad6-4720-8a1d-430fcfc55018

[18] Figures calculated by The Migrant Files: http://www.themigrantsfiles.com/

[19] In the first four months of 2014, with the Mare Nostrum operation running, 96 people drowned. In the same period in 2015, with no search and rescue operations, 1,748 people drowned. International Organization for Migration: Missing Migrants, 27 October 2015: http://missingmigrants.iom.int/en/mediterranean-update-27-october-2015

[20] For an overview of MSF activities, see: http://www.msf.org/topics/mediterranean-migration

People on board a dinghy rescued by the MSF ship the Dignity I, 2015

People loaded onto a truck going through the Sahara from Agadez, Niger to the Libyan border, 2002

In April 2015, more than 800 people died off the coast of Libya. The incident made global headlines and did elicit a response from the EU. Albeit under the auspices of Frontex, and therefore primarily as a border control mission, search and rescue capacity did increase in 2015. However, there is still no long-term institutional response from the EU for a dedicated search and rescue programme. In contrast, the EU was rapidly able to agree the EUNAVFOR (later Operation Sophia) mission to target smugglers and traffickers, tackling the symptom and not the cause of the problem.[21] Despite all efforts, so far in 2015 the International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that 3,257 people trying to reach Europe have lost their lives in the Mediterranean Sea.[22]

Meanwhile, far from the eyes of Europe another tragedy is hidden in the desert. The harsh environmental conditions, combined with the rife smuggling and trafficking operations, create treacherous conditions for people forced through or expelled into desert areas. In June 2015, the IOM reported the deaths of 48 people in one week attempting to cross the Sahara between Niger and Libya. At the time it stated that *"the Sahara may be as deadly as the Mediterranean for this wave. All too tragically many of these deaths go unreported."*[23]

As a medical humanitarian organisation, it is not MSF's role to dictate migration policy in Africa and Europe. It is, however, our duty to highlight the violence, abuse and suffering resulting from these policies experienced by our patients. In our projects working with mobile populations of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants for more than 15 years, we have witnessed first-hand how border control initiatives often put people's health and lives at risk. MSF believes the focus on security in the EU's migration agenda has obscured and threatened the refugee laws and international human rights obligations to which Europe's common immigration and asylum agenda must adhere.

[21] Search and destroy does not save lives, MSF, 29 May 2015: http://www.msf.org/article/migration-search-and-destroy-does-not-save-lives
[22] International Organization for Migration (IOM): Missing Migrants: http://missingmigrants.iom.int/ [accessed 29 October 2015]
[23] IOM cites discovery of more victims in the Sahara, IOM, 16 June 2015: https://www.iom.int/news/iom-cites-discovery-more-victims-sahara-among-migrants-bound-libya

A history of abuse: Libya and Morocco

Libya

"During the nights, prison guards rape the female detainees. The men try to stop themselves from hearing the screams of the victims by putting blankets over their ears. To prevent themselves from screaming, they bite the blankets. One man said, 'I was waiting to die, praying to die as soon as possible...' If they are heard screaming or making sounds, they will face further beatings."
— Composite testimony taken by an MSF psychologist in Shousha Camp, Tunisia, 2011.

Libya, once an attractive destination for foreign workers, started to adopt increasingly restrictive migration policies as it increased its cooperation with Europe. In December 2000, Italy and Libya signed an agreement with the aim of establishing cooperation against illegal immigration. The result included the renovation and financing of detention centres, and mass deportations. Widespread concern by human rights groups and others resulted in a 2005 European Parliament resolution which stated *"Italian authorities have failed to meet their international obligations by not ensuring that the lives of the people expelled by them [to Libya] are not threatened in their countries of origin."*[24]

Despite this, in 2008 Italy and Libya signed the "Friendship Treaty"[25] under which Italy, with EU help, provided radar systems and boats for Libyan border controls. This led to the widely criticised policy of "pushbacks" from May 2009 in which the Italian Navy would intercept boats on the high seas and, without first establishing the refugee status of those on board, would turn the boats back to Libya – where people would be detained in sub-standard conditions and would suffer numerous abuses. The actions, a clear violation of *non-refoulement*, were widely criticised at the time by MSF and others.[26]

Yet, in the same year, the European Council called on the Commission to *"intensify the dialogue with Libya on managing migration and responding to illegal immigration, including cooperation at sea, border control and readmission [while underlining] the importance of readmission agreements as a tool for combating illegal immigration."*[27]

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[24] European Parliament Resolution on Lampedusa, European Parliament, 14 April 2005. Text adopted P6_TA(2005) 0138.

[25] The Treaty of Friendship, Partnership and Cooperation between the Italian Republic and Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Italy agreed to provide Libya with US$5 billion in infrastructure projects over 25 years to compensate for abuses committed during its rule over the country. It called for "intensifying cooperation in fighting terrorism, organised crime, drug trafficking and illegal immigration," and included an agreement to strengthen Libyan border controls, 50 percent of which was to be funded by Italy and 50 percent by the EU. Global Detention Project, Libya Profile: http://www.globaldetentionproject.org/countries/africa/libya/introduction.html

[26] Doctors without patients: MSF fears for migrants forced back to Libya, MSF, 19 November 2009 http://www.msf.org/article/doctors-without-patients-msf-fears-migrants-forced-back-libya

[27] Conclusions de la presidence conseil Europeen, European Council, 30 October 2009: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_DOC-09-5_en.htm

A woman and child walk in Shousha camp, Tunisia, 2011

© Eric Bouvet

"In this prison we were beaten every single day, they were very, very brutal... People were sick but there was no hospital, no doctor to care for them. Some died in this prison. I saw two Nigerians dying because they had been too severely beaten... A lot of women were there too, they were all deported."
— 29-year-old man Sidi Bilal, Libya, 2011.

Humanitarian and medical consequences

The onset of the 2011 Libyan conflict caused more than one million people to flee the country, of which 600,000 were estimated to be third-country nationals.[28] MSF provided medical assistance inside Libya, and also to those fleeing in refugee camps in Tunisia and in Italy. We found that although the situation for third-country nationals had worsened at times because of the conflict – in particular for sub-Saharan Africans, who were considered as being pro-Gaddafi – for the most part our patients had endured unimaginable hardship in Libya prior to and unrelated to the conflict.

Between February and June 2011, evidence from more than 3,400 mental health consultations revealed: 23% of people said they had survived physical violence in Libya; 28% had witnessed physical violence; 11% had been incarcerated, kidnapped and/or taken hostage; and 5% reported being victims of trafficking.

Such incidents were directly and indirectly related to EU policies of capture, detention and deterrence towards those seeking to reach Europe. MSF heard reports of guards shouting, "You want to go to Italy? This is Italy!" while administering electric shocks, genital beatings and other forms of torture.

Inside Libya, MSF programmes included providing primary healthcare and mental healthcare to people gathered at a makeshift camp in Sidi Bilal port just outside Tripoli from July 2011. As well as being subject to abuse, and suffering from diseases linked to their very poor living conditions, camp residents told MSF accounts of abuses in detention pre-dating the war which matched those we heard in Shousha Camp Tunisia and elsewhere.

In Tripoli in 2012, an MSF assessment found that 46% of people interviewed had been in a detention centre or prison since arriving in Libya, the primary reason being their lack of documentation. MSF heard testimonies of torture inside the centres, including beatings, burnings of parts of the body and psychological harassment. The majority reported no access to healthcare.

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[28] From a rock to a hard place: The neglected victims of the conflict in Libya, MSF, 20 June 2011: https://www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/from-a-rock-to-a-hard-place.pdf

Migration cooperation deals continue

Although the EU suspended talks on its EU-Libya Framework Agreement in February 2011 in response to the deteriorating situation in Tripoli, in June of the same year Italy signed an agreement with the Libyan National Transition Council to provide mutual aid and cooperation in the struggle against illegal immigration, including returns of irregular migrants. MSF stressed then, as it does now, that people fleeing Libya – no matter their legal status – were fleeing violence and in need of international protection.[29]

In a historic ruling in February 2012, in the case of Hirsi Jamaa and Others v. Italy,[30] the European Court of Human Rights ruled that the practice of pushbacks violated the principle of *non-refoulement*. It was also the precursor to the 2014 EU ruling outlawing pushbacks.[31] The Italian government publicly committed to implement the judgment. A few weeks later, however, Italy and Libya restarted migration control efforts despite the fact no safeguards had been put in place. In a further bilateral "technical agreement" in November 2013, Italy agreed to provide drones to assist with controlling Libya's southern border.[32]

Meanwhile the EU, as part of its €130 million programme to support Libya's (then) transition phase, funded a number of projects aimed at strengthening border control and fighting "illegal" migration, as well as funding the renovation of detention centres, such as the one in Sabah. In 2013, the EU launched its EU Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) with the aim of improving and developing the security of the country's borders. Efforts to ensure better respect for human rights and particularly international protection guarantees in Libya were also cited.

[29] MSF condemns any initiative that would send boat people back to Libya, MSF, 23 June 2001 http://www.msf.org/article/msf-condemns-any-initiative-would-send-boat-people-back-libya

[30] ECtHR Hirsi Jamaa and Others v Italy [GC], Application No. 27765/09, European Court of Human Rights

[31] Regulation (EU) No 656/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council, 15 May 2014. MEPs deleted a clause that would have permitted "pushback"uoperations on the high seas and strengthened the "non-refoulement"oprinciple whereby people must not be returned to their country of origin or any other country where they could face persecution, torture or other serious harm.

[32] Amnesty International's Submission to the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers: Hirsi Jamaa and Others v. Italy Application no: 27765/09, 11 February 2014: http://www.amnesty.eu/content/assets/Doc2014/B1525_-_second_submission_Hirsi_-_11_Feb_2014.pdf

The continued chaos inside Libya, culminating with the collapse of the Libyan central government and the new civil war in 2014, meant that such arrangements were impossible to manage. Italian cooperation effectively collapsed and EUBAM downscaled in October 2014; today it is limited to technical trainings outside Libyan territory.[33]

Libya today

"In Sabah bandits came out of the car and pulled me out of the taxi and took me to a corner and raped me. They took everything from me, then they left me there on the street. I was covered in blood. Even now I have nightmares."
— 25-year-old woman on board MSF search and rescue ship Dignity I, 2015.

Libya may no longer be a functioning partner for return and readmission agreements, but as borders in other areas close, it is increasingly one of the only options for people on the move. Already a dangerous country for foreign nationals prior to 2011, it is today an utterly lawless environment. MSF´s search and rescue work and projects in Italy in particular see high numbers of people escaping Libya, where people report being exposed to life-threatening situations, and a high level of intentional violence and exploitation. People also report that unknown numbers of people are imprisoned or abandoned in the desert, finding they don't have the money to meet new and unexpected demands placed on them by smugglers.

Of 125 interviews[34] conducted on board MSF's search and rescue ship Dignity I over a period of four months to mid-October 2015, 92% of people reported having been direct victims of some form of violence in Libya, with nearly 100% reporting having witnessed intentional violence perpetrated against people, including seeing people being killed, and witnessing sexual violence and beatings. Forty-three percent of people interviewed on board the Dignity I, and around 50% of people interviewed on board the MSF-MOAS search and rescue ship MV Phoenix, reported having been taken against their will and held in short or long-term detention in formal or informal centres,[35] some of them multiple times.

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A man rescued by the MSF search and rescue ship Dignity I prays on the deck, behind him another rescue is being carried out, 2015

Although it is not always possible to identify whether the detention centres are managed by formal or semi-formal authorities or by smugglers, conditions are consistently

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The MSF search and rescue ship Dignity I, 2015

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[33] EU Integrated Border Assistance Mission in Libya (EUBAM Libya): http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eubam-libya/pdf/factsheet_eubam_libya_en.pdf

[34] The profiles of people assisted by the MSF ships are always changeable as a result of the mixed flows of people we see on board. Therefore interviews have been randomly selected at all times a eflect a mix of gender and ethnicities, including Nigerians, Eritreans and Syrians.

[35] Seventeen detention centres across the country are still managed by the Department for Combatting Illegal Migration (DCIM) within which Amnesty International estimates around 5,000 people are held. The number of centres controlled by militias is unknown.

A medical consultation on board the MSF search and rescue ship Dignity I, 2015

described as overcrowded, with daily beatings, a lack of sufficient food, water and sanitation, and a complete lack of medical assistance.

> Of a total of 889 medical consultations on board the Dignity I to date, MSF has treated nine people who were raped, and 52 people for reasons linked to intentional violence, mostly within Libya. Overall, 171 people treated by the medical team on board have mentioned that they were victims of intentional violence, mostly within Libya. MSF expects that the actual numbers of people who experienced violence are much higher.

The situation in Libya today is not directly linked to externalisation efforts, if only because the security situation does not allow these efforts to be applied. Nonetheless, the systematic detention of people in irregular situations can be considered, in part at least, as a legacy of the EU and member states' past cooperation deals with Libya to better secure its borders and stop people transiting to Europe. Given the levels of documented abuse, the fact that it is insecurity that has stopped policies of return and readmission and border control efforts, rather than protection concerns, highlights the extent to which the EU has been willing to turn a blind eye. Indirectly, the fact that people are forced to travel through Libya, often becoming trapped there, is linked to the lack of safe and legal routes resulting from the EU's restrictive migration policies, as borders in other areas are increasingly shut.

The EU is pushing for a solution to the Libyan crisis. But even if a political solution is found, it cannot be assumed that Libya would automatically become a "safe country" for transit or return. The widespread abuse and violence against third-country nationals pre-date either conflict. In October 2015, the UNHCR urged all states to suspend forcible returns to Libya, noting that even before the current unrest and insecurity, it did not regard Libya as a safe third country.[36]

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[36] UNHCR position on returns to Libya – Update I, UNHCR, 20 October 2015.

Morocco

"The abuses of fundamental human rights, violence, degrading treatment and significant medical and psychological harm are direct consequences of the 'new era' in Spanish-Moroccan relations and the 'excellent' cooperation on security issues publicly highlighted by Spain and Morocco throughout 2012."
— MSF, 2013.

Victims of violence treated by MSF in Morocco, 2012

The Spain-Morocco cooperation agreements are widely regarded within the EU as a success story for migration management, an example to be emulated. From a perspective that only considers the numbers of people taking this specific route to reach Europe, this may be true– numbers have indeed fallen dramatically. Such analysis, however, both summarily ignores the numerous abuses associated with stricter controls of the borders, and the fact that closing borders has not stopped people moving – it has just shifted them onto other routes.[37]

MSF worked in Morocco from 1997 until 2013, with projects specifically focusing on migrant communities from 2003. Throughout this time, MSF recorded numerous abuses of people related to return and readmission agreements, in and around the Ceuta and Melilla border fence areas.[38]

In four reports issued in 2005, 2008, 2010 and 2013,[39] as well as in numerous statements and internal assessments going back to 2001, MSF has consistently stated the direct correlation between European policy and the physical and mental health of migrants and asylum seekers in Morocco. The reports all found that the majority of violent incidents happened around the border areas, involved both the Spanish and Moroccan security forces, and included arrests, excessive use of force, degrading treatment and abuse, sexual violence and expulsions, including of vulnerable people.

Between April 2003 and May 2005, of the 9,350 medical consultations carried out by MSF with migrant communities, 23.5% were related to violence in detention or at the border areas. Of these, 65% told MSF that security forces, either institutional or government officials from Morocco and Spain, were responsible. Between 2003 and 2009, MSF carried out 27,431 consultations, of which 4,482 (16.3%) were related to lesions and trauma. Fourteen percent of the 5,231 direct medical consultations

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[37] The number of people arriving by sea in Spain fell from 39,180 in 2006 to 4,043 in 2014 By contrast, in 2013, 11,447 people arrived in Greece and 42,925 arrived in Italy. In 2014, 34,442 arrived in Greece and 135,559 people in Italy. So far in 2015, 705,251 people have arrived in Europe by sea: 140,000 1in Italy and 562,355 in Greece. Of course the higher numbers reflect increased displacement from conflict, in particular from Syria, but they underscore how desperate people will continue to seek ways to reach Europe.

[38] The border fences in the Spanish enclaves of Melilla and Ceuta bordering Morocco have come to represent "Fortress Europe." Originally built in the 1990s, the fences were reinforced in 2005 at a cost of €30 million, funded by Spain with the help of the EU, to consist of three rows of six-metre high barbed wire fences, heavily patrolled on the perimeters and between each fence, and monitored by cameras and motion and noise detectors.

[39] Violence and Immigration in Morocco, MSF, 2005: http://www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/old-cms/fms/article-images/2005-00/morocco_2005.pdf;
Violencia e inmigración, dos años después, MSF, 2008
Sexual Violence and Migration, MSF, 2010: http://www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/old-cms/fms/article-images/2010-00/Sexual_violence_morocco.pdf
Trapped at the gates of Europe, MSF, 2013: http://www.trappedinmorocco.org/doc/2013.pdf

MSF carried out in its projects in Morocco in 2009 were for injuries and trauma resulting from violence.

In 2012, 18% of MSF's medical consultations were related to physical and sexual violence. This included assisting more than 600 people with violence-related injuries in the border areas within Nador region and more than 500 in Oujda, a quarter of whom required emergency assistance. At this time, MSF was told that 64% of the violence had been perpetrated by Moroccan security forces.

A separate 2012 MSF survey of 192 migrants found that 63% of people interviewed reported experiencing violence in Morocco, with 92% stating that the violence was intentional. MSF also found that rather than limiting the activities of smuggling and trafficking networks, the security measures aimed at combating cross-border crime had allowed such groups to act with ever-increasing impunity, *"knowing their victims are viewed as ´illegal´ or ´criminals´ by the Moroccan state and will receive no protection."*

Such policies also had the effect of trapping people in Morocco for longer and longer periods, increasing their vulnerability.[40]

Raids, detention and expulsions to the desert

"Four policemen with dogs drove them to a place in the middle of the desert. Then two policemen took her aside. They told her to lift up her clothes and when she said no, a 'soldier' slapped her and threw her onto the ground. The other grabbed her arms while they took her clothes off. After raping her, the policemen picked her up off the ground and brought her back."
— Account by an MSF staff member of a 14-year-old girl raped by Moroccan security forces, 2010.

Systematic raids in both urban and rural areas by the Moroccan security forces – sometimes in ad hoc alliances with criminal groups, and often causing serious injury – were a consistent feature in the time MSF worked with migrant communities. Following raids, people were often crowded into police cells before being taken back to the Moroccan-Algerian border and abandoned, with nothing, in the no-man's-land between Oujda in Morocco and Maghnia in Algeria. In 2013 we noted how efforts by the Moroccan government –supported by the EU, particularly Spain – to combat "cross-border crime, illegal immigration and the trafficking of drugs and weapons" had resulted in a dramatic rise in wide-scale, indiscriminate raids.

Despite laws which should have ensured that refugees and asylum seekers, minors, pregnant women and anybody with serious wounds or illnesses could not be deported, MSF witnessed numerous violations of this, including pregnant

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[40] Between 2010 and 2010, of the 10,500 sick and wounded migrants treated by MSF, almost half of the medical problems diagnosed were diseases closely related to poor living conditions. Being trapped also affected people´s psychological wellbeing, increasing the likelihood of their developing mental health problems. In 2013 we found that up to 70% of the time, migrants were too afraid to seek medical care for fear of arrest or deportation.

Hundreds of migrants abandoned in the desert by the Moroccan authorities, 2005

women, minors and seriously ill people with chronic diseases such as TB and HIV/AIDS taken to the border and abandoned. In 2012, MSF recorded 191 incidents of expulsion, with more than 6,000 people expelled.

According to MSF's data, at least 93 women, including 18 pregnant women, 45 minors, 35 children and more than 500 people requiring medical care for violence related injuries were expelled throughout the year. In all cases the real numbers of violent incidents and expulsions of vulnerable groups are likely to be considerably higher than that which we were able to record.

The 2012 MSF survey also found that 68% of people said they had been arrested and expelled since arriving in Morocco, 80% of them multiple times.

"In September 2012, 43 injured people arrived at MSF's office in Oujda. They told MSF how they were part of a large group who had succeeded in entering Melilla but were caught by the Guardia Civil who used rubber bullets and electric batons to apprehend them, and then handed over the Moroccan security forces who beat them. More than half needed immediate medical care, including 8 who had to be hospitalised. Another man arrived the next day, hit by a rubber bullet and blinded in one eye. He had been in the same group but it took him longer to reach MSF due to the severity of his injuries."
— MSF, 2013.

Morocco today

Finding our capacity to achieve substantive change to people's situations and the violence they suffered was severely limited, MSF left Morocco in 2013. In September 2013, as part of a series of major policy reforms, Morocco implemented a number of new measures, and at the beginning of 2014 became the first country in the Arab world to develop a legal migration policy. While these have brought some improvements, continued raids and expulsions (within Morocco) and unacceptable levels of violence at the border areas reportedly continued in 2014 and 2015.[41]

In June 2013, the EU and nine member states signed a Mobility Partnership with Morocco,[42] which includes measures to combat illegal immigration and which promotes effective return and readmission. It does include mentions of basic rights, but how these will be guaranteed remains to be seen. Meanwhile, in March 2015, the Spanish Congress, as part of Spain's new *Public Safety Act*, approved a reform of its immigration law,[43] which provides a legal basis for illegal pushbacks from Ceuta and Melilla. This amendment allows for rejection at the border without any procedural safeguards and without first identifying people in need of international protection or other vulnerable people, which violates the principle of *non-refoulement*.

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[41] See for example Morocco: Abuse of Sub-Saharan Migrants, Human Rights Watch, February 2014: https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/02/10/morocco-abuse-sub-saharan-migrants,and Morocco: The forgotten frontline of the migrant crisis, IRIN news, 28 July 2015: http://newirin.irinnews.org/extras/2015/7/28/morocco-the-forgotten-front-line-of-the-migrant-crisis

[42] To date, Morocco has refused to sign the readmission component, not wishing to also be responsible for the non-Moroccans the EU wishes to return as part of the Partnership.

[43] Ley Orgánica 4/2015, de 30 de marzo, de protección de la seguridad ciudadana. Organic Law 4/2000 on Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and their Social Integration) – Art. 20, 22, 57.6:

Box 1

How outsourcing migration control undermines refugee and asylum law

There are a number of ways in which externalisation policies have breached numerous articles from asylum and refugee laws that should be central to EU practice. The list below is non-exhaustive, highlighting only the most pertinent examples.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Art. 14	*Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.*
1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Amendment. Art. 31	*States shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees who, coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened enter or are present in their territory without authorization.* The principle of ***non-refoulement,*** often considered the cornerstone of international protection, is enshrined in the Refugee Convention. **It has become customary law, meaning that it is applicable even to states that are not parties to the Convention.**
European Convention on Human Rights. Art. 3, 13 and Protocol 4º	*Prohibition of torture; Right to an effective remedy; Prohibition of imprisonment for debt; Freedom of movement; Prohibition of expulsion of nationals; and Prohibition of collective expulsion of aliens.*
EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. Art. 18, 19	*Right to asylum and protection in the event of removal, expulsion or extradition; Collective expulsions are prohibited.*
UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. Art. 98.2	*Right to asylum and protection in the event of removal, expulsion or extradition; Collective expulsions are prohibited.*
UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. Art. 98.2	*Adequate and effective search and rescue service regarding safety on and over the sea.*
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Art. 10	*All persons deprived of their liberty will be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human being.*

Numerous EU member states and their African partners have violated their own national laws, leading to illegal expulsions, violation of non-refoulement, and refusal to admit asylum seekers at borders. Italy and Spain have been notable – but far from the only – offenders.

Examples of breaches of national laws by Italy and Spain include:

Spanish Constitution. Art. 13.4	*Right to asylum in Spain.*
Spanish Immigration Law (Organic Law 4/2000 of 11 January, on Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and their Social Integration). Art. 20, 22, 57.6	*Aliens are entitled to effective judicial protection and legal aid; and Prohibition of carrying out expulsions when the expulsions violate the principle of non-refoulement or affect pregnant women.*
Spanish Asylum Law (Law 12/2009 of October 30 on Regulating the right of asylum and subsidiary protection) under the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum, 2008. Art. 8.1.a, 8.1.b, 38	*Inadmissibility element of an asylum seeker when the applicant is granted refugee status.*
Italian Legislative Decree of 25 July 1998, No. 286 on Consolidated Act of Provisions concerning immigration and the condition of third country national. Art. 19.1	*Prohibition of expulsion or refoulement.*
	*"No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion."

The Valletta Summit

The Valletta Summit will focus on relations between EU and African countries, with an emphasis on migration. It intends to concentrate on five key areas:[44]

1. Addressing the root causes of migration by working to help create peace, stability and economic development
2. Improving work on promoting and organising legal migration channels
3. Enhancing the protection of migrants and asylum seekers, particularly vulnerable groups
4. Tackling more effectively the exploitation and trafficking of migrants
5. Working more closely to improve cooperation on return and readmission

The Valletta action plan is ambitious. It combines objectives that respond to very different logics of security, development and humanitarian action. This matters because each requires a different type of response and needs to be put into operation at different speeds.

From a medical humanitarian standpoint, MSF wishes to draw attention to the following areas: the need for a humanitarian response to the Middle East crisis and the associated refugee crisis in Europe; the need to ensure that humanitarian assistance does what it is meant to do; the gaps in protection; and our concerns about the continued focus on returns and readmission agreements.

First, the link between the refugee crisis and the crisis in the Middle East needs to be acknowledged and urgently addressed. Humanitarian action starts when politics fails, and the global failure to address the causes and the consequences of the crisis in the Middle East has led to the mass exodus that has now reached Europe. This humanitarian crisis, which now reaches all the way from Syria and Iraq into the middle of Europe, requires urgent action, in terms of both assistance and protection, inside the conflict areas, in the refugee camps on the periphery, all along the displacement routes and at the refugees' final destination.

While a humanitarian response is urgently needed to address the refugee crisis, it is important not to instrumentalise humanitarian action for other purposes.

Syrian refugees in Domeez camp, Iraqi Kurdistan, 2013

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[44] Valletta Summit on migration, 11-12 November 2015, European Council, Council of the European Union: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2015/11/11-12/

The Action Plan's objectives to tackle the "root causes" of migration should not be addressed through a humanitarian logic. Humanitarian action cannot and should not be presented as a tool to help in the management of migratory flows. People should not be assisted to prevent them from coming to Europe, but because they are in need of assistance.
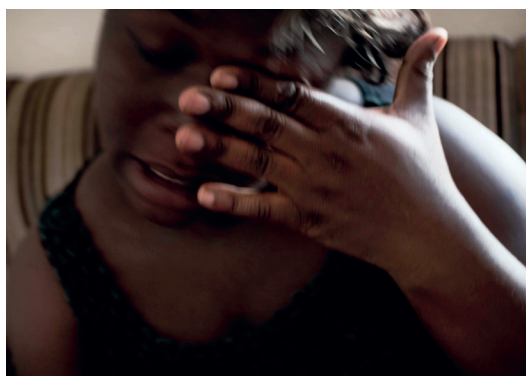
Protection

MSF welcomes the inclusion of protection as a key area of the discussions, but finds little to suggest that known concerns will be sufficiently addressed. From what MSF understands of the agenda it does not include, for example, addressing the medical and humanitarian consequences of restrictive migration policies, which include violence, sexual violence, prolonged detention and expulsions to fragile states, including but not exclusive to that which we have documented here.

Under protection, asylum processing centres in North African states and key transit countries will be discussed. While in principle the ability to process asylum claims outside the EU could prevent people from having to risk their lives to reach Europe, in practice there are a number of serious concerns. Any such measures would need to ensure that protection remains the guiding principle. So far no concrete details exist as to how such processing centres would work. There is a danger that processing centres could turn into asylum camps or immigration detention centres in remote locations. There is a lack of clarity about what laws would apply inside such centres. It is also not clear how and to whom the centres would be accountable, how people's basic needs would be guaranteed, and what would happen to those who failed to obtain asylum status.

The key area of protection also includes a number of initiatives which are already in place, such as the Regional Protection Programmes,[45] and the expansion of the IOM Niger Centre in Agadez.[46] While there may be some value in these initiatives, the EU's stated ambition is that these should complement actions such as *"assistance to Niger in drafting its national migration strategy, and the reinforcement of the EUCAP Sahel mission which includes a focus on strengthening border control measures."* Based on our experience, MSF's concern is that such measures could further criminalise asylum seekers, refugees and migrants, and leave them even more vulnerable to abuse.

A survivor of sexual violence in Morocco assisted by MSF, 2013

© Susana Oñoro

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[45] European Commission: Migration and Home Affairs: Regional Protection Programmes: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/external-aspects/index_en.htm

[46] IOM opens Agadez Transit Centre in Niger Desert, IOM, 14 November 2014: https://www.iom.int/news/iom-opens-agadez-transit-centre-niger-desert

Focus on returns and readmissions

Ultimately, the continued emphasis on securing return and readmission agreements at Valletta suggests at best a narrow definition of protection. The key words may be there, but there appears to be little to make the rhetoric match reality.

The failings in protection are illustrated by the continued attempts to deport large numbers of people whose asylum applications have been rejected, by the fact that some countries consider Eritrea a "safe country" - despite the damning UN Human Rights Commission report from June 2015[47] detailing high levels of persecution and gross abuses, and despite the high rate of successful asylum applications made by Eritreans in Europe in 2014 - while the fact that the UNHCR has had to urge states that returns to Libya are not appropriate in the current climate is a serious cause for concern.

Return and readmission agreements should only be considered with countries that have proven they are willing and able to commit to protection of basic rights for all people coming through their territories. Moreover, any third countries that are expected to manage returns and asylum processing must be both willing and capable of doing so.

Conclusions

MSF recognises that some limited action has been taken by the EU in 2015 to deal with the refugee crisis, such as the September resettlement package,[48] although in no way does the response match the scale of the crisis nor deal with the chronic lack of safe and legal routes. MSF also recognises that migration cooperation deals contain an increasing number of references to protection and the need to respect human rights and asylum and refugee laws. Yet, all too often the rhetoric does not match the reality. Words of concern are not enough, especially when they are contradicted by actions, including building physical barriers and putting pressure on other states to actively stop migration and refugee flows.

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[47] Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in Eritrea, UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 8 June 2015: http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/CoIEritrea/Pages/ReportCoIEritrea.aspx

[48] The agreement to resettle 120,000 Syrian refugees is additional to the earlier agreed relocation of 40,000 refugees from Italy and Greece. Refugee Crisis: European Commission takes decisive action, 9 September 2015. European Commission: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-5596_en.htm

When positive action is taken, as in the EU's outlawing of pushbacks in 2014, it should be a cause for celebration. But Spain's attempts to circumvent the ruling through its own national laws is just one example of how asylum and refugee law is being silently eroded, with devastating humanitarian consequences.

Other measures – such as the "Action Plan on return," the Valletta Summit's focus on return and readmission, the cancellation of the Mare Nostrum programme, and the launch of EUNAVFOR/Operation Sophia – imply that the trends of the past two decades are set to continue. They suggest that Europe will continue to build barriers, to push away the problem away and to "support" others to manage it. At the same time, the consequences of these policies remain hidden in the desert, and in detention centres, far from the eyes of the European public.

This approach, as we have attempted to illustrate, has serious humanitarian and medical consequences. People are vulnerable to abuses such as prolonged detention and physical, psychological and sexual violence, at borders and in the course of their dangerous journeys, putting their health and lives at risk.

A migrant held in a Moroccan detention centre, 2005

Ultimately, an inherent contradiction exists between respect for basic rights and a migration agenda grounded in securitisation. For too long, the EU and its member states have turned a blind eye to the humanitarian consequences of their restrictive migration policies. These can no longer be considered an acceptable strategy. Those countries within the AU must also take action to ensure that they uphold basic human rights laws within their territories and end abuses of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in their territories.

At Valletta and beyond, MSF urges EU member states and their African partners to remember that people on the move are just that – people. MSF calls on the EU and AU and their respective member states, in full respect of international and national refugee and asylum laws, to develop and implement protection mechanisms which ensure that all people in flight are treated in a humane and dignified manner.

Annex 1

MSF and others, including human rights organisations, UN agencies, lawyers, academics and journalists have long highlighted abuses related to pushbacks, detention and readmission in numerous countries. A non-exhaustive list of some relevant reports is provided here:

Reports by MSF

Invisible Suffering: Prolonged and systematic detention of migrants and asylum seekers in substandard conditions in Greece, MSF 2014	www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/invisible_suffering.pdf
The illness of migration, MSF 2013	www.aerzte-ohne-grenzen.de/sites/germany/files/attachments/msf-the-illness-of-migration-2013.pdf
Violence, vulnerability and migration: Trapped at the gates of Europe, MSF 2013	www.trappedinmorocco.org/doc/2013.pdf
From North Africa to Italy: Seeking refuge, finding suffering, MSF 2011	www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/old-cms/fms/article-documents/Lampedusa_Seeking_Refuge_Finding_Suffering.pdf
Sweet sixty? The 60th anniversary of the UN Refugee Convention: refugee crises in 2011 and challenges for the future, MSF 2011	www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/sweet_sixty.pdf
Sexual violence and migration: The hidden reality of sub-Saharan women trapped in Morocco en route to Europe, MSF 2010	www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/old-cms/fms/article-images/2010-00/Sexual_violence_morocco.pdf
Migrants in detention: Lives on hold, MSF 2010	www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/old-cms/fms/article-images/2010-00/Migrants_in_detention.pdf
On the other side of the wall: Italy's migrant centres, MSF 2010	www.msf.org/article/other-side-wall-msfs-second-report-italys-migrant-centres
Emergency intervention in migrants' detention facilities in Evros, MSF 2010	www.doctorswithoutborders.org/sites/usa/files/final_1106_Report_Evros_EN.pdf
Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers: Vulnerable people at Europe's doorstep, MSF 2009	www.doctorswithoutborders.org/sites/usa/files/MSF-Migrants-Refugees-AsslymSeekers.pdf
Not criminals: MSF exposes conditions for undocumented migrants and asylum seekers in Maltese detention centres, MSF 2009	www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/old-cms/fms/article-images/2009-00/2009_04_report_Malta.pdf
No choice: Somali and Ethiopian refugees, asylum seekers and migrants crossing the Gulf of Aden, MSF 2008	www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/old-cms/fms/article-images/2008-00/MSF_report_no_choice.pdf
Violence and immigration in Morocco, MSF, 2005	www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/old-cms/fms/article-images/2005-00/morocco_2005.pdf

Reports by other agencies and entities

EU cooperation with third countries in the field of migration, Study for the Libe Committee, European Parliament Directorate-General for Internal Policies, October 2015	www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536469/IPOL_STU%282015%29536469_EN.pdf
The human cost of Fortress Europe, Amnesty International 2014	www.amnesty.eu/content/assets/Reports/EUR_050012014__Fortress_Europe_complete_web_EN.pdf
Fatal journeys: Tracking lives lost during migration, IOM 2014	publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/FatalJourneys_CountingtheUncounted.pdf
Morocco: Abuse of sub-Saharan migrants, Human Rights Watch	www.hrw.org/news/2014/02/10/morocco-abuse-sub-saharan-migrants,
Scapegoats of fear: Rights of refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants abused in Libya, Amnesty International 2013	www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde19/007/2013/en/
Shifting borders: Externalising migrant vulnerabilities and rights? Red Cross EU Office, in partnership with the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies 2013	redcross.eu/en/upload/documents/pdf/2013/Migration/Shifting_Borders_Externalizing_migrant_vulnerabilities_rights_Red_Cross_EU_Office.pdf
Libya: Rule of law or rule of militias?: Amnesty International 2012	www.amnestyusa.org/research/reports/libya-rule-of-law-or-rule-of-militias
S.O.S. Europe: Human rights and migration control, Amnesty International 2012	www.amnesty.org/en/documents/EUR01/013/2012/en/
Migrants caught in crisis: The IOM experience in Libya, International Organization for Migration 2012	publications.iom.int/books/migrants-caught-crisis-iom-experience-libyaule of
Seeking safety, finding fear: Refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants in Libya and Malta, Amnesty International 2010	www.amnesty.org/en/documents/REG01/004/2010/en/
Access to protection denied: Refoulement of refugees and minors on the eastern borders of the EU – the case of Hungary, Slovakia and Ukraine, Border Monitoring Project Ukraine 2010	bordermonitoring-ukraine.eu/2010/11/18/access-to-protection-denied-refoulement-of-refugees-and-minors-on-the-eastern-borders-of-the-eu-%E2%80%93-the-case-of-hungary-slovakia-and-ukraine/
Pushed Back, Pushed Around: Italy's Forced Return of Boat Migrants and Asylum Seekers, Libya's Mistreatment of Migrants and Asylum Seekers, Human Rights Watch 2009	www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/italy0909web_0.pdf
Mauritania: Nobody wants to have anything to do with us: Arrests and collective expulsions of migrants denied entry into Europe, Amnesty International 2008	www.amnesty.eu/en/news/statements-reports/eu/asylum-and-migration/mauritania-nobody-wants-to-have-anything-to-do-with-us-0316/#.VjdtiSs7dKU
EU: Outsourcing migration control puts human rights at risk, Human Rights Watch 2006	www.hrw.org/news/2006/10/15/eu-outsourcing-migration-control-puts-human-rights-risk