



Civil MRCC

Coordination and  
documentation  
platform for people in  
distress in the Central  
Mediterranean

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N°19

November  
2025

ECHOES

From the Central  
Mediterranean



Picture: CC-BY-SA f.Lotta –  
Occupation of the Central Mediterranean, September 2025

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# WE ARE HERE, AND WE WILL FIGHT!

While Libyan militias escalate their crimes at sea, shooting at rescue ships and people on the move, the network *Refugees in Libya* have organised an impressive mobilisation against the EU complicity and its “deal of death.” As Italian authorities continue to obstruct sea rescue efforts, several NGOs have launched the *Justice Fleet* campaign, a collective response of solidarity and resistance. At the same time, as EU governments push to expand systems of detention and deterrence through the new Migration and Asylum Pact, self-organised and anti-racist networks have joined forces in a powerful chain of actions. Together, they marked the 10th anniversary of the Summer of Migration, declaring loud and clear, - to complete the headline above: “Freedom of movement is everybody’s right!”. Their voices rise across borders, defying fear, reclaiming dignity, and demanding justice for all on the move.

In 2025:

- **59,295** people **arrived to Italy** and Malta by sea, many of whom arrived autonomously (UNHCR figures up to 1 November)
- **12,192** people were **rescued by the Civil fleet** from almost 230 boats in distress (CMRCC figure up to September 10)
- **22,945** people were **pushed back to Libya** after they were intercepted by the EU-supported so-called Libyan Coast Guard (IOM figure up to 1 November)
- **1.044** people have been reported **dead or missing** on the Central Mediterranean Route (IOM figure up to 1 November)

# POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

## RESISTANCE, FROM THE SHORES OF LAMPEDUSA TO BRUSSELS



### The Brutalization of the Border Regime

Over the past ten weeks, the Central Mediterranean has once again revealed itself as a deeply contested space, a theatre of repression, violence, and impunity at Europe's maritime frontier. The EU's ongoing cooperation with Libyan militias has intensified, transforming the sea into a zone of militarized control and human rights abuse. In late August and again in late September, civil rescue ships such as the *Ocean Viking* and *Sea-Watch 5* came under direct fire from Libyan militias, acts of aggression that starkly expose the deadly consequences of European outsourcing of border enforcement. These attacks, far from isolated incidents, are part of a long continuum of violence sustained by EU funding, training, and political support for Libyan armed groups to purportedly stem "migration flows."

The pattern of brutality has become systematic. A recent *Sea-Watch* report (14 October 2025) documented sixty violent incidents by the so-called Libyan coastguards since 2016, targeting both people on the move and humanitarian actors at sea. The European Court of Human Rights is now pressing Italy to answer for its failure to surrender a suspected Libyan torturer to the International Criminal Court, while 122 European officials have been named in legal actions for alleged crimes against humanity in connection with the Central Mediterranean route. These cases illustrate the depth of complicity at the institutional level: the EU's deterrence-based border regime functions through externalization.

As the repression escalates, governments have also targeted solidarity itself. Civil rescue operations face criminalization, administrative blockades, and smear campaigns. Trials against rescue organizations, such as *Mediterranea*, continue in Ragusa, while activists in Tunisia face harassment and prosecution. The recent suspension of the Tunisian organization *FTDES* underscores how repression extends beyond the sea, aiming to silence voices that document and resist abuses.

### The Persistence of Resistance and Solidarity

Yet, alongside this deepening violence, movements of resistance and solidarity continue to grow, both at sea and on land. In the same ten-week period, a wide

array of protests, legal interventions, and commemorative actions have unfolded across Europe and North Africa, reclaiming freedom of movement and the right to rescue. Civil sea rescue organizations remain steadfast: despite attacks, the *civil fleet* continues its operations, providing life-saving assistance where states fail or actively obstruct the duty to rescue.

From early September's SAR – Solidarity and Resistance Camp near Berlin to the f.Lotta protest at sea, activists and collectives have coordinated cross-border mobilizations demanding an end to the EU-Libya deal and to border violence. Later in the month, simultaneous protests took place in Agadez and Geneva to denounce the role of IOM and UNHCR in the EU externalization policies.

Advocacy has also intensified: over forty human rights organizations and members of the European Parliament have called on the European Commission to halt funding and cooperation with Libyan entities responsible for abuse. Mid-October, action days in Rome brought survivors from *Refugees in Libya* and supporters to the streets to oppose the renewal of the bloody Memorandum of understanding (MoU) signed between Italy and Libya.

Commemorations such as the 12th anniversary of the Lampedusa shipwreck on 3 October serve as powerful reminders of the human cost of border militarization and as spaces of collective mourning and resistance. The month closed with coordinated workshops and protests in Albania against migrant detention, followed by a series of events in Brussels marking ten years of civil sea rescue and launching the *Justice Fleet* campaign, a call for accountability and a reaffirmation that solidarity is not a crime.

In this landscape of repression, resistance takes many forms: solidarity at sea, legal challenges in courtrooms, public protests, and the daily work of self-organized communities of people on the move. Together, we form an enduring network of defiance and care, a counter-force to the violence of the border regime and a living practice of transnational solidarity.

*Echoes editorial team*

# Ten Weeks of Defiance!

|                       |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>24.08.2025</b>     | <u>Shootings</u> by Libyan militias on Ocean Viking (p. 4)                                                                                                                               |
| <b>04-07.09.2025</b>  | A <u>SAR camp</u> is organized near Berlin by actors from the civil fleet (p. 21)                                                                                                        |
| <b>10-18.09.2025</b>  | <u>F.Lotta</u> : occupation of the Central Mediterranean (p. 22)                                                                                                                         |
| <b>12-13.09.2025</b>  | Campaign <u>UNFAIR 2.0</u> organised in Geneva by <i>Refugees in Libya</i> , Publication of the Book of Shame. Simultaneous protest in Agadez                                            |
| <b>23.09.2025</b>     | <u>Open Letter</u> from 42 human rights organizations to EU Commission to Stop Funding Abuse in Libya                                                                                    |
| <b>26.09.2025</b>     | <u>Shooting</u> by Libyan militias on the Sea Watch5                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>03.10.2025</b>     | 12th anniversary of Lampedusa shipwreck, <u>text</u> written by Father Mussie Zerai and CommorActions                                                                                    |
| <b>08.10.2025</b>     | The court of Trapani <u>rules</u> in favor of Mediterranea: detention of the ship suspended, Piantedosi decree resoundingly refuted                                                      |
| <b>09.10.2025</b>     | The Italian Chamber of Deputies has <u>denied</u> authorization to proceed in the Almasri case against Ministers Carlo Nordio and Matteo Piantedosi and Undersecretary Alfredo Mantovano |
| <b>13.10.2025</b>     | Libyan militia "TBZ" made a <u>shooting</u> attack against people on the move                                                                                                            |
| <b>14.10.2025</b>     | Sea-Watch publishes a <u>report</u> compiling 60 violent incidents involving the so-called Libyan coastguard, since 2016 (p.15)                                                          |
| <b>14.10.2025</b>     | ECCHR <u>press release</u> : Italy to answer to European Court of Human Rights after failure to surrender suspected Libyan torturer to the ICC (p.10)                                    |
| <b>14-18.10.2025</b>  | <u>Action days against Italy-Libya Memorandum of understanding</u> , stage of survivors in the city center of Rome (p.18)                                                                |
| <b>16.10.2025</b>     | Front-lex <u>press release</u> "122 European officials suspected of Crimes Against Humanity against 'migrants' in the Central Mediterranean route" (p.15)                                |
| <b>21.10.2025</b>     | Start of the <u>Trial against Mediterranea</u> in Ragusa (p.25)                                                                                                                          |
| <b>21.10.2025</b>     | Publication of an <u>open letter</u> written 40 MEPs to EU-Commission to halt EU support to Libyan entities                                                                              |
| <b>27.10.2025</b>     | <u>Suspension of the activities</u> of the civil society organisation "FTDES", supporting people on the move in Tunisia                                                                  |
| <b>31.10-02.11.25</b> | <u>Protest days</u> and workshops from network against migrant detentions in Shengjin, Gädër and Tirana (p.25)                                                                           |
| <b>04.11.2025</b>     | 10 years Sea Rescue <u>event</u> at the European Parliament and <u>Stage of Survivors</u> in Brussels (p. 18)                                                                            |
| <b>05.11.2025</b>     | Press conference and launch of the <u>Justice Fleet</u> campaign in Brussels (p.26)                                                                                                      |



# IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE!

## A DIARY OF RESCUE COORDINATION BY CIVIL ACTORS IN THE CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN SEA

The following section provides an overview of the level and impact of rescue coordination by civil actors in the Central Mediterranean Sea, using brief reports and social media extracts.

### JULY 2025

- July 3** 2 iron boats in the Central Med, carrying 60 & 52 people, almost sinking, were ignored by authorities for many hours after alerts from **Alarm Phone**. Only the sailing boat **Garganey VI** responded, rescuing the first boat and assisting the second until the Italian Coast Guards eventually arrived.
- July 4** Frontex spotted a boat in distress, a speedboat, probably a Libyan militia, moved in. **Sea-Watch** was there first with their rescue boat **Aurora** and were able to rescue everyone. Everyone arrived safely in Lampedusa.
- NADIR** assisted 59 people, after Seabird 3 had spotted the wooden boat in distress. After assessing the situation, the crew quickly embarked all survivors and sailed towards the port of Lampedusa.
- July 10** 50 people were rescued by **Louise Michel** after an alert launched by **Alarm Phone**
- July 11** The crew of **Humanity 1** rescued over 20 people, including unaccompanied minors, from distress at sea.
- July 12** **Ocean Viking** rescued 16 survivors in the Libyan search and rescue area (SRR) and received Ravenna as port of disembarkation.
- Sea Watch** stabilized a boat carrying around 40 people with the boat **Aurora** and distributed life jackets until the Italian coast guard arrived.
- July 14** **Sea Watch** supported about 150 people in distress. After the **Alarm phone** alerted the NGO to a dinghy in distress, the crew of **Aurora** immediately set out. On the way, Aurora found another boat. The situation was stabilized until the Italian coastguard arrived. Meanwhile, the civil sailboat **Dakini** reached the people in distress that Aurora had been searching for initially. When the crew of Sea Watch arrived, all the people were taken on board the Aurora.
- July 18** The crew of **Humanity 1** rescued over 40 people who were severely weakened and exhausted after at least five days at sea.
- July 28** **Trotamar III** was on its way to Lampedusa on the instructions of the authorities when the crew learned of two distress cases nearby. The crew of the **Trotamar III** turned around and shortly afterwards encountered an overcrowded blue wooden boat. The crew of the boat accompanied the people towards Lampedusa.
- July 31** **NADIR** located a boat at high risk of sinking, after being informed by the plane of **Sea Watch**. The 36 people had been at sea for 6 days in up to 2m high waves. They reported that over a dozen people had gone overboard. Hours later, the NADIR crew was able to rescue 12 more survivors from the water. 3 people are believed to be still missing. Right after, the crew of **Tromatar III** joined the search while European authorities remained inactive.



**SOS MEDITERRANEE**  
@SOSMedIntl

At 7am, we rescued 16 survivors in the Libyan SRR. With Ravenna assigned as place of safety - over 1,600 km away - the journey is long. The extreme distance to safe ports and the scarcity of Search and Rescue assets highlights huge operational and humanitarian challenges.



3:28 PM · Jul 12, 2025 · 1,838 Views

## AUGUST 2025

- August 2** **Ocean Viking** received an alert from **Seabird**, the aircraft of Sea Watch regarding a distressed vessel with 37 people on board in international waters in the Libyan SRR. After receiving approval to proceed from the competent authorities, Ocean Viking rescued the people.
- August 6** **Emergency** carried out three rescues of 31, 47, and 69 people. A patient was evacuated by the Italian Coast Guard Helicopter for medical reasons.
- August 11** The crew of the **Sea-Watch 5** rescued 73 people in two separate rescue operations.
- August 16** The crew of **Humanity 1** rescued over 130 people from two fibreglass boats in distress in international waters. The boats were unseaworthy, overcrowded, and had no life-saving equipment.
- August 23** The **NADIR** crew rescued 65 people from a flooded, overcrowded rubber boat in the early morning. The group had departed Zuwara, Libya, the day before. Three sisters aged 9, 11 and 17 drowned in the Central Med, another person remains missing. The medical team of Nadir attempted resuscitation, but without success.
- Ocean Viking** rescued 47 people, including 9 unaccompanied minors from a rubber boat in distress in international waters off Libya following an alert by **Alarm Phone**. Most are fleeing the war-torn Sudan.
- August 24** 65 people were rescued by the crew of the **Sea-Watch 5**. Several people – including 2 pregnant women, one close to labor, and children – needed medical evacuation with the helicopter to Lampedusa.
- August 31** The **Sea-eye** crew rescued 144 people from an unseaworthy wooden boat, including a pregnant woman.

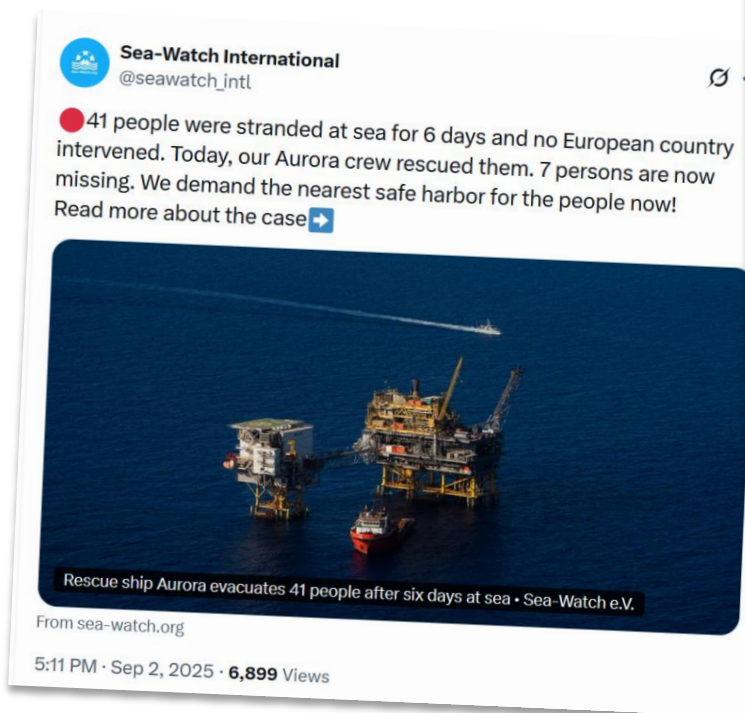


## SEPTEMBER 2025

- September 2** 41 people were stranded at sea for 6 days on the merchant vessel Maridive 208 and no European country intervened. On September 2nd, the **Aurora** crew rescued them. 7 persons remain missing.
- September 6** The Sea-Watch vessel **Aurora** rescued 75 people from a boat in distress, which was reported by **Alarm Phone**.
- September 15** 26 people are taken on board the **Louise Michel** after an alert from **Alarm Phone** and a spotting by Sea-Watch's aircraft, **Seabird**.
- September 16** An iron boat was about to sink about 83 km off Lampedusa. One woman died, and another is missing. About 50 survivors were rescued & the body of the deceased was recovered with help from the civilian rescue ship **Dakini** and with the support of the **Seabird** aircraft of Sea-Watch.
- September 26** 26 survivors were rescued by the **Sea Watch 5**, during an armed attack by a Libyan militia, opening fire. The day after, the ship rescued another boat, reaching a total of 124 survivors on board.

## OCTOBER 2025

- October 4** The crew of **Humanity 1** rescued 41 people who had been in distress at sea for more than four days in an overcrowded rubber dinghy.
- October 6** The **Sea-Watch 5** crew rescued 79 people who were left to die by Europe's deterrence policies. On the way north, the crew was alerted twice to other distress cases. Both times, Sea-Watch 5 altered course but did not find the boats.
- October 12** The crew of **Nadir** spotted 56 people, including several minors, crowded onto a rubber boat that was taking on water. After distributing life vests, the crew brought everyone safely onboard.
- October 15** **Louise Michel** rescued 32 people from a rubber boat after an alert launched by **Alarm Phone**.
- October 24** **Louise Michel** rescued 35 people from distress at sea. The people disembarked in Catania where the Italian police photographed them and forced a woman to remove her hijab.
- October 26** The crew of **Trotamar III** stabilized a boat in distress with 70 people until the Italian coast guard took everyone on board.





# LEGAL FRAGMENT

## TOWARDS NEW LEGAL BATTLEGROUND?

### REFLECTIONS ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN COURT OF JUSTICE RULINGS IN LIGHT OF THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE EUROPEAN PACT ON MIGRATION

The European Pact on Migration and Asylum is set to enter into force in June 2026, yet since its approval in June 2024, some of the changes it introduced have been the subject of radical legal battles at the local, national, and European levels.

As we monitored over the past year, legal battlegrounds around border procedures started in Sicily between 2023 and 2024 – where the judges of the specialized immigration sections of Catania and Palermo had refused to validate the detention of asylum seekers from supposedly safe countries of origin – then continued at the Court of Rome – competent for the validation of detentions in Albania – and finally reached the Court of Justice of the European Union.

The subject of debate in the latter forum, which – due to its relevance – would then have an impact on the decisions taken by the Italian courts, was essentially two issues, namely: a) the criteria to be adopted in

order to classify a country of origin as safe and b) the possibility – or duty – of judges in Member States to disapply measures or rules deemed unlawful or contrary to the principles and standards of European Union law.

Certainly, the ‘list of safe countries of origin’ – drawn up by Italy and published in the form of an interministerial decree – was one of these, so much so that the Italian government, with the aim of strengthening its nature and ‘protecting its content’, had proceeded to transform it into law. Fortunately, the Court of Justice of the European Union would later reiterate the need for judges to disapply any act potentially contrary to EU law, and this is what happened.

Since 2023, in various forums, the debate on the concept of Safe Country of Origin (SCO) had become increasingly central and decisive. In Italy, starting with the controversial Cutro decree (then converted in



Picture: Demonstration in Albania,  
Alessandro Murtas

Law 50/2023) and continuing with the agreement signed between Italy and Albania, it had become a key criterion in the processes of access to the right of asylum: no longer just, as in the past, a means of channelling asylum seekers into accelerated rather than ordinary procedures, but also a means of selecting people to be subjected to measures of deprivation of personal liberty on Italian territory, or possibly to forced transfers by sea to Albania, where they would be subjected to forms of extraterritorial detention.

However, the obstacles that emerged at the judicial level—through the non-validation of detentions and, therefore, orders for the release of detained persons—had caused the government's plans to fail, leaving first the centres in Ragusa-Modica and Porto Empedocle empty, and then the facilities built in Gjadër, Albania. Furthermore, faced with the impossibility of implementing the Italy-Albania agreement in its original form, confirmed by the failure of three experiments, the Italian government was forced to modify the nature of the facilities on site, redefining their intended use and allowing them to be 'filled' with people already detained in Italian CPRs, without the need for new validations.

In light of these events – already discussed here and here – this article aims to reflect on the impact – or possible legacy – of the ECJ's decisions in view of the imminent entry into force of the European Pact on Migration.

### **The ECJ's decision of August 1, 2025, in line with that of October 4, 2024**

On August 1, 2025, the Court of Justice of the European Union adopted an important decision on the reunited cases of Alace and Canpelli.<sup>[1]</sup> These cases originated from two preliminary rulings by the Civil Court of Rome concerning two Bangladeshi citizens who had been transferred to Albania as part of the second trial of the procedures provided for in the agreement. In referring the cases to the ECJ, the Court of Rome – which has jurisdiction over the validation of detentions in Albania – asked the court to rule on two points. Firstly, regarding the concept of a safe country of origin – in this case Bangladesh – and therefore the criteria used to qualify it as such, as well as the legitimacy of this qualification; secondly, on the possibility for an ordinary court, such as that of Rome, to disapply the list of safe countries, as it is not consistent with European standards and At the first hearing – on February 25, 2025 – the European Commission radically reversed its position, arguing that it was possible to consider a country a safe country of origin despite the presence of exceptions

for certain categories of the population and parts of the territory. This possibility had already been ruled out by the Court in its October 2024 decision, when it intervened on the issue at the request of the Czech Republic.

Nevertheless, in its decision of August 1, 2025, the ECJ ruled in full continuity with its decision of October 4, 2024, on two fundamental issues. First, the correct interpretation of the concept of a safe country of origin, which, according to Article 37 of the Procedures Directive, could not provide for exceptions with respect to parts of the territory or categories of persons. A safe country of origin, therefore, had to be 'consistently and generally' safe, with no exceptions for specific categories of persons or parts of the territory.

Furthermore, on the second point, the Court established the autonomy of judges to exercise their function of 'legal control' over any sources of law that conflict with EU law and, where necessary, to disapply them. Several Italian judges had already begun to exercise this function since 2023, and in greater numbers after the October 2024 decision on the CV case. However, this ruling gave greater legitimacy to their actions.

The Italian government's critical response to this decision—in its attempt to highlight an alleged "intrusion" by the judiciary into "political matters"—ended up emphasizing its very broad scope. A statement from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers read: "The decision of the EU Court of Justice regarding the safe countries of origin of illegal migrants is surprising. Once again, the judiciary, this time European, is claiming powers that do not belong to it, in the face of responsibilities that are political. The EU Court of Justice has decided to hand over to any national judge the decision not on individual cases, but on the part of migration policy relating to the regulation of returns and expulsions of irregular migrants."

Once again, a judicial body found itself "hindering" the Italian government's plans to radically limit access to asylum and its recognition through accelerated procedures at the border and the detention of asylum seekers, first within and then outside Italian territory.

However, the legacy of these decisions in terms of the effective protection of the right to asylum would be severely tested by the increasingly imminent entry into force of the European Pact on Migration.



## The European Pact: from procedural regulations to screening, to the 'force majeure' directive and the return regulation

From June 2026 on, the European Pact will enter into force, enabling the application of various provisions contained in the 10 legislative acts that it introduces. In view of the general translation of the directives on asylum – qualification (EU 2024/1347) and procedures (EU 2024/1348) – into more 'binding' regulations, and thus the limitation of the autonomy of member states in their transposition, the European Pact would bring with it new developments regarding access to the right to asylum, that entail a real erosion of refugee's rights.

Firstly, the possibility of considering a country of origin safe despite the existence of exceptions 'to its safety', both territorial in nature and about certain categories of persons – and thus the expansion of potentially safe countries of origin and the number of persons to be channelled into less protective accelerated procedures at the border. Secondly, the introduction of a new 'criterion' for channelling people into such procedures, namely the '20% rate of recognition of international protection for persons from a given country'. As is well known, recognition rates at first instance are often low, as most of the battles are then fought on appeal, i.e. in court. Furthermore, this criterion did not appear to be in any way capable of taking into account the security of a country of origin, partly—but not only—because of

the time lag between "unrecognized" asylum applications and the submission of those "affected" by the same mechanism.

Furthermore, in its proposal for a return regulation, the pact introduced an increasingly binding link between the denial of asylum and the urgency of returning persons 'excluded from any form of protection' – which materialized in the practice of continuous detention from arrival to return.

The close connection between the border procedures provided for in the new screening regulation (2024/1356) and the proposal for the return regulation was further emphasized in the European Commission's Communication on the "State of play on the implementation of the Pact on Migration and Asylum" of June 11, 2025, one year after its adoption and entry into force. In "building block 2" – referring to 'A new system to manage migration at the EU external borders', the Commission made direct reference to the establishment of new 'multipurpose centres, that combine screening and the asylum and return border procedures', to be defined with the support of the EUAA and Frontex agencies, and gave Member States until April 2026 to communicate the locations where the new border procedures would be implemented.

While, on the one hand, the introduction of these new "multipurpose centres" opens up new room for manoeuvre for governments, where it is possible to further restrict access to asylum, the effective access

*Picture: Protest in front of the detention facility in Gjäder, Albania  
Alessandro Murtas*



of detained persons to information, communication with the outside world, and therefore the exercise of the right of defence, thus violating the rights of persons on the move, on the other hand, it constitutes a new area of struggle, both legally and politically.

The European Commission itself seems to be aware of the possible proliferation of legal battles around the new border screening procedures, (lack of) access to asylum, and returns, and identifies “necessary cooperation with judicial authorities” as an indispensable element for their implementation.

*“The implementation of the mandatory border procedure will need to be accompanied by an independent fundamental rights monitoring mechanism (see section 3.10) and **rely on effective cooperation with the judiciary** to meet the deadlines and take account of procedural changes introduced by the Pact. **Member States have identified cooperation with the judiciary as an important element of the implementation process.** This requires taking into account the additional needs of the judiciary, ensuring the independence of the judiciary and meeting the requirements established by EU law for courts or tribunals.”*

### **Sicily as a testing ground, again: towards new litigation and new struggles?**

In line with the past, Sicily would have been set up as a testing ground for the new border procedures provided for in the pact – including identity checks, biometric data collection, coordinated support for returns, with Frontex playing a central role. Between August 13 and 24, the Frontex agency will travel to the island of Lampedusa to test a new “screening toolbox” on 240 people who just arrived by sea. To date, no information is available on the nature of this tool, and it is therefore too early to assess the impact that it – and the other measures introduced by the

pact – will have on people who have survived the Mediterranean crossing and on asylum seekers. We know that accelerated procedures at the border tend to undermine the guarantees afforded to asylum seekers and further empty them of their content, and we imagine that the new measures introduced by the pact will seek to have exactly the same effect.

Yet the legacy of the legal battles fought at the local, national, and European levels in recent years exists and cannot be erased. The judiciary has de facto blocked illegitimate political designs, in the simple, honest, and courageous exercise of its prerogatives. The judges who—speaking out one after another in failing to validate detentions and ordering the release of asylum seekers—have done so with reference to an existing framework of protections at the constitutional, European, and international levels. We are well aware of the ambiguities and know that it is not appropriate to idealize it, yet we feel it is necessary to recognize that – if the aim is to protect people on the move, their desires, their expectations, and their rights, and to continue to challenge in court policies that would undermine, criminalize, and demean them – legal battles will continue to be an important part of their protection. While it is difficult to imagine what form these battles will take – as well as extremely premature – we expect them to continue to multiply.

It will be important for civil society to continue to monitor the implementation of the Pact and to engage with people who are forcibly detained and deported, denouncing the violence and violations to which they are exposed. Only these alliances and dialogues can fuel the challenges to increasingly discriminatory, racialized, violent, and dehumanizing border and asylum management policies.

**Chiara Denaro, Sicily Monitoring Project**

## **SURVIVOR BRINGS ITALY BEFORE THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AFTER FAILURE TO SURRENDER LIBYAN TORTURER ELMASRY TO THE ICC**

For the first time, the European Court of Human Rights will examine a state’s failure to hand over a suspect wanted by the International Criminal Court (ICC). A sub-Saharan survivor of torture in Libya has filed an application against Italy for failing to cooperate with the ICC or to conduct its own effective investigation into the crimes of Osama Elmasry Njeem (also known as Almasri), a senior commander of the so-called Special Deterrence Force (“Al-

Radaa”) who oversaw detention sites where Libyans as well as migrants and refugees were subjected to torture, forced labor, and sexual violence.

Represented by a legal team led by Chantal Meloni and Andrea Saccucci, with the support of the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR) and Refugees in Libya (RiL), the survivor’s complaint argues that Italy violated its



procedural obligations under Articles 2 and 3 ECHR, namely its duties to cooperate with international justice mechanisms and to conduct effective investigations into violations of the right to life and the prohibition on torture. After a preliminary review, the European Court formally registered the application and will now examine the case.

In January 2025, Italian authorities arrested Elmasry in Turin on an ICC warrant for crimes against humanity and war crimes. Due to the failure of the Justice Minister to fulfil his cooperation duties under Italian law and the ICC Statute, Elmasry's release was ordered by Rome's Court of Appeal and the suspect was rushed to Libya on an Italian state-owned plane. "By releasing Almasri, Italy obstructed justice and denied victims any prospect of accountability," says Chantal Meloni. This case therefore asks the European Court to affirm that cooperation with international justice is not optional, but a human-rights obligation.

The applicant had been intercepted at sea by the EU- and Italy-funded so-called Libyan Coast Guard and detained under Elmasry's command at Mitiga airbase. His complaint to Strasbourg seeks recognition that Italy's conduct denied victims access to justice. "Italy and Libya must end their deadly collaboration," says a spokesperson for Refugees in Libya. "By releasing Almasri, the Italian government has victimized the survivors all over again."

The ICC has investigated crimes in Libya since 2011, including against migrants and refugees there. Yet, as

ECtHR and RiL emphasize, these investigations have so far failed to address the role of European actors whose cooperation with Libyan authorities enables such crimes. On 17 October 2025, the ICC's Pre-Trial Chamber1 found Italy in non-compliance with its cooperation obligations under the Rome Statute for failing to surrender Elmasry, underscoring the seriousness of the state's breach now also before the ECtHR.

The ICC's finding came in the same week that Italy's parliament voted to renew the Italy-Libya Memorandum of Understanding, despite parliamentary opposition and a survivor-led civil society campaign demanding an end to this cooperation. Germany's parliament likewise extended its participation in the EU naval mission IRINI, dropping a clause that barred training of the so-called Libyan Coast Guard. Both developments are a reminder that European migration-control policies remain deeply entangled with Libya's criminal detention industry.

The Strasbourg case will test how far European courts are prepared to enforce states' duties to cooperate with international justice. At the same time, Italy's failure to surrender or investigate Elmasry highlights a broader gap in accountability — one that the ICC must also confront by examining the role of EU and Member State officials in crimes against migrants and refugees in Libya and the Mediterranean.

**Allison West, ECCHR**



*Picture: David Yambio, who was allegedly maltreated by Libyan ICC suspect Osama Elmasry Njeem, shows a picture of Ethiopian woman, Naima Jamal, said to have been kidnapped and tortured by traffickers in Libya, as he holds a press conference with other migrants who were allegedly maltreated, at the Parliament in Rome, Italy, January 29, 2025. REUTERS/Remo Casilli*



# CRIMINALISATION

## FROM HELL TO HELL: SUDANESE YOUTH CRIMINALIZED IN GREEK PRISONS

### Fleeing War, Facing Prison

Imagine fleeing a war zone, risking your life across deserts and the Mediterranean, only to end up behind bars for trying to survive. Over 200 Sudanese teenagers and young men are imprisoned in Greece, from Crete to Volos, Avlona, and Malandrino. Their crime? Steering a boat, holding a GPS, or helping others cross the sea—acts of survival now treated as serious offenses. Most were minors or barely adults at the time of arrest.

### Sudan's Devastation

Since April 2023, Sudan has been engulfed in conflict between the Sudanese Armed Forces and Rapid Support Forces, displacing over 10 million people. Cities like Khartoum, Omdurman, and El Geneina lie in ruins. Young men face forced recruitment, violence, and economic collapse. For many, fleeing was not a choice: it was the only way to survive.

### Criminalized Survival

Greek anti-smuggling laws allow sentences of up to 25 years per person transported. A 17-year-old touching the wheel of a dinghy can face decades in prison. Trials are often brief, with minimal translation, little defense, and an automatic presumption of guilt. Over 2,300 migrants, many Sudanese minors, face such charges.

*"Holding a GPS or distributing water becomes a crime. The state scapegoats refugees while hiding its own failures."* — Julia, De:criminalize

### Life Behind Bars

Inside prison, isolation, fear, and uncertainty dominate. Mustafa, a Sudanese activist in Greece, explains: "Parents send money or letters, but communication is patchy. Many young men are alone; families feel powerless."

### The #FreeTheBoys Campaign

Lawyers, activists, and diasporic communities across Europe have mobilized to demand release and legal reform. Some trials in Crete led to acquittals, but many youths still face long sentences. Legal advocates argue these prosecutions violate the Geneva Convention, which protects refugees from punishment for irregular entry when fleeing persecution.

*"These youths fled war only to be punished for survival. The #FreeTheBoys campaign is resistance."*

### A Call for Dignity

The stories of Bada, Mousab, Suleman, and Chol are more than individual tragedies—they highlight a moral crisis in Europe. These youths demand recognition of their humanity. The campaign urges Europe to choose dignity over fear, and justice over punishment.

### MORE INFORMATION

- <https://migration-control.info/en/blog/from-hell-to-hell/>
- <https://decriminalize.eu/>

*Ibrahim Izzeldeen, Sudan Uprising*

# #FREE THE BOYS

OVER 40 SUDANESE TEENAGERS  
AND YOUNG MEN AGED 17-21  
HAVE FLED THE WAR IN SUDAN —  
ONLY TO FACE LIFE SENTENCES  
IN GREECE FOR "BOAT DRIVING."



# FORCED TO DISAPPEAR

## AT THE EDGE OF THE SEA: CHRONICLES OF DEATH AND DISAPPEARANCE

This section documents the deaths and disappearances along the Central Mediterranean, while recognizing that countless shipwrecks remain invisible, boats that vanished without a trace. Behind every number lies a name, a story, and a family torn apart by the border regime. This section bears witness to loss and disappearance, keeping alive a collective record of accountability against forgetting.

### JULY 2025

7th of July

Three bodies were found on Sunday, July 6, 2025, about three kilometers inside territorial waters off the coast of the village of Zureik, near Misratah, Libya ([press](#))

10th of July

One person missing in the central Mediterranean 37 people, who fled from Tobruk in Libya, contacted Alarm Phone when in distress at sea. They were adrift in the Egyptian SAR zone. Eventually, a merchant vessel rescued them. However, one person went overboard ([Alarm phone](#))

11th of July

A boat carrying 63 migrants left Sfax, Tunisia, on July 8 and drifted after running out of fuel. Frontex spotted the vessel on July 11 and alerted both European and Tunisian authorities. When the Tunisian and Italian Coast Guards arrived, several migrants jumped into the sea to avoid being taken back to Tunisia. Five people drowned or went missing, 33 were intercepted and deported, and 27 reached Lampedusa alive ([Maldusa](#))

24th of July

10 migrants were rescued by the Libyan coast guards off the coast of Tobruk, Libya. According to survivors, the boat was carrying 81 persons on board. 18 bodies have also been recovered ([press](#))

29th of July

On the 28th of July, Sea-Watch spotted a boat in distress and alerted authorities. The day after, the boat capsized during a rescue operation conducted by a Merchant vessel. According to survivors, two children died and one person is missing ([Sea Watch](#))

31st of July

NADIR located a boat in high risk of sinking, after being informed by the plane of Sea-Watch. The survivors reported that over a dozen people had gone overboard, and saw one person drowning. Hours later the NADIR crew was able to rescue 12 more survivors from the water. 3 people are believed to be still missing ([Nadir](#))

### AUGUST 2025

8th of August

Three people went missing from a drifting boat near Lampedusa. After an exhausting and long journey at sea, the three people threw themselves into the water hoping to reach a distant boat. 2 Guineans and one Cameroonian minor drowned ([Angela Caponnetto](#))

13th of August

Two boats capsized on the 13th of August, 14 miles away from Lampedusa. The Italian coast guard rescued 61 people. 20 people remained missing and 27 people died, their bodies later recovered from the sea ([press](#))

20th of August

Alarm Phone was alerted to 32 people in distress in Egyptian SAR. The day after, Alarm Phone learnt their boat was shipwrecked. Authorities have told Alarm Phone they are searching, but all people are still missing ([Alarm Phone](#))

23rd of August

The sailing vessel NADIR operated by the organization RESQSHIP rescued 65 people from an overcrowded and flooded rubber boat in the Central Mediterranean after an alert from Alarm Phone. During the evacuation, survivors discovered the bodies of three sisters aged 9, 11 and 17 who had drowned in the water inside the boat. Another person is reported missing ([ResQship](#))

30th of August

Alarm Phone was alerted to a group of 47 people who fled from Sfax, Tunisia and who were shipwrecked early morning of the 30th of August ([Alarm Phone](#))

## SEPTEMBER 2025

- 1st of September Alarm Phone alerted about a boat in distress heading to Crete. 34 people were onboard of the boat and were rescued by a merchant vessel, the ANATOLIA. However, one person remains missing ([Alarm Phone](#))
- 2nd of September A man was found dead during the rescue of a 10-meter boat carrying a total of 51 migrants, by Italian coast guards. The man is believed to have died from inhaling hydrocarbons ([press](#)).
- 41 people were stranded at sea for 6 days on the Merchant vessel Maridive 208 and no European country intervened. On the 2nd of September, the Aurora crew rescued them. Seven persons are now missing ([Sea Watchv](#))
- 8th of September Around 80 people were brought back to Libya and rushed to Surman Hospital after their boat capsized off Sabratha ([press](#), [Alarm Phone](#))
- 13th of September About 60 people drowned off Libya. A boat with reportedly 74 people capsized off Tobruk. The people were mostly Sudanese refugees. Only 13 people survived and 1 body was recovered ([Alarm Phone](#), [UNHCR Libya](#))
- 16th of September A boat carrying 75 Sudanese refugees caught fire off Libya's coast on 14 Sep. At least 50 lives were lost, and 24 people survived the shipwreck ([IOM](#)). A woman died during the shipwreck of an iron boat 83 km off Lampedusa ([Sea Watch](#)).

## OCTOBER 2025

- 10th of October During the past week, Libyan authorities conducted a coastal survey stretching from Zuwara to Ras Ajdir, where the remains of at least fifteen refugees were discovered. Among them were three bodies in Mellitah and twelve in Zuwara ([Refugees in Libya](#)).
- 17th of October On the 16th of October, a boat capsized in the Maltese SAR zone 50 miles away from Lampedusa, 11 people were rescued to Lampedusa by the Italian coast guards and 39 people are missing and one body was recovered. The people departed from Sfax, Tunisia ([Refugees in Libya](#), [Alarm phone](#))
- 19th of October Rescued 16 miles from Lampedusa, two people had already arrived lifeless, fourteen are hospitalized in serious condition, apparently due to hydrocarbon poisoning ([Mediterranea](#))
- 23rd of October At least 40 migrant people died off the coast of Tunisia in the shipwreck of the boat on which they were traveling toward a better future ([press](#))
- 28th of October A shipwreck off the coast of Sabratha has caused the deaths of 18 people who were fleeing the horrors and death in Libya toward Europe ([Refugees in Libya](#)).
- Seabird, the Sea-Watch aircraft sighted a wooden boat. The people were rescued by the Italian Coast Guard. For 4 of them, however, help arrived too late, they had died suffocated below deck ([Sea Watch](#)).



# REPORTS

## 60 LIBYAN ATTACKS AT SEA AS EU ROLLS OUT RED CARPET FOR MILITIAS, NEW DATA SHOWS



Picture: Sea Watch

A new report of the search and rescue organization Sea-Watch records 60 violent incidents by Libyan militias such as the so-called Libyan coastguard, against migrants as well as civil and EU state actors at sea since 2016. 54 of the recorded episodes were committed by the so-called Libyan coastguard. For the first time, the research brings together a significant data collection on extreme episodes of violence in the Mediterranean committed by Libyan

actors. The document was published only days before East- and West-Libyan delegations were welcomed in the Frontex headquarters in Warsaw and at the EU Commission in Brussels. East Libya is a regime under the control of the convicted war criminal Haftar.

LINK - <https://sea-watch.org/en/60-libyan-attacks-at-sea-as-eu-rolls-out-red-carpet-for-militias/>

## 122 EUROPEAN OFFICIALS SUSPECTED OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AGAINST 'MIGRANTS'

The investigation focuses on crimes against humanity committed against people on the move on the Central Mediterranean route between 2014 and 2019, where over 25,000 people drowned and 150,000 others were abducted, tortured, and enslaved in Libya under EU-backed border policies. It alleges that two key deterrence strategies, the termination of Italy's Operation Mare Nostrum, which caused mass drownings, and the EU-Libya cooperation agreements enabling forced returns, constitute deliberate acts of murder, deportation, and enslavement. Supported by extensive evidence, the case was admitted by the ICC (International Criminal Court) in 2020 within the Libya situation. A 2023 UN Fact-Finding Mission confirmed EU complicity, yet the ICC Prosecutor has taken no substantive action. The investigation now seeks a full ICC inquiry into the roles and responsibilities of 122 EU and member state officials implicated in these ongoing crimes.



LINK - <https://crimesagainsthumanity.eu/>



# AMPLIFYING VOICES

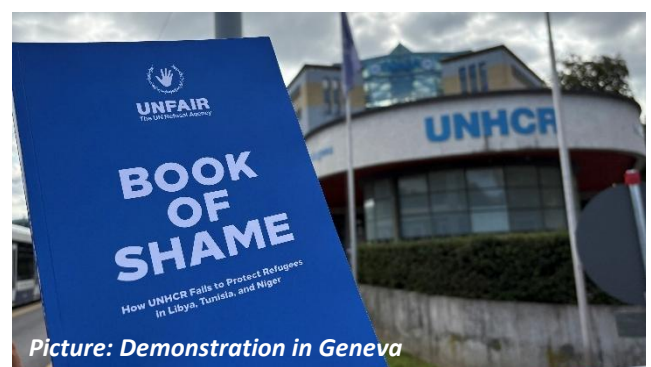
## UNFAIR 2.0 - PROTESTS IN GENEVA, AGADEZ AND THE "BOOK OF SHAME"



Picture: Demonstration in Geneva, organized by Refugees in Libya

" This book was born from rage, from grief and from the refusal to remain silent. It was born from the betrayal we witnessed and lived—at the hands not only of militias, traffickers and governments, but of the very institution that claimed it was there to offer protection: the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (...) The UNFAIR campaign sought to show how UNHCR has not only failed to protect but has actively collaborated with the European border regime that funds, manages, and weaponizes containment. This Book of Shame is part of that campaign. (...) The Book of Shame is not neutral. It is not balanced. It is not written in the language of polite advocacy. It is what must be said, by those who have been ignored for too long. (...) May it be a weapon, a record, a fire. May it burn away the silence. And may it clear the ground for something just to grow."

These strong words originate from the introduction of the "Book of Shame" which was presented by Refugees in Libya for the first time on 12th of September 2025 during a press conference in front of the UNHCR headquarters. Based on hundreds of personal testimonies, it is an impressive document that points a finger at the abusive practices of this agency in Libya, Tunisia, and Niger.



Picture: Demonstration in Geneva



A life-connection was organized at the same time to Agadez, where several hundred refugees protested against the treatment by UNHCR, and to amplify their voices. Ten days prior, a common manifesto was published to express unity and to raise concrete demands: "We are **Refugees in Libya, Refugees in Tunisia and Refugees in Niger**, three self-organized refugee movements demanding our basic human rights and struggling against injustices experienced in the treatment by UNHCR. (...) Here are our demands to UNHCR: Recognition, denunciation of abuses, improved services, respect and transparency...(followed by a concrete list on these four topics)".

On September 12, UNHCR staff in Geneva finally offered to have a face-to-face meeting with a delegation from *Refugees in Libya*. In this talk, the representatives appeared self-critical, willing to improve services for refugees, while complaining about the cuts in funding for their agency and their lack of resources. This must be followed up on the ground to show if change will happen, or if such insights were just empty words.

The next day, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September, a small demonstration started in front of the headquarters of IOM, an even worse agency of migration control. The

march passed near the "broken chair", where an "all eyes on Gaza" camp was taking place. In mutual solidarity several activists joined the UNFAIR demonstration, which ended in front of the UNHCR building for another demonstration with banners and speeches to amplify the demands.

**Hagen Kopp, Alarm Phone Hanau**



Picture: Demonstration in Geneva

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

<https://www.refugeesinlibya.org/from-tripoli-to-geneva-2>

Picture: Demonstration of Refugees in Niger in the camp of Agadez, 12<sup>th</sup> of September 2025





# "THIS IS THE DEAL OF DEATH!"

## Action Days in Rome against the Memorandum of Understanding

*On the 18th of October 2025, a protest culminated in an impressive performance organized by members and comrades from Refugees in Libya. The stage of survivors was the highlight of five days of actions in the capital of Italy to mobilize against the deal for crimes against humanity.*

The series of activities started with a press conference on the 14th of October in the parliament building, on the same day, when the oppositional parties submitted a resolution against the prolongation of the memorandum of understanding. Speakers from TAI (Tavolo Asilo), Amnesty Italy, Open Arms, and Refugees in Libya (RiL) were supported by Elly Schlein, the leader of PD (Partito Democratico).

On the 15th of October, a political debate took place on perspectives against the externalization and the brutalization of the border regime. The event in the social center ESC was introduced by a promise: *"We have made mistakes, but one thing we should never make is the mistake of giving up on trying to change the world for the better."* Accordingly, in several working groups, medium-term perspectives from and with Refugees in Libya were re-discussed.

On the 16th of October, the conditions and struggles of women formed the main focus of another event in the university, mainly organized by the legal clinic of UniRoma3. "No deal on women's bodies: stories of

resistance from Libya" was the title, and institutional actors for women's rights were connected to and confronted with the women of RiL experiences on the ground. On the same evening, the film documentary "The years we have been nowhere" was presented in the space of the anti-mafia association Libera.

The 17th of October began with public actions in the touristy city center: a big Stop MoU banner from civil fleet organizations was presented at Piazza Navona fountains, while RiL activists and supporters wore life jackets with slogans against the deal of crimes. The banner was later hung in front of the colosseum.

In the early evening, a commemorAction was held in front of the Basilica S.Croce. In two speeches, the lethal violence of migration control was contrasted with the lived experience of open borders, while the dimension of the mass killing was presented in the outrolled lists of 66.519 documented deaths, decorated with candles, banners, and life jackets. This strong coming together - supported by Spin time lab

Picture: Demonstration Piazza Navona, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October





- was closed by an inter-religious prayer by an Imam and a priest.



The morning of the 18th of October started with a video and a debate on pushbacks and abuse in Libyan detention centers based on reconstructions from Forensic Architecture and Liminal.

In the early afternoon, about 400 participants followed the call to the central demonstration at Piazza Vidoni and were welcomed by RiL members to the announced stage of survivors. **Within the next two hours about 50 witnesses - men, women and children - collectively came on the stage, testifying**

**their suffering and their struggles in Libya. In an impressive mix of performances and personal stories, the strong voices of self-organisation echoed across the square. The unique event of the protagonists was completed with a tribunal to accuse, name, and display "wanted" posters of responsible politicians, and raise demands with the never-ending slogan: Stop Memorandum. The audience responded with sustained applause, and the program ended with congratulations and short speeches by supporting civil society and civil fleet actors.**

First brief conclusions: the events in Rome were very powerful and received attention from mass media outlets. Thanks to the initiative by RiL, the protests against the MoU were louder than ever, but of course the renewal of MoU could not be stopped. For RiL it was a successful mobilization, strengthening mainly the self-organizational process. The civil society coalition supported on various levels, but its concrete mobilization for the central manifestation was limited. The strong voices of the protagonists need and deserve the attention of tens of thousands rather than just a few hundred!

*Alarm Phone Central Mediterranean group*





Picture: Stage of survivors, Piazza Vidoni, Rome



### RAGE POEM - presented on the stage of survivors on 18th of October at Piazza Vidoni in Rome by Refugees in Libya

*"Even under the sun — our world is dark.  
Our world is chaotic. Our world is nightmarish. Our  
world is betrayal. Our world is shame.  
Rage against Tripoli — against its prisons, its  
militias, its torture camps, its crimes.  
Rage against Italy — against her ministers, her  
signatures, her complicity, rage against her hate.*

*Rage against Brussels — against the architects of  
border death and denial.*

*Rage against Geneva — against the white papers  
that bury the truth in reports.*

*We have rebelled against Tripoli. We have rebelled  
against Italy. We have rebelled against Brussels. We  
have rebelled against Geneva. We have rebelled  
against the silence of the world. We have rebelled —  
all the more so, that we may not be erased. Rebellion  
has been our voice — our lifeline.*

*We know. Knowing is a burden, for we know our pain  
and its inflictors.*

*We know. Knowing is a wound that does not close  
— unless justice is served. Although we know — we  
are still here.*

*We are the remnants of the forgotten sea, the faces  
Europe pretends not to see. We were not born to  
drown on high seas in search of safety. We were not  
born to kneel in submission to slavery, torture, and  
rape. We were not born to be counted by  
surveillance drones of Frontex and more. We are not  
statistics. We are not shadows. We are the evidence  
— walking. Our breath — is rebellion. Our steps —  
rebellion. Even our silence — rebellion. Even our pain  
has learned to rise and walk.*

*Europe calls it migration — We experienced it as  
refuge. Europe calls it border control — we  
experienced it as deliberate murders. What Europe  
calls cooperation — we experienced it as slavery.*

*Our name, our body, our women, our face, our  
humanity, are not MoUs replicated in Libya,  
Khartoum, Rabat, Tunis, Egypt, Turkey, Niamey and  
more.*

*Our lives are not their signatures. Our children are  
not their votes. We will not be footnotes in their  
democracy. Even under the sun — our world is dark.  
But we — we are the ones who will bring the light."*



# MOBILISATIONS

## OPEN BORDERS - END DEATHS : REVIEW OF THE TRANSNATIONAL CHAIN OF ACTIONS IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 2025

### Online Kick-Off event on 4th of September 2025 towards the transnational chain of actions

About 50 people listened to the exchange after an introduction from a protagonist of 2015, a friend from Zurich, who was part of the March of hope in Budapest 10 years ago, which eventually led to the historical breakthrough against the EU border regime. With brief interventions from Zagreb, Berlin and Geneva, from the Aegean and Lampedusa, from

Madrid, Rabat and Rome, from Ljubljana, Vienna, Ragusa and Tirana the many-voiced session continued with reflections on 2015 and with presentations of the coming mobilizations. A video-recording of this transnational gathering is available ([trans-border website](#)).

### The SAR Camp: A Step Forward in the Collective Struggle for Free Movement for All

From September 4th to 7th, just outside Berlin in Biesenthal, Germany, the SAR Camp, short for Solidarity and Resistance Camp, took place as part of the Transnational Chain of Actions for Free Movement.

We deliberately chose the name SAR to underline that it not only stands for *Search and Rescue*, but also for *Solidarity and Resistance*. This sets the tone for a participatory space focused on critical reflection, collective learning, and further developing our different actions into a strong movement.

*"The camp brought together people from international organizations engaged in search and rescue, migration and displacement, "No Borders" movements, and anti-colonial struggles—alongside activists who live these battles every day. It was a powerful space to meet, to share knowledge, and to dive into workshops and discussions that carried real depth and urgency..."*

This quotation is from a summarizing article by a member from Refugees in Libya:

<https://www.refugeesinlibya.org/post/solidarity-and-resistance-sar-camp>



Picture: SAR camp



## f.Lotta

The protest regatta started on 10th of September with a press conference in Mazara (Sicily). The following day, 10 sail boats headed in the direction of Lampedusa.

Core to f.Lotta actions were F.lottine and land f.Lotta events, which brought the f.Lotta message where it hurts: inside fortress Europe. A f.Lottina is a maritime, river or lake occupation other than the one in the central Med. A land f.Lotta action can take many forms, such as a talk, a march, a sit-in in front of a deportation center.

This way, the occupation in the central Mediterranean sea sparked several other occupations elsewhere. Actions took part in Elba, Rome, Marseille, Brest, Calais, Rosenheim, Berlin, Cyprus, Balears, Mazara del Vallo, beside the main action south of Lampedusa.

In total, 13 campaigns were launched, 20+ organisations joined the movement, 30+ boats were involved in the actions, hundreds of activists took part and 1.1 million people were reached on social media. These actions were only the beginning. The f.Lotta movement aims to occupy as many spaces and times as necessary to denounce the violent consequences of the border regime. It is important to fight, to reoccupy our spaces both at sea and on land to denounce this violence, to fight against racist laws that criminalise sea rescue, to fight against this system that wages war on exiles.

Let us rise up against these borders that kill and for a world where everyone has the right to move freely and live as they choose.

### MORE INFORMATION

<https://flotta.noblogs.org/>

*Picture: Gathering of f.Lotta in front of Lampedusa (CC-BY-SA f.Lotta)*



See the extra report on page 16.

### We'll Come United Caravan and Parade

On the 20th of September the German-wide network We'll Come United started a one-week caravan through several cities in eastern Germany. Isolated Camps and detentions were visited to empower the



inhabitants and to invite them to get organized against deportations and racist discrimination. Mainly voices of self-organised refugees spoke in this series of indoor events as well as street parties, manifestations, and demonstrations. The caravan culminated in a powerful parade in Berlin on September 27 with about 1000 participants and with eye-catching trucks, which symbolized the struggles for freedom of movement and equal rights for all. In the German newspaper Tageszeitung (Taz) a diary with nine texts was published by a Somalian woman from the media team of the caravan, see [here](#) (in German)

DETAILED REPORT INCLUDING PICTURES:

<https://umbruch-bildarchiv.org/well-come-united-2025/>

### CommemorA(c)tion of 20 Years of struggle – Baobab & Arcom

From 3 to 5 October 2025, the conference 'We migrate to live, not to die' was held in Rabat, organised by the autonomous migrant organisation ARCOM and Afrique-Europe-Interact. It marked the 20th anniversary of ARCOM and the tenth anniversary of the 'Baobab' shelter, a place that offers protection and solidarity to many migrant women and their children. Around 300 participants, mainly migrants (in transit) from sub-Saharan African countries as well as activists from Europe and Africa, gathered to share their experiences, develop strategies of resistance, and oppose Europe's repressive border regimes.

Round tables, workshops, and cultural contributions highlighted the reality of migration and exile: violence at borders, overcrowded camps, lack of protection, survival on the streets, and structural exclusion. The situation of women and children in exile was at the centre of the conference. The testimonies of Sudanese refugees and the play staged by migrants about the dangerous crossing of the Sahara were particularly impressive.

Discussions focused on criticism of the UNHCR, systematic pushbacks into the desert, and

strengthening local and transnational networks. The conference was a powerful forum for meeting, solidarity and networking – a new beginning for new cooperation across borders. Its central credo remains the same: we migrate to live, not to die. Freedom of movement for all!



DETAILED REPORT:

[https://afrique-europe-interact.net/2218-0-Konferenz-ARCOM-2025.html?article\\_id=1891&clang=0](https://afrique-europe-interact.net/2218-0-Konferenz-ARCOM-2025.html?article_id=1891&clang=0)

### Action days from Refugees in Libya in Rome against the "Memorandum of Understanding"

See the extra report on page 18.



## No Border Summit Vienna: Conference and Demonstration against the ICMPD and EU's racist migration policies

In light of the 10th Vienna Migration Conference hosted by the International Center for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), a group of activists organized a counter-conference opposing the increasingly deadly externalisation of EU borders. The ICMPD is the ideological think tank behind Europe's authoritarian migration policy. ICMPD supports the training of security forces in Libya and Tunisia and is currently expanding its cooperation with Algeria through "capacity building" programs.

The No Border Summit countered this racist gathering/conference by providing a space of solidarity and resistance over the course of four days in different locations around Vienna. Talks, discussions and workshops by - and in cooperation with international activists and experts, as well as literature readings, concerts and film screenings allowed participants to exchange knowledge, perspectives and ideas. The Summit focused amongst other aspects on collectively developing a profound understanding of institutions such as ICMPD, IOM

and Frontex and their ramifications in the continued fortification of Europe.

In the morning of 21st of October, the opening day of the Vienna Migration Conference, the ICMPD and accomplices (ministers from Austria, Germany, Sweden and Greece as well as their counterparts from Egypt, Jordan and Turkey) were confronted with more than 30 activists blocking the entrance of the conference venue with the support of many more chanting against the racist migration management institutions. Several hours later, at the very same location, the summit culminated in a powerful demonstration with 700 participants demanding the abolition of the ICMPD, an end to EU border externalisation and freedom of movement for everyone.

LINK - <https://abolishicmpd.noblogs.org/>





## Start of the Trial against Mediterranea in Ragusa

On October 21 in Ragusa, the trial began against six activists charged with “aggravated aiding and abetting of illegal immigration.”

Their crime? Having, in various ways, taken part in the mission of our ship Mare Jonio, which in September 2020 rescued 27 shipwreck survivors who had been abandoned for 38 days by all European authorities (Malta and Denmark first among them) aboard the Danish oil tanker Maersk Etienne, just off the Maltese island. The 27 people were transferred to Mare Jonio, where they received initial medical care. On the evening of September 13, the Italian authorities (the Ministry of the Interior and the Maritime Rescue Coordination Centre, MRCC Rome) assigned Pozzallo as the safe port for disembarkation.

Three months after the events, the shipping company that owned the vessel, Maersk Tankers, made a transparent donation in support of civilian sea rescue operations. The Ragusa Public Prosecutor’s Office used this as grounds to accuse the Mediterranea activists of “facilitating illegal immigration,” aggravated by the slanderous claim of a “profit motive,” unleashing a full-blown smear campaign against us.

Five years after those events, the public trial finally started. For us, this will be an opportunity to reestablish the full truth and legitimacy of what

happened — and to turn this absurd accusation against sea rescue and solidarity into a trial against those who, at sea, allow women, men, and children to die in massacres like the one in Cutro, or through deliberate failures to rescue that cause suffering and death.

The next date of the trial in Ragusa is the 13th of January 2026.

### MORE INFORMATION

<https://mediterranearescue.org/en/news/caso-maersk-etienne-trasformeremo-le-accuse-alla-solidarieta-nel-processo-a-chi-fa-morire-persone-in-mare>



## Protest days and workshops from the Network Against Migrant Detention in Albania

On the 1st and 2nd November, around a hundred activists from Albania, Italy, Germany, Austria, France, Spain, Switzerland, and Belgium joined the mobilization called by the Network Against Migrant Detention to oppose and denounce the Rama–Meloni Pact and the creation of the CPR of Gjader and the hotspot of Shëngjin.

These centres are not only unconstitutional: they represent a colonial project that, with the complicity of the Albanian government, sets a dangerous precedent that the EU seeks to replicate through the New Pact on Migration and Asylum and the New Returns Directive.





Albania is being turned into a laboratory of externalisation, where detention and deportation are tested before becoming European policy.

On Saturday, we marched through Tirana, stopping at the Prime Minister's office, the Italian Embassy, and the House of Europe, to denounce this agreement and demand its abolition. Later, we travelled to Lezhë to meet Hana, a political collective of young activists from the city. Together, we held a protest in front of Gjader, the new Italian-run detention centre where 25 people are currently held awaiting deportation.

On Sunday, the activists of the Meshde collective organised public discussions and assemblies at the Faculty of Law in Tirana, where we had the chance to exchange with activists and intellectuals from across Europe and Albania about coloniality, migration, and the need to transform Europe into a political space of freedom and equality rather than repression and exclusion.

What is happening in Albania is deeply connected to the securitarian management of migration spreading

across the world — from the violent deportations carried out by the U.S. through ICE, to the policies of remigration and administrative detention now proliferating across nationalist European governments. Together, these measures form the backbone of an increasingly rapid, externalised, and militarised migration regime.

Yet detention centres are not spaces of total control. They are sites of conflict and resistance, where the struggle for freedom of movement and migrant self-determination continues to challenge the violence of borders and the erosion of democracy.

From Italy to Albania, from Europe to the Mediterranean, our fight is collective and transnational: we will keep organising to dismantle the regime of detention and deportation, and to reclaim a democratic, decolonial and solidaristic Europe.

### ***Network against migrant detention***

## **10 years civil SAR conference**



On the 4<sup>th</sup> of Novembre, a conference took place in the European Parliament “10 Years of Search and Rescue at the Frontline: Saving Lives, Defending Rights”. Every day, lives are at risk in the Mediterranean Sea. Marking a decade of continuous operation at sea, representatives of search and rescue NGOs, together with survivors and advocates, reflected on the realities of maritime rescue, the erosion of humanitarian space and the urgent imperative for political change.

### **RECORDING OF THE SESSION**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TPij4hyuTro>

## **Videos on 10 years of the Summer of Migration**

As part of the transnational chain of action a series of videos is in production. From the middle of September onwards, every week one or more new clips will be published, each including two voices: an active supporter from the Aegean or along the Balkan route, and someone who made the journey and now lives in a destination city.

Reflections from the various experiences will be combined and connected to recall and to reflect the summer of migration in 2015, but also to think about future perspectives:

<https://trans-border.net/index.php/chain-of-action-2025/10-years-videos/>



COMPREHENSIVE REPORTS, GALLERY OF PHOTOS AND VIDEOS OF THE TRANSNATIONAL CHAIN OF ACTIONS:



<https://trans-border.net/>

# SEARCH AND RESCUE ORGANISATIONS SUSPEND COMMUNICATION WITH LIBYAN RESCUE COORDINATION CENTRE!

## PRESS RELEASE

**Brussels, 5 November 2025:** 13 search and rescue organisations announced the formation of the Justice Fleet supported by the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights and the organization Refugees in Libya. As a legally grounded response to the coercion by European states to communicate with violent actors at sea, the alliance aims to consistently uphold human rights and international maritime law. Consequently, the Justice Fleet decided to end operational communication with the Joint Rescue Coordination Center in Tripoli, Libya (JRCC). In accordance with official rulings, the organisations classify the so-called Libyan Coast Guard as an illegitimate actor at sea. The JRCC Tripoli, which coordinates the violence by the so-called Libyan Coast Guard, cannot be regarded as a competent authority. Libya is not a place of safety for refugees. In addition, the JRCC Tripoli fails to meet international standards: it is not reachable 24/7, lacks linguistic capacity, and has no adequate technical infrastructure for coordinating rescue operations.

For years, search and rescue organisations have documented systematic violence by the so-called Libyan Coast Guard — a decentralised network of armed militias equipped and trained with EU funds, particularly from Italy. Refugees are violently

intercepted at sea, abducted, and taken to camps where torture, rape, and forced labour are a systematic practice. European courts as well as UN-institutions have long acknowledged the organized violence which, according to legal experts, amounts to crimes against humanity.

Terminating their operational communication with the JRCC Libya could result in fines, detentions, or even the confiscation of the allied NGOs' rescue assets by the Italian state — in violation of international law. Since 2023, the far-right-wing Italian government has unlawfully detained rescue assets under the so-called Piantedosi Decree.

*"We have never recognised these actors as a legitimate rescue authority — they are part of a violent regime enabled by the European Union."* says Ina Friebe, spokesperson of CompassCollective. *"Now we are increasingly being pressured to communicate with exactly these actors. This must stop. Ending all operational communication with the so-called Libyan*

*Rescue Coordination Center is both a legal and moral necessity — a clear line against European complicity in crimes against humanity."*

*"It is not only our right but our duty to treat armed militias as such in our operational communication —*





The Justice Fleet brings together legal, political, and public strategies to defend people seeking safety as well as search and rescue operations against illegal push- and pullbacks, and state repression. European

All alliance members from Germany, France, Italy, and Spain: CompassCollective, Louise Michel, Mediterranea Saving Humans, Mission Lifeline, Pilotes Volontaires, RESQSHIP, r42 – sail and rescue, Sea-Eye, Sea Punks, Sea-Watch, Salvamento Marítimo Humanitario, SOS-Humanity and Tutti gli occhi sul Mediterraneo (TOM).



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