

# ON THE EXTERNALIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN BORDERS

The European border is no longer the just Mediterranean Sea, or the jagged Balkan mountains, the borders don't stop behind The Aegean islands in Greece or the razor wire coils of Ceuta. The EU border-industrial-complex is expanding south, encompassing northern, central and western Africa as well as parts of the middle-east. From Frontex patrols in Niger to EU-financed mercenaries in Morocco, camps in Libya and Turkey to Patrol ships off the north African coast, it has undergone a process of externalization. The aim is to stop migrants and refugees before they even reach Europe's external borders. It is becoming increasingly difficult for them to leave their countries of origin at all and to pass through transit countries before they reach the border. At the same time, the risk of being sent back to a country of origin or transit that is not safe is increasing for them. These neo-colonial EU outposts are an ideal experimentation field for novel forms of technology, control and migration management.

Despite the sleazy rhetorics and humanistic posturing, these externalized borders too must be enforced by the pigs and their newest gadgets. Biometric data collection and analysis systems such as the EURODAC, ECRIS-TCN, ETIAS etc. build the dystopic backbone for this new paradigm in border policing. Masses of data sets are stored to identify, classify and mostly reject the global Subaltern. Those crossing to seek out a better life are classified in the hierarchy of 'Migrant' or 'Refugee' aspiring to one day become a 'Citizen'. Dirty deals are struck with their home countries and those neighbouring Fortress Europe to hinder departure and travel. Monetary Incentives to repatriate, fake jobs programs, threats of death and injury, no means are too low to keep the unwanted masses out. The aforementioned forms of Social Engineering and control are being tested outside of Fortress Europe and may one day be used against the entire population.

Every single step and layer of the Border complex has been turned into a profitable venture. Those affected and their lives have been commodified. Their transportation to the so-called reception centres, from detention to deportation, from the catering to the fingerprinting there is money to be made. This commodification is expressed in its purest

form during the asylum eligibility process. The EU requires more cheap service sector slaves to clean the offices, pick the fruit and build the highways. Colossal amounts of funding are diverted from public EU budgets to border security subcontractors. Building on the discourse of the "Terrorist threat" and the migrant "invasion" a whole industry is developing hard- and software has sprung up to keep Fortress Europe "safe".

Lives continue to perish at sea and in the deserts, people are tortured and killed at the fences and walls. And those that make it into the EU rot away for years crammed into camps with the constant threat of deportation. Those architectures of control are designed to slowly break the human soul. The lucky few to leave the camps and head towards European metropolis are generously granted a temporary permit to be here, end up exploited in the low-paying jobs, and forced to stay to keep their permits. A well-designed labyrinth of domination and profiteering.

It is not the rough sea or threads of steel that are at fault, it's not written in the stars that the world shall be an unjust place.

Those responsible have names and addresses.

They sit in governments and work for agencies and companies.

They bleed and die just like their victims.

Those producing these technologies are not anonymous, they are clearly identifiable agencies and universities and some are more culpable than others.

These enemies of life are everywhere and we have to remember their names and faces.

The following pages, although incomplete, are an invitation to study and share knowledge about the Border industrial complex, to look at historical processes around the externalisation, and to present a collection of facts and dates. The business of 'security' and control is not a new one, yet the mechanisms are becoming more sophisticated, and surveillance is all-encompassing in today's disaster capitalism. We hope that you can arm yourself with information and express yourself in action to fight against those responsible for the many lives lost.

## THE BUSINESS OF BORDERS AND CONTROL

The EU has planned to allocate 22.671 billion euros to the management of the "migratory phenomenon" for the period between 2021 and 2027, mainly for border control. This represents the total budget of the **EU Multi-annual Financial Framework**, approved in December 2020 for the management of external borders. This number almost doubled compared to the previous period: 12.4 billion allocated for 2014-2020, which stems from the initial proposal of the **EU Commission** of 34 billion Euro. Additionally, many billions will be allocated to "Security and Defence" and to the **NDICI Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument** which too will finance projects for the management of external borders.

Staggering sums of money are involved in the border business: a profitable juncture for both private sector security companies and state-run migration management agencies. We're seeing a massive new market develop and expand in real-time. Perhaps in foresight, as myriad millions more will be displaced in the coming decades by wars and the already unfolding climate catastrophe. One prime example is the deployment of the **Orizon 20-20 Research Fund** to develop control systems. The plan is to equip African countries with instruments to record the biometric data of people on the move. Then flows of people can be tracked and interrupted, using a highly accurate database of vast dimensions.

The border security industry is booming, and conferences and exhibitions are popping up all around. Although border crossings and on-shore landings have decreased sharply, budgets are skyrocketing. New barriers, internal and external to the EU, physical and non-physical are being implemented. The EU border has become ubiquitous, a real honeypot for the manager, scientists and engineer-henchmen of nation-state ideology.

Repelling and killing humans is rebranded to sectors of 'development', cooperation and 'security' to obfuscate the real daily suffering going on.

One of these funds, named **The Trust Fund for Africa**, amounts to almost 5 billion euros. The fund is largely provided by the **European Development Fund**, and countries such as Italy, which is the second-largest contributor after Germany with 112 million euros.

## Some numbers

The money allocated to the heading "neighbourhood and the rest of the world", which includes the **External Action Fund**, which often coincides with projects to outsource border control, is also on the rise - reaching 98.4 billion euros. The European budget also reflects the EU (and Italian) obsession with increasing returns, for which €5 billion are allocated and which will be increasingly managed by the **Frontex Agency**, whose budget has grown by 5233% in little more than a decade, from €6 million allocated in 2005 to €322 million in 2019. The Commission, the Council and Parliament focused on increasing the staff of the **Frontex Agency**, which is responsible for border control and repatriation operations, in the last few days of work before the elections, and approved the Agency's new regulation, which provides for an increase in staff of up to 10,000, thus extending its range of action.

The logic is the same for the **Africa Trust Fund**, which uses money from the development budget to finance the sea and land blockade of the Central Mediterranean route.

### International meetings on BORDER SECURITY: the intersection of economics and politics

The various national and European politicians love the rhetoric of invasion and Islamic terrorism to swallow up votes in the name of protecting national identity. The state uses the imagined external enemy to increase its repressive and control instruments. And meanwhile, it experiments. The EU tries to defend its own interests and the privilege of 'being European' by exploiting non-Europeans both inside and outside its borders.

Companies make pacts with governments and agencies, all happy to jump into a new business that allows big profits.

All these actors meet at international conferences and private meetings dedicated to the topic.

International conferences such as the **Border Security Conference** which this year - as in the last 6 years - was held at the **Crowne Plaza St. Peter's Hotel** in Rome from 11 to 12 February. It is one of the leading events in the sector. It is organised by the **SMI Group**, a company that organises events and conferences around the world with a special interest in weapons, technology, 'defence' and security. Some of the upcoming conferences it organises are the **7th Defence Logistics Central and Eastern Europe Conference**, 1-2 March 2022, and the **Future Soldier Technology conference** in London, 8-9 March 2022. The next **Border Security Conference** will be on 8-9 February 2022, also in London (for more information, visit their website).

Last year at the **Border Security Conference** in Rome, **Leonardo Spa** presented the latest generation of maritime interception and radar systems and the new biometric systems for air and land borders. The first day of the conference ended with a speech by the **IOM** (International Organisation for Migration) which, speaking of the 'migration crisis', presented its proposal for border management (Niger is an example). Participants included representatives of states, companies, **Frontex** and police forces from all over the world.

The purpose of the **Security Research Event**, held in Brussels in December 2018, and in Helsinki on 6-7 November 2019, was to bring the security research world into dialogue with Commission officials and the manufacturing industry to find a real use for technology devised by companies. As the Helsinki presentation event says: "The Security Research Event is the annual meeting where industry, governments and 'knowledge institutions' come together to discuss the current status and challenges for security research in Europe, and where EU-funded security projects are presented."

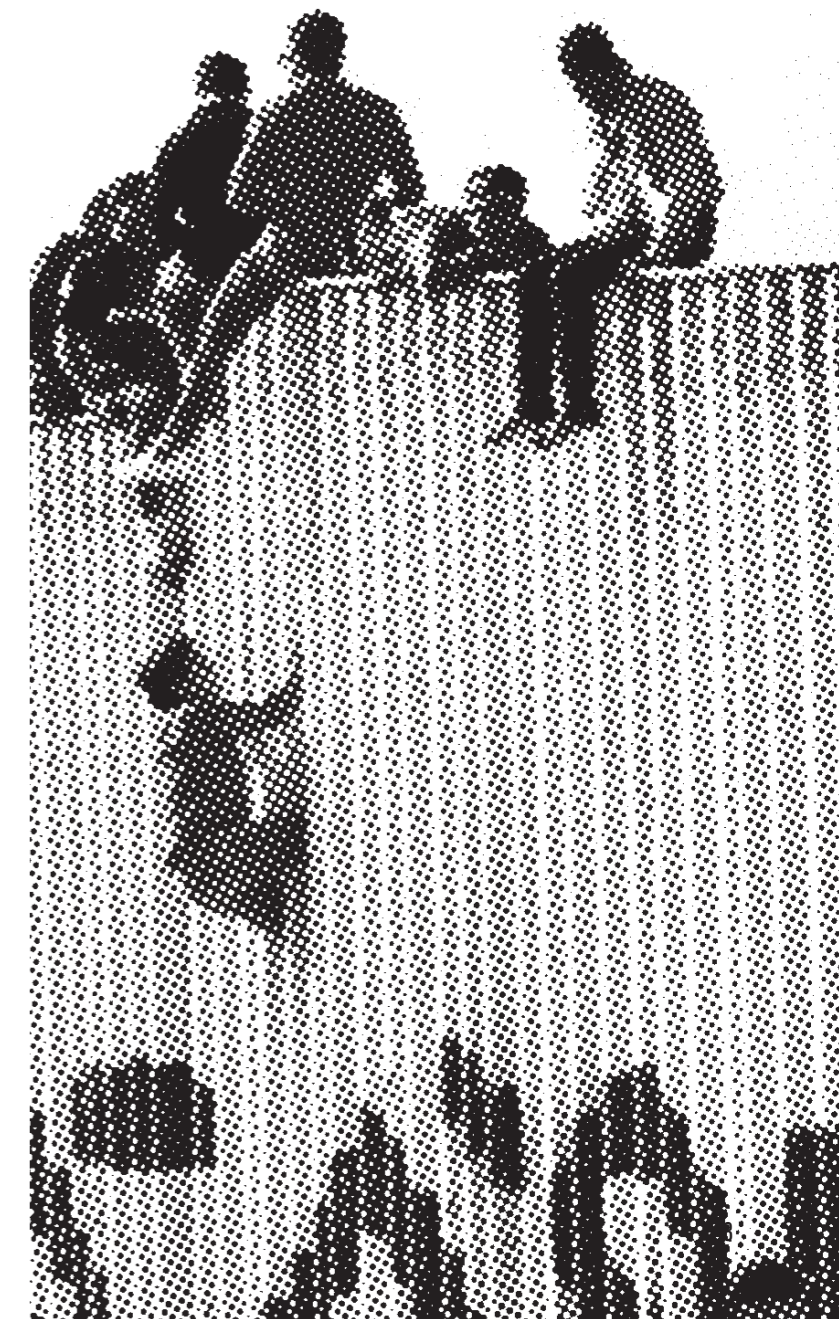
The **World Border Security Congress** held in Casablanca, organised by **Torch Marketing** from 19 to 21 March 2019 at the **Sheraton Casablanca Hotel & Towers**, also opened the dialogue to representatives of African states, thus sanctioning the union between the business of the border and the policy of externalisation, which requires an active role of the countries of origin and transit in the purchase of technological systems with the contribution of European countries.

It is a new form of colonialism, based on humanitarian "aid" to countries of transit and origin of migratory flows, which is nothing more than a huge business for European companies and large international groups.

Now, from 31 March to 2 April 2020, the new **World Border Security Congress** was scheduled to take place at the **Divani Caravel Hotel** in Athens. Due to Covid-19 the event has been moved to 5-7 October 2021. The title is 'Continuing the Discussion and Dialogue for Building Trust and Co-operation'. The first lines explain 'the **World Border Security Congress** is the leading multi-jurisdictional global platform where border protection policymakers, managers and security professionals gather each year to discuss the international challenges involved in border protection'. As the website specifies, this conference is open to "members of the federal government, border management agencies, law enforcement or intergovernmental agencies, the **European Union**, **INTERPOL**, **EUROPOL**, **AFRIPOL**, **ASEANAPOL**, **AMERIPOL** and associated agencies and members (public and official) concerned with border security, management and protection" (and of course companies in the field).

Another example, albeit a little different, the **Milipol Pais**. "The world event on the internal security of states", whose 22nd edition will be held from 19 to 22 October 2021 at the **Parc des Expositions** in Paris-Nord Villepinte. An event held under the aegis of the French Ministry of the Interior, in collaboration with the National Police, the National Gendarmerie, the General Directorate of Civil Security and Crisis Management, the Ministry of the Economy and Finance with the General Directorate of Customs, the Municipal Police, Interpol, etc. Milipol is a network: an international conference of the same kind is also held every year in Qatar, at the **Doha Exhibition and Convention Center (DECC)**. There is also the **Milipol Asia-Pacific**, which in 2022 will be held in Singapore, in May.

These conferences bring together representatives of tech, governments and police forces from all over the world. Politics and economics try to reach agreements there to perfect the new market for control and selection.



## EXTERNALIZATION AGREEMENTS (in brief)

**Convention of 1990** implementing the Schengen Agreement: this establishes the obligation for the carrier to take back immediately at his own expense any foreigner he has transported who is refused entry because he does not have the documents and conditions required for entry into the EU.

**Cotonou Agreement:** was one of the first steps, in 2000. It enshrines the partnership between African, Caribbean and Pacific States on the one hand (79 countries) and Member States and the EU on the other, with the primary objective of "eradicating poverty, achieving sustainable/durable development and integrating ACP countries into the world economy". One of the prices to be paid in return is Article 13, which stipulates the obligation of all ACP countries to cooperate in the readmission of their citizens whom Europe wants to expel.

**Italy-Libya Treaty, signed in Benghazi** on 30 August 2008. It expressly provides for Italian and European aid and funding to combat "irregular immigration" on Libyan territory, as well as Italian and Libyan collaboration in the states of origin of foreigners to discourage emigration. Since then, money has been pouring into the Libyan Coast Guard and beyond. Many European states sign bilateral treaties with the migrants' countries of origin.

**Khartoum Process, held in Rome** during the Italian presidency of the EU, 28 November 2014. Ministerial conference between representatives of EU Member States, Horn of Africa countries (Eritrea, Somalia, Ethiopia and Djibouti) and some transit countries (South Sudan, Sudan, Tunisia, Kenya and Egypt). Urgent topics: the fight against migrant smuggling and trafficking. The first step is to involve the IOM (International Organisation for Migration) and the UNHCR in cooperation projects to be financed with EU funds, with the aim of setting up and running camps for migrants in the countries of departure and transit. There are also plans for an information campaign (already promoted in the past) to dissuade people from leaving. There are also plans to finance the training of border guards.

**EU/AU summit in Valletta (Malta), 12 November 2015.** During this EU/AU summit on migration, the 25 Member States, together with Norway and Switzerland, set up a European Trust Fund for Africa

(EUTF), also called Trust Fund. The aim of setting up the Trust Fund was to have liquid assets to 'deal' with the countries of departure and transit of migrants. The aim of the Trust Fund was to provide cash to "negotiate" with the countries of origin and transit of migrants and to obtain greater cooperation from local governments in controlling migratory flows by financing development programmes (both in the countries of origin and transit) and by strengthening the police forces in all states along the routes to Europe. Today, out of the approximately 5 billion Euros of the Trust Fund, 4.4 billion come from the European Development Fund and other EU financial instruments for development aid in third countries - while 619 million have been provided by the States. Italy, with 112 million pledged, is the second largest donor after Germany (157.5 million pledged). The beneficiaries of the projects are public development cooperation agencies in European countries, international organisations, in particular the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), NGOs and private companies. There is no control over this money, not even the farce of a vote in the European Parliament.

**EU-Turkey agreement, 18 March 2016.**

6 billion euros (3+3) plus the promise to accelerate Turkey's European integration process, and to abolish visas for Turkish citizens who want to cross EU borders. In return: a blockade of migrants and the refoulement to Turkey of those intercepted on Greek islands.

Turkey, in 2018, stopped some 268,000 migrants on their way to Europe, and more than 170,000 in 2019. Now it is claiming new deals (money) to keep on being a European cop. We are talking about hundreds of thousands of people stranded in Turkey.

In 2019, 70 thousand people arrived in Europe from Turkey. Twice as many as the previous year.

As all know on 27 February 2020 Erdogan declared that he would no longer stop those who wanted to enter Greece. He asked for more money from European states to continue to detain people at the gates of Europe. Thousands of people thus set off towards the border, even carrying out mass break-ins and clashes with the police forces (130,000 people according to figures released by the Turkish interior ministry, just over 30,000 according to the Greek authorities). Greece has in fact completely closed the border and suspended asylum requests, increasing controls and repression. Obviously, for the Turkish president, the millions of people stranded in Turkey are merely a bargaining chip for European politicians. Moreover, with

the war in Syria, his interests and political balances are very "delicate".

**Migration Compact and Italy-Libya Memorandum of Understanding, 2016.**

This is the proposal presented by the Italian government to the EU on the model of the EU-Turkey agreement to redesign European policies with African countries, from which the bulk of the flows towards the southern shore of Europe arrive and will continue to arrive.

The proposal is to further increase the funds, using European financial bonds, to be introduced on the negotiating table in order to obtain, in exchange, cooperation in control and readmission. The priority countries indicated by the Italian government are Tunisia, Senegal, Ghana, Niger, Egypt and Ivory Coast. To reinforce its proposal, especially to convince African countries to cooperate, Italy organised an Italy-Africa inter-ministerial meeting in Rome on 18 May 2016, to which the main African heads of state were invited in addition to representatives of the African Union (representatives of 52 African governments attended). In the months that followed, there was talk of adopting an Investment Plan for Africa, investing tens of billions of euros in infrastructure by leveraging private investment in Africa - just as the Juncker plan claimed to do in Europe - thus "helping" African countries to be active in the international private investment market. Obviously with generally European companies and partner organisations.

A form of neo-Keynesianism in the interests of European companies. The aim is to focus on improving border control and facilitating readmissions to both countries of origin and transit. To this end, the countries of origin and transit commit themselves to biometrics of their citizens' documents as well as to using the European laissez-passer as a tool to speed up returns.

For the first time, the document proposed by the Commission formalizes the idea of making the disbursement of development funds conditional on collaboration on migration, thus transforming cooperation into a "reward" or a "penalty" with respect to the commitment to control and readmission... a new neo-colonialism, with a European format.

On the occasion of this summit, Gentiloni proposed to his Libyan counterpart Taher Siyala to reactivate the 2008 Friendship Treaty signed by Berlusconi and Gaddafi. Many millions in aid to "protect migrants" in detention centres, improve the border control system and the legal framework in the country.

The refoulement machine funded by the Italian gov-

ernment and the EU, from 2016 to 2020, allowed Libya to return at least 60,000 people to their port of departure. Most of them ended up in the already full Libyan prisons, subjected to torture and exploitation of all kinds. Many of them were then "voluntarily repatriated" to their country, thanks to the work of the IOM, which from May 2017 to October 2020 repatriated 61,000 people from Libyan territories alone.

This was also possible thanks to the criminalisation of solidarity (initiated by Minniti, 2017) especially of NGOs carrying out rescues at sea, desired by both Italy and the EU, which led to the blocking of numerous ships, heavy fines and charges of aiding and abetting illegal immigration for crew members. In this way, commercial cargo ships were also pushed to change course when faced with barges in distress: in fact, the risk was to be stranded for weeks without being given a safe port. Since 2017, some 20 ships have been involved in legal proceedings, with over 40 investigations launched by European states.

On 20 March 2017, Libyan Prime Minister al-Sarraj presented a shopping list. Value, over 800 million euros: 10 ships, 10 patrol boats, 4 helicopters, 24 rubber dinghies, 10 ambulances, 30 off-road vehicles, 15 accessorized cars, at least 30 satellite phones and military equipment (not subject to the arms embargo voted by the UN). At the same time, the Italian government assured that more than 280 million would be invested in maritime authorities alone by 2020.

The patrol boats supplied to Libya come from a company in Rovigo, Cantieri Navali Vittoria. Again thanks to "technical agreements" between the Foreign and Interior Ministries, in August 2017: for "technical support" to "improve border and immigration management" 2.5 million euros are given. Then another 615 thousand euros for "training programmes". The supplier is always the same: Cantiere Navale Vittoria, owned by the Duò family. The Adria-based company is also responsible for the refitting of various vessels, but also for the training of 21 'Libyan police operators' in their 'management' or the transport of other vessels. The total amount of the contracts is close to 3 million euro.

**New Pact on Migration and Asylum, 23 September 2020.**

The same dynamics can be seen in the Commission's proposal for the New Pact: prevention of the arrival of "migrants" in Europe, contrasting so-called secondary movements and repatriation. External action will be the renewed objective of the Union, through a global collaboration with the countries of origin and transit all oriented towards the externalisation of borders. They call this 'voluntary flexible solidarity'.



## MISSIONS TO "FIGHT TERRORISM" (and migrants)

**EUCAP SAHEL** - "capacity-building mission" in Niger and in Mali Promoted and financed by the EU, it started out in 2012 in Niger as a mission to support the fight against terrorism, organised crime and the security of uranium mining areas, but has now turned into a mission to combat immigration. The idea is in fact to reinforce and train police officers and various guards. In the same vein, an agreement was also signed with neighbouring Mali in April 2016 (a €43.5 million agreement that foresees a central role for the Eucap Sahel Mali mission), an agreement that in turn sees a union of the fight against 'terrorism' and the fight against migration.

From 2012 to 2019, EUCAP Sahel Niger trained around 13 thousand members of the Niger armed forces.

On 3 May 2019, German Chancellor Angela Merkel visited the premises of EUCAP Sahel Niger to follow the progress of the deployment of a mobile border control company (CMCF), which Germany co-funded with €6 million.

EUCAP Sahel Niger is composed of about 50 experts from various EU countries and about 30 local staff. Its headquarters are in Niamey, Niger. The head of the mission is Frank Van der Mueren (BE), since May 2018.

EUCAP Sahel Mali's headquarters are located in Bamako. Since 1 October 2017, the Head of Mission is French gendarmerie officer Philippe Rio.

**G5BSAHEL** - he European heads of state meeting in Paris in December 2017 relaunched the G5Sahel structure - with a budget of 250 million euros - investing it with a new mission: the fight against migrant trafficking by blocking departures and transits to Libya. By killing and locking in camps and jails, these agreements have worked:

In 2015, more than a million people crossed the Mediterranean and landed in Europe. Of these 856,000 landed in Greece and 153,000 in Italy.

In 2016, thanks to the agreements with Turkey, the numbers plummeted: 361,678 arrivals, of which 181,436 in Italy and 173,447 in Greece.

In 2017 half of 2016: just over 171 thousand (119 thousand in Italy, 29 thousand in Greece).

In 2018 138 thousand arrivals, of which only 23,370 in Italy, 64 thousand in Spain, "new" route after the agreements with Turkey and Libya.

In 2019 123 thousand arrivals, of which 11,471 in Italy, 50% less than in 2018 and 90% less than in 2017.

In 2020 the numbers continue to decrease: 95 thousand people landed, of which 34 thousand in Italy.

In the meantime, the news of massacres, torture, and rape in Libyan lagers paid for with European money, of deaths at sea and in the desert, continues amidst the almost total indifference and inaction of those who are actually financing all this, even if only by paying taxes.

Today, in the Covid era, the Italian state has found a new way to discourage and control immigration: quarantine ships.

## QUARANTINE SHIPS, NEW FLOATING HOTSPOTS

The quarantine ships are a next step born in the Covid era. A real experiment that is, in fact, continuing and expanding.

On 7 April 2020, Italian ports are declared 'unsafe' for the disembarkation of people rescued by foreign-flagged ships outside the Italian SAR.

On 12 April, the use of ships to carry out the health surveillance period is approved.

A new experiment in detaining 'undocumented' people was thus born. On the quarantine ships, requisitioned by the Italian state in return for a large payment to the shipping companies, those who arrive by sea without documents are detained for weeks on end. But not only that. In the previous months, the Ministry of the Interior, with the support of the Red Cross, had taken hundreds of immigrants who had already tested positive for Covid-19 protection or had other residence permits and were in reception centres throughout Italy onto the quarantine ships.

In January 2021, the Ministry of the Interior, with the announcement for the updating of the ships to be used for health isolation, provided that the 'service' could also be 'extended to migrants arriving in Italy independently across land borders'.

Those who arrive by plane in Italy or who have documents only have to present a swab, at most do a few days of fiduciary isolation in a house. Instead, 'migrants', under the pretext of Covid, are held in detention facilities isolated in the sea, now real hotspots, or floating prisons, where they will only come out to be transported to Detention and Expulsion Centres, if considered 'irregular', or to 'reception' facilities, if considered as asylum seekers.

In the name of health containment.



## FINANCING AND COLLABORATION

### A few companies

The growth in border security spending has benefited a wide range of companies, in particular arms manufacturers and biometric security companies.

French arms giant Thales, one of the leading arms exporters in the region, is a major player, supplying military and security equipment for border security and biometric systems and equipment.

Major suppliers of biometric security companies include Veridos, OT Morpho and Gemalto (soon to be taken over by Thales). Meanwhile, Germany and Italy are funding their own arms companies - Hensoldt, Airbus and Rheinmetall (Germany) and Leonardo and Intermarine (Italy) - to support border security work in some MENA countries, notably Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. In Turkey, large contracts for border security have been won by Turkish defence companies, notably Aselsan and Otokar, which are using the resources to subsidise their own defence efforts that are also behind Turkey's attacks on Kurdish communities.

There are also a number of semi-public companies and international organisations that provide consultancy, training and management to border security projects that have thrived on the massive growth of the border security market.

These include the French semi-public company Civipol, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD). Civipol is partly owned by large arms manufacturers such as Thales, Airbus and Safran, and in 2003 it wrote an influential consultancy paper for the European Commission, which laid some of the foundations for the current border externalisation measures from which it now benefits.

EU funding and donations of military and security equipment, as well as pressure on third countries to strengthen their border security capabilities, have boosted the border security market in Africa. The lobbying organisation AeroSpace and Defence Industries Association of Europe (ASD) has begun to focus on externalising the EU's borders. Large arms companies such as Airbus and Thales have also set their sights on the growing African and Middle Eastern markets.

The big European arms and technology companies, in particular Airbus, Thales, Leonardo (formerly Finmeccanica) and Safran, are the main benefactors of the militarization of the EU's borders.

Member states - unsurprisingly - often choose to finance or donate equipment from companies in their own countries.

(Text largely translated from *Borders Wars I and II*, and especially *Expanding the fortress: The policies, the profiteers and the people shaped by EU's border externalisation programme*, by Mark Akkerman)



## THALES

Thales is the tenth largest arms manufacturer in the world, and the fourth largest in Europe - and consequently also a major arms supplier to countries in the Middle East and Africa, where it saw continued high growth in 2017. Thales is a major player in the EU's border security industrial complex. As a member of both ASD and EOS, it has played a significant role in lobbying for EU border security and migration policies. It has also won important contracts for border security, for example the implementation of a comprehensive and integrated system for security at the Latvian eastern border, including command and control software, optronics, sensors and a communication network.

With regard to the externalisation of EU borders, Thales' focus is on 'capitalising on the growth of security markets' in Africa. It has provided nine African countries with control systems for identification documents. For example, since 2005, Morocco has switched to biometric identity cards, based on fingerprints, partly to 'control migration flows'. Thales contributed to the implementation of this project by providing equipment and software for the production of identity documents.

The relationship with Egypt is particularly close. In recent years, Thales has helped supply Egypt with Rafale fighter planes and radar for frigates and corvettes. Egypt's cooperation to stop migration for the EU plays an important role in this, as it facilitates lax enforcement of arms export rules.

In 2015, the Dutch government granted a €34 million export licence to Thales Nederland for the supply of C3 radars and systems to Egypt for use on corvettes built by the French naval group, even though it admitted to being concerned about serious human rights violations. One of the reasons given by the Dutch government for granting the export licence to Thales was the role played by the Egyptian navy in stopping 'illegal' immigration to Europe.

In 2017, Thales announced the acquisition of digital security company Gemalto, based in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, for approximately €4.8 billion. With this transaction, Thales will significantly strengthen its position in the international security and border control market. Peter Smallridge of Gemalto is co-chairman of the EOS Integrated Border Security Working Group.

Gemalto has been contracted by Morocco to supply, manage and secure the new Moroccan biometric passports.

Gemalto also provided Ghana with an electronic border control system, based on biometric identification technology, as part of the development of a national migration policy. This policy was praised by the EU as being in line with the Valletta Declaration and Action Plan. Ari Bouzbib of Gemalto said the new system for Ghana could serve "as a model for modernisation in many other African countries".

Other clients include Uganda, for a visa management system to strengthen border security, and Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Moldova, Nigeria and Turkey, for biometric passports or ID cards. In February 2017, Gemalto signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Moldovan Border Police "to strengthen the security of the Republic of Moldova's borders in accordance with European standards, as well as to ensure compliance with the conditions necessary for the application of the provisions of the Schengen acquis". Gemalto has agreed to help find external funding for the implementation of the projects.

Thales is also one of the co-owners of Civipol, a company of the French Ministry of the Interior, which helped define the EU's border externalisation policies that it now benefits from through the implementation of many EU-funded projects in third countries.

The EU provided financial support for strengthening Turkey's border security capacity long before the agreement with Turkey, mainly through the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA and IPA II). In total, Turkey will receive € 469 million from these funds for 'migration-related' activities in the period 2007-2020. Part of these funds is earmarked for the purchase of border security equipment.

In May 2017, the Turkish state-owned defence company Aselsan was awarded the contract to supply armoured and unarmoured mobile surveillance units for border control. The EU paid for this contract, worth almost €30 million, through the IPA and IPA II. Deliveries were scheduled for 2018.

Aselsan also built a border security system on the Turkey-Syria border. It comprises so-called 'smart' military towers with observation and obstruction systems. Aselsan has also developed two types of surveillance and reconnaissance balloons for use along the borders with Syria and Iraq. The 'Water Drop' and 'Global' balloons will have protection against small arms and are expected to be in the air 24/7, providing information to military bases and outposts.

Another Turkish company profiting from EU money is Otokar, a manufacturer of military and civilian vehi-

cles. In 2015, it won the tender to supply Turkey with reconnaissance and surveillance vehicles for border security. The Cobra II vehicles are equipped with radar, a target detection system and thermal cameras. The contract, worth more than €47 million, was again financed through the IPA.

With the orders for Aselsan and Otokar, Turkey is using EU money to strengthen its military and security industry. Building up these domestic industries is part of Turkey's policy goal of becoming more self-sufficient and less dependent on arms deliveries abroad.

Although Turkish beneficiaries dominate, six new 'Search and Rescue' ships have been ordered from Dutch shipbuilder Damen, although they are being built at its Antalya shipyard in Turkey. In July 2017, Damen delivered the first two vessels to the Turkish Coast Guard under a contract with the IOM. The British company Rolls-Royce delivered the ships' engines.

Despite their name, the European Commission has made it clear that 'search and rescue' is only part of the job for the new ships, which also includes 'combating irregular immigration and trafficking'. The Commander of the Turkish Coast Guard Command, Rear Admiral Bülent Olcay, was even more explicit, describing them as replacements for "Coast Guard vessels whose lifespan expired early due to overuse" in the "fight against irregular immigration".

The €20 million used to finance the vessels came from the Instrument for Stability and Peace (IcSP), which is intended for peacebuilding and conflict prevention.

For Damen, this is not the only sale related to border security outside Europe. In 2012 he supplied four patrol vessels to the Libyan Coast Guard, which were sold as civilian equipment to avoid an arms export licence from the Dutch government. However, a team of researchers found that the ships were not only sold with mounting points for weapons, but were then armed and used to stop refugee boats.

In 2012 Damen also delivered a patrol vessel to the Cape Verdean coastguard. In 2015, Morocco ordered five interceptor vessels from Damen 'to combat illegal activities [...] in Moroccan waters'. The contract included training in cooperation with the Dutch Shipping and Transport College Group. And in April 2018, the Tunisian Navy received the first of four Damen Multi Service offshore patrol vessels.

## LEONARDO and INTERMARINI

In Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Niger, Leonardo (Finmeccanica) is said to be carrying out "promotional activities for security technologies and territorial control". The company, in which the Ministry of the Economy is the main shareholder, said it wanted to "revitalise pending projects and propose others, providing governments with cutting-edge systems and technologies for the security of the countries". The company is currently 'exploring opportunities within Europe to develop a project to control migratory flows from Africa to Europe, consisting of a coastal security and surveillance system with command and control centres'.

An example: Leonardo has just delivered two King Air 350ER maritime surveillance aircraft (entered into action on 17 February 2020) configured for this role by Leonardo with the ATOS (Airborne Tactical Observation and Surveillance) mission system to Morocco. It is the Royal Moroccan Navy that has started using the two aircraft. The King Air 340ERs are reportedly designed and manufactured by Beechcraft Augsburg, a German subsidiary (with branches in Bremen, Ganderkesee, Stuttgart and Augsburg) of Textron Aviation.

To strengthen Libya's border security capabilities, Italy and the EU donated security equipment and money to Libya. In practice, these 'donations' mainly benefited Italian arms companies, notably Leonardo and Intermarine.

With the start of the civil war, the deliveries stopped, but resumed shortly after the fall of Gaddafi. A leaked 2013 internal EU document lists Italy's equipment donations to Libya in 2012 and 2013, which included '15 all-terrain vehicles for patrolling sensitive infrastructure' (value: €550,000), ten 4x4 and ten 6x6 vehicles (value: €7.7 million) and Navy uniforms (value: €500,000). Donations of a patrol boat, computer equipment, 15 motorbikes and 20 other vehicles are in the pipeline.

Leonardo (then Finmeccanica) was the first Western arms company to conclude a major arms deal with Libya after the end of the arms embargo in 2004. In 2006, Libya ordered ten AW109 Power helicopters for border control from its subsidiary AgustaWestland, with an estimated value of €80 million. Finmeccanica has also set up several joint ventures with Libyan companies in the field of aerospace and defence electronics.

In 2009, another Finmeccanica subsidiary, Selex Sistemi Integrati, announced a EUR 300 million contract with Libya for a large security and border control system, including 'the training of operators and maintenance personnel, as well as the completion of all necessary civil infrastructure'. Half of the funding for the purchase was provided by the European Union, the other half by the Italian government. The first half of the project was signed and started in October 2009, but the equipment had not been installed before the overthrow of Gaddafi. The project was suspended. In 2011, Finmeccanica restarted negotiations with the interim government.

During 2012, the new Libyan government discussed a possible multibillion-dollar land border security programme with Italy, the UK and France. A number of arms companies, including Finmeccanica, as well as Thales, Airbus (later EADS), KBR UK, BAE Systems and QinetiQ, have been preparing to participate in a planned but not yet released tender, which could cover, for example, radars, helicopters, UAVs and ground vehicles. According to former Italian Air Force Chief of Staff Leonardo Tricarico, then an advisor to Finmeccanica, in 2012 Libya and Italy also signed a memorandum on a border security project based on satellite surveillance, which did not materialise.

In November 2013, Libyan Defence Minister Abdullah al-Thini announced that Libya had commissioned Selex Sistemi to build a satellite surveillance system: 'It will cover the entire border. From the end of 2014 the southern border will be sealed. Crossing points and weak points will be closed with the help of satellites.' This is not a new project, but the resumption of an aborted project from 2009. Since then, the proposal has been mentioned several times, but as of September 2017, it had still not moved forward.

Leonardo is also involved in other agreements for border security in countries bordering Europe. In 2010 and 2011 it supplied 15 helicopters for border monitoring in Algeria. And in 2013, AgustaWestland signed a contract with the Mauritanian Air Force for the delivery of two AW109 helicopters, to be used for border patrol and reconnaissance missions. In February 2017, Leonardo announced that it had been selected by Austrian company Schiebel to supply the PicoSAR radar surveillance system for Camcopter S-100 unmanned aerial systems (UAS) to a North African country, reportedly Tunisia, for tasks including border monitoring.

Intermarine is an Italian military shipbuilder, part of the Rodriquez Cantieri Navali Group. The Italian Navy is its main customer, but Intermarine's patrol vessels are also used by the Romanian border police and the Libyan coastguard.

In 2009 Italy donated six of Intermarine's Bigliana patrol vessels to the Libyan Coast Guard. Libyan officers were trained in their use by the Italian military police. Italian military officers were also present on the vessels as 'observers' and for maintenance. Two of the vessels later broke down and were taken out of service, while the other four were returned to Italy in 2012 for €4.3 million in maintenance work, paid for by Italy. It returned four patrol vessels in May 2017 and promised six more later that year.

According to Amnesty International, the Libyan Coast Guard used Ras Jadir, one of the boats donated by Italy, during a terrible incident on 6 November 2017, when 50 people died as a result of its actions. Eight of the thirteen crew members on that boat had been trained as part of Operation Sophia.

While Gaddafi was in power in 2010, Libya ordered a coastal surveillance system for the entire coast from Transas Systems, an Irish firm specialising in maritime technology. The system, worth around \$28 million, would be able to constantly monitor the coast. "Libya will have one of the most modern and efficient systems in the world, capable of detecting even small boats used by illegal immigrants," said Christopher Loiz, then head of the French unit of Transas. It is unclear but seems unlikely that this system was actually installed, given the rapid changes in Libya shortly after this contract was signed.

In 2014, the French shipbuilding company Ocea announced a contract to deliver at least two FPB 98 patrol vessels to the Libyan Navy.

Twenty of the same ships were sold to Algeria between 2008 and 2011. Senegal also ordered four vessels in 2012. Ocea has also supplied the Nigerian Navy with a number of patrol vessels for tasks including stopping irregular immigration.

# RHEINMETALL and AIRBUS

Germany is Europe's largest donor of military and security equipment for border control to third countries. It is often unclear which companies produce the equipment, however the names of arms companies Rheinmetall and Airbus appear frequently.

In 2016, Jordan received 16 Marder infantry fighting vehicles produced by Rheinmetall from the German Ministry of Defence for security tasks on the border with Syria.

A further 34 will follow during 2017, bringing the total value to around €25 million. A few months later, the commander of the Jordanian border guards, General Barakat Aqeel, said: 'The borders are completely closed for refugees'.

Airbus is another beneficiary of German generosity. Germany has donated to Tunisia a large amount of border security equipment mainly manufactured by Airbus, including speedboats, a document control laboratory, night vision equipment, surveillance systems, radar and reconnaissance systems and other partly military border security equipment and devices. Airbus C295 and CN235 helicopters are used by, among others, Mali, Egypt and Ghana for a wide range of missions, including border control. Algeria has also purchased a border surveillance system from Airbus' 'border security division'.

In March 2017, the Airbus Border Security division became the German company Hensoldt. Airbus Defence and Space had decided to focus more on its core business and sold this division and the electronics division to the American private equity firm KKR & Co for around €1.1 billion, retaining a 25.1% minority stake in the short term.

Hensoldt announced in May 2017 that it had already received orders from MENA countries worth around €40 million for 50 units of its Spexer 2000 ground surveillance radar, which is mainly used for border and coastal surveillance.

In December 2017, the German government wrote, in response to parliamentary questions from Die Linke, that it had funded further equipment deliveries from Hensoldt to Tunisia, including five ground surveillance radars, 25 high-resolution binoculars, five NightOwl M mountable night vision units, and 25 smaller night vision units that can be mounted as rifle scopes on automatic weapons. Hensoldt was also responsible for training operators in their use.



## BIOMETRIC AFFAIRS

The EU has pushed many third countries to register their population, including immigrants, with fingerprints or other biometric data in order to identify (and often deport) them more quickly if they enter Europe. The European Commission sells these practices by stressing how it works with the African Union and how it can help voter registration. However, it adds that 'of course the data should also be used for migration management'.

The role of Thales and Gemalto has already been discussed. Other players include Civipol, Veridos, a German joint venture of the security technology company Giesecke & Devrient, and Bundesdruckerei, a state-owned company specialising in secure identification documents and equipment. It produces identity documents and automated border control and biometric identification systems.

Two weeks after German Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière visited Morocco in 2016, Morocco ordered an entire national border control system from Veridos, which undertook to provide the IT infrastructure, including biometric scanners and control locks for both fixed and mobile border checkpoints. Veridos said the contract, the value of which it declined to disclose, is one of the largest in the world in the field of border control.

OT-Morpho was founded in 2017 when Morpho, part of French military company Safran, was sold to Advent Technologies and merged with its subsidiary Oberthur Technologies. In 2010, Morpho signed a contract with Mauritania to produce biometrically-based secure identity documents. The programme also incorporated 'Mauritania Visit', a border control system. Morpho called it 'one of the first fully integrated systems of its kind, combining citizen identification, ID production and secure border control'.

For Egypt, Morpho produces national identity cards, in partnership with AOI Electronics, a military company owned by the Egyptian state.

In Mali, Morpho is working on a 10-year contract signed in 2016 to provide a complete system for issuing electronic passports based on biometric data. Morpho also provides passports for Uzbekistan, where it has implemented an identification system covering the entire chain, including border control. Thales was a subcontractor for this, providing biometric data acquisition stations.

Veridos, OT-Morpho and Gemalto are all prominent members of the Security Identity Alliance (SIA), a lobbying organisation for the digital identity and security market.

In June 2017, its eBorder Working Group published the lobby paper 'Strong Identity, Strong Borders', a 'best practice guide to developing a cohesive and effective eBorder strategy'. In it, the SIA explicitly advocates the need to "export the border" through interventions before people leave for their destination, such as a "face-to-face interview by a representative of the country of destination", including "biometric

enrolment - of face and fingerprints, for example - which can be checked against police and immigration records in the country of origin".

## EU COMPANIES AND IMMIGRATION DETENTION CENTRES OUTSIDE EUROPE

All EU member states imprison displaced persons by force, although the form of detention, the duration and the categories of people who end up there differ.

While it is clear from its practice that the EU sees little problem in sending people back to countries where they could end up in horrific detention conditions, such as Libya, it is less well known that the EU also funds administrative detention within third countries.

Engineering companies, various companies, earn millions for the construction and design of these lagers. Arup, a British engineering company, received a €4 million contract in 2009 for architecture, engineering, design and project management for a total of nine detention centres in Ukraine, paid for entirely by the EU through the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). Eurasyllum, a UK-based migration research and consultancy company, was co-manager of this project. With IPA funds, the EU financed the provision of equipment for the establishment of 'reception and removal' centres in Turkey. In 2014, contracts were awarded to several Turkish companies (Caner Medikal Tic., Teksmak Tekstil Mak, Köksal Bilişim Teknolojileri, İletişim, Elektronik ve Fotoğrafçılık, İnoksan Mutfak, Seha Mühendislik Müşavirlik) for a total of almost €6 million, for goods ranging from furniture and textiles to IT and security equipment. Tender procedures for the supply of household appliances and medical equipment were cancelled because no 'qualitatively valid offers' were received.

In January 2017, it was announced that Belarus would receive €7 million from the European Neighbourhood Instrument for detention centres to 'accommodate illegal immigrants caught in Belarus'. The European Commission, the Belarusian Ministry of Interior and the Belarusian office of the IOM collaborated on the project. Belarusian dictator Alexander Lukashenko clearly expects more money from the EU: 'We do not need illegal immigrants to stay here for a long time. If someone is interested in setting up these centres here, then they must also provide Belarus with the money for the subsequent extradition of the migrants. We do not need them to stay here'. Moldova has also received funding for a detention centre in Chisinau, in use since 2009, from the EU and the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

## INSTITUTIONS AND EXTERNALIZATION

Military and security companies are not the sole recipients of contracts relating to the externalisation of EU borders. Many projects funded by the EU or member states are carried out by (semi-)public and intergovernmental institutions. Although their main goal might not be to make money, many finance their organisations by relying on EU-funded projects. The most important actors in this field are the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) and the member states' institutions Civipol (France) and GIZ (Germany).

### CIVIPOL

Civipol is the consultancy and service company of the French Ministry of the Interior, founded in 2001 and drawing on experts from the Ministry and other governmental authorities. Both as a state-owned operator and as a private company, the French State owns 40% of Civipol, while several companies, including the large arms manufacturers Airbus, Safran and Thales, each own more than 10% of the shares. It is active in several sectors, including security. Civipol does not sell equipment, but provides consultancy, management, audits, training and so on.

Its CEO since June 2017 has been Prefect Yann Jounot. Civipol's expertise applies to the fundamentals of states' internal security: identity, control of flows to combat "all forms of trafficking and organised crime", and presence on the ground.

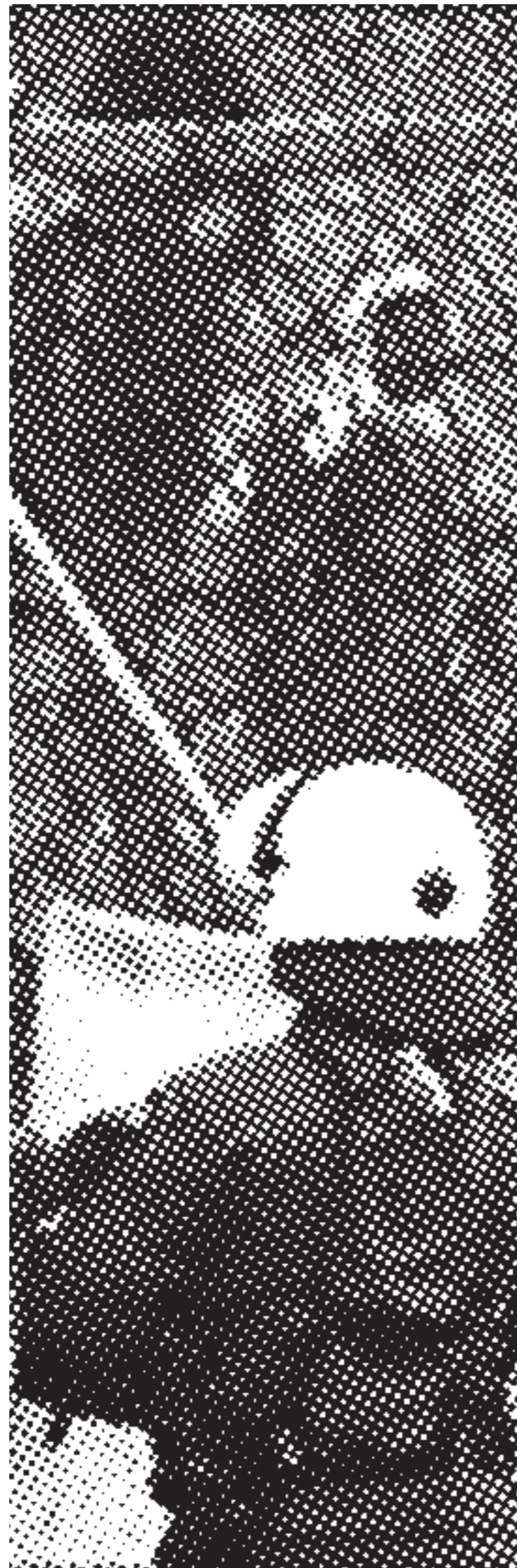
They are present in 80 countries around the world. Their intervention is increasingly in demand. The "control of flows" is one of their main activities; they are "supporting" the African police with logistics and training.

Turnover in 2018: €77.2 million, with 108 projects awarded, 75% of which are in Africa. 70% of the calls are funded by the EU. 20% by third-party countries and organisations, 5% by the World Bank.

Its main client is the European Commission, which finances a large number of its projects both in the EU and in third countries.

Since its inception, Civipol has focused on border security and the externalisation of EU borders. In 2003, it wrote a 'Feasibility Study on EU Maritime Border Control' for the European Commission. Many of the proposals contained in this paper were adopted by the Commission in its Programme of Measures to combat illegal immigration across the EU's maritime borders of October 2003 and in subsequent policy documents. It also laid some foundations for the current (proposed) measures on border externalisation.

Civipol argued that 'the control of the physical border



should be reinforced in an upstream "virtual border", carrying out control and prevention actions in the time span between countries of transit or departure'. He also proposed "the use of reception areas in third countries", "the introduction and maintenance of administrative detention centres in transit countries" and "the encouragement of controls by boarding countries on land, on their coasts and in their ports". He called for patrols authorised by the European Union to intervene on ships, as close as possible to the coasts of embarkation. Its proposals were read as blueprints for both the agreement with Turkey and the Sophia operation off Libya.

Civipol did not recommend any restrictions to achieve these goals, proposing strong pressure on third countries, 'punishments' for those who fail to stop boats with displaced persons leaving their territory and suggesting the use of 'loopholes' to international human rights regulations, for example by disguising the interception and return of refugee boats as 'immediate rescue of vessels whose seaworthiness is in doubt' under the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea.

Since 2003, Civipol has been involved in numerous migration-related projects, mainly in African states. Between 2015 and 2017, it was the fourth most funded organisation by the EUTF.

In Morocco, in 2006, Civipol assisted the country in training a border guard and organised study visits to Bulgaria and Letland. In August 2017, it returned to strengthen the border guard's operational capacities to 'fight illegal immigration'.

In 2009 it won a contract to manage 'a donation from France for the purchase of material and equipment for Tunisia's land and sea border surveillance units'. Similarly, France won a contract to implement a biometric-based border control system for Tunisia worth EUR 2.6 million.

Civipol is also one of the implementing partners of the Better Migration Management project in the Horn of Africa. In December 2016, it was selected to create fingerprint databases of the entire population of Mali and Senegal. These projects, funded with €25 and €28 million by the EUTF, seek to identify irregular migrants from both countries in Europe and deport them.

Another Civipol project funded by the EUTF is the four-year AJUSEN project in Niger, which provides justice, security and border management support in the 'fight against illegal migration'.

This includes strengthening Niger's internal security forces and establishing 'efficient border management'. Civipol notes that the project is part of a 'general effort to strengthen the internal security forces in this region'. Civipol is also involved in supporting regional coopera-

tion between the Sahel G5 countries, with €7 million funding from the European Commission for technical assistance in border management, and Euromed Police IV (EU funding: €4.8 million) on security cooperation between the southern EU and other Mediterranean countries, including Libya, Egypt and Israel.

In addition to its role as consultant and project manager, Civipol is also the main shareholder of the MILIPOL Economic Interest Grouping (EIG), which organises the major Milipol security fairs in Paris, Qatar and Singapore.

Like all security and arms fairs, border security companies play a regular and growing role.

Civipol's structure raises big questions about conflicts of interest, given its mixed state/private composition. It thrives on state funds and uses them to support and participate in security projects in third countries that benefit the arms and security industry.

### INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR MIGRATION

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is an intergovernmental organisation, founded in 1951 and operating under the auspices of the United Nations as the United Nations Migration Agency since 2016. The IOM's work is very broad and consists of both working with governments and directly with 'migrants'.

Even many NGOs have criticised the IOM, especially for its role in deportations and detention of displaced persons and for its support to states in building capacity for migration control. In practice, IOM works on the basis that states have the sovereign right to control their borders and decide on the (non-)entry of foreigners. It offers a 'technical approach' to borders, framed in a 'depoliticised language of management'.

Most of IOM's work focuses on projects funded by states or other intergovernmental organisations. In the field of 'migration and border management', IOM runs around 200 projects each year that seek to support border management and reduce irregular migration. Its portfolio includes support for many EU border externalisation projects. At the heart of this is IOM's African Capacity Building Centre (ACBC) in Tanzania, established in 2009 'to improve the migration management capacity of African states'. By 2016, more than 4500 officials from dozens of African countries had received training at the ACBC, mainly in migration and border management.

The IOM also plays an important role in the EU's attempts to stop migration to Europe through Niger and Libya. In its border security work with Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Burkina Faso, the IOM also receives funding from the United States and Japan.

Training of military and security forces in the region - as well as related border security projects - takes place



through the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) programme. These projects are often framed primarily in terms of regional stability and/or counter-terrorism, but in practice end up reinforcing a policy of forced displacement of displaced persons from Europe.

#### INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR MIGRATION POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Another important recipient of EU funding is the International Center for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), an international organisation based in Vienna and founded by Austria and Switzerland in 1993. The ICMPD is supported by 15 member states, most of them from Central Europe.

It has a staff of about 200, a number that doubled in 2010, and operates several project and field offices. In 2016, it supervised projects worth €124 million with 73% of this funding coming from the European Commission. In 2015, the project value was €110.6 million, 69% from the European Commission.

ICMPD's work covers a wide range of migration issues, including capacity building and tools in the fight against irregular migration, border management and refugee return. ICMPD implements and manages projects, provides education and training and carries out support and advisory activities. Between 2009 and 2017, it coordinated projects in 19 countries outside the European Union.

In Ukraine, for example, ICMPD obtained €1.7 million for the project Capacity Building and Technical Support to Ukrainian Authorities to Effectively Respond to Irregular Transit Migration, which ran from 2008 to 2010 and included the detention "zone". Through this programme, EU funds were channelled into 'technical support to detention centres in Rozsuviv and Zhuravichi' and 'a comprehensive plan for a perimeter security protection system for the Zhuravichi centre'. A workshop funded at the same centre included 'management of problematic groups of migrants'.

ICMPD is currently working on building the institutional capacity of Turkey's Directorate General for Migration Management to meet the requirements of the EU-Turkey Migration Action Plan. The project is funded by the United Kingdom.

The ICMPD provides support and secretariat functions for several 'migration dialogues' that the EU has with third countries, including the Budapest Process, the Prague Process, the Rabat Process, the Khartoum Process. And it implements the 'Mobility Partnership Facility' (MPF), a 'new instrument to support mobility partnerships and common migration and mobility agendas'. The MPF is funded by the EU with €5.5 million from the Internal Security Fund and the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund and includes support

to third countries to 'boost and combat irregular migration'. MPF funding only goes to those countries that have signed a Mobility Partnership or a Common Agenda on Migration and Mobility with the EU. Projects include "capacity building of border guard dog management services in Moldova and Georgia" and "implementation of Moldovan integrated border management".

#### GIZ

The German development cooperation agency, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), is a major implementer of projects under the EU Trust Fund for Africa and other EU or German funding. It is the main contractor for the Better Migration Management project in the Horn of Africa and is involved in many other border and migration management projects, receiving more than €130 million in funding.

In addition to EU-funded projects, GIZ implements several migration projects funded by the German government. These include the Support to the African Union Border Programme, which runs from 2008 to 2018 and is funded with €37.2 million. GIZ also manages several migration-related projects in Morocco, Mali, Mauritania, Chad and Niger, as well as broader projects to strengthen police and other security actors in several African countries.

GIZ was also involved in one of the largest border security contracts of all time, the €2 billion contract awarded in 2008 by Saudi Arabia to Airbus (then called EADS) to provide a surveillance system for all its borders. As part of the deal, dozens of German police officers, paid by GIZ, were deployed to Saudi Arabia to work with EADS in training Saudi border officials, including weapons training, as well as advising them on border patrol activities.

*As we can see, patterns emerge. Repeatedly, funding flows down the same avenues: Leonardo, GIZ, Civipol, IOM etc. The process is as follows: Companies submit proposals to various agencies or politicians.*

*Ensuingly they sniff each other's asses at the various trade fairs, border security congresses and international conferences. Then, suddenly, the proposals are approved on a EU level.*

*One example is the transformation of Frontex into the European Border and Coastguard Agency, active since 2016 in the same Warsaw location, with a budget that has been increasing from 142 million in 2015, to 333 million in 2019 and 460 million in 2020. And the digitization of the Civil Status Registry makes it possible both to more easily deport migrants from European territory and to open up a vast market in Africa.*

*It's a cycle: the EU and its member states finance control policies and equipment for African countries. Then they issue calls for projects. These are often won by the same semi-controlled companies as the states themselves. They also subcontract to private and multinational companies. Everyone wins. A gruesome machine: State capitalism, European capitalism, and Corporate Capitalism perfectly integrated into the global context.*



## A PRACTICAL CASE. THE NIGER EU laboratory

Niger is one of the poorest countries in the world. Yet it is very rich in raw materials such as gold, uranium and oil. It is also a land of transit for thousands of people trying to reach Europe. It is estimated that more than 70% of the people who have arrived in Italy without papers have passed through Niger.

Many interests are at stake.

After the Vallette summit in 2015, where EU summits and representatives of many African states met, Niger is one of the states that has chosen to 'cooperate' with the EU the most.

The closing of the passage to the north began immediately after the summit, with the establishment of the law "against human trafficking and the illegal smuggling of migrants" and continued, thanks to substantial European funds, with the training and equipping of the military and police. On the one hand, projects are financed to facilitate law enforcement by training justice personnel to arrest 'traffickers' and confiscate vehicles found laden with migrants. On the other hand, the various control systems are financed by equipping and training police officers and ad hoc forces operating from the southern border through Niamey and Agadez in intelligence operations.

Niger is the main beneficiary of the European Trust Fund for Africa. Nearly 200 million projects have been financed to date, in addition to the recent promise of a further 500 million in the Sahel region - and our own Africa Fund: 50 million euros in exchange for which it is committed to creating new specialised units necessary for border control and new border posts - as well as development funds. Today, Niger is considered 'Europe's southern border', representing the most advanced laboratory of externalisation policy.

Having sold itself to the EU, Niger has undertaken to control its borders to prevent 'migrants' from reaching Libya, but also to accept the readmission of people who have passed through Niger and are in Europe. This is an agreement signed by the European Union that is of particular interest to Italy, which - if the readmission clause were to become operative for transiting immigrants as well as Niger nationals - would be able to directly expel a large part of the Africans arriving in Niger, without having to sign agreements with the countries of origin.

In Makalondi, a few kilometres from Burkina Faso, MIDAS, the migrant information, collection and data analysis system developed by the International Organisation for Migration, has been in operation since 2018, with patrols and biometric data (fingerprints and facial images) mixed in. MIDAS collects, processes, stores and

analyses data on travellers in real time via a network extended to the borders. It allows states to more effectively monitor people entering and remaining in their territory, while providing a sound statistical basis for migration policies.

The Free Migration Management in West Africa programme, of which IOM is the lead partner, has been funded by the European Development Fund with €24 million. By 2020, the IOM confirms that there will be at least six border posts in Niger equipped with biometric technology. In Niamey, the capital, Frontex has already opened bases with precisely the same identification purposes.

In November 2018, IOM Niger announced a new mobile border post for the Niger authorities designed by IOM with Canadian funding to improve control of the Agadez region. The MBP (Mobile Border Post) is a cross between a truck and a camper van, suitable for desert travel, equipped with two offices and sophisticated systems to withstand extreme climates. The information on the vehicle that appears on the World Border Security Congress website specifies that if accompanied by an off-road vehicle and two motorbikes it can become a Mobile Border Unit (MBU).

There is talk of border crossings designed to take the data of migrants passing through, which will arrive directly in the Frontex database. So European. What for? To simplify selection. And repatriations. And to experiment.

In mid-2017, Italy allocated €50 million to the EU Trust Fund to "address the root causes of migration in Africa/Sahel Window and Lake Chad", with a focus on Niger. It is aimed at "the creation of new specialised units needed for border control, new fixed border posts, or the modernisation of existing ones, a new reception centre for migrants in Dirkou, as well as for the reactivation of the local airstrip".

In addition, since 2018, the "Bilateral Support Mission in the Republic of Niger" (MISIN) has taken to the field, which is under the Ministry of Defence and has among its objectives to "contribute to border surveillance activities". The first course "for public order instructors in favour of the Niger gendarmerie" ended in mid-October 2018.

Niger is also accepting evacuees from Libyan prisons who are now in Niamey in the hope of being resettled in a western country. It is also accepting the thousands of people rejected by Algeria and abandoned in the desert south of Tamanrasset. There is talk of almost 30 thousand dead in the desert. And on the other hand, waiting for them in Assamaka, Niger, is the IOM, which, as one of the main beneficiaries of the Trust Fund in Niger, responds perfectly to the logic of externalisa-

tion. The proposal it makes to those who survive the desert is in fact to be transferred to the transit centre in Agadez, with the aim of removing them from the border, and then 'voluntary repatriation' to their countries of origin. This multifunctional centre in Agadez could become central to the practice of rejections. In fact, if today it plays a role of deterrence to voluntary departure and return, in the future it could become an operational hotspot for the application of the readmission agreement and the control of migratory flows, if the identification of those who have transited is carried out.

Numerous military and police operations have taken place.

One of the most relevant, financed with an instrument largely coming from the development budget, is the GAR-SI-SAHEL project with a total budget of 41 million Euros, all coming from the Trust Funds for Africa. It is yet another policing and territorial control operation, in collaboration with the Italian Carabinieri and French and Portuguese police forces.

Finally, there is the Italian military. On 20 September 2018, Operation MISIN (Support Mission in the Republic of Niger) aimed at strengthening Niger's military apparatus officially kicked off. Minister Trenta - during an official visit to Niger on 26 February to renew the commitment of the Italian contingent in the country - explained that Italy's military mission aims to strengthen the capacities of Niger's partners "in countering the phenomenon of illegal trafficking, threats to security while also aiming to curb and reduce the uncontrolled flow of migrants to the country". He also announced the delivery of medical supplies to the Niger military forces for a total value of €167,000.

Niger has become a model country, held up as a positive example in the implementation of outsourcing policies. It is no coincidence that Niamey itself is the capital chosen by Frontex, in November 2018, the first of eight Risk Analysis Cells outside European territory. The role of these units is "to strategically collect and analyse data on border crossings to support local authorities in border management". The agency's plan is to open seven more, in Ghana, Gambia, Senegal, Kenya, Nigeria, Guinea and Mali as part of the AFIC (Africa-Frontex Intelligence Community). In Niamey, the aim is to equip and train the Niger police to collect data and make identifications that contribute to the analysis of the European agency.



*Migratory routes may change, yet the dynamics remain the same. The EU and its member states fund the global south to deter and stop migrants.*

*Money, Technology, Weapons, and instruments of control support the effort.*

*Dirty deals abound a contract here a life lost there.*

*What has changed is the vast figures making the rounds, billions shift from public to private hands.*

*Business is booming!*

*Who feels the brunt of these deals? Who's lives and hopes are shattered?*

*The 'unwanted intruders' seeking out a life in peace and food on the table.*

*Refoulement, Night-time pushbacks, Deportations, Incarceration, nothing but human material for the machine. The division between those that possess valid papers and those without is deepening.*

*Our enemies are everywhere. There is much to study, much to do. Right Now.*

*We have to struggle, with new methods and new ideas against these forms of domination and control. Their soft- and hardware, their databases, their fences, their ideas and their future.*

