A collection of texts presented at the Thessaloniki

NO BORDER

Camp (July 15-24, 2016). Updated by their authors

Thessaloniki
July 2017

A collection of texts presented at the Thessaloniki No Border Camp. Most of the texts were afterwards updated by their authors. The *Thessaloniki No Border Organizing Assembly* was dissolved in October 2016. All of its members continue to fight for migrants' rights, the way each of them consider most appropriate. Publishing the papers presented during the No Border Camp was one of the tasks of the *Thessaloniki No Border Camp Press Team* and this collection is its final activity. The Thessaloniki No Border Camp facebook page is still being updated:
https://web.facebook.com/NoBorderCampThessaloniki2016/

In the summer of 2016, the *Refugee to Refugee Call Center* (R2R) was established in Thessaloniki:
www.callcenter.coop
https://web.facebook.com/Refugees-to-Refugees-R2R-Solidarity-Call-Center-1039101139520127/

100 people were arrested in Thessaloniki after the No Border Camp.

– The nine people arrested at Nikis squat had their first trial, were convicted and are now waiting for the revision trial.
– The five people arrested at the Orfanotrofeio squat received heavier sentences in their first trial, but were found not guilty in the revision trial (May 2017).
– The 26 people arrested during a protest at the Thessaloniki's archbishop church (Metropolis) were found not guilty both in their first trial and the revision (January 2017).
– The 60 people arrested in the Hurriya squat will have their first trial in November 2017 (it has been postponed three times).

All cases were handled by the *Thessaloniki No Border legal team*. So far, the costs of all legal procedures have been covered by the movement.

You can read more about these and other cases in the webpage "You can't evict solidarity" that was created in the autumn of 2016:
https://cantevictsolidarity.noblogs.org/

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for the Thessaloniki No Border Camp
(publicized in March 2016)

by the
No Border Camp 2016
Organizing Assembly

Idomeni, March 2016.

No Border Camp
July 15-24 2016
Thessaloniki (Greece)
for the circulation of transnational struggles
against state, nationalism, patriarchy and capital

"We want to move"
(migrants' slogan in the highway road between Athens-Thessaloniki)

"Don't give me food, don't give me water, open the borders"
(migrants' banner in the occupied railway line in Idomeni)

Today, with neoliberalism established across the planet, it is clear that capitalist relations are being intensified, together with nationalism and patriarchy. Fences and borders are being built not only in the physical space, but also across social relationships. However, the movements and transnational struggles of migrants are constantly producing new cracks in the system, new thresholds and pathways into an unexplored world.

More specifically, transnational and global agreements further liberalize "free" markets and the lifting of tariff restrictions further ensure property rights for the wealthy. At the same time the former social contract of the welfare state is breaking down and the neoliberal state is claiming the role of manager-partner of companies, keeping for itself solely the army and the police in order to retain some of its administrative and legislative power. Gender oppression, racism and fascism are being remobilized for the control of populations.

However, social struggles in the form of riots, rebellions, campaigns and movements both before and during the process of this recent "crisis", seriously challenge all this. Prime examples are the riots in the French banlieues in November and December 2005, the Oaxaca Commune in 2006, the riots in December 2008 in Greece, the magnificently widespread Arab Spring in 2011, the Indignados Citizens Movements in Spain in 2011, the London riots in 2011, the "Occupy" movement in the USA in 2011 and 2012, the uprising at the Gezi park in Istanbul in June 2013, the

Brazilian Spring in 2013, the uprisings in Bosnia and other Balkan States during 2013-2014.

The response of neoliberalism to the recent structural crisis, one that is interpreted by some as a crisis of over-accumulation, by others as a result of civil disobedience, or as the long expected explosion of "abstract labor" in a fully monetarized economy, to extend and intensify its strategy of land-grabbing and pillage of resources, of means of production and of reproduction of whole societies.

Austerity programs in the countries of the European South, war, religious intolerance and the intensification of gender oppression in the countries of the Arab Spring are part of the same strategy. Thus, whole populations are made to abandon their homes. These people, deprived of their natural and social space, migrate, cross borders, fences, barbed wire, rivers, seas, mines and police patrols. They also face exploitation by traffickers, they are detained in concentration camps and then they are forced to search for a job (usually in the black market, often unpaid) even under extremely dire conditions. Most end up unemployed and they form a kind of reserve workforce or are forced into prostitution, trafficking networks and organ smuggling.

While more people need to move, more fences are being built. Fortress Europe rises from the ashes of its own crisis by using police procedures and policies of control, imprisonment, pushbacks, illegalization and penalization of the populations in motion. Police and military operations are intensified, N.A.T.O. enters the picture, discriminations between immigrants and refugees are constructed and finally concentration camps, hot spots and pushback centers pivot the management of migrant people.

Migrants moving from Africa and the Middle East towards Europe have challenged and fought against borders and national and supranational policies in practice. During the last months, hundreds of thousands of populations have crossed borders, and the movements for solidarity and emancipation are flourishing. The migrants' movement with all its inventiveness and ingenuity proves that desires, social relationships and dreams cannot be imprisoned. Their power goes beyond borders and fences.

It also shows that the motives for migration are mostly to be found in the complex intersections of gender, ethnic, cultural, religious or class discrimination and oppression. Populations in forced mobility develop survival strategies, activate subjective capabilities, coordinate social relationships with other moving people and simultaneously, they create social networks with those they leave behind.

Therefore, we believe that we should understand but then go beyond the idea that perceives the state, capital, patriarchy and racism as totally dominant upon human subjects, and hence also immigrants as submissive victims in need only of charity, compassion and saving.

In the last few months, immigrants and people in solidarity with them have met within and beyond the kaleidoscopic fields opened by the crisis. We believe that meetings and struggles should be encouraged, should acquire steady and lasting structures and reinvent the joy and the charm of companionship and sharing.

For all these reasons, we think it's crucial that we organize an international No Border Camp this summer in Thessaloniki.

In solidarity
No Border Camp 2016 Organizing Assembly
Thessaloniki 03/31/2016
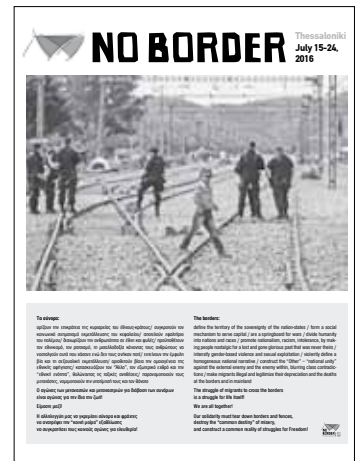
Before the No Border Camp: *weekly visits to the State-run "open centers" around Thessaloniki (above: a poster calling to one of the "visits") where entrance is officially not allowed, but NoBorder activists manage to get inside because authorities are afraid of an extended revolt. The first issue of the No Border newspaper (in Greek, English and Arabic, picture above) is printed in 8,000 copies and distributed inside the "open centers". On June 28, 2016, a protest takes place in Thessaloniki, with many participants from the "open centers", as a prelude for the coming No Border camp. The main demands: WE WANT TO LIVE WITH IMMIGRANTS IN OUR NEIGHBORHOODS – DIGNITY AND PAPERS FOR EVERYBODY*

Presentation of the pamphlet
"Vogelfrei. Migration, deportations, capital and its state"

by *Antithesi,*
thesi@antithesi.gr

NoBorder "Migrant's Pride" protest, July 21, 2016. Photo by an Albanian comrade, taken from Nikis squat, that was evicted one week later.

The publication of our pamphlet entitled *Vogelfrei.*[1] *Migration, deportations, capital and its state* aims at contributing to the analysis and critique of the politics of the EU and the Greek state on the control and biopolitical management of migration from a proletarian standpoint. The great increase of the migration movement towards the European Union during the last two years, which was mainly caused by the intensification of the military conflicts in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, has been confronted on the one hand with an intensification of border policing up to the point of its militarization and on the other hand with the formation of a new political and legal framework through the agreement between EU and Turkey on the 18th of March of 2016, which negates basic principles of the international asylum law. Our interest in the issue of migration as a form of the international mobility of labour, as a form of permanent primitive accumulation and as a form of autonomous proletarian activity is not academic. On the contrary, we seek to equip ourselves with theoretical instruments which may be proven useful for the development of common struggles of local and immigrant proletarians, as an integral part of the **class antagonistic** movement against capital and its state.

This pamphlet contains a text written by us which focuses on the case of Greece, a text by Wildcat[2], a German radical political group, focusing on the case of Germany as a host country of migration, and a theoretical article written by Nicholas De Genova, a radical academic, analyzing the control of the freedom of movement as the foundation of the sovereign power of the capitalist state.[3]

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1. Marx uses the term *vogelfrei* in the first volume of *Capital* to refer to the masses of people which are being proletarianized. This term literally means: "free as a bird" and serves as a figure for the proletarian who is "free" of all the means of production and subsistence, who is totally exposed and exiled from any human community within which she could satisfy her needs and therefore she is only left with the "option" to "freely" sell her labour power in the capitalist labour market.

2. http://www.wildcat-www.de/en/wildcat/99/e_w99_migration.html (accessed March 23, 2017)

3. De Genova N. "The deportation regime: sovereignty, space, and the freedom of movement" in De Genova, N. and Peutz, N. (eds.). 2010. *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement,* pp. 33–65, Durham: Duke University Press.

1. The crisis of reproduction of capitalist social relations and the "refugee crisis"

We start from the presentation of certain basic banalities with regard to the issue of migration in Greece. Already from the early 1990s Greece had been transformed from a departure country to a host country of migration. Till the end of the previous decade most of the immigrants came from the former state capitalist countries, and primarily from Albania. It is estimated that during the previous ten years (from 2006 till 2015) 1.800.000 undocumented immigrants crossed the Greek borders and that 175.000 of them were deported.[4] However, the character of immigration to Greece radically changed after the outbreak of the economic recession in 2009 which is still continuing and constitutes the main expression of the deep crisis of reproduction of capitalist social relations in Greece. Fewer and fewer immigrants enter Greece after 2010 with the expectation to find a job and stay in the country, as it was in the period of capitalist growth in Greece. On the contrary, nowadays most of the immigrants cross the Greek borders in order to continue their journey towards other EU countries, and primarily towards countries of the European North. Further, most of the immigrants entering Greece come from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the countries of the Maghreb. They flee from the everyday violence and death of imperialist interventions and civil wars, i.e. the extreme forms of constant and variable capital destruction and of primitive accumulation which are necessary for the reproduction of capitalist social relations on a global scale. Only in Syria, more than 350.000 people were killed after the outbreak of the civil war. It is estimated that since the beginning of 2015 about 1.000.000 undocumented immigrants crossed the Greek borders whereas at least 1.200 of them drowned in the Mediterranean according to the data of the International Organization of Migration.[5]

These data clearly show that it is not the first time that so many immigrants enter Greece. The main difference with the past is the inability of Greek capital to use this labour power in order to increase its profitability and expand its reproduction, in the context of the reduction of the total fixed capital in Greece.[6] In this historical conjuncture immigrants cannot be used by the Greek capitalist state in order to promote the restructuring of the labour market, the broadening of the divisions within the working class and the increase of the rate of exploitation. In a country with 25% unemployment, the new immigrant population is redundant for capital. Of course, immigrants are aware of that and that's why they seek to leave Greece and move towards other European countries by any means available.

This is the main reason why the Greek state and the Greek media started to use the term "refugees" and to introduce the discourse of the existence of a "refugee crisis" or a "humanitarian crisis", (partially) abandoning, thus, the discourses of "illegal immigration", "immigrant crisis", etc. which are negatively loaded as concepts. As Marx had eloquently written in Capital about the "*sediment of the relative surplus population*" which "*dwells in the sphere of pauperism*", "*pauperism forms a condition of capitalist production, and of the capitalist development of wealth. It forms part of the faux frais of capitalist production: but capital usually knows how to transfer these from its own shoulders to*

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4. During that period, most of the deported immigrants were also of Albanian origin.

5. See: http://missingmigrants.iom.int (accessed 30 June, 2016).

6. I. Ioakeimoglou, a Greek Marxist analyst, mentions that total fixed capital in Greece (machinery, production buildings, roads, ports, etc.) has been reduced between 2010 and 2016 by 8.2% according to the data of the European Commission. This figure is bigger than the reduction of total fixed capital in France and Italy during World War 2 (respectively 8% and 7%).

those of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie".[7] Therefore, the main issue for the capitalist state was to find a way **to transfer the cost from the shoulders of capital to the shoulders of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie.** In this direction the state formulated a discourse that would enable it to control and assimilate the spontaneous gestures and acts of solidarity towards the immigrants and to transform them into charity managed by the state authorities and the NGOs.[8] The aim of the left government of SYRIZA which directs during this period the capitalist state has been to prevent the possibility for the development of relations of struggle between local proletarians and immigrants which could evolve, for example, into a mass expropriation / squatting movement for the satisfaction of common needs. Instead of that, the state promoted the provision of assistance in kind by the local working and middle classes, under the supervision of the authorities and the NGOs. The goods are collected within state and NGOs warehouses to be distributed in the so called "hospitality centers" (which in fact are surveillance, social isolation and –often– detention centers) in order to achieve the transfer of cost which was described previously. This attempt started very early, in August 2015, when the makeshift camp that had been set up by the immigrants in Areos park, a park in the center of Athens, was evacuated and the immigrants were transferred to the first "hospitality center" that was established, which is situated in Eleonas, a relatively isolated suburb of Athens. The statements made at that time in an interview taken by the Efsyn newspaper by T. Christodolopoulou, then Minister of Migration Policy, are very revealing: "*at Areos park a humanitarian crisis is unfolding*", "*the government of SYRIZA helped the withdrawal of the term 'illegal immigrant' from the public discourse*".[9]

2. Disciplining and controlling migration: techniques and ideology. Inclusion and exclusion[10]

In the same interview, the former minister stated also that SYRIZA convinced "*society about the difference between refugees and immigrants*". This statement clearly expresses the fact that the emergence of the figure of the "refugee" in the public

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7. Marx, K. 1976. *Capital, volume I*, p. 797, Penguin. This position of Marx is only partially correct since the expenses for the pauperized surplus population are productive for capital. A significant number of small and big capitalist enterprises including food and basic necessities producers, translation agencies, construction companies that build detention centers, mobile operators, etc. have increased their turnover and their profits due to the absorption of the increased demand brought by the immigrant money, the expenses of workers and other people providing aid, by the state expenses and by the emergency financial aid given by the EU. Further, several retail shops and other small businesses (hotels, taxis, etc.) have swindled the money carried by the immigrants (there have been many reports of exorbitant prices asked by retail shops, taxis and hotels from the immigrants). Since the beginning of 2015, the Greek state has received by the EU 237 million euros as emergency financial aid. The greatest part of this sum was given to the NGOs and from there to various other charitable capitalist enterprises...

8. The text "Migration, Refugees and Labour" by Wildcat (op.cit.) describes the tactics followed by the German state during last summer when Merkel proclaimed a "culture of welcoming", which are similar to how SYRIZA's government managed the situation in Greece, albeit in totally different economic conditions.

9. The fact that the evacuation of Areos park did not face significant resistance and that the logic of charity prevailed has also to do, to a certain extent, with the content of the spontaneous solidarity activities. Most of the people participating in such activities did not put forward from the beginning the issue of the expropriation of the capitalist property for the satisfaction of food and housing needs. On the contrary, most of the people limited their activity to collect and organize the distribution of relief goods. Of course, the collection and distribution of relief goods is necessary in the beginning for the satisfaction of immediate needs. However, a clear line of demarcation should be drawn immediately between the class position on the struggle vis-a-vis NGOs, the state and the various offshoots of the left of capital.

10. Sections 2 and 3 draw freely from the analysis in De Genova, N. 2016. "The 'crisis' of the European border regime: Towards a Marxist theory of borders". *International Socialism* 150.

sphere and its distinction from the figure of the immigrant is also a technique for the separation, the control and disciplining of immigrants as well as their evaluation and selection as labour power. The hypocritical magnanimity towards the refugees has been coupled with the call for the speedy expulsion of the undesirable undocumented immigrants. Of course, the separation between immigrants and refugees is enacted by each state according to a political decision and there is nothing objective to it. For example, in 2015 the German state stopped recognizing the status of "refugee" for the great majority of the Afghan immigrants, despite the fact that they come from a country where war has never stopped the last 15 years. The German Minister of Interior Thomas de Maizière stated in October 2015 that large amounts of development aid have gone to Afghanistan and, therefore, that the German government "*expects that Afghans [will] stay in their country*".[11]

Moreover, the distinction in international law between refugees and immigrants is baseless in itself. On the one hand, "refugees" are not victims, are not passive objects of others' pity and compassion as they are usually presented within the dominant spectacle. They remain subjects making choices for their life despite the dispossession of their condition. In this respect, they are not different from immigrants as they are legally defined. On the other hand, most of the times, immigrants flee from the social and political conditions of their country of origin which are for them intolerable. They escape from poverty, from forms of structural violence and deprivation, from established gender and religion hierarchies which oppress them. In this sense, they are different from "refugees" only in the degree of the violence incurred to them within the specific form of capitalist social relations prevailing in the country they depart from. For this reason, we use only the term "immigrant" in this text.

Therefore, the separation of refugees from immigrants functioned as a basic technique of the apparatus for the control of migration as it was formulated by the Agreement of Schengen, the Agreement of Dublin and the international legislation concerning asylum and deportations. However, as historical developments have shown, the strategies and tactics of border control and enforcement take shape in reaction to the subjectivity and autonomy characterizing the movement of the immigrants which always comes first and is unpredictable. When hundreds of thousands of immigrants crossed the sea borders of EU in the summer of 2015 on boats no stronger than a nutshell, the member-states of EU and the media exploited the hundreds of drowned immigrants (including many children) in order to promote the discourse of "refugee crisis" and "humanitarian tragedy". This discourse included the denunciation of "human trafficking" which has been presented as "slave trade" and the presentation of the migrants' movement as a "chaotic and dangerous immigration flow". This constituted the basis for the militarization of border control which culminated with the sending of NATO naval forces to patrol the Aegean sea.[12] Of course, no word was uttered about the fact that the intensification of the repressive measures against "illegal trafficking" makes border crossing much more difficult and dangerous for immigrants.

A next phase of the ideological operations was the exploitation of the spectacle of the terrorist attack in Paris in order to portray the arrival of immigrants as an "in-

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11. Beaty, T. and Surana, K. "Afghan refugees receive a cold welcome in Europe". 2016. Quartz, http://qz.com/568717/afghan-refugees-receive-a-cold-welcome-in-europe/ (accessed at 26 March, 2017).

12. See, for example, the article *Germany soldiers 'to chase' smugglers in EU Mediterranean mission* published on the web site of Deutsche Welle, http://www.dw.com/en/germany-soldiers-to-chase-smugglers-in-eu-mediterranean-mission/a-18716930 (accessed 26 March, 2017).

vasion of muslim extremists", "an invasion of enemies to the European civilization", even if the perpetrators of the attacks were European citizens. The threat of "foreign fighters who pop in and out of the porous borders of the European Union" became the new scarecrow for the legitimization of the so-called "hot spots", i.e. the registration, identification and detention centers for undocumented immigrants. A few weeks later, the sexual assaults that had taken place on the New Years' Eve in Cologne were utilized in order to cultivate a moral panic. The sexual assaults were attributed to Muslims and especially on the undocumented immigrants who were presented as collectively responsible, in order to construct the spectacular figure of the "muslim terrorist / rapist" who "undermines the moral and social order of Europe". Hence, the spectacle of the "refugee – humanitarian crisis", the spectacle of jihadist terrorism and the moral panic around the sexual assaults in Cologne were used as levers to promote and enforce specific emergency measures on the level of EU, concerning, on the one hand, the reconfiguration of the techniques and tactics of border policing and, on the other hand, the modification and enforcement of a more restrictive legislation on migration and asylum provision.

3. "Schengen is dead!" The EU – Turkey Agreement

However, the deeper cause for the imposition of the emergency measures and the amendment of the asylum and deportation international legislation which was completed with the signing of the agreement between EU and Turkey on the 18th of March of 2016 lies in the failure of the previous regulations (the Schengen and Dublin agreements) to perform their function. And their function was not the hermetic closure of the borders. The borders do not simply aim at the exclusion of immigrants; they are not impenetrable barriers that separate what is "inside" by what is "outside". Despite the spectacle of the dysfunction and inadequacy of the borders when they are violated, the **borders actually function as filters for the selection of labour power** because they put obstacles (which sometimes are lethal) that sort out the younger, more vigorous and more physically and mentally healthy immigrants, that favour men much more than women and children, that give preferentiality to those who have some money and personal or family resources. For the immigrants who seek a better life in Europe the severe hardships they experience when they cross the borders constitute a harsh endurance test, a preparation for a longer or shorter period of precarious labour and "illegality". In other words, the borders facilitate the subsumption of the social energy, the vitality, the mobility and the unrest of immigrants under capital, i.e. their disciplining and subordination as variable capital.[13] Therefore, the main aim is not to exclude

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13. The uncontrolled freedom of movement of proletarians may potentially create big problems for the reproduction of capitalist social relations as it can be used for the *desertion* from particular national regimes of labour's subordination to capital. That's why the global mobility of capital necessitates the regulation and restriction of the freedom of movement of proletarians. Ideally, only the disciplined mobility of the commodity labour-power should be permitted according to the changing and fluctuating needs of capitalist accumulation. Of course, the subjectivity and autonomy of the movement of proletarians is always prior to, supersedes and can never be totally subordinated to the valorization of capital. As Nicholas De Genova distinctively points out in his text "The regime of deportation", *op.cit.*: "*the freedom of movement supplies a defiant reminder that the creative powers of human life, and the sheer vitality of its productive potential, must always exceed every political regime. The deportation regime, then, reveals itself to be a feckless and frenetic machinery, its rigid and convulsive movements doomed to always present but a tawdry caricature of the human freedom that always precedes it and ever surpasses it*». Furthermore, the formation and reproduction of the nation state itself as a social relation of alienation, as a form of incorporation of the contradictions and divisions of the civil society of private individuals, is premised on the reification of human life and its movement into citizenship and alienage.

immigrants **but to facilitate their subordinate "illegalized" inclusion into each national social capital and its state.**[14] It is actually a process of primitive accumulation as «*great masses of men are hurled onto the labour market as free, unprotected and rightless proletarians*».[15]

In particular, due to the different conditions of capitalist accumulation in Greece and Italy in relation to the countries of the European North, the Greek and the Italian states permitted the movement of immigrants towards Northern Europe without registering them, as they could not and still cannot be absorbed as labour power into their domestic capitalist production. The political functionaries of capital in the northern European countries dreaded the uncontrolled entry of immigrants and the total breakdown of the mechanisms for the regulation, control and disciplining of immigration.[16] In the winter of 2016, politicians from these countries declared that the "Schengen agreement is dead". In other words, a serious political crisis broke out within the European Union. Till the beginning of March, the European states situated on the so-called "West Balkans route" (Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary and Austria) erected fences and hermetically closed their borders for undocumented immigrants. This crisis was finally "resolved" with the signing of the EU-Turkey Agreement for the "prevention of illegal immigration" on the 18th of March 2016.

This agreement abolishes in practice the right of asylum and cancels the "refugee" status of the immigrants who come from war zones in Asia and Africa by their classification into the category of "irregular immigrants". The main points of the agreement are the following:

- The applications for asylum of the undocumented immigrants crossing from Turkey to Greece after the 20th of March may be immediately declared inadmissible, without examining their substance. These immigrants may be immediately deported and "returned" to Turkey with the justification that Turkey is a "safe third country" that can guarantee their protection.

- Until the consideration of their application for asylum, immigrants will be held in the "hot spots" which are converted to "closed reception centers" (i.e. detention centers) in Lesvos, Chios, Leros and Samos for a maximum period of one month. Subsequently, if their application has not been considered within this period they are transferred to inland "reception centers".

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14. According to studies conducted by some capitalist "think tanks" immigrants arriving in Europe will "repay" spending on them almost twice over within just five years (*Refugees will repay EU spending almost twice over in five years,* Guardian, 18.05.2016). That's the reason why Nils Muižnieks, the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe expressed the following assessment in the official report published on 31.5.2016: «*In the absence of a common European response, crisis-thinking is short-term. Europe will need to look again to the long term and see integration as a long-term investment… the current situation, dominated by unilateral national action and the absence of a common asylum and border policy, is creating perverse incentives for countries to move away from integration … Integration support should not be misinterpreted as "pull factors"* [for immigrants coming to EU]». (http://bit.ly/1UoOzxi, accessed 26 March, 2017).

15. K. Marx *op.cit.*, p. 876.

16. The loss of control on migration is not only threatening for the capitalist states in functional terms, because it undermines the discipline of labour power and its subordinate, illegalized inclusion in the national labour markets. More profoundly, the freedom of movement, as an ontological condition of the human creative and productive powers, is the hidden foundation of the sovereign power of the capitalist state "which captures and cannibalizes it" and transforms it in its opposite, in the reified and estranged forms of the mobility of labour power, of citizenship and alienage. Therefore, **the immigrants' struggle for their unobstructed freedom of movement poses an existential threat to the actual foundation of the sovereign power of the state.** That's the reason why the EU leaders frenetically try to repress this struggle. For a more extensive and deep analysis see the brilliant article by Nicholas De Genova, The Deportation Regime, *op.cit.*

- Theoretically, up to 72.000 immigrants will be accepted for resettlement from Turkey to the European Union, of which 54.000 on the basis of a "voluntary arrangement". In fact, the number of immigrants that have been resettled (and will be resettled) from Turkey to EU is very low. Even if this point is implemented, it is a very low number considering that only the Syrian immigrants residing in Turkey are 2.7 million people. Till the 15th of June only 512 immigrants have been officially resettled from Turkey to the European Union.

- For every Syrian being deported to Turkey from the Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled to the EU on the basis of the previous arrangement. Undocumented immigrants entering Greece after the 20th of March are excluded from the resettlement arrangement, i.e. they are punished for their indiscipline.

- Even in the case of the acceptance of an application for asylum, the immigrant may stay in the country only for 3 years. Subsequently, a new application should be made in order to remain in the country. During the initial 3-year period it is forbidden for the immigrants to stay in another country of the European Union for more than 3 months. If they violate this prohibition they will be arrested and deported to their country of origin.

- The previous rule applies also to the undocumented immigrants who entered Greece before the 20th of March, apart from 20.000 people who will be theoretically "resettled" to other EU countries. Most of these people whose number is about 57.000 had not registered and had not applied for asylum in Greece precisely in order not to be trapped here. In the beginning of April only 2.700 had applied for asylum. This number has increased in the following months due to the hermetic closure of the borders towards Europe. However, the number of immigrants that have not been registered yet is still very high.

- If the application of an immigrant for asylum is definitively rejected, he/she is transferred to a detention center till the deportation to his/her country of origin.

- It was agreed that Turkey will take all necessary measures to prevent new sea or land routes for "irregular migration" opening from Turkey to the EU

- Once crossings between Turkey and the EU stop or have been substantially reduced, a "Voluntary Admission Scheme" will be activated. In other words, once migration will be controlled, the disciplined import of labour power from Turkey will restart.

- It was agreed that the visa requirements for Turkish citizens would be lifted till the end of June 2016. The implementation of this point of the agreement has been postponed at the time of the publication of this text till October 2016. Also, an upgrade of the Customs Union between EU and Turkey was agreed.

Apart from the initial funding of Turkey with 3 billion euros by the EU, it was agreed that an extra funding of 3 billion euros more will be given to Turkey till the end of 2018.

4. The politics of the Greek state after the EU-Turkey agreement: isolation, separation and repression

From the 20th of March till the 8th of June, 9.750 undocumented immigrants crossed the Greek borders from Turkey and 449 of them were deported, that is less than 5%. Nevertheless, the basic aim of the agreement which was the great reduction of uncontrolled immigration to the EU up to the point of its practical cessation has been

achieved.[17] On the one hand, it seems that Turkey enforced measures for the repression of migration at its coastline. On the other hand, immigrants realized that they would risk paying large sums of money in order to cross the Greek borders with a great danger of either being trapped here or –even worse– of being deported back to Turkey.

During the same period of time when the Balkan states closed their borders, the Greek state **modified its strategy from permitting the movement of immigrants towards the northern EU countries to a policy of isolating them in places of social exile.** A number of former military camps in Koutsochero, Schisto, Skaramagka, Alexandreia and elsewhere (but also abandoned factories and warehouses) were transformed into the so called "hospitality centers", a euphemism that is used instead of the correct term: surveillance and isolation centers, which are guarded and policed by the army and the police. Although these centers are advertised as being open, they are in fact places of social ostracism. On the one hand, their geographical location has been selected in a way that makes any attempt of communication and solidarity very difficult, if not impossible. On the other hand, the entrance to these centers is forbidden to locals who do not have an official permit, by the cops and the military officers. This ban has extended even to doctors in solidarity providing their services, as e.g. happened in the 22nd of May when doctors and other solidarity activists from the self-organized Social Clinique of Larisa attempted to enter the center of Koutsochero to visit patients.

In this way, the state divides immigrants into small and isolated groups which are easier to be overseen and controlled, in order to prevent any possibility of a revolt against the appalling living conditions, against their immobilization and entrapment. At the same time, the immigrants are divided within the centers according to their national origin, which serves the channeling of anger from the police-military authorities and the state to strife among the various ethnic groups and individuals, that is to say to intra-class violence. However, the most important goal is the prevention of the communication between local proletarians and immigrants. This is a model for the biopolitical management of populations which are redundant for capital, which has been applied for many years in the refugee camps of Middle East and Northern Europe, so that these populations would not become dangerous for the capitalist order.

The living conditions within the isolation centers are truly wretched. Even organizations such as the UN Refugee Agency and the NGO ActionAid, which work in tandem with the Greek state on the control of the immigrants, report the crowding of hundreds of people in miserable places which are poorly ventilated, the lack of food, water, electricity, toilets and showers, the provision of food rations which for many days contain only plain rice or potatoes, the inadequate health care. Often the first drop of rain turns the isolation centers into mudflats. In other cases, the tents are exposed to the sun the whole day. The incidents of food poisoning are quite usual while the broader living conditions induce respiratory, cutaneous and gastrointestinal diseases. The fact that the new center in Chios was built on the grounds of a former garbage dump of the island is quite symbolic.

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17. In many cases, the asylum appeals committees judged favourably the appeals of asylum applicants by not considering Turkey as a "safe third country". Even bourgeois institutions such as the appeals committees could not overlook the fact that the Turkish state has illegally deported in the previous months thousands of immigrants back to Syria, as well as that the first Syrians who were deported to Turkey were detained for three weeks in an isolated detention camp without access to lawyers. That's why, on the 16th of June, the SYRIZA government passed a legislation that changed the composition of the Asylum Appeals Committees, since the existing ones were not sending immigrants back to Turkey (http://www.analyzegreece.gr/topics/immigrants-rights-and-racism/item/446-the-greek-government-manipulates-the-asylum-appeals-committees, accessed 26 March, 2017).

Another aspect of the new strategy of the Greek state was **the ideological and repressive attack against the uncontrollable sections of the solidarity activists** which are not connected to recognized NGOs.[18] This attack began shortly after the signing of the 18th March agreement between EU and Turkey.[19] Primarily, the attack targeted solidarity activists belonging to the anarchist / anti-authoritarian milieu, who were accused of "*leading the refugees to extreme behaviors resulting in conflicts*", of "*instigating the immigrants at Idomeni to violate the fence*", and so on.[20] The propaganda campaign was led by the government and the police authorities. The same articles in the press revealed the actual fears of the government: "*policemen at the roadblocks on the Axios bridge, in the outskirts of Idomeni, are checking the travel documents and the cars of persons who head towards the village, especially foreigners, in an apparent effort to prevent the distribution of printed material (brochures, maps, etc.) to the refugees and immigrants, which incite them to revolt*"[21], "*almost the 50% of these activists is of unknown origin and is involved in murky activities*", "*there is an uncontrollable situation which can be avoided only with the removal of the refugees from Idomeni to controlled spaces*", "*until then, there is a danger of an escalation of conflicts in the area*".[22] Apart from the outright debasement of the immigrants who are presented as puppets of the solidarity activists who manipulate them, it is evident that the state was afraid and wanted to prevent the possibility of an explosive meeting and cooperation between the immigrants and the uncontrollable solidarity activists against the violence of the borders and their guards. However, the attack from the state did not stay on the level of propaganda. On the 20th of April of 2016 the solidarity initiative *No Border Kitchen* was evacuated and the police made at least 8 arrests of solidarity activists in Idomeni and many raids in the islands of the Northeastern Aegean and elsewhere.

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18. There are some analyses that greatly underestimate the solidarity movement by not saying a word about the attack of the Greek state and the media against the makeshift immigrant camps and the uncontrollable sections of the solidarity activists. This happens because if they would mention these attacks, they would be obliged to give an explanation for them that would contradict their position of equating the solidarity activities (or "most of them", which is the same thing if nothing else is mentioned) with charity. Further, it is evident that such analyses do not give political significance to the struggle of the immigrant proletarians for their freedom of movement, as they are permeated by a Eurocentric conception according to which immigrant struggles cannot change the balance of class power unless the separate struggles of local proletarians manage to gain ground. In fact, this political stance, on the one hand, does not recognize the possibility for the development of common class struggles where local and immigrant proletarians will get together, supposedly due to the prevailing "objective conditions", since it theorizes local and immigrant struggles as two separate, isolated processes. On the other hand, it is clear that this political position underestimates the immigrant struggles, considering them, in the best case, of secondary importance. On the contrary, a revolutionary class position should recognize the real movement unfolding in the present historical time and should not discredit the struggle of the immigrant proletarians for their freedom of movement by falsely implying that the movement of immigrants is an individualist way out.

19. It is quite remarkable that the first attack for the repression of an initiative in solidarity to the immigrants was done by the mechanism of the so called Communist Party (CP) on the 10th of November of 2015 when its members attacked with helmets and batons the squat of the old building of the Worker Center in Lesvos and evacuated it. A few months later, the MP of the CP Christos Katsotis remarked at a question in the Parliament that "*the center of Skaramagka is frequented by strange people*" and that «*members of NGOs agitate the refugees, they spread among the refugees the impression that they will leave the center on the next day, and this has the result of creating tensions*" (*Avgi newspaper*, 13.5.2016). This statement clearly shows that the attack of the CP did not aim at the NGOs working harmoniously together with the state but at the "solidarity activists who create tensions", namely the uncontrollable sections of the solidarity activists. It is certainly not surprising that the CP assists the capitalist state in the repression of the more radical tendencies of the antagonistic movement.

20. *Kathimerini newspaper*, 15.04.2016.

21. Ibid.

22. *Vima newspaper*, 17.04.2016.

Government's repression culminated with the evacuation of the Idomeni makeshift camp which started on the 24th of May. The abjection and the cruelty of this operation were unprecedented. Entry to the camp was forbidden completely even to the accredited volunteers of the NGOs. In this way the distribution of food and the cleaning of the sanitary facilities were obstructed so that the immigrants would be forced to board the police buses that transported them to the isolation centers. As far as the press coverage of the police operation is concerned, entry was permitted only to the state media, the National Television of Greece (ERT) and the Athens News Agency. In other words, even the freedom of press was violated! Immigrants who boarded the buses by force didn't know where exactly they were heading to, an incident showing that some of the practices of the so-called totalitarian regimes such as, for example, the forced displacement to an unknown destination, may well be applied in a democratic capitalist regime governed by a left democratic party.

5. For the struggles, their content and their perspective

Undocumented immigrants have struggled during the last year against the miserable living conditions that have been imposed to them, against incarceration, against social isolation, and for their unobstructed freedom of movement. They have struggled with a plethora of means: demonstrations, the blockade of the railways at Idomeni for many months, spontaneous gatherings and road blockades on the Greek and European highways, hunger strikes and revolts in the detention centers and at Idomeni where they repeatedly clashed with the Macedonian and the Greek police and the list continues. The makeshift camp of Idomeni was a long-term protest for as long as it lasted in itself. The main demands of the mobilizations of the immigrants have been the opening of borders and the obtainment of their broader freedom of movement, the improvement of living conditions in the camps and the "open" centers, the release of those who are incarcerated from the detention centers. The fact that they had lived for so many months in the makeshift camp of Idomeni under extremely bad weather conditions has shown that they possess tremendous decisiveness and energy. They are neither passive victims nor resigned individuals despite the terrible hardships of war and migration. That is the reason why the Greek state has attempted to corral them and isolate them within the "open" and the "closed" centers.

In this sense, the several **squats that have been organized by solidarity activists and immigrants are extremely important,** first of all because they create a public meeting and communication space where local proletarians and undocumented immigrants may come together. In other words, the squats may create a basis for the development of common struggles and that has been amply proved by the fact that immigrants who participate in squats have also participated in moblizations and demonstrations for issues that primarily affect local proletarians such as the demonstrations against the pension reform that has been passed by the government of SYRIZA, i.e. the left of capital and its state. Moreover, the practice of squatting in itself is a practice of expropriation of capitalist property which today, more than ever, is necessary for the satisfaction of the needs not only of the immigrants but also of the locals. The new measures signed by SYRIZA in the previous months will lead to foreclosures of proletarian houses and evictions, for the first time on a mass scale during the recession years. Therefore, the practice of squatting houses for the satisfaction of proletarian needs constitutes a paradigm for the class struggles of the period that will follow. Until recently, the practice of direct expropriation of social wealth for the satisfaction of needs for the most part was restricted to the refusal of payments of the transportation tickets and to the sporadic ex-

propriations of big groceries by various anarchist groups – with the latter having mainly a propagandistic character.[23]

Of course, there are also problematic points within the squatting initiatives that we should think about and struggle for their supersession. For us, the most important are: first, the paternalistic or humanitarian logic of some solidarity activists; second, the existence of gender hierarchies and of a gender division of labour among the participating immigrants; and, third, the perception of the squatting practice not as a means of direct action for the satisfaction of needs but as a means for raising issues on the scene of "high politics", especially from groupings that have recently left SYRIZA – a perception and a practice that is foreign and opposite to the development of proletarian autonomy.

Moreover, the struggle against the "reception" centers and the detention centers is extremely important because these are the basic techniques for the social isolation of the immigrants and for the prevention of any communication between them and us, the local proletarians. Even if the requests of immigrants for asylum who are ostracized in the "open" and "closed" centers are accepted, they will remain, according to the agreement of the 18th of March, trapped within a capitalist state which confronts them as redundant population. That's the reason why the issue of the satisfaction of proletarian needs against the needs of capitalist accumulation is relevant for all of us, both local and immigrant proletarians.

6. Epilogue

Often even the most radical parts of the immigrant solidarity movement speak about closed borders and the so-called "Fortress Europe". They tend to overlook, therefore, that the border and deportation regime serves in fact the regulation and control of migration and the subordinate inclusion of immigrants as "illegal" workers in a way that facilitates the needs of capitalist accumulation. This spectacle of exclusion is reinforced by the fact that due to the circumstances of the capitalist accumulation in Greece, the Greek state implements a policy of pushing undocumented immigrants to places of social isolation and control or even incarceration. Apart from that, it must be stressed that the discourse about "open borders" may be used by the liberal faction of capital (e.g. the Green party in Germany) in order to concurrently attract immigrant labour power and promote a generalized attack on welfare benefits, on the social and direct wage for all proletarians.

Instead of this, we must struggle against the surveillance and detention centers, against the displacement of the undocumented immigrants and their segregation from the local working class and the class antagonistic movement. We must struggle for the satisfaction of our needs, of the needs of immigrant and local proletarians through initiatives that directly expropriate the capitalist property such as housing squats and through revindicative struggles. The unobstructed **true** freedom of movement cannot be the "opening of borders" with a government decision, as we have shown. With the development of the autonomous proletarian movement for the satisfaction of our needs we can acquire the collective class power which is necessary in order to truly regain our humanity and to realize the true freedom of movement, **i.e. to abolish all borders and, therefore, all states, through the abolition of capitalist social relations and the creation of a new communist classless society.**

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23. Before a few years the refusal to pay the electricity bills and the highway tolls was also quite widespread. However, nowadays such practices are not visible in the public sphere.

The role of the university in the management of migration flows

by
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Part of the Aristotle's University campus during the time it was squated for the needs of the Thessaloniki No Border Camp.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since last summer migration flows, mainly from Syria, towards countries of central and northern Europe have increased rapidly while immigration from other countries such as Asia and Africa continues. To make our point clear: this does not mean that the migration issue just emerged out of nowhere. Migration towards Europe existed long before this. However, the events in Syria gave prominence to the migration in public discourse. Additionally, in this introduction we will not try to analyze the reasons for this, or attempt a geopolitical analysis searching for the genealogy of the flows. We will merely try to illuminate the current role of the university in relation to migration. In a period where the example seems to have changed, the dominant anti-migration rhetoric has been shifted and now speaks of "refugees" instead of "illegal immigrants", "open type camps" although they are guarded by the army, humanism etc. The presentation is organized into two parts: firstly, how the university, being part of the social factory, sets the goals or helps in the formation of the anti-migration policy in a very direct and tangible manner through research programs, masters etc. Secondly, how the university institution, publicly appears to be in solidarity with migrants by asking students to voluntarily staff the detention centers, by organizing charity events and by supporting members of the academic community who conduct research on migration. All of these tie in nicely with the context of academic freedom of speech and the general context of democracy, resembling the two sides of the same coin, which is the management of migrating population from the State and the capital.

2. THE CAPITALIST UNIVERSITY

Universities are not institutions where independent and autonomous knowledge is produced. They seem to be far away from the notion knowledge for the sake of knowledge. On the contrary, all capitalist relations are reproduced within the university. The consistency of science and technology with capital needs can be observed almost from the beginning of their institutionalization. The university is a dynamic part of capitalist relations since, from the one hand, it streamlines the

workforce according to capitalist needs and, on the other hand, it is the means of organizing research to produce useful knowledge for bosses. The university operates as a part of the production process. Aligned with market needs, it produces specialized workers and scientific knowledge (or at least this is where it aims although it does not always achieve an efficient connection with the market). The educational system, however, does not remain stagnant but restructures itself constantly. At the same time, the higher education bodies are changing to serve the demands of the capitalist accumulation and the reproduction of the capitalist relations. For this to be achieved, the university is getting gradually privatized and the cost of studies is transferred to the students. A short note: We do not preach free and public education, nor do we believe that the privatization of the university is necessary for the external financing of research. Public universities and research have managed to co-exist in harmony until now. Contrariwise, all of this is part of the continuous process of restructuring, in relation with the different social environments, to achieve the readjustment of universities in favor of capitalist accumulation.

The university itself as well as the various scientific research centers (more or less related to the official academic bodies) besides the State funds which are being reduced, are financed by private bodies and companies in order to produce research results which are useful to the reproduction of the capitalist relations. This process creates a bidirectional and interdependent relationship between academic research, State and businesses. The knowledge centers i.e. the universities through masters and doctorates and the independent research centers which are staffed with professors and postdoctoral researchers are those which State, army, national and supra-national institutions and businesses invest on, materially and ideologically. The goal is, besides producing knowledge which is useful for the commodified world, to bind the technological and scientific community of each country with the State, the army and the security complex. In this way, scholarships and sponsorships are provided from the one side, and epistemological feedback is provided from the other.[1]

The first research centers within the educational system appeared during the 1930 financial crisis, presenting solutions for the management of the situation. They hadn't increased in number till the 70s when they proposed ways of organizing labor for the benefit of the bosses and provided advice to the States regarding their international relations. Since then, they have dealt with a wide range of topics and at some degree they have even achieved core State policymaking in matters such as the management of migrant movement, border control, its militarization etc.

All the above, make the relation of the academic institutions with the State and the bosses clear. Various schools, professors, postgraduate or research programs are financed by companies, NATO or national armies in order to produce knowledge and innovations which will be useful for their various goals. Of course the produced knowledge is not intrinsically good or bad, we do not wish to demonize it. A new technology can be a mixed blessing, useful in the treatment of a particular illness (always produced within the context of the capitalist system), and simultaneously malicious in the hands of the army. We do not put forward neither aphorisms

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1.   In this text, we will not deeply analyze the reasons that lots of people choose to get a master's degree or a PhD at this juncture. We perceive these choices partly to be a part of the restructuring of education and labor. Often, these choices are made on a survival level on precarious conditions and not (always) in the logic of careerism. The restructuring of labor has fractured the communities which were formed in workplaces and collectively demanded their revaluation, has imposed the need for constant specialization with studies, training programs and lifelong learning, while the form of labor relation has become uncertain and individual through the promotion of new labor models like community service, vouchers, etc.

nor wishful thinking. We are obliged, however, to see the historical context within which each research program takes place, who finances it and for whom and we have to consider the continuities and the discontinuities between this apparently neutral knowledge and science and the army, the State, the bosses. Only in this way will we be able to illuminate this relation in the present and attack it. In any case, numerous examples exist which justify why we should be at least cautious. The following examples are drawn from the book "Now we are all bastards. War, science, academia and their role in the Greek example" which was published in January 2016 by the group *burglars of student culture*.

Before we get to the point though, we have to cite some information about the organization and the main institutions which form and organize the anti-migration policy at a European scale, in order to illustrate their relation with the various research programs conducted in the Greek academic institutions which deal with topics such border safety and the management of migrants. The foundations of the European border policy can be searched in the European Research Program for Safety (ESPR) of 2004, which was embedded in the 7th framework program for research and technological progress applied between 2007 to 2013. During these years the institutional infrastructure for the support of research regarding military security equipment is formed and a bit more than a billion euros is spent on various research programs which are conducted by arm companies in cooperation with academic institutions. In 2005 FRONTEX was formed and under their supervision EUROSUR, activated in 2013, began its operation. This system essentially processes all the information provided by the border guards of EU member-States and by FRONTEX missions and paints the detailed picture of migrating populations. Additionally, we mention the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), the military branch of the European commission, which was upgraded in 2014. On of its missions is to finance research and evolution of military equipment (for example drone fleets) and to make the necessary statutory adjustments for enabling the use of this equipment in the urban environment too. Finally, the "Horizon 2020" predicts a bit more than 4.5 billion euros to be spent for the further progress of the European Border Management System through the Internal Security Fund. The Aristotle University of Thessaloniki held a session last June in conjunction with the European commission, aiming to inform and support AUTH researches in relation to European Research Council (ERC) program, which will be running within the framework of the Horizon 2020 program. This means more billions and more research programs.

3. THREE EXAMPLES OF RESEARCH IN GREEK UNIVERSITIES

a. JASON
Scheduled: 2013-2015

The research was conducted by the laboratory of Photogrammetry of rural and surveying engineering school of national technical university of Athens. According to the official description of the program "it attempts to look into technologies in the field of engineering in order for a smart system, that combines satellite systems, telecommunication technologies, photogrammetry algorithms, to be implemented and for the extraction of measurements from collections of images that are obtained by ground and aerial receivers so that a better surveillance of the borders can be achieved." In addition "for the support of the member States in their efforts to reduce the numbers of illegal immigrants that enter the EU".

The coordinating company of the research was SpaceHellas. The national technical university of Athens also cooperated with IridaLabs under this program. These two companies have been the pillars of another program, called ACRITAS that was run in 2013, whose purpose was the manufacturing of an integrated system for the control of the borders from space. It is worth noting the relationship between IridaLabs and the academic community, as the company was set up by researchers of the University of Patras and is dealing with the production of face and movement recognition technologies. Finally, additional associates in JASON program are: the electronics laboratory of the Physics department of the University of Patras and the mobile radio-communications laboratory of the Institute of communication systems and computers (National technical university of Athens)

b. WALL AGAINST MIGRATION (FENCE IN EVROS)
Years of Construction: 2011-12

The construction of the fence in Evros is included in the "integrated program for the management of the borders and the confrontation of illegal immigration" as it is officially called. Apart from the erection of the fence, the plan includes the construction of a series of control technologies, such as the supply of motor vehicles equipped with thermal cameras and the installation of a radar system for the surveillance of sea borders.

The construction of the fence and the rest of the control technologies was co-funded by national resources and the External borders fund, and their implementation was done fully at National technical university's laboratories. If we take into consideration the participation of this institution in JASON and Poseidon programs, a "map of interests" emerges around the army and industrial complex, in which the academics of the institution can take pride in their accomplishments.

c. POSEIDON

Finally, another research program of the national technical university of Athens that has recently published the results of its research, is POSEIDON. According to the presentation of the program, it is suggested, as an answer to "illegal immigration through the sea, trafficking and illegal fishing", "the development of a smart, cheap and viable system of surveillance of marine space, using arrays of cameras and sensor networks. The system would locate, watch and focus on water crafts and passengers even in lack of light, rough sea and other weather conditions, and it would notify the authorities in time. Moreover, it can be placed in inaccessible, remote areas."

Conclusively, we believe that there is no neutral university, that focuses solely on knowledge. The university is an integral part of the capitalist machine. Its connection with programs like the above, with the production of knowledge and technology for the border military is not a deviation from its main function, but an integral part of it. The technology that is produced is neither neutral, nor innocent as some postgraduate, doctoral and professors might say. The technology that is produced by these programs, funded by the military, FRONTEX, NATO etc. favors its funders, and it does nothing more than enrich the ways in which the death of migrants is organized right now at the inland and water borders of Europe.

All of the above explains why it seems funny or even tragic to us as students when sometimes throughout the academic year we receive emails in our inbox, asking for volunteers to come to detention centers or inform us that the institutions

are in solidarity with the migrants. However, we do not believe that the institution of the university suffers from some kind of bipolar disorder. Both the bargain described above and the public charity rhetoric, are tied with the State (anti) migration policy, which manages to contribute to deaths at the border by military means while preaching the gospel of "refugee crisis" and solidarity.

4. A FEW WORDS ON CHARITY THAT IS PRESENTED AS SOLIDARITY IN THE UNIVERSITY

Since summer 2015, the official rhetoric of the Greek State regarding migration has drastically changed towards a more humanitarian direction. The "illegal immigrants" were given the name "refugees", to whom, Greek people, should stand in solidarity according to the well-known phrase "our grandparents were refugees, our parents immigrants". Thus the national unity is reconstituted in the name of "solidarity" that conceals all the imaginative ways in which the Greek businesses profit from the immigrants by participating in a large chain of economic exploitation, that begins from the cops at the borders and ends in Greek shops on the islands, while it affirms and consolidates the separation between locals and foreigners, between what is familiar and what is not. It is from this separation that the various charitable actions that emanate from the university, are initiated.

In a recent announcement, the university informed us that "in the context of the social role of the institution, it is decided to contribute substantially to the struggle for providing assistance to the refugees during their stay in our country." In this context, many e-mails have been sent since, that mainly sought for volunteers. Indicatively, in a recent e-mail, the university was looking for volunteers to install wireless networks in reception centers. In an earlier announcement, the university community was urged once more to voluntarily participate in a children's activities structure at the detention center in Diavata, that was set up by the university in cooperation with the municipality of Thessaloniki. Later, we were informed by the university that "the stay of refugees in Greece will not be over soon and we will be back with a new request. Please do not send any other applications". Moreover, since the beginning of the year, almost every Friday, the concerts given by the State orchestra of Thessaloniki held at the ceremonial hall of the university, were about "solidarity", where food supplies for Idomeni were collected. The irony is that while the university campus restaurant was sending portions of food to feed the immigrants at the port of Thessaloniki, it was prohibiting immigrants, unemployed and precarious workers from entering the premises. Finally, a number of progressive academics have come to the foreground on the occasion of the migrant issue by organizing conferences, surveys within undergraduate courses etc. More will be noted on this topic later on.

One might wonder, why do we point out all these university actions regarding immigrants when much more weighted things, such as capital flows to and from the institutions, are setting up this anti-migration policy? It is because we do not believe that the notion of charity is something separating or confrontational to the anti-migration policy. The latter aims to consistently control and manage the movement of immigrants, so as to safeguard the State and capital interests. The "illegal immigrants" may have been renamed "refugees" and the humanitarian rhetoric may prevail in the public domain, however the militarization of the immigration management system lately, with the police and the army taking over a large chunk of it, clearly shows that no matter how charitable it may appear at a rhetorical level, the anti-migration policy's core aim (with the separations that it imposes, the illegaliza-

tion of immigrants and the repression) is to ensure that migrants will remain a disciplined, inexpensive and easily manageable workforce. Philanthropic actions can make the conditions of this management more bearable to a certain degree, by responding to the staple needs of the immigrants, but on the other hand, they're instituting and normalizing charity as another name for solidarity. "Solidarity" does not bother and is promoted as long as it emanates from the State, the university, the NGOs and all kinds of shops that drain funds and profit at the expense of the migrants. It does not bother as long as the unwaged labor of volunteers is baptized as such, the volunteers that, even though they might have a humanitarian perspective of the issue in the first place (where migrants equals victims), they do not try to set up common struggles with the migrants for the revaluation of life but they contribute to the shift of the living cost of migrants from the State to society. This kind of "solidarity" is also welcome as long as it strengthens communities formed under a national notion, that evangelize national solidarity of the people who "know how it is to be a refugee", hiding the exploitation of migrants and ratifying the separation between us.

5. PROGRESSIVE ACADEMIA, MIGRANTS, MOVEMENT

Several research programs, mainly those of humanitarian studies, have also managed to enhance the charitable profile of the university. Lately, a shift has been observed in research of anthropological - social sciences. Anthropology in line with post-colonial studies is shifting the research focus from colonies to metropolitan areas and mainly to European regions, where there is a lot of information. The object of research is losing its exotic character and is assessing the characteristics of a social and cultural phenomenon that is closer to the social and historical reality of the researcher's community.

A result of the above is the appearance of a rich variety of anthropological research that explores the subjects and the groups, the social relations in which they/we participate, their/our ways of organization, their/our resistances, their/our movements and social struggles – often with an antagonistic scope. We observe frequently that our collective movement constitutes the raw material for various research projects or subject of dissertations. It is worth noting that we do not believe that all this takes place within Academia, outside of and independently from social antagonism, since the university itself is a part of social antagonism in many levels. With their limits defects which will later be analyzed, such practices actually sharpen to some extent the antagonism within a specific social field. From the other side, academics' occupation with the social movements, at this occasion is perceivable as an outcome of class struggle in Greece the last years. The fact that part of the movement has chosen to make political critique and action through their labor in the university, and elsewhere, consists another aspect of the defeat of the social movements.

The knowledge produced within academic institutions is registered, of course, in the framework of university, which, as described in the first part of this text, can not be seen as a detached, neutral space of producing objective knowledge. This framework dictates the terms with which this knowledge is reproduced as a relation (as a relation of separated intellectual labor, as a relation of labor exploitation and competition within the academic hierarchy, as the building of a career). However, the existing dialectical relation between knowledge/theory produced within the Academia and the radical movements, makes it difficult or even defective to raise a wall between these two, trying to stand up for some sort of "clear" revolution-

ary theory. The genealogy of this relation though can not be analyzed here, since it veers off the topic of this text which is the structure of this relation regarding migration the last years in Greece.

Greek universities can exhibit a wide variety of anthropological and sociological research that more persistently lately, due to the increase of migration flows, has placed migrants and forms of solidarity around them under the spotlight of their investigation.

Opposite to the technocratic research, things are much simpler in the field of anthropology. There are students that are willing to work on a voluntary basis without funding and equipment. You just need a car and a notebook and these are your toolkit for field research at Idomeni. As a consequence, papers are uploaded on Academia and professors build their careers at the expense of migrants.

And what do we mean by that? The previous academic year both the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and other departments of Anthropology in the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and in the Aegean University, provided courses such as political anthropology, where students could gain higher grades if they could take part in specific projects for local anthropological research in Idomeni and in relocation centers for migrants. In these projects, students under the supervision of the academic staff had to come in direct contact with the migrants, the local society, the volunteers and furthermore with the assemblies that are in solidarity in order to draw conclusions as to the migrants' situation, their personal testimonies about war and movement, their assimilation by local society and the reasons that drive political collectives to declare their solidarity or even to share the same community with immigrants. Additionally, part of the academics through conferences, meetings, etc. asked the academic community, the students, the PhD students, other professors to help with their work, together with the shift of the social/anthropological sciences, to raise consciousness in society by standing in "solidarity" with migrants.

It is true that this trend of academia may really change migration policy promoting the establishment of favorable terms that have to do with management of migration crisis. Nevertheless, the social movements in which we exist do not care if the devaluation of migrants just gets more humanitarian characteristics. Because we know that even in that way their management will promote their devaluation, reproducing the same social relation that creates our devaluation; that he overcoming of the "migration crisis", like they call it, on these terms will only be in favor of the bosses. Our main purpose is to come together and fight alongside migrants against our devaluation. Such attempts were made with the migrant housing squat of Orfanotrofeio, as well as with the organization of the No Border Camp. Those actions open up perspectives of struggle and of meeting outside the limits of the charitable management which is promoted by the State migration policy. The dynamic of the relations formed within these attempts, the presence of migrants in the center of the city with an increasing frequency as a result of these and the struggle perspectives that were opened up was what made them dangerous and brought their repression. Finally, another reason for the repression (in the same context the Hurrija squat which was squatted during the No Border Camp and the squat at Nikis avenue were evicted) was the need for a spectacular answer on public speech level from the State.

In this context, quantitative and qualitative research, anthropological analysis regarding social groups, every research that examines migrants, movements and those who are in solidarity are subjects that interest the State since they offer a

means to glance at the resistance against it. All these research and projects, regardless if the researcher has an intention or not, are always under the supervision of the State and the capital and contribute more or less to formulate not only migration policy but also State policy regarding the management of social movements.

Consequently, we are cautious every time that our collective movement becomes the subject of research at academic projects, master degrees or theses, regardless of the level of involvement of the researcher in our procedures. The logic that preaches an intentional interaction between academy and social movements has in its mentality a clear separation between theory and action. That means that academics produce theory and movements produce the action. For us, movements do not need academics who will come up with the solutions and who will produce theory to back up their action. Movements are particularly concerned about their way of acting and based on their collectively processed experience produce their theory. We can not overlook that all this research, in contrast with the collective imprint of the experience of the movement "for the cause of social antagonism" as we usually write in the texts we publish, has individual names of authors and partners and contributes to fill out CVs. Our collective contents and practices become masters, dissertations and papers, converting collective experience into individual capital. Let's not forget that there are progressive academic circles that promise a career. It is somewhere there that a line is drawn, which is often vague, between progressive academia and social movements.

All of the above are an attempt to analyze what we live inside and outside the university; an effort to understand the grid of social relations in which we exist and try to invent the ways and terms to meet with migrants, not to observer them and study them as something foreign, as the Other, but wanting to fight and live with them. We do not say this in order to worry about what to do now, but more to try to understand what we do and what limits and prospects we see. A kind of "theory", let's say, which looks towards the overcoming of the separation between theory and action, which is not a dissertation, but the imprint of our collective movement, which does not have place in CVs, but in the procedures of the movement in order to sharpen the class antagonism (for our benefit).

"Leaving in shadow": The gender dimensions of migration

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Top: Protest in Softex "open center". Bottom: "porteadoras" in front of Ceuta fence.

Gender dimensions of migration almost go unnoticed or focus on the dominant aspects, such as the vulnerability of migrant women. This happens because to large extent immigration discourses are consistent with the predominant framework of values representing these subjects as par excellence heterosexual, single and undifferentiated. Simultaneously, sexism, as a daily practice, continues to reinforce the normalization system of authority, reproducing the dominant gender relations and hiding systematically from the public discourse and space, the existence of these subjects, as it respectively does for the "different-other" indigenous subjects. We observe that, in the context of maintaining a regularity in social and political level, there is an effort on behalf of the dominant discourse to mark with a strong seal of invisibility the gender identities of subjects who migrate to Europe and the Western world which places them in a liquid and uncertainty zone, an abject zone.

Is it possible, however, that the facilitation of subjects in this discredit zone, could disrupt the homogenized regularity, challenging the dominant fixed limits restrictions? And if so, how and in what ways could this happen?

The discourse about immigration tends to be masculinized, meaning that, as an image, it is dominated by the male subject. Nevertheless, recent refugee movements, have brought more than ever, on the focus of public discourse and imagery, the female subject as well, so that within the dominant picture the image of migrant women is also framed. These women are basically represented as tired and very vulnerable people, who migrate to Western countries in search of a better life in the absence of better prospects in their home countries. Children images also are an important part of the dominant, refugee image. So, for a start, a crack has occurred in the frame of the dominant images of masculinized migration. Apart from the image which has been crafted by the West, of the vulnerable, passive, unhappy and oppressed Eastern Muslim immigrant woman, which has been formulating for years within the broader western cultural context, corresponding with the depictions of the immigrant man as hard, oppressor and violent due to his national origin, a different context begins to take shape, as regards immigrants, thanks to solidarity. A context in which their voices can be heard, and their bodies and their actions are somehow visible. This visibility of course is charged with the identity of the

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foreigner, of the "other", which defines the local identity and which is difficult to be eliminated.

This visibility, which dominant policies want so much to hide and conceal, by placing the bodies of migrants away from the cities, in distant camps, as well as through other processes, has been achieved at first by immigrant populations crossing the borders. The crossing of sea and land borders is a practical contestation and a proof that people's movement is beyond the political and geopolitical borders. This visibility, although it is still largely obscured in shadow, emerges within a society which is deeply conservative, racist, patriarchal but certainly tries to appear benevolent, in the scope of business and entrepreneurship (as long as the NGOs come with bundles of money to invest on the rhetoric of facilitation and resolution, which addresses rather the problems of local communities, than the problems of the immigrants, societies will continue to demonstrate that hypocritical compassion for the suffering of others). This shadowy visibility also gives substance to the natives' life, who will always want to see someone in a worse situation than theirs, to survive in this increasingly immersed in despair national context.

This visibility also, comes at a time when the delusions and the false narrative that everyone can become rich has been slowly overturned, while the dividing lines between those who have and those who don't have, increasingly deepen. In this context, migrants function as the mirror of our own destiny, of our own shadowy existence. This situation could, on the one hand, result, or contribute decisively to the creation of proximity between indigenous communities and migrants, but on the other hand it could create an even greater gap between them, with everything that something like that would entail.

This visibility comes at a time, when gender violence is increasing more and more, fortified behind the narrative of the crisis, in the name of which daily crimes, rapes, jeering are justified. A question is how much, if so, the gender dimensions of migration differentiate from those of domestic reality? Migrant women have an extra experience, the experience of crossing national borders. They have clearly experienced difficult times and their thoughts are filled with images that we can only hardly imagine. On the other hand, indigenous subjects have different experiences and occasionally cross their own borders, certainly travelling from a more secure location. Our aim, however, is to search for common points of reference in order to form a common field of action. In this context it is important to also overcome the dipole between the male and the female immigrant and examine also the *loatki* (= LGBTIQ+ in Greek) people who are silenced by the dominant discourse, like it also happens in case of the domestic loatki subjects. Definitely, this happens in different ways and to different degrees. Moreover, native loatki subjects also live in the shadow, to claim visibility in public space for brief moments and always under conditions. They also experience verbal and physical violence on a daily basis, which often leads to death, being unable to manage all this violent context of non-acceptance. But certainly, the framework for an immigrant loatki person will be much more difficult (and strict). But how could this be different, when the wider dominant context has not accepted the obvious, the freedom of choice at all levels, when it functions for and is determined by the dominant heteronormative image, when anything that transcends this is considered abnormal and unnatural? It is really very difficult to talk about the gender dimensions of migration when the gender dimensions of domestic reality follow faithfully and with reverence the path of heteronormativity.

The gender dimensions of migration meet the gender dimensions of native reality in a central point, this of patriarchy, of gender power relations under the

domination of regularity. Maintaining regularity is the basis of the conservation of the existing socio-political context. This regularity feels threatened or compromised by foreign "invaders" or by the questioning of given heteronormativity. In this context, gender, ethnicity and sexuality, centered around the body as a battlefield, indissolubly intertwined with the dominant discourse are aimed at the elimination of any difference. Therefore, however, it is important to create proximity between local communities and immigrants, which can create cracks in the otherwise impregnable fortress of the dominant regularity.

No Border Camp, housing squats within the urban space for immigrants, demonstrations in migrant camps and also in the center of the cities are moments of visibility that create these grassroots connection between local communities and immigrants. But the critical and focal point, in these processes, is the externalization and socialization and not the closure or disconnection from the wider society. Immigrants, straight and loatki people are not far from our own experiences and these experiences are a privileged place for action to overcome dominant regularity frameworks.

The truth, however, is that loatki immigrants are not heard of that much. They are the "other" into the "other" and this is even more difficult to manage. They are the hushed, the "leftovers". So it is no coincidence that in the many things heard about the refugee crisis and refugee flows, words that address the problem of anonymity, we have not heard anything about loatki subjects, about their rights, about the abuses they suffer, about this life in the shadow imposed by patriarchal relationships. All these people came from countries where their physical integrity, safety, freedom, even their lives were directly at risk and arrive in countries, where, for the same reasons their lives are still at risk. In a brief review of the Press we found that only one incident is referred where a Syrian refugee was recognized as LGBT, who requested asylum in Greece because, as a homosexual, his life was under threat by the ISIS. The Appeal Board rejected the claims that he is gay and that he was threatened by two members of the ISIS in Turkey, as unreliable and send him back to Turkey, claiming that Turkey is a safe place for him.

As anyone can easily find out, the state claims to know better than us the gender and sexual orientation of a person, as well as if he is in danger or not. Obviously and unfortunately not surprisingly, for the simple reasons mentioned above. The Loatki community in Greece lives under a similar regime, although the state recently accorded them the right to enter into a civil partnership and although state authorities are consulting a bill for the legal recognition of gender identity. These show that the acceptance of each other does not happen through laws and government decisions. The social acceptance or the elimination of the undesired identity of the other has to do with deeper and more radical social processes that ultimately surpass the state itself.

For these people, exiting the shadows has to do with the way the we ourselves are able to manage their visibility. These people obviously cannot stay with convenience and comfort in a joint household with people who at other times would persecute or abuse or exclude them because of their sexuality. Even if people with whom they sare the same roof are not homophobic or transphobic they carry feat within themselves because of previous experiences. Housing squats can be a fertile ground to cultivate different perceptions, and to create safer environments for the free expression of these subjects. Our words and our actions in both these areas and outside public space should be focused on putting this important aspect of immigration not as a cutoff point, but as a common operational place for locals and migrants. It would

also be important to take initiatives in large urban centers to create spaces where loatki people could find residence or shelter as it happened in Berlin recently, by creating a hosting center for loatki people.

It is important therefore to bring to the foreground the gender dimensions of migration, to discuss these with the subjects themselves in view of their experiences, and their opinion on how they perceive themselves in this context. We used to speak on behalf of these subjects because of this Western superiority that pervades us, to project our own representations not leaving enough space for the creation of proximity and common pathways.

Also, we should not only just remain in words, since the housing squats, actions of solidarity actions and no border sites are creating common communities. I refer to and I am mainly concerned with the issues about gender and sexuality whose management is a fundamental stake for us.

Under the conditions where national cultural identities are incited, where social mobility caused by increased immigration to Europe, overcomes dominant representations and the recognition of the complexity of gender identities seems as a liberating process. At the same time, the creation of grassroots communities where the system of gender power relations will be abolished in practice by "natives" and "heterochthons", a "collective being", the plurality of potentiality and "deterrorisation" seems more necessary than ever in order to walk together the road of social liberation.

The route from invisibility to visibility is difficult and inaccessible, like the seas routes and land borders that immigrants cross, trying to reach the West. The gender dimensions of border crossing impose an additional difficulty, the confrontation with patriarchy. Therein lies one of our meeting places with these particular subjects. The struggle against sexism, violence and authority gender relations should be extended to gender migration subjects, to create with them roads and passages to freedom.

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Voices from the Moroccan border: testimonies of the externalised EU border system in North Africa

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The Ceuta fence.

O*ur contribution gathers testimonies and analyses from different activists across North Africa, West Africa, and Central Africa. In all these areas, people suffer from the deadly European border regime. The (neo-)colonial policies and the exploitation throughout Africa by Western countries and Africa's own governments push many Africans to cross the deserts and the sea in order to reach Europe. Because of this common experience, NoBorders Morocco and the Alarm Phone Western Med has invited different North and West African activists to share their perspectives in the brochure VOICES FROM THE BORDERS – VOIX DES FRONTIÈRES[1] from which the following texts have been taken.*

While we are writing this, one of our friends, D., is imprisoned in the Moroccan city Tetuan, close to the border. In a trial devoid of basic human rights provisions (such as the right to see a lawyer, the right to translation), he and around one hundred other people were sentenced to several months in prison. Their "crime": having participated in the massive attack to the Ceuta fences in mid-February 2017, where nearly 900 people climbed into the Spanish enclave within three days. While we are over-joyed with these many entries, we want to remember all those who did not make it, all those who died, who were wounded, and who remain jailed as political prisoners.

1. ANALYSIS: The externalisation of the EU Border Regime in North Africa

Due to its geographical position, North Africa is one of the focal points of international migration dynamics. By means of inter-state treaties, the EU migration policies of closed borders force the different North (and West) African countries to play Europe's watchdog, while the EU averts its eyes from human rights violations committed by state authorities against Arab and sub-Saharan migrants.

For years, the policies of the EU have aimed at pushing the borders further south, instrumentalising North African countries for migration control. By signing agreements and programs aimed at 'regional development' with North and

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1.   https://beatingborders.files.wordpress.com/2013/07/brochure_voicesfromtheborder_voixdesfrontieres_2016.pdf

West African elites[2] –who rarely act in the interest of their peoples– the EU externalises the so-called 'problem' of migration. African governments receive vast sums of money and, in exchange, they close their borders, often with the aid of FRONTEX agents, who patrol together with local police. At the same time, there is strong repression against alleged 'traffickers' who facilitate the crossing of borders for those who are not authorized to do so. But contrary to the official discourse, the latter do not solely consist of so-called mafia networks, but also of European and African state agents who benefit from the business created by the need to cross borders.

Already in the 2000s, the EU succeeded in putting enough pressure on Senegal and Mauritania to make them effectively close their maritime borders with the Canary Islands[3], forcing people to cross the desert. As a result, more people tried to cross from Morocco to Spain. However, the Strait of Gibraltar – the most natural crossing point – and the Spanish enclaves (Ceuta and Melilla) are heavily securitised[4]. This creates a veritable hell for migrants. Algeria and Tunisia are part of the same Mediterranean forums between Europe and North Africa, they participate in several programs of migration control and 'Mediterranean dialogue' on a smaller scale. In Libya, before the hypocritical change in attitude vis-à-vis Ghaddafi, the EU had promised and paid millions to close the borders to sub-Saharan migrants despite human rights violations in Libya. The cooperation –and especially the friendship between Berlusconi and Ghaddafi– started in 2004. In the following years, the number of arrivals were significantly reduced, due to the efforts by Libya and the EU. A contract amounting to 50 million Euros was signed in 2010, shortly before the fall of the Libyan president[5]. At the same time, the cooperation with Morocco is intensifying. In 2013, the EU and Morocco signed a so-called Mobility Partnership, with the objectives "to combat illegal immigration, networks involved in the trafficking and smuggling of human beings, and to promote an effective return and readmission policy"[6]. A similar partnership was signed with Tunisia[7]. Moreover, the externalization of the border is extending even further away from the borders of Europe. In 2008, the EU made an unsuccessful attempt to launch a so-called information and reception centre in Mali. In 2015, the EU concluded additional agreements with Niger, and proposed the establishment of such centers in Niger, extending and implementing the European agenda on migration many kilometers away from its borders.

However, officially, the countries in North Africa pretend to be protecting human rights. These lip services do not prevent the human rights violations committed systematically by authorities and their agents: raids, arbitrary arrests, confiscations lacking any legal justification, deportations and push-backs at the border

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2.   Within the Framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy, the EU negotiates Action Plans with its partner countries. The incentives provided as part of the ENP include financial support and economic integration. The Action Plans often contain stipulations on border control and reinforcement.

3.   For further information, see: http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/about-us/index_en.htm

4.   For further information, see: http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/westernafrican-route/

5.   As an 'Advanced Partner' in the ENP, Morocco is complicit in creating a buffer zone externalising the EU's inhumane border regime to Northern Africa. The EU-Morocco Action Plan includes 'assistance in implementing the strategy to combat illegal migration'.

6.   The full Declaration establishing the Mobility partnership is available here: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-isnew/news/news/2013/docs/20130607_declaration_conjointe-maroc_eu_version_3_6_13_en.pdf

7.   See: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/elibrary/documents/policies/international-affairs/general/docs/declaration_conjointe_tunisia_eu_mobility_fr.pdf

and even to the desert, as well as repression against migrants accompanied by discriminatory acts and regular racist aggressions. The reproduction of racism against black people in North Africa plays an important role in European border policies – a contemporary manifestation of the colonial principle of 'divide and rule'. The police officers present in the neighborhood, together with the state-influenced media, plant and spread resentments against the Black population. This (semi-)official discourse based on lies and distortions succeeds in the reproduction of racism, frequently resulting in violence, rendering the lives of sub-Saharan migrants even more intolerable. Moreover, this racist discourse also succeeds in hiding another fundamental fact: the commonality of the experience of migration between North African and West/Central African populations. Thousands of North Africans have made the same journey across the Mediterranean, since the 1990s until today. And thousands of North Africans are threatened by deportation, especially in the current atmosphere, when Europe feels even more 'invaded' by refugees. In the end, it is important to remember that all people denied the possibility to cross borders, whether they are from North Africa or from sub-Sahara Africa, are in the same situation: discriminated and exploited by Europe – with the help of their own governments.

Out of all of the countries in Northern Africa, Morocco has proven to be the most reliable partner for the European Union (EU). Regarding the fight against immigration, their cooperation with the EU is the strongest, and serves as a prototype for similar agreements on border cooperation. Several agreements between Morocco and the EU[8] are part of this policy of closing borders and controlling migration flows. The EU has already approved a budget of more than 150 million Euros for the new EU-Morocco Action Plan. This political agenda is both cruel and hypocritical since it often hides its intentions behind a humanitarian discourse. In 2015, however, its brutal nature became rather obvious through massive campaigns of terror and humiliation (such as raids, destruction of camps and deportation).

In 2014, Morocco had launched a regularisation program for some migrants in an irregular situation. But on the 9th of February 2015, the minister of the Interior, Charki Draiss, announced the end of this programme. With around 18,000 foreigners receiving papers, the government presented this programme as a success, masking the fact that the regularization programme was selective and limited for sub-Saharan migrants, and that a part of those benefiting from this programme were European citizens. Moreover, the actual impact of the regularized status is ambiguous. On the one hand, a small number of sub-Saharan migrants were theoretically able to access educational, health and vocational structures, or avoid internal displacements. On the other hand, the structural discrimination and racism persists. No matter whether the migrants have been regularized or not, they are still subjected to arbitrary arrests in many cases. Moreover, this regularization campaign has made it possible for the state to control migrants passing through its monitoring network. Overall, the positive depiction of the regularization programme hides a strict and brutal border regime.

The inhumane and degrading treatment of migrants on the external borders of the EU demonstrates that behind a façade of respect for human rights lies an unjust and racist war on migrants which drives them to accept 'voluntary' return or

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8.   Examples include the "EU-Morocco Action Plans" 2005 and 2013, and the »Joint Declaration establishing a Mobility Partnership between the Kingdom of Morocco and the European Union and its member states" signed in 2013. The Mobility Partnership includes negotiations on readmission, while the Action Plan stipulates "assistance in the strategy to combat illegal migration" (EU/Morocco Action Plan, §48)" from the EU.

perish. Since the announcement of the end of the regularization program the raids and the looting in the forests around Melilla has continued. The Moroccan government has pursued a policy of terrorizing sub-Saharan migrants – a policy sponsored by the EU.

2. TESTIMONY: 'Living in Morocco, it's not easy!'

For many years now, communities of Sub-Saharans have found refuge in Boukhalef, close to Tangier. Some reside there permanently while others are in transit waiting to be able to cross to Europe. This contribution is from A., a woman who was living in the camp around Boukhalef, Tangier in 2015. The content or the expressions were not modified, but it was translated into English and some explanations were added.

"We live in the forest as if we were dead people. The forest, the cemetery[9], it is for the dead, it's not normal! However, we are alive! But does anyone deserve to live in the forest like a dead person, deserve to suffer like that? It's because they treat us like animals, like sheep. The "chef du quartier"[10] said that to me, that the Moroccans here see us like sheep. They do not accept foreigners. There is no security for us in this country. We are attacked by the Moroccans. During the month of Ramadan[11], they threw us outside. They threw me out and deported me, far away. To return here, to Tangier, it was difficult. We were forced to do the "Salaam", to beg. But why should a human being be forced to beg? With charity, it's always a dirham here, a dirham there, but how many "one dirham" are you going to be able to make in a day?

We came to pass through, not to stay, but we are stuck here. We could work, do physical work, with the hands, but there is no work. For women, if you work in the houses of the Moroccans you become their slave. From 6 in the morning until 11 at night, from morning to evening you work. And what do you get? 1500DH, 150 Euros[12]. With that, how much can you send back home to pay for the school of your child?

The people back home, they do not know how you suffer. You suffer psychologically. You cannot even sleep. Even if you rent an apartment, you have no security, they can come at any instant, break the door, burn your things, put you outside. In 2013, they burned all of my belongings, I didn't have anything left.

There are houses which are abandoned. And we must help the people who are on the street. But where are the owners? They are in Rabat or in Casa, or even in Europe. But they still don't rent them out. However, us Africans, we could contribute each 150DH, with 10 persons that makes 1500DH, the price of renting. But no. The winter, without a house, it's difficult, with the cold, you are sick, you cough. Even if you go to the hospital, you are not welcome. I had a sister, she gave birth, she died on the delivery table due to negligence. That was in Rabat, we buried her there. It is total insecurity, especially for us, the women. A pregnant woman, a woman who has a baby, they are taken away for deportation without pity, this isn't normal. They have done this, they have deported many women with children, pregnant women, to the desert, at the border. We, the women, we suffer here a lot. When you walk along the road, they mock you, they say "Aisha, 100 dirham", that means, to make

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9.   The forest / the cemetery refers to the migrants' camps around Boukhalef which are partly in the old Moroccan cemetery.

10.   The "chef du quartier" is a police agent / a secret service agent who surveils a certain district.

11.   During Ramadan (June/July) 2015 the police evicted all Sub-Saharans living in Boukhalef. Since then, they live in the forests or on the streets.

12.   The numbers 1500 DH or 150 € refer to a monthly salary.

love to you. Because they know that you have nothing to eat, so they can try to sleep with you, even for 50DH.

All those sicknesses, they come from that. Many women fall pregnant because they have nothing to eat, and because they have nothing to protect themselves with. If you go to the hospital to get an injection[13], for family planning, they will say that they don't know what you're talking about. And if you want a pap-smear, they don't understand. That test, I didn't do it a single time here in Morocco, although it is advised for women to do it every 3-4 months. How can they not know about it? It's at a hospital, and they are doctors! And if you arrive in the "campo"[14], then you can finally sleep. You will sleep for a week maybe, because you are returning from death. It's there that your moral returns. Morocco, it's not a country…

3. TESTIMONY: Ceuta – informal economy and the exploitation of the Moroccan workforce

Some 60 km from Tangier lies one of the two Spanish enclaves on Moroccon territory, Ceuta. The example of the Ceuta economy highlights how the capitalist European system ties in neatly with the European border regime, and illustrates the devastating consequences for local populations, and women in particular. The following contribution was written by Paloma Coleto, specialist in equality and feminism, and Redouan Mohamed, activist with PODEMOS, and translated and shortened by NBM.

Ceuta, with Melilla[15] is the only terrestrial border between Europe and Africa. This makes it a border city from several different perspectives: the fences separate two countries (Spain – Morocco), two continents (Africa – Europe) and two economic zones (the enriched North – the impoverished South). This particular crossroad position between those unequal worlds has turned Ceuta into the gate for immigration to Europe, especially for sub-Saharan migrants, but not exclusively[16]. The fact that Ceuta is located on the border creates a continuous traffic of people from the neighbouring country, Morocco. According to official sources, the number of people crossing each day can reach up to 35,000. This also allows for the development of a very lucrative informal business. A number of Moroccans are prompted to try their luck at the border, especially by the loop way of "small jobs" in the informal sector. In the first place: the "carriers" who transport goods between Ceuta and Morocco and who work under inhuman conditions[17]. Literally exploited, these men and women take heavy weights on their shoulders. While white travellers cross the border without the Spanish police (the Guardia Civil) taking a second look at their passports, Moroccan carriers undergo degrading treatment. The authorities (on both sides) don't hesitate to mistreat and even beat them, and to block their way arbi-

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13. The injection refers to hormonal contraception.

14. "Campo" is a term used by migrants for reception and detention centres.

15. Ceuta and Melilla: the two enclaves that Spain keeps on Moroccan territory. These "autonomous" cities benefit from many advantages (economical, security, financial, etc.)

16. Europe provides resources in order to fight the undesired immigration: 8.3m wide fences, 6 m high, with barbed wire, surveillance cameras with night vision, sound, motion and thermal sensors, frequent patrols, as well as so called "hot" push backs.

17. Moroccan residents in the neighbouring cities and villages of Ceuta (and Melilla) have the right to cross the border during daytime and can "import" all the goods that they are able to carry without paying taxes. As the Moroccan economy doesn't enable them to assure their livelihood, they make this way several times a day, as goods "carriers".

trarily at the entrance to the Spanish enclave. The informal business in Ceuta and Melilla represents a significant revenue, the net profit of the informal sector is estimated to even surpass that of all legal exports between Spain and Morocco. Up to 80% of all goods that arrive at Ceuta and Melilla end up in Morocco. This means that Morocco constitutes a key outlet for the two enclaves which profit notably because of fiscal advantages and the exploitation of workforce.

Figure 1: Moroccan women, the so-called "porteadoras" carrying goods from Ceuta across the border into Morocco. (Photo by Tomasz Czech)

When looking closely at this exploitation of the border, a particular phenomenon can be observed: the feminisation of this labour migration. Many women come to Ceuta to improve their living conditions. But they face multiple discriminations as women and Moroccans. As residents of the Moroccan border towns, women have the right to enter Ceuta only during daytime. However, because of their work they often start sleeping and living in Ceuta – undocumented. Their children are denied access to school or to basic social services. These cross-border women (along with their children) live in constant insecurity. They are confronted with cultural and linguistic barriers, they lack access to legal protection, and are subject of to all kinds of racism and mistreatment. They are second-class citizens without rights and access to public services.

4. TESTIMONY: 'This is what we live in the forests of Nador!"

This contribution by S., formerly living in the forests around Nador, talks about the reality around the second Spanish enclave Melilla, and the Moroccan neighbour town, Nador. It refers to the old migrants' camp in the mountain Gourougou, visible from Melilla, where different communities lived in order to prepare their "forced attacks" on the fence which represents the border with Europe. After the destruction of these camps, most people live in other camps close by or in other towns more towards the center of Morocco. The testimony was translated from Cameroonian French into English.

"We are really living in a very bad situation. At this point, we no longer have access to drinking water, and the Moroccan police demands of us to leave the forest. There are push-backs to villages more than 300 km from the border, without shelter or nutrition, without water, neither for women nor children. Strong temperatures, a lot of wind and some rain, too. The police burns our sleeping stuff, plastic sheets, but also our pots, almost everything, and they don't even care for newborns. I wonder if, in all these 'games', the Sub-Saharan is not just a support, a puppet, for the European politicians. If this is the case, I think activists must really stick together, with our hands on our hearts, in Europe as well as in Africa.

Yesterday, I went to Gourougou, a former encampment of migrants outside Melilla to discuss with the brothers there. There, I found Cameroonians, Ivorians, Guineans, Nigerians and Malians, almost 200 people in total. We discussed a lot, they told me that the police beat them on this side (the Moroccan side), very hard. This is why they no longer go to the metal fences. They told me that modifications (the reinforcement of the barrier) continues to get bigger. And it's time that the fight also gets bigger. I ask all activists in Europe to raise the voice so that we are noted, listened to and taken seriously.

Things need to change! Recently, there was a push-back from Gourougou, 5 comrades were arrested and put in prison, they were 3 Cameroonians, 1 Malian, and 1 Nigerian. The Cameroonian named Kandem tells us that the Moroccan government accuses them of having beaten the police forces. But I emphasize: the comrade can't be a danger. He's without any defence. He was sentenced to six months and more, and he says he has met a lot of comrades in prison, never condemned, for reasons of damaging the fences and hitting police officers – a man without anything, without any material!!!! All this needs to change, these dirty policies, we are fed up. Tears in our eyes."

Figure 2: The burnt remains of one of the camps around Melilla after a police raid, in Bolingo (Nador). (Source: own material)

5. TESTIMONY: Moroccan Minors in Melilla – a forgotten hell

Melilla and Nador are not only a hellhole for sub-Saharan communites. Nador is also a passage for many other communities, for example Syrians (the main nationality in 2015 at the migrants' shelter in Melilla) and Moroccan minors. The following testimony was compiled by activists from Barcelona and Melilla and it talks about the fate of many young Moroccans trying to escape poverty.

Often encouraged by their older brothers, Moroccan minors go to Nador to try to enter Melilla (the Spanish enclave) by escaping the border guards. Their goal is Europe, but they end up stuck in Melilla because hiding in the boats or lorries going to the Spanish peninsula is very difficult. Often they run big risks and they don't hesitate to hide in very dangerous places (e.g. motor compartments), causing injuries and in some cases even death. As minors in Melilla, they are in "Europe" and therefore have certain rights – at least in theory. But in practice, the administration in Melilla delays and circumvents the procedure of transferring the minors to the Spanish mainland. Frequently, the administration does not register them as unaccompanied minors, or does not provide accommodation for them.

The children we met find themselves in difficult situations without protection and are extremely marginalised. Generally, they arrive in Melilla after a long and dangerous journey, having left behind their lives without any real prospects. Some of them think that they have nothing left to lose.

T. tells his story: "I was born 17 years ago in Fez, Morocco. I am the fourth out of six brothers. When I was 14, I started living on the street after a fight with my family. I spent two months like that. After that, my uncle offered me to go with him to Nador. I didn't have a better plan, my family was very poor, and I couldn't see anyway my life would get any better. I had to go look for a better life, so I accepted. In Nador we spent another three months on the street until one day I managed to hide myself in the back of a car in the queue at the border. When I thought I had already crossed, I found myself face to face with a police officer. My survival instinct made me run, and that's how I arrived in Melilla, where I found my brother who had already been there for a few months. Once in Melilla, I went immediately to live in the port." The port of Melilla is where the children search for shelter. They stay there because they face rejection and racism in their everyday life.

B. explains: "The street children are brought to 'Módulo 5', a welfare and residence centre with hardly any blankets or sheets. In the bathroom, there is not always hot water, there is no shower gel and the shampoo is rationed; they put it directly in our hands. There are no towels, so we dry ourselves with our clothes. If you behave and don't get sick, they take you to a different 'Módulo'. The workers treat the children according to their sympathies, those who come from villages near the border are treated better than those coming from areas further away in Morocco."

Many other children told similar stories. T. chose the street after his experience in "La Purissima": "I felt I was living inside of a nightmare, that I wasn't the master of my own life, that I couldn't make choices, that I had no one to support me or go to when I was sad, tired or sick."

Residence centres like "La Purissima" are run by associations which are said to profit financially from migration. But life on the street is not easier. The children live under terrible conditions and suffering due to criminalization. They hang out in the streets, sleep in the entrances, at the piers in the docks and by the rubbish bins to shelter themselves from the cold and rain. They grow up without protection and only with the hope for a better future. Mostly they are in contact with friends who already made it to the Spanish mainland.

B. continues: "My life in the street is normal. At night we try to sneak into boats and in the day we sleep somewhere and then we sort our lives. We organise ourselves to ask for food in supermarkets and we also buy some vegetables in the market to prepare food. Then we all get together to eat. Although there are both adults and minors in the street, nobody is privileged and everyone looks after each other."

A., 15, carries on: "In the street I see my body getting weaker everyday, I feel the wind and the water moistening my bones and the cold freezing my soul. A soul that doesn't feel scorn from people any more when they see me searching for food in the bins. You see the same day repeating itself 365 times, you wake up, you search for food, you drag yourself through life and wait for the night to go to the port, nearly everyday the same end: beatings by local police. One of them almost killed me once."

Criminalised, these children suffer violence from the Spanish police.

B. tells us: "Local police hit us and take us to the forest to beat us up. The Guardia Civil at the port beat us up as well and take our shoes when they find us there. They even took one kid to the other side of the border. They only took me to the centre of the town."

That creates a vicious circle, many of the children who are victims of this mistreatments spend their time going forth and back between the outskirts and the centre of the town. Many of them don't have documents. B. says: "I don't have documents and it will take me a long ime to get them in the centre of the town, but I want to leave from here quickly and meet my friends again in Granada, Málaga and England. I would love to be a football player one day. I play very well, I think I could be one of the best players in the world."

This unbearable situation requires us to address the problem at its root. It is necessary to end all of these types of institutional violence against children in Melilla. The minors' testimonies make visible that the situation in Melilla needs to change immediately.

We demand from the Spanish Government and all the institutions to improve the conditions for the minors in Melilla by offering financial means, and engaging adequate social services for the children.

We demand from the EU places where all children are safe and protected and the realisation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child[18]!

6. CALL TO RESISTANCE: solidarity struggles against the border regime

The following call to resistance describes the mobilisation against the European border regime, in Morocco and Europe in the past years. It was written by activists from Voixdesmigrants and the Alarm Phone.

The barriers between Melilla and Ceuta: How many millions of Euros are invested every year in these barriers? 1 metre, 3 metres, 6 metres of fencing. The militarization policy has never been successful. There have always been migrant movements and attempts to cross to the two Spanish enclaves. The way from Morocco to Spain is only one route towards Europe, but everywhere in the world people find solutions to overcome barriers undeterred by the same policy of militarisation.

Whether we are Africans, Europeans or from elsewhere, it is up to us to stop this machine which criminalises and kills human beings at every oneof Europe's borders. Europe has happily opened its borders to all the world's wealth, in particular

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18. http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx

that of Africa (uranium, coltan, coffee, coacoa, petrol, gas, gold, diamonds, etc.), in total complicity with dictators who support and who are also responsible for this policy. Europe continues to incite and nurture conflicts and wars all over the world (Ivory Coast, Sudan, Central Africa, Congo, Libya through NATO, Iraq, Afghanistan and most recently in Syria, etc.). And the capitalist system further accentuates this EU policy which shows contempt for all human values. We can quote the writer Fatou Diome here who, on French television in April 2015, said "Those people who die on the beaches (...) and if they were White the whole world would be trembling. (...) When the poor come to you, it's a crush movement which has to be blocked, but when you with your passport and all the arrogance what that brings, you disembark in the third world and you are on conquered land. So you see the poor who move but you do not see the rich who invest in our countries. (...) We must end this hypocrisy: We will be rich together or we will all drown together."

The 6th February remains a day to commemorize and to accuse the European Union for what happened that day: On the 6th February 2014, at least 15 people were cruelly killed by the Spanish Guardia Civil, as more than 500 migrants tried to cross the enclosures of Ceuta, the Spanish enclave situated on African soil. During this attack, the Guardia Civil shot rubber bullets at people in the water. Due to the bullets and the tear gas, some people lost consciousness and drowned in the waters off Tarajal Beach. The 6th of February 2016, a transnational protest action took place in Morocco and Europe to commemorate these migrants killed by the Spanish border-police Guardia Civil exactly two years ago in Tarajal at the beach of Ceuta. About 400 people gathered under the slogan "Stop the War Against Migrants" in front of the Spanish embassy in Rabat to protest against the murderous border policy of the European Union. The "Comité de Suivi de Reseau pour la Mobilisation du 6 Fevrier 2016 Maroc", consisting of various sub-Saharan and Moroccan Human Rights organizations, activists from Tangier and the Camps of Nador, as well as transnational collectives and individuals, organized the event.

Mostly sub-Saharan migrants, but Moroccans in solidary as well, made their way to the capital from Tangier, Tetouan, Nador, Oujda, Fez, Meknes, Casablanca, Tiznit and

Figure 3: The Rabat demonstration on February 6th, 2016 (Source: own material)

Layoune. The protest was joined by European activist too. Slogans like Freedom and Dignity for all Africans and Open the Borders were shouted angrily towards the Spanish embassy. For the first time people, some of whom witnessed and survived the 6th of February in Tarajal themselves, were able to express their anger in the streets. Slogans like: "European Union: Stop the hypocrisy and the killing at the borders!", "Freedom of movement!" and "Open the Borders, not the deserts!" could be read on various banners and posters. A group from Fez brought pictures from their friends who had been killed on the 6th of February 2014 and a musician from Senegal now living in Tangier sang a song for all the people who had died at and because of the border.

On t-shirts and stickers the demands for "Ferries not Frontex" and "Ferries for all!" could be read. The same time when the demonstration in Rabat took place, the Alarm Phone was involved with several boats in distress. A young protester amongst the crowd was very scared: a boat carrying his friends had not been found yet and was lost somewhere between Tangier and Tarifa. Two persons were already dead and the Spanish coastguards was not able to find the boat. Very late that Saturday (6.2.2016) activists from the Alarm Phone confirmed that the boat had been discovered by the Moroccan coastguards with 5 survivors out of 7.[19]

The rage about the consequences of Europe's border policy and the constant and meaningless dying of thousands of comrades was not to be overheard this Saturday. It was the first time that a demonstration of this size took place and sub-Saharan migrants from all over Morocco came together to raise their voice in public to call for changes in the European border regime. Interviews were given for international TV channels, radios and newspapers.

Afterwards, the program continued in a big conference hall in the quarter of Agdal, where people from several countries spoke. Women and men from Morocco, Gambia, Mali, Cameroon, Senegal and other countries discussed issues revolving around global justice and freedom of movement for everybody. The protest did not only take place in Morocco. Migrants and solidary antiracist groups demonstrated the same day in Ceuta, Melilla, Madrid, Barcelona, Strasbourg, Berlin, Rom, Genoa and Idomeni.

Every day the EU continues to kill with more consciousness. Compared to some years ago even the mass media documented the terrible happenings at the borders. This year already 3151 deaths have been counted in the Mediterranean sea only until august 2016.[20] Working with the Alarm Phone, we have come to realize the drama of the situation of migrants on the high seas.

But we also get to know more and more members of the civil society who are not willing to accept this murderous reality, produced by the EU politics. Migrants seeking a better life are beaten up on the borders of Europe and drown in the sea because the EU refuses to open safe and legal migration paths. We are activists from collectives, associations, initiatives and various social movements and

WE DEMAND THE EU TO STOP THE WAR ON MIGRANTS!

WE REFUSE TO HAVE MORE DEATHS IN THE SEAS AROUND EUROPE!

WE NEED FERRIES, NOT FRONTEX!

WE CALL FOR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FOR ALL
AND THE DEMILITARISATION OF THE BORDERS!

19. http://www.watchthemed.net/index.php/reports/view/437

20. http://missingmigrants.iom.int/sites/default/files/Mediterranean_Update_12_August_2016.pdf

The Self Organized Solidarity Initiative to Refugees and Immigrants and the squat at Dervenion 56, Athens

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Based in Athens, the Self-organized Solidarity Initiative to Refugees/Migrants is a collective of individuals that came together on the basis of self-organization and solidarity in action, to support refugees and migrants in their struggle for free movement. We understand and support solidarity as an act of resistance to contemporary totalitarianism, in times when the refugee/migrant issue is a critical field of social and class struggles.

The initiative was created in mid July 2015 in order to intervene in a horrific situation at the center of the city, where approximately 800 people, mostly Afghani families, were living in terrible conditions at Pedion tou Areos, a central park in Athens. After anarchist comrades took the initiative to launch an open call for solidarity in action, hundreds of people from the area were mobilized, cooperating horizontally to provide some basic support to refugees living in the park. Different working groups were created to meet the daily needs: basic healthcare, collective kitchen, distribution of food and clothing, counter-information, cleaning, creative activities for kids. All groups coordinated through frequent meetings and open assemblies in the community garden of Tsamadou 15, cooperating closely every day. When an alternative "solution" was proposed by the state to the refugees living in the park, a camp in the isolated area of Elaionas, we decided to ask the people what they wanted to do. We respected their decision to move there, or continue their journey, and in mid-August, 170 of around 500 refugees were transferred there on their own will.

We continued to organize direct actions in downtown Athens, mainly around Victoria square, which was the main stop in Athens for people on the move on their way to the north. These actions included food and hygiene supplies distribution, as well as medical examinations by the mobile clinic of the healthcare team.

Meanwhile, as the calls for support that were launched for Pedion had a great response from people in solidarity, we decided to start sending stored supplies to local solidarity initiatives in the islands (Kos, Leros, Lesvos, Samos) and Idomeni. From contacts with comrades and locals in Lesbos, and after an urgent call for support from the local NGO "Angalia" came to our attention, we decided that direct action on the island, where migrants arrived by thousands, was needed. In the beginning of October 2015, we created a self-organized solidarity structure on the north-

ern coast of Lesbos, close to the village of Skala Sykamnias, also known as "Platanos". The structure was located on the beach, 300 meters away from the village, where hundreds of people arrived by boat daily, and it was organized similarly to the working groups structure at Pedion tou Areos, providing basic healthcare, food and clothing. It later on developed to a coordinating effort for leading people safely out to the shore and in-sea rescues. The structure at Skala soon became independent from the Initiative, with its own assembly, where we continued to participate as a group and persons on a rotating basis. The entire project proved to be very complex and demanding, both in terms of logistics as well as on a political level. It drew much media attention and was threatened with eviction many times. It was physically and psychologically exhausting for those involved locals, comrades and volunteers from all over Greece, activists and volunteers from different parts of the world. At the moment the structure is inactive, and we are in the process of collectively discussing the issues this entire experience raised.

End September 2015 we squatted a building at Dervenion 56 in Exarcheia, Athens. The squat functions ever since as a base of political action and organizing, hosting assemblies, discussions and events. There is also a food, clothes, hygiene and medicine supplies warehouse, where all the materials and items come through donations from individuals, other political groups and fundraising events. A collective kitchen by international activists and refugees/migrants operated at the squat from February until recently, distributing meals at public spots, supporting housing squats in the area and offering food on site. The squat also hosts a medical team that provides support to refugees in public squares and housing squats.

Parallel to actions of practical solidarity, we have consistently pursued political action. We took part in local struggles for freedom of movement, against borders, deportations and detention (Korinthos and Elliniko detention center, Tae Kwo Do and Piraeus temporary camps, demonstrations and protests in central Athens), as well as supported struggles of migrants who have stood against racist violence and detention/deportation (such as the cases of Sanaa Taleb and Walid Taleb). In the direction of establishing channels of communication and common struggles, we support the project of the special edition in Arabic of the newspaper Apatris, which is distributed to housing squats and camps around Greece.

Ever since the gradual closure of the border at Idomeni, and especially after the implementation of the EU-Turkey deal, Athens stopped being just another point in the Balkan Route. Thousands have been stranded in and around the city, and it is now clear that the vast majority will either seek and get asylum in Greece, or will face deportation, detention and marginalization. In light of the new conditions, and with many housing squats in downtown Athens, we focused on supporting those directly and establishing a daily distribution of items at the squat for individuals. Given that the capacity of the Dervenion 56 squat is very limited and that it is not a housing project, we only decided to offer temporary housing in some very few cases and whenever that was possible. Some people have stayed at Dervenion 56 more permanently, participating in the assembly, the collective kitchen and the distribution of supplies.

This has been a very intense year for us, and we are still in the process of fully processing and assessing our experiences and actions. However, we would like to share with you some thoughts on the refugee/migration issue, as these have occurred through our collective experiences and discussions, and open them up to discussion.

Although the solidarity actions shared a common base with past struggles against detention centers, supporting migrants struggles, against racist attacks,

xenophobia, and fascists, the conditions under which we took action in 2015 were quite different. With mass arrivals of people who were very traumatized and disoriented, having experienced wars and been exposed to extreme state, army and police violence, we needed to act on a totally different scale than we were used to from previous experiences in struggle and self-organized projects. Alongside the practical difficulties and cultural issues, we needed to respond to very particular needs (such as people gravely ill, kids and babies, pregnant women).

Acting under a continuous "state of emergency", with the situation constantly getting worse, where no matter how hard we tried our actions were (obviously) insufficient, made us feel at times guilt and uselessness. That sense of powerlessness, alongside sentimental involvement, did not always allow for clear political thinking and action. Practical issues have been consuming most of our energy, leaving very small space for critical thinking on the situation, looking ahead and preparing accordingly.

A shared concern right from the start was whether what we were doing resembled the work of an NGO or charity organization. We have also been accused in political contexts for these efforts, as practicing philanthropy instead of doing political actions. Surely, under harsh conditions our efforts concentrated on the temporary relief of people (some of which were on the verge of survival) and it was not always easy to draw clear lines between political solidarity and philanthropy. Although we do recognize these contradictions, we insist that all of these actions were political in essence, as they were stemming from political motives, processes and strategies. Even the simplest practical decision was discussed collectively in all its political implications – for example whether we would be wearing masks at the Pedion, when there was an epidemic; or whether we would accept donations from NGOs (the final decision was no in both cases). For us, solidarity in action has nothing to do with charity, which aims to reproduce dependence and sustain power structures, nor volunteering, which is essentially apolitical, feeding and beautifying capitalism.

Another shared concern which came up right from the start, was whether we were acting in accordance with the state and the government. The case of Greece has many particularities, as the state is run by a self-proclaimed "left" government which has for many years invested politically in its antiracist agenda and profile. Seeing in retrospect how the state –and the media– treated independent solidarity initiatives, it is clear that at the beginning our actions might have been annoying in denouncing the situation and providing direct support, but they were also useful to them. The "stunning solidarity of the Greek people" was given high praise, as long as the Balkan Route and the gates of Germany were open. No matter how harshly we denounced the brutality of fortress Europe, war and capitalism, we also participated in a spectacle that they used well. At the same time, and especially soon after the EU-Turkey deal, independent solidarity initiatives became targeted and faced repression, with increased pressure to groups and individuals who refused to get state certification, as well as many arrests and harassments.

The initiative started out of social, antiracist and humanitarian reflexes, and it has always been open in its calls and procedures, pursuing a wide social appeal. The persons who participated in all the different phases of the project had varied political backgrounds and experiences, which sometimes were by definition opposite. This led to many internal disputes, but also to substantial political fermentation. We encourage diversity and openness, however we believe it is important that people who decide to get involved do so consciously and engage for longer periods in struggles and projects.

For us the only form of organization that can oppose the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed is unmediated self-organization. In this context active solidarity can stand up against notions of property, profit, and state power. When it is practiced among the oppressed, and combined with critical analysis and political discourse, it can be one of the strategies for seeking social and class liberation.

Given the new state of things, where many people have been stranded in Greece either with or without papers, we believe we need to move to a next level of action. We are now discussing new perspectives for the project of Dervenion 56, in a direction of mutual aid and empowerment instead of one-way solidarity and hospitalization. Although it has not been fully shaped yet, we have agreed on some basic points and principles.

We decided to stop distributing items in need at the squat. Apart from being extremely difficult to sustain this, with regards to available resources in Greece and the ongoing needs, at some point we felt we were practicing solidarity "from top down", since during the limited time of the distribution there was no time and space for any substantial communication. This had also been the case when people were on the move, and Athens or Lesvos was just another stop - only in that case we were supporting their struggle for free movement.

However, throughout all these months many people found out about the space and were coming daily, either to get supplies, contribute to the kitchen and distribution, or just hang out. When the distribution in the squat was still going on, people were coming also from camps (Elliniko, Elaionas, Schisto) in Athens or further away (Malakasa, Koutsochero), in order to get some supplies. We want this to continue, and keep the squat active and open as a social center for migrants, creating a meeting place of understanding and togetherness, where mutual reinforcing conditions and common struggles could flourish.

Why common struggles? Migration is a violent uprooting, the causes of which can be found at the multiple relationships of dependence and subordination between states and within them, relationships which are reproduced at an international level through competition for control of resources and power. In supporting the struggles of migrants and refugees towards freedom of movement and decent living, we recognize in them elements of our own struggles against state, capitalism and patriarchy. We see common struggles as polymorphous, encompassing different forms of action (housing projects, solidarity in action, political actions). We encourage diversity, recognizing that there are multiple interpretations of reality that can complement and form the broad social constituencies that will strengthen the competitive antiauthoritarian / anticapitalist movement.

At the same time, cooperation and coordinated action is needed as much as ever. We want to build on past experiences, learn from each other and seek the most effective means to fight together and live together. We need to find ways to intensify struggles coordinate action and grow sustainable networks. This is why we joined the no border camp.

More information:
https://solidarity-refugees.espivblogs.net/
https://twitter.com/pedioareos
https://www.facebook.com/pediontouareos/

Contact us:
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Transnational Social Strike

www.transnational-strike.info

Since 2008, social movements have wrestled with ways to overcome the limits placed upon modes of organisation developed in response to the rapid transformations in the economic, social and political fields. A variety of struggles against the neoliberal order have been going on in the last years: from the anti-austerity movements to the resistance at the borders, from the insubordination inside the workplaces to the occupation of squares.

What we have seen more recently is the powerful reemergence of the strike as a central antagonistic form through which precarious, migrants and industrial workers, women and men, are taking action. The strike has become the way to link previously dispersed struggles, by invading the squares as well as the workplaces, by connecting the opposition to the neoliberal institutions and the borders regime with the refusal of exploitation and sexual division of labor.

The Transnational Social Strike platform is a political initiative focused on the project of the strike as the most important weapon that precarious, migrants and industrial workers, men and women, still can use in order to contest and subvert the present state of things. A European government of mobility imposing constraints on our freedom of movement; a regime of wage that exacts constant domination on our time via the blackmail of working for a (miserable) wage; a general condition of precarity imposed by labour and welfare reforms throughout Europe: these are our targets.

The strike remains a bargaining tool in daily labour disputes, but it becomes something more when it is part of a social and transnational movement. What we see is that the strike is becoming political as it is no longer confined to either a work category, the wage, a workplace, a sector or indeed a nation. It is becoming social as far as it recognizes the need to connect struggles concerning wage and working conditions, welfare rights and freedom of movement, by attacking exploitation in all its forms. It is becoming transnational because transnational is the scale on which both the powers that confront us and the possibility to win are deployed. By liberating the potential of the different forms of struggles against neoliberalism, the strike has demonstrated itself as the way in which social movements can meet the real movement of disruption of the present.

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Everything started after the Blockupy mobilization in 2015 when we, political organizations, collectives, grass-roots, independent trade-unions, migrants' networks, students' unions, decided to start reflecting on how the current transformations concerning wage, welfare and freedom of movement present a global dimension that can be tackled only by means of a transnational initiative. By now, more than 15 groups from 20 countries are actively involved. In the time-frame of less than 2 years, our platform has been growing fast, but at the same time our discourse is becoming sharper. After the first meeting in Frankfurt in March 2015, we chose Poland as the next meeting spot. We went to Poznan in order to enlarge the Platform towards Eastern Europe and, above all, in order to establish connections with one of the places where the production is de-localized and hidden. After the Poznan meeting we went to Paris in October 2016, after the huge mobilization against Loi Travail (Labour bill) last spring. Then we met in London, in February 2017, because we wanted to take the chance to discuss with people living in the post-Brexit UK how to organize a powerful strike on February 20th, "one day without us".

In the meanwhile, on March 1st 2016 we had a first transnational experimentation with a decentralized day of action for migrants' rights, connecting their struggles with those of precarious workers. Groups in more than 20 cities in eight European countries mobilized in the action day called by the Transnational Social Strike Platform. Many different events, demonstrations, actions and assemblies took place with the aim of practically showing that it is possible to overcome hierarchies and divisions by being united against borders and precarization. The 1st of March has been powerful not so much for its numbers, but because one thing has been made clear: the process towards a transnational strike cannot but start politically from the migrants that in these months are challenging the European constitution, at its borders in Idomeni as in Calais, along the Balkan route as at the Italian-Austrian border, in Lampedusa as in Denmark and in the workplaces and society, where they are changing once and for all the existing composition of labor. To start from migrant labor does not mean just to show solidarity but to engage in a common struggle. Against the European government of mobility and the crisis regime, the 1st of March shows the possibility to overcome divisions by asking all together a European residence permit without conditions, along with a European minimum wage, welfare and basic income. This has lead many that were not part of the transnational social strike process to join us on the 1st of March.

The last meeting took place in May 2017 in Ljubljana, one of the key spots of the so-called Balkan Route, where we met with several migrants' and support groups who have been struggling there since the long summer of migration. We recognized the centrality of the Balkans for the overall restructuring of Europe and of the mass movements of migrants as the force which is constantly striking the borders and brining disorder in any spot of Europe. Wages, welfare demands, mobility and freedom of movement have been recognized as crucial fields of struggle. In this we see a turning point in comparison to our previous experiences of networking on a transnational level: the TSS Platform doesnt simply want to be a coalition coming together for a contingent purpose or a big event, or another sort of network. Our aim is rather to develop and strengthen an infrastructure which, from within the strike movement, deals both with the problem of raising our organization capacities on the transnational level and with the need to strategically converge on common terrains of initiative.

In 2017 we also took part in the global women strike on March 8th in more than 55 countries all around the world, that started with the call by Argentinian movement Ni Una Menos and the Polish Black Protest. Since a few months, women have been repeatedly protesting against male violence, against welfare cuts, against the restriction of abortion laws, against the double exploitation of migrant women, showing that the strike can become a global mass practice to overturn the present. As TSS we are part of this global process and we will bring our slogans and catchwords inside the ongoing mobilizations and strikes, giving voice to the until now scattered fights against neoliberal patriarchy. We are also trying to create the conditions to connect the different local initiatives and enlarge the whole process, towards March 8th and beyond.

www.transnational-strike.info

Adverse Humanitarianisms: institutional *Necropolitics* and the urge to tame grass-roots solidarity in transnational migration governance

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Top: Riot police + an orthodox priest during the demolition of Orfanotrofeio migrants' housing squat. Bottom: Paranesti detention center.

Abstract

Longer ago, it has become evident that the European migration management consists of a nexus of strategies that targets at blocking uprooted populations out of continental territories at any human lives- cost. In that setting, especially peripheral national states are called upon to enhance their bordering apparatuses in order to fit all means to the ends of intercepting the 'flows' of refugees. In order to be consistent to the obligations arising from its EU membership, the Greek state is progressively aligning its strategies to serve those transnational hegemony projects. However, while adopting a number of repressive, penalizing policies both against Unauthorized Migrants and the various grass-roots solidarity actors, it attempts to appropriate any beneficial impact of the latter's interventions, in order to plot a Greek- specific Philoxenia narrative as a new fabric of an imagined, humanitarian collective identity.

In the context of this paper, I attempt to outline some structural components of current institutional *Necropolitics*, to highlight the rationale around their utility and to trace some of the techniques applied to form the public consciousness in ways that allow for the legitimization of those enterprises. Finally, in the light of migrants' struggles that deploy alongside the broader mobilizations of the counterposing, anti- hierarchic, solidarity movement, the question raised addresses the capacity of promoting the currently limited, radicalized symbiosis examples into an emancipatory paradigm that can centrally challenge the seeming immunity of institutional Necropolitics.

Keywords: *Migration Governance, Greece, Politics of Language, Media and Migration, Solidarity*.

1. Introduction

1. a. The subject matter:

Lately, a new round of enhanced militarization measures and a rigid multiplication of the already existing polycentric and multilayered bordering procedures indicate that the architecture of EU migration governance has entered a new era. That era is fundamentally characterized by intensified political amorality since that legislative

and executive authorities jointly enhance the enacting of repulsions, while dropping any pretenses of complying with international Human Rights provisions. In order to delineate some of the basic traits of that transnational Migration Governance Regimes reconfiguration, in the framework of my analysis, I apply the term '*Necropolitics*' that is borrowed from A. Mbembe's homonym work, which I view as a most expressive ascription of the lethal impacts generated by the enforcement of contemporary European hegemonic policies on Unauthorized Migrant populations[1].

1. b. Articulation of the Paper:

Following, I intend to briefly outline some relatively recent historical developments that have been crucial for the wielding of the contemporary type of migration governance on a European- wide macro level and to highlight underlying merits of the expansion of bordering and zoning processes for dominance mechanisms. Focusing closer on the Greek context, I aspire at discussing the use of terminology instrumentalized in public discourses, in order to render the confinement and civic deprivation of unauthorized migrants progressively invisible. Next, I intend to tackle the issue of those migrant populations' public representations in ways that rationalize their increasing intimidation and legitimize the development of a transnational expulsions factory in the consciousness of autochthones. Finally, I am going to deal with the emergence of a new, migrant political subject that mainly bestirs in urban centres and with its common trajectories with non- institutional, anti-hierarchic solidarity structures in times of a modernized, "first time left", national governance.

1. c. Clearing the use of terms:

Initially, for the sake of clarity, I will briefly discuss the rationality of concepts employed in the context of this paper. Therefore, I refer to 'Unauthorized Migrants' when implying uprooted persons that are devoid of legal documents, which ensure the right to unrestricted mobility and access to social and civic rights on European territories. I thus distance my vocabulary from established terms such as 'Undocumented'- or 'Irregular' Migrants that do either not apply to those people's real circumstances[2] or resonate an etic view on them as being illicit and inherently fraudulent. In that light, I consider the entire 'Irregularity' discourse to be forged with the aim of reinforcing the migrants' conceptual construction as a problem, by means of misplaced terminology, once that migrations can neither be 'regular /irregular' in a normative-, nor in a temporal sense[3]. I therefore discard that type of address as an additional tool designed for the moral justification of Uprooted persons[4]' systemic abuse across the EU dominion, where transnational migrations are currently staged as a criminal endeavor per se[5].

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1. In his rereading of the Foucauldian *Biopolitics* Mbembe explains that the fundamental attribute of sovereign power is "…to exercise control over mortality and to define life as the deployment and manifestation of power" (ibid & Meintjes, 2003: 12).

2. In the case of the former, the meaning doesn't apply once that most migrants with an insecure residence status are anyway documented. The main difference is that the large majority remain entrapped under conditions of social inexistence due to either disposing expired administrative deportation certificates, or temporary 'tolerance' documents that do not allow them to settle anywhere.

3. As far as 'regularity' is concerned, interpretations can be attributed either according to the normative sense of the word, i.e., normal/ abnormal, or according to a sense of temporal frequency that is nonsensical in the context of migration. For instance, it is possible to talk of 'a regular customer' but it is nonsensical to talk of a 'regular migrant'.

4. Henceforth, briefly referred to as 'Uprooted'.

5. The intention to dread moving populations out of the continent has longer ago become evident, taking into consideration the imposition rate of strenuous controls, of subjects' incarceration directly upon border- crossing in parallel to their chronic deprivation from legalization opportunities, regardless of their numbers or their actual emergencies. See also Aas, 2007.

Regarding the use of the broader term 'Migrants', I employ it here alternatively to the term 'Uprooted' in accordance with the inclusive, conceptual framework provided by Forced Migration Studies[6], hence by refusing to conduct my analysis according to the existing institutional scheme that discriminates between proof categories of Migrants and Refugees, due to viewing that scheme as an artificial dichotomy, instrumentalized so as to enable the rejection of most the Uprooted legal protection demands[7]. Instead, I argue that those mobilities are urged by a spiral of displacement-, dispossession and coercion resulting from the interplay among instances of conflict, extreme poverty or/ and environmental disaster. I moreover maintain that due to the fact of being alive inherently entails a driving impulse and self-healing quality called 'hope' no humans at risk may be chronically satisfied with an abstractive state of a 'mere' survival[8]. Therefore, all those who have originally fled from extensive disaster instances, subsequently concentrate their powers on localizing and creating the preconditions for the restoration of their livelihoods, according to their own understandings of a 'better life'.

Basing on those premises, a large body of scholarship dedicated to inspecting the propulsions of contemporary Forced Migrations indicates that those mobilities represent highly complex and dynamic processes that are induced and sustained by a nexus of motives, generated by the destructive effects of the globalized post- colonial order. Those motives may reemerge in the duration depending on a series of recurring disaster instances, while subjects try to advance their courses among alternating 'pockets' of mobility and confinement (Kothari, 2002). Such instances inflict initiatives of saving one's bear existence, while they also prompt to agency aimed at an amelioration of the own living circumstances. In that light, the existing legal framework that dictates the eligibility of asylum demands operates as a depoliticizing instrument of Unauthorized Migrants' reasons of uprootedness, once that it individualizes and decontextualizes those demands by treating them as isolated cases, while disregarding their underlying causes. Hence, it ultimately operates as a vehicle of disciplining human mobilities to the same imperial rule that perpetually regenerates intertwined conflict and extreme poverty in the countries of origin, as well as chronic exploitation and exclusion in the countries of arrival.

Considerably, since the turn of the millennium, a fair volume of contemporary social scientific literature preoccupied with European migration policies refers to the rationality, structuration and affects of those policies in terms of Transnational Governance Regimes. That denomination points at the fact that current migratory movements are controlled above and beyond the physical, geographic borders be-

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6.   That choice relies also on empirical grounds, once that my personal research experiences confirmed that such mobilities were driven by impulses to surmount the fundamental existential insecurity and complete lack of prospects, implied in a complex nexus of conflict and extreme poverty instances.

7.   Conventionally, Migrants are perceived as having moved voluntarily, i.e., due to financial impulsions and therefore as having a choice about their settlement location. Accordingly, their aims of ameliorating the own life circumstances are treated as a type of 'aesthetic' choice and do not sustain their eligibility for an international protection status. On the other hand, the condition of Refugee- ness is characterized by disaster, fear and existential insecurity, hence by a complete lack of choices regarding the people's control over their own flight trajectories and locations of settlement. Thus, in order not to have their claims rejected, applicants are faced with the need to learn how to perform 'Refugeeness' during asylum interviews, in the sense of acquiring the skill of producing and delivering a convincing victim- narrative that should as such eradicate any traces of will to exercise a sovereign choice regarding the self –determination of livelihoods. Regarding emic and etic delimitations of one's self- definition in a state of uprootedness, see also Arendt, 1943.

8.   Actually, I contend that a 'mere survival' is an affectively too abstracted situation that can hardly exist for more than a glimpse of time.

tween countries, both in territorial and virtual ways[9] and that this kind of control is so intensely organized that it transcends most of the of the individuals' life facets, becoming thus consolidated as a seemingly immune status quo. The establishment of those Regimes relies on a number of versatile operational strategies that ramify in physical and symbolic space and become effectuated through a synergy among legislative-, military- and public manipulation mechanisms, which are designed with the aim of ensuring the perpetuation of that state of affairs. Notably, the relentless restructuring of those strategies in the context of an absolutist enterprise to repress migration has led several scholars to theorizing those regimes as a new form of war.**[10]**

2. Formal, spatial immobilization techniques

2. a. Treaties

Tracing back in time the origins of establishing that kind of transnational status quo, the initial instance that signalized the creation of a part of European space as a zone of specific privileges has been the signing of the Schengen Treaty in 1985. The Schengen Treaty established a zone of free mobility, primarily for commodities and European nationals and secondarily for further member-state residents that happened to already be in possession of secured, longer term residence permits. Meanwhile, it set the objective of its own growth, the –so called– 'European Completion' that would be ideally achieved through the gradual integration of all EU member states in that contract. Obviously, that type of enlargement demanded the creation of new, databases, such as the *SIS* (i.e. Schengen Information System) and the *EU-RODAC* (i.e. European Data Archive Conventions). Next, the terms and conditions of that Europe- internal free mobility project were actually operationalized by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, which foresaw the expansion of a series of additional control reinforcement apparatuses. A further crucial instance has been the implementation of the Dublin System since 1997[11] that determined the respective responsibility of EU member states in examining the asylum applications of persons seeking international protection within the EU, its amendment in 2003 (commonly quoted as Dublin II), according to which the first receiving countries, casually at the EU periphery, were considered as responsible for impeding the migrants' further access to the interior of Europe, and the most recent amendment in 2013 (Dublin III), which supplemented the legal framework regulating refoulement conditions[12] among EU member states, and foresaw on specific issues such as family reunifications, as well as the treatment of Unaccompanied Minors.

Arguably, the institutional appointment of Schengen space as a zone of financial and civil privileges resulted in a re-conceptualization of geographies of state power in ways that triggered new forms of subordination. Hence, while European-ness became once again universally revaluated, non-occidental citizenship became further devalued and territories and subjectivities beyond North-Western Euro-Amer-

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9.   See under Papademetriou & Collett, 2011.

10. See Duffield and Donini, 2001.

11. The Dublin system with its three amendments (I, II, III) is the European Union (EU) law that determines the EU Member State responsible to examine an application for asylum seekers seeking international protection under the Geneva Convention and the EU Qualification Directive, within the European Union. Whereas the first treaty was initially signed already in 1990, it became first implemented in 1997. For more, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dublin_Regulation

12. Dublin III moreover excludes certain EU states as refoulement destinations due to them not fulfilling relevant Human Rights protection specifications. For details see http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2013:180:0031:0059:EN:PDF

ica became further entrenched[13]. Within that emerging political landscape and given the existing manifold, financial asymmetries between North and South, East and West and centre and periphery of the EU, even continent- internal migration started being perceived as a potential threat for the internal budgets of the financially dominant states. Thereby, while images of physical borders were being publicly reconstructed as flexible and movable, a fact that conveyed a presumable governance laxity as such, hyper-national bordering apparatuses kept on expanding, in order to reinforce the control of individual, powerful states over the resources re-allocation and to ensure the consolidation of global European hegemony.

During that longitudinal process, a growing trend of Eurocentric scepticism towards the abuse of state welfare provisions by alien nationals in times of Crisis[14] gave way to a variety of overtly xenophobic discourses. Especially, after a series of paramilitary blows within occidental metropolitan space[15], those discourses culminated to the point of unleashing mass phobias towards migrants as potential criminals and terrorists. On the longer run, a generalized insecurity about the porousness of borders was strategically directed, so as to plague existing civil liberties and to invert humanist concerns about the vulnerability of populations at risk, into concerns about the vulnerability of European borders and the exposedness of national welfare systems and as to typeset the need for a defence of the Western financial and cultural assets against the threat represented by those who were increasingly staged as savage intruders[16]. As a consequence, in order to meet the growing challenge of –the so called– 'Migratory flows'[17], powerful receiving countries started launching securitization campaigns by deploying programs and strategies that enveloped contiguous territories into them. Those strategies promoted the surveillance of the EU external borders, by placing a particular focus on the Mediterranean and North Africa, in view of repulsing further unauthorized entries from neighbouring continents into Europe[18] (Collyer & de Haas 2012).

2. b. The creation of trans- European intervention bodies and control apparatuses.

In 2004, that type of increasing securitization demand brought forth the polycentric border patrolling authority called Frontex[19], whose functions called for the sub-

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13. For more ideological background on the European legacies of Imperial rule see Behr, 2007.

14. Here I do not refer to 'Crisis' in the sense of any specific time span of European financial recessions but rather as a timeless, intrinsic quality of capitalism that serves as a vehicle of enhancing its autocracy by rationalizing austerity and repression, as theorized by Foucault, 2008.

15. The 11th of September 2001 blows in New York form such a characteristic example.

16. See the for instance the analysis of the concepts of 'Risk' and 'Vulnerability' in the context of Frontex texts. Meanwhile, the entire criminalization discourse, especially with reference to the rising threat that the increase of Islamic populations presented to the West, contributed to a theorizing of newer Migrations – broadly speaking since the beginning of the current millennium- as a type of cultural war communiqué. For more, see Huntington, 2000.

17. The metaphor of 'flows' in the migratory context has been often criticized as communicating a sense of fluidity and liquidation and hence, of ease around the entire endeavour. See also Cisneros, 2008.

18. Thereafter, surveillance plans envisaged the possibility of using high tech equipment to spot migrant mobilities across the Mediterranean. However, the accent was placed on the contracting of measures to inhibit those mobilities out of origin countries in the first place. For more, see Collyer (2009) on the Rabat process, in force since 2006.

19. I.e., the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders. Frontex, was established according to the EU regulation 2007/2004 and started its operations on the third of October 2005. For more, see under: http://frontex.europa.eu/

sequent creation of the EUROSUR[20]. Conceived in 2008, the system of EUROSUR that relies heavily on the use of biometrics and the application of high military technology -such as drones, infra red cameras, gamma ray scanners, heart beat- and heat seeking sensors etc, is safeguarded by a system of 'Smart Borders'[21]. The term Smart Borders stands for an aggregation of high technological means aimed at the collection of a huge database of passenger personal information. Those means are designed to accomplish an 'Entry-Exit System' (EES) capable of identifying visa overstayers and to establish a Registered Traveller Programme (RTP) that should enable pre-vetted individuals to cross borders faster[22]. The implementation of those apparatuses aspired at a combating of the external continental borders trespassing that should be completed within the time span between 2014 and 2020 (Hayes & Vermeulen, 2012).

Obviously, such a gigantic project resonating an optimal combination of militarism with technocracy could not be solely sustained for patriotic reasons. Thus, once again a most profitable game terrain opened for representatives of colossal financial interests, originating from the arms industry, in cooperation with affiliates from the knowledge industry[23] that saw the opening opportunities in the need to equip those ongoing wars. Hence, large armament producing consortia that provide technological solutions for territorial, air- and maritime surveillance[24] penetrated the promising opening sales domain that targeted at the spatial regulation of transnational mobilities (ibid). In continuity with those militarization processes, the recent delegation of an array of responsibilities related to setting up, supplying and guarding Migrants' enclosure camps to army corps, in parallel to the authorization of NATO patrols in the Aegean tend to naturalize blatant military interventions as a self- evident part of migration governance. Furthermore, due to the hypothetical challenge that the advance of increased numbers of the Uprooted towards countries of the European core represents to the welfare states- and the fictive cultural homogeneity of those societies, the European Commission declared the necessity to adopt a new set of measures, which enhances the effectiveness of interceptions upon border crossings. Thus, in order to safeguard the allegedly[25] fundamental principle of persons' free movement according to the Schengen Border Code, it proceeded to its amendment. That latest amendment introduces systematic checks against

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20. The acronym means Eurosurveillance. Although already designed in 2008, the legislative package setting up *EUROSUR* was approved in mid-November 2013 by the European Parliament's civil liberties committee and the final 'green light' was supplied from the entire Parliament and by the European Council that operates as the EU's executive, while preparations for its implementation have been advancing away from public scrutiny. for details see: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3Al14579

21. See more under http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/smart-borders/index_en.htm

22. For more information on EU border and internal security management see EUR-Lex, 13/02/2008 and EUROSUR under European Commission, 19.06.2013.

23. Those affiliates are scientists and academics who vest their research for military- and oppressive objectives in the service of effective state control and multinational capital growth.

24. Such consortia are the Israel Aerospace Industries, Lockheed Martin, FAST Protect AG, L-3 Communications, FLIR Systems, SCOTTY Group Austria, Diamond Airborne Sensing, Inmarsat, Thales, AeroVision, AeroVironment, Altus, BlueBird among others. Lockheed Martin, French Thales and Israeli IAI are based in the U.S. and comprise some among the biggest weapons and security equipment producers in the world (ibid).

25. There is concrete proof that the standard of EU- internal free mobility is daily violated at multiple spots within Schengen- space. Accordingly, even EU nationals of all ages (infants too) travelling among countries experience ID controls at the entrances of train- and metro stations, ports and of course airports. See for instance ID controls at the metro between Copenhagen and Malmö in Sweden ao.

relevant data- bases at the external border and the issuing of a uniform travel document that will effectively identify overstayers and individuals to be expulsed.

Conclusively, while shedding crocodile tears on the tragic outcomes of the 'Refugee Crisis' that becomes thus regenerated on a daily basis, and on the vileness of the human smugglers' and traffickers' deeds, which in fact becomes systematically nourished by institutional misanthropy, European authorities keep on inducing migrant deaths, either on Europe- external territories or at sea, by undertaking the sealing of all routes into the continent[26], and by depriving thus people from opportunities to realize a safe passage and to apply for humanitarian protection through rapid procedures. Additionally, the progressive implementing of the *Hotspots* in Greece and Italy and the signing of admission schemes with Turkey that is a state universally known for its Human Rights 'sensitivities' are hypocritically designated as voluntary and humanitarian.[27] In fact, those systematic, serial repulsions cater for the further physical and social immobilization of those populations, as well as for their complete political disempowerment.

Importantly, with regard to such 'humanitarian refoulement' practices, the landing of Unauthorized Migrants on Turkish soil constitutes only the first link of the deportation chain, whereafter Turkish state authorities that also focus on eliminating such populations within their own dominion - conduct further deportations mostly towards countries of the Middle East, with which they have contracted relevant agreements, regardless of the absence of any linguistic, cultural etc people's bonds to those places.[28] Clearly, those –so called– Safe Third Countries[29] form to a large extend destinations where the life and physical integrity of the deported are at stake, due to comprising vast disaster areas, where armed conflict and various forms of persecution are chronically being carried out (Lomani, 2016) [30]. Consequently, the implementation of that re-admission scheme designed to achieve the EU countries' riddance of the burden of Unauthorized Migration achieves that kind of riddance at the cost of minimizing the sheer survival possibilities of all those fleeing from unviable environments, illegalizing their very attempts and aggravating the survivors' already inhuman living conditions.

Most significantly, the latest restructuring of Frontex as an autocephalous agency for the guarding of European frontiers, named EBCG (European border and Coast Guard) has been announced as a central element of an upgraded securitization design. The EBCG will be assigned superpowers that will rest on its autonomous capacity of decision–making and will expand to the right to intervene without the prior

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26. A characteristic example of those migration- adversary policies is the current maintainace of the blocking on the Western Balkans route.

27. Those recommendations were adopted on the 15th of December 2015, when it was already officially clear that also the Frontex would be superseded by another official body that would be assigned super- powers. For more, see: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/securing-eu-borders/index_en.htm

28. See under http://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2016/04/12/what-%E2%80%8Bwill%E2%80%8B-happen-migrants-returned-turkey and under http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/Default.aspx?pageID=238&nid=97699&NewsCatID=510. Sarcastically, in that article it is being underlined that in the framework of that humanitarian agreement between Turkey and the EU, the latter has proposed the kind of 'fair deal' of resettling one Syrian refugee from interim camps in Turkey for each Syrian that will be getting deported from there, starting on the 20.03.16.

29. On a legal determination of potential *Safe Third Countries* see Achermann & Gattiker, 1995.

30. Here, it should also be reminded that the German authorities have been among the first tutors on a European level in matters of orchestrating contracts of such 'readmission' agreements. Since at least two decades, they have been negotiating the admission of deported migrants with states eager to collaborate, where those expelled were completely socio-culturally alien, in exchange of development aid offers and support on the international diplomatic parquet.

request of a member state. It will moreover be allocated grandiose budgets –in comparison to the already generous Frontex financing– in order to preserve its own 'operational equipment pool' and 'rapid reserve pool of border guards'[31], it will engage in joint extraterritorial operations, while also being in a position to dictate to the various states to take 'corrective action' -even where the latter don't see the need to do so- and will have a stronger role in returns. The need of introducing all of the above Orwelian conditions has been once again justified according to the sublime objective of safeguarding the European internal security and of preventing society from acts of terrorism[32]. It is should moreover be taken to consideration that the abundant budgets allocated for the acquisition of the necessary high-tech equipment and the employment of trained staff for the realization of those operations derive from EU funds, therefore from common European tax-payers money that becomes redirected towards border guarding authorities via the EU Internal Security Fund[33].

Arguably, the creation of the EBCG forms another dangerous development, in the wrong direction, which will once again jeopardize more migrant lives, while exposing both, populations on the move and settled communities to an increasing daily repression terror. Particularly, the phenomenon of granting such an unlimited determinative and executive unaccountability to a single legal body of controllers, through the concentration of so many powers continent-wide and beyond, renders the existence of that operational body incompatible with any democratic governance principles and constitutes a rising threat to any remaining civil liberties, especially for social agents that may attempt to refute the imposition of that order. However, on the 22nd of June 2016, the European Council confirmed their agreement with the European Parliament on the operationalization of the EBCG.[34]

2. c. **Bordering strategies: "Outsourcing" & "Insourcing"**

In matters of strategic planning, the basic operationalization features of those Migration regimes have been the twin processes of the parallel externalization- (Outsourcing) and internalization (Insourcing) of border enactment. Outsourcing –i.e., pushing borders out–, relies on the enhancement of security apparatuses in protection of the geopolitical border and involves a series of extraterritorial activities that extend to sending- and transit countries according to the requests of the more powerful receiving states. That situation justifies the presence of extraterritorially stationed agents of European services, who allegedly exist by necessity outside the national territory, as national representatives, yet in an 'exceptional space'. Accordingly, Outsourcing legitimates a continuous inauguration of an array of spaces of

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31. All of the terms in quotation marks are original quotations from the EBCG constitution declaration text (no page number given). See link under footnote 27.

32. See under: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/securing-eu-borders/factsheets/docs/a_european_border_and_coast_guard_en.pdf and http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-6327_en.htm

33. To provide a clue on some previous figure sizes, the Commission had estimated that the creation of EUROSUR during the time span between 2014- 2020 would cost up to 338 million euros. However, there are indications that large additional amounts accompany such further equipment initiatives, like the 400 million euros initially planned for setting up the –so called 'Smart [border] Gates' plus an additional 190 million euros annually in operating costs. According to the Borderline study, until 2012, despite the absence of any draft legislation, or even an agreement in principle on introducing smart borders in the EU, the Commission had already allocated 1.1 billion euros to the development of the EES (EU Entry Exit System) and the RTP (EU Registered Traveller Programme) from the proposed EU Internal Security Fund in early December 2012, whereas Council approval on the EU Budget has been finalized in February 2013 (Hayes & Vermeulen, 2012).

34. On the recent decision of operationalization see under: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/06/22-border-and-coast-guard/

exception, such as detention centers and cells or any other type of provisory prison settlements, more or less remotely around European territories, where non- Europeans, non- Westerners on the move are confined in order to be identified and controlled. (Mc Guire & Coutin, 2013). Control techniques applied to impose that type of order, range from the visible strategies of detention and deportation, to less visible measures applied to hinder the migrants' settlement- and self determination possibilities[35]. All of those tactics are based on hypersurveillance, incarceration without a cause, and on a further host of problematic encounters between law- enforcement instruments and immigrants that entail the latter's ethno-racial profiling and result in their increasing criminalization (Provine & Sanchez 2011).

Insourcing, i.e., pushing borders inwards, includes the policing of migrants and the enforcement of controls within country interiors through their detection, their detention in 'spaces of exception' within the dominion and their deportation. Insourcing moreover comprises the various techniques of introducing symbolic borders (embodied, gendered, deterritorialized, social/ classist, nationalist etc.), and of effectuating the policing of migrants inside their communities through virtual monitoring and ruffians. Those techniques manage in fact to turn the people's livelihoods to a daily inferno by reproducing perpetual dead ends in matters of physical & social mobility (Menjívar, 2014). The summation of those multipronged and embodied bordering approaches aimed at the persecution of unauthorized populations inside, outside, and beyond territories composes the moral and social economy of institutional Necropolitics, of a strategically implemented system of migration governance that results in the exclusive reproduction of disaster.

2. d. The inventory of extermination techniques

It has nowadays become obvious that throughout their trajectories, moving populations become exposed to huge amounts of systemic violence to a degree that often leads to their sheer, physical extinction. However, the actual dimensions of that type of violence cannot be thoroughly conceived without a careful consideration of the various political infiltration mechanisms and prevalent extinction techniques that become unleashed on the subjects previously, during, and on the aftermath of their passages.

To start with, previously to their actual undertakings, the legacies of colonialism in the countries of origin that have established continuities in the theft of resources, the imposition of military dictatorships and the financing of corrupted governments perpetually regenerate spirals of dispossession, devaluation and persecution. However, while fundamentally urging resourceless populations to seek for a better life, those circumstances factually inhibit the launching of migratory travels by the socially weaker that are each time the ones in the greatest need to leave. Hence, many 'wishful migrants' are condemned to remain stuck within a hopeless livelihood until their last breath, whereas those who manage to gather the starting capital casually do so at tremendous costs of their entire household economies. To continue with, during travels, the need of the Uprooted to advance their courses becomes an object of maximal exploitation by facilitators, according to the pattern 'high costs for transfer, low price for lives'. That kind of ruthless commodification of the right to move creates its own capital market, where the range of travel options is priced depending on the supply of 'comfort features' of the selected trajectory, as well as on the own migrants' degree of involvement in the collection of more 'customers' to board the passage. Such comfort features comprise for instance the choice between more or less secure trans-

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35. E.g., to make family reunification- or self- determination of 'migrants' livelihoods nearly impossible.

portation means, the issuing of visas and documents, the length of distances, the seasonal, climatic conditions, the degree of routes surveillance by authorities, the number of intermediate links and 'service points' and finally, the possibilities of first orientation upon arrival. That state of affairs apparently operates as another type of selection process regarding those passengers' individual survival chances and lies therefore in the interest of bordering mechanisms to preserve it as such.

Next, upon arrival, the confrontation with Smart Borders caters for those currents' effective decimation, once that 'smartness' in that context consists of razor blade barbed wire fences, electrocution installations, imprisonment in camps and lengthy detentions under unviable conditions in places situated in a legal vacuum. In result, the manifold forms of suffering and death induced due to wreckages, poisoning, treading on mines, various accidents, committing suicide, asphyxiating, thirst and/or starvation, extreme climatic conditions[36], sexual abuse, assassination and lack of medical care- constitute regular casualties in the business that is set up to secure non- arrivals (Lambert, 11/02/2015). Thereafter, for the brave and the lucky ones, who will have managed to survive that slaughterhouse, the future reserves a chronic struggle against a set of socio-political dynamics that carry forward their moral extinction, by imposing a type of confinement on them within a state of a protracted civic pending[37]. On the process of that longitudinal struggle the Uprooted will have ample opportunity to realize that after all, the celebrated occidental human rights and the renowned European state of the law exclusively exist for those who don't need them.

Taking after all in account the tremendous sums of capital that are increasingly directed in the invention and implementation of all those extinction technologies and techniques, instead of being channelled in the development of human resources, it becomes apparent that the functions of controlling human mobilities are designed so as to preserve existing hegemonic relations between a minority of powerful occidental states and the majority of the financially indebted and subsequently politically subjugated countries of the -so called- Developing World. That enterprise of neo-colonial order preservation fundamentally yields benefits for capital investors, who represent large interests in the high tech armament- and communications industry[38]. The interdependence between occidental administrational elites

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36. For quotas on migrant deaths on the verge of Europe in the Sahara and at sea see also under: http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-sahara-idUSKCN0ZV22C.

37. That type of pending within liminal civic spaces implies a specific state of entrapment into chronic exclusion from access to legal rights and basic common goods, such as for instance medical care and education caused by bureaucratic, institutional regulations. In more literary terms, that state is commonly referred to as a type of 'living in limbo' in various migration contexts. See for instance, Mountz et al., 2002; Castañeda, 2013, ao.

38. For instance, the armament producing companies already mentioned on p.7 of this paper, as well as various powerful private actors that progressively overtake the functioning of the various imprisonment- hospitality camps and institutions that the bankrupted national state is eager to give up. For instance, see under: http://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/565656/kedro-filoxenias-gia-miteres-kai-paidia-prosfuges-apo-to-idruma-marianna-v-vardinogianni/
Moreover, several high- tech communication solutions producers activate their charitable branches for that aim. The deeper motives, profitability rationale and potential outcomes of those types of privatized humanitarianism intervention constitute a highly interesting thematic area that represents a challenge for future research. With relevance to that –so called-'direct impact intervention', as defined by its sponsors, see more under: http://www.insidephilanthropy.com/home/2016/8/17/heres-what-direct-impact-philanthropy-looks-like-for-refugee.html?SSScrollPosition=0&utm_content=bufferd26d8&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_campaign=buffer, and http://www.insidephilanthropy.com/disasters-refugees/2016/3/30/thinking-outside-the-tent-how-these-funders-approach-the-ref.html,
http://www.insidephilanthropy.com/disasters-refugees/2016/8/2/a-tech-group-works-on-the-front-lines-of-global-crisesand-bi.html.

and those global private actors, whereby the former purchase the necessary power to safeguard their hegemonic position, while the latter raise gigantic profits frames a durable, eclectic relationship between them. That relationship sustains a synergy of amoralistic governance, in the frame of which, causing the damage is followed by managing its healing in most profitable ways, irrespective of whatsoever disastrous implications occur on the human level.

3. Immobilization in symbolic space: Techniques of forming consciousness & fabricating consensus

3. a. Meaning- making: The politics of language

"One of the key tasks for intellectuals today is to dig out the inner architecture of power from under the new rational-technical discourses within which it is embedded (Sassen, 2000: abstract)".

Since a few decades, a series of critical studies have concentrated on the 'politics of language'. While examining the determinative power that the basic human communication tool exercises on the social universe, those studies highlighted the fact that its knowledge- shaping- and delimiting dynamics have diachronically rendered it a vital component of policy- making (Woolard, 1992). Taking thus into scope historical dimensions of the political instrumentalization of language, they demonstrated how its powerful mediation has been manifold re-forged on the course of the various autocratic regimes' strivings to secure their continuation. In order to meet that objective, a basic precondition that had to diachronically be fulfilled regarded the maximal achievement of civic consensus towards the deeds of authority. With that aim, in parallel to taking administrative measures, the respective sovereignty habitually attempted to reconceptualize and re-signalize historic contexts and value-based notions of daily use,[39] so as to reconstruct wishful, self- justifying narratives that would impact on matters of Identity- and Community Building.[40] Hence, relevant tactics deployed around the fundamental reform of public perceptions connected to 'primordial truths', such as origins and culture, as well as around the reshaping of normative discourses that attributed meaning to contemporary realities (Bourdieu[41], 1991; Chomsky, 2004; Fishman, 1972; Richardson 1996; Wodak, 1989).

With regard moreover to the consolidation of state control across national dominions, a series of Nationalism Studies indicated that the capacity to govern a sum of heterogeneous cohabiting populations largely rested upon the successful fabrication of a collective identity based on the inhabitants' sense of belonging to an imagined, geographically- historically- and culturally intact community and upon the

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39. E.g., typically, notions targeted by such political - ethos reforms comprise abstractions that denote qualities such as freedom, democracy, beauty etc and subsequently contextually define dichotomies that ascribe moral judgment, such as normative vs deviant, safe vs threatening etc.

40. Numerous studies on Nationalism, Race and Ethnicity underlined that long before the rise of national states, the successful diffusion of the kind of narratives that stressed the value of belongingness to a homogenous, 'naturally' correlating aggregate contributed significantly to the creation of ethnicity as a historic unit, whereas, the posterior cultivation of a type of self- awareness regarding the belongingness of a set of ethnicities to an enlarged, homogenized administrational entity based on the same bio- cultural principles served as primary material for the social construction of nationality. In the frame of that enlarged, collective sense of belongingness, the respective community members entertain the idea of sharing a characteristic and unique identity, as an essential ethos that derives from their shared biological and historic bonds, which moreover becomes perpetuated in terms of a distinct *Habitus,* through (mimetic) acculturation- socialization processes (ibid).

41. See also Hanks, 2005, pp: 69-72 on a comparative analysis of Bourdieu's *Habitus* as a type of *modus operandi*, i.e., schemes of cultural reproduction.

subsequent management of that self- awareness as a type of sociopolitical partici-pation - passport. To that purpose, the promotion of ethnocentric, supremacist ide-ologies that sustain hierarchic social interaction patterns on behalf of power struc-tures conventionally represents a standardized strategy to preserve the existing or-der. In that framework, national- and racial prevalence ideologies undertake to ef-fectively consolidate the unity of the 'natural' community vs the potential unity of the reconfigured, transnational community, once that an eventual re-unification ac-cording to the actual communal needs and criteria of the latter threatens to disman-tle the nation as such, by bringing forth forms of political cohesion that surmount the essentialist conceptual delimitations of the primordialist narrative[42]. According-ly, the tactic germination of discrimination and segregation ideologies between au-tochthons and aliens serves in rationalizing repressive and exclusionary state poli-cies, as well in morally legitimizing those outsiders' manifold exploitation (Ander-son, 2016; Balibar 1990; Gellner & Breuilly 2008; Smith 2013; Wright 2016).

Yet, in the post- modern era, the indicated isomorphism between the people -as the nation-, and the state -as the geopolitical entity that has consistently been strived for by the modern, national state is essentially challenged by the expan-sion of an ideational statelessness, brought along with the increasing mobility of commerce- and spectacle institutions and the subsequent rise of de- localized, flu-id identities. Added to those decoupling transformation processes generated by globalizing economic models, current large migratory phenomena threaten to ul-timately debunk that fictive congruence between culture and geography. In view of the contemporary national establishment survival agony, it becomes crucial for state authorities to ensure the continuation of the familiar operational unit as a control segment on the meso- level in parallel to the growth of relevant, large- scale mechanisms, by devising strategies that redefine its jurisdiction domains and sus-tain the exertion of its powers, despite any internal inconsistencies and contradic-tions (Sassen, 2015).

Thereby language, being once again the main instrument for the public explana-tion of migrant affairs becomes reorganized so as to provide the conceptual basis for the dehumanization of Alterity. That kind of reorganization process is reflect-ed in the rhetoric employed to designate the newcomers, as well as in the reframing of the official vocabulary describing policy functions. In both cases, the application of a technocratic, prude and pompous discourse register endeavors to deprive sub-jects of their historicity, to relate them to inherent notions of criminality and fraud, while concealing the setting up of a transnational incarceration and deportation in-dustry, by erasing the human factor from the entire picture (Panzou, 2013).

A characteristic example of that kind of dehumanization process is imprinted in the semantic decline of the historic term Refugee, through the bureaucratization of the 'Refugeeness' quality. Having separated from its initial context that focused on the very fact of fleeing, the notion of Refugeeness has in later years adhered to a se-curitization- bordering discourse of mistrust that stresses the potential of Bogus-ness, related to forced displacements. Thus, despite the fact that recent causes of Uprootedness comprise globally known instances of extreme sociopolitical inequi-ty and (primarily capitalism- induced) environmental jeopardies, the related insti-tutional discourses propound the need to test the authenticity of those populations'

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42. For instance, types of consciousness that unify on a proletarian, anti-statist, anti-capitalist clas-sist basis, or others that threaten to fragment the national unit, by identifying on ethnic or religious bases, similar to those displayed by the adherents of various localist-autonomist, or theocratic move-ments .

emergencies through lengthy, standardized hearing procedures, in order to scarcely grant an increasingly temporary and differentiated international protection status to a few individuals (Voutira & Dona, 2007). In result, persons who would be initially designated as Refugees have been in recent decades re-labelled as 'Asylum Applicants' and portrayed as a mass of 'Refugee candidates' whose dubious motives have to be verified against harsh eligibility criteria, depending after all on the receiving states' accommodation availability.

An additional aspect of those aliens' symbolic excommunication is reflected in the official authorities' habitual practice of nominating major border- patrolling, as well as country- internal policing operations, after ancient Greek- and Latin divinities. Rooted in a Eurocentric, primordialist narrative, that practice denotes a further facet of the attempts of Hypernational governance to cultivate and preserve an 'Old World' nationals' self- understanding in terms of a membership in a High Culture'[43], based on the 'timeless values' that have allegedly comprised the historical constituents of European-ness. For that aim, it is important to formulate a related myth on the existence of a European common intellectual heritage since antiquity that implicitly marks the difference between members of the emerging Hypernational community and those others, who don't share the same historic and philosophical traditions.

Arguably, that kind of posterior construction of a pseudo-historic reference framework outlines the enterprise to sublimate the cultural variety of racism according to the European colonial legacy, which conventionally imposed a moral view on the Majority World as 'people without history'[44] (Wolf 1982). Thereby, the raising of that symbolic boundary as an additional, invisible wall that circumscribes the particular, white - supremacist form of cultural cohesion within the European geopolitical space should convey the jurisdictional righteousness of the authorities' large- scale repressive interventions, based on the common- sense necessity of preserving Europe to the Europeans. Therefore, on a geostrategic level, a series of transnational military interventions, such as the Frontex maritime operations, named after ancient gods – (e.g.: Zeus, Poseidon, Hera, Triton etc), as well as of several national repressive enterprises, such as the extensive 'cleansing'[45] of large urban centres from Unauthorized Migrants – (e.g.: the notorious, ironically named 'Hospitable Zeus' [Xenios Dias]) have been publicly projected as heroic, necessary authority consignments[46] committed to safeguarding the continental- and national

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43. See also Krüger & Lindner, 2009 on receptions of the 'Hochkultur' notion.

44. Wolf's title *Europe and the People Without History* discusses the task of civilizing as a traditional occidental consignment and a type of self- appointed European mission. See also related Davis' (1992) *History and the people without Europe: Other Histories,* an extended mapping of that supremacist order construction.

45. [Xenios Dias], also known as 'broom operation' that was launched in the summer of 2012 was a major repressive enterprise on the national level with the aim of identifying *Unauthorized Migrants* and eliminating their presence mainly from the centre of Athens. At the time, a broad array of Greek Mass media orchestrated a targeted assault on those Migrants as illicit- ('Bogus-migrants') and criminal elements through the use of a vocabulary connected to notions of 'cleansing' and human 'dirt', commonly employed in the frame of a fascistic, sociological discourse attached to 'cleanliness'. See for instance under:
http://www.tanea.gr/news/greece/article/4521506/?iid=2,
http://www.tovima.gr/society/article/?aid=450849,
http://www.ethnos.gr/koinonia/arthro/pano_apo_300_prosagoges_stin_epixeirisi_skoupa-63637176/?mmid=28481291 ao.

46. That nomination practice could be thus read as a metaphor on those authorities embodying a type of ambassadors, appointed by the divine powers contained in an allegedly common European ancestry to safeguard the continent.

geopolitical sovereignty, in parallel to defending the equally significant, ideals that hypothetically construe the European cultural superiority. Typically, that kind of atavistic and self- appraising flirting with un-reason has formed an ideological premise of purist and totalitarian governance, such as exercised by the fascist regimes, which culminated on the continent during the thirties (Friedman, 1992[47]; Schiffman, 1999).

Furthermore, in matters of an official explanation of the main contemporary migration management functions, a newly - coined technocratic Jargon endeavours to blur any evidence of suffering in those affairs, through the application of a human factor- erasing terminology. For instance, the current term 'Hotspot' – a loan from the informatics- and/or sociology vocabulary[48] that has substituted the previous term 'Screening Centre'[49], which was primarily employed in Medical Informatics- and the Internal Security Jargon comprises a sample of such a disembodied terminology. Also, the exclusive use of flair, humanitarian discourse expressions such as Refoulement and Readmission, in substitution of the nearly extinct, less eloquent terms 'Deportation' and 'Expulsion' has been launched in order to conceal a variety of politically induced suffering- scenarios, while also the euphemism 'Open Hospitality[sic!][50] Centers' that rather reminds of tourism branch terminology has been inaugurated in order to beautify a range of detention and incarceration options. The forging of that level of 'politically correct' verbal register to address a series of institutionalized Unauthorized Migrants' capture- and hostage circumstances pinpoints the authorities' attempts to make the fabrication of a transnational persecution- repression- deportation chain invisible and unheard, while enhancing their tactical plans for a militarist and speculative management of migration.

3. b. Truth- making: Representations of "Vulnerability" as public familiarization with brutality

Arguably, whereas the terms 'lies' and 'deception' are not synonymous, the latter commonly forms the construction chamber of the former[51]. Yet, deception so variously veiled is harder to identify, especially when primary facts have been made entirely obsolete. Typically, Mass Media, as the most powerful pillar of informal authority, comprise a laboratory of deception methodologies, whereby scientific communication expertise is summoned to produce new informational contexts according to the respective owners' entrepreneurial interests and political loyalties. In that kind of laboratory, a multitude of manipulation techniques are methodically developed, processed and implemented with the aid of new, sophisticated technologies. Following, the deriving artifacts are effectively communicated to the social body through the attendance of daily- life rituals, such as the eight pm TV news broadcasts or the peering through

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47. Particular authors' reference to 'Mythology as the Politics of History' in ibid, pp: 206f.

48. The informatics option of *Hotspot* implies a point of wireless connectivity to the World Wide Web. Alternatively, its sociologically inclined meaning denotes either a very popular, active place or one where much danger of fighting exists. Source: Hot spot. (n.d.).
Retrieved August 29, 2016, from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hot spot.

49. *Screening Centre* is once again a term of multiple meanings, employed both to describe technological solutions for medical examinations, as well as the operation of military data- bases. With reference to the later, see for instance the *Terrorist Screening Centre* of the FBI under: https://www.fbi.gov/about/leadership-and-structure/national-security-branch/tsc

50. Juxtaposing that phrasing to the possibility of supplying '*Closed Hospitality*' or any other '*Hospitality*' option in closed centers (detention) the nonsensical result of exasperating attempts to verbally comply with principles of political correctness becomes evident.

51. See also Bok's (2009) philosophical and political analysis on "Lying".

of daily press headlines (Conboy, 2004[52]). Due to the simplistic public assumption on the power of images to convey the truth, visual mass media in particular represent a central mechanism in assisting the expansion of power logics. By cultivating the uncritical consumption of sensational, informational fabrications as an evidence for 'undisputed' realities, they compose a terrain where 'truth' is perpetually reconstructed, through the application of numerous fragmentation and convergence techniques,[53] that originate from the field of market- oriented management. Commonly pervaded by exaggeration overtones, the end- informational products are designed so as to interact with the public consciousness in stimulating ways, in order to rationalize governance choices and to affect the carving of new civic and consumer attitudes (Lister, 2009[54]).

Similarly, with regard to the formation of a contemporary public Migration- Bordering discourse, Mass Media have largely contributed to the instigation and diffusion of moral panic[55], through the construction of 'The Migrant' figure as an external,

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52. See therein especially pp: 202-222 a critique on techniques to broadcast 'big stories'.

53. Due to a lack of expertise on the field of contemporary communication science methodologies and technologies and to the delimitations of this paper, I can only refer here to a standardized range of the increasingly multiplying techniques to manipulate information, based on my own observations. Thus, starting with the targeted silencing (extinguishing) of selected facts, in parallel to (over)projecting others or with the juxtaposition of reports on politically impactfull incidents to un-significant, 'charming' announcements and continuing with the manifold fragmenting and thereafter reassembling auditory or visual texts (e.g. by detaching of the visual from the auditory part and thereafter embedding either one in entirely new settings), added to the countless possibilities to introduce effects that animate, repeat and imitate those texts, there exist nowadays countless ways to fabricate, reveal or extinguish facts by deconstructing and reconstructing them into impressive, 'big story'- compositions that can create, alter and subvert political contexts.

54. See especially therein pp: 202-204.

55. Some of those manipulative journalistic techniques were implemented during protests that took place at the port of Piraeus, as well as during uprisings within prison- cells and detention- centers in March and April 2016 in many areas of Greece. Such instances have among others comprised a series of protests at the camp of Katsika- Ioannina (see under http://www.skai.gr/news/greece/article/312434/kleisti-i-egnatia-apo-prosfuges-/, 14.03.2016 and http://www.huffingtonpost.gr/2016/09/02/katsikas-iwanninwn_n_11833192.html, 02.09.2016) and later on, repetitive uprisings within the deportation centers -so called *Hot Spots*- of Moria- Lesvos (see under http://www.lesvosnews.net/articles/news-categories/astynomiko-reportaz/exegersi-sti-moria, 26.04.2016, http://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/612049/ektos-eleghou-i-katastasi-sti-lesvo-diadiloseis-katoikon-foties-sti-moria/, 19.09.2016 and http://www.elaliberta.gr, 25.10.2016) and Souda- Chios (see under http://www.pronews.gr/portal/20160606/defencenet/esoteriki-asfaleia/65/hios-prosfyges-kai-metanastes-evalan-fotia-ston-kataylismo, 06.06.2016 and http://www.pronews.gr/portal/20161008/defencenet/esoteriki-asfaleia/65/hios-ektetamena-epeisodia-kai-pyrkagia-ston-kataylismo-tis, 8.10.2016). In the first case, information on the Katsika protest that was motivated due to very low quality living conditions was staged by visual media as an unprovoked attack against the police, initiated by a group of hot-headed migrants, who intended to ignite trouble. However, while the auditory text was claiming that the latter attacked the former with sticks and stones, the image that was simultaneously being transmitted could not bear any evidence for that statement, once that the protesters were mostly sitting on the road surface in order to block the traffic on the Egnatia highway. Following, image technicians tried to make the most out of an instance where some of the protesters stood up and advanced towards the riot police units by repeating that same snapshot back and forth, so as to create a sense of an ongoing action during the verbal report.
Obviously, the view angle of filming either from the protesters' – or the police's side also served in that case the projection of an entirely different perspective, and was thus capable of producing a different 'truth' context. In a similar occasion at the provisory migrants' settlements in the Piraeus port, such detachment- and disruption techniques have been applied by TV professionals, who recycled a couple of shots with the aim of stressing those male migrants' aggression potential. Thus, the news broadcast delivered a relevant report, after having filmed a couple of men who attacked each other with kick boxing, martial art- type of gestures. Those men were filmed for a sequence that only lasted a couple of seconds, which was nonetheless repetitively projected thereafter, during the few minutes report. Meanwhile, the covering reporters' dramatic intonation sustained the created impression on the criticalness of that violent situation, which could however scarcely be evinced through a more careful look at the visual text. For a sample of such a delirious reporting style see under: https://youtu.be/l122hdqAJtQ
Clearly, those techniques of facts reconstruction aspire at a phobic management of the public opinion by stimulating the spectators' fears in the first place, while leaving a memory of an 'ultimately critical', threatening situation that induces a negative attitude towards 'such people' on the longer run.

criminal, economic and hygienic menace. In the framework of that tactic, while consistently disseminating a variety of 'half- truths', they effectively processed the public familiarization with systemic brutality through a regular transmission of scenes focusing on destitution and violence, by orchestrating thus the arousal of phobias. Especially since the beginning of the recent financial recession, the Greek public has been repeatedly submitted to a kind of informational bombardment with successive images of needy, phenotypically alien crowds, fleeing from disaster areas. Those images were casually combined with hasty reports that stressed the greatness of the problem in terms of numeric figures, which were provided as an evidence for the receiving countries incapacity to provide housing, catering and care solutions[56]. Yet, during those alerting accounts and in spite of the expanding public misconception on a manifold depletion of national budgets due to the Migrants' presence, what constantly remained untold was the fact that the expenditure for those needs accommodation is each time allocated by the European Parliament, in collaboration with the UNHCR and derives from the European Refugee Fund[57].

On the course of such visual documentations that bore witness to the criticalness of the situation, the commentaries accent was casually put on the trans/national authorities' righteous commitment to combating 'illicitness' with equal regard to activities of the transnational smugglers' networks, as well as to Unauthorized Migrants' passages. That kind of indiscriminately lawful rhetoric was additionally reinforced through frequent references to Islamist terrorists, who had gained their opportunity to sneak into Europe through the porous, Greek borderline by purporting to be Refugees. Thus, whereas migrants were instantaneously projected as vulnerable populations in the first place, the reporting co-text effectively established an ideological association between their presence and the notions of burden and illicitness in economic, sociocultural and religious terms. That level of addressing the issue contributed in the establishment of a causative relationship between the officially proclaimed war against Transnational Terrorism -that under those circumstances appeared as a self- evident imperative for the achievement of external border security- and the combating of 'Irregular Migration' -that was systematically presented as the epitome of internal security strategies. Clearly, the formation of that sort of continuum between 'Terrorism' and 'Irregular Migration' impacted significantly on the adoption of xenophobic and pro- securitization approaches by a large part of society (King & Wood, 2013; Palidda, 2016).

Considerably, for an intermediate period of about four years between 2011 and 2015, the majority of Greek Mass Media had moreover engaged in the daily advertising of neo-Nazi groups' brutal assaults against Migrants. During that period, while reproducing the dominant political doctrine that propagated the need to re-

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56. Especially, after the closure of the Balkan route through the relevant collaboration of the -so called- Wiesengrad states (i.e., Hungary, Poland, Czech republic and Slovakia) despite the fact that the entire sum of persons trapped within the dominion didn't surpass the population of a Greek middle- sized town (46.000, in April 2016 according to International Amnesty, and 60.817 in September 2016 according to the UNHCR) and could be distributed in the Greek province with extremely beneficiary results in a country that manifests an extremely low birth rate and subsequently an aging population, the tactic of representing those guests as an unmanageable number persisted. See also under: http://www.amnesty.eu/content/assets/Docs_2016/ReportsBriefings/Trapped_in_Greece_final_140416.pdf and http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/country.php?id=83

57. Hence, the sums disposed do not encumber the national means but are yielded by United Nations member- states contributions, added to donations made by occasional, volunteering, private agents. For more detail, see under: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/financing/fundings/migration-asylum-borders/index_en.htm and https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-finance/tables-and-charts-on-un-finance/the-financing-of-the-un-programmes-funds-and-specialized-agencies.html

press the increasing 'flows' of allochthones, particularly the large, private TV channels have been consequently promoting the rationalization of aggressions that opposed the latter's physical presence, especially in urban space. In that light, the regular foregrounding of those – so called- 'storm troopers''[58] interventions created an own fear dynamic that progressively enabled the multiplication and expansion of racist attacks, once that their daily screenings functioned as an exemplary intimidation for anyone who would dare to interfere in favor of the aggressed. The regular transmission of those rashly multiplying criminal incidents motivated by racial-hate, combined with the manifold projections of migrants as a problem managed to rapidly generate a degree of social tolerance towards the actions of paramilitary fascist groups that was unprecedented for the standards of the Greek post- dictatorship era. Under those circumstances, a part of the public opinion after all started to grow comprehensive towards organized, neo-Nazi's activities under the pretext that they were eventually provoked by the migrants' increasingly disturbing presence[59].

However, even more extensive medial references that were constantly portraying the Uprooted as vulnerable mass have not been less harmful. Instead, they mostly managed to de-contextualize the subjects' reasons to flee and thus contributed in stripping them from their human substance in the autochthon spectators' consciousness. During that representation process, whereby the public has been habitually overwhelmed with figures on 'endless' new arrivals on a daily basis, the alarming accounts were coupled with an imagery that exposed anonymous humans of all ages and constitutions -including the numerous 'highly sensitizing' shots of miserable infants- fenced behind barbed wires and bars, within the squalid swamps that were allotted for their encampment. Allegedly, those dramatic insights have been so abundantly supplied, in order to awaken compassionate impulses. Yet, such reports that were casually produced by non- Migrant professionals inflicted an external gaze on the matter that implicitly outlined those people as a type of faceless, destitute human lump invading the country. The flattening character of that approach mainly relied on the diligent silencing of those massive migratory phenomena root causes, on the subjects' unified description as Moslems, as well as on the erasure of their personal life stories, viewpoints and ambitions and importantly, on a complete lack of reference to their individual knowledges and capacities.

Therefore, on the longer run, those victimizing depictions indirectly operated as a systematic de- sensitizing treatment that typeset the generalized moral and social inferiority of all those who were show- cased as runaways from 'underdeveloped' areas of the globe, primarily due to the abject conditions that used to mark their livelihoods and therefore, as carriers of exclusively negative developments. Accordingly, after the original emotional shock, a large part of the public mostly responded through a superficial type of 'tele-citizens' compassion', articulated within the boundaries of the living- room and saturated by means of charitable donations, while the tendencies to label and classify those piteous aliens by maintaining a safety distance were enhanced. In parallel, the plethora of dreadful sights ignited exten-

58. 'Storm troopers' is used here as a faithful translation of the German *'Sturmtruppen'*, the historic definition of SS raiding troops during WWII. Not coincidentally, that self –definition is employed to designate the *Golden Dawn* Neo-Nazi party street- combat groups that are directed at conducting criminal assaults against migrants and their political allies.

59. That type of ethical-ideological shift was imprinted in the rocketing of *Golden Dawn* electorate percentages from the elections of 2009, where it had just gathered a 0,46% of the Greeks' votes, to a 6,97%, in the 2012 elections. For details see:
http://www.tovima.gr/society/article/?aid=600474 and
https://enthemata.wordpress.com/2015/09/27/koustenis/

sive fears about an eventual abasement of the own living quality through the importation of a kind of 'Third- World' living standard into the own environment, through the rapprochement of new neighbors, who were delineated as culturally alien, hygienically suspicious and financially parasitic (Cisneros, 2008; Pogliano, 2016).

Commonly though, charitable compassion falls short where serious concerns about the own welfare arise. Hence, on the course of time, as it became evident that the actual, social encounters between established populations and the new- comers were inevitable, the activated phobias started forming instances of social conflict based on the established residents' conviction about their 'natural' right to defend the 'own', national assets from those who were represented as a crowd of persistent claimers, swarming up to draw more blood from the exhausted economies of the EU South. In many cases, tensions ensuing thereof triggered Alterity-hostile reflexes country- wide[60]. Such reflexes have for instance been manifested by entire local communities that denied the opening of 'Hospitality' establishments in their vicinity and/or the inclusion of special evening- school teaching- curricula for Migrant children[61] in local schools, in order to impede what they feared to form the incorporation of criminal, financial and hygienic hazards in the familiar social fabric. Notably, those racist objections have been often agitated by organized nationalists, who tactically infiltrated the various local associations, whereas they have conventionally been enfolded within a type of technical and bureaucratic argumentation that attempted to justify the widely spread denial to allow the newcomers to finally set a foot on stable soil. Yet, still in those cases, under the pretext of 'journalistic neutrality' there have not been many serious attempts to articulate any in-depth criticism, even on behalf of self- declared non populist, democratic Media that could have contravened the progressive diffusion of nationalist and racist ideologies.

3. c. Certified- vs. uncontrollable solidarities

In consequence, under the prevailing recessionary circumstances, the logical conclusions that even the softhearted among the broader public were prompted to draw assumed the national and individual inability to cope with the problem of accommodating 'all of those people'. Besides underlining the necessity of sealing the border, that underlying conclusion made moreover space for the subsequent promotion of a mentality that either primed solutions sponsored by wealthy, private actors, or required the charitable mediation of NGOs and last but not least, relied on the numerous independent volunteers'- and solidaristic individuals' self- denial. Nonetheless, with regard to the ethics and margins of solidarity, Mass Media played once again a central role in the promotion of a generalized sense of social apathy, by amplifying the official logic that assigns the tasks of humanitarian assistance to corporately organized initiatives, while consistently defaming the ventures of non- in-

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60. See for instance under: http://www.northpress.gr/news.php?lang=173&cat=85&id=1791 (28.05.2016), http://webtv.ert.gr/ert3/antidrasis-se-vasilika-ke-thermi-gia-to-kentro-filoxenias-prosfigon/ (29.05. 2016), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=elSaQ2ADFw0 (02.06.16), http://www.newsit.gr/topikes-eidhseis/Larisa-Antidraseis-gia-ti-dimioyrgia-kentroy-filoksenias-prosfygon-sta-Tempi-Katoikoi-apekleisan-to-stratopedo/627128 (10.06.2016), http://www.zougla.gr/greece/article/ipiros-antidrasis-gia-ti-metafora-prosfigon-apo-to-kentro-ston-katsika (04.07.2007), http://paionia.gov.gr/News/News-Releases/antidraseis-xwros-filoxenias-nea-kavala.aspx (25.02.2016) http://www.ant1news.gr/news/watch?cid=w_jfyn_o_mh0_g_e%3D (17.09.2015) ao.

61. See for instance under http://www.kathimerini.gr/877391/article/epikairothta/ellada/ntomino-antidrasewn-gia-ta-prosfygopoyla-sta-sxoleia (01.10.2016), http://www.newsit.gr/topikes-eidhseis/KSylo-kai-xeirokrotimata-gia-ta-prosfygopoyla-se-sxoleia-tis-THessalonikis-pics-vids/664226 (10.10.2016), http://www.tilegrafima.gr/koinonia/ta-paidia-ton-prosfygon-sta-scholeia-kai-o-fovos-ton-antidraseon/ (10.10.2006), http://tro-ma-ktiko.blogspot.gr/2016/10/blog-post_909.html (07.10.206) ao.

stitutional-, self- organized agents who refute the official terms of discipline. Therefore, although at present the previous tactics of reporting on Migrants as a type of urban human waste have been temporarily suspended, the focus has shifted on the modes of communicating 'hot issues' like protests within enclosure installations and relevant solidarity actions.

Concerning the journalistic accounts on the protests that nowadays keep on cropping up within most of the state- allocated 'Hospitality' installations, documentations typically omit a substantial reference to the inhuman living conditions in the frame of those coerced and overcrowded cohabitations among culturally heterogeneous populations of all ages. Under the veil of 'objectivity', such reports are moreover formulated so as to degrade the subjects' resistance against the criminalization of their fundamental rights to move in order to flee peril and poverty, to be able to self- determine their settlement location and to protest against their captivity under unviable conditions. Accordingly, occasional uprisings that are fomented by the deprivation of those rights within all kinds of confinement units -when not entirely silenced- are mostly reported as common penal activities, ignited by 'internal' ethnic- and religious conflicts and/or instigated by 'external agents'[62]. In parallel, mobilizations in claim of fundamental liberties are publicly projected as irrational expressions of ungratefulness towards provisions that are granted from the remanence of a financially, deeply hibernating society. Additionally to their obviously slanderous overtones, those manipulative accounts inflict a patronizing view on Migrants as incapable and inapposite to self- organize their resistance against the exasperating conditions of their captivity. As such, they serve in rationalizing the criminalization of their struggles to retain their freedom, as well as in naturalizing their grim confinement conditions until the time point where the 'humanitarian deportations' can be enacted away from the face of society.

3. d. Migrants as obstacles to development objectives

Notably, the Migrants' multiple derogatory medial representations have decisively contributed in their public construction as an impediment to the various national development objectives, for instance, as abusers of national health resources or as unwanted visitors on the antipode of tourism[63]. However, that sort of demonizing argumentation meticulously overlooks the regional creation of an array of entirely new sectors within a lucrative economy that is based on those mobilities management tasks and on the commercialization of those people's basic needs. Especially, since the application of the currently active 'Readmission Treaty' between Turkey and the EU[64] and the closing of the - so called- Balkan corridor,[65] a new landscape has emerged through the conversion of entire areas, where Hotspots and Detention Camps are currently located, into border- zones. The progressive establishing of those zones unavoidably shapes a set of financial dependence relations between guarding authorities and local societies, which on their turn bear a significant impact on the rise of a new moral economy. Accordingly, due to having to cope with the condition that those militarized areas become less attractive and thus hardly market-

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62. Casually implying non- parliamentary, left-wing solidarity groups.

63. See for instance under: http://www.agrinionews.gr/ektakto-dimotiko-symvoulio-stin-palero-giato-kentro-filoxenias-prosfygon/ (11.06.2016) and http://www.madata.gr/epikairotita/social/500790.html (11.08.2016).

64. That treaty was signed in January 2011. For details, see Bürgin, 2012.

65. See Frontex in BBC (06.08.2015) under http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33802453 on Main land Migration routes from Greece and Frontex (07.10.2016), Migratory routes map under: http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map/

able for tourism purposes, permanent residents start gaining an interest in the presence of enclosure installations as an opportunity to generate even temporary employment and to enhance individual incomes through commercial exchanges with a broadening customers' nexus, consisting of the various border- guarding forces officers', NGO staff and last but not least the Migrants themselves. As a consequence, considerable parts of local societies start growing more receptive to that type of militarization process as a solution to more problems at once. Nonetheless, that development option reserves a contingent ethic reform towards social cannibalism[66], once that on the process, local communities tend to naturalize the commoditization of the 'non- belonging' ones' suffering, as an income- generating resource.

Hence, macroscopically, despite the nationally subjugated positionality, that option of borderline residents' implication in the consolidation of those Hypernational bordering regimes represents an implicit but concrete form of their material and symbolic support in the current, European neo- colonial project of territories and populations' redistribution. Thereby, any collective expectations of financial and political empowerment in exchange of an increasing conformity to central directives constitute an illusion, once that despite its participation in transnational control and security mechanisms Greece, as a state of minor specific weight cannot substantially affect the design of relevant policies. In fact, it is rather bound to adapt to globally predetermined hierarchic positions and to adopt hegemonic governance models that have been longer now implemented by financial and military superpowers (Gupta- Ferguson, 2002).

4. Actualities

4. a. Humanism in the times of 'first time left'

Currently, in matters of Migration management, the Greek state recants between two boats: while on the one side participating in political and military super- power constellations that impose a regime of relentlessly repressive and exclusionary policies, it attempts on the other side to refrain from the articulation of an overtly nationalist and populist rhetoric – of the kind that is internationally on the rise- and to maintain instead an external image of the country as a humanitarian, pacifying force in the wider area. Thus controversially, despite the progressive national compliance to transnational governance imperatives to block new entries into the EU, official spokespeople undertake the forging of a new collective narrative on the country as the contemporary 'cradle of Hospitality' for refugees. As an evidence for that self- conceited proclamation, state authorities appropriate the beneficial impacts of independent solidarity agency, while proceeding to the eradication of precisely that variety of unofficial, 'uncertified', spontaneous initiatives that managed to save numerous lives and to convey the positive image of the country world- wide. In the meantime, while promoting the constructed narrative that portrays 'the Greeks' as profoundly humanist in their entirety, national authorities turn a blind eye to the multiplication of organized fascists' public appearances and fatally fail to acknowledge the expansion degree of Alterity- hostile, supremacist ideologies among the social fabric.

4. b. Mobilizations

However, in that kind of adverse and depressive setting, the apparition of subjects that strive to make themselves heard and seen on their own terms can be read as a positive signal for the eventual advent of a new, emancipatory era in Unauthorized Migration affairs. Already, since the beginning of the 21st century, organizations of

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66. i.e., an extreme form of sociopolitical amoralism.

those immediately concerned, supported by solidaristic groups that are rooted in antiauthoritarian social movements, started mobilizing Europe-wide in order to make an impact on policies that affect them, without letting themselves getting lost in the specialists' translation or allowing their causes to become commoditized by the constant medial hunt for sensational images[67]. In that light, migrant protesters increasingly appear to get oriented towards interethnic and horizontally organized forms of public action. The first "International Conference of Refugees and Migrants" procured by basis organizations in HH-Germany[68] at the end of February 2016 forms an example of such a self-determined gesture that was planned so as to detour international official bodies and NGOs, which habitually profess the voicing of the voiceless. Besides that random instance, since longer now, an array of vibrant mobilizations keeps on emerging in the South EU periphery.[69] Those mobilizations that include protests and hunger strikes within detention- hospitality establishments, aspire at a strategic confrontation of the official management options implemented by host- country authorities with the subjects' claims for freedom of movement, self- determination and civic equality, while also attempting to communicate the harsh realities of illegalized livelihoods -whether in enclosure installations such as camps, Hotspots and deportation cells or in chronic clandestine- to the established residents in unmediated ways.

Besides being self- evidently more dynamic and attentive to the real level of problems, those emerging struggles, display several new, important, features that tackle the traditional, patronizing scheme of 'care- and control'- interconnectedness. Hence, they foreground the Uprooted as agents, who reject disaster as fate, alongside with the discourses that stage them either as victims, or as primitive crime-perpetrators. Apparently, their related initiatives rest on their experiential knowledge of the fact that an eventual compliance to the victimizing narrative implies that they should unquestionably contend themselves with a chronic, institutional management of their vulnerability, in order to preserve their thin chances of qualifying as 'the deserving poor', whereas a subsidence into the criminalizing narrative would condemn them to a brutal survival marked by exclusion and repression, where individual solutions would be sought for, according to the law of the jungle.

In resistance to the above fatal premises, the procreation of open, social spaces like the recently occupied buildings of 'Notara'[70] and 'City Plaza' in Athens and of 'Orphanotrofeio'[71] in Thessaloniki, alongside several further undeclared, self- orga-

67. Among the nowadays numerous existing organizations that claim freedom of movement- and self- determination of the living location, we can mention here a few of the most known ones such as the international networks of "No Borders" (see also Anderson et al 2009; Chamberlain 2016), "kein Mensch ist illegal" (see under: http://kein-mensch-ist-illegal.org/), "die Karawane" (see under: http://thecaravan.org/) and "Welcome to Europe" (see under: http://www.w2eu.info/).

68. See Refugee conference in HH http://refugeeconference.blogsport.eu/

69. Due to evident reasons the extensive references in daily publications about migrant protests could not possibly be contained in this article. Therefore, only a few recent ones are cited as an indication: https://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/i-leitoyrgia-ton-hotspots-se-ellada-kai-italia-paraviazei-ola-ta-dikaiomata-ton-prosfygon, http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/food-fight-packed-lesbos-camp-desperation-rising-among-refugees-708111560, https://left.gr/news/diamartyries-prosfygon-se-oraiokastro-kai-diavata-gia-tis-synthikes-diaviosis, https://left.gr/news/diadilosi-prosfygon-kai-metanaston-ypo-vrohi-sti-mytilini

70. On self- definitions see https://www.facebook.com/Κατάληψη-Στέγης-ΠροσφύγωνΜεταναστών-Νοταρά-26-6451865556, http://solidarity2refugees.gr/choros-stegasis-prosfygon-city-plaza/, and https://www.facebook.com/katalipsistegismetanastonorfanotrofeio/.

71. Trsl. Orphanage. Notably 'Orfanotrofeio' that existed when this article started being authored has been evicted on the 27.07.2016 and thereafter demolished by state forces, after a prosecution on behalf of the church that owned the building. See relatively under https://www.facebook.com/katalipsis tegismetanastonorfanotrofeio/?hc_ref=PAGES_TIMELINE&fref.

nized, solidaristic accommodation options, counterposes an emancipatory, co-existence paradigm between the various groups involved and operates as the sole realistic option beyond institutional enclosures at present. Those non- commercial, self-organized spaces comprise fields of manifold, optimist, cultural encounter experiments that are highly demanding in cultural flexibility- and self- reflectivity, where identities are constantly renegotiated on an individual and collective level and particular, idealized views on Alterity are challenged, alongside to long- term normatized self- perceptions. Certainly, the intense experiences entailed in those radicalized cohabitations bear significant, self- transformative effects for all sides involved. Most significantly though, such anti –hierarchic forms of living indicate that an autonomously- determined migration management represents a decent and realistic solution, capable moreover to raise a mound against the advance of populist, predominance ideologies. Thereby, successful instances of living with direct democracy and of conducting common, unmediated struggles drive to the political empowerment of all the members of those newly formed, international communities. Hence, the precious experiences accumulated during those elective cohabitations inflame after all the hope of tracing new ways to overpower some of the profoundly dislocating effects of neo-colonial enterprises and to impede the assaults of a dehumanizing neoliberal order on society as a whole.

5. Conclusions

In a considerable body of scholarship, contemporary European Migration management policies are theorized as a Post- Modern form of war that ends up in reproducing perpetual disaster spirals. In accordance with that general approach, in the present paper I outlined some of the basic tenets of those transnational enterprises of biological-, spatial- and ideological control on Unauthorized Migration by schematizing them up under the borrowed analytic term 'Necropolitics'. Thereby, I highlighted that those enterprises become articulated through the launching of physical interception operations before- and upon geographic border-crossings, as well as through the imposition of official Humanitarian assistance to the survivors of border zones, as two sides of the same coin.

Accordingly, with the aim of regulating human mobilities into Europe, without allowing for a perturbance of the dominant, neocolonial and national order of things, policy- planning centers enhance a series of multilateral, geo-strategic, diplomatic, and legislative measures that enhance the bordering processes by totalizing material and symbolic control techniques. Hence, upon their arrival at the allegedly Human Rights- abiding countries of the North-Western hemisphere the subjects are faced with the absurdity of an entire situation whereby, the mere fact of fleeing from unviable environments denotes them as a type of 'internal enemy' and prescribes their penalization. Following, their massive confinement within the multiplying and totalizing institutional 'enclosure – Hospitality' installations that channel back Migrants to war countries through Turkey, coupled with a selective and scarce supply of international protection according to officially- determined priorities[72] constitute the official, essentially life-hostile Humanitarianism option that subsequently generates strong adversity dynamics among the various groups within those spaces of exception, and by extension, foments an array of nationalisms in exile[73].

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72. For instance the kind of priorities that currently designate Afghans as 'less' Refugees that Syrians.

73. See also under: http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/oi-athlies-synthikes-gennoyn-ti

In the framework of strategies that aim at a simultaneous externalization and internalization of the border and while Hyper-state authorities inaugurate further enclosure zones and installations, it is crucial for power mechanisms to canonize a public sense of necessity to lead those wars against Uprooted populations as a matter of vital security and to achieve thus civil consensus towards a generalized reduction of democracy. Commonly, the manipulation of public (historic, daily and medial) discourses comprises the most effective vehicle for an extensive diffusion of governance rationalities. Therefore, the forging of a 'neutral', dehumanized, technocratic vocabulary that diminishes the emergency of the Unauthorized Migrants' demands and obfuscates the harm caused by official management practices, which regularly infringe Human Rights principles, as well as the rekindling of banal nationalist- and racist ideologies are currently instrumentalized as a means of inducing broader conservative consciousness- shifts according to which, the citizens become increasingly receptive towards the criminalization of critical, social issues.

In reinforcement of that pro-securitization rationality, additionally large, commercial Media undertake the task of inflicting suspicion towards the authenticity of Migrants' emergencies and of justifying the crude expansion of occidental military forces extraterritorial interventions. Hence, through a regular transmition of spectacular representations of the Uprooted as kind of new, barbaric invaders of Europe who originate from zones where ruthless crime and disorder rule, followed by superficial victimizing accounts that disregard any specific historic and political displacement contexts they manage to de- sensitize the public and cultivate a sense of apathy with regard to the margins and ethics of individual solidarity. Thereby, while commonly instrumentalizing the everlasting influence of prevalence ideologies that preserve the integrity of the national narrative they manage to convert eventual, xenophobic, reactions into extensive Alterity –hostile social reflexes, which appeal for an institutionalization of segregation and discrimination practices with regard to the newcomers' access to civil rights and public goods.

However, in times of a 'first time left' national administration, the official rhetoric takes pride in the hypothetically widespread diffusion of the kind of humanist values that made Greece internationally renowned as a hospitable, solidaristic state. Yet, meanwhile that same 'solidaristic state' perpetuates the hostage of migrant subjects that it has deprived of a fundamental command over their sheer biological existence, by advancing the structuration of the militarized, confinement camp as an official Humanitarian practice paradigm, under the pretext that the current administrative practice is the best that the country can materialize under the given financial and geopolitical circumstances[74]. Arguably, in such a depressive political landscape, where transnational authority mechanisms may unaccountably ravage devalued lives, while abusing the notion of Humanitarianism as another platitude -similarly to freedom, equality and democracy- and where the Uprooted are mainly calculated as a new income- source the various, 'uncontrollable' solidarity actors represent the sole antagonists, committed to challenging those formal enterprises.

Nonetheless, whereas in fact most of the agents that initially launched spontaneous solidarity actions, on which nowadays the Greek state takes pride, were either ordinary area residents or members of autonomous volunteering collectives, the official policy strives to entirely eradicate any manifestations of precisely that independent solidarity variety[75]. That type of official obsession to tame any 'ungov-

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74. See also under: http://epohi.gr/synenteuxh-me-ton-vasilh-papastergiou-dikhgoro/

75. See under: http://www.middleeasteye.net/in-depth/features/fine-line-rescuers-between-being-lifeguard-human-smuggler-Lesbos-greece-refugees-493982859#disqus_thread

ernable' solidarity agency clearly lies in the initial aversion of the state machinery towards any activity that evokes the existence of niches through its dominance. Especially, the existence of self-determined, political attempts that suggest a new paradigm of a palpable intercultural cohabitation within anti-hierarchic communities is accounted as a kind of anarchic, control- disruptive activity, apposite to a pre-capitalist state of autonomy, which has to therefore be razed by the effectively operating state, due to being fundamentally inimical to the its reproduction objectives.

The coordination of that large, disciplining Necropolitics enterprise is additionally denoted by the progression of a technocratic discourse to the point where besides the obvious reduction of Migrants' physical existence into a field of crude power exercise through the authorization, gradation and management of their emergencies, the imposition of certification constrains exceeds nowadays the domain of material items or establishments and extends to organic characteristics of human cultures, such as ideas, conditions and affective attitudes. Thereby, with regard to the officially approved Humanitarian assistance options, the adoption of solutions that delegate the enactment of solidarity to professionals, while prohibiting the involvement of so called- 'uncertified' agents expresses the project of power to depoliticize that notion, by commoditizing and bureaucratizing its practice, as well as to further totalize social control techniques and penalize actions that contend freedom of movement, civil equality and justice indiscriminately for all. Arguably, the contingent preponderance of those officially prioritized forms of solidarity rids both, the individual states and the international community of their political responsibility to provide legal protection based on ecumenical Human Rights foundations, amplifies a popular culture of political apathy and creates the potential future armies of those who will stay life- long indebted to the gentle care of multinational corporations,[76] by paving thus the way towards the immunization of a global subordination and exploitation order.

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76. See for instance the inauguration of the camp called 'Hope' on the outskirts of Thessaloniki, created by the U.S. American investor Ahmed Khan, in cooperation with the Greek Ministry of Migration policy, under: http://www.ert.gr/474346-2/

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The WatchTheMed Alarm Phone is a transnational initiative that was launched in October 2014. In the following text we describe the structure, the methods and the political approach of this hotline project. We start with an overview, followed by three fragments and concrete examples through which we explain our work in the three main regions of the Mediterranean Sea. We conclude this article by outlining the context and the conception of our daily solidarity practice for the freedom of movement.

What we do and who we are:

- Up until October 2016, we received distress calls and calls for support from more than 1750 boats in the three regions of the Mediterranean Sea. Thereof, 1450 calls came from the Aegean (from boats between Turkey and the Greek islands), about 150 from the Central Mediterranean (predominantly from boats that had left from Libya), and about 150 from the Western Mediterranean (from boats that had embarked from Morocco, seeking to reach Spain).

- In general, we alert the European coastguards as well as civil society actors involved in Search and Rescue operations at sea, pass on current GPS positions, and 'accompany' and support the 'boat-people' until arrival or rescue. Monitoring whether coastguards respond to distress calls, and potentially denouncing their inaction, is one of our central tasks. An important part of our work also consists of charging the satellite phones of the boat-people with credit, as well as calming them down and encouraging them in desperate situations.

- Our 30 teams are on alert every day around-the-clock, organised into three shifts. Our work follows collectively developed emergency protocols: our alarm plans for the different regions describe in detail who is to be contacted and what

needs to be asked when speaking to boat-people. When dealing with emergency cases, we also make use of vessel-tracking websites and weather services.

- From Tangier, Tunis or Izmir, from Barcelona, Marseille or Palermo, from Zurich, Amsterdam or Berlin: By now, our network consists of close to 150 activists who are situated in many cities throughout Europe, Turkey and North Africa. Some amongst us had to themselves experience what it means to cross the Mediterranean on a small boat. Most of the Alarm Phone activists are part of shift-teams, and many also contribute by doing background research, by distributing and circulating the Alarm Phone number, and by doing translations.

- The central desire of our project is to directly and immediately support people in distress at sea. At the same time, we connect our interventions in real-time with critical forms of documentation and public engagements in order to struggle against migration control and the deadly EU border regime. We demand ferries instead of Frontex to finally end the calculated mass dying in the Mediterranean. For us, the right to the freedom of movement is intimately tied to broader struggles for global social justice.

- To this effect, we engage in collaborations with local grassroots projects on both sides of the Mediterranean and support self-organisations of refugees and migrants in transit on the respective routes.

Aegean Sea

The aftermath of the EU-Turkey Deal and the closure of the Balkan Route

The EU-Turkey deal has led, since the 20th of March 2016, to increased controls and interceptions of boats on the Turkish side of the border. Moreover, those who are still able to make it to the Greek islands are prevented from moving on to mainland Greece. Following detention and fast-track procedures in the so-called 'hotspot' camps, people are supposed to be deported to Turkey, a 'safe third country'. This is the deterrence plan.

Since March 2016, 1,196 people have been deported based on the EU-Turkey deal, while the same number has been deported based on the readmission agreement between Greece and Turkey. Another 64 Turkish citizens have been returned based on an old EU-Turkey readmission agreement. More than 9,300 refugees still remain stuck on the islands, forced to await the results of asylum claims there.

From time to time we faced coordinated 'push-back' attempts of boats towards Turkey. On the 11th of June, for example, 53 clandestine passengers tried to reach Chios/Greece, starting with a rubber-boat from Cesme/Turkey (http://watchthemed.net/index.php/reports/view/521). Already within Greek waters, they were consensually transferred onto the Greek coastguard vessel just to, moments later, be forced at gunpoint to board a Turkish coastguard vessel in order to be pushed back. Also present at the scene: a Frontex vessel! One of the travellers was able to document this illegal push-back operation with his mobile phone and he sent us photographic evidence. Brutal attacks on refugee boats by Greek forces have a long history in the Aegean Sea, even if there were only sporadic incidents between 2015 and spring 2016.

This is just one horrible aspect of the EU's policy of deterrence and in most of the cases it is much more difficult to document. The armada of NATO-ships in the Aegean are playing a more indirect role. They show their presence to force the Turkish Coastguard to take their watch-dog role more seriously, which leads to higher num-

bers of interceptions already before boats reach the Greek waters. The result for the refugees on the boats is nevertheless the same: they have to risk their lives not only once but several times until they finally reach their destination.

In comparison to autumn and winter 2015, and early 2016, the number of arrivals in Greece has decreased massively since March 2016. Even if daily arrivals of individual boats have continued since the summer, the figures remain low in comparison to the previous years. This seems only partially the result of the aforementioned EU-Turkey deal. What seems to carry greater weight is the military near-closure of the Balkan Route since the 9th of March 2016.

Currently, as was the case in the years prior to 2015, those who can overcome this inner-European deterrence regime erected between Athens, Northern Greece and North-Western Europe, are only those who can generate the resources and survive the, at times, extreme physical and psychological strains experienced on clandestine journeys. For large families with children, older people and the ill, this is hardly an option. This is why many hesitate to attempt the sea crossing from Turkey. They want to avoid waiting for an undeterminable period of time in the miserable camps of Greece.

Central Mediterranean Sea

Constructing a Deadly Void or how European authorities continue to use migrant deaths as deterrent while criminalizing rescuers

The Easter weekend 2017 saw one of the biggest Search and Rescue (SAR) operations carried out in the Mediterranean Sea in the past few years, with 8,360 people rescued between Friday the 14th and Sunday the 16th of April 2017. The Watch-TheMed Alarm Phone network was involved in 2 emergency cases and could observe first-hand both the sheer inadequacy of rescue efforts of EU authorities and the crucial contribution of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in preventing instances of mass dying at sea, which we had to witness so often in the past.

One of the cases in which the Alarm Phone was involved, and on which the following report focuses, particularly stands out. On Easter Saturday, the 15th of April 2017, the Alarm Phone was informed about a boat in distress in the Central Mediterranean Sea. We spoke to the boat-people frequently, a group of approximately 100 travellers, over a period of more than 12 hours, before contact was lost. We passed on their pleas and demands for rescue to the responsible authorities and supported them throughout this difficult time. The situation was dire and dangerous, and required immediate action. But rescue was nowhere in sight and, as a result, the people on board were left in an extremely dangerous situation for one and a half days.

The story of a near-disaster in the central mediterranean sea

It is on Saturday morning, at 7.19am, that our shift team was informed about a boat in distress. The boat had left Al Khums/Libya the evening before, and was thus located much further to the east of where most NGOs conduct their Search and Rescue (SAR) operations.

As per standard procedure, the shift team immediately tries to call the precarious passengers and communicates their GPS position and satellite phone number to the Maritime Rescue Coordination Centre (MRCC) in Rome. The Italian authorities reply that a SAR operation is ongoing, although, following our research, the presence of rescue assets in this area cannot be verified through vessel tracking websites.

From 9.40 am onwards, we are in direct contact with the travellers, who call us frequently. They are worried and anxious, as they have been at sea already for the whole night. 20 children as well as 10 women, one of whom is pregnant, are among the approximately 100 travellers on board. In our log-book, our shift team notes:

11.34 am: They called us again, they were really nervous [...]. They say the boat is in really bad condition, they are taking water out, but it gets worse, water is coming in, they don't have much petrol anymore, they were begging me really hard to help them, I told them that a ship is looking for them.

Over the following hours, we continuously recharge the credit of their satellite phone, receive updated GPS positions and pass them on to MRCC Rome. The authorities state that they are looking for a vessel that could conduct a SAR operation. However, we then observe how a cargo ship near the boat-people, the Lady Rasha, is doing some circling movements, obviously searching for the boat. But at about 1pm we realise that this ship stops the search and continues its route in direction of the Libyan port of Misrata. MRCC in Rome does not give any explanation to us, and no other vessel can be spotted in the vicinity.

In light of this, shortly afterwards, we reach out to the NGO Sea-Watch to enquire whether they might be able to conduct a search operation with their humanitarian plane Moonbird, which they operate together with the Swiss Humanitarian Pilots Initiative. In coordination with MRCC Rome, the crew decides to take off for their second flight that day. They reach the area of distress at around 2.50pm. At 3.10pm, we communicate again with the travellers – they are adrift at sea, with no plane or boat in sight. They scream for help, panic begins to spread.

Meanwhile, the Moonbird searches in different areas, flying patterns for more than two hours, yet unable to spot the boat in distress. It is during this period that the boat-people inform us that "there is no plane around, there is a ship very far, please ask them to help us". According to vessel tracking websites, it seems to be the AS Elenia, a bulk carrier, flying the Liberian flag. We forward this information to the Moonbird, which attempts to re-direct its aerial search.

At 4.33 pm, the boat-people yell out to us, "we see the plane, we see the plane", but the crew of the Moonbird is still unable to find them. We can see how the AS Elenia moves toward the last GPS position provided by the travellers and at 5.25pm MRCC Rome confirms that they would give the AS Elenia the permission to conduct a SAR operation until the arrival of the Italian coastguards.

At 5.30 pm, the Moonbird finally spots the boat-people. They forward the GPS position to MRCC Rome and also move in the direction of AS Elenia. Before heading back to Malta – as the plane is running out of fuel – the pilots signal the boat's position to the crew of AS Elenia, which was not on direct course to the boat in distress. Via radio, they urge them to conduct a rescue operation, but the captain of AS Elenia hesitates to do so, following his account, due to security reasons.

At 6.14 pm, seeing the AS Elenia approaching them, the boat-people await rescue. Yet, at 6.22 pm, they call us again, realising that AS Elenia simply passes by. They say: "The big boat did not stop, please call them, please help us, the big boat is moving and we have no fuel, we can't follow the big boat."

We reach out to MRCC Rome and inform them that AS Elenia is not stopping but instead continuing its course straight westward, apparently ignoring the boat-people's distress situation. MRCC appreciates the information but refuses to give us any further details.

At 7.08 pm, about 45 minutes later, we observe how the AS Elenia changes course, and heads north, diverting from their set course (their port of destination was Gabes in Tunisia) but also moving away from the migrants' boat.

At 7.20 pm, the boat-people tell us that their satellite phone is running out of battery. About twenty minutes later, they see the AS Elenia return, only to shortly afterwards see it turn around again.[1] More desperation spreads among the people.

About an hour later, MRCC Rome suggests that AS Elenia is not allowed to rescue unless the boat is in direct danger, which for them seems to mean capsizing. The bulk carrier disappears from the people's sight. The travellers' engine does not work, and water keeps entering their boat.

At 8.59 pm, we receive their updated GPS position for the last time. In conversation with MRCC Rome, the authorities state that they have instructed the AS Elenia to return and check on the situation. If the boat-people are in danger, the crew has to rescue immediately.

In our log-book, our shift team notes:

9:52 pm: [The boat-people] picked up the phone, they are yelling (hard to understand), they say they are in danger and the big boat is next to them but the rescue did not start yet. I told them to not panic and try to keep calm and tell them to call me again if anything changes.

This was our last direct exchange with them. Afterwards, no contact could be established again, and we did not receive any update from MRCC Rome for more than 1 1/2 hours. Only at 11.20 pm, MRCC Rome informs us that they requested the AS Elenia to conduct a rescue operation, but that the crew is not equipped to do so. The Italian authorities state that the crew would monitor the situation until the next morning, when another SAR vessel would reach the location.

In fear that the boat-people might not survive another night at sea, we contact MRCC Rome later again. Past midnight, they tell us that the captain of the AS Elenia would not carry out a SAR operation but stay in stand by and provide water and food to the boat-people. MRCC Rome then informs us that for the next morning the Norwegian Frontex vessel Siem Pilot and later the tanker Yara Sela were ordered to the area of distress.

While unable to speak to the boat-people over night, we see that they still make distress calls the next morning – the credit of their satellite phone continues to decrease.

At 9.49 am, MRCC Rome states that the boat-people would be rescued by a military vessel and that the SAR operation would be coordinated by Malta. Over hours and several exchanges with the authorities, Malta finally confirms at 1.37 pm that the people have been rescued by the Frontex vessel Siem Pilot.

Contesting maritime abandonment

The boat-people involved in this ordeal were at sea for more than one and a half days. For over 24 hours, their distress case was known to the authorities and yet they could not be rescued as no ship equipped for such an operation was available. In this sense, this case exemplifies how despite the coordinating efforts of MRCC Rome, the number of rescue assets present in the area was utterly insufficient.

This absence of rescue forces in the most dangerous area of the deadliest border-zone of the world, however, is not a coincidence. Nor can it simply be attributed to a particularly exceptional situation, considering that the simultaneous departure of tens of boats from the Libyan coasts has been, for several months now, a relatively frequent event. It is instead the result of precise political decisions taken by the EU and its Member States, which first deny migrants legal ways to enter Europe, thus forcing them into the sea, to then consciously limit the presence of rescuing assets, hoping that mass dying would act as a deterrent.

While this 'tactic' has, in the past, led to massive losses of lives at sea – such as on the occasion of one of the deadliest shipwrecks ever registered in the Mediterranean, which took place exactly two years ago, claiming more than 1,200 lives in less than a week – the tireless rescuing efforts of civil society actors and activists have played a crucial role in averting the repetition of such a scenario. Over the Easter weekend 2017, they ensured that the boat-people we supported, and thousands more, could miraculously survive. In the case we have documented, the intervention of the humanitarian plane Moonbird was pivotal in finding the migrants' boat and indicating its location both to the AS Elenia and the MRCC. Other NGOs worked at their very limits, struggling to prevent numerous shipwrecks. The crew of Migrant Offhore Aid Station (MOAS) alone rescued more than 1,500 people from 9 precarious boats, and took hundreds on board of their vessel Phoenix. The rescue vessel Iuventa of the NGO Jugend Rettet similarly took hundreds of people on board. Unable to navigate, they were even forced to send off a MAYDAY call on Sunday. Fortunately, they could successfully complete their SAR operation and safely return to Malta. Beyond that, commercial vessels are again increasingly involved in rescue operations. At the Easter weekend, one cargo vessel took more than 1,000 people on board, while the German association of ship-owners confirmed to us via email that it demands enhancing rescue capacities and endorses equipping commercial vessels accordingly.

Yet, despite these crucial contributions, NGOs and activists have become, over the past months, the object of a heinous smearing campaign. They have been accused by Frontex, EU politicians and Italian prosecutors not only of being involved in criminal activities, allegedly colluding with smugglers operating in Libya, but also of having made the crossing of the Mediterranean deadlier. These attacks, while baseless and cynical, follow the flawed logic of using migrants' death as a deterrent to future sea-crossings. They intend to undermine the indispensable work of the NGOs, seeking to force them out of the deadliest area of the Central Mediterranean Sea.

Our emergency case and the events on the 2017 Easter weekend thus raise a range of disturbing questions:

- Given that the highly unstable and harrowing situation for migrants in Libya has been known for years, and in the anticipation of thousands wanting to and needing to escape, why have we not seen an increase in rescue capacities at sea?

- In light of the above case and more generally the situation off the coast of Libya over the Easter weekend, where were the European assets that do exist in the Mediterranean Sea? Especially, where were the assets of the military operation Eunavfor Med? The limited, late and seemingly reluctant engagement of some assets do not alter the fact that Eunavfor Med and also Frontex' Operation Triton chose to remain largely unavailable for Search and Rescue operations, as many of the NGOs, and other organisations, have criticised.

- Moreover, given the fact that hundreds, if not thousands, would have lost their lives at sea, had it not been for the SAR operations of the NGOs, how is it possible that smearing and criminalisation campaigns by Frontex, EU politicians and Italian persecutors continue?

The WatchTheMed Alarm Phone demands an immediate end of these attacks against humanitarian actors and an increase in rescue capacities at sea, to support

their necessary work. At the same time, we are well aware that precarious forms of sea-migration will always remain risky, regardless of how many rescue forces stand ready to help.

- We therefore demand a radical break with current EU migration policies that have caused the phenomenon of sea-migration, and mass drownings, in the first place.
- We demand the opening of borders, and safe and legal passage, so that those fleeing can reach Europe without having to risk their lives.
- We call for the Freedom of Movement of All!
- Ferries not Frontex!

Western Mediterranean Sea

Unnoticed but continuous – selforganised journeys from Morocco to Spain

A phone call reached the Alarm Phone on the 22nd of September 2016 from Morocco: Extremely worried relatives enquired about the whereabouts of a boat with 20 people on board, amongst them a pregnant woman. They had been at sea for more than 6 hours already. The relatives passed on information about the time and place of the boat's departure to our shift team, as well as a phone number of one of the travellers. After several attempts to reach the boat directly failed, we informed the Spanish search and rescue organisation Salvamento Marítima. Our team remained continuously in contact with the relatives and Salvamento, whose search was impeded by the dense fog at sea. Salvamento confirmed the use of a rescue helicopter and, eventually, the boat was found. The boatpeople were brought to Almeria/Spain and the pregnant woman was flown to a hospital in the helicopter.

Journeys across the western mediterranean from Morocco to Spain – via the Strait of Gibraltar from Tangier to Tarifa, from Nador toward Almeria, or from the Western Sahara to the Canary Islands – receive hardly any recognition in the European media. Nonetheless, these routes are persistently chosen by many West African migrants as well as by those who fled the extreme violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo. For the most part, these crossings are selforganised, and with little means. The travellers save money in order to obtain a rubber dinghy – often their budget does not suffice to afford life jackets.

In light of this, more than 80 Alarm Phone activists, selforganised transit migrants from Morocco, as well as activists from groups located in Morocco and West Africa came together in Tangier in late September 2016 in order to exchange experiences and to develop collective strategies to make sea-crossings safer. During this gathering, the firsthand accounts offered by migrants were immensely important. They explained to our shift teams the conditions of precarious crossings and pointed to ways to improve our emergency responses in situations of distress. In turn, in one of our workshops, Alarm Phone activists with nautical skills were able to explain to the migrants how meteorological websites designed for sailors could be used to obtain information concerning weather conditions and wave heights. This knowledge can prove vital to avoid capsizing in the treacherous Strait of Gibraltar.

Close cooperation with networks and grassroots groups in countries of origin, along migratory routes, and in Morocco is an essential part of the Alarm Phone project in the Western Mediterranean. After the gathering, a protest campaign took place on a ferry from Tangier to Tarifa. Equipped with banners, we denounced the injustices occurring along the "Frontera Sur", as Spanish activists refer to the Southern border. "Ferries not Frontex" was, once again, the motto of this campaign.

Solidarity on Transit Routes – Create everyday support structures!

The stubbornness of flight and migration movements enabled the historic resistance against the EU border regime in the Aegean and on the Balkan Route in 2015. It is crucial to keep this truth within the collective memory of migration struggles, also in order to resist the racist repercussions that we see unfolding throughout Europe. From Turkey via the Balkans up until Germany or Scandinavia, but also from South-Italy via France, or from Morocco via Spain to Calais or Malmo: everywhere new support structures have emerged or been reinforced. Aren't, in the end, these growing everyday support structures, for and with those affected and resisting, the most sustainable answer to a racist mainstream which continues to rapidly spread toxic discourses in Europe?

We understand the Alarm Phone as a concrete enactment of solidarity with those in transit, as part of what has come to be called the 'underground railroad' of flight-movements. We see ourselves as a transnational and multilingual node with varied connections to a growing network amongst those struggling for the freedom of movement.

> If only there were legal and safe migration routes, nobody would have to die at sea. The dying at sea is not a natural catastrophe and also no accident. It is, in fact, the calculated outcome of the EU border and visa regime. The dying at sea is human-made and already tomorrow, through the opening of borders and free access to ferries, it could fade into history as a dark chapter. The long summer of migration in the Balkans has demonstrated that once borders are open, there are no 'smugglers' anymore. One pays high sums and takes dangerous paths only when one is forced to do so by Frontex and co. A world without borders is possible and both Frontex and the 'smugglers' would then have disappeared.

https://alarmphone.org

The Thessaloniki No Border Camp in retrospect

by the
*No Border Camp 2016
Organizing Assembly*

NoBorder "Migrant's Pride" protest, July 21, 2016.

On the 24th of July 2016 in Thessaloniki, Greece, a ten-day No Border Camp came to an end. It was one of the largest in the history of No Border Camps, and one of the most discussed in the bourgeois media. It also stands out for being followed by the most brutal and vengeful State repression.

The Thessaloniki No Border Camp had been attacked by the mass media even before it had started. Two days after it had finished, a grand scale police operation targeted the social movement and specifically the structures of migrants' self-organization. Three occupied migrants' homes were evacuated. Indeed, it was made perfectly clear that practical solidarity and communities of struggle where locals and migrants fight together are most threatening for the authorities and the dominant order.

If it had not been for this police operation, in this announcement we would be limiting ourselves to a description of the 50 workshops that were realized during the camp, of the networking meetings and discussions amongst people from Europe, North Africa, Turkey, of the demonstration at the detention centers in Paranesti and Xanthi, of the march against the Evros Fence. If it hadn't been for the police operation, we would now be recounting the march of solidarity to migrants in the streets of Thessaloniki of several thousands of people, led by a bloc of 500 sans papiers. We would be discussing the protests at the consulates of France and Germany, as well as the first international action of solidarity to the social movement in Turkey, a demonstration to the Turkish consulate against militarization and repression now spreading throughout Turkey under the pretext of the "response to the coup". And we would add that there were organized and spontaneous meetings and discussions at the No Border Camp by people who were active across the "Balkan Route" during the last year in structures of practical and political solidarity on the islands, in the cities and at the borders of Greece and other Balkan countries. And we would underline the most essential feat of this No Border Camp, namely the deepening of relations between locals and migrants, and –most crucially– the realization of migrants' autonomous assemblies and discussions – sans papiers living in the city, migrants living in Europe, refugees staying in the detention camps.

*Eviction
and instant demolition
of Orfanotrofeio squat.*

We had not realized how threatening these relations and these assemblies are for the powers that be. Now we have, we are determined to confirm this threat by continuing our struggles. This, of course, is a matter of practical actions and of collective organizing. It is not a matter of words. However, this retrospective text consists of words only, so let us add a few more.

First, let us say a few words about the government's total humbug about the detention camps around Thessaloniki, which it calls "organized structures", while calling the squatted homes "caricatures of structures that create insecurity". The minister Toskas spoke of "8,500 refugees being hosted by the State in acceptable conditions after they fled the disgusting situation in Idomeni, while these occupied places only hosted 32". He lied. There are not only 8,500 "invisibles" in State custody. There are another 8,000 in Cherso and Polykastro (in the area of Kilkis), 1,500 in the area of Pieria (Iraklis and Petra Olympou), 1,340 in Yannitsa and Alexandria, as well as 750 in Kavala and Drama. At a short distance from Thessaloniki, 30 to 60 minutes in a car, there are 16,000 invisibles, crammed in industrial buildings or in camps in the middle of nowhere. If we expand the radius, the invisibles' number reaches 20,000[1].

This is obviously a large number. And it is obviously much better for the State for this number to remain vague or secret and for these people to gradually become ghettoized, rather than for them to come into contact with the locals who are fighting against injustice, to join their struggles, or, worse still, to organize their own resistance. As we had expected, those of the migrants who had been transferred to the "hospitality centers" of "State solidarity" after their brutal evictions from the squats, immediately wanted to be taken away. Indeed, not one of the migrants could tolerate the "acceptable conditions" Toskas boasted about. Whoever had had even one day of experience at the evacuated squats, had found medical and legal aid there, had created relationships of equality with the locals and the Europeans, had joined their protests. Some moved on, others became integrated in the fabric of the city, some chose to participate in communities of struggle.

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1.   July 2017 update: During the No Border Camp, 41.5% of the country's total recent migrant population was "living" in some camp in Northern Greece (23,697 migrants out of 57,325 in total). Now, in the same area, the percentage is less than 6% (3,333 out of 62,270). Last July, more than 90% of people that were stranded in Greece were living in state-run "open camps", now this percentage has dropped to 53%, the rest (most of them initially "living" in camps around Thessaloniki), now live in apartments, hotels etc. run by NGOs. We don't know if this was the government's initial plan (to move migrants away from Greece's northern borders) or how decisive the unusually heavy winter was for the evacuation of the camps around Thessaloniki. Whatever the case, we think that migrants' mobilizations in the camps and in the city of Thessaloniki after the No Border Camp definitely encouraged these evacuations.

The almost 15,000 migrants currently stranded on the Greek islands after the E.U.-Turkey deal are facing the worst conditions, especially the 9,475 of them "living" in detention camps. Undeniable proof for this are the recent July 10 and July 18 (2017) migrants' revolts in Moria/Lesbos "closed camp".

Left: Eviction of Nikis squat and (right) the alternative, after the eviction of housing squats for migrants in Thessaloniki: luxurious life in a State-run camp.

Perhaps the residents of this city do not know that after the evacuation, the police had exact orders as to the number of migrants it could arrest, so that Toskas could then be able to speak of "32 people". The police had exact orders as to what kinds of people it would arrest, so they were careful not to touch families and children, because images of crying babies in police vans would then speak louder than the talking heads of State propaganda. The residents of this city did not see the gleeful smile on the faces of riot cops as they were denying entry to the evacuated Orfanotrofio squat to a person who wanted to bring out from the debris the medication for a diabetic migrant who had just been arrested. These reality snapshots might be buried under the tons of dust of the bulldozer, but all the dust and detritus in this city cannot cover up the brutality of the authorities.

And now a few words about the university authorities. They can take pride in having paved the way for the police operation with their hysterical condemnations of a couple of damaged locks and a few graffitied walls...But more than this, they are the arch-accomplice of the State in the recent orgy of repression. These sad hypocrites have now made complete fools of themselves...They couldn't get enough of bashing the No Border Camp, for days they warned students against criminality and disease, but everybody knows they have never done a thing against the organized drug smuggling on the university campus, a practice that spread and became fully established after the special "asylum" status of the university grounds (=an old custom according to which the campus was a no-go area for standard police intervention) was lifted a few years ago. What clowns indeed.

And a note on this latter point: We happen to be living in the real world, and not in social media networks or ministries and shady dealing bureaus, so we know that the networks of drug smuggling that are now doing business at the university and the Rotunda square are also active in the State's "hospitality centers" that the minister of Public Order is so proud of. In other words, solidarity groups cannot enter "refugees camps", but drug dealers can and should. Using drug smuggling for public space management (university campus, Rotunda square) or for population management (first in Idomeni at its final stage, i.e. before its eviction, now at the "hospitality centers") is a well-worn method of governance: It destroys communities, it increases insecurity and it encourages violent behavior amongst the disenfranchised. It destroys any collective process, replaces social networks by mafias and authoritarian structures, and turns these detention centers into ghettos under the control of micro-gangs.

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Unfortunately, we do not have the luxury to worry about the hurt feelings of Syriza members: They can hardly believe the shift of the Syriza government from the allegedly uncompromised anti-austerity "ant-memorandum struggle" towards "State-managed charity for refugees" and now suddenly to the full monty "dogma of law and order". Whatever these disappointed members feel, the government has chosen to continue the repressive policies of the right-wing Dendias period, in the broader context of both a material devaluation of life here due to a global capitalist attack, and a total moral devaluation of people through the official treatment of migrants as subhumans. All the government wants is to remain in government - and how able it is indeed to preserve social peace.

Left governamentality preserving social peace – this is where authoritarian left rhetoric meets the para-State mafia, the priesthood, the fascists, the snitches and collaborators. A bulldozer pulling down a haven of freedom is now the shameful emblem of their law and order. They had to resort to raw and brutal repression and to preposterous lies. This proves their weakness and embarassment.

With the common struggles of locals and migrants for freedom and dignity we will make their worst fears and nightmares come true[2].

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Thessaloniki No Border Camp Organizing Assembly
August 2016

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Diavata "open camp". Graffitis calling for the September 1st, 2016, migrants protest in Thessaloniki.

September 1st, 2016, self-organized migrants protest in Thessaloniki.

2. July 2017 update: At the end of summer and the beginning of autumn 2016, migrants from camps around Thessaloniki organized themselves and coordinated various protests: On July 29, there was a protest in Thessaloniki by migrants from *Softex* camp, on August 8 there was another protest in Thessaloniki by migrants from the *Softex* camp, while other migrants were on hunger strike, on September 1st there was a vibrant demonstration in Thessaloniki by migrants from various camps, on September 10 there was protest in Thessaloniki by migrants from *Oreokastro* camp. These protests and many smaller incidents created an atmosphere of turmoil and resistance that the authorities could not control, despite their many efforts. The participants in these protests were often questioned, arrested by cops and threatened by the cop-controlled refugee "bosses" in the camps, so that the struggles wouldn't influence the whole camp population. In September/October 2016, while public discourse on migrants was dominated by the allegedly "brave" governmental efforts to have "refugee children from the camps", well, not attend, but at least visit public schools – after having "heroically" fought some orchestrated fascist reactions – the camps' officials started moving people form Northern Greek camps to Athens, usually for some asylum procedure related interview, with the majority of them never returning to the camps. Now all these camps are either completely empty or just "host" some dozens (or 2-3 hundreds at the most) newcomers.

...after the evictions of the 3 squats

Occupation of SYRIZA headquarters in Thessaloniki

Solidarity protest in Athens

Occupation of SYRIZA offices in Larisa

Occupation of SYRIZA offices in Ioannina

Solidarity protest in Bilbao

Occupation of Die Linke offices in Dresden

Occupation of the Greek embassy in Berlin

In front of the Greek embassy in Ljubljana

Solidarity from Bremen

In front of the Greek embassy in Vienna