Cooperation in the context of emergency: search and rescue in the Mediterranean

> Aurélie Ponthieu – MSF Oxford, Sept 2018



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Who are we?

- International Medical Organisation
- Needs-based
- MSF Charter
- Humanitarian principles: neutrality, independance, impartiality, medical ethics, do no harm
- Stand with the victims, in solidarity with vulnerable populations
- Speaking out as a choice and not a moral duty
- Use of resources driven by direct impact in the field
- Negotiated access
- Moral autonomy
- 96% private funding
- Not solution-oriented
- Self-critical

• The Ethics of Refusal:

MSF's action "... rejects the logic that divides humanity into those who may live and those who must die – humanitarian action <u>is</u> <u>necessarily subversive</u>, since partisans of the established order rarely empathize with those whose elimination they tolerate or decree"

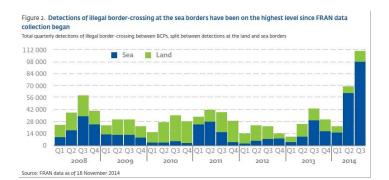
("The sacrificial international order and humanitarian action", In the shadow of Just Wars, Jean-Hervé Bradol, 2004)

Interaction with States

- State of « natural » tension
- Based on promotion of state responsibility and obligations
- MSF legitimacy based on action and direct witnessing
- Level of cooperation and confrontation dependent on the context:
 - Necessary distance (conflict, international crimes, EU-Turkey deal, ...)
 - Desired tension to create leverage (SAR...)
 - Technical support (models of care, HIV care)
- Formal vs « loose » cooperation

Context of the MSF SAR intervention on the Central Mediterranean route

- **218,000 refugees and migrants** crossed the Mediterranean Sea in 2014
- In 2014, Mare Nostrum operation led by the Italian navy (rescuing 170,000 people) interrupted in Nov 2014 ("pull-factor")
- Replaced by FRONTEX Triton limited scope of intervention (138 nautical miles south of Italy – border patrols)
- No sign of migratory trends decreasing beginning of 2015
- Between January and May 2015, **1.806 people had already drowned** at sea
- Dedicated SAR resources in Central Mediterranean deemed insufficient to respond to increasing rescue needs
- MSF launches operations at sea in May 2015 to fill the gap and save lives
- Other NGOs have launched SAR operations in 2016





Context of the MSF SAR intervention on the Eastern Mediterranean route

- Oct 2015: + 200,000 people crossed from Turkey to Greece
- Nov 2015: +150,000 people (65% in Lesvos)
- Mortality at sea: 320 deaths between September and November
- Decentralised distress calls
- No proactive SAR patrolling authorised
- Direct landings
- Lack of ports to provide assistance
- Numerous and dangerous landing points
- Nov 2015: Start of MSF assistance at sea in the Aegean sea in partnership with Greenpeace



Lesvos



Lesvos, Nov. 2015



AFP, Aris Messinis

(Daily) Mass Distress Situations

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Pre-requisites for MSF intervention

- Do no harm
- Ability to disembark in a safe harbor (according to humanitarian and human rights standards)
- Broad notion of distress (all unseaworthy boats)
- Sufficient on board capacity (Central Med)
- Presence as close as possible to departure points
- Preventive approach/proactive patrolling
- Independence from anti-smuggling and military operations – respect of humanitarian principles

Negotiations with IMRCC and Mol





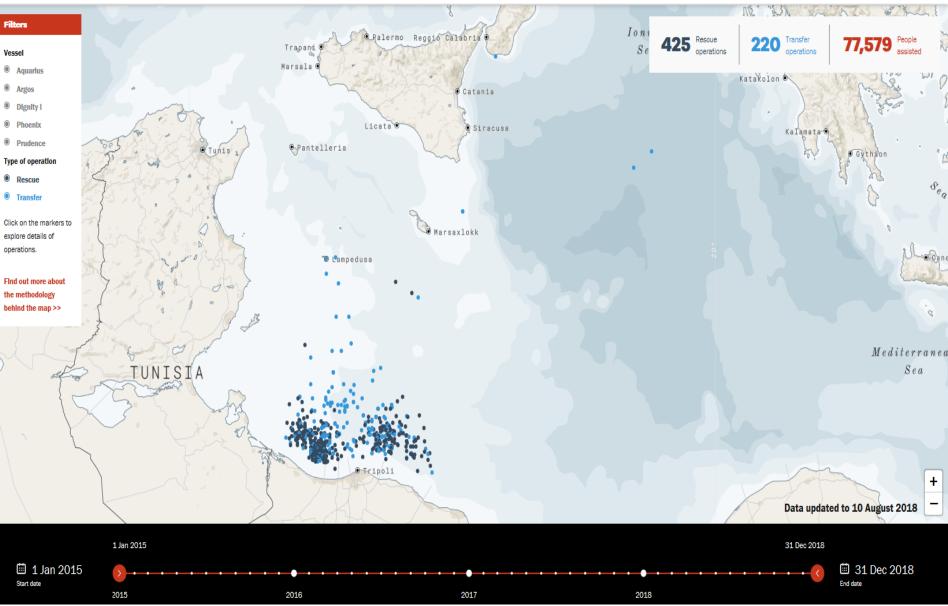
Challenges and gaps impacting collaboration

- Sea as "untested" humanitarian space
- State-led SAR mechanisms ill-adapted to the context
- Unclear responsibilities/territorial disputes (Libya/Greece/Turkey SRR)
- Unclear notion of distress
- Provision of place of safety but no default port in the EU
- Pressure on country of first arrival (Dublin)
- History of legal proceedings against rescuers
- Border control agenda as a state priority over rescue

2015-2016: Cooperation between states and NGOs : when SAR was as a shared priority

- SAR became « politically correct » in April 2015
- All rescues done under the coordination of IMRCC
- All ports of disembarkation decided by Mol
- MSF's presence at disembarkation to facilitate relationships with police and Frontex
- Assistance project in Italy in collaboration with reception authorities and MoH
- Regular meetings with MRCC, Mol, EUNAVFORMED, Frontex
- No transfers to military vessels rule







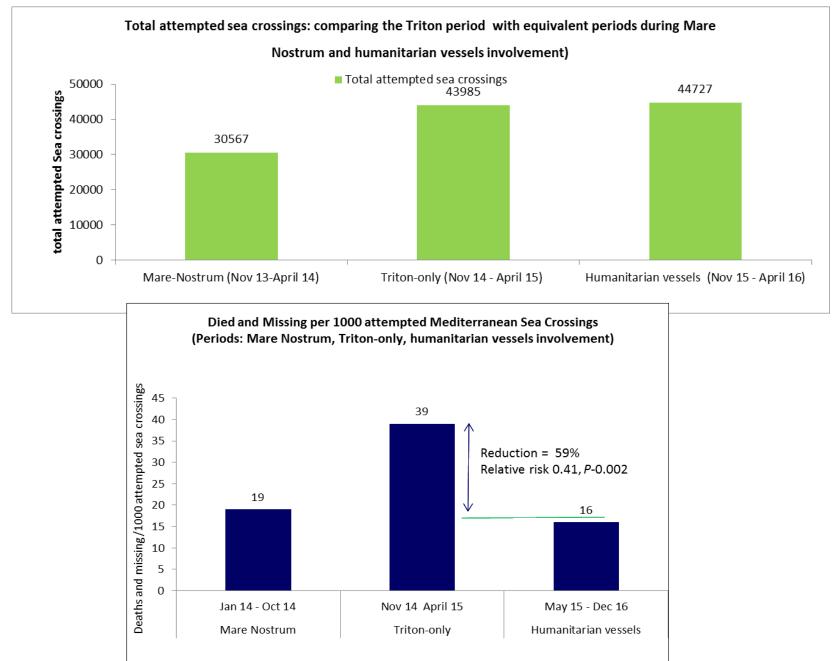




2017-2018: Rising tensions between states and NGOs at sea and the prioritisation of "containment" over rescue

- Peaks of departure in October-November 2016
- Frontex « accusations », deligitimisation of NGOs
- Senate enquiry (no evidence of collusion)
- Judicial investigation opened in Trapani
- Code of Conduct
- « luventa » case
- Libya SAR zone
- Security threats against NGOs
- Decrease/prevention of departures
- « Stand-by » of NGO vessels
- Closure of harbours

What data shows



Different objectives or different means?

Position of Italy (and EU):

- Unfair burden on Italy
- SAR to be linked to disembarkation in other countries
- NGOs must work with the « system »
- Priority to Libyan rescue
- Cooperation to prevent departures in Italy
- Externalisation of EU borders
- Military naval intervention in Libya

Position of MSF:

- Refusal to validate a less efficient SAR response
- Refusal to become police informant or investigators
- Operations already respectful of legal framework
- Refusal to have armed police on board
- No cooperation with system of refoulement
- Defense of the humanitarian imperative to rescue people in distress at sea
- Refusal to sign the Code of Conduct after negotiations

Today

- Italian harbours closed
- NGOs under investigation in Italy and Malta, boats blocked or impounded
- Mortality at sea rising in Central Med:
 - 1 in 18 persons died trying to cross this year
- Arrivals continue to increase in Greece
 - Dramatic situation in Lesvos

How to resume collaboration and save lives?



Thank you!

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