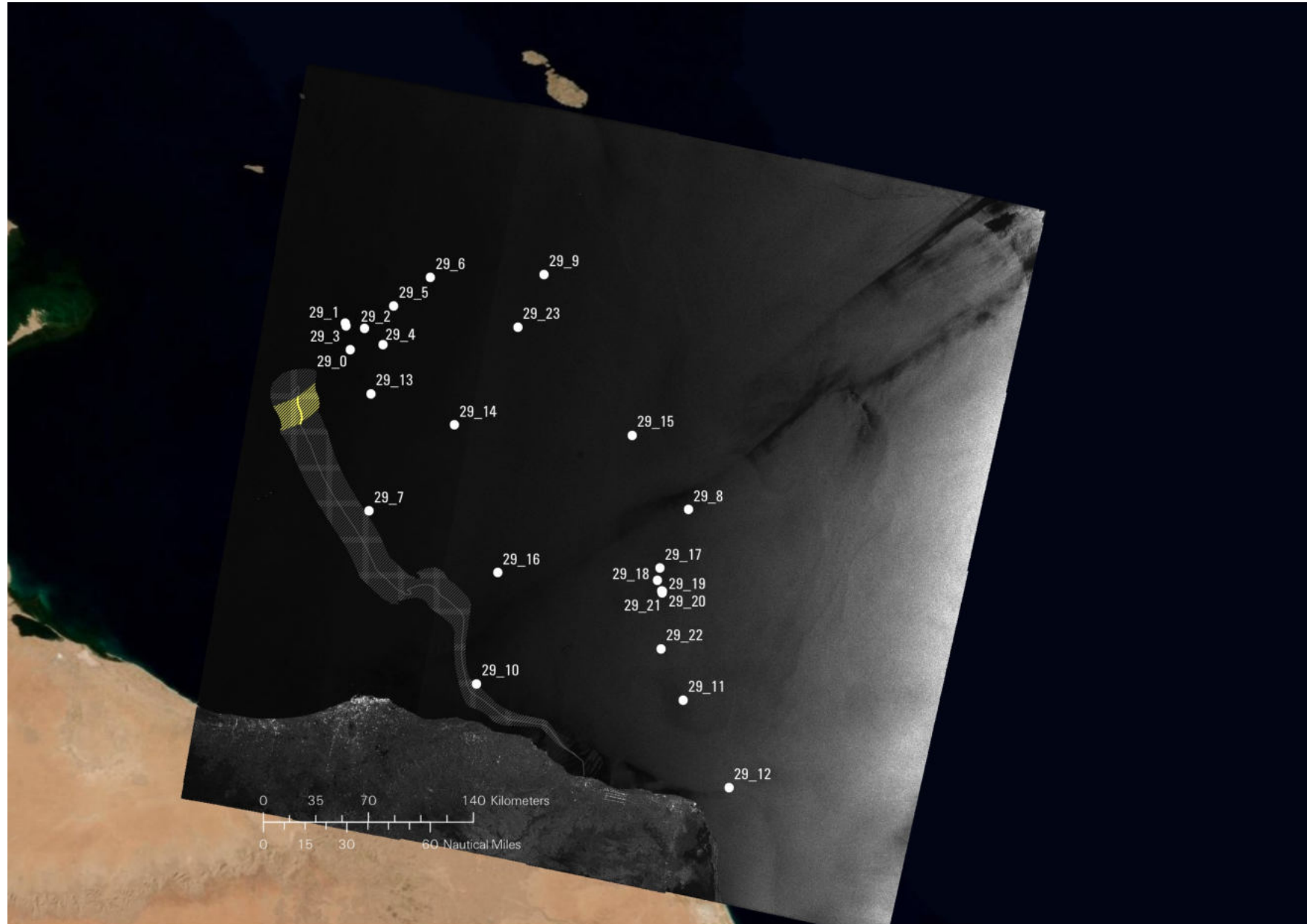


BORDER FORENSICS

Documenting Border Violence at the Maritime Borders of Europe

Charles Heller, co-director of Border Forensics, Geneva
Research Fellow, Graduate Institute, Geneva



SAR image analysis, 29 March 2011

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY: LEFT-TO-DIE BOAT CASE

FIGURES

SAR ANALYSIS - 29 MARCH

Return 29_13 was between 20 and 34 NM away from the ship's drift, while return 29_3 was between 25 and 33 NM away and return 29_1 was between 32 and 38 NM away.

26

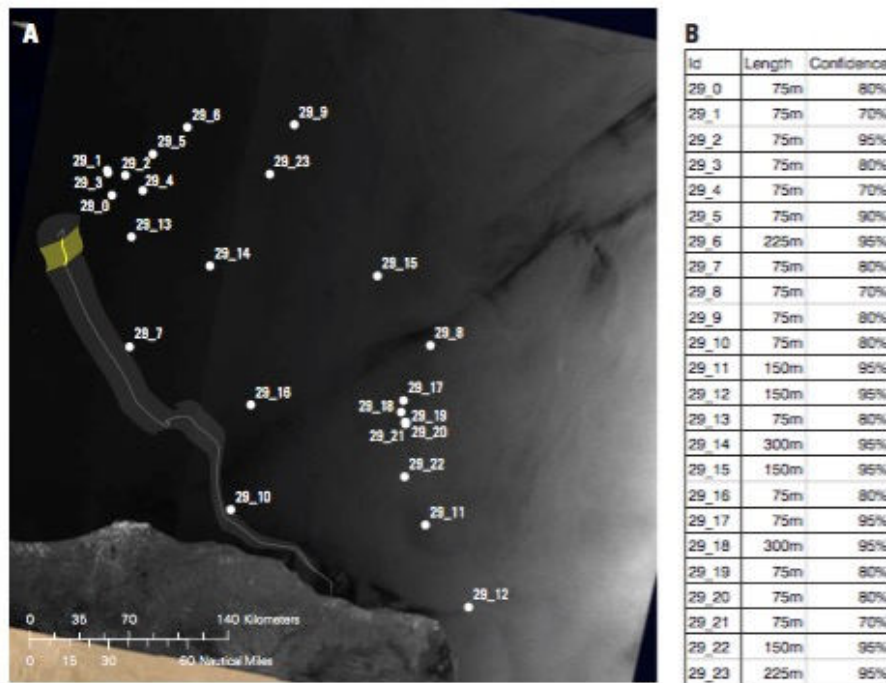


Fig. 26. Drifted-1 data vessel detection for 29 March (A) with corresponding table of returns (B) documenting estimated length of vessel and confidence.

62

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY: LEFT-TO-DIE BOAT CASE

FIGURES

SEARCH AND RESCUE ZONES

The area in question is divided into Italian, Maltese and Tunisian Search and Rescue Regions (SRR). SRR have been internationally established for the express purpose of coordinating rescue operations and optimizing their effectiveness, efficiency and safety. States are obligated to exercise SRR services in the area under their responsibility and frequently engage in SAR agreements with neighboring States to coordinate operations and rescue services.

27



Fig. 27. Search and Rescue Regions within the Strait of Sicily.

63

HELLER, Ch. and PEZZANI, L. (2012) Report on the Left-to-die boat.

Death of 63 migrants in the Mediterranean: Complaint in France holds the French military to account

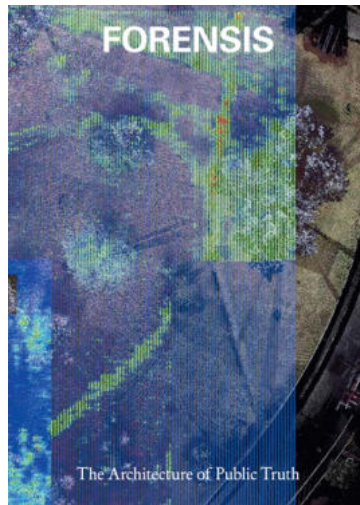
11 April 2012



One year after events that led to the deaths of 63 migrants in a boat in the waters off the coast of Libya, 4 survivors, with the support of a coalition of NGOs, filed a complaint in France concerning the responsibility of the French military for failing to assist persons in danger.

Legal complaint against France, FIDH, GISTI, Migreurop, 11 April 2012

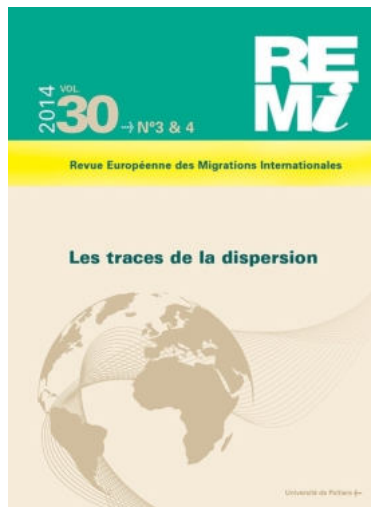
FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



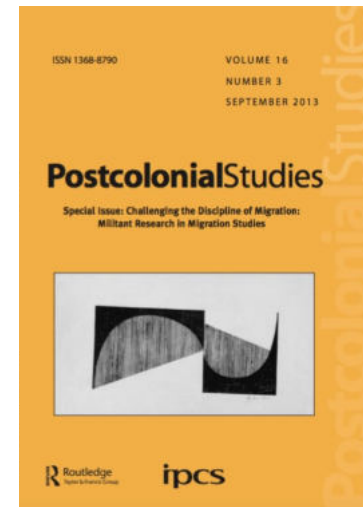
Forensis. 2014. Ed Weizman. Sternberg Press.



The Borders of "Europe". 2017. Ed. De Genova. Duke University Press.

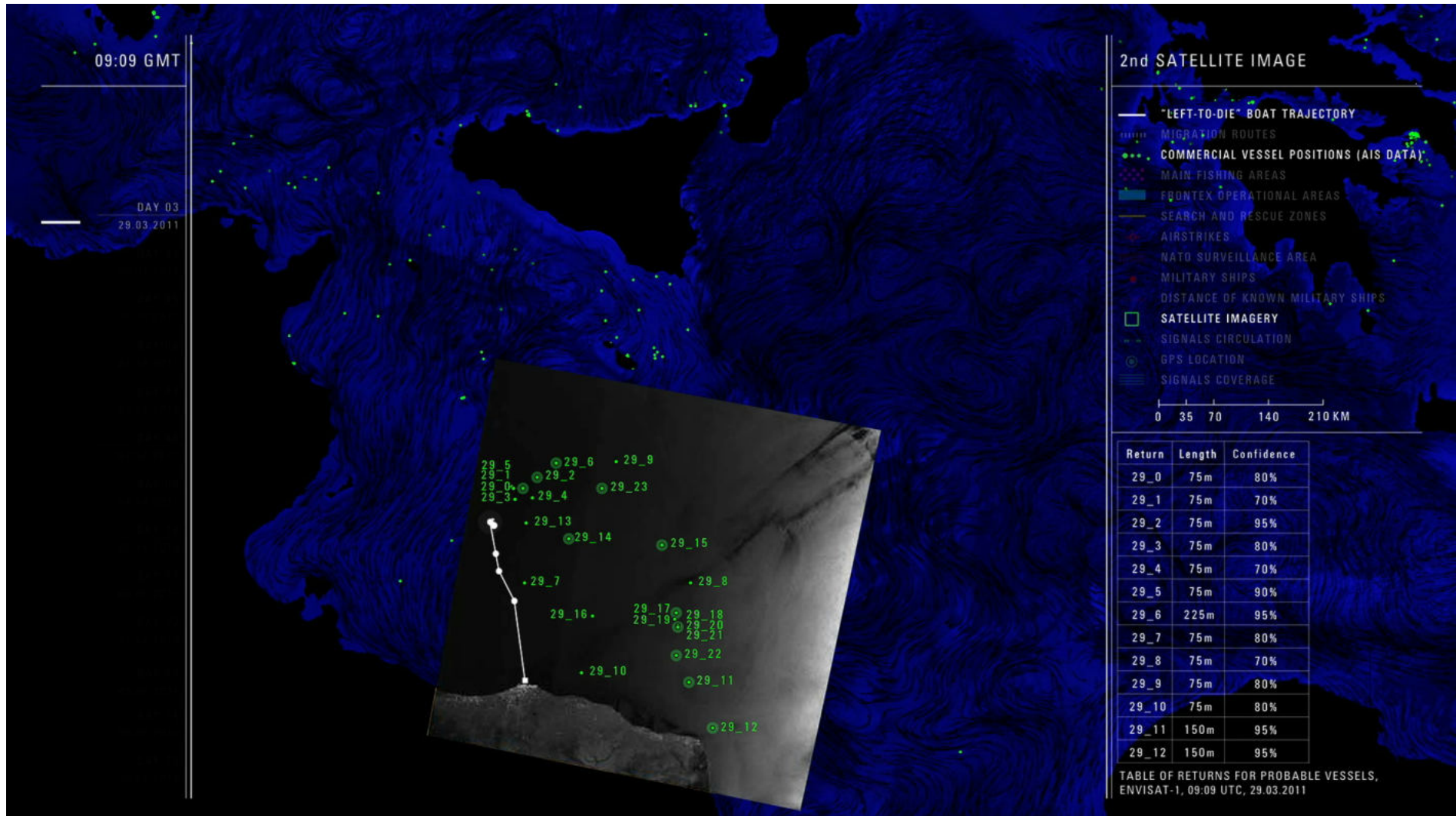


Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales. 30 (3-4) 2015.



Selected journal articles and chapters based on the Left-to-die boat

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



Liquid Traces, Charles Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani, 2014.

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



Liquid Traces (2014), MOMA, "Insecurities" exhibition, New York, 2016

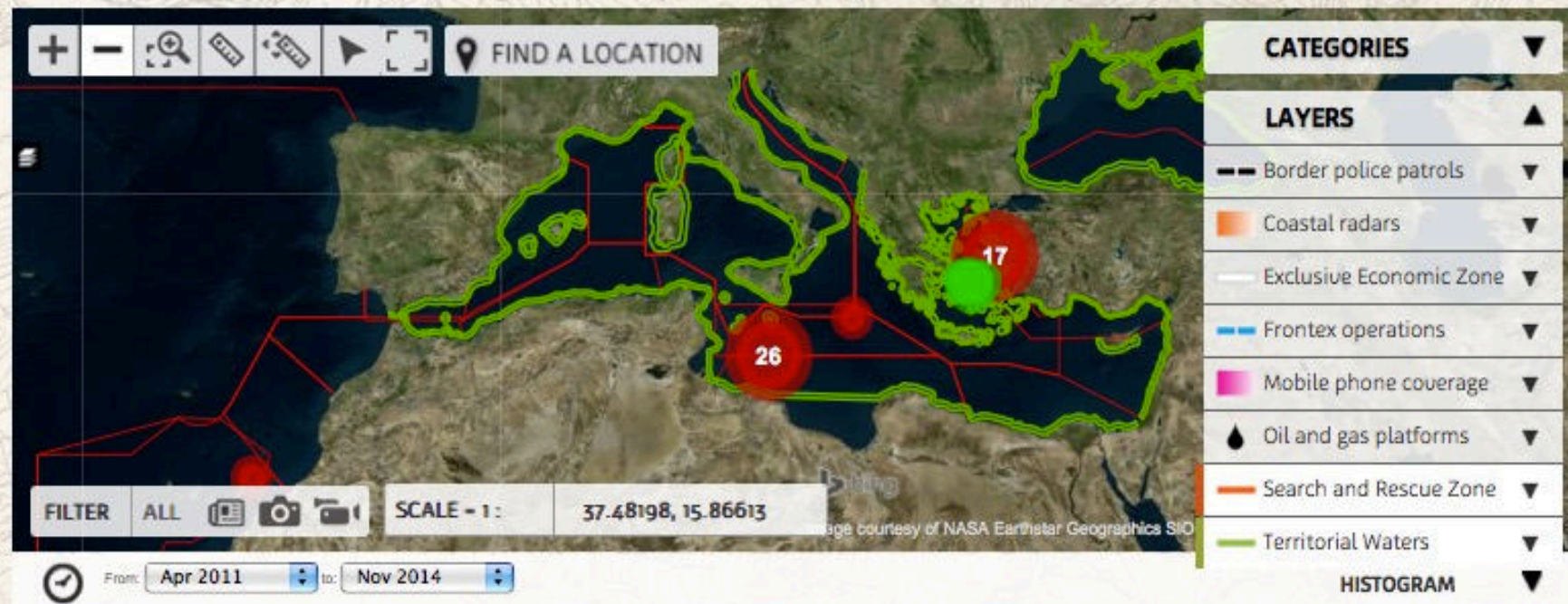
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[THE SEA AS FRONTIER](#) [RIGHTS AT SEA](#) [ABOUT WTM](#)

[SUBMIT REPORT](#)



News



Date 2014-11-03 / Category: Dead /

At least 24 deaths and many missing near the Bosphorus strait

At least 24 people have died in the Black Sea when seeking to reach the EU, presumably Romania or Bulgaria. The bodies of 24 passengers... [more>](#)

Date 2014-10-05 / Category: Dead /

130 migrants reported dead on anniversary of Lampedusa shipwreck

ALARM PHONE



About

Watch the Mediterranean Sea is an online mapping platform to monitor the deaths and violations of migrants' rights at the maritime borders of the EU



Watch the med

ALARMPHONE

Hotline for boatpeople in distress.
No rescue, but Alarm.

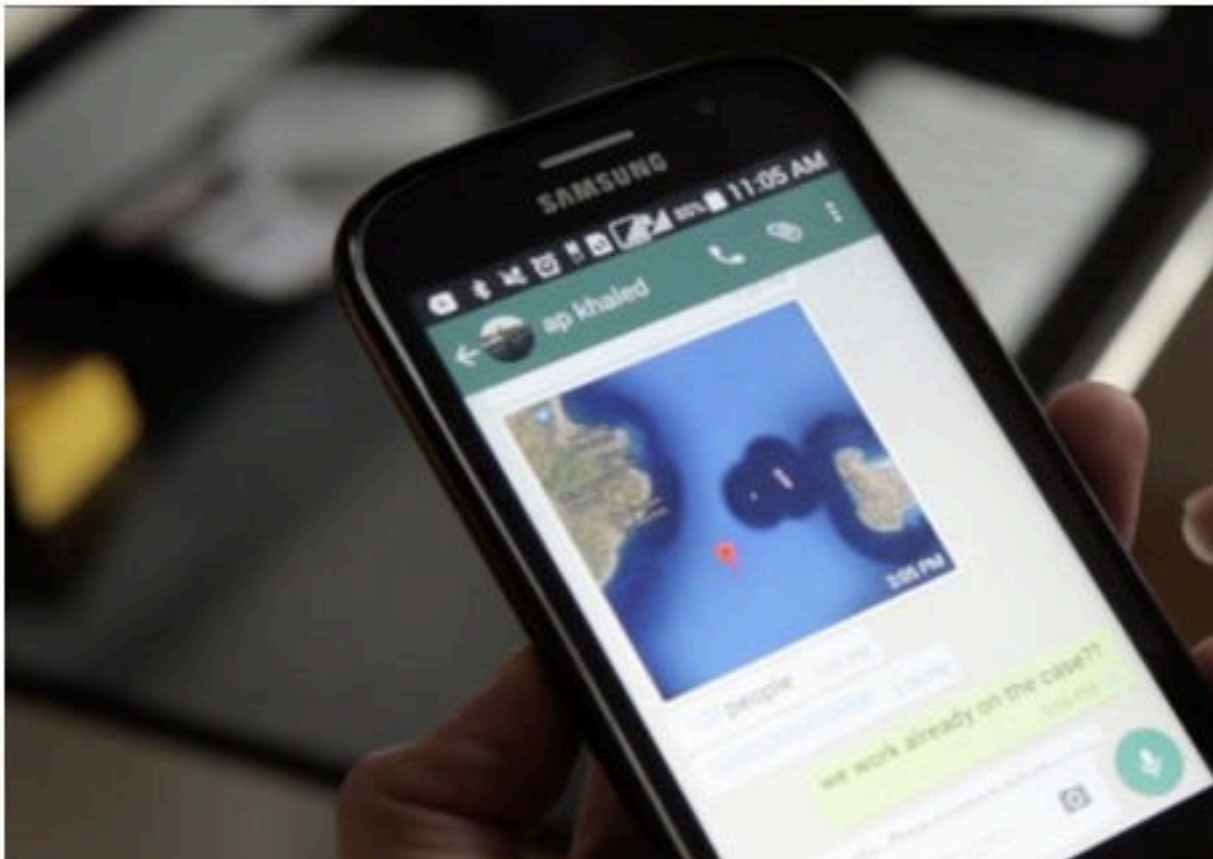
IN CASE OF EMERGENCY CALL

+334 86 51 71 61

ABOUT

SAFETY AT SEA

MEDIA



HOW DOES THE ALARMPHONE WORK?

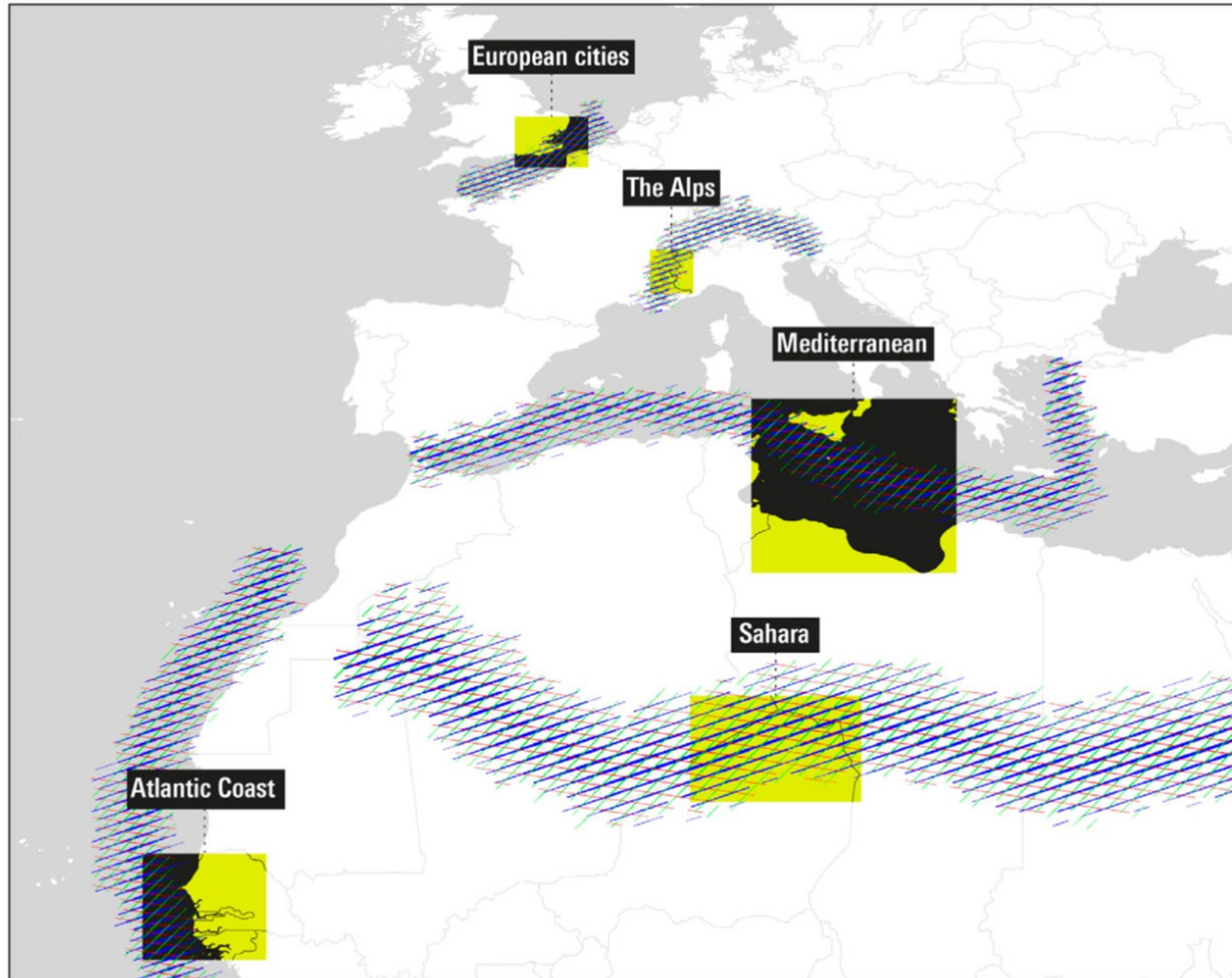
*In the following two vimeo-links
you find two short video clips
about the transnational project
of WatchTheMed-Alarmphone*

→ Two Video Clips from and
about WatchTheMed-
Alarmphone

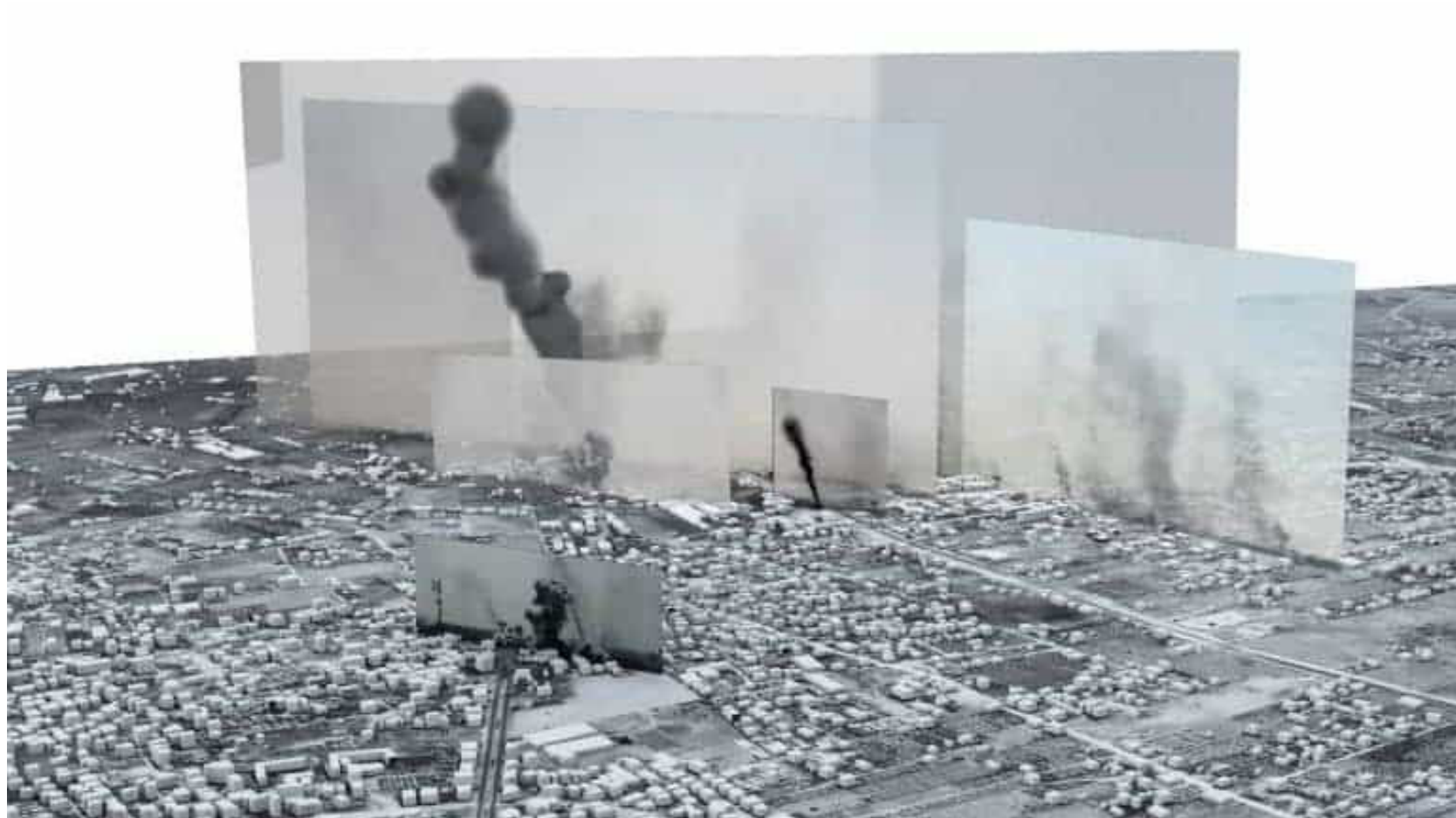


Map of border deaths indicating 46,560 deaths between 2014-2022.
Based on IOM data and figure.

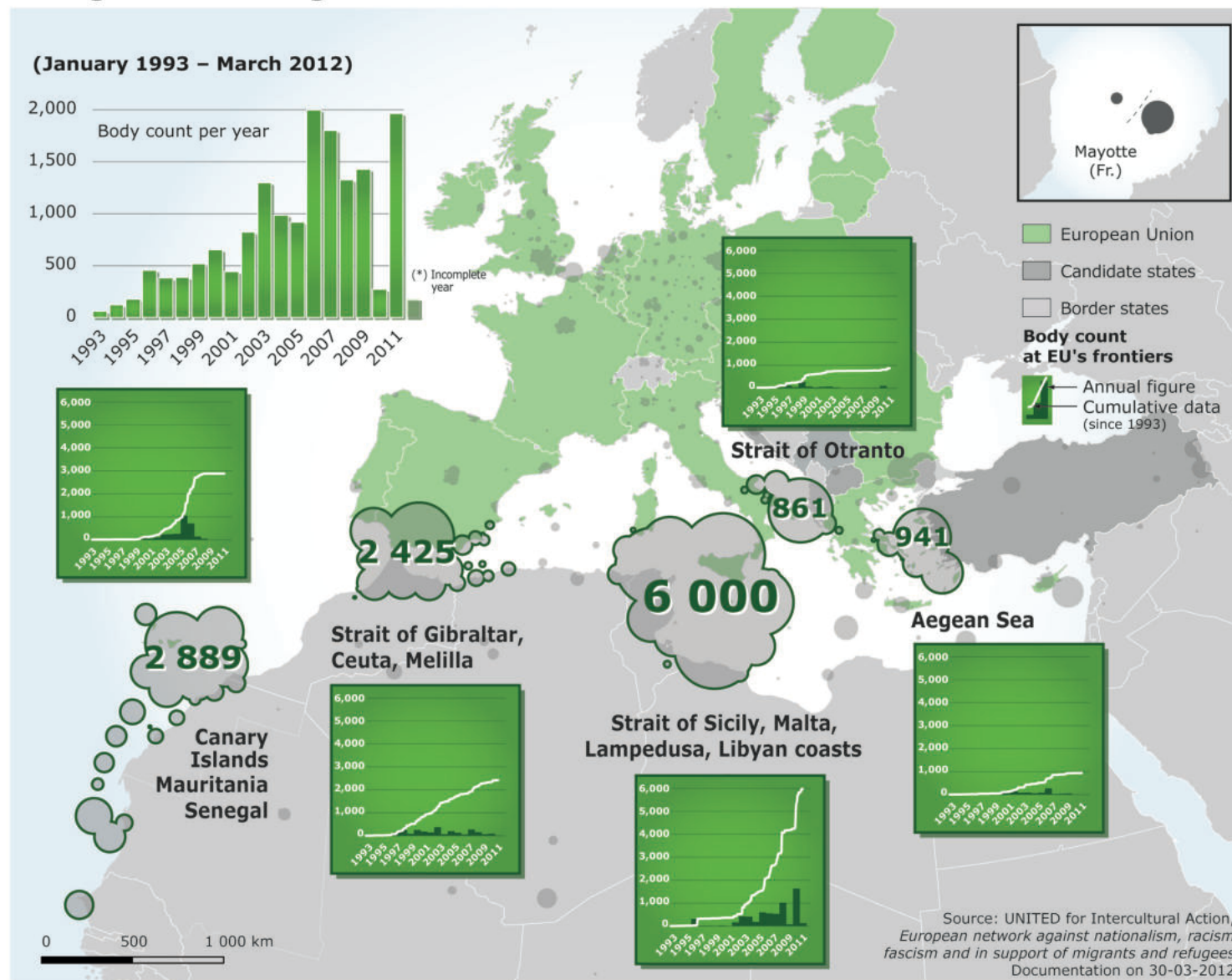
BORDER FORENSICS



Border zones investigated by BF in 2021-2023.



Dangerous Crossings to the South of the EU



© Nicolas Lambert in Migreurop (2013) *Atlas of migration in Europe. A critical geography of migration policies*, Oxford, New Internationalist, 150 p.

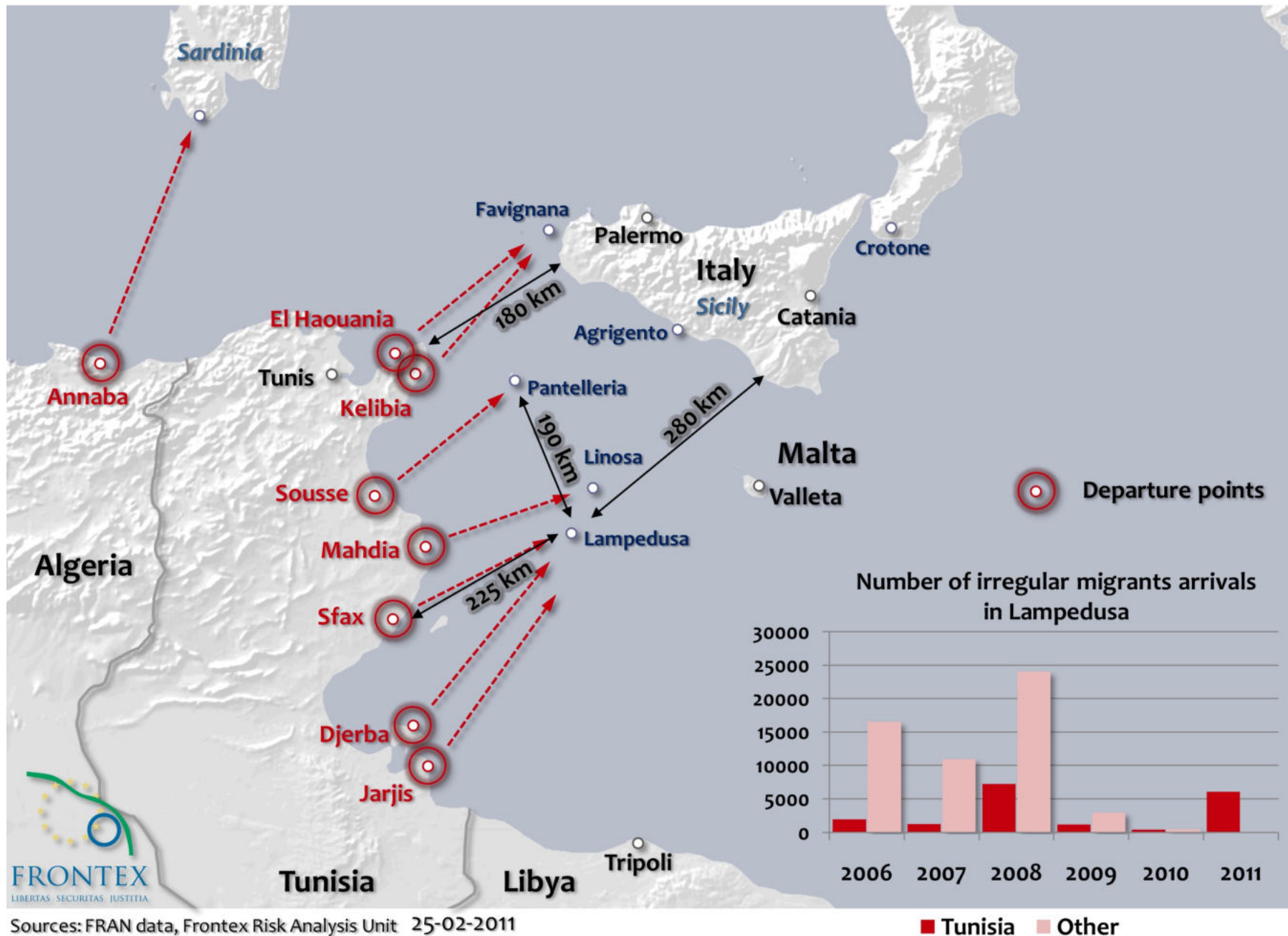
Deaths at EU maritime borders, Migreurop Atlas, 2013

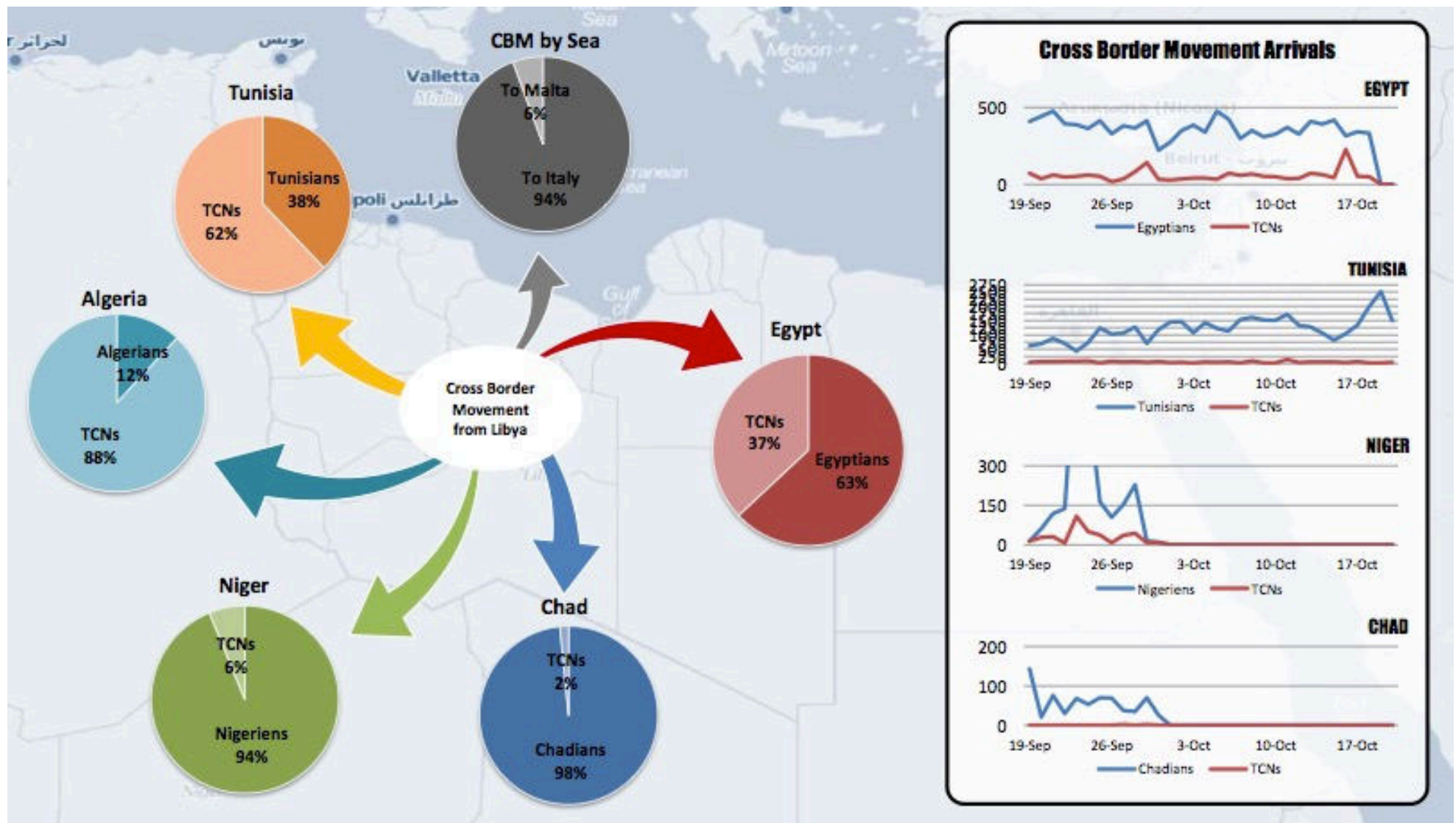


Lampedusa, July 2013



FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



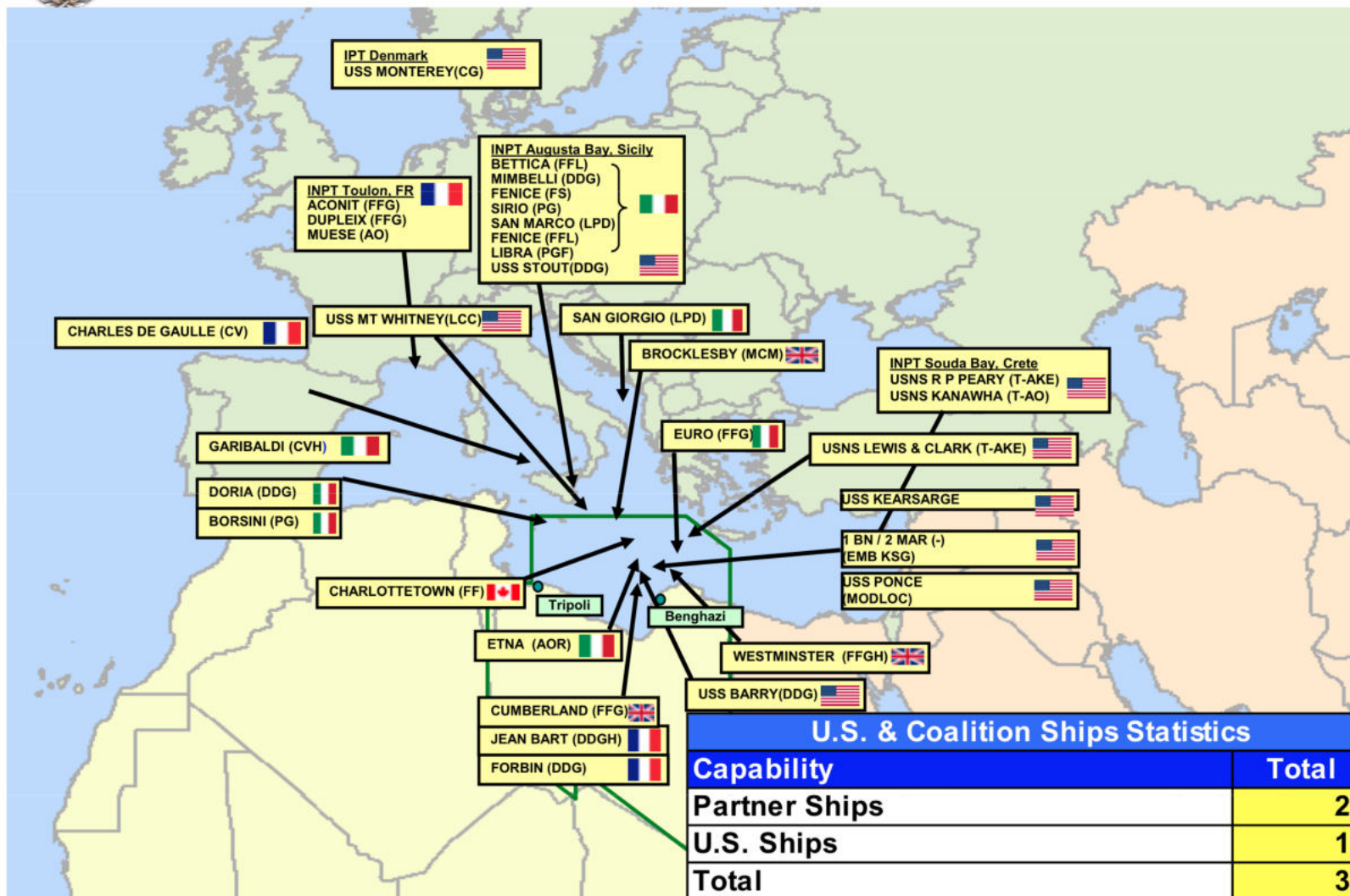


IOM, Migration Crisis from Libya, 20 October 2011

UNCLASSIFIED



U.S. & Coalition Maritime Forces Laydown



US & Coalition Maritime Forces Laydown, 24 March 2011

UNCLASSIFIED

Des centaines de boat people meurent en Méditerranée

Le Gisti va déposer plainte contre l'OTAN, l'Union européenne et les pays de la coalition en opération en Libye

Face aux centaines de naufrages mortels en Méditerranée, peut-on se contenter de dénoncer le silence assourdissant dans lequel des vies disparaissent à nos portes ? Doit-on se résoudre à l'impuissance devant des politiques migratoires auxquelles on ne pourrait rien changer ? Ces noyé-e-s ne sont pas les victimes de catastrophes naturelles, mais de décisions politiques mises en œuvre par des exécutants dont les responsabilités doivent être pointées. Devant ces atteintes au droit le plus fondamental – le droit à la vie – il faut que des procédures soient engagées et que justice soit rendue. Il faut mettre fin à cette hécatombe.

Le Haut Commissariat des Nations unies pour les réfugiés (HCR) a dénombré à la fin de mai quelque 1 500 victimes de noyade parmi les *boat people* qui, depuis février dernier, s'efforcent de gagner l'Europe à partir des côtes du Maghreb et du Machrek.

Ces drames ne font que s'ajouter à tous ceux qui se déroulent, dans l'indifférence, depuis plus de vingt ans ; Fortress Europe enregistre 17 317 décès documentés depuis 1988. Mais combien d'autres victimes invisibles de la politique européenne de lutte contre l'immigration qu'elle appelle illégale ?

De ces naufrages, des épaves transformées en cercueils flottants d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants morts d'épuisement, de faim et de soif après de longues dérives en mer, l'opinion a pris l'habitude. Elle a pu croire à leur caractère inéluctable. Elle a pu ignorer que les équipements anti-migratoires de l'agence européenne Frontex étaient forcément les témoins de nombre de ces drames, en Méditerranée comme ailleurs...

Mais la donne a changé depuis qu'une coalition internationale et les forces de l'OTAN interviennent en Libye. Aujourd'hui, awacs, drones, avions, hélicoptères, radars et bâtiments de guerre surveillent tout ce qui bouge en Méditerranée. Ils ne peuvent pas ne pas voir les bateaux des exilés originaires d'Afrique subsaharienne qui cherchent à fuir la Libye. Ils ne peuvent pas ne pas voir lorsque, de Tunisie, du Maroc ou d'Algérie, des jeunes sans espoir s'entassent dans une embarcation fragile pour gagner l'Italie ou l'Espagne.

En n'intervenant pas, ils se rendent coupables de non-assistance à personne en danger. Ceci ne peut rester impuni.

Communiqué du GISTI, 9 juin 2011



SPED. IN ABB. POST. - 45% ART. 2 COMMA 20/
BL 662/96 - ROMA ISSN 0025-2158

quotidiano comunista

il manifesto

ANNO XLI • N. 88 • GIOVEDÌ 14 APRILE 2011



OGGI CON LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE A EURO 3,00

www.ilmanifesto.it

8. NAUFRAGIO DI PANTELLERIA IERI/FOTO EMBLEMA

Invisibili anche se sotto l'occhio delle telecamere. Invisibili agli occhi della Nato. Un altro tragico naufragio di migranti, con due ragazze annegate, non commuove l'Italia e l'Europa: il leghista Speroni propone di sparare ai barconi, la Francia sigilla le frontiere, nessuno pensa a un corridoio umanitario per i profughi. Ma la testimonianza al *manifesto* di uno degli scampati a una strage al largo della Libia racconta qualcosa di più agghiacciante. Le forze atlantiche inviate a «proteggere i civili» avrebbero omesso di soccorrere una barca che affondava: «Siamo sopravvissuti in nove. In 63 sono morti davanti ai nostri occhi. Le navi militari ci passavano davanti e non ci aiutavano». L'odissea non è finita, nel Mediterraneo è ancora notte fonda



Odissea all'alba

PRESCRIZIONE BREVE

L'utilizzatore iniziale



Andrea Fabozzi

Senza vergogna ma anche senza alcun problema la maggioranza ha approvato alla camera la legge che cancella il processo Mills. Tutto l'impegno del Pd e dell'Italia dei valori è servito solo a rimandare il via libera di un paio d'ore rispetto alle migliori previsioni del centrodestra. Il fragore delle proteste di piazza e gli ardimentosi propositi dei deputati democratici si sono infranti contro la forza dei numeri berlusconiani ma anche contro i limiti delle opposizioni. Pronte a rinunciare a qualche ora di ostruzionismo in cambio della diretta tv e alla fine incapaci di bloccare davvero l'aula.

CONTINUA | PAGINA 4

RUBYGATE

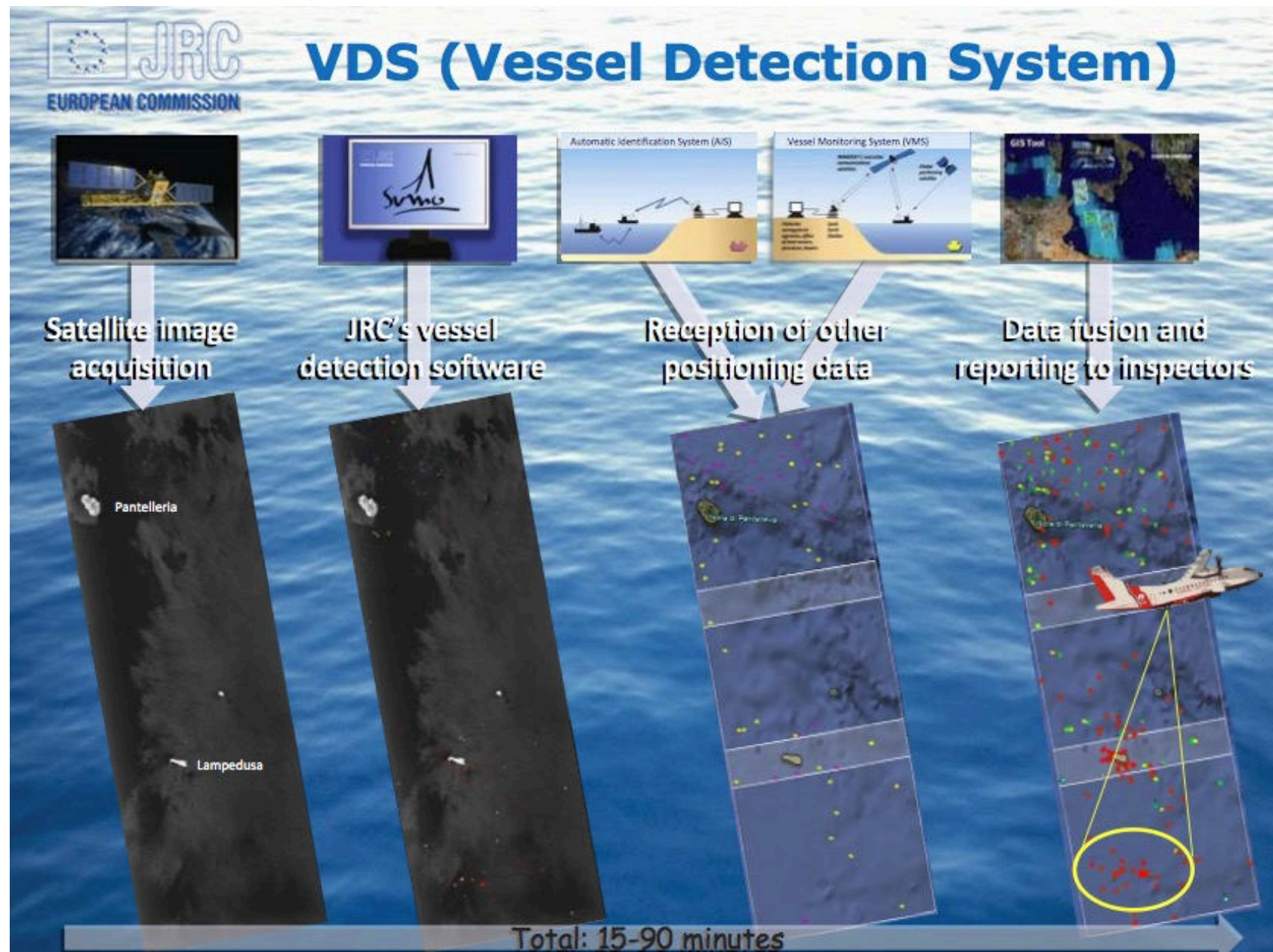
Le sue bambine



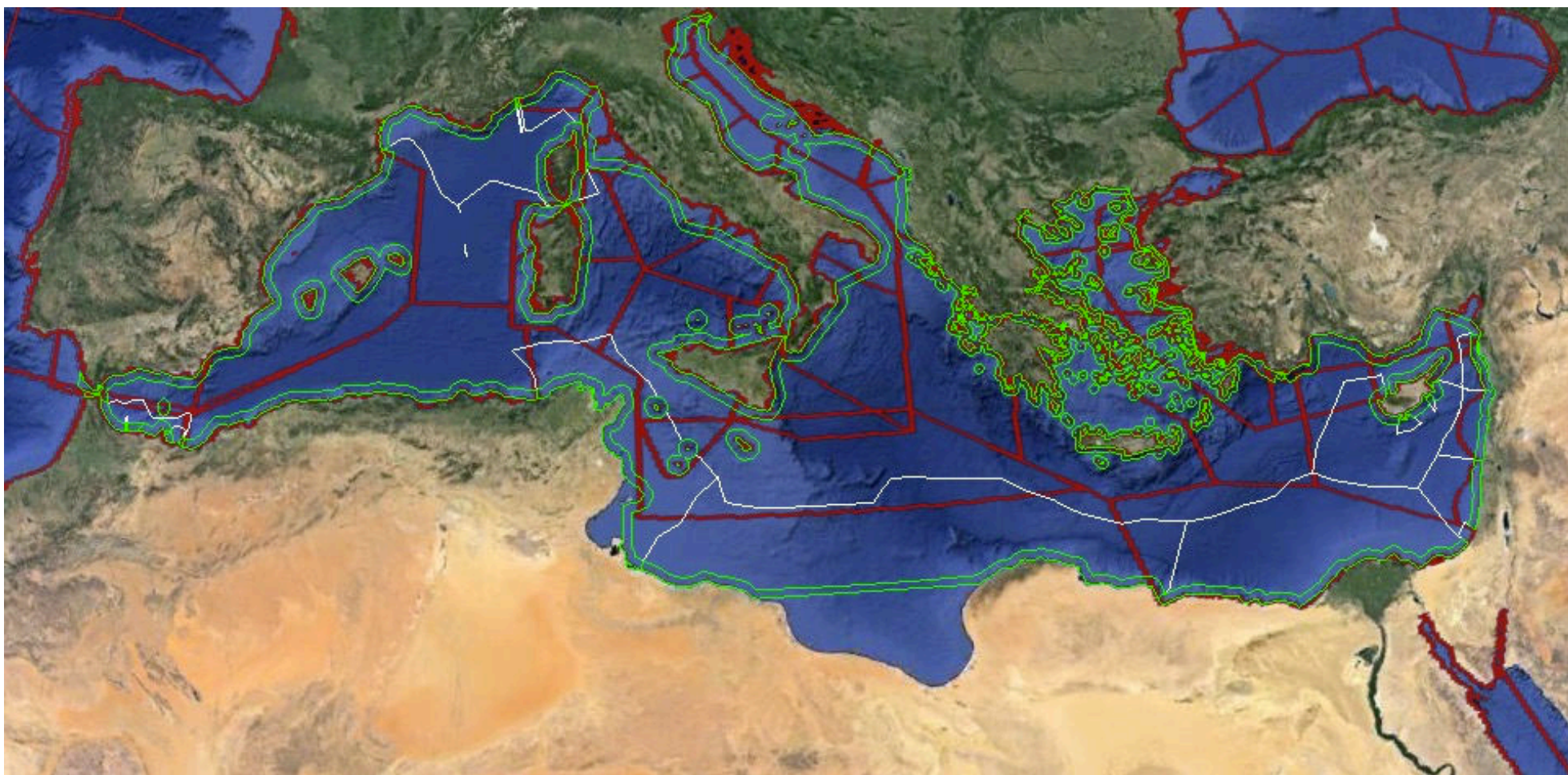
Ida Dominijanni

Silvio Berlusconi potrà pure scamparla con la prescrizione breve e col processo lungo sui casi Mills e Mediatrade. Potrà perfino riuscire, grazie al genio dei suoi avvocati, alla servitù della sua corte e al potere del suo danaro, a costruire, nel processo Ruby, una verità giudiziaria diversa dalla verità effettiva (si sa che esse raramente coincidono). Ma sa lui stesso che nel caso Ruby c'è scritta la sua fine. Firmata dalle testimonianze. Donne. E' il punto cruciale su cui ha sbagliato i suoi calcoli: «le sue bambine» non sono tutte a sua disposizione. Quale che sarà la verità giudiziaria, è firmata da loro la sua fine politica. E con la sua fine politica, la fine di un'epoca, di un'etica e di un'estetica.

CONTINUA | PAGINA 5



Space-based surveillance tools for fisheries control, JRC, 2012



Mediterranean legal boundaries, watchthemed.net



Dan Haile Gebre, interview December 2011

Inoltra Enhanced Group Call (EGC)
EGC Inoltrato: RESP:MSGACCEPT MSG-REF: 381240 Message Accepted 11-04-03/08-34 UTC

Regione: Tutti

Priorità: **DISTRESS**

Codice del Servizio: S.A.R. per area circolare

Indirizzo: Lat: 34 N Long: 13 E Raggio: 050

Codice di Ripetizione: Ritrasmettere dopo 4 ore (2 trasmissioni)

Codice di Presentazione: IAS

Testo del EGC: FM MRCC ROME - ITALIAN COAST GUARD
TO ALL SHIPS TRANSITING IN SICILY CHANNEL
BT
ON 27 MARCH 2011 SICILY CHANNEL SEA IN POSITION LAT. 33°58'.2" N - LONG.
012°55'.8"E AT 16:52GMT A BOAT WHIT ABOUT 68 POB PROBABLY IN DIFFICULT.
ALL SHIPS TRANSITING IN THE AREA ARE REQUESTED TO KEEP A SHARP LOOKOUT
AND REPORTING ANY SIGHTING URGENTLY AT MRCC ROME AT FOLLOWING

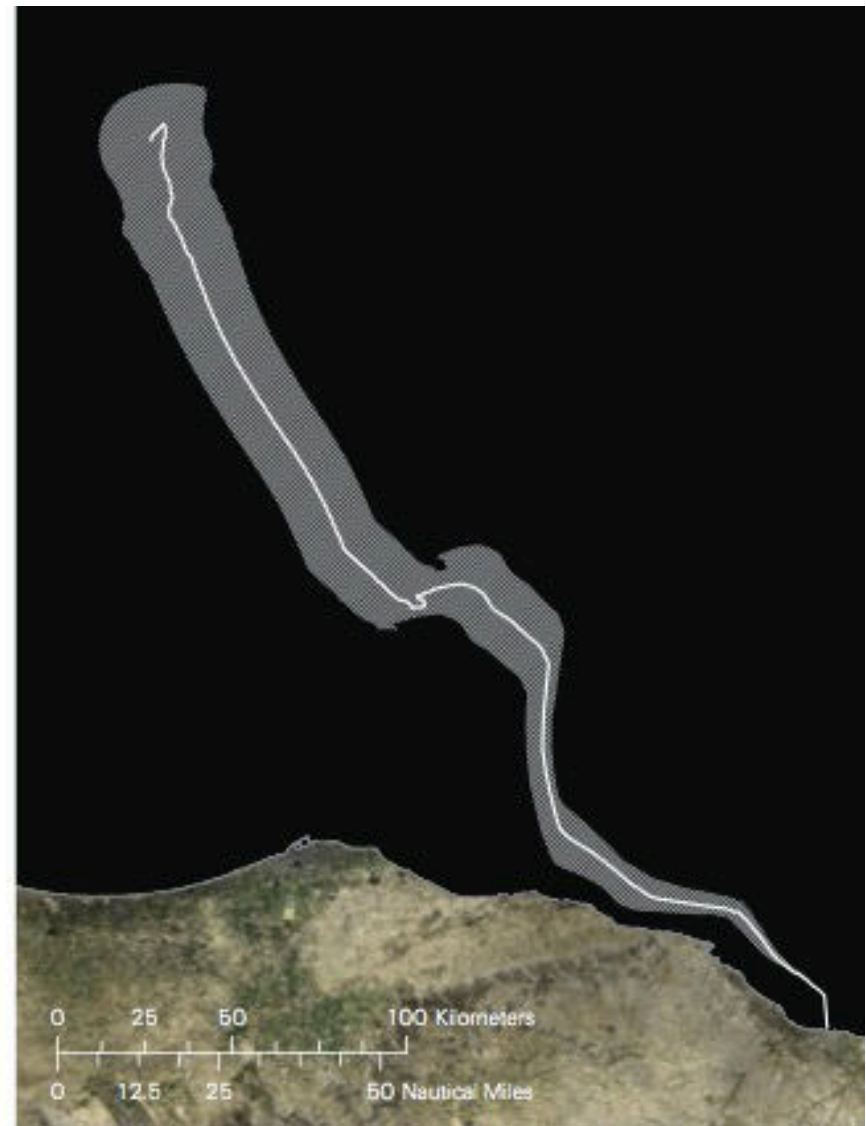
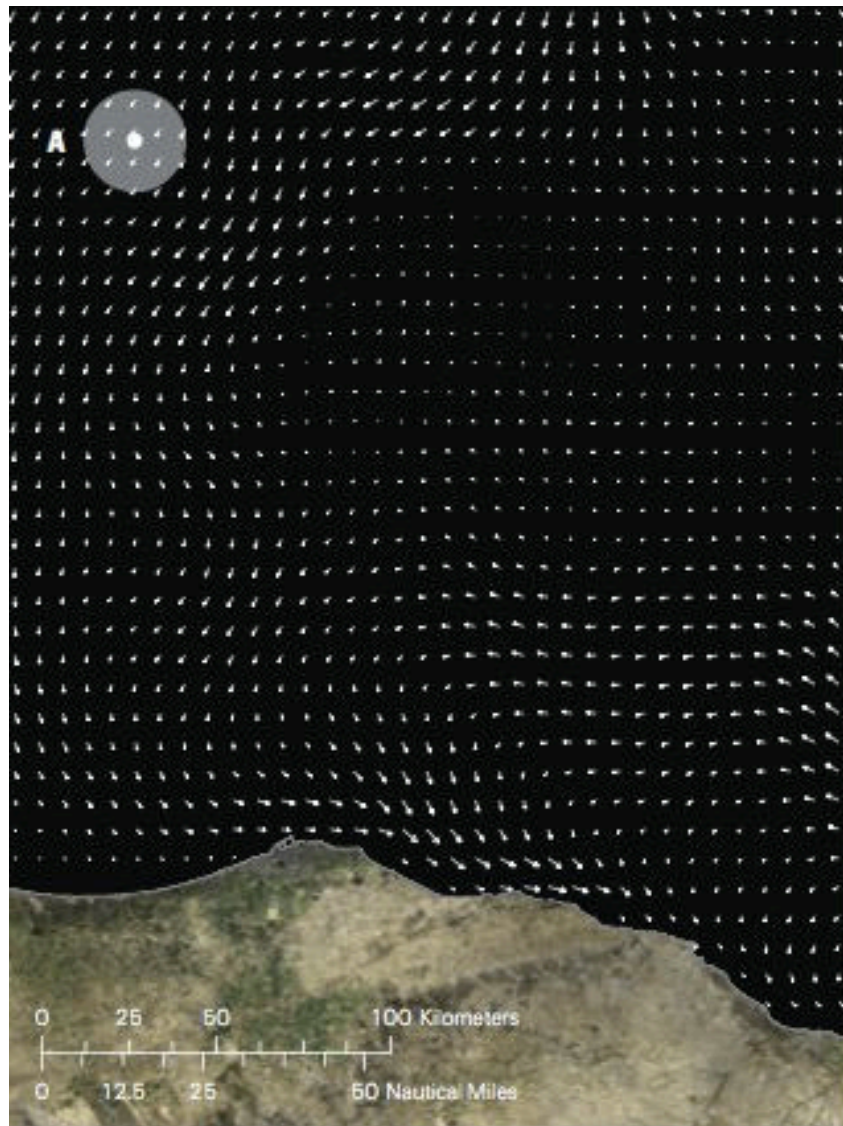
Inoltra EGC

BROADCAST WARNING MESSAGES QUERY RESULTS
CATEGORY: HYDROLANT Warning Number: 512 / 2011
HYDROLANT 512/2011 (52,53,56) (Cancelled by HYDROLANT 637/2011)
EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN SEA. VESSEL, 68 PERSONS ON BOARD, IN NEED OF ASSISTANCE IN 33-58.8N 012-55.8E AT 271652Z MAR. VESSELS IN VICINITY REQUESTED TO KEEP A SHARP LOOKOUT, ASSIST IF POSSIBLE. REPORTS TO MRCC ROME, INMARSAT-C: 424744220, PHONE: 390 6592 4145 OR 3906 5908 4409, FAX: 390 6592 2737 OR 3906 5908 4793, E-MAIL: UFFICIO3.REPARTO3@MIT.GOV.IT. (280406Z MAR 2011)

Distress signals

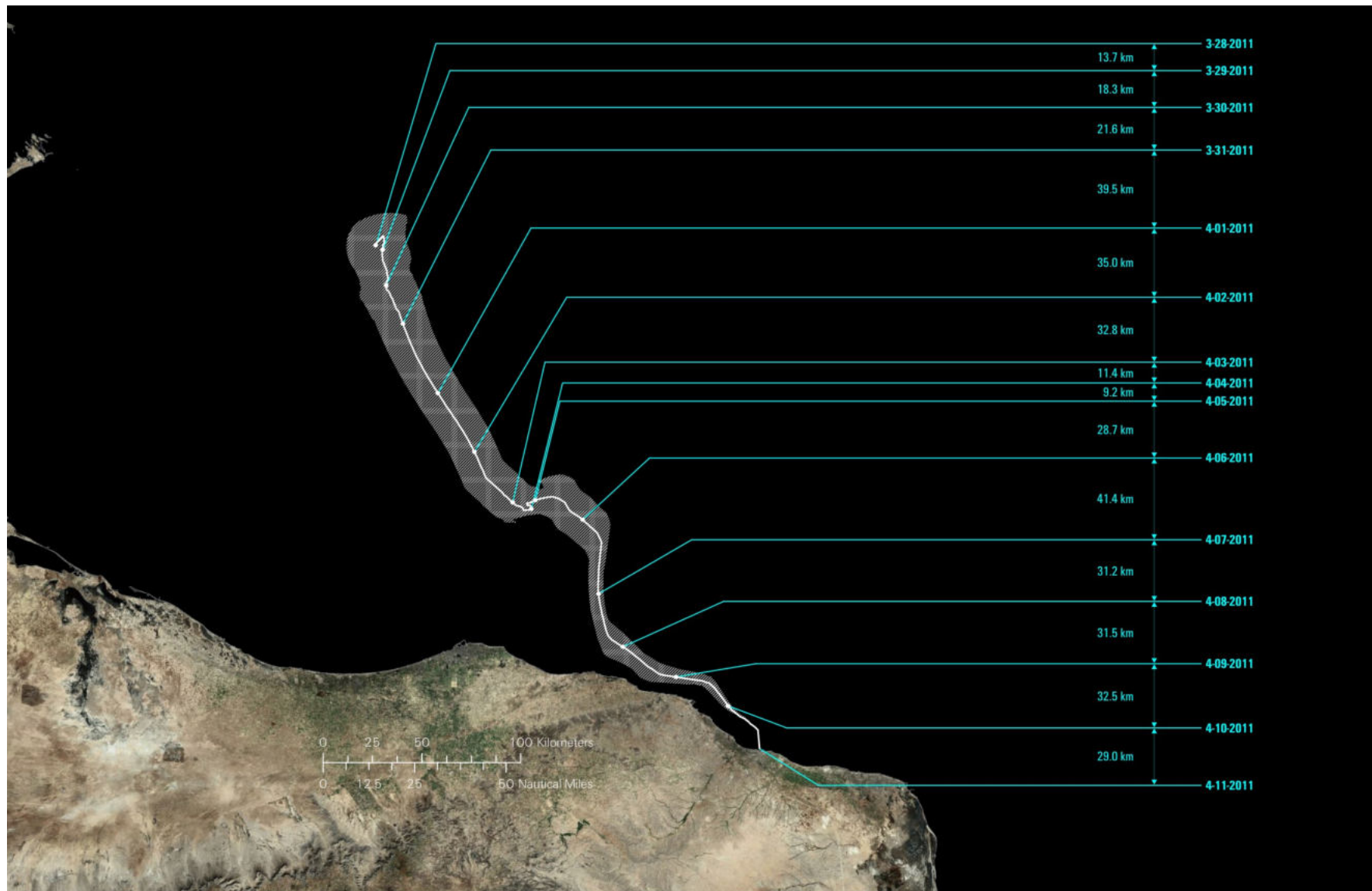


Picture of the “left-to-die boat” taken by a French patrol aircraft, PACE, 2012



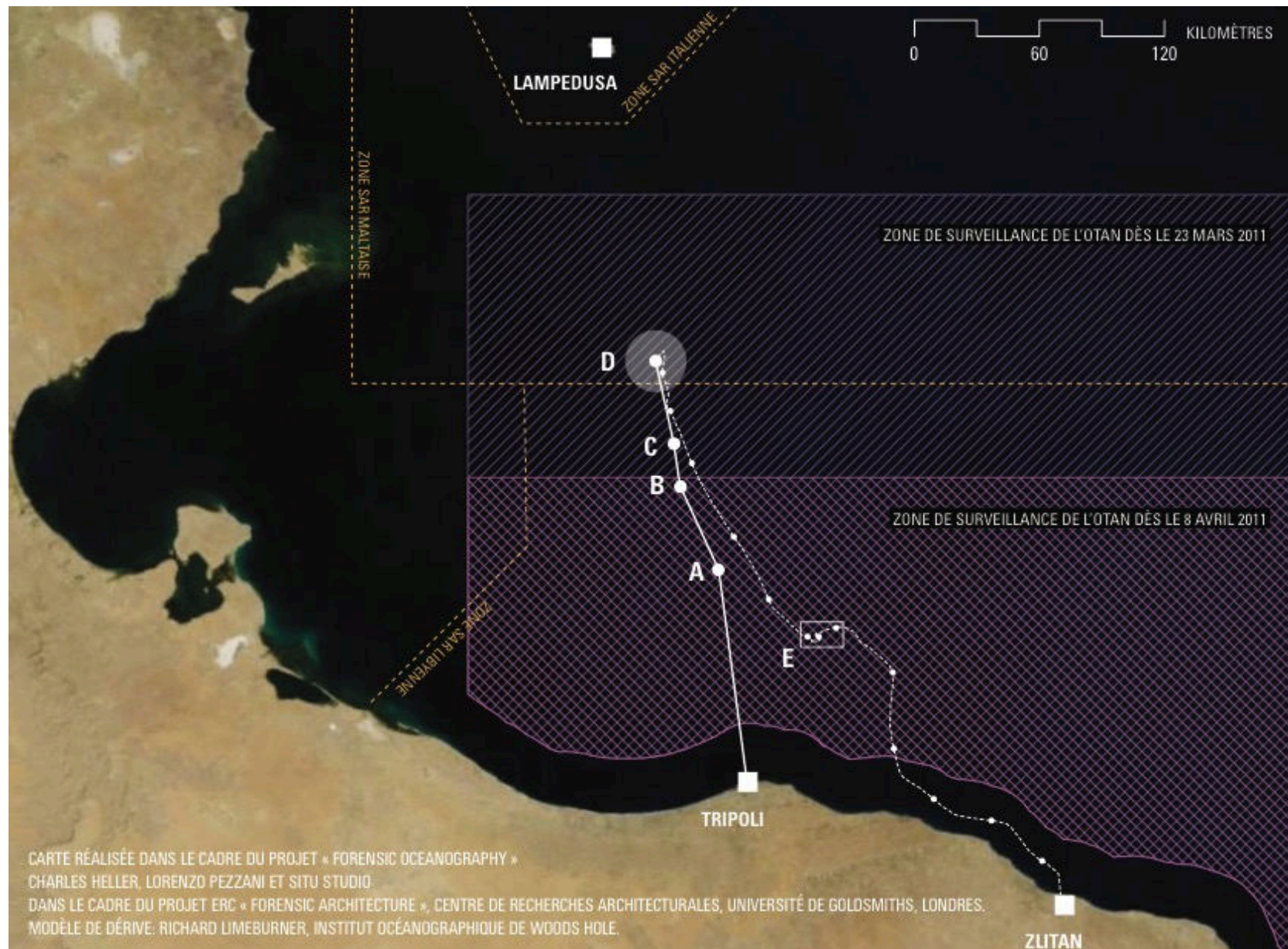
Drift model

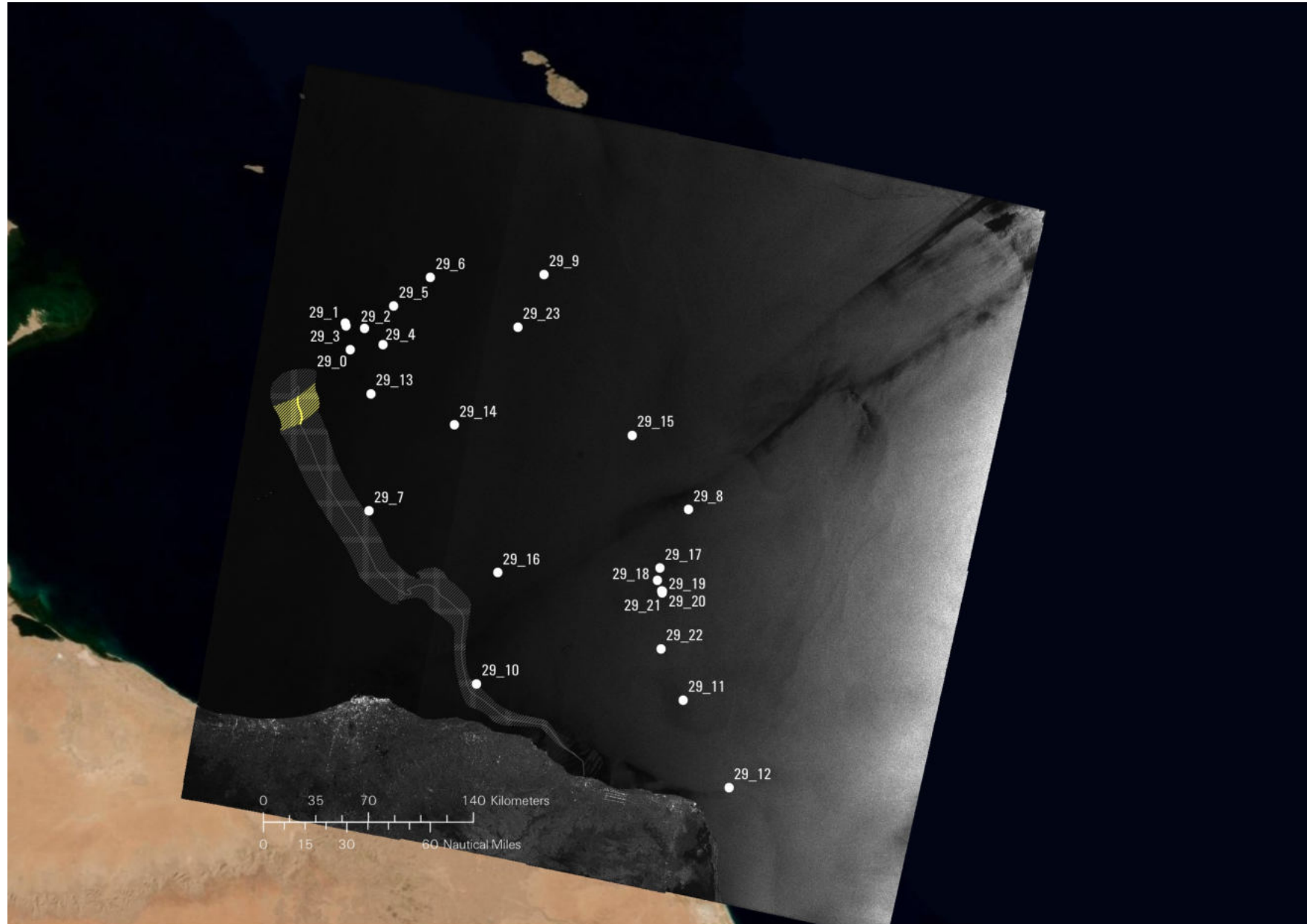
FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



Drift model timeline

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY

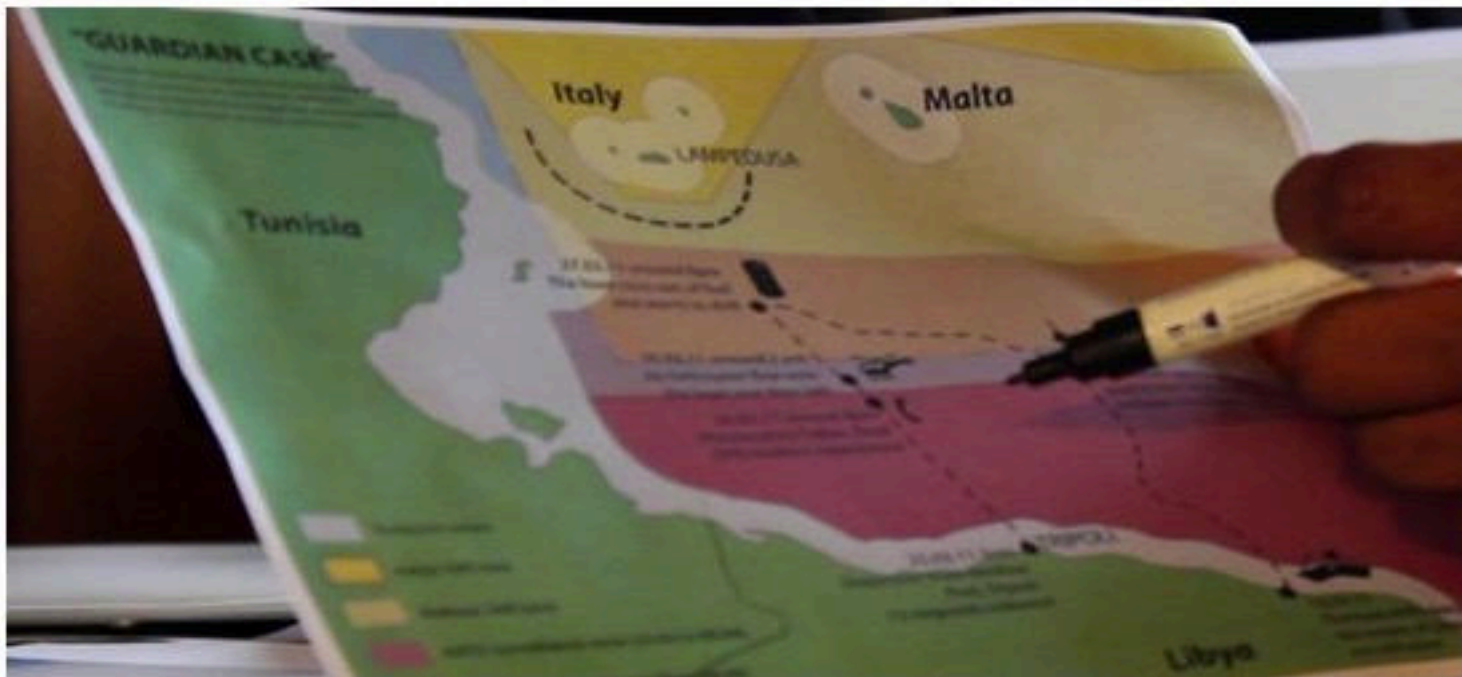




SAR image analysis, 29 March 2011

Death of 63 migrants in the Mediterranean: Complaint in France holds the French military to account

11 April 2012

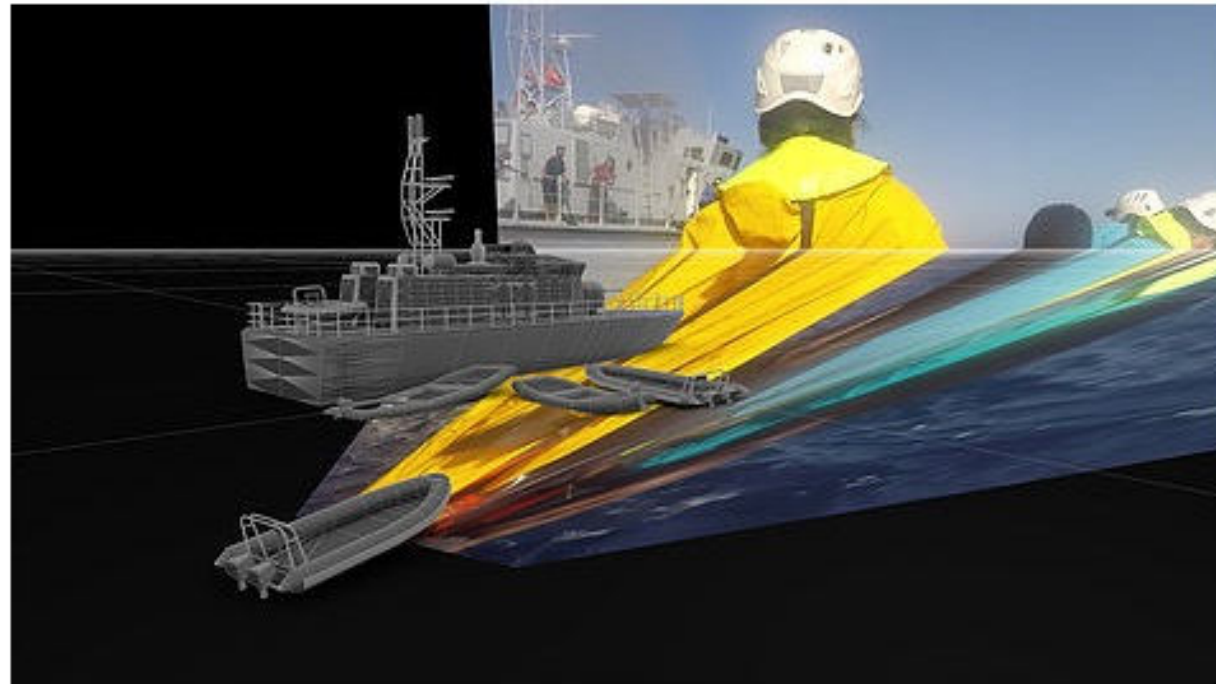


One year after events that led to the deaths of 63 migrants in a boat in the waters off the coast of Libya, 4 survivors, with the support of a coalition of NGOs, filed a complaint in France concerning the responsibility of the French military for failing to assist persons in danger.

Legal complain France, 11 April 2012

Legal action against Italy over its coordination of Libyan Coast Guard pull-backs resulting in migrant deaths and abuse.

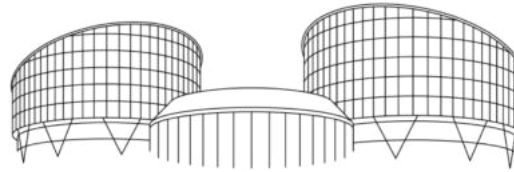
May 8, 2018



Screengrab from Forensic Oceanography's reconstruction of fatal maritime incident



Intercepted passengers being disembarked in Libya from the Italian patrol vessel « Bovienzo », May 2009. Enrico Dagnino, Paris Match.



EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS
COUR EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME

GRAND CHAMBER

CASE OF HIRSI JAMAA AND OTHERS V. ITALY

(Application no. 27765/09)

JUDGMENT

Strasbourg

23 February 2012

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



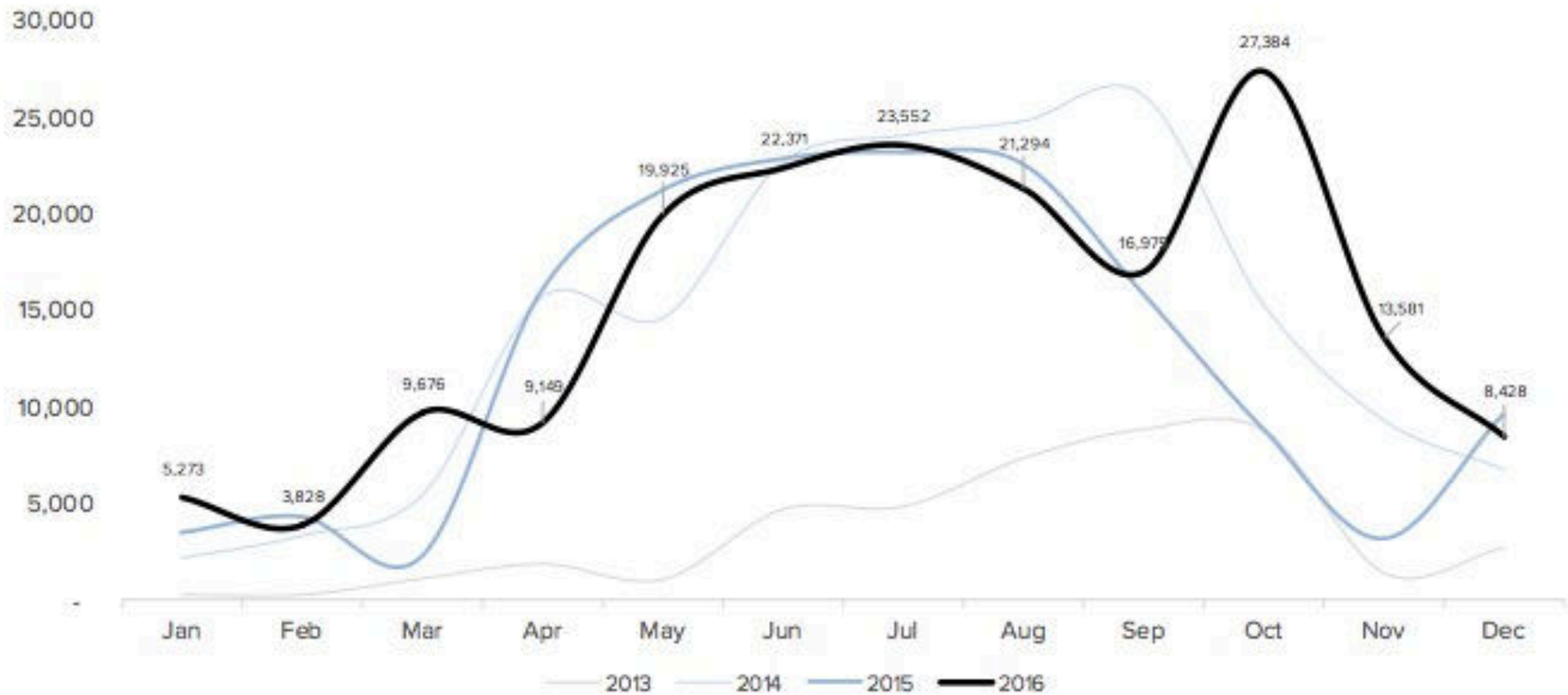


March of Hope, September 2015



Ahmet Davutoglu and Donald Tusk, 07.03.2016

MONTHLY SEA ARRIVALS IN ITALY 2013 - 2016



UNHCR data, 2013-2016

*“To effectively cope with this current situation, part of **the answer must lie in the Libyan authorities preventing smugglers from operating, and for the Libyan Coast Guard to have the capacity to better manage maritime border and ensure safe disembarkation on the Libyan coast.** Of course, the Libyan authorities' effort must be **supported by the EU and Member States notably through training, providing advice, capacity building and other means of support.** Working together in their respective zones and within their respective mandates, **Sophia and Triton could focus on anti-smuggling activities and support to search and rescue operations further out at sea and specialise in monitoring, alerting the Libyan authorities and combating traffickers.** Recognising the central role that the Libyan Coast Guard should play in managing the situation, building its capacity is a priority, both in terms of capabilities and equipment needs.”*

European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, ‘Migration on the Central Mediterranean route: Managing flows, saving lives’, Brussels, 25.1.2017 JOIN(2017) 4 final







Italian Interior Minister Marco Minniti speaks to the media after handing over boats that were repaired in Italy, to the Libyan navy at Tripoli naval base, Libya, May 15, 2017. REUTERS/Ismail Zitouny



Command in Chief of the Italian Fleet

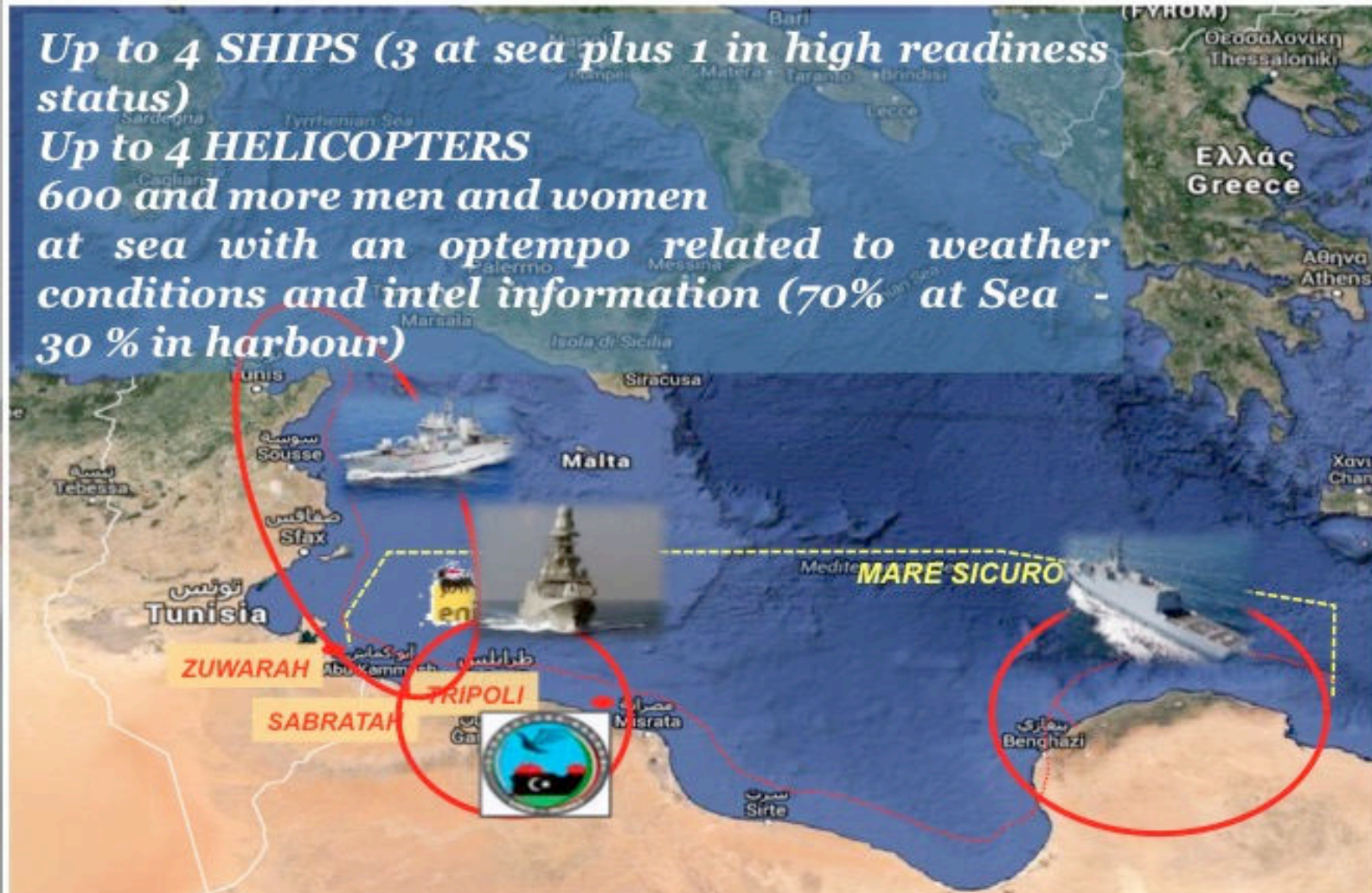
OMS – Area of Operations

Up to 4 SHIPS (3 at sea plus 1 in high readiness status)

Up to 4 HELICOPTERS

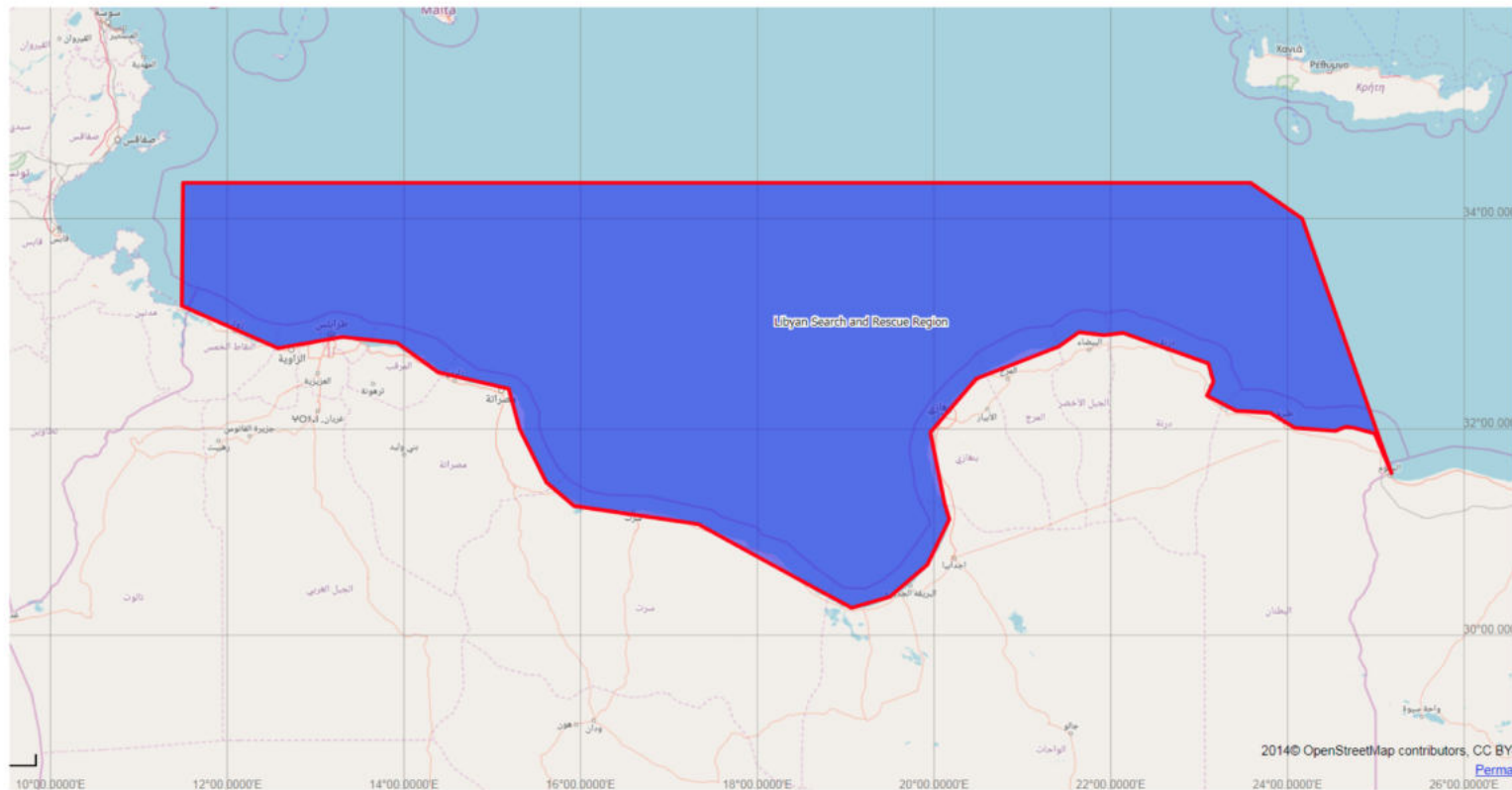
600 and more men and women

at sea with an optempo related to weather conditions and intel information (70% at Sea - 30 % in harbour)





Meeting with Libyan Delegation – Outcomes

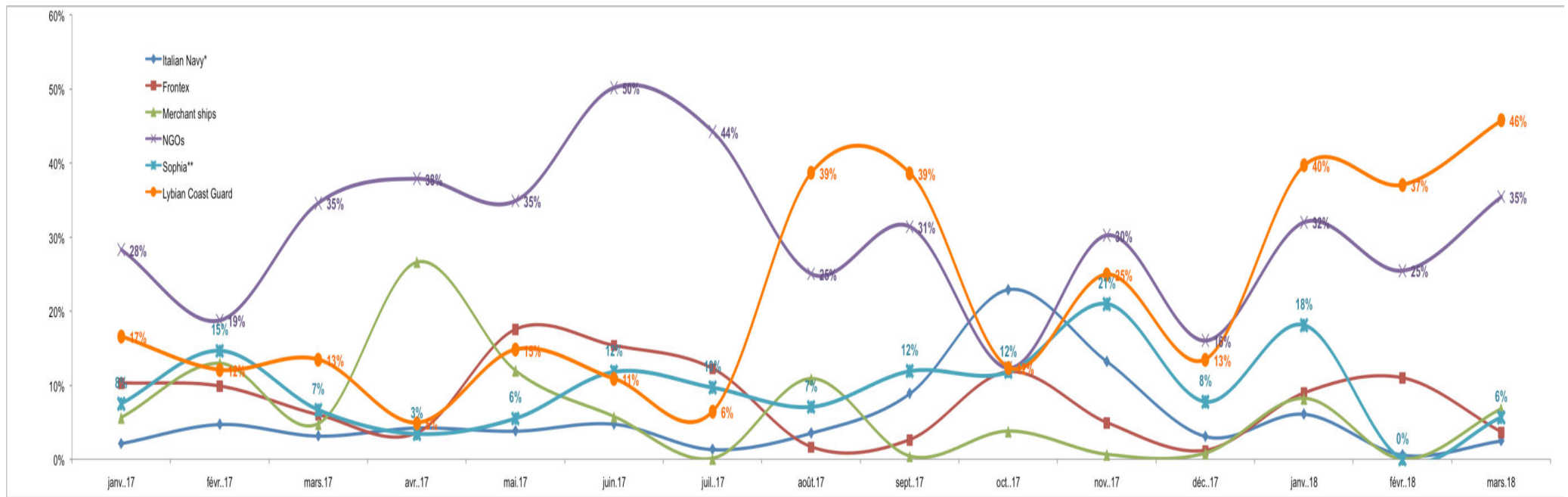


Libyan Search and Rescue Region **modified**

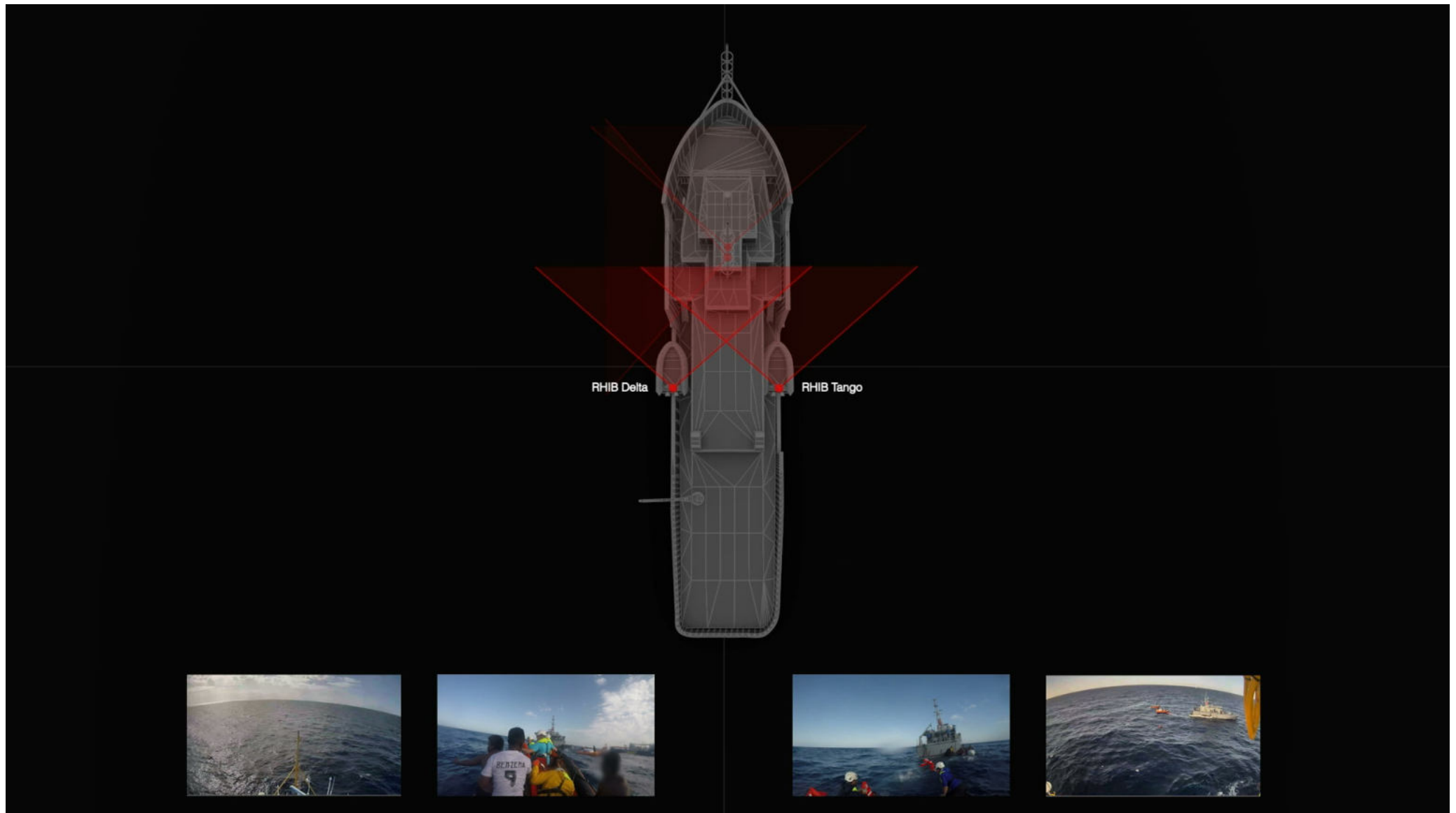


Migrants being intercepted by a Libyan coast guard vessel on 27 September 2017, with the Italian warship Andrea Doria in the background; the migrants were handed the life jackets by the Italian Navy before they were intercepted. Filmed by Vice News

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



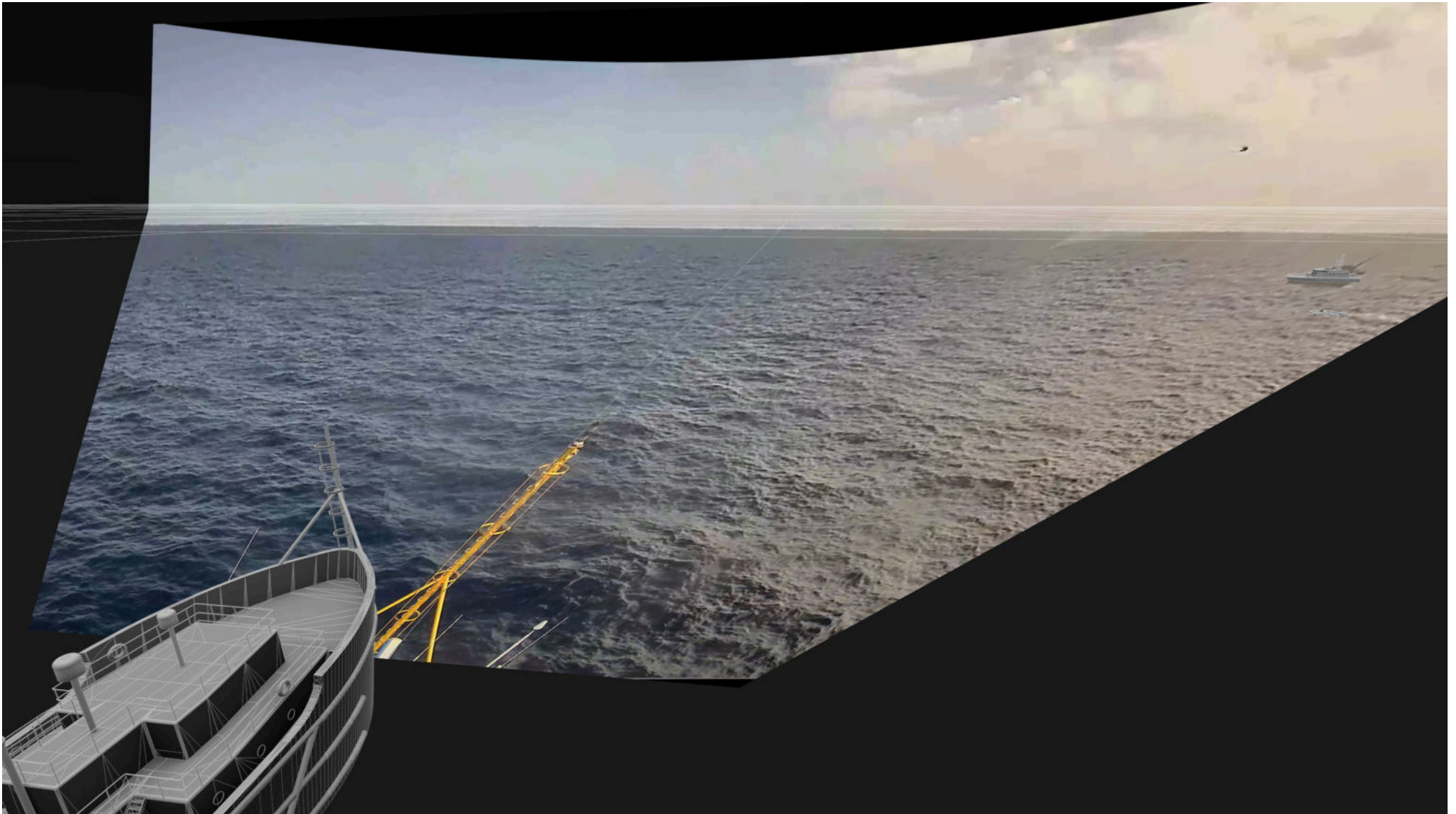




Mare Clausum - The Sea Watch vs Libyan Coast Guard Case,
by Forensic Oceanography and Forensic Architecture, May 2017.



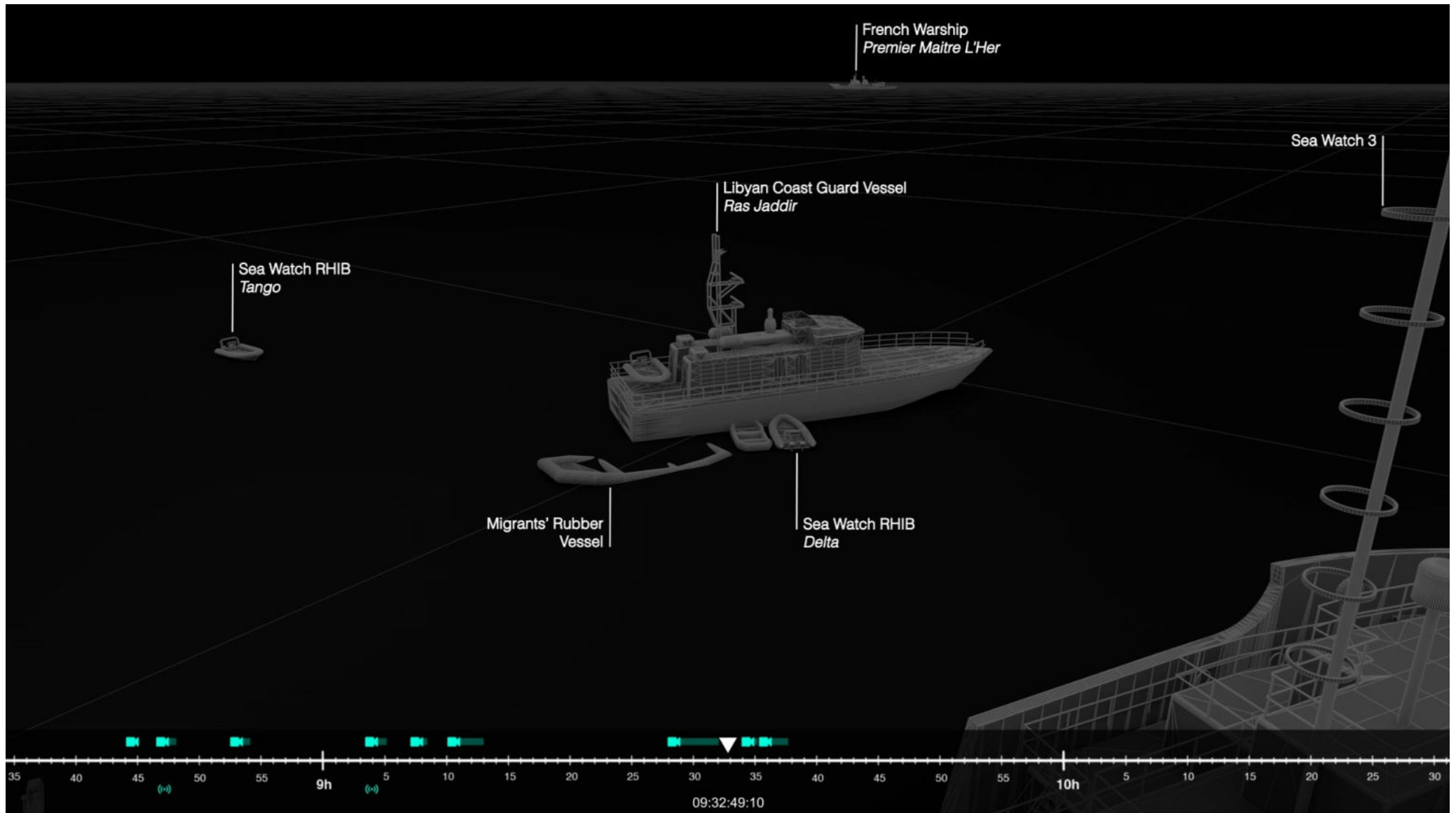
Mare Clausum - The Sea Watch vs Libyan Coast Guard Case,
by Forensic Oceanography and Forensic Architecture, May 2017.



Mare Clausum - The Sea Watch vs Libyan Coast Guard Case,
by Forensic Oceanography and Forensic Architecture, May 2017.



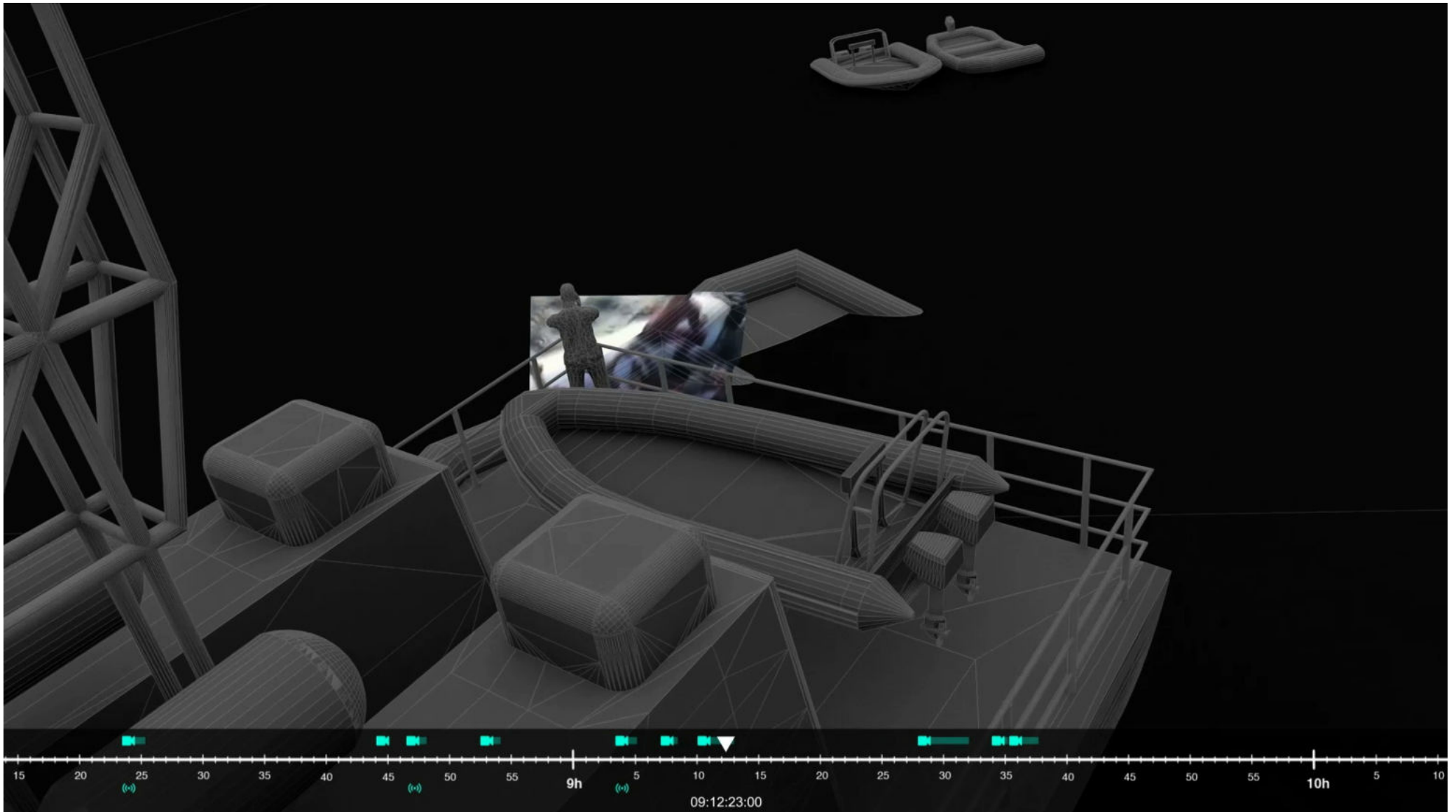
Mare Clausum - The Sea Watch vs Libyan Coast Guard Case,
by Forensic Oceanography and Forensic Architecture, May 2017.



Mare Clausum - The Sea Watch vs Libyan Coast Guard Case,
by Forensic Oceanography and Forensic Architecture, May 2017.



Mare Clausum - The Sea Watch vs Libyan Coast Guard Case,
by Forensic Oceanography and Forensic Architecture, May 2017.

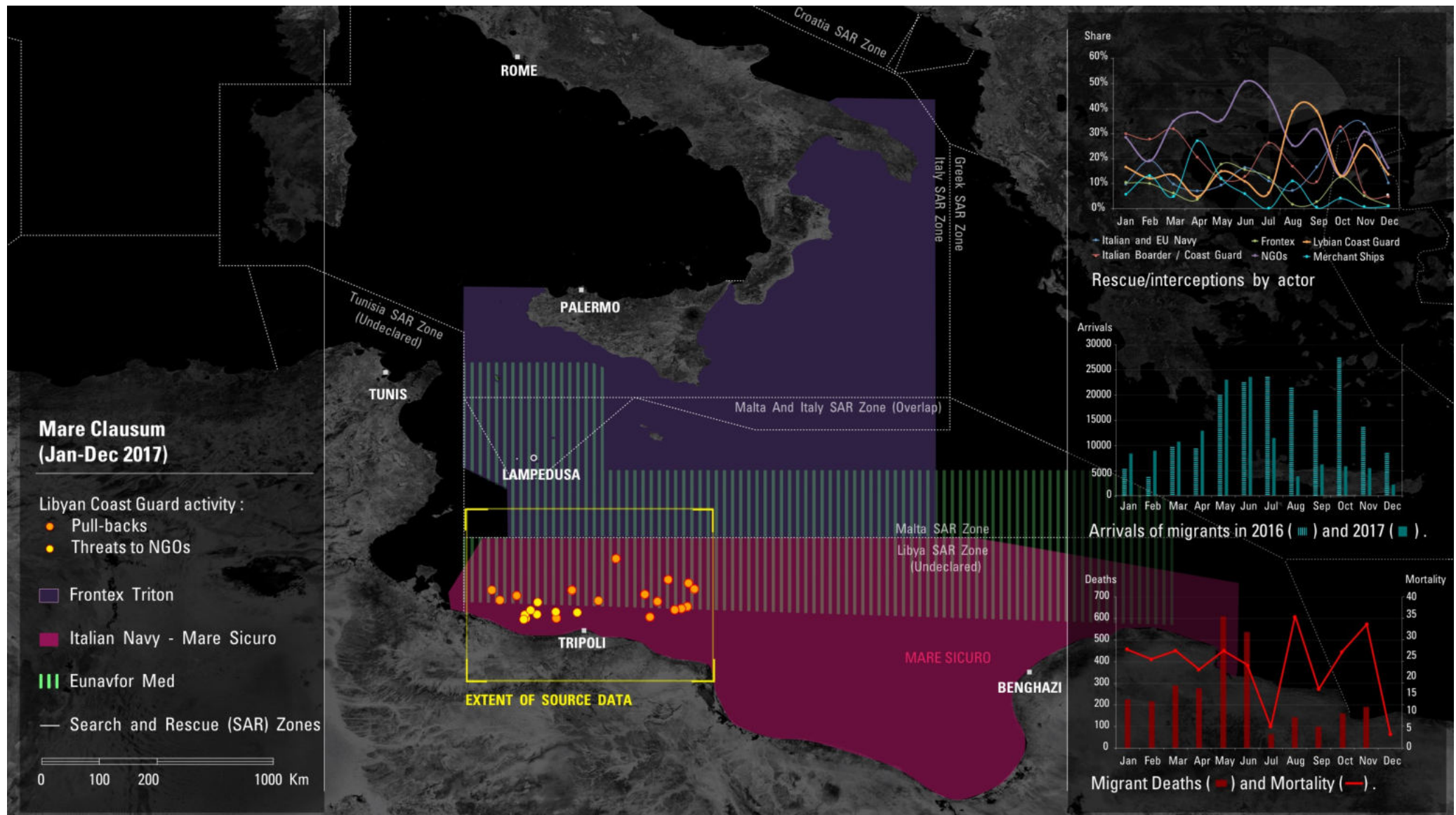


Mare Clausum - The Sea Watch vs Libyan Coast Guard Case,
by Forensic Oceanography and Forensic Architecture, May 2017.



Video showing the survivors disembarking in the port of Tripoli, Lcna Libya, 6 November 2017

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



Synthetic figure of operations and migratory trends in the central Mediterranean, 2017. Figure by Forensic Oceanography. Statistical analysis by Gian-Andrea Monsch, GIS analysis by Vanessa Guglielmi, design by Samaneh Moafi.

German Law Journal (2020), 21, pp. 385–416
doi:[10.1017/glj.2020.25](https://doi.org/10.1017/glj.2020.25)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

ARTICLE

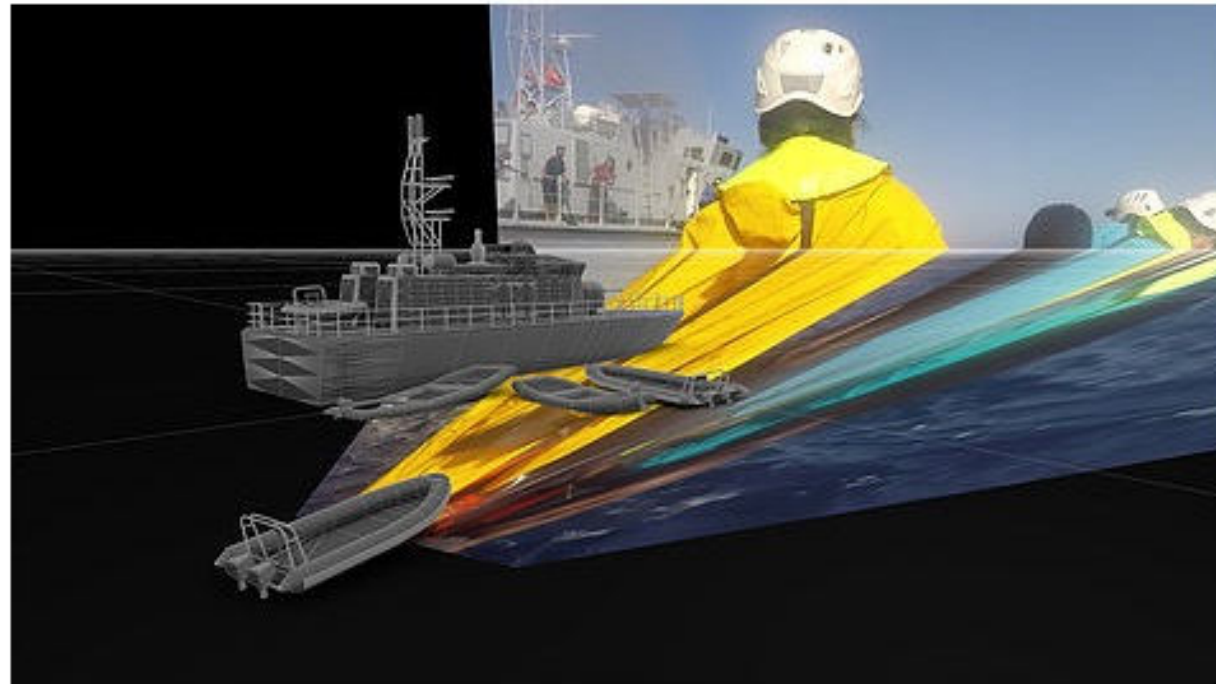
The Architecture of Functional Jurisdiction: Unpacking Contactless Control—On Public Powers, *S.S. and Others v. Italy*, and the “Operational Model”

Violeta Moreno-Lax*

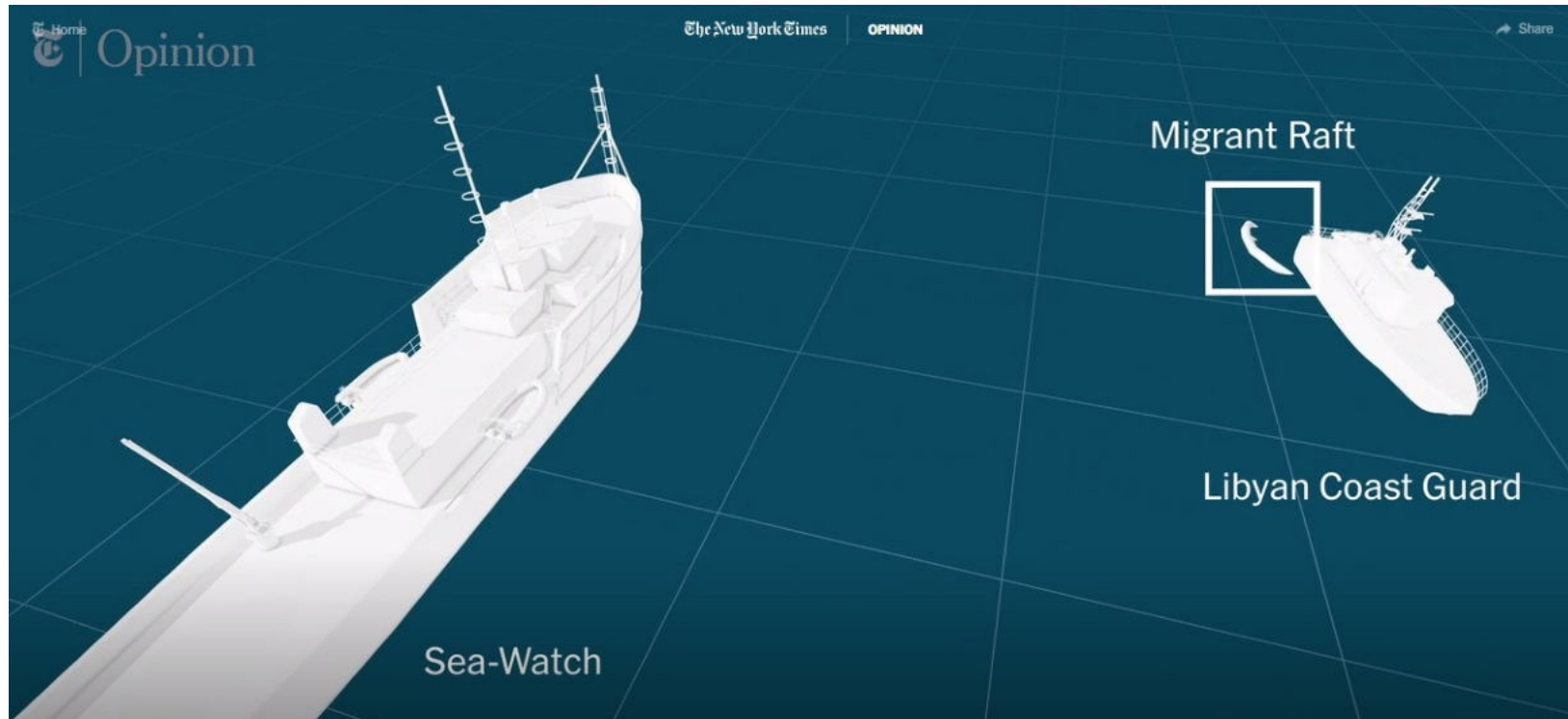
(Received 24 February 2020; accepted 03 March 2020)

Legal action against Italy over its coordination of Libyan Coast Guard pull-backs resulting in migrant deaths and abuse.

May 8, 2018



Screengrab from Forensic Oceanography's reconstruction of fatal maritime incident



Opinion

'It's an Act of Murder': How Europe Outsources Suffering as Migrants Drown

This short film, produced by The Times's Opinion Video team and the research groups Forensic Architecture and Forensic Oceanography, reconstructs a tragedy at sea that left at least 20 migrants dead. Combining footage from more than 10 cameras, 3-D modeling and interviews with rescuers and survivors, the documentary shows Europe's role in the migrant crisis at sea.

By Charles Heller, Lorenzo Pezzani,
Itamar Mann, Violeta Moreno-Lax and
Eyal Weizman

PRODUCER
Taylor Adams

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER
Adam B. Ellick

ASSISTANT PRODUCER
Leah Varjacques

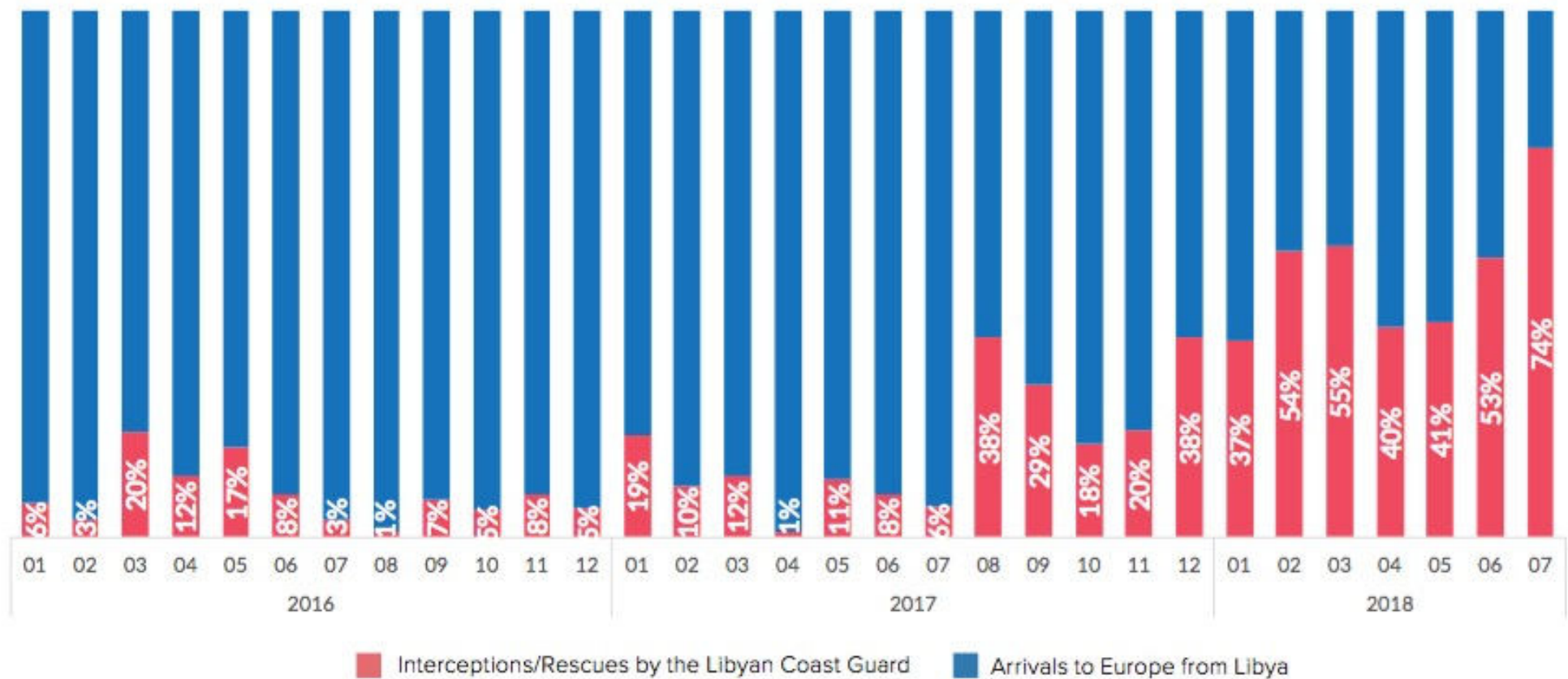
EDITOR
Kristin Bye

HELLER, Ch. MANN, I. MORENO-LAX, V., PEZZANI, L. WEIZMAN, E. (2018) 'It's an Act of Murder'. New York Times, 26 December 2018.

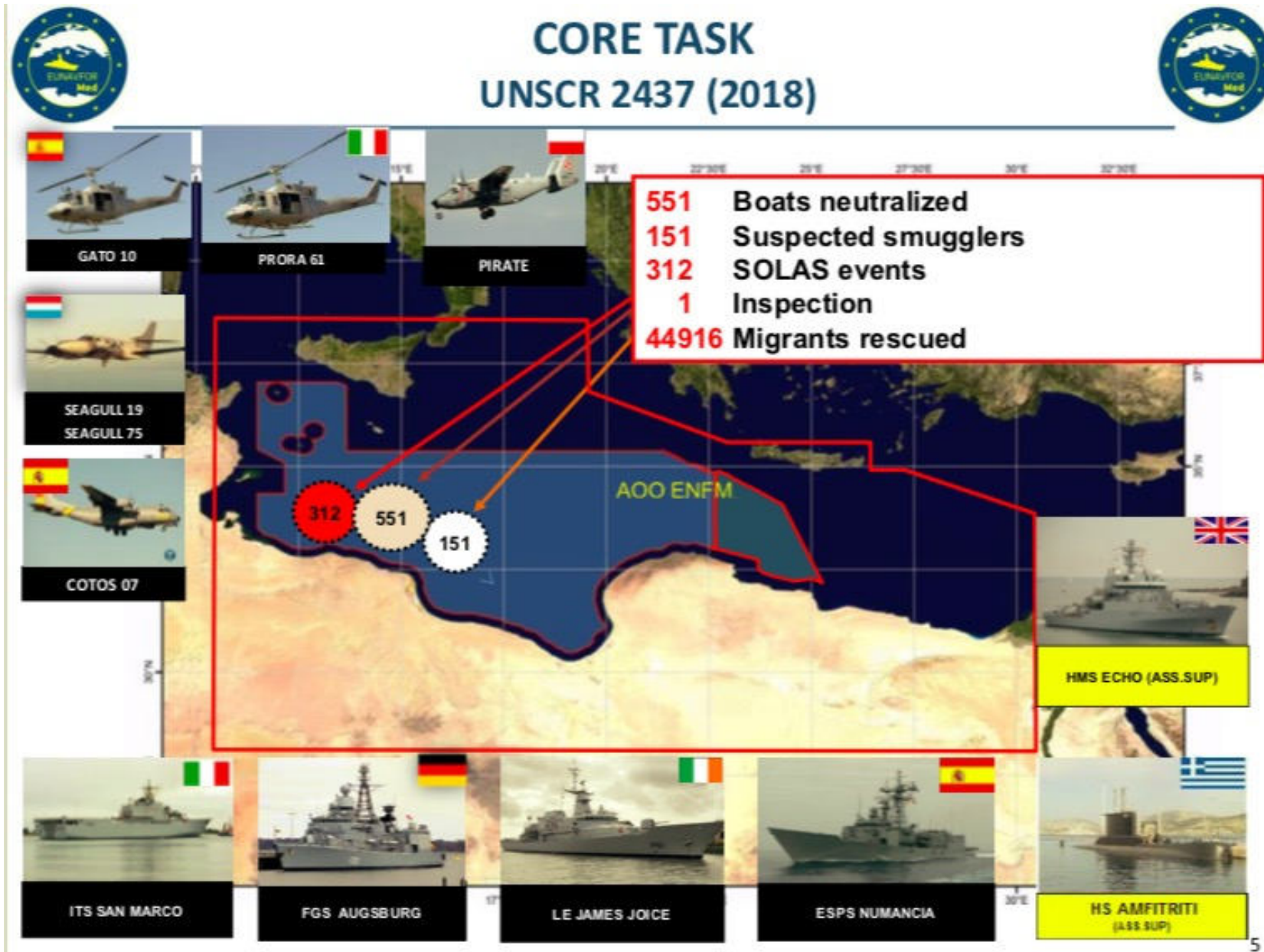


An Italian Coast Guard boat approaches the French NGO "SOS Mediterranee" Aquarius ship, June 12, 2018. Associated Press.

Interceptions/rescues by the Libyan Coast Guard in relation to arrivals to Europe from Libya | 2016-2018



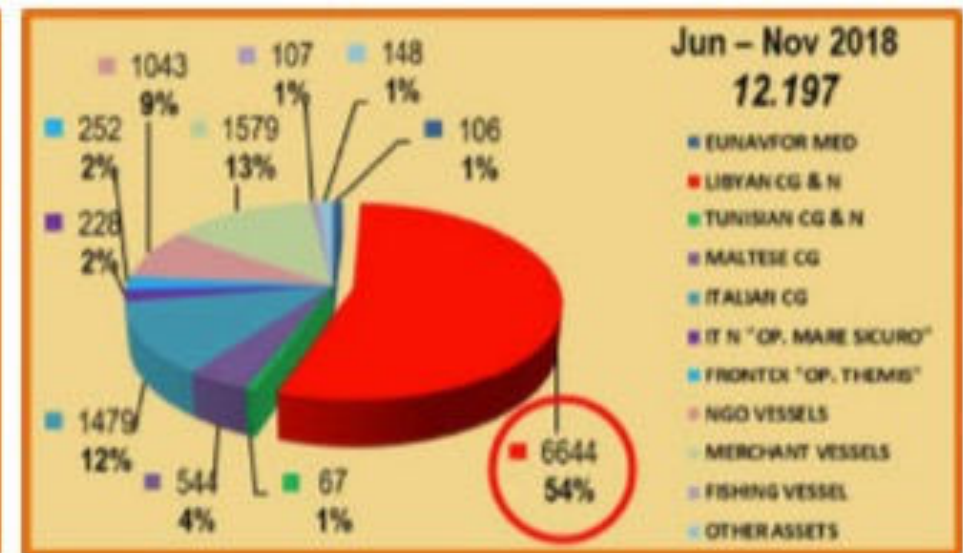
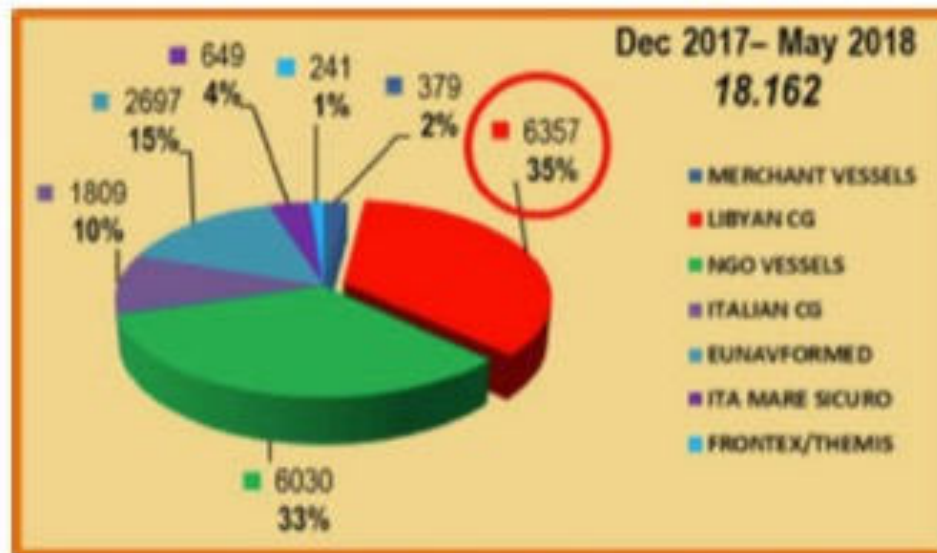
UNHCR, Desperate Journeys, 2018



Slide indicating EUNAVFOR MED naval and air assets. Presentation by Rear Admiral Enrico Credentino, the European Parliament, 10 October 2018, Brussels



Migrants being disembarked from OOC Emerald on 12 March 2019.
Photograph: Libyan Coast Guard.

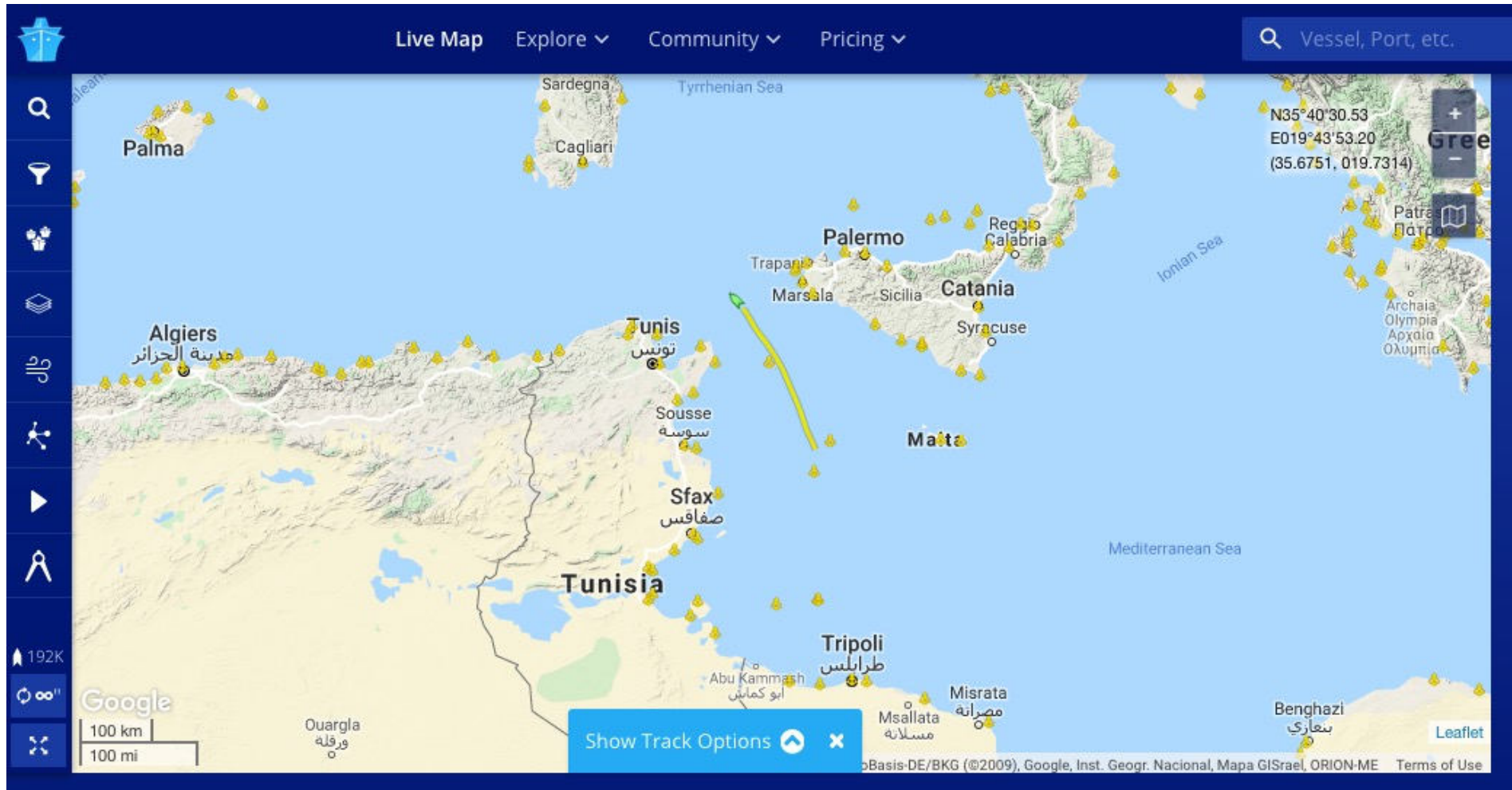


Statistical graph indicating the share of rescues/interceptions per actor in the central Mediterranean. EUNAVFOR MED Op SOPHIA - Six Monthly Report 1 June - 30 November 2018, Part B, 18 January 2019, p. 2.



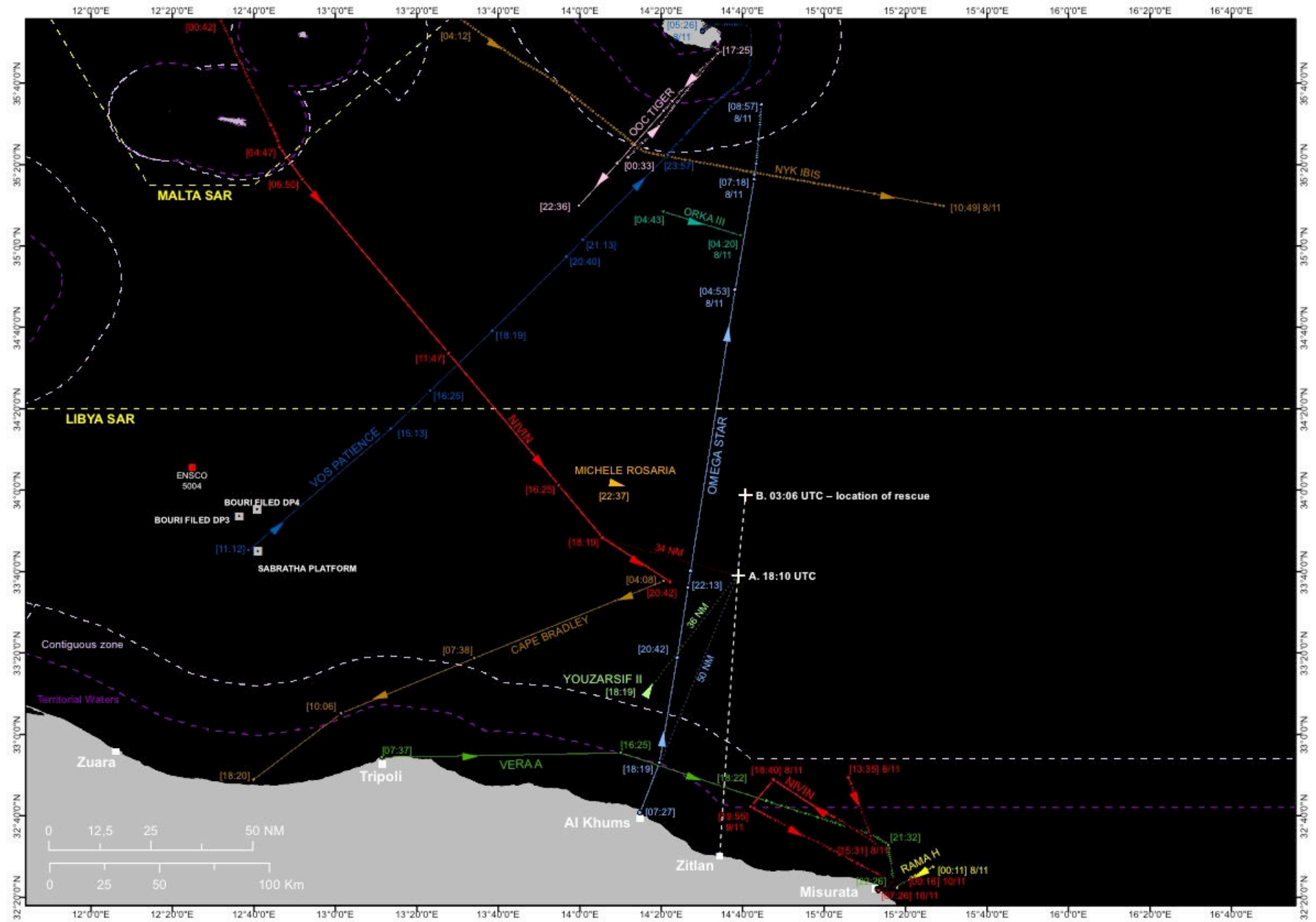
The Nivin, June 2018. Photograph: Emmanuel.L

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



The Nivin, AIS track, 18.12.2019. Marinetraffic.com

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



Synthetic map of the 7 November 2018 Nivin incident.



The Spanish aircraft Vigma photographed as it returned from its EUNAVFOR MED mission on 17 November 2018

Email sent at 20:14 UTC to MRCC Rome and AFM Malta:

Urgent distress: 100pl including 5 women and 3 children in the Central Mediterranean
To itmrcc@mit.gov.it

Distress call from Thuraya: + 88 216 2101 0449

Position: 33° 22' 12.3" N, 14° 23' 22.3" E

We received a call from a boat which is in distress. It embarked in Kumut, Libya at around 11pm 6th November CEST.

There are around 100 persons on board, including 5 women and 3 children.

Their current position is 33° 22' 12.3" N, 14° 23' 22.3" E and the telephone number on board is + 88 216 2101 0449.

Additional information: it is a rubber boat which the people on the boat said was in bad condition.

If you add also SAR NGOs: We informed the NGO Mario Junio in the vicinity as well.

They are urgently asking for help.

Thank you for your attention,
Watch the Med - Alarmphone

Email sent by Alarm Phone to Italian coast guard at 20:14 UTC

From: "maricogecap@DISTRESS" <maricogecap@DISTRESS>
To: "437472910@csat.srmsitalia.interbusiness.it" <437472910@csat.srmsitalia.interbusiness.it>
Subject: sar case 937
Date: 07/11/2018 19:39:00

FM IMRCC ROME - ITALIAN COAST GUARD
TO M/V NIVIN INMARSAT C 437472910 437472911
BT

ON BEHALF OF LIBYAN COAST GUARD FOR SAFETY OF LIFE AT SEA PLEASE DIVERT YOUR COURSE AND PROCEED TO THE MAXIMUM SPEED TO LAT. 33 39N LONG. 014 39E AT 1810UTC TO RENDER ASSISTANCE TO A BOAT IN DISTRESS WITH ABOUT 70 PEOPLE ON BOARD. PLEASE CONTACT URGENTLY JRCC LIBYA THROUGH THIS MRCC AT FOLLOWING NUMBERS:
TELEPHONE NUMBERS ARE : 0039 06 5924145 06 59084409
FAX NUMBERS ARE : 0039 06 5922737 06 59084793
INMARSAT "C" IS : 424744220
EMAIL IS : itmrc@mit.gov.it
BEST REGARDS
BT
++++

Distress signal send at 19:39 UTC by the Italian Coast Guard
"on behalf of Libyan Coast Guard" to the captain of the Nivin

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY

From: Libyan Navy
Date: Wed, 7 Nov 2018 21:34 +0100 Msg: AMOS-1312763885
Subject: RUBBER BOAT IN DISTRESS
To: master.nivin1@amosconnect.com
Cc: cincnav.uss@marina.difesa.it
Cc: Cincnav.Coan@Marina.Difesa.It
Cc: COMANDO MARICOGECAP
Cc: EUNAVFORMED\FHQ\CJ3-06 BWC
Cc: RCC Malta at AFM

Good evening Sir,
I am the Libyan Coast Guard, the authority responsible for SAR operations in area.
I take the responsibility of the coordination of this SAR event:

- rubber boat in PSN: 33 40N 014 38E,
- 70 people on board
- not good buoyancy conditions.

MRCC Rome informed me that you have received my request of cooperation and you are sailing towards this contact.

As Libyan Authority I order you to rescue the people of rubber boat in distress.

I will provide you instruction for disembarkation.

Please acknowledge this message.

Regards.

*Libyan Navy Coast Guard *

Libyan Naval Communication Centre

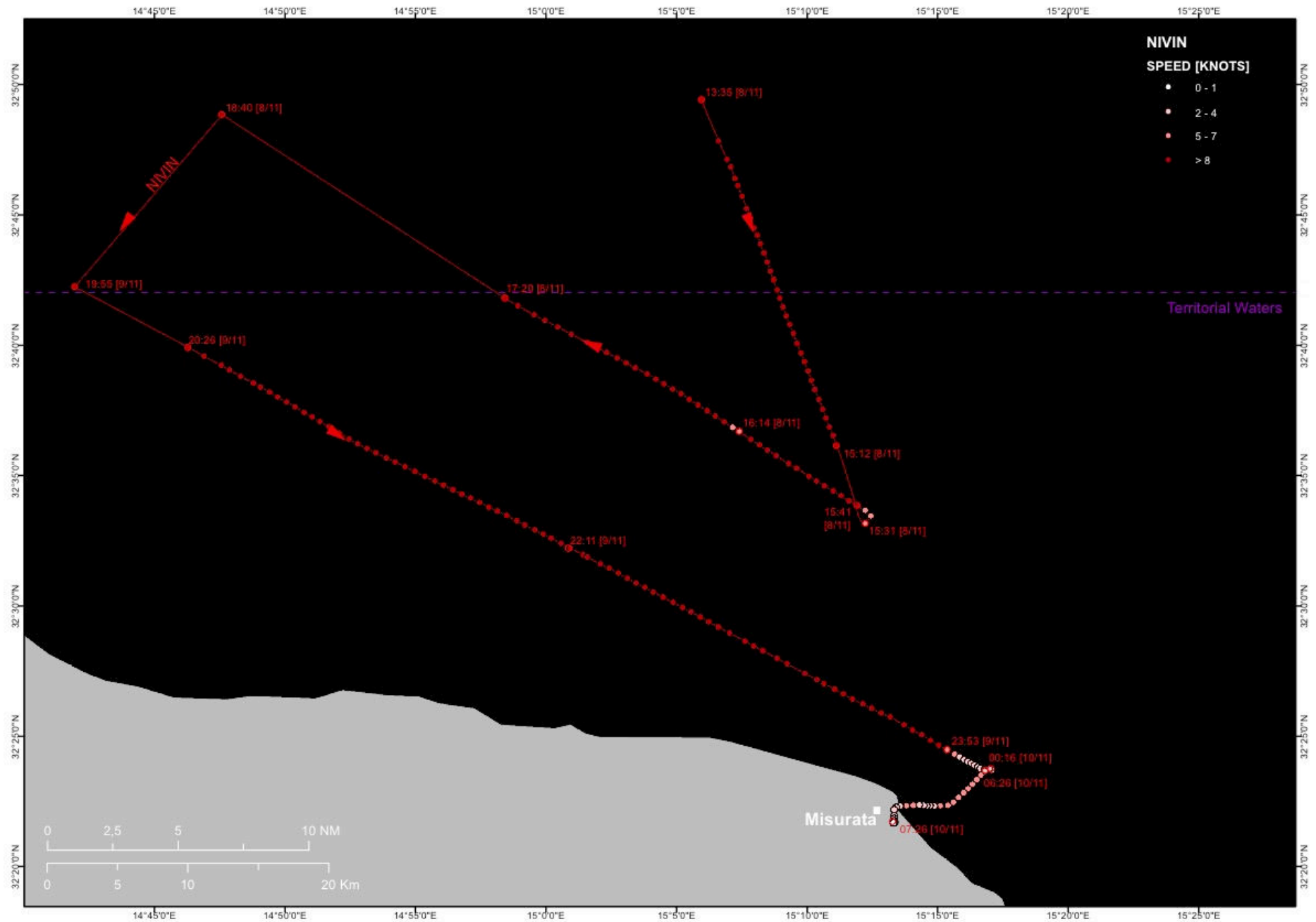
القوات البحرية الليبية

e-mail: libyan.naval.comms.centre@gmail.com



Libyan Navy officer on board the Italian Navy ship Caprera docked in the port of Tripoli, March 2018. Photographs: Italian Navy

FORENSIC OCEANOGRAPHY



AIS map of the 7 November 2018 Nivin incident.



The captured migrants hiding in the hold of the Nivin. Photograph taken by the passengers using a mobile phone and sent to Informigrants.net

Reportage dalla Libia

Il cargo respinto dall'Italia "Dai torturatori non torniamo"

FRANCESCA MANNOCCI, pagina 14

Il reportage Tripoli

Così l'Italia rispedisce i migranti nell'inferno dei centri libici

In 70 fermi su un cargo
nel porto di Misurata
L'intervento coordinato
da Roma. «Ma è meglio
morire a bordo che
in quelle prigioni»

FRANCESCA MANNOCCI, TRIPOLI

«E» ravamo in mare da ore, quando abbiamo capito di essere in difficoltà abbiamo chiamato il numero di emergenza dal gommone. Sono passate sei navi vicino a noi e nessuna ci ha recuperato. Poi finalmente è arrivata una nave mercantile, e l'equipaggio ci ha fatto salire a bordo. Vi portiamo in Italia, state tranquilli, hanno detto. E invece è arrivata la guardia costiera libica. Un incubo». Dittur ha 19 anni, viene dal Sud Sudan, parla con *Repubblica* al telefono, ancora all'interno di quel cargo, dopo otto giorni. Dalla notte del 7 novembre Dittur si trova sulla nave Nivin, battente bandiera panamense partita da Imperia con un carico di automobili destinate al mercato nordafricano. La notte del recupero, la Guardia Costiera libica ha raggiunto il cargo e provato a trasferire i 95 migranti sui propri mezzi. Quando i migranti hanno capito che non si sarebbero diretti in Europa, ma che sarebbero tornati indietro, in Libia, ci sono stati momenti di forte tensione. «Non scendiamo, nelle prigioni non ci torniamo», dice Mohammed, un ragazzo di origine somala ancora a bordo. La chiamata di richiesta soccorso è partita dal gommone, diretta

all'Alarm Phone, che ha contattato MRCC Roma (il centro di coordinamento per il soccorso marino). *Repubblica* ha visionato le successive comunicazioni tra la Nivin e MRCC Roma. MRCC dà indicazioni alla nave Nivin, alle 19,34, scrive: «A nome della Guardia costiera libica per la salvezza delle vite in mare, per favore, cambiate rotta e dirigetevi a massima velocità alla latitudine indicata».

Segue un numero di telefono. Italiano. MRCC Roma ha dunque fatto da ponte, attraverso un numero italiano, gestendo l'intervento della Guardia Costiera di Tripoli. Due ore dopo, alle 21,34 la Marina libica invia una mail al comando della Nivin, con in copia la marina Maltese, Eunavformed e la Marina italiana. «Come autorità libica vi ordino di recuperare il gommone e provvederemo a dare istruzioni di disimbarco».

L'operazione, pur con qualche contorno fumoso, non è illegale da quando è stata istituita la Zona di ricerca e soccorso (Sar) libica. Ma "Operazione Mediterranea" (la missione organizzata da un collettivo di Ong e onlus) chiede l'evacuazione dei profughi. «Le autorità italiane – scrivono in un comunicato – hanno documentata responsabilità di aver ordinato a Nivin di fare esclusivo riferimento alla Guardia Costiera Libica, configurando così nei fatti un illegittimo respingimento verso un paese non sicuro». Quella notte anche la Mare Jonio aveva chiesto informazioni e provato a chiamare Tripoli, senza esito.

A bordo del gommone al momento del recupero erano in 95: bengalesi, pachistani, etiopi, eritrei, somali. 28 di loro sono minori. Una donna somala era sola, con un bambino di tre mesi. Sono rimasti per sette giorni in

nave con poco cibo e poca acqua a disposizione. La donna e il neonato sono scesi dalla nave insieme ad altri 12 solo due sere fa. Lo staff di Medici Senza Frontiere (MSF), presente al porto di Misurata, ha negoziato portando a bordo cibo e medicine. «Sono disperati – dice Julien Raickmann, capo missione di MSF – un paziente in gravi condizioni ha rifiutato di essere portato in una struttura medica in Libia. Ha detto che preferirebbe morire sulla nave». Per i 70 migranti ancora a bordo non ci sono bagni, usano le bottiglie di plastica per urinare. Alla base marina di Tripoli il comandante Anwar El Sharif, infastidito dalle domande sulle sorti della Nivin taglia corto: «Sono dei pirati, criminali, non li consideriamo migranti e questa non è più un'operazione di soccorso. Hanno dato fuoco al carico della nave e tentato di uccidere l'equipaggio. Li tratteremo come meritano, cioè come terroristi. Saranno le forze speciali a evacuare la nave». La versione del comandante El Sharif non trova però alcun riscontro. Nessuna auto è stata data alle fiamme, nessun tentato omicidio a bordo. Dall'interno del cargo Dittur invia a *Repubblica* le fotografie che mostrano le ferite, le ustioni provocate dal carburante sul gommone. E le cicatrici che raccontano un'altra storia, quella dei centri di







Photograph taken by a passenger onboard the Nivin, as Libyan Security Forces arrived on the morning of 20 November 2018, and sent to journalist Francesca Mannocchi.



Rubber bullet extracted from SDG's leg in the hospital of Misrata in June 2019. The bullet has a diameter of approximately 17mm, and its plastic case (also removed from SDG's leg), is 17mm wide and 27mm long.



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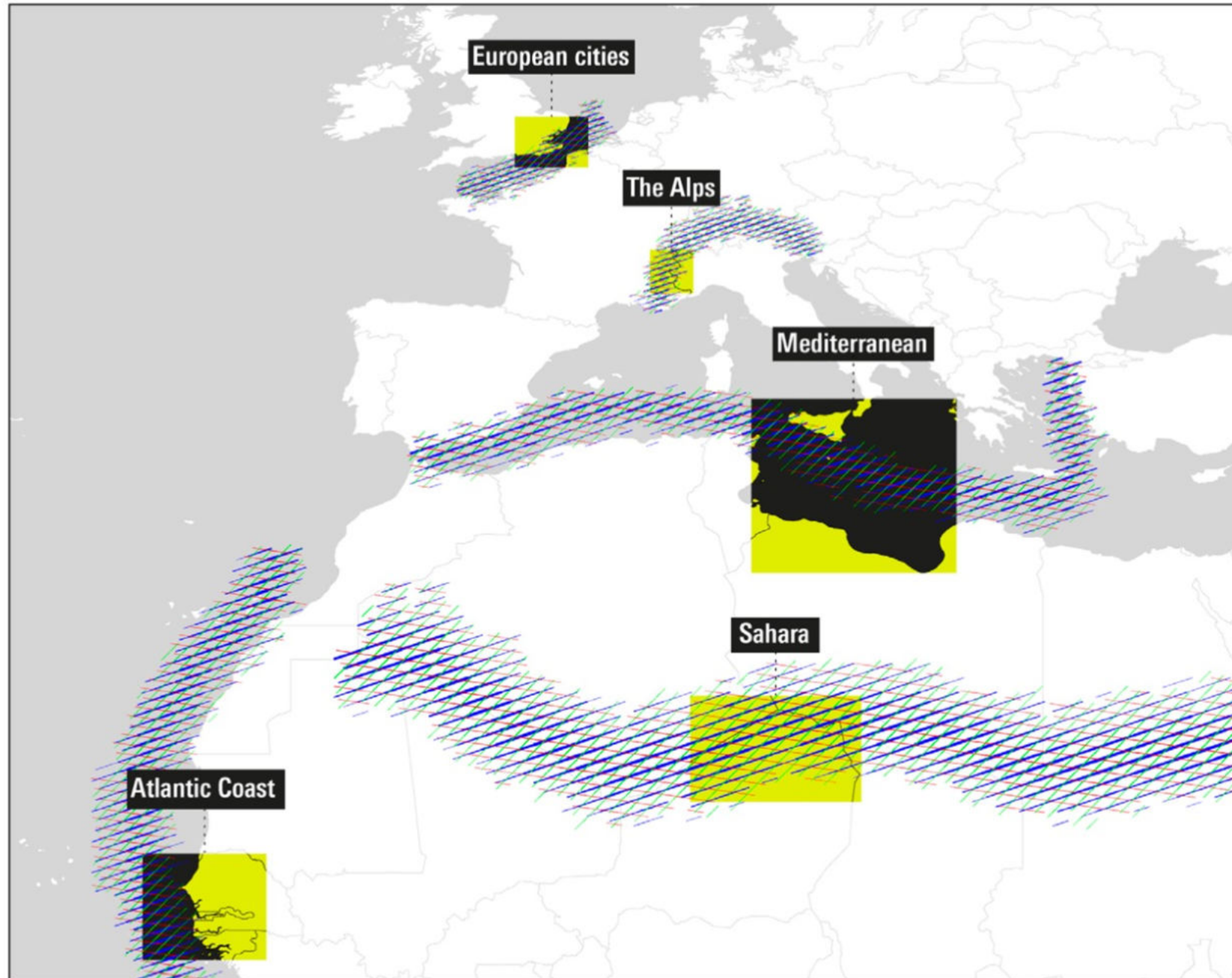
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PRIVATISED MIGRANT ABUSE BY ITALY AND LIBYA

Photo: Migrants sleeping
aboard the Nivin

BORDER FORENSICS

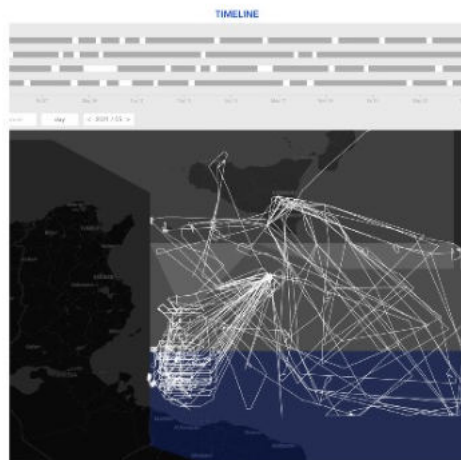


Border zones investigated by BF in 2021-2023.

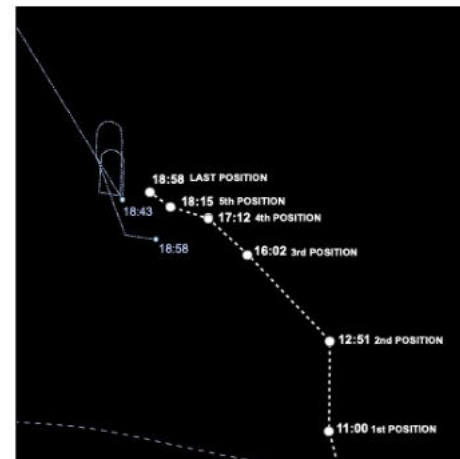
BORDER FORENSICS



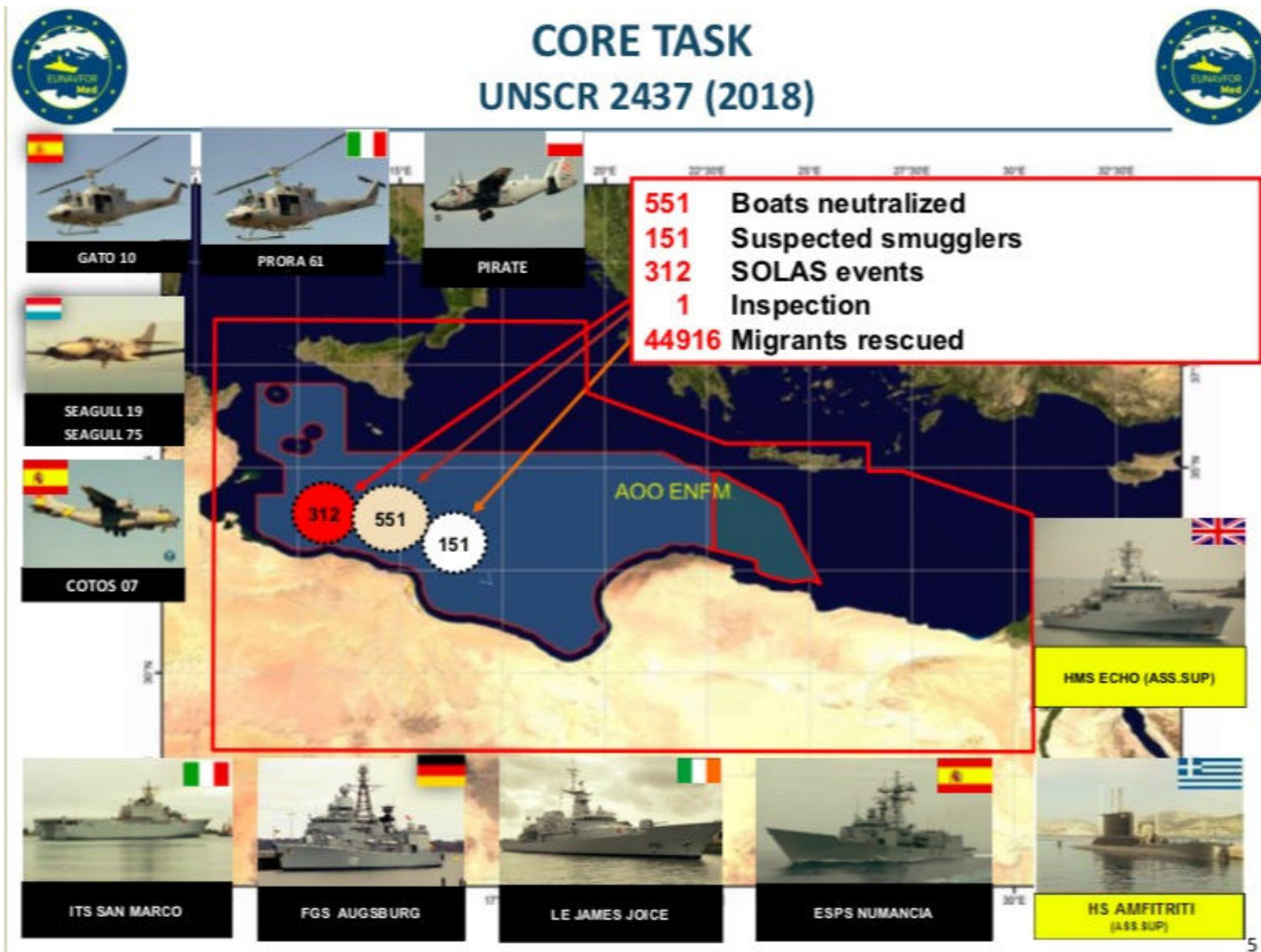
A migrants' boat is blown up by a nearby military vessel after a rescue operation.
Photo: Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF).



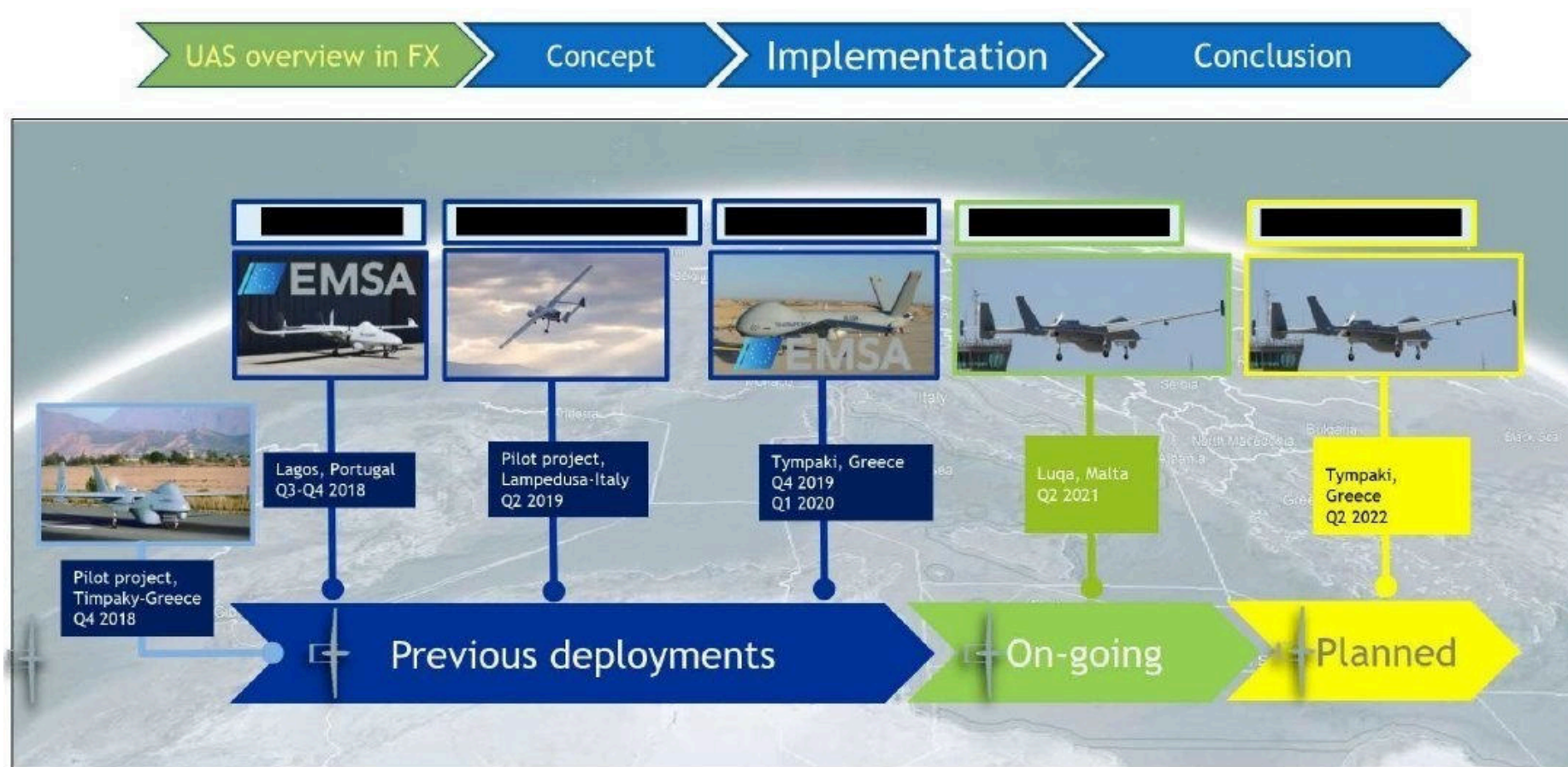
Prototype of platform collecting EU surveillance aircraft tracks by BF researcher Giovanna Reder.



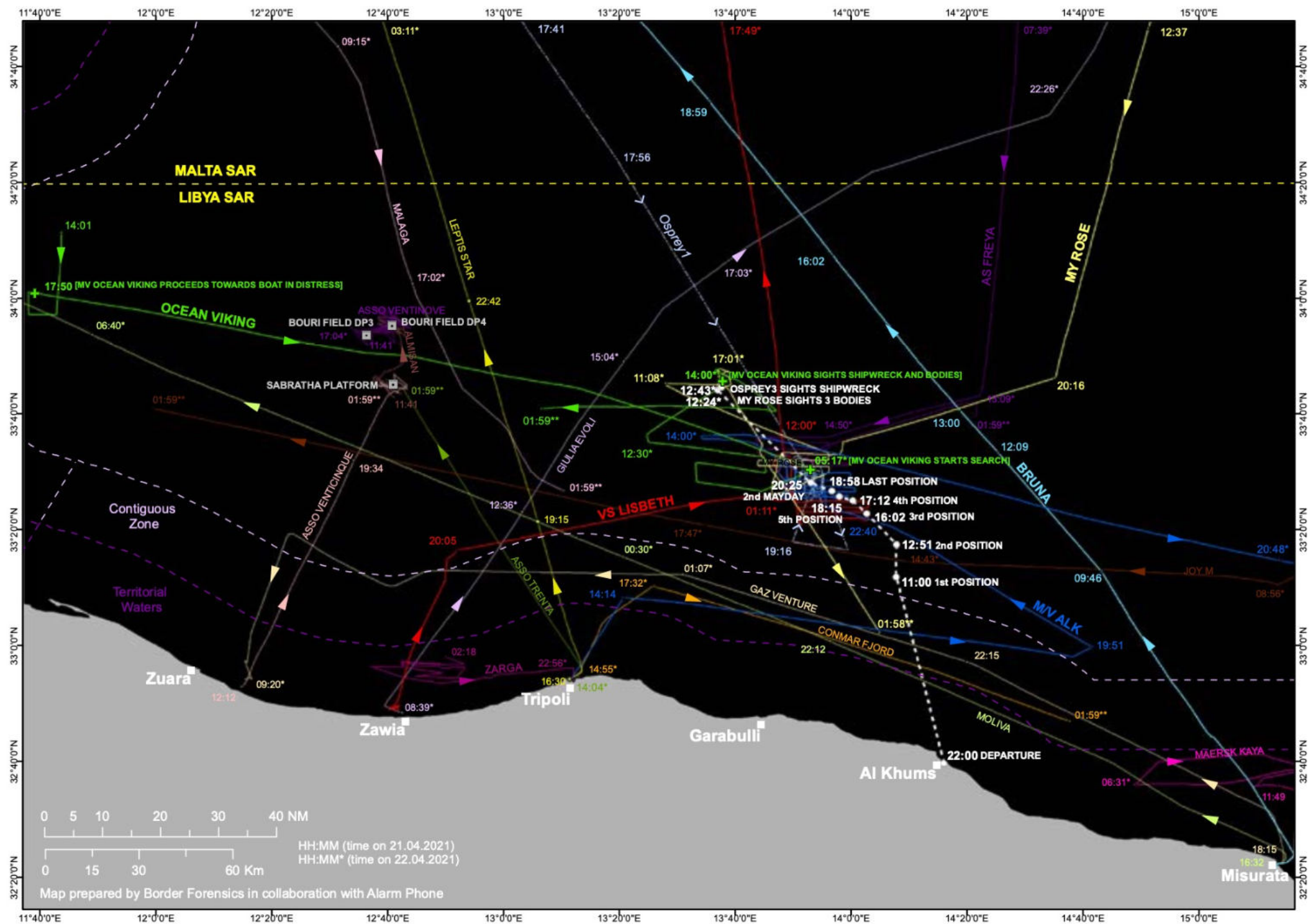
Map indicating the migrants' boats' positions before the shipwreck and the track of Frontex-operated plane Osprey 1 on 21st of April 2021. Border Forensics, 2021.



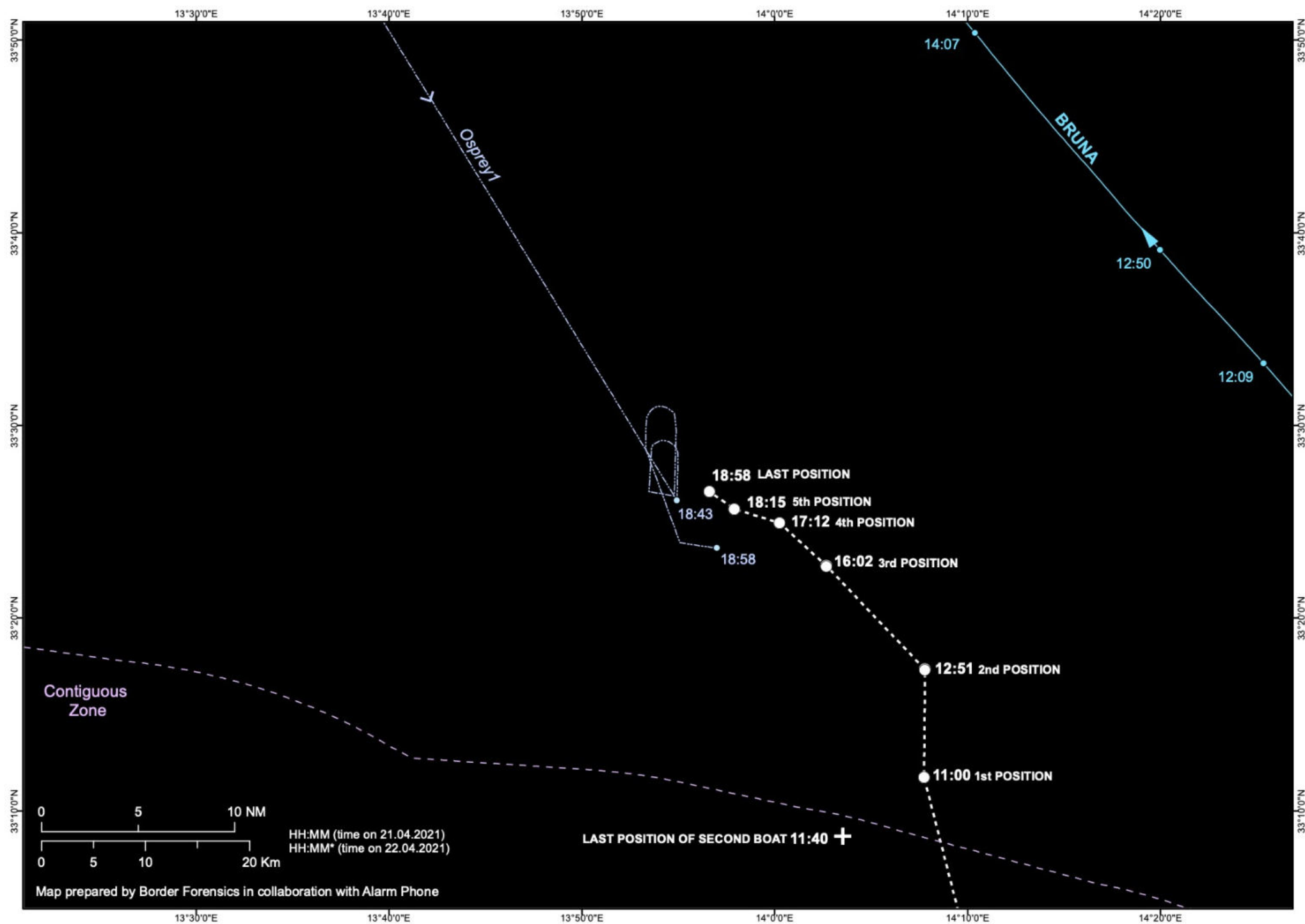
Slide indicating EUNAVFOR MED naval and air assets. Presentation by Rear Admiral Enrico Credentino, the European Parliament, 10 October 2018, Brussels



BORDER FORENSICS



BORDER FORENSICS



BORDER FORENSICS

