

A CRITICAL CHRONOLOGY OF EUROPEAN MIGRATION POLICIES*

ALAIN MORICE (CNRS-Université Paris-Diderot and Migreurop network)

Updated: 2 July 2012**

| A- LEGAL FRAMEWORK | | | | B- EVENTS | | |
|---------------------------|--|---|---|------------------|---|---|
| DATE | A1- TREATIES, AGREEMENTS, PROGRAMMES, CONVENTIONS | A2- DIRECTIVES, REGULATIONS, RESOLUTIONS (MEETINGS), JUDGMENTS | A3- SCOPE, SUBJECT | DATE | B1- DECLARATIONS, ANNOUNCEMENTS | B2- EVENTS |
| 1951 | [Geneva Convention] | | [Refugees] | | | |
| 1957 | Rome Treaty | | - Creation of six-country EEC - Freedom of movement for workers | | | |
| 1967 | [NY Protocol] | | [Extension of the right of asylum] | | | |
| 1985 | Schengen Agreement between 5 member states | | - Internal «Schengen» Area of free movement - Adjournment of external borders controls | | | |
| 1986 | Single European Act | | Free movement of «people» – this term implicitly refers only to European citizens | | At the same time, exponential rise in the association of crime with «illegal» immigration | Setting up of working groups to prevent the opening of borders from affecting internal security |
| 1990 | Dublin Convention | | Establishing that a single European state is responsible for an asylum application (to avoid «asylum shopping») | | | |
| 1990 | Schengen Convention | | Implementation of the 1985 agreement | | Total suppression of border controls is announced for 1993 [cf. 1993] | |
| March 1991 | First EU-3rd country readmission agreement | | The Schengen area countries sign a readmission agreement with Poland [see June 2007, etc.] | | | |

*Main sources: migreurop.org; gisti.org; echanges-partenariat.org; statewatch.org; picum.org; openly accessible mailing list migreurop@rezo.net – English (UK) translation: Yasha Maccanico, Marie Martin

**Free reproduction if references are included (Title, Author, Date when it was updated)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--|--|--|-------------|---|---|
| Dec. 1991 | | Meeting of the interior ministers of the Community's (the future UE) 12 member state | | | There [A2], the disparity of practices in the field of asylum is already regretted: only harmonisation will make it possible to prevent «the policy of a member state from negatively affecting that of others» [cf. Dec. 2009] | The problem of «harmonisation» reflects the concern to tackle an urgent migration «threat». It will be replaced by the goal of «communitarisation» set in Amsterdam [cf. June 1997] |
| 1992 | Maastricht Treaty: establishment of the European Community | | First step towards (art. 7A) a space without internal borders, ensuring the free movement of goods, capitals and people | | | The thorny issue of foreigners in the EU who live there remains |
| 1992 | | Resolutions to harmonise asylum and immigration policies | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - On «safe countries» - On notions of «manifestly unfounded» [asylum] applications and «deliberate fraud» against asylum - Restricting family reunion and the entry of workers | | | |
| 1993 | | The EU postpones the total suppression of border controls | | | The Commission justifies this [A2] through the wish to «reconcile the requirements of the mobility of [European] people with the need to control international crime and to reduce immigration» | |
| | | | | 1 June 1993 | The French interior minister, Charles Pasqua, announces: «The goal that we set ourselves, considering the seriousness of the economic situation, is to head towards zero immigration» [below, see Jan. to Sep 2000, B1] | |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--|---|--|--------------|---|---|
| June 1994 | | Resolution «on limitations of admission of third-country nationals for employment» | Implementation of the «Community preference» in employment, unless there are contrasting sectorial needs or economic junctures | | It is recalled that the context of unemployment leads EU member states to set aside a policy of «active immigration» | |
| 1995 | Schengen Convention | | Entry into force | | | |
| 1996 | | Decision on «internal asylum» | Keeping refugees in «safe regions» of their own countries | | | |
| 1997 | Dublin Convention (follow-up) | | It applies to 12 member states | | | |
| June 1997 | Amsterdam Treaty (implementation: 1999-2004) | Amsterdam European Council | The immigration and asylum bloc switches from inter-governmental cooperation to developing common EU policies over five years | | | |
| 1999 | Amsterdam Treaty comes into force | Tampere European Council for the implementation of common EU policies over five years [see col. A3] | - Setting common norms by 2004 on: -- asylum -- the movement of people -- the integration of migrants - (The 2 nd goal will soon become dominant: that is, border controls) | | | |
| | | | | Sep 1999 | | Creation of the centre of Sangatte (France, Pas-de-Calais). This camp will serve as a point of passage for between 63,000 and 80,000 people in exile, first Kosovans, then Kurds, Iraqis, Afghans, etc., towards UK |
| | | | | Jan-Mar 2000 | This conclusion [B2] is the signal drawn from several statements in favour of a revival of immigration. Italian and Irish authorities voice their opinion in this direction [and cf. July and Sep 2000] | A draft ILO report and then a study by the Population Department of the UN estimate Europe's need for migrants at 70 million during the first 50 years of the century |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--|---|---|-----------|--|--|
| June 2000 | Cotonou Agreement between the UE and 79 ACP (Africa Caribbean Pacific) countries | | As a provider of development aid, the EU imposes the principle of a readmission clause applying to their nationals on ACP countries, and envisages extending it to migrants who have passed through their territory | June 2000 | The EU heads of state pretend to be moved [B2], to the point that commentators criticise their «crocodile tears». Later, an NGO will say: «The state and smugglers are objectively allies» | - 58 Chinese who died of asphyxia are discovered in Dover (GB) in a lorry that came from the Netherlands - In ten years, the number of deaths at the border increased from a few dozen to several hundreds per year |
| | | | | July 2000 | European Commissioner Vitorino pleads for a Directive to set «minimum standards for a managed migration» and calls for «new legal procedures to allow migrants to enter Europe» | |
| Sep 2000 | | Proposal by the Commission for a Directive on asylum «Procedures» | It will take over 5 years for the rights of asylum seekers to be set (cf. Dec. 2005) on an increasingly restrictive basis | Sep 2000 | Commission President Romano Prodi calls to stop setting immigration policies «with emotions as a starting point», and explains: «We need immigrants, but they will have to be chosen, controlled and bound to a place», (<i>scelti, controllati e collocati</i>). It is the birth of the slogan of «chosen immigration» [cf. Feb. 2006; 10-12 June 2009] | |
| | | | | Feb 2001 | | The East Sea, carrying around 910 «illegals» runs aground on a beach near Fréjus (France) |
| 2001 | | Failure to agree an «Employment» Directive | Member states fail to define a common policy for the admission of migrant workers | | Some states will repeatedly recall that the policy to allow the entry of foreign workers must fall within the competency of each country's sovereignty | |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--|---|--|-------------------------------|--|--|
| June 2001 | | Directive aimed at carriers travelling by air, sea and land | Heavy financial penalties are introduced against carriers that transport people whose documents are not in order towards the EU | | | |
| | | | | [11 Sep 2001] | From now on, terrorism and migrations will be closely linked in public discourse | [Attacks in New York] |
| 14-15 Dec 2001 | | Laeken European Council | The Council asks the Commission to work out arrangements for cooperation between services responsible for external border control and to examine the conditions for common mechanisms of border controls | 16 Dec 2001 | The Commission declares that the fight against terrorism has become a priority: as a result of this, the legislative process on European migration policy must be reviewed | |
| | | | | Feb 2002 | | The interior ministers decide to establish a European border guard force. Its duties and intervention capability will soon be deemed insufficient (see Oct. 2004) |
| June 2002 | | Seville European Council (summit) | Sets two main goals: - absolute priority for the plan to fight illegal immigration - from now on, development aid will depend on the goodwill that countries of emigration will display in stopping departures towards Europe and in readmitting their nationals | June 2002 26 June 2002 | - Certain member states, including the UK and Spain, call for sanctions against countries that pose a migration threat. France and Germany oppose this - Title from the French newspaper <i>Le Monde</i> : «The 15 will not punish the countries of <i>illegal emigration</i> » | [Reminder on the notion of « <i>illegal emigration</i> »: the 1948 Universal Declaration on human rights and other international texts such as the 1966 International Covenant on civil and political rights recall that everyone «has the right to leave any country, including his own»] |
| | | | | Aug 2002 | - French minister Sarkozy announces the closure of the camp in Sangatte - French-British negotiations about the fate of the camp's residents | |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|--|--|--------------------------|---|--|
| | | | | Sep 2002 | - UNHCR launches an operation named «Convention Plus», questioning the Geneva Convention - It is called for the need to «share the burden» of refugees and to keep them as close as possible to their departure points | |
| | | | | Nov 2002 | Migreurop's goal: learning about and providing critical analysis on the externalisation of policies on migration and the detention of foreigners | Creation of the Migreurop network, which will become a no-profit organisation in November 2005 |
| | | | | 5 Nov 2002 6 Dec 2002 | - The decision to close the camp in Sangatte is confirmed - Interior minister Sarkozy declares: «We are putting an end to a symbol that encourages illegal immigration worldwide» | Progressively, those leaving the camp are no longer allowed to return. Definitive closure on Christmas 2002 |
| | | | | Jan 2003 | | Secret agreement between Switzerland and Senegal, which makes a commitment to accept, receiving indemnity payments, any Africans returned to its territory. The deal will not be struck after news of it is reported |
| 18 Feb 2003 | Dublin II Regulation | | Only the first country reached by an asylum seeker will be responsible for processing an application | | Several NGOs express serious concerns about the undermining of rights resulting from Dublin II [see Sep 2008] | Dublin II entails the return of asylum seekers to the first European country they have crossed [and cf. Jan. 2004] |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--|--|--|----------|---|--|
| | | | | Feb 2003 | - The UK proposes to set up transit and screening centres for asylum candidates outside of the EU's territory - UNHCR expresses its interest, then rejects the idea [cf. June 2003] | This announcement results from a «leak» in <i>The Guardian</i> newspaper on 5/2/2003 |
| 2003 | | Start of the «European Neighbourhood Policy» (ENP) | Co-management of borders with neighbouring countries (especially to the east) for: - surveillance - information exchange - training of officers | | | |
| | | | | 2003 | | Start of a dialogue, secret at first and then open, between EU and Libya |
| Feb 2003 | | «Reception» Directive | - Setting of minimum standards for receiving asylum seekers - Countries are free to limit applicants' movements and access to employment | | | |
| June 2003 | | European Council (summit) in Thessaloniki | Postpones, without clearly rejecting it, the British proposal to set up centres to process asylum applications outside of the EU's borders [cf. Feb. 2003, B1] | | | |
| July 2003 | | Moroccan law termed 02-03 on foreigners | Introduction of a criminal offence of «illegal emigration», among others [cf. June 2002] | | | Tunisia will follow in Feb 2004 with the 2004-6 organic law. For the case of Algeria, see Sep 2008 |
| | | | | Aug 2003 | The German and Italian interior ministers re-launch the British proposal [cf. Feb. and June 2003] and invite the EU to create and manage «immigration platforms», or «processing centres», in order to screen migrants and asylum seekers outside of the EU | |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------------------------------|---|--|---------------|--|--|
| Sep 2003 | | «Family reunion» Directive | After 3 years of discussion on a project that was initially liberal, some very restrictive rules will frame the right to family life | | | |
| Jan 2004 | | Eurodac Regulation (comes into force) | Unified database (of fingerprints) for the purpose of making the Dublin II Regulation enforceable | Jan 2004 | - The UNHCR proposes to create «reception centres» at the EU's internal borders, with a view to «relieving congestion in the asylum systems» | |
| Feb 2004 | | European Regulation creating a body of «immigration liaison officers» | These officers from member states will be deployed to «assist» their colleagues in the airports of emigration countries (discovering false documents, identifying future «illegals») | | | |
| | | | | [11 Mar 2004] | | [Attacks in Madrid] |
| 4 June 2004 | EU-Sri Lanka readmission agreement | | - Return of people who have left or passed through this country to travel illegally to Europe - It is the third agreement signed by the Commission after those with Macao (2002) and Hong Kong (2003) | | | |
| | | | | July 2004 | | - Cap Anamur case: 37 African refugees rescued by a German humanitarian boat off the coast of Africa are initially rejected by Malta and Italy |
| | | | | July-Aug 2004 | Again, the German interior minister re-launches a proposal to create camps to examine asylum applications at the EU's gates | |
| | | | | July 2004 | Libya threatens to flood the EU with Africans present in its | |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|--|--|-----------|---|--|
| | | | | | territory | |
| | | | | July 2004 | Joint declaration by German and Italian interior ministers on the need for cooperation with Libya | |
| | | | | Aug2004 | In Tripoli, Berlusconi declares that he is in favour of «reception centres» | Visit to Libya by the Italian PM, Berlusconi |
| 26 Oct 2004 | | Council Regulation creating «Frontex» (known as «Frontex Regulation») [cf. 25 Oct 2011] | Establishment of the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the EU (Frontex) | Oct 2004 | | Frontex is tasked with the surveillance of EU borders in cooperation with third countries (operational in October 2005) |
| | | | | Oct 2004 | | - In violation of international law, Italy organises collective returns of migrants to Africa - Other collective expulsions will take place in March 2005 |
| Nov 2004 | The Hague Programme (implementation: 2005-2010) | | - Creating an area of «freedom, justice and security» (FJS) around two approaches: - promoting a common policy - developing the external dimension of immigration and asylum policy - Issues concerning security (S) will be predominant - The principle that the issue of the immigration of workers falls within the competency of each member state is recalled | | | |
| 2005 | The Nice Treaty (2001) comes into force: co-decision principle (EU Commission and Parliament) | From now on, decisions on border controls, asylum and immigration (except for access to employment) will be adopted by qualified majority voting (QMV) | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|--|--|--|--------------|---|--|
| Jan 2005 | | The Commission publishes a Green Paper on migrant workers, «on an EU approach to managing economic migrations» | | | Overall, in spite of efforts by the Commission, member states will ignore the Green Paper. Each member state's sovereignty in the field of immigration linked to employment is reaffirmed | |
| Apr 2005 | | The European Parliament severely condemns Italy over its collective expulsions | | Mar 2005 | | New collective expulsions from Italy to Libya, without scrutiny of people's personal situations |
| | | | | Sep-Oct 2005 | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Over ten people shot dead during attempts to cross the border fences in Ceuta and Melilla, Spanish enclaves in northern Morocco - Moroccan authorities summon the media, then deport sub-Saharanans to the desert - This event will be the starting point for several roundups in the neighbourhoods and forests where these exiles gather |
| | | | | Oct 2005 | Senegalese president Wade announces the introduction of a «REVA» programme for the reintegration of migrants refouled from Europe. He will make readmission depend on the payment of financial compensation by the EU | |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|--|--|--|-------------|---|---|
| Dec 2005 | | Directive on asylum «procedures» | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - States may detain applicants in special facilities - Asylum requests may not result in the right to reside in the country - Exceptional procedures are envisaged: rejection of manifestly unfounded applications, fast-track and priority procedures - Among the criteria for rejection, notions of «safe countries of origin», «first countries of asylum» and «safe third countries» are placed in the spotlight - The right to an effective appeal clashes with the fact that this does not suspend deportation | | Numerous criticisms of the Directive are issued by the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, UNHCR and NGOs | In practice, member states fail to agree on a list of «safe countries» |
| Dec 2005 | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The European Council (EC) approves a «comprehensive approach» on migrations - Spain commits to exchange readmission agreements for the opening of its employment market with quotas for migrants from the concerned countries (Africa Plan 1) | <p>The EC approach is based on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - work in partnership with third countries - the fight against illegal immigration - co-development | | | |
| | | | | 30 Dec 2005 | | The Egyptian police opens fire on 2,000 Sudanese refugees crowded outside the UNHCR offices in Cairo |
| | | | | 2006 | | Frontex coordinates maritime interception operations along the west and north African coasts: Hera (Canary islands) and Nautilus (Malta and Sicily) |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|---|-----------|---|--|
| | | | | Feb 2006 | The French interior minister Sarkozy frames his new draft law under the message of «immigration that is chosen and no longer suffered» [cf. Sep 2000; 10-12 June 2009] | |
| 25 May 2006 | EU-Russian Federation readmission agreement | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Return of people who have left or passed through the country to travel illegally to Europe - To date, the Commission has only managed to get five third countries to sign: Hong Kong, Macao, Sri Lanka, Albania and Russia | Mar 2006 | Before the French Senate, the European Commissioner Frattini states that the negotiation of readmission agreements is difficult as, in spite of them being theoretically reciprocal, «it is clear that, in practice, they basically serve the Community's interests». He mentions the need for the EU to find some «carrots», that is, «incentives that are powerful enough to obtain the cooperation of the concerned third country» | |
| May 2006 | | Conference of the interior ministers of the western Mediterranean (CIMO), termed «5 + 5», in Nice, under Sarkozy's presidency | | | Minister Sarkozy, presiding the conference, welcomes «efforts by countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean to contain <i>illegal emigration</i> towards Europe» | On the notion of « <i>illegal emigration</i> », see June 2002 [B1, B2] |
| | | | | June 2006 | Headline in <i>Le Soleil</i> newspaper (Dakar, Senegal): «Europe is closing our borders» | |
| July 2006 | | 1st Euro-African «Migration and Development» conference in Rabat | Adoption of an «action plan» that binds «co-development» to the joint fight against irregular migration | | | |
| Nov 2006 | | African Union-EU summit on migration and development in Tripoli | The Libyan president subordinates his goodwill to control Libya's borders to the EU's economic cooperation | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---|--|---|-----------|---|--|
| | | | | May 2007 | Commission communication «on circular migration and mobility partnerships between the EU and third countries» | |
| 18 June 2007 | EU-Ukraine readmission agreement | | - Readmission by this country of people who entered the EU irregularly and travelled through it | | | In practice, the EU-Ukraine agreement entails the disappearance of the right to asylum, since people are refouled upstream without their situation being examined |
| | | | | July 2007 | | Seven Tunisian fishermen who rescued 44 people in distress dock in Italy, where they are imprisoned and prosecuted for «assisting illegal immigration» |
| Sep-Dec 2006 | Senegal signs agreements on migration with France, then Spain | | Named «concerted management of flows» or «memoranda of understanding», these agreements followed the readmission of 6,000 Senegalese refouled in 2006 from the Canary islands | | | |
| Aug 2007 | | «RABIT» Regulation (<i>Rapid Border Intervention Team</i>) | Allows the urgent deployment of border guards from different member states when there is a risk of a «mass influx» of migrants | | | |
| | | | | Sep 2007 | | - Death of three young Chechen girls who got lost in the Polish mountains after crossing them, in the hope of reaching Slovakia - According to an incomplete record by Fortress Europe, around 12,000 foreigners have died at the EU's borders from 1988 to 2008, over 8,200 of them at sea and more than 1,600 in the desert |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|--|--|-----------------|---|---|
| | | | | June 2008 | Commission Communication on a common immigration policy: principles, actions, instruments | |
| | | | | 21-22 June 2008 | | An ill Tunisian dies, lacking medical care, in the Vincennes <i>Centre de rétention administrative</i> (CRA), the largest detention centre in France. This tragedy causes a revolt which is harshly put down. The centre is evacuated before it is destroyed by a fire. Ten people will be arrested and charged [cf. 17 March 2010] |
| 30 Aug 2008 | Friendship and cooperation treaty between Italy and Libya | | Among other things, this treaty decides: - a reinforced joint action against «illegal» immigration - the establishment of an electronic surveillance system for Libyan sea borders, 50% of which would be financed by Italy (i.e., around \$500 million) and the other 50% by the EU | | - Through this «historic» treaty, Italy accepts to «pay damages» to Libya for its 30-year colonisation after its troops disembarked in Tripoli in 1911 - Italy commits to pay 5 billion \$ to Libya through investments over 25 years, that is, 250 million € per year - Mr Berlusconi: «In this way we will have more oil and less illegals» | - On the eve, Mr Berlusconi had arrived in Benghazi to express Italy's regrets for its colonial past - Through the treaty, the company ENI obtains an extension of its contracts in Libya, until 2021 for oil, and until 2047 for gas - The envisaged investments will above all benefit some Italian companies |
| Sep 2008 | | Algeria introduces the crime of illegal emigration | This measure seeks to blocks the mass departure of « <i>harragas</i> » (migrants) | | | [On « <i>illegal emigration</i> », see June 2002; July 2003] |
| Sep 2008 | | A European Parliament Resolution severely criticises the functioning of the Dublin II system | | | [see A2] | |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|--|---|-------------|--|---|
| Oct 2008 | The Council (under a French presidency) adopts the European Pact on immigration and asylum | | The Pact calls for the negotiation of readmission agreements to be pursued, «both at a Community and bilateral level» | | | |
| Nov 2008 | | Euro-African migration-development conference in Paris | - Entitled «Rabat II», it continues work undertaken during the 1st conference in July 2006 - The implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and readmission agreements are at the core of discussions | | The Commissioner in charge of the EPN states: «Countries (...) in the neighbourhood are interested in the facilitation of visa issuing as well as the prospects of temporary legal migration, but the EU also has some expectations concerning readmission and international protection» | |
| Dec 2008 | | «Returns» Directive, referred to as «shameful» | Sets out conditions for the prior detention and removal of foreigners (a general backwards step in the protection of people) | | | Member states must transpose the Returns Directive into their national legislations by 24 December 2010 |
| | To date, 11 Community readmission agreements have been signed and 5 others were being negotiated [cf. 1 March 2011] | | | 20 Jan 2009 | In a letter to the Commission President signed by 82 NGOs from 20 countries, the Migreurop network expresses its concern over the lack of transparency in the negotiation and implementation of Community readmission agreements | In practice, (cf. 18 June 2007), the signing of a readmission agreement entails the end of the right to asylum in some of these countries, especially when the possibility of an immediate <i>refoulement</i> (turning back) exists |
| | | | | Mar 2009 | Italian and European authorities announce the deployment of joint patrols involving Libyan coastguards to put an end to this sort of tragedy | Deadly shipwreck off the Libyan coasts |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|--|--|----------------------------|---|---|
| 14 May 2009 | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Between collective <i>refoulements</i> and Khadafi's visit to Rome [see 10-12 June 2009], the Italian parliament adopts a law that creates an «offence of ['illegal'] immigration and residence». - The length of detention prior to expulsion increases from 2 to 6 months. Aiding irregular residence becomes liable to incur 3 years in prison | | 6 and 10 May 2009 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This double operation [cf. B2], is described as an «historic turning point» by interior minister Maroni, although it is not the first one [cf. Oct. 2004 and Mar.-Apr. 2005], and it occurs a month before Khadafi's visit to Rome - Maroni will add that with these expulsions, he is working for the entire EU. Which remains silent, in spite of various complaints | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 227 and then 240 migrants are stopped at sea by the Italian navy and refouled to Libya without their situation as regards the right to asylum being examined, that is, illegally - From this date, forced returns by sea become the norm - The number of <i>refouled</i> people will reach 2,000 in September |
| | | | | 10-12 June 2009 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In a speech in Rome, Khadafi calls asylum claims a «widespread lie». As Libya is «the gateway for unwanted immigration» [cf. Feb. 2006 ; Sep 2000], he demands means to stop it - He calls on Europe to convert to Islam | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - President Khadafi is received with great pomp in Italy by the PM Berlusconi. The welcome by the parliament and press is cooler - Observers estimate that only between 5 and 7% of foreign immigration reaches Italy from the shores of Libya or Tunisia |
| 18 June 2009 | | «Employer sanction» Directive | Establishes minimum standards and measures to sanction employers of irregular third-country nationals. In particular, employees are guaranteed they will receive the equivalent of their unpaid wage and will access support from a third party (trade-union; NGO) | June 2009 | On occasion of the presentation of its «Africa Plan 2009-2012», Spain evokes the need to control migrations and announces the delivery to Mauritania of a military aircraft to strengthen coastal surveillance, which will be an addition to previous gifts (4 patrol boats and a helicopter) | |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | Aug. 2009 | Italy calls upon EU countries to provide a joint response to the problems of illegal immigration. «We must consider it a European problem. The EU has made plenty of declarations (...) but it has still not said what must happen when a group of migrants reaches Europe's borders», Italian minister Franco Frattini said | Discovery of a dinghy that was adrift to the south of Sicily with five Eritreans on board. They had left the Libyan coast in late July and told how they had helplessly watched the death of 73 fellow travellers who starved or died of thirst during the three weeks that they spent wandering between Africa and Europe |
| | | | | 30 Sep 2009 | The <i>Association malienne des expulsés</i> (AME, Association of Expelled Malians) in Bamako reports the ill-treatment of their compatriots in Libyan prisons | - Libya expels 153 Malians. - Two other waves of expulsions will take place on 9/12/2009 (149) and 3/5/2010 (150) |
| | | | | Oct. 2009 | | An Italian firm wins a call for tenders worth 300 million € to electronically secure Libya's immense southern border with Sudan, Chad and Niger. The funding, over three years, will be Italian and European |
| | | | | 15 Oct [B2] 30 Oct [B1] 2009 | - The Brussels Summit evokes «the possibility of regularly chartering flights for joint returns financed by the Frontex agency» - President Sarkozy greets the news: «Considerable progress has been made (...) We must go further, I want European border guards» | - The UK and France organise a joint flight to Kabul to expel 24 + 3 Afghan refugees who have been denied asylum - Another joint flight with the same destination will be organised in mid-December (21 + 9 Afghans) |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|--|---|-------------------|--|--|
| | | | | Dec. 2009 | Commissioner Jacques Barrot declares: «The European objective is to have a common procedure for processing asylum claims by 2012. The disparities in our legislations are a source of encouragement» [cf. Dec. 1991] | |
| | | | | Jan. 2010 | It is announced that the EU is negotiating a review of article 13 of the Cotonou agreements [cf. June 2000]: an ACP country will now have to prove that an expellable person is not its national, otherwise the expulsion will be lawful. In this way, readmission agreements could be avoided | [- The Israeli PM Netanyahu agrees to the construction of a wall along the Egyptian border to stop refugees, particularly those coming from the Horn of Africa - Amnesty claims that 28 people were shot dead by the Egyptian police in this desert in 2008, and 20 more in 2009. The real figures are supposedly higher] |
| | | | | 17 Mar 2010 | «It is a highly political ruling, which follows the prosecution's arguments very closely» [cf. B2], states a lawyer who announces that she will file an appeal | [cf. 21-22 June 2008] In France, the trial of the Vincennes detainees who were charged ends with long prison sentences (from 3 years to 8 months) |
| May 2010 | Greece-Turkey Agreement | | Return to Turkey of irregular migrants | | | Frontex claims that Greece is the leading European country for irregular entries into the European area |
| June 2010 | EU-Georgia Agreement | | - Simplified visa issuing - Readmission by this country of people residing irregularly in European territory | | | |
| | | | | 1 July 2010 | The UNHCR demands greater coherence in the different EU countries' asylum policies | |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|---|--|--|--------------|---|--|
| | | | | 1 July 2010 | The UNHCR demands that Dublin II should not be applied «when a state faces particular pressures that its asylum system cannot manage» | |
| | | | | 28 July 2010 | President Sarkozy publicly rails against «the conduct of some people among <i>gens du voyage</i> (Travellers) and Roma» | It is the starting point for a campaign to dismantle camps and enact mass expulsions of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma people |
| | | | | Aug 2010 | «Children should not become a means of obtaining a residence visa for their parents. (...) European countries have adopted far harsher measures against illegals», the Israeli government comments [B2] | [Israel expels 400 African and Asian children] |
| | | | | 28 Sep 2010 | The operation [see B2], costing an estimated 100,000 €, is the first in a long series: 40 Frontex charter flights are scheduled for 2011 | The first flight entirely chartered by Frontex leaves Warsaw, with 56 Georgians expelled from four EU countries on board |
| 7 Oct 2010 | EU-Pakistan readmission agreement | | Readmission by this country of people residing irregularly in European territory | | | Discussions with Pakistan had started in 2000 |
| 7 Oct 2010 | The EU signs a cooperation agreement with Libya | | - Fighting illegal immigration and strengthening (<i>sic</i>) the rights of refugees - 50 million € are allocated by the EU to Libya for this purpose | | - Commissioner Malström welcomes this agreement - She estimates that 1.5 million «illegals» are waiting in Libya to travel to Europe | Mrs Malström's estimate is incompatible with that produced by Frontex [cf. 25 Oct. 2010] |
| | | | | 25 Oct 2010 | Frontex claims that over three-quarters of the 40,977 people intercepted at the EU's borders during the first semester of 2010 entered through Greece, coming primarily from Turkey | Information surfaces about Greece demanding the intervention of a RABIT unit [cf. Aug. 2007] at its eastern border to tackle an influx of migrants in transit through Turkey |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|--|--|----------|--|--|
| | | | | Nov 2010 | The UNHCR office in Athens deplores the «humanitarian» crisis affecting migrants, particularly in camps. It notes that the Greek government claims it no longer controls the situation, neither on land, nor on the islands of the Aegean Sea | - 170 Frontex border guards from all the EU countries are at work on the Greek-Turkish border in the framework of the RABIT operation [cf. 25 Oct. 2010], for the purpose of catching, identifying and returning migrants - Commissioner Malström and French minister Besson travel there |
| 29 Nov 2010 | | The Europe-Africa summit opens in Tripoli (Libya), attended by 80 officials from both continents | | | - Khadafi ups the stakes: he demands «at least 5 billion € per year» from the EU to stop illegal immigration, otherwise «Libya will no longer act as Europe's border guard» - This is how he details the threat: «Perhaps, tomorrow the future of Europe will be black and no longer white and Christian, because there are millions who want to go there»; he concludes that «we do not know what will happen, what the reaction of white and Christian Europeans will be when faced by this influx of hungry and uneducated Africans» | - The press does not report any reaction by African participants to the racism of the Libyan leader's remarks |
| 1 Jan 2011 | EU-Turkey readmission agreement | | This country will take back the «illegals» who have passed through its territory | | Turkey will declare that its signature depends on a liberalisation of the regime for visas to enter the EU | In relation to Greece, this is a strategy of refoulement rather than readmission [cf. May 2010] |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|---|--|--|----------------|--|--|
| | | | | Jan 2011 | | The «Grand Chamber» of the European Court on Human Rights condemns Belgium for having expelled an Afghan refugee to Greece in application of Dublin II |
| | | | | 11-14 Feb 2011 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Italian interior minister Maroni announces that these «illegals» [B2] will be repatriated - He will demand to be able to deploy Italian soldiers on the Tunisian coasts - The government declares a «state of humanitarian emergency» and asks for Frontex patrols | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Around 5,000 people land in Lampedusa, arriving from Tunisia 4 weeks after the fall of dictator Ben Ali. The Italian authorities start by refusing to open the reception centre, closed since 1999. Migrants are sent to Sicily and the mainland |
| | | | | 20-21 Feb 2011 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Libya threatens not to cooperate in the fight against «irregular» immigration any longer if the EU continues to «encourage» demonstrators - The president of the French Office for Immigration and Integration (OFII) deems that the agreements between the EU and Libya «must be respected regardless of the regime» | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Widespread popular revolt in Libya - Start of the Frontex HERMES operation between Tunisia and Italy. Its goals: to intercept boats in the high sea off Sicily; in Lampedusa, to identify the migrants' home countries; to assist Italy in organising their return; to identify «smugglers'» networks |
| 1 Mar 2011 | To date, the Commission has signed 13 readmission agreements and 4 or 5 are being discussed | | Agreements signed with: Macao, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Albania, Russia, Ukraine, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia, Moldova, Pakistan, Georgia | | | The negotiation of agreements is underway with: China, Morocco, Turkey, Algeria and, probably, Cape Verde |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|---|--|-------------------------|---|--|
| 11 Mar 2011 | | Extraordinary meeting of the European Council on the situation in the Mediterranean | | 3-12 Mar 2011 | <p>- Around 100 organisations from Europe, Africa and Turkey issue an «Appeal for a humanitarian intervention by the European Union in the Mediterranean»</p> <p>- To avoid an influx of refugees into the EU, Sarkozy wants some «humanitarian zones» in these countries</p> | Since February 2011, first dozens, and then hundreds of thousands of refugees from many nationalities coming from Libya gather at the borders with Egypt, Tunisia, Chad and Niger (see 23 August 2011) |
| | | | | 29 Mar 2011 | Mustapha Abdel Jalil, chief of the Libyan National Transition Council (NTC), assures before RAI channel that the NTC would fight against illegal migration if it were in power, and that it would respect the agreements signed with Italy aiming at stopping irregular entries into Libya. | |
| | | | | 8 May 2011 | According to some witnesses [B2], the boat was left adrift by NATO forces operating along Libyan coasts | <i>The Guardian</i> reports the death of 61 migrants on a boat adrift brought to the Libyan coasts by the sea. 10 survived and are brought to prison, amongst which 2 will die |
| | | | | June to July 2011 | | Raids and numerous destruction operations of shelters by the Greek police, followed by deportations, in Igoumenitsa and Patras camps |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|--------------------------|---|---|
| 16 June 2011 [A1, A3] and 18 June 2011 [A2] | An agreement is signed between the Italian government and the Libyan NTC on a common management of migration flows [see A3] | Italian decree-law extending the maximum length of detention to 18 months, in line with what is authorised by the “shameful directive” [see Dec.2008 and May 2009] | The agreement [A1] allows the deportation of irregular migrants arriving from Libya as well as support for the country to set up preventive patrols | 18 June 2011 | - Doctors Without Borders (MSF) considers that this decision [A2] is dangerous for the mental and physical health of detainees and asks for the closures of both camps where living conditions are terrible - In parallel to the Libyan-Italian agreement, the interior minister Maroni proposes that migrants are blocked before their departure from Libya | - A 12m long vessel, which had departed from Libya, is disembarking 235 people near Ragusa (Sicily) - 159 refugees had already arrived the same day in Pantelleria, an island in the SW of Sicily - Migrants in revolt at the Identification and Expulsion Centre (CIE) against this law [A2] which results in turning these centres into prisons |
| 23-24 June 2011 | | A European Council decides of an important increase in the means and the powers of Frontex, provided the Parliament gives its approval | Especially, it is suggested that Frontex may be given the responsibility of “Schengen” internal borders in the eventuality of an unforeseen influx of migrants in an EU member state | | “Beyond our disagreements remains a high degree of political consensus towards reinforced controls of our common borders with Frontex”, a Commissioner says | This position is expressed in the context of an argument between the French and the Italian authorities, for the latter had issued temporary residence permits to Tunisians in exile and en route to France |
| | | | | July 2011 | Migreurop launches a call for a flotilla in the Mediterranean [cf. Sep 2011] | Since January, 489 cases of individual rebellions and 83 collective actions, including suicides and escapes, have been counted [see 4 September 2011] |
| | | | | 1 st Aug 2011 | - Gabriel del Grande (Fortress Europe) notes that these figures [B2] are certainly underestimated - He analyses the high mortality rate as being the result of the many people fleeing Libya using unsafe boats [see 23 August 2011] | To date, Fortress Europe is confirming the death at sea of: 5,962 people in the canal of Sicily since 1994, including 1,674 over the first seven months of 2011. Throughout the months, based on the departures from Libya, the evolution has been tremendous. Known mortality at sea at the departure from Tunisia is 1/130 and 1/11 from Libya |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|-------------|---|---|
| | | | | 5 Aug 2011 | <p>- According to different media, a NATO vessel was reported as close as 27 miles from the boat adrift [B2]</p> <p>- the Italian government is asking for an investigation about the possible refusal by NATO to rescue the boat</p> | <p>Italian border guards rescue about 400 persons on board of a boat adrift which had departed from Libya 6 days earlier. The boat was drifting 90 miles off the coast of Lampedusa. According to the rescued, dozens of migrants died from hunger, thirst and exhaustion during the crossing and come corpses are reported to have been thrown in the sea</p> |
| | | | | 19 Aug 2011 | | <p>A Frontex flight departing Africans from Oslo via Dublin is forbidden landing in Kinshasa (DRC) and must go back</p> |
| | | | | 23 Aug 2011 | <p>Numerous and concordant reports of the violence many Black people are the victims of in Libya: chased and persecuted by the rebels for being “mercenaries” of the fallen regime, forcibly embarked on decaying boats by pro-Gaddafi militias</p> | <p>The International Organisation of Migration (IOM) has counted almost 670,000 departures from Libya to date, including 211,000 to Egypt, 286,000 to Tunisia, 127,000 to Niger and Chad, and 28,000 to Italy or Malta</p> |
| | | | | 4 Sep 2011 | | <p>- Revolts and riots reported in many Italian camps [see 18 June 2011], including in Pozzallo (8/7 and 23/8), Lampedusa (8/7), Trapani (20/7), Rome (30/7), Bari (1/8), Pantelleria (17/8), Bologna (24/8); and in Malta (16/8)</p> <p>- But also in Australia and on Christmas Island for a long time (more recently on 10/06 and 20/07), in France (Lyon, 28/07), in Fylakio (Greece, 3/09) – non exhaustive list</p> |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|--|--|---|------------|---|--|
| | | | | Sep 2011 | NGOs and international networks from seven European and African countries announce the creation of <i>Boats 4 People</i> : it is aimed to set up a flotilla in the Mediterranean to put an end to deaths at the EU's maritime borders, control immigration control, and reinforce Euro-African solidarity | <i>Boats 4 People's</i> sailing journey is scheduled between 1 and 19 July : from Cecina (Italy) to Palermo, Tunis and Monastir (Tunisia), then off to Lampedusa. Meetings and events organised at each step |
| 25 Oct 2011 | | Amendment of Frontex regulation [cf. 26 Oct 2004], after the Council of the EU and the European Parliament reached a compromise [cf. March 2012] | - Reinforcement and widening of Frontex's role and operational capacities : the agency will now be able to acquire its own equipment - Reinforcement of fundamental rights provisions and full recognition of the non-refoulement principle [cf. 23 Feb. and March 2012] | | | |
| 15 Dec 2011 | Renewal of Italy-Libya's friendship treaty [cf. 30 August 2008; see also April 2012] | | Cooperation between both countries in the fight against irregular migrations is maintained according to the terms of agreements between Berlusconi and Gaddafi | | | |
| 23 Feb 2012 | | Grand Chamber Judgment from the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), at unanimity of the 17 judges on collective expulsions | The Court condemns Italy for intercepting a group of refugees at sea and for immediately pushing them back to a third country. This decision condemns Italy-Libya bilateral agreements indirectly [cf.16 June 2011, A1 and A3] | | The Member of the European Parliament H el ene Flautre welcomes this decision: «Albeit late, this decision is a clear warning to Member states: illegal practices of refoulement with the complicity of dictatorial regimes are now over.» | In May 2009, about two hundred people had left Libya on three boats off to Italy. The Italian army had intercepted them in Malta's maritime zone, and handed them over to the Libyan authorities [cf. 6 and 10 May 2009] |
| | | | | March 2012 | The European Ombudsman, informed of Frontex's abusive practices by several NGOs which emphasized the « growing concern of civil society », launches an enquiry on this Agency[cf. 25 Oct 2011] | |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|--|---|------------------------|---|--|
| | | | | 27 March 2012 | The Greek government announces the construction of 30 closed reception centres for irregular migrants, with a capacity of 1,000 each | |
| | | | | 28-29 March 2012 | The <i>Guardian</i> 's advance coverage of the report entitled [cf. B2] «Lives lost in the Mediterranean Sea: who is responsible? » It is revealed that NATO authorities refused to cooperate with the Council of Europe's investigators | A report by the Dutch politician Tineke Strik is presented to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE). It lists a «catalogue of failures» which resulted in NATO not rescuing a boat in distress with 71 people on board a year earlier off Lampedusa's shores[cf. 8 May 2011] |
| 3 April 2012 | Secret agreement Italy-Libya [see 18 June 2012] | | Reinforcing cooperation to fight illegal migration from Libyan to Italian coasts by the same means as before 2012 | | | |
| | | | | 11 April 2012 | | Four Ethiopians who survived in March 2011 [cf. 28-29 March 2012] lodge a complaint, especially targeting the French authorities, for «failure to assist people in distress». They are supported by nine NGOs |
| | | | | May 2012 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Refugees from the Choucha camp (Tunisia) call the international community and the UNHCR to re-examine asylum applications, and to implement a resettlement programme. - The Tunisian Forum for Economic and Social Rights considers that the camp is a « prison for migrants » | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It has been over a year that dozens of thousands of people who escaped war in Libya are sheltered in Choucha, including isolated minors - To date, several thousands of refugees and asylum seekers are still encamped in very bad conditions, waiting for a hypothetical departure - Since 2004, Tunisian law sanctions irregular stay and «illegal emigration» [cf. June 2002, B2] |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|--|--|-----------------|--|--|
| 11 May 2012 | The EU signs a cooperation agreement with Irak | | Among other things, allows the readmission of Iraqis present illegally in EU and resolves to open negotiations for a readmission agreement applicable to Iraqis, third countries nationals and stateless | | | Irak never signed the Geneva Convention on refugees. In 2011, according to Eurostat, Iraqis formed the 2 nd national group of persons granted international protection by the EU |
| | | | | 31 May 2012 | The Commission decides to sanction countries which do not implement the «employers' sanction» directive [cf. 18 June 2009] | The directive should have been so but still is not transposed into national law in Finland, Portugal and Slovenia |
| 7 June 2012 | | [The Jerusalem court dismisses the appeal lodged by human rights organisations and authorises the deportation of 1,500 south-Sudanese] | [- This decision puts an end to the so-called «collective protection» policy which so far prevented removals to unstable countries - Thousands of people are targeted by this measure, among which natives of Horn of Africa or Ivory Coast] | June 2012 | [- The Israeli Interior Minister Eli Yishai tells: «These illegals should be put in detention centres and sent back to their country, because they come and take Israelis' jobs and one should protect the Jewish character of the State of Israel.» - «Anyone that penetrates Israel's border should be shot», says Aryeh Eldad, MP] | [- Racist attacks grow in scale in Israel, and especially target Sudanese and Eritreans. - The 240 km fence at the Egyptian border is planned to be completed by the end of the year - Ongoing construction of a detention centre in the Negev desert, with a capacity of 11,000 «illegals» upon completion] |
| | | | | 9 June 2012 | Front page of the Moroccan newspaper Assabah: « African migrants involved in war crimes» | - Raids and attacks on Sub-Saharan migrants gain increased since November 2011 in Moroccan urban centres - Negotiations with the EU towards a readmission agreement are still pending |
| 18 June 2012 | Agreement between Italy and Libya on illegal immigration is being publicized [B2] | | Includes cooperation on training Libyan police and customs officers; assistance in strengthening controls of Libya's borders and coastal patrols; facilitation of voluntary returns to be coordinated by IOM; creation of a «health center» in Kufra | 18 June 2012 | - The newspaper describes the agreement as «the facsimile of what was signed with the dictator» - Amnesty International says it attempted to obtain a copy for 2½ months in vain and expresses its deep concern | <i>La Stampa</i> publishes the cooperation agreement between Italy and Libya on illegal migration [see 3 April 2012] |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--------------|--|--|
| | | | | 20 June 2012 | The FIDH denounces the «hounding of migrants» and the «clean-up of illegals», as well as ill-treatments in the camps, xenophobia, forced labour and the lack of legal protection they are being facing | The International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH) presents some preliminary findings of an investigation mission held in Libya from 7 to 15 June 2012, notably in detention camps for migrants |
| | | | | 2 July 2012 | | The <i>Oloferne</i> schooner sets sail from Cecina off to Sicily and Tunisia [see Sep 2011] |