

# Partnerships; or how to reap without sowing



**FRAUD Partnerships** The controversial evaluation report of the EU-Morocco Fisheries Partnership Agreement is a damning cost-benefit analysis showing that it is cheaper to pay Spanish fishing fleets to remain at port, than to pay for accessing Moroccan fish stocks. In addition, this report is classified, thus only accessible to members of the European Parliament's Fisheries Committee under extremely restrictive circumstances: in the French language only, in a room accessible to one person at a time, without phone, translator, assistant or notepad.

Following the protocol of classified documents, the report was made available in a room accessible only to members of the European Parliament's Fisheries Committee, one person at a time, without phone, translator, assistant or notepad.<sup>1</sup> The document available for consultation, in the French language only, contained the controversial evaluation report of the EU-Morocco Fisheries Partnership Agreement (FPA). It offered a cost-benefit analysis, which showed that it was cheaper to pay Spanish fishing fleets to remain at port than to pay for accessing Moroccan fish stocks. It also outlined the devastating effects of trawling and seining upon 'extra-Mediterranean' marine life. The rapporteur, Carl Haglund, states in his draft recommendation to the European Council's Fisheries Committee that the 'economical, ecological, environmental and procedural problems with the Agreement are so grave that they outweigh the possible counter argument for giving consent to the extension of the Protocol'.<sup>2</sup> He also challenged the very legality of the agreement based on its lack of consultation with the people of Western Sahara, whose waters are included in the partnership. Despite his unequivocal recommendation to discontinue the protocol, and the two European Court of Justice rulings stipulating that the FPA is not applicable to Western Sahara, the agreement has been extended twice since

his report in 2011, and continues to this day under the amended title Sustainable Fisheries Partnership Agreement,<sup>3</sup> still including Western Sahara. According to Ignacio Cembrero, a former journalist at *El País* covering the Maghreb, the 'European Commission discovered a means by which European ships were able to continue to fish in Saharan water – making 91% of catches – all whilst respecting, according to them, the spirit of the Court's rulings.'<sup>4</sup>

The questionable legal grounds of the negotiations and resulting trade agreement exist within a wider genealogy of Euro-Mediterranean extraterritorial fishing. In 2012, the European Commission estimated that 80 percent of Mediterranean marine resources were overfished.<sup>5</sup> Continuing a long history of extraction, the establishment of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ)<sup>6</sup> in 1982 and the threat of the emptying Mediterranean and Atlantic coastal waters, led the European Union (EU) and its Member States to establish agreements with other countries to gain access to their EEZs. Much like land, certain zones are contested, such as the waters bordering Western Sahara (WS) included in the FPA.

WS is often dubbed the last colony in Africa. It's people, the Saharawi, governed by the Polisario Front, claimed self-determination from Spain. In 1963, their right to self-determination was recognised by the United Nations

**Partnerships** is a research-led archive by FRAUD, which engages with the EU-Morocco Fisheries Partnership Agreement and its devastating effects upon 'extra-Mediterranean' marine life, such as the exhaustion of fish stocks and local fisheries. Contextualised within a broader framework that examines the genealogy of the European Union's extractive capitalist gaze, it cultivates the active, intercultural and critical building of a counter-colonial cosmogony.

Special Committee on Decolonization,<sup>7</sup> a right that is recognised by the EU, but not Morocco. In a subsequent evaluation report in 2017<sup>8</sup> concerning the FPA, a footnote explains that the mention of Morocco throughout the document equally refers to WS. In the amended Sustainable Fisheries Partnership Agreement in 2018, it is stated that despite the EU Court Ruling, it was nonetheless possible to include WS waters. Three main reasons are stated: to continue economic gain for the EU's fleet, to ensure WS economic and social benefit from the FPA, and to 'guarantee the sustainable exploitation of those resources and the management and monitoring of the funds of the sectoral support available for the territory of Western Sahara and its population'.<sup>9</sup> However, in a similar instance between Cyprus and Turkey, the EU proclaimed that Turkey's extraction in Cyprus' EEZ is unlawful.<sup>10</sup> Moroccan fishermen and the Saharawi's plight is entangled in a web of political and financial interests. Here we focus on the specific relationship between Spain, Morocco and Western Sahara, to consider how Francisco Franco's *fascisticised* modernity constructed Europe's biggest extraterritorial fishing fleet, comprising the majority of vessels involved in the FPA, and how it shaped the contemporary topography of fishery agreements.

As the fragility of the globalised food production chain has been laid bare during the COVID-19 pandemic, and the reliance upon the channelling of a labour 'under-class' is brought to the fore, we are witnessing certain European nation states attempting to increase self-sufficiency, despite the fact that this seemingly backtracks on the so-called developments made by globalisation. Around a century ago, self-sufficiency and authoritarianism were conflated by figures such as Mussolini, Salazar, Hitler and Franco. In Franco's case, this was often mobilised by mythologising artisanal fishing. The idealisation of rural life under fascist regimes has been widely discussed.<sup>11</sup> However, the parallel deployment of deep-sea fishing across the globe,<sup>12</sup> and its relationship to current agreements, are lesser known legacies of *El Caudillo*.<sup>13</sup>

Franco's agenda was partly disseminated in cinemas through programmes called 'NO-DO', an acronym for *Noticiario y Documentales* (news and documentaries). NO-Dos, usually lasting thirty minutes, were screened prior to films. These cinematographic preambles constructed the myth of Francoist modernity, which included the aggressive development of industrial fisheries supported by the nostalgic backdrop of artisanal river fishing.<sup>14</sup> Franco was born in Galicia,



2. Excerpts from NO-DO 'NOT\_N\_1222\_B' – Franco, also known as 'El Caudillo', greeted by schoolgirls for his annual fishing trip. The children's outfits together read 'VIVA FRANCO'.



3. Excerpts from NO-DO, *El Caudillo's* vacation, Salmon fishing in the Ulla and Eo rivers (1974)

Spain's fishing state. The importance of the state's heritage is reflected in the current location of the European Fisheries Control Agency<sup>15</sup> in Vigo, a coastal municipality of Galicia. A classic amongst spring NO-DO episodes is Franco's yearly fishing trip to Galicia. An enthusiastic narrator details his prowess while explaining the significance of fishing to the Spanish national identity. He is portrayed masterfully catching river salmon and chatting with fishermen. The editing awkwardly omits the actual catch, often only showing *El Generalísimo* taking the captured fish out of the water. To a twenty-first-century viewer, the fish appear very large, a testament to bygone times, before fish biomass was dramatically reduced by overfishing and climate change. Spain's industrial fisheries would contribute to this calamity. These NO-DOs, portraying the skilful fisherman Franco functioned in juxtaposition with those documenting his presence at the inauguration of industrial fishing fleets, such as the *Vimianzo*, named after a city in Galicia. Other NO-DOs recounted Spain's greatness as a fishing nation, showing the rail infrastructure that distributed the fish with such efficiency that the landlocked capital Madrid was nicknamed *Puerto Pesquero* (Fishing Port).

Also included in the NO-DOs were segments devoted to the naval building

factories,<sup>16</sup> which pioneered refrigeration systems, known as "la flota 'al fresco'"<sup>17</sup> (the fleet kept cool), advanced navigation systems<sup>18</sup> and trawling technologies. Franco developed a fleet uniquely adept at deep-sea, long-haul fishing with dramatically increased capacity.

Though fishing in foreign waters may appear to an autarky which proclaims its self-sufficiency, Gorostiza and Ortega Cerdà explain that the substitution of raw material imports, which fuelled ideological self-sustenance, was predicated upon the increased exploitation of resources in Spain's colonial territories, namely in Morocco and Western Sahara.<sup>19</sup> Fishing rights in these waters were justified by Spain's coloniser status, a narrative emphasised by Franco in his public speeches.<sup>20</sup> 'It was a case of institutionalising the colonial pact, with the metropolises providing manufactures and the colonies raw materials.'<sup>21</sup>

Franco's sense of entitlement is continuous with a history of extraction. In the fourteenth century, the Sahara had already been a hotbed of cultural exchange for centuries, and was thriving with caravan trade.<sup>22</sup> Establishing a different model at the time, Europeans began colonising the nearby islands of Madeira and the Canaries, initiating sugar plantations (that would establish the model for later implementation

in the Americas), and the decimation of local indigenous populations such as the Guanche.<sup>23</sup> The consequent shortage of labour on the islands motivated raids (slave-hunting expeditions) along the neighbouring Western Saharan coast for two centuries, often referred to as *entradas* or *cabalgadas*.<sup>24</sup> In 1479, the Treaty of Alcáçovas-Toledo officialised the Crown of Castille's<sup>25</sup> rights over Boujdour (in Western Sahara) up to Agadir (in Morocco).<sup>26</sup> For decades, Portugal and Castille disputed raid and fishing rights, or what Lino Camprubi has called 'resource-based sovereignty',<sup>27</sup> which was temporarily resolved by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, in which territory and water rights were separated between the two crowns. In 1860, Morocco's defeat by Spain – decreed in the Ouad Ras treaty between the kingdoms – granted the victor the right to establish a fishery off the coast of a previous settlement, in Santa Cruz de la Mar Pequeña (now Sidi Ifni in Western Sahara).<sup>28</sup> In 1884, at the Berlin Conference, Spain's claim over Western Sahara (in which it was mainly interested for its fishing potential) was granted.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the right to fish in waters neighbouring present-day Morocco and Western Sahara have been a source of contention and desire amongst various European powers, notably Spain and Portugal, for several centuries.

With the end of the civil war in Spain in 1939 – marked by Franco's victory – long-distance industrial fishing was encouraged with the implementation of the Naval Credit Act, providing low-cost credit for fishing-fleet construction and renewal with long-term repayment schemes.<sup>30</sup> As a result, the fleet radically increased in size, and with it overfishing along the Spanish coasts. It is in this context that extraterritorial fishing is presented as a solution to overexploited waters. It also begins to explain how Spain came to be the largest fleet (by far) in Europe.

In the 1950s, the price of certain species, the motorisation of ships and the *Ley de 11 de marzo de 1953*, which established a minimum tonnage of 150 GT (Gross Tonnage) for trawlers, exacerbated the exhaustion of Galician and Cantabrian fishing grounds,<sup>31</sup> which further intensified and validated extraterritorial fishing.<sup>32</sup> Far from supporting traditional fishing as portrayed in *El Caudillo's* Galician vacations, Franco instituted laws that championed industrial fishing at the expense of artisanal methods, such as the *Ley de 1961*, which used public funds to promote ship building with refrigeration systems.<sup>33</sup> In 1961, the Galician company Pescanova built the world's first freezer vessels, *Lemos* and *Andrade*,<sup>34</sup> which allowed long haul



4a,b,c,d. Excerpts from NO-DO depicting, *El Generalísimo* Franco's day aboard the modern ship, *VIMIANZO* (1963). This ship boasted new technology that dramatically increased fishing capacity.

4b.

4c.

4d.

deep-sea fishing in the global south. The ability to freeze and conserve the catch on board was key in creating the conditions for even greater overcapacity and overfishing. Another Francoist-era invention was Pescanova's *Vimianzo*, a vessel that allowed fishing over the stern as well as the side, once again dramatically increasing fishing capacity. These developments made Spain the main European fleet in Moroccan and Western Saharan waters, and also worldwide. During the 1960s this fleet's capacity was increased more than twofold, and by 1972 it was the third largest in the world.<sup>35</sup>

Six days before Franco died in 1975, Spain secretly ceded administrative rights over Western Sahara to Morocco in the Madrid Accord, despite the International Court of Justice's statement with regards to the right to self-determination and the UN's support of Sahrawi independence. It did so in exchange for mining and, once again, fishing rights.<sup>36</sup> However, the establishment of exclusive zones in 1977<sup>37</sup> hindered Spain's extractive strategies.<sup>38</sup> This precipitated the promulgation of fishing agreements with third countries to permit the 'survival' of the bloated Spanish fleet. These agreements are a testament to colonialism rebranded, or offshoring extraction. A practice exemplified by «*pescado frito*», a custom in Southern Spain, which consists of eating baby fish that are illegally caught, or rather

fished 'elsewhere', since certain trawling technologies that have been banned in Spain since 1988, are nonetheless used by Spanish fleets in extraterritorial waters.<sup>39</sup>

Today, Spain is still the largest fleet in Europe, in terms of tonnage (415,000 gross tonnes), and ranked sixth in the world in terms of global catches.<sup>40</sup> It is therefore the primary protagonist in the EU's fishery agreement with Morocco, along with a number of private fishing companies that were abetted during Franco's regime. In the report internally published in December 2010, some of the more salient remarks shrouded by over 100 pages of impact assessment are:

Every €1 invested by the EU returns only €0,83.<sup>41</sup>

The agreement has extremely low-cost benefit.<sup>42</sup>

Fish stocks are already fully or over exploited, except for sardines in Western Sahara (Zone C).<sup>43</sup>

In contradiction of Moroccan fishing laws, 70% of European catch volume consists of vulnerable species.<sup>44</sup>

An 80% reduction in shark and ray populations has been observed (which are species classed as vulnerable).<sup>45</sup>

The fishing nets that are lost or discarded require four to six centuries to biodegrade, during which they constitute a trap to marine animals.<sup>46</sup>

Dumped fishing gear has been found to be the biggest plastic polluter of the ocean.<sup>47</sup> The landing clause is not respected by EU fleets.<sup>48</sup>

The agreement has not stabilised the European market, nor has it increased employment or investment in the Moroccan fishing sector.<sup>49</sup> The EU has not contributed to Morocco's sustainable fishing initiatives,<sup>50</sup> though facilitating sustainable fishing – reminiscent of the colonial civilising mission rhetoric – is one of the specifically stated necessities of developing these partnerships.

The agreement does not technically or financially meet Morocco's needs.<sup>51</sup> This begs the question, who benefits from these agreements, which are neither lucrative for the EU nor sustainably viable? Though subsequent evaluation reports about the FPA render a less bleak picture, it appears to be more about creative accounting, or 'creative impact assessment' than to reflect any actual improvement. Ten years after this evaluation report was published, widespread reports of protest due to overfishing and threatened fish stocks continue.<sup>52</sup>

Similar situations are to be found elsewhere on African shores that have gravely impacted the local fishing industry,<sup>53</sup> a tendency described by Epifania Amoo-Adare, as a

'neo-colonial gold rush'.<sup>54</sup> Beneficiaries are private European business interests. The fee regime that governs European public fishing agreements is subsidised at around 75 percent by the EU, while private business pays only 1.5 percent, representing a large transfer from public funds to private interests, rendering EU fisheries' benefit-sharing and resource-use equity questionable.<sup>55</sup> In the case of the EU-Morocco FPA, a non-exhaustive list of some of the private beneficiaries are:

- Canosa de Frigoríficos Camariñas SL
- Congelados del Estrecho SL
- Grupo Conservas Garavilla e Isabel Mivisa SA, Salgados Congelados SL
- Discefa SL
- Viveros Merimar, Angulas Aguinaga SA
- Frigoríficos Rosa de los Vientos, SL
- Grupo El Buque SA
- Luis Calvo Sanz, SA (Calvo Group)
- Artalde SA (PULMAR SA)
- Asmaroc SA (AMASUA Group SA)
- Sofinas Ltd (PROFAND Group SA)
- Marocco Catalane Aquaculture (SMCA) SA (SANAM Group SA & Marisco Catalán SL)
- Derham Alonso DAMSA SA (DERHEM SEA FOOD SA & Jealsa-Rianxeira SAU)
- Thalassa Products SL (Aquamar Pescados y Mariscos Congelados SL)
- GC Rieber AS
- Vaagebulk IV



5a. Excerpts from NO-DO 'La Industria Naval Española Al Servicio de la Pesca' (1972) – Map of countries to which Spain sells its fleets to.



5b. Excerpts from NO-DO 'La Industria Naval Española Al Servicio de la Pesca' (1972) – Production of Spanish fleet per year in weight, i.e. in 1961, ships built weighed 150 000 tonnes.



5c. Excerpts from NO-DO 'La Industria Naval Española Al Servicio de la Pesca' (1972) – Production of Spanish fleet per year in weight, i.e. in 1971, 900 000 tonnes.



5d. Excerpts from NO-DO 'La Industria Naval Española Al Servicio de la Pesca' (1972) – Production of Spanish fleet per year in weight, i.e. and it was projected to 2 000 000 tons for 1981.

Vaage Shipmanagement AS  
 Wagle Chartering AS  
 Atlantic RTI  
 Fearnley Finans ASA  
 Mercadona SA  
 Makro SA  
 El Corte Inglés SA  
 Carrefour SA  
 The Hollandsche Bank-Unie (HBU)  
 Seatrade Reefer Chartering NV  
 Seatrade Groningen BV  
 Swemar AB  
 Olvea Group  
 Green Shipping AS  
 GreenSea Chartering BVBA  
 RES Chartering GmbH  
 Practicos del Puerto de La Luz y Las Palmas  
 Köster Marine Protein GmbH  
 Gümüşdoğa A.S.  
 Efemey Shipping  
 Köster Marine Protein (KMP)  
 R.E.S. Group, Brunsbütte  
 Erwin Strahlmann GmbH & Co KG  
 Lappan Shipping & Trading GmbH<sup>56</sup>

As fascism creeps back into Europe and the rest of the world, it may be wise to recall the 'hierarchical and autarkic system beloved of fascist ideologues',<sup>57</sup> in which the colonies provided raw materials for the metropole's manufactures, and to reconsider 'the very idea of development'.<sup>58</sup> What is development, if not the colonial 'civilising force' shrouded by seemingly altruistic motivations? If Malthus' notion of scarcity,<sup>59</sup> which still drives our current economic models, renders extinction profitable,<sup>60</sup> development is but a profitable drive to destruction. Interventions into the opaque process of EU policy and trade are urgent, to open up possibilities for scrutiny and accountability towards the European Union, and its extractive practices. This demands challenging Malthusian ideologies of natural scarcity,<sup>61</sup> and colonial fascist legacies of frozen produce, in order to propose, rather than nationalist self-sufficiency, an intersectional and intercultural collaboration in cooperation with local producers.

1 Erik Hagen, 'EU, Fish before Peace. The saga of how the EU Parliament once stopped the controversial fisheries in occupied Western Sahara', in *Profit over Peace in Western Sahara: How Commercial Interests Undermine Self-Determination in the Last Colony in Africa*, ed. Erik Hagen and Mario

Pfeifer (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2018), 78–79.

2 Carl Haglund, 'Recommendation on the Draft Council Decision on the Conclusion of a Protocol between the European Union and the Kingdom of Morocco Setting Out the Fishing Opportunities and Financial Compensation Provided for in the Fisheries

Partnership Agreement between the European Community and the Kingdom of Morocco', European Parliament, Brussels, 29 November 2011. A7-0394/2011.  
 3 European Commission, 'Proposal for a council decision on the conclusion of The Sustainable Fisheries Partnership Agreement between the European Union

and the Kingdom of Morocco, the Implementation Protocol thereto and an exchange of letters accompanying the said Agreement', signed 8 November 2018, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52018PC0678>, accessed 11 August 2020.

4 See Ignacio Cembrero, 'Power without work: Morocco under Mohammed VI', published on Verso blogs on 1 October 2018, <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/4057-power-without-work-morocco-under-mohammed-vi>, accessed 11 August 2020.

5 See Massimiliano Cardinale, Aymen Charef and Giacomo Chato Osio, ed., *Report of the Scientific, Technical and Economic Committee for Fisheries on assessment of Mediterranean sea stocks (STECF 12–03)* (Ispra: Joint Research Centre of the European Commission, Institute for the Protection and Security of the Citizen), 404. See also International Council for the Exploration of the Sea. *Report of the ICES Advisory Committee* (Copenhagen: ICES Advice, 2012).

6 Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) were defined and established by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in 1982 to dedicate the rights to a sovereign state over a specific area of water, usually extending 200 nautical miles (nmi) off its coast. These zones are often contested in relation

to the land, and to claims for self-determination.

7 See listed under Spanish Sahara: United Nations, *Report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories* (New York: Official Records: 18th Session, Supplement No. 14 A/5514, 1963), 34, [https://www.undocs.org/A/5514\(Supp\)](https://www.undocs.org/A/5514(Supp)), accessed 11 August 2020.

8 See Benoit Caillart, Christophe Breuil, Vincent Defaux and Christelle Le Grand, 'Évaluation rétrospective et prospective du Protocole à l'APPD entre l'UE et le Royaume du Maroc (Brussels: Direction Générale des affaires maritimes et de la pêche, 2018), <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/08e725d1-5a8f-11e9-9151-01aa75ed71a1>, accessed 11 August 2020.

9 European Commission, 'Proposal for a council decision', 2–3.

10 European Council, 'Turkish drilling activities in the Eastern Mediterranean: Council adopts conclusions', press release of 15 July 2019, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2019/07/15/turkish-drilling-activities-in-the-eastern-mediterranean-council-adopts-conclusions/>, accessed 11 August 2020.

list of references is included in Santiago Gorostiza and Miquel Ortega Cerdà, "The unclaimed latifundium": The configuration of the Spanish

fishing sector under Francoist autarky, 1939–1951', *Journal of Historical Geography* 52, no. 1 (April 2016), 26–35, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2015.12.006>. Some of these are: G. Alares, 'Ruralismo, fascismo y regeneración. Italia y España en perspectiva comparada', *Ayer* 83 (2011), 127–147; D. Lanero, 'Sobre el encuadramiento de los campesinos y la agricultura en el tiempo de los fascismos: una comparación entre nazismo y franquismo', *Ayer* 83 (2011) 53–76; M. Armiero and W.G. Hardenberg, 'Green rhetoric in blackshirts: Italian fascism and the environment', *Environment and History* 19 (2013) 283–311. See also M. Armiero, 'Making Italians out of rocks: Mussolini's shadows on Italian mountains', *Modern Italy* 19 (2014) 261–74.

12 For a thorough discussion, see Gorostiza and Cerdà, 'The unclaimed latifundium'.

13 'El Caudillo' (The Military Dictator) was one of Franco's nicknames.

14 Some notable examples are: Noticiero Documental [No-Do], Informaciones: Franco en El Ferrol – En la factoría Bazán [Franco] visita el nuevo dique seco, 1600B, 3 September 1973, min. 0:18–2:36, <https://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-1600/1469530/>, accessed 12 August 2020. No-Do, Vacaciones del Caudillo. La pesca del salmón en los ríos Ulla y Eo, 1634A,



6. Excerpts from NO-DO 'La Industria Naval Española Al Servicio de la Pesca' (1972) depicting naval industry building.



7. Excerpts from NO-DO 'La Industria Naval Española Al Servicio de la Pesca' (1972) depicting naval industry building.

6 May 1974, min. 9:33-11:58, <https://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-1634/1467487/> accessed 12 August 2020. No-Do, Jornadas deportivas del Generalísimo. Franco pesca en los ríos asturianos, 1273A, 29 May 1967, min. 7:13-10:05, <https://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-1273/1486311/> accessed 12 August 2020. No-Do, El Caudillo en Asturias. El deporte favorito del jefe de estado – el Caudillo pesca en Asturias, 6 June 1966, 1222B, min. 7:22-10:15, <https://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-1222/1477723/> accessed 12 August 2020. No-Do, Vacaciones del Caudillo, Franco: pescador en los ríos de Galicia, 1165C, 3 May 1965, min. 0:18-3:24, <https://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-1165/1477136/> accessed 12 August 2020.

15 The European Fisheries Control Agency is responsible for fishing controls in EU waters.

16 Some examples are: No-Do, Crucero de pesca del Generalísimo Franco – una jornada a bordo de la moderna nave ‘Vimianzo’, 1079B, 9 September 1963, min. 0:17-2:04, <https://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-1079/1469098/>, accessed 12 August 2020. Documentales en B/N, Madrid, puerto pesquero, 1 January 1961, 12:09 minutes, <https://www.rtve.es/alcarta/videos/documentales-b-n/madrid-puerto-pesquero/2846418/>, accessed 12 August 2020. Documentales en color, La industria naval Española al servicio de la pesca, 1 January 1972, 29:43 minutes, <https://www.rtve.es/alcarta/videos/documentales-color/industria-naval-espanola-servicio-pesca/2901095/>, accessed 12 August 2020.

17 See Óscar Carpintero, *El Metabolismo de La Economía Española. Recursos Naturales y Huella Ecológica* (1955–2000) (Tegui: Fundación César Manrique, 2005), 292, <http://www.fcmanrique.org/recursos/publicacion/elmetabolismo.pdf>, accessed 12 August 2020.

18 Ana I.S. Cantorna, María Isabel Castellón and Ana Gueimonde Canto, ‘Spain’s Fisheries Sector: From the Birth of Modern Fishing through to the Decade of the Seventies’, *Ocean Development & International Law* 35, no. 4 (November 2007): 369–70, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00908320701530508>, cited in Liam Campling, ‘The Tuna “Commodity Frontier”: Business Strategies and Environment in the Industrial Tuna Fisheries of the Western Indian Ocean’, *Journal of Agrarian Change* 12, no. 2–3 (Spring 2012), 261.

19 Gorostiza, and Cerdà, ‘Unclaimed latifundium’, 30.

20 Ibid., 34.

21 Gervase Clarence-Smith, ‘The Impact of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War on Portuguese and Spanish Africa’, *The Journal of African History* 26, no. 4 (Autumn 1985): 309.

22 For various accounts of the importance of medieval trans-Saharan exchange and its legacy, and documentation of the accompanying exhibition, see Kathleen Bickford Berzock, ed., *Caravans of Gold, Fragments in Time: Art, Culture, and Exchange across Medieval Sabaran Africa* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019).

23 See Judith Carney, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa’s Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2009), 37.

24 *Cabalgadas* were maritime extensions of incursions into non-Christian territory in the coastal regions of North Africa, in which the goal was to loot rather than to colonise or conquer, as noted in Mariano Gambín García, ‘La torre de Santa Cruz de la Mar Pequeña. La primera huella de Canarias y Castilla en África’ (Arrecife: *VIII congreso de patrimonio histórico de Lanzarote*, 2012), 2. One such raid is recorded as early as 1405 in the Boujdour province. See Erik Jensen, *Western Sabara, Anatomy of a Stalemate* (London, Lynne Rienner, 2005), 45.

25 The Crown of Castille and the Crown of Aragon became Spain in the eighteenth century.

26 See Tony Hodges, *Western Sabara: The Roots of a Desert War* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1984), 21.

27 See Lino Camprubí, ‘Resource Geopolitics: Cold War Technologies, Global Fertilizers, and the Fate of Western Sahara’,

*Technology and Culture* 56, no. 3 (Summer 2015): 684.

28 See Richard C. Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2000), 66.

29 Shari Berke, ‘Sahara Dispute and the Environment’, Inventory of Conflict and Environment, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120125165704/http://www1.american.edu/ted/ice/sahara.htm>, accessed 12 August 2020.

30 Gorostiza and Cerdà, ‘Unclaimed latifundium’, 32; Campling, ‘The Tuna Commodity Frontier’, 259.

31 Cantorna, Castellón and Canto, ‘Spain’s Fisheries Sector’, 368.

32 Carpintero, *El Metabolismo de la Economía Española*, 291.

33 Ibid., 292.

34 Ibid.

35 Cantorna, Castellón, and Canto, ‘Spain’s Fisheries Sector’, 370.

36 During the clandestine meetings leading to the agreement, oil business pressure groups were also present (Hispanoil, Dragados y Construcciones, Standard Eléctrica, Gas Natural, Fierro, Rumasa or Banco Urquijo). See Carlos S. Martín Fernández, and Víctor O. Martín Martín, ‘Geopolítica e Hidrocarburos: Las Prospecciones Petrolíferas en el Área Canario-Sahariana (1940–1980)’, *Estudios Geográficos* 77, no. 280, 232.

37 Later officialised by UNCLOS in 1982.

38 Carpintero, *El Metabolismo de la Economía Española*, 292.

39 Ibid., 294.

40 Sebastian Villasante, Gonzalo Macho, Jesus Giraldez, Susana Rivero Rodriguez, Josu Isusu de Rivero, Esther Divovich, Sarah Harper, Dirk Zeller and Daniel Pauly, ‘Estimates of Total Marine Fisheries Removals from the Northwest of Spain, 1950–2010’, *Working Paper Series* (Vancouver: the Fisheries Centre, University of British Columbia), <http://www.seaaroundus.org/doc/publications/wp/2015/Villasante-et-al-Spain-NW.pdf>, accessed 12 August 2020.

41 Oceanic Développement, MegaPesca Lda, ‘Contrat cadre pour la réalisation d’évaluations, d’études d’impact et de suivi concernant les accords de partenariat dans le domaine de la pêche (FPA) conclus entre la Communauté européenne et les pays tiers, et plus généralement sur le volet externe de la Politique Commune de la Pêche: Evaluation ex-post du protocole actuel d’accord de partenariat dans le domaine de la pêche entre l’Union Européenne et le Royaume du Maroc, Etude d’impact d’un possible futur protocole d’accord’ (Concarneau: Oceanic Développement, 2009), 85.

42 Oceanic Développement, ‘Evaluation’, 96.

43 Ibid., 58.

44 Ibid., 68.

45 Ibid., 69.

46 Ibid., 72.

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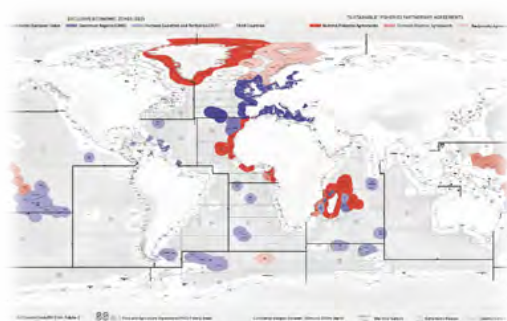
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Edited by Mariana Pestana with Sumitra Upham and Billie Muraben

This book, prepared within the scope of the 5th Istanbul Design Biennial, brings together ideas and projects that seek to define a new role for design based on empathy. Designers adopt sensitive, diplomatic, sometimes therapeutic functions, with the aim of connecting us with one another but also with the world around us, with other species, with soil, water and even the universe. In this book, the reader will find new ideas, utopian propositions but also practical solutions for reinterpreting and reconnecting with the world around them. Taking food as a key medium of encounter, both between people and also with the more than human world, the designers featured in this book consciously operate in a multi-scalar realm – from the invisible microbial life that lives in our gut to the vast landscapes transformed by agricultural practices. Designs for more than one are those that take into consideration not just their immediate user or client but the many constituents inevitably impacted by any new object or action.

**Empathy Revisited:  
Designs for more than one  
5th Istanbul Design Biennial, 2020-21**

This book is published by the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts within the scope of the 5th Istanbul Design Biennial, curated by Mariana Pestana with Sumitra Upham and Billie Muraben.

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ISBN: 978-94-93148-59-8

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