which makes it difficult for them to enlarge their criticism beyond the opposition to a particular reform and to consider other solutions than those attached to the historical nation-state framework. It is actually one of the biggest challenges for the Greek movement: the abandonment of national-oriented views and the hope for a democratic reform of the system.

Find the common to drop off national identities

To achieve that social revolts leave behind their national identities, it’s important to leave the isolation of the no-border-movement, to create links with actors of the ongoing struggles. Obtaining this result implies to underline the handling of migrations in the locations where the effects of crisis are being felt and discussed: in the spaces of discussion or struggles, of considerations, sites, occupations and also syndicates) and in the places of life and work (banlieues, schools, universities, companies). Under this view, there are simple truths never worthless to remember. First, the migrations have always existed and will always exist. The project intending to stop them can only produce "barbarous" and "inhuman" practices, unable to spur migration movements. Furthermore, it is obvious that even the deportation of all the "sans-papiers" will not bring back full employment and would not provoke any rise of wages. Unemployment, as well as the reduc-
ing of wages and social rights, are never the result of the presence of migrants, they are an integral part of the capitalist system. In other words, the movements of struggle against the European anti-social reforms will win nothing from an opposition against migrants. On the contrary, finding the common between "migrants" and "natives", managing to link all workers and unemployed, with or without papers, in a same process, allows to consider common discourses and actions.

During the "anti-CPE" movement in France in some cities, connections have been created between students, workers, migrants and banlieues inhabitants. These connections were notably bonding with the ones that are being created in the struggle. It is in an active and radical opposition against capitalist system, that bonding with the ones that can take place. If this bonding can be realized in large movements, they can also develop in autonomous way by actions aiming at targets connected to capitalism and the crisis from anti-racism positions. Targets like financial or employers lobby, governmental and economical institu-
tions, banks or the European meeting of ministers of finance… It’s definitively about to make practical the idea with which a pro-
found transformation of migration policies can only pass by a put-
ting in question the capitalist frame in which they take place

In the perspective to enlarge the prospects of the No Border move-
ment and of the movements against austerity-plans, in the pers-
pective to augment our visibility in the discourse on migration and movement and freedom of movement and sett-
ing, against borders, against the state and against capitalism. This discourse, often connected to direct actions, tries to frame the fight against anti-migration politics into a criticism of the capitalist sys-
tem. Nevertheless, the way it is expressed is often reduced to a total rejection of all capitalist structures, which only reaches to people already convinced. On the other hand, we can identify a moderate current, that emphasizes more on the process of mi-
grant regularization and the opposition to detention-camps. This discourse usually reaches a deadlock on the question of linking political and economical frameworks in which anti-migration po-
licies are integrated.

Paradox

We realize that these different discourses have in common to focus mainly on the repression against migrants. The insistence upon this question is understandable, it is the most outrageous aspect of the handling of migrations, who themselves consider it as the main issue: to exit the circle of repression and to be able to live a "nor-
mal" life. We think, nevertheless, that there is a designated weak-
ness, a one-dimensional aspect of the No Border discourses. The capitalist handling of migrants work, and its effects on economic conditions, and social relations has nearly never been used as a central argument in the opposition to borders and the fights for freedom of movement. Furthermore, except Frontex, we can consider that the "anti-CPE" movement, despite its decisive and organizational im-
portance concerning the handling of migration movements, has been globally spared of criticism and actions from the No Border movement.

Leaving this aside constitutes from our point of view a paradox: we may only think that the handling of migrations reveals the real face of capitalism and ables us to look through the future trends in our societies evolutions (militarization of borders and of the society in general, control-technologies development, labor precariousness, social rights and freedom of speech destruction…). Nevertheless, it’s very seldom that, beginning from the migra-
tion question, we manage to develop discourses or actions concer-
ing other aspects of society.

III. MIGRATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SECURITARIAN EUROPE

Migration exists everywhere, internationally or locally, linked to wars, work or studies, as a result of climate change or meetings. Many from us don’t speak the languages of their grand-parents, we don’t live where our parents lived and our movements will not hold between "migrants" or "natives", the only identities stamped on us, are printed by the state on paper and those printed by ad-
vertisement and tv in our minds, identities that are strange to us. The classification between migrants and "natives" has no sense anymore. However, those who are commonly called "sans-papiers" are particular migrants, their rights are non-existent, they are forced to clandestinity and they represent the figure of the ul-
timate "foreigner". The capitalist system makes them marginal and applies on them particular politics. These politics and their links with "the rest of society" are what we are interested in.

The development of European migration policies should be ana-
lyzed in the context of the development of the European Union, in so far as it is a process of an economic system opening up its labour market. By observing E.U.’s history and the enlargement process that followed throughout its 60 years of existence, we can see that the capitalist handling of migration movements is directly linked to the economic situation. Periods of crisis or economic growth can transform migration policies radically, which in turn can have huge effects on economic and security policies.

The waves of migration

In the last century, after the second world war, work-related mi-
gration began to intensify. The first important wave of migra-
tion, starting in the 1950s and 1960s, was the consequence of the "Atlanti-
cove" migration, particularly from the South of Europe and other Medi-
erranean countries to the northern countries. Thirty years later, the fall of the "iron curtain" provoked a new wave of migrants coming from the East attracted by the image of "safe old Europe". Simul-
aneous to this process, the number of non-Europeans trying to join Europe, increased from year to year.
From security architecture...

Today, in the enlarged E.U., European institutionalist architect has reached a new dimension and a higher level in terms of state cooperation (Dublin II) and security procedures. Since the collapse of the Soviet-union, the borders of the “project Europe” expanded and the Union took the chance to build up an gigantic security architecture. In the process of the development of new technologies and huge financial possibilities. This was followed on the first stage by the construction of detention camps and the increase of social controls. As countries like Italy, Greece and Spain started to build more and more defense mechanisms against migration, with the help of the European migrant management centers. In these countries the conflict of internal border and the inflow of illegal migrants has been handled based on an increased focus on the financial motives of immigration, the externalization of the borders to Mediterranean countries like Libya, Tunisia and Morocco where European funds are being used to build detention camps and to improve the control of the borders. The deaths at the borders in the Mediterranean Sea and conditions of detention camps like Pagani in Lesbo, are not produced anymore by a single country interest but are part of European economical and migratory strategies.

...to labour-market architecture

Parallel to this expansion of repression and militarization of borders, we witness the reconstruction of the labour-market. The tricky part for the state government is to keep the balance between control and repression of the labour-market. High, illegal, illegal labor immigration in two principal economic ways. On one hand, they try to control migration to answer economic needs, a limited and specialized migration. And on the other hand, they use immigration to promote development by migration of skilled workers to fill empty positions in the labor market and to control the social situation by restricting the social benefits to migrants. The governments are thus playing a difficult game by trying to achieve these aims, one of the principal questions is: how will the state-governments try to compensate the handling of the financial third?

IV. FEAR AND PATRIOTISM IN PERIOD OF «CRISIS»

It has been two years since the banks and stock markets began to collapse. Billions of Euros have been wasted, des-ignations of being reinjected and released by profitable creditors, others stay useless and unprofitable. In the social terms of stock-markets and the Euro continues. In a short time, the crisis of the financial system became a crisis of the states. After doing everything to save the financial system, the governments begin now to make the “people pay”: Greece, Romania, Spain, Great Britain… This announcement of capital-punishment is the obligation for the governments and the international institutions: austerity-plans, which have been or will be voted for, are real plans of social destruction.

Austerity-plans as logical development

This first opportunity of a real act of “European-crisis-management”, after the IMF-intervention in Romania, was the state-debt crisis of Greece. The international capital, in form of the E.U., IMF and the Greek state, tries to turn the country in a social and economical megalopolis for a new shock-drone. Many social rights that have been defended by workers since three decades, will be abolished within two years. The first package of measures voted by the Greek parliament shows the way: cut in wages up to thirty percent, freezing of wages and pensions in the state sectors. These measures on wages are followed by an increase of social taxes and special taxes on tobacco, alcohol and betting. Changes will also occur in the social services cut in pensions and unemployment benefits, destruction of social security. The next waves of measures are being prepared for the next year, under the severe surveillance of the “control commission”. The effcts of the austerity policies are just beginning to produce their effects: massive job cuts, more and more part-time jobs and mass creation of unemployed.

Finally, the austerity-plans imposed in the frame of “the crisis” are certainly a new stage in the process of precarization of work, in the application of handling techniques of immigration as means of population management. In the face of these policies, these anti-social reforms are the logical continuation of dynamics which started with the creation and development of the European “project”. The specificity of these measures can be found in their rarely seen social violence against the workers. This is a more and more racist and socially-focused political project in a political project based on fear management.

Fear politics and patriotism

If we observe the discourses developed by governments, we assess if they justify their handling of the crisis by fear driven arguments, with the aim of keeping the fragile basis of fear management. In such a mechanism of social transformation operates in different ways. One way is to create a physical fear, based on the figure of young delinquent migrants, to justify the development of control techniques (police presence, cameras, archiving…) and repression structures (detention camps and prisons, “freedom”, “law”, “justice”). This fear takes on symbolic reality based on unaddressable differences between Islam and “western way of life”. Controversies surrounding supposed habits of migrants (food habits, quicks and scifical lambs), are nothing but symbolic manipulations created in order to give impressions of a threat looming on accidental traditions and of a superiority of these on an archaic morality of “western life”. Furthermore, it is about to create a fear based on the rarity of work and on the figure of the working migrant, in order to accept at the end the deregulation of labour.

These politics of fear are naturally articulated around the notion of crisis. Should it be to invest billions in banks or to impose anti-social reforms, the governmental discourses remain the same: “In the context of the crisis, sacrifices are necessary to save our crisis”. This appeal to economical patriotism doubles in a appeal to cultural patriotism. The discourse on national dignity, pride and welfare for our societies represented by migration. In this manner, the governments present themselves as defending the electorate and channel popular anger against the capitalistic inequalities towards the figure of the migrant, seen as the ultimate root of physical or cultural enemy, both inside and outside. This process aims to hide that the consequences of the crisis are the same for “natives” and “migrants”, an aggravation of life conditions and the tracking of all the non-profitable individuals – fired workers, unemployed workers cut off from benefits, detained and evicted workers.

From xenophobia to cosmopolitanism?

Socially, we can expect that the current reforms produce effects going in two main directions: on one hand, a questioning of the institutions and even maybe of the capitalist system; on the other hand, a radicalization of fear and xenophobia. This two directions may seem contradictory but are nonetheless often complementary. In an organized form, they are expressed in the progression of right-wing political parties and racism issue within some Unions. On an individual level, the mixture of anti-institutional and anti-migration feelings are developing in alarming manner. The first phase of the No Border movement lies in the risk of reinforcing and anchoring durable xenophobic feelings, in the risk to return to a national and nationalist Europe, more and more closed and racists.

This mixture of sentiments reflects a reality from which the No Border movement can not escape: in their societies, migration and the manner in which it is handled represents often a point of rupture, the crystallization of the debate to vacate finally the rejection of a society in confrontation with new ways of life, new economic and social dynamics which started with the creation and development of the European “project”. Many social actors, professionals, intellectuals and enthusiasts for the No Border movement lies in the risk of reinforcing and anchoring durable xenophobic feelings, in the risk to return to a national and nationalist Europe, more and more closed and racists.

V. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND PERSPECTIVES

Some have answers to this question. Where we are looking for cosmopolitanism the governments are playing on tensions between communities and goading on the fear of the other. Despite this, we begin to see the development of social movements opposing to the New Right to the European Union. In Greece. In Greece a heterogeneous movement with different political goals has been protesting against the austerity plans of the Greek government. The movement, mainly controlled by the social-democratic unions, was the fifth of May, when hundreds of thousands of people all over Greece took part in the most massive demonstrations since the end of the Greek dictatorship in 1974. State-employed, public workers, anarchists, students and also migrants participated in thestored of the parliament. During the waves of attacks on the social reform, the governmental discourses remain the same: “In the context of the crisis, sacrifices are necessary to save our crisis”. This appeal to economical patriotism doubles in an appeal to cultural patriotism. The discourse on national dignity, pride and welfare for our societies represented by migration. In this manner, the government present themselves as defending the electorate and channel popular anger against the capitalistic inequalities towards the figure of the migrant, seen as the ultimate root of physical or cultural enemy, both inside and outside. This process aims to hide that the consequences of the crisis are the same for “natives” and “migrants”, an aggravation of life conditions and the tracking of all the non-profitable individuals – fired workers, unemployed workers cut off from benefits, detained and evicted workers.