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Let us start our last panel. I am Karl Kaiser. We want to discuss the refugee crisis, which is particularly important, and we have touched upon it. It may be a game changer in international politics. Very often, one says of the present exodus that it is the biggest since the great flow of refugees immediately after World War Two. That comparison is only partially correct, because the millions who fled immediately after World War Two from East to West, Poles and Germans, millions actually, went to a receiving country that was like them. They received compatriots.

The new flow is very different. The people who flee have a very different culture, religion, language and background to the country they are going to. Unlike those refugees after World War Two, who moved a few hundred kilometres, these people are moving thousands of kilometres and are crossing deserts and seas. Unlike the earlier movement, these refugees have an enormous knowledge of their environment, their target country and their itinerary, in real time. They flee with smartphones and tablets and communicate among each other or with their families at home. Many of the people in this flow of refugees are only an advance party. The oldest son is sent out in the hope that the family will follow. It is an extraordinarily different phenomenon compared with the flows of refugees we have had in the past.

Germany is the main target. In the time between the beginning of this conference and when we go home, 20,000 refugees will have arrived in Germany and have to be taken care of. 180,000 arrived only in the month of October and the flow continues and the burden is enormous. The horrible attacks in France have added a new dimension and have increased the fear that there might be a strong xenophobic, right-wing reaction everywhere. It makes the task of the German Government, but also of the other Governments who receive refugees, very difficult.

The European Union, for the first time in its existence, used the majority vote on a major question of national importance. The three countries that voted against are now refusing to accept the vote, and the one country that abstained, Poland, also refused to accept the vote. What will happen in the future? What will happen to the European Union? How can a European approach be applied under these circumstances?

My final question is a much more fundamental one. It is the question of whether the global refugee regime that we developed in the past, with all the conventions, is actually sustainable under the present circumstances. When that regime was created, it was assumed that the problems of persecutions and wars were manageable, regarding the flow that they created. Now, a very large part of humanity, repressed and persecuted, has decided to move North. Can we in the North, under the rules of the old regime, accommodate them all? What should we do?

Now I turn to the panel. I will not introduce them in great detail, as you know their bios. Each of them will speak for about five minutes about how they see the problem and what can be done in the short term and in the long run. There has been a change in the panel. Didier Reynders, the Belgian Foreign Minister could not come, as you know, for reasons we understand. He is replaced now by Haïm Korsia, who is the Chief Rabbi of France and he will start.