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Well, first of all, to make it very clear, I think what is at stake is the fact that for years and years and probably decades, the main divide was between centre-right and centre-left parties. I think what is new today is that if you have a look at the political deal in democracies, the divide is between populists and traditional government parties. This is very dangerous. What is at stake now is the capacity for democracies to face this kind of problem. The main battlefield is of course the issue of immigration, like you just said. According to me, we cannot move forward in this question if we forget that the problem comes from the incapacity of democratic countries in Europe to integrate successfully all the people coming from many other countries with their own culture, traditions, history and religion. This is what is at stake today. If things are difficult, it is first because of ideology, which is as usual very manicheist between the ones who are supposed to be very humanist and the other ones who are supposed to be very nationalist. I think this is an interesting debate for elections, but not for concrete actions. And as regular, traditional government parties, we need to show that we are able to challenge this problem and to face it. We have to face it both on a national and on a European scale. I would like to give some reflection for all of you. First, as a European point of view, we need to harmonize the question because of course, there is not on one side, the nice, lucid Hungarian and Polish countries who know everything about the question, and on the other side France or Great-Britain or Italy - well, let's put Italy away for now -, Germany, who are very humanist and naïve. This is not the question that is on the table. The question is that we do not have to face the same kind of problems because the immigrants are passing through Hungary but are never staying in Hungary. So we have to harmonize the analysis and see how we can do it together. The second point is to control the European borders, and this is a European problem and not a state member problem. And then the third thing is internal legislation. A big part of the problem is a national problem. The fact that in France we are unable to give very quick administrative answers to the asylum claimers is one of the major problems. We need to give an answer in two months and today, it is two, three or four years. Then the families are settling and they are totally lost. The second thing is for all the people who are not eligible to the asylum right, they do not have any reason to stay in our countries because for economic migration, we do not have the tools to be successful for their integration in Europe. And then, lastly, we have a big question which is never tackled as I am doing now. It is the question of multiculturalism, the title of our panel. On this precise point, I would like to say something. Until the Second World War, especially in Europe and specifically in France, we had a model which was called "assimilation"- the English said "aggressive assimilation", which is not a good word, we are not aggressive. But at that time, when you were immigrating to France, you would choose a French name, speak in French without any accent and the religion stayed at home, when you were in a public space, you were totally adopting the French Republican values. After the 1960s, we have totally abandoned this model of assimilation to the multicultural one, which is to say: everybody has their own culture and the regional culture from abroad is a culture that can prevail over the common laws of the country that welcomes you. And this was the beginning of the problems, especially when you add to it the religious problems, and of course the rising of the Muslim radical Islamist influence, which is very present in our debates, again with the question of the burqa, because you have maybe heard what happened at the United Nations this week, the position of the community of the UN against France and the law that I have personally passed as a congressman to ban the wearing of burqa, which is totally opposed to the French Republican laws and the way we respect the rights of women. This kind of question shows how it is difficult for traditional parties who want to lead the country and want to act to give structural answers to the populist and extremist parties. So this is exactly what is at stake today and we have to give answers because it will soon be too late.

Sean Cleary

Thank you, Jean-François.