Chiba University New Frontiers of Studies on Fair Society Values and Public Vision in the age after COVID-19 Online International Seminar "Multiculturalism, East and West"

Date and Time： Wednesday 3 August 2022, 17:00-19:00, Japan

Abstract: This is a research essay based on the transcript of the seminar "Multiculturalism, East, and West." Section 1 Prof. Christoph Lütge from the Technical University of Munich introduces the topic "The German Migration Crisis 2015 and 2016: Ethics, Strategy and Public Dialogue". Section 2 Takayuki Kawase from Chiba University will introduce the topic "Multiculturalism and Liberal Nationalism: Liberal Integration of Immigrants". And give some comments and questions to Prof. Christoph Lütge. Section 3 is the discussion and Q&A time.

Moderator
・**Prof. Takayuki Kawase (Chiba University)**

Organizer: Chiba University Institute for advanced academic research- New Frontiers of Studies on Fair Society Values and Public Vision in the age after COVID-19

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED ACADEMIC RESEARCH

Opening remarks:

Prof. Jiro Mizushima (Project leader)

Hello, thank you for joining and especial thanks for Christoph Lütge. Professor Lütge, thank you for joining our workshops again, and my name is Jiro Mizushima, and as the leader of the interdisciplinary program, Chiba Studies on Global Fair Society, I will make a few remarks for opening this seminar.

Today, Professor Lütge, he is so kind to speak for us about especially the German debate on migration, and I myself, I am a political scientist majoring in European politics, especially in the Netherlands, and at the same time, I am especially interested in the politics of migration all the more because nowadays, in Europe, migration is one of the important political issues, and the rise of right-wing populist parties has much to do with this problem. Everywhere in Europe, we see the rise of these new populist parties except in Ireland. From that viewpoint, it is interesting to see the different attitudes of European countries about migration and refugees. It is quite famous that Germany accepted more than 1 million refugees during the refugee crisis, but the surrounding countries were not so tolerant against refugees. These divergent paths are quite interesting for political scientists, because the surrounding countries such as the Netherlands, it was known as tolerant country, but this time, Germany was the most tolerant it seems.

Anyway, bearing this difference in Europe, I expect a fruitful discussion between Europe and Japan and Mexico. We have a guest from Mexico, so quite an interesting composition of participants. Thank you very much.

Section 1

Prof. Christoph Lütge

Thank you very much for the introductory remarks. Since I think this is a topic that has been quite important for several years now in Germany, and I remember discussing this in Japan also during the time when the refugee crisis was particularly hot topic. It still is, but well, it's an ongoing topic, even if there are new ones, such as now the Ukraine War and of course, the Corona crisis. So I'm going to talk about the German migration crisis of 2015 and 16, in particular, and especially also from an ethical point of view, about the different ethical viewpoints and what differences they might make in evaluating this crisis. Then we can see how we can put that into fruitful context with Germany and Japan.

Let me give some introductory facts of The European migration crisis (Figure 1). So first of all, it should be kept in mind that Germany has been to a large extent some kind of multicultural society for quite some time already. We have had especially since the 70s, even 1960s, had a lot of immigrants arrive originally from working in particular branches of the industry. First they came from Italy, then later from Turkey and Greece, so mostly European countries. As of now, I think this is some years ago, I think the percentage is slight higher than that, 21% are either migrants or children or grandchildren of migrants. So in many cases, we already are in the third generation of migrants now, especially those that I mentioned that came from countries like Italy, Turkey, and others.

So that was the situation. Maybe I should also mention that in the 1990s, we already had this kind of small migration crisis when the former Yugoslavia collapsed and a lot of migrants came across the border, from Croatia, from Bosnia especially. At that time, the then government decided also to change slightly the laws about asylum and actually more or less stopped this wave of refugees. So that was the former rise, but in 2015, as you all know, something else happened. The Syrian military conflict that escalated more and more increase the pressure on the EU borders, so not just on Germany. Of course, we don't have a direct border with Turkey where many of the Syrian immigrants or migrants came from, but they were gathering in camps along the EU borders, especially in Turkey, and come across the Mediterranean Sea to some extent and try to get along the Balkan route into other countries, especially Germany, so most of them wanted actually to go to Germany. The idea was to distribute them across the different EU countries, but this did not really work out. To some extent it did, but not very far. We can talk about the details later on.

In September 2015, Chancellor Merkel decided to open the borders and let the migrants in. So in 2015 alone, around 890,000 asylum seekers came into Germany. The number increased then again, so mostly they said, and according to some sources, this is around a million people that came to Germany. I remember very well in Munich as well at the Central Station, a lot of them arrived and were initially greeted very nicely, let's say. That is the term Willkommenskultur, I will use it later on as well.

Figure 1 The European Migration Crisis

But what we have seen since then was several problems and I'm summarizing these very globally . As Figure 2 shows one is that there is an increasing hostility against migrants in general, I would say, also to some extent against those who have been living in Germany already for a longer time. Well, it's been, 6-7 years ago already. It's a bit hard to say after a longer time, what are the long-term consequences, but at that time, it was definitely a challenge for, I
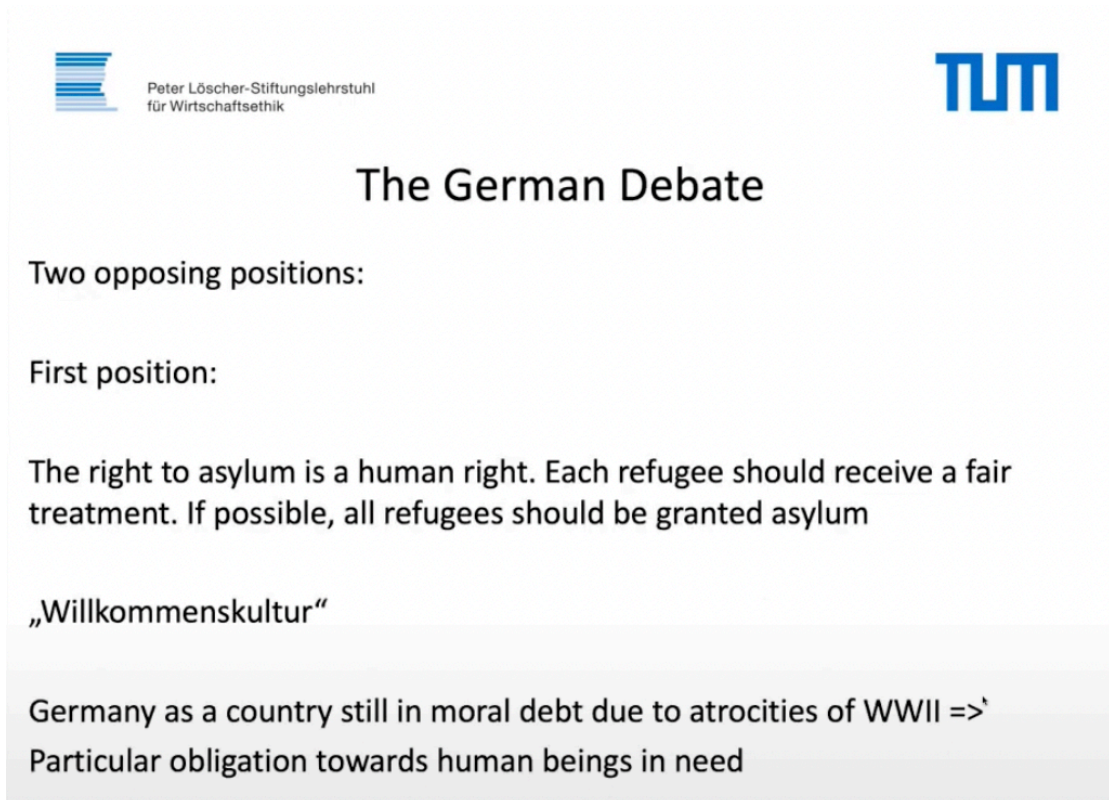
remember, students. We have quite a few students at the Technical University of Munich with migration backgrounds, and they were often more than before stopped, for example, by the police and asked to show their papers, which I also found quite unusual just by their appearance, but also more serious things happened. Then certainly we have seen a number of terrorist attacks after the migration wave. The most famous one in Germany probably was the Berlin weiner smart attack, but there were others after that. In particular, in France, there is the more notorious one in Nice which happened with I think around 100 people may be getting killed and others. One major problem is that there is an impression among ethnic Germans, let's say, that their needs are not recognized sufficiently by politicians. This is more the case even more in the former Eastern Germany, but also in the West. So those who feel underprivileged and are earning as much, they feel that a lot of money and funds goes to those migrants who are coming here and they feel left out, so kind of alienation of population. This is something to watch out.

Figure 2   Challenges of receiving a large number of refugees

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Challenges of receiving a large number of refugees

Increasing hostility against migrants in general, also those who have lived in Germany for a longer time

Terrorist attacks and cultural clashes between refugees and population

Alienation of population: An impression in particular amongst less privileged ethnic Germans that their needs and sorrows are not recognised sufficiently by politicians

So this was some of the opening facts. What we have in the German debate are two opposing positions (Figure 3). To put them simply, the first position is to say, well, the right to asylum is a human right, and so each refugee should receive a fair treatment. If possible, then of course, we can argue what that means if possible, all refugees should be granted asylum. This is as I already mentioned the term "Willkommenskultur," the welcome culture. That was already at the start of the crisis invoked by Merkel in particular but also others also tied to the point that Germany has still a moral debt due to World War II and that there is this particular obligation towards human beings in need.

Figure 3 The German Debate 1

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The German Debate

Two opposing positions:

First position:

The right to asylum is a human right. Each refugee should receive a fair treatment. If possible, all refugees should be granted asylum

„Willkommenskultur"

Germany as a country still in moral debt due to atrocities of WWII =>' Particular obligation towards human beings in need

Then there is a second position which is opposed to it (Figure 4). Of course, this can take on various forms. So, a rather cautious one is to have a cautious approach to migration. That's what actually many other critics of the migration policy said at the time. We should not let so many of them in at one time, but take a more gradual approach. Of course, then there are more extreme versions of this ranging up to xenophobia and just shutting your country down basically and not allowing in or hardly anyone in. So there's a whole spectrum of positions here. The debate has been quite polarized with the two positions. This is a very interesting thing to observe which I would say also has had long-term consequences up to now that the proponents of one position accuse the other position of being extremists, right-wing extremists, even Nazis basically, especially those people with "Willkommenskultur" opposition said, well, are you going to go back to the extremism of the 1930s or similar.

What they often did not distinguish was between the reasonable caution that one can have and really xenophobia for position. So sometimes it was as simple as saying any person who wants to limit migration is a fascist and this is certainly a problem. I should also add that there were surveys at the time, I remember well, which showed that around two-thirds, at least two-thirds of the population were not in favor of this first "Willkommenskultur" position, so would have rather been in favor of a more cautious approach. But this was not really taken into account at the time, but I will get back to that (Figure 5).

Figure 4 The German Debate 2

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The German Debate

Second position:

A spectrum between:

- A cautious approach to migration

and

- Xenophobia

Figure 5 The German Debate 3

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The German Debate

Polarised debate with two positions:

According to the "Willkommenskultur" position:
Any proponent of limiting the access to asylum is seen as a return to right wing extremism of the mid 20th century

Proponents of the first position did not, in their criticism of the second position, distinguish between reasonable caution and xenophobia

"Any person who want to limit migration is a fascist"

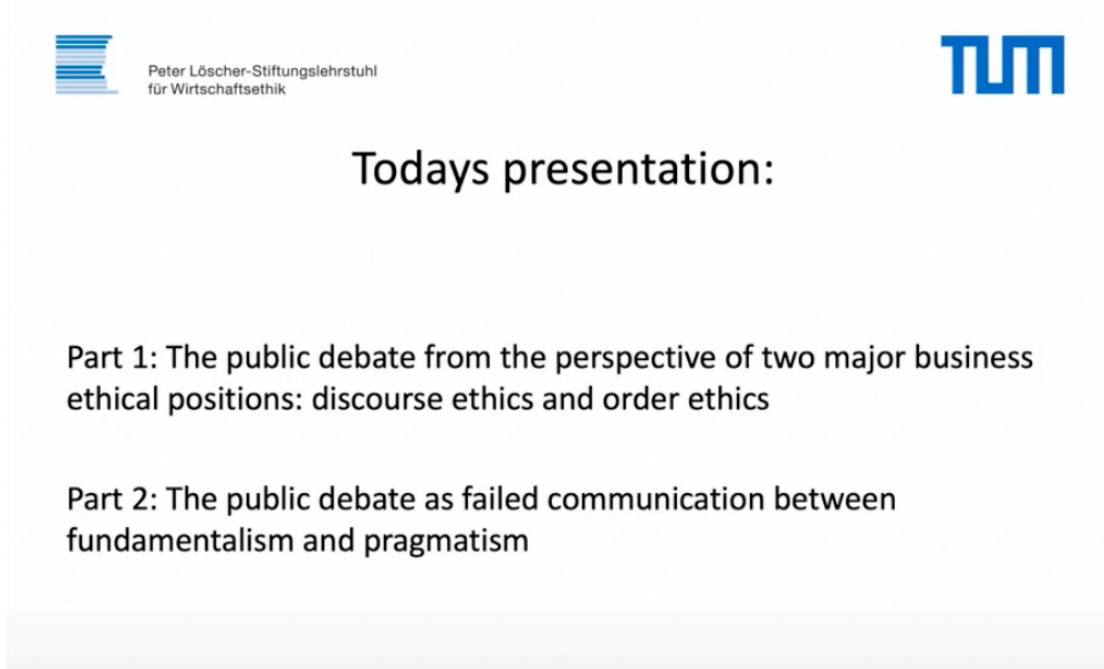So today, what I will do is to talk a bit more about the public debate from the perspective of two major ethical positions and also in the second part about the public debate is a failed communication between fundamentalism and pragmatism (Figure 6).

Figure 6 Today's presentation

So the two ethical approaches that one can take here, in particular, is the discourse ethics and order ethics (Figure 7). So my approach at least is order ethics. Takayuki knows it, also others like Natsuka, and I will just make some remarks about this, but let me start with the discourse ethics of Jürgen Habermas first.

Discuss ethics Actually, both of them are procedural theories, saying well, a certain approach, certain procedure is ethical or non-ethical and not just the outcome, but the procedure is important (Figure 8). So discourse ethics is looking for guidelines of the ideal conversation that enables citizens in democratic societies to arrive at their norms and values. You will probably know this, this is the kind of ideal discourse situation that Jürgen Habermas invented if you want. This is, as it says, it's an ideal situation. It works as long as all participants intend to cooperate and also seek compromises for the sake of the greater good. They're willing to set aside their own interests. This is quite important. Of course, I make this very short here, but discourse ethics does not work if all parties are self-interested. That's actually what Habermas openly admits.

So, this is what I call in my work a moral surplus, but that's not important. The main point is that there must be a willingness of the citizens to disregard personal incentives, and of course, this is rather hard to guarantee I would see. That's why the theory builds on an quite insecure foundation I would say (Figure 9).

Figure 7 Part 1

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Part 1

The public debate from the perspective of two major business ethical positions:

Discourse ethics

and

Order Ethics

Figure 8 Discourse ethics 1

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Discourse ethics

A procedural theory; a guideline to the ideal conversation
enabling citizens in democratic societies to arrive at norms and values.

Presumes a "moral surplus"

The procedure works as long as all participants intend to cooperate and seek compromises for the sake of the greater good and are willing to – at least partly - set aside their own interests.

Figure 9 Discourse ethics 2

There are certain positions of this in business ethics (Figure 10). I think this is not very important here for us. It would also require corporations to neglect actually their own interest at least in certain situations, and it would also require a country, in that case, Germany, to disregard the interests of their own citizens in order to assist refugees. Again, this is an ideal situation, and I mean, any philosophical theory requires some kind of ideal concept or models. But the question is, what does it mean if you wanted to implement them? So if there are substantial obstacles to implementation like self-interest, then you have a problem.

So, the discourse ethics position leads, actually, at some point, to a situation where you cannot even debate the position of the counterpart (Figure 11). It can only be rejected because you're saying I have the moral legitimacy to insist that there is human rights for all refugees. So this is an absolute fist in a normative position. Those who were in Romania have heard the lecture by Axel Honneth maybe, so Habermas successor in Frankfurt, and this was quite similar. It was a normative or normativist position that he takes, so this is the way it has to be and so reality has to follow put very bluntly actually. I think this is a problem. I would even go as far to say this weakens democratic culture because democratic culture should consist in different approaches and debate, even a hot debate between different approaches, pluralism, and that's kind of a problem if you take this strong normative discourse ethics approach.

This is what I just said (Figure 12). So this is the position of strong human rights and everything follows from that.

Just to mention one of the outcomes which is I think the most serious one after which is not going back anymore. So even if we had integrated all those migrants now, which I think has worked better than many people thought, now after 6 or 7 years, it's safe to say that it was not so bad as some people thought. But anyway, what we have is now a right-wing party like the Alternative for Germany (ifD) which we never had before after 1945 in the German parliament, and in 2014, actually, this should be 13, in '13, they missed being elected into the Bundestag,

but that was before the migration crisis (Figure 13). After that, they kept being elected into all the parliaments, even the regional Parliaments, almost all of them, and there is this as you know

Figure 10   Discourse Ethics in Business Ethics

Figure 11 Consequences of discourse ethics for public Debate 1

the 5% threshold. So we have to have above 5%. In 2017, so the election after the migration crisis, they reached more than 12%, and this went down during the Corona crisis for some time, but then it turned upward again, so they are still around 10%, and this is a problem because then you have a completely different political situation because no one wants to form a coalition with this party, and that weakens actually I would say not conservative, I would say, the center, middle, right, liberal conservative camp. This is certainly weakened by this situation. It doesn't look like this is going to go away. This was the first position.

Figure 12 Consequences of discourse ethics for public debate 2

Figure 13 Orders ethics and the dangers of extremism

Then, back to my position, the order ethics position, which just some remarks about this. This is grounded in the social contract tradition of philosophy (Figure 14). It goes back to people like Thomas Hobbes and also David Hume, and both rest their theory systematically on the self-interest of people in different ways. They both take different approaches, but it is clear that we have to recognize the fact that people are self-interested, that there are certain conflict situations, and that they want to form a society for mutual benefit. In modern times, two famous thinkers here would be John Rawls and James Buchanan who held this, for example, of course, the original position by Jonathan Rawls, which you all know so I don't have to introduce that, and Buchanan's public choice theory, which says that basically, the social contract is a solution for the prisoner's dilemma situation. The prisoner's dilemma situation you find everywhere, in society, in our economy, and also in the migration crisis. So, I will not model this now, but it should be more or less clear. We can discuss more later on.

Figure 14 Order Ethics 1

The point is that here maybe I should introduce the distinction between pre-modern and modern societies because pre-modern societies, played zero-sum games. There was no systematic economic growth in Europe, not until the early 19th century, and only then did economic growth take off systematically, and we are not living in this pre-modern zero-sum society anymore, which means also our ethics should change to the pre-modern society of zero-sum societies. So we should have as I have just sketched in my book, "Ethics of Competition," which also appeared in Japanese, we should systematically recognize the concept of competition as an ethical concept, that there is an advantage in the competition which is, by most ethical approaches, rather seen in a negative way.

Anyway, so the order ethics, pretty much the modern, not pre-modern approach, takes into account that we have a culture of pluralism, of competitive societies, that freedom to act according to personal incentives is key, is an essential democratic value, and that ethics that would require citizens to disregard systematically their own interests, not just once for a short time but systematically, this cannot really be implemented in these modern mass societies, which the discourse ethics would rather favor.

Figure 15 Order Ethics 2

Figure 16 Order Ethics 3

So we would accept as a moral ambivalence of human nature. We are certainly also interested in the well being of others, no question, but this has limits, and we cannot systematically disregard our own interests for a long time, especially if there's a competitive situation that we have. So we have to look for the incentive structures, and these ethics would ask what are the incentive structures. For example, in the migration crisis, what are the incentive structures of migrants? Why do they leave their country? Why do they wanted to come to Europe? Why did they particularly wanted to come to Germany? And, what can we do about this? What can we do about these incentive structures and how to deal with them?

Figure 17 Order Ethics 4

Figure 18 Order ethical approach to the refugee crisis

So a pragmatic approach or order ethics approach of the refugee crisis would take into consideration the actual capacities of the countries. That's actually what the then German President Joachim Gauck said at the time, "Our hearts are open, but our possibilities are finite." I mean, this is quite simple. This is actually straightforward, and this is what the Swedish government at the very early stage during the migration crisis already said when they said "We

are sorry, we cannot take any more of this. We have taken a lot," and in comparison to their size, to their population size, they have taken a huge number of refugees as well, but then they also said we cannot take any more.

This is what order ethics would recognize, but of course, we should also not underestimate the value of pluralism, which means that in general migration is still a good thing with limits certainly, but also for enriching the culture of your society and also increasing competition, of course, within limits, yes, within channels and limits.

This was my first part, and I'm going to do the second part now about the public debate (Figure 19). I think this is very important because it might also hold some lessons for other countries, we have had this failed communication between the fundamentalist approach and pragmatist approach, not just since the migrants migration crisis, not just then, but also in the Corona Crisis, for example, which is not our topic today, but there we have had a quite similar debate.

Figure 19 Part 2
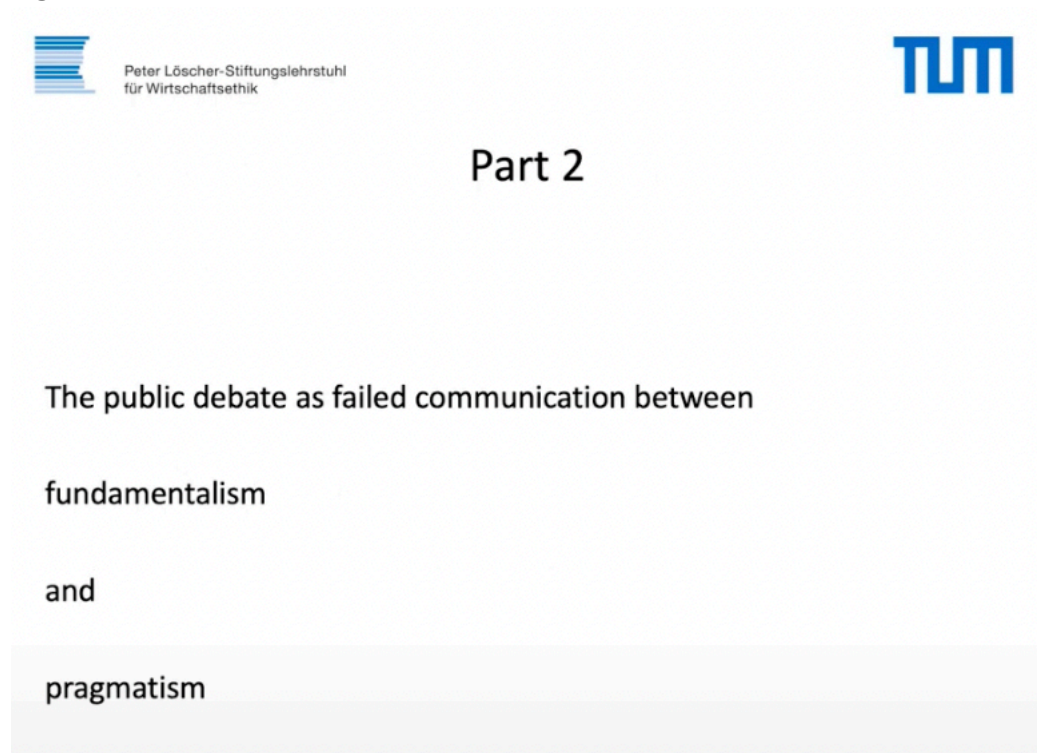
So the debate on the refugees can either be conducted as a struggle between different moral or rather maybe ethical positions, or as a pragmatic, collective search for compromises that takes the interests of all stakeholders into consideration which would be favored, but not by everyone (Figure 20).

We have seen in the debate actually three main positions (Figure 21). Well, we have fundamentalism and pragmatism, and we have what I would call or what has been called in the literature, moralistic fallacies of the political left wing, and the naturalistic fallacy of the political right wing, and I think this is quite important to see there are fallacies that have been committed on both ends of the political spectrum.

Figure 20   Fundamentalism and Pragmatism

Figure 21 Tree mail positions of debate during refugee
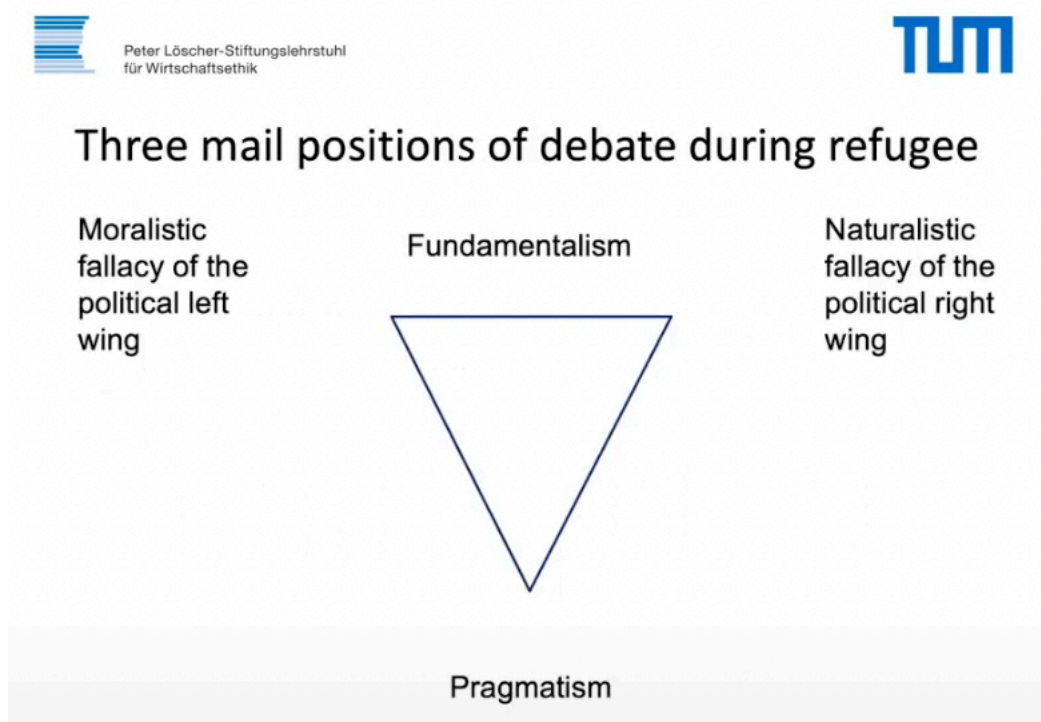
The naturalistic fallacy is more often committed by right-wing politicians, which of course derives a moral conclusion from a factual statement and factual premises that support evaluative conclusions are used. Of course, this goes back – I don't have to talk about this, to some remarks by David Hume as well already, and during the 20th century, this was elaborated in the naturalistic fallacy, and to give you some examples, of course, very simple ones, "men are physically stronger than women, therefore men should be a charge." or they have, "Many

Middle Eastern nations are under development." I would say 'were' maybe. For this reasons, human beings of Middle Eastern descent are morally inferior, and this would be a kind of naturalistic fallacy. Or, "the lady is from Denmark; therefore, she drinks too much alcohol." This is what my Danish staff member Mariana suggested. Maybe you have met her, or maybe not yet. So apparently this is when they frequently encounter, or, saying **"Your son has been unfaithful to me. What kind of upbringing did you give him?"** and the mother says, "Darling, don't forget, he is a man." So this is also something if men is like that and you can derive ethical conclusions from them (Figure 22).

Figure 22 Examples of the naturalistic fallacy

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Examples of the naturalistic fallacy

"Men are physically stronger than women. Therefore men should be in charge."

"Many Middle Eastern nations are under-developed; for this reason human beings of Middle Eastern descent are morally inferior."

"The lady is from Denmark, and therefore she drinks too much alcohol."

Daughter in law (in an agitated voice): "Your son has been unfaithful to me! What kind of upbringing did you give him?"
Mother in law: "Darling ... don't forget, he is a man!"

That's the naturalistic fallacy (Figure 23). This is a quite known and famous argument in philosophy, but we also have a moralistic fallacy. The moralistic fallacy is often committed in the claims of left-wing politicians. So facts are rejected with reference to potential, morally or ethically unwanted consequences. Then you deny that there are certain facts because these facts are politically unwanted. Again, something that we have seen during other crises like Corona as well, is not our topic today. Some examples of these (Figure 24). "Men and women are the same. If there are differences between men and women, we would have to treat them differently and that would be discrimination. Therefore, there can be no differences." So starting again from a moral basis and deriving facts from that. Or another example, is "the researcher is not objective. In fact, she's immoral because her research demonstrates that she from the very beginning was looking for a result that confirms her prejudices." That might be, but just saying she's immoral does not say anything about the results and about the validity of the results, and we should keep in mind that scientific research has always been finding out counterintuitive results on not starting with ethical premises, but finding out how it is actually.

Figure 23 The moralistic fallacy

The moralistic fallacy

The moralistic fallacy is often committed in claims of left wing politicians

Facts are rejected with reference to potential morally unwanted consequences.

Denial of politically unwanted facts

Figure 24 Examples of the moralistic fallacy

Examples of the moralistic fallacy

"Men and women are the same. If there are differences between men and women, we would have to treat them differently, and that would be discrimination. Therefore, there can be no differences."

"The researcher is not objective. In fact she is immoral because her research demonstrates that she from the very beginning was looking for a result that confirms her prejudices."

"A statistician who demonstrated that – statistically - Asians have a higher IQ than Caucasians is a racist"

So, of course, within limits, I mean, we also know about the philosophy of science and about constructivist positions in philosophy of science, and many of the scientific results have also elements of construction and interpretation, and we should not disregard that. But this has limits. Or if you have, this may be very controversial, but just to make that example, a statistician who demonstrated that statistically Asians have a higher IQ than Caucasians is a racist. I'm not saying it is or it is not. It is just something that should not be debated in these terms, but it's very hard to say this today.

I'm not saying we should do away with these statements. Maybe there's just a way to remind us that sometimes it's a question of being sensitive to these issues and knowing that we should not just say this is a racist statement, that's very often in public debate this is brought up racist.

Here's one example of a clash between a pragmatic and a moralistic position and that's actually the last thing (Figure 25). Then, I will also stop. These are some slides left. This is some years ago already, it's been more than 30 years ago. There was a Neo-Nazi attack on refugees' home in Germany, in early 90s that was actually during when a lot of Vietnamese refugees came to Germany. Actually, just to keep in mind, this was very small number compared to the migration crisis of 2015. This was just maybe 10,000 or 15,000 people, so nothing in comparison.

Figure 25 Example of clash between a pragmatic and a moralistic position

There was a famous debate between a Jürgen Trettin, who was a member of the Green Party, and Georg Kronawitter from the Social Democrats. This is interesting just to see the arguments they used. Kronawitter said, "Well, we have massive unemployment. The housing situation is desperate. People are afraid and angry. They look for a scapegoat and pick the weakest in the population, the refugees," and then Trettin answered, "Wait a minute. Unemployment is no excuse for being a bastard. And the miserable situation? That's the government in Berlin. They are making a big deal of this because they want to cover up their own mistakes."

So what is happening here (Figure 26)? The Green Party politician is accusing the Social Democrat of excusing the Neo-Nazis. So according to the Green Party, the other one said because there's unemployment, it's okay to set the refugee home on fire. This was a single case that happened in the early 90s. So, Trettin says, Kronawitter, the other one, is committing a naturalistic fallacy. There is unemployment, so it's okay to set the refugee home on fire. But if you look at the argument closely, it's not that. Actually, he is not excusing the Neo-Nazis, he's making a factual statement. He is programmatically stating there is a causal connection between high unemployment and political extremism, and I think this holds for all countries.

So if the economic situation is bad, if people as we have seen in the newer migration crisis, it impacts in particular in regions where unemployment rate is high, then there is a tendency towards political extremism, and that's what this politician said.

Figure 26 Failure of communication

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Failure of communication

Trittin is accusing Kronawitter of excusing the Neo-Nazis.

Kronawitter's statement according to Trittin:
"Because there is unemployment, it's ok to set the refugee home on fire."

Kronawitter is, according to Trettin, committing a naturalistic fallacy.

But Kronawitter is not excusing Neo-Nazis. He is making a factual statement. He is pragmatically stating that there is a causal connection between high unemployment and political extremism

Figure 27 Debate between two politicians

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TLM

Debate between two politicians

Kronawitter
Pragmatic approach
Identifying psychological causal connections
Frustration => aggression
=> tensions in society

Trittin
Moralistic approach
Evaluating Kronawitter's point as a moral justification of Neo-Nazi violence

So you just take these two positions, one is the pragmatic approach that identifies psychological causal connections, frustration leads to aggression and to tensions in society (Figure 27). On the other hand, you have a moralistic approach, which evaluates the other as a moral justification of Neo-Nazi violence (Figure 27). So this would be the kind of moralistic fallacy again. So the left-wing moralistic fallacy that is being committed here is that from

"ought," you derive an "is." We are our brother's keeper (Figure 28). Therefore, Germany would benefit from opening its borders. The naturalistic fallacy on the other hand would say, well, the Germans have created a wealthy and safe society, and therefore, we are morally justified in closing our borders, which is certainly a fallacy also. So a pragmatic approach would then debate pros and cons and then take also an empirically informed approach which is quite important to say what we can, we actually do in the Democratic debate without resorting to fundamentalism, both either on left or right wing (

Figure 29).

Figure 28 Political left-wing, Political right-wing, Pragmatic, empirical policy debating pros. And cons

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Political Left Wing
Moralistic falacy
Ought => is
We are our brother's keeper and
therefore Germany will benefit
from opening its borders

Political Right Wing
Naturalistic falacy
Is => ought
Germans have created a
wealthy and safe society
=> Germans are morally
justified in closing it's borders

Pragmatic, empirical policy debating pros
and cons

(Kronawitter)

Figure copied
from Norbert
Bischof:
Moral, ihre
Natur, ihre
Dynamik und ihr
Schatten

Figure 29 Left-wing fundamentalism, Right-wing fundamentalism, and Democratic debate

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Left wing fundamentalism

Right wing fundamentalism

Democratic debate

Figure from
Norbert Bischof:
Moral, ihre Natur,
ihre Dynamik und
ihr Schatten
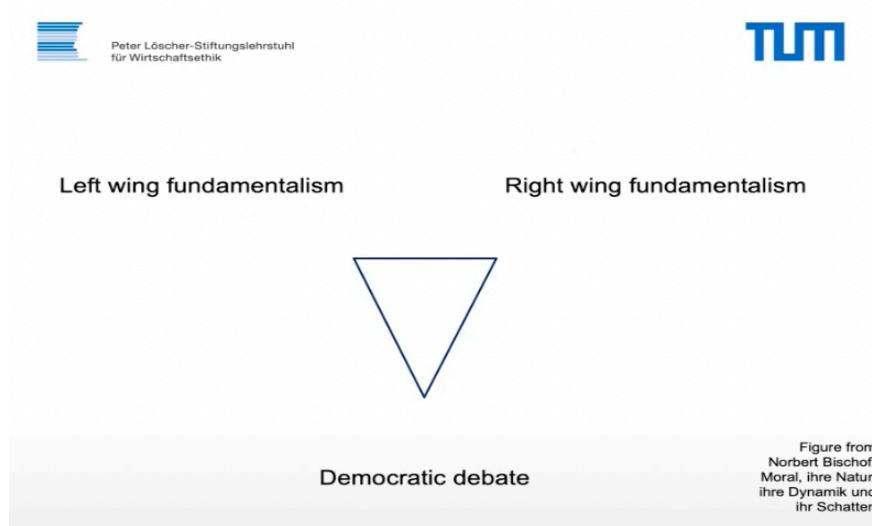
This was repeated in the Willkommenskultur of the crisis in 2015 (Figure 30). They did not distinguish the pragmatic approach from right wing fundamentalism, and the debate between the fundamentalist positions is actually incompatible, the Democratic recognition of the legitimacy of a counter position.

Figure 30 German debate 2015

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German debate 2015

Proponents of the moralistic, pre-modern "Willkommenskultur" repeated the mistake of Jürgen Trittin:

They did not distinguish the pragmatic approach from right wing fundamentalism.

Debate between fundamentalist positions is incompatible with the democratic recognition of the fundamental legitimacy of the counter position.

Just for the conclusion, what can we say now (Figure 31)? I think more of this will certainly become clearer in our discussion. So first, we can give some recommendations based on our experiences in Germany and that should promote a realistic, incentive-based migration policy. This is I think, important also, one that is empirically informed as I said before. We have seen also during that crisis how other countries in Europe behaved. For example, Austria, at one point decided actually to close the route via the Balkan and that put a firm stop actually to this flow of migrants. So this is also something we have to take into account what can we actually do, what are the options, and the other options which are not available. What is also important is to strengthen the collective ability to conduct a pragmatic discourse that is characterized by mutual respect. I think this is very important, and to some extent, I have to say this has been lost a bit since then in Germany.

Figure 31 Conclusion

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Conclusion:

Recommendations based on experience of experiences from Germany:

Promote a realistic, incentive-based migration policy

Strengthen the collective ability to conduct a pragmatic discourse characterised by mutual respect

Avoiding fundamentalist arguments denying the legitimacy of opponents' position

Finally, we should try to avoid fundamentalist arguments that deny the legitimacy of the opponent's position. I think this is not in our mutual interest, because the next time it will go in the other direction and so we should see how we can keep the debate alive in a way that is as rational as possible. Thank you very much.

Section 2

Prof . Takayuki Kawase

Thank you very much, Professor Lütge let me go on to my own presentation. My title is "Multiculturalism and Liberal Nationalism – Liberal Integration of immigrants." Of course, I know the word or ideology of nationalism is often associated with xenophobia or chauvinism or ethnocentrism, or racism, but, however, my arguments for liberal nationalism never ever mean such kind of ideology. So let me explain.

The Nationalists are often supposed to be militant and aggressive to other nations. Unfortunately, this is true. A lot of xenophobic movements are brought about from nationalistic emotions. However, liberal nationalists claim that nationalism does not necessarily oppress personal freedom or hurt individual welfare. My theory of liberal nationalism consists of the combination of egalitarian liberalism and integrationist nationalism.

My conception of egalitarian liberalism requires that every individual in society enjoys accessibility to an equal range of the context of choices about important things for their rights, such as religions or politics or sexual orientations or professions, and ethnic minorities or sexual minorities or handicapped people should not be given a narrower context of choices only because they are minorities or handicapped. On the other hand, my conception of nationalism requires integrating the nation in certain ways. These ways of integration could be liberal and could be illiberal. For example, integrating a nation into a single orthodox variation, or single orthodox sexual orientation is illiberal integration at least in this modern age. However, integrating a nation into a particular language or languages or social institutions, such as legal systems, and this plurality is very important. For example, Switzerland has four languages, so such kind of plurality is very important, and such kind of integration is liberal integration, and my theory of liberal nationalism insists that liberal integrations of the nation can be very useful instruments of egalitarian liberalism because our sense of unity can activate our motivations to help each other. In order to achieve the ideals of egalitarian liberalism, governments must implement a lot of policies of the welfare state. This requires taxpayers to help unknown, anonymous poor people in their own society. It needs a very strong source of motivating people.

In a lot of premodern societies, religions took this responsibility. Those who shared religious faith helped each other through their churches. In many modern societies, nationalism replaced that. Those who share a national identity help each other through their governments. In this meaning, nationalism is a modern, secular religion. In order to maintain liberal and egalitarian societies, the nation must be integrated, not segmented. Such a theory of mine agrees social-democrat nationalism of David Mirror and the liberal multiculturalism of Will Kymlicka, and it is opposite to the idea of meta-utopia of Robert Nozick and the liberal archipelago of Chandran Kukathas, and I think I am in the position of the cautious approach to the migration in Professor Lütge's theory.

However, a lot of objections might be made to such a theory of liberal nationalism. For example, it might be said that such responsibilities for the distributive justice through the institution of social security must be taken not only by nation state, but also by regional or

supranational institutions such as the EU, or local and sub-national institutions such as prefectures in Japan and 'Land' in Germany or states in America, such kind of local government. This is the right objection. I should not and actually, I do not ignore the importance of frameworks other than a nation-state, so they are also very important. The super-national institutions are still very difficult in East Asia, such as Japan and Korea or Taiwan or China. But I think in Europe, the framework of the EU has a long history, and I think it succeeded at least partly. However, it is the case that many nation-states still have strong power to implement a lot of policies of social securities still now, and in my opinion, if we have a strong or useful institution or instrument, we should use it and the nation-states are often no less strong than other frameworks still now at least in Japan. Actually, I'm not sure in Europe, but actually, in Far East Asian countries, the framework of nation-states is still very, very strong.

Now, what would liberal nationalists say about immigration issues? In the first place, why do people move beyond national borders? One big reason must be the reunion of family members, and another reason might be to get a chance for a better life, for example, about an educational or professional career, and so, it is a relatively long-term transfer. Actually, I don't mean short-time movements such as the less trip or attending the academic conference such as IVR or such short trip is excluded from this story.

How should society or government or law respond to the movement of such people? Accepting societies have a lot of reasons and grounds about how many immigrants to accept and what kind of immigrants to accept. I'd like to analyze these reasons and grounds today. First, we can divide these grounds into two categories: those of deontologists and those of consequentialists. Deontologist grounds have their normative validity regardless of the side effects or results of accepting immigrants. On the other hand, the normative validity of consequentialist grounds depends on such effects, side effects, and results.

Now, what kind of deontologist grounds might we have? For example, the subsistence of politically persecuted refugees, or the freedom of movement, in general, are basic human rights. The human rights of persons are vetoed against the considerations of public policy of society as a whole. For example, even during the shutdown of the countries caused by the COVID pandemic, humanitarian measures were taken for people to visit dying family members living abroad. Actually, I remember a Japanese person visiting South Korea to meet a dying father or mother. So such kind of humanitarian action was taken.

I'm sorry, I got lost. All right, thank you. On the other hand, what kind of consequentialist ground do we have? As reasons to reject immigrants, we might have the argument of security and order. We may reject those who have the intention of terrorism or other crimes, and we may put a limit on the number of immigrants during the pandemic which we actually have now in Japan. We also have the consequentialist ground to accept immigrants. We may invite those who have the skills society needs. For example, Japan now needs nurses or care workers or farmers or factory workers, and so on. How about in Germany? Actually, I'm not sure, but this is a consideration of national interests.

However, consequentialism is neither necessarily nationalist nor realist. It can pursue purposes such as making the world richer or making all world fairer. For example, we might have the problem of brain drain, because of the free international movements, the middle social class people in developing countries leave their countries. If such kind of movement makes such countries even poorer, it may be against the requirements of global distributive justice, but if it makes all the world richer, we may have more budget to help those who are left in such

poor, developing countries. Anyway, we have many kinds of reasons and grounds to accept and reject immigrants.

Here is one important point I should remark. Neither consequentialism nor deontology has absolute normative superiority over the other. We cannot say either of them is always right or always stronger than the other. All we can say is that extremes theory is always inappropriate. Probably it means a kind of pragmatism. Anyway, both extreme consequentialism and extreme deontology should not be our options. A better and more realistic strategy is searching for a good balance between them. The prudential answer lies somewhere in the continuum between extreme consequentialism and extreme deontology. But where is this somewhere?

It is a matter of Phronesis or empirical studies. We cannot point out the precise location of any appropriate answers in advance, a priori. The answer is always generated from the practices or empirical studies of balancing many different kinds of interests and reasons that people actually have. So the casuistry or case-based judgments tell us the prudential answers which a priori or transcendental theory never does. Therefore, I never mean to ignore the importance of deontologist grounds and the globalist version of consequentialist grounds. However, today I'd like to think about the arguments of the national interest strategy from the perspective of liberal nationalism.

A society has reasons when it prospers or gets richer or declines, gets poorer or weaker. One of the biggest reasons is the acceptance of immigrants. Suppose there is Society A which is ethnocentric and Society B which is culturally tolerant, and these two societies compete with each other. A lot of brilliant scientists, entrepreneurs, artists, and so on in Society A might be persecuted because of their ethnicity, and most of them might escape from Society A and move to Society B. When A and B compete with each other, the result must be obvious. A tolerant society is always stronger in my opinion. However, unfortunately, the story is not over yet. Accepting too many immigrants may bring about cultural conflicts and conservative or racist backlash to society. So too much tolerance makes society weaker and unstable. A famous example may be the ancient Roman Empire and how about the present United States of America, I'm not sure. But multiculturalism, which made a society stronger has the probability to make this society itself weaker as well. I think each society has its own ability of integrating immigrants. Both accepting immigrants over the limit of this ability and below the limit of this ability may spoil society. Therefore, liberal nationalists who think the national interest is important must identify the precise location of this limit of immigrants' integration ability of their own society accurately. Based on this ability, they should accept immigrants, and at the same time, they should make effort to increase this ability of their society, so make their society more tolerant, and more multicultural because it makes their society stronger. In my opinion, the ability of integrating immigrants is the ability of the society itself.

Now, how about the ability of Japan or Germany or Thailand or Mexico? The ability of integrating immigrants consists of many aspects, so we cannot or we should not oversimplify it. But anyway, Japan maybe probably liberal about religions, but Japan is still very, very conservative about their races or ethnicities. In general, I think or I guess, the ability of Japan is much lower than that of Germany. So Japan must increase its ability urgently in my opinion. It is of course because of the respect for the basic human rights or global distributive justice and the welfare of immigrants, but also because of Japanese national prosperity. I really hope all nations, not only Japan, but all nations be stronger and richer in this meaning. So strong Germany, strong Thailand, and strong Mexico will make our world more peaceful and exciting.

This is all for my own presentation, and I want to move on to my comments and questions to Professor Lütge.

I found the triangle of two fundamentalism and pragmatism so interesting and very suggestive. I'd like to apply this theory to the political reality of Japan. Recently, I found an interesting article in the newspaper condolence for Prime Minister Shinzo Abe according to which, Mr. Abe, succeeded the Conservative Party of Japan, the LDP succeeded to get a lot of support and continued the longest administration in Japanese constitutional history because of his swinging between the right-wing fundamentalism and pragmatism. Mr. Abe was very good at taking the balance between them, between right-wing ideology and pragmatism.

Japan is basically a very conservative society in my opinion, but the right-wing fundamentalists are still a very small minority in Japan or any fundamentalist minority in Japan in my opinion. So Japan is basically very flexible, but an opportunist and having no principles, having no philosophy. Philosophy in Japan is very small minority I think, but anyway, conservatism in Japan consists of a lot of pragmatism and a small amount of right-wing ideology. On the other hand, how about the left wing in Japan? I know a lot of flexible and pragmatic or practical liberal or left wing persons around me, but at least as a whole society of Japan, quite a few people think left wing is too much idealistic and too less flexible and even stubborn.

This is very sad thing for Japanese society in my opinion. I as a person belonging to the conservative side of the liberal political power in Japan be more pragmatic. So, probably Professor Kobayashi may have a different opinion from mine. So please say something against me if you have something to say, and my opinion is that the triangle of the Professor Lütge's theory, the triangle line or connection between right wing fundamentalism and pragmatism is strong and that between the left wing fundamentalism and pragmatism is weak at least in the contemporary Japanese society.

My question is, if it is the case, is it the contingent phenomenon in contemporary Japanese society, or is the affinity or connection between right-wing fundamentalism and pragmatism stronger than the affinity or connection between left fundamentalism and pragmatism in nature? I am sorry if it's a little bit complicated. So is it the realist right-wing and idealist left-wing such kind of tendency is inevitable or just a contingent thing, contingent in Japan or in Germany probably, and how about in Germany or in other places in Europe in general? If it is the case not only in Japan but also in Germany or other places, it may be essential that the right-wing loves pragmatism and the left-wing hate pragmatism. I really hope it is not the truth. I really want the liberal people or left-wing people to be more pragmatic. So I thought my opinion is wrong, and another question, the tendency in Japan, the opportunist conservatism is majority and fundamentalist liberalism is the minority is stronger, especially in the younger generation. Is it also unique in Japan, or young people in other countries are also conservative, especially recently? How about in Germany? I want to know Professor Lütge's and other participants' opinions.

Prof. Christoph Lütge

Yeah, thank you very much. These are some interesting questions here. So first of all, let me give some remarks. I mentioned that already in my presentation, but the kind of multicultural society that we have already arrived at. I think some Germans like to rather underestimate that say, well, we do not yet have a multicultural society, but on the other end in

comparison with some other countries, at least, we do have and the pictures especially of the Bavaria, and if you go to Oktoberfest for example, here, is quite misleading. It tends to give this picture that it's quite a culturally homogeneous society still which it is certainly not. So this is something I would like to just stress again.

Now your questions, one was, is there a strong connection between the right wing and the pragmatist approach? I mean, it depends a bit on how you pose the question. So, certainly, I would think there is now also a stronger connection between the left wing and the pragmatist approach now. The general point is that it's hard for me to say, are we right-wing or left-wing? We have this kind of ample-coalition right now. So now our current government, as you know, we have the Social Democrats, we have the Green Party, and the Liberal Party. There is the Christian Democrats on the other hand, which are in opposition, and they like to say, this is a left-wing government, but is it really? It's hard to say because the policies vary from topic to topic. So, I mean, we do not have any more such a clear-cut left-wing and right-wing camp, which is also to some extent due to this new situation with the Alternative for Deutsch and the AfD. There I see a connection to what you have said. If you allow a right-wing party to be installed there in the political landscape, then I think it's very hard to get rid of that again.

We have seen the same in other European countries such as France, which got more and more powerful their nationalist or whatever you call it a party, and in other European countries as well. So this is very hard. I think the connection between right-wing or conservative and pragmatism is quite important and our former chancellors like Mr. Kurt Kiesinger especially those who knew always about that.

Maybe a last point, are the young people more conservative now? wouldn't say conservative, but I mean, certainly, there's a lot of pragmatism in the younger generation now than it used to be. I think that's very important to see. There's less left-wing idealism I would say. I think they're also looking more into other countries also because they're looking more into social media. I think this is something we definitely see, so maybe not conservative, but definitely not as much left-wing idealism, let's say, as we had 30, 40 years ago. Thank you.

Takayuki Kawase

Thank you very much. Yes, the first point, I think we should make the definition of the right-wing and left-wing clearer. In my opinion in Japan, the right-wing in proper meaning is a very small minority. So I think, yes right and left must be clearer, so thank you so much. The second point, the young generation, yes, you're right. A lot of people say the young people in Japan are now very, very conservative, but it is not accurate probably. They are very pragmatic in the right meaning, and probably they are not so conservative, but they are very pragmatic. But as I said, in Japan, pragmatism and conservatism is so closely related, so probably a lot of people are confused about this kind of thing. So the young people is probably not so conservative. They are just pragmatic. Yes, that's a very interesting point of view. Thank you very much.

Section 3

Participant 1

Thank you very much for your presentation, Professor Lütge. I just would like to know what is the difference of maybe pragmatic approach that you would like to embrace from Harbermas' discourse ethics? I know that you have written this in your books or articles. I'm

sorry, I haven't read. So for example, I remember that you emphasized the importance of mutual respect in dealing with the problem of multiculturalism. I personally agree with it, and I think in Europe, in the name of interculturalism, this kind of tendency appeared. For example, the intercultural dialogue was philosophically first emphasized, and it was introduced as sometimes like public or sometimes as a kind of NGO movement I know. So, this latter movement was, to some extent, inspired by the deliberative democracy movement from what I read. So, what I'd like to ask is what is the differences between your pragmatic approach from Habermas's discourse ethic? I would like just ask you to confirm this one. Thank you very much.

Prof. Christoph Lütge

Yes. So, the one fundamental difference I would say is that where do you start from? You say Habermasian discourse approach starts from a normative ideal and from that ideal, you derive everything else. Like we had that in the lecture in sorry, it wasn't in Romania? I mean, actually it was not in Romania. It was in the conference in Bilbao, which I went [Unclear] and she was there, and he's the successor of Habermas, he took exactly that role. So the democracy means this, democracy is a normative idea, which is derived from, let's say, what Aristotle or Immanuel Kant wrote, and from that, you derive everything else, and so it has to be like this, and there's a list of human rights, and they have to be implemented in this and that way, and that's the normative approach that you take.

In my view, a pragmatist approach, and normally maybe I would not label myself a pragmatist, but I think I'm happy with that term. Yeah, actually, I would like it. But a pragmatist approach would look from what are the actual conflict situations, what are the interests, what are the incentive structures in the society, and also, what are the possibilities that we have, the capacity of the society, so Takayuki just talked about this. We have to determine how the capacities of a society are, and from that, let's say, of course, we also need normative ideals, but it's a kind of joint approach between normative ideals but also empirical conditions and then we can arrive at some conclusions and policies or recommendations, but we need both of that and I would say we should not just start with the normative idea.

Participant 1

Thank you very much. Maybe your idea of mutual respect is different from the one on the deliberative democrats and it may be centered on realistic, maybe self-interest based some motivations or some actual respect for this kind of private personal things are also emphasized in your view, right?

Prof. Christoph Lütge

Right. That is a good point that the mutual respect is yeah, it might be that this is different, a bit different, from what discourse ethics would say. I think we should have respect for fundamentally different opinions or approaches, values. Certainly, we can discuss about reasonable limits, as Roll's also did in his work, but still, I think there should be a wide spectrum of approaches, and we should discuss between them and not this kind of cancel culture, of course, to use the term now, which we have seen a lot recently as well. So I think there I do not have room for this kind of cancel culture. That's why I said we should have this respectful for each other.

Participant 2

Professor Lütge thank you for your useful lecture. So apart from the migrant crisis, my question is concerning the drive recorder in the car. It's legal and very popular in Japan now. It's just my guess. Such video data has a useful function to control traffic violations. So on the contrary, drive recorder is illegal in Germany. I wonder if the reason why it's not allowed in Germany? This is my question.

Prof. Christoph Lütge

I'd say it's rather unusual in Germany. But maybe the general question about this is this notion of privacy that many Germans have which is quite different from other societies. This is true even within Europe. There is quite different sense of privacy. For example, in a number of Scandinavian countries, in Sweden and others, you can even see the income tax declaration of your neighbor. It's public. There's just public records, which would never work in Germany. Or, if you look at Google Maps, and you have in almost all countries around the world, you can see very detailed, you can see everything, all towns digitally in very good resolution, but still in Germany, in many places, it's not possible because of these privacy considerations because people don't like it, and this is unusual. I think the dashboard cam is the same thing. I'm not sure if it's illegal directly. It might be, but just people do not feel compelled to do it or they do not see their advantage. I mean, the monitoring of public areas is also I mean in Munich, there's a little more than elsewhere, but there is no comparison to other cities like, for example, even in Europe, or London or also Paris and other big cities. They have a lot of cameras in the public area, and still in Germany, this is rather there are very few of them. So yeah, I think it's a good point that you made. The kind of privacy considerations are in Germany quite different that has to be taken into account.

Prof. Masaya Kobayashi

Professor Lütge, thanks for your very interesting discussion today. So I'm going to turn to your lecture today. I understand that you somehow find contrast [Unclear] pragmatic and [Unclear] based position. So I like to ask you what you think about Professor Kawase's position, especially his reference to Phronesis and this prudence in Aristotle's ethics because I think what is the relation between your pragmatism and Aristotelian approach of Phronesis or prudence because I am close to the position of liberal communitarianism, which is a bit close to Kawase's position, obviously a bit different from his, but I think, for example, Charles Taylor puts forward his own version of multiculturalism, which is very related to today's issue. He thinks that some kind of ethics is relevant to the present issue that is how or what amount we should accept immigrants. So this is a quite moral or ethical issue. It's a obviously related to pragmatism, but a bit different from pragmatism itself. So Professor Kawase's question is focused on that issue. So I'd like to ask your reaction to that.

Prof. Christoph Lütge

So yes, I see a lot of common ground there. I think I mean, the straightforward distinction between deontological and consequentialist approaches is quite similar to the one I made. I focused more specifically on the discourse ethics approach and the order ethics approach, but

they are more or less in these two camps. There's quite a lot of similarity. Phronesis approach, I like it very much. I have not explicitly used the Phronesis concept in my talk and in my books. I make some references to it, but not systematically. One reason is that I would, as I understand Phronesis, it's something that is rather it's not systematic. So this is a capability of the human being to judge which itself cannot be as Kahn would say broad under principles, so it's rather unsystematic matter. There is some similarity to the pragmatist approach that I use, but I will still say when it comes to deciding on immigrant cultures, for example, or on what is the capacity of a society, there we would certainly need some pragmatist approach. I think we should still resort to some principles there. For example, one of the questions that was brought up, in which parts of the industry do we need more migrants, and we have the same problems as other societies, for example, care jobs, nurses, also farming, some of it, but there are a number of others. So this is something which is I think, not just advocates, not just Phronesis, I would say kind of it's also principles. So we need to see where do we need more and there we should have maybe different quarters than in other areas, or with regard to skills in general. Maybe this can be done with Phronesis as well, so I'm happy to hear that. Did I miss anything?

Prof. Masaya Kobayashi

No, you get the point, but my point is, in addition to that, for example, Professor Kawase talks about the position between deontology and consequentialism. He tries to integrate the two somehow by the concept of Phronesis, and obviously we can see various possibility of integration between left and right, for example, human rights and common good in [Unclear] position. When we use the route of Phronesis or prudence, we see that we have to embrace the importance of the two poles, but we have to see the middle point, but when you use only the word of pragmatism or incentive-based, we easily understand that this is a very pragmatic and interest-based words rather than ethics. So my point is, is it enough for us to have interest-based terminology rather than ethics?

Prof. Christoph Lütge

Okay, no, I would still say that ethical terminology is still not important. It's not just an economic debate. I think this is quite important because otherwise then we would not need ethics. So I don't know, we can just have the economist discuss. But still, I mean, this is the way public debates go, so they are making use of concepts like solidarity. We have to discuss what that mean, but also have to take into account the economic conditions, and the framework conditions. So there are certain cornerstones that we cannot remove whatever in this context here, the capacities, so there are some upper limits to capacity and solidarity, but other concepts too like, justice. We have to talk in terms of these ethical concepts, and that's a fundamental point in my book about business ethics and an economically informed approach. This is my recent book which came out last year, economically informed approach, and there we have to talk about business ethics, but in the terms of ethics with the information, not just practical information, but theoretical information or theoretical approaches of economics and others in the background, so we have to have both.

Participant 4 (From Mexico)

Thank you very much. Dr. Lütge and Dr. Kawase for your interesting presentations. I reflected about the current immigration policies in Mexico after listening to Dr. Lütge. So the

current Mexican government strongly supports migration especially from South America and Central America immigrants suffer from lack of resources to cover basic needs like lack of food, work, a house, etcetera. So as you mentioned, Dr. Lütge that occurs in Germany on their privileged citizens in Mexico, also they approved these government's approach. My personal value makes me support immigration policies, but if we consider them, in Mexico, more than 50% of the population is on their privilege. Critics to the current Mexican government seem kind of legit. So the problem I have seen as you mentioned is that Mexican people from other countries get angry or act violently against immigrants instead of recognizing that governmental policies should be discussed to negotiate possibilities of implementing solutions, for example. In practical matter, what kind of civil practices or activities do you think that can be lead on their privileged people to discuss their needs and at the same time understand that immigrants are not the cause of their problems?

Prof. Christoph Lütge

This is a very important point. I think this problem has to be taken on different levels. So one is the higher political level maybe, but also in our academic debate where it should be also taking into account more what is the value of immigrants for a society, for an economy, and I think this is something that it's done often in I would say too abstract terms. So you have certain concepts which for many people do not mean anything anymore. So it's just said, for example, that we had in Germany with Willkommenskultur I mentioned, but also enrichment, so in German of the society, but this was just a hollow concept for many people.

So it should be made more vivid and clear, what are the advantages. Actually now after the Corona Crises, a lot of workers in special branches have left the country and then we now see what we have lost there. So we need more workers. For example, in the care sector, there's a huge shortage which was much worse than before the Corona Crisis actually. So that's what I meant with this general level, but also, of course, on the more and more concrete level, this is a question for civil society. So in the daily debates that we have with our friends, with our relatives, with the people that we know, I think this is something that has to be lived, that's a good term. It has to be discussed but also openly discussed. I don't think that it's a good idea to just close the discussions when you don't have a legitimate opinion anymore, and you are not allowed to voice that opinion. I think we see a lot of bad consequences of that approach.

I think it is certainly a rough start, but again, in Germany, now that after 6 or 7 years of the migration crisis, I will say it is not a perfect situation now, but it also has not completely led to a collapse in society. It's a bit hard to say this after the Corona Crisis because that has overlaid a lot of the problems. But I think if you allow civil society to work and allow people to discuss, I think we will get there eventually hopefully.

Prof. Hikari Ishido

Thank you so much Professor Kawase and Professor Lütge. I am speaking from Thailand. I am a Japanese national, but I have my responsibility here in Bangkok, Thailand, and so my question is addressed to you, Professor Lütge. You keep taking questions, thank you so much.

Figure 32 Rohingya issue

Okay, just one minute of PowerPoint sharing and then my question on the third slide. So this one is about what is called the "Rohingya" issue (Figure 32). What is called "Rohingya" people? They come from Bangladesh. So it's a big issue in Myanmar. I am now based in Thailand, but in the country of Myanmar, there is a group of people called Rohingya and then what Myanmar people say, it's okay, they came from Bangladesh illegally, so illegal migrants into Myanmar, but based on Bangladesh government's standpoint, no, no, no, Rohingya people were originally in Myanmar. So please Myanmar, take care of your people. Then, the two countries are battling against each other over the nationality, and affiliation of the Rohingya people. So they look like this. In terms of ethnicity, they look quite like Bangladeshi people. So culturally or ethnically, they're more like Bangladeshi people, but the Bangladesh government denies that. No, no, no, economically, we are very poor and we have such a small land area. You were originally from Myanmar, so please return to Myanmar, and then there is that kind of issue. So any similar issue in Europe? Rohingya people basically have no nationality, so no nationality refugee or immigrant crisis in Myanmar. So any similar issue in Europe, maybe Kurdish people? I don't know. Then, what kind of ethics is needed in this case? These are my questions. Thank you so much.

Prof. Christoph Lütge

Thank you. Yes, that's a very interesting issue. I have heard about the Rohingya case, but not about the details I have to say so. It's quite interesting to hear. So you're looking for cases of people without a clear nationality. Yeah, Kurdish people would be an example since they do not have a country of their own, and mostly the country that's not there, but it would mostly be in Turkey but also to some extent some other areas of Iraq and even Iran I think. Yes, we have these discussions among people who come to Germany. For example, we have a number of people of Kurdish origin or descent in Germany. I would say it used to be more of a problem 20 years ago, I think. Nowadays, there's not so much talk about it, but I don't see it so much anymore.

I'm not sure what has happened if they have found some form of a solution, but we had a lot of conflict between the Turkish and Kurdish people in Germany. But there's not so much talk as I said about that anymore. Another, it's maybe not the exactly same situation, but the Palestine people may be similar. Of course, they now have some kind of country that is not officially recognized by most other countries. This is quite a harsh debate, of course, in Germany, but also in the US, for example, all this talk about this BDS, boycott, divestment, and sanctions policy, and this is a very harsh debate.

Other cases I'm not aware of. I mean, we have other smaller problems, but just for historical interest since I've been just to Bilbao for this business ethics conference, and this was in the Basque Country. So Basque people is also this is a very special language which is absolutely unique in Europe, no connections to any other languages. For a long time, for many decades, I remember well in the 80s and 90s still, there was a lot of terrorism from Basque because they wanted to have some kind of independence. But then they found some settlement of these issues. So there are the autonomous region with some autonomous rights, and what is important is that their region got very well developed actually since the 80s and 90s, so economically very well developed. It is a very strong industrial region now.

I would say that economic development is a very important factor for improving these situations or even resolving these issues, because then they recognize - so you are asking what kind of ethics is needed, so yeah, certainly we should also discuss in ethical terms, but I think it's important to see that there's a win-win so that both sides can win if they compromise and work together. But if it's a very poor situation, you have nothing to win, often then this leads to civil war or whatever. But if there's a chance that we can say, well, we can really improve the situation of our people and then we should work together. There's a problem in Palestine as well. There needs to be some economic development; otherwise, they will continue to be to be relatively poor in that area. So I'm not sure that's a good answer.

Prof. Takayuki Kawase

How about Roma people we saw a lot in Romania? Do they have citizenship, the Roma people, gypsy people?

Prof. Christoph Lütge

I would assume they have now. We have a number of them in Germany as well. As far as I know, they have citizenship. I think the original idea of them moving around countries and having no citizenship, probably it might have, it used to be like that many years ago. I think it's not any more the case. So, for example, I know that we have official organizations of Sinti and Roma people in Germany and so on. So, they are definitely official there, and actually, I have not heard of many problems with them in recent years I would say.

Prof. Jiro Mizushima

Thank you for your insightful lecture. As I study European politics, and now we are living in the Asian world, so we would like to have some comments for you. Ukrainian refugees, we saw many people fleeing their home country, but it is interesting to see that the Ukrainian refugees were mostly accepted from surrounding countries from heart. For example, the Polish government was quite strict against refugees from Syria or other countries, but they accepted from heart the Ukrainian refugees. So we see quite a great difference again about the attitudes towards refugees. It might be that white Christian Ukrainian have more strong position. So accepting Ukrainian refugees that is necessary I think, but if we compare with the status of Syrian refugees, we see lot of difference. So probably, in these days, we see the difference of attitudes among people against refugees. They care about from where that refugees come from. I think this is not an ideal situation probably. All refugees have same rights as asylum I think. What do you think about it?

Prof. Christoph Lütge

Yeah, it's right. This cannot be denied there is some difference between Syrian refugees at that time and Ukrainian refugees now. Certainly, it has to do with ethnicity maybe and also religion to some extent. But I would also add that one difference is that at least the perception of many people is that Ukrainian refugees would sometime in the not too distant future go back to their country whereas with Syrian refugees, at least at that time, it was not clear whether they would at any time go back. After quite some years now, it looks like more of them is going back to Syria actually. I know, I've seen numbers also during the Corona Crisis actually, a significant number have gone back to the countries like Syria and others.

Also there's a kind of factor that Ukraine was invaded by the outside and Syria is more like the civil war. This was also perceived differently. I think there are a number of factors that make the difference. So ethnicity, I guess, it's one that cannot be denied, yes, but there are also other politically influential factors. But it's right, if we just take it from an ideal point of view and say, well, from an ideal point of view, everyone should be treated the same. Or if we were saying, from a realistic point of view, well, first, we can say, what can the surrounding countries do? If we have a refugee crisis in Africa which we have had also many times, it's not the first reaction to say they have to all go to Europe or to Japan or wherever, but it's rather surrounding countries. So I think that's at least something we should take into account when discussing solutions.

Closing Remarks:

Prof. Jiro Mizushima

So, thanks again. Thank you very much, Professor Lütge and other participants from Thailand and Mexico including. We have a truly global discussion. As we discussed intensively, the problem of refugees and migrants is more accurate than ever, and probably in a couple of years, we see the end of Corona pandemic, and after that, we are sure that more and more people move again over the borders for a better life in other countries or as refugees, I am not sure. Anyway, we are sure that we have much to do with the problem of migrants, and in that situation, we have some principles about it, pragmatism or fundamentalism. Anyway, we have to continue discussions further. Thank you for joining, and thank you Professor Lütge. See you again next time.