

Minton Beddoes: It's great to see so many people. Um, I'm not sure whether this is a sign of alarm about the world, that there were so many people here for a conversation about nationalism, but, um, cause for most of my life, and I suspect some most of yours, nationalism was an alarming, slightly worrying word. Um, it was a kind of throwback to the horrors of the early part of the 20th century. And I grew up, my mother is German, my father is English, and I, so I grew up in England. I'm very, very aware of that history. And I remember actually no hassled, everyone's kind of slightly, and when people mentioned nationalism, it was, uh, it was, uh, it was a word that was even the mere mention of it was made people slightly uncomfortable. Uh, if you fast forward to now, uh, we have the president of the United States say, I'm a nationalist.

Minton Beddoes: Okay. Use that word. Uh, we have the prime minister of Great Britain. Um, Theresa May's saying, if you are a city, if you consider yourself a citizen of the world, you are a citizen of nowhere. You don't know what the word citizenship means. We have, uh, in from Catalonia to Scotland, small parts of countries, uh, desiring their own independence. Nationalism has come back at that level. And nationalism has come back not just in the Brexit vote, in these sort of ethno nationalism that you see in Europe. The America first is that you see here, you see it actually across, uh, even the nonindustrial wells. If you look at Narendra Modi and India, now, that is a revival of Hindu nationalism. If you look at Using Ping in China, that is a much more aggressive Chinese nationalism. So nationalism is back. And the question is, I guess, um, how worried should we be?

Minton Beddoes: What does that mean? Is Nationalism always toxic and dangerous? Or can it be harnessed to good? And to discuss this, uh, is John Judas, who is, as you all know, a prolific and extremely good, um, author and journalist, author of eight books. Um, I have just discovered on his ninth, and he wrote in 2016 an extremely acclaimed and very good book on populism called the populist explosion. Last year. He wrote about the nationalist revival. Uh, and I, he told me this morning that he's now working on a book on socialism, which is telling where the world is going. Um, so, but nationalism, you have thought about John a lot. You've spent a lot of time thinking about American nationalism. You've been in Europe. Um, and I wanted to start, cause I think semantics really matter here and it sounds very boring, but we need to get our definitions right. So what do you mean by national listen?

John Judis: Okay. I, I'm going to one, well, let me say first that I'm amazed at how many people are here. I've, I once gave a talk at the Strand Bookstore about this, a book, you know, it's a big bookstore in New York and they had shifted the space at the last time. The last moment. There were four people there and three of them were from the staff. So this is a, this is a very flattering group. Um, there, there is no definition of nationalism. Political always pretend to be scientists and that I had this same problem with populism. Um, it's used in a lot of different ways. And I wanna explore with you just briefly, um, one way to understand nationalism and to understand the basis of what's called nationalism today. And it really doesn't start with political ideology. It starts with psychology and

sentiment and the feeling that you are an American English one, w w what, whatever.

John Judis: And w w when I think of it this way, I mean, I gave w when you're, when you grow up, you're educated to be, to think of yourself as being belonging to a certain country. Uh, let's put it on one side. Let's put being a member of a family. Now it's very hard to not be a member of a family. You can disown your children and things like that, but they're still biologically tied to you. Let's go on the very other side. I'm a Chicago cubs fan. Sports Fan. Lot of people, you know, go to sleep but night and they're happier if their team wins. It's a source of self-esteem. But you could give a, you know, you can get mad at your team and then you give them up and you root for another team. Now nationalism is somewhere in between. It's an important part of our identity.

John Judis: We celebrate holidays, a Thanksgiving, United States, July 4th. Our heartstrings go out when, uh, uh, September 11th, uh, you know, we feel that, that we would like to, in my case, I was very sorry that I was too old to volunteer and go fight seriously. And I think a lot of people felt that way. Now, that kind of sense of national identity is important to having a democracy. And it's important to having an advanced welfare state. Now think of a, for a moment to have a democracy, I have to be willing to let somebody that I will never see and have no knowledge of who lives, you know, a thousand miles away have an equal say and who's going to be president the as I do. If you want to have a welfare state, if you want to have money going to blind their disabled people, I have to be willing to say that.

John Judis: Well, you know some woman who's disabled in Orlando, Florida, that I'll never see. I'm still willing to send my tax dollars to that person because that person's also an American. If you lose that, and that's part of what, again, of what's going on. You know, with Spain's having this problem, we're having this problem in America right now, obviously, uh, in the UK, they're having this problem. Then it becomes very hard to knit the country together and to have a kind of advanced welfare state and democracy itself comes into doubt. Okay, now let me move up one step. Politics. When you think about legislation, you want to know, is it in the national interest and in the United States, if you, you know, if it's not, then that's a good reason. Ought to be against something. Then moving one step beyond that. You have at certain times in history, nationalist movements and nationalists candidates who explicitly run on the idea that they're going to defend us against some of them. Now you know that you've lead to the conclusion, okay, we're talking here about Hitler and Mussolini. We're also talking about Abraham Lincoln. Talking about Winston Churchill, we're talking about Charles de Gaulle, we're talking about Theodore Roosevelt again, left, right center. It can appear in all different forms. What's happening today is to a great extent, it's happening on the right

Minton Beddoes: can, can I just stop you there because I want to take this in stages because what I think I understand what you describe as as a, you know, clearly people need to feel a sense of belonging and there's a huge amount being written right now

about belonging and the need for community and so forth. But what you described at the beginning of, of the last few minutes wasn't that patriotism as much as nationalism. And is there a distinction that, can we just, it sounds incredibly tedious to be so semantically, but, but there is a, uh, a, uh, patriotism, which is about, you know, believing in the ideals of the United States. It's, it's the kind of glue that binds the country together. But when I, where I, I don't think when president Trump is saying I'm a nationalist, that that's what he's talking about. There's something beyond that which is exclusive and it's, it's defining, as you said at the end, defining yourself in opposition to those who are not part of your nation. It's not an exclusive,

John Judis: patriotism is a kind of subset of nationalism, mainly again, in terms of war, being willing to go to war for your country, being patriotic, nationalism, the chords of nationalism can result in all kinds of different ways in terms of immigration, for instance, can become a big issue America first. So yes, there's a, I mean, again, I think Trump would describe himself as a patriot,

Minton Beddoes: but he would also describe himself as a nationalist. In your terminology, patriotism is essential to having a functioning welfare state. Chisholm is benign, but it pays the patriotism and nationalism you think is, can be benign but does not have.

John Judis: Yes, that's correct. And, and a sense of national identity is essential to democracy and to welfare state. They're not benign. Nationalism is pretty close to patriotism, um, in terms of where we are. And then there's the sort of toxic nationalism, which is the worrying one. Yes. Except that, you know, when you're paying your taxes, you sometimes you feel patriotic. But you know, again, I get, we may get into semantic. Yeah, I, I know nationalism,

Minton Beddoes: I think anything that you feel when your football team, your national football team wins or that you felt the Brits felt at the Olympics where, you know, there was a celebration of being British or, or the Germans. That's just cause John was an interesting one. Germans an absolute terrified of being nationalist. So good reason. But they cheer when the German football team wins and that's okay. So that's kind of benign nationalism and, but now let's turn to the dangerous thought. Let's,

John Judis: in the case of Germany, I think what's happened there is that the repression of any sense of national unity and of nationalism is part of what has led to the alternative for Deutschland. Do a kind of return of the repressed. Um, I, I talk about in the book, uh, how, uh, the people I interviewed who, who were just ashamed of being German and, uh, especially again among more cosmopolitan Germans. And I think that the, uh, it w w part of the reaction to that is the more rightwing toxic.

Minton Beddoes: So, so let's, let's talk about why this more exclusive sense that the more toxic nationalism has made such a comeback. Um, what is your explanation for why

something that seemed to have been essentially sort of banished from the, the western democracies is now coming back in so many places?

John Judis: Well, I think it has a lot to do with, um, uh, you could call them mistakes that the, uh, United States in the West made, uh, in the 90s, early two thousands, uh, you know, few, a few things, um, in the United States. Uh, the sense that, uh, if we completely unleashed capitalism, if corporations could move wherever they want, if capital could flow in whatever currents it wanted to around the world. Um, if, uh, we could have, if we had a million immigrants a year, many of them, uh, unskilled, who were going to compete with unskilled workers in the United States, um, we would have, uh, you know, what kind of, uh, um, buoyant prosperity that we had in the late 1990s. It didn't work out that way. Uh, what we've had instead, and I think you could make the same argument about Europe and the promise of the euro and the eurozone is a very uneven kind of development of capitalism where, uh, within our country themselves, that PR what proliferates I these small and medium size towns, it's not really rural, uh, that have been depopulated deindustrialized and where the people there feel left out resentful very much of the powers that be.

John Judis: Uh, and I think that that's a really important source of the narrative. Again, the nationalists revolt that has occurred, you know, you have to include with that, uh, uh, certain elements of foreign policy. Uh, rock war. The United States undertakes the outbreak of terrorism, um, terrorists coming into both Europe and the United States, uh, in, in Europe. Most of the, the parties really get a boost after 2001. And if you look at, um, if you look at, uh, for instance, Germany and the alternative for Deutschland, that was like a, a zero party when it, uh, uh, defined itself as anti refugee and anti-immigrant in March of 2015, it was going like 2% in the polls. It was strictly marginal. And then you had, uh, you know, 1,000,002, uh, asylum seekers coming into the country, refugees, uh, initially great humanitarian. And then you had these rye riots and rapes in Cologne and other cities on New Year's Eve, and all of a sudden it blew up and you had a buoyant movement, the alternative Fur Deutschland. So I think that that's, that's another factor.

Minton Beddoes: Is it possible that the unifying feature in that is insecurity, loss of identity, fear. Um, because if you end up, you gave lots of very good explanations, I think all of them have. However, that core sensor for growing group of people who feel left behind by all of these changes who feel unsure about where the world is heading after the stability of the second half of the 20th century, the in, in that environment, you, you seek identity and you, you feel you, you sort of want to, you know, feel fearful and therefore you want to blame others and, and you know, separate yourself from those others. Let,

John Judis: let me put it in again, a more benign way. If you're a, if you're a family and let's say man, Mansfield, Ohio where Sherrod Brown, the senator came from, um, and your, you grew up there and after World War II you expected your kids to do the same kind of thing, to work in the same fine factory that you did, to go to the same church, to have the science, same network of friends, uh, to go to the

same bars and restaurants. That whole world, that way of life disintegrates. If you go to Mansfield, Ohio now what you see instead of the big GM plant there that filled two blocks is an empty field. Same thing for the big steel firm that was there. Same thing for tapping appliances. The bars are gone, the churches are gone, the people have moved out and they haven't forgotten. There's a sense again of a way of life being threatened now you know for somebody like me who lives in Washington DC, I have many, many identities.

John Judis: I used to do what I used to joke with myself when I first came to Washington DC in 1982 and I would go downtown to meetings and I would count on my, you know, silently to myself how long it would take before some big shot would tell me what university you went to and if he went to Harvard, Yale or Princeton, I would hear about it if he went to Salisbury state, I would not hear about it. Now again, for somebody like that, there's multiple identities they feel comfortable around in our, around the world. They work for a big law firm. They identify with that and so on. For again, for somebody in a small midsize town in America, that's B d d industrial id populated in this way, their identities had been stripped away and things that are still important. I mean, you know, I'm a Patriot just become much more important.

John Judis: The sense of nation becomes much more important to their identity. The idea of Colin Kaepernick, he's a football player, ideally, uh, before the, uh, not kneeling, you know, kneeling before the nationality. This is, becomes a very offensive, guns become more important because guns, not for hunting, but as a way to control your home, it's part of your security. It's part of your sense of families. So your identity in that sense becomes stripped away and all these things become more important. And I bet it, you know, that analysis works for, you know, works for Great Britain as well.

Minton Beddoes: It does, it absolutely works. And the other element, which you mentioned, but I think plays a very powerful role is the scale and pace of immigration. Yeah. It's, it's, if you look at, um, the immigration debate in this country has, has, has polarized to a, to a really extraordinary degree. I mean I spent 20 years living in this country and both sides have moved from when I left five years ago. Um, the Democrats have moved to the left and the Republicans have moved to the right on this issue. And, and I was struck the other day, I discovered that the share of foreign born right now is approximately where it was in 1900 in the u s when really the beginning of the early 20th century clamping down on immigration started. It's very, very close. And is there, I guess a, is the lesson of this that there is little maximum pace of immigration that is sustainable for any nation state? If you go too far too fast, there is a societal backlash?

John Judis: Yes, I think there is. And again, I think, and this is always in is I get this as an unpopular idea in some areas. I believe in the melting pot. I believe that we have to feel that we're part of one nation. And if we have, if immigration is too rapid and if people don't assimilate, and if we get kind of ghetto formations of unskilled workers, um, if people feel threatened, if their jobs feel threatened, if their welfare costs start going up, I mean, you know, silently, we have a lot of

these little towns now in Arizona, in Texas, uh, in o hundreds of people are going into them and they have to pay for them with their taxes. It's, it causes problems. So, uh, in, in that sense, yes, we have to think about it. And when we first did a change, our immigration policy away from the, uh, racist, the, whatever you want to call it, a policy of 1924 where they kept out eastern year in southern Europeans, uh, people didn't think there would be this enormous increase.

John Judis: But through mainly through family reunion, there has been, and it's primarily, again, uh, maybe 50, 60% on skilled. Uh, and, uh, so, so that, and that's posed problems and it hasn't necessarily just one other thing, it hasn't posed problems necessarily for people like me. Uh, you know, for people who home a, the identity of a immigrant is maybe their nanny's, uh, an exotic restaurant. But again, if you go to small town, mid size America, if you go to Iowa and Nisa towns where they used to be a flourishing meatpacking industry and where it's really to extent it still exists, uh, no longer unionized, uh, no longer the primarily the people were born there and the night from 1980 to 2000, um, the companies themselves brought in immigrants to displace the workers who were there, busted the unions, Steve King, you know, the congressman, the awful guy, you know, racist, xenophobic, whatever.

John Judis: That's his, that's his area. And if you wonder why he's the congressman, that's why, because the, again, the shock that occurred from 1980 to 2000 or so lives on, but that poses a particular difficulty for the u s where the whole idea you asked nationalism, I o patriotism is based on the idea in Paj surely have it sort of exceptionalism. The idea that the u s is an exceptional place, a country of immigrants. And if this is part of the sort of basis of the DNA of this country, if you are arguing that there is a limit to the pace at which you can absorb immigrants, there's a kind of natural tension there. Well, I don't have to, you know, invent this argument. I mean, we've had the, so we start as a mainly Protestant, an Anglo Saxon, uh, with some, you know, Dutch and Portuguese Jews thrown in a country in the, in the 18th century.

John Judis: And, um, we, we haven't, we had an enormous influx of Germans and Irish in the 1840s a big, you know, we had a no, nothing party then. It was an explosive, but was winning, you know, elections all over the place, uh, and to men and to some extent gets displaced by the civil war. But 1880 to 1920 also an explosion of anti immigrant sentiment. Um, you know, the melting pot was a kind of minority idea and we only really got to that point. Uh, after War II when we had one restriction of immigration and we went through a depression together and we went through a world war. And after 1945, you really do get a melting pot minus again blacks. Yeah. Which is again, something that we're dealing with now. So it's not so, you know, people talking about American idea and exceptionalism. But we've always had this, uh, these blow ups over immigration and most of our, uh, big advances in welfare policy occurs there, you know, from 1932, uh, through about 1971 and it matches again this period.

John Judis: I want to get to that and whether we, where do we need nationalism to, to rebuild a central contact in a second. But just one question before you, you mentioned this race and the, and, and the sort of America's history makes this nationalist nationalism debate particularly bound up with race and is American nationalism of the sort that is articulated by the president, racist. All we're getting over jumping all the way to try, try. You can, you can move away from him. But it's that sense of, you know, the nationalism that he is epitomizing it. Is it a racist nationalism? Um, well, we, we can talk about Trump himself, but I don't want to get myself in the position of saying that his, the electorate that voted for him is racist because I think that there's a, there's a big difference, complicated and tough to Trump Trump because, you know, as a public figure and as a political guy, uh, you know, starts out reform parties Perot's party in 1999 and 2000 and denounces a Pat Buchanan is a ne nativist.

John Judis: Uh, he comes into politics again, you know, in 2011 or 2012 with this idea that Obama isn't really born in the United States. So, you know, he, he enters the stage this time on the wings of racism. Uh, and it's always has been an undercurrent of the appeal that he is making. Uh, and again, specifically we were talking about racism. We're not talking about the Mexican rapists. That's a different, that's a different question. But you know, again, for the Obama voters that voted for Trump, um, I wouldn't dismiss them as racist or, or bigoted because they saw other things as well in Trump or other things besides that and in Trump. So I think that you have to make a difference between his appeal and again, the vote vote people who voted for them. And this is, this is difficult and complicated terrain, but there is, I think a sense in which it's particularly difficult in this country to think about, to talk about nationalism when there is a sense in which an echoing back to America's past,

Minton Beddoes: which was a less, um, racially mixed, although it was one which has an awful lot of dark shadows of race over in it. But it's a country that where the racial complexion is changing and it's going to be a majority minority country by the middle of the century. So the notion of what American nationalism is isn't going to change. I mean, it's again, in, in Europe, you know, they're German nationalists have a sense of, you know, Germans being Germans and coming from kind of German stock. There's definitely an ethnic component to it. Is that not here in the u s well,

John Judis: yeah, I, I hope that it's, that are the present conflict we're having over immigration and nationalism changes. And you know, for that to occur, you really have to have two things. One, you have to have an acceptance and incorporation of the illegal immigrants who are here now, uh, because there are kind of, um, you know, underclass within the society, easily exploitable. But on the other hand, you have to have an acceptance that we do have borders. And I myself think that we have to put a priority on admitting people to the country who are more easily assimilable. So, you know, again, I think we have to do both and, but it's impossible now to get the parties to agree on that because, you know, on the one hand, the Republicans want a, a more restrictive immigration and will not accept, uh, the, uh, uh, uh, assimilation, the acceptance of illegal

immigrants, so they won't give them a path to citizenship. And on the other hand, the Democrats are really very leery of any change in the immigration laws.

Minton Beddoes: I want to open up to questions in a second. Just one last one from me, which is is you mentioned that the, when there was a sense of, um, stability and, and cohesion in the middle of the 20th century was when the social contract in the u s the, the current post [inaudible] 1930 social contract was built. Do you think that nationalism now is an essential ingredient to rebuild a new social contract?

John Judis: Oh, yes. That's what, that's exactly what I'm saying. That I think we have to revive the idea that we are one nation. Uh, you know, again, you can include classes in school, you can do this multiculturalism stuff as long as you don't start thinking of, Oh, you know, we're really separate nations. I think we have to revive that sense that we are one nation. And, and you know, one of the reasons that Trump is so toxic is that the, his nationalism music exclusionary in that way. And, and, and, you know, the same thing is happening in a lot of European countries as well,

Minton Beddoes: but at the same time here, there is a shift into group identities. Um, which are becoming very powerful as in part of the new people. You, there's a, there's a identity politics, which is again, and one of these slogans often sometimes not terribly helpful, but there is a sense in which there's a group developing

Minton Beddoes: in different subgroups rather than the national identity that you're talking about. Yes, yes. And we have that, the battle going on in the Democratic Party right now. Let me do, let's open it to some questions, comments, questions, gentleman there. Third row.

Speaker 3: Okay.

Speaker 4: Thank you. It's a really interesting conversation. I believe it is.

John Judis: Sorry, you have to speak up too.

Speaker 4: Okay. Um, you mentioned at the turn of the 20th century, there was a surge in sort of, uh, anti-immigration sentiment, um, different though now that that anti immigration sentiment is being amplified onto the world stage and impacting the way that America is perceived internationally. Um, how do you think that this surge of nationalism is going to impact the perceptions of America? And then similar to what you were talking about earlier in terms of, uh, promoting a certain quality of immigrant, um, how will that impact their willingness to come?

John Judis: Oh, immigrants, I can't tell. I mean, you know, uh, Trump is obviously they're making it difficult for people to get visas and things like that. And, and it's, it's, it's lamentable um, you know, the thing in tr internationally, what, what I'd look at again is the kind of attempt to create a, um, a right wing populace, the

international that Steve Bannon is tried to forge. And that there's probably too many disagreements among the parties in Europe over, uh, you know, things like, uh, Russian Putin. But you know, you might have a prime minister in the UK who is allied with, uh, Trump and, and so you again, you might see he has no principles this alive with nobody. [inaudible] I don't disagree with that. Um, um, I think again, that's what you have to look for. And as far as the numbers of people coming here, I think as you see from the cit what's happening in Central America, people are desperate to come to the United States. And that really hasn't, uh, uh, ended, uh, with Trump's presidency. Thank you. Yes, lady in Secondary. Yeah. Mike stuff's coming.

Speaker 3: [inaudible]

Speaker 3: the sort of opposite of nationalism is another underlying current in the United States, which the Wall Street Journal and the federalist have written about from time to time, which is the devolution of the United States. I'm from Texas. And you know, the last time I saw statistic, about 51% of us would be happy, just the seed from the, that's a joke, but not quite. We might guess that's a joke. I take it as a joke, but you know, it's, it, there is this current up the up the east coast and places like Texas, west coast and so on being very different in opposition to each other, which is just the opposite of nationalism, isn't it?

Speaker 3: Hmm.

John Judis: Well that, I, I think that that's what I was trying to get at with the, uh, with what's happened to the country in terms of the uneven development of, of capitalism and, uh, it's culture. Well, it reinforces differences. If you look at North Carolina for instance, let's not talk about Texas. It's too complicated. It's like talking about UK or something, you know, it's with Scotland, all these things. It's, it's the, um, North Carolina state that was again, moving toward the, uh, toward the Democrats, a big research triangle, uh, around Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill Chat, Charlotte, a big banking community. But it goes for Trump. Now why is that? Um, furniture industry, all these small towns and midsize towns in North Carolina, all those voters. So even with the end, within that state itself, you have this kind of political war going on between the Republicans and Democrats. Put that onto the national stage and you see that same kind of conflict continuing to occur. So that's again, I think that that's what we have to heal in this country. If we want to have a fully functioning democracy and welfare state,

Minton Beddoes: can I can, I just don't, I mean what you're saying about Texas is, is clearly happening in the United Kingdom where you've got the ultimate irony. The Brexit was driven by a sense for some of nationalism of wanting to reclaim sovereignty. And it is quite possible the outcome of it will be a breakup of the union. And that's the sort of ultimate irony of nationalism. So there is lots and lots of smaller units now want to assert their identity, Catalonia as the same. Um, yes, gentleman back there, way backwards.

Speaker 4: What does, what does allow more people in who are more easily assimilated mean

Speaker 3: [inaudible]

Minton Beddoes: that's a question for you. What does allowing more people in who are more easily assimilated?

John Judis: I'm more easily employable, uh, speak English, things like that. Just the obvious things, not, uh, not nothing that's uh, that complicated. Uh, Canada has immigration laws that are like that.

Minton Beddoes: Um, there was a lady at the full row, two, two guys behind you there by them. Yeah,

Speaker 5: I have a Whoop, I have a follow up questions about, um, assimilation is a pretty offensive term and a lot of places cause what, what I interpret that to mean is white and educated, which I think is actually what you're saying. Um, so I wanted to ask if what maybe you meant to say was integratable, um, and if not, if you could clarify, um, cause your, your answers sounded like white, wealthy. Don't start with me with the, no, no, no. I'm asking if that's what you meant. Um, cause you also obviously, you know, the, the, the odd thing about this country and its history is, and this is again going back to the, the problem with our history is that, uh, being white is the badge of being, and I'm going to use that word, so don't give me so a hard time. If you look, I like the, in my book, I quote Harry Truman writing back to his cousin in 1919 and he's gone to New York and, and Ikea.

John Judis: I can't, I'll just paraphrase that. And he says, New York consists of 750,000 Israeli ish, Israeli EITs, 50,000 waps and a few thousand white people. Now, you know what's interesting about that again is that before World War Two, Italians, Jews were not white. My, my view again, and this gets more complicated, is that as we progress, um, and you'll see this in the census statistics and in the analysis of a guy named Richard Alba, associate ologist at NYU, uh, more Hispanics as they inter marry are identifying themselves as white, Asian Americans as well, uh, integrating into the society. Um, so, uh, again, uh, you know, I'm not, did not, I'm not, I'm trying to give you a complicated, uh, answer to your question. And, uh, the challenge before us, again in terms of racism and being black is going to be to get beyond that and to get beyond that and in a way such a way that it doesn't require, uh, every body, every black person to become like Stephen Stephen, Stephen Curry, now Stephen Curry's, a blast basketball player of mixed parentage, like, like Obama a in other words. So that intermarriages doesn't become the city, the, uh, the, the central characteristic that finally brings the black population in. So we, again, that's a part that's a deep part of the American problem.

Speaker 6: Thank you. Um, gosh, so many questions. Goodness me back. Yes. Two, two, two steps back. Hi. I had a question about how much do you think this current strain of nationalism we're seeing has to do with not just fear of immigrants but fear of just people of Color in general, ascending to positions of power in a way that we haven't seen in mainstream society before? Because Colin Kaepernick, the example you mentioned, he's not an immigrant. He's an American whose ancestors have lived in this country for far longer than many white people as well. And so no, that's

John Judis: the true and and uh, again, the, the fear of resentment of immigrants, one aspect of it, but Colin Kaepernick was defaming our national anthem. So it's a different, it's a, it's an entirely uh, eh, that's a, that's just another aspect of it. Now, what's the, so clarify for me,

Minton Beddoes: what's the question now? So the question was whether the nationalism was driven by in part by a fear of people of color ascending to greater positions of leadership in society. And I can I just add to that because I know I it was

John Judis: not if fe international angle. Yes, of course. I'm saying that now is here. Thank you for that. Let me, uh, um, I think what you'll find is that there isn't the same kind of, uh, prejudice directed towards, um, Asian Americans and towards people who come, uh, now, uh, as there is toward, uh, more unskilled, Hispanics, people who again, who compete, who challenge, uh, the culture and the economy of these, again, small bitesize towns. Um, so it's, I don't think it is people of color. I think obviously with Obama, people put aside a lot of their feelings of a discomfort with somebody who was black, uh, becoming president. When I, when I was, uh, riding, I was for most of my life was a political writer. And in 2016, I did a, um, I was writing about the primary and I wanted to see whether a black guy could possibly be elected president.

John Judis: And I did all these psychological tests. And you know, there are these tests where you will press a key of a, of your computer, and if you press one key, you're, you're more rev or racist. And now it shows you like roar shack pictures and you're judging those. And um, low and behold I proved to myself a that Obama couldn't possibly be a elected president and that I was a racist. Now here's the point I'm trying to make about that Americans are complicated people as are, you know, all people and we have certain strains within us and we can't. And you know, many Wa white Americans, I have you know, prejudice. I grew up in Chicago in the nine teen forties where we thought blacks were going to come from the south side and kill us all and it's, you know, still lodged in that in your unconscious. But what politics, men making political decisions and voting for people is a deliberative act. And we put aside certain things and we emphasize others. And I guess what I'm saying to you is that in terms of America, I wouldn't go on go that far with a kind of generalization that in that generally people were uncomfortable with, with people of color ascending.

Minton Beddoes: Can I push you a little further on that? Because I think this gets to the really important question is one that gets to what I was trying to get at the beginning

of this conversation. Because you in your book give a, um, somewhat positive description of the reasons why people are nationalists. You know, you think of it as an understandable thing. It's, it's because they and you give all the economic reasons and so forth, but to the degree that it is based on racism, it is clearly not a kind of positive feeling. It's clearly not a positive. You and, and you, you know, in the American case, is American nationalism a mixture of the two? Is it more negative race based concern or is it more, as you would say, understandable response to all kinds of economic pressures? And I'm not quite clear where you come out on this because your tone is very sympathetic relic of nationalism, but to the degree that it is, these other factors, surely it's something that should be, should be criticized. It should be, it should be well, loudly condemned. Yeah.

John Judis: The beginning of what I said was that a sense of national identity and pride in Nate in your nation is essential to having a democracy. It's essential for B, being willing to pay taxes for people you don't, you know, to help people the absolutely will never see or know. So that's, that's the beginning. In that sense, nationalism is entirely benign in my view. And you're not going to get, I mean, I again, in the 1990s in this period of, of great utopianism, you had these people would say you shouldn't think of yourself as an American, but as a citizen of the world, and you still find that a lot in Europe.

Minton Beddoes: My name [inaudible] a lot of what's happened in the last few years of growing view that I don't want to pay taxes cause they'd go into people who don't look like me. Yes, that's exactly the problem that, that, but shouldn't that be condemned?

John Judis: Well, of course people do condemn that. And that's why that one I say to you, I mean, when I, when I say that we have to restore our feeling of being one nation, that's exactly what I'm talking about. I mean take Obamacare. I mean, why did Obamacare, uh, uh, was, uh, greeted with such hostility? Again, it was the feeling and in, in, you know, it was actually wasn't based to, to some extent on fat cause most of the taxes that went to pay out were from upper income people that, you know, people who had insurance, we're going to have to pay in Artha subsidize them and whoever, you know, you can describe who them is, but that was the problem. So we can't have universal health insurance in that sense unless people agree that they're all part of one nation and it's, and it's okay to do spend your taxes for them. Thank you. Let's get some more questions gentlemen. Second right here. Microphones. By then,

Speaker 5: as you described, the vanishing small town jobs and the other things going on, as the world gets more mechanized, it's only going to accelerate. Uh, we're gonna we're going to see a lot more people pushed out. I'm not hearing among the 25 Democratic candidates or the other guy or anywhere in Europe, successful arrangements to retrain people, to resettle people, to move people if necessary to invest in human capital rebuilding and a rescue. Do you as a historian see anything successful going on to some of our candidates might, uh, grab and, uh, proposed as policy to abate this

John Judis: cars that you've just given to national for the garage. What I see is a, is a complete neglect of that. And you know, it begins in 1962 when we have our big trade deal that John Kennedy works out in is part of the arrangement with the AFL CIO. The labor union we had were worker retraining for people who lost their jobs because of trade. Never followed through. I mean it just piddly mass amounts and there really hasn't been a national commitment to doing that and it's hard to do and I don't have the solution and there aren't models in the United States now that I know of though there might be. I'm not a policy person, so there might be people who know about this who could give you a better answer than I do, but it's definitely a vacuum in our policy.

Minton Beddoes: That was, um, they did the back, I'm trying to go from back to front. Right.

Speaker 6: Good afternoon. I just have one question to do. I've seen, um, the term neo nationalism being applied to the American modern context. So I like to find out what are its prospects of it eradicating, yeah. Economic and social disparities in this country. And is there any possibility that there is youth involvement in this? Because I feel like there's a lot that youth has to inherit in terms of these, um, in terms of these ideologies that we, that um, youth may have, um, that they have to like involve themselves in politics. And this has to happen in this has to happen. So yeah, and maybe a big, it might be a big question, but yeah,

Minton Beddoes: you also have to pay. So I had to pick if that, if you don't mind the last part of that, which is important, the role of young people in this, is the, is the conversation on nationalism going to be changed as we moved to a younger generation and what is the role and indeed the responsibility of younger people? I'm slightly paraphrasing or is that okay?

John Judis: I'm a little hard of hearing that's you. I'm sure yours, you were eloquent in your question, but it's my, uh, problem. Um, the role of young people. Well, in the unit, I mean, again, just, just to prepare in theoretically to an odd fact in the United States, the millennials, uh, the, you know, 18 to 35 year olds, so have very much tended democratic, uh, Bernie Sanders, you know, in the primaries in 2016 among millennials, he got more votes than Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump combined. Um, in, you know, Corban would be the prime minister. Now, if a millennials were the only voters, male and Sean would have won the first round in France. So again, tending to be very liberal, um, what, what, what's their role going to be? Um,

Minton Beddoes: what does it mean for nationals, for the nationalism that we've been discussing?

John Judis: I want to say something else about it. And I, you know, I, again, it's their, their role I think is to a great extent, will be to temper that though. You have to look in, for instance, in Hungary, uh, it's to some extent in, in Germany as well. A lot of the young voters tend to support the a right wing populist party. So it's not, it's not a universal 10 tendency. It's more, it's much more common in the United States, uh, than elsewhere. And, uh, you, you know, again, what I would see from this a generation, especially around climate change is not so much an

affirmation of nationalism, but, um, affirmation of a certain kind of internationalism, uh, that we have certain big problems that we have to deal with that suggests that this is a temporary phenomenon that we've been discussing. Well, uh, you know, it, it just tell me that it is temporary.

John Judis: I think the reason why those parties didn't do so well in 2018 in Europe is because there wasn't, um, there weren't a lot of terrorist incidents and y there wasn't a big rush of refugees. Now the place where they did well, Italy, um, you know, again, UK is your, is Brexit. It's a special thing. But again, if you look at the low countries, if you look at Germany, France, um, so that's an important ingredient because we, the United States dug this enormous hole in the Middle East in 2003 with the evasion of a rock that we're still trying to uh, extract ourselves out and get a couple more questions cause we're running out of time. Gentleman there you've been very patient.

Speaker 7: The mic'a coming.

Speaker 8: Yes, you're a, you're concerned about right. Uh, right wing nationalism and the extremes that are apparently going on. Can you identify the Anti Judaism with the, uh, oh, the whole business. If we go deep into that, what is going on with, with Jews and the fear of the, uh, that recurring again?

John Judis: Oh boy. Um, yeah is an easy question for, you know, I've promised myself, never did I, I wrote a book on a true, it's called Genesis Truman, uh, American Jews and the origins of the Arab Israeli conflict. And I went through a two years of just total misery with people screaming at me. So, uh, it's a, it's a hard question. The, you know, the, the way Israel has evolved has, has certainly fueled a lot of antisemitism, whether you can call the, again, the Muslim antisemitism, the same as what was in 19th century Europe. I'm not sure because a lot of it is, is a, it's not an array, rational fear of Jews taking over the world, but it's a contest over land and over the, our relationship with the Palestinians and that conflicts spread of course, the Europe and again to a lot of young people who are very sympathetic to the rights of Palestinian as am I, you know, my fear, again, if this goes on is that it will, you know, is, and I think more in Europe than here will mix itself up with a more traditional toxic, nutty protocols of Zion kind of antisemitism.

John Judis: And you'll really get, uh, you'll, you'll really get a very bad situation. And I mean, I even worry about my children a little in 20, 30 years. What will it be like if that goes on? And if the situation in Israel is not a settled in an a, again, benign our way. So that's my, uh,

Minton Beddoes: I hate to end on such a somber note. Um, but I've had a loud zero time out there. So many more questions. I'm sorry I couldn't get to them all, but do read this. It's extremely level headed. A really very good book on a very difficult subject. Thank you. John.

