



Confronting Hate (5/16/19)

00:00:29 Harmony Barker: Good evening and welcome. My name is Harmony Barker, and I am the assistant manager of public programs here at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum. It's my pleasure to welcome you to tonight's program, along with all those tuning in to our live web broadcast at 911memorial.org/live. Tonight marks the final program of our winter-spring 2019 public program season, and we are very pleased to be joined by filmmaker and activist Deeyah Khan.

00:00:59 Deeyah is an Emmy Award-winning and BAFTA-nominated documentary film director known for such films as "Jihad: A Story of Others" and "White Right: Meeting the Enemy." In these films, Deeyah interviewed convicted terrorists, former jihadis, and current and former neo-Nazis in order to understand the draw of extremist ideologies.

00:01:21 We will be playing short clips from both of these films during the program, so please be advised that they may contain content that is disturbing or upsetting, and, of course, is screened solely for illustrative purposes and in no way implies endorsement.

(laughter)

Harmony Barker: Just to be clear. Deeyah is also the founder of Fuuse, a media and arts company that centers the storytelling of women, people from minorities, and third-culture kids.

00:01:57 In 2016, she was named the first UNESCO goodwill ambassador for artistic freedom and creativity. She has received a Peabody Award, the University of Oslo's Human Rights Award, and the Peer Gynt Prize from the Parliament of Norway. We are especially fortunate to have Deeyah here to share her experiences confronting hate, and her insights on how we can forge a path forward to combat extremist ideologies.

00:02:22 We would like to thank Deeyah for sharing her time with us. Tonight's program has been generously supported by the Royal Norwegian Consulate, and it is now my privilege to invite Miss Harriet E. Berg, the Norwegian consul general, to say a few words. We are thankful to both Miss Berg and the consulate for their continued partnership and support.

Following tonight's program, we'd like to invite you all to a post-event reception which has been generously sponsored by the Royal Norwegian Consulate, where we hope we can continue tonight's conversations. Without further ado, please join me in welcoming Miss Harriet E. Berg.

(applause)

00:03:02 Harriet Berg: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. The Norwegian Consulate General in New York is very proud to... the collaboration that we have with the 9/11 Museum & Memorial, and we are delighted to be supporting this event. The museum has been very engaged in the creation of memorial sites in Norway in the aftermath of the 22 July terror attacks. So I would like to extend my gratitude to the museum and the memorial for their support and advice in that regard.

00:03:38 Since the Norwegian-American architectural firm Snøhetta was part of the construction of this beautiful and moving memorial and museum, I also feel very much a bit at home here. They have constructed kind of the upper part of the whole building.

But now to tonight's program. Deeyah, which is a Norwegian that we are very proud of, is an excellent documentary filmmaker and a wonderful storyteller. We've been cooperating with Deeyah Khan on many occasions, showcasing her documentary to an American and an international public. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Norway has also had the pleasure to work with her for several years and in many countries to strengthen the artistic freedom of expression, and especially female artists' rights.

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Deeyah Khan is an important role model for many young people, and I would say also for us here, and an inspiring voice for free speech and human rights. Her wish to personalize and understand the enemy, or the other, talk to their humanity and show respect, and then document makes us wiser and better-informed. And I think that's what we will also be, see demonstrated here tonight. I look forward to hearing Deeyah here tonight, together with Jessica. Thank you all for being here, and enjoy the conversation. And I'm pleased then to invite you all to a reception afterwards outside here to continue the dialogue. Enjoy.

(applause)

00:05:34

Jessica Chen: Well, good evening, everyone, and thank you so much for joining us. Deeyah, thank you for coming.

Deeyah Khan: Thank you so much for having me.

Jessica Chen: This is our last public program of the season, and I can't think of a more fitting and important conversation to have than with you right now. And I thought we would start tonight by talking a little bit about you, who you are, what drove you to make films, and, particularly, what made you drive... or what drove you to make films about these topics in particular.

00:06:00 Deeyah Khan: So, I am the daughter of immigrants from Pakistan and Afghanistan. I was born and raised in Oslo, myself, in Norway. I've lived the last 20 or so years in London. I come from a Muslim family. What else? I don't want to bore you guys too much, so, because I want to get to the good stuff.

(laughter)

00:06:24 Deeyah Khan: So the reason I started making documentary films. My background is actually in the arts and in music. And the reason that I shifted to storytelling instead was that I was very, very frustrated by the fact that a lot of the stories that we hear in our public space about topics that are really difficult, that are really challenging, that are really uncomfortable, I felt that the human beings at the center of those stories were often erased. I felt that the way we were talking about a lot of these issues were very sensationalist. I felt that shock and fear and the horror was at the forefront, and the brokenness and the sadness and the sorrow that might lay behind it or at the heart of it was often ignored.

00:07:08 So... I mean, honestly, I picked up a camera because I wanted to ask questions. I wasn't feeling satisfied by how a lot of these stories were being told, so I decided to just do it myself. I had no... no formal education, no training, no... no experience whatsoever. I remember at the time, even my friends going, "Look, you don't just wake up one morning and say, "I'm going to do documentary films." And I was, like, "Well, you know..."

00:07:34 And I remember, at the time, going to another colleague, because, again, I didn't know any people in that field or anything like that. So I went back to one of my colleagues who, also, I worked with in music, and I said, "Look, I'm desperate about trying to tell some of these stories, you know. I haven't really done it before. I don't really have any money, you know. Will you help me?" And he's, like, "Well..." And I was, like, you know, "How hard can it be?" And he's, like, "Yeah, you know, we'll figure it out."

(laughter)

00:08:00 Deeyah Khan: And seriously, it's... We used to sit there online and just read tutorials and watch these little tutorial videos. I bought a little camera, got a little editing system, and that was it. It took me four years to make the first film. I was just obsessed, obsessed with wanting to understand-- people, wanting to understand not just what people do, but why people do the things that they do. So that's how I came to it. Never could have imagined that anybody would actually see the films. It was much more of a selfish kind of exercise. It was more for me to try and figure... figure some of these things out, and try to understand.

00:08:42 Jessica Chen: So we're here at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum, and I'm just curious-- you know, where were you on 9/11? And did 9/11 have an impact on you personally, but also on your work?

Deeyah Khan: So I was in London. I remember it very, very clearly. I remember one of my friends, actually American friends, was about to take a plane to the U.S. He was traveling to Atlanta. And I remember stopping in a café, because I wanted to grab a coffee, and then it was, actually, TV screens.

00:09:10 And then it happened. And I remember... I'm going to get chills even thinking... And I just remember sitting there going, "This has got to be a, like, a Hollywood film or something." Like, "What is this?" Just utterly devastated and horrified, like the rest of the world. Just unbelievable-- utterly just unbelievable. And I've just had a look at the exhibition here, as well. And it's just... it's... so moving and so strange to be in this space. Which I think is, I mean, this is sacred ground.

00:09:48 This is, you know, this is a place where so many people took their last breath. And a moment in our history that changed... Obviously, changed the lives of people who were directly affected by this, but also changed all of our lives, too. It changed the course of everything.

- 00:10:06 And how was I personally affected by it? I mean, I... overnight, you know, you become part of a group that is now the enemy of the world, you know? So suddenly, the suspicion with which people look at you, suddenly, the... people starting to question your loyalties, your sense of belonging, your identity, your motivations for doing the things that you do. It was, it was... it's... it's been a... It's been a really drastic shift. And I would say it is... I mean, looking back on it, I would say it is part of the reason why I probably do the work that I do today.
- 00:10:45 Jessica Chen: A lot of the questions that we'll be exploring in talking about your films are questions of identity and belonging in the world. So as someone who grew up in Norway, moved to the U.K., and now are mostly in the U.S., what is your own sense of home and place and belonging? How has that evolved over time?
- 00:11:02 Deeyah Khan: Um... I've always had a really complicated, really sort of strange relationship to, you know, "Where are you from, what do you feel?" You know, "What language do you think in? What language do you dream in?" Like, all these kinds of questions. And I remember when I was younger, the fact I come from multiple... the fact that I have multiple hats and identities and cultures through which to construct my identity, I guess, used to be a source of conflict. It used to be a source of pain. It used to be a source of friction and difficulty for me.
- 00:11:36 But it also, in later life, it became a place of creativity. It became a place from where I could... Creativity, and I would say, also, empathy, because, you know, when I was growing up-- I always say this-- you know, I was able to relate with, you know, the blond and blue-eyed Norwegians that I grew up with. I could completely relate to them. I could... I completely felt a part of them at times.
- 00:12:01 And then, other times, I could sit with my grandfather, who'd come from Pakistan, who didn't speak Norwegian, who was a very, very religious man, who, you know, who had his world view and his kind of cultural baggage with him, and I could also sit with him and speak the language and kind of... my heart could relate to him, too. But as I say, in my early life, it made me feel lost between... I felt like I fell between chairs.

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I wasn't quite this enough, or that enough. I used to think it was my superpower. I used to think that I can understand multiple groups of people, I can relate to multiple groups of people-- that's my strength. But people would remind me that, "No, it's what makes you different. It's what makes you less than. It's what makes you not good enough. It's what makes you not Norwegian enough, not Muslim enough, not this enough-- not good enough."

But as I say, you know, with time, and a lot of kind of struggles with that-- and picking up the camera has been a part of that-- is, is... It's become a place where I've gone back to it being a, it being a superpower, and it being a, it being a benefit, rather than a place of conflict and sorrow.

00:13:17

Jessica Chen: I think we see that evolution from being that place of conflict to being a superpower actually across the films that you've directed.

(Khan laughs)

Jessica Chen: So you've directed and produced four films, but today we're just focusing on two of them. "Jihad: A Story of Others," which came out in 2015, features interviews with British Muslims who are at the forefront of the movement to recruit, raise funds for, and fight in wars ranging from Afghanistan in the 1980s through to Kashmir, Burma, Bosnia, and Chechnya. And also "White Right: Meeting the Enemy," which came out in 2017 and features interviews with fascists, racists, and proponents of alt-right ideologies in modern-day America.

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These two films, we... As a team, when we were watching them-- and they are also available to watch on Netflix-- correlate very closely in our minds. I mean, I hope by the end of the conversation, we can talk a little bit more about that. But starting with "Jihad: A Story of Others," I was just curious, what prompted you to kind of make this film? What was the genesis of it?

- 00:14:12 Deeyah Khan: So... Growing up in Norway, and also, well, also my time in the U.K., so, I've done... Other than films and working in music, I've also done a lot of work around women's rights and human rights, as you just mentioned, as well. And that has often caused a lot of friction and tension in the work that I do. And, also the fact that I used to do music also caused a lot of problems. So I've been on the receiving end of death threats from Muslim extremists for a really, really long time.
- 00:14:40 And it's been something that has impacted my life personally. It's been something that has impacted the lives of my families, friends, a lot of artists that I've, I've looked up to and studied in my life. And it's something... It always used to be kind of the big, bad monster in my life that I was always afraid of, that always kind of controlled me.
- 00:15:01 It's part of why I left Norway. It's, it's had a profoundly negative effect on me. And I just got to a point in my life where I decided that I have a choice to make. I can either spend the rest of my life being afraid, or I can try and live my life the way I choose to live it. And that also means confronting some of the people that I am absolutely terrified by.
- 00:15:27 So the reason that I wanted to make the film is, I wanted to overcome my own personal fears that I had of men like that. But I also wanted to try and understand what it was that was driving young Muslims, born and raised in the West like me, to go into, you know, battlefields in lands that really have no relevance to their own personal lives at that moment and sacrifice themselves in that way. Why would somebody do that? So I wanted to understand that. And so that's why I decided to make the film.
- 00:16:00 Jessica Chen: So the film centers around a charismatic man, Abu Muntasir, someone you actually describe as a person who was most responsible for spreading jihadism in the Western world. Can you tell us a little bit about how you met him, how you, and how you gained access to the former jihadists that you interviewed?

Deeyah Khan: It took a long time. With all these things, it took a really long time. Most people don't really want to speak to you, because most people also are very, very suspicious of the media. And I kept trying to tell them, "Look, I'm not the media. I barely know how to do this," you know? "I'm not a journalist "I'm just somebody who really wants to try and understand this."

00:16:37

And I also remember... I mean, I would have endless conversations with some of the guys that eventually, you know, would at least agree to a phone call with me. And they would not want to speak on camera, absolutely not interested. And, as I say, very, very suspicious. And then one of them also said, "I've looked you up. And I see that we are on completely... We're both Muslims, but we're on completely the opposite ends of the spectrum. And I consider you to be my enemy. So why would I meet you?" And I said, "That's exactly why you should meet me. I'm willing to meet you as my enemy. I'm willing to leave my baggage at the door. I'm willing to leave all my feelings about you at the door, and I'm willing to come in and sit down with you and listen. And see where we go from there."

00:17:24

So anyway, it took a really long time of a lot of back-and-forth, a lot of people saying yes, then messing me around. I would show up, they wouldn't show up. Or I would show up, and then they say, "No, actually, turn the camera off. I don't really want to talk to you after all." It was a lot of stuff like that. But eventually, after a little bit of trust was built, and also they realized that I'm very, very annoying because I'm not going to go away...

(laughter)

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Deeyah Khan: So I just... I just kept at it. Because they... they tried everything to sort of piss me off and to discourage me and all of that. I mean, in both films, this was the case. And eventually they're just, like, "Ugh, she's not going away."

(laughter)

Deeyah Khan: "I guess she's here again. So, you know, put up with her."
And then, finally, we could actually start talking.

Jessica Chen: So obviously you're not making this film in a vacuum. You're actually making it across two-and-a-half years, beginning in 2013.

Deeyah Khan: Yeah.

Jessica Chen: And so we know that ISIS was on the rise.

Deeyah Khan: Yeah.

Jessica Chen: Declared a caliphate in 2014. And I'm curious what impact that had on you when you were conceiving of the film, but also on those people that you were really working to try and interview.

00:18:26 Deeyah Khan: So ISIS became very pronounced in all of our media around 2013, while I was making the film, so I was already in process. And I noticed that even though I was starting to make progress with some of these guys, who were finally starting to be willing to speak to me and open up a little bit, then as soon as ISIS became as dominant as they were in all of our daily kind of consumption of the news, people started shutting down.

00:18:54 And people, and again, just clamming up and saying, "No, we don't want to talk to you, we don't want..." you know. And I... Several of the people that I filmed with I actually ended up not including in the film, because some of the guys were guys who were about, you know, who were considering leaving and going over to fight. Or some of them had been stopped at the border and, you know, now were trying to reconsider their lives.

00:19:20 But, yeah, that was... I mean, just on a practical level, it made my life much, much more difficult. But it also made the topic that much more urgent, because we were seeing all of our countries just hemorrhaging, just, so many of our young kids, just, just going over to these, you know, to these various battlefields, just willing to leave their life and their countries and their heart and their family, everything, behind. So it made it that much more urgent, I would say, for me to try and get even closer to, "Why? Why are you doing this?"

Jessica Chen: We get a sense of the why in a very personal reflection. I'd like to play a clip featuring an individual, Munir, reflecting on his own radicalization.

00:20:12 (clip starts)

Munir: P-A-K-I G-O H-O-M-E. I heard that religiously, like the five times call to prayer, for the first 16 years of my life. I felt so shunned by everybody. I felt so alone, so isolated. I just felt like death would've been a really good option. I didn't have a passion for life. Martyrdom, the notion of the shahid, the mujahid, they became inspiring. They very much became enabling. I think, for me, I was unmistakably drawn to it.

00:20:47 Deeyah Khan (in video clip): Munir says he was never a core member of an extremist group, but became sucked into the mentality by listening to their preachers. He was further radicalized by images of wars against Muslims and the deaths of innocent Muslim civilians abroad.

00:21:01 Munir: When people are able to relay to you powerful stories of suffering and oppression from around the world, and they can use one common binding theme that these people are Muslims who are suffering, then I realized that I feel exactly like those people. I feel as abused as they do. I feel as helpless as they do. And you just transfer that angst. You just transfer that sense of grievance. For someone like me, who didn't even

know where I fit in, fighting for the path of Allah was almost a transcendental emotion.

00:21:34

(clip ends)

Jessica Chen: So I think what you get from that clip, which surprised me, was just... It's an incredibly relatable experience, to be so alone and to feel... to want a sense of belonging, that actually it wasn't ideology that started at all. It was more a sense of wanting to be among. And it's the transcendental emotion, I think, this idea that the ideology could help you transcend your own loneliness because you're a part of a group that's interesting. Did you find that prevalent among all of the people that you interviewed?

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Deeyah Khan: The majority, I would say, yes. I mean, obviously, you have some... some... some of the guys that, their makeup is a bit different, but the vast majority of the... the young people who would follow movements, I found that it was basic human needs in their lives that were not being met that these groups actively target, and these group actively provide answers for, and actively are, are cynically recruiting young people who are grappling with a lot of these questions.

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And the other thing that I... that struck me is, as I said earlier on, you know, to me, I started making this film thinking that I was going to confront a monster, and, you know, these are just these barbaric, you know, evil, evil guys, and that's going to be that. And when they really started eventually opening up, like Munir did here, I found myself... like you, I found myself sitting there going, "I can understand that. I can relate to that. I feel like that, too. I've gone through that, too."

00:23:05

But then at the end of it, I would always sit there sort of questioning, you know... I can get it, but then what is it that makes me pick up a camera and you pick up a gun? You know, what is it that makes us relate to whatever it is that we're going through in our lives in such different ways? And the only answer that I... you know, after years of working on this, that I can sort of come to is, it really matters, when you're at your

most broken or your most vulnerable, it really matters who shows up in your life at that point. If it is a recruiter that offers you all the answers...

00:23:45 And also, one of the other, you know, young men says, you know, "Imagine feeling invisible, and insignificant, and powerless, and suddenly, somebody comes along and sells you this extraordinary picture, this extraordinary story of, 'You matter. You can change the world. You can be a part of us. You belong. 'You finally belong, and you're finally accepted. Unconditionally, you're accepted.'"

00:24:11 I mean, that's something very intoxicating in that. You know, the powerless suddenly feels powerful, and the invisible finally feels seen and finally feels heard, you know? You know, or, for me, when I was... When I've, in my life, gone through what I've gone through, I've been fortunate enough to have very, very loving, kind people that have shown up in my life, who didn't want to take my feelings and redirect it into something that suits them, you know? It's tragic, in a way. It's heartbreaking, in a way, to think about it like that.

00:24:47 Jessica Chen: We see in your film, as well, just the time that has passed, even as we... We at this institution think about 9/11 as a turning point in history. You interview young individuals who perhaps don't have the frame of reference that some of these former jihadis have, but instead have the war on terror to reflect on. And so I'd like to actually play a clip in comparison. This clip features a young, ordinary Muslim man, Zekarias, speaking about how he feels.

00:25:24 (clip starts)

Zekarias: There is one emotion that comes out of it, and that is anger. We all are angry. We're all angry about the fact that we are being victimized, that we're being stopped and searched at airports and being forced to give in our DNAs simply because we're walking with a thawb, or with a beard. Or that we're being stopped and searched on the street for being black and wearing a hoodie. You attack people who behead soldiers on the streets of London, but yet you don't talk about U.S. soldiers or U.K.

soldiers who go into villages and murder innocent people by the hundreds and by the thousands. So...

00:25:56

Deeyah Khan (in video clip): Who is "you"?

Zekarias: The U.K. government, and citizens of the U.K., regular citizens of the U.K. Citizens, just normal citizens. And the media.

Deeyah Khan (in video clip): So how does that make Muslims feel, and especially young Muslims feel? >> ZEKARIAS: Isolated, alienated, and angry. It could convert into something positive, which would be activism, which would be campaigning to make sure the government is held responsible for, you know, certain policy measures where they incriminate Muslim people. Young Muslim people, particularly. Or it can be converted into negative areas, and that's where you have groups like...

Man: Extremism and violence.

Zekarias: Exactly.

00:26:36

(clip ends)

Jessica Chen: Thinking about what he poses, that this anger could lead you in two directions, have you come across any positive, I guess, positive channels that young people have channeled their anger or their frustration in the way that Zekarias describes?

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Deeyah Khan: Well, I think the vast majority of young people either don't engage with these issues, or engage with these issues in a healthy way and, you know, through, you know, democratic political means. So, yeah, I do see that, but what I, but what I don't see, that I wish we could have

more of, is that I don't think that there are a lot of public spaces where young people can engage and can have their voices heard and can participate in a productive way.

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And the productive doesn't come from them. It comes from us being willing to listen to them. I don't find that we as a society are particularly open to listening to our young people. And I think we're not particularly interested in engaging with them when they are angry and when they are frustrated, you know? Whether their feelings are legitimate or not is sort of beyond the point.

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It's... I remember... Actually, in Oslo, I remember going to... I think it was while I was researching this film, actually, and there was a panel about terrorism and actually about the war on terror. And there was a young guy... and I was in the audience. And there was this panel, and there was this young guy who kept putting his hand up, and he said, you know, "Can you understand that the young people are angry? Can you understand that they're angry? And can you understand that when you're not listening, and when there's nowhere else for us to go, that maybe it makes sense for us to just pick up a gun and just go and do something? At least we're doing something."

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And he was from Iraq, and he had family there, as well. And nobody really answered his question. And he kept, he kept asking the same thing, and nobody really did it. And then the event ended, and he kind of ran past me, and I remember grabbing him, and I said, "Hey, I just want to tell you I completely agree with you." And he's, like, "What do you mean?" I said, "I completely agree with you." I said, "I get the anger." I said, "There's a lot of things going on, and there's a lot of conversations that need to be had that are not being had, so I completely get it."

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And it's almost like, you know how you just wring up, like, a cloth, and it just gets kind of limp? He was, like, I mean, his entire body just kind of, he didn't expect anyone to go, "I get it, and I agree." And he just goes... (exhales) And I said, "Look, but, what I don't agree..." I said, "You know, what I don't quite understand is, I don't think that violence is necessarily a particularly useful way to go about things." Because he was saying, you

know, "Do you get the fact that, you know, X number of Muslims are dying? Do you get this? Do you get the anger that comes from that?"

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And I said, you know, "What I don't understand is why you or your 'friend' that you keep referring to, you know, would want to go over there and just become another statistic, just become another dead Muslim. Why would you want to do that?" And I said, you know, "You seem like a leader. You seem like somebody who's really passionate and really interested in doing something in the world."

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I said, "Wouldn't it make more sense for you to maybe work with younger people, and maybe you could set up, like, a radio station? Maybe you could set up a publication. Maybe you could do something where these frustrations could be heard." And he was, like, "Well..." I said, "Don't you think that makes more sense than being one more dead Muslim?" And he was, like, "Well... yeah, well, yeah, maybe, maybe."

(laughter)

Deeyah Khan: But, you know, I mean, that was, like, a five-minute conversation. And he went from being very, very on-edge to kind of going, "Yeah, okay," like, you know, "Maybe there is some other way of doing this." And just, you know, as a society, I feel like we're not doing that with our young people.

00:30:21

Jessica Chen: We're certainly not welcoming it, we're not prompting it.

Deeyah Khan: No, no, we just shun it. And then if it flares up a little bit, we just go... Either pretend like it's not there, or, "Let me just shut it down and do away with it." And the thing is, the anger actually disappears quite quickly if you, if you get to what else is actually there. And often for a lot of young men, in particular, it's easier to show anger than to show all the other feelings that might be beneath the anger, you know?

00:30:49 And what I found with making this film in particular is, right behind the anger, there was so much pain. I found, instead of the monsters that I was looking for, I found nothing but broken people. Doesn't justify what they, what they did, or what they believed or what they were prepared to do, but it just gives us an understanding of some of the reasons that make people like that susceptible to ideologies and violence like that.

00:31:17 Jessica Chen: This is actually the perfect moment to shift to speaking about "White Right: Meeting the Enemy." And so this film was actually premised on a BBC interview that you did in which you said multiculturalism in society is inevitable, so we should find the best way to function as a society that way. And you received hate mail, death threats. And so I'm curious. You went into this project where you were literally going to meet the people who had made you feel unsafe, had made you feel threatened. What did you think this project would yield?

00:31:46 Deeyah Khan: I didn't know at the time. The only thing that I knew is, just like with the "Jihad" film, I knew that I had a choice to make. I could be afraid and I could run away from this, and I could behave in a way that they want me to behave. The threats are designed to make me feel afraid. The threats are designed for me to change my behavior. Or...In a negative way.

Or I can try and do something I've never done. So I've been, I've been an anti-racist campaigner most of my life. I mean, I used to go to anti-fascist protests as a kid. I've flipped these people off. I've thrown stuff at them. I've shouted at them, I've cursed at them. I've done, like, all of it. And it's not particularly yielded any results, other than me feeling really good about myself in the moment.

(laughter)

00:32:34 Deeyah Khan: And so I decided, well, none of that has ever produced any kind of results. So I want to see if they would be willing to sit down with

somebody like me. And I want to see if it's possible for them to recognize my humanity, and can I find their humanity? Is that even something that is possible? So that's all that I was obsessing about. I didn't really expect or think about any of the things that then actually ended up happening.

00:33:03

But, yeah, I mean, it's... Again, you know, extremists on any... any... In any movement, they are... They're constantly trying to change our behavior. They're constantly inviting the worst qualities in us as human beings. They're trying to invite that out of us. And there's a conscious decision that has to be made there of, do I do that? Do I act in a way that they are wanting me to and provoking me to act? Or is this the time where I actually stand by what I believe in? Is this the time where my values and everything that I stand for actually comes into play? And do I extend that to people who might not deserve it?

00:33:49

Jessica Chen: I, myself, found it very difficult to watch this film. I'm a child of immigrant parents, and so even in trying to select clips to play, I found myself wondering, you know, "Do I really want to give air to some of these comments?" And yet I encourage everyone to actually watch the full film, because you do see these glimpses of people really struggling with where they are. I think you capture... you were able to capture that struggle on film visually, in speech, because your interviewing style was really one where you were not engaging them in ideological debates. You were actually inviting them to share their opinion, albeit painful. You asked follow-up questions, but you didn't kind of use your opinion to negate their opinion. And so how did you develop kind of that sense of, of wanting to approach the conversation in that way? And did you find it hard to kind of stay the, stay the course, so to speak?

00:34:43

Deeyah Khan: On one hand, it wasn't that difficult, because I had already done it with the jihadis. And the entire engagement was based on... Again, as I say, most extremists want you to behave in a way that they want you to behave. And so in a way, they're setting the table for you. I refuse. I'm not interested in behaving in a way that they want me to behave. That's just not, not an option. Whether he's a jihadi or he's a white supremacist, I'm not dancing to how you define how this is going to go. So listening was important.

- 00:35:22 And I wanted them to understand what it feels like to be me. I wanted them to understand on a human level what this really does to people, what their rhetoric, what their actions, what their ideology, what the human consequences of that really are. I did not want to get into an ideological debate with them, because that's what they're so used to.
- 00:35:45 That's what they want. And regardless of how that conversation would have ended up going, they go away as winners. Either they're victims and I, you know, edited them in the wrong way, or I, you know, didn't do whatever. Or they were able to dominate me in the conversation. So that's... that's... That kind of hyper-masculine, chest-beaty kind of heated exchanges, it's not my style, it's not what I'm interested in.
- 00:36:12 And, also, personally, I don't believe it actually yields anything. I want to get behind the chest-beating. I want to get behind the rhetoric to something more. I know what Nazis think. I know what jihadis think. I'm not interested in engaging them on that level. So that was really, that was a conscious decision on my part. And so even when they would try to poke me and try to provoke me, I refused to give them the reaction that they were looking for.
- 00:36:40 But is it difficult to hear awful things about yourself? Or about other people of color, or people who are different from them? Of course. And it's... It was, you know, an exercise in patience and calm and, you know, keeping my cool. But I had to. Otherwise, I've gone down to their level, the level that they want to scrap, and I'm not doing that.
- 00:37:08 Jessica Chen: So most of the film follows members of the National Socialist Movement, NSM. And so one of the individuals that you interview is a man named Ken Parker. Literally has a swastika and a brand or a logo, decal tattooed to his chest. And I think your interview style kind of disarms him over time. And so I'd like to share a clip of Ken talking to you, but I want to kind of set the context for the clip. You had just been talking to Ken while he was very calmly wrapping anti-Semitic pamphlets in Ziploc bags that he was going to distribute at synagogues during Yom

Kippur. And, you know, you... You decided to show him the clip, the BBC clip that you... that had resulted in all of the hate mail, all the death threats. And then you read to him some of the things that you received. And he just... he was... he was... He said, "I wouldn't say those things to you." And so you ask him, "Why are you nice to me?" So we can hear from the clip now.

00:38:15

(clip starts)

Deeyah Khan (in video clip): Why are you nice to me?

Parker: You've been completely respectful to me. I actually consider you to be a friend. You know, my opinion about Muslims since I've been interacting with you has gone up significantly. Besides asking me questions that, you know, kind of got under my skin a little bit-- "Don't do the fliers," blah, blah, blah. "Don't throw them out in a Jew neighborhood. Don't use the Jew flyers with the swastika, you're going to hurt people's feelings." It comes down to when my girlfriend was in the hospital for a month, and the only one that called to see how she was doing was a woman from the mosque. I was, like, "Holy shit. I can't believe that here these people that I fucking hate are checking up on her."

00:39:01

Deeyah Khan (in video clip): And what do you think that is going to change in you?

Parker: Actually, you know, I don't think I'm going to mess with the mosque anymore. Trust me, I have thought about getting pigs' heads and scattering them around mosques, and stuff like that. But I haven't-- the worst I've done is bacon. But I, I'm... I'm done, I'm done messing with those people. You know, if you called me up and said, "Hey, I need help moving." Or, "Hey, I got a flat tire, would you mind helping me out?" You know, I would do that. Friendship, it makes people feel good, honestly. I mean, somebody that you can talk to, have discussions with, even if you don't agree with each other, you know, it's nice to have friends.

00:39:50

(clip ends)

(laughter in audience)

Jessica Chen: So it's somewhat... you know, we're hearing him, and we see him say, you know, you know, "I'm being nice to you because I feel this way." But then at the same time, then, reverting to saying, "Okay, well, I would maybe not do these hateful things so hatefully anymore." It's somewhat laughable, but you also see the transformation of this person over time. When you first meet him, he is adamantly not interested.

Deeyah Khan: He's very hard, yeah.

00:40:12

Jessica Chen: And so I'm just curious. You know, it's this... it's where he lands. It's about friendship. And he associates friendship with this idea of dialogue. Can you talk a little bit about that in the context of people that you interviewed for this film?

Deeyah Khan: Well, so, for him, he's, he's... and the other guys in his movement, they're not used, they're used to being shouted at. They're used to somebody coming in sort of swinging, and just being aggressive, and, you know, saying, "You're wrong because of this and this and this and this." And then they shout back, and, you know, everybody goes their kind of way and pats themselves on the back for having all the right opinions and all the right friends and all the right politics and all of that. But really nothing happened other than... that's it.

00:40:56

He can go recruit some more people. I can go feel good. So he wasn't used to somebody sitting down and going, "Okay, so, you know, let's actually talk," you know. "What's this like for you? What's that like? You know, when you were growing up, what was this like? What was that like?" And then also sharing with him what things have been like for me,

and, you know, just taking small, small, small steps together from there. They're not used to that. They're not used to anyone being interested in them as human beings. Which is also part of the reason why they're not interested in us being human beings, either.

00:41:33

So it's... you know, being someone... being a person of color, being a Muslim, being a woman, you know, I know what it feels like to be stereotyped and demonized. I mean, I've had that my whole life. And I've come to a point in my life where I refuse to do that to somebody else. Even if they are awful to me, I will not do that to them. Because I know what that is like. And so I think that is something that they weren't really used to. And I'm not... I want to be very clear. I'm not advocating, "Hug a Nazi and everything will be okay." I'm not trying to simplify things to that point. All I am saying is human connection is something that cannot be, cannot be ignored, you know?

00:42:16

It's... I never expected for a guy like that to use the word "friend" for me. And I'm going to tell you, because we're talking about him right now, anyway, but, you know, several people have asked me, going, "Well, you know, but so what? "He thinks you're okay, but he still thinks all other brown people are just, you know, scumbags, and whatever. So, you know, really, what does it matter?"

00:42:38

You know, he said to me... when I left him, he said, "Look, I..." I said, you know, "What does this change? "The fact that, you know, we've kind of gotten along, what does that change in you?" And he said, "Well, you know, it's... maybe it opens me up to speaking to more people who are different from me." And he actually did honor that. He didn't just say it—he honored it. And he spoke to... There was an African-American pastor in his apartment complex that he started speaking to. And it turns out he's got an all-black congregation that then he invited Ken to go to. Ken went, and Ken stood up there, apparently, and said that he used to be a part of the Klan, and then he became a Nazi, and, like, said all the stuff that he believes.

00:43:21

And afterwards, apparently, people came over to him and hugged him and said that, you know, "We think that what you stand for is absolutely

awful, but we also recognize that for you to come in here and share some of the things that you've shared, you know, actually, you know, takes a lot from someone."

And that made it all fall apart for him. The fact that he was shown kindness and compassion and respect by people that he hates, and he was shown those things even though he didn't deserve it, that completely collapsed the whole thing. Because he called me up a few months after the film was done and told me this whole thing, and said, "Look, I've left." And I was just stunned. I mean, he has a massive swastika on his chest, you know?

(laughter)

00:44:03

Deeyah Khan: I mean, I was terrified when I met him. I'm not going to lie. I was really afraid of him. And he wears, like, a gun. And the whole... I mean, I'm from Norway. I'm not used to guns and all that.

(laughter)

Deeyah Khan: You know, and he just goes, "Look, I've left." And he said, "Look, the hate was killing me from the inside." And he said, "I'm done with this." You know, and what I also realize is that men like that, when they join any kind of extremist group-- this goes for both movements-- they become so isolated from rest of life and from the rest of society, their entire sense of self, their entire sense of community and friendship and bonds become invested in these groups. So when they leave, they're leaving everything behind. And it is terrifying for them to leave.

00:44:52

And so I... I get goose bumps thinking about him. I know that's sort of strange. But, you know, he, he used that word "friend." And I remember when talking to him on the phone, thinking, I now have to stand by that word "friend" that he's used. And I know how lonely and isolated he feels. And I also know how much at risk he now is from his former group,

who now want to, you know, kill him for being a race traitor and all of this kind of stuff.

00:45:21 So we've stayed in touch. And he's now also, you know, speaking to other people who have left the movement. And he's, you know, slowly trying to rebuild his life. But he was thrown out from the university that he was studying at, which I think is a huge mistake, you know. So he's, he's trying to piece his life back together.

00:45:40 Jessica Chen: I want to shift gears a little bit and talk about women. So we see Ken's girlfriend, and you actually hear her in the film kind of, you know, she's not denouncing him, but she's also making kind of these quippy remarks like, "Your mom will be happy to know that you're, you know, you don't hate every brown person," and things like that.

And so I'm curious, you know, with both the "Jihad" film as well as "White Right," the people you interview, the vast majority are men. And I'm curious from your being in these environments, though, what is the role of women in these movements? Where do they fit into the picture of the ideology as well as the violence of the ideology?

00:46:20 Deeyah Khan: I mean, it's... on both sides in both movements, obviously, you do have women who participate in the violence. But you have women who mostly play sort of more peripheral roles. And I would say in both movements, the... what is on offer for women is not particularly that appealing, which is why you're seeing... I mean, it's a very masculine movement. Or both movements are very, very hyper-masculine.

00:46:45 You know, like, on the white supremacist side of it, you know, they were very, very clear that women's role in the future white ethno-state that they are, you know, working towards, you know, women will be nurses, you know, for the soldiers that will go and fight. That will be their role. And if they absolutely must, then they will go on the battlefield and have to, you know, participate in the fight. But for the most part, their job is to continue the white race. So basically have babies. You know, and on the

jihadi side of it, as well, you know, you see, well, now we're seeing all these children of ISIS.

Jessica Chen: Mm-hmm.

00:47:23 Deeyah Khan: So you see some women participate in violence, but not to the extent that the men do. Again, it is much more of a peripheral role, which is not that exciting for most women to want to participate in. Having said that, on the jihadi side of it, I think more is on offer for women, because many of the women that, that would leave Europe to join some of these groups were in a way finding emancipation in that choice of leaving and going and participating in violence like that. It was so counter to what was expected from them and what was a part of their life at the time, that it was kind of a revolutionary sort of stand, and therefore much more kind of powerful and intoxicating in that sense.

00:48:10 But on the white power side of it, it's... I mean, it's really not a great thing that they're offering women, you know? I mean, I went to so many of their rallies, so many of their conferences, and you would see very, very few women. There were women there, but very, very few. Having said that, on kind of the, the, you know, far right kind of populist, political side of things that we're seeing across Europe, obviously, you are seeing a lot of very prominent, very articulate, very, very vocal women leading a lot of that.

00:48:40 Jessica Chen: I want to talk a little bit now, just to go further into the relationship between the two films. And so I will just say, you know, this March, a single gunman killed 50 worshippers at two Christchurch mosques in New Zealand. And then just a month later, multiple churches and hotels in Sri Lanka were bombed by radical extremists, killing over 300 people. And in thinking about these... in watching these two films and in thinking about this program, we realized that these films in a way are reciprocal. They're complementary. They... it's almost like you... you know, we see in these actual events that have occurred, that one, one form of hate feeds the other form of hate, and they are dependent on each other for survival.

Deeyah Khan: Yeah.

00:49:21

Jessica Chen: Can you talk a little bit about kind of just the relationship of these two films for you, and how your thinking about that has evolved as time has gone on?

Deeyah Khan: Well, what really strikes me is, is the similarities. Is, you know, having done both films now, both the films, but also having been on the receiving end of death threats, for example, from both sides. I remember when I was getting death threats from the white supremacists, I kind of laughed it off, because I was so used to getting them from, from the jihadi side. That was... to me... and I even made this comment to some of my friends. I said, "It's the same guy."

(laughter)

00:49:55

It might as well be the same guy. What he's saying he's going to do to me is the same. I mean, the kind of language he's using is the same. What he's objecting to is pretty much the same.

And really kind of on a serious note, though, you know, it's... What these movements provide for young men, in particular, is very, very similar in both movements. How they are recruiting the young men is very, very similar. I would say that on the... on the side of ISIS, actually, it's much more strategic, and much more effort made.

00:50:29

You know, you would have recruiters that would sit online and spend hundreds of hours on recruiting just one person. I mean, imagine the kind of loyalty that kind of connection can make. But you see on the white supremacist side, as well, you know, they're getting more and more sophisticated in how they're deploying social media, as well. But I think beyond the similarities of the recruitment strategies, the personalities, and the social and psychological and emotional makeup of the guys

within the movements, and also the roles of the recruiters, beyond all of those similarities and beyond the belonging, the identity, the sense of purpose, the meaning, the glory that is on offer for them, I think what they want to do to us as a society is also the same thing.

00:51:18

They want to deepen the divides between us. They want us to fear each other more. They want-- as I said earlier, they are speaking very consciously and very strategically to the worst parts of us as human beings. They are wanting for that to come out.

And they will continue to pushing... to push on that. They will continue to try and make us react in an awful way, and for us to become separate from each other. They want us to become like them, basically, is what the deal is. And that is what we must resist.

00:51:57

Jessica Chen: I have one question before we go to audience questions, which is, you know, it's only since the Charlottesville rally in August 2017 that the media at large has caught on to this idea that these... you know, both Islamist violent extremism and the neo-Nazi threat are both forms of extremism that exist. What responsibility do you think the media have in terms of whether it's not sowing the divisiveness that you talk about, but also, you know, what's the responsibility to communicate about these things that are happening?

00:52:27

Deeyah Khan: I think... there's been a lot of conversations, I think, in America, but also in Europe about, you know, should people like this be given a platform at all? Should they be deplatformed and just leave it at that? I personally... I do a lot of work, as you heard earlier, around freedom of expression. I don't believe that they should be deplatformed. I don't think the question is, should we talk about them? I think how we speak about them is very important.

00:52:50

How you cover them in the media is very, very important. When ISIS was, you know, everywhere, they were everywhere because our media, I mean, could not get enough of them. Every single newspaper, every single magazine, every single news piece was ISIS, ISIS, ISIS, ISIS, ISIS, ISIS,

everywhere. You know, and it's shameful, I think, that we know the names of all these bad guys, and we forget that there are people on the other side of these bad guys that are fighting back, or who... you know, there are Muslims on the other side of them.

00:53:27 We don't, we can't name any of them. And I think that's shameful. And that is no fault of anyone else other than the media just focusing on these guys to such an extent that it actually ends up, in my opinion, glamorizing what they're doing. And I think it makes them dangerous, makes them more mystical, makes them into these big, bad monsters, which actually feeds into exactly how they want to be perceived.

00:53:54 When I did the "Jihad" film, I got all kinds of reactions to it, but the one reaction that really stuck in my mind was, I got some messages from two or three guys that were in Syria. They were British guys who had gone to Syria and were fighting there. They'd sent some messages saying they'd seen the film. How they saw the film in Syria, I don't really know. But they said, "Why are you making us look weak?" That's really telling. The fact that your objection to the film is that, that tells me something about how we are talking about this issue.

00:54:33 So, I mean, a lot of people will say you shouldn't humanize these people. They're demons, they're monsters, they're blah, blah, blah. I actually think once you humanize them, a lot of the hysteria falls away, and a lot of the mystique falls away. And all of the, "I'm the big, bad tough guy who's coming to do stuff to you," a lot of that... A lot of the power, in a way, goes out of it. So I think the media needs to be more responsible in how it deals with this, because how we speak about this ultimately ends up affecting them.

00:55:06 We have to be very mindful of not becoming an extension of their PR machine. You know, they are playing the media very, very cleverly. And the media sort of walks into it, because they want the shock and awe and the "Ooh, ah," and, "Just say some horrible things and let's leave." That's not enough.

00:55:23

Jessica Chen: Yeah. We're now going to go to questions, so if you have any questions, I have colleagues in the aisle. And I'll also let our A.V. team know that we are still going to play clip five, so just so you know that.

(laughter)

Jessica Chen: But why don't we start over here? Just wait for the microphone, please. Thank you.

Audience Member: Very wonderful talk here. But I want to ask you, aside from your great way of dealing with these people, how you ask questions and show that you understand them as people, do you think that being a woman was an advantage, also? And why, if it wasn't, why wasn't it an advantage?

00:56:06

Deeyah Khan: I think it was. I think... I think that again, these movements are hyper-, hyper-masculine. And so the way some of these guys will sit and address a guy will be different, because they're going to want to show themselves as stronger... I mean, they're going to be much more reluctant... not even reluctant. I don't think they really are even going to venture there. I don't think they're going to want to be vulnerable. I don't think they're going to want to show that they have any other feelings than strength and defiance.

So I think, yes, being a woman, that they... it's also very easy for them to underestimate—you know, here's some brown woman who kind of, you know... you know, is wiggling around with this little camera.

(laughter)

00:56:50

Deeyah Khan: You know, she looks a little clumsy, and... You know, but also, I was sincerely interested. And I am sincerely interested. I really actually care who they are. I actually care what they do feel. I really,

really actually want to know. And eventually, I think sincerity is something that people can feel. Even these guys can feel it. And I think, so eventually, it made it possible for them to... to show themselves and to come out of that big shell. So, yeah, I think the fact that I was a woman definitely made that easier for them in both movements, I think.

00:57:26

You know, on the jihadi side there's also this... you know, there's a particular kind of respect that is also shown to women and to other Muslim women. So I think it just made... opened up certain spaces in people's hearts that might, with a male person confronting them, I think wouldn't have been possible. I mean, I... and eventually after we, you know, became kind of friendly, I got away with saying all kinds of, you know, quite, like, obnoxious stuff to them. That, like, even I would, like, say something... And then go, "Oh, are they going to react?" And they'd kind of take it. So it was very interesting.

00:58:01

Jessica Chen: Hmm. Another question. Maybe off the aisle over here. Just wait for the mic.

Audience Member: Hi, thanks very much for the very illuminating conversation. So I... you mentioned briefly social media. And so that's something that has really changed in the past, like, ten-plus years-- that it has risen quite a bit. And so social media, like Facebook, Twitter, and so on, it really allows information to spread quickly and widely. And the type of information that seems to spread the easiest is sensationalist information, and often, like, extremist information. And that's something, especially in the past few years, we've seen quite a bit. So I was wondering, how much change did you see in these type of groups in the past... you know, it seems like you've really seen this over the past decade. And whether social media, like, how much effect has the rise of social media affected these groups?

00:58:55

Deeyah Khan: I think that's a really important point. I think that social media has just put these movements on steroids. I mean, it's just accelerated their rate of recruitment, the way that they can disseminate information and propaganda is just, you cannot compare it to what it was a decade or two ago.

00:59:16 You know, I mean, speaking to guys from both, both movements, you know, they would say, "Look, I felt this way. "I wanted to see if other people felt this way, but it was really hard for us to find groups, you know, like neo-Nazi groups that we could join." Like, it required a lot of effort. Whereas now, just at a click of a button, you can find thousands of people who think like you, who share your views, and you can organize very, very quickly. And even in terms of public rallies, I mean, you know, Charlottesville was not people making phone calls. It was all online, you know, and events and all kinds of articles being put up, and then people just gathering. So, yeah, I think their ability to organize and disseminate information and propaganda is... and recruitment, specifically recruitment, I think, has gone through the roof as a result of social media.

01:00:06 Jessica Chen: Just one last question, and we're going to pass the mic right up here. Thank you.

Audience Member: I wanted to make a comment about the media, and I agree that they exacerbate the situation. But I was... I worked in the World Trade Center before it came down, and the biggest news was shark attacks before this happened. So it says to me that there is something in human nature that really sort of craves fear, like horror movies and things like that. Because shark attacks are not common, but... so, of course, something more extreme would take that place. But I also wanted to comment, while I think that brown people are definitely victims in every way imaginable, there are other people who are victims, also, who haven't been mentioned at all. And I was wondering about that.

01:01:02 Deeyah Khan: Absolutely. I mean, as you've seen in this country over the last year or so, I mean, anti-Semitism is... is extremely, extremely high. Not just here, also across Europe now. So I think that what... what one form of hate does is that it unlocks the door for hatred towards anyone who's different. And so I think, in that sense, I think we're living in a very toxic environment.

01:01:29 And I think when we have political leadership that also sort of, you know, nudge, nudge, wink, wink, sort of gives permission to this type of behavior, I think then we're headed towards something very, very dangerous. And I want to be very clear, also, that, you know, as much as I'm speaking about, you know, human connection and the importance of empathy and compassion and kindness and all of these things, I also want to be very clear that I'm under no illusion how dangerous these movements are. And one of the things that really terrified me is that about 80% to 85% of the men in the white supremacist movement that I spoke to are all ex-military guys.

01:02:13 And what... what... and... and they're actively recruiting these guys. So speak about belonging, a sense of purpose, brotherhood, wanting to change the world, being dissatisfied with where the world and this country is at the moment, and not being looked after by, you know, the wider society and the political system, they're perfect for recruitment. And they're, these guys are actively going after them, and then using them for training for the inevitable race war that they think is coming. And somebody needs to make that film. I don't think I would survive making it, but that's a really, really important point that I think people need to look at.

01:02:49 The other thing about, you know, fear, I do think that fear is something really inherently a part of who we are as people and how we function and how we relate to ourselves and the world. But I also think that as much as fear is very contagious, I think that hope is just as contagious, and courage is just as contagious. So I think it is our responsibility as people who have the ability to speak or engage in any kind of public discourse to make sure that those values aren't forgotten, that hope isn't forgotten.

01:03:22 And that's one of the biggest things that I walked away with in the course of making both films, is that change is possible. People do change, and that, we must never give up on people. I refuse to give up on people, even if they've given up on themselves or given up on us. I refuse to do that. Because that's how we hand over huge populations of people to recruiters or politicians who just want to manipulate and take advantage of people's... some sincere issues. Did I answer your question, actually? Okay.

- 01:04:01 Jessica Chen: So I wanted to close this program, and we discussed this before. But across both films, you see former jihadis and former extremists working with-- how would I say it?-- the next generation of people who are coming out of these ideologies and these movements. And I'm curious to hear from you what you think the importance of that is, the evolvment of former, former extremists.
- 01:04:24 Deeyah Khan: I think that, you know, leaving extremist movements is just very, very difficult. As I say, you know, their entire sense of self and community is bound up in these groups. And so when people want to leave, the rest of us sort of shun them and aren't really interested anyway, because we just condemn them and think that they're garbage and that's that.
- 01:04:44 So where do they go? I remember while I was researching the "Jihad" film, I spoke to a former I.R.A. terrorist. He was a convicted terrorist, and now spends his life trying to make up for what he did. I spoke to him, and he said, "Look, many, many, many times throughout my involvement," he said, "I wanted to leave." But he said, "I didn't know how to leave. How do you leave? Where do you reach out your hand and say, 'I've had enough?'" So I think the role of former extremists, I think, is absolutely crucial in this fight against terrorism and extremism.
- 01:05:21 We absolutely need them, because they have the benefit of reflection and time and learning from what they went through, why they were radicalized in the first place. And then, also, why they managed to come out of it, what it takes for people to leave. They know all of that. And they can provide that support structure, that alternative space for young men who want... and young women who want to leave these groups.
- 01:05:48 Jessica Chen: So I wanted to close tonight's program with a clip of two of these former extremists now speaking, you know, to the theme of hope. And I would just like to thank everyone. We'll leave the auditorium right after the clip. Please join us for the reception, and also join us in the fall for more public programs. But here's the clip.

01:06:15 (clip starts)

Man: Empathy is the greatest emotion, because it's where we're able to turn the things that are in us, bad things that happen, bad things we've done, we're able to turn them into a positive, and say, "I can help you with that because you're doing what I'd done before." Or, "I went through what you went through."

01:06:30 Man 2: When I see guys still active in the movement, I see suffering. I see right through to their suffering. I see individuals that have been through hell, and that have been through all sorts of trauma that they don't know how to process, and they don't know how to react to it, so they're lashing out because they're like a wounded animal that's been cornered. It's so much easier to say, "I hate Jews and niggers" than to say, "I'm afraid. I'm afraid nobody's going to like me. I'm afraid I'm not worthy of being loved." And it's by no means an excuse for any, any of that behavior or any of that train of thought, but it is a reason.

01:07:16 Man 1: How I do rebuild my life? This is going to be very cheesy. You're going to hate it. It's going to be just one day at a time. You just do the next right thing in front of you. Watch how good your life starts to turn when you don't even know it. It just slowly starts to turn to where you don't wake up angry anymore. You feel good about who you are. It's such a change. It feels so good.

01:07:45 (clip ends)

Jessica Chen: Thank you all for coming.

(applause)