

*This is the transcript of the film Coexist. The film is available from the Upstander Project at [upstanderproject.org/coexist](http://upstanderproject.org/coexist). The numbers at the start of each phrase represent the running time of the film.*

### **SCENE 1: Irreparable?**

00:04 [Text] Rwanda: April 1994, more than 500,000 people killed, in 100 days

00:10 [Grace:] After losing my parents, I was still young. I was 10 years old.

00:16 [Theopshore:] I killed her siblings.

00:19 [Agnes:] I saw people dying. I saw people being killed.

00:22 [Jean:] It's not my fault that I killed Paul.

00:25 [Pacifique:] I felt like someone who had been electrocuted.

00:31 [Marc, voiceover:] Do you think the people in Rwanda live together cause they love one another, forgiven each other or they live together cause the laws that govern the country say so?

00:41 [Fatuma:] Our policy is unity and reconciliation. They have to live side by side. But how do you unite a society?

00:49 [Grace:] I'm hidden, nobody knows about my life.

00:53 [Agnes:] I'm not healed yet.

00:56 [Jean:] We don't have those troubles; we became one... one.

01:00 [Domitilie:] That's a lie, that's not true.

01:04 [Text and Marc, voiceover:] Can forced reconciliation lead to true reconciliation?

01:06 [Image] Coexist logo

01:14 [Text] "The only alternative to coexistence is codestruction."  
Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Prime Minister

01:25 [Text and Marc, voiceover:] We have to reconcile. If we don't reconcile today, then what's the future of this nation?

01:30 [Narration:] Rwanda is a densely populated nation in East Africa the size of Massachusetts. It's known around the world for one reason: the 1994 genocide.

Hundreds of thousands of people killed in an ethnic conflict. The two main groups involved, Hutu and Tutsi, share the same race, language, religion, culture, traditions and land. They're not conventional tribes. They're different sorts of socially formed group. And they've been living together on the same land for centuries, going to the same schools, going to the same churches, and intermarrying. So why did Hutu extremists rally together to kill Tutsis? People were afraid of losing power, safety, property, and most of all they were afraid of being killed in the civil war that had been raging for years before and during the genocide.

What does fear look like? When the President was assassinated, Hutu extremists struggled for power with moderates. They killed anyone who they feared might challenge their power-- Hutu or Tutsi. Local elites seized control on almost every hill. They warned Hutu villagers the approaching Tutsi rebel army would kill them if they did not follow the new law of the day, exterminating the "enemy" Tutsis. Afraid of becoming victims, people transformed into perpetrators. Hutu husbands killed Tutsi wives. Hutu Reverends led Tutsi parishioners to the slaughter. Hutu extremists killed Hutu pacifists. Neighbor killed neighbor. Rwandan killed Rwandan.

03:45 [Nshimiyimana, Rwandan Journalist:] This is what happened and made it happen so quickly: roadblocks were set up, and everyone knew where the Tutsi lived. They were neighbors. Neighbors knew where other neighbors would come from. It was difficult to escape because there you were and there was a roadblock, and at each roadblock, there were militiamen killing people. Then the killers would invade the houses, massacre and rape. It was hard to escape and hard to run away

04:46 [Tim Longman, Director of African Studies, Boston University, voiceover:] The genocide was an attempt by a government that was under threat to reassert its power by using ethnic violence and ethnic scapegoating. The government targeted the Tutsi population in particular as a way of unifying the majority Hutu population. It was a political tool that was used, but it was clearly genocide because Tutsi were killed based on who they were, based on their ethnic identity. There were some Hutu moderates who were killed, as well.

05:23 [Narration:] The Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front has ruled Rwanda ever since they stopped the genocide in 1994.

05:32 [Fatuma Ndagiza, Rwandan Patriotic Front Government Official:] Our policy is unity and reconciliation. And unity and reconciliation means really accommodating everybody including even the perpetrators. We find ourselves killers having to live side by side with victims after '94 genocide. We cannot have a land of victims and a land of perpetrators. Despite whatever happened they have to live side by side.

06:00 [Narration:] Since 2003, the Rwandan Patriotic Front has released at least 60,000 prisoners. They all go to re-education and work camps like this one. Then, since they have no other options, most return to live in the villages where they terrorized their neighbors during the genocide.

06:23 [Jean:] I don't have a problem with any of those people. I get along with those who are still alive, as it was before.

06:34 [Text] Jean, Confessed Killer

06:39 [Jean:] Now the current government says, "Be united!"

06:42 [Narration:] Today, Rwanda is often perceived as an amazing success story. Outsiders are surprised to see people who are traumatized beyond comprehension moving forward, and not just putting the past behind them, but truly restoring their dignity and rehumanizing their enemies.

07:04 [Agnes:] I was traumatized, I had mental problems, I was even in the psychiatric hospital for 3 months. Because I got out of there, I know I don't want to go back. Yes, I feel that I don't want to go back there. And that's why I must forgive. Because that gives me strength and that gives me life.

07:31 [Narration:] A lot of this "rehumanization" happens in government-sanctioned reconciliation workshops. Together, victims and perpetrators learn about healing, forgiveness, and most of all, Unity and Reconciliation. Those are two words you see and hear all over Rwanda today. Reconciliation isn't really a choice. It's actually the RPF government's official policy.

08:03 [Adam, off-camera:] Is it possible for every Rwandan to reconcile?

08:12 [Fatuma:] It's a difficult question.

08:16 [Images, Music] Coexist logo and theme music

## **SCENE 2: Responsibility**

08:33 [Text] "Like the gazelle who doesn't know the rustle in the grass is a leopard, we didn't know what hit us until it was too late." Joseph Sebarenzi, Former President of Rwandan Parliament

08:45 [Agnes:] So what happened to me, they killed my husband and they killed three of my children. They were looking for me using spears and this is the scar where they stabbed me with the spear. When they found me they beat me then they stripped off all my clothes. So I fled to my aunt's place. She lived near my other hiding place. When I got there she rejected me. She said, "Get out of my house! Why did you choose to marry a Tutsi?!" So I went back to my cousin's place and the day after another band of militia came looking for me. Now I'm a rape victim. It's very hard to say that. I am a rape victim. I contracted a sexually transmitted disease.

10:08 [Text] REACH Workshop, April 2006

10:12 [Agnes, voiceover:] When I came to a REACH workshop for the first time I didn't know that they were going to put us together with the wives of perpetrators. After I arrived and they made us meet, I was still distant, distracted, and traumatized. Because we were somewhat traumatized we didn't want to sit behind them, we didn't want to listen to the teachers. When I saw those wives of perpetrators, I felt like beating them.

10:48 [Text] Alexander, Destroyed Homes During Genocide

10:59 [Alexander, voiceover:] Agnes and her husband used to be our neighbors. If we ran out of water, we would get water from their house. We even shared food and went to the same parties.

11:24 [Agnes:] Whereas other people kept quiet, he spoke about the destruction of my house. He said that he helped destroy it. Then he helped me with what I was saying and what other people thought was not important. Then he testified about everybody else. And some of those people who were mentioned came and asked me for forgiveness.

11:46 [Alexander:] I was among the first people to volunteer and I confessed what I did to this lady. I confessed to participating in the destruction of her house. I did it so I wouldn't be killed like others who were being killed for resisting. It's difficult for me when my wife is in labor, my children are born in the hospital, but me, I stay here at home. And Agnes goes with my wife and brings her back with my baby. Even when my wife is sick with other diseases and is hospitalized Agnes is the one who looks after her. Yes, I bring her food too, but Agnes is the one who looks after my wife. That is especially what Agnes sacrifices for me. That shows me that the forgiveness she gave me was real.

12:58 [Reverend Philbert Kalisa, Founder, REACH in Rwanda:] We try to mobilize the community. Prepare them for receiving those killers when they come home and then after they have received them in their community, some of them don't feel they should even talk to them. And so REACH try to identify those people and bring them to seminars.

13:29 [Jean:] I'm kneeling down to ask for forgiveness because some people said on the radio that they would never kneel down before the Tutsi. But it's not the Tutsi that we are kneeling before, we are kneeling before all Rwandans, so that we can be one people. I therefore ask for forgiveness even from those who never knew me. I ask for forgiveness from those who know me. Because asking for forgiveness is the most important thing. Because the government is teaching us about unity and reconciliation.

14:05 [Text] "Are all humans human? Or are some more human than others?"

Roméo Dallaire, Force Commander, United Nations, Peacekeepers in Rwanda, 1993-1994

14:15 [Jean:] When the genocide started the government said we had to kill Tutsi wherever they were. So, after they had incited us to do that, that's what we did.

14:34 [Grégoire:] Maybe some people blame it on the government, but the government is not inside our hearts.

14:42 [Text] Grégoire, Serving Life Sentence for Organizing Massacres

14:48 [Alexander:] Because of the government at that time and because I was also with elders I did what they were doing. You have to understand there was no choice. And I was following the law.

15:06 [Jean:] Killing a person is a crime. But at that time it was no longer a crime. Before people were punished for killing others, but at that time it was not the case, you were supported. So you understand why I would blame the one who told me to kill a Tutsi.

15:29 [Grégoire:] I was one of the lower level officials in the capital. I was the head of a district. I brainwashed people to kill Tutsis during the genocide in 1994.

15:47 [Jean:] I was the leader of my whole neighborhood. After getting the permission to kill, then I gave orders to my people and told them, "Go there. I was told there are Tutsi there. Go and kill them."

16:12 [Alexander:] Some were killed for their property even if they were not Tutsis. When someone refused to leave his home, not wanting to give up his property or refused to join the militia, they would kill him and take his money or cattle. He would be labeled a Tutsi too, and they would kill him.

16:33 [Grégoire:] I presume that among the 12,000 Tutsi... 8,000 were killed in my district.

16:52 [Jean, voiceover:] My neighbors killed 39 people. We killed three people in another neighborhood. Others had already run away.

17:14 [Grégoire:] I never killed anyone. But through brainwashing people in preparation for the killings I think I'm the one on top. Because if I'd wanted to stop it then nothing would have happened.

### **SCENE 3: Healing**

17:35 [Text] "These people can only talk about forgiveness because they have no idea of what we have been through." Frida Gashumba, Genocide Survivor

17:45 [Grace:] Politics, I don't like politics. Because when the genocide happened, it didn't come from the grassroots, it was from leaders, politicians.

17:52 [Text] Grace, 10 Years Old During Genocide

17:57 [Grace:] They're the ones who brainwashed our people to slash our parents, brothers, and friends. I didn't get as good an education as I could have if my parents were alive. Personally I feel sad when I hear that orphans are suffering in their families even though they are supposed to be pampered like when their parents were still alive. I would like to help them to overcome the obstacles that I experienced. Just the mere fact that I am enrolled in a university, gives me hope. Yes, it's hard and difficult, but it gives me hope. When the Rwanda Youth Healing Center started, that counselor brought me there, because she knew my problem. She brought me there with others so that we could get counseling. Because other counselors had failed. I felt like I couldn't trust anyone.

19:12 [Solange, Rwanda Youth Healing Center Program Assistant:] We were... before the war, the 1994 genocide, we used to be in the same district and her mother taught me in first year primary. I'm Solange Nyirasafari. I'm the program assistant in Rwanda Youth Healing Center.

19:42 [Marie, voiceover:] These are all young people between 14 and 25. And they all experienced the same problems that traumatized them.

19:56 [Grace, voiceover:] When I'm there, I'm with children who are younger than me. Among the family I have in the Center, one of the children saw my father's murder. He told me about it for the first time on April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2009. The way I reacted affected so many people. So as an adult I try to avoid pain when I'm with young people, because they always tell me that when I'm not smiling it makes them sad. So I try to smile even though I feel empty. I try to smile.

20:51 [Theophilla, Rwanda Youth Healing Center Counselor:] The life I was living it's a life without parents, I was an orphan. So I can say that it helped me to know that it's OK to need someone to talk to and to share things with. That's why I went looking for people to talk to and have conversations with.

21:19 [Grace:] Theophilla's family was friends with our family before the war. She was left all alone just like me. She was strong though, she wasn't like me. And she was lucky. We can chat when I have a problem and it can get solved.

21:40 [Theophilla:] The only problem I have is knowing that I will never see my family again. That's what pushed me to go to work in counseling service. Our country had a past full of problems, and it currently has problems. The number of counselors is very low compared to the number of people who need counseling. I can say that I've achieved a lot after the genocide. I managed to go to primary

school after the genocide. I also went to high school and finished. I also completed two years at university. I also managed to get a job. I have a job and I'm planning my wedding in the days to come. I think I've achieved a lot in my life after the genocide and I hope that I will achieve more in the days to come.

22:44 [Solange:] As I compare Theophilla and her, it seems like... she didn't accept what has happened to her.

22:56 [Grace:] Although Theophilla was left all alone just like me, at least she has a family that loves her. As for me, they hurt me. They left me all alone. So sometimes I think that even though a husband might come from heaven, he might hurt me. If I could afford to, I would leave. Because I don't want to see the people who killed my family, I don't want to go where we used to live. Even the family I stayed with made me suffer. Whenever I see them I remember everything. Even my relatives, many of them didn't want me to live. Because they wanted to own my property. So this is why I came here so that I can leave them in peace. I left them alone. I never fought with them about the property. I gave them peace. I left them. Nobody knows where I sleep, and how I live, and how I get educated, how I got into university. I don't know if I can live in a family because I want to be alone and just reflect upon my history. I have lived in three families. No, four families. The family that hid me when I left there I went to my cousin's family. The way she treated me, I wanted to commit suicide. I left the house to commit suicide when she told at a meal that I was eating the fruit of her labor. So the person who stopped me when I was going to commit suicide, I lived with her. The first few days she loved me and I used to call her my mother. Later, I turned into a maid for her. So I'm tired. I'm really tired. I will live alone until I die.

#### **SCENE 4: Reparation**

25:42 [Text] You shall not take vengeance or bear a grudge against your countrymen. Love your fellow as yourself. Leviticus 19:18

25:51 [Pacifique:] During the genocide I lost my mother and I lost my brothers and I lost my uncles. So I lost many family members during the war.

26:02 [Text] Pacifique, 7 Years Old During Genocide

26:08 [Theosphere:] Me, what I did, I was an accomplice because I was with them. I left my home to go out for the killings.

26:19 [Text] Theosphere, Served 10 years in Prison

26:27 [Augstin, REACH Pastor & Seminar Leader:] Before, Pacifique didn't accept Theosphere. But Theosphere, when he was in the workshop, we taught them and asked them to approach the victims and ask for forgiveness. Because we were just teaching about asking and giving forgiveness. Then Theosphere came to Pacifique's

place and told her, "I want to go with you to the workshop tomorrow. So that I can ask you for forgiveness there." So he brought her to the workshop and asked her for forgiveness publicly.

27:10 [Pacifique:] I didn't know that he was the one who killed my siblings, I found out during the workshop.

27:16 [Theosphere:] Before she forgave me I used to fear her. I avoided seeing her because I thought she might do something to me or ask other people to do something to me. I asked for forgiveness from that woman because I killed her siblings. And I asked for forgiveness from everybody who was there in that meeting.

27:45 [Pacifique:] I felt like someone who had been electrocuted. I was astonished and I was afraid and I was shaking. The Pastor and others took me outside. I felt so many changes happening inside me .I felt many changes. Because before I knew that my relatives were dead. But I didn't know who killed them.

28:14 [Reverend Philbert Kalisa, Founder, REACH in Rwanda:] We teach and spend a lot of time with survivors explaining why forgiveness is a good thing for themselves. Not for the offenders, but for their own sake. But once somebody has managed to forgive, you can see that he changes. His heart is transformed, he doesn't look sad. He has a peace

28:45 [Pacifique:] Imagine if it was you. Yes, it always difficult but you try to be patient.

28:56 [Philbert:] Because they have been victimized by the killers and now some of them are very poor. They have nothing. They have no education, they have no skills, they have no home.

29:14 [Pacifique:] I gave him forgiveness because he asked for it. And REACH taught us that we have to reconcile with the people who killed our families.

28:29 [Theosphere:] I felt very happy, because the crime we committed is beyond measure. Truly that crime makes everybody... the whole world, sad. And that's why I felt very happy and I felt my heart was relieved.

29:47 [Philbert, voiceover:] And once she felt that she had this healing happening in her own heart, again we realized that she didn't have any home. And with this project we have of building shelters for the survivors, it is again something that really touched her heart. Because she found that by having that house built by those people who were involved in killing her family, that will be a way of communicating with those people, and also collaborating and building trust among themselves.

30:37 [Pacifique:] Why didn't you bring us some banana wine? We know that you brewed it!

30:41 [Theospore:] I don't have any. That's the truth!

30:44 [Pacifique:] The news is out that you brewed some wine!

30:48 [Pacifique:] So that's how I became a member of REACH, and that's how I got this house.

30:53 [Philbert, voiceover:] She was not motivated of the house built for her, she was motivated by the teaching that she has received, which really comforted her and restored her heart.

31:07 [Theosphere:] Unity and reconciliation, it's very good. Because without that unity and reconciliation, Pacifique would not have forgiven me. I would have still been called a criminal.

31:31 [Pacifique:] We have to reconcile with them because... we have the opportunity when they are teaching us about unity and reconciliation. So we have to try to reconcile with them.

31:46 [Theosphere:] But because we have unity and reconciliation I'm sharing everything with Pacifique, I'm spending time with her. I can say that unity and reconciliation reach everyone's heart.

31:57 [Pacifique:] There are those whose hearts are cleansed, but others still have genocide ideology.

### **SCENE 5: Myths**

32:07 [Text] "In their greatest hour of need, the world failed the people of Rwanda."  
Kofi Annan, Former Secretary-General, United Nations

32:17 [Tim, voiceover:] Because the difference between Hutu and Tutsi wasn't really a ethnic division because the groups shared a common language they shared the land, it was really a difference that was very much socially formed. Some people will say today that the colonial governments invented ethnicity. That's a little too simplistic, but what we can say is that the colonial governments gave much more importance to these identities, made them more rigid, racialized them, and made them much more problematic. The myth that developed that the Europeans really established was that the Tutsi were a tall group with a narrow nose, narrow fingers and toes. The idea was they were somewhat related to Europeans, whereas Hutu were seen as a short squat group that was farmers. We know now that that's not true.

33:07 [Sam, voiceover:] This label appeared on IDs: "This one is Hutu." or "This one is Tutsi."

33:14 [Tim, voiceover:] Even so, there was intermarriage between Hutu and Tutsi, and

that's something that had continued throughout Rwandan history. So the definition of who is Hutu and who is Tutsi was always a little bit muddy.

As Rwanda was moving towards independence, there was a lot of worry among the Hutu that they would be forever oppressed if they didn't get some political power. So in 1959 there was a Hutu uprising. A lot of chiefs were driven out of their positions, and a lot of Tutsi fled Rwanda. Hutu then took over the positions of government, and when Rwanda gained independence in 1962, it was with an almost entirely Hutu government.

33:52 [Sam:] Even in school there were lessons fostering division. So everyone grew up in this spirit: there are Hutu, there are Tutsi who have dominated the Hutu for 400 years. And Hutu have remained servants to the Tutsi during all these years. And now that Hutu have reached power, that power is theirs, they describe the Tutsi as invaders that arrived much later than they did.

34:28 [Tim, voiceover:] After 1973 when a new government came into office, there was a period of relative ethnic peace. The Tutsi were largely out of power and discriminated against, but there wasn't much violence against them. The government that came into office said we're going to focus on not ethnicity but on economic development. By the late 1980s, Rwanda was having a lot of trouble economically. When the price of coffee went down, the economy suffered. The government became to become very unpopular. The Habyarimana regime began to scapegoat the Tutsi and began to use them as sort of the enemy they could play against and to claim that they were standing up for the Hutu people. In 1990 when that process started, there was an invasion of Rwanda by the Rwandan Patriotic Front. That was an army that was made up mostly of Tutsi refugees. When you had a Tutsi army that was attacking Rwanda, suddenly it became possible for the government to say "Look, the Tutsi want to take over again and they want to oppress you," because a lot of people lived in fear. As you had this Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front that was attacking the country, people didn't know what was going to happen. They were worried about losing their positions. They were worried about being oppressed, and the government was encouraging them to be divided from their Tutsi neighbors and to mistrust the Tutsi. That all set the stage for the genocide.

When Habyarimana's plane was shot down, April 6 1994, not only did the genocide begin, the RPF also re-launched its war. One of the dirty facts that people are afraid to talk about is that one of the things that made genocide possible was the fact that the RPF was invading Rwanda. And so that attempt to present them purely as heroes I think is overly simplistic and highly problematic. The RPF itself carried out war crimes and human rights abuses, and they've had no accountability for that whatsoever.

The international community failed utterly and completely. The US intervened to pressure the UN to pull out forces at the very time when those forces could have made a difference. It was worse than not acting. The actions that they took actually

empowered those who wanted to carry out genocide. But the RPF came in, and they put a stop to the genocide. As a result of that, the RPF has justifiably a strong moral authority.

### **SCENE 6: Betrayal**

36:54 [Text] "It's not like they're holding a gun to your head saying, 'You have to forgive.' But to release prisoners just because they said they're sorry: it's too soon."  
Jocelyn Mutangana

37:06 [Fatuma Ndingiza, Rwandan Patriotic Front Government Official:] The government we have is lead by the Rwanda Patriotic Front. It's a government that has resisted revenge during genocide when it would have been so difficult to manage, and instead embarked on the path of unity and reconciliation.

37:24 [Sam Nshimiyimana, Rwandan Journalist:] If people force themselves to have a reconciliation that is not real, at least they are making an effort not to beat each other up. With a reconciliation process, you may not accept, at least you won't go and hit another person, kick him. At least with this reconciliation policy there is a certain amount of tolerance. Because without it, we could see some acts of revenge. Reconciliation is like a State formula, a government formula, that the population has memorized and that they repeat to everyone. It's like a prayer that the priest gives and that all Christians, all the faithful, know how to recite.

38:25 [Choir, singing:] All of us Rwandans let's forgive each other and be one, because that's what we deserve. Let's come and be one. The heart needs peace.

38:43 [Grace:] A killer may come to ask me for forgiveness, but he doesn't seem to be sincerely sorry when he asks for forgiveness. It seems to me that he is just doing it to appease the government.

38:58 [Jean:] That's to say that the issue of asking for forgiveness for participating in massacres is different than asking a victim's relative for forgiveness. The government handles the apologies for massacres.

39:15 [Choir, singing] We thank the government of national unity which taught us reconciliation. It abolished segregation.

39:34 [Fatuma:] Much as we are doing reconciliation we still have peace spoilers, people who want to spoil peace, people who are still diehards, some people who committed genocide but up to now they don't feel remorse for what they did.

39:49 [Text] Is a form of reconciliation possible that is not at the same time an absence of justice, and thus an embrace of evil? Mahmood Mamdani

40:02 [Domitilie:] Probably they want to show the whole world that there's peace in

Rwanda. But for sure there's no peace in Rwanda, because the victims are still in danger. The hands that killed still intend to kill once again.

You see I have a big family. Eight kids are too many. It's so hard to feed them. Paul was a very good husband. He was a truthful man. He was very just, he liked justice. And then he became a judge at Gacaca.

41:06 [Narration] Gacaca courts were modeled after a traditional Rwandan system where community elders would settle minor disputes. After the genocide, the new system was introduced to try hundreds of thousands of cases. Elected judges with no legal training were able to sentence guilty defendants up to life in prison. The government believes the system has been vital to reconciliation. Critics suggest it is only reinforcing ethnic divisions, since the Tutsis are the only people allowed to bring cases to the court.

41:40 [Domitilie:] We all knew that he was being threatened because of his work in Gacaca. They never accepted him. Because even when we went to Gacaca they used to say, "Pontius Pilate is back." I found the place where they murdered him. They had ripped this part of his head and then they took...

After his death I never cried.

42:29 [Elisabeth, Paul's sister:] I felt it was beyond me. But now that time has passed when people ask me about his death it's so hard for me.

42:53 [Text] Paul, Father of Eight Children, Survived 1994 Genocide, Murdered in 2007

43:06 [Elisabeth:] Once a killer always a killer, it's like something they were born with. It's not the government that teaches them to kill. What if somebody told you to take a machete and slash somebody? You wouldn't kill him and take his property.

43:27 [Domitilie:] They are still threatening us even though we gave them our hearts and showed them that we understood that the previous government forced them to do what they did. But they're not understanding. They're still killing. They're still randomly killing genocide survivors, showing us that they still have an evil mindset.

43:52 [Elisabeth:] Would you forgive that person? I told you apart from God's power, I can't do it.

44:04 [Sam Nshiyimana:] When such a thing happens in a village, even when people have started to tolerate each other again, everything goes back to zero. There is once again a certain amount of mistrust between people, families do not speak to one another anymore, even if they didn't have anything to do with it.

**SCENE 7: Strength**

44:29 [Marc Gwamako, Youth Peace Activist:] The people are lacking trust. You know, first of all, some of them feel insecure when they see the families of the people who killed for them still live in the same neighborhood. These people might not be having the same thoughts they had in the genocide, but, you know, somebody doesn't trust them and they feel insecure. Just if somebody beats you the first time or bullies you in school, you know, when you see them again you don't want to walk next to them. So the insecurity is there just because people think, you know what, these people did this, what makes me think they can't do it again?

45:00 [Tim Longman, Director of African Studies, Boston University:] I've been working in Rwanda for 15 years. I've studied Kinyarwanda. I lived in Rwanda before the genocide. And I have a lot of very deep connections in the country. In research that I conducted in Rwanda from 2001 to about 2005, we talked to a lot of people and it was very clear that they knew what they were supposed to say. People knew that they were supposed to say that ethnicity doesn't exist, that Rwanda's government is promoting reconciliation, that we are moving towards democracy. And yet, when I push beyond the surface, it becomes very clear that most people don't really believe that narrative.

45:33 [Sam Nshimiyimana:] You are forced to follow the reconciliation policy. But it does not mean that everyone has that conviction in their heart. We have to be careful, we cannot talk, we have to applaud those who claim that everything is going well. And once you are home, you close the door, you invite a friend over, and you cry together there, you criticize together there, behind closed doors. This is it: this is what people from the outside do not know about Rwanda. In reality, there is an official story: "Rwanda is taking a step toward unity and reconciliation, the population is reconciled. There aren't any problems."

46:20 [Jean:] No, there aren't problems. Because if I tell you that there are problems, that will mean that there is no unity. Now people are collaborating. They have forgotten those troubles because of the government of unity which teaches us about the truth. But I would never grab a machete and slaughter a person again. No, it's forbidden! Even if the government ordered it, I would rather die, because the consequences would affect me too. I would not do such a thing. If someone tried to talk about those things saying, "This a Hutu. That's a Tutsi," they can even shoot you. We don't have those troubles we became one... one.

47:12 [Grace:] I understand that I'm not a part of them. Because nobody came to reconcile with me. First of all I don't want to see the people who killed my family. When we commemorate the genocide they are there. When we cry they make fun of us saying, "Haven't they finished crying yet?"

47:45 [Text] "We are preaching hope, standing on the bones of the past."

Bishop John Rucyahana

47:52 [Fatuma:] We are very optimistic that as time goes on many people really won't allow our society to have genocide ideology or to allow such people to exist.

48:06 [Marc:] People in America, or people in the West, they should know that they are not just Africans, but they are human beings just like them. They also bleed red blood. So the world should know that history happened so that we can learn from it, and if it happened in Rwanda, what makes you think it can't happen at home where you are? It might not be you, but your child.

48:28 [Tim:] When the genocide happened, my students came together and they decided they would protect their Tutsi friends and colleagues. So they took the three of them and they put them in an attic of a building. At some point, one of the students betrayed them. One of my students went out and told the death squads where these three Tutsis were, and so they were brought out, and my friend Obed had his legs chopped off and was left to bleed in the community. Well, the reality is, these are students just like the ones I have in class in the U.S. American students should feel fortunate that they're not in that kind of situation, that they're not being called upon to make those moral decisions. But, it's not that those students are any different than the students that we have in the U.S. They're just in a different situation.

49:14 [Sam:] We have no other choice but reconciliation. We have to accept it as such. But personally, I would change its name. I would call it tolerance, instead of reconciliation. You must accept it. Because at least, you will tolerate your neighbor. You are not given a choice. There is no choice.

49:46 [Pacifique:] I see that when I consider the way I am today compared to how I was back then, I see a bright future ahead of me. I see development in the future.

50:04 [Grace:] Other children who were in the same situation as me, those that were older than me, those that graduated, some got jobs. Who... like Theophilla, she's just like me. She got married. When I take into consideration the others that were in the same situation as me, I see some hope in life.

50:28 [Agnes:] That's why I have to be strong so that I may forgive, so that I may continue living. Life continues. The strength allows me to take care of orphans. The strength allows me to help my colleagues who don't have enough strength to raise their children. All of that helps me. The strength allows me to take care of a child who needs that care, to love him. Because now we are the women and the men of our families. We are parents of diverse families, parents of Rwandan families.

51:09 [Adam:] Is it possible for every Rwandan to reconcile?

51:18 [Fatuma:] It's a difficult question. But I think as I said reconciliation is at different levels. Some will reconcile, others will coexist.

[Epilogue]

51:33 Grace finished law school. After graduation her relatives begged for forgiveness.

51:41 Grace has reconciled with her relatives.

51:46 Agnes leads a group of Hutu & Tutsi women.

51:51 REACH hires her group to cook meals for workshops.

51:56 Pacifique forgave Theosphore, more than a year after he confessed.

52:04 Jean confessed to murder. He was released from prison after 10 years.

52:09 He came home and lives with his wife and four children.

52:14 Extremists continued to murder judges and witnesses until Gacaca courts closed in 2012.

52:19 Paul is one of more than 180 survivors murdered since the genocide ended.

52:25 President Kagame was reelected to a second term with 93% of the vote. Presidents are limited to two terms.

52:32 Reconciliation efforts remain a major part of the president's agenda. Basic civil liberties are restricted.

52:38 [Text] When you face conflict, what will you do?

52:50 CREDITS

[end transcript]