



Spring 2014

“Little Soldiers with Big Guns”: The Language of Child-Soldiering in Africa

Karen J. Norris
Gettysburg College

Follow this and additional works at: https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/student_scholarship

 Part of the [African Studies Commons](#), [Defense and Security Studies Commons](#), [Linguistic Anthropology Commons](#), [Military and Veterans Studies Commons](#), [Peace and Conflict Studies Commons](#), [Race, Ethnicity and Post-Colonial Studies Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Share feedback about the accessibility of this item.

Norris, Karen J., "“Little Soldiers with Big Guns”: The Language of Child-Soldiering in Africa" (2014). *Student Publications*. 233.
https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/student_scholarship/233

This is the author's version of the work. This publication appears in Gettysburg College's institutional repository by permission of the copyright owner for personal use, not for redistribution. Cupola permanent link: https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/student_scholarship/233

This open access student research paper is brought to you by The Cupola: Scholarship at Gettysburg College. It has been accepted for inclusion by an authorized administrator of The Cupola. For more information, please contact cupola@gettysburg.edu.

“Little Soldiers with Big Guns”: The Language of Child-Soldiering in Africa

Abstract

This project examines the language of child-soldiering in Africa, specifically in Sierra Leone, Rwanda, and Uganda, comparing its use between Western observers and the Africans who experienced the conflict first hand. It concludes that Westerners unilaterally display ethnocentric conceptions of the sanctity of childhood in their admonitions of child-soldiering, while former child-soldiers, perpetrators, victims and local aid workers exhibit more diverse perspectives that more accurately reflect the complexity of the conflicts. Furthermore, it concludes that the use of rhetorical, monolithic language regarding child-soldiering perpetuates stereotypes about African conflict and state-failure while diverting attention from underlying root causes of conflict, and overlooks government corruption and human rights abuses that have gone largely unchecked by Western nations despite their condemnation of the violence.

Keywords

Child-soldiers, Uganda, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, language

Disciplines

African Studies | Anthropology | Defense and Security Studies | International and Area Studies | Linguistic Anthropology | Military and Veterans Studies | Peace and Conflict Studies | Race, Ethnicity and Post-Colonial Studies | Social and Cultural Anthropology

Comments

This paper was written for Professor Amy Evrard's course, Anthropology 304: *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*.

“Little Soldiers with Big Guns”: The Language of Child-Soldiering in Africa¹

Karen Norris

Submitted for Professor Evrard

May 10, 2013

Anthropology of Violence and Conflict



I affirm that I have upheld the highest principles of honesty and integrity in my academic work and have not witnessed a violation of the Honor Code.

¹ Dallaire, Roméo A.. 2010 *They Fight Like Soldiers, They Die Like Children*. New York: Walker Publishing Company, Inc., 32

² Gress, Kylie. 2010 *Child Soldiers Worldwide*. Electronic document, <http://f102x-gress.blogspot.com/>, accessed May 10, 2013.

From a Western perspective, the atrocity of child soldiering that occurred in Sierra Leone, Uganda, and Rwanda in the 1990s sparked moral outrage at the victimization of children. Western military commanders, NGO leaders, and journalists universally condemn any and all violence towards children including their indoctrination as ruthless killers, and frequently use dramatic language to express their disgust. Their language reflects prevalent views in the West about the sanctity of childhood and, to a certain extent, the stereotypes and underlying cultural imperialism of Western-African relations. In contrast, the victims, perpetrators, former child soldiers, and local African aid workers display a much more diverse use of language that more accurately reflects the range of emotions and perspectives of these conflicts. Africans that were directly involved in the violence are either withdrawn and clinical in their discussion of the violence, subtly valorize the child-soldiers or recall having done so, or they exhibit the same victimization that Western interveners expect to encounter in a conflict zone.

The conflicts in Uganda, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone were caused by social divisions and political rivalries, and exacerbated by post-colonial issues, particularly poverty. In Uganda, the northern region of Acholiland was the site inter-rebel and intrastate violence. Three rebel groups fought for public support until only the Lord's Resistance Army remained to fight the national government's forces and their civilian deputies.³ Recruitment of civilians was a common practice on both sides, but only the LRA targeted civilians in their attacks, often kidnapping children in their raids. In Rwanda, a history of social tension between the Hutus and Tutsis, a class distinction originally introduced by Belgian colonists, erupted when a plane carrying the Hutu presidents of Rwanda and Burundi was shot down in 1994.⁴ The conflict engulfed the

³ Krakower, Andy. 2009 *The Children's War*. Cinema Libre Studio.

⁴ Melvern, Linda, 2000 *A People Betrayed : The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. London ; New York : Zed Books ; New York : Distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave, 2000.; Power, Samantha. 2007 *A Problem from Hell : America and the Age of Genocide*. New York : Harper Perennial, 2007., 329

entire nation and, as a result of a simultaneously slowing economy, many young people answered the call of both the Tutsi rebels and the Hutu groups, including the *Interhamwe*.⁵ Similarly, in the impoverished nation of Sierra Leone, political tensions between local Mende chiefdoms and the Sierra Leonean All People's Congress sparked a conflict in 1991 that lasted nearly ten years. Children, men, and women alike had been routinely pressed into slave labor, particularly diamond mining, since 1961 in Sierra Leone; as a result, joining the conflict as a soldier was a viable alternative for many of these young people.⁶

Western perspectives of the violence and the use of child-soldiers in Rwanda, Uganda, and Sierra Leone have been provided by peacekeepers, non-governmental aid volunteers, and journalists in memoirs, documentaries, and published articles. Roméo Dallaire, a Canadian military commander in charge of the UN Peacekeeping Mission to Rwanda, and John Rheinstein, a Danish crisis counselor in Uganda, experienced the conflicts first-hand and interacted with their subjects during the crisis. Peter Eichstaedt, an American journalist reporting in Uganda, and Jan Egeland, a world-renowned humanitarian observing the effects of the violence on children, also in Uganda, both reported after the worst of the violence had passed. In these accounts, a unilateral tone of moral outrage and disbelief is pervasive in their descriptions of child-soldiering. All four use dramatic rhetoric to characterize child soldiers as victims, lament their loss of childhood, and emphasize the tragedy of their circumstances.

Roméo Dallaire's heart-wrenching memoir of his experiences with child-soldiering in Rwanda, *They Fight Like Soldiers, They Die Like Children*, perfectly exemplifies the use of rhetoric by a Western observer to frame the phenomenon of child-soldiering as an evil, tragic

⁵ Prunier, Gérard. 2009 *Africa's World War : Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe*. Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2009.

⁶ Rosen, David M.. 2005 *Armies of the Young: Child Soldiers in War and Terrorism*. New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, 2005.

practice conducted on innocents. Beginning with the title, and chapter headings “Warrior Boy” and “Little Soldiers, Little Killers”, Dallaire presents the child-soldiers as just that: children. Adhering to the Western conception of childhood as eighteen years or younger, he continually refers to these young soldiers as “[unequal] in age, strength, training, and understanding”, a “sea of innocents”, “youths” in “ill-fitting uniforms”, or simply “children.”⁷ In contrast, he refers to older soldiers as “cocky, gun-happy and arrogant... punks in uniform.”⁸ In his description of child-soldiers, he frequently emphasizes the sacrosanct nature of childhood that is corrupted upon recruitment, and laments the loss of their “child’s soul.”⁹ Believing that “children are naturally resilient and predisposed to happiness,” Dallaire unquestionably views these young people as victims of manipulation, if not coercion.¹⁰ Though Eichstaedt, Egeland, and Rheinstein are less creative with their terminology, they also emphasize the youth and powerlessness of their subjects, primarily to absolve them from responsibility for their crimes.

Concurring with Dallaire’s assertion that soldiering destroys children’s inherent “consciences, their compassion, [and] their capacity for empathy,” Rheinstein exonerates these “victimized perpetrators” as “children who have been abducted, coerced and brainwashed...”¹¹ Similarly, Egeland frames them as victims of violence and coercion who have been “brutalized, tortured, and raped while being forced to join [a] self-styled army and attack their own villages and families...”¹² Like “minnows in a pond,” these authors argue that the soldiers are

⁷ Dallaire, 14, 1, 3, 39, 32

⁸ *Ibid.*, 43

⁹ *Ibid.*, 40

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 110

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 40, 7; Grunnet, Henrik, and Keld Klüwer; 2003 Children of War [Electronic Resource] / DR TV. New York, NY : Filmmakers Library, 2003.

¹² Egeland, Jan. 2008 A Billion Lives : An Eyewitness Report from the Frontlines of Humanity. New York : Simon & Schuster, 2008; 1st Simon & Schuster hardcover ed., 198

manipulated through fear, indoctrination, and drugs, and “intoxicated by overwhelming power...” cementing their position as passive victims of external violence.¹³

Having introduced child-soldiers as victims, Western speakers are particularly adept at reinforcing the tragedy of their circumstances, even in rehabilitation, with the presentation of dramatic accounts, emotional responses, and rhetorical narrative. Not only have the young soldiers endured a “horrible abuse,” but, if they managed to escape, they face “a living nightmare,” and a “future of alienation and distrust,” from their own communities.¹⁴ Should they be admitted into rehabilitation and reintegration programs, they are presented with the “difficult task of coming to grips with the horrors of their past.”¹⁵ It is often a painful undertaking because, as Rheinstein notes, though they can burn all physical evidence from their time in armed forces, “flames cannot erase their memories.”¹⁶

In addition to dramatic presentation, these Western authors describe their own emotional responses to the devastating stories they are told by recovering children. Jan Egeland wrote, after hearing a former soldier-girl recount her experience of biting another girl to death for desertion, that he felt “as though [he] was going to be sick.”¹⁷ Dallaire speaks of the internal conflict he felt when first confronted by a child soldier, whose eyes were “wide and brilliant, screaming of pain and anguish and fear and hatred.”¹⁸ “Is a child still a child when pressing the barrel of a gun to your chest?” he asks rhetorically of himself and his audience.¹⁹ Eichstaedt also expressed his astonishment at the bravery that former soldiers displayed when escaping service, since a common form of initiation for young soldiers is to kill other children who have tried to desert,

¹³ Dallaire, 3, 39

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 210; Eichstaedt, 6

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Grunnet et al.

¹⁷ Egeland, 210

¹⁸ Dallaire, 2

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

often in particularly gruesome ways. He concluded that, given the risk of leaving, they must have “risked death because it was preferable to life with the rebels.”²⁰ Egeland, in turn, concludes his heartbreaking account with this rhetorical question: “How does one respond to such pure evil?”²¹

“What do I tell the weeping mothers in northern Uganda and southern Sudan who have asked me to bring back their beloved children?” Egeland asked Joseph Kony, the leader of the Lord’s Resistance Army, in an exclusive interview.²² Kony simply responded that there are no children in the LRA, “only combatants.”²³ This response is indicative of Kony’s history of lying about LRA human rights violations since many experts believe 80% of Kony’s forces are below the age of 18, but also demonstrates a clinical, realistic approach to describing conflict.²⁴ Sierra Leoneans, Rwandans, and Ugandans use a wider variety of language to describe the violence occurring in their countries than Western observers, which more accurately reflects the complexity of the conflicts, and the diversity of perspectives among Africans actually experiencing war. Generally speaking, the accounts of former child-soldiers, perpetrators of violence, victims, and local aid workers display very factual, clinical language, valorize child-soldiering, or in some cases exhibit the same sense of victimhood that Western narratives do.

Valorization of the use of child-soldiers is exclusive to the perpetrators of the violence, specifically the Hutu killers in Rwanda, former rebel commanders in Uganda, and the older soldiers in the national Sierra Leone Army. In the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide, former Hutu killers in a series of interviews referred to the young men and boys in their units as “those fierce young fellows” or “hothead boys” as if commending their vibrant, youthful aggression.²⁵

²⁰ Eichstaedt, 23

²¹ Egeland, 210

²² *Ibid.*, 208

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Provencher, Raymonde. 2010 *Grace, Milly, Lucy... Child Soldiers*. Quebec : Macumba DOC., Inc..

²⁵ Hatzfeld, Jean. 2005 *Machete Season : The Killers in Rwanda Speak : A Report*. New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005; 1st American ed., 73, 71

Far from reflecting on the morality of working with children, they refer to them as they would any other soldier, and speak of children only in the context of eliminating Tutsi bloodlines.²⁶

Ishmael Beah, in his memoir about his experiences as a child-soldier in Sierra Leone, recalls the support and encouragement he received from his elders. He was addressed as a soldier, instead of a boy, and referred to as a “strong young man.”²⁷ Similarly, one former rebel commander recalled recruiting boys and young men because they are the most “militant” and “rebellious,” valuable qualities in a resistance movement.²⁸

At the opposite end of the language spectrum is the victimization of young combatants. Several former soldiers and local aid workers express similar views to Western observers, though their language is less dramatic. One Ugandan woman named Grace, a former soldier, referred to the 30,000 children abducted by the LRA as the “lost generation,” and attested that they were innocent of any war crimes because they were as much victims as those they killed.²⁹ Remembering her own experiences, she lamented that she was “very young”, only nine, when she was first married to a LRA commander.³⁰ Also in post-conflict Uganda, the mayor of Gulu, the epicenter of child abductions, declared that “[there] is nobody who has suffered more than our children,” suggesting that recovery efforts should focus on reintegration of young amputees and former soldiers in order to rebuild.³¹ Ishmael Beah recalls aid workers assuring him that “none of this is [his] fault” because he was “just a little boy.”³² When a suspicious Sierra Leonean man accused Beah and his friends of being “little devils,” a woman interceded to defend

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 131

²⁷ Beah, Ishmael. 2007 *A Long Way Gone : Memoirs of a Boy Soldier*. New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007; 1st ed., 114, 140, 158

²⁸ Krakower

²⁹ Krakower; Provencher

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Russell, Jason, Bobby Bailey, and Laren Poole. 2005 *Invisible Children [Videorecording]*. El Cajon, Calif.: Invisible Children, 2005.

³² Beah, 160

their innocence, suggesting that, though fearful of child soldiers, even locals embroiled in the conflict view them as victims rather than perpetrators. Beah also considered himself and his peers to be children, as demonstrated by his recollection that he was “just a twelve-year old boy” when he became a refugee.³³ He was recruited into service one year later, along with boys ranging from ages seven to seventeen, whom he later referred to as children in a conference in New York City.³⁴

A third common tone used to describe these conflicts, and perhaps the most disturbing to Westerners, is very clinical, emotionless, and factual in its delivery. Perpetrators, victims, and desensitized witnesses display a certain emotional detachment from the violence around them and, as a result, remove all ethical allegations from their language. For instance, instead of victimizing or valorizing the young soldiers in the *Interhamwe*, a violent Hutu death squad in Rwanda, one former killer simply referred to them as “teams of youth.”³⁵ While describing a vicious attack by the *Interhamwe* on local women and girls, Emmanuel Murangira referred to the perpetrators simply as “the killers,” without elaborating on their description or adding any subjective moral judgments to his language. Another Tutsi named Kwibuka describes the young *Interhamwe* soldiers that she encountered as “strong boys,” and explains that she refers to them in such a way simply because “they were not married yet...”³⁶ This stark, clinical use of language to recount events is found rather frequently among victims or perpetrators who had been desensitized by the violence and had acclimated to their situation.

Interestingly, it has come to the attention both Peter Eichstaedt and Jan Egeland that many participants and victims of these conflicts use “sanitized” language, and strongly criticize

³³ *Ibid.*, 65

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 109, 196

³⁵ Hatzfeld, 71

³⁶ Totten, Samuel, and Rafiki Ubaldo. 2011 *We Cannot Forget : Interviews with Survivors of the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda*. Rutgers University Press., 101

it.³⁷ For instance, Eichstaedt observes that young girls given as prizes to LRA commanders are referred to only as “child brides,” which he believes underplays their roles as “sex slaves.”³⁸ Similarly, Egeland expresses his cynicism of clinical language through the use of sarcastic quotes. For example, he explains that the term “so-called ‘night commuters’” refers to children who gather each night at improvised “‘safe’ meeting points in local towns and villages.”³⁹ He is equally skeptical of the concept of “‘recruits’” which he also quotes with a great deal of sarcasm.⁴⁰ Both these men express their disapproval of clinical, emotionless language because they believe it fails to convey the reality behind the words.

The dichotomy of language usage between locals and outsiders demonstrates the prevalence of Western ethnocentrism in modern conflict. The use of language by peacekeepers, aid workers, and journalists projects traditional Western conceptions of childhood, supports preconceptions about violence in Africa, reduces the children to passive victims, and ignores the complex causes and consequences of war. Ultimately, by dramatizing the plight of African children involved in conflict, Western voices reinforce counterproductive stereotypes about the continent, overlook the history of child-soldiering around the world, and ignore the complicity of Western nations in the structural violence and corruption that lies at the heart of these wars.

With the exception of Roméo Dallaire, Western observers tend to view the children recruited into the conflict as victims with no agency over their service. However, in impoverished countries, children often display self-reliance skills and agency, particularly for employment purposes, at a much younger age than in Western cultures. In Sierra Leone in particular, children are often relegated to slave labor in diamond pits, either by forced

³⁷ Eichstaedt, xv

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Egeland, 202

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

recruitment or economic necessity.⁴¹ While children were certainly recruited into armed military service against their will, especially in Uganda, many others joined voluntarily. Dallaire noted in his time in Rwanda that in an environment “where there seem to be no rules except self-preservation,” disenfranchised young people, especially young men, are “enticed by power, by the machismo of weapons, by the idea of belonging to an organization that was feared by all.”⁴² Whether escaping slave labor in diamond mines or finding employment and a sense of belonging, many children participated in these conflicts of their own volition.⁴³

In developing nations in Africa, South America, Asia, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe, children experience childhood very differently than the youth of wealthy Western countries. They tend to be self-reliant from a much younger age, whether as a result of poverty or intimate violence, and they are significantly less sheltered than Western children. The danger of a “hegemonic notion of childhood” is that it neglects geographical, economic, and cultural realities, and conveniently ignores the use of children in warfare in history.⁴⁴ While the notion of childhood as “innocence and vulnerability” is an underlying theme in modern humanitarianism, it is difficult to apply to children who are raised in conflict zones or chronically impoverished nations where their innocence is stripped from them by hunger, disease, or domestic abuse from a young age.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Hoffman, Danny. 2003 Like Beasts in the Bush: Synonyms of Childhood and Youth in Sierra Leone. *Postcolonial Studies* 6(3):295-308., 299

⁴² Dallaire, 13, 8

⁴³ Zack-Williams, Tunde B.. 2006 Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone and the Problems of Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration into Society: Some Lessons for Social Workers in War-torn Societies. *Social Work Education* 25(2):119-128., 125

⁴⁴ Martins, Catarina. 2011 The Dangers of the Single Story:1 Child-Soldiers in Literary Fiction and Film. *Childhood* 18(4):434., 434

⁴⁵ Rosen, 8; Martins, 439

Modern Western thought about the sanctity of childhood also fails to account for the use of children in war throughout history, who were frequently recruited upon adolescence.⁴⁶ During the American Civil War, for instance, boys in auxiliary roles were routinely promoted into the ranks when they reached fourteen, if they appeared mature enough.⁴⁷ In more recent Western history, the youngest combat casualties in World War I were a fourteen-year-old Australian and a fifteen-year-old American who had enlisted when he was thirteen.⁴⁸ Though in the twentieth century combat deaths of children were, indeed, rare exceptions, boys as young as eleven have been receiving educations and job skills through military service programs for over one hundred years in the US and Great Britain which, while significantly less traumatizing than abduction, must be taken into consideration when comparing Western and non-Western practices.⁴⁹

The implications of simplifying and villainizing the presence of young people in modern African conflicts are potentially very harmful. Western reporters often focus solely on the most egregious manifestations of conflict, such as violence committed by and against young children, the use of primitive weapons, or the prevalence of amputations. These perspectives of long-standing conflicts reinforce counterproductive stereotypes about Africa, particularly regarding state failure and savagery, thereby justifying self-interested “paternalistic action” by Western powers.⁵⁰ While there is no question that the conflicts in Sierra Leone, Uganda, and Rwanda, particularly the involvement of young children, are tragedies, the dangers of victimizing child-soldiers involved in the conflict outweigh the immediate benefits. Not only does it reinforce stereotypes about the savagery of violence in Africa, it denies agency to the children involved, ultimately harming them.

⁴⁶ Rosen, 4

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 6

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 8; Martins, 435

⁵⁰ Power, 334, Diaz, Phillippe. 2009 *The Empire in Africa*. Cinema Libre Studio.; Martins, 437

Rather than using rhetoric to portray children as passive victims, Western observers would do well to analyze local cultural perspectives on the conflict, uncover the root causes of the violence that makes child-soldiering possible, and encourage universal reintegration programs for all affected combatants, not just children. As demonstrated by the language used by Sierra Leoneans, Rwandans, and Ugandans, people participating in civil war and ethnic conflict harbor a diverse range of perspectives, that can be easily overlooked by outside observers. In contrast, Western rhetoric paints a very monolithic, ethnocentric view of violence in which children are universally victimized by the unscrupulous, savage adults around them. Ironically, the root causes of these conflicts are catalyzed by structural violence caused by colonial heritage and facilitated by complicit Western nations that consistently fail to confront government corruption and human rights abuses. By addressing poverty, weak government infrastructures, and corruption, Western powers could further prevent violence, and by extension child soldiering, and provide sustainable economic growth and political security, rather than simply expressing outrage at the atrocities of the conflict. While humanitarian efforts to expose human rights abuses are commendable, Western interventions have rarely, if ever, successfully addressed foreign conflicts or rights violations unless it was in their own self-interest. As heartbreaking as child-soldiering can be, the underlying implications of framing child combatants as victims of savage African conflicts while overlooking Western nations' complicity in the underlying causes of the conflicts ultimately doing more harm than good.

References

- Beah, Ishmael
2007 *A Long Way Gone : Memoirs of a Boy Soldier*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007; 1st ed.
- Dallaire, Roméo A.
2010 *They Fight Like Soldiers, They Die Like Children*. New York: Walker Publishing Company, Inc.
- Denov, Dr. Myriam, University of Ottawa, Canada
2005 *Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Experiences, Implications and Strategies for Rehabilitation and Community Reintegration*. Canadian International Development Agency.
- Diaz, Phillipe
2009 *The Empire in Africa*. Cinema Libre Studio.
- Egeland, Jan
2008 *A Billion Lives: An Eyewitness Report from the Frontlines of Humanity*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008; 1st Simon & Schuster hardcover ed.
- Eichstaedt, Peter H.
2009 *First Kill Your Family: Child Soldiers of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army*. Chicago, Ill. : Lawrence Hill Books, c2009.
- Francis, David J.
2007 'Paper Protection' Mechanisms: Child Soldiers and the International Protection of Children in Africa's Conflict Zones. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*(2):207.
- Gress, Kylie
2010 *Child Soldiers Worldwide*. Electronic document, <http://102x-gress.blogspot.com/>, accessed May 10, 2013.
- Grunnet, Henrik, and Keld Klüwer
2003 *Children of War* [Electronic Resource] / DR TV. New York, NY : Filmmakers Library, 2003.

Hatzfeld, Jean

2005 *Machete Season : The Killers in Rwanda Speak : A Report*. New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005; 1st American ed.

Hoffman, Danny

2003 Like Beasts in the Bush: Synonyms of Childhood and Youth in Sierra Leone. *Postcolonial Studies* 6(3):295-308.

Krakower, Andy

2009 *The Children's War*. Cinema Libre Studio.

Martins, Catarina

2011 The Dangers of the Single Story: 1 Child-Soldiers in Literary Fiction and Film. *Childhood* 18(4):434.

Melvern, Linda

2000 *A People Betrayed : The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. London ; New York : Zed Books ; New York : Distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave, 2000.

Power, Samantha

2007 *A Problem from Hell : America and the Age of Genocide*. New York : Harper Perennial, 2007; 1st Harper Perennial ed.

Provencher, Raymonde

2010 *Grace, Milly, Lucy... Child Soldiers*. Quebec: Macumba DOC, Inc..

Prunier, Gérard

2009 *Africa's World War : Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe*. Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2009.

Rosen, David M.

2005 *Armies of the Young: Child Soldiers in War and Terrorism*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Russell, Jason, Bobby Bailey, and Laren Poole

2005 *Invisible Children* [Videorecording]. El Cajon, Calif.: Invisible Children, 2005].

Totten, Samuel, and Rafiki Ubaldo

2011 *We Cannot Forget : Interviews with Survivors of the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda*. Rutgers University Press.

Zack- Williams, Tunde B.

2006 *Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone and the Problems of Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration into Society: Some Lessons for Social Workers in War- torn Societies*. *Social Work Education* 25(2):119-128.

