

Child Soldiers Revisited: Conscription and Choice in Ken Saro-Wiwa's *Sozaboy* and  
Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*

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*Child soldier peripheralization in the Global South is explored through the narrative devices of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Half of a Yellow Sun and Ken Saro-Wiwa's Sozaboy. I intend to reconnoiter the susceptibilities of children in combat with their resilience, agency, and critical accountability in war participation.*

The misery, violence, and grief in Chimimanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* is virtually immeasurable as the Biafrans fight for the pride of their people, where hope is impermeable, and countless casualties mount in a bloody Civil War; likewise in Ken Saro-Wiwa's novel *Sozaboy*, semblances of intimacy and connection the reader retains for its characters are dismembered and annihilated in jarring detail that reflects both Adichie and Saro-Wiwa's moving autobiographical experiences. The torture and horrifying death of Adichie's character Mbaezi and his family sheds a brutal light on the realm of the dark and disenfranchised Igbo people: "Uncle Mbaezi lay facedown in an ungainly twist, legs splayed. Aunty Ifeka lay on the veranda. The cuts on her naked body were smaller, dotting her arms and legs like slightly parted red lips" (Adichie 186). Their village has been destroyed and both Aunt and Uncle's bodies lay cruelly mangled by the opposing factions for the secession of Biafra, a freedom for its people and the end of a civil war. Biafran freedom is represented by the title of Adichie's call to arms: a *Half of a Yellow Sun*, signified by the Biafran flag, "Red was the blood of the siblings massacred in the North, black was for mourning them, green was for the prosperity Biafra would have, and, finally, the half of a yellow sun stood for the glorious future" (352).

The dead haunt the living in the land of the rising sun. The dead baby found in the ceremonial calabash, Kainene's disappearance, and the beheading of her servant serve as a few examples that depict the devastation of a war ravaged place where children are often conscripted by feuding political counterparts to participate in the killing of their own people. In Saro-Wiwa's *Sozaboy*, we follow the idealist Sozaboy on his journey to uproot his family and provide them with a better life. The fondness he shares with his mother is illustrated in her selfless efforts to improve her son's station. He becomes an apprentice driver because of her hard efforts, and later she provides him with the money to become a soldier boy, a position proving much worthier in

their hierarchal societal ranks. The emphasis child soldiers place on a heightened sense of status is corroborated by social scientists Daniel Rothbert and Karina Korostelina: “Many theories of social identity explain intergroup prejudice as resulting from a need for self-esteem and social status in prestigious groups” (135). The novel follows the journey of the newly self-christened Sozaboy as he desperately looks for his mother and wife in the midst of war. Ugwu the houseboy and later memoirist of the novel, a mere child, like Sozaboy, desperately wants to improve his status along with that of his family.

Saro-Wiwa develops Sozaboy’s character through Nigerian Pidgin English, adeptly describing the inconsistencies and confusions of war. The repetitive nature of the language also gives the novel an anxious and childlike narration. Children repeat themselves and speakers who are afraid or unsure also find themselves in a state of anxious repetition. Descriptive words such as “small, small, small” give the reader a sense of how insignificant Sozaboy feels amidst the forces that are tearing apart his country. Explications of songs manifest the feeling of a nation oppressed. Prayers for peace and unitedness appear in these verses that struggle to keep patriotism alive. Communal songs lose their effectiveness and meaning as people are no longer held safely together by the powerful song ‘One Nigeria’, their voices fading, their hope met with gunfire: “The vandals took our town many weeks ago and they announced that all the indigenes should come out and say ‘One Nigeria’ and they would give them rice. So people came out of hiding and said ‘One Nigeria’ and the vandals shot them, men, women, and children” (Saro-Wiwa 481). The illusion of safety through patriotic means, or cultural collectivity through a sharing of imagery and songs establishes stratification rather than the uniting of a people in a war ravaged country. *Half of a Yellow Sun*, we later learn, signifies the Biafran flag. The political journey of victories and losses are held by the morale of this image of the sun rising: “Red was

the blood of the siblings massacred in the North, black was for mourning them, green was for the prosperity Biafra would have, and, finally, the half of a yellow sun stood for the glorious future” (352). Although images, whether made corporeal or sung ritualistically are vital as signifiers of group and boundary identities (Rothbart and Korostelina 130); made use of by the enemy they can serve to further stratify a nation. The borders in the Biafran war segregate groups, and in this case the boundary lines serve as distinctions of the ingroup and outgroup: “social identity is formed around boundary divisions thereby solidifying the relationship between “them” and “us” [social identities] center on boundaries separating us from them” (Rothbart and Korostelina 131). The distinction between two feuding factions, in order to be analyzed as an influencing factor, must focus on identical glories, kindred trauma, and the concept of the “other” that needs to be exterminated” (Rothbart and Korostelina 130). In Franz Fanon’s profound work *The Wretched of the Earth*, an oppressor’s behavior is substantiated so long as it is a means of coveting the wants of the “other.” Fanon posits the influential dialectic between the power of one and a collective identity in assessing the experience of war:

Individualism is the first to disappear...Henceforward, the interests of one will be the interests of all, for in concrete fact *everyone* will be discovered by troops, *everyone* will be massacred – or *everyone* will be saved. (47)

The need for assimilation into the culture of war can similarly be used to depict reasons for Ugwu and Sozaboy’s pro-war agenda. Sozaboy and Ugwu can be seen not only as perpetrators of war but as victims that are a consequence of their environment and who possess a false sense of self contingent on the needs of the “other.” Promises are made to the child soldier that guarantee a better life, providing a viable reason for patriotism and participation. The role of agency and

action can be interpreted by a definition that is contingent on group identity “in contexts where members of a minority group believe that their low status is unjustified [and] their sense of in group identity can diminish” (Rothbart and Korostelina 136). Ugwu and Sozaboy desperately want to improve their status, along with that of their family, and solidfy their identity in their respective communities. In *Sozaboy*, the author refuses to name the enemy and this can be attributed to a dramatic shift in kinship and identity. The ambiguity of the enemy is an interesting tactic in terms of the ingroup and outgroup because it becomes malleable and evidently confusing for our protagonist Sozaboy:

Every time a person will speak in that lorry he is always talking of the  
Enemy. The Enemy. The Enemy.

I don't know what this person look like.

(Saro-Wiwa 54)

The phenomenon of the child soldier as explored through the narrative devices of Chimimanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* and Ken Saro-Wiwa's *Sozaboy* sheds light on conceptualizing immunity to terror and choice in conscription. Ugwu and Sozaboy both provide harrowing firsthand accounts of war that examine the susceptibilities of children and their resilience in times of combat. According to the work of Alex J. Bellamy, there lies specific reasoning devices that pertain to engaging in conflict as a civilian in a war torn community. Societal norms are distorted and the perpetrator's sense of justification and entitlement provides him or her with a sense of legitimation. As an agential process, legitimation is defined as a “recognition of the rightfulness of an actor or behavior and is judged in relation to relevant norms. An action is legitimate to the extent that it is justified in terms of shared norms and those justifications are validated by others. As a rule of thumb, the greater the extent of the validation,

the more legitimate an action can be and vice-versa” (931). The agent behaves in a way that asserts power through a morbid manipulation of situational behavior. In terms of civilian immunity, the actor engaging in violent acts feels a sense of validation (931). The study of legitimation and civilian immunity defined and examined in Bellamy’s work can be directly applied to Ugwu and Sozaboy’s decision-making in both novels. For example, Sozaboy becomes a willing participant in Nigeria’s Biafran War. Sozaboy idealizes the war and asserts his agency by signing up and morphing into a “proud soza with gun. I think that one day I will be like that soza with spectacle, tall and fine speaking with brass band voice, enjoying myself inside fine car and fine house, giving command to small boys who are just entering new into soza life...Power pass power” (Saro-Wiwa 77). Sozaboy desires to make money and be rich, successful and intelligent, and he falsely believes that war holds the key to these benefits. In *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Ugwu pictures the ideal life of child soldier hood: “He would be like those recruits who went into training camp - while their relatives and well-wishers stood by the sidelines and cheered...He longed to play a role, to act” (Adichie 249). Ugwu is taken against his will as a conscripted soldier after having been employed as a houseboy for a group of intellectuals. His longing of the old life, where he receives formal schooling and enjoys amenities that are denied to most people, is turned upside down through the horror of conscription. Both children defend their inclinations with a type of immunity to what is at stake. Readers invested in Sozaboy the will find the end heartbreaking as two pages before the novel’s conclusion we find that Sozaboy’s wife and mother have been decimated by a bomb explosion and his fight in the war has been all for naught.

In unveiling the child soldier narrative, issues of responsibility and redemption must be addressed alongside reflections of a loss of innocence, a loss of identity, and ultimately, a loss of

childhood. The child in question is held in a perpetual enigma, possessed and imposed of a sense of community, yet a practitioner of heinousness. In Eleni Coundouriotis' article *The Child Soldier Narrative and the Problem of Arrested Historicization*, these concepts are investigated with an emphasis on agency within the narratives of child soldiers. While readers of child soldier narratives tend to emphasize as well as humanize children of conflict, the child is held in a fluid and distanced moral zone. A harrowing account of rape committed by Ugwu is described by Adichie in *Half of a Yellow Sun*. Because the reader has invested so much in the likeable character of Ugwu, responses can range from the appalling and unforgivable to the blameless and forgiving. The following is an excerpt from a rape scene that evokes a collision of feelings from the reader in destabilizing emotion:

The bar girl was lying on her back on the floor, her wrapper bunched up at her waist, her shoulders held down by a soldier, legs wide, wide ajar. She was sobbing. "Please, please, *biko*." Her blouse was still on. Between her legs, High-Tech was moving. His thrusts were jerky, his small buttocks darker-colored than his legs. The soldiers were cheering. (458)

What ensues is the transformative pressure Ugwu receives from his conscripted comrades to join in the gang rape of a local bar girl. Ugwu has a moment of hesitation and the soldiers beg the question, "Target Destroyer, aren't you a man?" (458) Ugwu then responds by becoming a participant and performing his masculinity for the others:

He did not look at her face, or at the man pinning her down, or anything at all as he moved quickly and felt his own climax, the rush of fluids to the tips of himself: a self-loathing release. He zipped up his trousers while

some soldiers clapped. Finally he looked at the girl. She stared back at him with a calm hate. (458)

Coundouriotis substantiates the lack of accountability that children have in the aftermath of violent acts, explaining that “the autobiographical narratives of child soldiers are framed as victim narratives where responsibility for the committing of atrocity by the child soldier is largely disclaimed [as] abuse the child has suffered” and warrants a closer look at the lack of research that considers child soldiers, “traumatized by chaotic and extreme violence, child soldier survivors have little recourse to complex historical and political explanations of what got them where they are” (192). When Ugwu commits the brutal rape of this local young girl, however atrocious, the reader is forced to reconcile uncomfortable feelings of empathy and disdain.

Ugwu later suffers (perhaps as a result of Adichie’s light handed attempt at atonement for his transgressions) much like Sozaboy, in the loss of his mother and wife. His sister becomes a rape victim, maimed forever, and his lover Eberichi dies in bomb warfare. Adichie emphasizes the terror of the ambiguousness Ugwu will have to experience in never knowing the brutality and death experienced by his beloved Eberichi. Her death will always remain a mystery to Ugwu and he will never be able to properly mourn her loss, for there is no body to mourn, only haunted memories of what might have been. Ken Saro-Wiwa’s titular character *Sozaboy* questions the futile loss of his people in an insensible war, and how fear is infectious and intimately tied to destruction:

In the motor park, the returning people were saying many things.

I heard plenty tory by that time. About how they are killing people in the train; cutting their hand or their leg or breaking their head

with machet or chooking them with spear and arrow. Fear begin catch me small. Soon, everybody begin to fear. Why all this trouble? Ehn? Why? Even for Dukana fear begin to catch everybody. (3)

In exposing conscription through ethnography, firsthand reports of grown up child soldiers who survived the conflict either experience a complex response of reluctance or determination to join in conflict determined by soldiers from Biafra that exerted control on these children of war. Egodi Uchendu, in his work *Recollections of Childhood Experiences during the Nigerian War*, explains: “Despite the salience of this topic in reportage of recent conflicts in and outside Africa, little is known about the young Nigerians who lived through a civil war about which so much else has been written” (393). Uchendu discusses the atrocities committed against the civilian community by use of conscription tactics and the aftermath of conflict. Child survivors of the conflict are interviewed, corroborated with other witnesses for reliability, and provide the nature of war and the use of propaganda to enlist the youth of Nigeria in a call to arms. Saro-Wiwa’s *Sozaboy*, corroborates his complicated involvement in conflict:

The soza captain did not tell us why we must go inside the pit. I just carry gun, fight, go inside pit; right turn, left turn, about turn, udad arms, run, no run, stand still, chop, piss, shit. Every thing they tell me, I must do, no question. (Saro-Wiwa 114)

To great effect, there were various tactics employed by Nigerian soldiers that implicitly encouraged children to join in the fight for their country, as an interview conducted by Uchendu reveals:

Nwocha, a fifty-year-old male physiologist, now feels in retrospect that the goal of the visits was to condition children early to the depth of

the hostility towards the Igbo and to introduce the notion that Northern Nigerians were the enemies of Eastern Nigerian citizens, and the Igbo in particular. Tales of such incidents as the sight of a naked woman disembarking from a train from Northern Nigeria clutching the head of her murdered child (Akpan 1972: xii) and the picture of the headless man distressed the pupils. Children reacted differently to what they saw and heard. Some considered the songs very powerful when compared to speeches and pictures, because they easily remembered them, being too young to understand much of the logic in speeches that were rendered in English. Put together, speeches, songs and pictures of victims of the massacre instilled fear, anxiety, anger and panic in children. The prospect of death from federal troops was very frightening to these pupils, but their anger at what their ethnic community had suffered in Northern Nigeria was as strong. (396)

Nwocha's reminiscence can be taken directly from the pages of Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*. The baby's severed head in the Calabash haunts the reader, incites panic, and pushes children to participate in a senseless war that takes everyone hostage, man, woman, child, and infant. Another interesting observation posited by Uchendu is the very difficulty in accurately accounting for how old child soldiers are due to lack of record keeping and inaccuracies in recording actual birth dates. As long as a child was sturdy enough to hold a gun he was conscripted. There is significance in the ambiguity of the real ages of Sozaboy and Ugwu by Saro-Wiwa and Adichie as is their respective experiences of parental annihilation. Orphans [are]

specifically targeted because there were no family times that could step in and aid in desertion (402).

The strategy of noncombatant force, conscription, and civilian involvement in general has its potential drawbacks. Despite contrary belief, research shows that the use of civilians in warfare can be detrimental as a stratagem. Assaults on the civilian population strengthen resolve and have shown to reduce actual efficacy in winning a war: “states target civilians—namely those who share the ethnicity, nationality, or political sympathies of the adversary—to eliminate them from the territory they wish to seize, thereby removing an actual or potential fifth column and reducing the risk of future resistance to their rule” (Chenoweth and Adria 31). Whilst making observations of how futile the war in Nigeria has been it is not surprising that the use of noncombatant force is a practice that is senseless and outdated. In *Half of a Yellow Sun* and *Sozaboy*, the hardships and consequences of war and conscription leave an indelible mark on the afflicted children. The reader is jarred by untidy endings of suffering where all that remains is the hopelessness of a situation that leaves all civilians maimed with the trauma of collective memory.

The perception that children are non-agential and helpless is challenged by research that examines the role of child development in times of war. Their remarkable resilience despite a traumatic and chaotic upbringing questions the standard model of childhood development and its responses to adversity. Jo Boyden conceptualizes this theory with a psycho-social conception of children in war: “children [are] agents of their own development who, even during times of great adversity, consciously act upon and influence the environments in which they live” (1). There are qualms with the model of healing that invokes only the psychiatric approach and does not take into account the embodiment of social and political forces, nor does it invoke economics that

result in lack of bodily sustenance in the form of basic food, water, and healthcare: “Working with families and communities in an effort to restore social structures and a sense of normality, highlight the social ecologies of childhood as opposed to individual pathology...these approaches promise greater sustainability in poor countries and closer social and cultural adaptation than individual therapy” (Boyden 7). Psychological healing as a Western paradigm is effective but recovery must be regarded in a broader scope that includes Eastern strife and child soldiers particularly. The experience of a Western child bears no similarity to a child in a war torn country in East Africa. Although children are presupposed to develop uniformly, according to psychologists such as Piaget, they are diverse in their upbringings, social constructs, and responses. According to Boyden, child resilience is remarkable, even when examined side by side with an adult’s response to trauma: “In general it turns out that children have considerable inner resources for coping [...] A few studies even suggest that in certain situations some children may be better able to accommodate dissonance and change than adults” (Boyden 15). In *Sozaboy* there is a fragment of hope that Sozaboy will carry on despite his dealings with death and destruction:

And as I was going, I was just thinking how the war have spoiled my town Dukana, uselessed many people, killed many others, killed my mama and my wife, Agnes, my beautiful wife with J.J.C. and now it have made me like porson wey get leprosy because I have no town again. And I was thinking how I was prouiding before to go to soza and call myself Sozaboy. But now if anybody say anything about war or even fight, I will just run and run and run and run and run. Believe me yours sincerely. (Saro-Wiwa 181)

The theme of invisibility, ghostliness, and the separation of mind and body in Saro-Wiwa's *Sozaboy* and Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*, merit investigation. For instance, after Ugwu is in combat and engaging in serious operations he feels a disconnect between his actions and what his mind registers as what is really happening: "Ugwu's fear sometimes overwhelmed him, froze him. He unwrapped his mind from his body, and separated the two, while he lay in the trench, pressing himself from the mud, luxuriating in how close he was to the mud" (Adichie 458). He feels the mud but only later registers the horrors he has encountered: "The ka-ka-ka of shooting, the cries of men, the smell of death, the blasts of explosions above and around him were distant. But back at the camp his memory became clear; he remembered the man who placed both hands on his blown-open belly as though to hold his intestines in, the one who mumbled something before he stiffened" (458). Elaine Scarry elucidates this manifestation in an explanation that attempts to grasp the diverting mind when faced with bodily trauma: "This is a convention which assists the disappearance of the human body from accounts of the very event that is the most radically embodying event in which human beings will ever participate. It is not that 'injury' is wholly omitted, or event that it is redescribed, but rather that it is relocated to a place (the imaginary body of a colossus) where it is no longer recognizable or interpretable" (71). Scarry describes the "imaginary colossus" as a collective people that are engaged in bodily combat that are purposefully unaware of the sheer magnitude of fatalities as they engage in group combat. Ugwu is in the midst of war and feels an obligation to pretend that the events that take place have an essence of normalcy because it becomes a moral obligation to those defending their country. Ugwu is harassed by his dreams and conscience about the rape of which he was a part, not only for his participation but also his act as a complicit bystander. He feels the need to provide atonement by writing his experiences for rumination and a hope that this will deliver

awareness to his readers. It can be argued that through Adichie's narrative devices punishment is served to Ugwu by the raping of his sister to atone for the raping he has committed himself. The power of the violent and horrific stays in the mind of susceptible children and in itself becomes a weapon of war. Imagery is an essential tool utilized in the hierarchical armies of Nigeria. For instance, the poignant scene in which a mother walks off a train with her baby's head in her calabash, used by mothers to protect their children from dirt and flies, is directly referenced by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie in *Half of a Yellow Sun*:

The woman with calabash nudged her, then motioned to some other people close by. "*Bianu*, come," she said. Come and take a look."

She opened the calabash. "Take a look," she said again. Olanna looked into the bowl. She saw the little girl's head with the ashy-gray skin and braided hair and rolled-back eyes and open mouth. She stared at it for while before she looked away. Somebody screamed.

The woman closed the calabash (188).

As by-products of war both Ugwu and Sozaboy are referenced by their very own people as being ghosts resurrected from the past at the end of the war. Their expectations to be heralded as heroes are dashed. Ugwu's reception is slightly warmer than that of Sozaboy: "He had not disappeared; he was not a ghost. Other people came out to hug him, to rub his body in disbelief as though the sand-pouring had still not proved to them that he was not a ghost" (Adichie 524). The ghostliness of Sozaboy takes place in the poignant end of the novel when he returns to his native land full of expectations to find his mother and wife, and be regarded by everyone as a freedom fighter. The people of his town describe his return:

Yes. And now that the war have ended, you have returned again as ghost

To Dukana to worry those who have not yet dead. Yes. And now you have put very bad disease in the town to kill everybody, Sozaboy, this disease that you have put, we cannot understand it. It is not like small pox which used to make small small put in man face. This new juju disease will just make person go latrine plenty times and then the person will die. Plenty people are just dying like that, like fly. And everytime, whether morning, afternoon, or night, your ghost will just be walking inside the town shouting your name, Sozaboy, Sozaboy. And calling other people name. And asking them for your mama and your wife. And anybody that asking them for your mama and your wife. And anybody that you ask of call their name in the evening, he or she must die by night time after going plenty latrine. (Saro-Wiwa 179-180).

The native people of Nigeria are repelled by Sozaboy and associate his legacy with bad juju and death. He is among the cursed and that is Saro-Wiwa's narrative technique offering penitence to the dead. The premise of invisibility is not limited to the caricatures in these Nigerian novels, the audience is susceptible in adhering to the stereotype of not seeing a child as a soldier in his own right and agency. According to Anthony Levin in *Making the Invisible Visible: Photographic Trials in Neil Abramson's Soldier Child*: "What is at stake in exploring the child soldier's visibility is not simply the facticity of seeing 'kids with guns,' but identifying who sees them and how seeing is constructed by human rights narratives in ways that delegitimize or erase parts of their subjectivity. A consideration of such erasure, comprised of *making the soldier invisible*, raises crucial questions about the damage done to a subject's dignity and self-determination by refusing to see him in his totality as 'child soldier'" (106).

Further analysis need be examined in a scholarly darkness that fails to interpret ambiguities that warrant further inspection on child soldiers, conscription and choice. “The plight of young people engaged in combat situations only became a visible human rights issue over the last two or three decades” (Levin 107). That said, there is sociological, political, psychological, and economic work to be done in this area of research. Ken Saro-Wiwa’s *Sozaboy* and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s *Half of a Yellow Sun* allow readers to delve into the complex and multifaceted dilemma of the child soldier. A societal vacuum in which propaganda is pervasive and children are at risk provides an attempt at grasping that which has been an impenetrable phenomenon. The powers of legitimation and the desire to better a helpless situation are reasons attributed to the decision to engage in the conflict. Propaganda is prevalent in cases where children are reluctant fighters for the cause, and material factors of betterment are involved in the sway of childhood recruitment. In exploring conscription and agency, susceptibilities of children are tantamount in understanding this theme; to reign in an attempt to typify the psyche of the child victim/soldier one must consider the concept of a malleable world and identity. Eastern and Western distinctive modalities need to be reevaluated to garner public attention and to rectify the situation at hand instead of blatant and divisive ignorance, and lack of awareness and assistance. The Euro-centric paradigm of healing must be reassessed, expanded and accessible to Eastern children.

Horrific violence breeds rampant in times of war and persuasive figureheads. Conceptualizing the “other” or in Saro-Wiwa’s words “the enemy” in times of civil war is an ubiquitous approach in perceiving perpetrators of violence. Guilt and responsibility for brutal acts are observed in ongoing research and addressed aptly and eloquently by Saro-Wiwa and Adichie. Their roles as ambassadors of the people through their narrative devices shed a prism of

light in understanding children and conscription. Suffering and vulnerability mold a child's experience but there is substantial hope that a child has the ability and resourcefulness to conquer helplessness and become an embodiment of strength and peace. Saro-Wiwa's attempt at reparation and harm done in his home of Nigeria led to his untimely death as a human rights champion. However, he did leave his remarkable imprint on the world in the publication of *Sozaboy*. The use of civilians in warfare, with research to reinforce and acknowledge this observation, is a senseless ploy in an attempt to successfully campaign and win a war effort. Adichie and *Sozaboy* make the invisible child-soldiers visible by moving their audience to understand and accept a social and moral responsibility to help these children, even if it is only through a greater awareness of what is happening in Nigeria. In *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the character of Richard vows to write about the appalling brutality of the Nigerian war as memorial: "the title of the book came to [him]: 'The World Was Silent When We Died.' He would write it after the war, a narrative of Biafra's difficult victory, an indictment of the world" (Adichie 469). Ugwu later, as an attempt to heal his trauma from war ultimately writes the book, and begs his readers to never forget what they have read, to be aware of the plight of the Nigerian people wherein, "May we always remember" (453).

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