the media alone "did not drive most participation in the genocide" (231).

At the core of this book is Straus's determination to go beyond macro-level explanations to "a more micro-level, social scientific investigation, one that identifies and evaluates the mechanisms driving the genocide" (40). Straus's stimulating and multifaceted approach forces us to scrutinize carefully his core data—his interviews with 210 convicted and confessed killers incarcerated in Rwanda's prisons (118). Those familiar with the plea-bargaining process introduced in 1996 to reduce overcrowding in Rwanda's jails will recall that only perpetrators who killed fewer than ten persons were eligible for substantially reduced sentences following their confessions; those who planned or organized the genocide or who committed "odious and systematic" murders were excluded. Clearly then, almost all the men interviewed by Straus fell into the category of "minor" killers; as he himself acknowledges from the start, "This probable bias against hard-core killers should be kept in mind...." (102). In short, Straus's conclusions about the role of ideology, ethnic identity, and nationalism should be read and applied in the prudent manner he proposes. His data are highly relevant to the attitudes of the local level, "minor" killers—the majority of those who killed. But the significance of his findings for the thinking and behavior of the major actors, those who listened most frequently to RTLM and were most attuned to its messages, are beyond the ambit of this study.

In *The Order of Genocide*, Straus sets a high and most welcome standard of excellence for future scholarship in genocide studies. Like most major books, *The Order of Genocide* makes us eagerly anticipate the author's future publications and his answers to the questions he has reserved for further study. But as matters already stand, all of us seeking to understand the mobilization of neighbors to kill other neighbors during the genocide in Rwanda are already greatly in Scott Straus's debt.

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Edna G. Bay and Donald L. Donham, eds. *States of Violence: Politics, Youth, and Memory in Contemporary Africa.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006. ix + 268pp Notes. References. Index. $49.50 Cloth. $24.50. Paper.

This edited volume attempts "to dissolve violence into its contexts rather than to create it as an academic subject to be theorized" (18). It offers a series of outstanding essays dealing with violence and memories of violence in Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, and South Africa.

Martha Carey demonstrates the importance of Sierra Leone's Poro initiation societies, which for generations have structured the passage of boys into adulthood. She suggests that mass destruction and control of individual agency, rather than lineage rank and expensive initiation, became the new requirements for advancement and access to more authority, with amputations carried out by the Revolutionary United Front seen as a form of symbolic communication—a challenge not just to government but also to the Poro leadership. Carey also stresses the extreme heterogeneity of the rebels, many of whom had been forcibly incorporated into the militias and compelled to commit atrocities against kin and community.

Also writing on Sierra Leone, William Reno rejects Robert Kaplan's simplistic argument that violence there was due to "loose molecules" in the form of rootless young men. Instead, Reno connects the violent behavior of these youths to the processes of predation, with local variations providing the key to understanding. In some areas the pattern described by Carey prevailed, but in some towns, vigilante bands organized by a major politician and local chiefs repelled the rebels of the RUF: "Under the rubric of religious authorities and initiation societies," even "stranger" youths who might otherwise have supported the RUF were integrated into the local forces (46–53).

Joanna Davidson analyzes an episode in Susana village (Guinea-Bissau) where Diola expelled Fula "strangers" who had been living in their midst for decades. Rejecting Mamdani's argument that Europeans structured relations between "strangers" and locals, Davidson demonstrates the power of local categories of strangers dating to the precolonial era (77). Nevertheless, while the Susana incident was local, Davidson explains, both Diola and Fula agree that the story of the expulsion should start thirty years earlier, when fighters of the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde) killed several Fula families in the nearby town of Sangatutu; in the aftermath, other Fula of Sangatutu moved to Susana. Thus Diola and Fula agree that the Susana incident was part of an ongoing process and was connected to national politics—indeed to the aftermath of the liberation movement itself.

Perhaps the most interesting chapters deal directly with efforts to reshape collective memory of past violence. Belinda Bozzoli examines the transformation of memories of the youth insurrection of 1986 in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, during two trials and a special hearing by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, ten years after the insurrection. The "evolving millenarianism" of the young "comrades" was eclipsed, first in favor of the adult-based "popular democratic" genre of radical opposition, and then by the conventional African nationalism of the ANC. However, Bozzoli does not tell us whether the former "comrades" retain and pass on their version of events.

Longman and Rutagengwa deal with efforts to impose a single collective memory in Rwanda. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) invaded Rwanda from Uganda in 1990, bringing with it a version of history dramatically at variance with the version propagated by the Hutu-dominated government in Kigali: where those in power leading up to the genocide postulated four hundred years of oppression of Hutu by the Tutsi monarchy, the predominantly Tutsi RPF saw precolonial harmony transformed into ethnic hatred by European colonizers. The civil war launched in 1990 led to the genocide of 1994 and eventually to the accession to power by the RPF, which has attempted to impose its view, not only of the colonial transformation of harmonious Rwanda, but of the genocide itself. From that perspective, the genocide began in 1959, when Hutu overthrew the Tutsi monarchy, killed many Tutsi, and caused others (including future RPF leaders) to flee. However, local people interviewed by Longman and Rutagengwa tended not to begin their narratives of the genocide in 1959. Many of them gave a response much less favorable to the RPF, tracing the genocide to the 1990 invasion.

For the volume as a whole, the cases analyzed differ greatly. No one was killed in the expulsion of the Fula from the Diola village, whereas many hundreds of thousands of Tutsi perished in the Rwanda genocide. Despite the obvious differences, however, these case studies are similar in that both the acts of violence and the subsequent acts of remembering or forgetting were profoundly political.

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Robert Muggah, ed. *No Refuge: The Crisis of Refugee Militarization in Africa.* London: Zed Books. 2006. xviii + 261 pp. Tables. Maps. Notes. Index. $29.99. Paper.

No Refuge: The Crisis of Refugee Militarization in Africa is written explicitly from the perspective of international relations, emphasizing the role of states, international organizations, and donors in the militarization of refugee camps. The book is a well-coordinated collection that includes an introductory essay, four case studies written by different authors about the militarization of refugee populations (in Guinea, Uganda, Tanzania, and Rwanda), and a concluding chapter. The data derive from the late 1990s and early 2000s, with similar questions addressed in each case and due attention given to historical context. Four themes are explored in each essay: the manner that refugees become pawns of warfare; the extent to which refugees become active agents in militarization; refugee militarization and the humanitarian community; and the relationship between refugee militarization and small arms availability. What emerges is an image of refugee populations buffeted by the political interests of host, home, and donor states, and a simultaneous plea for humanitarian neutrality.

It is clear from *No Refuge* that refugee militarization has increased in