

# POLI 120N: Contention and Conflict in Africa

## Professor Adida

European imprint

**First, a few reminders...**

# Important dates

- Email a TA ([dhaim@ucsd.edu](mailto:dhaim@ucsd.edu), [bengelsma@ucsd.edu](mailto:bengelsma@ucsd.edu)) by this Thursday 5pm with top three preferences for group country project case (CAR, Burundi, DRC, Nigeria, South Sudan, Sudan)
- Map quiz is in 10 days. Study sheet is at <http://pscourses.ucsd.edu/poli120n/>
- Midterm is in 3 weeks. All readings and lecture material count

iClicker counts as of  
today!

But remember, you can miss 20% of  
questions with no penalty

Q: Which word do you think dominated your word cloud?



- a. War
- b. Poverty
- c. AIDS
- d. Corruption
- e. Resources



# Pre-colonial Africa

# Pre-colonial Africa

- Land was plenty, People were scarce: no conflict over territorial conquest; conflict over human resources
- Plough never made it: no need or ability to intensify agricultural production, but ability to just till new land
- Political organizations depended on broadcasting of power: resistance to an existing authority led to exit and creation of new organization -> very dynamic
- Much more culturally diverse: ethnic and other attachments constantly in flux as polities continually expanded and contracted



# Population density

Region	1500	1750	1900	1975
South Asia	15.2	24.1	38.2	100.3
Europe	13.7	26.9	62.9	99.9
Latin America	2.2	0.8	3.7	16.3
SSA	<b>1.9</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>13.6</b>
Former USSR	0.6	1.6	6.1	11.6

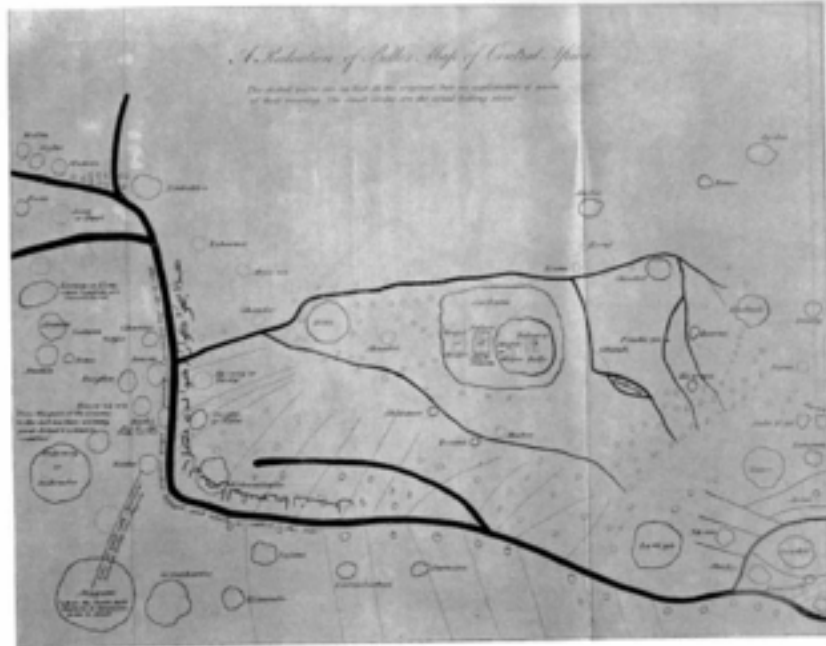
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# Pre-colonial Africa



Map 2.1. A Reproduction of Bello's Map of Central Africa. Source: Dixon Denham, Hugh Clapperton, and Walter Oudney, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the Years 1822, 1823, and 1824* (London: John Murray, 1828), insert after p. 370.



Map 2.2. Map Drawn by Sultan Njoya of Bamum when offering his Kingdom to British Suzerainty in 1915. Source: C0649/7/10908, Colonial Office Archives, Public Record Office (Kew).

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# Pre-colonial Africa

“Overall, precolonial Africa was a state system without fictions.”

~ Herbst

Q: Which asset was scarce in pre-colonial Africa?

- a. Land
- b. People



# Two European Imprints

10 LIKELY and VALUABLE  
**SLAVES**  
AT AUCTION.

On THURSDAY the 24th inst.  
WE WILL SELL,  
*In front of our Office, without any kind of bid or reserve for cash,*  
AT 11 O'CLOCK,  
**10 AS LIKELY NEGROES**  
As any ever offered in this market; among them is a man who is a  
superior Cook and House Servant, and a girl about 17 years old, a  
first rate House Servant, and an excellent seamstress.

BROOKE & HUBBARD,  
*Richardson & Co.* Auctioneers.  
Wednesday, July 23, 1823.

Queen's University Belfast

Slave Trade



Sambourne 1982

Colonization



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# The slave trades

- Trans-Saharan slave trade: south of Sahara desert to North Africa
- Red Sea slave trade: inland of Red Sea to Middle East and India
- Indian Ocean slave trade: eastern Africa to Middle East and India
- Trans-Atlantic slave trade: West, Central and Eastern Africa to European colonies in New World

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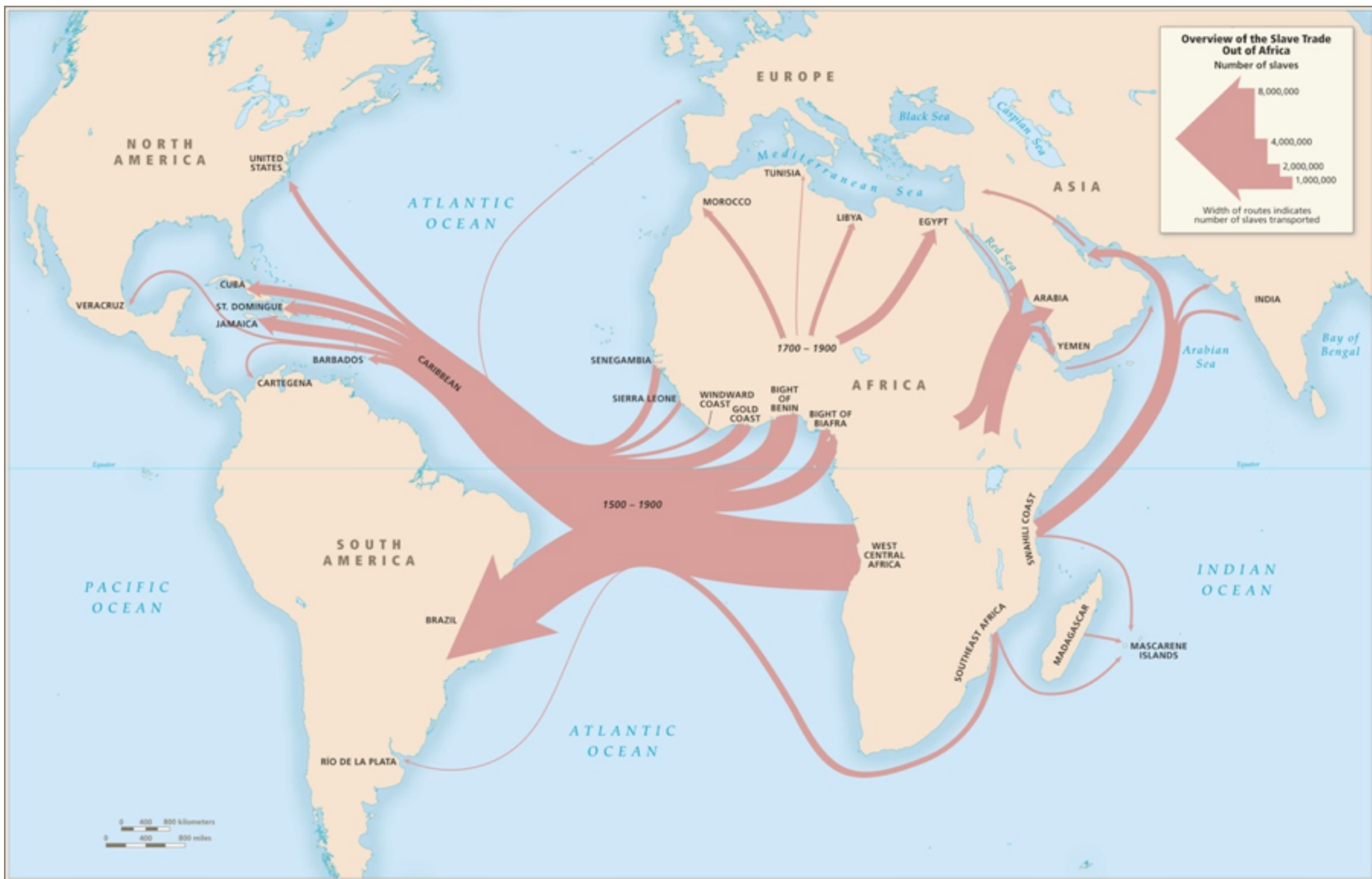
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# The trans-Atlantic slave trade

- Atlantic slave trade: 1501-1850
- Approximately 11.8 (Lovejoy 2000) to 12.7 million (Nunn 2005) slaves left for Americas
- Death toll of voyage approximately 2 million



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# How did slave trade work?

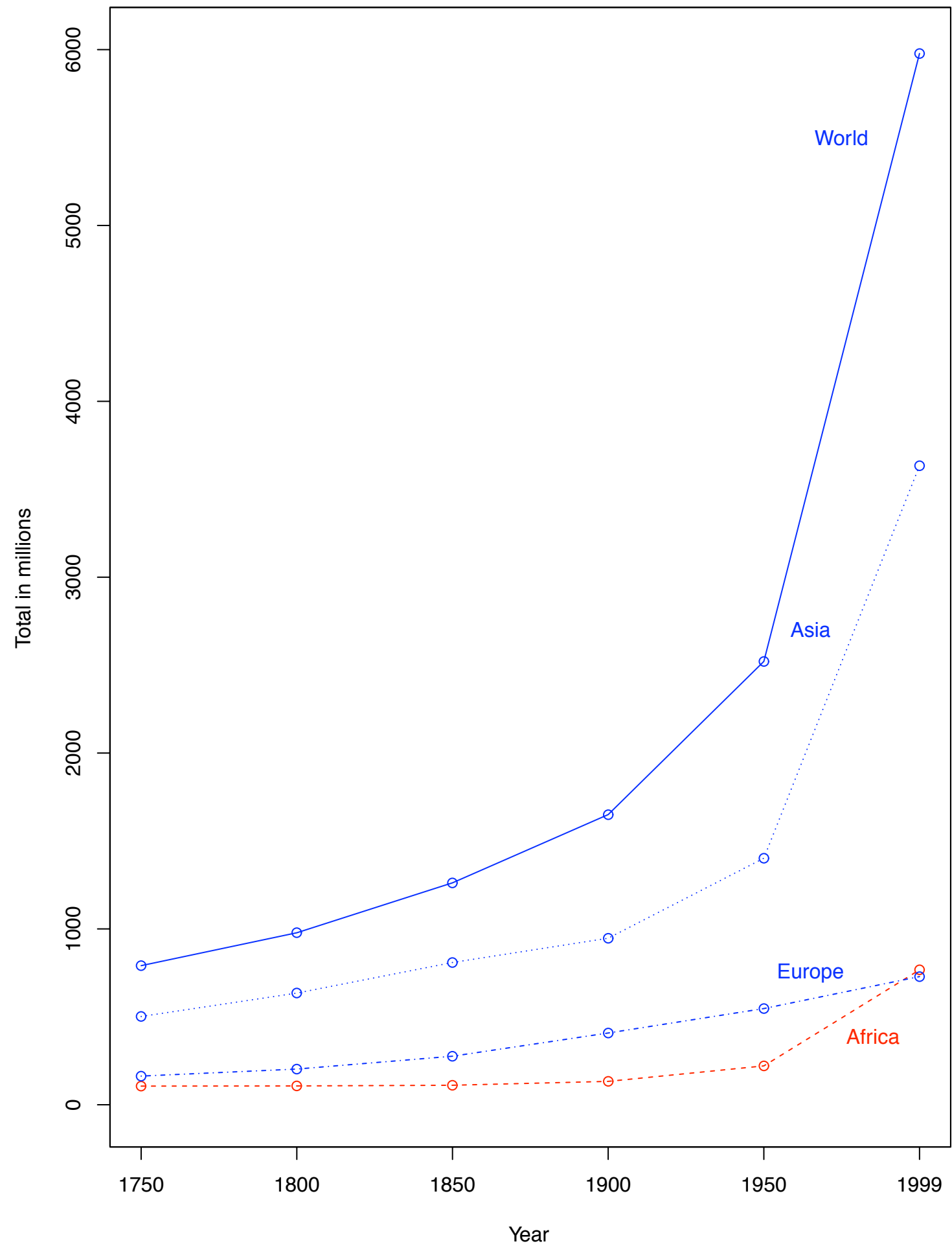


# Impact of slave trade

Slave trade



Population density



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Slave trade



Population density

Trust

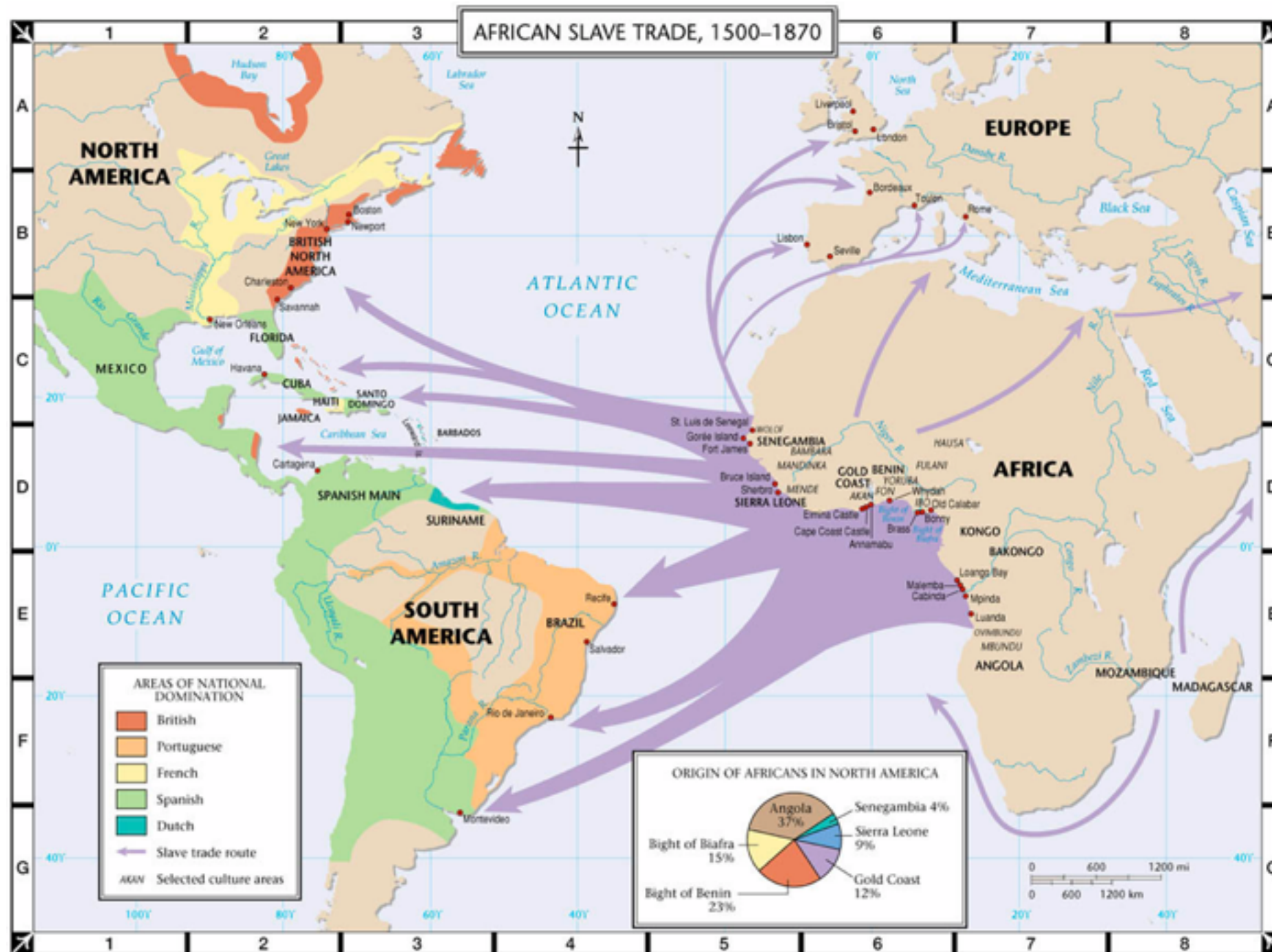
Focus on coastal outposts

Ammunition and incentives

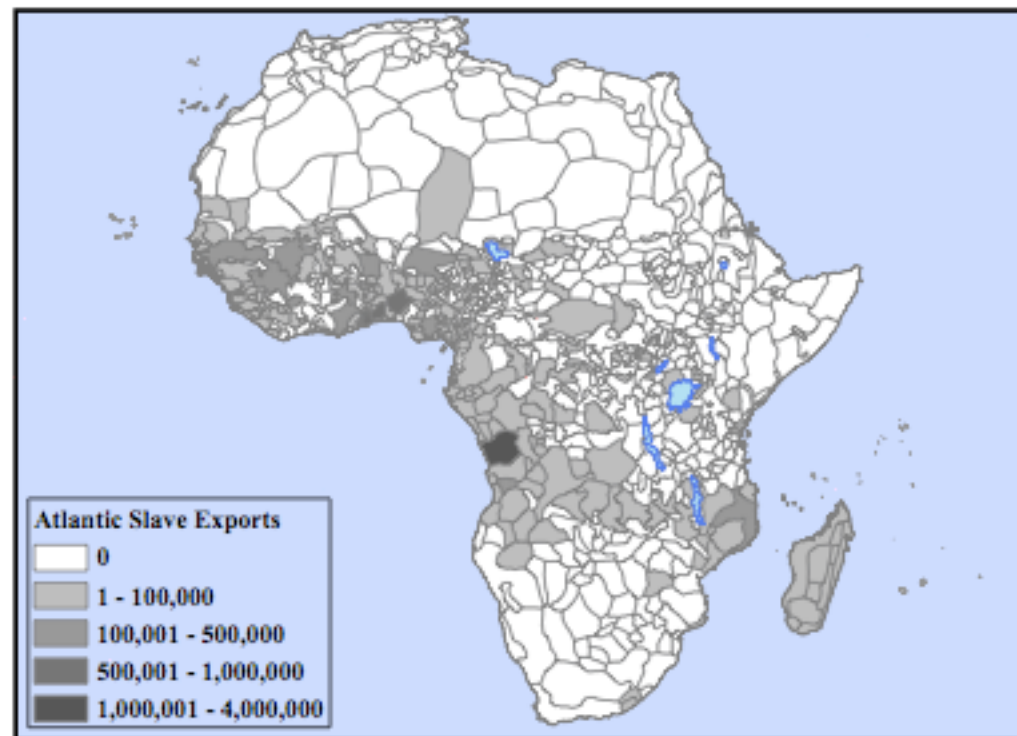


State-building  
Development  
Conflict

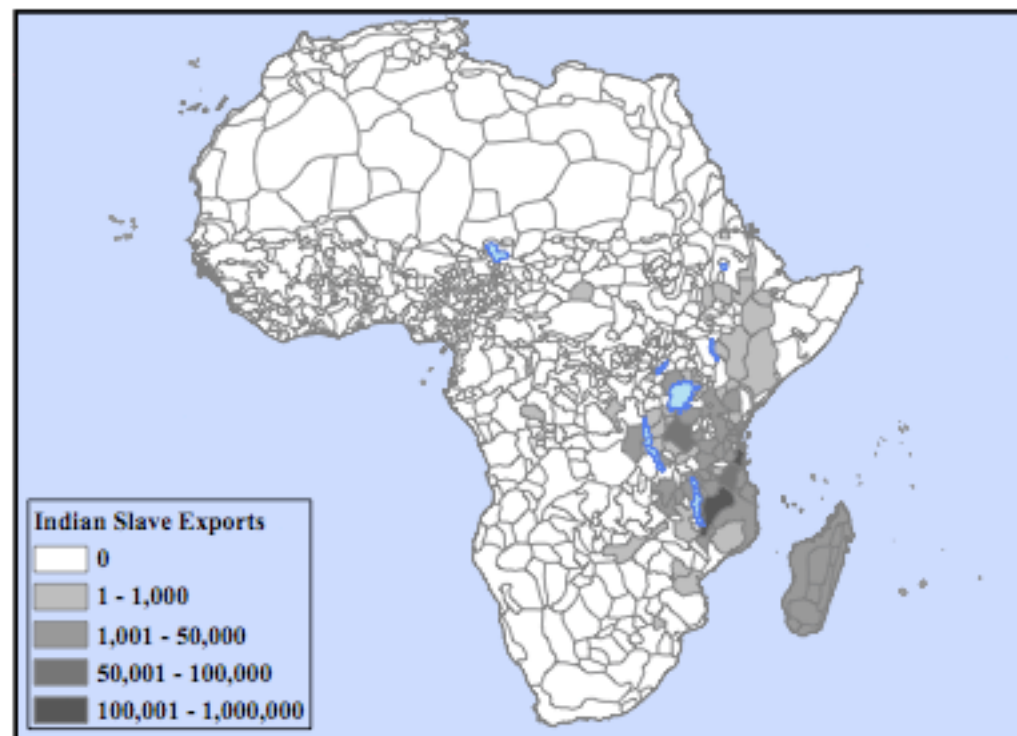
# Slave trade did not affect all of Africa uniformly



# Nunn and Wantchekon (2009)



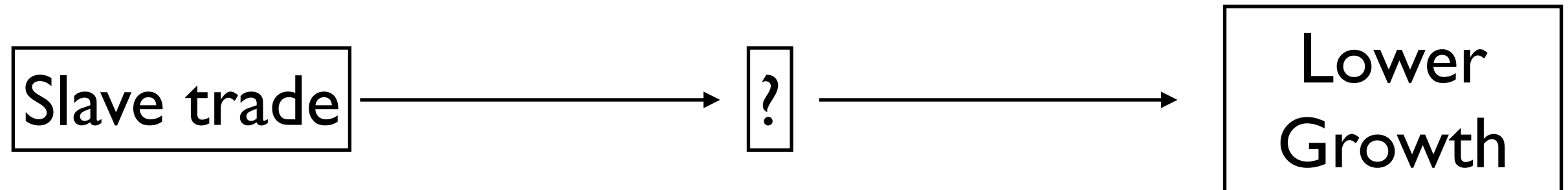
(a) Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade



(b) Indian Ocean Slave Trade

Figure 1: Maps displaying the total number of slaves of each ethnicity shipped during the trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades.

Q: Through which channel did the slave trade hurt growth in Africa?



- a. By decreasing ethnic diversity
- b. By introducing guns
- c. By increasing ethnic diversity
- d. By decreasing population density
- e. By increasing population density

Nunn (2010)  
Nunn and Wantchekon (2009)



# Quantifying the effect

	With slave trade	Without slave trade
Africa Annual income	\$1,834	\$2,679-\$5,158
Developing world Annual income	\$4,868	
World Annual income	\$8,809	

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Slave Trade



Sambourne 1822

Colonization

# Late 19th century changes in Europe

Political: Increased international competition with entry of new actors (unified Germany and Italy)

Economic: industrialization and population growth meant increased demand for commodities

Religious: vast resurgence of evangelical fervor in the West; “conversionism” and “trusteeship”

Technological: introduction of guns, quinine, and steamboat intensified conquest

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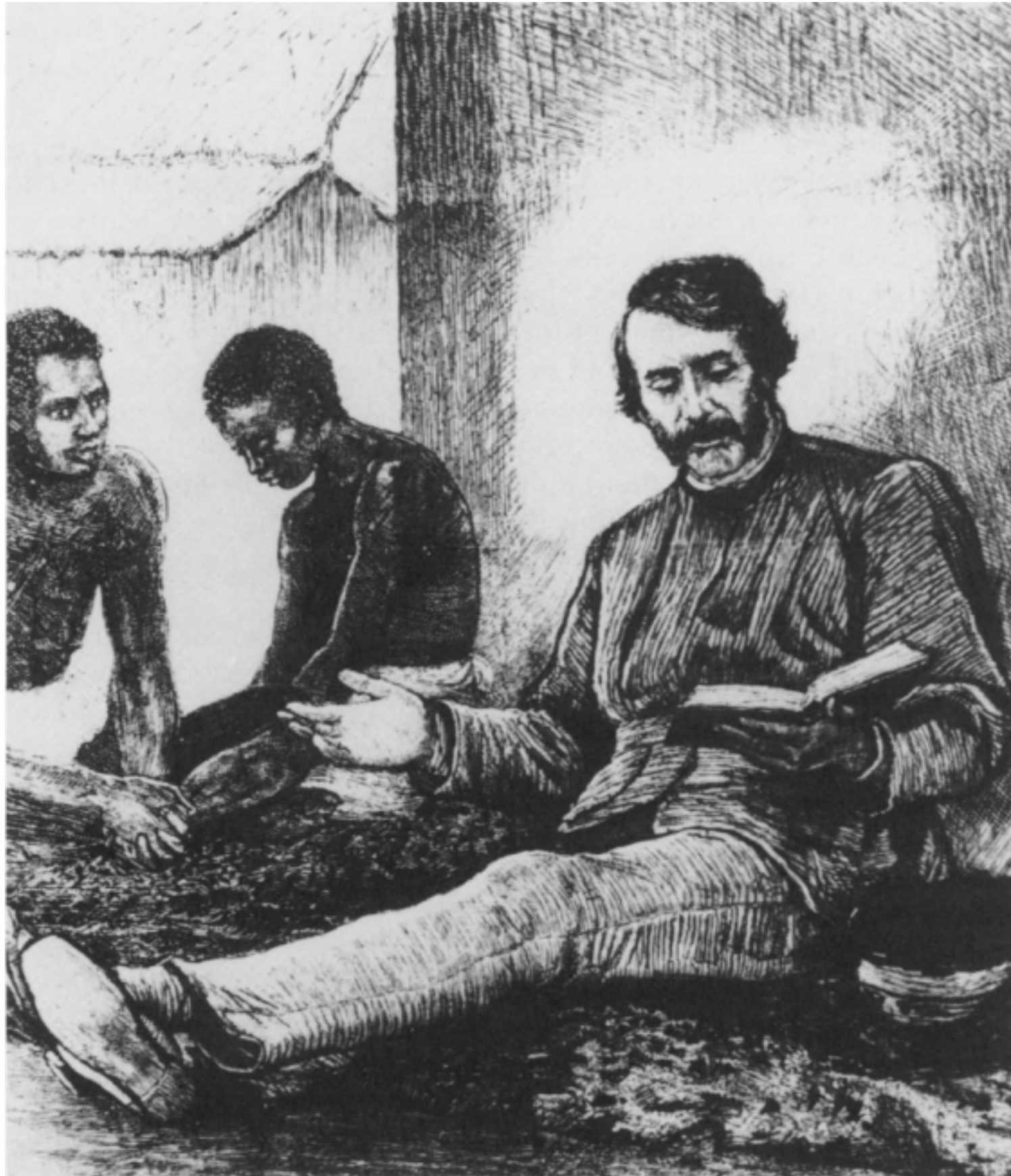
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# Mission Civilisatrice



Brantlinger 1985

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# The Scramble for Africa

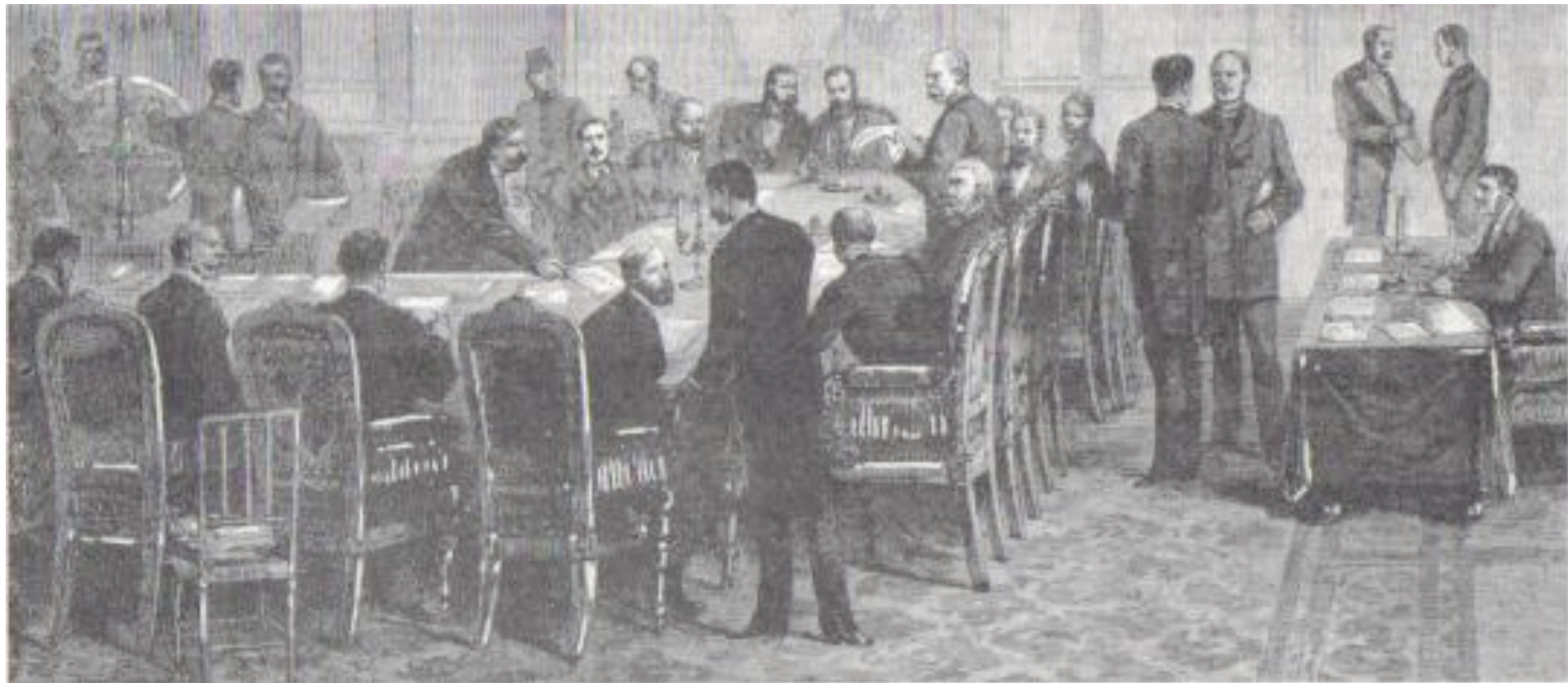


“A veritable collective intoxication of colonial expansionism”

Crawford Young

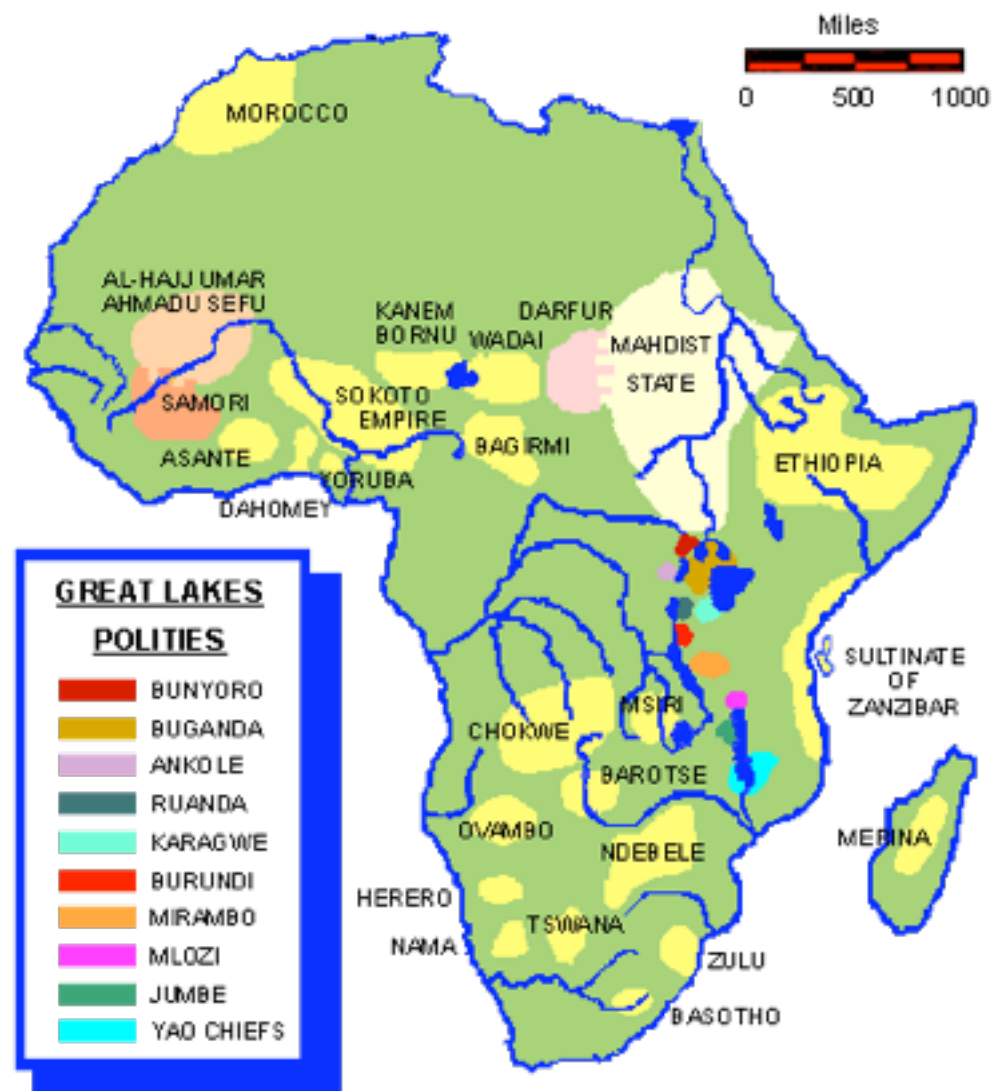


# The Berlin Conference: 1884-5



Josephy 1971

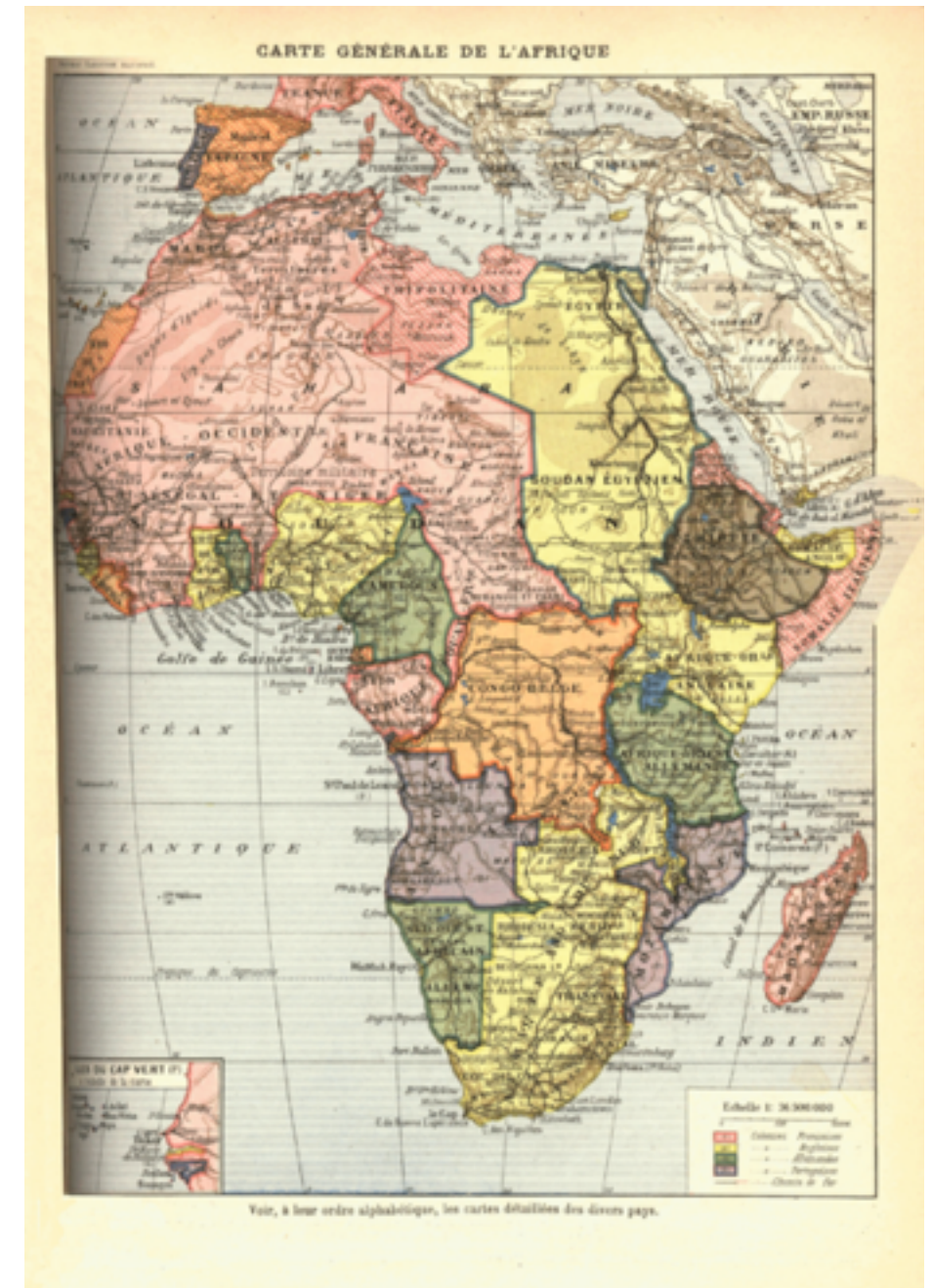
# Before...



Gaydish 1998

1884

# After

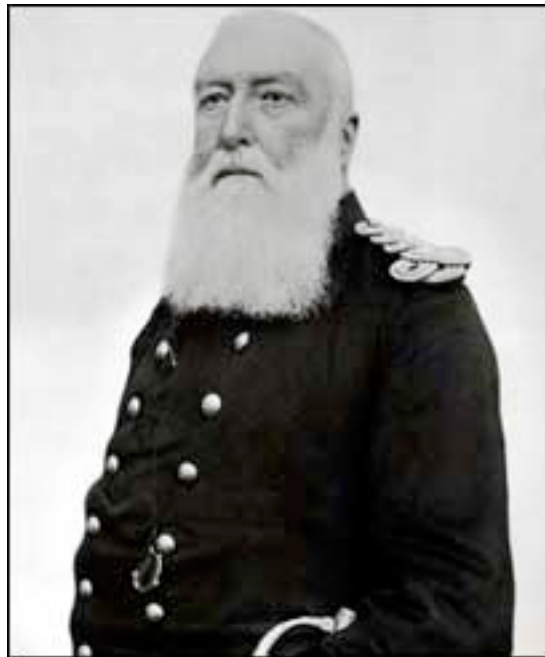


Librairie Larousse, 1898-1904

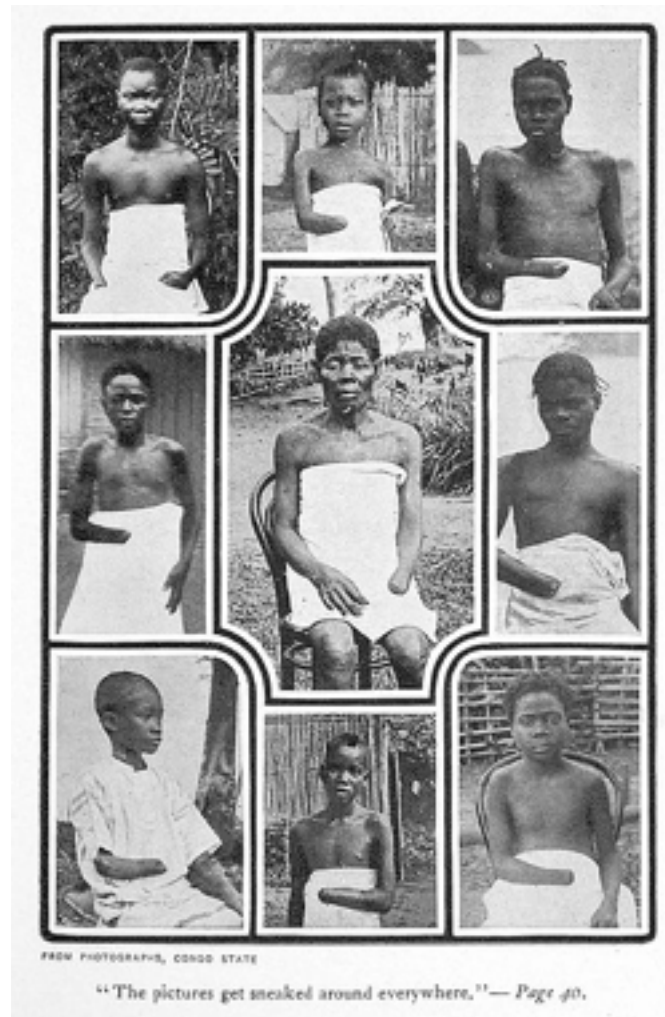
1898



# King Leopold and the “Congo Free State”



[news.bbc.co.uk](http://news.bbc.co.uk)



Mark Twain



Marc Ryckaert

# Implications of the Berlin Conference

Carved up Africa across ethnic homelands, e.g. Yorubaland

Signed international prohibition of slave trade

Doctrine of effective occupation opened the door for conquest and governing of African territories



# Effective occupation

(I) Carrot (Negotiated treaties): Europeans offered protection, commercial trading preferences

- \* Examples: Sierra Leone Protectorate, northern Rhodesia (Zambia)

(I) Stick (Punitive expeditions): Pure military conquest

- \* Examples: German genocide of the Hereros and Namaquas in SouthWestern Africa (Namibia)

# Strategies

## European strategies:

- ✓ Delegation through private sector: chartered companies were given sovereignty in return for organizing the initial framework
- ✓ Building armies by recruiting locals via ethnicity (Tiv in Nigeria, Acholi in Uganda, Kamba in Kenya)
- ✓ African collaborators through Chiefs
- ✓ Christian missions colonized hearts and minds

## Governing achieved?

Africans didn't surrender: Algerian uprisings, South Africa Zulu wars (1879), Sierra Leone hut-tax war (1898)...

# Inter-colonial differences: France vs. GB

	France	GB
Rule	Direct rule	Indirect rule
Focus	Pro-French elite	Education
Post-Independence	Continued involvement	No involvement

But everyone ruled through some intermediary

# Different views of colonialism

- Bula Matari (Curtin, Mamdani, Young): the colonial state as the crusher of rocks
- The benign European state and African agency (Bayart, Jackson): small, rudimentary bureaucracy



Q: Which is likely to have had a more significant effect on African conflict today?

- a. Slave trade
- b. Colonization



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**Next class: Independence**

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