

5-24-2013

# The Impact of War and Rivalry on State-Building in Uganda

John F. Clark

*African & African Diaspora Studies Program, Florida International University, clarkj@fiu.edu*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/africana\\_fac\\_pres](https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/africana_fac_pres)

---

## Recommended Citation

Clark, John F., "The Impact of War and Rivalry on State-Building in Uganda" (2013). *African & African Diaspora Studies Program Faculty Scholarly Presentations*. 15.  
[https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/africana\\_fac\\_pres/15](https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/africana_fac_pres/15)

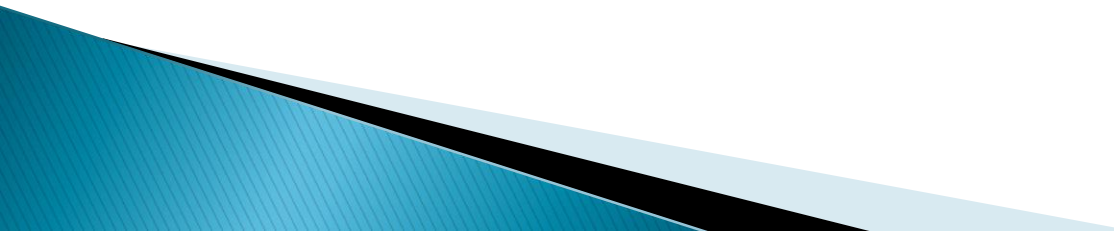
This work is brought to you for free and open access by the African and African Diaspora Studies at FIU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in African & African Diaspora Studies Program Faculty Scholarly Presentations by an authorized administrator of FIU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [dcc@fiu.edu](mailto:dcc@fiu.edu).

# The Impact of War and Rivalry on State-building in Uganda

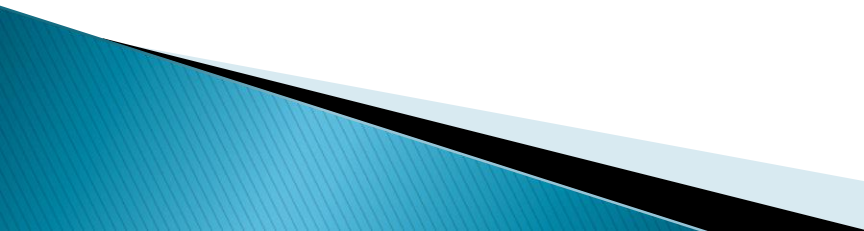
John F. Clark, Florida International University




# Master Question (and others)

- ▶ How has Uganda been affected by inter -state war in the DRC and its rivalries with its neighbors, Rwanda and Sudan?
  - ▶ Specifically, how has the Ugandan state been affected in its relation to society?
  - ▶ MORE specifically, has the state been strengthened?
- 


# Why might we think so?

- ▶ Charles Tilly, following others, has made a compelling argument linking war to state-building. In this evocative phrase:
  - ▶ “States make war, and war makes the state.”
  - ▶ This is a realist formulation
  - ▶ It begins with early Modern Europe
  - ▶ It applies well to the subsequent eras, including the industrial revolution and even the 20<sup>th</sup> century
- 

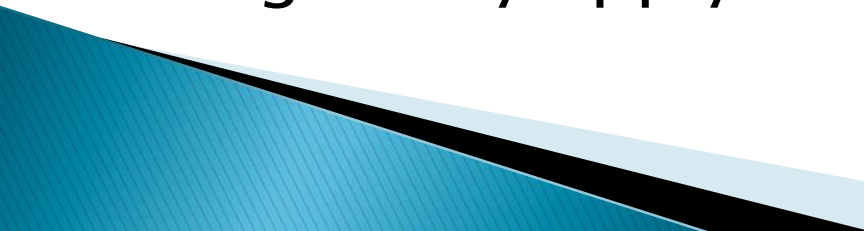
# How does war-making build the state?

1. **State control over society:** reinforced by the strengthening of military forces.
  2. **Extraction:** states want to extract resources from society, and war-making is a pretext.
  3. **Administration:** states must build up bureaucratic capacity to make war or defend against predation
  4. **Identity building:** fighting for the motherland makes Ugandans from peasants.
  5. **Infrastructure.** States need roads and railways to make war and control society.
- 

# Evidence in European and US state development

- ▶ Europe, Louis the XIV made peasants into Frenchmen through war.
  - ▶ Bismarck united Germany and defeated France with administration and railways.
  - ▶ The US escaped dependence on UK through war
  - ▶ The civil war concentrated power in the central federal govt.
  - ▶ State extraction reached all time highs in WWII, when the entire society was mobilized.
- 

# Does the logic apply to the developing world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

- ▶ Cameron Thies argues powerfully that the same logic applies today.
  - ▶ He shows how African states have been enfeebled by the lack of war (territorial change)
  - ▶ He shows that Latin American states have benefitted from rivalry.
  - ▶ Reno disagrees, pointing to collapsing states
  - ▶ Taylor and Botea say that it all depends, but logic may apply
- 

# Application to Uganda: methods challenges

- ▶ Comparing periods: 1990–1996, 1997–2003 and 2003–2009 (pre-war, war, and post-war)
- ▶ How can we assess state strength? Consider five different elements:
  1. (Growth in) State revenues (domestic)
  2. National unity: did regionalism die down?
  3. Army: did it get stronger?
  4. Administration: did it get better?
  5. Legitimacy: did the personalist regime of M7 gain greater social acceptance?



# Preliminary findings

1. **State revenues** continued to grow during period of war, but at a slower pace than before.
2. The country remained **disunited**, and did not rally to the regime in a war effort.
3. The **army** grew much larger, but became less disciplined, and was not very effective.
4. **Administration:** Kyarimpa study shows that reform efforts stalled in late 1990s.
5. M7 gets 74% (1996), 69% (2001) and then 59% (2006). State loses legitimacy in war.

# Why did war not lead to state-building in Uganda (if I am right)?

- ▶ National wars versus regime wars: the national not mobilized, but the regime was.
- ▶ Neither the DRC intervention nor the rivalries were inspired by IDEOLOGY. What was Uganda fighting for?
- ▶ Many Ugandans doubted official reasons for war (and Americans KNOW THE FEELING).
- ▶ Ugandans were more threatened by domestic terror (LRA) than by external rivals in 1997–2003.