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John F. Clark
African & African Diaspora Studies Program, Florida International University, clarkj@fiu.edu

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

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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?
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.”

The is a realist formulation

It begins with early Modern Europe

It applies well to the subsequent eras, including the industrial revolution and even the 20th 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 mother-land 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 21st century?

- Cameron Thies argues powerfully that the same logic applies today.
- He shows that 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 and challenges

- 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.

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.