

Charles tilly – war making and state making as organized crime



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Claim War making and state making are interdependent

Analogous to organised crime Protection Differentiate protection and racketeering

Used as a justification for govt

- protection from local and external violence BUT govt protection often qualifies as racketeering- create a threat and then charges for its reduction

- threats imaginary or a consequence of govt activities Legitimate and illegitimate force distinction makes no difference

Stinchcombe: legitimacy is the probability that other authorities will act to confirm the decisions of a given authority

more likely to be confirmed where the govt controls a substantial force distinction arose slowly

- see govt involvement in piracy General Argument pursuit of war involved power holders in the extraction of resources from populations and in the promotion of capital accumulation

war making, extraction and capital accumulation interacted to shape European state making

did not foresee the emergence of national states Effective war requires

capital Acquired by conquest, by selling assets, by coercion or by

dispossession developed a durable interest in promoting the accumulation of capital State changes resulted from

- difficulty of collecting taxes

- expense of armed force

- total war making required to hold off competitors Sovereigns sought

disarmament of Lords Tudors

Richelieu/Louis XIII Reliance on indirect rule was reduced by ... a. extending
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govt officialdom to the local community

b. encouraging the creation of police forces subordinate to the govt

mixed strategies - cajoling, subjugating, dividing, buying

- tax exemptions

honorifics

four different state organised crime activities

1. war making

2. state making

3. protection

4. extraction

al dependent on the state's tendency to monopolise the concentrated means of coercion

Extraction from plunder to tribute to taxation

Idealised sequence

War making

>>> territorial dominance

Increased extraction

Increased capacity to extract

extraction >>> neutralisation or elimination of rivals

>>> organisation of agencies >>> state making

War making >>> state making through the expansion of military

organisation

alliances formed with specific social classes

>>> who then loaned resources and provided support, ensuring society's

compliance in return for a measure of protection

Became a distinctive state apparatus

Implications for the development of national states
1. popular resistance to war making and state making made a difference

- resistance led to concessions > rights, representative institutions, courts of appeal

- concessions constrained later state and war making

2. relative balance between 4 elements significantly affected the organisation of the state which emerged

- WM prevalence >>> military play a larger part

- P prevalence - oligarchies of protected classes

- SM prevalence - policing and surveillance emphasis

Pre 20th Century - WM unlikely to disappear

>>> lending/buying war making

Simplified Model neglects external influences
1. Flow of resources: loans and supplies

- especially those devoted to WM

2. competition for hegemony in disputed territories

- stimulated WM

3. intermittent coalitions

- forcing states into certain forms and positions

why war? larger scale logic of aggrandisement

a. differential success in external struggles establishes the difference between internal and external arenas for the deployment of force

b. external competition generates internal state making

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c. external alliances influence form of states even more powerfully

- LoN extended Euro process to the world

States outside Europe developed differently differences in military organisation

Europe: military apparatus build through struggles with citizens and through selective external engagement

Rest: decolonisation

- military organisation acquired from outside the state, without forging of mutual constraints

- powerful, unconstrained organisations

advantages of military power become larger

- incentives to seize power over the state are very strong

- disproportion between military and other forms of organisation ONCHARLES

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