The sources of social power

VOLUME 3
Global empires and revolution, 1890–1945

Distinguishing four sources of power in human societies – ideological, economic, military, and political – this series traces their interrelations throughout history. This third volume of Michael Mann’s analytical history of social power begins with nineteenth-century global empires and continues with a global history of the twentieth century up to 1945. Mann focuses on the interrelated development of capitalism, nation-states, and empires. Volume 3 discusses the “Great Divergence” between the fortunes of the West and the rest of the world; the self-destruction of European and Japanese power in two world wars; the Great Depression; the rise of American and Soviet power; the rivalry between capitalism, socialism, and fascism; and the triumph of a reformed and democratic capitalism.

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Preface

I embarked on this project in the early 1980s, intent on producing a single book on power relations in human societies. It was intended to contain a few empirical case studies that would accompany some theoretical reflections on power. However, the case studies grew and grew into a four-volume historical narrative of power relations. Volume 1, published in 1986, contained a history of power in human societies from the beginning to just before the Industrial Revolution. At that point, I intended to produce only a second volume that would bring the story up to the present time. That volume also grew uncontrollably, and indeed, when it was published in 1993, it only covered the most advanced countries of the world in the period 1760–1914. I have been at work on Volumes 3 and 4 since 1993 – although my work was interrupted by several forays that produced books on fascism, ethnic cleansing, and American foreign policy. In Volume 3, I decided I had to rectify an omission in Volume 2, the neglect of the global empires created by the most advanced countries. These are, of course, essential for an understanding of modern societies. Consequently, this present volume starts in the empires well before 1914 and finishes in 1945. This meant that a Volume 4 would be necessary, taking my narrative of power from 1945 to the present day. As I have been working on these two volumes alongside each other, Volume 4 will be published a few months after this one.

I hope the reader will excuse this story of much-delayed culmination. I am an incurable empiricist who must support every generalization made with a mass of supporting data. This has involved a great deal of research.

I would like to thank numerous people for the aid they have given me in writing this book. Above all, I want to thank John A. Hall, friend and ever-supportive critic of everything I write. Ralph Schroeder, too, has been a great help and critic. Bill Domhoff has been extraordinarily helpful for years in sharing his profound historical knowledge of American policy making. He has helped greatly with Chapter 8. Barry Eichengreen provided helpful comments on Chapter 7 and reassured me that I had roughly understood the work of economists on the Great Depression.

I have been a Professor at the University of California at Los Angeles throughout the writing of this book. I am grateful to the Department of Sociology for providing me with such a congenial and collegial academic home and to the Department and the University for its generosity in providing me with research funds and time off for writing. I have also been privileged to have taught many
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talented UCLA students. In my classes, we have often discussed topics contained in this volume, and included in the weekly reading have been several draft chapters of this volume. They may not realize how much their papers and the general class discussions have helped me improve my arguments.

I should also acknowledge the stimulation provided by the Sociology 237 seminar, begun by Ivan Szelenyi and continued by myself and my colleagues Rogers Brubaker, Andreas Wimmer, and CK Lee. Bob Brenner and Perry Anderson have been a constant source of stimulation in the seminar series of the Center for Social Theory and Comparative History, as have the distinguished scholars invited to the Center to present papers. Conveniently for me, these have touched upon most of the topics considered in this book, so they helped me understand them better. The reader will note the large number of works cited in my bibliography. Reading them would not have been possible without UCLA’s wonderful University Research Library, now renamed the Charles E. Young Research Library.

Nicky Hart has been my main source of support for more than thirty years, and she and our children, Louise, Gareth, and Laura, have helped make my life worth living.