

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-02865-4 - The Sources of Social Power: Global Empires and
Revolution, 1890–1945: Volume 3
Michael Mann
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

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.

Michael Mann is Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is the author of *Power in the 21st Century: Conversations with John Hall* (2011), *Incoherent Empire* (2003), and *Fascists* (Cambridge 2004). His book *The Dark Side of Democracy* (Cambridge 2004) was awarded the Barrington Moore Award of the American Sociological Association for the best book in comparative and historical sociology in 2006.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02865-4 - The Sources of Social Power: Global Empires and
Revolution, 1890–1945: Volume 3

Michael Mann

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02865-4 - The Sources of Social Power: Global Empires and
Revolution, 1890–1945: Volume 3

Michael Mann

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The sources of social power

VOLUME 3

**Global empires and revolution,
1890–1945**

MICHAEL MANN

University of California, Los Angeles



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-107-02865-4 - The Sources of Social Power: Global Empires and
 Revolution, 1890–1945: Volume 3
 Michael Mann
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
 Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA
www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107655478

© Michael Mann 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
 no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
 permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Mann, Michael, 1942–

The sources of social power / Michael Mann.

v. cm.

Contents: v. 1. A history of power from the beginning to AD 1760 – v. 2. The rise of
 classes and nation-states, 1760–1914 – v. 3. Global empires and revolution, 1890–1945 –
 v. 4. Globalizations, 1945–2011.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-03117-3 (hardback : v. 1) – ISBN 978-1-107-63597-5 (pbk. : v. 1) –

ISBN 978-1-107-03118-0 (hardback : v. 2) – ISBN 978-1-107-67064-8 (pbk. : v. 2) –

ISBN 978-1-107-02865-4 (hardback : v. 3) – ISBN 978-1-107-65547-8 (pbk. : v. 3) –

ISBN 978-1-107-02867-8 (hardback : v. 4) – ISBN 978-1-107-61041-5 (pbk. : v. 4)

1. Social history. 2. Power (Social sciences) I. Title.

HN8.M28 2012

306.09–dc23 2012028452

ISBN 978-1-107-02865-4 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-65547-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs
 for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not
 guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-107-02865-4 - The Sources of Social Power: Global Empires and
 Revolution, 1890–1945: Volume 3
 Michael Mann
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Contents

<i>Preface</i>		page vii
1	Introduction	1
2	Globalization imperially fractured: The British Empire	17
3	America and its empire in the Progressive Era, 1890–1930	58
4	Asian empires: Fallen dragon, rising sun	100
5	Half-global crisis: World War I	129
6	Explaining revolutions: Phase 1, proletarian revolutions, 1917–1923	167
7	A half-global crisis: Explaining the Great Depression	208
8	The new deal: America shifts left	241
9	The development of social citizenship in capitalist democracies	280
10	The Fascist alternative, 1918–1945	315
11	The Soviet alternative, 1918–1945	347
12	Japanese imperialism, 1930–1945	371
13	Explaining the Chinese revolution	398
14	The last interimperial war, 1939–1945	423
15	Conclusion	457
<i>Bibliography</i>		467
<i>Index</i>		505

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02865-4 - The Sources of Social Power: Global Empires and
Revolution, 1890–1945: Volume 3

Michael Mann

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-02865-4 - The Sources of Social Power: Global Empires and
Revolution, 1890–1945: Volume 3
Michael Mann
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

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

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02865-4 - The Sources of Social Power: Global Empires and
Revolution, 1890–1945: Volume 3

Michael Mann

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii Preface

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.