

#### Global Powers

Michael Mann is a central figure in contemporary sociology. His analysis of how the four sources of social power – ideological, economic, military and political – have shaped world history is a major contribution to social science. In this volume, distinguished scholars assess Mann's work, focusing on his final two volumes of *Sources of Social Power* which deal with the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. They tackle some of the major themes in Mann's work including globalization, American empire and the recent financial crisis. They also question his stance on some perennial topics in sociology: is the trajectory of American society 'exceptional'? How is military power different from other sources of power? What is the role of agency and ideology in social change? How do the relations between states affect domestic social development? *Global Powers* will provoke debate among all those interested in understanding the next phase of globalization.

Ralph Schroeder is a professor at the Oxford Internet Institute, University of Oxford.



## Global Powers

Michael Mann's Anatomy of the Twentieth Century and Beyond

Edited by Ralph Schroeder

University of Oxford





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107450561

© Cambridge University Press 2016

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 2016

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Schroeder, Ralph, editor.

Global powers: Michael Mann's anatomy of the twentieth century and beyond / edited by Ralph Schroeder.

Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. | Includes index.

LCCN 2015041406 | ISBN 9781107086142 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781107450561 (paperback)

LCSH: Mann, Michael, 1942– Sources of power. | Social history. | Historical sociology. | Power (Social sciences) | Political sociology. | Sociology – Philosophy.

LCC HN8 .M284 2016 | DDC 306.09-dc23

LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2015041406

ISBN 978-1-107-08614-2 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-45056-1 Paperback

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



### Contents

	List of contributors	page vii
1	Introduction RALPH SCHROEDER	1
Part l	Theory and history	9
2	The evolution of the sources of social power, and some extensions RISTO HEISKALA	11
3		11
3	DENNIS SMITH	38
4	Taming the chief: from evolutionary theory to political ideology	
	GEORGI DERLUGUIAN, TIMOTHY EARLE, AND WILL RENG	62
Part l	II Political, economic, military and ideological ions	87
5	On political decency JOHN A. HALL	89
6	Mann on neoliberalism MONICA PRASAD	107
7	Nationalism and military power in the twentieth century and beyond SINIŠA MALEŠEVIĆ	117
8	History, historical sociology and the problem of ideology the cases of communism and neoliberalism DAVID PRIESTLAND	: 143

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

v



vi	Contents	
9	Mann's globalizations and their limits RALPH SCHROEDER	164
Part I	II American exceptionalism	183
10	Ethnicity, class and the social sources of US exceptionalism LILIANA RIGA	185
11	Mann's big picture of US social citizenship: "Road to World Empire" with Bob Hope EDWIN AMENTA	209
Part IV Empire		227
12	Mann and the problem of empire JOHN DARWIN	229
13	Hegemonic power during the Cold War and beyond ODD ARNE WESTAD	246
14	The last empire? American power, liberalism, and world order	
	G. JOHN IKENBERRY	256
Part V	Response	279
15	Response to the critics MICHAEL MANN	281
	Index	323



### Contributors

- EDWIN AMENTA is Professor of Sociology and Political Science at the University of California, Irvine.
- JOHN DARWIN is Professor of Global and Imperial History at the University of Oxford.
- GEORGI DERLUGUIAN is Professor of Social Research and Public Policy at New York University, Abu Dhabi.
- TIMOTHY EARLE is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Anthropology at Northwestern University.
- JOHN A. HALL is the James McGill Professor of Comparative Historical Sociology at McGill University.
- RISTO HEISKALA is Professor and Director of the Institute for Advanced Social Research at the University of Tampere.
- G. JOHN IKENBERRY is the Albert G. Milbank Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University.
- SINIŠA MALEŠEVIĆ is Professor of Sociology at University College Dublin.
- MICHAEL MANN is Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles.
- MONICA PRASAD is Professor of Sociology and Faculty Fellow at the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern University.
- DAVID PRIESTLAND is Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford.
- WILL RENO is Professor in the Department of Political Science at Northwestern University.
- LILIANA RIGA is Lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of Edinburgh.

vii



viii List of contributors

RALPH SCHROEDER is Professor at the Oxford Internet Institute at the University of Oxford.

DENNIS SMITH is Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the University of Loughborough.

ODD ARNE WESTAD is ST Lee Professor of US–Asian Relations at Harvard University.