

# Index

Abbott, Andrew, 219 adaptive radiation, 66 Affordable Care Act, 219, 222 After Victory (Ikenberry), 292 agrarian societies/movements capitalism's emergence in, 78 chieftaincy in, 73 in China, 21-22 US interventions and, 296 alien labour, 187-188, 190-191, 192-193, 194-195, 201-202, 203-204. See also Americanization Movement Amenta, Edwin on American welfare state, 5-6 Mann's response to, 319-320 on redistributive policies, 205 American empire. See also empire; liberal hegemony characterisation of, 242-244 Europe/East Asia and, 266 geographic insularity and, 265 globalization and, 165-168 hegemonic role of, 259-260 as hierarchical, 260 as 'informal empire,' 165-166, 242-244 as last empire, 256-258 militarism/interventionism, 272-274 origins of, 262-267 as post-imperial global power, 257-258 in post-war world, 275-276 shift to "international order," 260-262 support for national movements, 266-267 universal principles and, 265-266 American Exceptionalism, 3, 5, 185, 186-187, 205, 221-222, 319 Americanization Movement. See also alien as culturally disciplining project, 205-206 ethnic diversity and, 188 industrial labour and, 188

in nation building, 187 scale of, 189-190 American politics, 318-320 An Anatomy of Power: The Social Theory of Michael Mann (Hall and Schroeder) critical assessment of, 1 on ideological power, 1-2 on IEMP framework, 146 war as topic in, 2 Anderson, Perry, 38, 48, 89 Anglophone countries consumer citizenship and, 172-173 disembedded markets in, 170–171 global order and, 311 neoliberalism and, 318 social citizenship in, 168 Annan, Kofi, 298 Applied Sociology (Runciman), 53 Argentina, 154, 155 Aron, Raymond, 94, 103 artefactual power, 32-33, 288-290. See also NACEMP model (natural, artefactual, cultural, economic, military and political power sources) austerity policies, 26-27 Austria-Hungary, 17-18, 128, 309, 310 authoritarian power, 313, 314 authoritative ideologies/system, 144, 146-147, 154, 284, 316 authoritative power, 12-13, 29-30, 45, 316-317 Axial Age, 82 Badiou, Alain, 102-103 banks

after Bretton Woods, 158

deregulation of, 158-159

neoliberalism and, 285, 316

Chinese, 253

regulation of, 285

Barkey, Karen, 291

Bartov, O., 134, 137

323



# 324 Index

Bayley, Christopher, 2-3, 38 Bell, Daniel, 91 Bendix, Reinhard, 11 Beveridge Plan, 25-26 Billig, M., 132 Binghampton University, 51 Blair, Tony, 96 Bloch, Marc, 56 Bolshevik revolution/Bolshevism, 68, 90, 137, 192, 300-301, 319, 320-321 Boltanski, L., 156 Bourdieu, P., 155-156 Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 298 Braudel, Fernand, 38, 56 Brenner, Robert, 110 Bretton-Woods Conference, 22-23, 158, 160 Breuilly, J., 126 Britain/Great Britain concentration of capital, 90 empire of, 243-244, 260-261 endorsement of Empire, 97-98 fractured imperialism and, 238-239 liberal order building of, 270, 271–272 on liberal-repressive continuum, 186 neoliberalism and, 151-152, 160 racism of, 240-241 rise of nation-state in, 17-18 state-building and, 266-267 Brunschvicg, Leon, 94 Bryant, Joseph, 149 Burawoy, Michael as advocate, 56-57 in 'big' historical sociology, 38 biographical/academic context, 43-44 use of foresight, 57-58 business enterprises, coercive power of, 120 caging concept/effect, 16, 18, 29-30, 31, 66, 126, 311 capitalism. See also China as condition for political decency, 98-99 cultural embedding in, 187 dominant ideologies in, 146-147 flight to globalization, 77-81 future of, 28 historic breakthrough of, 74 life cycle of, 50-51 militarism, alliance with, 236-237 organizational principles of, 156-157 survival of, 54 transnational, 256, 261, 267, 311 capitalist-industrial nation-state system alternative to, 21–22 consolidation of, 20 power sources in, 31

Capitalizing on Crisis (Krippner), 111 Carter, Jimmy, 23-24 Castles, Francis, 212 centrifugal ideologisation, 130-131, 135, 138-139 Chicago School, 51 chieftaincy, 66-67, 68-69, 71-72, 84 agrarian revolution, 21-22 alternative world-systems and, 22 capitalism and, 6-7, 28 economic growth/expansion of, 252-255, 301-302 in global-hierarchy of power, 176 Mann's analysis of, 290-291 outsourcing to, 79 totalitarianism and, 76 Chivvis, Christopher, 114-115 Chong, Ian, 266-267 Christianity as authoritative ideology, 146-147 expansion of, 311 Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy and, 84 in modern state, 1-2 role of, 14, 74 class-consciousness, 44, 57, 77-81 classes. See middle-class; working class/ working middle class climate change, 171-172, 307-308 coercion of alien labour, 191-192 by banks, 306 mode of, 47, 48 by non-state entities, 120 organizational power and, 119-125, 129-130, 139-140 types of, 121-122 Coercion Capital and European States, AD 990-1990 (Tilly), 42 Coker, C., 124-125 Cold War competition for control during, 6-7 endings/final phase, 250-252 imperial order in, 165 liberal analysis of, 146-147 liberalism in, 262-263 MAD capability, 24 origins of, 247-250 US dominance and, 165 collective power analysis of, 12-13 chieftaincy and, 66-67 vs. distributive power, 32, 306 infrastructural power and, 113 of nation-states, 40



neoliberalism and, 318 of professoriate, 68 recession and, 318	Diamond, Jared, 33–34 diffused power, 12–13, 29–30, 45, 316–317 disembedded markets, 164–165, 169,
science/technology and, 32, 287, 288	170–171
social evolution and, 65-67	distributive power, analysis of, 12–13
Collins, R., 136–137, 146, 170, 287	Does Capitalism Have a Future? (Wallerstein
colonialist globalization, 20–21	et al), 50, 54
Communism. See also Cold War; Marxism-	Domhoff, William, 213, 216
Leninism	Durkheim, Emile, 32, 93, 94, 304
cultural hegemony and, 157	
ideological power in, 147, 156	Earle, Timothy, 4, 283–284
ideology networks in, 146–147	economic contagion, fear of, 264
competitive selection, 47	economic crisis
compulsory cooperation, 232–233	influence of, 215–216
connectedness, of communities, 231–232	neoliberalism and, 6
Consciousness and Action Among the Western	of 1970s, 158–159
Working Class (Mann), 44, 56	triggers of, 110–111
constitutional design, 99–100	economic hegemony
consumer citizenship	cycle of, 50–51
in Anglophone countries, 172–173	of US, 23, 54
globalizing modernity and, 172–173	economic power. See also IEMP model
Mann on, 286	(ideological, economic, military and
contingency, role of, 320–322	political power sources)
corvee labour, 15	American/US, 167, 297–299
Crouch, C., 177	asymmetries of, 168, 176–177
cultural diversity. See also Americanization	in communist regimes, 156
Movement	vs. ideological power, 147
nationalism and, 127–128	in IEMP model, 14
in nation building, 186–187	in institutions, 148
socialism and, 206	Mann on, 284
cultural sever severes 32. See also	state policies and, 316
cultural power sources, 33. See also	Eley, Geoff, 143–144
NACEMP model (natural, artefac-	Elias, Norbert, 38
tual, cultural, economic, military	elites
and political power sources) Cultural Revolution, 21–22	behavior of, 103
cultural selection, 47	in integrated world, 102 empire. See also American empire
cultural turn, excesses of, 143	compulsory cooperation in, 232–233
cultural turn, excesses of, 149	connectedness of communities in,
The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining	231–232
Ethnic Cleansing (Mann), 2, 43, 56,	defeated, 76
90, 133	definition/scale of, 230
Darwin, Charles, 46–47, 67, 93–94	end/breakdown of, 239–240
Darwin, John, 6, 291–292	'fractured imperialism,' 166, 234–235,
decency. See political decency	238–239
della Porta, D., 135	industrial capitalism and, 236–237
deregulation	informal empire, 244
in China, 254	logistics and, 230–231
of financial sector, 26, 158–159	Mann on, 291–292
globalization and, 79	militarist culture in, 235-236
Great Neoliberal Recession and,	nationalist movements and, 241-242
26–27, 111	origins of, 230
Derluguian, Georgi, 4, 283–284	racism, function of, 240-241
despotic power, 66–67, 108, 109, 113, 114.	reconsolidation, appeal of, 233-234
See also chieftaincy	resurgence of interest in, 229-230



#### 326 Index

empire (cont.) Freeden, Michael, 152-154 free trade, 297-299 role of, 6 typology of, 293 Freud, Sigmund, 93-94 unrayeling of, 273 Fukuvama, Francis, 65, 91 US as 'incoherent empire,' 23, 24-25 varieties of, 258-262 Gallagher, J., 232, 237 GATT (General Agreement on Trade and environmental challenge, 27, 35. See also climate change Tariffs), 297-298 Gellner, Ernest, 99-100, 126 Esping-Andersen, G., 25, 212, 215, 222 ethnic immigrants. See alien labour gender, analysis of, 34-35 "The Geographical Pivot of History" European Coal and Steel Union, 20 (Mackinder), 300 European empires dominance of, 165 Germany. See also Nazism rise and fall of, 19-20, 256 fascism in, 303 settler colonialism, 236-237 nationalism and, 129 social citizenship and, 223 rise of nation-state in, 17-18 evolutionist theory, 3-4. See also social G. I. Bill of Rights, 214 evolution Giddens, Anthony, 12, 38 exceptionalism (US). See American Global Empires and Revolution (Mann), Exceptionalism 40-41, 42 global history, as historians' focus, 2-3 exclusion/repression of alien labour, 194-195, 196, 203-204 globalization/globalizations creation of political consciousness, 103 American empire and, 165-168 political nature of, 202-203 analysis of Mann's, 165-169 expenditures, on military power, 123 capitalism's flight to, 77-81 extensive vs. intensive power, 12-13 debates about, 164 Eyskens, Mark, 14 economic power in, 168 in social theory, 164-165 fascism sociological treatment of, 2-3 collapse of, 22, 313 at transnational/global level, 180 death toll under, 21 Globalizations (Mann), 41 defeated empires and, 76 globalizing modernity fear of, 321-322 class relations in, 177-178 ideological unity of, 134-135, 137, 310 climate change and, 171-172 rise of, 22, 104-105, 133 consumer citizenship and, 172-173 simplified ideologies, 303-304 core/periphery economic relations in, state elites and, 213-214 176-177 cultural change in, 173 victory over, 62 Fascists (Mann), 2, 43, 133 disembedded markets in, 169, Fault Lines (Rajan), 111 170 - 171Fernand Braudel Center (Binghamton economic inequality in, 169 University), 51 geopolitics/geo-economics in, 176 financialization. See also neoliberalism military power in, 175 disembedded markets and, 171 neoliberalism and, 170-171 Mann's analysis of, 107-108, 109 political power in, 169-170 Mann's argument for, 110 religious fundamentalism and, 170 financial markets social developments and, 174-175 deregulation of, 158-159

expansion of, 252

Fox, Cybelle, 204

instabilities of, 165, 179 power struggles in, 158-159

Foucault, Michel, 3, 30, 31, 154

'fractured imperialism,' 234-235, 238-239, 242

technoscientific culture and, 171-172

at transnational/global level, 180 transnational movements in, 169-170

Western-centrism and, 173-175

Goldstone, Jack, 2

global recession, 26-27. See also "Great Neoliberal Recession"; Great



Gorbachev, Mikhail. See also Soviet Union	in IEMP model, 13–14
(USSR)	Islamist fundamentalism and, 283,
nuclear arms reduction treaty, 24	302–303, 317
perestroika's failure, 79	Mann's analysis of, 94–95, 283, 302–305
political leadership of, 96	in modern world, 89–90
reform proposals of, 147, 150–151,	ideologies
157–158	classification of, 91
Gorski, Philip, 146–147	Mann's treatment of, 144–145
Gramsci, A., 157	metatheoretical options, 91–94
Great Depression, 27, 78, 210, 212–213, 218	morphological approach to, 152–154
"Great Neoliberal Recession," 26–27, 111.	naturalism, 93–94
See also neoliberalism	of social support, 92–93
Great Recession	ideologisation, centrifugal, 130–131, 135,
capitalist bail outs, 81	138–139
Mann's analysis of, 177–178	IEMP model (ideological, economic, mili-
Prasad on, 311–312, 318	tary and political power sources)
Great Society legislation, 222	advancement of, 109
Greenspan, Alan, 110–111	changes over time, 145, 147–148
Guevara, Che, 298	dismissal of, 146
	economic power in, 14
Hall, John	to explain financial crisis, 111–112
on irrationality, 321	ideological power in, 13–14
on liberal regimes, 4	limits of, 117
Mann's response to, 304	Mann's use of, 15, 215–216, 288–290
Harvey, David, 79	military power in, 14–15
Hayek, Friedrich, 114, 115–116, 152, 317	Ikenberry, John
health care coverage, 6	on benefits of American empire, 6–7,
hegemony. See American empire; economic	175
hegemony; liberal hegemony	Mann's response to, 292-300
Heiskala, Risto, 1, 3, 288-290, 314	immanent ideologies, 90, 91
Hicks, Alexander, 211, 213	immanent morale, 13-14, 73
higher education. See universities	imperialism, European, 20
historical sociology	"The Imperialism of Free Trade"
Bendix on, 11	(Gallagher and Robinson), 237
Golden Age of, 63, 64–65	inclusion, political consciousness
grand syntheses and, 143	and, 103
micro-level analyses, 132-133	incoherent empire, 23, 24-25
post WW II reconstruction, 62-63	Incoherent Empire (Mann), 56, 297
socio-structural approaches, 143-144	India, Mann's analysis of, 290-291
Hobsbawn, Eric, 38, 246	individualism, 92-93, 143, 147, 148, 160,
Hobson, John, 173–174	304, 305
Hooks, G., 214	industrial labour. See also alien labour
Hopkins, Harry, 216-217	Americanization Movement and, 188
Hopkins, Terence, 53	progressivism and, 186–187
Huber, E., 210, 213	industrial revolution, capitalism and, 78
Hull, Cordell, 24	informal empire
Hume, David, 91–92	America as, 165–166, 244, 256–257
humiliation, dynamics of, 42–43	economic gains in, 269
Huntington, Samuel, 65	as empire type, 258–259
Transmigron, Camaci, 03	gunboat diplomacy and, 295
identity politics, 28-29	infrastructural power, 108, 313–318
ideological power. See also IEMP model	intellectuals, importance of, 102–103
(ideological, economic, military and	intensive power, 12–13
political power sources)	internationalist project, 257, 270–271,
in Communism, 147, 156	272, 275
, · , • - ·	



### 328 Index

International Monetary Fund (IMF) establishment of, 22-23 as multilateral institution, 268 neoliberalism and, 285 shared dominance through, 297 under US control, 252 international relations theory, 100-101, 173-174, 176-177 Iraq, US war in, 128-129, 251, 258, 274, 294, 297, 307, 315 irrationality, role of, 96, 320-322 Islamism/Islamist fundamentalism America and, 297, 321-322 ideological power and, 283, 302-303, 317 in modern state, 1-2 political change and, 170 terrorism causes, 297 Italy, 21, 40-41

Janowitz, M., 136 Japan colonialism of, 21 nationalist culture, 134 Jaspers, Karl, 82 Johnson, Lyndon, 222 Johnson, Samuel, 99

Kant, Immanuel, 91–92, 94, 97 Keck, M., 170 Keynes, John Maynard, 22–23, 94, 99 Keynesianism, 109–110, 167 Khrushchev, Nikita, 150–151, 156, 157–158, 253 Kiser, E., 133 Kitschelt, Herbert, 156 knowledge, as power, 67–68 Korpi, Walter, 210, 213 Krippner, Greta, 110, 111

Krishnan, A., 124-125

labour, outsourced, 122
labour movement. See also alien labour
cultural diversity of, 187
repression of, 185, 186
weakness of, 185
Lachmann, Richard, 73, 78
Laitin, D., 2
Lamarck, Jean-Baptiste, 67
Latour, Bruno, 3, 32
leading-edge, of power, 41, 42, 112–113
Lenin, Vladimir, on revolution, 21–22
liberal hegemony. See also American empire
distribution of economic gains, 268–269

integrative tendencies, 267-268 liberal internationalism, 272 shared leadership, 268 tolerance of diversity, 269 Westphalian project, 97, 257, 270-271, 272, 275 liberal internationalist project, 257, 270-271, 272, 275 liberalism, balance of political power and, 90 - 91Liberal Leviathan (Ikenberry), 292 "lib-lab welfare regime," 185, 211, 212, 214-215 Lieberman, Victor, 38 Lieven, Dominic, 38 Linnaeus, Carl, 46-47 Logics of History (Sewell), 154 Long March, 21-22 Lundestad, Geir, 167, 262 Lustick, Ian, 217

macro-historical frameworks, 64-65, 146, 154, 156, 161 MAD (mutually assured destruction), 24, 27 - 28Malesevic, Sinisa Mann's response to, 303-304, 305-310 on military force/power, 4-5 Mann, Michael. See also Consciousness and Action Among the Western Working Class (Mann); The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing (Mann); Fascists (Mann); Global Empires and Revolution (Mann); Globalizations (Mann); IEMP model (ideological, economic, military and political power sources); Incoherent Empire (Mann); The Sources of Social Power (Mann) on American welfare state, 5-6

Mackinder, Halford, 300

analytical/theoretical tools of, 29–30, 39 biographical/academic context, 1, 43–44, 63–64 concepts of/conception of power, 11–12, 31 contingent explanation, reliance on, 218, 222–223 as dedicated empiricist, 43–45 as examining magistrate, 56, 291 on free-floating ideology, 2 on future of capitalism, 28 on gender, 34–35 global purview of, 2–3



grand theory, distrust of, 30 on ideologies/ideological power,	informational controls and, 315–316 of party-states, 313–314
94–95, 283	technological/social structures, 314
on infrastructural power, 108, 113	on military power
introduction to work of, 1	civil wars and, 307
on 'leading edge' of power, 112-113, 145	coercion in, 306–307
micro-level analyses of, 133	micro-solidarity and, 309–310
on military force/power, 4–5, 63–64, 283	spending on, 308–309
on 1968 protests, 78	in 20th century wars, 309
as political historian, 19	on nation-states, 310–311
on political power, 121, 283	on neoliberalism, 311–312, 318
on regimes of inequality, 169	Mao Zedong, 21–22
on revolution, 21	markets. See disembedded markets; financial markets
on role of empire, 6	
on role of ideology/culture, 5	Marshall, T. H.
on social evolution, 4, 68–69	on class inequalities, 319
'track-laying vehicle' conception of, 149	forms of citizenship, 25
use of foresight, 57–58	on social citizenship, 286
use of secondary sources, 216–217	on social stratification, 46
US focus of, 5	on welfare programs, 211–212
Mann, Michael, response to critics	Marwick, Arthur, 214
on American empire	Marx, Karl
capitalism vs. democracy in, 296	on decency, 97
constitutional institutionalism,	determinist theory of, 104
299–300	'economic' term use, 14
vs. European Union, 293	historical sociology and, 11
as hegemon, 292–293, 300	in Mann's conception of power, 13
military interventions, 293–294, 296	on moral unity, 93
post-war super powers, 300–302	on revolution, 21–22
trade and treaties, 297–299	Marxian-Weberian model, 146, 154, 155,
typologies of, 293	156, 157
on American politics, 318–320	Marxism-Leninism
on climate change, 307–308	dominant ideologies in, 146-147
on contingency and irrationality,	Gorbachev's reforms and, 151
320–322	ideological tensions in, 157
on empire, 291–292	types of, 149–150, 153
on general theory	Marxist world-systems theory, 3–4
consumer citizenship in, 286	material structures, 32–33
economic power relations, 284–286	McClymer, John, 189–190
evolutionary psychology in, 290	McFarlane, Alan, 1
gender relations in, 290	McGarry, J., 99–100
IEMP/NACEMP models, 288–290	McNeill, J. R., 33–34
multi-causality in model, 282-283	McNeill, William, 33-34
neglect of China/India, 284–286	McQueen, B., 214
neglect of human emotion in, 290	Medicare/Medicaid, 222
science/technology in, 286	Merchant, Soldier, Sage (Priestland), 302-303
social evolutionary lens, 283-284	micro-solidarity, of soldiers, 137-138
on globalization, 312–313	middle-class. See also working class/working
on ideological power, 302-305	middle class
on infrastructural power	push for progressive change, 96
in democratic system, 315	technological revolution and, 110
diffused power and, 316-317	universities and, 67–68
economic power and, 316	military power. See also chieftaincy; IEMP
elite fractionalism and, 314–315	model (ideological, economic, mili-
ideological movements and, 317	tary and political power sources)



# 330 Index

military power (cont.) American's global reach, 175 civil wars and, 307 coercion in, 119-125, 306-307 in IEMP model, 14-15 micro-solidarity and, 309-310 military expenditures, 123 relevance of, 118-119 social change and, 4-5 in social transformations, 118 sociological engagement with, 2 spending on, 308-309 in 20th century wars, 309 Mill, John Stuart, 96 Mises, Ludwig von, 116 modernity. See globalizing modernity The Modern World-System (Wallerstein), 49-50 Montesquieu, Charles de, 92, 93 Moore, Barrington macro-historical sociology of, 3-4 Mann and, 56 on social stratification, 46 on working class, 44 multinational federations, conditions for, 99-100 mutually assured destruction (MAD), 24 NACEMP model (natural, artefactual, cultural, economic, military and political power sources) artefactual power, 32-33 cultural power, 33 environmental problems analysis, 35 gender analysis, 34-35 Mann's response to, 288-290 natural power, 33-34 nationalism. See also military power centrifugal ideologisation, 130-131 coercive power and, 129-130, 139-140 cultural diversity and, 127-128 expansion of, 131-132 Gellner's theory of, 99-100 Mann's theory of, 125-127 within rising powers, 102 National Labor Relations Act, 212 nation building cultural diversity in, 187 redistributive policies in, 205 social progress in, 186 working class formation, 204 nation-states capitalist-industrial system of, 20, 21-22, 31collective power of, 40

Mann on, 310-311 as petty empires, 230 political power in, 169-170 rise of, 17-18, 39-40 naturalistic view of man, 93 natural power, 33-34, 288-290. See also NACEMP model (natural, artefactual, cultural, economic, military and political power sources) natural selection, 47 Nazism, 20-21, 134, 137-138 Neitzel, S., 137 neoliberalism. See also "Great Neoliberal Recession" as evolutionary anomaly, 83-84 of Havek, 114 ideological tensions in, 151-152 infrastructural power and, 113 Mann's analysis of, 109-110 power of, 153 price signals and, 115-116 responses to, 160 rise of, 26 of Rueff, 114-115 state power and, 112-113 networks of power, 112, 145-146 New Deal in exceptionalism debate, 5-6 Great Depression and, 27 Mann's analysis of, 217 as permanent reform, 218 policy failures of, 219 social citizenship rights and, 211-212 New Public Management movement, 26, 159 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 93-94 1968 world wave of protests, 78-79, 80 1989 Eastern European protests, 80 non-state entities, coercive power of, 120 Obama, Barack, 6, 219, 222 O' Leary, B., 99-100 Olson, Mancur, 72 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, 22 O'Rourke, K. H., 166 Osterhammel, Jürgen, 2-3, 38 Parker, Geoffrey, 38

Parsons, Talcott, 12, 46, 108

persuasion, mode of, 47, 48

Pierson, Paul, 213, 219-220

"party-states," 313-314

perpetual peace, 97



Piketty, I nomas, 99	production, mode of, 47, 48
Polanyi, Karl	productive intensification, 65–66
'double movement' concept of, 285	Progressive Era
'economic' term use, 14	social protections/reforms in, 185,
redistributive economy of, 72	188–189
on rise of market societies, 25	weakness of, 185
political decency	progressivism
conditions for, 98–102	industrial labour and, 186–187,
dangers threatening, 102–104	188–189, 196
Mann's analysis of, 304	labour regulations/legislation in, 191
origins of, 95–98	protests, world wave of, 78-79, 80
political hegemony, 50-51. See also	
American empire; liberal hegemony	racism
political power. See also IEMP model	as American exceptionalism, 319
(ideological, economic, military and	in colonial societies, 240-241
political power sources)	of Europeans, 240
in globalizing modernity, 169–170	as harmful, 305
liberalism as balance of, 90-91	identity politics and, 29
Mann on, 283	of imperialism, 97–98
in social movements, 131	Rajan, Raghuram, 111
politics, American, 318-320	Rawls, John, 46
Posen, B., 128	Reagan, Ronald
post-industrial societies, power networks	neoliberal turn under, 26
in, 155	nuclear arms reduction treaty, 24
power. See specific types of power	recession, 26–27. See also "Great Neoliberal
power crystalizations, 67, 71	Recession"; Great Recession
power networks	Relative Deprivation and Social Justice
as bounded, 310–311	(Runciman), 45–46, 53
in Communist parties/societies, 91,	religion. See also Christianity; Islamism/
147, 155	Islamist fundamentalism
creation of, 48	coercive power of, 120
globalization and, 286	evolution in, 82
importance of, 282	as ideological example, 13–14
at the international level, 160–161	in modern state, 1–2
of major social institutions, 281–282	Reno, Will, 4, 283–284
moral orders in, 156	revolution, Mann on, 21
sources of power in, 149	Reykjavik Summit, nuclear arms reduction
power resources	treaty, 24, 27–28
availability of, 12, 31	Riga, Liliana
balance of, 24–25	on ethnic immigrants, 5
central accumulation of, 49	Mann's response to, 318–319
division/distribution of, 16, 34	Riley, Dylan, 169
economic power and, 289	The Rise of Historical Sociology (Smith),
social citizenship and, 213	38, 39
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	-
use of, 12, 46, 53	'Rise of the West,' 2, 42, 74
Prasad, Monica	rising powers
on financial crisis of 2008, 4	economic affairs and, 101
on hegemonic America, 79	nationalism within, 102
Mann's response to, 282–283, 310–312,	nuclear revolution/threat and, 100–101
313, 316, 318	Robinson, R., 232, 237
price signals, theory of, 115–116	Rodgers, Daniel, 154
Priestland, David	Roosevelt, Franklin, 264, 271–272. See also
on fascism/ethnic cleansing, 89–90	New Deal
Mann's response to, 302–303	Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 92–93
on role of ideology/culture, 5, 304	Rueff, Jacques, 114–115, 317



## 332 Index

Runciman, Gary on empires, 231-232 Applied Sociology, 53 political rule/economic growth relationcomparison with Mann, 291 ship, 99 'Darwinian' typology of, 46-47 view of human behavior, 93 evolutionist theory of, 3-4 Smith, Dennis, 1, 3-4, 143, 284, 290 as heretical insider, 51-53 Smith, Philip, 118 Mann on, 53-54 Snyder, Jack, 146 modes of societal power, 47 social citizenship "citizenship rights," 211-212 Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, 45-46, 53 development of, 221-222 as reluctant theorist, 45-49 European empires and, 223 as scientist, 56 Great Depression and, 212-213 Treatise of Social Theory, 48, 56 Great Society legislation, 222 use of hindsight, 57–58 Mann's analysis of, 217-218 Very Different, But Much the Same. political causes of, 213 The Evolution of British Society since political institutional explanations in, 1714, 56 220 - 221Russia. See also Bolshevik revolution/ power resources and, 213 Bolshevism; Soviet Union (USSR) role of war on, 214-215, 218-219 as capitalist society, 28 slowing of, 213-214 geopolitical power of, 147-148 structural considerations, 222 labour repression in, 194-195, 205-206 veterans' benefits, 214 revolution in, 21-22 voting/electoral requirements, 221 in super-power conflict, 300-301 social evolution. See also chieftaincy in World War I, 309, 310, 320-321 Darwinian principles and, 67 meaning/progression of, 65-67 Sageman, M., 135 middle-class elements and, 96 Santoro, Carlo Maria, 264-265 neoliberalism and, 83-84 Schmidt, Vivien, 153 optimism regarding, 81 Schroeder, Ralph primatological observations, 69-70 religion and, 82 on infrastructural power, 314 stages of, 69 Mann's response to, 284-288 Schumpeter, J. A., 229 structural weaknesses, 81-82 science, 31-32, 286-288. See also techwars/revolution and, 83 noscience/technoscientific culture social inequality scientific knowledge, in rise of West, 2 historical reversal in, 82 secondary sources, use of, 216-217 political decency and, 103 sectorial globalization, 19-20 warfare and, 81 selection, competitive, 47 socialism, cultural diversity and, 206 Sewell, William, 143-144, 154, 155, 161 socialist/culturalists, gap between, 144 Shils, E. A., 136 socialist revolution, 21-22, 54 Shimazu, N., 137 social movements Shklar, Judith, 195 coercive power of, 120, 122 Sikkink, K., 170 in collapse of empire, 94 Simmel, G., 136 ideologies and, 303-304 Skocpol, Theda as macro process, 132 on influences of war, 216 Mann's exploration of, 133 macro-historical sociology of, 3-4 nature of regimes and, 103 political institutional arguments, 210 in political institutional explanations, 220 political power of, 131 revolutions analysis of, 107 on state elites, 213 in transnational reform, 133, 170 Slaughter, A-M., 170 social organisations, coercive nature of, 119-124, 129-130 Smith, Adam social policy (US) on commercial society, 98, 104 'economic' term use, 14 characteristics of, 209



Great Depression and, 210, 211–216	economic negemony, 22–23
underdevelopment of, 209	exceptionalism, 185
social power	globalization, 22, 164
collective power and, 69	mutually assured destruction
globalization and, 164–165, 166	(MAD), 24
knowledge and, 67–68	neoliberalism, 26, 107
Mann's analysis of, 63, 64	welfare regimes, 25–26
military power and, 118, 175	Soviet Union (USSR). See also Cold War;
in modern state, 77	Gorbachev, Mikhail
as orthogonal, 178	in Afghanistan, 23–24
sources of, 71	alternative world-systems and, 22
transcendental ideologies and, 90	in global system, 257–258
in the West, 75	ideology and, 146–147, 149
social science approaches	revolution and, 21–22
advocate, 55	Stalinist Terror, 149–150
examining magistrate, 55	totalitarianism and, 76
partisan expert witness, 55	weakness of, 251–252
scientist, 55	spatial fix, 79, 80–81
Social Security Act, 211–212, 217, 220	Spencer, Herbert, 15
social selection, 47	spending, on military power, 123, 308–309
societal power, Runciman's modes of,	Stalinist Terror, 149–150
47, 48	Stephens, J. D., 210, 213
socio-cultural group, as analytical unit, 157	Stinchcombe, Arthur L., 219–220
soldiers	Stouffer, S., 135
ideology and, 138–139	structural social history, 143–144
micro-solidarity and, 137–138	suffrage/voting rights, of alien labour,
motivations of, 133–137	195, 201
Sombart, Werner, 186	173, 201
The Sources of Social Power (Mann)	Taylor, Charles, 93
historical sociology of, 11	technological revolution, 110
<del></del> · ·	
narrative structure of, 281	technology, as power source, 286–288
view of human beings in, 56 Volume I	technoscience/technoscientific culture,
	164–165, 171–172, 175–176
agricultural revolution, 16–17	territorial control/rule, 16, 166
class struggle, 17	terrorist associations, coercive power
Mann's analytical tools in, 39	of, 120 Thatcher Margaret
traditional military powers, 16 Volume II	Thatcher, Margaret
	neoliberal turn under, 26
class struggle, 17	social inequality and, 103
on empires, 258	The Theory of Cultural and Social Selection
nation-state expansion, 39–40	(Runciman), 47
WW I analysis, 20	Thompson, E. P., 46
Volume III	Tilly, Charles
colonialism, 20–21	Coercion Capital and European States, AD
empire, 281	990–1990, 42
European empires, 40–41	feudal racketeering concept, 72
exceptionalism, 185	macro-historical sociology of, 144
fascism, 20–21	on Mann's ideas, 3–4
globalization, 19–20, 164	on nationalism, 128
Progressivism, 188–189	on 1968 protests, 78
socialist revolution, 21–22	on states and war, 118
welfare regimes, 25–26	Titmuss, Richard, 214
Volume IV	totalitarianism, after WW I, 76
Cold War origins, 247–250	trade and treaties, 297–299



# 334 Index

transcendental ideologies, 90, 91 violence, concept of, 121 transnational capitalism, 256, 261, welfare regimes, development of, 25-26 267, 311 welfare state, build-up of, 5-6 Treatise of Social Theory (Runciman), 48, 56 Welzer, H., 137 West, rise of the, 2, 42, 74 UNCTAD conference, 298 Westad, Arne United States. See also American empire; on China, 176 Americanization Movement; on Cold War threats, 6-7 Mann's response to, 296, 300-302 Cold War dollar as global currency, 22-23, 54 Westphalian project, 97, 257, 270-271, economic/cultural hegemony, 23, 54 272, 275 as 'incoherent empire,' 23, 24-25 Why is There No Socialism in the United States military budget of, 123 (Sombart), 186 in world polity, 104 Wilensky, Harold, 214 universities Williamson, J.G., 166 interstitial situation of, 67-68 Winks, Robin, 273 power wielded by, 148 women in Catholic Church, 306-307 'Varieties of Capitalism' literature, 160 demands of, 18, 29 Very Different, But Much the Same. gender/biological difference, 34-35 The Evolution of British Society since in guerrilla armies, 75-76 1714 (Runciman), 56 workers. See alien labour; labour movement veterans, social citizenship of, 214 working class/working middle class. See also Viner, Jacob, 264 alien labour; Americanization voting rights/suffrage, of alien labour, Movement 195, 201 character/composition of, 186, 196 collapse of, 110 Waal, Frans de, 70 ethnic diversity/fragmentation, 188, Wallerstein, Immanuel 318-319 biographical/academic context, 49 as force for change, 44 comparison with Mann, 291 formation of, 204 Does Capitalism Have a Future? 50 labour movement and, 185 as global adventurer, 49-51 neoliberalism and, 160 as heretical insider, 51-53 as power network, 155 Mann on, 53-54 Works Progress Administration, 212 The Modern World-System, 49-50 World Bank, 22-23. See also International on 1968 protests, 78 Monetary Fund (IMF) world-system analysis, 3-4, 20, 22, 49-51, as partisan expert witness, 56 use of foresight, 57-58 63, 77 World War I world-systems theory of, 3-4, 20, 63, 65 war. See also Cold War; World War I; World attempts to prevent, 27 War II dominance/rivalries in, 166-167 social change/evolution and, 4-5, 83 ethnonationalism and, 94-95 social citizenship and, 214-215, 218-219 imperial order in, 165 sociological engagement with, 2 nationalism and, 127, 128-129 War on Poverty, 214-215 process leading to, 18, 20 The Wealth of Nations (Smith), 104 rise of communism/fascism, 104-105 Weber, Max rise of totalitarianism, 76

on communities of sacrifice, 136

in Mann's conception of power, 13

cultural pessimism, 91-92

historical sociology and, 11

view of democracy, 93-94

on military power, 14

soldiers' motivations in, 133-134

dominance/rivalries in, 166-167

attempts to prevent, 27

colonialism and, 20

World War II

US/European dominance and, 165



Index

335

Great Depression and, 27 impact on social citizenship, 214–215 imperial order in, 165 infrastructural power and, 108 liberal order building after, 271–272 nationalism and, 127, 128–129

post war reconstruction, 62–63 rise of communism/fascism, 104–105 soldiers' motivations in, 133–134 US/European dominance and, 165

Zizek, Slavoj, 102-103