

The sources of social power

VOLUME 4

Globalizations, 1945-2011

Distinguishing four sources of power - ideological, economic, military, and political - this series traces their interrelations throughout human history. This fourth volume of Michael Mann's analytical history of social power covers the period from 1945 to the present, focusing on the three major pillars of postwar global order: capitalism, the nation-state system, and the sole remaining empire of the world, the United States. In the course of this period, capitalism, nation-states, and empires interacted with one another and were transformed. Mann's key argument is that globalization is not just a single process, because there are globalizations of all four sources of social power, each of which has a different rhythm of development. Topics include the rise and beginnings of decline of the American empire, the fall or transformation of communism (respectively, the Soviet Union and China), the shift from neo-Keynesianism to neoliberalism, and the three great crises emerging in this period – nuclear weapons, the great recession, and climate change.

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.





The sources of social power

VOLUME 4
Globalizations, 1945–2011

MICHAEL MANN

University of California, Los Angeles





> 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/9781107610415

© Michael Mann 2013

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 2013

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 978-1-107-02867-8 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-61041-5 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.



Contents

1	Globalizations	page 1
2	The postwar global order	13
3	America in war and cold war, 1945–1970: Class conflicts	37
4	U.S. civil rights and identity struggles	67
5	American empire during the cold war, 1945–1980	86
6	Neoliberalism, rise and faltering, 1970–2000	129
7	The fall of the Soviet alternative	179
8	The Maoist alternative reformed	218
9	A theory of revolution	246
10	American empire at the turn of the twenty-first century	268
11	Global crisis: The great neoliberal recession	322
12	Global crisis: Climate change	361
13	Conclusion	400
Bibliography		433
Index		469

V

