

Towards A Global Ruling Class? Globalization and the Transnational Capitalist Class

WILLIAM L. ROBINSON and JERRY HARRIS

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ABSTRACT: A transnational capitalist class (TCC) has emerged as that segment of the world bourgeoisie that represents transnational capital, the owners of the leading worldwide means of production as embodied in the transnational corporations and private financial institutions. The spread of TNCs, the sharp increase in foreign direct investment, the proliferation of mergers and acquisitions across national borders, the rise of a global financial system, and the increased interlocking of positions within the global corporate structure, are some empirical indicators of the transnational integration of capitalists. The TCC manages global rather than national circuits of accumulation. This gives it an objective class existence and identity spatially and politically in the global system above any local territories and politics. The TCC became politicized from the 1970s into the 1990s and has pursued a class project of capitalist globalization institutionalized in an emergent trans-national state apparatus and in a “Third Way” political program. The emergent global capitalist historic bloc is divided over strategic issues of class rule and how to achieve regulatory order in the global economy. Contradictions within the ruling bloc open up new opportunities for emancipatory projects from global labor.

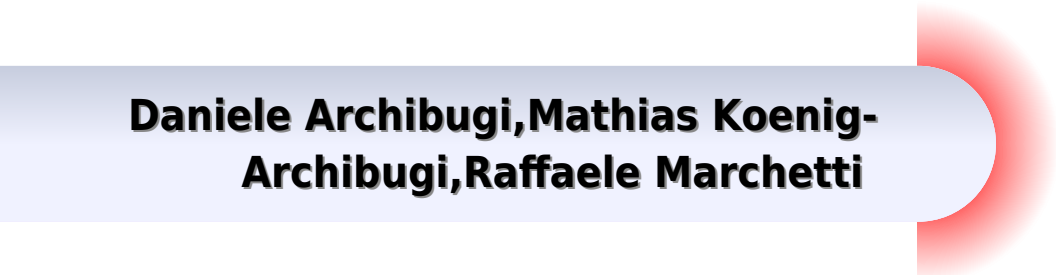
IT IS WIDELY RECOGNIZED THAT WORLD CAPITALISM has been undergoing a period of profound restructuring since the 1970s, bound up with the world historic process that has come to be known as globalization (Burbach and Robinson, 1999). One process central to capitalist globalization is transnational class formation, which has proceeded in step with the internationalization of capital and the global integration of national productive structures. Given the transnational integration of national economies, the mobility of capital and the global fragmentation and decentralization of accumulation circuits, class formation is progressively less tied to territoriality. The traditional assumption by Marxists that the capitalist class is by theoretical fiat organized in nation-states and driven by the dynamics of national capitalist competition and state rivalries needs to be modified.

We argue in this essay that a transnational capitalist class (hence-forth, TCC) has emerged, and that this TCC is a global ruling class. It is a ruling class because it controls the levers of an emergent trans-national state apparatus and of global decision making. This TCC is in the process of constructing a new global capitalist historic bloc: a new hegemonic bloc consisting of various economic and political forces that have become the dominant sector of the ruling class throughout the world, among the developed countries of the North as well as the countries of the South. The politics and policies of this ruling bloc are conditioned by the new global structure of accumulation and production.

This historic bloc is composed of the transnational corporations and financial institutions, the elites that manage the supranational economic planning agencies, major forces in the dominant

Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The

**Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-
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The Global Bourgeoisie Christof DeJung, David Motadel, Jürgen Osterhammel, 2019-11-26 This essay collection presents a global history of the middle class and its rise around the world during the age of empire. It compares middle class formation in various regions, highlighting differences and similarities and assesses the extent to which bourgeois growth was tied to the increasing exchange of ideas and goods and was a result of international connections and entanglements. Grouped by theme, the book shows how bourgeois values can shape the liberal world order. *Spectacle and Diversity* Lee Artz, 2021-12-30 This book shows how transnational media operate in the contemporary world and what their impact is on film, television, and the larger global culture. Where a company is based geographically no longer determines its outreach or output. As media consolidate and partner across national and cultural boundaries, global culture evolves. The new transnational media industry is universal in its operation, function, and social impact. It reflects a shared transnational culture of consumerism, authoritarianism, cultural diversity, and spectacle. From *Wolf Warriors* and *Sanju* to *Valerian*, *City of 1000 Planets*, and *Pokémon*, new media combinations challenge old assumptions about cultural imperialism and reflect cross boundary collaboration as well as boundary breaking cultural interpretation. Intended for students of global studies and international communication at all levels, the book will appeal to a wide range of readers interested in the way transnational media work and how that shapes our culture. Globalisation Tony Smith, 2005-12-01 Part One of this book examines the social state, neoliberal, catalytic state, and democratic cosmopolitan models of globalisation. Each necessarily tends to function in a manner contradicting essential claims made by its leading advocates. This immanent contradiction provides a theoretical warrant for moving to a new position addressing the shortcomings of the previous framework. The first three chapters of Part Two are devoted to a Marxian model of capitalist globalisation in which the irresolvable contradictions and social antagonisms of the capitalist global order are explicitly recognised. The final chapter is devoted to a Marxian model of socialist globalisation in which those contradictions and antagonisms are overcome, bringing the systematic dialectic of globalisation to a close. *Megaregulation Contested* Benedict Kingsbury, David M. Malone, Paul Mertenskötter, Richard B. Stewart, Thomas Streinz, Atsushi Sunami, 2019-06-06 The Japan-led Trans Pacific Partnership (CPTPPA) of 2018 is the most far-reaching megaregional economic agreement in force with several major countries beyond its eleven negotiating countries also interested. Still bearing the stamp of the original US involvement before the Trump era reversal, TPP is the first instance of megaregulation, a demanding combination of inter-state economic ordering and national regulatory governance on a highly ambitious substantive and trans-regional scale. Its text and ambition have influenced other negotiations ranging from the Japan-EU Agreement (JEEPA) and the US-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) to the projected Pan-Asian Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). This book provides an extensive analysis of TPP as a megaregulatory project for channelling and managing new pressures of globalization and of core critical arguments made against economic megaregulation from standpoints of development.

inequality labour rights environmental interests corporate capture and elite governance Specialized chapters cover supply chains digital economy trade facilitation intellectual property currency levels competition and state owned enterprises government procurement investment prescriptions for national regulation and the TPP institutions Country studies include detailed analyses of TPP related politics and approaches in Japan Mexico Brazil China India Indonesia and Thailand Contributors include leading practitioners and scholars in law economics and political science At a time when the WTO and other global scale institutions are struggling with economic nationalism and geopolitics and bilateral and regional agreements are pressed by public disagreement and incompatibility with digital and capital and value chain flows the megaregional ambition of TPP is increasingly important as a precedent requiring the close scrutiny this book presents

Global Media Dialogues Lee Artz,2023-07-24 This book the first of its kind brings together leading scholars from multiple perspectives in a serious dialogue about continuity and change in global media production and content Looking at a wide swath of the world these authors show the emergence of transnational collaboration in global television and film production across national borders that seem to transcend national cultures and identities At the same time traditional class analysis of such phenomena is reframed within the rise of myriad social movements for equality democracy human rights and defense of the environment What are the effects of media local or global Does the West continue to dominate or is cultural imperialism waning With original chapters written by leading scholars from a variety of disciplines this book will appeal to students and scholars interested in global media communication cultural studies and international political economy

Globalization and Transnational Capitalism in Asia and Oceania Jeb Sprague,2015-12-15 News headlines warn of rivalries and competing nations across Asia and the Pacific even as powerful new cross border relations form as never before This book looks behind the Asia Pacific curtain at the new forms of social economic and political integration taking place through a global capitalism that is rife with contradictions inequality and crisis We are moved beyond traditional conceptualizations of the inter state system with its nation state competition as the core organizing principle of world capitalism and the principal institutional framework that shapes the makeup of global social forces These important studies examine and debate over how there is a growing transnationality of material economic relations in the global era as well as an emerging transnationality of many social and class relations How does transnational capitalist class fractions new middle strata and labor undergird globalization in Asia and Oceania How have states and institutions become entwined with such processes This book provides insight into a field of dynamic change

The Idea of Global Civil Society Randall Germain,Michael Kenny,2004-08-02 This book evaluates the claim that in order to explore the changing social foundations of global power relations today we need to include in our analysis an understanding of global civil society particularly if we also wish to raise ethical questions about the changing political and institutional practices of transnational governance Bridging the normative concerns of political theorists with the historical and institutional focus of scholars of international relations

and international political economy this book is of broad interest to students and researchers concerned with international relations civil society global governance and ethics *Making Global Trade Governance Work for Development* Carolyn Deere Birkbeck, 2011-08-18 Discussion of the governance of global trade and the multilateral trading system is too often dominated by developed country scholars and opinion makers with inadequate attention given to developing country perspectives *Making Global Trade Governance Work for Development* gathers a diversity of developing country views on how to improve the governance of global trade and the WTO to better advance sustainable development and respond to the needs of developing countries With contributions by senior scholars commentators and practitioners the essays combine new empirically grounded research with practical insights about the trade policy making process They consider the specific governance issues of interest to developing countries and acknowledge the changing dynamics in the global economy and in trade decision making *The Political Power of Global Corporations* John Mikler, 2018-02-12 We have long been told that corporations rule the world their interests seemingly taking precedence over states and their citizens Yet while states civil society and international organizations are well drawn in terms of their institutions ideologies and functions the world's global corporations are often more simply sketched as mechanisms of profit maximization In this book John Mikler recasts global corporations as political actors with complex identities and strategies Debunking the idea of global corporations as exclusively profit driven entities he shows how they seek not only to drive or modify the agendas of states but to govern in their own right He also explains why we need to re territorialize global corporations as political actors that reflect and project the political power of the states and regions from which they hail We know the global corporations names we know where they are headquartered and we know where they invest and operate Economic processes are increasingly produced by the control they possess the relationships they have the leverage they employ the strategic decisions they make and the discourses they create to enhance acceptance of their interests This book represents a call to study how they do so rather than making assumptions based on theoretical abstractions **Global Civil Society and Its Limits** G. Laxer, S. Halperin, 2003-04-30 This volume critically examines the promise of a global civil society Exploring issues in cases of diverse social justice movements the contributors show that a global civil society is still far from emerging and its promotion may even harm the realization of grassroots democracy The Internet is an exciting new means for activists to communicate internationally and citizens movements increasingly co ordinate campaigns through transnational advocacy networks but most effective civic action still takes place at national and local levels **International Law and World Order** B. S. Chimni, 2017-05-25 In *International Law and World Order* B S Chimni articulates an integrated Marxist approach to international law IMAIL combining the insights of Marxism socialist feminism and postcolonial theory The book uses this approach to systematically and critically examine the most influential contemporary theories of international law including new feminist realist and policy oriented approaches In doing so it discusses a range of themes relating to the history

structure and process of international law The book also considers crucial world order issues and problems that the international legal process has to contend with including the welfare of weak groups and nations the ecological crisis and the role of human rights This extensively revised second edition provides an invaluable in depth and updated review of the key literature and scholarship within this field of study It will be of particular interest to students and scholars of international law international relations international politics and global studies

CyberRadicalism: A New Left for a Global Age Carl Davidson & Jerry Harris, 2005 A collection 15 essays by the authors covering a full set of new and unique theoretical work on the crisis in socialist theory the impact of the information revolution globalization the rise of the right and an outline and practical examples of strategy and tactics on how to deal with it

Globalization C. Gopinath, 2023-01-17 Globalization A Multi Dimensional System provides a comprehensive understanding of the complex process of globalization and how it impacts nations organizations and individuals who operate in its environment C Gopinath addresses why some nations welcome its benefits whilst others seek protection from it and provides an insightful look into arguments for and against globalization

The Nation in the Global Era Jerry Harris, 2009-05-15 The Nation in the Global Era Conflict and Transformation offers unique perspectives into a range of important current topics for both activists and scholars concerned with globalization The articles combine the study of globalization as an integrated world system with the specifics of how individual nations and groups are inserted into the larger economic social cultural and political patterns This essential approach seeks out those forces that create a shared world system yet understands the multiple levels and variances under which that system develops Chapters explore the relationship between class and state under the impact of globalization how nations particularly in the South are affected by globalization and the development of national identity and consciousness within the context of global relationships Contributors include JoAnn Chirico Ryan D Griffiths Magda von der Heydt Coca Ismael Hossein zadeh Kwangkun Lee Patrick Loy Cori Madrid Georgina Murray Greg Nowell Rubin Patterson Isa as R Rivera Lorena Garcia Ruiz Ivan Savi David Schweickart Sandeep Sen Jason Struna John W Sutherlin Kumru Toktamis Joshua W Walker Veda Ward William Tabb Originally published as Volume 8 2 3 2009 of Brill s journal Perspectives on Global Development and Technology

Core Concepts in Sociology J. Michael Ryan, 2018-10-22 An essential guide to the basic concepts that comprise the study of sociology with contributions from an international range of leading experts Core Concepts in Sociology is a comprehensive guide to the essential concepts relevant to the current study of the discipline and wider social science The contributing authors cover a wide range of concepts that remain at the heart of sociology including those from its academic founding and others much more recent in their development The text contains contributions from an international panel of leading figures in the field utilizing their expertise on core concepts and presenting an accessible introduction for students Drawing on the widest range of ideas research current literature and expert assessment Core Concepts in Sociology contains over 90 concepts that represent the discipline Coverage includes concepts ranging from

aging to capitalism democracy to economic sociology epistemology to everyday life media to risk stigma and much more This vital resource Sets out the concepts that underpin the study of sociology and wider social science Contains contributions from an international panel of leading figures in the field Includes a comprehensive review of the basic concepts that comprise the foundation and essential development of the discipline Designed as a concise and accessible resource Written for students researchers and wider professionals with an interest in the field of sociology Core Concepts in Sociology offers a concise affordable and accessible resource for studying the underpinnings of sociology and social science **Global Institutions, Marginalization, and Development** Craig Murphy, 2005 For more than a century and a half the most powerful national governments have created institutions of multilateral governance that promise to make a more inclusive world a world serving women working people the colonized the backward the destitute and the despised This groundbreaking book is a study of that promise and of the real impact of this world government It discusses what systems global institutions have and have not done to keep their promise and examines whether the system will serve the world s least advantaged or marginalize them further This book focuses on whether it is the economists and political philosophers of the rich or the social movements of the disadvantaged that are most likely to influence the world s lawmakers and the processes by which they will complete the next generation of multilateral institutions An innovative study this book is important reading for anyone with an interest in international political economy global governance development and the politics of north south relations Theorizing Global Studies Darren J O'Byrne, Alexander Hensby, 2020-02-29 Clear concise and easy to read this book explores key debates around global studies today It examines the processes and dynamics of globalization that impact on our modern world through clear explanations of complex theories The book Presents 8 key models of global change Brings together the ways in which sociology politics and economics think about global studies Covers a diverse range of major theorists in the field from Giddens to Huntington from Wallerstein to Fukuyama Brings to life contemporary issues including the global financial crisis and the war on terror Theorizing Global Studies is essential reading for all students of Sociology Politics International Relations and Global Studies The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies Mark Juergensmeyer, Saskia Sassen, Manfred B. Steger (ed), 2019 Since the end of the Cold War globalization has been reshaping the modern world and an array of new scholarship has risen to make sense of it in its various transnational manifestations including economic social cultural ideological technological environmental and in new communications The chapters discuss various aspects in the field through a broad range of approaches This handbook focuses on global studies more than on the phenomenon of globalization itself although the various aspects of globalization are central to understanding how the field is currently being shaped Capitalism, Sport Mega Events and the Global South Billy Graeff, 2019-08-02 What are the social political and economic consequences of staging sport mega events such as the Olympics and the World Cup Capitalism Sport Mega Events and the Global South presents a new approach to sport mega

events and related issues exploring elements that are not present or are not developed in the existing literature This book explores the socioeconomic impact of these events on host countries in the Global South Drawing on a thorough case study of the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil it examines how the residents of Porto Alegre perceived how they were affected and considers the relationship between sport mega events and the wider social sphere of global capitalism Supported by original socioeconomic research conducted in the area this is fascinating reading for all students and scholars interested in sport mega events sport tourism international development sport geography and the sociology of sport *Global Democracy*
Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, Raffaele Marchetti, 2011-10-27 Democracy is increasingly seen as the only legitimate form of government but few people would regard international relations as governed according to democratic principles Can this lack of global democracy be justified Which models of global politics should contemporary democrats endorse and which should they reject What are the most promising pathways to global democratic change To what extent does the extension of democracy from the national to the international level require a radical rethinking of what democratic institutions should be This book answers these questions by providing a sustained dialogue between scholars of political theory international law and empirical social science By presenting a broad range of views by prominent scholars it offers an in depth analysis of one of the key challenges of our century globalizing democracy and democratizing globalization

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Table of Contents Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The

1. Understanding the eBook Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The User Reviews and Ratings
 - Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The Free and Paid eBooks

- Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The Public Domain eBooks
- Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The eBook Subscription Services
- Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The Compatibility with Devices
 - Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Interactive Elements Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
- 8. Staying Engaged with Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Setting Reading Goals Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Towards A Global Ruling Class Globalization And The
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development

- Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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