

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

WILLIAM L. ROBINSON and JERRY HARRIS

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We would like to thank Gioconda Robinson and two anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

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

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B. S. Chimni



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The World of Consumption Ben Fine, Ellen Leopold, 2002-06 In the opinion of many people the last decade saw the arrival of the consumer society However the response of social theory to consumerism has been barely appropriate to the scale of the changes As an antidote to this the authors propose the adoption of a new more inclusive theoretical approach based on systems of provision This emphasises different forms of determination for different products It also emphasises the essential continuity between the various aspects of consumption production distribution marketing advertising and sales Applying Interdisciplinarity to Globalization, Management, Marketing, and Accountancy Science Pavlát, Vladislav, Kniňová, Ladislava, Cívín, Lubomír, Halík, Jaroslav, MacGregor Pelikánová, Radka, 2023-10-16 With the world becoming increasingly interconnected and complex traditional means are no longer sufficient to address complex global issues Scholars often struggle to navigate the intricate web of interdisciplinary research and theory This gap in understanding leaves many academics feeling adrift in their pursuit of knowledge unable to harness the full potential of interdisciplinary collaboration *Applying Interdisciplinarity to Globalization Management Marketing and Accountancy Science* offers a comprehensive and up to date solution to the obstacles of interdisciplinarity It meticulously analyzes the theory and methodology of interdisciplinarity as it exists in the most relevant literature and through a detailed examination of four vital disciplines in the applied economy it compares and contrasts the dynamics of globalization and its reflections within these fields Furthermore it uncovers the hidden infrastructures supporting these disciplines and offers practical insights into applying this knowledge in research and practice This book is an indispensable resource for scholars and educators across diverse disciplines empowering them to embrace interdisciplinarity with confidence The Global Governance Reader Rorden Wilkinson, 2005 This Reader provides students and scholars with a comprehensive and considered collection of articles covering the most theoretical and empirical contributions by leading specialists in the field **International Law and World Order** B. S. Chimni, 2017-05-25 This book offers a critique of the principal contemporary approaches to international law alongside its own novel perspectives **International Encyclopedia of Human Geography**, 2009-07-16 The International Encyclopedia of Human Geography provides an authoritative and comprehensive source of information on the discipline of human geography and its constituent and related subject areas The encyclopedia includes over 1 000 detailed entries on philosophy and theory key concepts methods and practices biographies of notable geographers and geographical thought and praxis in different parts of the world This groundbreaking project covers every field of human geography and the discipline's relationships to other disciplines and is global in scope involving an international set of contributors Given its broad inclusive scope and unique online accessibility it is anticipated that the International Encyclopedia of Human Geography will become the major reference work for the discipline over the coming decades The Encyclopedia will be available in both limited edition print and online via ScienceDirect featuring extensive browsing searching and internal cross referencing between

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labour markets education social services and care The contributions of this book provide unique case examples on the interplay of social policies mobile populations and travelling knowledge about welfare within an increasingly asymmetrical global context This innovative volume also includes historical studies on the transformations of social policies during the last century and reflects the developments of social welfare across the Global North and the Global South With its emphasis on theoretical assumptions of policy translation the case studies show the importance of adjustments negotiations and participation of various actors in the transnational social field of welfare production Thus within ever shifting contexts of new political agendas promoting the free play of the market and a neoliberal agenda of competition and austerity this insightful book reveals new transnational forms of social exclusion that function within across and in between nation states Presenting a major and much needed addition to current discussions on globalization and the increasing complexity of worldwide social relations this volume will be of interest to scholars and graduate students interested in fields such as Social Policy Social Work Public Administration Development Studies Political Science and Sociology as well as many interdisciplinary fields including Global Studies International Development Studies and Immigration and Settlement Studies [The Rise of the Rich](#) Peter Gran, 2009-02-10 The rise of the West has long been the accepted doctrine for framing analyses of world history Privileging a Eurocentric approach this traditional paradigm obscures the significance of the indigenous rich in non Western regions and fails to recognize the contributions of the Orient In this book Peter Gran seeks to reframe current historical debates presenting a model of analysis based on the rise of the rich Gran outlines the structure of this new paradigm building upon metanarrative concepts from Marxism to liberalism **The Global Politics of Globalization** Barry K. Gills, 2013-09-13 Are we moving inexorably towards a new empire or is global civil society transforming global politics into a new cosmopolis In *The Global Politics of Globalization* the alternatives of Empire and Cosmopolis are counter poised as representative of two antithetical conceptions and practices of world order both historically and in the present era and each expresses an alternative idea of human unity and community Today global politics is embroiled in a clash of globalizations a clash between these two opposed forms of world order The contributions in the debate range from deep historical reflections on world civilizations critique of neoliberal economics and imperialism new thinking on the ideals and practices of global citizenship the philosophical basis for cosmopolitan politics and the emergence of new forms of global social forces and movements Previously published as a special issue of *Globalizations* this book brings together a very distinguished set of contributors to explore and debate the relationship between globalization processes and world order in light of recent controversies over the return of empire *Transnational Conflicts* William I. Robinson, 2020-05-05 In this timely and provocative study William I Robinson challenges received wisdom on Central America He starts with an exposition on the new global capitalism Then drawing on a wide range of historical documentation interviews and social science research he proceeds to show how capitalist globalization has thoroughly transformed the region disrupting the conventional pattern of

revolutionary upheaval civil wars and pacification and ushering in instead a new transnational model of economy and society Beyond his focus on Central America Robinson provides a critical framework for understanding development and social change in other regions of the world in the age of globalization Demonstrating how the very forces of capitalism have brought into being new social agents and political actors unlikely to acquiesce in the face of the emerging order Transnational Conflicts shows why the Isthmus along with other regions is likely to return to the headlines in the near future

From the Net to the Net R. James Sacouman, Henry Veltmeyer, 2005-01-01 This text looks at globalization through the lens of Atlantic Canadians and their relationship with both the global economy and the country at large **Towards Justice** Marek Hrubec, 2025-03-06 Based on a critique of liberal and libertarian contradictions with their conflictual consequences and on analyses of critical social theories and perspectives from the Global South Latin America Africa and Asia as well as the Global North this book seeks to address tensions of global social misrecognition and injustice It deals with the dispute over particular and universal norms on local regional and global levels extra territorial social recognition of the global poor strategic socialism threats of global hegemony authoritarianism and war in light of various conflicts Globalization JoAnn Chirico, 2013-08-01 This groundbreaking text on globalization provides a comprehensive and enlightening overview of globalization issues and topics Emphasizing the theory and methods that social scientists employ to study globalization the text reveals how macro globalization processes impact individual lives from the spread of scientific discourse to which jobs are more or less likely to be offshored The author presents a clear image of the big globalization picture by skillfully exploring piece by piece a myriad of globalization topics debates theories and empirical data Compelling chapters on theory global civil society democracy cities religion institutions sports education and health care along with three chapters on global challenges help readers develop a broad understanding of key topics and issues Throughout the text the author encourages readers to relate their personal experiences to globalization processes allowing for a more meaningful and relevant learning experience *Global Sociology, Third Edition* Robin Cohen, Paul Kennedy, 2013-03 The third edition explores global issues at the heart of sociological discussion with an updated focus on globalism social media migration and more The first pioneering editions of Global Sociology put global issues at the heart of sociological discussion Much has changed in the world since then recessions revolutions social media and new migration networks have developed as causes and symptoms of an increasingly global society This new edition is fully updated to explore just how these global issues can help us to understand sociology in our world today Making clear connections between everyday experiences and global processes at each step the third edition carefully guides readers through essential and cutting edge topics in the discipline from family and feminism to environment and economy Features such as biography boxes on key thinkers in the field a thorough glossary and review questions introduce and reinforce the book's core ideas With clear writing and infectious enthusiasm for its topic Global Sociology remains the authority on global issues in sociology for students at a variety of skill levels **Handbook of**

Globalization, Governance, and Public Administration Ali Farazmand, Jack Pinkowski, 2006-07-25 Globalization transcends borders and cultures as it develops both from the natural flow of information and communication technologies and as a directed and driven quest for global hegemony by self serving corporations and world political heavyweights It bears a multifaceted web of influence that manifests in inequalities in growth prosperity and The 1% and the Rest of Us Tim Di Muzio, 2015-03-12 While the Occupy movement faces many strategic and organizational challenges one of its major accomplishments has been to draw global attention to the massive disparity of income wealth and privilege held by 1% of the population in nations across the world In The 1% and the Rest of Us Tim Di Muzio explores what it means to be part of a socio economic order presided over by the super rich and their political servants Incorporating provocative and original arguments about philanthropy social wealth and the political role of the super rich Di Muzio reveals how the 1% are creating a world unto themselves in which the accumulation of ever more money is really a symbolic drive to control society and the natural environment

Radical Relevance Laura Gray-Rosendale, Steven Rosendale, 2005-01-20 In an effort to rethink the left this interdisciplinary collection weaves together some of today s most powerful voices in contemporary left critical thought as they examine the fragmentation of American movements for social change evaluate what critical scholarship might contribute to the task of renewing or creating a more unified and efficacious left and explore the left s possibly inadequate dealings with many marginalized groups Representing a diverse range of theoretical perspectives within several textual disciplines the essays assess historical practical or speculative models for a whole left a left constituted by a broad range of complexly interwoven interests including issues of class environment gender sexuality disability race and ethnicity The book exemplifies the struggles of scholars to work toward a more shared agenda for social change The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies Mark Juergensmeyer, Saskia Sassen, Manfred B. Steger (†d), 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 *Financial Elites and Transnational Business* Georgina Murray, John Scott, 2012-01-01 This volume brings together leading scholars from around the world and a cross section of some of the most exciting and cutting edge of research on transnational capitalists the varied contributions are timely They provide great insight into the structures and processes behind today s international business and political headlines It is a must read for scholars and students of the new global capitalism William I Robinson University of California at Santa Barbara US This absorbing book addresses the seemingly simple question of who rules the world by linking it to debates about who owns the world and what this means for the dynamics of global power distribution Several expert

contributors focus on global issues including the role of transnational finance interlocking directorates ownership and tax havens Others examine how these issues at the global level interact with the regional or nation state level in the US the UK China Australia and Mexico the books scrutinizes globalization from a fresh holistic perspective examining the relationship between the national and transnational to uncover the most significant structures and agents of power Possible policy futures are also considered Academics and researchers across a varied spectrum of fields encompassing business and management international studies and public policy will find this book both fascinating and important

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