



MARXIST HUMANISM AND COMMUNICATION THEORY

**MEDIA, COMMUNICATION AND
SOCIETY VOLUME ONE**

CHRISTIAN FUCHS

ROUTLEDGE


Marxist Humanism and Communication Theory

This book outlines and contributes to the foundations of Marxist-humanist communication theory. It analyses the role of communication in capitalist society.

Engaging with the works of critical thinkers such as Erich Fromm, E. P. Thompson, Raymond Williams, Henri Lefebvre, Georg Lukács, Lucien Goldmann, Günther Anders, M. N. Roy, Angela Davis, C. L. R. James, Rosa Luxemburg, Eve Mitchell, and Cedric J. Robinson, the book provides readings of works that inform our understanding of how to critically theorise communication in society. The topics covered include the relationship of capitalism, racism, and patriarchy; communication and alienation; the base/superstructure-problem; the question of how one should best define communication; the political economy of communication; ideology critique; the connection of communication and struggles for alternatives.

Written for a broad audience of students and scholars interested in contemporary critical theory, this book will be useful for courses in media and communication studies, cultural studies, Internet research, sociology, philosophy, political science, and economics.

This is the first of five Media, Communication and Society volumes, each one outlining a particular aspect of the foundations of a critical theory of communication in society.

Christian Fuchs is a critical theorist of media, communication and society. He is co-editor of the journal *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique*. He is author of many publications, including the books *Social Media: A Critical Introduction* (3rd edition 2021), *Communication and Capitalism: A Critical Theory* (2020), *Marxism: Karl Marx's Fifteen Key Concepts for Cultural & Communication Studies* (2020), *Nationalism on the Internet: Critical Theory and Ideology in the Age of Social Media and Fake News* (2020), *Rereading Marx in the Age of Digital Capitalism* (2019), *Digital Demagogue: Authoritarian Capitalism in the Age of Trump and Twitter* (2016), *Digital Labour and Karl Marx* (2014), *Internet and Society* (2008).



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Marxist Humanism and Communication Theory

Media, Communication and Society
Volume One

Christian Fuchs

First published 2021
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2021 Christian Fuchs

The right of Christian Fuchs to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Fuchs, Christian, 1976- author.

Title: Marxist humanism and communication theory : media, communication and society volume one / Christian Fuchs.

Description: New York : Routledge, 2021. | Series: Media, communication and society; volume 1 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020040758 (print) | LCCN 2020040759 (ebook) | ISBN 9780367697136 (hardback) | ISBN 9780367697129 (paperback) | ISBN

9781003142959 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Socialism and culture. | Communication--Social aspects. | Mass media--Social aspects.

Classification: LCC HX523 .F83 2021 (print) | LCC HX523 (ebook) | DDC 302.201--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020040758>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020040759>

ISBN: 978-0-367-69713-6 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-69712-9 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-14295-9 (ebk)

Typeset in Univers
by MPS Limited, Dehradun

Contents

Figures	vii
Tables	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
1 Introduction	1
2 Erich Fromm and the critical theory of communication	19
3 Revisiting the Althusser/E. P. Thompson-controversy: Towards a Marxist theory of communication	49
4 Raymond Williams's communicative materialism	79
5 Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space and the critical theory of communication	103
6 Towards a critical theory of communication with Georg Lukács and Lucien Goldmann	129
7 Günther Anders's critical theory of technology	151
8 Jean-Paul Sartre as social theorist of communication. A theoretical engagement with "Critique of Dialectical Reason"	177
9 M. N. Roy, socialist humanism, and the critical analysis of communication	205
10 Capitalism, racism, patriarchy	241
11 Conclusion	279
Index	291



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Figures

2.1	Erich Fromm's conceptualisation of the relationship between the economy and ideas (adapted from: Fromm 1965b, 212)	22
2.2	The relationship between the economy and culture	27
2.3	Club 2.0	44
4.1	The relation of the economic and the non-economic in society	87
5.1	The dialectic of humans – social relations – social space	120
6.1	Human interactions in society and with nature	137
6.2	Hegel's dialectic of imagination (visualisation based on Hegel 1830/2007, §§455–459)	138
7.1	Concept of <i>Club 2.0</i>	173
8.1	A model of the communication process based on Sartre's critical theory of dialectical reason	185



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Tables

1.1	The antagonisms in three forms of alienation	16
1.2	The main actors in alienated and humanist society	17
2.1	The authoritarian and the humanistic character in the economy, politics and culture	28
2.2	The present author's variation of Fromm's general distinction of social character types (based on Fromm 1947/2003, 82)	29
2.3	The present author's typology of authoritarian and humanistic forms of information and communication	30
4.1	Williams's typology of the means of communication (based on Williams, 2005: 53–63; 1981a, chapter 4)	86
5.1	Lefebvre's three levels of social space (based on information from: Lefebvre 1991, 32–33, 38–43, 362, 50, 116, 233, 288)	113
8.1	Examples of two Sartrean forms of direct and indirect social relations	189
8.2	The most viewed YouTube videos of all times (source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_most-viewed_YouTube_videos , accessed on 16 February 2020)	193
10.1	Income, unemployment and involuntary part-time work in the USA	257
10.2	Occupational structure in the USA, 2018 annual averages	258
10.3	Alienation in the context of capitalism, racism, and patriarchy	263
10.4	The economic, political and cultural-ideological dimensions of capitalism, racism, and patriarchy	264
10.5	The interaction of class, racism, gender oppression	265
10.6	Economic, political and cultural communication in the context of class, racism, and gender-related oppression	266
10.7	Characteristics of four types of labour	271
11.1	Alienation processes and the main actors in alienated and humanist society	280
11.2	The economic, political and cultural-ideological dimensions of capitalism, racism, and patriarchy	280
11.3	The interaction of class, racism, gender oppression	281
11.4	Types of alienated communication(s)	287
11.5	Economic, political and cultural communication in the context of class, racism, and gender-related oppression	288

11.6	Three forms of digital alienation	288
11.7	Three antagonisms of digital alienation	288

Chapter One

Introduction

- 1.1 What is Marxist humanism?
 - 1.2 Why do we need Marxist humanism today?
 - 1.3 The structure of this book
 - 1.4 Alienation
- Literature

The overall task of this book is to outline elements and some foundations of a Marxist-humanist theory of communication by engaging with the works of some relevant thinkers. Such an approach is inherently a critical theory of society and communication, which means that it analyses how class, exploitation, domination, and power shape communication and how communication processed mediate class, exploitation, domination, and power.

The approach I take in has been further developed in the book *Communication and Capitalism: A Critical Theory* that is available open access (Fuchs 2020). The book at hand documents how I arrived at my own theoretical insights on how to theorise communication and capitalism by reading, engaging with, interpreting a variety of critical theory approaches. *Marxist Humanism & Communication Theory* provides an introduction on how to read specific critical theorists' approaches as critical theories of communication.

The book at hand is the first volume of a series of a book titled *Communication & Society*. The overall aim of *Communication & Society* is to outline foundations of a critical theory of communication and digital communication in society. It is a multi-volume theory social theory book series situated on the intersection of communication theory, sociology, and philosophy. The overall questions the *Communication & Society* deals with are: What is the role of communication in society? What is the role of communication in capitalism? What is the role of communication in digital capitalism?

1.1 What is Marxist humanism?

What is Marxist humanism? It is an analytical approach that has several features:

Hegel and dialectical philosophy

Marxist humanism is a form of Hegelian Marxism, which means that it uses dialectical philosophy for understanding society. It stresses the dialectics of subject/object, practices/structures, labour/capital, economic/non-economic, continuity/discontinuity, chance/necessity, etc. in society.

Practices

Marxist humanism analyses society by taking human beings' practices as foundational dimension. It stresses the role of social production as the material dimension of society.

Praxis

Marxist humanism analyses the role of class and social struggles in class and dominative societies. Praxis is human beings' struggle for a good society where everyone benefits and there is wealth, freedom, and happiness for all.

Human essence

Marxist humanism argues that there is an essence of human beings. It recognises that humans face different living conditions, but stresses that humans as such have common features. The commonalities of human beings are the foundation of practical and ethical universalism that argues for the realisation of common rights of all human beings. The notion of the commons plays an important role in this context.

Alienation

Alienation is one of Marxist humanism's central categories. Alienation denotes conditions of society where humans cannot control the conditions of their own existence. Alienation means that there is a difference in the potentials and actualities of humans and society. In alienated societies, humans and society cannot realise their potentials. Humans are alienated from what they could be, which means they are hindered from developing and realising their full potentials. There are different types of alienation. Alienation is characteristic for dominative societies, societies structured by domination. Domination means that one group benefits at the expense of other groups who have disadvantages and that the dominative group has means of coercion at hand in order to enforce its rule.

Democratic socialism, socialist democracy

Marxist humanism is a type of humanism. It understands humanism as the ethico-political stress on the importance of creating conditions in society that allow humans and society to realise their full potentials. For Marxist humanism, humanism is socialism and socialism is humanism. Socialism denotes a society of the commons, where all humans benefit. Socialism is a realisation of the economic, political and cultural commons: All humans live in wealth (economic commons), have democratic participation rights (political commons), and are respected (cultural commons). Democratic socialism sees socialism as inherently humanist and democratic. It is anti-fascist, anti-Stalinist, and anti-capitalist. It is critical of the anti-democratic potentials and realities of these types of systems. Marxist humanism doesn't limit the understanding of democracy to the political system but argues for the extension of democracy to society at large, including the economy. Marxist/socialist humanism stresses the democratic need for the collective self-management of the economy and society. It understands democracy as a participatory democracy.

Open Marxism

Orthodoxies such as Stalinism turn socialism into a dogmatic, deterministic, mechanistic, reductionist and quasi-religious practice. In contrast, Marxist humanism is a form of open Marxism that stresses the need for the unity in diversity of critical theories, practices, praxis and the need for Marxist theory and practice to be reflexive and develop so that it can take account of how society is changing.

Truth

Marxist humanism rejects relativist assumptions that there is no truth in society. It stresses that truth means a condition where humans and society can realise their full potentials and that falseness of society means the hindrance of the realisation of such potentials.

Ideology critique

Marxist humanism includes ideology critique as a dimension of critical theory. Ideology is understood as worldview, consciousness and practices that present and represent the world in distorted ways that do not correspond to actuality in order to justify and

legitimate partial interests of the ruling class and dominant groups and to try to make those who have disadvantages believe that this condition is natural, necessary, unchangeable, or caused by scapegoats. Ideology is reified and false consciousness (Lukács 1971).

Critical ethics

Marxist humanism includes a form of critical ethics. It advances principles of how a good society looks like. Categories such as the commons, socialism, participation, democracy, (in)justice, freedom, exploitation, class, power, domination, etc. are of crucial importance for such critical ethics.

Marx' works

Marxist humanism is interested in advancing the engagement with Marx's works and the tradition of thought building on Marx. It sees the whole body of Marx's works as important and stresses that there is a coherent unity of and the connection of philosophy and political economy in Marx's works. It argues that there is no "epistemological break" in Marx's works. The epistemological break is a term introduced by Louis Althusser (1969), by which this French theorist claims that Marx's early works such as *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* are esoteric and unscientific and that one should ignore them.

1.2 Why do we need Marxist humanism today?

Marxist humanism emerged in 20th-century social theory. Its theoretical foundations are Hegel's dialectical philosophical and Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. Its axiological and political concern has been the establishment of democratic socialism as an alternative to capitalism, fascism, Stalinism, and other forms of authoritarian statism. Its analyses focused on the human being, human essence, human practices, alienation, political praxis, class struggles, ideology critique, and the dialectics of subject/object, practices/structures, labour/capital, the economic/the non-economic, continuity/discontinuity, etc.

Representatives of Marxist humanism have, among others, included Theodor W. Adorno, Günther Anders, Kevin Anderson, Simone de Beauvoir, Ernst Bloch, Angela Davis, Raya Dunayevskaya, Zillah Eisenstein, Barbara Epstein, Frantz Fanon, Erich

Fromm, Lucien Goldmann, André Gorz, David Harvey, Max Horkheimer, C. L. R. James, Karl Korsch, Karel Kosík, Henri Lefebvre, Georg Lukács, Herbert Marcuse, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Bertell Ollmann, the Praxis Group in Yugoslavia, Sheila Rowbotham, M. N. Roy, Edward Said, Jean-Paul Sartre, Adam Schaff, Kate Soper, E. P. Thompson, Raymond Williams (see Alderson and Spencer 2017; Fromm 1965). Marxist humanism's decline had to do with the general decline of the Marxist theory under neoliberal conditions, the postmodern turn against Marxism, structuralism's attack on the human being that fostered the rise of post-humanism, and the influence of Althusser and Foucault in social theory (Alderson and Spencer 2017).

There are *six reasons* why we need a renewal of Marxist humanism today.

The *first reason* is the emergence of authoritarian capitalism. In critical theory, the concept of authoritarianism goes back to Erich Fromm (1969), who defines it as a social character who submits to those in power and enjoys dominating others. For Fromm, fascism is the most developed form of authoritarian society and authoritarian capitalism. Max Horkheimer (1939/1989, 78) sees authoritarian and therefore also fascist potentials immanent in capitalism itself. But not every form of capitalism fully develops its authoritarian potentials. Adorno et al.'s (1950) F-scale outlines a large number of characteristics of the authoritarian personality. The core of this approach are four features: authoritarianism combines the antidemocratic belief of the necessity of strong, top-down leaders, nationalism, the friend/enemy-scheme and ideological scapegoating, and the belief in law-and-order politics, violence, militancy, and war as the best political means (Fuchs 2018). Authoritarian capitalism is a society that combines capitalism with these principles. New forms of nationalism and authoritarianism have emerged in recent years. They pose dangers to democracy and can result in a new world war, genocide, fascism, etc. Marxist humanism stresses socialism and humanism as opposed to fascism.

Racism has intensified in contemporary authoritarian capitalism. The police killing of George Floyd became a symbol of how racism denies people of colour their humanity. Racist anti-humanism led to the Black Lives Matters movement.

The *second reason* is the limits of postmodernism in contemporary capitalism. Althusser and Foucault have had a major influence on the emergence and development of postmodernism and poststructuralism that have attacked Marxist theory, class politics, the notions of the human being, truth, alienation, commonalities, universalism, etc. While there are postmodern theorists who made productive use of Marx, certain

versions of postmodernism have contributed to the decline of Marxist theory in an age when class contradictions have been exploding. Marxist humanism foregrounds praxis as class struggle and Marxist theory. It is a critique of postmodernism. Postmodernism has advanced a relativism and anti-universalism where there is no truth. In an age of fake news, post-truth, new nationalisms/fascism, we need a political concept of truth. Marxist humanism enables us to think critically about what is true and false. Postmodernism has fostered identity politics without class politics and consequently liberal reformism. Humanist Marxism advances democratic socialist politics. Postmodernism has advanced the hatred of Marx. In a time of major capitalist crisis, Marx is urgently needed. Post-colonial theory and thought have advanced forms of reverse orientalism (Chibber 2013; Warren 2017) where everything non-European and non-Western has been automatically considered as being progressive, which partly legitimates authoritarianism. Marxist humanism stresses universalism and human beings' commonality.

Marxist humanism challenges capitalism, imperialism, nationalism, patriarchy, racism, fascism, environmental degradation and these moments' interactions as anti-human forces that threaten and degrade humans and society. Patriarchy, racism, and environmental degradation have been challenged by the feminist, anti-racism and environmental movements. Such movements are not automatically politically progressive. There are, for example, also neoliberal feminisms, neoliberal versions of anti-racism, and fascist environmental groups. The point is that gender-related oppression, racism, and environmental destruction stand in relation to capitalist society, class, and the social question. Feminism, anti-racism, and environmentalism have to be socialist in character in order to be politically progressive.

The *third reason* is the need for dialectical analysis. Posthumanism, the concept of the Anthropocene, Actor Network Theory, New Materialism, etc. are attacks on the human being that collapse the dialectic of unity and differences into structures that eliminate or reduce the importance of humans. Post-humanism collapses the dialectic of human/non-humans and human/technology (robots) into the post-human cyborg. Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory declares that things and instruments such as machines are just like humans, social actors and together with the latter form actor networks. As a consequence, Latour collapses the differentiation between the human as the social being and the non-human into the actant as the social (see also Fuchs 2020, 20–21). Deep Ecology and animal liberation theory collapse the dialectic of nature/society into an undifferentiated whole. Postmodernism collapses the dialectic of class/non-class

into identity and the dialectic of culture/economy into culture. The concept of the Anthropocene blames the human being and not capitalism for the environmental crisis. The result of these developments has been the proliferation of undialectical, reductionist thought. While postmodernism and its various currents have continuously claimed that Marxism is reductionist and economic, they have themselves advanced new forms of reductionism. In contrast, Marxist humanism is dialectical. It foregrounds the importance of humans in society and the dialectical relations that the human being is part of.

The problems of structuralism constitute *the fourth reason*. (Post-)Structuralism reduces humans to bearers of structures that resemble puppets on a string. It underestimates the importance of human practices, human thought, communication, production, and social struggles in society. In contrast, Marxist humanism stresses practices, praxis and the dialectic of practices/structures in society. For example, Althusser sees humans not as active agents but as bearers and “the ‘supports’ (Träger) of [...] functions” (Althusser and Balibar 2009, 199) defined by society’s articulated structures and the mode of production. In Lacanian theory, humans “interact like puppets” and are “tools in the hands of the big Other” (Žižek 2007, p. 8). Lucien Goldmann in a debate with Foucault and Lacan argued that a famous slogan in the May 1968 Paris protests read that “structures do not take to the streets”, which means that “it is never structures that make history, but men, although action of these always have a structured and significant character” (in Foucault 1969, 816, translation from French). Lacan commented that “if there is anything that the May events demonstrate, it is precisely the descent of structures into the street” (in Foucault 1969, 820, translation from French). Structuralist accounts of society fetishize structures that are interpreted as autonomous actors acting on and independently from humans. They disregard Marx’s dialectical insight that humans “make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past” (Marx 1852, 103).

The fetishism of difference is *the fifth reason*. Postmodernism’s focus on difference has parallels to the ideology of the new right that demands the separation of cultures. The new forms of nationalism that have proliferated in the past 10 years fetishize difference by ascertaining pride in the nation and the hatred of immigrants, refugees, people of colour, etc. Marxist humanism stresses the universality of humanity, humans’ common features, and the indivisibility of humanity.

The contradiction between capitalism and nature that has led to the environmental crisis is *the sixth reason*. The dangers of climate change have led to movements such as Extinction Rebellion and Fridays For Future. The oil industry is one of the world's largest and most profitable industry. Capitalism makes a profit out of the destruction of nature. The ecological crisis is a humanist concern because the antagonism between capitalism and nature undermines the livelihood and survival-capacities of humans and society.

The atmospheric chemist Paul J. Crutzen, who won the 1995 Nobel Prize in Chemistry, is one of the key thinkers of the Anthropocene. He uses the term Anthropocene for the present geological epoch that according to him started "in the latter part of the eighteenth century", where the "the effects of humans on the global environment have escalated. Because of these anthropogenic emissions of carbon dioxide, global climate may depart significantly from natural behaviour for many millennia to come" (Crutzen 2016, 211).

There is the danger of the concept of the Anthropocene to blame humans and humanity as such for the environmental crisis. It is an anti-humanist category that abstracts from political economy, the relationship of nature and society, and the capitalist organisation of this relation.

The collective ownership of the means of production is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for overcoming the environmental crisis. Moore (2015) argues that there are Four Cheaps that capital seeks: cheap labour-power, cheap food, cheap energy, cheap natural resources. In capitalism, capital strives to find ways to cheapen and reduce the socially necessary labour time required for the production of labour-power, food, energy, and raw materials/natural resources in order to advance capital accumulation. We do not live in the Anthropocene, but the capitalist age. The Capitalocene is the "Age of Capital" that, among other moments, is based on the "worldwide appropriations of Cheap Nature" (Moore 2016, 81). The Capitalocene has been an "era of fossil energy powering the modern capitalist industrial system" (Altvater 2016, 145). "In the Capitalocene, 'nature' has been transformed into a capital asset. Nature has been reduced to something that can be valued and traded and used up just as any other asset" (Altvater 2016, 145). The class relation between capital and labour is capitalism's first antagonism. Its second antagonism is the one between capitalism and nature (O'Connor 1998)

Marx formulated the capitalist tendency to destroy nature and to thereby undermine the livelihood of humans in the following manner: "Capitalist production, therefore, only

develops the techniques and the degree of combination of the social process of production by simultaneously undermining the original sources of all wealth – the soil and the worker” (Marx 1867, 638). The establishment and struggle for red-green socialism is a dimension of Marxist humanism. Red-green socialism is the best foundation for the survival of humans and society, including human nature and external nature.

Marxist humanism is a counter-narrative, counter-theory, and counter-politics to these developments. A critical, dialectical theory of communication can draw on and start from this intellectual tradition. The methodological approach that the present author takes in this context is to make visible, engage with, draw on, start from, use, interpret, and further develop elements from often unknown, hidden, ignored, neglected, and forgotten Marxist-humanist works.

1.3 The structure of this book

Each chapter in this book focuses on (a) particular Marxist humanist theorist(s): Erich Fromm (Chapter 2), Edward P. Thompson (Chapter 3), Raymond Williams (Chapter 4), Henri Lefebvre (Chapter 5), Georg Lukács and Lucien Goldmann (Chapter 6), Günther Anders (Chapter 7), Jean-Paul Sartre (Chapter 8), M. N. Roy (Chapter 9). A reading of particular works of these theorists is presented as well as my own interpretation that situates these approaches in the context of a critical theory of communication and thereby goes beyond the respective original approaches. None of these thinkers established a full-fledged theory of communication. But we can find elements in their thought that can inform the development of a critical theory of communication. Chapter 10 operates on a meta-level. It analyses the relationship of capitalism, racism, and patriarchy in general and in the context of communication. Some conclusions are presented in Chapter 11.

The thinkers whom the reader encounters in this book will now be briefly introduced. The list of thinkers I engage with is incomplete. More work remains to be done. I did some more related work, situating the works of Frankfurt School thinkers in the context of a critical theory of communication (Fuchs 2016). On another occasion, I engaged with the debate between Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth that focused on the question of how recognition and redistribution are related (Fuchs 2011, Chapter 2, Section 2.3).

Erich Fromm (1900–1980) was a Marxist-humanist philosopher, psychoanalyst, and sociologist. He coined the notion of the authoritarian character. Among his most important books are *Escape from Freedom*, *The Sane Society*, *Marx's Concept of*

Man, The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness, and the collected volume *Socialist Humanism*.

Edward P. Thompson (1924–1993) was a Marxist-humanist historian, who analysed the working-class history and the history of working-class culture. His most important books are *The Making of the English Working Class*, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*. *The Poverty of Theory* is a critique of the approach of the French structuralist and anti-humanist Louis Althusser.

Raymond Williams (1921–1988) was a Marxist-humanist literary and cultural theorist and novelist. He established the approach of cultural materialism. Among his most important works are *Marxism and Literature*, *Communications*, and *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. As a novelist, he wrote stories that are often set in the working class and the socialist and communist movement.

Henri Lefebvre (1901–1991) was a Marxist-humanist philosopher and sociologist. He can be considered as the most important and most influential French Marxist theorist. He published more than sixty books, including the three-volume *The Critique of Everyday Life* and *The Production of Space*.

Georg/György Lukács (1885–1971) was a philosopher who is often considered as the most influential theorist of the 20th century. In his book *History and Class Consciousness*, he coined based on Marx the notion of reified consciousness that influenced ideology critique and the development of the Frankfurt School's notion of instrumental reason. *Zur Ontologie des gesellschaftlichen Seins (The Ontology of Society's Being)* is Lukács' second masterpiece but has been widely forgotten and overlooked.

Lucien Goldmann (1913–1970) was a philosopher and sociologist who was strongly influenced by Lukács' works, which is why Lukács and Goldmann are in the book at hand discussed in one chapter. Among Goldmann's books are *The Human Sciences and Philosophy*, *Cultural Creation in Modern Society*, and *Lukács and Heidegger: Towards a New Philosophy*.

Günther Anders (1902–1992) was a philosopher and critical theorist of technology. He analysed how contemporary technologies are used by capital and bureaucracy for advancing alienation and destroying humans' control of society. Anders's most well-known book is the two-volume *Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen (The Outdatedness/Antiquatedness of the Human Being)*.

Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) was an existentialist philosopher and novelist. His first main work *Being and Nothingness* that was first published in 1943 has often been criticised as advancing individualism and nihilism. Sartre increasingly turned towards Marxist humanism and communism. His two-volume *Critique of Dialectical Reason* grounded an existentialist Marxist humanism. *Critique of Dialectical Reason* is the focus of the Sartre chapter in the book at hand. Sartre's lifelong partner Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986) was an important humanist, socialist, feminist writer and theorist.

M. N. Roy (1887–1954) was a philosopher, political theorist, and anti-Stalinist communist activist who founded the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India. Roy was influenced by both humanism and Marxism. Among his major works are *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution*, *New Humanism: A Manifesto*, *Science and Philosophy*, *Fascism: Its Philosophy, Professions and Practice*, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in China*. At the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920, Roy presented supplementary theses to Lenin's *Theses on the National and Colonial Questions* and convinced Lenin to agree with his position. Roy put the interaction of capitalism, imperialism, and racism on the agenda of the international communist movement.

Chapter 11 theorises the relationship between capitalism, racism, and patriarchy. It engages with the works of a variety of authors, including Vivek Chibber, Mariarosa Dalla Costa, Angela Davis, W. E. B. Du Bois, Zillah Eisenstein, Eric J. Hobsbawm, C. L. R. James, Selma James, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Marx, Maria Mies, Eve Mitchell, Cedric J. Robinson, David Roediger, Marisol Sandoval, Audrey Smedley, Sylvia Walby, Carter Wilson, and Cornel West.

Vivek Chibber is a Marxist sociologist and critic of anti-humanist versions of post-colonial theory. He is author of the book *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*. Mariarosa Dalla Costa is a socialist feminist who together with Selma James authored *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*, a classical work in socialist feminism that analyses the role of housework in capitalism. Selma James started the International Wages Housework Campaign. Angela Davis is a philosopher and a representative of feminist black Marxist theory. Among her books are *Women, Race & Class* and *Are Prisons Obsolete?* W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) was a sociologist, historian and civil rights activist campaigning for the rights of Afro-Americans. He was involved in founding the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Among his main works are *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* and *The Souls of Black Folk*.

Zillah Eisenstein is a Marxist-feminist political theorist. She edited and contributed the major essays in the influential collected volume *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*. Eric J. Hobsbawm (1917–2012) was a historian of the modern age. He is best known for his trilogy *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848*, *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875*, and *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914*. C. L. R. James (1901–1989) was a Marxist-humanist philosopher and anti-Stalinist socialist activist. Among his writings are *Notes on Dialectics: Hegel, Marx and Lenin*, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, *State Capitalism and World Revolution*, *Modern Politics*, and *World Revolution, 1917–1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International*. James' wife Selma James was already mentioned. Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919) was a political economist, political theorist, and politician who was involved in the founding of the Communist Party of Germany. Her major political-economic work is *The Accumulation of Capital*. Luxemburg gave attention to the roles of imperialism, war, nationalism, and women in capitalism. Karl Marx needs no further introduction.

Maria Mies is a sociologist and socialist-feminist theorist. She is the author of the book *Patriarchy and Accumulation On A World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. Together with Vandana Shiva, she wrote the book *Ecofeminism*. Together with Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen and Claudia Von Werlhof, she wrote the book *Women: The Last Colony*. Eve Mitchell is a Marxist-feminist and critic of intersectionality theory who wrote *I Am a Woman and a Human: A Marxist-Feminist Critique of Intersectionality Theory*. Cedric J. Robinson (1940–2016) was a social theorist who coined the notion of racial capitalism for analysing the relation of capitalism and racism. He is the author of *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. David Roediger is a historian who studies the relationship between capitalism and racism. He is the author of the book *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Marisol Sandoval is a critical theorist of culture and communication who has analysed cultural co-operatives, cultural labour in the cultural industries, the political economy of digital and alternative media, and the ideological character of corporate social responsibility initiatives. She is the author of the book *From Corporate to Social Media: Critical Perspectives on Corporate Social Responsibility in Media and Communication Industries*. Audrey Smedley is a historian with a particular interest analysis of the history of racism. She is the author of the book *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*. Sylvia Walby is a sociologist and socialist feminist theorist. She is author of books such as *Theorizing Patriarchy*; *Patriarchy at Work: Patriarchal and Capitalist Relations in Employment*,

1800–1984; or *Theorizing Violence*. Carter A. Wilson is a political theorist whose work has a focus on the analysis of racism and who is the author of books such as *Racism: From Slavery to Advanced Capitalism*. Cornel West is a social theorist, public intellectual, and religious socialism. He is the author of works such as *The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought*, *Race Matters*, and *Black Prophetic Fire*.

1.4 Alienation

Alienation is an important concept in Marx's works. He used throughout his life in his, including early works such as *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, his middle period when he wrote manuscripts such as *Grundrisse*, and his later period when he worked on *Capital*. Alienation is one of Marxist humanism's key categories.

Marx develops and uses the term "alienation" in respect to political economy the first time in the essay *The Jewish Question* that he wrote in autumn 1843, and that was published in February 1844: "Money is the estranged essence of man's work and man's existence, and this alien essence dominates him, and he worships it" (Marx 1844b, 172). In his doctoral dissertation, Marx (1841, 64) spoke in the context of Epicurus' philosophy of the "alienation of the essence".

In 1843, in a reading of Hegel in the *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*, Marx argued that there is also political and ideological alienation: "It is indeed *estrangement* which matters in the so-called Christian state, but not *man*. The only man who counts, the *king*, is a being specifically different from other men, and is moreover a religious being, directly linked with heaven, with God. The relationships which prevail here are still relationships dependent on *faith*" (Marx 1843, 158). "Political emancipation is at the same time the *dissolution* of the old society on which the state alienated from the people, the sovereign power, is based." (Marx 1843, 165).

In the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx specifies that capitalism results in the alienation of labour, which means a fourfold form of alienation (Marx 1844a, 276–277):

- 1) The alienation of humans from nature;
- 2) From their activities and species-being;
- 3) From their bodies and mind that form the human essence;
- 4) From the "product of his [the worker's] labour, from his life activity" (Marx 1844a, 276–277) and as a consequence from other humans and society.

In the *Grundrisse*, Marx presents economic alienation as the class relation between capital and labour:

The emphasis comes to be placed not on the state of being objected, but on the state of being alienated, dispossessed, sold [Der Ton wird gelegentlich nicht auf das *Vergegenständlichtsein*, sondern das *Entfremdet*, Entäußert-, Veräußertsein]; on the condition that the monstrous objective power which social labour itself erected opposite itself as one of its moments belongs not to the worker, but to the personified conditions of production, i.e. to capital. (Marx 1857/58, 831)

In *Capital Volume 1*, Marx argues that capital is an “alien power that dominates and exploits” workers and that in capitalism labour is “separated from its own means of objectification and realization” (Marx 1867, 716). In *Capital Volume 3*, Marx (1894) talks about alienation in chapters 5, 23, 27,36, and 48. He argues in chapter 23 that interest means the transfer of alienation from the realm of labour’s exploitation into the realm of interest-bearing capital. In Chapter 48, he writes that alienation not just exists in the relationship between capital and labour, but that rent and interest are also expressions of economic alienation.

Taken together, we see that alienation for Marx, on the one hand, is the particular form of domination and exploitation that shapes the capitalist mode of production, in which labour creates commodities without owning the means of production and without controlling the conditions and the results of production. On the other hand, Marx sees alienation also as the universal form of domination, in which humans are not in control of the structures that affect their everyday lives. All class relations are economic forms of alienation. But alienation extends beyond the economy so that also the state and ideology alienate humans from the conditions of collective political decision-making and cultural meaning-making.

In his essay *Universal Alienation* in the present special issue, David Harvey (2018) defines alienation as universal in three respects:

- 1) Alienation in the economy not just entails capital’s exploitation of labour, but also the realms of realisation, distribution and consumption, which means it extends to phenomena such as unemployment, consumerism, land seizure, deindustrialisation, debt peonage, financial scams, unaffordable housing, high food prices, etc.

- 2) Alienation entails processes beyond the economy, such as frustrations with politics, unaffordable public services, nationalist ideology, racism, police violence, militarism, warfare, alcoholism, suicide, depression, bureaucracy, pollution, gentrification, or climate change.
- 3) Alienation includes the geographic and social expansion of capital accumulation so that capital relations “dominate pretty much everywhere” (Harvey 2018, 427). “Alienation is everywhere. It exists at work in production, at home in consumption, and it dominates much of politics and daily life” (Harvey 2018, 429).

So, the universalisation of alienation means its extension beyond production, the economy and bounded spaces. Capital and capitalist society overcome and break down their own barriers in order to expand. In *Marx, Capital and the Madness of Economic Reason*, Harvey (2017, 47) argues that “a great deal of appropriation of value through predation occurs at the point of realization”, which results in “[a]lienation upon realization” (Harvey 2017, 196).

In all forms of alienation, humans face asymmetric power relations and conditions that hinder their control over certain objects, structures or products (external nature, the means of production, the means of communication, the political system, the cultural system, etc.) so that aspects of their subjectivity are damaged (concerning human activities, well-being, consciousness, mind/psyche, body, worldviews, social relations). Alienation is neither purely objective nor purely subjective, but a negative relationship between social structures and humans in heteronomous societies.

In *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, David Harvey (2014) devotes chapter 17 to the topic of “The Revolt of Human Nature: Universal Alienation”. He argues that Marxists have often excluded alienation from consideration and have cancelled it off as “non-scientific concept” (Harvey 2014, 269). But the “scientific stance failed to capture the political imagination of viable alternatives” and “could not even confront the madness of the prevailing economic and political reason” (Harvey 2014, 269). Universal alienation is, therefore, a concept that in light of the danger that we may face “a less-than-human humanity” (Harvey 2014, 264) can provide prospects for alternatives. Alienation has always been a prominent concept in socialist/Marxist humanism (Fromm 1965, Alderson and Spencer 2017). Radical socialist humanism is the best way of opposing authoritarian capitalism’s and neoliberalism’s anti-humanism (Fuchs 2018).

Consequently, Harvey argues for both the use of the concept of universal alienation and for revolutionary humanism (Harvey 2014, 282–293 [Conclusion]). Humanism argues that “[w]e can through conscious thought and action change both the world we live in and ourselves for the better” and “that measures its achievements in terms of the liberation of human potentialities, capacities and powers” (Harvey 2014, 282–283). Harvey notes that humanism has been perverted and turned into a particularism that disguises itself as universalism but advances “imperialist and colonial cultural domination” (Harvey 2014, 285). He, therefore, argues for a “secular *revolutionary* humanism” that counters “alienation in its many forms and to radically change the world from its capitalist ways” (Harvey 2014, 287). Hardt and Negri (2017, 72–76) argue that there are parallels between autonomist and humanist Marxism: Both take subjectivity, social struggles and social change serious and oppose dogmatic Marxism and Stalinism.

Marx emphasises that the logic of accumulation characterises capitalism. This logic has its origin in the capitalist economy. But it also shapes modern politics and modern culture in capitalist societies. These systems are in capitalist society focused on the accumulation of political and cultural power. The accumulation of power takes the form of the accumulation of capital, the accumulation of decision-power, and the accumulation of definition-power. The consequences of accumulation are asymmetries of power, namely class structures, power structures and ideology (see Table 1.1).

Alienation means that humans are confronted with structures and conditions that cannot control and influence themselves. Under conditions of alienation, humans do not control the economic, political and cultural products that influence their lives and everyday life. Alienation means the “loss” of a product that does not belong to people. Use-values, collectively binding decisions and collective meanings are social products of human practices. In a capitalist society, however, they are controlled by only a few, which means that objectively alienating conditions exist.

TABLE 1.1 The antagonisms in three forms of alienation

Type of alienation	Dominating subjects	Dominated subjects
Economic alienation: exploitation	Ruling class, exploiters	Exploited class
Political alienation: domination	Dictator, dictatorial groups	Excluded individuals and groups
Cultural alienation: an ideology that results in disrespect	Ideologues	Disrespected individuals and groups

TABLE 1.2 The main actors in alienated and humanist society

	Alienated society	Humanist society
Economy	Exploiter	Socialist
Politics	Dictator	Democrat
Culture	Ideologue, demagogue	Friend

Table 1.2 illustrates the antagonism between alienated and humanistic society along the three societal dimensions of economy, politics, and culture. In alienated society, the main actors are the exploiter in the economy, the dictator in politics, and the ideologist/demagogue in culture. Humanism is the alternative to alienated society. In a humanist society, the main actors are the socialist in the economy, the democrat in politics, and the solidary friend in culture.

Literature

- Adorno, Theodor W., et al. 1950. *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Alderson, David, and Robert Spencer. 2017. *For Humanism. Explorations in Theory and Politics*. London: Pluto.
- Althusser, Louis. 1969. *For Marx*. London: Verso.
- Althusser, Louis, and Étienne Balibar. 2009. *Reading Capital*. London: Verso.
- Altvater, Elmar. 2016. "The Capitalocene, or, Geoengineering against Capitalism's Planetary Boundaries." In *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*, edited by Jason W. Moore, 138–152. Oakland, CA: PM Press.
- Chibber, Vivek. 2013. *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*. London: Verso.
- Crutzen, Paul J. 2016. "Geology of Mankind." In *Paul J. Crutzen: A Pioneer on Atmospheric Chemistry and Climate Change in the Anthropocene*, edited by Paul J. Crutzen and Hans Günter Brauch, 211–215. Cham: Springer.
- Foucault, Michel. 1969. "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" In *Dits et écrits I 1954-1969*, 789-821. Paris: Gallimard.
- Fromm, Erich. 1969. *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Avon.
- , ed. 1965. *Socialist Humanism. An International Symposium*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Fuchs, Christian. 2020. *Communication and Capitalism: A Critical Theory*. London: University of Westminster Press. doi:<https://doi.org/10.16997/book45>.
- Fuchs, Christian. 2018. *Digital Demagogue: Authoritarian Capitalism in the Age of Trump and Twitter*. London: Pluto Press.

- . 2016. *Critical Theory of Communication: New Readings of Lukács, Adorno, Marcuse, Honneth and Habermas in the Age of the Internet*. London: University of Westminster. doi:<https://doi.org/10.16997/book1>.
- . 2011. *Foundations of Critical Media and Information Studies*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. 2017. *Assembly*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, David. 2018. "Universal Alienation." *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique* 16 (2): 424–439. doi:<https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v16i2.1026>.
- . 2017. *Marx, Capital and the Madness of Economic Reason*. London: Profile.
- . 2014. *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*. London: Profile.
- Horkheimer, Max. 1939/1989. "The Jews and Europe." In *Critical Theory and Society: A Reader*, edited by Stephen E. Bronner and Douglas Kellner, 77–94. New York: Routledge.
- Lukács, Georg. 1971. *History and Class Consciousness*. London: Merlin.
- Marx, Karl. 1894. *Capital Volume III*. London: Penguin.
- . 1867. *Capital Volume I*. London: Penguin.
- . 1857/58. *Grundrisse*. London: Penguin.
- . 1852. "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." In *Marx & Engels Collected Works (MECW)*, 99–197. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- . 1844a. "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844." In *Marx & Engels Collected Works (MECW) Volume 3*, 229–346. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- . 1844b. "On the Jewish Question." In *Marx & Engels Collected Works (MECW) Volume 3*, 146–174. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- . 1843. "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law." In *Marx & Engels Collected Works (MECW) Volume 3*, 3–129. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- . 1841. "Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature." In *Marx & Engels Collected Works (MECW) Volume 1*, 25–107. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Moore, Jason W. 2016. "The Rise of Cheap Nature." In *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*, edited by Jason W. Moore, 78–115. Oakland, CA: PM Press.
- . 2015. *Capitalism in the Web of Life*. London: Verso.
- O'Connor, James. 1998. *Natural Causes. Essays in Ecological Marxism*. New York/London: Guilford Press.
- Warren, Rosie, ed. 2017. *The Debate on "Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital"*. London: Verso.
- Žižek, Slavoj. 2007. *How to Read Lacan*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Chapter Eleven

Conclusion

- 11.1 Capitalism, racism, patriarchy
- 11.2 The base/superstructure-problem
- 11.3 Theorising communication
- 11.4 The political economy of communication
- 11.5 Ideology critique
- 11.6 Communication/struggles/alternatives
- 11.7 Communication and alienation
- 11.8 Humanism

The task of the book at hand is to provide readings of and engage with selected Marxist humanist theoretical approaches in order to identify and create elements for the foundations of a critical theory of communication. It is now time to summarise some of the findings.

11.1 Capitalism, racism, patriarchy

Capitalist society is a society that is shaped by the logic of accumulation and instrumental reason. In the economy, accumulation means the accumulation of capital. In the political system, accumulation means the accumulation of decision-power. In the cultural system, accumulation means the accumulation of reputation and attention.

Instrumental reason is a logic that instrumentalizes humans in order to realise the partial interests of the ruling class and dominant groups. Through exploitation, domination and ideology, instrumental reason turns humans into instruments that advance partial interests of classes and groups that dominate society. In a capitalist society, instrumental reason takes on the form of accumulation and results in inequalities. Instrumental reason undermines human equality. Exploitation, domination, and ideology deny humans their humanity. They are forms of alienation. Alienation means anti-humanism.

Table 11.1 provides an overview of the types of alienation introduced in the introduction of this book (see also Chapter 1).

Capitalism, racism, and patriarchy are three modes of power relations that each combine economic alienation, political alienation, and cultural alienation. Capitalism, racism, and patriarchy involve specific forms of exploitation, domination, and ideology. The three forms of alienation are interacting in particular forms of power relations.

Table 11.2 shows the economic, political and cultural dimensions of capitalism, racism, and patriarchy.

Capitalism, racism, and patriarchy/gender-related oppression are inherently connected and interacting. The economy plays a particular role in this interaction because these

TABLE 11.1 Alienation processes and the main actors in an alienated and humanist society

	Alienation process	Alienated society	Humanist society
Economy	Exploitation	Exploiter	Socialist
Politics	Domination	Dictator	Democrat
Culture	Ideology	Ideologue, demagogue	Friend

TABLE 11.2 The economic, political and cultural-ideological dimensions of capitalism, racism, and patriarchy

	Capitalism	Racism	Patriarchy
Economic dimension	the exploitation of the working class	the exploitation and super-exploitation of racialised groups	the exploitation and super-exploitation of gender-defined groups, including houseworkers, female care workers, and female wage-workers
Political dimension	bureaucratic discrimination of, surveillance of, state control of, and violence directed against dominated classes (such as wage-workers, slave-workers, particular types of workers, etc.)	bureaucratic discrimination of, surveillance of, state control of, and violence directed against racialised groups	bureaucratic discrimination of, surveillance of, state control of, and violence directed against gender-defined groups
Cultural-ideological dimension	denial of voice, respect, recognition, attention and visibility of the working class, ideological scapegoating of the working class	denial of voice, respect, recognition, attention and visibility of racialised groups, ideological scapegoating of racialised groups	denial of voice, respect, recognition, attention and visibility of gender-defined groups, ideological scapegoating of gender-defined groups

TABLE 11.3 The interaction of class, racism, gender oppression

	Class	Racism	Gender-related oppression, patriarchy
Class	Exploitation	Racist exploitation	Gender-structured exploitation
Racism	Racist exploitation	Racism	Discrimination of racialised individuals or groups of a particular gender
Gender-related oppression, patriarchy	Gender-structured exploitation	Discrimination of racialised individuals or groups of a particular gender	Gender discrimination

power relations are relations of production and accumulation of power. Table 11.3 provides an overview of the interactions of capitalism, racism, and patriarchy.

The capitalist economy creates forms of highly exploited, insecure, precarious labour, including racialised labour, unpaid labour, reproductive labour, and gender-defined labour, in order to maximise profits. Racism and patriarchy have economic, political, and ideological dimensions. In capitalism, these dimensions are united by the logic of accumulation. Class, racism, and gender oppression/patriarchy are the three main forms of power relations that advance alienation, deny humans their humanity, and create damaged lives.

Ideology, culture and authority result in capital accumulation, profit, and surplus-wages in the economy. Ideology and politics in modern society are systems of accumulation, in which political and cultural surpluses are accumulated.

The approaches analysed in this book contribute to the following dimensions of a critical theory of communication:

- 1) The base/superstructure-problem
- 2) Theorising communication
- 3) The political economy of communication
- 4) Ideology critique
- 5) Communication/struggles/alternatives
- 6) Communication and alienation
- 7) Humanism

11.2 The base/superstructure-problem

Concepts of culture and communication that see the economy, the means of production, and work as forming the “base” and politics and culture as forming the “superstructure”, advance a dualist and idealist understanding where culture, ideas, and communication are immaterial and separate from the economy. Raymond Williams argues against such approaches that culture, ideas, and communication are material and part of material production. For example, the existence of the cultural industry, cultural labour, and cultural commodities shows that we cannot neatly separate the economy and culture.

A dialectical solution of the base/superstructure-problem is that social production is the foundation of society and forms the economic moment that operates in all social relations and all realms of society. Communication is the mediation process in social production. Humans not just produce economic goods but also political decisions, rules, ideas, meanings, etc. Social production is economical but also operates inside non-economic realms such as politics and culture. Politics and culture are at the same time economic and non-economic. Their structures are produced and reproduced in and through social practices. Once produced, they take on emergent qualities that cannot be reduced to the moment of social production. Politics and culture are economical because there are political and cultural workers who produce and reproduce political and economic structures that have relative autonomy from the economy.

In *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* (*The Specificity of the Aesthetic*), Lukács describes everyday life metaphorically as a river that produces new qualities. Production is for him a flow, from which emergent qualities and novelty arise. The metaphor of society as a river is much more dynamic than the one of a building. In a building, there is a basement and there are floors that sit on top of the basement. The river in contrast is a productive flow that constantly produces something new through which the flow and the river as a system reproduce themselves.

Culture cannot be reduced to political economy; however, it is also not fully independent but grounded in the economy, and at the same time relatively autonomous. Ideas and culture cannot be read off the mode of production. We can learn from M. N. Roy that a mode of production influences but does not determine forms of culture.

11.3 Theorising communication

Erich Fromm's approach can inform a critical theory of communication in multiple respects. For example, his notion of the social character allows underpinning such a theory with foundations from critical psychology. The social character is a socio-psychological mediation. It mediates between the levels of the individual psyche and society. Fromm's distinction between the authoritarian and the humanistic character can be used for discerning among authoritarian and humanistic communication as two forms of communication. These two types can exist in relation to the economy, politics, and culture.

E. P. Thompson stresses that experience mediates between structures and individuals in society. Further developing Thompson's approach, we can argue that communication is the social experience and process that mediates between the individual and structures in society.

The human being is a natural, social, co-operating and self-conscious being. These characteristics are only possible through social relations that humans produce in society. There is a dialectic of communication and production. *Communication is productive*, and *production is communicative*. Communication is the process of the production of sociality, which includes the production and reproduction of social relations, social structures, social systems, and society as a totality. Production is a social process where communication is the mediation process.

Georg Lukács argues that work and production are the foundations of human existence and society. In his book *Zur Ontologie des gesellschaftlichen Seins (Ontology of Society's Being)*, he characterises work and production as teleological positing. They are oriented on a goal (a telos), namely, to produce something that helps humans achieve certain purposes. What Lukács terms teleological positing, is seen as practices by Jean-Paul Sartre. Communication is a specific form of teleological positing, a symbolic process of human interaction through which humans realise the purpose of understanding each other and (re)producing social relations. This means that communication is work.

But not just is communication work, also work is communicative: For attaining certain purposes in processes of teleological positing, humans do normally not act as lone wolves but must communicate with others, coordinate actions, and to a specific degree co-operate. In *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen (The Specificity of the Aesthetic)*, Lukács argues that human information processes make use of three signal systems: signal

system 1 coordinates instincts, signal system 1' thought, and signal system 2 communication. Lukács argues that humans think and communicate in order to form concepts for work in the work process.

Sartre points out that communication is not just a relation between two humans who symbolically interact with each other, but a ternary relation where the relation between two becomes possible through a third party. The third moment that mediates the social relation between two humans can be a third human, a social system, a techno-social system, a subsystem as society, or society. Sartre stresses the human aspect of mediation. Mediation does not simply involve machines, tools, and technologies, but is a human-made and human-led process that often involves techno-social systems. The communication process is a productive practice that produces and reproduces a group, that is sociality.

Henri Lefebvre argues that humans socially produce space. Social space is a bounded collection of interacting humans, social structures, social systems, and institutions. There is a dialectic of social space and human action. Humans produce and reproduce social relations. A multitude of social relations together forms social spaces. The implication is that humans also produce and reproduce social spaces that condition, that enables and constrains, human practices. Communication is a mediation process of humans' social production. Communication is the human production process of sociality, including social spaces. Communication takes place in and creates social space.

11.4 The political economy of communication

Modern society is a generalised form of accumulation, in which classes and social groups strive for the accumulation of economic power (money-capital), political power (influence on decision-making), and cultural power (reputation). Capitalism is not just an economic mode of production, but a societal mode of production, a societal formation that is based on the principle of accumulation.

Information faces a contradiction between commodification and commonification. The movement of information becoming a commons undercuts the commodification of information. Examples are creative commons, file-sharing platforms, open access publishing, open wireless communities, free software, Wikipedia, etc

There are two basic forms of social relations. One is shaped by alienation, the other one by individual and social self-management. Sartre speaks of the series in opposition

to the fused group. The first is characterised by instrumentality, impersonality, domination, imitation, separation, isolation, massification, and interchangeability; the second is characterised by reciprocity, freedom, co-operation, fraternity, community, synthesis, and union. At the level of society, these differences translate into the opposition between class societies/dominative societies and socialism. Socialism is a humanist society, a society that guarantees a good life for all humans. Class societies, dominative societies, and capitalist societies are anti-humanist societies.

The two types of social relations translate into two basic types of communication:

- a) Alienated, capitalist, authoritarian, anti-humanist, ideological communication;
- b) Unalienated, socialist, democratic, humanist communication.

11.5 Ideology critique

Ideology tries to reduce human thought and action to automatic reflexes of signal system 1 that lack reflection and communicative encounter. This is just another formulation for saying that ideology tries to create instrumentally thinking humans who act and think like programmable machines. Ideology wants to deny human freedom of thought by trying to impose dominant interests that require exploitation and domination. Ideology tries to turn thought and consciousness into things that are robbed of universal human interests, freedom, and creativity. Ideology is what Lukács in his book *History and Class Consciousness* terms reified consciousness.

In *Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen 2* (*The Antiquatedness of the Human Being 2*), Günther Anders writes that false consciousness is just the immediate goal that ideologues want to achieve. For Anders, ideology is an apparatus for the creation of a false will and false action. For Anders, commercial media's ideological manufacturing of reality entails banalisation, unilateralism, di-vidualism, sensationalism, and anti-sensationalism.

Erich Fromm's work can inform ideology critique: The ideology of having shapes life, thought, language and social action in capitalism. In capitalism, technology (including computing) is fetishized and the logic of quantification shapes social relations. A typical example is the digital positivism and fetishism of quantification advanced by big data analytics and computational social science. Fromm's quest for humanist technology and participatory computing can inform contemporary debates about digital capitalism and its alternatives. Fromm's critique of the ideology of having

corresponded to Georg Lukács critique of reified consciousness, Max Horkheimer's and Theodor W. Adorno's critique of instrumental reason, and Jean-Paul Sartre's critique of analytical reason. At the level of ideology, the ideology of having, reified consciousness, instrumental reason, and analytical reason try to turn human consciousness into an instrument that assesses exploitation and domination positively. To the extent that ideology succeeds, the interest of the ruling class and dominative groups are legitimated and reproduced.

Günther Anders introduced the notions of the Promethean gap and Promethean shame as contributions to ideology critique in the context of technologies. He argues that many modern and capitalist technologies have an aura of greatness that produces a gap between production and imagination, a kind of technological fetishism. On the one hand, such technologies can under the conditions of class society and domination have alienating effects so that humans are not in control of technologies. Marx argues in this context that technologies become capital and means of control that mediate turning the human being into a machine and instrument that serves the interests of capital and bureaucracy. Anders argues that technological alienation is often accompanied by technological fetishism, humans feel ashamed of being human and imagine the machine as perfect and God-like. They blindly trust the capacities of machines and believe in technological solutions and fixes to society's problems. The resulting technocracy often makes things worse. Instead of solutions to society's problems, existing problems are exacerbated, and new ones created.

11.6 Communication/struggles/alternatives

The term communication in modern language is derived from the Latin verb *communicare*. *Communicare* means to share and to make something common. Struggles for the commons aim at overcoming class and heteronomy and to make society a realm of common control.

The humanistic shaping and design of computer technology and society has the potential to advance participatory democracy. A truly communicative society is a society, in which the original meaning of communication as making something common is the organising principle. A true communication society is a society of the commons, where the means of production, political decision-making, and collective meaning-making are controlled by humans in common. Society and therefore also communication's existence then correspond to communication's essence.

11.7 Communication and alienation

Structural inequality, discrimination, and ideology are forms of communication. They communicate dehumanisation to alienated groups and individuals. Communication is not just a direct form of mutual symbolic interaction mediated by language, but also a structural and more indirect relation where power relations communicate the superiority of certain groups such as capitalists, managers, groups who see themselves as culturally or biologically superior, etc.

Communication is a human process of symbolic interaction. Communications are communication systems, means of communication that humans use in the communication process. In alienated societies, communication and communications tend to take on an alienated character. This is not an absolute and total process. It depends on the presence and results of social struggle Table 11.4 gives an overview of forms of alienation communication(s)

Capitalism, racism, and patriarchy have aspects of economic communication, political communication, and ideological/cultural communication. These aspects are summarised in Table 11.5.

Table 11.6 applies Table 11.4 to the realm of digital media. It identifies three forms of digital alienation and identifies ten examples.

Table 11.7 describes the three forms of digital alienation as the antagonism between ruling and ruled subjects.

TABLE 11.4 Types of alienated communication(s)

Type of alienated communication(s)	Alienated communication	Alienated means of communication (= communications)
Alienated economic communication(s)	exploitation of communication workers; humans are economically disabled from or limited in producing, disseminating, or consuming information	private ownership of the means of communication
Alienated political communication(s)	exclusion of humans and their voices from political communication that influences political decisions	dictatorial governance of the means of communication
Alienated cultural communication(s)	the production and dissemination of ideology and the (re)production of asymmetries of attention and visibility of communication	ideological means of communication that advance malrecognition

TABLE 11.5 Economic, political and cultural communication in the context of class, racism, and gender-related oppression

	Class	Racism	Patriarchy, gender-related oppression
Economic communication	Structural inequality of wealth between classes as economic communication	Structural inequalities that racialised workers face in the economy as economic communication	Structural inequalities that women or other gender-defined groups face in the economy as economic communication
Political communication	Bureaucratic and state discrimination of workers as political communication	Political communication in the form of bureaucratic, state and other forms of discrimination exerted against racialised individuals	Bureaucratic and state discrimination of women or other gender-defined groups as political communication
Cultural communication	Ideological scapegoating of workers, commodity fetishism as cultural communication	ideological scapegoating of racialised individuals as cultural communication	Ideological scapegoating of women or other gender-defined groups as cultural communication

TABLE 11.6 Three forms of digital alienation

Economic digital alienation: digital exploitation	(1) Digital class relations, digital monopolies, (2) digital individualism, digital accumulation, digital competition
Political digital alienation: digital domination	(3) Digital surveillance, (4) anti-social social media, digital authoritarianism, (5) algorithmic politics, (6) online filter bubbles
Cultural digital alienation: digital ideology	(7) Digital boulevard, digital cultural industry, (8) influencer capitalism, (9) digital acceleration, (10) online false news

TABLE 11.7 Three antagonisms of digital alienation

Type of Alienation	Dominant subject(s)	Dominated subjects
Economic digital alienation:digital exploitation	Digital capital	Digital labour
Political digital alienation:digital domination	Digital dictators	Digital citizens
Cultural digital alienation:digital ideology	Digital ideologues	Digital humans

The capitalist economy, positivism, capitalist machinery/technologies, dehumanising bureaucracy, advertising, ideologies such as racism and neoliberalism, and the culture industry are examples of alienation. In the context of digital capitalist society and digital alienation, such phenomena take on forms such as digital capitalism, digital/big

data positivism, digital machines, e-government, online and mobile ads, ideologies online (including online racism, online neoliberalism, etc.).

For M. N. Roy, humanism is a movement for economic, political and cultural democracy, a movement for a participatory democracy that is based on co-operatives and networks of local assemblies. Humanism questions alienation in general. Digital humanism challenges digital alienation. Humanism and socialism belong together. In the age of digital technologies, we need a digital humanism combined with digital socialism.

11.8 Humanism

A humanist society is a just, democratic, free and fair society. Table 11.8 provides an overview of the humanist organisation of society's various realms.

Table 11.9 provides an overview of forms of humanist communication and media.

Humanist, just communication means socialist media/communication in the economy, democratic media/communication in politics, and respectful communication and media that are a source of the recognition of everyone. Humanist, just communication stands in an antagonism to class-based, exploitative media/communication, dictatorial media/communication, and ideological media/communication that advance malrecognition and asymmetries of voice.

Table 11.10 provides an overview of just, humanist digital communication(s).

Communication is a central aspect of humans and society. It is not a superstructural or idealist phenomenon, but an aspect of the materiality of society and humans. Communication is the process of the production of human sociality. It is the social production process that produces sociality. Class and dominative societies are

TABLE 11.8 Dimensions of a humanist society

Realm of society	Dimension of humanism	Meaning of humanism
Economy: economic justice	Socialism	self-managed economic organisations where the means of production are collectively owned and controlled, wealth for all
Politics: political justice	Participatory democracy	All humans are enabled to participate in the decision-making processes that concern their lives
Culture: cultural justice	Respect, recognition	Human beings and groups are welcomed and their interests, identities, worldviews, and lifestyles are recognised; there is unity in diversity of identities, worldviews, interests, and lifestyles

TABLE 11.9 Forms of humanist and just communication/media

Dimension of humanism	Humanist, just communication	Humanist, just media/means of communication
Economic justice	Socialist communication: worker self-management of communication companies; enablement of humans to produce, disseminate, and consume information	Socialist media: collective ownership of means of communication (public service media, citizen media); information and information technologies as common and public goods
Political justice	Democratic communication: participation of humans in political communication so that their voices are heard and make a collective difference	Democratic media: democratic governance of the means of communication
Cultural justice	Respectful communication: the production and dissemination of respect and an inclusive culture that enables everyone to be visible in the public sphere; unity in diversity of voices; education in how to argue in complex and intelligent ways and make one's critical voice heard; respectful, complex, controversial, critical debate, and constructive disagreement	Media of recognition: friendly and inclusive means of communication that make humans' interests and voices heard and respected by others

TABLE 11.10 A typology of just, humanist digital communication(s)

Realm of society	Type of humanist, digital justice	Meaning of humanist, digital justice
Economy	Digital socialism	Network access for everyone, community is in control of technology, digital resources as common goods, green computing/ICTs
Politics	Digital democracy	Digital technologies support participatory and deliberative democracy and inclusive political communication in the public sphere
Culture	Digital recognition	Digital media/communication support making the voices of all heard, recognition of all; the unity of diversity of identities, lifestyles and worldviews; education in obtaining digital skills that help practicing unity in diversity, socialism, and democracy

alienated societies. In such societies, communication is alienated communication. The alternative to alienation is humanism. Humanism includes socialism, participatory democracy, and recognition. Overcoming alienated communication requires overcoming alienated society. Socialist communication, democratic communication, and respectful communication are the aspects of humanism. Democratic socialism is a humanism. True humanism is democratic socialism.

Index

- abstract space 114
abstract thought 113
accelerationists 221–222
accumulation 16, 72
The Accumulation of Capital (Luxemburg) 12
Actor Network Theory (Bruno Latour's) 6, 201
Adorno, Theodor W. 4, 5, 40, 105, 147, 191, 196, 201, 205, 286
advertising 35, 197–198; as an ideology 94–95; propaganda and 37
Advertising: The Magic System (Williams) 94, 95
Afro-Americans 11; working conditioned of 254–256
After Dark 170
Age of Capital 8
The Age of Capital: Europe 1848–1875 (Hobsbawm) 12
The Age of Empire: Europe 1875–1914 (Hobsbawm) 12
The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848 (Hobsbawm) 12
Alderson, David 236
algorithms 159
alienation 2, 4, 154, 190, 194–195, 284; capitalism and 13–14, 16; class, race and gender oppression in 261; communication and 287–290; forms of and antagonisms 16, 16*t*; in humanistic society 17*t*; as important concept in Marxist humanism 13–16; meaning of 260; political and ideological 13; racism and patriarchy in 260–261; slavery as ultimate form of 250–251; of social in capitalism 57; universality of 14–16
Althusser, Louis 4, 7, 10, 49, 50, 53, 54–56, 61, 67, 74, 92, 103, 182
Althusser/E. P. Thompson-controversy 49
Althusserian concept of articulation 57, 61, 64, 117
analytical reason 196
The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness (Fromm) 10, 19
Anders, Günther 4, 9, 10, 151–174, 201, 285, 286
Anderson, Kevin 4, 201
Anderson, Perry 61, 63, 65
Anthropocene 6, 8, 201
Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen (The Outdatedness/Antiquatedness of the Human Being) (Anders) 10, 151–152, 161, 162, 169
Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen 2 (The Outdatedness/Antiquatedness of the Human Being 2) (Anders) 285
anti-social media 42
Arbeit und Interaktion (Work and Interaction) (Habermas) 139
Arendt, Hannah 151
Are Prisons Obsolete (Davis) 11
articulation 67
artificial intelligence (AI) 41, 221, 222
The Art of Loving (Fromm) 19
Assembly (Hardt & Negri) 107
assimilation 23, 24
audience and consumer labour 162–164
authoritarian capitalism 5, 42, 236
authoritarian communication 80
authoritarianism 5, 216; exploitation and 29–30; as opposite of humanism 22
authoritarian statism 4
autonomous Marxism 107
Averroes 211
Avicenna 211
Avicenna and Aristotelean Left (Bloch) 211

- Badiou, Alain 50
 Balibar, Étienne 50, 57, 58, 61, 67, 268
 banalisation 164–165, 168
 Barthes, Roland 53, 108
 base and superstructure 50, 54–55, 79, 86–89, 109–110, 118, 223, 282
Base and Superstructure (Williams) 88
 Bastani, Aaron 221, 222
Being and Nothingness (Sartre) 11, 178, 179, 186
 Benjamin, Walter 151, 191
 Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika 12
 Bhattacharya, Gargi 252
 Bhattacharya, Subhrajit 206
 big data capitalism 163
 big data fetishism 156–160
 big data studies 40–41
The Black Feminist Reader (Joy James & Sharpley-Whiting) 249
The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution (James) 12
 Black Lives Matter movement 5, 253–254
 Black Marxism 241
Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition (Robinson) 12
 Black Panther Party 258
Black Prophetic Fire (West) 13
Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America (Du Bois) 11
 Bloch, Ernst 4, 201, 211, 216
 Bolsheviks 63
 Bose, Subhas Chandra 205
 Bourdieu, Pierre 264, 265, 266, 267
 Brandler, Heinrich 207
 Brecht, Bertold 191, 192
 Brezhnev, Leonid 62
 Bukharin, Nikolai 63, 64, 207
 Butler, Judith 50
- Capital* (Marx) 13, 14, 57, 68, 155, 214
 capitalism: focus on having compared to being 34; information and communication technologies in 107, 115–116, 123–124; inherently connected with racism and patriarchy 274–275, 279–281; overexploitation in 268; typology for analysis of labour in 268–269
Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism (Eisenstein) 12
 Capitalocene 8
 Cassirer, Ernst 151
 Castells, Manuel 50, 117
 Chakrabarty, Dipesh 235
 Chibber, Vivek 11, 235, 241, 259
- class, role of 2; in capital and labour 14; as historical and human relationship 65; slavery and 248–249
 class experience 64–65
 class struggle 4, 6
 class theory 241
Club 2.0 43, 44f, 170–173, 173f
 cognitive capitalism 107
 Cohen-Sola, Annie 177
 colonialism 205
 Combahee River Collective 259
 commercial communication 80–81
 commodification of information 123–124
Commonwealth (Hardt & Negri) 107
 communication: alienation and 287–290; alternative 82, 83; authoritarian compared to humanistic 30–32; class, racism and gender-related oppression in 261–264; compared to communications 52, 80; compared to culture 51; critical theory of 283–284; culture and 222–233, 234–236; democratic and capitalist forms of 191–192; dialectic of economy and culture in 26–27; digital 79; direct and indirect 188–189; human 52; importance of form and content in 70; of love 24; Marxist theory of 49–53, 67–70, 75; materialist theory of 80–82, 104; materiality of 79; as a means of social production 70–71; mediation and 184–185; in modern language 74; political economy of 284–285; power and 190–191; purpose of 80–81; role of in society 49–50; as social process 20, 24–26; types 80–81
Communication and Capitalism: A Critical Theory (Fuchs) 1
Communications (Williams) 79, 80, 83
 communicative materialism 54, 91–92, 97, 99
 communism 11, 206
 Communist International (Comintern)'s Presidium 206, 207
 Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) 62
 conceptual thought 224
 consciousness as a material 229
 consumer capitalism 197–198
 consumption 35
Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law (Marx) 13
 Coole, Maeve 120
 co-operative media 81
 critical ethics 4
Critique of Dialectical Reason (CDR) (Sartre) 11, 177, 179, 180, 182, 185, 186, 195, 200, 201
Critique of Everyday Life (Lefebvre) 10, 115, 123
 Crutzen, Paul J. 8
Cultural Creation in Modern Society (Goldmann) 10, 132, 141

- culturalism 51
 cultural materialism 84, 91, 126
 cultural studies 106
 culture: communication and 222–232, 234–236;
 economy and 225–230; newspapers as
 cultural artifacts 88–89; participatory
 online 97; as system in itself 85; as
 system of meaning-making 51; as a
 whole way of life 80
Culture & Society (Williams) 88, 90
- Dalla Costa, Mariarosa 11, 241, 246
 Davis, Angela 4, 11, 201, 241, 242, 244, 245,
 249, 254, 256, 257, 258, 264
 death-affirmative societies 28, 29
 de Beauvoir, Simone 4, 11, 201
 Debray, Régis 50
 deep ecology 201
 Deleuze, Gilles 178
 deliberative and participatory democracy 41–42
 democratic communication 80, 81
 democratic socialism 4
 Derrida, Jacques 50, 108, 178
 Desan, Mathieu Hikaru 265, 266
 de Saussure, Ferdinand 53, 108
Dialectical Materialism (Lefebvre) 108
 dialectical philosophy 2, 6
Dialectic of Enlightenment (Horkheimer &
 Adorno) 196
 dictatorship 212
Dictionnaire Sartre (Noudelmann & Philippe) 179
 digital alienation 288*t*
 digital capitalism 104, 197, 221
 digital democracy 41
 digital labour 49
 digital media world 83
 Du Bois, W. E. B. 11, 241, 264, 267–268
 Dunayevskaya, Raya 4, 56, 201, 216
- Ecofeminism* (Mies & Shiva) 12
Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1884
 (Marx) 4, 13, 33, 108, 215
 economic determinism 213
The Economist 156, 157, 159
Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen (*The Specificity of
 the Aesthetic*) (Lukács) 129, 131, 132, 134,
 135, 146, 282, 283
1844 Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts
 (Marx) 56
The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte
 (Marx) 213, 214
 Eisenstein, Zillah 4, 11, 12, 201, 241, 261
 Elden, Stuart 103
Empire (Hardt & Negri) 107
Encoding/Decoding (Hall) 98
- Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*
 (Littlejohn & Foss) 178
 Endnotes Collective 244
 Engels, Friedrich 22, 53, 63, 93, 104, 228, 242
 environmentalism 6, 8–9
 Enzensberger, Hans Magnus 191, 192, 193
 Epicurus 13
 epistemological break (in Marx's works) 4
 Epstein, Barbara 4, 201
E. P. Thompson and the Making of the New Left
 (ed. Winslow) 50
 Erdoğan, Recep 42
Escape from Freedom (Fromm) 9, 19
Essays on Method in the Sociology of Literature
 (Goldman) 132, 141
 essence of human beings 2
The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought
 (West) 13
 e-waste 91
 existentialism 103
 exploitation 29
 Extinction Rebellion movement 8
- fake news 42, 43
 false consciousness 35–36
 Fanon, Frantz 4, 198, 201
 Farage, Nigel 42
 fascism 4, 5, 207, 216, 236
Fascism: Its Philosophy, Professions and Practice
 (Roy) 11
 Federici, Silvia 246
 feminism 6, 11, 241, 242, 249–249
 fetishism 57, 72, 104, 114, 122, 143, 262; big
 data 156–160; commodity 155, 168; slavery as
 ultimate form of 250; technological
 154–156, 286
 fetishism of difference 7
 Feuerbach, Ludwig 56, 69
 Fichte, Johann Gottlieb 212
 Floyd, George 5, 262
 Ford, Martin 221
For Marx (Althusser) 50, 56
 Foucault, Michel 5, 50, 53, 178
 Frankfurt School 9, 94, 95, 105, 129, 143, 147,
 151, 164, 205
 Fraser, Nancy 9
 Freud, Sigmund 23
 Freundlich, Elisabeth 151
 Fridays For Future movement 8
*From Corporate to Social Media: Critical
 Perspectives on Corporate Social
 Responsibility in media and Communication
 Industries* (Sandoval) 12
 Fromm, Erich 4–5, 9, 19–56, 201, 216,
 283, 285

- Fuchs, Christian 1
Fuchs, Eduard 205
- Gandhi, Mahatma 208, 216–218, 234
Gandhism 205
German Ideology (Marx) 82, 214, 228
Giddens, Anthony 68
globalisation 104, 114–115, 123
Goldmann, Lucien 5, 7, 9, 10, 56, 129, 130, 131, 132, 141–146, 201, 216
Gorz, André 5, 201
Gramsci, Antonio 89, 90, 105, 181
Grundrisse (Marx) 13, 14, 98, 230
guaranteed basic income 247
- Habermas, Jürgen 49, 105, 129–130, 139
Hall, Stuart 50, 51, 52, 53, 97, 98, 99, 105, 106
Hardt, Michael 107
Harvey, David 5, 14, 15, 201
Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 2, 13, 137, 138, 139, 141, 212, 233
Hegelian Marxism 2, 104, 180, 213
hegemony, concept (Gramsci's) 89, 90
Heidigger, Martin 141, 151, 173
Von Herder, Johann Gottfried 212
Hesiod 153
heteronomous societies 72, 73, 74
historicist humanism 182
History and Class Consciousness (Lukács) 10, 93, 105, 131, 195, 285
Hitler, Adolf 19, 151
Hobbes, Thomas 242
Hobsbawm, Eric J. 11, 12, 241, 252, 253
Hoggart, Richard 51
Honneth, Axel 9
Horkheimer, Max 5, 19, 40, 105, 191, 196, 201, 205, 286
housework as productive labour 243–245, 247–248
human being 20–21; as co-operating beings 21; as dialectic of body and mind 21; as measure of everything in society 210; as social being 56; social production as essence of 24–25
humanism 3, 50, 106, 207, 208, 233; economy and 211, 212; freedom as essence of 210, 211; morality in 210; as opposite of authoritarianism 22; as romanticism 209–212; as socialism 3; and structuralism 107–110, 116–119; as theory movement 56; as world view and political movement 226–227
humanistic character 28–29
humanist modernity 219, 220
Humanists International 208
The Human Sciences and Philosophy (Goldmann) 10
- Hungarian revolution (1956) 56, 62
Husserl, Edmund 151
- I Am a Woman and a Human: A Marxist-Feminist Critique of Intersectionality Theory* (Mitchell) 12
idealism 212
idealistic mystification 179
ideation 225
ideological state apparatus (ISA) 57
ideology 195–196; advertising as 94–95; authoritarian 42, 43; class 227; concept of 92–93; critique 285–286; as false consciousness 93, 164; as form of communication 20, 66; and instrumental reason 140–141; Marxist understandings of 93–94; and the media 164–169; mode of having compared to mode of being 33–35; racism as 252; as social unconscious 32–33
Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser) 50, 55
ideology critique 3–4
individualism 11, 142, 144
information society 49, 91
Information Technology and Daily Life (Lefebvre) 116, 125
In Search of Method (SM) (Sartre) 177, 180
Institute of Social Research 19
instrumental media 81
instrumental reason 105; ideologies and 140–141
international division of digital labour (IDDL) 91–92
The International Encyclopedia of Communication theory and Philosophy (Jensen & Craig) 178
Internet 83, 201; ideologies of and on 96–97; instrumental logic of society and 83; and surveillance capitalism 163–164; YouTube 192–194
intersectionality theory 258–260
- James, C. L. R. 5, 11, 12, 56, 201, 216, 241, 250
James, Selma 11, 12, 241, 243, 246
Jameson, Frederic 178
Janeism 144
Jena philosophy (of Hegel) 139
The Jewish Question (Marx) 13
- Kant, Emmanuel 141, 144, 212
Korsch, Karl 5, 201, 205
Kosik, Karel 5, 56, 201
Kristeva, Julia 108

- Krushchev, Nikita 62
 Kurzweil, Raymond 160, 161
 Kuusinen, Otto Willie 207
- labour in commercial media 162–164
 Lacan, Jacques 23
 Lacanian theory 7
 Laclau, Ernesto 50, 51, 106
 language as refraction of material reality 84
 Lasswell's formula 95
 Latour, Bruno 6
 Lefebvre, Henri 5, 9, 10, 56, 103–126, 201, 216, 284
 Lenin, Vladimir 11, 206
Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays (Althusser) 57
 Le Pen, Marine 42
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim 212
 Lévy, Bernard-Henri 180
 liberalism 229–230
 life-affirmative societies 28, 29
 Locke, John 230
Long Revolution (Williams) 54
The Long Revolution (Williams) 90
 Lukács, Georg/György 5, 9, 10, 36, 56, 69, 71, 93, 94, 95, 105, 129–147, 154, 164, 180, 183, 185, 195, 196, 201, 205, 282, 283, 286
Lukács and Heidegger: Towards a New Philosophy (Goldmann) 10, 144
 Luxemburg, Rosa 11, 12, 216, 226, 241, 274
 Luxemburgism 207
 Lyotard, Jean-François 178
- The Making of the English Working Class* (Thompson) 10, 50, 66
 Malthus, Thomas 230
Man for Himself (Fromm) 19
 Manjapra, Kris 235
 Mao, Tse Tung 54, 62, 64
 Maoism 63
 Marcuse, Herbert 5, 23, 56, 105, 151, 165, 167, 191, 201, 205, 216, 220, 234
Marx, Capital and the Madness of Economic Reason (Harvey) 15
 Marx, Karl 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 14, 16, 33, 51, 53, 68, 69, 81, 93, 98, 104, 106, 129, 139, 154, 181, 196, 213, 216, 228, 233, 241, 243, 286
Marxism and Literature, Communications (Williams) 10, 84, 87, 92
Marxism and the Philosophy of Language (Vološinov) 84
Marxism and the Problems of Linguistics (Stalin) 62
 Marxist communication theory 104–105
 Marxist humanism 103, 104; alienation as central category of 2, 13–16; decline of 5; definition 1–2; dialectical philosophy in 2; as form of open Marxism 3; and quest for socialism 19–21; reasons for need for renewal of 5–8
Marx's Concept of Man (Fromm) 9–10
 masculinity 264, 265
 materialism 223–224, 226
 materialist theory of communication 80–82, 86, 997
 McArthur, Douglas 154
 McGuigan, Jim 79
Means of Communication as Means of Production (Williams) 85
 mechanistic conceptions of society 63, 64
 mediation, concept of 69, 88
 Mehring, Franz 22, 206
 Merleau-Ponty, Maurice 5, 178, 201
 meta-racism 254
 Mies, Maria 11, 12, 241, 243
 Mill, James 230
 Mill, John Stuart 230
 Milligan, Martin 215
 Mitchell, Eve 11, 12, 241, 259
Modern Politics, and World Revolution, 1917–1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International (James) 12
Modern World System (Wallerstein) 122
 Modi, Narendra 42
 Molotov, Yvacheslav 207
 monopoly capitalism 145
 Moore, Jason W. 8
 Moore's Law 40
 Mouffe, Chantalle 106
Multitude (Hardt & Negri) 107
 Münzberg, Willi 205–206
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) 11
 nationalism 216, 236, 253
 Nazi Germany 31, 151, 207
 Negri, Antonio 50, 107
 neoliberalism 96, 106, 274
New Humanism: A Manifesto (Roy) 11
 new materialism 6, 201
 nihilism 11
 Nkrumah, Kwame 5, 201
Notes on Dialectics: Hegel, Marx and Lenin (James) 12
 Nyerere, Julius 5, 201
- occasional philosophy 152
 Ollman, Bertell 5, 201

- Zur Ontologie des gesellschaftlichen Seins (On the Ontology of Social Being)* (Lukács) 10, 131, 132, 180, 283
- open access journals and media 83
- Orbán, Viktor 42
- orientalism 6
- Paris protests, May 1968 7
- Parti communiste français (PCF) 62, 103, 177
- Pascal, Blaise 144
- paternal communication 80, 81
- patriarchy 11, 265; alienation and 260–261; inherently connected with racism and capitalism 274–275, 279–281
- Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour* (Mies) 12
- Patriarchy at Work: Patriarchal and Capitalist Relations in Employment, 1800–1984* (Walby) 12–13
- Peck, Janice 178
- Phenomenology of Mind* (Hegel) 137
- Piaget, Jean 141
- Policing the Crisis* (Hall) 52
- post-colonial theory 6
- Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (Chibber) 11
- post-humanism 56, 160–161, 201
- post-Marxism 53
- postmodernism 5–6, 7, 106
- poststructuralism 5, 7, 53, 201
- Poulantzas, Nicos 50
- The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (Thompson) 10, 50, 59, 61
- The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community* (Dalla Costa & S. James) 11, 243
- practico-inert 185–188
- Prague Spring (1968) 56
- praxis 2, 4, 7, 104, 181, 182, 183
- Praxis Group, Yugoslavia 5, 56, 181, 201
- Principles of Radical Democracy* (Roy) 236
- prison-industrial complex 256–257
- Production of Space* (Lefebvre) 103
- The Production of Space and the Critique of Everyday Life* (Lefebvre) 10, 104, 110, 111, 116, 117, 133
- Promethean Gap 153, 154, 286
- Prometheus 153–154, 160
- propaganda 37
- Putin, Vladimir 42
- Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Smedley) 12
- Race Matters* (West) 13
- racial capitalism 251–252
- racialised labour 273
- Racine, Jean 144
- racism 5, 198, 248–249; alienation and 260–261; dimensions of 254; as ideology 252; inherently connected with capitalism and patriarchy 274–275, 279–281; in prison-industrial complex 256–257
- Racism: From Slavery to Advanced Capitalism* (Wilson) 13
- radical humanism 213, 236
- The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists* (Tressell) 94
- Rancière, Jacques 50
- rationalism 57, 81
- Reading Capital* (Althusser & Balibar) 50, 56, 58
- Reason, Romanticism and Revolution* (Roy) 11, 208, 210
- The Reasoner: A Quarterly Journal of Socialist Humanism* 62
- red-green socialism 9
- reification 105, 194–195, 250
- reified consciousness 36
- Representation* (Hall) 53
- reproductive labour 242–245
- Revolution and Counter-Revolution in China* (Roy) 11, 205, 226
- revolutionary humanism 16
- Ricardo, David 230
- Rise of Robots: Technology and the Threat of a Jobless Future* (Ford) 221
- Robinson, Cedric J. 11, 12, 241, 250, 251, 252, 253
- Roediger, David 11, 12, 241, 264, 266
- Rowbotham, Sheila 5, 201
- Roy, Manabendra Nath (a.k.a. M. N. Roy) 5, 9, 11, 201, 205–237, 282, 290
- Said, Edward 5, 201
- Sandoval, Marisol 11, 12, 241, 268–269
- Sane Society* (Fromm) 19
- The Sane Society* (Fromm) 9
- Sartre, Jean-Paul 5, 9, 56, 103, 177–200, 201, 283, 284, 286
- Sartre Dictionary* (Cox) 179
- Saville, John 62
- Schaff, Adam 5, 201
- Scholz, Roswitha 243
- Science and Philosophy* (Roy) 11
- Science of Logic* (Hegel) 139
- semiotics 53, 105
- Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism* (Harvey) 15

- Shiva, Vandana 12
 signal systems 135–136, 141
 slavery 248–249, 250–251; compared to wage-labour and reproductive-labour 269–270; expansion or restrictive usage of term 270–273; as part of formulation and development of capitalism 253–254
 Smedley, Audrey 11, 12, 241, 248
 Smith, Adam 230
 Smythe, Dallas 162
 Snowden, Edward 83, 123
 social beings 56–57
 social character types 29–30, 29*t*
 socialisation 23, 24
 socialism: as humanism 3; as ideology of the working class 207–208; quest for an Marxist humanism 19–21
 socialist humanism 20–21, 62
Socialist Humanism (Thompson) 53
Socialist Humanism: An International Symposium (ed. Fromm) 10
 social media 166–168, 172
 social production 224–225
 social production of space 107, 109, 110–115, 119–123
 social relations 19–20, 67–68; basic forms of 284–285; communication inherently involved in 84–85; as mediator between economy and culture 22–23; socialisation and assimilation in 23–24
 Sohn-Rethel, Alfred 113
 Soper, Kate 5, 201
The Souls of Black Folk (Du Bois) 11
 Soviet socialism 62
 Spencer, Robert 235, 236
 Srnicek, Nick 221, 222
 Stalin, Joseph V. 62, 63, 64, 199, 207
 Stalinism 3, 4, 61, 62, 82, 103, 108, 198–200, 205, 207
State Capitalism and World Revolution (James) 12
Stencilled Occasional Papers-Series (Hall) 98
 Strache, H. C. 42
 structuralist Marxism 50, 53, 74, 103, 104–105, 142; humanism and 107–110, 116–119
The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (Habermas) 105
 structure/agency problem 49–50
 structures of feeling 90
Das System der spekulativen Philosophie (*System of Speculative Philosophy*) (Hegel) 139
 technological determinism 96, 155–156, 219
 technological fetishism 154–156, 286
 technology 216–222, 233–234; in dialectical relationship to society 219–220; grounding principles of 38; humanised 38–39; to obtain goals 19; philosophy of 173–174; potentials of modern 219, 220–221; rise of in capitalist society 37; use of alternative 39
 teleological positing 71
Television, Technology and Cultural Form (Williams) 10, 96
 Thalheimer, August 205, 207
 Thatcherism 96
Theogony (Hesiod) 153
Theorizing Patriarchy (Walby) 12
Theorizing Violence (Walby) 13
 theory of communication (Jürgen Habermas) 49
Theses on the National and Colonial Questions (Lenin) 11, 206
 Thompson, E. P. 5, 9, 10, 49–66, 74, 106, 107, 201, 216, 283
 Thorez, Maurice 62
To Have Or To Be? (Fromm) 19
 Tressell, Robert 94
 Trotsky, Leon 63, 64
 Trump, Donald 42, 83, 92, 265
 truth, societal 3
 unilateralism 165, 168
Universal Alienation (Harvey) 14
 Vincze, Enikő 273
 Vološinov, Valentin 84
 Von Werlhof, Claudia 12
 wages for housework 245–247
The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (Roediger) 12, 264
 Walby, Sylvia 11, 12, 241
 The Walk Free Foundation 270
 Wallerstein 122
 Weber, Max 68
 Weil, Felix 206
 West, Cornel 11, 13, 241, 251
 Wiggershous, Rolf 129
 Wikipedia 83
 Wilders, Geert 42
William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary (Thompson) 10, 50
 Williams, Alex 221, 222
 Williams, Raymond 5, 9, 10, 25, 26, 51, 52, 54, 70, 79–96, 105, 106, 107, 118, 123, 126, 141, 201, 216
 Wilson, Carter 11, 13, 241, 254
 Winslow, Carl 50

Wired Magazine 156, 157, 159

Women, Race & Class (Davis) 11

Women: The Last Colony (Mies, Bennholdt-Thomsen & Von Werlhof) 12

work as model of social production 183

The Wretched of the Earth (Fanon) 198

Wright, Erik Olin 266

Žižek, Slavoj 50