

DIGITAL FASCISM

MEDIA, COMMUNICATION AND SOCIETY VOLUME FOUR

CHRISTIAN FUCHS



Digital Fascism

This fourth volume in Christian Fuchs's *Media, Communication and Society* book series outlines the theoretical foundations of digital fascism and presents case studies of how fascism is communicated online.

Digital Fascism presents and engages with theoretical approaches and empirical studies that allow us to understand how fascism, right-wing authoritarianism, xenophobia, and nationalism are communicated on the Internet. The book builds on theoretical foundations from key theorists such as Theodor W. Adorno, Franz L. Neumann, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, Wilhelm Reich, Leo Löwenthal, Moishe Postone, Günther Anders, M. N. Roy, and Henry Giroux. The book draws on a range of case studies, including Nazi-celebrations of Hitler's birthday on Twitter, the 'red scare 2.0' directed against Jeremy Corbyn, and political communication online (Donald Trump, Boris Johnson, the Austrian presidential election). These case studies analyse right-wing communication online and on social media. Fuchs argues for the safeguarding of the democratic public sphere and that slowing down and decommodifying the logic of the media can advance and renew debate culture in the age of digital authoritarianism, fake news, echo chambers, and filter bubbles.

Each chapter focuses on a particular dimension of digital fascism or a critical theorist whose work helps us to illuminate how fascism and digital fascism work, making this book an essential reading for both undergraduate and postgraduate students of media and communication studies, sociology, politics, and political economy as well as anyone who wants to understand what digital fascism is and how it works.

Christian Fuchs is a critical theorist of communication and society. He is co-editor of the journal tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. He is author of many publications, including the books Digital Capitalism (2022), Foundations of Critical Theory (2022), Communicating COVID-19: Everyday Life, Digital Capitalism, and Conspiracy Theories in Pandemic Times (2021), Marxist Humanism and Communication Theory (2021), Social Media: A Critical Introduction (3rd edition 2021), Communication and Capitalism: A Critical Theory (2020), Marxism: Karl Marx's Fifteen Key Concepts for Cultural and 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), and Internet and Society (2008).



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Media, Communication and Society Volume Four

Christian Fuchs



Cover image: © mauritius images GmbH / Alamy Stock Photo

First published 2022

by Routledge

4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

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

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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: Digital fascism / Christian Fuchs. Description: Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2022.

Series: Media, communication and society: volume 4 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021039497 (print) | LCCN 2021039498 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781032187617 (hardback) | ISBN 9781032187600 (paperback) |

ISBN 9781003256090 (ebook) Subjects: LCSH: Fascism. | Communication in politics--Technological

innovations. | Digital media--Political aspects. | Internet--Political aspects. Classification: LCC JC481 .F834 2022 (print) | LCC JC481 (ebook) |

DDC 320.53/3--dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021039497

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021039498

ISBN: 978-1-032-18761-7 (hbk) ISBN: 978-1-032-18760-0 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-25609-0 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003256090

Typeset in Univers by MPS Limited, Dehradun

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Acknowledgements

Chapter 2 was first published as a journal article. Reprinted with permission of the journal *tripleC*. Christian Fuchs. 2017. The Relevance of Franz L. Neumann's Critical Theory in 2017: "Anxiety and Politics" in the New Age of Authoritarian Capitalism. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique* 15 (2): 637–650. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v15i2.903.

Chapter 3 was first published as parts of a journal article (sections 1, 4, 5, 6). Reprinted with permission of the journal *tripleC*. Christian Fuchs. 2017. Günther Anders' Undiscovered Critical Theory of Technology in the Age of Big Data Capitalism. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique* 15 (2): 584–613. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v15i2.898.

Chapter 4 was first published as sections 1, 5, and 6 of the following article: Christian Fuchs. 2019. M. N. Roy and the Frankfurt School: Socialist Humanism and the Critical Analysis of Communication, Culture, Technology, Fascism and Nationalism. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique* 17 (2): 249–286. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v17i2.1118. Reprinted with permission of the journal *tripleC*.

Chapter 5 was first published as a journal article. Reprinted with permission of the journal *tripleC*. Christian Fuchs. 2015. Martin-Heidegger's anti-Semitism: Philosophy of Technology and the Media in the Light of the "Black Notebooks". Implications for the Reception of Heidegger in Media and Communication Studies. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique* 13 (1): 55–78. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v13i1.650.

Chapter 6 was first published as a journal article. Reprinted with permission of the journal *tripleC*. Christian Fuchs. 2015. Anti-Semitism, Anti-Marxism, and Technophobia: The Fourth Volume of Martin Heidegger's Black Notebooks (1942–1948). *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique* 13 (1): 93–100. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v13i1.677.

Chapter 7 was first published as a journal article. Reprinted based on a contractual agreement that permits reuse of the article in a collected volume of the author's own works. Christian Fuchs. 2017. Fascism 2.0: Twitter Users' Social Media Memories of Hitler on his 127th Birthday. *Fascism: Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies* 6 (2): 228–263. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/22116257-00602004.

Chapter 8 was first published as a journal article. Reprinted based on a contractual agreement whereby the author retains the right to use the article or parts of it in future works under his own name. Christian Fuchs. 2016. Red Scare 2.0: User-Generated Ideology in the Age of Jeremy Corbyn and Social Media. Journal of Language and Politics 15 (4): 369-398.

Chapter 9 was first published as a journal article using a Creative Commons CC-BY licence that allows reuse and reprint: Christian Fuchs. 2016. Racism, Nationalism and Right-Wing Extremism Online: The Austrian Presidential Election 2016 on Facebook. Momentum Quarterly – Zeitschrift für sozialen Fortschritt (Journal for Societal Progress) 5 (3): 172–196. Published open access: https://www.momentum-guarterly.org/ois2/index.php/momentum/ article/view/1772.

An earlier version of chapter 10 was first published on the author's Huffington Post blog. He has retained the copyright of this contribution. Christian Fuchs. 2017. How the Frankfurt School Helps Us to Understand Donald Trump's Twitter Populism. Huffington Post, 18 January 2017. https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/christian-fuchs1/how-thefrankfurt-school-_b_14156190.html.

Chapter 11 was first published online. Reprinted with permission by LA Review of Books. Christian Fuchs. 2019. Henry A. Giroux and the Culture of Neoliberal Fascism. Los Angeles Review of Books, August 12, 2019. https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/ henry-a-giroux-and-the-culture-of-neoliberal-fascism.

Chapter 12 was first published as a journal article. It is reprinted based on SAGE's Author Archiving and Re-Use Guidelines. Christian Fuchs. 2018. Authoritarian Capitalism, Authoritarian Movements, Authoritarian Communication. Media, Culture & Society 40 (5): 779-791.

Chapter 13 was first published as a journal article. Reprinted with permission of the journal tripleC. Christian Fuchs. 2018. Fuchs, Christian. 2018. Why There Are Certain Parallels Between Joachim C. Fest's Hitler-Biography and Michael Wolff's Trump-Book. tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique 16 (1): 260–263. DOI: https://doi.org/ 10.31269/triplec.v16i1.1007.

Chapter 14 was first published as a journal article. Reprinted with permission of the journal tripleC. Christian Fuchs. 2021. How Did Donald Trump Incite a Coup Attempt?

tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique 19 (1): 246-251. DOI: https://doi.org/ 10.31269/triplec.v19i1.1239.

Chapter 15 was first published online. Reprinted with permission of *TruthOut*. Christian Fuchs. 2019. Boris Johnson Takes His Brexit Demagoguery to the Social Media Sphere. Op-Ed. TruthOut, August 31, 2019. https://truthout.org/articles/borisjohnson-takes-his-brexit-demagoguery-to-the-social-media-sphere/.

Chapter 16 was first published online using a CC-BY-ND licence that allows reprinting. Christian Fuchs. 2019. Slow Media: How to Renew Debate in the Age of Digital Authoritarianism. The Conversation, April 23, 2019. https://theconversation.com/slowmedia-how-to-renew-debate-in-the-age-of-digital-authoritarianism-113582.



Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 This Book's Chapters

This book asks: how is fascism communicated on the Internet? It outlines theoretical foundations of digital fascism and presents case studies that involve how fascism is communicated online.

The book at hand is the fourth volume of a series of books titled *Media, Communication and Society*. The overall aim of *Media, Communication and Society* is to outline foundations of a critical theory of communication and digital communication in society. It is a multi-volume book series situated on the intersection of communication theory, sociology, and philosophy. The overall questions that *Media, Communication and 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?

Digital Fascism presents and engages with theoretical approaches and empirical studies that allow us to understand how fascism, right-wing authoritarianism, xenophobia, and nationalism are communicated on the Internet. The book engages with the theories of Theodor W. Adorno, Franz L. Neumann, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, Wilhelm Reich, Leo Löwenthal, Moishe Postone, Günther Anders, M. N. Roy, Henry Giroux, and Martin Heidegger. It presents analyses of how Nazis celebrate Hitler's birthday on Twitter, how user-generated ideology constructed a red scare 2.0 directed against Jeremy Corbyn, how right-wing authoritarianism utilised social media in the context of Donald Trump, Boris Johnson, and the Austrian presidential election, and how slowing down the logic of the media ("slow media") can advance and renew debate culture in the age of digital authoritarianism, fake news, and filter bubbles.

The book is organised in the form of fifteen chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion. There are three parts. Part I (Foundations) engages with theoretical and philosophical aspects of fascism (Chapters 2–6). Part II (Applications) presents chapters based on critical theories of fascism and empirical analyses of how fascism and right-wing

DOI: 10.4324/9781003256090-1

authoritarianism are communicated on the Internet and social media (Chapters 7-16). Part III is the conclusion that presents a concept of digital fascism.

The book follows the method that Marx called the advancement from the abstract to the concrete. In the Introduction to the Grundrisse, he described this method as follows:

Labour seems a guite simple category. The conception of labour in this general form – as labour as such – is also immeasurably old. Nevertheless, when it is economically conceived in this simplicity, 'labour' is as modern a category as are the relations which create this simple abstraction. [...] As a rule, the most general abstractions arise only in the midst of the richest possible concrete development, where one thing appears as common to many, to all. [...] The simplest abstraction, then, which modern economics places at the head of its discussions, and which expresses an immeasurably ancient relation valid in all forms of society, nevertheless achieves practical truth as an abstraction only as a category of the most modern society. [...] The categories which express its [bourgeois society's] relations, the comprehension of its structure, thereby also allows insights into the structure and the relations of production of all the vanished social formations out of whose ruins and elements it built itself up, whose partly still unconquered remnants are carried along within it, whose mere nuances have developed explicit significance within it, etc. [...] The bourgeois economy thus supplies the key to the ancient, etc. [...] the latest form regards the previous ones as steps leading up to itself [...]

The order obviously has to be (1) the general, abstract determinants which obtain in more or less all forms of society, but in the above-explained sense. (2) The categories which make up the inner structure of bourgeois society and on which the fundamental classes rest. Capital, wage labour, landed property. Their inter relation. Town and country. The three great social classes. Exchange between them. Circulation. Credit system (private). (3) Concentration of bourgeois society in the form of the state. Viewed in relation to itself. The 'unproductive' classes. Taxes. State debt. Public credit. The population. The colonies. Emigration. (4) The international relation of production. International division of labour. International exchange. Export and import. Rate of exchange. (5) The world market and crises. (Marx 1857/ 1858, 103–108)

In dialectical analyses of society, there is a dialectic of the abstract and the concrete. For understanding a concrete social phenomenon such as wage-labour or a society such as capitalist society, we need to understand what is common to all forms of work and all societies and how these general categories and the forms of them that existed in preceding epochs are sublated (aufgehoben) in the current social and societal forms.

If we want to understand how digital fascism works, we need to understand what fascism is in general and how it has worked historically. Our analyses and understandings of digital fascism should be based on and go beyond the analysis of historical examples.

Such insights should be the basis and inform our understandings of digital fascism. The analysis of digital fascism needs to preserve and at the same time go beyond its analytical basis. There are novel aspects in digital fascism that are expressions of general aspects of fascism and go beyond previous forms of fascism. The old and the more general aspects are sublated in the new and the more concrete aspects of the world. Hegel speaks in this context of *Aufhebung*, a term that is often translated from German into English as "sublation", a term that means substitution, elimination, and preservation at the same time. The German word Aufhebung means at the same time elimination, preservation, and lifting something up. Digital fascism is a preservation of the general characteristics of fascism. It also is in certain ways different from previous forms of fascism. And it is fascism organised on a new level.

Part I of this book presents general analyses of fascism and related phenomena such as authoritarian capitalism, ideology, nationalism, anti-Semitism, and racism. Part II presents more concrete analyses of right-wing authoritarianism and fascism on the Internet that build on the insights from part I. The conclusion to the book (part III, Chapter 17) brings together the analyses of the book, the foundational analyses of part I and the concrete analyses of part II, at a meta-level, and works out and presents a concept of digital fascism.

Each chapter in this book focuses on a particular dimension of digital fascism or a critical theorist whose work helps us to illuminate how fascism and digital fascism works. Here are the main questions that each chapter asks:

- Chapter 2: how can Franz L. Neumann's critical theory help us to understand fascism?
- Chapter 3: how can Günther Anders's critical theory help us to understand fascism?

- Chapter 4: how can M. N. Roy's critical theory help us to understand fascism?
- Chapters 5 and 6: what are and should be the implications of the publication of Martin Heidegger's *Black Notebooks* for the reception of Heidegger in the study, theory, and philosophy of media, communication, and technology?
- Chapter 7: how did Internet users communicate about Hitler on his 127th birthday on Twitter?
- Chapter 8: how was Jeremy Corbyn during the Labour Leadership Election framed in discourses on Twitter in an ideological manner and how have such ideological discourses been challenged?
- Chapter 9: how did supporters of the far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ) express their support of the party's candidate Norbert Hofer in the 2016 Austrian presidential election on Facebook?
- Chapter 10: how does the Frankfurt School help us to understand Donald Trump's Twitter authoritarianism?
- Chapter 11: how does the critical theorist Henry Giroux assess Donald Trump?
- Chapter 12: why is it that right-wing authoritarian populism in recent times has become much more popular than left-wing movements? How do right-wing authoritarian movements communicate? Why is it that right-wing political communication strategies seem to garner and result in mass support?
- Chapter 13: how did Donald Trump incite a coup attempt (the storm on the Capitol on 6 January 2021)?
- Chapter 14: what parallels are there between Joachim C. Fest's Hitler biography and Michael Wolff's book *Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House*?
- Chapter 15: how did Boris Johnson communicate about Brexit on social media?
- Chapter 16: how can the logic of the media be decelerated ("slow media") in order to advance debate and the public sphere in the age of digital authoritarianism, fake news, and filter bubbles?

In this book the readers encounter a number of theorists who will now be introduced:

Theodor W. Adorno, Franz L. Neumann, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, Wilhelm Reich, Leo Löwenthal, Moishe Postone, Günther Anders, M. N. Roy, Henry Giroux, and Martin Heidegger.

Theodor W. Adorno (1903–1969) was a German philosopher and sociologist who together with Max Horkheimer shaped the approach of Frankfurt School critical theory. Among Adorno's most well-known works are *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (written

together with Horkheimer), The Authoritarian Personality, Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life, Introduction to the Sociology of Music, Hegel: Three Studies, The Jargon of Authenticity, Negative Dialectics, and Aesthetic Theory. Chapter 3 (Adorno and the Media in Digital Capitalism) analyses how Adorno's works can inform the critical analysis of digital capitalism.

Franz Leopold Neumann (1900-1954) was a political theorist associated with the Frankfurt School. He obtained a doctoral degree in legal studies at the University of Frankfurt with the dissertation A Legal-Philosophical Introduction to A Treatise on the Relationship between the State and Punishment (Neumann 1923). After that, he worked as assistant of Hugo Sinzheimer, who was a professor of legal studies at Frankfurt University. Neumann was a practising advocate who specialised in labour law. In 1927, Neumann together with Ernst Fraenkel started a lawyer's office in Berlin. They both worked for trade unions: Neumann specialised on legal cases for the construction workers' union, and Fraenkel focused on support for the metal workers' union. Neumann became the German Social Democratic Party's main legal advisor at a time when the Nazis and Hitler gained strength in Germany. When Hitler came to power in 1933, the legal office had to be closed. Neumann had to flee from Nazi Germany and went first to London, where he completed a second PhD, and then to the USA. His main book Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933–1944 analyses the connection of capitalism and fascism.

Erich Fromm (1900–1980) was a Marxist-humanist philosopher, psychoanalyst, and sociologist. He coined the notion of the authoritarian character. He was a member of the Frankurt School in the 1930s. Fromm's approach combines Marx's theory and Freud's psychoanalysis. He is one of the main representatives of Marxist psychoanalysis and Marxist humanism. 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.

Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979) was together with Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer the major thinker in the first generation of the Frankfurt School. He was a philosopher and political theorist who contributed to the development of Marxist humanist philosophy and the critique of ideology. He was influenced by Hegel, Marx, and Freud. His major books are Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory, Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud, One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society, An Essay on Liberation, and Counterrevolution and Revolt.

Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957) was a psychoanalysts, political economist, sociologist, and sexologist. Reich was interested in the analysis of sexuality in capitalism and the connection of fascism, capitalism, ideology, sexuality, and the human psyche. In his book The Mass Psychology of Fascism, Reich analyses how fascists, especially the Nazis, gained power. He saw the authoritarian family is the cell form of the fascist state and fascist society. Reich anticipated and influenced the notion of the authoritarian personality that was developed by Erich Fromm and Theodor W. Adorno.

Leo Löwenthal (1900-1993) was a philosopher, sociologist, and cultural theorist. He was associated with the Frankfurt School. He had to flee from Nazi Germany to the USA. After the Second World War, he became a professor of sociology at the University of California Berkeley. Among Löwenthal's books are *Literature and the* Image of Man; Literature, Popular Culture, and Society, Prophets of Deceit: A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator (together with Norbert Guterman); Literature and Mass Culture; and False Prophets: Studies on Authoritarianism.

Moishe Postone (1942–2018) was a historian, political economist, and critical theorist. He was a professor of history at the University of Chicago. Postone contributed to the reinterpretation and reactualisation of Marx's theory. Postone gave special attention to Marx's concepts of value that he used for grounding a critical theory of time in capitalism and to Marx's notion of commodity fetishism that he used for the critical analysis of ideology, anti-Semitism, and fascism. His major work is *Time, Labor and* Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory.

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 wellknown book is the two-volume Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen (The Outdatedness/ Antiquatedness of the Human Being). Anders analysed the problems of technology in 20th-century society, the impacts of the media on human beings, destructive technologies such as the atom bomb, and the logic of fascism.

Manabendra Nath 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.

Henry Giroux (born in 1943) is one of the founders of critical pedagogy, an approach that combines critical theory and pedagogy. He has worked on the development of a critical theory of education that helps advance citizens' critical thinking and democracy. He is professor, Chair for Scholarship in the Public Interest, and the Paulo Freire Distinguished Scholar in Critical Pedagogy at McMaster University. Among his books are Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition, Ideology, Culture, and the Process of Schooling, On Critical Pedagogy, Theory and Resistance in Education: Towards a Pedagogy for the Opposition, Disturbing Pleasures: Learning Popular Culture; Terror of Neoliberalism: Authoritarianism and the Eclipse of Democracy, Neoliberalism's War on Higher Education.

Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) was a German philosopher who contributed to the development of phenomenology and existentialism. He was a professor of philosophy at the University of Marburg from 1923 until 1946. He was a member of the Nazi Party from 1933 until 1945 and welcomed Hitler's ascendance to power in 1933. Being and Time is Heidegger's major work. Heidegger's Schwarze Hefte (Black Notebooks) was published as part of the German complete edition of Heidegger's works. The first three volumes were published as one book in 2014 and unleashed a debate about Heidegger and anti-Semitism. Among Heidegger's students were the philosophers Herbert Marcuse, Hannah Arendt, Karl Löwith, Hans Jonas, and Hans-Georg Gadamer.

1.1 This Book's Chapters

Chapter 2 ("The Relevance of Franz L. Neumann's Critical Theory Today: Behemoth and Anxiety and Politics in the New Age of Authoritarian Capitalism") asks: how can Franz L. Neumann's critical theory help us to understand fascism? It provides some background of Neumann's life and works and shows how in the age of new nationalisms, rising right-wing authoritarianism, and authoritarian capitalism, Neumann's works can help us to understand society based on critical theory. There is a special focus on his essay Anxiety and Politics and the book Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933-1944.

Chapter 3 ("Günther Anders's Critique of Ideology") asks: how can Günther Anders's critical theory help us to understand fascism? Günther Anders (1902–1992) was an Austrian philosopher, critical theorist, political activist, and a writer of poems, short stories, and novels. Anders sees capitalism as having catastrophic potentials. This chapter analyses Anders' letters to Adolf Eichmann, the SS commander who played a major role in the Nazis' extermination project of the Jews; his exchange of letters with Claude Eatherly, who was involved in dropping the nuclear bomb on Hiroshima; his concept of annihilism (annihilation as nihilism); and his relationship to his former teacher and Nazi Party member Martin Heidegger.

Chapter 4 ("M. N. Roy's Critique of Ideology, Fascism, and Nationalism") asks: how can M. N. Roy's critical theory help us to understand fascism? Manabendra Nath Roy (1887-1954) was the founder of the Communist Parties of Mexico and India and a socialist-humanist philosopher. In the Western world, his works are today widely ignored and forgotten. This chapter introduces some philosophical aspects of Roy's thought. Frankfurt School thinkers such as Theodor W. Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, and Erich Fromm were interested in similar topics as Roy. This chapter also compares the approach of Roy and the Frankfurt School. It shows parallels between Roy and the first generation of the Frankfurt School with respect to themes such as the dialectic of technology and society, the dialectic of the Enlightenment, fascism, nationalism, and authoritarianism. In the age of new nationalisms and authoritarian capitalism, global environmental crises, capitalist crisis, and the digital crisis, socialist-humanist theories such as the one of M. N. Roy can inspire struggles for a humanist and socialist society as antidotes to the acceleration and deepening of society's crises.

Chapter 5 ("Martin Heidegger's Anti-Semitism: Philosophy of Technology and the Media in the Light of the *Black Notebooks*. Implications for the Reception of Heidegger in Media and Communication Studies") asks: what are the implications of the first three volumes of Martin Heidegger's Black Notebooks (published as one book in 2014) for the reception of Heidegger in the study, theory, and philosophy of media, communication, and technology? In spring 2014, three volumes of the Schwarze Hefte (Black Notebooks), Heidegger's philosophical notebooks, were published in the German edition of his collected works. They contain notes taken in the years 1931-1941 and have resulted in public debates about the role of anti-Semitism in Heidegger's thought.

This chapter discusses Theodor W. Adorno and Moishe Postone's contributions to the critical theory of anti-Semitism and applies these approaches for an analysis of Heidegger's Black Notebooks. The analysis shows that the logic of modern technology plays an important role in the Black Notebooks. This chapter therefore also revisits some of Heidegger's writings on technology in light of the Black Notebooks. There is a logical link between the Black Notebooks' anti-Semitism and the analysis of technology in Being and Time and The Question Concerning Technology. The first publication provides the missing link and grounding for the second and the third. Heidegger's works have had significant influence on studies of the media, communication, and the Internet. Given the anti-Semitism in the Black Notebooks and their implications, it is time that Heideggerians abandon Heidegger, and instead focus on alternative traditions of thought. It is now also the moment where scholars should consider stopping to eulogise and reference Heidegger when theorising and analysing the media, communication, culture, technology, digital media, and the Internet.

Chapter 6 ("Anti-Semitism, Anti-Marxism, and Technophobia: The Fourth Volume of Martin Heidegger's Black Notebooks (1942–1948)") asks: what are the implications of the fourth volume of Martin Heidegger's Black Notebooks (published in 2015) for the reception of Heidegger in the study, theory, and philosophy of media, communication, and technology? The fourth volume of Martin Heidegger's Schwarze Hefte (Black Notebooks) was published in March 2015. It contains philosophical notes written in the years 1942-1948. This chapter discusses the role of anti-Semitism, the hatred of modernity, democracy, Marxism and socialism, the belittlement of the Nazi system, and the opposition to modern media and technologies that can be found in the book.

Chapter 7 ("Fascism 2.0: Hitler's Birthday on Twitter") asks: how did Internet users communicate about Hitler on his 127th birthday on Twitter? This chapter analyses how Twitter users communicated about Hitler on his 127th birthday. It employs an empirical critique informed by critical Marxist theories of fascism. The analysis is based on a dataset of 4,193 tweets that were posted on 20 April 2016, and that used hashtags such as #Hitler, #AdolfHitler, #HappyBirthdayAdolf, #HappyBirthdayHitler. The results provide indications about how fascism 2.0 works. There are various strategies that fascism 2.0 uses, such as online authoritarianism, online nationalism, an online friendenemy scheme, and online patriarchy and naturalism. The growth of fascism 2.0 is a consequence of a "fascism-producing" crisis of society that requires adequate antifascist responses and strategies.

Chapter 8 ("Red Scare 2.0: User-Generated Ideology in the Age of Jeremy Corbyn and Social Media") asks: how was Jeremy Corbyn during the Labour Leadership Election framed in discourses on Twitter in an ideological manner? How have such ideological discourses been challenged? The chapter uses ideology critique as method for the investigation of tweets mentioning Jeremy Corbyn that were collected during the final phase of the Labour Party's 2015 leadership election. The analysis shows how usergenerated ideology portrays Jeremy Corbyn by creating discourse topics focused on general scapegoating, the economy, foreign politics, culture, and authoritarianism.

Chapter 9 ("Racism, Nationalism and Right-Wing Extremism Online: The 2016 Austrian Presidential Election on Facebook") asks: how did supporters of the far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ) express their support of the party's candidate Norbert Hofer in the 2016 Austrian presidential election on Facebook? The 2016 Austrian presidential election saw a run-off between the Green Party candidate Alexander Van der Bellen and the Freedom Party of Austria's (FPÖ) far-right candidate Norbert Hofer. This chapter presents the results of a qualitative ideology analysis of 6,755 comments about the presidential election posted on the Facebook pages of FPÖ leader Heinz-Christian Strache and FPÖ candidate Hofer. The results reveal insights into the contemporary political role of the online leadership ideology, online nationalism, new racism online, the friend/enemy-scheme online, and online militarism. Right-wing extremism 2.0 is a complex problem that stands in the context of contemporary crises and demagoguery.

Chapter 10 ("A Frankfurt School Perspective on Donald Trump and His Use of Social Media") asks: how does the Frankfurt School help us to understand Donald Trump's Twitter authoritarianism? This chapter uses the approach of the Frankfurt School for the analysis of how Donald Trump used Twitter. It utilises the concepts of the culture industry, authoritarianism, nationalism, the friend/enemy-scheme, militarism, and patriarchy.

Chapter 11 ("Donald Trump and Neoliberal Fascism") asks: how does the critical theorist Henry Giroux assess Donald Trump? Henry A. Giroux's book *The Terror of the* Unforeseen studies the contemporary negative dialectic of American capitalism and how this dialectic brought forth an authoritarian version of capitalism. This chapter provides a discussion of Giroux's analysis of Trump. The Terror of the Unforeseen analyses the conditions that have enabled and led to Donald Trump's rule, its consequences, and possible ways out.

Chapter 12 ("Authoritarian Capitalism, Authoritarian Movements, Authoritarian Communication") asks: why is it that right-wing authoritarian populism in recent times has become much more popular than left-wing movements? How do right-wing authoritarian movements communicate? Why is it that right-wing political communication strategies seem to garner and result in mass support? The critical theory of authoritarianism advanced by the Frankfurt School and related authors on fascism, Nazism, and the authoritarian personality helps us to critically analyse the communication of authoritarianism. In this context, particularly the works by Franz Leopold Neumann, Erich Fromm, Theodor W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Leo Löwenthal, and Willhelm Reich are relevant

Chapter 13 ("Why There Are Certain Parallels Between Joachim C. Fest's Hitler-Biography and Michael Wolff's Trump-Book") asks: what parallels are there between Joachim C. Fest's Hitler biography and Michael Wolff's book *Fire and Fury: Inside the* Trump White House? The US journalist Michael Wolff in 2018 published the book Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House, which is one of the most widely read and discussed books about Trump. In the 1970s, the German historian Joachim C. Fest published a biography of Hitler. This chapter discusses if there are parallels between the way Fest portrays Hitler and Wolff analyses Trump.

Chapter 14 ("How Did Donald Trump Incite a Coup Attempt?") asks: how did Donald Trump incite the storm on the Capitol on 6 January 2021? On 6 January 2021, supporters of Donald Trump stormed the Capitol after a Trump rally. The presented research analyses parts of a dataset consisting of Trump's most recent 8,736 tweets as well as Trump's speech given at the rally that preceded the storming of the Capitol. The chapter shows how Trump's speech and use of Twitter triggered violence and that the coup was the consequence of a long chain of events that unfolded as a consequence of Trump's authoritarian ideology, personality, and practices.

Chapter 15 ("Boris Johnson Takes His Brexit Demagoguery to the Social Media Sphere") asks: how did Boris Johnson communicate about Brexit on social media? Boris Johnson makes use of popular culture and social media as tools of populist communication. This chapter analyses how Johnson uses social media and what the implications of this use are for the public sphere.

Chapter 16 ("Slow Media: How to Renew Debate in the Age of Digital Authoritarianism") asks: how can the logic of the media be decelerated ("slow media") in order to advance debate and the public sphere in the age of digital authoritarianism, fake news, and filter bubbles? The rise of authoritarian capitalism has been supported by the capitalist media's logic of tabloidisation and acceleration. This chapter discusses how decelerating and decommercialising the media could help to overcome the culture of fake news, filter bubbles, and fragmented publics that have helped advance authoritarianism

Chapter 17 ("Conclusion: What is Digital Fascism?") draws conclusions to the book Digital Fascism. It engages with definitions of fascism and provides an understanding of digital fascism.

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