

# COMFAS2023 –Programme

## PARAMILITARISM IN FASCISM AND THE RADICAL RIGHT

Sixth Convention of the  
**International Association for Comparative Fascist Studies (ComFas)**

**DATES : 6 – 8 OCTOBER 2023**

**CEU PU Vienna | QS Auditorium, Quellenstrasse 51, 1100 Vienna**

### **ORGANISERS**

Constantin Iordachi, CEU PU, Vienna, Austria

Aristotle Kallis, Keele University, UK

Antonio Costa-Pinto, University of Lisbon, Portugal

# FRIDAY 6 OCTOBER

## 13:00 | Registration,

 QS Auditorium

## 14:00 | Welcome

 QS Auditorium

Constantin Iordachi, CEU PU Vienna

Aristotle Kallis, Keele University

Antonio Costa Pinto, University of Lisbon

## 14:30 – 15:45 | KEYNOTE

 QS Auditorium

Chair: Constantin Iordachi

- **“Rethinking gender and paramilitarism of the 1930s today”**  
Andrea Petö (CEU PU Vienna)

## 16:15 – 18:00 | SESSION 1

### 1A | Paramilitarism and fascism in historical perspective

 QS Auditorium

Chair: Constantin Iordachi

- **The other side of paramilitarism? Civic militias, strikebreaking groups, and the long-term origins of bourgeois armed mobilization in Europe (ca. 1900s-1923)**  
Matteo Millan (University of Padova)
- **The role of paramilitarism in the U.S. Reconstruction era (1865-1877)**  
Olivier Burtin (University of Amiens)
- **Paramilitarism and Violence in the Italian Nationalist Movement**  
Donatello Aramini (Sapienza University of Rome)
- **“The home of Fascism is here”: Fascism in post-Habsburg Trieste and Istria as a Distinctive Model of Paramilitary Organization**  
Marco Bresciani (University of Florence)

# 1B | Paramilitarism and violence



D-001

Chair: Aristitle Kallis

- **Radicalization to Violence: Paramilitarism in Fascism and the Radical Right in interwar Romania**  
Gillis Kersting (VU Amsterdam)
- **“Knocking Heads Together”: The Concept of “Violence” as a Key to Understand Fascist Paramilitarism**  
Carlos Martins
- **Col persuasivo manganello: Fascist squads in the local space, Arezzo 1920-24**  
Lewis Driver (European University Institute)
- **TNA - Tropas Nacistas de Asalto of the Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile**  
Marjo Sznajder (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

# SATURDAY 7 October


09:00 – 10:45 | SESSION 2

## 2A | Paramilitarism and Gender

 D-001

- **‘A Strong Type of Polish Woman’. Gender Relations and Violence in the Polish National-Radical Movement in the 1930s**  
Izabela Mrzygłód (Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)
- **Comrades, out onto the streets! The paramilitary ambitions and radical street politics of the Conservative Youth in Denmark 1932-38**  
Charlie Krautwald (Lund University)
- **The Combative Spirit: Embodying Falangist Pre-War Radicalisation (1931-1936)**  
Francisco Jiménez Aguilar (Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertistatea)
- **Mapping Saffron Paramilitarism: A Historical-Sociological Analysis of Phallogentricity, Gender based Violence and Neo-Fascism in India**  
Titaś Biswas (University College Dublin)

## 2B | Transnational perspectives

 D-002

- **Students of the March on Rome: Anti-democratic Romanian Great War Veterans and their Transnational Influences, 1920-1938**  
Blasco Sciarrino (Central European University)
- **Militarisation in the Theory and Practice of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Interwar Period – Dynamics of Change and Transnational Connections**  
Magdalena Gibiec (University of Wrocław)
- **Constructing and circulating knowledge of fascism and paramilitarism as international phenomena among minor Northwestern European fascist parties in the 1930s**  
Martin Kristoffer Hamre (Freie Universität Berlin)
- **War as a Spiritual Experience? First World War Veterans between Antimilitarism and Revanchism**  
Fabio Ferrarini (University of Milan)

### 3A | The interwar experience (1) – The case of Yugoslavia

 D-001

- **The relationship between ideology and paramilitary violence – using computational methods in bridging ideology and actions in the radical right – the case of Yugoslavia**  
Marko Milošev (Central European University, Vienna)
- **Building State, Destroying State: Violence and Radicalisation in Interwar Yugoslavia, 1918-1934**  
Goran Miljan (Hugo Valentin Center, Uppsala University) & Roland Kostić (Hugo Valentin Center, Uppsala University)
- **“Guarding the Holy against the Yugoslav Assaults”: Serbian National Youth (1922–1929)**  
Dušan Fundić, (Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

### 3B | The interwar experience (2) – Interwar Nordic Paramilitarism and its Aftermath (NORFAS panel)

 D-002

**Chair:** Nicola Karcher (Østfold University College, Norway)


- **Guarding the Republic: Interwar Paramilitarism and the Far Right in Finland**  
Oula Silvennoinen (University of Helsinki)
- **Samfundsvernet, Samfundshjelpen: Counter-Revolutionary Paramilitarism in Norway**  
Celestine Kunkeler (Centre for Research on Extremism (C-REX), at the University of Oslo)
- **From Radicalization to Terror: Danish National Socialist Paramilitarism until 1945**  
Claus Bundgård Christensen (Roskilde University)
- **Paramilitary National Socialist Groups in Sweden until 1945: Activism, Networks, and Historical Impact**  
Heléne Lööw (Uppsala University)

## 4A: Collaborationist regimes

 D-001

- **“Hitler Gave the Slovaks a State”**: Tiso’s Slovakia between Illusion and Reality, 1939–1945  
Miloslav Szabó (Comenius University in Bratislava)
- **State Independence in the Axis ‘New Order’ Ustasha Regime and State- and - Nation-Building Process**  
Goran Miljan (Hugo Valentin Centre, Uppsala University)
- **Conflicting Loyalties and Aims of the Nedić Regime in Occupied Serbia**  
Rastko Lompar (Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade)
- **Albania Puppet regime under Italian Protectorate**  
Enriketa Pandelejmoni (University of Tirana)
- **The Italian Social Republic**  
Goffredo Adinolfi (ISCTE-Lisbon University Institute)
- **Calibrated Collaboration. Hácha’s Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia,**  
Radka Šustrová (Charles University, Prague)

## 4B | The bigger picture - Far-Right Radicalization, Paramilitarism and Political Violence: From Interwar Period to the Contemporary Rise of Neofascist Movements

 D-002

Chair: Raul Carstocea (Maynooth University, Ireland)

- **Ukrainian far-right and the war: The winding**  
Lesia Bidochko (Kyiv-Mohyla Academy)
- **The King and the Captain: Sovereign Power, Extrajudicial Killings and the Constitutional Downfall of Interwar Romania**  
Cosmin Cercel (Ghent Institute of Legal History; University of Ghent)
- **Far-Right Violence in Romania: A Century of Paramilitarism in Fascism and the Radical Right**  
Adina Marincea (‘Elie Wiesel’ NISHR & NEC Bucharest)/Manuel MIREANU (UBB Cluj-Napoca)
- **Political Violence and Contested Sovereign Power: The November 1940 Executions in Jilava Prison**  
Corneliu Pintilescu (George Baritiu History Institute of the Romanian Academy)

## 16:00 – 17:15 Keynote


 D-001

- **Fascism and Paramilitarism: A Historical Overview**

Sven Reichardt (Konstanz University)

**Chair: Antonio Costa-Pinto**

**17:30 – 18:15 Special Session - Getting your Ph.D. Published**

 D-001

Craig Fowlie (Global Editorial Director, Social Sciences Books, Routledge)

Chair: Constantin Iordachi

# SUNDAY 8 October

08:30 – 10:00 | SESSION 5

5A: The interwar experience (3): facets of fascism and paramilitary

 D-001

- **Ex Occidente lux? The Great Depression, social protest and the rise of East European fascism as a mass movement. The case of Great Poland (Wielkopolska), 1929-1939**  
Grzegorz Krzywiec (Polish Academy of Sciences)
- **Institutionalising Terror: The Role of (Para)military Formations in Ustaša Mass Violence**  
Tomislav Dulic (University of Uppsala)
- **Auxiliaries, irregulars, and militias: Fascist Italy's War at the intersection of Greece, Albania, and Macedonia**  
Lidia Santarelli (Princeton University & Rutgers)

**5B: From Street Violence to Genocide? Paramilitarism and Antisemitism in Fascist Movements in Eastern Europe in the 1930s and 1940s**

 D-002

- **Insurgent Temporalities: Youth Radicalisation and Paramilitarism in Interwar Romania**  
Dr. Raul Cârstocea (Maynooth University)
- **The Role of Antisemitism in the Evolution of Mass Violence in the Independent State of Croatia**  
Lovro Kralj (University of Rijeka)
- **Infiltrated or Welcoming? Paramilitary Units in Latvia and their Relationship to the Fascists 1931 – 1941**  
Paula Oppermann (Historical Commission Berlin)



## 10:15 – 11:00 | PLENARY ADDRESS

 D-001

Chair: Aristotle Kallis

- **Awakening the people: the vanguardist delusion of fascist paramilitary and terrorist violence**  
Roger Griffin (Oxford Brookes University)

## 11:15-13:00 | SESSION 6

### 6A | Contemporary perspectives on the radical right

 D-001

- **"F\*ck white nationalism. I want white jihad."**  
Ariel Koch (Lauder School of Government Diplomacy and Strategy, Reichman University)
- **Threats to Brazilian democracy: "Bolsonarismo" as paramilitary indoctrination of youth.**  
Fabio Gentile (Federal University of Ceará, Fortaleza)
- **"Old-new" paramilitarism: the far right, fascism, and national salvation in 21st century Romania**  
Emmanuel-Marius Grec (University of Heidelberg)
- **Fascism's Long Night in Spain: Queerphobic reactionaries and the Return of Fascism Online and in the Public Sphere."**  
Dr Louie Dean Valencia (Texas State University)

### 6B | The global neo-fascism

 D-002

- **Neo-fascist ideologies of defence against the Soviet Union**  
Mikado Rahm (Umeå University)
- **The cases of *Terza Posizione* and Nar (*Nuclei armati rivoluzionari*): the radicalisation of Italian revolutionary right-wing violence in the years of Lead from armed spontaneism to paramilitarism**  
Carlo de Nuzzo, Cevipof (Sciences Po Paris)
- **The Italian institutions facing neofascism. The Committees of inquiry about neofascist violence in the 'red Regions' (Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany and Umbria), 1974-1975.**  
Michelangelo Borri (University of Trieste and Udine), Valerio Marinelli (University of Perugia)

- **The exercise of power at the micro level under late Salazarism: the PIDE, the Portuguese Legion and Portuguese society (1958-1968)**  
Duncan Simpson (Institute of Social Sciences (ICS), University of Lisbon)
- **Preparing for Armageddon: Survivalism & paramilitarism in Britain's post-war extreme right**  
Graham Macklin (Norwegian Center for Holocaust and Minority Studies, affiliated with the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo)

## 14:00-15:45 | SESSION 7

### **Fascist and extreme right paramilitarism and violence and the history of emotions**

 D-001

Chair and Discussant: Paul Jackson (University of Northampton)

- **Deus Vult: Fantasies of medieval masculinity in extreme right radicalisation to violence**  
Dr Rachel Moss (University of Northampton)
- **Paramilitary ideals in David Myatt's Writings**  
Clive Henry (University of Northampton)
- **'We are the Village Green Preservation Society': A comparative examination of British and American Far Right's use of Environmental discourse to engage radical action.**  
Daniel Jones (University of Northampton)
- **WW2 criminal living in Britain: the Searchlight interviews**  
Siobhan Hyland (University of Northampton)
- **The Limitless Enemy: William Pierce, Anxiety, Violence and Conspiracy Belief**  
William Mann (University of Northampton)

## 15:45 | CLOSING REMARKS

 D-001

Moderators: Constantin Iordachi, Aristotle Kallis, Antonio Costa-Pinto

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