

COMFAS
2023

PARAMILITARISM IN FASCISM AND THE RADICAL RIGHT

6-8 October 2023

CEU PU VIENNA
QS AUDITORIUM
QUELLENSTRASSE 51, 1100 VIENNA

PROGRAMME

Friday
6
October



13:00-14:00 **REGISTRATION**

Start

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

Rethinking gender and paramilitarism of the 1930s today

Chair: Constantin Iordachi

ANDREA PETÖ (CEU PU VIENNA)

Break

16:15-18:00

1 PARAMILITARISM AND FASCISM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

PARALLEL STREAMS

1A QS AUDITORIUM

PARAMILITARISM AND VIOLENCE

Chair: Aristotle Kallis

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 D-001

PARAMILITARISM AND FASCISM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Chair: Constantin Iordachi

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

TNA - Tropas Nacistas de Asalto of the Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile
MARIO SZNAJDER (HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM)

Students of the March on Rome: Anti-democratic Romanian Great War Veterans and their Transnational Influences, 1920-1938
BLASCO SCIARRINO (CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY)

End of Day 1



Saturday

7

October

COMFAS
2023

09:00-10:45

PARALLEL STREAMS

2 THEMATIC PERSPECTIVES

2A  D-001

PARAMILITARISM AND GENDER

Chair: Paula Oppermann (Historical Commission Berlin)

'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 PAIS VASCO/EUSKAL HERRIKO UNIBERTISTATEA)

Mapping Saffron Paramilitarism: A Historical-Sociological Analysis of Phallogocentricity, Gender based Violence and Neo-Fascism in India
TITAS BISWAS (UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN)

2B  D-002

PARAMILITARISM AND VIOLENCE

Chair: Sven Reichardt (Konstanz University)

Col persuasivo manganello: Fascist squads in the local space, Arezzo 1920-24
LEWIS DRIVER (EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE)

Militarisation in the Theory and Practice of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Interwar Period – Dynamics of Change and Transnational Connections
MAGDALENA GIBIEC (UNIVERSITY OF WROCLAW)

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)

Break

11:15-13:00

PARALLEL STREAMS

3 THE INTERWAR EXPERIENCE (1)

3A  D-001

THE CASE OF YUGOSLAVIA

Chair: Philipp Dinkelaker

The relationship between ideology and paramilitary violence – using computational methods in bridging ideology and actions in the radical right – the case of Yugoslavia
MÁRKO 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  D-002

INTERWAR NORDIC PARAMILITARISM AND ITS AFTERMATH (NORFAS PANEL)

Chair: Nicola Karcher (Østfold University College, Norway)

Guarding the Republic: Interwar Paramilitarism and the Far Right in Finland
OULA SILVENNÖINEN (UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI)

Samfundsvernet, Samfundshjelen: Counter-Revolutionary Paramilitarism in Norway
CELESTINE KUNKLER (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
HELENE LOÖW (UPPSALA UNIVERSITY)

Lunch

14:00-15:45

PARALLEL STREAMS

4 THE INTERWAR EXPERIENCE (2)

4A  D-001

COLLABORATIONIST REGIMES

Chair: Antonio Costa Pinto (University of Lisbon)

"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)

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 SUSTROVA (UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA)

4B  D-002

FAR-RIGHT RADICALIZATION, PARAMILITARISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE: INTERWAR TO CONTEMPORARY

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)

Break

16:00-17:15

KEYNOTE

 D-001

Chair: Antonio Costa Pinto (University of Lisbon)

Fascism and Paramilitarism: A Historical Overview
SVEN REICHARDT (KONSTANZ UNIVERSITY)

End of Day 2



Sunday

8

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08:30-10:00

PARALLEL STREAMS

5 INTERWAR EXPERIENCE (3)

5A  **D-001**

FACETS OF FASCIST PARAMILITARISM

Chair: Constantin Iordachi (CEU PU Vienna)

Austria at the Centre of a paramilitary Storm: The Heimwehr and Nazism as Paradigmatic Cases during the Inter-War Period
GERHARD BOTZ (University of Vienna)

Ex Occidente lux? The Great Depression, paramilitarism 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)

"Es braucht nur einen den Anfang zu machen": Examples of Violent Socialization in Nazi and Fascist Youth Literature
BASSANI, GILDA Yael (UNIVERSITY OF TURIN)

Auxiliaries, irregulars, and militias: Fascist Italy's War at the intersection of Greece, Albania, and Macedonia
LIDIA SANTARELLI (PRINCETON UNIVERSITY & RUTGERS)

5B  **D-002**

FROM STREET VIOLENCE TO GENOCIDE? PARAMILITARISM AND ANTISEMITISM IN FASCIST MOVEMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE, 1930S-1940S

Chair: Eva Kovacs (Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, VWI)

Insurgent Temporalities: Youth Radicalisation and Paramilitarism in Interwar Romania
DR. RAUL CARSTOCEA (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 OPPERMAN (HISTORICAL COMMISSION BERLIN)

Break

10:15-11:00

 **D-001**

PLENARY ADDRESS

Chair: Aristotle Kallis (Keele University)

Awakening the people: the vanguardist delusion of fascist paramilitary and terrorist violence
ROGER GRIFFIN (OXFORD BROOKES UNIVERSITY)

Break

11:15-13:00

PARALLEL STREAMS

6 POSTWAR & CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

6A  **D-001**

THE RETURN OF FASCISM?


Chair: Radka Šustrová (University of Vienna)

"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  **D-002**

THE GLOBAL NEO-FASCISM

Chair: Lidia Santarelli (Princeton University & Rutgers)

Neo-fascist ideologies of defence against the Soviet Union
MIKAEL 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)

Lunch

14:00-15:45

 **D-001**

7 FASCIST AND EXTREME RIGHT PARAMILITARISM AND VIOLENCE AND THE HISTORY OF EMOTIONS

FASCIST AND EXTREME RIGHT PARAMILITARISM AND VIOLENCE AND THE HISTORY OF EMOTIONS

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

 **D-001**

CLOSING REMARKS

End

