

FROM FASCISM TO NEO-FASCISM?

(DIS)CONTINUITIES BETWEEN CLASSICAL
FASCISM AND 21st CENTURY'S FAR-RIGHT

FACULTY OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PORTO
27-28 APRIL 2026



FROM FASCISM TO NEO-FASCISM?

PROGRAMME

27 APRIL

Anfiteatro Nobre

09:00–09:15 **Welcome and Opening**

09:15 **Opening Lecture**

Moderation: Sérgio Neto

Virgínia Fontes: *A continuidade do capital. Da guerra de classes «democrática» à guerra de classes neofascista*

10:45–11:00 **Coffee break**

11:00–12:30 **Parallel Sessions**

Anfiteatro Nobre

Panel 1: Proto-fascism, political culture and radicalisation

Moderation: Luís Trindade

Aliaksandr Piahnanou (IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *Before Fascism: Paramilitary Culture, Political Loyalty, and the Making of the Hungarian Radical Right in Late 19th–Early 20th Century Budapest*

Aurélie Andry (IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *States of exception in 'colonial democracies': France and Britain, 1900–1939*

Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez (IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *Bureaucrats and fascists? Martínez Anido, liberalism and dictatorship in Spain, 1909–1938*

Georgios Souvlis (IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *Exceptional Measures and Political Power: Georgios Kondylis and the Crisis of the Second Hellenic Republic*

Sala de Reuniões

Panel 2: Fascism, diplomacy and the international order

Moderation: Sérgio Neto

Julià Gómez Reig (European University Institute, Florence): *Deconstructing Fascism: Francoist Diplomacy and the Spanish Question at the UN, 1945–1949*

Sergio Martín Tapia Argüello (Universidad de Celaya): *Still Judges in Berlin? Law, Legitimacy and Power*

Sala de Reuniões 2

Panel 3: Estado Novo [New State], fascism and anti-fascism

Moderation: Fábio Sorrentino

Joe Williams (UC): *From National History to National Destiny – Fascistising Narratives of the Nation in Salazarist Portugal*

José Maria Barbosa (FLUP): *Sonhar uma nação católica: o nacionalismo católico na base ideológica do fascismo português (1911–1930)*

João Rodrigues (CITCEM – FLUP): *Portuguese anti-fascist opposition in exile (1929–1945). Representations in Diário de Notícias of New Bedford*

Fábio Faria (CIES – Iscte): *Violência política em contexto de ditadura: a repressão salazarista dos refugiados espanhóis em Portugal (1936–1945)*

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12:30-14:00 Lunch break

Anfiteatro Nobre

14:00-15:45 Round-Table

Moderation: Sílvia Correia

Como fazer memória das ditaduras em tempos difíceis?

Maria Inácia Rezola (IPL), Paula Godinho (IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST), Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela)

15:45-16:00 Coffee break

16:00-17:30 Parallel Sessions

Anfiteatro Nobre

Panel 4: Fascist Trajectories

Moderation: Sílvia Correia

Elias Catelan Carphio (Scuola Superiore Meridionale): *Tullio Abelli. An Italian Foreign Minister of Neofascism in Latin America*

Pedro Pablo Garcés Palacios (Universidad de Zaragoza): *Blas Piñar and the Reconfiguration of Transnational Neofascism in Spain (1966-1982)*

Daniel Canales Ciudad (Universitat de Girona): *Updating Fascism in Late Francoism. Manuel Cantarero del Castillo and the audacity of a Falangist socialism*

Sala de Reuniões

Panel 5: Anti-fascist networks and international solidarity

Moderation: Marcelo Badaró

André Pina (IS-UP): *The International Red Aid (MOPR): Antifascist Solidarity in Portugal during the Interwar Years*

Cecilia Ru (Università degli Studi di Bologna): *Between Anti-Fascism and Anti-Colonialism. Colonial Narratives in the Cultural Production of the Portuguese Student Movement (1968-1974)*

Vera Araújo (CEIS20 – University of Coimbra) & Edilson Porto (Universidade Estadual do Ceará): *Voices of Resistance: Urban Art and Antifascism in Coimbra*

Sala de Reuniões 2

Panel 6: Between historical anti-fascism and new forms of resistance (1926-2015)

Moderation: Sérgio Neto

Daniel Soares (FLUP): *Against the Legacy of the 'Stupid Nineteenth Century': The Struggle of the Republican Opposition against the Consolidation of the Portuguese Dictatorship (1926-1938)*

Duarte Viana (FLUP): *A Brigade of Emigrants: trajectories of Portuguese antifascist militants in the International Brigades (1936-1939)*

Misael Martins (FLUP): *Memorial Discourses of Former Militants of the Socialist Left Movement – Socialism versus Antifascism?*

Raquel Vitorino (FBAUL): *Back and forth between memory and oblivion – the Iberian case of looking into the past with contemporary museological lenses*

17:30-17:45 Coffee break

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17:45-19:15 Parallel Sessions

Anfiteatro Nobre

Panel 7: *Youth, education and the cultural wars*

Moderation: João Leonardo Medeiros

Enrique Javier Díez Gutiérrez (Universidad de León): *El auge del actual neofascismo entre los jóvenes en Europa y el papel de la educación: la batalla cultural del neofascismo por 'reeducar' Europa*

Enrique-Javier Díez (Universidad de León), Enrique Berjano (Universitat Politècnica de València), Manuel Fernández (Universidad de Málaga), María Patricia Angulo (Chile. Internacional Antifascista de Educación) e Miguel Filipe Silva (Forward College / Universidade Católica Portuguesa / IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *Más allá del análisis académico: combatir el neofascismo desde la educación*

Tatiana Poggi (Universidade Federal Fluminense): *Education as a weapon for selection: cultural and educational strategies for a neofascist education*

Bianca Rocha Guerra (Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro): *Between Ethics and Public Policies: The New Right and Educational Debates in the Rio de Janeiro City Legislature*

Sala de Reuniões

Panel 8: *Bolsonarism and the Brazilian far right*

Moderation: Gabriela Azevedo

Fabio Portugal Sorrentino (UC): *Bolsonarismo, fascismo e descolonização*

Flávio Calheiros (Instituto Federal do Sul de Minas Gerais): *The Bolsonaroist Far-Right as a Neofascist Project in Brazil*

Sandra Silva (FLUP): *The 'monster full of tentacles' in Colonel Ferdinando de Carvalho's fictions about communism and the PCB during the Civil-Military Dictatorship (1978 and 1979)*

Marcelo Badaró (Universidade Federal Fluminense): *Neofascism without Bolsonaro? Bolsonaroism in Brazil Today*

Sala de Reuniões 2

Panel 9: *Continuities and discontinuities on the far right*

Moderation: João Rodrigues

Ángel Benavente & Luis Parras (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid): *Las continuidades ideológicas y mediáticas de la extrema derecha española: entre el SEU y los movimientos universitarios actuales*

Mónica Catarina Soares (CEDH – Universidade Católica Portuguesa): *A normalização e viralização de imaginários neofascistas: A comunicação digital da extrema-direita em Portugal e na Argentina*

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28 APRIL

09:00-10:30 Parallel Sessions

Anfiteatro Nobre

Panel 10: *Violence, repression and impunity*

Moderation: Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez

Inês Ferreira de Almeida (IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST / MNRL): *Violência «a bem da nação» ou práticas «torcionárias»: confronto de narrativas e disputas de sentido de um dispositivo punitivo*

Gilberto Calil (Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná): *In defence of impunity: the Bolsonaro family's posts for amnesty for crimes committed by coup plotters*

Carla Luciana Silva (Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná): *Intersections between the concepts of State Terrorism and Fascism from an international perspective*

Sala de Reuniões

Panel 11: *Democratisation, memory and the uses of the past*

Moderation: Bruno Madeira

Michelly Cordão (Universidade Federal de Campina Grande / IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *Memory, Photography and Agency: The Portuguese Revolution (1974-1976) in the Exhibition 'Venham Mais Cinco'*

Gonçalo Margato (CEI – Iscte): *A bem da nação? A mediação demoliberal da memória e as vias contemporâneas*

Pedro Martins (IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *'Penso muito no nosso primeiro Rei por estes dias': Continuidades e ruturas nos usos do passado medieval pela extrema-direita portuguesa contemporânea*

Afonso Silva (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona / IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *A extrema-direita ibérica: memória e legados da democratização*

Sala de Reuniões 2

Panel 12: *(Neo)fascist imagery, communication and authoritarianism*

Moderation: Julià Gómez Reig

Nuno André Nunes Oliveira (FLUP): *A fascist Europeanism? The 'Estado Novo' and 21st century Portuguese far right's discourse regarding Europe*

Isabel Menezes: (CIIE / FPCEUP) *Revisiting the authoritarian personality and its contemporary drivers*

Steven Forti (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona): *The spectre of fascism, the trap of populism and the new extreme right: a conceptual proposal*

10:30-11:00 Coffee break

Anfiteatro Nobre

11:00-12:30 Lecture

Moderation: Adriano Amaral

Fernando Rosas (IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *A rendição do liberalismo*

12:30-14:00 Lunch break

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14:00-15:30 Parallel Sessions

Anfiteatro Nobre

Panel 13: *Racism, capitalism and totalitarianism*

Moderation: André Pina

Lorenzo Ferraro (Università di Genova, DAFIST): *The racist utopia of eugenics? Campanella's City of the Sun and the trajectories of Italian (neo)fascism through the reception of a classic*

Kian Aspinall (University of Cambridge): *Racial Capitalism, Race and the Persistence of Fascist Assemblages*

Sala de Reuniões

Panel 14: *Conspiracy theories, misogyny and cultural radicalisation*

Moderation: Adriano Amaral

Andrei Prudnikov (ICS-UL / META University, Almaty, Kazakhstan): *Demographic conspiracy narratives as a far-right repertoire of fear and belonging in contemporary Russia*

Rosa María Almansa Pérez (Universidad de Córdoba): *La teoría conspirativa del «marxismo cultural» en la extrema derecha de Estados Unidos (años 90-actualidad)*

Maria Alice Samara (IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST): *Manosphere, misogyny and far-right extremism*

Matt Seriff-Cullick (Independent Scholar): *The Anti-Zionism of Fools. The U.S. far right's "civil war" over Israel and the rise of fascist imperialism*

Sala de Reuniões 2

Panel 15: *The Portuguese far right*

Moderation: Afonso Silva

Adriano Campos (Assembleia da República): *Fascismo tardio e expressão eleitoral da extrema-direita - o caso do Chega*

Carlos Martins (ICS – ULisbon): *The Ideology of the Contemporary Far Right - the Case of Chega*

Bruno Dias (Universidade do Minho): *Political culture, networks, and militant press in the Portuguese far-right: the journal Último Reduto (1982-1995)*

Jaime Roque (FEUC): *'O socialismo traiu Portugal' - narrativas de crise e soluções autoritárias num jornal da extrema-direita parlamentar*

15:30-15:45 Coffee break

Anfiteatro Nobre

15:45-17:15 Closing Lecture

Moderation: Manuel Loff

Ugo Palheta (Université de Lille): *De que crise é produto o neofascismo*

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Organising Committee:

Manuel Loff (FLUP / IHC – NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)
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