

**From Fascism to Neo-Fascism? (Dis)Continuities Between Classical Fascism and 21st Century's Far-Right**

Faculty of Arts and Humanities – University of Porto

Address: Via Panorâmica, s/n · 4150-564 Porto · Portugal

Dates: 27–28 de abril de 2026

Rooms: Anfiteatro Nobre · Sala de Reuniões · Sala de Reuniões 2

# FROM FASCISM TO NEO-FASCISM?

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

**Organising Comitee:**

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

Luís Trindade (IHC – NOVA FCSH/IN2PAST)

Ana Sofia Ferreira (FLUP and IS-UP)

Sílvia Correia (FLUP and IS-UP)

Bruno Madeira (UM and Lab2PT/In2Past)

Sérgio Neto (FLUP and CITCEM)

Adriano Amaral (IS-UP)

Gabriela Azevedo (IS-UP)

Arturo Zoffmann (IHC – NOVA FCSH/IN2PAST)

Afonso Silva (IHC – NOVA FCSH/IN2PAST)

Carlos Martins (IS-UP)

# 27 APRIL

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## ANFITEATRO NOBRE

**09:00–09:15** Receção Welcome and Opening

**09:15** Opening Conference

**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 Piahanaou (IHC NOVA-FCSH): *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): *States of exception in 'colonial democracies': France and Britain, 1900-1939*

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

Georgios Souvlis (IHC NOVA-FCSH): *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 (Instituto Universitario Europeo, Florença): *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)*

**12:30–14:00 Lunch**

## **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) · 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-Universidade de 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**

**17:45–19:15 Parallel Sessions**

## **ANFITEATRO NOBRE**

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

#### **Moderation: João Leonardo Medeiros (Universidade Federal Fluminense)**

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 e Universidade Católica Portuguesa): *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: Bolsonaroism 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*

# 28 DE ABRIL

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## 09:00–10:30 Parallel Sessions

### ANFITEATRO NOBRE

#### Panel 10: Violence, repression and impunity

##### Moderation: Arturo Zoffmann

Inês Ferreira de Almeida (IHC NOVA-FCSH): *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 (IHC/NOVA, Universidade Federal de Campina Grande/Brasil): *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 para os fascismos contemporâneos*

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): *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 e 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 Conference**

#### **Moderation: Adriano Amaral**

*A rendição do liberalismo*

Fernando Rosas (IHC NOVA-FCSH)

**12:30–14:00 Lunch**

**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): *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-UL): *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 Conference**

#### **Moderation: Manuel Loff**

*De que crise é produto o neofascismo*

Ugo Palheta (Université de Lille)