

FASCISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL

THE GLOBAL ORDER, YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW

Museo de Arte Moderno, México City, 18-20 June 2017

Organised by Rose Sydney Parfitt
(Melbourne Law School / Kent Law School)

With help from:

Luis Eslava (KLS)
Mas Generis (MLS)
Sofia Neri (MAM)
Mia Tamarin (KLS)
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José Chávez Morado (1909-2002), *El Fascismo en Latino-América* (1939), fragment from a lithograph commissioned from the radical print collective, the Taller de Gráfica Popular (People's Graphic Workshop), by the anti-fascist Liga Pro-Cultura Alemana (League for German Culture).

PRE-WORKSHOP INVITATION

Sunday 18 June,
9.00 a.m. - 12.00 p.m.

‘Picasso and Rivera: Conversations Across Time’

Workshop participants are warmly invited to join us for an (optional) Sunday morning visit to the *Picasso y Rivera: Conversaciones a través del tiempo* exhibition, which has just opened at the Museo del Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico City’s historic centre.

We are very lucky to have Patricia Leighton, Professor Emerita of Art, Art History and Visual Studies at Duke University, author of *The Liberation of Painting: Modernism and Anarchism in Avant-Guerre Paris* (2013) and a contributor to the exhibition’s catalogue, as our guide to this wonderful show, which has just arrived in Mexico City from LACMA. In examining the work of Picasso and Rivera, two of the anti-fascist movement’s most important artists, Patricia will be opening up a series of questions about art, history and radical politics.

Taxis to the Museo del Palacio de Bellas Artes will be arranged, leaving from the conference hotel (the Wyndham Garden Hotel, Polanco) at 9 a.m. and returning to the Museo de Arte Moderno at 12.00, in advance of the start of the workshop at 2.00 p.m. Please confirm with Rose or Mia if you would like to come along.

... PROGRAMME ...

SUNDAY, 18 JUNE 2017

Sunday, Session I	El Fascismo en Latino-América.	
2.00 - 3.45 p.m.	Rose Sydney Parfitt (Melbourne Law School, Australia / Kent Law School, UK): <i>Introduction(s).</i>	Rafael Barajas Durán ('El Fisgón'): <i>Keynote: 'Fascism in Mexico, from the foundation of Acción Nacional to the Neoliberal Right.'</i>

BREAK: 3.45 - 4.15 p.m.

Sunday, Session II	Mexico: Fascism, Violence, Resistance.	
4.15 - 6.00 p.m.	Miguel Rábago Dorbecker (Los Andes University, Colombia; Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht, Germany): <i>Paper: 'Ulises Criollo: José Vasconcelos, Race and Fascism in Mexico.'</i>	Helena Chávez Mac Gregor (UNAM, Mexico) in conversation with Miguel Rábago and Rafael Barajas: <i>Screening: 'En la noche, de los relámpagos' ('at night, lightning'), by Helena Chávez with Cuauhtemoc Medina and Teatro Ojo.</i>

DRINKS: 6.00 - 8.00 p.m. (venue T.B.C.)

MONDAY, 19 JUNE 2017

Monday, Session I	Race, Gender, Capitalism and Fascism in the Construction of an International Legal Order.			
9.00 - 11.00 a.m.	Reut Yael Paz (Justus-Liebig University Gießen, Germany): <i>Paper:</i> 'Exploring (M)otherness through International Law: Lessons from the "Mothers of the Fatherland"?'	Ntina Tzouvala (Melbourne Law School, Australia): <i>Video-paper (TBC):</i> 'The Golden Dawn and White (Inter)Nationalism.'	John Reynolds (National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Ireland): <i>Paper:</i> 'White Nationalist Internationalism? White Slaves, White Genocide, White Zionism.'	Hannah Franzki (Bremen University, Germany): <i>Paper:</i> 'Outlawing the State, but not the Market: Criminal Trials and the Political Economy of the Last Argentine Dictatorship (1976-1983).'

BREAK: 11.00 - 11.30 a.m.

Monday, Session II	Inside (Neo)Fascism: Gender, Law, Society.			
11.30 a.m. - 1.00 p.m.	Ruth Cain (Kent Law School, UK): <i>Paper:</i> '@Nero: Alt-Right Masculinities and the "Cancellation of the Future".'	Chiara Giorgi (University of Genova, Italy): <i>Paper:</i> 'Fascist Social Policies in International Context.'	Andityas Soares de Moura Costa Matos & Joyce Karine de Sá Souza (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil): <i>Paper:</i> 'Survivals of Nazi-fascism: the Authoritarian Basis of the Current Legal Theory and its Origin in the Legal Thinking of German Nazism.'	

LUNCH: 1.00 - 2.30 p.m.

Monday, Session III	Artists, Anarchism and the Struggle For and Against Fascism.			
2.30 - 4.00 p.m.	Mark Antliff (Duke University, US): <i>Keynote:</i> 'Pacifism, Realism, and Pathology: An Anarchist Critique of Fascism during World War Two.'			

BREAK: 4.00 - 4.30 p.m.

Monday, Session IV	Two Perspectives on the Mexican Avant-Garde.			
4.30 - 6.00 p.m.	Sofia Neri, Curator (Museo de Arte Moderno, Mexico) <i>Exposition:</i> Introduction to the MAM and tour of the <i>Analogías</i> and <i>Escenarios</i> exhibitions.			

DRINKS & WORKSHOP DINNER: from 7.00 p.m. @ La Capital, Nuevo León 137 Col. Condesa

TUESDAY, 20 JUNE 2017

Tuesday, Session I					Fascist Space, Fascist Normativity.				
9.00 - 11.00 a.m.		Lidia Santarelli (Princeton University, US): <i>Paper:</i> 'War, Revolution, and Empire: the Fascist Myth of the World's New Order.'		Dominik Nagl (Universität Mannheim, Germany): <i>Paper:</i> 'Geopolitical Discourse, International Law and the Concept of Space in Nazi Germany.'		Kojo Koram (University of Essex, UK): <i>Paper:</i> 'The Francoist origins of American International Law.'		Robert Knox (University of Liverpool, UK): <i>Video-paper:</i> 'Boomeranging Imperialism? Race, Accumulation and the Construction of Fascist International Law.'	

BREAK: 11.00 - 11.30 a.m.

Tuesday, Session II					Law versus Art; Time versus Space; Fascism versus Freedom.				
11.30 a.m. - 1 p.m.		Jordan Amirkhani (University of Tennessee-Chattanooga, US): <i>Paper:</i> 'Fascism in Fantasy: Francis Picabia and the End of Dada.'		Alicja Rogalska (Iaspis, Sweden; Artsadmin, UK): <i>Performance/lecture:</i> 'A Different Kind of Futurism: Contemporary Art and Anti-Fascist Struggles.'		So what? What next...?			

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... FURTHER INFORMATION ...

THE WORKSHOP:

This workshop, 'Fascism and the International: The Global Order, Yesterday and Tomorrow', is the first in a series of two international workshops organised by Rose Sydney Parfitt (Melbourne Law School/Kent Law School), as part of a wider research project entitled *International Law and the Legacies of Fascist Internationalism*. The project is funded by the Australian Research Council and Melbourne Law School, and supported by Kent Law School and the Institute for Global Law and Policy (Harvard Law School).

KEYNOTES:

'Fascism in Mexico, from the foundation of Acción Nacional to the Neoliberal Right.'

Rafael Barajas Durán (El Fisgón), *La Jornada* (Mexico).

RAFAEL BARAJAS DURÁN, more commonly known as EL FISGÓN ('The Curtain-twitcher'), is a cartoonist, illustrator, activist and writer. He has co-directed several satirical magazines, including *El Chahuistle* (1994-1997) and *El Chamuco y los hijos del Averno* (1997-2000), and has been a regular contributor to *La Jornada*, one of Mexico's most important newspapers (described by Noam Chomsky as 'maybe the only real independent newspaper in the hemisphere'), for many years. Describing himself as a 'combat cartoonist' (in a 2002 interview with the *New York Times*), Rafael Barajas has led numerous campaigns - against the neoliberalisation of the Mexican economy, in support of the Zapatistas, and many others. He is also an authority on the history of fascism in Mexico and in Latin American more widely. He is the author of *La raíz nazi del PAN [The Nazi Roots of the NAP, the National Action Party]* (Mexico: El Chamuco, 2014), and *Dos Miradas al Fascismo: Diego Rivera y Carlos Monsiváis [Two Views of Fascism: Diego Rivera y Carlos Monsiváis]* (Mexico, D.F.: Colecciones Carlos Monsiváis, 2011) - the catalogue for a groundbreaking 2011 exhibition at Mexico City's Museo del Estanquillo, with which he is closely involved - and has recently published a new book on neo-fascism. In this keynote, Rafael will review the counter-revolutionary cycles of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, before pointing out some of the ideological and strategic differences and similarities between the eras of Hitler and Trump.

'Pacifism, Realism, and Pathology: An Anarchist Critique of Fascism during World War Two'

Mark Antliff, Duke University (US).

MARK ANTLIFF is Mary Grace Wilson Professor of Art, Art History & Visual Studies at Duke University. He received his Ph.D. from Yale University and is author of *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (1993) and *Avant-Garde Fascism: The Mobilization of Myth, Art and Culture in France, 1909-1939* (2007) as well as co-author of *Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy* (with Matthew Affron, 1997), *Cubism and Culture* (with Patricia Leighton, 2001), and *A Cubism Reader: Documents and Criticism 1906-1914* (with Patricia Leighton, 2008). His research and teaching interests focus on art in Europe before 1945, with special attention to cultural politics in all its permutations, as well as the interrelation of art and philosophy. His new book project, *Sculpture Against the State: Anarchism and the Cosmopolitan Avant-Garde*, examines how various forms of anarchism and related notions of aestheticized violence, culled from the spheres of politics, ideology and popular culture, shaped the artistic development of three major innovators in the history of avant-garde sculpture: Umberto Boccioni, Jacob Epstein, and Henri Gaudier-Brzeska.

In this talk, Mark will consider the synthesis of pacifism, behaviorism and realism developed by Alex Comfort, a doctor, conscientious objector and leading theorist of the anarchist movement in World War Two Britain. Before the war the Nazi regime had condemned the avant-garde as 'Degenerate' and proclaimed its own promotion of socialist Realism a eugenic and regenerative curative to such decadence; as he will demonstrate, Comfort turned the tables on Nazism by diagnosing that movement as pathological and developing an alternative theory of romantic Realism as a riposte to the violence underpinning Nazi aesthetics and politics. Comfort declared democratic and communist nations involved in the conflict equally the victims of this same pathology, and he appealed to the doctrine of universal human rights and anarchist theories of pacifist resistance and mutual aid as the only means of overcoming all State-sponsored violence. On this basis Comfort positioned the artist as a critical outsider, whose combination of empathy and objectivity served as an interpersonal beacon of sanity for those caught up in the maelstrom of war.

ABSTRACTS & PARTICIPANTS:

'Fascism in Fantasy: Francis Picabia and The End of Dada.'

Jordan Amirkhani, University of Tennessee-Chattanooga (US)

On June 23, 1940, the day after the Armistice between France and Germany was signed and the Vichy government was officially established, the former Dada instigator, painter, and poet Francis Picabia wrote to his friend and fellow avant-garde impresario Gertrude Stein: 'I am ready for anything and nothing...what you and I created earlier in this century will not be forgotten, and as you and I both know, M. Pétain will undoubtedly do his job and achieve his miracle. Decadence is done.' Picabia and Stein's involvements with and support of Pétain's "National Revolution" has long been known, but their supportive rhetoric and overt political alliances with Fascist leaders and right-wing conservative positions have sat uncomfortably within the scholarship of these two radically experimental artists whose aesthetic and intellectual positions before the war often overlapped with the various progressive, left-leaning political and cultural ideals attributed to avant-garde cultural production. Tracing the lines of convergence between these artists work and their political views remains at the heart of all art historical inquiry on these two individuals, but how their conservative nostalgia for their "own epoch" and investment in Vichy as an ideological foil against forms of democratic 'decadence' finds form in their art and writing points to the contradictory politics at the core of avant-garde ideologies. Considering the present revitalization of right-wing forms of fascist ideologies in Europe and the United States, my paper considers the work and writings of Stein and Picabia as evidence of the political slipperiness at work in avant-garde cultural production, the contextualization of experimental art as inherently progressive, and the urgent ethical demands for art historical scholarship in an era of Donald Trump.

JORDAN AMIRKHANI received her Ph.D. in the History and Philosophy of Art from the University of Kent in the United Kingdom in 2015 where she completed a comprehensive study of the French painter Francis Picabia and his centrality to the discourse of modern art and politics at the turn of the twentieth century. Prior to joining UTC, Professor Amirkhani held teaching posts at Canterbury Christ Church University and the University of Kent, as well as curatorial positions at The Phillips Collection in Washington, DC and The Royal Academy in London, England. Dr. Amirkhani's emphasis on the intersection of art and politics in the twentieth century informs much of her academic research, and she is currently working on a book that places the aesthetic and political conflicts of Picabia's era in dialogue with more contemporary political debates. Publications include articles on the British conceptual art collective Art & Language, the participatory art and politics of Grupa Spomenik in Serbia, and the appropriation of European trends in contemporary Middle Eastern art. In addition to her academic writing, Professor Amirkhani's criticism on contemporary art and culture has been featured numerous print and digital publications, including *Artforum*, *Art in America*, *Number, Inc.*, *Daily Serving*, *Art Practical*, and *BURNAWAY.org*. Her email address is jordan-amirkhani@utc.edu

'@Nero: Alt-Right Masculinities and the "Cancellation of the Future".'

Ruth Cain, University of Kent (UK)

The term 'alt-right' covers a variety of right-wing conservative and libertarian movements emergent in the last decade. Its guiding philosophy is elusive, but includes anti-feminism, economic nationalism, and a fixation with race and often evolutionary biology. Its followers espouse everything from aggressive techno-futurism to bucolic/agrarian recidivism, although they are united against 'hippy' environmentalists. Alt-right imagery and language evolved in online contexts such as internet forums, YouTube and pornography. It presents itself as a scourge both of the 'liberal left' and traditional conservatives; its figureheads are overwhelmingly young, photogenic, and media-savvy. I examine the alt-right as the broadly masculine phenomenon it is (despite its female 'stars'), claiming anti-feminism as the most powerful unitary force behind the movement, though sharp differences emerge between white-nationalist followers of a recognisable 'Neo-Nazi' ethos and the libertarian provocateurs mostly active online. The libertarian alt-right draws comparisons with the Futurism that prefigured Italian fascism, sharing its outrageous, decadent posturing and dreams of technological 'progress' unfettered by object, grossly feminine Nature. Alt-right masculinity of both libertarian and white-nationalist types reflects concerns with the emasculating nature of corporate life and

consumer culture, though this rarely develops into a meaningful critique of the failures of capitalism. I argue that if the alt-right represents a new Futurism, it is that of the 'cancelled' future, as explored by Franco Berardi and Mark Fisher- the legacy of decades of 'capitalist realism'. As such, alt-right libertarian masculinities may be assessed as 'zombie' forms of rebellion within an undead post-crash economy. Desires for unfettered social and economic individual freedom developed during the decades of lost post-war prosperity clash with reactionary longings for the monolithic/militarised (white) patriarchy of the 'alpha male' leader. The result is politics as performance and spectator-sport, 'watching the world burn'.

RUTH CAIN is Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Kent, UK. She researches and writes on family law, mental health law and parenting culture, all from various interdisciplinary perspectives. She is currently involved in research projects spanning high-conflict divorce and discourses of personal psychopathology, access to financial justice in the UK family courts, the neoliberalisation of 'wellbeing' discourse in mental health and the economic and bodily effects of work in the 'gig economy'. Her email address is: r.c.m.cain@kent.ac.uk

'Outlawing the State, but not the Market: Criminal Trials and the Political Economy of the Last Argentine Dictatorship (1976-1983).'

Hannah Franzki, Bremen University (Germany)

Whether the notion of fascism should only be used to refer to its German and Italian manifestations at the beginning of the 20th century or whether the concept serves to describe the logic of authoritarian regimes beyond the European experiences, is much debated in both history and political research. Showing little concern for the scholarly debates on the historicity of fascism, trials in response to state crime readily subsume an array of geographically as well as temporally spread manifestations of State-backed violence under the legal definitions of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. International Criminal Law can therefore be understood as a lens through which it is defined which forms of systematic violence are considered to be at odds with the values of "humanity" established by International Law. In this paper, I look at a selection of ongoing criminal trials in Argentina that investigate the role of economic actors for human right abuses committed during the last dictatorship (1976-1983) in order to bring into relief some of the mechanism through which International Criminal Law, as invoked in these trials, constructs the illegality of the authoritarian state. In particular, I will be arguing, the trials of economic expose two basic assumptions that inform the authoritarian state as imagined by International Criminal Law: the liberal separation of the state and the economy, as well as a definition of violence according to its sanctioned and non-sanctioned manifestations.

Hannah Franzki is PhD student at the School of Law, Birkbeck College, University of London and holds a research position at Bremen University, Germany, where she is part of the ERC-funded research project 'transnational force of law'. Hannah studied politics and international law in Marburg (Germany), Montevideo (Uruguay) and Warwick (UK). Her PhD project is concerned with the writing of history in and through law, and in particular with the histories of corporate complicity in state crimes in post-World War II Germany and contemporary Argentina. Her wider research interests include: critical legal theory, philosophy of history, international political economy and postcolonial theory. You may contact Hannah at mail@hannah-franzki.de

'En la noche, de los relampagos (at night, lightning),' screening and conversation (with Miguel Rábago Dorbecker)

Helena Chávez Mac Gregor, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)

In 2015 I was invited to participate in the Draft Project, an initiative that explored public space through contemporary art. The project involved nine teams around the world that worked for twelve months in their local contexts. In our case, Mexico City, the team was composed of Cuauhtémoc Medina, the artistic collective Teatro Ojo and me. For us, one of the questions raised by the Draft Project was that of how to intervene in a public sphere swamped by violence when the sphere itself is subdued by the weight of the violence. The result was the project *At night, Lightning*. In collaboration with filmmaker Rafael Ortega, Teatro Ojo produced 44 video clips that interfered the TV program of the public channel of the University (UNAM) with montages of images that had been in circulation in Mexico. In a strategy close to some of the practices of the agitprop movement, the aim was to use television and social media as a territory for political intervention. The images appeared in the shape of lightning bolts; they did not create a properly illuminated geography but rather an afterimage whose reverberations invoked a different reading of the landscape. I want to share this project in order to think collectively about whether these images enable us to make sense of the conditions of violence today and, if so, whether violence could be thought -- and thought in a manner capable of being transformed into a critical response.

HELENA CHÁVEZ MAC GREGOR was born in Mexico in 1979 and lives in Mexico City. She is a researcher at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)'s Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas. She holds a PhD in Philosophy. From 2009 to 2013 she was academic curator at the Museo Universitario Arte Contemporáneo (MUAC, the University Museum of Contemporary Art), where she developed the program in Critical Theory called 'Campus Expandido'. She currently teaches at the postgraduate program of Art History at UNAM. She curated 'Color Theory' at MUAC with Cuauhtémoc Medina and Alejandra Labastida from September 2014 to February 2015. With the Red Specter,

Cuauhtémoc Medina and Mariana Botey, she curated the exhibition 'Critical Fetishes: Residues of General Economy' at CA2M in Madrid in 2010 and at the Museo de la Ciudad in Mexico City in 2011; she was part of the curatorial team of 'Espectografías: Memorias e Historia' at MUAC in 2010. Her most recent essays include 'The Factory as a Battlefield', 'Occupying the Space, The Battle for Politics'; 'In Spite of Everything, to Appear', 'Necropolítica, la política como trabajo de muerte' and 'The Revolution Will Not be Televised'. Her email address is: helenach@unam.mx

'Fascist Social Policies in International Context: An International View.'

Chiara Giorgi, University of Genova (Italy)

How were Karl Polanyi or Antonio Gramsci able to find similarities between the emerging fascist regimes and the New Deal? And are we able to find analogies between these developments and present-day populism? This paper aims to investigate the 'great transformation' (Polanyi) of the 1930s as the privileged observation point from which to grasp the crisis points of the system of liberal institutions and the new strategies of the government of society that have spread globally. The great crisis of 1929 had decisive effects in the reformulation of the economic and social structures within individual nations, in particular in relation to the new social policies that were implemented both in totalitarian states and in democratic ones. The severe difficulties that struck the market economy led to a rethinking of the role of the state within the economic and social life of national communities. The abandonment of the principles of laissez faire and the adoption of new social policies was a common feature of radically different political contexts. Nevertheless, despite the analogies between fascism and Americanism, there were clear differences between authoritarian-totalitarian fascism and the democratic, both in Europe (in the social-democratic and the liberal-democratic versions) and in the USA. In particular, I shall focus on the fundamental model of the Italian Social State, both as it existed in the propaganda of the regime and in reality, in terms of how it aimed to incorporate an individualist logic with an organicist programme of government, the aim of which was to construct the unified, but highly differentiated, body of the Nation to whose needs each Italian worker had to submit.

In Italy between the two wars there developed new approaches to social policy, however the regime conceded some (very limited) social provision in exchange for the loss of political rights. Fascist policies in the shape of economic incentives and social security cushions served to compensate for the lack of political rights and fundamental freedoms. Moreover it was a case of concessions that were sanctioned by a totalitarian state which aimed to neutralise political opposition. Thus, fascism was a system that supplied social provisions so as to support its own consolidation, rather than in light of social justice or to remedy situations of poverty or need. Fascist propaganda encouraged the idea that the country owed a debt to the Duce, and used the welfare programmes as ways to engineer social control, by disciplining those 'permitted' assistance.

However, we should recognise that in all nations the spread of what we call social rights (which did not have this character in Italy, as they were bestowed from above) was driven by the desire to integrate and neutralise/control social conflict. There are two points that the analysis of fascist social policies enable us to shed light on, while also allowing us to answer our opening question. (1) Understanding the rationale for social policies and specifically fascist social policies enables us to view today's increasingly widespread forms of right-wing populism more attentively, finding analogies while also remaining aware of the impossibility of historical repetitions (if not in the form of 'farce', as Marx taught us). For Gramsci, fascism and Americanism were analogous responses to the crisis of liberalism (in terms of a passive revolution), which did not involve a progressive shift in the societies that they merely served to stabilise. In the same way, we can understand contemporary populisms in the face of the dissolution of the twentieth century model of the national-social state and the great crisis of 2008. (2) Secondly, the enquiry into fascist social policies enables us to make sense of what is merely an apparent contradiction that reappears within the contemporary neoliberal paradigm: the attempt to bring together individualism and organicism so as to counter all conflicting forces.

CHIARA GIORGI was born in Guatemala in 1974. She lives in Rome and teaches at the University of Genoa. She earned a master's degree in contemporary history in 1997-1998 from the University of Bologna. In 2002 she completed her PhD thesis, entitled *Teoria e storia della modernizzazione e del cambiamento sociale in età contemporanea*, at the University of Siena, which focused on Fascism and the welfare state. In 2003, Chiara received a research fellowship at the University of Teramo. In 2005 she won a postdoctoral scholarship at the University of Bologna. In 2007 she won a research fellowship at the University of Bologna, renewed in 2008 and 2009. Since 2011, Chiara has been Assistant Professor at University of Genoa (Department of Political Science), where she teaches History of Political Institutions. In 2017 she was awarded the National Scientific Qualification as Full Professor (History of Political Institutions). She has been a Visiting Researcher at University of Connecticut (UConn), Italian Modern History; a Visiting Fellow at Queen Mary University of London; a Visiting Researcher at the Department of Sociology, Goldsmiths; and a Visiting Researcher at Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Kingston University. Chiara's research interests include: the history of Fascism; social security and welfare state; Colonialism; institutional and constitutional history; Italian Marxism and the history of European socialism and communism. Her current research project concerns the concept of equality. Chiara's recent publications include: *L'articolo 3, 2 comma. L'uguaglianza sostanziale*, forthcoming, Carocci; *A heterodox Marxist and his century: Lelio Basso*, forthcoming, Brill; *Un socialista del Novecento. Uguaglianza, libertà e diritti nel percorso di Lelio Basso*, Carocci, 2015; *L'Africa come carriera. Funzioni e funzionari del colonialismo italiano*, Carocci, 2012; *La previdenza del regime. Storia dell'INPS durante il fascismo*, Il Mulino, 2004; and *La sinistra alla Costituente. Per una storia del dibattito istituzionale*, Carocci, 2001. Her email address is: maria.chiara.giorgi@unige.it

‘Boomeranging Imperialism? Race, Accumulation and the Construction of Fascist International Law.’

Robert Knox, University of Liverpool (UK)

In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt famously advanced the thesis that European totalitarianism – specifically fascism – had deep roots in the colonial experience. For Arendt, the techniques of management and dehumanisation developed to deal with the natives of Europe's colonies – particularly 'race-thinking' – set the scene for dehumanisation within Europe. At the same time, these forms of racialisation legitimated an alliance between 'the mob' and capital which formed the social basis for fascism. Although Arendt is frequently credited for this insight, she was in fact pre-empted in her analysis by radical African Third Worldists. Famously, Aimé Césaire described the rise of Nazism as a 'boomerang effect', in which the European colonisers were 'de-civilised' and 'brutalised' and began to inflict colonial methods on the soil of Europe itself. It was for this reason than Fanon characterised Nazism as 'the institution of a colonial system in the very heart of Europe'. These insights were confirmed directly in European fascism's rhetoric and practice. Thus, in its invasion of Abyssinia, the Italian fascist regime recapitulated its imperial past. Similarly, as Losurdo has noted, the Nazi regime explicitly referred to Eastern Europeans as 'Red Indians' and characterised Bohemia-Moravia as a 'protectorate' of Nazi Germany. As the mention of the term 'protectorate' tells us, these questions have an international legal element. Much of the scholarship on fascism and international law has noted the absence of a systematic formulation of 'fascist international law'. From this, it is generally concluded that fascism was simply a project unconcerned with legal argument, signalling its radical break with a liberal international legal project. Yet, the boomerang effect suggests something else. Perhaps fascism as unconcerned with articulating a 'fascist international law' because it drew on already existing legal arguments. The Third World Approaches to International Law movement has comprehensively demonstrated the close connection between international law, colonialism and processes of racialisation. What the work of Césaire and Fanon suggests is that fascists implemented these arguments in Europe itself. This paper builds on this insight to construct an argument about the relationship between imperialism, fascism and international law. It argues that processes of racialisation in international law are co-constitutive with the stabilisation of capitalist social relations. Drawing on the work of Marxist scholars of fascism, it argues that fascism was an attempt by certain lagging imperial powers to telescope accumulation against rival capitalist powers. In this way, it drew upon an already existing racialised international law, in the context of an inter-imperialist rivalry. This rivalry changed the targets of this process of racialisation, as well as the forms of its articulation, yet drew upon and maintained its basic logic.

ROBERT KNOX is a Lecturer in Law at the University of Liverpool. His primary interest lies in the fields of Marxist and critical legal theory, especially as regards international law. More specifically, his research attempts to analyse the close interconnection between capitalism, imperialism, processes of racialisation and international law. His work has also attempted to examine the role that law plays in promoting and inhibiting radical social change, focusing particularly on the way in which law is able to reshape collective political subjectivity. His email address is: r.knox@liverpool.ac.uk

‘The Francoist Origins of American International Law.’

Kojo Koram, University of Essex (UK)

Dr James Brown Scott is understandably heralded as a major figure in the chronology of international law, praised as a man who ‘fathered and fostered the development of international law during its greatest period of history’ (Hudson 1931). Alongside Elihu Root and other jurists with whom he co-founded the American Society of International Law, Scott, through both his theoretical and practical work, helped usher the U.S.A into the international arena at the birth of the ‘American century’. However, Scott’s reading of international law was distinctive from his peers in theoretical depth, for Scott ‘international law was more than a study or a profession; it was, in fact, a religion’ and his major commitment was to the mission to resurrect sixteenth-century Salamanca Francisco de Vitoria as the *paterfamilias* of international law (Coudet 1945, 559). In a series of writings and lectures in the early twentieth century, Scott championed Vitoria and the Salamanca School as not only providing international law with its true origins but also providing a template that could correct the failures of international law following the Great War (Scott 1934; Scott 2007). Many of Scott's Spanish allies in the recovering of the work of the Salamanca School in this interwar era were linked to the Association Francisco de Vitoria, founded in 1926, with Scott provided the Association with international credibility by championing it in the American Journal of International Law. Yet, an under-researched aspect of this connection is how following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, the Association Francisco de Vitoria provided juridical legitimation to the Francoist Rebellion, using the legacy of Thomism derived from the Salamanca theologians to portray the coup d'état as a later-day holy war, a crusade against decadence of liberalism and the demonic forces of communism (de la Rasilla del Moral 2013). The natural law that for Scott informed an expansive universalism was read by his Spanish contemporaries as the historical antecedents of the ultra-nationalism of Europe's most enduring experiment in Fascism (de la Rasilla del Moral 2013, 302). This paper will explore the significance of the shared roots of American international law and Francoist juridical thought. Making an intervention into the debate of Vitoria's legacy that has been so prominent in international legal scholarship over previous decades, this paper will return to the era in which Vitoria's work was recovered to query if the overlooked connections between fledging American internationalism and Francoist jurists betray an underside to the moral universalism that was to give international law form in the latter-half of the twentieth century.

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‘Survivals of Nazi-fascism: the authoritarian basis of the current legal theory and its origin in the legal thinking of German Nazism.’

Andityas Soares de Moura Costa Matos & Joyce Karine de Sá Souza, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (Brazil)

Unlike what many scholars claim, the changes imposed by Nazi jurists on the German legal order and on the very way of conceiving ideas such as law, lawfulness, justice, order and community were not temporary. Neither have they limited themselves to Germany nor have they been overcome by the democratic States under the rule of the law. On the contrary, some important ideas that are now re-emerging in Latin American, American and European legal theory are based on the works of Nazi jurists such as Carl Schmitt, Otto Koellreutter, Hermann Weinkauff, Karl Larenz and Erik Wolf. For example, the notion of national security, nowadays responsible for sustaining a permanent state of exception; the disregard towards lawfulness – seen as a positivist obstacle to the need of ‘making justice’; and the maximization of the judge’s power – seen as a lawmaker similar to the congressmen; these are three ideas that first appeared in Nazi Germany and that are nowadays being used at different discursive levels by many neoconstitutionalists and post-positivist authors. In the same way, we cannot forget that the notion of national or ethnic community – always present in the speeches of Donald Trump and the extreme right-wing European parties – is based on Nazi-fascism. It cannot be separated from a biopolitical vision of law and politics, as proposed by radical philosophers such as Giorgio Agamben and Roberto Esposito, and demonstrates the continuities between Nazi law and the current western democracies. This work aims to briefly indicate the historical, critical and comparative lines that can be traced between the thoughts of some Nazi jurists (Schmitt, Koellreutter, Weinkauff, Larenz and Wolf) and the contemporary theoretical discourse on law and politics, bearing in mind the five topics above listed (state of exception, lawfulness, community, the Judiciary branch and biopolitics). Therefore, we intend to demonstrate that in order to generate oppressive effects the practices and legal basis of Nazi-fascism need not to exist within officially authoritarian States. They are capable of coexisting with formally democratic legal structures, which, nevertheless, end up being weakened and eclipsed thanks to such a contact. This enables the emergence of extensive spaces of political-juridical exception within apparently consolidated democracies as we currently perceive in Brazil, in the US and in many European countries.

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‘Geopolitical Discourse, International Law and the Concept of Space in Nazi Germany.’

Dominik Nagl, Universität Mannheim (Germany)

This paper argues that Nazi imperialism aimed at the destruction of the abstract universalism of international law by universalizing its own particularistic principles of order through the establishment of a borderless and ever-expanding world empire based on violence and unmediated coercive force. It shows how National Socialism consequently racialized and radicalized the ethnocentric and anti-universal implications of contemporary geopolitical discourses and pushed them to their most aggressive extremes. Focusing on the writings of Karl Haushofer, Carl Schmitt and Werner Best, the paper offers a comparative close reading of the images, metaphors and concepts of space and international law in the geopolitical debates of the Third Reich. Karl Haushofer was the foremost German geopolitical theorist of the Weimar era and continued to influence the geopolitical debates in the Third Reich, but his views turned out to be increasingly at odds with the boundless expansionist aims of Nazi foreign policy. Carl Schmitt, who has been termed the “Crown jurist of the Third Reich”, increasingly devoted himself to the critique of international law and the propagation of the concept of a ‘volkhafte Großraumordnung’ after 1936. After the beginning of World War II, Schmitt’s ideas were sharply criticized by the Nazi jurist and leading SS-ideologue Werner Best for not dispensing radically enough with the idea of law and state. The paper will point out differences and commonalities in Haushofer’s, Schmitt’s and Best’s discussion of space, world order and international law and discuss the peculiarities of the geopolitical world-view of National Socialism.

DOMINIK NAGL has been a research fellow and lecturer in modern and contemporary history at the University of Mannheim since 2012. He studied History, North American Studies and Political Science at the Free University Berlin. From 2004 to 2010 he was research fellow at the John-F.-Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies and at the collaborative research centre for ‘Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood’ in Berlin. From 2011 to 2012 he was a lecturer for British and North American History at the University of Kassel. His research focuses on legal and intellectual history, colonialism, fascism and critical theory. He has published two monographies: *Grenzfälle – Citizenship, Racism und National Identity in the German Colonial Empire* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang 2007; English translation in preparation: *Colonial Subjects – Rights, Race, Resistance in the German Colonial Empire*, London: Routledge forthcoming 2018); *No Part of the Mother Country, but Distinct Dominions – Law, State Formation and Governance in England, Massachusetts, and South Carolina, 1630-1769* (Berlin: LIT 2017). He is currently working on the project ‘The World of National Socialism – The Global Imaginary in the Third Reich’ dealing with representations of the global in Nazi ideology. His email address is: dnagl@mail.uni-mannheim.de

‘Ulises Criollo: José Vasconcelos, Race and Fascism in Mexico.’

Miguel Rábago Dorbecker, Universidad de los Andes (Colombia) / Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht (Germany)

José Vasconcelos' life is embedded in the Mexican Revolution and especially the consolidation of post-revolutionary politics. Vasconcelos is sometimes referred to as “The Educator” and the implementation of the revolutionary educational process, along with the National University's emblematic motto: *Por mi raza hablará el espíritu*, are part of his influence as both President of the National University and Secretary of Education. But hidden in UNAM's own motto are Vasconcelos' conceptions on race, modernity and the international order. A highly controversial figure, he adopted an almost missionary campaign to end illiteracy, opened the walls of national offices as a canvas for the muralista movement; thus defining intellectually the New Mexican revolutionary subject through *mestizaje*. Nevertheless, he also flirted with Nazism and Franco's regime. The controversial figure of Vasconcelos is far beyond the restricted and narrow sculpture of the official Mexican history Pantheon. His relationship with Nazism, Franco and the religious Mexican right coexists with his legacy in Mexican education and the reception of his ideas both on the left and right of the post-revolutionary political spectrum. His most influential work is *Ulises Criollo*, which is volume one of his memoirs. Throughout its pages, most of its readers have the sensation of reading Mexico's own autobiography during the first decades of the revolution. His relationships, guidance and his last bitter days mark the contradictions of the Revolutionary regime, torn apart between its most radical social leaders and the conservative backlash. This contingency would enable a political arena in which Vasconcelos could both play as “The Educator” (when Secretary of Education with Obregón) and some years afterwards be investigated as a possible Nazi collaborator by the Lázaro Cárdenas' popular government. His ideas on race relations in Mexico and his contacts with both international fascism and his defense of national-catholic movements made him an influential, but bitter, figure for the Mexican right. Even if these aspects are often forgotten or silenced in his official biographies, Vasconcelos had some resonances with Franco's Spain, Perón's Argentina and Vargas Brazil. He was also the Editor in Chief of a Pro-Nazi publication called *Timón* (The Helm). Since his work is still revered even by the left, it may be the time to revise his own legacy on the right especially. There is also a need to discuss why the Mexican revolution seemed so complacent with anti-semitism, segregation of peoples of Chinese extraction and forced assimilation of indigenous peoples. Are these actions so different from Vasconcelos' own racial conceptions of Mexico as described in his *Ulises Criollo*?

MIGUEL RÁBAGO DORBECKER is currently the Tandem Group Leader of the Transformations in Public Law research group at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, in cooperation with the Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht. He received his PhD in Law from the University of Salamanca, and conducted his postgraduate studies at the University of Chile and at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). Although he is a Mexican national, he has been a visiting professor in Colombia and Brazil. Miguel's main areas of research and teaching are international law and legal Theory. His email address is: m.rabago@uniandes.edu.co

‘Exploring (M)otherness through International Law: Lessons from the “Mothers of the Fatherland”?’

Reut Yael Paz, Law Faculty, Justus-Liebig University Gießen (Germany)

In Germany, once a pregnancy is medically confirmed, the pregnant woman is given a so-called *Mutterpass*, a 'mother-passport'. While this passport ought to be carried at all times for it documents all pregnancy-related detail and health information, its history exceeds its contemporary 'neutral' usage. Although the *Mutterpass* was introduced in 1961 it is linked to Paragraph 218 of The German Penal Code that has been in place since 1871. This Paragraph still regulates, albeit with few amendments, women's pregnancies in Germany, mainly by criminalising abortions. The *Mutterpass* is only one of many other examples of how the German language – especially since the National Socialist time – nurtured a special, if not obsessive, relationship with the meaning and purpose of 'motherhood' that is interconnected to 'womanhood'. Yet in its literal sense, the concept of a *Mutterpass* has an inspirational appeal: Couldn't a *Mutterpass* transcend so much of the imagery that is normally associated with passports? Could a *Mutterpass*, perhaps just as motherhood itself, exceed some of the boundaries of nationality, religion, age, race, class and sexual identity? It is this historical tension – the engaging universalism imbedded in the notion of a *Mutterpass* on the one hand and its particularistic German context on the other hand – that I wish to present. The German experience, or the 'Mothers of the Fatherland', epitomizes the importance of seeing motherhood/womanhood also as a social construct with a burdened interlaced past, presence and future. Such concepts need to be understood against a clear physical signifier, the 'view from a body' as Donna Haraway terms it, but also against women's common history. After all, and as Susan Hinely argues: 'To claim that women are too diverse to have a common history or, to put it in postmodern terms, that "women" is a social construction that cannot be employed without reproducing the hegemonic relations inherent in the term, is effectively denying women political agency.' By examining the role of motherhood in the Third Reich, the intention of this research is to unpack if and how maternal knowledges, thinkings, experiences and historical narratives, that indeed start with biological potential – but are always socially constructed by women and men alike – intertwines with the gendered imaginaries of international law.

REUT YAEL PAZ is an Israeli scholar who specializes in public international law, European Law, international relations and international legal history. Dr. Reut Paz holds degrees in law and political sciences from the University of Helsinki, Finland and a PhD from Bar-Ilan University, Israel. While pursuing her academic degrees Paz was awarded several fellowships and academic grants by the Finnish Government (CIMO), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Presidential Excellency Scholarship of the Bar-Ilan University. Paz spent two years as an Alexander von Humboldt post-doctoral fellow at the Humboldt University in Berlin. She taught public international law at the College of Management, Israel; international legal history at the Humboldt University, Berlin and EU law at the University of Wisconsin Law School. Currently she holds a senior research position at the law faculty of the Franz von Liszt Institut für Internationales Recht und Rechtsvergleichung at the Justus Liebig Universität Gießen, Germany. This Habilitation

position is affiliated to the interdisciplinary project ‘Dynamics of Security – Types of Securitization in Historical Perspective’ sponsored by the German Research Community (DFG). In her well-received book, *A Gateway Between a Distant God & a Cruel World: The Contribution of Jewish German Scholars to International Law* (Brill, 2012), Dr. Paz constructs a collective biography for four leading Jewish international lawyers, Erich Kaufmann, Hans Kelsen, Hersch Lauterpacht and Hans J. Morgenthau. Her articles appear in several journals including the *European Journal of International Law*, the *German Law Journal* and the *Oxford Handbook of International Legal Theory*. Her email address is reut.y.paz@recht.uni-giessen.de

‘White Nationalist Internationalism? White Slaves, White Genocide, White Zionism.’

John Reynolds, National University of Ireland, Maynooth (Ireland)

Following the defeat of Marine Le Pen in the 2017 French presidential run-off, Richard Spencer lamented the shortcomings of the standard far-right European nationalist party model and declared it time to mobilise a global political movement for white people. In the failure of the Front National, the British National Party, Geert Wilders’ PVV and others to achieve sustainable electoral success, Spencer identified and decried the limits of (what we might term) neo-fascism in one country. He intimated that for the project of white nationalism to succeed, it must become more international: ‘We need to open ourselves up to different, supra-national models ... A global political party for White people?’ This is an evolving (albeit certainly not new) discourse on the contemporary far-right. In recent years, the Southern Poverty Law Centre has flagged ‘the growing globalization of white nationalism’ and an emerging movement of ‘white supremacists without borders’. It has reported an increase in international contacts among white supremacist groups and, even more so, a growing cohesion and consistency in the language they deploy. This paper examines such cross-border connections and linguistic deployments in the context of the race thinking and racial politics of neo-fascist movements. It focuses specifically on particular racial tropes that are tethered to legal concepts and deployed by far-right tendencies in the US and Europe: the proliferation of the myths of ‘white slaves’ and ‘white genocide’ to mobilise resentment around perceived victimhood and dispossession; and the invocation of a notion of ‘white Zionism’ as the model for the type of exclusionary racial state required to protect against such supposed dispossession. For its protagonists, this project is not just about saving the imaginary of white nationhood, but – since the white nations are constructed as the ‘civilised’ nations – it is about saving civilisation itself. In the face of this, anti-fascist thought and action must remain wise to the evolving social and juridical dynamics of racialisation.

JOHN REYNOLDS is Lecturer in International Law at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth. His research focuses on the operation of law in contexts of conflict, crisis and colonialism. He teaches and writes on questions of public international law, social justice and critical legal theory, with particular emphasis on race, imperialism and global North/South dynamics. His work is informed by and engages with postcolonial theory and Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAIL). Recent publications include: ‘Disrupting Civility: Amateur Intellectuals, International Lawyers and TWAIL as Praxis’ (*Third World Quarterly*, 2016); ‘The Dark Corners of the World: TWAIL and International Criminal Justice’ (*Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 2016); ‘Anti-Colonial Legalities: Paradigms, Tactics & Strategy’ (*Palestine Yearbook of International Law*, 2015); ‘Apartheid, International Law, and the Occupied Palestinian Territory’ (*European Journal of International Law*, 2013). His forthcoming book is *Empire, Emergency and International Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2017). His email address is: John.Reynolds@nuim.ie

‘A Different Kind of Futurism – Contemporary Art and Anti-Fascist Struggles.’

Alicja Rogalska, Iaspis (Sweden) / ArtsAdmin (UK)

ALICJA ROGALSKA is a visual artist based between Warsaw and London. Her practice is interdisciplinary and encompasses both research and production with a focus on social structures and the political subtext of the everyday. She mostly works in specific contexts creating participatory situations and performances, which then become the material for videos and installations. These events are attempts to practise a different political reality here and now, create space for many voices to be heard and to co-exist, whilst collectively searching for emancipatory ideas for the future. Alicja graduated with an MFA in Fine Art from Goldsmiths College, University of London (2011) and an MA in Cultural Studies from the University of Warsaw (2006). She is currently an artist in residence at IASPIS in Stockholm and is a recipient of 2016-17 ArtsAdmin bursary in London. Recent exhibitions include: *Dreams and Dramas. Law as Literature*, NGBK (Berlin, 2017), *Social Design for Social Living*, National Gallery (Jakarta, 2016), *All Men Become Sisters*, Muzeum Sztuki (Łódź, 2016); *No Need For References*, Kunsthalle Exnergasse (Vienna, 2015); *Critical Juncture*, Kochi-Muziris Biennale (Kochi, 2014); *A Museum of Immortality*, Ashkal Alwan (Beirut, 2014), *IMS Project*, Flat Time House (London, 2013); *Melancholy In Progress*, Hong-Gah Museum (Taipei, 2012); *Jour de Fête*, The Private Space Gallery / LOOP Festival (Barcelona, 2011); *To Look is to Labour*, Laden Für Nichts (Leipzig, 2010) and *No Soul For Sale*, Tate Modern (London, 2010).

‘War, Revolution, and Empire: The Fascist Myth of the World’s New Order.’

Lidia Santarelli, Princeton University (US)

Studies on fascism have generally agreed on how war and revolution represented both defining features of fascist ideology. The fascist linkage of war and revolution, however, has been poorly investigated as a distinct historical experience and cultural discourse. In my paper, I will delve into the intellectual origins of the fascist myth of ‘insurrectionary war’ against Versailles, and explore the intellectual roots of legal, cultural, and social discourses that during the interwar period informed the fascist project for a world’s New Order. From that angle, I will emphasize the eclectic formation of the fascist political discourse on war and empire, and its rapport to the crisis of imperial values and institutions after WWI. Particularly, I will discuss how fascism conflated aesthetic and political ideas of national and racial supremacy into the new legality of Italy’s *living space*. In my paper, I will stress how elements of modernism became essential to the fascist vision of war as a foundational trauma generating a new system of social, economic, and political hierarchies among peoples and States. Within this framework, I will focus on the fascist moral and philosophical critique of Versailles and the League of Nations, and pose the question of how in Italy, Germany and Japan, the notions of state, nation and race converged to shaping a new model of imperial governance. My paper will draw upon my book manuscript focusing on the formation of fascist Italy’s Mediterranean Empire, and discussing the continuity of the fascist military occupation of Greece and Southern Europe during WWII with the previous colonial occupation of Libya and Ethiopia.

LIDIA SANTARELLI, Ph.D., is a historian of modern Europe and the Mediterranean, specializing in Italian fascism and colonialism, WWII and the Holocaust. In her research, she explores the legacy of war crimes, trauma, and large-scale violence, and its reverberation on the entangled relationships of time, justice, and the archive. Her book manuscript, tentatively titled *The March on Athens: Discourse and Experience of Fascist Italy’s Occupation of Greece, 1940-1943*, rethinks the problem of fascist war violence by tracing the distant intellectual origins of fascist imperialism and exploring its impact on culture and society. Dr. Santarelli has been the recipient of several post-doctoral research fellowships at Princeton University, Columbia, Harvard, and the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, Washington, D.C.. She taught at New York University and Brown University. Presently, she has been appointed as Modern Greek Specialist at Princeton University Library. She published articles and book chapters on a wide range of topics, as diverse as, among other, Italian war crimes in the Balkans, women in Italian Resistance, the Greek Civil war, and modernism and empire in fascist Italy. She is currently writing an essay on records, ruins, and non-archival memory of genocide in the digital age. Her email address is: lsantare@princeton.edu

‘The Golden Dawn and White (Inter)Nationalism.’

Ntina Tzouvala, Melbourne Law School (Australia)

Even though the Golden Dawn attracted international attention with its electoral successes in a crisis-ridden Greece and with its violent criminal activity, its ideological and political origins stretch back at least to the collapse of the Dictatorship of the Colonels (1967-1974) and the re-organisation of the far-right in the country. In fact, recourse to earlier ideological documents of the party is essential in order to comprehend their conceptualisation of ‘the international’ to the extent that their entrance into the political mainstream was accompanied by the downplaying or outright disappearance of sources documenting the Nazi ideological core of the party. Hence, my paper will proceed in two steps. First, I will establish the claim that the Golden Dawn constitutes a typical Nazi party, and that labels of ‘fascism’ or ‘far right’ do not adequately capture the emphasis on biological racism and racial hierarchy, militant antisemitism, racialisation of the state combined with militarism, and even Nazi aesthetics paganism, and direct laudatory references to Hitler. Having done this, I will attempt to trace Golden Dawn’s engagement with international law, and more broadly, with the concept of ‘the international’. Here we need to distinguish between instrumental usages of the discourse of international law and more fundamental ideological position. An example of the former, is the mobilisation of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in order to support the unilateral extension of Greece’s territorial waters and Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) despite/because of Turkey’s established position that this would lead to war. More fundamentally though, Golden Dawn positions itself against ‘communism-internationalism’ and ‘liberalism-universalism’, and, in fact, it does so in the first article of its ideological theses. Moreover, national autarky is a fundamental economic strategy of the party. However, I am going to argue that Golden Dawn’s racialised nationalism coexists and is in fact co-constituted along with a vision of ‘the international’ centred around racial hierarchy and racial solidarity amongst the white race. In fact, the active participation of members of the Golden Dawn in the genocide in Srebrenica can be viewed as a realisation of this vision of racist internationalism.

NTINA TZOUVALA is a Laureate Post-Doctoral Fellow in International Law at Melbourne Law School. Her current research project focuses on the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) and the role of international law and international organizations in the framing and management of civil strife during the Cold War. Prior to this post, Ntina was a lecturer in law at Durham Law School (UK) where she taught various modules related to international law. She also completed her PhD on the history of international law as a method of capitalist state-building at the same institution. Her research interests include the political economy of international law, the nexus between international law, imperialism and capitalism, feminist legal studies, law and neoliberalism. Her email address is: konstantina.tzouvala@unimelb.edu.au

COMMENTATORS:

LUIS ESLAVA is a Senior Lecturer in Law at Kent Law School. His research focuses on the relationship between international and domestic legal orders, and the effects of this relationship both on our jurisprudential understanding of these areas of law, and on the constitution of everyday life in today's global order. In order to explore the operation of international norms and discourses on the ground, Luis's work combines doctrinal, theoretical and historical analysis with extensive ethnographic fieldwork in community and institutional settings. In recent years, Luis has been particularly interested in the increasing role of local jurisdictions (e.g. cities and municipalities) in the international arena. His work in this area interrogates the rationale and contradictions that have accompanied this trend, using different locations in the Global South as case studies. Key fieldwork sites for his recent research in this area include Bogotá, Cali, Rio de Janeiro and Istanbul. As a whole, his publications seek to understand how past and present international normative discourses and technologies of governance have come to shape both the world around us and our political responses to it by experimenting with different methodologies, archives and case studies. He is the author of *Local Space, Global Life: The Everyday Life of International Law and Development* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). His email address is l.eslava@kent.ac.uk

PATRICIA LEIGHTEN is Professor Emerita of Art History & Visual Studies at Duke University, is author of *Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914* (Princeton 1989) and *The Liberation of Painting: Modernism and Anarchism in Avant-Guerre Paris* (Chicago, 2013) as well as co-author, with Mark Antliff, of *Cubism and Culture* (Thames & Hudson 2001) and *A Cubism Reader: Documents and Criticism, 1906-1914* (Chicago 2008). She has published numerous articles on the interrelations of art and politics and is currently working on the anarchist movement and twentieth-century photography. Her email address is: leighden@duke.edu

ROSE SYDNEY PARFITT is the workshop's organiser. She is a Lecturer in Law at Kent Law School. She is currently based at Melbourne Law School, where she holds an ARC (Australian Research Council) Discovery Early Career Research Award. She is interested in the history and theory of international law, with a particular focus on critical historiography and art theory, and on the concept of international personality. Her current project examines the relationship between fascism and international law. She has taught or teaches at institutions including the Institute for Global Law & Policy (Harvard Law School), the American University in Cairo, SOAS, the London School of Economics, the Erik Castrén Institute of International Law and Human Rights (Helsinki Law School), Windsor University, Los Andes University and Melbourne Law School. Her email address is: rose.parfitt@unimelb.edu.au

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