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Peoples' internationalism

Central Asian modernisers, Soviet Oriental studies and cultural revolution in the East (1936-1977)

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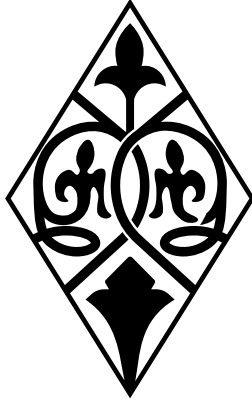
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PEOPLES' INTERNATIONALISM

CENTRAL ASIAN MODERNISERS,
SOVIET ORIENTAL STUDIES AND
CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE EAST (1936-1977)



EEN ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT
DOOR HANNA JANSEN



PEOPLES' INTERNATIONALISM

**CENTRAL ASIAN MODERNISERS,
SOVIET ORIENTAL STUDIES AND
CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE EAST
(1936-1977)**

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex
ten overstaan van een door het College van Promoties
ingestelde commissie
in het openbaar te verdedigen
op vrijdag 1 mei 2020, te 11:00 uur

door

HANNA ELISABETH JANSEN

geboren te Amsterdam

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that was unexpectedly different from the rational, planned Soviet Union I had been reading about. There have been plenty of missed opportunities too I still remember introducing myself to Vladimir Tiurin who sat bent over his books at the editorial desk of the Institute's journal *Vostok*, and regret the fact I did not sit down to talk about his time at UNESCO.

While I expect many of my interviewees would have preferred a book on intelligence networks and their bigger aims (also very much part of the past of the Institute) I do hope that my attempt to situate the Soviet history of Oriental studies in the broader history of inter-Asian cultural reform movements will appeal to the Institute's co-workers too, including Ninel' Gafurova, the daughter of Bobodzhan Gafurov whose life trajectory provides the backbone to this PhD thesis.

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One person should be mentioned separately and that is Naomi. She does not know me without my dissertation and I credit her with truly mystical abilities for seeing a better side of me through the days and nights I spent distantly or cross behind my computer, worrying about footnotes or deadlines. I could not have done this without her and it is to her that I dedicate this thesis.

NOTE ON SPELLING

In the main body of text of this thesis I have tried to follow the Library of Congress guidelines for transliteration from the Cyrillic script. Since most of my primary sources are in Russian, I have transliterated Tajik and Uzbek names from their common Russian spelling. For other languages, for example Arabic and Chinese, I have relied on commonly used English spelling. As is customary, in the transcription of Chinese names the surnames are mentioned first.

In the footnotes I have generally followed the ISO 9 transcription system into the English language, without diacritics.

NOTE ON PUBLICATIONS

While an original and integrated piece of work, sections of this dissertation do appear in some of my previous publications.

Several paragraphs in chapter three, four and five (on page 120-21, 140-141 and 156 respectively) deserve special mention here for having also been taken up in my recently published article, "Soviet 'Afro-Asians' in UNESCO: Reorienting World History." In *Journal of World History* 30, no. 1 (2019): 193-221.

In addition to these, sections in chapter four have also appeared in my article "Internationalizing the Thaw: Soviet Orientalists and the Contested Politics of Spiritual Solidarity in Asia 1954-1959." In *Alternative Globalizations. Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, edited by James Mark, Artemy Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020): 209-228.

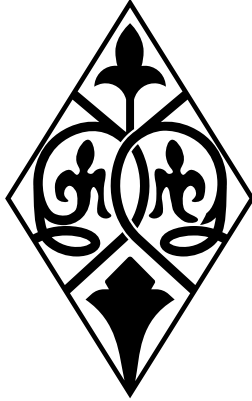
Similarly, sections of chapter three have also appeared in my previously published article "Khrushchev's 'Break to the East', Sino-Soviet conflicts and the regionalization of Soviet Oriental Studies." In *In search of Other Worlds. Essays towards a Cross-Regional History of Area Studies*, edited by Katja Naumann, Torsten Loschke, Steffi Marung, and Matthias Middell (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2018).

Each of these sections will also be marked separately in the footnotes to this dissertation.

ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
AAPSO	Afro Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation
CAAW	Conference for African and Asian Writers
CIPSH	Conseil international de la philosophie et des sciences humaines, International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (ICPHS)
Comintern	Communist International
CRIT	Conference for Relaxation of International Tensions
IASCCA	International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia
IsMEO	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East
IMEMO	Institut Mirovoi Ekonomiki i Mezhdunarodnykh Otnoshenii, Institute for World Economics and International Relations
IMKhMP	Institut Mirovoi Khoziaistvo i Mirovoi Politiki Institute of World Economics and World Politics
INA	Institut Narodii Azii, Institute for the Peoples of Asia
IVAN (LO)	Institut Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk (Leningradskii Otdel') Institute for Oriental Studies at the Academy of Sciences (Leningrad Department)
IKAN	Institut Kitaavedeniia Akademii Nauk Institute for Chinese Studies at the Academy of Sciences
KPSS	Kommunisticheskaia Partiiia Sovetskogo Soiuzia, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1952-1991)
KUTV	Kommunisticheskii universitet trudiashchikh Vostoka, Communist University for the Toilers of the East
MAIKTsA	Mezhdunarodnaia assotsiatsiia po izucheniiu kul'tur Tsentral'noi Azii International Association for the Study of Central Asian Cultures

SKSSAA	Sovetskii komitet solidarnosti stran Azii i Afriki, Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa
SKITsTsA	Sovetskii komitet po izucheniiu tsivilizatsii tsantral'noi Azii Soviet Committee for the Study of the Civilisations of Central Asia
TIAN	Tikhookeanskii Institut Akademii Nauk Pacific Institute at the Academy of Sciences
TFAN	Tadzhikskii Filial Akademii Nauk, Tajik Branch of the Academy of Sciences
TsK	Tsentral'nyi Komitet, Central Committee
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VOKS	Vse-Soiuznoe obshchestvo kul'turnoi sviazi s zagranitse, All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries



Recognizing with Anderson that the nation is an imagined thing, I also recognize the critical reciprocal of his insight, that it is the imagination that will have to carry us beyond the nation.

- Arjun Appadurai,
"Sovereignty without Territory," 41.

Objects of analysis do not occur as natural phenomena, but are partly formed by the discourse that describes them. The more natural the object appears, the less obvious this discursive manufacture will be.

- Timothy Mitchell,
Rule of Experts, 210.

Historically, Central Asians had no all-embracing term for the region or its peoples. The ties of clan, tribe, status, locale, or region were the primary components of Central Asian identities, and these were often multi-layered. For its large nomadic population, political delimitations were of little consequence. Control over people brought control over territory.

- Peter B. Golden,
Central Asia in World History, 1.