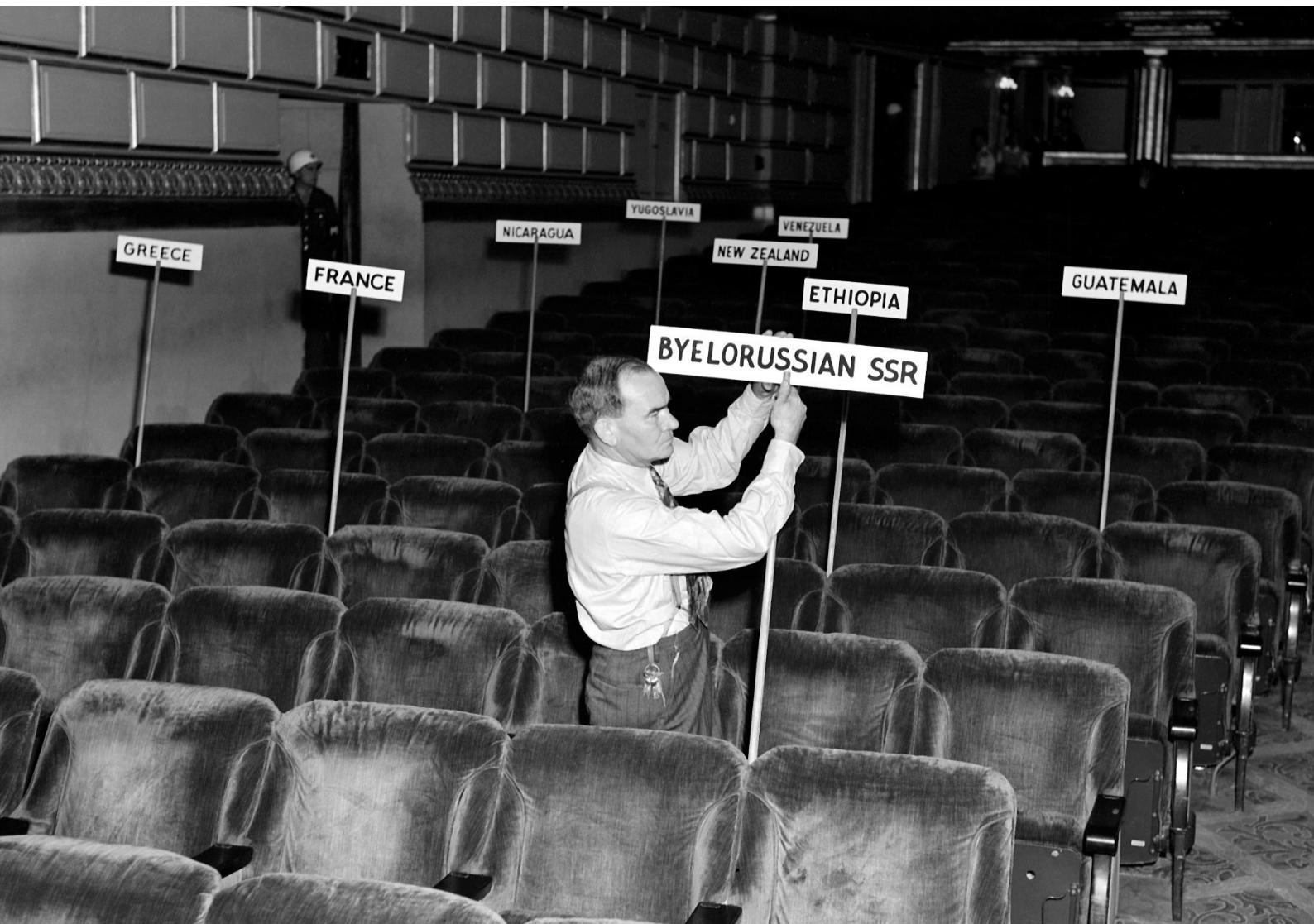


# Beyond Moscow

## *Rethinking the International and Transnational Dimensions of the Soviet Republics*



The San Francisco Conference, 25 April-26 June 1945. Adding Byelorussian sign in Opera House in accordance with seating chart, May 19. Unique Identifier UN7683392, NICA ID 157130 - © UN Photo/McLain

28-29 September 2023

Scuola di Procida per l'Alta Formazione (Università di Napoli L'Orientale)

Ex Conservatorio delle Orfanelle di Terra Murata

Via San Michele 1, Procida

# Beyond Moscow

## *Rethinking the International and Transnational Dimensions of the Soviet Republics*

Organizers: Riccardo Mario Cucciolla (Università di Napoli L'Orientale) and Aleksandr Voronovici (Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena)

The event is organized with the funds of the Università di Napoli L'Orientale and a generous grant of the University of Toronto

Thirty years after the Soviet collapse, it remains challenging to identify an international role for the USSR that goes beyond the patterns of the Cold War. Nor is it possible to clearly assess the complexity of a system where international politics, diplomacy and cooperation did not pass solely through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Central Committee in Moscow but included a range of peripheral actors far from the center. Among these were the ministries, politicians, cultural and even scientific institutes of the USSR's 15 Soviet Socialist Republics, which, as federated entities, had a specific subjectivity and relevance even in the international and transnational sphere.

In the years of diplomatic isolation, in an era disrupted by ideological disagreements, world conflicts, and the bipolarity of a world divided by the Cold War and the uncertainties of decolonization, what were these alternative centers active in international relations? What were the interlocutors, issues, factors, interests, and levels of subjectivity promoted by these republics and political actors at the republican level? How, in 1991, would these issues be at the origins of the systems of international relations that the republics would inherit once they became independent? Recently, scholars have started to address these issues in separate case studies. Nevertheless, these and many other questions still need to be tackled in a comprehensive manner to provide a more complete picture of the multipolarity of Soviet international affairs.

For this reason, the University of Naples L'Orientale (UniOr) has organized the international conference Beyond Moscow. Rethinking the international and transnational dimensions of the Soviet Republics. The event will be held on 28-29 September 2023, in Procida at the Scuola di Procida per l'Alta Formazione. It seeks to attract historians, area specialists and scholars of international relations who work on the international and transnational dimensions of the Soviet Socialist Republics during the interwar, Second World, and Cold War eras.

Papers will consider, in a historical perspective, examples from the Soviet periphery, including peculiarities in their international and transnational dimensions, rethinking - from a local perspective - the different declinations of empire, nation and people; their strategic role and international dimensions during the interwar period, the Second World War, the Cold War and decolonization; the institutional framework, interactions and divergences and subjectivity of the SSRs in international organizations and agencies; the religious, cultural and linguistic peculiarities and relations of the Soviet regions with the "Foreign East"; intra/inter-party relations with the Communist, leftist and socialist parties in the West and national organizations and movements in the Third World; local models of Soviet developmentalism and their promotion within the UN platforms and abroad; cooperation in the fields of science, academics, research and education or in literature, cinema and sport; interactions with the diasporas abroad; the international and transnational ambitions of the republican government and party leaders; and other issues related to the international and transnational dimensions of the Soviet republics.

# Programme

Day 1 - 28 September 2023

8:30            **Welcome and Coffee**

8:45            **Greetings**

Giuseppe Cataldi (Head of the Department of Human and Social Sciences at the Università di Napoli L'Orientale)

9:00–10:45    **Panel - The (Para)Diplomacy and International Ambitions in the Soviet Western Republics**

Chair:

Lynne Viola (University of Toronto)

Discussant:

Mark Kramer (Harvard University)

Papers:

Alexandr Voronovici (Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena)

*“Communist Ukrainian International”: Soviet Ukrainian International Ambitions and the East European Contested Borderlands in the 1920s*

Saulius Grybkauskas (Lietuvos Istorijos Institutas)

*Duty for Moscow, Benefits for Native Republic. Soviet Baltic Representatives Abroad*

Jeremy Smith (Zayed University) and Michael Loader (University of Glasgow)

*Negotiating with Khrushchev's Moscow: The Cases of Latvia and Georgia*

10:45–11:15    **Coffee Break**

11:15–13:00    **Panel – The Soviet Republics and the International Cultural Encounters**

Chair:

Paolo Wulzer (Università di Napoli L'Orientale)

Discussant:

Fabio Bettanin (Università di Napoli L'Orientale)

Papers:

Simo Mikkonen (University of Jyväskylä)

*National revival through cultural contacts with Finland? Soviet Estonia and Karelia in comparison*

Noemie Cadeau (ENS de Lyon Université Jean Monnet)

*Chingiz Aitmatov and Afro-Asian Movements: An Internationalist Figure During the Cultural Cold War*

Nathalie Moine (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique)

*The Three Revolutions, Algiers 1973: How Soviet Azerbaijan exported modern ballet in revolutionary Algeria*

Stefan Kirmse (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient)

*Across the Southern Border. Everyday International Encounters in the Ukrainian, Uzbek and Armenian SSRs, 1960-1980*

13:00–14:30    **Lunch**

**14:30–16:15 Panel – Decolonization and development agendas of the Soviet Republics**

Chair:

Anatoly Levshin (Princeton University)

Discussant:

Sabine Dullin (Sciences Po)

Papers:

Niccolò Pianciola (Università di Padova)

*Kazakhstan and China before and after the Sino-Soviet Split, 1949-1976*

Masha Kirasirova (New York University Abu Dhabi)

*Late 1950s Decolonization and the Thaw in the Eastern International*

Davlatbegim Mamadshoeva (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

*Writing the “Soviet East” into the history of Soviet development assistance in Afghanistan*

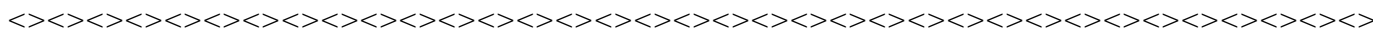
Aleksandr Korobeinikov (Central European University)

*“The Future of the Republic is Inextricably Linked with Gold”: Postcolonial Subjectivity, Resource Imagination, and Socioeconomic Visions of the Future in Early Soviet Yakutia*

**16:15–16:45 Coffee Break**

**16:45–17:45 Keynote speech by Mark Kramer (Harvard University)**

**20,00 Dinner**



**Day 2 - 29 September 2023**

**9:00–10:30 Panel – Science and Environment**

Chair:

Sabine Dullin (Sciences Po)

Discussant:

Vera Tolz (University of Manchester)

Papers:

Gabriela Radulescu (Technische Universität Berlin)

*Extraterrestrial Intelligence, Astronomy and Science Diplomacy in Soviet Armenia*

Isaac McKean Scarborough (Universiteit Leiden)

*From Kiev to Vienna: Soviet Gerontology on the International Stage*

Matthew Evangelista (Cornell University)

*The Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement: Transnational Activism in a Time of Transition*

**10:30–11:00 Coffee Break**

**11:00–12:45 Panel - Diasporas and Religion**

Chair:

Riccardo Mario Cucciolla (Università di Napoli L'Orientale)

Discussant:

Adriano Roccucci (Roma Tre University)

Papers:

Angelika Pobedonostseva-Kaya (Historian, Saint Petersburg)

*Soviet Armenia and Azerbaijan Competition and Cooperation over Soviet Kurdish projects*

Dmitry Asinovskiy (Central European University)

*Between Moscow, Leipzig and Baku: Soviet Azerbaijan and the Iranian emigrants in the 1950s-1970s*

Vassily Klimentov (European University Institute)

*'Communist Muslims' or 'Muslim Communists': Soviet Muslim Advisers in the Afghan War*

Simona Merlo (Roma Tre University)

*The Vatican and Ukraine during the Pontificate of John Paul II*

**12:45–14:15 Lunch**

**14:15–15:45 Panel - Prepare for Impact: Sovereignty and Transnational Frameworks in a collapsing USSR**

Chair:

Alexandr Voronovici (Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena)

Discussant:

Vladislav Zubok (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Papers:

Sabine Dullin (Sciences Po)

*The sovereignty to survive. The Republic of Yakutia-Sakha in the face of Soviet collapse, 1980'-1990'*

Riccardo Mario Cucciolla (Università di Napoli L'Orientale)

*The Southern Front legacies: the initiatives of Soviet Uzbekistan with India and Afghanistan during perestroika*

Carolina De Stefano (LUISS Guido Carli)

*A "new" Russia's foreign policy. Andrey Kozyrev's MID amid the Union's disintegration and the emergence of the CIS*

**15:45–16:15 Coffee Break**

**16:15–17:45 Roundtable and Final Remarks**

Fabio Bettanin, Riccardo Mario Cucciolla, Sabine Dullin,  
Mark Kramer, Anatoly Levshin, Adriano Roccucci, Vera Tolz,  
Lynne Viola, Alexandr Voronovici, Vladislav Zubok