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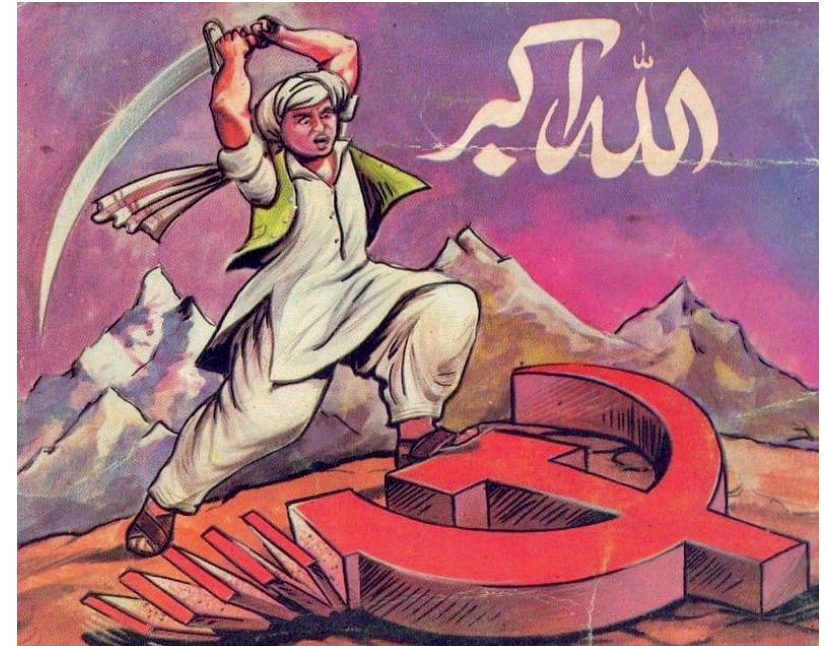
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INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

RUSSIA'S MUSLIMS AND GLOBAL RADICALISM



PROGRAMME

- 14:00** **Welcome and introduction**
Paolo Sartori | Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna
- 14:10** **Norihiro Naganawa** | University of Hokkaido, Sapporo
A Crucible of Muslim Radicalism: Mobile Youth and Russia's Multinational Society on the Volga-Caspian Traffic
- 15:00** **Kayhan Nejad** | Oxford University
Iranian Labor Mobilization in the South Caucasus, 1904-1909
- 15:50** **Thomas Welsford** | London
Doctor Behbudiy and Mr Aghabab
- 16:40** COFFEE BREAK
- 17:00** **Roy Bar Sadeh** | Yale University, CT
Worldmaking in the Hijaz: Muslims between Indian and Soviet Visions of Managing Difference, 1919-1926
- 17:50** **Pavel Shabley** | Chelyabinsk State University, Kostanay
Conflictual Languages: Jadidism, Panislamism and the Muslims of Akmolinsk, 1912-13 (in Russian)
- 18:40** **Danielle Ross** | Utah State University, Salt Lake City
Singing Down the Tsar: Volga-Ural Madrasa Musical Culture and its Adaptation for Translating and Disseminating Radical Ideologies
- 19:30** DINNER

By conceptualizing the period from the 1870s to 1920s as the age of steam and print, Nile Green has shown how industrialization provided Muslim intellectuals and activists with ample opportunities to defy colonial power structures and pursue their anti-imperialist agendas. Indeed, there are countless examples of colonial subjects who availed themselves of imperial institutions in subversive manners, as eloquently demonstrated by the work of Michael Laffan. In addition, a number of historians have begun to consider how the global infrastructure of European colonialism enabled fugitives, political dissidents, and outcasts of all walks of life to connect to a variety of currents of thought such as anarchism, socialism, constitutionalism, nationalism, and Islamic reformism.

While historians of the Russian empire and the USSR have begun to question how Muslims responded to the challenges posed by the age of steam and print, relatively little has been done to understand how Muslims in Central Eurasia connected to and profited from the existing networks of global radicalism. The proposed workshop is therefore designed to shift attention from Muslims' 'vertical' negotiations with the tsarist and the early Soviet state to their 'horizontal' networking across regional, linguistic, and political boundaries. To this end, we encourage invited speakers to reflect on the entanglements between processes of urbanization and industrialization, and anti-imperialist thinking. By so doing, we would like to initiate a conversation among scholars specializing in the history of Central Eurasia and stimulate a debate about various interpretations of socialism, anarchism, and Islamism as expressed by Muslim intellectuals, dramatists and workers living under Russian and early Soviet rule.

ABSTRACTS

NORIIHIRO NAGANAWA

Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University

A Crucible of Muslim Radicalism: Mobile Youth and Russia's Multinational Society on the Volga-Caspian Traffic

As Faith Hillis and Steven G. Marks have demonstrated, Russia was part of global networks of socialism and anarchism, and the Soviet empire was an offshoot of transnational radicalism that had simmered for decades before 1917. Meanwhile, Liliana Riga and Ilya Gerasimov have illuminated how the growing cities in late imperial Russia cultivated complicity among multinational newcomers in trade and crime, with their grievances over social inequality and autocracy shared in Russian. Then, how did the flow of global ideas and the multinational urban environment shape the Muslims in inner Russia? Revisiting the old Soviet works that searched for Bolshevik precursors before 1917, I address the Muslim radical youth's connectivity across Kazan, Orenburg, Astrakhan, and Baku. As Ilham Khuri-Makdisi and Hourii Berberian forcefully argue, local actors easily transcended confessional and national boundaries—something that historians are prone to presume—to find remedies to their immediate concerns. Such newspapers as *Tarj Yoldızı (Lucifer)*, a Tatar social revolutionaries' organ in Kazan, and *Borhan-ı Taraqqi (Proof of Truth)*, an Azerbaijani entrepreneur's paper in Astrakhan, reveal not only the transformation of Islamic education and the emergence of national identity, but also Russia's multinational society, industrialization, and eclectic exchange of global ideas in Turkic. While the recent historiography tends to argue that the radicalized Muslim youth were alienated from the pious majority, I argue that even this alienation did not prevent them from catering to the increasing number of peasants and workers willing to learn Russian and to adapt to the strange urban environment destabilized by political excitement at the beginning of the twentieth century.

KAYHAN A. NEJAD

Oxford University

Iranian Labor Mobilization in the South Caucasus, 1904–1909

In the late nineteenth century, Baku produced around half of all oil worldwide, playing an important role in Russia's emergence as a partially industrialized economy. A large body of migrant Iranian and local Russian laborers sustained this industry, empowering them to make collective demands of both the state and oligopolistic firms on the eve of the Revolution of 1905. As political disturbances gripped the industrial centers of the Russian empire, competing socialist, social democratic, and nationalist

parties thus made overtures to Baku oil laborers, bringing migrant Iranians into the mainstream of Russian political protest currents for the first time.

This paper reconstructs the recruitment of Iranian migrant workers by the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) and other labor organizations in the South Caucasus from 1904–1909, as well as these parties' parallel and contingent efforts to radicalize the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911). In so doing, it argues that the ethnic delineations between South Caucasian laborers during the Armenian-Muslim Massacres of 1905–07 initially frustrated the RSDLP's attempts to incorporate Iranians into a united, multiethnic revolutionary front. Nonetheless, by promising to redress their marginal status within the wage hierarchies of the Russian oil industry, the RSDLP secured the loyalties of a significant plurality of Iranian laborers in the South Caucasus by 1908, laying the foundation both for coordinated labor activism in Baku and constitutionalist military mobilization in the Iranian north.

TOM WELSFORD

London

Doctor Behbudiy and Mr Aghabab

In 1906 and 1907, two prominent Samarqandi intellectuals each wrote a series of newspaper articles urging the need for immediate educational reform. One of these figures was Mahmud Khwajah b. Behbud Khwajah, the renowned Muslim journalist and playwright who has subsequently become known to posterity as the doomed Jadid activist Behbudiy. The other, Behbudiy's almost exact contemporary, was Hakob Aghabab, an Armenian schoolteacher and poet, and a contributor to the radical Tiflis press. The arguments in favour of educational reform presented by the two authors are remarkably similar, which raises the question of to what extent the intellectual worlds of these two Samarqandi neighbours – one a Muslim autonomist writing in Turki, and the other a Dashnak sympathiser writing in Armenian – may have overlapped. In my paper I explore some of the evidence suggesting that Turkestanian Muslim and Armenian activists and intellectuals were indeed engaging with one another at a time when Muslim-Armenian relations elsewhere in the tsarist empire were at their most hostile. Given the difficulty, however, of proving direct person-to-person contact between Behbudiy and Aghabab, I consider also what inferences we might draw from the alternative scenario – namely, that similarities between the two men's writings were merely the result of happenstance.

ROY BAR SADEH

Yale University

Worldmaking in the Hijaz: Muslims between Indian and Soviet Visions of Managing Difference, 1919–1926

Between the end of World War I and the Mecca World Muslim Congress of 1926, Soviet officials and Indian Muslim thinkers imagined the possibilities of a post-imperial world through the Hijaz. The All-India Khilafat Committee (AIKC; est. 1919), an organization of Indian Muslim intellectuals, and the Soviet Union defended competing projects to safeguard the Hijaz, home to some Islam's holiest shrines, from European imperialism. Yet, far from limiting themselves to the question of who should rule Hijaz, the AIKC and the Soviet state engaged in broader debates about religious and social difference, sovereignty and minority rights. Whereas the AIKC imagined the Hijaz as an international Muslim republic and a place of refuge for Muslims worldwide, Soviet officials contended that the political future of Muslims should only be settled within the framework of ethno-territorial nation-states. Ironically, both the programs of the AIKC and the Soviet state denied the right of self-determination to Hijazis themselves, leaving the region's inhabitants to choose between two forms of external oversight: a Soviet-supported Saudi ethno-territorialism or limited domestic autonomy under the management and inspection of an international Muslim Council. Past scholarship on the Hijaz has analyzed the region's political fortunes through Saudi statecraft or European colonial influence. However, Soviet and Indian Muslim experimental engagement with the Hijaz ultimately proved just as crucial to the consolidation of Saudi governance over the region. The article achieves these insights by bringing together rare Soviet archival sources with the AIKC's Urdu records and coverage from the Saudi and Egyptian press.

ПАВЕЛ ШАБЛЕЙ

Челябинский Государственный Университет (Костанай)

Языки описания конфликта: джадидизм, панисламизм и мусульмане Акмолинска в 1912–1913 гг.

В статье речь идет о конфликте, который произошел между имамом второй соборной мечети города Акмолинска Худжатом Махмудовым и местным купцом Нурмухаммадом Забировым. Этот конфликт, с одной стороны, вовлек в свою орбиту разных акторов (имперские чиновники, разные группы мусульман, редакции татарских газет), а, с другой, отразил особенности множественной интерпретации таких явлений как джадидизм и панисламизм. Несмотря на то, что Махмудов и Забиров были сторонниками реформы местных обществ и отстаивали близкие идеи на страницах мусульманских газет и журналов, они, тем не менее, не смогли прийти к консенсусу при решении важных дел,

имевших отношения к особенностям благоустройства местной мечети. В итоге мусульманский купец, образ которого был героизирован на страницах газеты «Вакыт» в качестве борца с невежеством и консервативными муллами, использовал имперскую риторику о панисламизме и угрозах джадидизма для устранения своего противника. Что нового дает эта история для изучения джадидизма в имперском контексте? Каким образом она соотносится с уже известными исследователям случаями, связанными с Иж-Буби, Зия Камали и др.? Чтобы ответить на эти вопросы я попытаюсь сосредоточить внимание читателей на двух положениях. Во-первых, детально рассмотреть, какие языки (политический, формально-бюрократический, реформаторский, религиозно-морализаторский, публицистический (то есть язык газет), бытовой) и понятийный аппарат использовали мусульмане для описания конфликта. Можно ли эти языки изучать через призму феномена колониальной гибридности? Иначе говоря, мусульмане используют имперские категории, язвительный стиль газет и другие способы защиты своих интересов, и в то же время сохраняют прежние формы идентичности и конструируют новые. Имперский дискурс на джадидизм и панисламизм также не является монолитным и распадается на множество голосов с учетом региональных особенностей, компетентности чиновников, прагматических интересов и пр. Во-вторых, предстоит разобраться с тем, что представляет собой мусульманская повседневность в гетерогенном обществе (казахи, татары, сарты, купцы, частные и указные муллы, умеренные и радикальные реформаторы и др.)? Каким образом выстраиваются отношения между разными группами такого общества, и как эти отношения репрезентируются в публичной сфере? В этом контексте конфликт между влиятельными группами мусульман актуализируется как столкновение между джадидами и кадимистами, сторонниками реформ и традиционалистами, казахами и татарами благодаря субъективным обстоятельствам и текущей конъюнктуре, но не в силу исторических особенностей развития данных обществ. Люди часто говорят о необходимости реформ и идеалах, на которые нужно равняться, но, в действительности, они не всегда понимают смысл таких понятий как джадидизм, кадимизм, панисламизм. Скорее с помощью слоганов, непонятных слов, языковой экспрессии они пытаются отвлечь внимание власти, исламских интеллектуалов и прочих акторов от проблем совершенно иного рода – бытовая и производственная рутина, борьба за власть и ресурсы, преэминентность традиций, материальные интересы и прочее.

DANIELLE ROSS

Utah State University

Singing Down the Tsar: Volga-Ural Madrasa Musical Culture and its Adaptation for Translating and Disseminating Radical Ideologies

Singing and recitation, especially collective singing and individual performance before audiences of peers, played a central role in the social lives of Muslim young people in the Volga-Ural region, from village youth to madrasa students to urban radicals. This paper will examine the role of youth singing in the construction and dissemination of radical ideologies within the Tatar community. First, it will bring together surviving pre-revolutionary political songs with an examination of the culture of musical performance among pre-revolutionary Tatar youth to understand how this pre-existing culture facilitated the circulation of anti-government and anti-colonial views within Tatar society (and especially the circulation of ideas that would have been unpublishable under imperial rule). Second, it will trace how musical performance became a site for the transmission of radical ideas across ethnic and political boundaries (from ethnic Russian society and the Ottoman Empire into Tatar society). Third, it will explore how various radical ideologies existed side-by-side or were combined in Tatar youth songs of the early twentieth century.