

BUILDING PEOPLES' FRIENDSHIP UNIVERSITY IN MOSCOW:
INTERNATIONALIZATION OF SOCIALIST MODERNISM
IN THE COLD WAR CONTEXT

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IN THE COLD WAR CONTEXT**

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ABSTRACT

**BUILDING PEOPLES' FRIENDSHIP UNIVERSITY IN MOSCOW:
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IN THE COLD WAR CONTEXT**

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This study aims to evaluate the spatiality of urbanized and industrialized socialism at its very center, i.e. Moscow, the capital city of the Soviet Union, in the post-World War II period when the international contacts of the city began to develop. Focusing on the internationalization of socialist modernism especially in the 1960s, the opportunities, knowhow production and experiences of spatiality in various public and private environments of Peoples' Friendship University in Moscow, later named after Patrice Lumumba, is examined. Post-war universities in the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as two superpowers of the Cold War, are initially analyzed to understand the foundation of Peoples' Friendship University in 1960. The socialist modern university will then be the focus of analysis, requiring an understanding of post-war modernity and socialist modernism in architecture. In this frame, the making of Peoples' Friendship University with its administrative and academic aims, and spatial features in relation to the construction of the university complex as a campus is under investigation. How (foreign) students were living in the university is evaluated in order to understand daily life in the campus. Thus, examining

why and how Peoples' Friendship University aimed to become a "social condenser" of the relation between the Soviet Union and other countries, the study point outs the fact that its campus provided the space for realization of this aim, and potential influences of the university exceeded the boundaries of the campus to reach overseas by its graduates in Third World.

Keywords: Peoples' Friendship University, Moscow, Soviet Union, socialist modernism, Cold War

ÖZ

MOSKOVA'DA HALKLARIN DOSTLUĞU ÜNİVERSİTESİNİ İNŞA ETMEK: SOĞUK SAVAŞ BAĞLAMINDA SOSYALİST MODERNİZMİN ULUSLARARASILAŞMASI

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Bu çalışma, kentlileşmiş ve sanayileşmiş sosyalizmin tam merkezinde, Sovyetler Birliği'nin başkenti Moskova'nın uluslararası temaslarının gelişmeye başladığı İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemdeki mekânsallığını değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Özellikle sosyalist modernizmin 1960'lardaki uluslararasılaşmasına odaklanılarak, daha sonra Patrice Lumumba adını alacak olan Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin farklı kamusal ve özel ortamlarındaki mekânsal olanakları, bilgi üretimi ve deneyimleri incelenmektedir. Soğuk Savaş'ın iki süper gücü olarak Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD) ve Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği'ndeki (SSCB) savaş sonrası üniversiteler, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin kuruluşunu anlayabilmek için öncelikle incelenecektir. Savaş sonrası modernite ve mimarlıkta sosyalist modernizmin anlaşılmasını gerektiren sosyalist modern üniversite, incelemenin odağında yer alacaktır. Bu tartışma çerçevesinde, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin oluşturulması, yönetsel ve akademik amaçları ile üniversite kompleksinin kampüs olarak inşasıyla ilişkili olarak mekânsal özellikleri araştırılmaktadır. Yerleşkedeki gündelik hayatın anlaşılabilmesi için (yabancı) öğrencilerin nasıl yaşadıkları

değerlendirilmektedir. Böylelikle, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin neden ve nasıl Sovyetler Birliđi ve diđer ülkelerin “toplumsal yoğunlaştırıcısı” olmayı amaçladığını inceleyen bu çalışma, okul yerleşkesinin bu amacın gerçekleştirilmesi için mekân sağladığını ve üniversitenin olası etkilerinin yerleşke sınırlarını aşarak Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerindeki mezunları aracılığıyla denizaşırı ülkelere ulaştığını ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi, Sovyetler Birliđi, Sosyalist Modernizm, Soğuk Savaş

To Sinem

∞

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| AID | Agency for International Development |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| Comintern | The Communist International |
| Giprovoz | <i>Gosudarstvennyy institut po proektirovaniyu vysshikh uchebnykh zavedeniy</i> (State Institute of Design of Higher Education Institutions) |
| Gosteleradio | <i>Gosudarstvennyy komitet SSSR po televideniyu i radioveshchaniyu</i> (USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting) |
| Komsomol | The All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union |
| KUTV | <i>Kommunisticheskiy universitet trudyashchikhsya Vostoka</i> (Communist University for Toilers of the East) |
| ICA | International Cooperation Administration |
| ICX | Inter-College Exchange |
| Intourist | <i>inostrannyi turist</i> (the Soviet Travel Agency) |
| MGU | Moscow State University |
| MIT | Massachusetts Institute of Technology |
| PFU | Peoples' Friendship University |
| SSO | <i>Studencheskie stroitel'nie otryady</i> (Student Construction Brigades) |
| UDN | <i>Universitet Druzhby Narodov</i> (Peoples' Friendship University) |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNESCO | The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| US | The United States |
| USA | The United States of America |
| USSR | The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| VNIITE | <i>Vserossiyskiy nauchno-issledovatel'skiy institut tekhnicheskoy estetiki</i> (All-Union Research Institute of Technical Aesthetics) |
| VOKS | <i>Vsesoiuznoe Obschestvo Kul'turnoi Sviazi s zagranitse</i> (All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries) |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Scope

... the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.¹

Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country. Otherwise the country will remain a small-peasant country, and we must clearly realize that. We are weaker than capitalism, not only on the world scale, but also within the country. That is common knowledge. We have realized it, and we shall see to it that the economic basis is transformed from a small-peasant basis into a large-scale industrial basis. Only when the country has been electrified, and industry, agriculture and transport have been placed on the technical basis of modern large-scale industry, only then shall we be fully victorious.²

The Soviet film “The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!”³ of 1975, which is still a part of New Year’s Eve broadcasts of national televisions on an ongoing basis in

¹ Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, London: The Penguin Books, 2004, pp.31-32.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works, Volume 31*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966, p.516.

³ *Ironiya sud'by, ili S lyogkim parom!* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1VpmZnRIMKs>)

Russia and other former Soviet Republics, starts with a short animation criticizing the Soviet urbanization and architecture politics, and mass housing construction.⁴ The critic of the short animation focuses on the standardized, mainstream, mass housings, which led the new Soviet city neighborhoods to have similar appearances unable to be distinguished from each other.⁵ In the animation, through that process of standardization, the architect, bearing his project in hand, goes to the relevant institution in order to make the project approved, but in every case, he gets refusal until all the different additions, ornamentations or façade elements which have some historicist and eclectic references are diminished from the project. Moreover, in the animation, the standardized blocks start to walk from their initial place and go to different regions and even republics of the Union: they settle to the Black Sea coasts, the snowy Sibiria or the deserts of the Central Asia. They dwell themselves regardless of the climate, geography, topography, culture, and so on. Even the fish in the sea or the camels on the desert surprise when they see the dwellings. Finally, the whole globe reaches the blocks all around it.

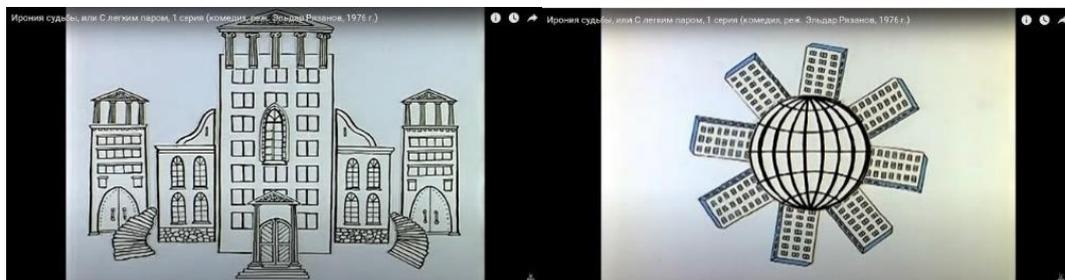


Figure 1.1. Screenshots from the movie “Ironiya sud'by, ili S lyogkim parom!”

(YouTube)

⁴ According to Andrew Horton and Michael Brashinsky this film is a Russian kind of “It’s a Wonderful Life” directed by Eldar Ryazanov: Andrew Horton and Michael Brashinsky, *The Zero Hour: Glasnost and Soviet Cinema in Transition*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992, p.171.

⁵ Daria Bocharnikova calls this “pragmatic” Soviet mainstream housing projects as “generic modern.” Daria Bocharnikova, “Inventing Socialist Modern: A History of the Architectural Profession in the USSR, 1954-1971,” Ph.D. Diss., Florence: European University Institute, 2014. <https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/32114> (Retrieved: 12.01.2024)

In the film close friends meet in a public bath in the New Year's Eve, to rest, socialize and celebrate. Getting drunk, the hero of the film would mistakenly find himself in the same/similar apartment at the same street address in Leningrad instead of his hometown Moscow, as the street names are also the same.

Actually, the critic in the show can be seen as a reflection of the transformation of the Soviet urban environment from the housing blocks of the socialist realist style of the Stalin era to the modernist blocks of the post-war period. However, there can be found an “unparallelity” between the critic narrated in the film, which is an outcome of the Soviet world itself, focused mainly on the removal of ornaments and “historicist” parts and additions in different styles through the standardization, and the critic of architectural historiography toward the socialist realist period of Soviet housing.

At this point three important features must be underlined. Firstly, there is a direct relation in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) between the perspectives and political decisions about how “the socialism will develop or advance,” and spatial and urban conditions. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that the political arena within the Soviet Union did always have a pluralistic character under the effects of different forces. Secondly, however, political debates or conflicts within the Soviet Union affect the aesthetic canon in the country not in a directly proportional way. And thirdly, and maybe because of this second feature, there was a difference between how the spatial and aesthetic conditions lived and interpreted within the country, and perceived and criticized by the commentators abroad. Thus, at the very conjunction of all these three points, the object of the investigation or in the center of the query requires to be studied by exploring the backstage actors and networks of modernity and by measuring numbers of connections, relations, translations and articulations,⁶ besides the economic, political, cultural, ideological, social, patronage, intentional dimensions. For the architectural and spatial product as the focus of this study, the actors and

⁶ Bruno Latour and Alben Yaneva, “‘Give Me a Gun and I Will Make All Buildings Move’: An ANT’s View of Architecture,” *Ardeth* [Online], 1, (2017), p.108.

Jeremy Lecomte, “Bruno Latour and Urban Space,” *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, 21, 4, (2013), pp.464-465.

networks, and connections, relations, translations and articulations in the making of the Soviet urban and architectural context should be studied.

To start with, the critic about the architecture of the new housing blocks in the mentioned film above is related with the changing paradigm in Soviet governance after Josef Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union from 1924 until his death in 1953. His successor, Nikita Khrushchev (First Secretary of the Communist Party from 1953 to 1964, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers from 1958 to 1964), in 1954, one year after his predecessor's death, "attacked" irrational, historicist constructions of the Stalinist era at All-Union Convention of Soviet Builders and Architects.⁷ His call was for "type-plans and industrialized building methods, the requirement for architectural theory to directly serve the practice, and the denunciation of individual architects who had led profession before the war."⁸ Actually this attitude of Khrushchev is interpreted as the main characteristics of Khrushchev's intention in the way of building socialism for rapid and fast solutions.⁹

The new housing policy became official with the resolution of the government in 1955 named as "on Liquidation of Excesses in Planning and Building", and subsequently, in his famous speech of in the 20th party congress, Khrushchev addressed "destalinization." This was also relevant for architecture, meaning diminishing "Stalinist" architectural "excesses," historicizing, eclectic forms and expensive solutions calling on architects "...to utilize economic, technologically advanced

⁷ Yulia Karpova, "Designer Socialism: The Aesthetic Turn in Soviet Russia After Stalin," Ph.D. Diss., Budapest: Central European University, 2015, pp.61-62.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Roger Keeren and Thomas Kenny, *İhanete Uğrayan Sosyalizm: Sovyetler Birliği'nin Çöküşünün Arka Planı*, translated by Murat Akad, İstanbul: Yazılama Yayınevi, 2014, p.47. (*Socialism Betrayed: Behind the Collapse of the Soviet Union*)

"Nikita Khrushchev was above all a practical man who got things done." During his early responsibility in the management of the construction of Moscow metro, the architectural solution for the metro station was very simple and his concentration was on "the need to prioritize solving problems of engineering rather than of architecture." Catherine Cooke (with Susan E. Reid), "Modernity and Realism: Architectural Relations in the Cold War" in *Russian Art and The West: A Century of Dialogue in Painting, Architecture, and the Decorative Arts*, edited by Rosalind P. Blakesley and Susan E. Reid, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2007, p.172-173.

construction, prefabricated panels and synthetic materials such as pre-stressed, reinforced concrete” on the one hand and realignment with international modernism on the other.¹⁰ It meant to attack on the former architectural ornamentation, and artisanal and labor-intensive construction methods. Crowley and Reid interpret this reaction as a moral as well as an aesthetic discourse, which associated the Stalin years with “excess” and waste in parallel to the destalinization politics.¹¹

The relation in the Soviet Union between the perspectives and political decisions about how socialism would develop or advance, and spatial and urban conditions, is also highly related with the conditions of productive forces and the perspectives on how to shape them. After the experience of the Paris Commune, the Soviet Union was regarded as the first country that the working-class came to power as Marx had foreseen and guided in the Communist Manifesto. However, coming to power of governance did not mean an end of class based economy and social structure and different interests of different social layers or sects. Throughout the Soviet history, there were different proposals for the development of socialism, meaning to eliminate bourgeois and petit bourgeois classes and give an end to the marked based economy. Unlike the capitalistic economies, in the building of the socialist one, this could not be by itself but required a reorganization of the state – in accordance with the interests of the working classes – and a central planned economy. Thus, “... the subjective factor is vastly more important in socialism than in capitalism. This is both a strength and vulnerability. A qualitative difference between socialism and capitalism is captured in the saying ‘capitalism grows; socialism is built.’”¹² Then the leadership and the organization (of the working classes or people, etc.) appears as the driving force in this building process.

¹⁰ Susan E. Reid, “Khrushchev’s Children’s Paradise: The Pioneer Palaca, Moscow, 1958-1962,” *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, edited by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002, p.142.

¹¹ David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, “Introduction: Pleasures in Socialism?” *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, edited by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2010, p.22.

¹² Keeren and Kenny, *İhanete Uğrayan Sosyalizm*, p.272.

This reminder is important because it leads us to the second issue that is indicated above: the relation between the political paradigms and the aesthetic canon in the Soviet Union. At that point the dichotomy of urbanity and rurality appears as a crucial factor. The decision on how the productive forces would develop in the country effects the urbanization and industrialization processes.¹³ As Walter Benjamin observes in the late 1920s:

*Like Naples, Moscow appears in transition, with elements of the village still playing 'hide-and-peek' with the city. But the transition is to socialism, so that the quality of transitoriness that in Naples lent to life the sense of theater, here places 'each life, each day, each thought ... on a laboratory table.'*¹⁴

This quotation refers to Walter Benjamin's Moscow visit in 1926. Many intellectuals were drawn by the cultural opportunities in the Soviet Union in the early decades, expressing strong support against the isolation of the new revolutionary state. This attraction of Western intellectuals to the Soviet Union is rooted in the socialist ideals of the freedom, equality and fraternity. On one side, the early twentieth century faced the Great Depression, the rise of fascism, and the looming threat of war. On the other, the Soviet Union had already contributed significantly to the world with avant-garde

¹³ "Revolutionary Russia being a huge peasantry country had taken over many problems and dynamics that were to be solved. Considering the situation it created and the goals it pursued, it was unthinkable that the Soviet leadership would remain indifferent to the ossification of a dualist structure of city and countryside in the country and to the fact that this dualism produced its own antagonisms over time." Metin Çulhaoğlu, *Sovyet Deneyinden Siyaset Dersleri*, İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2018, pp.102-103.

"It should be remembered that Soviet Russia did not inherit urban workers from the third generation, and the industrial proletariat always fed from villages that were destroyed. In 1917 and the following years, a Russian worker who was completely disconnected from the muzhik culture was unthinkable." Kemal Okuyan, *Sovyetler Birliği'nin Çözülüşü Üzerine Antitezler*, İstanbul: Yazılama Yayınevi, 2017, p.28.

¹⁴ Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989, p.28.

achievements in cinema, theatre, literature, art and architecture, and realized the urban planning and design visions of modernists of the early twentieth century.¹⁵

In other respects, the Soviet Union also sought to break its isolation from the capitalist world. In addition to pursuing international political integration with other labor and communist parties through organizations like the Communist International (Comintern), Soviet cultural policy aimed to establish strong connections with Western intellectuals including philosophers, writers, artists, architects, filmmakers, and art historians. Prominent Western architects were also invited to design in the USSR or participate in architectural design competitions.

Some scholars describe Western intellectuals who were inspired by revolutionary countries as "fellow-travelers." Far from being anti-rationalist or anti-urban, these intellectuals were true heirs of the Enlightenment, committed to progress. Fellow-traveling, in this regard, involves a geographically and emotionally distant commitment.¹⁶ This term lost its relevance in the post-World War II context, as Western intellectuals' political commitments became more stable and structural, reducing affiliations with Communist front organizations.¹⁷

Razhocharovanie (*разочарование*) is the Russian word for disappointment. The root of the word is *chary* (*чары*), which means "spells," and the verb derived from it is *charovat* (*чаровать*), meaning "to charm." When "the charming" loses its magic, then disappoints. In this regard the inquiry to find answers to the question if the Western intellectuals' early experience of the first generation did leave a legacy to the attitude of future generations towards the Soviet Union, is bound in the greater context of

¹⁵ Ludmila Stern, *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union, 1920-40 From Red Square to the Left Bank*, London and New York: Routledge, 2007, pp.2-3.

¹⁶ David Cate, *The Fellow Travellers: Intellectual Friends of Communism*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp.3-4.

¹⁷ Some others, however, prefer the term "political pilgrims." While both terms denote a critical stance toward Western societies and sympathy for socialism, Hollander argues that "fellow traveler" had a more limited meaning. It referred to those who supported the Communist Party as friends of the Soviet Union during the 1930s and 1940s. Paul Hollander, *Political Pilgrims: Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China and Cuba 1928-1978*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 27.

political pluralisms and dichotomies of the twentieth century where the hopes for the world's socialist future gradually turned into disappointment. This consequence of the current political situation of the tendency to have more nationalist and conservative governments throughout the world in east and west, south and north, is a common heritage of all world citizens to dismantle.

The Soviet Union's search for international support continued after World War II and shifted to the "Third World" or developing countries which started to gain their independences. Supporting those postcolonial countries' development and breaking its isolation by the capitalist world run together. This issue also become a competing arena between the "two worlds" after the war. In this regard knowledge and education became "the most important factor in economic and social growth."¹⁸ As a consequence, in a remarkable decade of public investment in higher education, some two hundred new university campuses were established around the world during era between 1961 and 1970."¹⁹

This study aims to evaluate the spatiality of urbanized socialism at its very center, i.e. Moscow as the capital city of the Soviet Union, in the 1960s when the international contacts of the city began to develop.

It was the late 1950s when Moscow began to host international events. Holding of the Sixth International Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957, enabled foreign presence in Moscow squares and on the street creating international cultural exchanges. It opened the way to foreign cultural imports becoming integral to the public life of the Soviet Union. Moscow started to experience a transformation from being the heart of the Soviet socialist model into a big European city as a center of international mega-events such as film festivals, exhibitions or Olympic Games. Instead of relaxation at home,

¹⁸ Ethan Schrum, *The Instrumental University: Education in Service of the National Agenda After World War II*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020, p.1.

¹⁹ Miles Taylor and Jill Pellew, "Introduction," *Utopian Universities: A Global History of the New Campuses of the 1960s*, edited by Miles Taylor and Jill Pellew, London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2020, p.1.

collective leisure was promoted by the soviet policy makers.²⁰ Moscow had always been a cultural center in Russian history,²¹ however, the post-war period and especially the 1960s witnessed the construction of widespread cultural, sportive and touristic opportunities in the city.

In the international perspective, the 1960s provided the foreground for transnational and transcultural interactions and influences with the flows of information, cultural models, and ideas.²² However, these encounters and interactions are physically marked with its opposite, by the erection of Berlin wall in 1961, as both physical entity and a symbol of the divided world.²³ Within this situation of dividedness there was a balance between global integration and continuing political differentiation.²⁴ It urged the Khrushchev era internationalism to include both “peaceful existing” with the First World and wider collaboration with the Third world.

It was within this context that the decision for launching a higher education complex dedicated to fraternal assistance to developing countries materialized the opening of Peoples’ Friendship University in Moscow. The university offered training opportunities for the students from developing countries in the areas of medicine, agriculture, economy, and engineering.

Renamed for Patrice Lumumba after the Congolese leader was killed in 1961, the university became a hub of knowledge production on Africa, as were other

²⁰ Lynne Attwood, *Gender and Housing in Soviet Russia: Private Life in a Public Space*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010, p.2.

²¹ Caroline Brooke, *Moscow: A Cultural History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

²² Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, “Introduction: The Socialist 1960s in Global Perspective,” *The Socialist Sixties*, edited by Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013, p.2.

²³ Boris Kagarlitsky, *Empire of the Periphery Russia and the World System*, translated by Renfrey Clarke, London, Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2008, p.286.

²⁴ Gorsuch and Koenker, p.2.

*specialized institutes established in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia over the course of the 1960s.*²⁵

This study focuses on the internationalization of socialist modernism in the Cold War context by examining the opportunities, knowhow production and experiences of spatiality in various public and private environments of Peoples' Friendship University named after Patrice Lumumba.



Figure 1.2. Stamp after the opening of Peoples' Friendship University.

(<https://fildorg.ru>)



Figure 1.3. Cover of the booklet of Peoples' Friendship University

(Trostyanskaya)

²⁵ Łukasz Stanek, *Architecture in Global Socialism: Eastern Europe, West Africa, and the Middle East in the Cold War*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2020, p.46.

1.2. Literature Review and Methodology

Russian and the Soviet histories are more likely to be integrated into the narrative of global history in contemplation that the “presumed otherness of Soviet life” has been ceased after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Thus, postcolonial and transnational historiography needs reconsideration of this “unique” case with contemporary methodologies.²⁶ Concurrent with the inquiry challenging the canonical and “heroic” epoch of modern architecture,²⁷ it was only after the post-war encounters and contacts across the Iron Curtain that the Soviet avant-garde was rediscovered both in the West and in the Soviet Union. Anatole Kopp’s *Town and Revolution* (1967), introducing the post-revolutionary Soviet architecture to the broad public²⁸, was published in France on the eve of the May ’68 movements. As Kopp remarked in his conclusion:

*A new architecture is born not only of the experimental and inventive spirit of its creators, not only of technical advances but, above all, of the problems with which history suddenly confronts society.*²⁹

The reinvestigation of the Soviet avant-gardist – mostly constructivist - concepts in a new context coincided with the transdisciplinary approach to the architectural history, spatial analysis and urbanism together with the discovery of the “spatial potentiality”

²⁶ Choi Chatterjee, et al., “Introduction: The Genesis and Themes of Everyday Life in Russia Past and Present,” *Everyday Life in Russia: Past and Present*, edited by Choi Chatterjee, et al., Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015, p.2.

²⁷ Joan Ockman, *Architecture Culture 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, New York: Rizzoli, 1993, p.13.

²⁸ Łukasz Stanek, “Collective Luxury,” *The Journal of Architecture*,.22:3, (2017), p.480.

²⁹ Anatole Kopp, *Town and Revolution: Soviet Architecture and City Planning 1917-1935*, New York: George Braziller, 1970, p.240.

of youth protests of '68. These encounters and the “invention of East-European art by the new Left”³⁰ enabled integration of constructivism of the inter-war period, which is among the many factions of the avant-garde cumulative, to the narratives of modern architecture. This inclusion is described as “filling the historical gap” by Catherine Cooke.³¹ However, this inclusion meant, at the same time, the exclusion of the latter developments and experiences of the Soviet architectural history during the post-war period.³²

The political inquiry and involvement of the 1970s when modernism began to be questioned in terms of its relation with capitalism from a class perspective, gradually left its place to neo-Marxist theories replacing class-based frameworks to the cultural and identity-based investigations in architectural history. Gradually, the scholarship focused more on gender and queer theory, migration and immigrant legacies, national, ethnic and religious differences, etc. Later versions of critical architectural theory inspired by gender studies and postcolonial theories, were built upon the established tradition and the legacy of the critical theory of the Frankfurt school and other Western, neo-Marxist theories and critical thinkers.³³

³⁰ See: Eva Forgacs, “How the New Left Invented East-European Art,” *Centropa*, Vol: 3, Issue: 2, (May, 2003), pp.93-104.

³¹ Catherine Cooke, *Russian Avant-Garde: Theories of Art, Architecture and the City*, London: Academy Editions, 1995, p.146.

³² Catherine Cook claimed in her seminal work on “Russian Avant-Garde” that till the 1960s that there was a historical gap in the modern architectural historiography ignoring the Soviet experience except with very little quotations as that of to explain why Le Corbusier suddenly went there. However at late sixties, several serious commentaries and publications were issued in the centers of Western Europe, which coincided with the heating atmosphere of 1968; most of which were citing “revolution” in the titles. Anatole Kopp’s *Town and Revolution (Ville et Revolution)* published in 1968, *Architectural Design*’s special issue published in 1970 concurrent with the London exhibition *Art in Revolution*, organized by Camilla Gray, and Manfredo Tafuri’s *Theories and History of Architecture (Teorie e storia dell’architettura)* published in 1968. The common discourse was concentrated on celebrating the Russian avant-garde and condemning the successive “socialist realism” in Soviet Union and other socialist countries which is regarded as succeeding the avant-garde in the 1930s. It can be claimed that the so-called “gap” is just shifted to the later periods.

³³ Hilde Heynen and Sebastiaan Loosen, “Marxism and Architectural Theory across the East-West Divide,” *Architectural Histories*, 7(1): 21, (2019), p.1.

Besides, there has been a growing interest on the architectural history of the Soviet Union and former socialist countries of Eastern Europe in recent decades. While critical theory offered by Adorno and the other members of the Frankfurt school was incorporated to the architectural cultures in the non-socialist world, the socialist countries articulated distinct forms of Marxist architectural theory where orthodox Marxism was the foundation of political theory.³⁴

*Studying the intersections of architectural theory and political conditions in the Second and Third World indeed should bring us to an awareness of the weight of positionality — not just for those ‘other’ architects and thinkers, but also with respect to our own viewpoints and our own conditioning by First World assumptions and ideologies.*³⁵

In this regard, recent scholarship has focused on post-war architectural and spatial histories of socialist experiences calling the period as “mature socialism,” “advanced socialism,” “developed socialism,” or “late socialism.”³⁶ Many of these works discuss art, architecture and histories by concentrating on issues beyond the limits of traditional scholarship such as domesticity and housing, privacy, leisure, consumer goods, etc.

³⁴ Heynen and Loosen, p.1.

³⁵ Ibid, p.5.

³⁶ See: Anna Alekseyeva, *Everyday Soviet Utopias: Planning, Design and the Aesthetics of Developed Socialism*, New York: Routledge, 2019; Daria Bocharnikova, “Inventing Socialist Modern: A History of the Architectural Profession in the USSR, 1954-1971,” Ph.D. Diss., Florence: European University Institute, 2014; Tom Cubbin, *Soviet Critical Design: Senezh Studio and the Communist Surround*, London, New York, et al.: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019; Yulia Karpova, *Comradely Objects, Design and Design and Material Culture in Soviet Russia, 1960s-80s*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020; Masha Panteleyeva, “Re-Forming the Socialist City: Form and Image in the Work of the Soviet Experimental Group NER, 1960-1970,” Ph.D. Diss., Princeton: Princeton University, 2018; Juliane Fürst, *Stalin's Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

In the Russian case, the everyday life or “way of life” had its own representation in language in one word: “*byt*.” The search for a new way of life (*novyi byt*) was not only the agenda in the making of the revolutionary program of the Soviet period but also had historical roots that emerged within the different utopian traditions of Russian people, Russian elite and Russian rulers. The Soviet revolution took its spiritual, mental and expressive form from the collision and collusion of these already existing utopian traditions.³⁷ The pre-revolutionary traditions of utopianism in the thoughts and actions of ordinary people, intellectuals and rulers were crystalized in the revolutionary times’ avant-gardist movements’ search to create new forms of aesthetics with a new social content. Still, the avant-garde understanding of the period had the logic of destruction and re-construction for a new society which would be socially more balanced and egalitarian and where emancipation would be realized.³⁸ At the intersection of art-making and life-making, the young Soviet Union of the 1920s became “a creative laboratory of various conflicting utopian projects.”³⁹

Attwood claims that, in the revolutionary years, one of the most crucial features of the Bolshevik plan was “the creation of a completely new type of daily life, or *novyi byt*, which would be lived by a completely new type of person.”⁴⁰ This new type of person would emerge from the industrial proletariat and in the equality of genders. As key features, this new type of person was desired to have cultured behavior, collective orientation, rational and healthy leisure activities, commitment to cleanness and hygiene and understanding of basic housekeeping principles. Within this perspective, women’s emancipation from domestic work and equal integration to work life and active participation to social life were important on one hand and men’s becoming

³⁷ Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989 pp.3-4.

³⁸ Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999, p29.

³⁹ Svetlana Boym, *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994, p.126.

⁴⁰ Attwood, pp.25-26.

more socially and politically aware and developing more responsible attitude towards work and leisure on the other.⁴¹

Caroline Humphrey claims that the task of the revolutionary Soviet construction was to build material foundations that would mould nothing less than a new society. The central agenda of the building program was creating carefully designed living quarters which would eliminate the conditions for individualistic and petit-minded bourgeois ways of life.⁴²

Besides the government's encouragement for collectivism in leisure and daily activities, "people started setting up communes before there were any buildings designed for this purpose."⁴³ Workers established communes in the spacious apartments of the bourgeoisie.⁴⁴ Quoting from Khan-Magomedov, Humphrey indicates that "architects were soon designing futuristic experimental prototypes: cubist, circular, tower-like, asymmetrical structures."⁴⁵ In this regard, on the basis of the new human, the socialist woman and the socialist man, a new kind of building: the House Commune would provide the infrastructure. However, according to Attwood, people had started to share houses because of lack of housing stock even during the Tsarist era.⁴⁶ From this collectivist purpose, the Palaces of Cultures and Worker's Clubs were introduced as new architectural and social solutions for the emerging new socialist society.

Moreover, the socialist agenda to transform the way of life while solving gender inequalities was related with the emancipation of women from household works. In this context many domestic issues such as preparing food, child-care, cleaning, etc.

⁴¹ Attwood, pp.26-27.

⁴² Caroline Humphrey, "Ideology in Infrastructure: Architecture and Soviet Imagination," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (Mar., 2005), p.39.

⁴³ Humphrey, p.44

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Attwood, pp-1-4.

were intended to be collectivized and kept out of domestic works. It was already in the 1920s that public dining facilities, crèches and kindergartens were proposed.⁴⁷



Figure 1.4. “New Moscow” by Yuri Pimenov, 1937.

(In permanent exhibition at State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow)

The painting symbolizes the change of public life on Moscow’s vast streets, highlighting the automobiles and speed, newly constructed buildings and equality of women in the society as driving her own car.

(<https://www.arts-dnevnik.ru/pimenov-novaya-moskva/>)

In the making of the revolutionary Russia, changing the everyday life, or “way of life” was among the central issues in the socialist transformation of the country. “Way of life”, called as *byt* in Russian, had already created a unique expression as an historical outcome of search for a new way of life, and the pre-revolutionary traditions of utopianism in the thoughts and actions of different layers of the society were

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.29.

crystalized in the revolutionary period in the search of avant-gardist movements to create new forms of aesthetics with the new social content. During the post-war period, search for the new *byt* was revisited and “by the Khrushchev period the term *byt* included domesticity, lifestyle, and personal relations and continued to be the object of official and professional attempts at reform.”⁴⁸ However post-war policy towards the socialist *byt* was complicated and contained contradictions: on the one hand emphasis on the communist morality was promoting collectivization of the everyday, on the other hand intentions for rising the living standards of the Soviet people were restricted to domesticity and domestic material environment. Remarking that public and private are not polar opposites, in post-war Soviet everyday life, public and private sphere were interchangeably: one could create most private place in the public one and vice-versa.⁴⁹

In this regard, Lefebvre’s question, which was highlighted as important by Lefebvre himself, should be reminded: “Has state socialism produced a space of its own?”⁵⁰ Unlikely to find an easy answer to it, Lefebvre indicated that, in order to realize its full potential, a revolution should produce a new space, and so “a social transformation to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space.”⁵¹ Thus, a search for the features, dynamics, actors, users, limits and commonalities and contradictions of “socialist space” should be profoundly investigated.

Within this context, transforming the everyday life of the Soviet citizen meant changing both domestic and urban environments, needed industrial proletariat, which

⁴⁸ Deborah A. Field, “Everyday Life and the Problem of Conceptualizing Public and Private during the Khrushchev Era,” *Everyday Life in Russia: Past and Present*, edited by Choi Chatterjee, et al., David Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015, p.163.

⁴⁹ Humphrey, pp.47-48.

⁵⁰ Lewis H. Siegelbaum, “Introduction: mapping private spheres in the Soviet context,” in *Borders of Socialism: Private Spheres of Soviet Russia*, ed. Lewis H. Siegelbaum, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp.8-9.

⁵¹ Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford, UK & Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1991, p.54.

itself required industrialization and urbanization. This fact created a challenge and a paradoxical situation because the capital of the Soviet Union was far from satisfying all these aspects during the revolutionary years.

The Soviet 1960s provided us the necessary scene where industrialization and urbanization were more achieved and an urban working class was created. In this context the everyday spaces of the 1960s are worth to be investigated to draw a wider picture to find closer answers to Lefebvre's question about state socialism's production of a space of its own.

Upton expresses that there is "something extraordinary in its very ordinariness" of everyday life. On the one hand, everyday life is the setting where "oppression, banality, routine, passivity, and unconsciousness" are realized, and on the other hand, it has the potential for liberation.⁵² This ordinariness is also linked to that of being a democratic concept, as defined earlier. So, remarkably, the 1960s is the period when ordinary people become both subjects as actors shaping the trends of the global 1960s and objects in scholarly research.⁵³

Besides the agency of "ordinary people", Gorsuch and Koenker draw attention to a generation of youth. "The demographic emergence of a postwar generation of young people, the expansion of institutions of higher education in which to train and empower them, and the resulting conflicts between generations are themes that run through scholarship on the sixties."⁵⁴

Along with the new generation of the 1960s or the post-war "baby boom", the new technological and scientific developments and the drive for research, and the end of the colonial hegemony in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, enabled the emergence of the new university phenomenon confined to the 1960s. The 1960s became prominent with public investment in the higher education resulting in the establishment of new

⁵² Dell Upton, "Architecture in Everyday Life," *New Literary History*, Vol. 33 No. 4, *Everyday Life* (Autumn, 2002), p.712.

⁵³ Gorsuch and Koenker, p.15.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.14.

university campuses, making the decade a unique historical moment of modernity with these new universities.⁵⁵ Pellew and Taylor regard this phenomenon with the notion of “utopia” as these university campuses were the results of “knowledge economy,” mostly publicly funded, offered new opportunities for community living and new kinds of curriculum and pedagogy together with different forms of governance, had experimental environments, and enabled communal life “which would nurture and enhance the educational experience.”⁵⁶

Stanek reminds that it was Lefebvre’s opportunity that he was teaching in the University of Nanterre during the events of May’68 where the students revolt started and where he observed the contradictions and potentials of the events relating his critical theory of the urban space.⁵⁷ Influenced from the concurrent studies of Anatole Kopp about the Soviet avant-garde, Lefebvre re-contextualized the constructivist concept “social-condenser” in his analysis of the student revolt ranging from the university campus to the reconquest of the urban center.

Here Lefebvre’s objection to Marxist tradition of architectural theory must be reminded. Tafuri’s and Huet’s critics on contemporary architecture’s crisis and trauma as being an instrument for the capitalist despoliation, were challenged by Lefebvre in a possibility “concrete utopia” as a negative of “abstract utopia” of the modernism. This negation meant to unleash the potentiality of the everyday and leisure spaces as creating the alternatives beyond and against the capitalist reproduction.⁵⁸ In this regard:

The architecture of the campus translated these contradictions into separations in space and thus became an apparatus of interiorization in the lived everyday

⁵⁵ Taylor and Pellew, pp.1-2.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp.3-4.

⁵⁷ Łukasz Stanek, “Lessons from Nanterre,” *Log*, No.13/14, Aftershocks: Generation(s) since 1968 (Fall 2008), p.62.

⁵⁸ Łukasz Stanek, “A Manuscript Found in Saragossa: Toward an Architecture: Introduction to ‘Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment’ by Henri Lefebvre,” in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, edited by Łukasz Stanek, translated by Robert Bononno, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014, p. xxxix.

*experience. Addressing this condition, Lefebvre referenced the Soviet avant-garde architectural concept of the social condenser. ... Lefebvre defined the social condenser as an architecture that leads to the "crystallization ... of social relations."*⁵⁹

Murawski claims that the re-birth of social condenser happened in the capitalist France rather than the Soviet Union. However, he draws attention to the post-war architectural and urban developments in the Soviet Union such as idea of the "mikro-rayon" (microdistrict) as a multi-functional residential or planning district serving the urban needs and offering leisure opportunities for the neighborhood residents in a walking distance. But he regards this notion as a "reminiscent of the social condenser."⁶⁰

In this context, it can be claimed that there was an inconsistency where Lefebvre borrowed the constructivist concept "the social condenser" which itself was crystalized in a socialist manner, in order to show the potentiality of "minoritarian practices of the production of space" as sites "where the agency of architecture in the reproduction of social relationships can be addressed and, potentially, challenged, toward a rethinking of architecture's manifold possibilities,"⁶¹ because this inclusion turned a blind eye to the concurrent "minoritarian practices of the production of space" in the socialist world just addressing them to the mercy of "state-socialism." However, as Boym signifies, the "everyday" in the Soviet Union should be differentiated from the grand projects of the state, as it is crucial to distinguish how the utopian Soviet projects were translated into ordinary language.⁶²

⁵⁹ Stanek, "Lessons from Nanterre," p.63.

⁶⁰ Michał Murawski, "Introduction: Crystallizing the Social Condenser," *The Journal of Architecture*, 22:3, (2017), p.373.

⁶¹ Stanek, "A Manuscript Found in Saragossa: Toward an Architecture: Introduction to 'Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment' by Henri Lefebvre," p. xiii.

⁶² Boym, p.11.

Similarly, Oukaderova claims that, for example, the soviet cinema of the 1960s shared similar tendencies to the spatiality in line with Lefebvre's understanding even though there is no direct contact between each other.

*The parallels between Lefebvre's spatial critique and Soviet cinema of the 1950s and 1960s should not be understood as a matter of direct influence or random confluence. Rather, as suggested earlier, these two cultural practices should be seen as part of the same paradigmatic shift in movements happening a little bit everywhere that began to consider space rather than time as a central category through which to explore social formations.*⁶³

Given that, during the Khrushchev period the term *byt* included domesticity, lifestyle, and personal relations,⁶⁴ recent scholarship on the research of histories of post-war Soviet architecture and built environment focused more on domestic sphere and private life of the everyday. However, it can be claimed the potentiality of "*homo Sovieticus*" is also realized itself among the urban environment of everyday existence.

It was as early as the end of the 1920s when Walter Benjamin observed in his visit to the Soviet Union that people started to alienate themselves from domestic existence as the place in which they lived was "the office, the club, the street" more than the house.⁶⁵ According to him, the interior completeness is an essential feature of the petit-bourgeois appearance such as covering walls, sofas, cushions, windows. Nonetheless, in his perceptions, this lack in domestic furniture loses its importance when another life emerges outdoors. Benjamin observes not only the physical change of Moscow which can be seen on the streets but he also witnesses the change in the manner of the

⁶³ Lida Oukaderova, *The Cinema of the Soviet Thaw*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2007, pp.16-17.

⁶⁴ Field, p.163.

⁶⁵ Buck-Morss, p.26.

publicity and public visibility of the working class and previously suppressed people of the Soviet Union.⁶⁶

As a result, the “spatial turn” in the Soviet Union needs to be analyzed not only with reference to the domesticity of everyday life but to the public non-work activities and spaces produced among these activities.

Bringing all the concepts of public-private, youth, ordinary people, social condensing campus, mobility, everyday life, internationalization, and crossing borders into our agenda, this study will focus on the case of the foundation of the Peoples’ Friendship University in Moscow in 1960, which, then in 1961 was renamed after Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of Congo,⁶⁷ who became one of the symbols of the African peoples’ fight for independence.⁶⁸ In 1965 the university was introduced with the “first issue of 228 young specialists from 47 countries of the world.”⁶⁹ The construction of the campus in the south-west of Moscow started in 1966.

The University and its attached facilities were consisting of: “museum, workshops and laboratories, a computer center, a clinic for medical students, experimental farm plots, dormitories for 4,200 students, a campus club seating 1,500, and a stadium seating 5,000 for international sports competition.”⁷⁰

In this study I would like to study this Soviet university campus with reference to the concept of “social condenser,” which was scholarly regarded as “a mechanism for bridging the gap between the contemporary and the not-yet existing. This is what

⁶⁶ Walter Benjamin, “Moscow Diary,” *October*, Vol. 35, (Winter, 1985).

⁶⁷ As a leading figure in the movement of Congo’s liberation from Belgium, Patrice Emery Lumumba become the first prime minister of independent Democratic Republic of Congo in 1960. Soon after the independence, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated after being overthrown by a military coup.

⁶⁸ History page tab in RUDN University web-site: <http://eng.rudn.ru/about/history/> (Retrieved on 24.02.2021.)

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Seymour M. Rosen, *The development of Peoples' Friendship University of Moscow*, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

makes its 'scientific' character all the more, rather than less, powerful: the social condenser was an architectural method for harnessing, or 'crystallizing' the extraordinary or not-yet-formed, for bringing it down to earth and deploying it to create a new society."⁷¹ Similar to the use of the term by Kopp "as form of architecture designed to become 'the mold in which that society [is] to be cast'," ⁷² The study will examine why and how Peoples' Friendship University aimed to become a "social condenser" of the relation between the Soviet Union and other countries; and point out the fact that its potentiality did not remain within the boundaries of its campus but reached to the overseas by its graduates as there was a literal link between this university's graduates and the decolonization and liberation movements in the Third World. Thus, postcolonial theory should incorporate this unique case into the global narrative of architectural histories.

The institutionalization of the postwar American university was undergone together with the internationalization of the university in the service of knowledge production for development of both the former colonial capitalist countries and the newly independent nations. Similarly post-war socialist university also tried to find new horizons to internationalize and serve for the needs of the society in both the socialist countries and in the developing countries. Campus building of the university was together with the research and knowledge building of the post-war university which turned out to be a gathering place for researchers, scholars, students also from the wider world, with its different segments of societies, immigrants, and different identities.⁷³

⁷¹ Murawski, p.379.

⁷² Stanek, "Lessons from Nanterre," p.63.

⁷³ See: Noam Chomsky, et al., Eds., *The Cold War and the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years*, New York: The New Press, 1997; Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter, Eds., *The Companion to Development Studies*, New York: Routledge, 2014; Cheryl McEwan, *Postcolonialism, Decoloniality and Development*, London and New York: Routledge, 2019; Christopher Simpson Ed., *Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in The Social Sciences During the Cold War*, New York: The New Press, 1998; Murray G. Ross, Ed., *New Universities in the Modern World*, London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1966; Ethan Schrum, *The Instrumental University: Education in Service of the National Agenda After World War II*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020;

Recalling Lefebvre's concept of "dialectics of centrality" where the urbanization process is tied with both centrifugal and centripetal forces, Peoples' Friendship University and its users' spatial potentiality in the socialist capital could enlarge our understanding in the production of space.⁷⁴ The university facilities not only sheltered all daily routines of the everyday lives of the students from accommodation to the purposes for education, research, sports, commensality, but also enabled interactions between Muscovites and foreign students, (and also between different cultures of foreign students), which also created its spatio-cultural reflections in the city, in different parts of Soviet Union (i.e with student construction brigades,) and in the developing countries as this educational hub contained also temporality.

The self-funded in-situ research during the covid-19 pandemic in September 2021 in the Russian state archives⁷⁵ enabled access to the architectural planning documents, design alternatives and bureaucratic comments during the approval process of the construction of the Peoples' Friendship University. The "passport of the university" provided statistical information on both the construction durations and costs, and student enrolment numbers per departments of foreign and Soviet nationals for two decades (1970s and 1980s). Russian State Library (Lenin Library) and Library of Peoples' Friendship University of Russia were visited during the research trip, which provided the state published booklets and albums that were products of self-promotion of state-

Miles Taylor and Jill Pellew, Eds., *Utopian Universities: A Global History of the New Campuses of the 1960s*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2020; David Engerman, "Rethinking Col War Universities: Some Recent Histories," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol.5, No.3 (Summer 203); Inderjeet Parmar, "American Foundations and The Development of International Knowledge Network," *Global Networks* 2, 1 (2002); Laurie Olin, "The Campus: An American Landscape" *SiteLINES: A Journal of Place*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring 2013), pp.3-10; Alex Kuraev, "Soviet Higher Education: An Alternative Construct to the Western University Paradigm," *Higher Education*, Vol.71. No.2 (February 2016), pp.181-193; Mark S. Johnson, "Historical Legacies of Soviet Higher Education and the Transformation of Higher Education Systems in Post-Soviet Russia and Eurasia," *The Worldwide Transformation of Higher Education International Perspectives on Education and Society*, Volume 9, (2008); M. A. Prokofiev, M. G. Chilikin, S. I. Tulpanov, Eds., *Higher Education in the USSR*, Paris: UNESCO, 1961.

⁷⁴ Stanek, "Collective Luxury," p.481.

⁷⁵ Russian State Archive of Economics (RGAE), State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), Russian State Archive of Literature and Arts (RGALI) and Schusev State Museum of Architecture.

affiliated foundations and seasonal events. Knowing the language⁷⁶ enabled ease of access to the archives, libraries and University's campus, museum and facilities. The museum of the university also provided University's promotional brochures, which included information about the self-presentation of the university through historical, textual and visual information and proclamation.

This study has thus been developed mainly on the research in the Russian archives, libraries and the Universities' self-promoted booklets and other published materials and the literature produced on same materials. For the future development of the literature, it would enrich the research if non-governmental sources and personal histories -in and abroad- Russia could be investigated.

1.3. Structure of the Study

This study consists of four chapters including an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter Two, which is titled "The University in The Cold War Context," defines the conditions and political, cultural and ideological situations which were prominent in the making of Peoples' Friendship University. This chapter is divided in two sub-titles as: "Cold War University" and "Founding the Peoples' Friendship University." The first part focuses on the concept of "development" in international relations after World War II, and by the help of this concept how the divided world with two superpowers leading those two poles, i.e. the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), tried to unify their political area of control -or manipulation- in the face of the rising anticolonial movements.

⁷⁶ Luckily, the author of this study had worked in 2006-9 & 2012-14 as a professional architect in Moscow, learning the language of Russian and experiencing the hometown of formidable array to socialist (realist / modern) artifacts, monuments, constructions, sites, environments and spaces. Unluckily, being a professional practitioner at the time meant being a witness to the transformation of the Soviet urban environment to post-industrial constructions of shopping malls and high-rise residential buildings on previous industrial or recreational sites.

During World War II, wartime spending got the USA out of economic depression, as its industrial economy boomed while much of Europe was devastated or destroyed. This is followed up by its domination of the western world on every front; industrially, diplomatically, and militarily willing to administer and organize the whole world. A reflection of this shift in power was seen in the cultural sphere and in the universities. Post-war American university became a key instrument to administer American modernity with an emphasis on procedural rationality, organized research, and project-based funding by external patrons, to provide technical and managerial knowledge to shape the social order. Likewise, American universities became at least moderately influential diplomatic actors in the 1950s. Besides it was also the Soviet Union who through international education programs also sought to promote the status of the graduate to shape the respective country's political orientation toward the USSR.

It can be claimed that the cultural and social transformations of the 1960s which enables the rising importance of individuals, ordinary people, and youth in the face of seniority and gentry is also correlated with Cold War political developments, cultural conflicts, and ideological struggles in the post-war period. In this context, 1960s became prominent with rapid urbanization and the mobility of people, knowledge, culture, and technology, worldwide.

Chapter Three titled "The Socialist Modern University" initially examines post-war modernism. Socialist Modern is discussed with cross-references to both the "historical avantgarde," which was always a reference point in Soviet cultural history, and the "neo-avantgarde" which became an important feature in the making of Cold-War American psyche. This chapter has four sub-titles: "Post-War Modernity and Socialist Modernism," "Making Peoples' Friendship University," "Living in Peoples' Friendship University" and finally "Concluding Remarks on Building the University as the Social Condenser."

Change in the paradigm both on many socio-political and socio-cultural realms of societies and in the paradigm of enmity between the socialist and the capitalist states contributes to make the descriptions of post-war conditions and Cold-War disputes. The cultural and social change started in the post-War period and crystallized in the 1960s, and made its resonance in architectural practice, theory, and historiography.

Finally, Chapter Four concludes this dissertation with the outcomes and interpretations of the analysis of Peoples' Friendship University's role as social condenser in Moscow, in the Soviet Union and in the global perspective with the suggestions for further research on the subject, with special focus on the University's opportunity, capacity and network for the reproduction and realization of knowledge in site.

CHAPTER 2

THE UNIVERSITY IN THE COLD WAR CONTEXT

In the post-World War II context, the concept of “development” emerged both as a key strategy for the new sovereign states which gained their independence from the colonial powers and as a new academic area of research in social sciences within the US universities, besides the area studies specialized on hostile territories or on which the US capitalism had future designs or plans. Institutionalization of these centers were another aspect during the transformation of universities into the funded research ones. It is the complex reality of the post-World War II era that restoration and development via science and technology became the most urgent tasks of the governments whilst knowledge became the key concept among the competition and race of the two systems, i.e. capitalism and socialism. Thus, restoration of both capitalism and socialism damaged by madness and destruction of World War II was very crucial in the policies of both polar centers of the world, i.e. the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In this regard, international aid was crucial not only in the restoration of destructed countries by the war, but also a new way of intervention to the “Third World”⁷⁷ countries beyond the two sides of the so-called Cold War in the post-World War II period, whereby the capitalist countries formed the First World and the socialist countries the Second World. The terminology of the “Third World” was a product of this post-war or Cold War context. Those countries’ intention and will to develop, in their process of state and nation building, enabled them to become recipients to international aid. So many factors, actors,

⁷⁷ The term “Third World” become to be used as a Cold War phenomenon where “First World” was stood for the US and its allies or the industrialized capitalist countries, and “Second World” was stood for Soviet Union and allies or the socialist countries. Thus, the term “Third World” had both meant to be least developed and an intention to open a third way between the opposition of two systems. (Cheryl McEwan, *Postcolonialism, Decoloniality and Development*, London and New York: Routledge, 2019, p.18.)

networks and concepts were intertwined during the Cold War⁷⁸ in international politics where the two opponent systems were also trying to widen their areas of influence on the new independent territories apart from Europe where the borders of the two systems were under a silent deal.

While the former colonial countries in Asia and Africa gained their independence after World War II, one of the indispensable prerequisites for the building of prosperous nation states was the development of education and the training of the elites. The conjuncture after the war directed both newly independent countries and the older colonialist countries to foster the specific link between education and development.

*The expansion of education was an integral part of the colonial development programs implemented by European empires after 1945. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) evaluated educational activity as a contribution to both peace and development. Economists have argued that investment in human capital promises higher returns than investment in fixed capital.*⁷⁹

For the new independent countries, nothing was more vital or politicized than student training, since students were supposed to take the place of colonial administrators, teachers, and foreign engineers. Both world capitalism and world socialism funded thousands of scholarships and prioritized students' training because they believed that they would become the new elites who would define their countries' futures.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ In this study “Cold War” refers to a world historical epoch roughly between the end of the Second World War and the end of socialism in eastern Europe. (Tobias Rupprecht, *Soviet Internationalism after Stalin: Interaction and Exchange between the USSR and Latin America during the Cold War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, p.11)

⁷⁹ Constantin Katsakioris, “The Lumumba University in Moscow: Higher Education for a Soviet–Third World Alliance, 1960–91,” *Journal of Global History*, 14: 2, (2019), p.281.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 282.

In this context, the Peoples' Friendship University was established in Moscow in February 1960 by the Soviet Council of Ministers in collaboration with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee with the aim of educating young professionals from the Third World countries. More than 43,000 students applied for less than 600 places at the university after Nikita Khrushchev announced its founding while visiting Jakarta. With the motto *Scientia Unescamus*, which means "We Unite with Knowledge," the Soviet Union aimed to establish enduring connections with Asia, Africa, and Latin America by means of education. As such, the university played a significant role in the exchange of ideas between the Second and Third Worlds and was a part of the greater narrative of post-war modernization, development, and growth.⁸¹ This chapter will initially examine the university in the Cold War context, analyzing the rivalry between the USA and USSR in internationalization of knowledge. Then, the founding of the Peoples' Friendship University will be presented as a significant case to understand this aim.

2.1. Cold War University

World War II not only equated the confronting two world systems i.e capitalism and socialism embodied in USA and USSR as the leading powers but also revealed the colonized nations powers as independent states. However, this independency and its urge for development become manipulation object for the new powers under the course of knowledge. Thus, the cold war university around the globe become a playground of conflict and struggle of ideologies in their need of spreading across their borders. In this regard both the American and the Soviet universities were institutionalized and internationalized on purpose of shaping the new nations' future serving their own interests.

⁸¹ Abigail Judge Kret, "We Unite with Knowledge' The Peoples' Friendship University and Soviet Education for the Third World," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 33, No. 2, (2013), p.239.

2.1.1. Cold War Context

The shaping of the Cold War context in the expansion of knowledge worldwide and in the re-making of the modern university on both sides of the Cold War and in the newly independent countries cannot be accurately identified without analyzing the dynamics of “decolonization” and “postcolonial theory” besides the concepts of “development” and “modernization.” Within this frame, the conceptual division of worlds as first, second and third, and the vital (or may be mortal) contradiction between the first two and their making the third as the play (and battle) ground had results not only in political and economic, but also in social, cultural, spatial and aesthetic spheres.

The economies and cultures of the world we live in today have been undeniably shaped by imperialism and colonialism. Consider, for example, the consequences of the African slave trade. Those individuals and nations that carried out the trade profited on an enormous scale and remain to this day among the most powerful economic nations. Britain’s ports (e.g. Bristol and Liverpool) and other large cities developed out of the slave trade.⁸²

During the nineteenth century a few European countries set a superiority over the rest of the globe. That superiority was a course of capitalism and simply did not need direct occupation with guns. The economic and technical advance was gained by the industrial and social revolutions in Europe besides the rational thinking and positivism of Enlightenment. The new mode of productions and new structure of society enabled European capitalism together with its bourgeois character to provide a model in the transformation and ruling the rest of the world with a self-declaration as the “lords of

⁸² Cheryl McEwan, *Postcolonialism, Decoloniality and Development*, London and New York: Routledge, 2019, p.8.

human kind."⁸³ The alternative model for this was provided by the Soviet socialism after the October Revolution of 1917, which designed and then established industrialization and development on public property on means of production rather than private enterprise and liberal institutions. However, from the perspective of postcolonial theory, this model is also considered Western, or European. In this context, the socio-political developments in the greater part of the world apart from Europe are imitated as models pioneered first in Europe.

There was no operational model other than 'westernisation' or 'modernisation' or whatever one chose to call it. Conversely, only political euphemism separates the various synonyms of 'backwardness' (as Lenin had no hesitation in describing the situation of his own country and 'the colonial and backward countries') which international diplomacy has scattered round a decolonized world ('under-developed', 'developing' etc.)⁸⁴

Considering it as a dual process, decolonization was perceived as both a strategic blend of military confrontation and diplomatic negotiation between the opposing forces: colonial powers and anticolonial movements. It was post-World War II era that many former colonies gained their independences from the colonial powers but the decolonization, as a process, can be dated back to the late colonial period as a strategy of anticolonial movements and a negotiation with colonial powers. It can be said that the consequences of World War I showed the first major disruption of European order marked by significant human and financial losses, along with a growing anticolonial sentiment, dramatically expressed through literature and labor strikes.⁸⁵ It was the

⁸³ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*, London: Abacus, 1995, pp.199-200.

⁸⁴ Hobsbawm, pp.200-201.

⁸⁵ Raymond F. Betts, "Decolonization: A Brief History of the Word," *Beyond Empire and Nation: The Decolonization of African and Asian societies, 1930s-1970s*, edited by Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012, pp.23-24.

Great Depression of 1929-33 that has become a landmark in the history of anti-imperialism and liberation movements in the colonies. It was because, till that time, European capitalism had reached all parts of the globe and made the markets dependent on it. The rest of the world became completely dependent on the production of colonial powers, while agrarianizing their economy.⁸⁶

*Evidently imperialism, the old 'international division of labour', had a built-in tendency to reinforce the industrial monopoly of the old core countries. To this extent the inter-war Marxists, joined later by the post-1945 'dependency theorists' of various brands, had clear grounds for their attacks on imperialism as a mode of ensuring the continued backwardness of the backward countries.*⁸⁷

Contemporary discourse on global world history tries to open a critical dialogue between decolonization, development studies and post-colonial theory. In this regard this dialogue seeks to decolonize the “knowledge” in development studies by postcolonial theory; thus, the political economy of Marxist theory and the poststructuralist approaches in the analysis of colonialism’s injustices such as racialism besides class conflict. The importance of culture in shaping social relations has been integrated into the theory, which has also made postcolonialism relevant to development studies.⁸⁸

Eurocentrism is the belief, implicit or otherwise, in the world historical significance of events believed to have developed endogenously within the cultural-geographical sphere of Europe. In contesting Eurocentrism, I contest the ‘fact’ of the ‘specialness of Europe’—both in terms of its culture and its

⁸⁶ Hobsbawm, p.205.

⁸⁷ Hobsbawm, pp.205-206.

⁸⁸ McEwan, pp.36-37.

*events; the 'fact' of the autonomous development of events, concepts, and paradigms; and, ultimately, the 'fact' of Europe itself as a coherent, bounded entity giving form to the above.*⁸⁹

The definition of postcolonialism extends beyond mere “after-colonialism” or “after-independence” connotations, encompassing critiques of the enduring material and discursive impacts of colonialism. In essence, post-colonial perspectives can be said to be anti-colonial.⁹⁰ Thus, postcolonial approaches challenge the dominant narratives constructed as inclusions and exclusions. In this regard, postcolonial approaches question and try to make the relation between knowledge and politics transparent. Moreover, postcolonial criticism not only query the contemporary inequalities but also witness their historical conditions. In this context, “whatever Europe is, cannot be understood outside of its imperial relationships.”⁹¹ This claim should be widened to include the Cold War superpowers and their interventions to other countries after decolonization.

Indeed, Craggs emphasizes that postcolonial practice and ideology are shaped by colonial legacies.⁹² It can be claimed that, although the former colonies declared themselves as independent states and made other nation states to accept this, these “independences” were mostly mere denotation as the dependency on former colonial powers continued but gained different forms and different relationships. Moreover, colonial policies continued and gained different forms of implementation, and the former colonial officers re-employed this time by the new independent states as advisers or employees of international organizations and aid programs. As a

⁸⁹ Gurminder K. Bhambra, *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination*, Palgrave Macmillan (eBook), 2023, p.xxxi.

⁹⁰ Cheryl McEwan, “Postcolonialism,” in Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter, Eds., *The Companion to Development Studies*, New York: Routledge, 2014, p.213.

⁹¹ Bhambra, p.4.

⁹² Ruth Craggs, “Development in a Global-Historical Context” *The Companion to Development Studies*, edited by Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter, London and New York: Routledge, 2014, p.38.

relationship between donors and receivers, older colonial notion was repeated by partnership and responsibility ideologies in development, which continued to be less than equal. It is also argued that international development was a kind of colonial humanitarianism which was reinvented after formal end of colonial and imperial rule.⁹³ In this context:

*Fundamental questions, rooted in both postcolonial and political-economic theory, are being asked about how capitalism reproduces inequality in the name of development and how it is that the deepening of capitalist social relations comes to be taken as development.*⁹⁴



Figure 2.1. Years of independence of Asian countries.

(<https://blueprintforhistory.wordpress.com/2013/05/>)

⁹³ Ibid., pp.38-39.

⁹⁴ Cheryl McEwan, “Postcolonialism,” in Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter, Eds., *The Companion to Development Studies*, New York: Routledge, 2014, p.216.

peasant country before the war, became a “superpower” of the socialist world as the United States became the leading power of the world capitalist system placing itself on the top of the pyramid replacing Britain as the world’s leading capitalist country. Although the USA and Britain changed their places in the capitalist hierarchy, their partnership relations became stronger. Indeed, the process of transformation of the United States to become a world power is regarded to have begun during World War I as a result of the transformation of the United States from being a debtor country to a creditor country and the result of its armed forces’ decisive role in the end of the war siding with the entente against Germany. Besides, the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia was another factor for European capitalism to remain behind the US capitalism as Russia had previously been an important provider of raw materials, a market and a debtor country, too. However, while Russia was getting out of the European capital, American capital was assimilating Latin America enabling easy access for the United States to gain raw materials. “The Second World War transformed the US into the leader of the West. Nevertheless, the US was only able to consolidate and shape this leadership thanks to the Cold War with the USSR.”⁹⁶

Although the Soviet Union emerged victorious from the four-year lasting war, it caused the country the loss of over twenty million of its citizens from different republics and a huge destruction in the occupied and seized territories and cities. Moreover, the Soviet Union had not completed its transformation into an urbanized industrial country yet. Sociologically and culturally, it was still largely in the shadow of its rural past. This was valid even in the case of the distinctive features of the state, which was the main apparatus for the aim of modernization. The main concentration of the Soviet administration was on the restoration and reconstruction of both the pre-war living standards of the citizens and the physical environment in the huge geography of Soviet Europe, and the establishment of the Soviet “inspired” system in the liberated territories of East Europe which had been destroyed by the German occupation.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Kagarlitsky, p.283.

⁹⁷ Moshe Lewin, *The Soviet Century*, London and New York: Verso, 2005, p.153.

However, the situation across the ocean was far from being ruined and tired of war. On the contrary, the general sense of the community was very positive in the United States. As Naom Chomsky indicates, “the dramatic rise” in the international power created important changes in the American psyche for the intellectuals and the dissent. Immense changes took place during World War II. Wartime spending saved the United States from the Depression. Moreover, while the industrial economy in the United States was booming, much of Europe was devastated or destroyed.⁹⁸

The Cold War era was the political, ideological, and economic confrontation of two superpowers competing to gain more territorial and political areas of influence within the international political system. In this regard two superpowers and their allies in Europe did not have a military confrontation directly but rather their interventions to the Third World countries or their support in fighting nations featured the period.

The most distinctive feature of the Cold War was that a danger of a new world war was not felt or expected in the near future at the time. In fact, despite the discourse of destruction or doom – or “apocalyptic rhetoric” reflected by the dominant actors of both sides of the Cold War - especially by America - the rulers of both superpowers accepted the global distribution of power that had occurred as the result of World War II. After the war, the Soviet Union began to control a region where the Red Army used to have a presence - either liberated or occupied. It did not attempt to expand further its sphere of influence out of these regions. Besides, the United States of America, beyond taking over what remained of the imperial hegemony of the pre-war colonial powers, was declaring its dominance over the rest of the world, that is, the capitalist world. And in return it did not interfere with the Soviets' new presence in Europe.⁹⁹

Consolidation of political and economic power of capitalism in the United States enabled it to concentrate on the new enemy. The United States was ready for the new front, i.e. the war against communism, having strong tools or “weapons” in hand.

⁹⁸ Naom Chomsky, “The Cold War and the University,” *The Cold War and the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years* edited by Naom Chomsky, et al., New York: The New Press, 1997, p.171.

⁹⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, p.226

“America now held all the trumps: the atom bomb, a strong economy, a powerful army, and now artistic supremacy, cultural superiority.”¹⁰⁰

Avoiding fighting in Europe and a possible physical war, the Soviet Union preferred to “catch” the United States in its military accesses, which gave an end to the war. The Soviet Union achieved the atomic bomb four years later, too. The atomic bomb made it clear that the new world would never be the same as before. It is not only valid in the production of art as Serge Guilbaut portrays but also valid for the whole phenomenon that “modernity could no longer be expressed in the same terms as had been used by the two previous generations.”¹⁰¹

As Hobsbawm indicates, the situation was different out of Europe, especially in Asia where the near future independence of the then-colonies was not unpredictable, whereas the political tendency of those state within the world economic and political system was unpredictable. Thus, Asia become the major area of friction between the USA and the USSR. Newly independent countries of the continent were under the campaign of the two superpowers to support or influence and set far from the opponent’s political area of influence. Moreover, it was also the territory where the armed conflict broke out.¹⁰²

Apart from being socialist, even sometimes anticommunist in interior politics, the independence movements of those states enabled them to survive and gave the opportunity for self-actualization where the two system were on rivalry. In this regard how the new states would establish and institutionalize themselves was in the concern, not only by the interior significant forces of those states but also from the perspective of two competing systems and their locomotive powers. This phenomenon was one of the most prominent features to raise the importance of the concept of “development.”

¹⁰⁰ Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983, p.172.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.196.

¹⁰² Eric Hobsbawm, p.227.

In the discourse of the concept “development”, a landmark was when the US president Harry Truman pointed the southern hemisphere as “underdeveloped” and called the “advanced” countries to be committed in the struggle against underdevelopment, in his speech to the American Congress in 1949.¹⁰³

In this context, it is discussed that the concept of development contains three things: development theories, development strategies and development ideologies, as development covers both theory and practice. In the theorizing of development, the normative aspects can come to the forefront more than the positive aspects. This is to say that there are (and were) more intentions to change and shape rather than follow what has generally been the case in the past. In this regard development theory is “inherently controversial and contested.”¹⁰⁴

Additionally, development strategies are the practical paths in the implementation of development. The actors in this performance can be international agencies, nongovernment organizations and community-based organizations, or indeed individuals, in order to trigger and promote change within specific areas, regions, territories, nations and continents.¹⁰⁵ In his regard, different development strategies via different actors would include and reflect different intentions and objectives. Accordingly, this would reflect social, economic, political, ideological, cultural, ethical, moral, and religious influences.¹⁰⁶

It can be claimed that the power of the term “development” can be seductive in the imaginations and expectations of its bearers.¹⁰⁷ “Development project” is very

¹⁰³ Dhammika Herath, “The Discourse of Development: Has It Reached Maturity?” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 8, (2009), pp.1449.

¹⁰⁴ Robert B. Potter, “Theories, strategies and ideologies of development: An overview,” *The Companion to Development Studies*, edited by Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter, New York: Routledge, 2014, pp.137-138.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.141.

¹⁰⁷ McEwan, *Postcolonialism, Decoloniality and Development*, p.17.

critically and suspiciously questioned by postcolonial theory as postcolonial theorists consider the Eurocentric discourse as dominant, universalizing, and arrogant.

*In particular, the extent to which Northern 'development' agendas have assumed that they alone can define and solve development 'problems' is seen as profoundly problematic. Vigorous environmental and aboriginal politics have also emerged to critique western modernity and its fixation on progress through industrialization.*¹⁰⁸

General view about the origins of the concept “development” is that it’s an outcome of post-war era, besides the emergences of two superpowers, anticolonial movements and decolonization in a wider area on the Earth. As a global project and academic area of research, development become an important phenomenon after the Second World war, but it should be kept in mind that it had its roots in the late colonial period.¹⁰⁹

The idea of “improvement” within the colonization process of European powers, was to make more efficient and orderly use of lands. In this regard, development of infrastructure was crucial to achieve the efficiency in land use and linking it to European trade. European markets needed new products and European industry needed raw materials, besides the continuous need for new markets for the products. Development policies became increasingly important for ensuring the European trade with the newly independent states and making these new independent states secure and stable in order not to negatively affect the European market. Moreover, development projections included a hope for stabilizing the colonial populations through making up an indigenous middle class which would invest in the colonial state to alleviate the growing local tensions amid the era of economic downturn. Thus, colonial trusteeship

¹⁰⁸ McEwan, *Postcolonialism, Decoloniality and Development*, p.37.

¹⁰⁹ Ruth Craggs, “Development in a Global-Historical Context” in *The Companion to Development Studies*, edited by Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter, London and New York: Routledge, 2014, p.33.

re-emerged in the form of international aid and development programs for the Third World countries.¹¹⁰

Belief in modernism became a major prospect of development projects during the late colonial period. It was a part of imagination and implementation of a linear progress states towards a developed, modern – which meant Western at the same time - society and economy.¹¹¹ This discourse of development as modernization strongly tied with advancing in science and technology in the improvement of agriculture, industry, and healthcare and in the struggle against poverty and disease. Accordingly, construction and housing projects during the late colonial period also reflected this notion of modernization with new scientific construction techniques, new materials like concrete and modernist architectural design attitude.¹¹²

The imagined process of colonial development was as a rational modernization originated in Europe and implemented across colonies. However, the reality dissociated from this imagination. The implementation of these projects was influenced by the unique contexts of colonial territories together with adapting and including local practices and knowledge. Thus, development discourse and practices were shaped through ongoing negotiations within the colonial system.¹¹³

As already indicated, the legacies of late colonialism shaped ideology and practice of postcolonial development projects. Previously state-led development processes turned out to be postcolonial planning and policies of new independent states. Those postcolonial projects that established by state administration were mainly concentrated in areas of health, housing, industrial development and energy infrastructure. Suchwise the re-arrangement of the employment of former colonial commissioners into the officers or advisors of development project implementations were in the areas of agriculture, technical development and area management. Newly independent states

¹¹⁰ Craggs, p.35.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid., p.37.

were the employers of those professionals. The older colony officers become the majority of the personnel employed in the international organizations after World War II, such as the World Health Organization, the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, the Commonwealth Development Corporation. There were also government departments of former colonial powers like Ministry of Overseas Development to become integral to these processes. Those actors were also interpenetrated into the universities which started to launch development studies departments and contributed to the formation of development as an academic discipline after the Second World War.¹¹⁴

*Like the USSR, the USA was a power representing an ideology, which most Americans sincerely believed to be the model for the world. Unlike the USSR, the USA was a democracy. Unfortunately, it must be said that the second of these was probably the more dangerous.*¹¹⁵

In this regard, in the post-war era, “American planners had very ambitious and sophisticated ideas about organizing the entire world, and they carried out many of those ideas.”¹¹⁶ Chomsky interprets this self-confidence as a reflection of the shift in power in the cultural sphere and in the universities, as previously the public opinion was under the shadow of the sense of inferiority when compared to the European cultural arena. The United States had a culturally subordinate position in the relationship with Europe. “If you were an American artist or a writer, you would go to Paris; if you were a mathematician or a physicist, you would go to Germany; if you were a philosopher, you would go to England; and so on. The United States was thought of as a cultural backwater, somewhat like the Midwest is regarded by

¹¹⁴ Craggs, p.38.

¹¹⁵ Hobsbawm, p.234.

¹¹⁶ Chomsky, p.171.

Easterners now.”¹¹⁷ The war alternated this position which also strengthened by the émigré European scholars, scientists and intellectuals who were threatened by the Nazis and their allies in Europe. This enabled the emergence of the motto “the American way” with the attitude “that we will do this ourselves and then we will tell them, including the British... This arrogance became tied up with what was called anticommunism, which also had a strong jingoistic element.”¹¹⁸

2.1.2. Internationalization of Knowledge and Institutionalization of the American University

As a Cold War matter of conflict, the intentions and relatedly interventions of both the United States and the Soviet Union to the newly independent countries realized by development projects in the spheres of agriculture, industry, health, and science. Most relatedly, all those areas needed the key notions which are knowledge and education. Within these efforts to have more influence on the international politics, the contest between two superpowers came into existence in the form of many euphemisms such as “the ideological offensive,” “psychological warfare,” “political warfare,” “low-intensity warfare,” “special warfare,” “the minds race,” “nation building.”¹¹⁹ In this regard, the creation of local staff or “civil mandarins”¹²⁰ to administer those efforts become a critical task for both the two poles of generators of development programs. As each superpower had its own know-how, and their modes of production triggered different forms in the establishment of industrialization and development, their implementation on the local sites are also differed and had different tactics. In this

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p.172.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p.175.

¹¹⁹ Christopher Simpson, “Universities, Empire, and the Production of Knowledge: An Introduction,” *Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in The Social Sciences During the Cold War*, edited by Christopher Simpson, New York: The New Press, 1998, p.xvi.

¹²⁰ “Decision making elites.” Simpson, p.xiv.

manner combining “the techniques and insights of the social sciences (intelligence on demographic and cultural trends, public opinion data, media manipulation, and so on) with advanced engineering (in command and control, weapons, transport, and so on) to manage, defuse or in some cases obliterate local challenges to superpower influence” become central to the efforts of the superpowers¹²¹

It was one of the consequences of World War II that higher education became at the very center of interest. The higher education gradually expanded and provided opportunity to the greater numbers to access which meant a democratization in university education. Many new universities were established throughout the world during the post-war era. Besides the nation state building and urge for economic development of the new independent states, it was also the nationalisms or the national interests of new superpowers to institutionalize and internationalize higher education.

Indeed, this rising interest in higher education had deep roots in the past. The themes that the post-war American university was reshaped around, gained tractions between 1910s and 1930s. However, Ross signifies that before World War II the university had been one of the most resistant to change among all the social institutions; in this respect the university was compared to church as both were not flexible, having their own traditions and rituals, and consolidated by influential group of leaders in the faculty and clergy. Both shared the aspect of “other-worldliness.”¹²²

The fundamental aspect of American research university, before its drastic post-war transformation, was scientific research, orienting the academic staff to research and study “truth.” Thus, it was peripheral to the national political economy of the USA. In this regard the university was preserving its autonomy from the private industry and commerce, unlike the mere technical institute.¹²³

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Murray G. Ross, “Conclusion: Some Reflections on New Universities,” *New Universities in the Modern World*, edited by Murray G. Ross, London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1966. p.170.

¹²³ Schrum, *The Instrumental University Education in Service of the National Agenda After World War II*, p.4.

Knowledge considered as the most important factor in economic growth besides the potential of higher education to be instrumental for social needs and technical progress. Thus, the making of the modern American University was generated by the patronage relations of American modernity. In this process, presidents of the American universities were pioneers to meet the rising demands of US interests of political economy, besides the encouragement of the patrons of the economy. The rapid and dramatic change and growth of the US economy and its dominance over the world capitalist system created demand for practical knowledge for its growth. It was the way how and why US universities transform to project-based research centers funded by non-university patrons.

The post-war American university transformed to generate the social and economic growth and rising international interests of the US capital, within and without its national boundaries. Modern American university is regarded as being “instrumental” to satisfy the purposes of external multiple constituencies such as government, industry, and foundations, and reidentified as “multiversity” by some scholars because “it engaged in a spectacular array of activities with little cohesion and no unifying philosophy”¹²⁴ However Schrum insists to call “instrumental university” and explains the role of university in twentieth century US history as administering American modernity.

*With its emphasis on procedural rationality, organized research, and project-based funding by external patrons, the instrumental university would provide technical and managerial knowledge to shape the social order. Its leaders hoped that by solving the nation’s pressing social problems and stimulating economic growth, the research university would become the essential institution of postwar America.*¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Schrum, p.1.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p.2.

In this regard, postwar American university become instrumental in the shaping of social order by prioritizing rational and practical knowledge and encouraging the academic staff for taking part in the special research projects funded by external patrons, besides the educational duties. The departments like business, engineering, city planning, and public administration gained importance. University become to be regarded as a tool for the solutions of social problems. In this context combining progressive thought with technocracy, four main ideals become to foreground which are industrial relations, city planning, economic development and administration.¹²⁶

Along with this transformation of older universities, the postwar era witnessed a flourishing of new universities with the construction of integrated campuses in huge numbers throughout the world. Just between 1961 and 1970 more than a hundred new universities were established, making the 1960s a remarkable decade of public investment in higher education.¹²⁷

It is a distinctive place in history that the universities established during the 1960s prompted a closer examination and comparative analysis on a global scale. These institutions are integral to the broader “moment of modernity” associated with the 1960s, when diverse national cultures cast off historical burdens. Rarely has there been such widespread experimentation in shaping the physical appearance of universities, defining their educational content, and determining their governance structures.¹²⁸

*And perhaps at no other time than in the 1960s have the universities shaped wider political and social developments both overtly as in the protest movements that dominated the decade, and more incrementally as laboratories of changing lifestyles and attitudes.*¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.3.

¹²⁷ Taylor and Pellew, p.1.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.2.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

The new universities of the USA continued the traditional purposes of the universities like the acquisition and transmission of knowledge along with the democratization of universities through enabling the access as being public institutions. As scholars noted as early as the 1960s: “The tradition of the university is to seek scholars for its faculty; to press for scholarly study, research, and publication; and to insist on teaching by informed and speculative minds.”¹³⁰ However the new universities of the postwar era differed the traditional features of the universities in their appearance, form, function, and perhaps the very character, of the university of the future.¹³¹

*But most of the universities begun in the last decade, either because of the deep-felt need they seemed to meet or because of the benefits they appeared to promise, have stirred a wide interest and a sense of proprietorship in the communities in which they were established. The result is that these universities are in the public domain, not simply as public institutions, but as community projects about which public discussion of all aspects of the development seem appropriate. The new university is a highly respected institution in all communities and it would be callous to suggest that it is regarded by the public as a new power project or public hospital; yet it is created with public funds to meet a specific public need, and taxpayers and government officials are naturally concerned to see that it meets this need promptly and efficiently.*¹³²

The tendency or better to say the pressure of business on the university to get closer to each other, gave the university the mission to be an economic engine responsible for “innovation.” The re-institutionalizing of the university, in this context, resulted in involvement of capitalistic and managerial tendencies within the university, and

¹³⁰ Ross, p.171.

¹³¹ Ibid., p.172.

¹³² Ibid.

marginalizing some funding ideals of American research University. Losing some of the ideals what made it special, American postwar university become more likely to be involved in the economy-political paradigms of the time, rather than setting part from those currents and preserving its autonomy.¹³³

The making of the instrumental university constructed the specific research centers which would have the mission to concentrate on specific topics of research in order to promote economic development and coordinate research accordingly to solve social problems. The instrumental products of this transformation became the organized research units.¹³⁴ Giving a break to the pre-war university research which had been independent and organized around professors' interests, the new organized research units were the results of increasing influences of patrons over the university research.¹³⁵ Thus, these organized research units became the key instruments where the patrons could use to have the scientific knowledge on their problem of interests. University's becoming instrumental in the need of funders and patrons, thus thrived on their research units with complex networks and relations of the actors including the researchers. This time not the university but these units become "autonomous" as they were disconnected from departments and teaching program which are the core of the university.¹³⁶

*For a time, there seemed to be plenty of money to go around. Funds for 'Centers for...' and 'Institutes on...' interdisciplinary projects flowed from the network of foundations well known to every academic of the era: the Ford Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, the various Rockefeller brothers funds, the Social Science Research Council, and so on...*¹³⁷

¹³³ Schrum, p.3.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.4.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.5.

¹³⁷ Simpson, p.xviii.

In this context, the funding of the university research was tied to the Cold War strategy of US capital. Redesign of the engineering departments according to the needs of US defense industry was quite related with “military-industrial complex” which was addressed by the US president of time, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his farewell speech in 1961, indicating the importance of defense industry to the military capacity of the country. Some scholars extend this term as “the Military-Intellectual Complex” or “Military-Industrial-Academic Complex” in order to express the Cold War integration of the social sciences to the needs of US international security and interests, and the Cold War’s reshaping of postwar American Universities.¹³⁸

It is clear that American foundations consciously helped to construct US international hegemony after 1945 through international knowledge networks that aimed to foster a pro-US environment of values, methods and research institutions across a range of fields and academic disciplines. Such international networks were modelled on previous foundation initiatives within the United States itself, from the 1920s to the 1940s, resulting in the effective intellectual hegemony of ‘liberal internationalism’, of empirical scientific research methods, and of policy-oriented studies (mostly under the banner of ‘realism’ or ‘realistic’ research, designed to be of practical utility to policymakers). Such domestic hegemony constructed a key basis of America’s rise to globalism, which after 1945, required a continuing and enhanced foundation role, especially with the onset of the Cold War.¹³⁹

Besides the foundations, the largest parts of the funds for large research projects in the social sciences were funded by military, intelligence and propaganda agencies in the United States, during the Cold War period. As the funding was designed to support the

¹³⁸ David Engerman, “Rethinking Col War Universities: Some Recent Histories,” *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol.5, No.3 (Summer 203), p.80.

¹³⁹ Inderjeet Parmar, “American Foundations and The Development of International Knowledge Network,” *Global Networks* 2, 1 (2002), p.13.

full range of national security projects of the day, there have become “reference groups” which had great influence over scholarly societies such as foundation grant committees, journal referee groups which also created power relations and pressure groups in the academia. Thus, “The interweaving of social scientists with the national security apparatus was at least as pervasive and suffocating in the USSR as in the United States.”¹⁴⁰

The involvement of security agencies played a decisive role in shaping the “scientific” progress of academic disciplines. Specifically, these agencies influenced the establishment of institutions, creation of foundational texts, development of methodologies, and accumulation of knowledge that form the core of academic enterprise. This impact was the most prominent in interdisciplinary fields that emerged after World War II, such as development studies, area studies, communication research, and operations research.¹⁴¹

Actually, this transformation also become an apparatus to American superiority’s enterprising moves around the world. Taking American modernity as a model, to integrate the world market to American capital, the new leader of world capitalism saw the opportunity to “design & built” the devastated European countries and newly independent states through the integration and internationalization of the universities. It was within this perspective that Parmar defines “the international knowledge networks” as a system of coordinated research, disseminated and published results, study and often graduate-level teaching, intellectual exchange, and financing, across national boundaries.¹⁴² Alongside the professionals of teaching and education, the network of this system also included the actors of official policymaking, international aid and national funds or international agencies and organizations.

So that the interrelation between the triumph of contemporary forms of global capitalism led by the US and the university-based research projects and development

¹⁴⁰ Simpson, p.xi.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Parmar, p.13.

studies presented itself as the catalyst of modernization to developing world. In this way the markets, resources, and geo-strategic locations, where the US capitalism had interest, became integrated to the capitalist system.¹⁴³

In this regard, two sides of the “military-intellectual complex” in the sphere of ideological offensives shaped around the interdisciplinary development studies programs and area studies centers.

The former attempted to deduce rules for introduction of capitalist modernity as a general phenomenon; the later focused on the exploration and management of challenges within particular geographic or cultural groups viewed as special problems. Thus, Russian and Soviet studies emerged as the first full scale area studies programs in the U.S. (founded at Harvard, Columbia, and MIT and underwritten largely by the U.S. Air Force, the CIA, and cooperative foundations), followed by Asian studies and Middle Eastern studies. In time these new disciplines were joined by country- and culture-specific specialties, which attempted to sort out the gross, and in many respects misleading, divisions that had been created by dividing the world up into these “areas” in the first place. MIT’s well-known experiment, the Center for International Studies, emerged early on as an archetypal attempt to institutionalize development, international communication and operations research, area-specific programs, and several forms of police and counterinsurgency consulting into a de facto social science service bureau for U.S. security agencies and for the foreign regimes that happened to be in favor at the moment.¹⁴⁴

As already discussed, the American research universities believed that their international efforts would be effective in the implementation of modernization in the developing countries, the three major patrons of the funds and the influence (with their

¹⁴³ Simpson, p.xiv.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

different bodies or commissions) were the US government, the United Nations, and foundations (especially the Ford Foundation).¹⁴⁵

Schrum notes that the president of University of Pennsylvania of the late 1950s, Gaylord P. Harnwell, had a five years world trip to Asia and Africa, including the countries: Soviet Union, Japan, Iran, Pakistan, Kenya and Uganda, and asks the question: “What business did the president of an American university have in Africa?” The answer is the rapid decolonization and nation building in Africa which created a need for higher education institutes. “He thus believed that in order to maintain his stature among university presidents, he needed to be at the forefront of American efforts to assist in creating African universities.”¹⁴⁶ He was one of the pioneers of US University presidents many of whom made such trips and who would create a new educational internationalism during the postwar era.

*My argument about universities’ overseas institution building opens at least three new vistas for understanding postwar US development and modernization programs. Each vista highlights the prominence of institutions in the thought of development policymakers and theorists. They believed that universities as institutions were essential delivery mechanisms for development, that public administration was critical for bringing American-style modernity to developing countries, and—especially by the late 1950s—that institutions were central to the development process because of their role in adapting Western technologies to non-Western cultures.*¹⁴⁷

The postwar history of US projections for international technical assistance started during the presidency of Harry S. Truman in 1949 when he announced it as “a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress

¹⁴⁵ Schrum, p.127.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p.126.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p.127.

available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.”¹⁴⁸ In this way the American University’s institution-building abroad was launched. Besides to fight with “hunger, misery and despair” those attempts also intended to prevent the spread of “communism” into the southern half of the globe. Thus, it meant turning out the American Universities to be influential diplomatic actors during the Cold War.¹⁴⁹

During the early 1950s, the United States government initiated a contract program with American universities for international projects. This program served as a fundamental cornerstone for various activities and experienced rapid growth. In 1953 the number of technical cooperation agreements between the United States and developing countries was thirty-five and this number increased every year even by direct university contract with host countries universities¹⁵⁰ or inter-government agreements or UN’s organizations.¹⁵¹

By September 30, 1957, the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) had established eighty-three contracts with fifty-six American universities across thirty-nine countries, with a cumulative value of \$60 million over the contracts’ multiyear duration. The program spanned regions including Central and South America, Africa, the Middle East, South and East Asia, and even Western Europe. Notably, India and Pakistan held the highest number of contracts, with ten and six, respectively.¹⁵²

The United States Agency for International Development (AID) program’s university contracts for overseas institution building reached their zenith in the mid-1960s. Subsequently, the number of contracts gradually decreased: from 123 contracts

¹⁴⁸ Schrum, p.129.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.130.

¹⁵⁰ Inter-College Exchange (ICX) Project or the Inter-College Contract Program

¹⁵¹ Among the countries which had US university contracts, it was Pakistan that hosted the largest number of American university projects. In addition, the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Southern California become prominent in being most actively engaging in the governmental overseas contracts as the private research institutes. Schrum, p.129.

¹⁵² Ibid., p.134.

operational in late 1966 (totaling \$199 million over their lifetime) to 105 contracts worth \$189 million by mid-1970. The decline continued more rapidly, resulting in 62 contracts valued at \$102 million by mid-1973 and 47 contracts by mid-1974. Importantly, this reduction did not signify diminished reliance on universities by AID program; rather, it reflected a shift in approach, as Aid program introduced alternative forms of grants and contracts. In fact, the total number of universities receiving funds for all projects of AID program which is not limited to overseas institution building increased from 72 in December 1963 to 134 in June 1974.¹⁵³

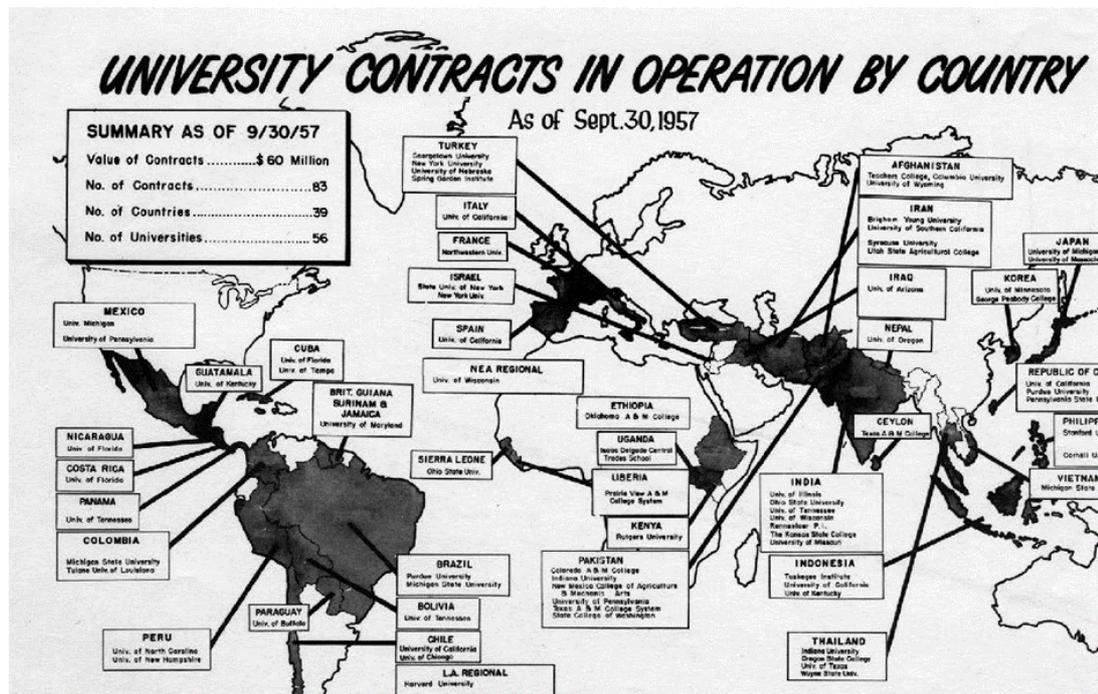


Figure 2.3. Map shows the international contracts of US Universities in operation as of 1957

(Schrum, p.135.)

Concurrent with the international institution building of the American universities, landscape architecture become an important feature in the homeland. A crucial aspect of the American university become its physical structure, specifically how its campus is integrated into the landscape and interacts with and transforms the surrounding community. While today these interrelationships fall under the purview of landscape

¹⁵³ Ibid., p.162.

architects, they have existed since the founding of the first American schools, long before landscape architecture became a profession. The physical form of the American university campus has developed from its own unique needs and setting, making it both a part of the larger community and “a community in itself.” This evolution has occurred in tandem with changes in its landscape and environment.¹⁵⁴

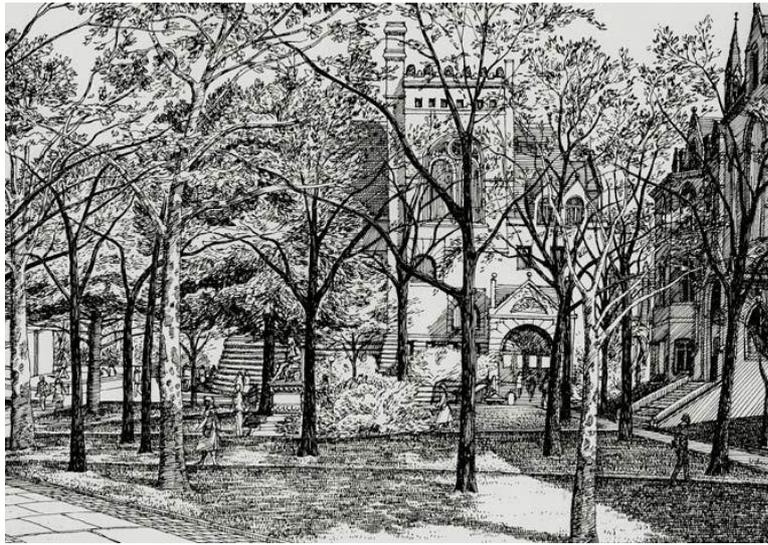


Figure 2.4. Blanche Levy Park. Proposed redesign of College Hall Green from the 1976, Landscape Architecture Master Plan for the University of Pennsylvania (Olin, p.3)



Figure 2.5. “The Collegiate-Gothic towers and a Beaux Arts dome of Yale University.” (Olin, p.6)

¹⁵⁴ Laurie Olin, “The Campus: An American Landscape” *SiteLINES: A Journal of Place*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring 2013), p.3.

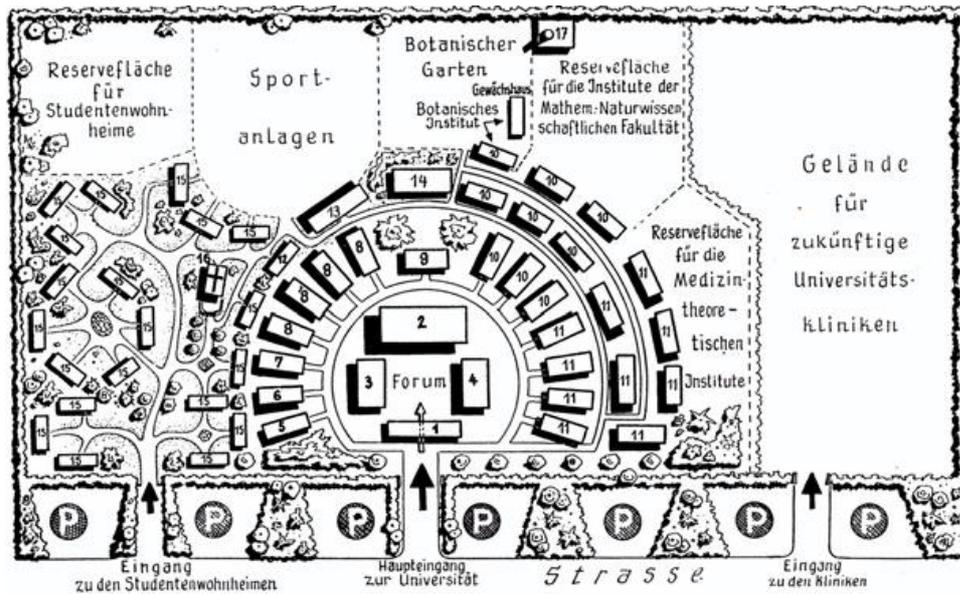


Figure 2.6. Hans Werner Rothe's ideal campus (1961).

... Evoking both the ideal of the American liberal arts college, as well as the unified design of early twentieth-century town-planning, Hans Werner Rothe's vision for a new campus at Bremen was typical of blueprints for the new universities of the era.

(Jill Pellew, p.240.)

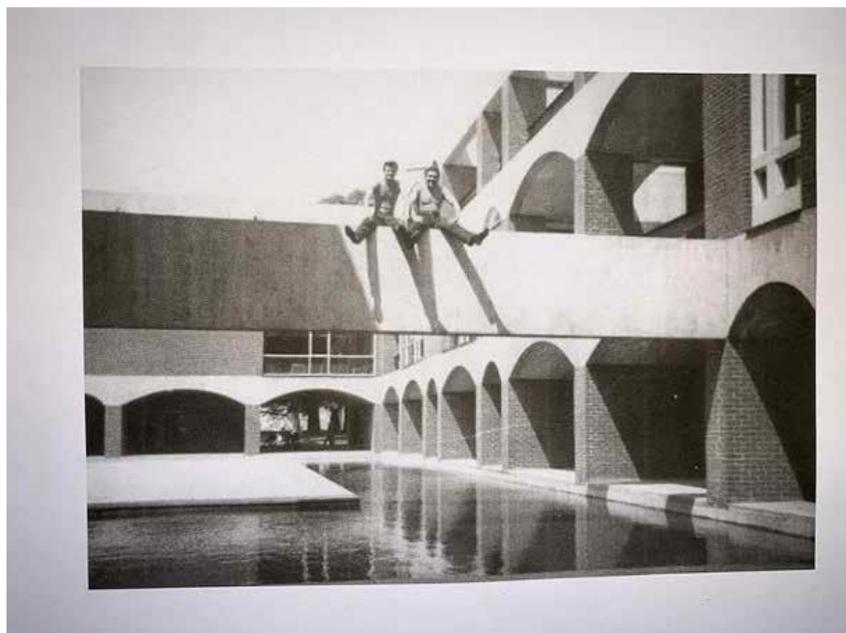


Figure 2.7. University of Sussex, c. 1963

(© Yves Fedida. Jill Pellew, p.240.)



Figure 2.8. University of Zambia campus
(© Dr Ruth Craggs. Jill Pellew, p.240.)

2.1.3. The University in the Soviet Union and Internationalization of Socialist Education

A 1963 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) document prepared by Soviet scholars to the volume of UNESCO's "World Survey of Education," demonstrates the Soviet higher education's¹⁵⁵ close connection with the national economy reflecting the process taking place in it. Higher education in the Soviet Union was closely intertwined with science policies, political economy and the needs of industrialization besides mechanization in the agriculture. The planned economy and the central state organization created its counterpart in higher education. In this way the Soviet Union regarded higher education as a social answer to the need

¹⁵⁵ Kuraev's portrayal as "Russian academic system during a particular time period of Soviet state organization" expresses the basis and the structure of Soviet academia however leaves dots in case of academia in non-Russian Soviet Republics.

Alex Kuraev, "Soviet Higher Education: An Alternative Construct to the Western University Paradigm," *Higher Education*, Vol.71. No.2 (February 2016), pp.181-193.

of raising specialists on every sector of the economy and need of the society, and future barriers of industry, science, culture and education.¹⁵⁶

In fact, the Soviet higher education developed following the development of Soviet socialism in the Union. In the revolutionary years there were only five universities that remained from the late tsarist Russia. Soviet academia, from the very beginning, was structured by the development of economy-politics in the Soviet Union. Moreover, even before the revolution, academia was one of the constituents of the revolutionary powers. Intellectuals, students, women, all members of the academia in the tsarist Russia become active in political opposition. Academic staff was demanding freedom from the tsarist autocracy, students were supporting the radical movements and women were claiming the right for accessing higher education besides other equality demands.¹⁵⁷

*As a national structure aimed at providing mass higher education to its own citizenry, Russian academe developed only in the Soviet period It was intended to become not only the best, but also the only academic system in the world, following the progress of the world revolution.*¹⁵⁸

Reminding the European medieval paradigm, which was the roots of Western higher education institutions, as “Autonomos Liberum Universitas,” Kuraev expresses the three major features of western academic institutions as “autonomy, liberal knowledge and universality” and reminds the fact that Soviet higher education lacked in terms of the first two.¹⁵⁹ Starting from the first Russian institutions during the tsarist era, Soviet

¹⁵⁶ M. A. Prokofiev, “The Soviet Higher School,” in *Higher Education in the USSR*, M. A. Prokofiev, M. G. Chilikin, S. I. Tulpanov, Paris: UNESCO, 1961, p.5.

¹⁵⁷ Kuraev, p.183.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p.9.

higher education had been governed by common authority and had the same structure, besides a unified curricula.¹⁶⁰

In virtue of state support and huge public investment, Soviet higher education became one of the fastest growing academia in the world in terms of quantity and institutionalizing. Despite its marginal global status at the beginning of the century, Russian and subsequently Soviet higher education witnessed a fascinating evolution due to the egalitarian politics of the Soviet government whose post-revolutionary decisions made the Soviet academia accessible for all, especially the dispossessed people of the older regime. Thus, involvement of women in every age, youth from peasants, working classes and ethnic groups from very different origins and from different republics and regions made the Soviet higher education one of the largest and most all-encompassing systems for higher education and research during the postwar era.¹⁶¹

*The higher school system received from the State everything necessary for its development. The State bears all the expenses involved in the construction of buildings, their provision with equipment, payment of salaries to professors and instructors, maintenance of students, and many other expenses, appropriating large sums from the budget for these purposes. Thus in 1959, 94,500 million roubles have been allotted for the needs of general and higher education. Let us note for the sake of comparison that appropriations for State administration expenses amount to 11,500 million roubles. This means that the Soviet Union is spending approximately 8.5 times as much for education as for State administration.*¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Kuraev, p.184.

¹⁶¹ Mark S. Johnson, "Historical Legacies of Soviet Higher Education and the Transformation of Higher Education Systems in Post-Soviet Russia and Eurasia," *The Worldwide Transformation of Higher Education, International Perspectives on Education and Society*, Volume 9, (2008) p.162.

¹⁶² Prokofiev, p.6.

Actually, substantial investment on higher education and science policy of the Soviet leadership had a significant impact on the integration of Soviet higher education to the planned economy and rapid technological development. Making the professional training and research accessible to the masses and directing it to the needs of Soviet modernization, also enabled great numbers of specialists to be involved in this rapid expansion of Soviet higher education and research.

In this way Soviet industrial modernization and technical development intertwined with the social development and urbanization in creation of modern and urban working class to whom the state service had the priority. Thus, many work opportunities and new professional careers were open for the Soviet society. Therefore, Soviet higher education and research not only advanced the socialist administration's economic and cultural aspirations but also provided a crucial source of legitimacy within a substantial and influential segment of the Soviet population.¹⁶³ This process became the main distinctive feature of Soviet type of social and economic development and modernization.

In this regard, the Soviet policy of rapid industrialization and collectivization of farms created a huge demand for engineers and mechanization in agriculture, resulting in raising the labor productivity in agriculture and opening new machinery factories. Development in science, education and public health services had been carefully considered by the higher education institutions, which were also rigorously integrated to Soviet planned economy.

Soviet scholars considered that Soviet higher education had a global superiority thanks to being free of charge, equally accessible, professionally focused, and state-owned in this way reflecting the communal needs of the Soviet society.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, practical outcomes of the Soviet investment on science and technology and research, which was well organized and reached an advanced level after the Second World War, gave its “products” in the Cold War competition with the USA, such as the creation of first

¹⁶³ Johnson, pp.162-163.

¹⁶⁴ Kuraev, p.182.

nuclear power station, the launch of the first satellite and the first person in space, etc.¹⁶⁵

In this context, a distinctive feature of the Soviet university education was close relationship between the educatory process and practical activities in the service of pragmatism of immediate state needs. Thus, vocational training of human resources become prominent in Soviet education policy. Prokofiev calls this phenomenon as “Ties with life are characteristic of the Soviet educational system since its very inception.”¹⁶⁶ In this respect, practical training was very crucial in Soviet higher education, categorically, which was a simplistic form of polytechnic education which was developed in Europe at the time.¹⁶⁷ In this regard all senior students were supposed to go for practical work for a certain period of time, which may extend up to one year in industrial facilities, in agricultural farms, scientific or research establishments or schools depending on the students’ specialty. Within this particular traineeship duration, interns had the opportunity to practice their theoretical knowledge and abilities while gaining practical experience along the way. During their practical training period, students receive wages commensurate with their assigned tasks, bearing full responsibility for their assigned tasks.¹⁶⁸

However, another point of view considers this vocational learning as an opportunity of millions of free laborers which could be used anywhere by local, regional or national authorities:

Students worked as "volunteers" at collective farms and as "practitioners" for industries or in research projects at academic institutions. Under the slogan

¹⁶⁵ Alexey Kuraev, “Internationalization of Higher Education in Russia: Collapse or Perpetuation of the Soviet System? A Historical and Conceptual Study,” Ph.D. Diss., Boston: Boston College, 2014, pp.6-9.

¹⁶⁶ Prokofiev, p.6.

¹⁶⁷ Kuraev, “Soviet Higher Education: An Alternative Construct to the Western University Paradigm,” p.184.

¹⁶⁸ Prokofiev, p.9.

of 'peoples' higher education,' the Soviet state, in fact, used students as a free labor force during their course of academic studies and could direct graduates to particular job places where 'specialists were needed in the interests of the state.' Every student was naturally understood as a future state employee, while graduation was not a personal event but a matter of nationwide distribution of professional manpower.¹⁶⁹

From the mid-1950s Soviet academia started to experience “a boom” of organizational transformations due to rapid technological advancements and its massive impact on industrial development throughout the world. The outcomes of scientific research made the Soviet leadership recognize the symbiotic relationship between academic development and military progress. Thus, computing for the superiority meant advancing in science with practical outcomes to be in the service of military and space industry. In this perspective many new higher education institutions were launched in the hundreds throughout the Soviet country. Research centers and laboratories became commonplace, dotting the academic landscape. Notably, the emergence of the scientific-research institutes network marked a modern development in the 1960s. In this way the transformation of Soviet academic institutions into collaborative centers enabled the creation of an integrated academic community where the students and researched had the synergy to contribute the advanced research.¹⁷⁰

Below are the statistics on the student numbers enrolled in Soviet higher institutions from the late tsarist era till the end of 1950s together with the number of higher education institutions in Soviet republics. In 1914 there were 127,000 students in Tsarist Russia, in 1940 their number in the USSR increased to 812,000, in 1950 to 1,247,000 and in 1959 to 2,150,000 ¹⁷¹:

¹⁶⁹ Kuraev, “Soviet Higher Education: An Alternative Construct to the Western University Paradigm,” p.185.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p.189.

¹⁷¹ Prokofiev, p.12.

| Year | Student Body, thousands |
|------|----------------------------|
| 1914 | 127.4 |
| 1940 | 811.7 |
| 1950 | 1,247.4 |
| 1959 | 2,150.0 |

Table 2.1. Growth of the student body in the Soviet Union
(Prokofiev, p.12.)

**Distribution of Higher Educational Establishments and
Enrolment by Republics**

| | Number of educational establishments 1958/59 | Number of students, thousands 1958/59 |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| USSR, total | | |
| of which : | 766 | 2,150.0 |
| Russian Federation | 443 | 1,308.1 |
| Ukrainian Republic | 140 | 385.5 |
| Byelorussian Republic | 25 | 58.3 |
| Uzbek Republic | 31 | 90.3 |
| Kazakh Republic | 27 | 75.7 |
| Georgian Republic | 19 | 45.5 |
| Azerbaijani Republic | 15 | 36.7 |
| Lithuanian Republic | 12 | 25.7 |
| Moddavian Republic | 8 | 19.1 |
| Latvian Republic | 9 | 20.8 |
| Kirghiz Republic | 9 | 17.6 |
| Tajik Republic | 7 | 18.5 |
| Armenian Republic | 11 | 20.7 |
| Turkmen Republic | 6 | 14.5 |
| Estonian Republic | 4 | 13.0 |

Table 2.2. Distribution of Higher Educational Establishments and Enrolment by
Soviet Republics
(Prokofiev, p.12.)

The “boom” of organizational transformation or the institutionalizing of the Soviet university also found its spatial equivalent in the campus form. Moscow State

University, marking the Lenin Hills, was constructed as a monument of the Soviet science and knowledge in socialist-realist architectural style of the period. The 32-storeyed main building of the university then become one of the symbols of the socialist capital along with the other six monuments which were started to be called as “Seven Sisters.” The founding decree of the Moscow State University named “On the construction of multi-storey buildings in Moscow”, was stating “... to build a 32-storey building on Lenin Hills in the center of the bend of the Moscow River, with a hotel and housing in it...”.¹⁷²



Figure 2.9. Moscow State University named after M. V. Lomonosov

(© Sergey Semenov <https://www.airpano.com/360article/moscow-state-university/>)

While the number of universities were increasing in the Soviet Union, the international role of socialist education also came into the agenda. University education is presumed to be “universal” by definition, as the search for “the truth” and scientific research in any academic discipline should be cross-borders since knowledge and its expansion is collective process of humankind. Similarly, Altbach underlines that higher education is international in scope since the issues that affect one country have implications in

¹⁷² “The Campus on Lenin Hills: yesterday, today, tomorrow,”

<https://msu.ru/en/info/gz-history.html>

others.¹⁷³ However, national borders, national policies and ideologies on education within the context of political economy in any country, “nationalize” higher education.

In this regard, “internationalism” in higher education mentions to the specific policies and initiatives of countries and individual academic institutions or systems to deal with global dynamics. Examples of internationalization span various activities, such as recruiting foreign students, fostering collaborations with academic counterparts in other countries, and establishing branch campuses overseas.¹⁷⁴ Thus internationalization as a process in higher education differs from internationalism as a phenomenon or ideal. Internationalization of higher education, in this context, can be defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education. Because it is crucial that a definition of “internationalization in higher education” should avoid specifying the rationales, benefits, outcomes, actors, activities, or stakeholders as these aspects differ between countries and Institutions. The key point is that the international dimension encompasses all aspects of education and the role that it plays in society.¹⁷⁵ Internationalization of higher education is tightly connected to world politics through modern history so that internationalization had varied motivations and different conceptual contexts over time.¹⁷⁶

Socialist education, or better to say education in any “socialist” country or territory, could be considered as internationalist as the working-classes’ struggle both needs and seeks for international unity. So how the internationalism of working class would be realized in education in socialist countries, or “real socialisms” in practice, should be

¹⁷³ Philip G. Altbach, “Academic Freedom: International Realities and Challenges,” *Higher Education*, Vol.41, No.1/2 (Jan. - Mar., 2001), Changing Academic Workplace: Comparative Perspectives, p.217.

¹⁷⁴ Altbach, p.6.

¹⁷⁵ Jane Knight, “Updating the Definition of Internationalization,” *International Higher Education*, Vol.33, No.6, (2003), p.2.

¹⁷⁶ Kuraev, “Internationalization of Higher Education in Russia: Collapse or Perpetuation of the Soviet System? A Historical and Conceptual Study, p.36.

under question. This is how the young Soviet Republic combined its revolutionary and experimental efforts with internationalist attempts in education. As already discussed, Soviet higher education had the institutional and academic possessions based on tsarist Russian foundations, however, starting from the revolutionary years, Soviet administration gave importance to both internationalist solidarity with other nations and internationalize the country's higher education with enabling access for students from other countries and inviting fellow professors to take part in the revolutionary process.

Soviet internationalism is coded together with Soviet anti-racism and the ideal of peoples' friendship, outcoming from the French Revolution's ideal of "fraternity." Emphasizing Soviet "structural anti-racism" was likely the most effective tool of cultural diplomacy, helping to appeal to global audiences and portray Russia as a tolerant nation. In this context, "structural racism," defined as a system where public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations, and other norms coherently work together to perpetuate racial inequity, involves unspoken interactions between institutions and policies that reinforce barriers to opportunities and racial inequalities. This historical feature of social systems, operating independently of individual or institutional will, also came into existence in the Soviet structural antiracism. By promoting structural antiracism, along with the collective will of the revolutionary times to dissolve social classes away and eliminate gender bias, the Soviet Union successfully projected a positive image internationally.¹⁷⁷

In fact, in political imaginations or visions of Soviet leadership there were never a monolithic policy towards both the internal and international issues on how the new Socialist Republic will construct itself act accordingly. In this respect, the conjunctural needs of the young Soviet administration was changed and transformed in every case or in every period with the dominant political powers or actors, as well as the needs of international working-class movement. During the revolutionary years in the Soviet

¹⁷⁷ Liana Kirillova, "Soviet Internationalism: Cultural Diplomacy in Latin America and Peoples' Friendship University," *Bulletin of Udmurt University. Sociology. Political Science. International Relations*, Vol:1, No:2, (2017), p.224.

Union solidarity with international working-class movement and the communist parties and the solidarity with the Soviet Union.

From the 1920s, the Soviet Union introduced the concept of “creating the Soviet New Man,” an ideal person free from ethnic, sexual and religious ties, uninterested in private property, and willing to participate in the construction of radiant communist future where collective culture and developed human virtues would be realized. This new Soviet identity was race-less, creating a favorable image of the country, especially appealing to those who felt discriminated against or economically disadvantaged. The Soviet Union’s anti-racist vision attracted many individuals from the formerly colonized countries, inspired by its antiracism message, to seek opportunities there.¹⁷⁸

Djagalov reminds that the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution brought the anti-colonial (or better to say anti-imperialist) internationalist tradition into the newly founded Soviet state’s actual policies towards “the East.” For the early Bolsheviks, particularly in the years right after 1917, the “East” was a significant focus, with high hopes for a “revolution in the East.” Unlike the cultural geography framed by Western Orientalists, this East represented a region of oppression that needed emancipation. In the first place, the Bolsheviks focused on the inner East, particularly the colonial territories of the former Russian Empire, such as the Caucasus and Central Asia. These regions were overseen by the Commissariat of Nationalities and were subject to the changing dynamics of Soviet nationalities policies.¹⁷⁹

Within this perspective, the Comintern – The Communist International (or the Third International) – founded the Communist University for Toilers of the East (KUTV) in 1921. KUTV was established specifically to train revolutionary cadres from the “East.” The university had branches in Tashkent, Irkutsk, and Baku, initially educating individuals from the Central Asian and Caucasian regions of the Soviet Union. By 1922, however, students from Iran, Korea, China, Japan, Algeria, and India had also

¹⁷⁸ Kirillova, p.224.

¹⁷⁹ Rossen Djagalov, “The Communist University for Toilers of the East (KUTV).” *Global South Studies: A Collective Publication with The Global South*, August, 2020, <https://globalsouthstudies.as.virginia.edu/key-moments/communist-university-toilers-east-kutv> Accessed on: 05.07.2024

enrolled. These students came to the Soviet Union to study Marxism-Leninism, historical materialism, the history of the Russian Communist Party, as well as mathematics, sciences, and philology.¹⁸⁰

KUTV was founded when the Russian Civil War was concluding. It had a dual mission which were to train local cadres for Soviet Central Asia, the Caucasus, and other non-Russian territories of the USSR, and to prepare communist revolutionaries for political work in the colonial world. This unique institution also housed the Research Institute for National and Colonial Problems which was an area-studies center affiliated with the Comintern. However, its main contribution to mid-twentieth-century anti-colonialism was its alumni. Most students who attended KUTV went on to engage in political struggles for independence led by communist parties across three continents, while a smaller number became notable figures in their national literatures.¹⁸¹

Situated in central Moscow, near what is now Pushkin Square, KUTV provided a unique education to its students. Instead of traditional majors, the over 1,000 students at any given time were divided into national and linguistic sections, with a primary division between the inner (Soviet) and outer (foreign) sections. The Chinese section, which expanded significantly in the 1920s due to high hopes for the Chinese Communist Party, became so prominent that it temporarily formed a separate university, the Sun Yatsen University for the Toilers of China (1925-1930).¹⁸²

KUTV's academic disciplines included historical materialism, political economy, the history of the revolutionary movement, and national and colonial problems. Advanced students often worked with other structures of the Commissariat for Nationalities or

¹⁸⁰ Abigail Judge Kret, "‘We Unite with Knowledge’ The Peoples’ Friendship University and Soviet Education for the Third World," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 33, No. 2, (2013), p.241.

¹⁸¹ Djagalov, 2020.

Turkish communist poet Nazım Hikmet was also a student of this university. See: James H. Meyer, "Children of the Trans-Empire: Nazım Hikmet and the First Generation of Turkish Students at Moscow’s Communist University of the East," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* Vol.5, No.2, *Yasak/Banned from Sultan Abdülhamid II to President Erdoğan*, (2018), pp.195-218.

¹⁸² Djagalov, 2020.

the Comintern. Graduation rates were low: some students, had minimal formal education; others left Moscow due to disillusionment with the university or the broader Soviet project; and many were reassigned by the Comintern or recalled by their national communist parties during their studies. Despite these challenges, KUTV's outer section educated over a dozen general secretaries of foreign communist parties, many of whom led the fight against European or Japanese colonialism. Several post-colonial country leaders and hundreds of martyrs for the cause, as well as casualties of Stalin's purges of the Comintern in the late 1930s, were among its alumni. Positioned at the forefront of the anti-colonial struggle, its graduates often ended up in prisons across Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Ho Chi Minh, who leded Vietnam's struggle for independence against the French colonialism and later US occupation, was also a student and a graduate of this university.¹⁸³



Figure 2.10. KUTV's main building (no longer in existence) on Pushkin Square. To the left of famous Isvestia (newspaper) building.

(Photo by I. N. Pano, Source: Djagalov)

¹⁸³ Djagalov, 2020.

Similarly, under the auspices of the Comintern, the Lenin International School was opened in order to give education to foreign revolutionaries. In the school the classes were organized in different languages as English, French, German and Russian. The prospective students were considered to be from Western and Central Europe. In early 1930s the school had expanded its instructions to include new classes for Spanish and Chinese speaking revolutionaries.¹⁸⁴

Alongside their studies in ideology, agitation and propaganda, the Soviet leadership put a strong emphasis on practical training. Certain students traveled across the Soviet Union to study local government, agriculture, and industry. Finalizing their study, they completed an internship at a ministry in Moscow.¹⁸⁵ The practical work was described by Murphy as:

*It was regarded as essential that the students should thoroughly understand how the Party directs the governmental and industrial apparatus of the State, understand the relations between the Party, the trade unions and the Government; the political direction of the peasantry and the petty bourgeois of the cities: the solution of the national problems, etc., and especially to utilise the experiences of the Russian Communist Party in organizing the work of the masses. Naturally everything in this direction has been of an experimental character, but it is undoubtedly a fact that as a result of these experiences, much has been learned by everybody-teachers and students alike.*¹⁸⁶

In effect, the Lenin International School was founded in order to “Bolshevize” the European communist parties. When the initial plans for the school were being

¹⁸⁴ Kret, p.240.

¹⁸⁵ Kret, pp.240-241.

¹⁸⁶ J. T. Murphy, “The First Year of the Lenin School,” *The Communist International*, Vol. iv, No. 14, (September 30th, 1927), p.267. <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/ci/vol-4/v04-n14-sep-30-1927-CI-grn-riaz.pdf> Accessed on: 05.07.2024.

discussed, the intention was to establish it as the highest Marxian educational institution for qualified Party workers, offering the most advanced courses of study.¹⁸⁷ After the second World War the school continued operations under the Communist Party of Soviet Union as the Comintern no longer existed.

It would be appropriate to remind that there were fifteen republics, more than twenty nations and more than a hundred peoples and ethnic groups registered in the Soviet Union according to the census of 1959. Unlike the United States, where people coming from different ethnic backgrounds were assimilated to the majority of the Anglo-Saxon culture, the Soviet Union tried to develop the ethnic cultural diversity with the help of education.¹⁸⁸ Thus, internationalism or peoples' friendship was also an interior feature in the Soviet Union. In this manner, education language and language education in the Soviet Union and in the socialist republics of the Union was also an important issue.

Before 1959, it was mandatory for all schools in the USSR to teach Russian, as well as the official language of the Republic where the student lived. In the schools of the Socialist Republic of Georgia, for example, all students had to learn both Georgian and Russian, regardless of the language used for other subjects. This policy ensured that all high school graduates had at least a basic knowledge of both the USSR's state language and the Republic's state language. Additionally, some Soviet curricula required the study of a foreign language (e.g., English or German), meaning that outside Russia, many students had to learn three languages: Russian, the Republic's official language, and a foreign language. Authorities of the local education in the republics were also expected to consider parents' preferences when deciding the primary language of instruction in schools. For example, Ukrainian children would typically attend Ukrainian-language schools, while Russian children would attend Russian-language schools available in all non-Russian republics.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the Soviet Union," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1, (Jun., 1964), p.78.

¹⁸⁹ Bilinsky, p.83.

On November 12, 1958, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR Council of Ministers issued guidelines for school reform legislation. Guideline 19 reaffirmed parents' right to choose whether their children would attend a school with Russian or another language of instruction. To reduce the burden of language study, the proposal allowed parents to decide whether their children should study Russian in a non-Russian-language school or study their native language in a Russian-language school. This approach was described as "a most democratic procedure."¹⁹⁰

On the other hand, Soviet higher education strived to maintain broad international contacts. Many of the Soviet universities and scientists, researchers and students took an active part in many different kinds of international unions, academic conferences, symposiums and meetings. National conferences in the Soviet Union also hosted international guests, and the Soviet Union hosted a number of international academic congresses as well. Exchange of the academic staff between the universities in Soviet Union and foreign universities was also making the academic environment cosmopolitan. Professors from Britain, United States, Norway, India, Romania, People's Republic of China, France, Japan and many others had given lectures in Soviet higher education establishments.¹⁹¹

Another aspect of the international contacts was the actions of Soviet Universities for conducting a regular and active exchange of scientific literature. For example, the library of the University of Moscow, was regularly exchanging publications with 270 universities and other scientific institutions of 54 countries at the end of 1950s.¹⁹²

Another important feature on the internationalization of Soviet higher education was an unprecedented change of higher education in the eight socialist east and central European countries which were liberated from the Nazi occupation. "Sovietization" of higher education in these Eastern Bloc countries was through the transformation of

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Prokofiev, p.10.

¹⁹² Ibid.

their national academic systems following their adaptation of Soviet political system and governmental structure. Actually, this process had done in the parts of Asia by the late 1940s. By the 1950s, the Soviet model of higher education had been implemented across a vast region stretching from Eastern Germany to Korea.¹⁹³ In this regard, Soviet academic system could be regarded as internationalized, having Moscow in the center of the territorial network of socialist republics and people's democracies apart from the world capitalist system.

The most significant aspect of the internationalization of higher education, student exchange, was facilitated through reciprocal agreements between the Soviet Union and various states. Some of these agreements stipulated that students would be trained in the USSR, with the respective countries covering the expenses. The living conditions for these students were also defined by these agreements. As a result, Soviet universities and colleges hosted several thousand foreign students, training in a wide range of specialties.

Additionally, some international organizations offered scholarships for study in Soviet higher educational institutions. These organizations included the United Nations Trusteeship Council, the International Union of Students, and the International Atomic Energy Agency, etc. Scholarships were awarded based on the decisions of these organizations.

In the 1958-1959 academic year, students from forty-seven countries studied at Soviet universities and colleges. Considering that the Soviet student body included students from all the peoples of the USSR, this highlights the vast diversity of nationalities and cultures in Soviet higher education.

Soviet university students eagerly travelled to other countries to study. The Soviet higher education system followed a policy of extending international contacts based

¹⁹³ Alexey Kuraev, "Internationalization of Higher Education in Russia: Collapse or Perpetuation of the Soviet System? A Historical and Conceptual Study," Ph.D. Diss., Boston: Boston College, 2014, p.8.

on reciprocity, aiming to develop science and education “for the benefit of humanity” and “in the name of world peace.”¹⁹⁴

*Soviet higher education has entered a period of intensive development, strengthening its ties with practical life and improving its work. Humanity stands on the brink of remarkable discoveries. Soon, humans will conquer outer space, and the era of nuclear power will begin. By understanding the laws of nature, we will learn to better harness solar energy. Society will achieve greater organization, free from exploitation, allowing people’s talents to fully flourish. Higher education, dedicated to noble goals such as the advancement of science and the nurturing of young scientists, will continue to develop.*¹⁹⁵

List of countries with which Soviet universities and colleges exchange students on the basis of agreements :

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. People's Republic of Albania | 9. Polish People's Republic |
| 2. People's Republic of Bulgaria | 10. Rumanian People's Republic |
| 3. Hungarian People's Republic | 11. Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia |
| 4. Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam | 12. United Kingdom |
| 5. German Democratic Republic | 13. Iraq |
| 6. People's Republic of China | 14. United Arab Republic |
| 7. Korean People's Democratic Republic | 15. United States of America |
| 8. Mongolian People's Republic | 16. France |

List of international organizations which have scholarships in Soviet universities and colleges :

1. United Nations Trusteeship Council - for citizens of trust and non-self-governing territories - 10 scholarships.
2. International Union of Students - 25 scholarships.
3. International Atomic Energy Agency - 25 scholarships.

Table 2.3. International Ties of Soviet Higher School as of 1959
(Prokofiev, p.15)

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

Moreover, not only the Soviet Union but also other socialist countries and people's democracies had attempts to internationalize socialist education. A few unconventional initiatives, ideologically inspired institutions, and methods that highlighted socialist modernity provided solutions to urgent problems, served as flagships of internationalist solidarity, and led the socialist world's cultural struggle for the Third World. These included the successful Cuban literacy campaign, authoritative Soviet educational planning, and institutions such as the workers' faculties that spread from the USSR and East Germany to Vietnam and Mozambique. Additionally, there were boarding schools for Third World students on Cuba's Isla de la Juventud and the vocational School of Friendship in Stassfurt, East Germany, which trained 900 Mozambicans. Another Eastern European socialist initiative in higher education for Third World students was the University of the 17th of November, founded in Prague in 1961 to emulate UDN. However, the Czechoslovakian administration closed the school in 1974 after a disappointing cost-benefit analysis and a reevaluation of their Third World policy.¹⁹⁶

2.2. Founding the Peoples' Friendship University

2.2.1. Cold War Soviet Politics and Cultural Diplomacy

"Cultural diplomacy," according to Liana Krillova, stands for the manipulation of cultural matters and personnel for propaganda purposes.¹⁹⁷ At the heart of this affair in the Soviet Union stood the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign

¹⁹⁶ Kret, pp.283-284.

¹⁹⁷ Liana Kirillova, "Soviet Internationalism: Cultural Diplomacy in Latin America and Peoples' Friendship University," *Bulletin of Udmurt University. Sociology. Political Science. International Relations*, Vol:1, No:2, (2017), pp.221–2.

Countries (VOKS). It defined its mission as cultivating the “bourgeois intelligentsia” and focusing on “culture” in Soviet dealings with the outside world.¹⁹⁸

Many intellectuals were inspired by the cultural opportunities offered in the Soviet Union and proclaimed a concrete support against the isolation of the new revolutionary country. Stern indicates that the reason for attraction of Western intellectuals to the Soviet Union had the historical roots of French Revolution: *liberté, egalite, fraternité*. At the one side there was a hopeless situation of early twentieth century which witnessed the Great Depression, the rise of fascism and the threat of war, at the other side “the Soviet Union had already given the world avant-garde in film by Eisenstein, theatre by Meyerhold and literature by Mayakovsky, and had realized the town-planning and design dreams of Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus.”¹⁹⁹

During the inter-war period, there were significant cultural and intellectual exchanges between the Soviet Union and Western countries. These interactions played a pivotal role in the flourishing of Soviet cultural diplomacy during what is widely regarded as its most successful era.²⁰⁰

David Caute describes the Western intellectuals who were inspired and attracted by the revolutionary countries as Western fellow-travelers. “Far from being anti-rationalist, anti-urban, anti-Western, and in love with the peasantry, they were on the contrary true sons and daughters of the Enlightenment, of the doctrine of progress.”²⁰¹ According to the Caute fellow-travelling involves commitment at a distance which is not only geographical but also emotional and intellectual. However, Paul Hollander prefers to use the term “political pilgrims” rather than “fellow-travelers.” He agrees that there is a similarity between the concept of the political pilgrim and that of the

¹⁹⁸ Michael David-Fox, Michael, *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921-1941*, Oxford University Press, Year: 2011, p.5.

¹⁹⁹ Ludmila Stern, *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union, 1920-40 From Red Square to the Left Bank*, London and New York: Routledge, 2007, pp.2-3.

²⁰⁰ David-Fox, p.1.

²⁰¹ David Caute, *The Fellow Travellers: Intellectual Friends of Communism*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp.3-4.

“fellow traveler” that both share a critical stance toward Western societies and sympathy toward “socialism.” However, according to the Hollander, fellow traveler had a more limited meaning: it was associated with remaining outside but standing with the Communist Party as a friend of Soviet Union during 30s and 40s whereas the term lost its applicability after World War II. The changing condition of postwar period was the outcome of a more enduring, stable and structural political commitment of Western intellectuals. Affiliating with the Communist Party through front organizations was gradually disappeared.²⁰²

David-Fox claims that foreign visits to the Soviet Union between the two wars were one of the most notorious events in the political and intellectual history of the twentieth century. Between the 1920s and 1930s, an impressive number of approximately 100,000 foreigners visited the Soviet Union. Among them were European and American writers, professionals, scientists, artists, and intellectuals who also captured their impressions of the Soviet experiment. Initially, their numbers grew steadily after 1922, surged dramatically during the early years of the first Five-Year Plan and the Popular Front, but then declined as the xenophobic terror of the Purges and the shock of the Nazi-Soviet Pact took hold, reducing their ranks to a mere trickle by the late 1930.²⁰³

As well as the activists and the politicians, the other foreign professionals such as engineers, architects and writers, recorded their visits to Soviet Union in essays and innumerable books. It was also the Soviet exhibitions and the films that found expressions abroad widened this foreign distribution.²⁰⁴

On the other hand, Soviet Union gave importance to break its isolation from the capitalist world, as well. In this regard, besides the intention and the attempt for international political integration with the other labor and communist parties via

²⁰² Paul Hollander, *Political Pilgrims: Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China and Cuba 1928-1978*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 27.

²⁰³ David-Fox, p.1.

²⁰⁴ Jean-Louis Cohen, “Uneasy Crossings: The Architecture of the Russian Avant-Garde Between East and West” in *Building the Revolution, Soviet Art and Architecture 1915-1935*, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2011. p.16.

organizations such as “communist international”, Soviet cultural policy also tried to have strong connections with Western intellectuals: philosophers, writers, artists, architects, film makers, art historians et al. Major western architects of time asked to design in the USSR or participate in the architectural design competitions. Erich Mendelsohn and Le Corbusier were among the first professionals who designed in the USSR and published their visits to Russian cities. Walter Gropius, Hans Meyer, Bruno Taut, Erns May, André Lurçat were also key figures who participated in the design, building and the planning processes for the Soviet Union.²⁰⁵ There are also some other architects who took part in the architectural competitions such as August Perret or invited as a guest of honor at the congresses such as Frank Lloyd Wright.²⁰⁶



Figure 2.11. Red Banner Textile Factory, 53 Pionerskaia Street, St. Petersburg, Russia, Erich Mendelsohn, 1925-37.

(Richard Pare and Jean-Louis Cohen, p.290)

²⁰⁵ Cohen, pp.17-18.

²⁰⁶ Cohen, pp.20-21.

*In 1925 Mendelsohn was invited to visit the U.S.S.R. in preparation for his design for the Red Banner factory in Leningrad. The powerhouse that provided energy to drive the looms survives, along with fragments of other parts of the plan. Whether the complex was never completed, demolished, or destroyed in the war is unclear. The project is almost unknown. Only a small illustration appears in USSR in Construction, and the model was published in the catalog of a retrospective exhibition of Mendelsohn's works. When these photographs were taken, the factory was still fulfilling occasional orders and the plant was brought into operation as needed.*²⁰⁷



Figure 2.12. Centrosoyuz Building, 39 Miasnitskaya Street, Moscow, Russia.

Architects: Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, and Nikolai Kolli 1929-36.

(Richard Pare and Jean-Louis Cohen, pp.110-111.)

Centrosoyuz, the Central Union of the Cooperatives of the Soviet Union, is the only building by Le Corbusier in Russia. Constructed over a long period with many alterations to the original drawings, the project was delayed by

²⁰⁷ Richard Pare and Jean-Louis Cohen, *The Lost Vanguard: Russian Modernist Architecture 1922-1932*, New York: Monacelli Press, 2007 p.290

*shortages of materials and the vagaries of political infighting. The building was originally largely open at the ground level. The plan was designed to correspond to a new street layout that was not completely carried out; this has resulted in an unresolved relationship to the site. Goskomstat, the State Statistics Committee, currently occupies the building.*²⁰⁸

After World War II, the novel factors in international relations during the Cold War played a decisive role in shaping Soviet cultural diplomacy. The mutual rivalry and competition besides *tour de force* between the two superpowers were significant aspects. This competition of the superpowers was under the looming threat of nuclear war. However, there was a third element, which is the ideological struggle that arguably had the most profound impact.²⁰⁹ Consequently, Soviet cultural diplomacy was also intertwined with how it presented itself to Third World countries.

Before the Second World War or during initial years of establishment of socialism in the Soviet Union, solidarity with the Soviet country; contributing, witnessing and recording this process become center of attraction for world revolutionaries and intellectuals. However, this phenomenon transformed after World War II. Despite the massive destruction and enormous loss of human sources, postwar Soviet Union had already constructed industrial infrastructure, collectivized agricultural facilities and raised the urban working classes besides the remarkable progress in science and technology. Thus, postwar Soviet Union become an alternative success model that Soviet cultural diplomacy represented for the decolonized world as a matter of solidarity and international aid.

There were many different instruments and actors of post-war Soviet cultural diplomacy towards the developing world. Communicational facilities played a significant role in this respect. Radio Moscow, under the body of The USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting (*Gosteleradio*), was broadcasting

²⁰⁸ Pare and Cohen, pp.110-111.

²⁰⁹ Nigel Gould-Davies, "The Logic of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (April 2003), p.194.

in eight languages in 1931. By the year of 1970s the number of languages was seventy-four. It was by the help of radio broadcasts that many “Friends of Radio Moscow” clubs were formed around Latin America. “Radio Moscow” conducted various contests and games among its listeners, some of whom had been even invited to Moscow by the editorial office.²¹⁰

Publications in foreign languages also played important role in the cultural exchange and promotion of Soviet Union from different aspects of social and economic life. In this regard, the Soviet government produced a wealth of periodicals, pamphlets, brochures, and books in foreign languages. These materials were intended for wide distribution abroad.²¹¹

Intourist, the Soviet Travel Agency, which was founded in 1929, initially managed domestic travel for Soviet citizens. However, by 1955, it transformed into an agency facilitating travel opportunities for Soviets abroad. *Intourist* portrayed a pivotal role in organizing foreign guests’ travel programs within the Soviet Union. Hundreds of thousands of foreign tourists annually experienced this orientation, gaining insights into Soviet society. By 1964, over a million foreign tourists visited the Soviet Union, while approximately 900,000 Soviet citizens traveled abroad. *Intourist* effectively bridged cultures, projecting an image of Soviet peace and prosperity. As for the Soviet-Latin American relations, Soviet travelers’ narratives about Latin America became a valuable aspect. By the help of these communications Soviet citizens become more acquainted to the socio-cultural diversity and landscapes of the region. The academic journal *America Latina*, which was established in 1969 under the coordination of the Institute of Latin America, served as another channel for publishing these firsthand experiences.²¹²

²¹⁰ Liana Kirillova, “Soviet Internationalism: Cultural Diplomacy in Latin America and Peoples’ Friendship University,” *Bulletin of Udmurt University. Sociology. Political Science. International Relations*, Vol:1, No:2, (2017), p.222.

²¹¹ Ibid..

²¹² Kirillova, p.223.

2.2.2. Cultural (Ex)change: Ordinary People, Youth, Mobility

Both the paradigm shifts in the political, social and cultural fields, and the change in the conflict of the two world systems with each other were effective in the formation of the conditions after the Second World War and the Cold War antagonisms. It can be argued that there is a connection between the increasing importance of the individual, ordinary people and youth in the social sphere and in the field of critical theory in the 1960s, and the political developments, cultural conflicts and ideological struggles of the Cold War period. In this context, 1960s became prominent with rapid urbanization and the mobility of people, knowledge, culture, and technology, worldwide. The cultural and social change started in afterwar period and crystallized in 1960s, made its resonance in architectural practice, theory, and historiography.

The significant features of the 1960s are marked by cultural “revolutions,” social transformations and “a generational shift through which age and seniority lost their authority.” Another significant fact during the era was rapid urbanization on the whole earth tied with mobility of people, of technology and of culture. Besides the urbanization and emergence of sub-urban residential quarters, 1960s are also remarked by a concept of mobility. “The mobility afforded by mass availability of automobile and air transport, the globalization of information and communications, and demographic and territorial shifts produces major changes in contemporary life.”²¹³ Gorsuch and Koenker argue that the 1960s opened a new era of human mobility, symbolized by Yuri Gagarin’s journey into the outer space on 12 April 1961, being the humankind’s first space flight.²¹⁴

Mobility, travel and tourism became prominent features of the leisure activities of 1960s across the borders, on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The distinction between the traveler and the tourist in terms of “high and low culture,” of individual versus mass consumption, of authenticity versus superficiality, becomes less apparent in

²¹³ Joan Ockman, *Architecture Culture 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, New York: Rizzoli, 1993, p.13.

²¹⁴ Gorsuch and Koenker, p.6.

Soviet practice. Generally, the traveler was working on something where the tourist was a pleasure-seeker. The traveler was active and in search of knowledge, experience or adventure whereas the tourist was passive expecting interesting things to happen to him/her. The traveler writes about the journey and produces literature when tourist sends postcards.²¹⁵ However in Soviet practice, “the primary purpose of the Soviet vacation was therapeutic, the recovery and restoration of individual working units: the bodies and minds of Soviet laboring people.”²¹⁶ Significantly, in the Soviet Union in 1949, tourism was officially recognized as a type of sport.²¹⁷

It is also the dynamics, opportunities and facilities of Soviet tourism that enabled encounters of different cultures throughout the Soviet country, together with the internationalist outcomes of “Thaw” politics of the Soviet leadership. In fact, as early as in the 1936 that Soviet citizens had “the right to rest” by the guarantee of the Soviet constitution, among many other benefits of the self-claim of being the “most democratic country in the world.” This was an issue related to the policy of education and making the “new man” where tourism is regarded as a cultured leisure activity.²¹⁸

As a part of cultured leisure activity, and being under the Constitution’s guaranty, Soviet tourism was seen as the superiority of socialism creating also its spaces as sanatoria, rest homes and tourist bases.

The Soviet travel and tourism project, ... attempted to resolve the dilemma between insider-outsider knowledge by exhorting and training its citizens to

²¹⁵ Diane P. Koenker, “Travel to Work, Travel to Play: On Russian Tourism, Travel, and Leisure,” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, Tourism and Travel in Russia and the Soviet Union (Winter, 2003), p. 657.

²¹⁶ Koenker, “Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union” p.402.

²¹⁷ Anne E. Gorsuch “‘There’s No Place Like Home’: Soviet Tourism in Late Stalinism,” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, Tourism and Travel in Russia and the Soviet Union (Winter, 2003), p.763.

²¹⁸ Koenker, “Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union” p.409.

become part of the knowledge-producing effort. The Leningrad Ethnographic Museum served simultaneously as a research center and tourist attraction, a space in which official narratives about state building could be translated for its citizens, but where the visitors themselves were also enlisted in writing the narrative. Through "ethnographic evenings" and the museum's response books, visitors became participants in the construction of ethnographic knowledge. This form of "virtual tourism," as Francine Hirsch labels it, combined with the popular journal "Na sushe i na more" (sponsored by the Society for Proletarian Tourism) and with the actual experiences of tourists to build within the "new Soviet person" that which John Urry has labeled 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism.'"²¹⁹

Overcoming the destructive consequences of World War II in a world-wide scale, there occurred a balance between global integration along with continuing political differentiation. The late 1950s and the 1960s became predominantly urban, providing "spaces for cultural cross-fertilization" accompanied by unprecedented human, technological and cultural mobility. The interactions and influences driven by the transnational flows of information, cultural models and ideas linked the environments and processes across the capitalist-socialist divide.²²⁰

Friendship societies, language clubs, and cultural events played a prominent role in Soviet cultural diplomacy and international relations. Among these, the 1957 Moscow Youth Festival of Youth and Students came out as a predominantly crucial tool for presenting Soviet Union with a peaceful image to the world. Nearly 34,000 young people from 130 countries gathered in Moscow under the festival's famous slogan of "For Peace and Friendship!" Two-week long festival provided international encounters of youth at demonstrations and meetings. This enthusiastic appeal resonated with both Soviet and non-Soviet youth, fueling their curiosity and desire to

²¹⁹ Koenker, "Travel to Work, Travel to Play: On Russian Tourism, Travel, and Leisure," p. 663.

²²⁰ Gorsuch and Koenker, pp.1-2.

better understand each other. Mexican delegation’s leader was describing the festival in a letter as during the festival, various forms of expression — songs, dances, photos, concerts, films — symbolized solidarity with the fight for independence among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. He was claiming that these creative endeavors aimed to contribute to global peace and a brighter future for humanity.²²¹

Kozlov gives special importance to the holding of 1957’s Sixth International Youth Festival in Moscow, too, as it enabled foreign presence in Moscow squares and on the street creating international cultural exchanges. He claims that the event opened the way to foreign cultural imports becoming integral to the public life of the Soviet Union. Moscow started to experience a transformation from being the heart of the Soviet socialist model into a big European city as a center of international mega-events such as film festivals, exhibitions or Olympic Games.²²²

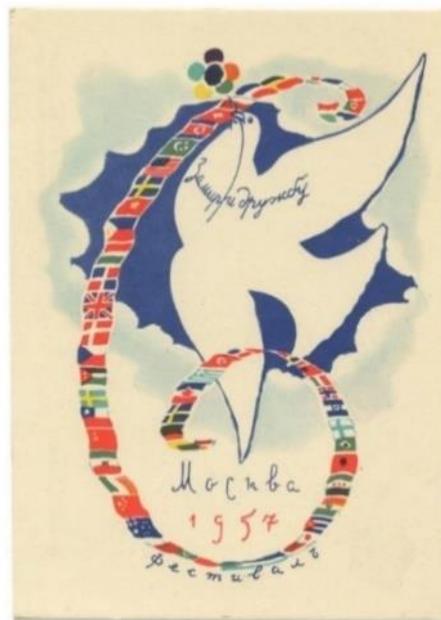


Figure 2.13. Soviet poster for the 6th World Festival of Youth and Students

“For peace and friendship – Moscow 1957 - Festival”

(https://www.reddit.com/r/MarxistCulture/comments/1atgmix/soviet_poster_for_the_6th_world_festival_of_youth/)

²²¹ Kirillova, p.222.

²²² Denis Kozlov, “Introduction” in *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture During the 1950s and 1960s*, edited by Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2013, pp.13-14.



Figure 2.14/ Muscovites greeting the guests of the 6th World Festival of Youth and Students, 1957

(© Viktor Koshevoy, Vladimir Savostyanov / TASS)



Figure 2.15. The opening ceremony of the sports tournaments during the 6th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow

(© A.Batanov, V.Mastyukov / TASS)



Figure 2.16. The 6th World Festival of Youth and Students in 1957 was the largest-ever, with 34,000 young men and women from 100 countries taking part. Photo: Students form the word "Peace"

(© Valentin Sobolev/TASS)



Figure 2.17. Young people from Africa, Argentina and Bulgaria talking at the official opening of the festival at the Vladimir Lenin Central Stadium in Moscow, 1957

(© L. Bordukov/TASS)



Figure 2.18. Opening of the 6th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow, 1957

(© A.Batanov/TASS)



Figure 2.19. Concert of delegates from Africa at the VDNKh exhibition center, 1957

(© Emmanuil Yevzerikhin/TASS)



Figure 2.20. A carnival participant from Africa at the Red Square, 1957
(© Vasily Yegorov/TASS)



Figure 2.21 The Scottish Highlanders Orchestra and delegates from Ukraine, 1957
(© Viktor Yankov/TASS)



Figure 2.22. Delegate from Chile shows the pinback buttons, collected during the festival, 1957
(© V.Gaganov / TASS)



Figure 2.23. Muscovites welcome Jordanian delegates, 1957
(© Nikolai Rakhmanov/TASS)



Figure 2.24. Indonesian and Tunisian delegates among Moscow residents, 1957
(© Emmanuil Yevzerikhin/TASS)



Figure 2.25. Fireworks seen during the 6th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow, 1957
(© Alexander Konkov, Valentin Mastyukov/TASS)

Another unique social phenomenon in Soviet history, starting from the late 1950s was the student construction movement. The history of the formation and development of student construction brigades was connected with modern problems of state youth policy, such as: patriotic and moral education, practical training, testing of theoretical knowledge in production, obtaining and consolidating professional skills in universities, obtaining managerial and communication experience.²²³

Through the student construction brigades, university students and technical school learners actively participated in the development of the national economy of the Soviet Union. Since 1959, students have participated in more than sixty different regions of Soviet country, engaging in the construction of roads, housing, industrial facilities, power plants, and other structures. Actually, within the Soviet leaderships' policies student construction brigades were widespread organizations organized by Komsomol (The All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union), which was the youth organization of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.²²⁴

Young people have an inherent desire for romance. It has always been so, and it is so now. And the romance of student construction brigades finds its concrete continuation in the work, in the life of the Komsomol generation of our years. This is the romance of creation in the era of the development of socialism, the romance of the development of oil and gas riches of Western Siberia, the construction of the Baikal-Amur Mainline, the Ust-Ilimsk timber industry complex, and the Vologda Atommash plant. But at the same time, it is also the romance of personality development, the choice of an active life

²²³ Elizabeta Alekseyevna Kuznetsova, "Istoriya sozdaniya i deyatel'nosti ISSO istoriko-filologicheskogo fakul'teta UDN 1970-1980-kh gg.," *Diplomnaya Rabota*, Rossiyskiy Universitet Druzhby Narodov, Fakultet Gumanitarnykh I Sotsial'nykh Nauk, Kafedra istorii Rossii 2020. ("The history of the creation and activity of the ISCB* of the Faculty of History and Philology of the UDN in the 1970s-1980s," Graduation Thesis, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of History: 2020,) p.4. Provided by Professor Rafael Arslanov.2021.

²²⁴ T. Tkachenko, redaktor, *Studencheskie Ctroitel'nye Otryady: Fotoal'bom*, Moskva: Planeta, 1978. (Tkachenko, Ed., *Student Construction Brigades: Photoalbum*, Moscow: Planeta, 1978.)

*position by every young person. Our romance is a steady movement forward in work, study and education.*²²⁵

The precursors of the student construction brigade were the students at Moscow State University (MGU). 339 students from the Faculty of Physics of MGU went to Kazakhstan's "virgin lands." Actually, opening up new state farms in the untouched areas of the republics of Soviet Union was Khrushchev's policy to increase agricultural productivity of the Soviet Union. Thus, the first student construction brigade from the MGU went to the facilities in Kazakhstan and built 16 different facilities at Zhdanovsky, Bulaevsky and Uzunkulsky state farms, using 250 thousand rubles of capital investments. This was how the movement of student construction brigades began.²²⁶

The next year, in 1960, the first street in the state farm "Bulaevsky", was built by the hands of 520 university students from Moscow State University. After the labor of the students which were future physicists, chemists, biologists, journalists, philosophers, the street was named "University Street". Within this organization, 23 substances were commissioned, and 500 thousand rubles were mastered. The number of the students taking part in the student construction brigade exceeded a thousand in 1961 and in this year students from Leningrad universities also joined the brigade and were sent to the construction sites of the "virgin lands" and to the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. 1962 was the year when the number of the students active in the construction brigades expanded drastically. In that year almost 10 thousand students from Moscow, Leningrad, and Kyiv worked in 128 farms in Kazakhstan. Over nine hundred buildings or facilities were built which were residential buildings, schools, agricultural buildings. 10.6 million rubles were disbursed. The first pioneer satellite camp appeared under the construction team of the 1st Moscow Medical Institute. A convoy of agricultural vehicles was sent to Cuba in the virgin lands. And in the year 1964, which

²²⁵ A. V. Zhuganov, in T., Tkachenko, redaktor, *Studencheskie Stroitel'nye Otryady: Fotoal'bom*, Moskva: Planeta, 1978. (Tkachenko, Ed., Student Construction Brigades: Photoalbum, Moscow: Planeta, 1978.)

²²⁶ T. Tkachenko.

was also when the first student construction brigade was formed by the students from Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University. There were 30 thousand students in the construction teams, representing nine union republics, 41 cities, 178 higher educational institutions. 3,860 facilities were built, 56 million rubles of capital investments were spent.²²⁷

Through the years the content of the labor of student brigades changed significantly. They started to engage not only in the field of capital construction, as had been predominantly the case in previous years. The practice of forming specialized brigades, whose work was closer to the future specialty of students, became widespread.

The period from 1964 to 1970 was known as a particular stage in the history of the international student construction brigades of Peoples' Friendship University. The number of brigades grew significantly in all geographical areas of the USSR, and the percentage of foreign students in their composition reasonably increased.



Figure 2.26. Matchbox covers:

“Student Construction Brigades”, “International Students’ Day”, Main Match Industry, Tomsk, Factory "Siberia"; “Student Construction Brigades” “Energy”, Match factory "1st May", Ufa.

(Lenin Library, 2021)

²²⁷ Ibid.

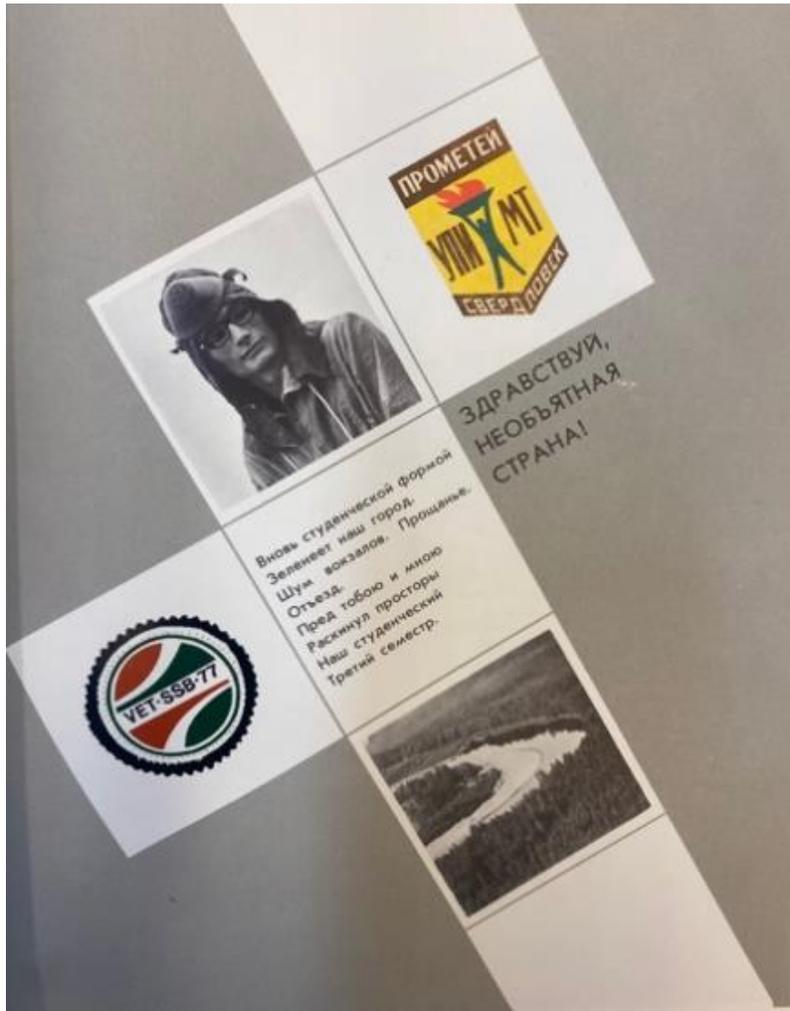


Figure 2.27. Poem to Student Construction Brigades

*“Hello, immense country!” (To the right)
 “Again, the student construction brigade
 Greens our city.
 The noise of train stations, farewells.
 Departure.
 Ahead is much work and many expanses
 Our student
 Third semester.” (At the center)*

(T. Tkachenko, Lenin Library)

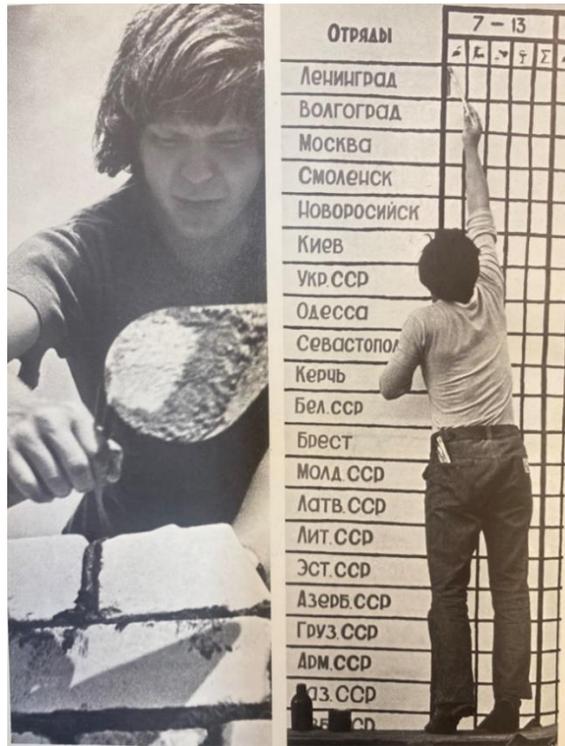


Figure 2.28. Brigades from the Soviet Cities and Republics
(T. Tkachenko, Lenin Library)



Figure 2.29. SSO (Student Construction Brigade) "Builder" MIIT (Moscow State University of Railway Engineering)
(T. Tkachenko, Lenin Library)



«...Хочу одного: быть настоящим инженером. Пяти лет, проведенных в стенах вуза, для этого маловато. Нужно пройти и через его «летние лаборатории» — стройки. Поэтому считаю: студенческий строительный отряд обязателен для каждого».

Б. Сазонов

Figure 2.30. Page From Student Construction Brigade Album

“...I want one thing: to be a real engineer. Five years spent within the walls of a university is not enough for this. One must also go through its “summer laboratories” - construction sites. That's why I believe: a student construction brigade is essential for everyone.” B. Sazonov (On the up-right)

“We are drawn to people with a pure heart.”

“WE WILL FIND WORK EVERYWHERE!”

(Banner on the train, below)

(T. Tkachenko, Lenin Library)



Figure 2.31. Student surveying in construction sites of Student Construction Brigades

(T. Tkachenko, Lenin Library)



Figure 2.32. From construction sites of Student Construction Brigades

(T. Tkachenko, Lenin Library)

2.2.3. “In Knowledge We Unite”

2.2.3.1. “Peoples’ Friendship” and Foreign Students’ Education in the Soviet Union

If the Russians did not exist, we should have to invent them.

Ahmed bin Bella²²⁸

The first president of Algeria, Ahmed bin Bella’s sympathy and gratitude for Soviet support reflects Soviets aid in modernization of Arab countries with the decolonial antipathy to Western powers. The educational cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries during the Cold War, can be seen as an outcome of decolonization and nation building in the global south. The period between the mid-1950s and the 1970s witnessed unprecedented emergence of new ties between the socialist superpower and most Afro-Asian countries.²²⁹

Soviet government viewed educational aid and cooperation as conduits for transferring Soviet knowledge and implementing modernization ideas. In this regard, their aim was to establish partnerships with its own dominating influence. On the other hand, for the radical Arab leaders, the Soviet model was an opportunity in its promise of state-building, social engineering, rapid economic growth, and, crucially, national sovereignty. The educational support from the Soviet Union and other European communist nations played a critical role in meeting these expectations. While ideology

²²⁸ Constantin Katsakioris, “Soviet Lessons for Arab Modernization: Soviet Educational Aid to Arab Countries after 1956,” *Journal of Modern European History*, Vol. 8, No. 1, *Modernizing Missions: Approaches to «Developing» the Non-Western World after 1945* (2010), p.85.

²²⁹ Ibid.

wasn't the primary driving force, pragmatic factors were significantly more important.²³⁰

Actually, the encounters and the mutual friendship of decolonized world and the Soviet Union is concurrent with changing paradigm in Soviet political life after the death of Stalin. His successor, Nikita Khrushchev, was the conductor of the new political initiative about peaceful coexistence and the so-called context of "Thaw".²³¹ In this context, in his 1956 speech at the Twentieth Party Congress, Khrushchev initiated the process of de-Stalinization by condemning Stalin and the cult of personality. He also turned attention to the Third World, emphasizing that "decolonization was a significant postwar development" and expressing his intention to support progressive non-Marxist movements for national liberation under the umbrella of Peaceful Coexistence. This shift in policy priorities toward the Third World marked a broadening of the Soviet conception of revolution. Following Stalin's death in 1953, Soviet assistance to Third World countries expanded substantially. This assistance included trade agreements, direct aid, and arms deals. Soviet funds, technology, and expertise contributed to the construction of dams, mines, transportation infrastructure, and factories in countries from Guinea to Afghanistan to Indonesia. By the early 1960s, the Soviet Union had established over a dozen new embassies in Africa and Asia, underscoring its increased engagement with these regions.²³²

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ The period of Soviet life during the 1950s and 1960s was called as "Thaw." It was originally the title of Ilya Ehrenburg's novel, literally meaning the "melting of the ices", symbolizing the post-Stalin era, associating the socio-political atmosphere with the warm weather in the midst of the winter or at the arrival of the spring. Actually, it is discussed that the period of "Thaw" had already originated in the late Stalin years, resulting from the victory in the war that "brought about a sense of self-worth in people who had fought and seen that the country's fate depended on them." It is also indicated that the pressing desire for change prepared the ground for the actual changes later. See: Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd, "The Thaw as an Event in Russian History," in *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture During the 1950s and 1960s*, eds. Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2013, pp.20-21.

²³² Abigail Judge Kret, "'We Unite with Knowledge' The Peoples' Friendship University and Soviet Education for the Third World," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 33, No. 2, (2013), p.242.

During the Cold War, both superpowers closely monitored each other's actions, and education was no exception. American education experts argued that US aid should extend beyond military and economic support to include cultural and educational initiatives. US officials were highly aware of the socialist countries' educational efforts in shaping new societies in the newly independent states. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union effectively wielded education as a policy instrument, particularly in influencing emerging African and Asian nations. An official from US Department of Education was calling that "the classrooms around the world" would be a key arena for the ideological struggle between these two global powers.²³³

Soviet administration acknowledged the diplomatic benefits of education and included international educational initiatives in their aid programs to the Third World. Viewing development as a scientific process enhanced by a technocratic elite, they set up technical institutes in nations such as India, Burma, Indonesia, Tunisia, Ghana, Guinea, and the United Arab Republic. Furthermore, individuals from these countries traveled to the Soviet Union for training at technical institutes, while Soviet technicians were sent to these decolonized countries to aid in development projects.²³⁴

As part of their commitment to internationalism, Soviet policymakers embraced specialized study programs designed for foreign students. In June 1960, the Soviet Union launched an international summer school on the southern coast of Crimea. This event drew more than 100 students from various countries. These students engaged in courses led by prominent Soviet writers, scientists, and cultural figures. The Soviet State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries recognized the importance of practical experience. In 1958 alone, over 200 international students participated in industrial training within the Soviet Union. This hands-on approach

²³³ Abigail Judge Kret, "We Unite with Knowledge' The Peoples' Friendship University and Soviet Education for the Third World," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 33, No. 2, (2013), p.242. (Bradley, Mark Philip. "Decolonization, the Global South and the Cold War, 1919 – 1961." In *Cambridge History of the Cold War*)

²³⁴ Kret, p.243.

allowed foreign students to delve into Soviet industries, contributing to their education and fostering cross-cultural understanding.²³⁵

By 1959, the Soviet Union hosted a significant number of foreign students—approximately 13,000. This figure had doubled since 1949. Among these students, around 930 hailed from noncommunist countries in the Third World. Their presence reflected the growing interest in Soviet education and international exchange. To support these foreign students, a preparatory faculty was established at Moscow State University in 1959 to provide language training and remedial coursework, easing the transition for students entering the Soviet university system.²³⁶

2.2.3.2. Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University

During the winter of 1955 -1956 Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev had a significant visit to the Asian countries of India, Burma (Myanmar now), and Afghanistan. This visit is regarded to have a symbolic importance affirming the Soviet leader's vision of creating a broad "anti-imperialist" peace zone which would be structured on the cooperation among both socialist and non-socialist "peace-loving" countries. India played a pivotal role in this context. As a prominent member of the emerging non-aligned movement, India was seen by Moscow as a crucial link to international forces that needed to be prevented from adopting an anti-Soviet stance. The Bandung Conference²³⁷ of 1955 had intensified Soviet awareness of various forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism (addressing the two new superpowers) whether capitalist or communist. These discussions heightened Soviet sensitivity to the unpredictable and nonconformist positions taken by "young" nation states. Thus, Khrushchev's tour underscored his commitment to building alliances across

²³⁵ Kirillova, p.223.

²³⁶ Kret, p.243.

²³⁷ The conference held in Indonesia and brought together delegations from 29 Asian and African nations most of which were newly independent, decolonized countries.

ideological lines and promoting peace in a world marked by Cold War tensions and decolonization struggles.²³⁸

Within the context of Soviet internationalism and structural antiracism connected with peace, Nikita Khrushchev had another visit to newly independent south Asian country, Indonesia in 1960. In his visit to Gadjah Mada University of Indonesia on February 21, 1960, Soviet leader announced to the international public that Soviet Union decided to establish an international university dedicated for “the friendship of people.” In his speech in the university, Soviet leader announced the necessity and the objectives of the planned university as:

*Wishing as it does to aid countries in training their national technical and administrative personnel – engineers, agricultural experts, doctors, teachers, economists and experts in other spheres of learning – the Soviet government has decided to organize a Peoples’ Friendship University in Moscow. This decision has been taken because progressive public circles, and also private citizens in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have time and time again asked us to create greater facilities for training their own technical and administrative personnel in Soviet educational establishments.*²³⁹

In this regard the Peoples’ Friendship University (PFU)²⁴⁰ was founded in 5th of February in 1960 to train future specialists from the Third World countries. Following the tradition of using a Latin motto, the University was opened in the fall of 1960 under the motto *Scientia Unescamus* (“We Unite with Knowledge”) with Soviet intent to

²³⁸ Andreas Hilger, "The Soviet Union and India: the Khrushchev era and its aftermath until 1966." *Indo-Soviet relations collection: The Khrushchev years* (2020). https://phpisn.ethz.ch/lory1.ethz.ch/collections/coll_india/intro_khrushchevee91.html?navinfo=56154#F2 Accessed on: 10.07.2024.

²³⁹ Kirillova, p.224.

²⁴⁰ Университет дружбы народов (УДН) – Universitet Druzhby Narodov (UDN)

forge lasting bonds with Africa, Latin America, and Asia through education. In this regard, the university was an important site of Second World – Third World contact and a case in the larger story of post-war modernization and development. In its first year over 43.000 students applied for fewer than 600 places.²⁴¹

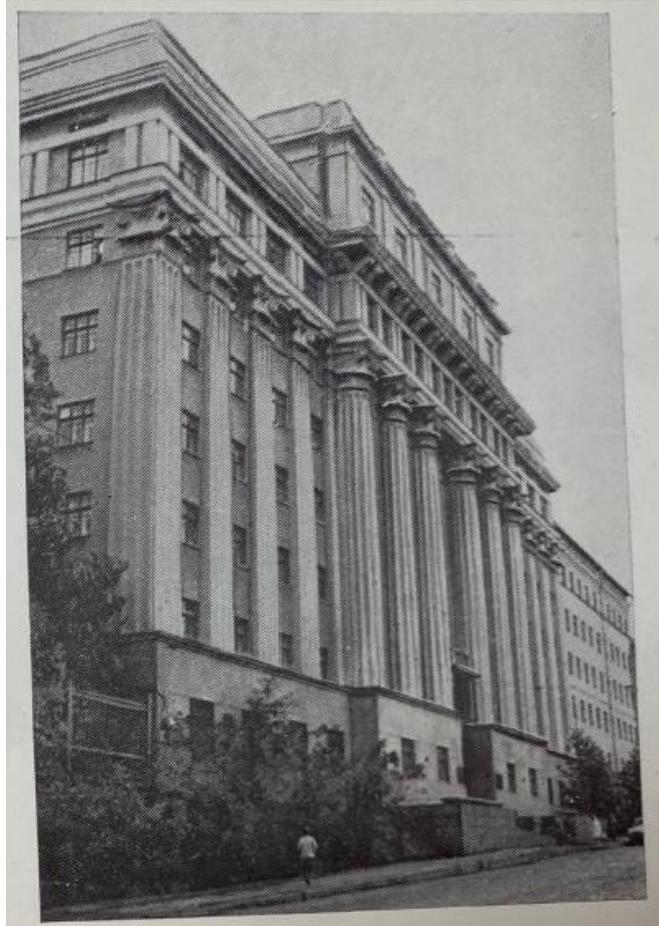


Figure 2.33. First building of Peoples' Friendship University still serving as the Faculty of Engineering
(G. A. Trostyanskaya)

According to the University's booklet, the founders of the University are the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the

²⁴¹ Kret, p.239.

Countries of Asia and Africa, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. And the objectives are:²⁴²

The University is founded in accordance with the Leninist policy of selfless assistance to the peoples of developing countries and in response to the wishes of progressive public and governmental circles, as well as individual citizens of many countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, for the expansion of training of national specialists from these countries in the higher educational institutions of the Soviet Union.

Promoting Soviet racial equality, Peoples' Friendship University became the first Soviet institution founded on Soviet structural anti-racism. As one of the University booklets suggested, "Here you come across young people of all races, attired in bright turbans, snow white galabia, rainbow saris and kimonos, speaking many different languages. Youth, friendship and knowledge flourish under one roof, the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University." This and many other similar messages idealized the University settings and stressed the commitment of PFU to Soviet anti-racism.²⁴³

In February 22th of 1961, the university was given the name of Patrice Lumumba, who was the Congolese leader and one of the symbols of the struggles of the peoples of Africa for independence. "On the symbolic level, by naming UDN after the nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba, Moscow trumpeted the message that it was embracing anti-imperialist struggles led by non-communist actors."²⁴⁴

²⁴² Trostyanskaya, G. A., red., *Universitet druzhby narodov imeni Patrisa Lumumby*, Moskva: Tipografiya Universiteta Druzhy Narodov imeni Patrisa Lumumby, 1977. (G. A. Trostyanskaya, Ed., *University of Peoples' Friendship named for Patrice Lumumba: Catalog*, Moscow: Printing House of University of Peoples' Friendship named for Patrice Lumumba, 1977.)

²⁴³ Kirillova, p.224.

²⁴⁴ Constantin Katsakioris, "The Lumumba University in Moscow: Higher Education for a Soviet–Third World Alliance, 1960–91," *Journal of Global History*, 14: 2, (2019), p.285.

The University in its first year of education started to give Russian language preparatory education. Then in 1961, six faculties were founded, and the departments under these faculties started to give education to the first-year students. These faculties were: Faculties of Engineering, History, Philology, Medicine, Agriculture, Physics and Mathematics, Science, Economics and Law. The first building of the University (which is still used as the building of Engineering Academy and Faculty of Science, currently) was built in 1930 and was the main house of the Military Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of USSR. The university was housed in three dispersed, nondescript old buildings in Moscow. The main school building, eight stories high, and a smaller building had formerly been military schools. The third building, which served as a dormitory, had formerly been military barracks.²⁴⁵



Figure 2.34. University directors and employees' meeting with Patrice Lumumba's wife in 1965

(L. Ponomarenko, E. Zueva)

²⁴⁵ Seymour M. Rosen, *The Development of Peoples' Friendship University in Moscow*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p.1.

In its first year over 43.000 students applied for fewer than 600 places.²⁴⁶ In initial years, students were recruited by various methods, including home government sponsorship and recommendation by national societies for promoting cultural relations with the Soviet Union, as well as by the earlier prevailing methods of applications to Soviet embassies abroad or directly to the university. In addition to students from developing countries, some students from Japan were also enrolled at the university.²⁴⁷

In a speech at the solemn meeting of the University's staff in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on June 30, 1965, dedicated to the first graduation of young specialists, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, A.N. Kosygin, said:

The creation of such a large educational center as the Patrice Lumumba University required considerable effort and creative work from many people. It was necessary to approach the organization of the educational process in a new way, considering the particularities of training representatives of students from different countries, and to solve a number of problems. Now, thanks to the efforts of the professorial and teaching staff and the entire university team..."²⁴⁸

The university opened at an important turning point in Soviet history: the de-Stalinization process had begun to eliminate remnants of the old state and society, while a new global perspective shaped by the Cold War emerged in the aftermath of decolonization. Beyond its primary role as an institution of higher education, the university served as a powerful symbol, projecting an image of Soviet life and society to the world. The university's focus on science, anti-imperialism, and internationalism highlighted a state striving to be modern, egalitarian, and globally engaged. In this

²⁴⁶ Kret, p.239.

²⁴⁷ Seymour M. Rosen, *The Development of Peoples' Friendship University in Moscow*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p.2.

²⁴⁸ Trostyanskaya

regard, how the Soviets utilized the university to craft and promote an alternative vision of modernity becomes an important issue to investigate.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Kret, p.240.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIALIST MODERN UNIVERSITY

The 1960s provided the foreground for transnational and transcultural interactions and influences with the flows of information, cultural models, and ideas.²⁵⁰ However, these encounters and interactions are physically marked with its opposite, by the erection of Berlin wall in 1961, as both a physical entity and a symbol of the divided world.²⁵¹ Within this situation of dividedness there was a balance between international integration and continuing political differentiation.²⁵² It urged the Khrushchev era internationalism to include both “peaceful existing” with the First World and wider collaboration with the Third World. In this regard, “... the legacy of Cold War exchanges between the Second and Third Worlds is not limited to physical infrastructures, but also includes the creation of new institutions that integrated multiple stakeholders and forged new global networks.”²⁵³

It was within this context that the decision for launching of a higher education complex dedicated to fraternal assistance to developing countries materialized the opening of Peoples’ Friendship University in Moscow.

²⁵⁰ Gorsuch and Koenker, p.2.

²⁵¹ Boris Kagarlitsky, *Empire of the Periphery Russia and the World System*, London, Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2008, p.286.

²⁵² Gorsuch and Koenker, p.2.

²⁵³ Daria Bocharnikova and Andres Kurg, “Introduction: Urban Planning and Architecture of Late Socialism,” *The Journal of Architecture*, 24:5, (2019), p.599.

3.1. Post-War Modernity and Socialist Modernism

3.1.1. Modernism after the War and Post-War Modernist Architecture

After World War II, architectural modernism of the interwar period expanded far beyond its initial boundaries. No longer confined to its emergent locations, modernism underwent a grand metamorphosis. It was not merely reproduced; it was transformed and internationalized in the context of Cold War geopolitics and economic dynamics. This transformation was facilitated by the flow of post-war aid and the exchange of technical expertise. Modernism became intricately woven into the fabric of modernization, industrialization, urban development, and the early stages of decolonization. From Africa to Asia, from Latin America to the Middle East, these regions became major experimentation sites for post-World War II modernism.²⁵⁴

In this regard the modernization and relatedly development processes in the recipient countries of the foreign aid by US governmental and private agencies, enhanced the agricultural, industrial, military, and motor transportation sectors. This support also brought with it a strong affinity for and idealization of post-war American culture, lifestyles, and democratic capitalism, influencing all spheres of daily life, from trade and entertainment to fashion and architecture.²⁵⁵

World War II accelerated the United States' recovery from of the Great Depression. Technological advancements in electronics and aviation during wartime led to the emergence of new industries, while military automobile production transitioned into a significant boom in private car ownership. The expansion of service industries and favorable international trade conditions fostered a robust consumer economy. Car

²⁵⁴ Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Introduction," in *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, Meltem Ö. Gürel, Ed., London and New York: Routledge, 2016, p.1.

²⁵⁵ Gürel, p.2.

ownership and low-interest mortgages for private housing led to the massive urban spread that continues to distinguish American life.

*The new consumer economy was more than an economic success story for the United States: the US came to be seen by many countries as the fount of modernity and progress. Economic growth and a rising standard of living were politically linked with liberty, personal freedom and modernity, and defined as the essential ingredients of the American way of life. ... Free trade, modernity, prosperity and the way of life of the United States became weapons in the Cold War, weapons that would include art and architecture.*²⁵⁶

The connection between modernity and progress with new artistic directions was already recognized by revolutionary European modernists in the pre-war years. While the United States had its own proponents and unique style of artistic and architectural modernity, it experienced a significant influx of pioneering German modernists escaping Nazi persecution in the 1930s. The relocation of the early pioneers, their obligation to their new homeland and their interaction with United States commercial architectural firms brought about an important reorientation of Modernism away from its original association with socialism during the early twentieth century, to the service of the free market and commerce.²⁵⁷

The culture of architecture experienced a significant transformation during these years, marking what can retrospectively be seen as the transition between modernism and what is now known as postmodernism. Modernist architecture, while becoming dominant, faced increasingly intense scrutiny. The traumatic events at the end of the war, including the revelation of genocide on an unprecedented scale and the advent of

²⁵⁶ Robert Adam, *The Globalisation of Modern Architecture: The Impact of Politics, Economics and Social Change on Architecture and Urban Design since 1990*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, pp.33-34.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p.34.

atomic warfare, led to a profound crisis in rationalist thought. Many architects realized that an ethos of progress based on functional determination and technical advancement offered no guarantees of humane values. Despite the acceleration of standardized building, scientific planning, and technological development in post-war reconstruction, the prewar doctrines began to be revised along several lines. The main features of the post-war modernism is outlined by Ockman as:

Reconciliation and integration of functionalism with more humanistic concerns, such as symbolic representation, organicism, aesthetic expressiveness, contextual relationships, and social, anthropological, and psychological subject matter; a recovery of pre-modernist and antimodernist themes, especially history and monumentality, the picturesque, popular culture, regional traditions, antirationalist tendencies, and decoration, within an "evolutionary" perspective; a shift from functionalism to other theories, like structuralism, semiology, and sociology, as new bases for a "scientific" determination of form; neo-avant-gardism, which reasserted the critical or radical aspects of modernism, but in a more ironic and dystopian context; and a complete rejection of modernist ideology as inherently linked to the negative aspects of urban development and modernization, leading to a turn towards politics or, conversely, aestheticism and autonomy.²⁵⁸

If the great symbolic client of modern architecture had been the proletariat, heroic protagonist of an idealistic socialism, that of the period after was the middle class. For geared-up capitalist economies now facing the threat of overproduction, the American slogan of "better living through technology" was a manifest destiny. Focus shifted from production to consumption, marketing, and "planned obsolescence"; from "revolutionary producers" to a new class of consumers happy to leave behind the asperities of Existenzminimum, desirous of an ever-higher standard of living and the leisure to enjoy it. The emphasis on the domestic environment gave women a central role in the marketplace

²⁵⁸ Joan Ockman, *Architecture Culture 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, New York: Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation & Rizzoli, 1993, pp.13-14.

*even as they were denied one in the workplace (a contradiction that would have political consequences by the 1960s).*²⁵⁹

Guilbaut explains this transformation and changes in world economy in general and the American economy in particular:

*A whole social structure had been pulled down, political life had been reoriented from top to bottom, and intellectual life had been blown to bits. The cultural history of the postwar period is the history of the reconstruction of American culture on new foundations laid by changes in the world economy in general and the American economy in particular.*²⁶⁰

Indeed, anti-communism deeply and enduringly took root in American culture during the 1947-49 period. This era saw a political realignment, spurred by fears of communism infiltrating the American government and social life, and the destabilization of Europe. For the American left, which was trying to distance itself from Marxism and communism amidst confusion, these were dark times following significant disillusionments.

The increasingly reactionary atmosphere tolerated no criticism, however mild, of the "American Way of Life." Any critique was seen as acting in a way that benefited the Soviets. Political criticism, foundational to the fresco tradition, became impossible. While a portrait of Lenin was removed from Diego Rivera's fresco in New York in

²⁵⁹ Ockman, p.16.

²⁶⁰ Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, Arthur Goldhammer, Trans., Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983, p.8.

1935, by 1947, a depiction of Franklin D. Roosevelt's head had to be erased from an Anton Refrieger fresco in San Francisco.²⁶¹

On the other hand, the economic recovery of the West with the help of American economic aid and the Keynesian politics of welfare state, led the architectural modernism to enter a “heroic age” in the 1960s that provided an extraordinary period of architectural creativity for a decade. Architectural design paradigm of the decade shared the common moral belief in the pursuit of a new future, branched out in several different directions that would set the aesthetic agenda for modernist architecture to this day. Cities, governments and corporations gave the full rein to architectural profession, carried along by the same sense of destiny and reassured by their technocratic conviction.²⁶²

Pre-war pioneers continued to practice. Mies van der Rohe perfected geometrically refined glass-walled structures. With his influence on architects such as Gio Ponti and Minoru Yamasaki and commercial firms such as Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, the sheer-façade corporate office tower achieved a definitive form. Le Corbusier's work entered a new phase that turned from rational rectilinear structure to expressive sculptural form. The rather eccentric late-period work of the great American nationalist architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, occasionally took a similar direction. These free forms were developed into dramatic structural expressionism in the designs of architects such as Eero Saarinen, Pier Luigi Nervi and Frei Otto. Walter Gropius, while contributing to the definitive office block with his PanAm Building in New York, occasionally turned to elemental historical forms. Heavily abstracted allusions to the past, often reduced to little more than proportions, were also employed by Wallace Harrison at the Lincoln Center in

²⁶¹ Serge Guilbaut,

²⁶² Adam, p.45.

*New York and by Leslie Martin in Britain, but most powerfully by Louis Khan.*²⁶³

Brutalism, large concrete-clad structure, become the emblematic of the period which owes its origins to the most influential building of the post-war era, Le Corbusier's 1947 *Unité d'Habitation* in Marseilles. Some other architects looked for a way to make Modernism more sympathetic to human scale and local conditions, or fantastic projects proposing a technologically driven future with huge structures and mechanical imagery, like Archigram, a small group of young architects in 1960s London.²⁶⁴



Figure 3.1. PanAm building, New York; Emery Roth & Sons with Walter Gropius and Pietro Belluschi; 1963.

European modernists abandoned their socialist ideals and adapted their architecture to the commercial demands of the expanding capitalist economy of the USA.

(Robert Adam, p.48).

²⁶³ Adam, Robert, *The Globalisation of Modern Architecture: The Impact of Politics, Economics and Social Change on Architecture and Urban Design since 1990*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, p.46.

²⁶⁴ Ibid. 47.



Figure 3.2. Boston City Hall, Boston; Kallmann McKinnell & Knowles; 1969.

Concrete became a major expressive medium with Brutalism, named after the French for “raw concrete”, béton brut.

(Robert Adam, p.48).

3.1.2. Space and Aesthetics in the USSR: Socialist Modern

Having fought in the same front, the Soviet Union increasingly become an integral part of the larger world during the post-war decades. Soviet leadership’s “peaceful coexistence” policy with the capitalist world was the principle for contemporary foreign policy, while raising the material well-being and the living standards of Soviet people was the crucial interior goal during the Khrushchev Era from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s. The 1961 resolution in the Party Program, which announced the reductions in working hours, would take place over the next two decades.²⁶⁵ Crowley and Reid interpret this as a crucial turning point in the emergence of the concept of the

²⁶⁵ Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd, “The Thaw as an Event in Russian History,” in *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture During the 1950s and 1960s*, edited by Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2013, p.30.

“socialist leisure” in the 1960s. Similarly, in the western countries, leisure became prominent, and indeed it was placed at the center of international debates among architects both in the east and west side of the divided world in the post-war period.²⁶⁶

In addition to these, “optimism” as an aesthetical issue became a cultural phenomenon in the late 1950s and the 1960s also as a result of the changing paradigms in the Soviet politics. Nikita Khrushchev’s prominent policy was to transform both the material environment and the material life in the Soviet Union, announcing a break with the past precisely in the production and supply of consumer goods, food, housing, and services.²⁶⁷

In this respect, an important feature was urbanization. By the end of the 1950s, it was for the first time that urban population in the Soviet Union increased 50 percent. Relatedly, this era was remarkable with the policy to provide single family apartments for all. “Moving to a new apartment only taking a couple of suitcases”²⁶⁸ symbolizes the character of the urban transformation of the period and the mass movement from the communal or shared houses to the single-family ones. Between the years 1955 and 1970, more than 35 million separate apartments were built in the Soviet Union and 131.8 million individuals moved into these newly constructed houses. The urbanization process and the construction of mass housing were similar in western war-torn European countries like France and Italy. In the Soviet Union, the new houses were supplied with hot and cold water, sewerage and central heating,²⁶⁹ revisiting the revolutionary ideal of “personal hygiene.”

²⁶⁶Lukasz Stanek, “A Manuscript Found in Saragossa: Toward an Architecture: Introduction to ‘Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment’ by Henri Lefebvre,” *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014. pp. xxix -xxxiii.

²⁶⁷ Kozlov and Gilburd, p.45.

²⁶⁸ David Crowley and Susan E. Reid. “Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc,” *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, edited by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, Oxford, New York: Berg, 2002, pp.11-12.

²⁶⁹ Kozlov and Gilburd, p.42.



Figure 3.3. Aleksandr Laktionov, *Moving to the New Apartment*, 1952.

Donetsk Regional Art Museum.

(https://arthive.com/artists/23155~Alexander_Ivanovich_Laktionov/works/392522~Into_a_new_apartment#google_vignette)

Kozlov and Gilburd claim that contemporary connections and exchanges with the West created a lure of consumerism to the Soviets. This offered a dual challenge to Soviet ideologues, economic planners and designers in order to invent its distinctly socialist equivalent as well as to “catch up and overtake” the capitalist West.

Despite all this persistent economic and cultural rigidity, it was during the Thaw that daily practices and choices became greatly diversified. Soviet consumers now drew on multiple strategies and new sources of inspiration. Illustrated magazines shows at the houses of fashion, Western films, and

*foreign tourism fired imaginations. The result was a heterogeneous consumer environment and the Westernization of the Soviet material world.*²⁷⁰

Another aspect of the Soviet 1960s in urban culture was the emergence of sites of leisure as a result of the Khrushchev-era policies that concentrated on elevating domestic life to a primary architectural concern. The housing boom enabled the network of spaces for consumption, culture and leisure. “These years witnessed the construction of new kinds of shops, entertainment facilities, educational institutions and holiday resorts. Buildings for shopping, eating, swimming, spectator sports and other activities complemented the improvement of living standards at home with an array of newly accessible services in public.”²⁷¹

Susan Reid states that architecture was also become a realm of Khrushchev’s destalinization politics. The destalinization of Soviet architecture meant abandoning former architectural “excesses,” i.e. historicizing, eclectic forms and expensive “one-off solutions” on one hand and realignment with international modernism on the other. What Khrushchev called on architects in 1954 was to develop standardized projects for various building types, and to utilize economic building materials, and advanced and practical construction technics.²⁷² It also meant to attack on the former architectural ornamentation, and artisanal and labour-intensive construction methods. Crowley and Reid interpret this reaction as a moral as well as an aesthetic discourse.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ Ibid., pp.45-46.

²⁷¹ Richard Anderson, *Russia: Modern Architectures in History*, London: Reaktion Books, 2015, p.228

²⁷² Susan E. Reid, “Khrushchev’s Children’s Paradise: The Pioneer Palace, Moscow, 1958-1962,” *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, edited by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, Oxford, New York: Berg, 2002.p.142.

²⁷³ Crowley and Reid, “Introduction: Pleasures in Socialism?” *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, edited by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010, p.22.

Hence, as in the western bloc, post-war modernist architecture was produced also in the Soviet Union in its own context.²⁷⁴

Thus, the policy to transform both the material environment and the material life became an issue of aesthetics and design. In this context, Karpova observes an evolution of a new aesthetics in post-war Soviet Union after the Stalin era carried out by “art professionals.” In her study, “art professionals” refer to art critics, philosophers, decorative artists, architects and designers. This “aesthetic turn” is not considered as a rupture from Stalin era art canon, rather it is regarded as the gradual broadening of the meaning of aesthetics environing the spheres of everyday life, consumption, science and technology.²⁷⁵ However, she indicates that the aesthetic turn was not just a return to the avant-garde or to the pluralistic atmosphere of the revolutionary times, rather it was a gradual process of thoughts and new positions.²⁷⁶

It was in late 1957 that the periodical “Decorative Art of the USSR” was established which would become the mouthpiece of that aesthetic turn, and in 1962, the Soviet government established the “All-Union Research Institute of Technical Aesthetics (VNIITE)”.²⁷⁷ The title of the decree of the government was “On improving the quality of industrial products and cultural-domestic goods through implementation of methods of artistic construction.”²⁷⁸ In 1964 the Institute started to publish a monthly journal “Technical Aesthetics”, which had a circulation of 30 thousand copies. In this way, industrial design and the aesthetic query of industrial products became an issue in the Soviet design culture and discussions.

²⁷⁴ Sarah Williams Goldhagen, Réjean Legault, Eds., *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000.

²⁷⁵ Karpova, p.ii.

²⁷⁶ Karpova, p.16.

²⁷⁷ Karpova, pp.31-32.

²⁷⁸ Michael Idov, “Design as Discent” in *Made in Russia: Unsung Icons of Soviet Design*, ed. Michael Idov, New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2010, p.?



Figure 3.4. Museum-Panorama of the Battle of Borodino, 1961-1962. Architects: Alexander Korabelnikov, Sergei Kuchanov, Alexander Kuzmin (Anna Bronovistkaya, Nikolay Malinin, and Yuri Palmin, p.54.)

In his observations of a visit to Moscow in 1947, Steinbeck was remarkably stating that museums had become “the church of modern Russia.” Moreover, he complains about the Soviet praxis to take visitors to museums and parks of culture and rest, and argues that, in Moscow, “to refuse to look at a museum is a little like refusing to visit a church.”²⁷⁹ Another type of public cultural sites was the theater. Already after the revolution, avant-garde theater found its stage in the capital city where Meyerhold and Stanislavski were leading figures.

Besides the touristic campaigns and exhibitions, Soviet cinema also became instruments of the Soviet self-promotion and interaction between the Soviet peoples with other nations. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union strategically used exhibitions of science, technology, and culture in newly independent states as platforms to disseminate information about their achievements. These exhibitions showcased Soviet achievements across diverse fields such as literature, science, arts, and military technology. Notably, in 1960, exhibitions in Latin America were simultaneously held in Mexico City and Havana, emphasizing Soviet accomplishments and fostering cultural exchange.

²⁷⁹ Steinbeck, *A Russian Journal*, London: Penguin Classics, 2000, p.152.

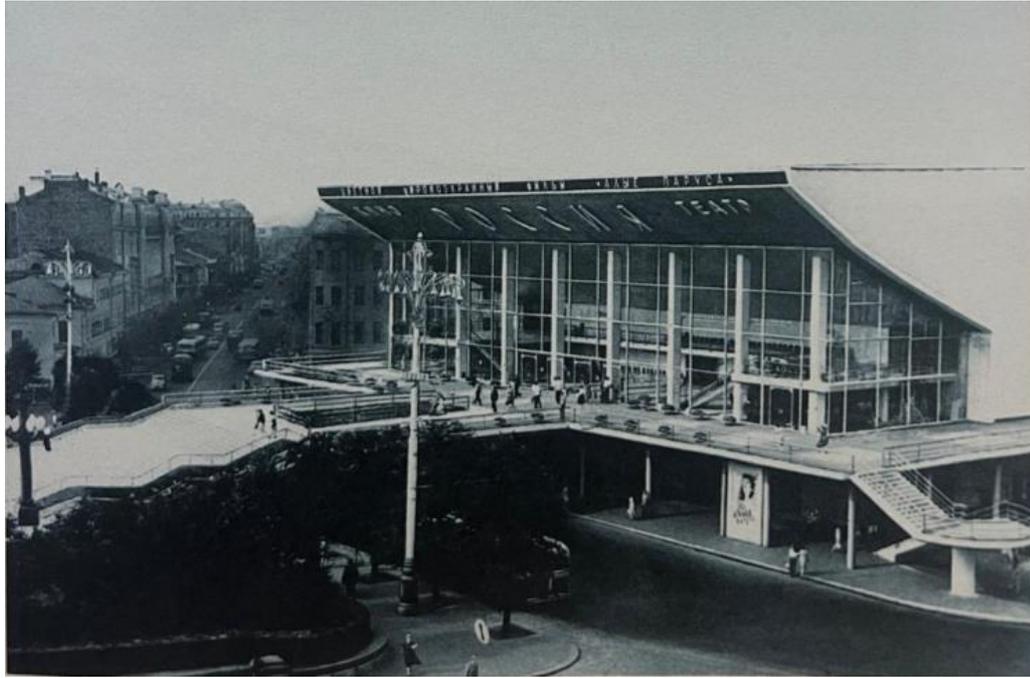


Figure 3.5. Russia (Russia) Cinema, 1961. Architects: Yury Sheverdyayev, Dmitry Solopov, Elmira Gadzhinskaya

(Anna Bronovistkaya, Nikolay Malinin, and Yuri Palmin, p.47.)

Instead of relaxation at home, collective leisure was promoted by the soviet policy makers.²⁸⁰ Moscow had always been a cultural center in Russian history;²⁸¹ however, the 1960s witnessed the construction of widespread cultural, sportive and touristic opportunities in the city. The introduction of TVs to Soviet people's houses took place at the time concurrently with the Soviet Union's regular presence at international film festivals. Moreover, Soviet films became more familiar for European audiences and part of the global cinematic culture.²⁸² "The revival of Moscow International Film Festival, which made its strongest impact in the 1960s, called for the construction of new movie theaters, the first of which was 'Russia' on Pushkinskaya Square."²⁸³ The

²⁸⁰ Attwood, p.2.

²⁸¹ Caroline Brooke, *Moscow: A Cultural History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

²⁸² Kozlov, p.15.

²⁸³ Natalia Bronovistkaya and Anna Bronovistkaya, *Moscow Architecture 1920-1960: A Guide-Book*, Moskva: Zhiraf, 2006, p.36.

“Rossia Cinema” with its “sharply defined all-glass façade”²⁸⁴ was an archetype of its kind which would serve as the same function as of the worker clubs of 1920s.²⁸⁵



Figure 3.6. Gorky Moscow Art Theatre 1966-1973. Architects: Vladimir Kubasov, Vladimir Ulyashov, Anatoly Morgulis
(Anna Bronovistkaya, Nikolay Malinin, and Yuri Palmin, p.131)

According to Harris, the most direct effect of Khrushchev “thaw” to the ordinary people’s lives was “moving into the separate apartments” from the former communal or shared apartments –*kommunalka*- at the time. These separate apartment flats were mostly in five-story buildings, which would later be known with the nickname

²⁸⁴ M. Ilyin, *Moscow: Architecture and Monuments*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968, pp.239-240.

²⁸⁵ Natalia Bronovistkaya and Anna Bronovistkaya, p.36.

“khuruchshevka.”²⁸⁶ Through the end of the sixties, besides these “khuruchshevka”s, the construction of higher apartment blocks also started. Following the same nickname giving humor, these 12-16 story, monumental housing blocks were called as “brezhnevka”s. The mass housing projects of the late 1950s and the 1960s can be regarded within the same frame of industrial production “where homes would become mass-produced commodities like cars, fridges and TVs.”²⁸⁷



Figure 3.7. 9th Quarter of Novye Cheryomushki, (*khuruchshevka*) First Soviet Mikrodiistrict (Mikrorayon) Architects: Natan Osterman, Georgy Pavlov, Vladimir Svirsky, S. Lyashenko, and others.

(Bronovistkaya, Malinin, and Palmin, p.32.)

²⁸⁶ Steven E. Harris, *Communism on Tomorrow Street: Mass Housing and Everyday Life after Stalin*, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press ; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013, p.1.

²⁸⁷ Owen Hatherley, “On The Secret History of Moscow's Mass Housing Experiment,” *The Calvert Journal*, Vol.22.

<https://www.calvertjournal.com/features/show/4235/soviet-mass-housing-novye-cheryomushki-belyayevo-suburbs>, retrieved: 26.05.2019

This mass construction also gave birth to the emergence of micro-districts called as *mikrorayon*. The construction of the *mikrorayon* “Novye Cheryomushki” was the archetype of these districts, the project of which evolved into Soviet mainstream and later into what Bocharnikova calls as the “Generic Modern” in her study.²⁸⁸ Panteleyeva claims that the atmosphere of “Thaw” also enabled the formation of unofficial design studios such as NER (New Element of Settlement) which took experimental designs into its agenda in the construction and the transformation of the new *byt*.²⁸⁹ Bocharnikova calls the projects of NER group as “Organic Modern” as “NER vision developed into a full-blown alternative.”²⁹⁰

1960s were also prominent with the establishment of large design institutions in the Soviet Union. The primary objective of these large design institutes was to create standard projects that enabled the rapid and cost-effective construction of buildings. “In theory, in such a situation, which did not leave room for personal creativity, architecture should have become completely anonymous and impersonal. However, this did not happen. The art of architecture possesses too much symbolic power for the state to neglect such an opportunity.”²⁹¹ Architecture's symbolic power was too significant for the state to overlook, leading to the continued development of significant buildings based on individual designs. Additionally, experimental design remained a niche, offering future possibilities when increased material resources would eliminate the need for austerity.

The rejection of historicizing architecture and the return to modernism brought the legacy of the 1920s back into focus. This approach was cautious and discreet due to the lingering trauma from the severe criticism of the Stalin era. The mid-1960s marked

²⁸⁸ Daria Bocharnikova, “Inventing Socialist Modern: A History of the Architectural Profession in the USSR, 1954-1971,” Ph.D. Diss., Florence: European University Institute, 2014.

²⁸⁹ Masha Panteleyeva, “Re-Forming the Socialist City: Form and Image in the Work of the Soviet Experimental Group NER, 1960-1970,” Ph.D. Diss., Princeton: Princeton University, 2018.

²⁹⁰ Bocharnikova.

²⁹¹ Anna Bronovistkaya, Nikolay Malinin, and Yuri Palmin, *Moscow: A Guide to Soviet Modernist Architecture 1955-1991*, Moscow: Garage, 2019, p. 16.

the beginning of the “rehabilitation” of the architectural avant-garde, with new publications highlighting the architecture of the "early years of the October Revolution." Many graduates of Moscow's VKHUTEMAS (Higher Art and Technical Studios) and its successor VKhUTEIN (Higher Art and Technical Institute), who were living representatives of this tradition, continued to work actively. Some held influential positions, shaping the perspectives of their younger peers. For example, the constructivist Ivan Nikolaev served as the rector of the Moscow Architectural Institute from 1958 to 1970, and in 1972, Georgy Orlov, a student of the Vesnin brothers, became president of the International Union of Architects.²⁹²

In this regard, the most striking manifestations of socialist modernist architecture in Soviet Union become into form in the architectural principles of horizontality, asymmetry and transparency, besides a search for non-standard residential architecture from standard elements, experimentation of combining different functions in a unique design, using color in the designs, and reference to early-modernists and avant-gardists of 1920s.



Figure 3.8. Seasons of the Year Café (Garage Museum of Contemporary Art) 1968.
Architects: Igor Vinogradsky, Igor Pyatkin.

(Reconstructed with the design of Rem Koolhaas, OMA in 2015.)

(Anna Bronovistkaya, Nikolay Malinin, and Yuri Palmin, p.77.)

²⁹² Anna Bronovistkaya, Nikolay Malinin, and Yuri Palmin, Yuri, *Moscow: A Guide to Soviet Modernist Architecture 1955-1991*, Moscow: Garage, 2019, pp. 16-17.

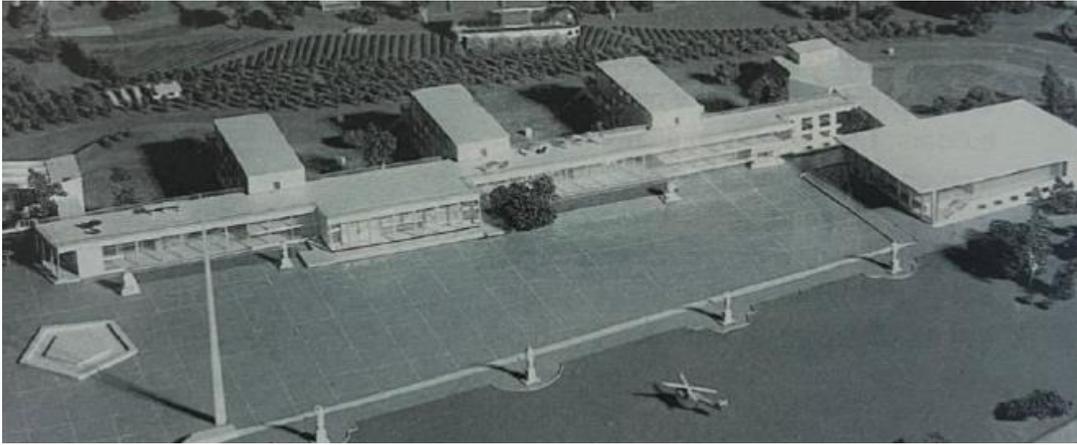


Figure. 3.9. Model of Moscow Pioneer Palace, 1958-1961.

Architects: Viktor Egerev, Vladimir Kubasov, Felix Novikov, Boris Palui, Igor Pokrovsky, Mikhail Khazhakyan

(Anna Bronovistkaya, Nikolay Malinin, and Yuri Palmin, p.49.)

3.2. Making the Peoples' Friendship University

3.2.1. Administrative and Academic Aims

According to the Soviet point of view, the founding of the Peoples' Friendship University was connected with the future development of newly independent countries through science, knowledge and deep expertise in specific specializations. In his report titled "The Role of the Peoples' Friendship University named after Patrice Lumumba in the Training of Personnel for the Countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America," at the 6th Conference of International Association of Universities, the PFU rector V. F. Stanis, indicated that:

The successful movement of newly independent countries towards economic and social progress significantly depends on the pace of training national cadres of specialists. Without engineers and technicians, agronomists and

veterinarians, doctors and teachers, it is impossible to develop industry and agriculture, combat diseases, and illiteracy.

*Educational ties constitute an important part of the growing cooperation between the Soviet Union and newly independent countries. The primary focus of these ties is on assistance in training national cadres of highly and moderately qualified specialists. This is carried out in various forms: education in Soviet universities and technical schools, sending Soviet teachers to work in foreign educational institutions, building and equipping higher and secondary special educational institutions, and preparing textbooks, manuals, and literature.*²⁹³

Both foreign and Soviet students were obliged to begin their education at the University by studying at the preparatory faculty. The duration of study at the preparatory school was one year. The prep-school was designed, firstly, to provide a solid knowledge of the Russian language, sufficient for a foreign student to be able to actively absorb educational material at subsequent stages of study at the University, and secondly, to fill gaps in knowledge in general education disciplines within the Soviet high school curriculum. Soviet students at the preparatory faculty, along with general education subjects, studied one of the foreign languages. Students who successfully passed the exams for the preparatory faculty course move to the first year of one of the main faculties in accordance with their chosen specialty.

Education at the main faculties was conducted in Russian. The University accepted such types of educational activities as lectures, seminars, laboratory, practical classes, seminars, educational and industrial practice (internship), consultations, course and diploma projects, as well as independent work of students in libraries and laboratories, etc. Attendance at all classes by students was mandatory. The educational process was regulated by curricula. Curricula for specialties and specializations at the University

²⁹³ V. F. Stanis, "Rol' Universiteta Druzhby Narodov imeni Patrica Lumumby v Podgotovke Kadrov dlya Ctran Azii, Afriki, I Latinskoi Ameriki," Ordena Druzhby Narodov, Moskva: Universitet Druzhby Narodov imeni Patrica Lumumby, 1975.

faculties were developed in accordance with the curricula of Soviet universities and agreed with the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the USSR.²⁹⁴ However, the founding of an international university at the hearth of the Soviet Union, brought out many problems, contradictions and critics, as well.



Figure 3.10. Record card of Akhmed Murad Taki who was the first student at Peoples' Friendship University
(L. Ponomarenko, E. Zueva)

TABLE 2.—Statistical profile of the first graduating class at Peoples' Friendship University.

| Student's origin | Number enrolled in 1960-61 | Number graduated in 1965 ¹ | Percent of Enrollees in 1960-61 graduated in 1965 |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Latin America | 191 | 58 | 30 |
| Africa | 140 | 44 | 31 |
| Asia and Far East | 112 | 60 | 54 |
| Arab Countries | 95 | 23 | 24 |
| U.S.S.R. | 59 | 43 | 73 |
| Total | 597 | 228 | (2) |

¹ Figures vary somewhat from those in the source given in footnote 4 in the text, which cites the same total (228) but lists 57 graduating from Latin America, 38 from Africa, 57 from Asia, 32 from the Arab countries, and 44 from the U.S.S.R.

² The percentage of the number enrolled in 1960-61 that graduated in 1965 was 38.

Source: U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, Central Statistical Administration. *Vyshee Obrazovanie v SSSR*. Moscow, 1961; and U.S.S.R. Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education. *Vestnik vyssheishkoly*, No. 8, 1965.

Table 3.1. The graduation rate of students from Latin America, Africa and Arab countries were very low when the university gave its first graduates.

(Seymour M. Rosen, p.9.)

²⁹⁴ V. F. Stanis, p.8.

Table 1. Enrolment of Third World students in all Soviet institutions of tertiary education and in UDN in selected years.

| Regions | | 1961 | 1971 | 1980 | 1988 |
|---|----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| Sub-Saharan Africa | USSR | 624 | 738 | 2,712 | 4,412 |
| | UDN | 161 | 89 | 173 | 216 |
| | UDN as % | 25.8% | 12.1% | 6.4% | 4.9% |
| North Africa and Middle East ^a | USSR | 760 | 1,030 | 3,500 | 4,703 |
| | UDN | 92 | 180 | 139 | 156 |
| | UDN as % | 12.1% | 17.5% | 4.0% | 3.3% |
| Asia ^b | USSR | 372 | 542 | 1,820 | 2,481 |
| | UDN | 133 | 97 | 98 | 90 |
| | UDN as % | 35.8% | 17.9% | 5.4% | 3.6% |
| Latin America ^c | USSR | 177 | 332 | 1,127 | 1,460 |
| | UDN | 161 | 199 | 222 | 157 |
| | UDN as % | 91.0% | 60.0% | 19.7% | 10.8% |
| Total | USSR | 1,933 | 2,642 | 9,159 | 13,056 |
| | UDN | 547 | 565 | 632 | 619 |
| | UDN as % | 28.3% | 21.4% | 6.9% | 4.7% |

^aCyprus, Iran, Sudan, and Turkey are included, Israel and Mauritania are not.

^bJapan is not included; South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are included only in 1961 and 1971, Afghanistan until 1988.

^cWithout Cuba.

Source: GARF, fond 9606, op. 1, d. 869, 4754, 9121; and fond 9661, op. 1, d. 335.

Table 3.2. Enrolment of Soviet students at Peoples' Friendship University increased in an orderly manner.

(Constantin Katsakioris, p.298.)

TABLE 1.—Curriculums for the engineering specialty of Industrial and Civil Construction at Lumumba University and at a standard Soviet engineering school: 1967 and 1971, respectively.—Continued

| Lumumba University curriculum ¹ | | Standard Soviet engineering school curriculum ² | |
|--|--------------|---|--------------|
| Subject—title | Total hours | Subject—title | Total hours |
| Reinforced concrete and stone construction | 164 | Reinforced concrete and stone construction | 168 |
| Wood and plastics construction | 48 | Wood and synthetic materials construction | 84 |
| Metal construction | 114 | Metal construction | 112 |
| | | Fundamentals of safety and fire prevention techniques | 42 |
| | | Obligatory courses established by the council of the higher education institution | 98 |
| Grand total | 3,608 | Grand total | 4,210 |

¹ A 4-year curriculum following 1 year at the preparatory faculty.

² A 5-year curriculum.

Sources: For the Lumumba University curriculum: *Universitet družby narodov imeni Patrisa Lumumby, spravochnik*. Moscow, 1967. This official Soviet handbook contains a number of curriculums in the range of specializations taught at the university. The standard Soviet engineering school curriculums was confirmed by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education in 1965, and is currently in use.

Table 3.3. Comparison of the curriculum of Civil Engineering Department of Peoples' Friendship University with standard Soviet engineering school. The workload was less in the PFU.

(Seymour M. Rosen, p.7.)

3.2.2. Spatial Features

3.2.2.1. Construction of Peoples' Friendship University

One year after the University's first students had graduated, in 1966, the construction of a new campus for the Peoples' Friendship University started in the south-west district of Moscow. According to the promotional booklet of the University from 1966, the location of the selected campus area almost had a rural or pastoral situation.

The construction of the five-story dormitories started in 1962, almost before the construction of the educational campus of the University, and in the year of 1963 the dormitories started to function for the students.

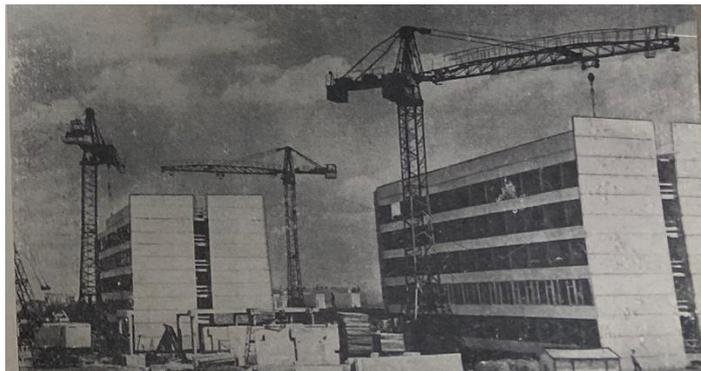


Figure 3.11. Dormitories under construction, 1962.

(V. A. Abramyan, p.4.)



Figure 3.12. Dormitories, 1963.

(V. A. Abramyan, p.4.)

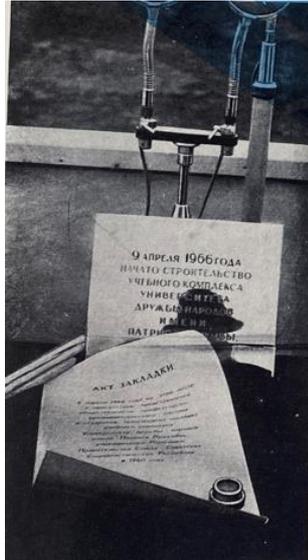


Figure 3.13. The construction started on the 9th of April, 1966.
(V. A. Abramyan, p.5.)

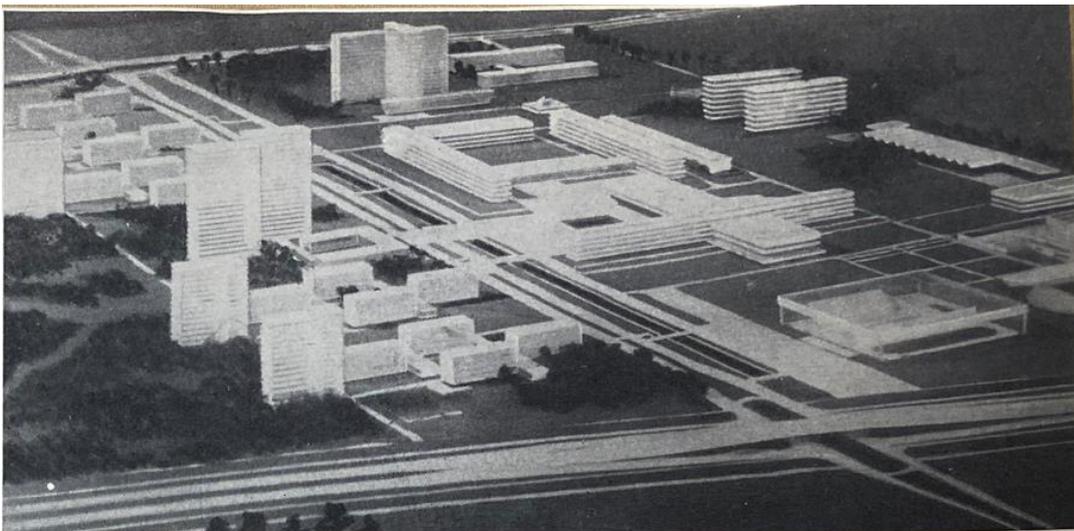


Figure 3.14. Model of the building complex of the University. 1968.

(V. A. Abramyan, p.4.)

In the same booklet of 1966 when the construction of the campus buildings was continuing, the following is written as a collage on the picture of the University campus' model:



Figure 3.15. Model of the building complex of the University

In the nearest future here will spring up a large university campus where 4200 students and post-graduates from many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will live and study.

Hundreds of students, teachers, workers and guests have gathered for a solemn meeting to inaugurate the construction of a new complex of buildings.

(V. A. Abramyan, p.5.)

The project for the new campus complex of the Peoples' Friendship University was executed by the architect Y. B. Belopolsky together with V.N. Fursov, Yu. V. Ilyin-Adaev, R. G. Kananin, and M.E. Konstantinov.

The university complex included a group of previously constructed dormitories. It is characterized by a well-thought-out functional-territorial organization, meeting the highest standards of contemporary world practice in educational institution design: low-rise buildings, convenient connections between classrooms, service rooms, auditoriums, and sports halls. The ribbon glazing of the facades, continuous glazing of the lower floors, the use of frames, and hanging panels give the ensemble a certain austerity, softened by the plasticity of small forms and landscaping in the lobbies and halls.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ G. V. Esaulov, R. G. Kananin, "Yakov Borisovich Bolopolskiy," http://asm.rusk.ru/06/asm5/asm5_8.htm

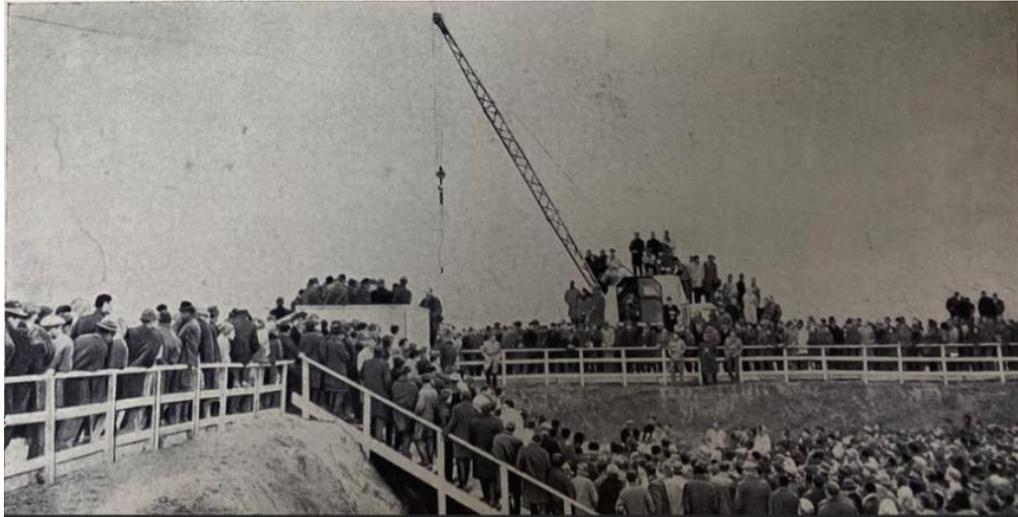


Figure 3.16. The starting ceremony of the construction, 1966.

(V. A. Abramyan, p.5)

According to the State Institute of Design of Higher Education Institutions' (GIPROVUZ) examination report²⁹⁶ on the preliminary design by the state "Institute *Mosproekt*", the new campus of the Peoples' Friendship University was designed for a of 4000 people and projected to have the following faculties with annual student intake:

- Preparatory School - 800 students
- Engineering Faculty - 285 students
 - Construction and operation of machines and mechanisms - 135 students
 - Construction department - 40 students
 - Exploration and extraction of minerals - 90 students
- Faculty of Physical, Mathematical, and Natural Sciences - 150 students
 - Physics - 60 students
 - Mathematics - 30 students
 - Chemistry - 45 students
 - Biology – 15 students

²⁹⁶ RGAE, F.5 1 138

- Agricultural Faculty - 45 students
- Historical and Philological Faculty - 75 students
 - Russian language and literature - 60 students
 - History - 15 students
- Faculty of Economics and Law - 110 students
 - Economics and national economy planning - 75 students
 - International law - 35 students
- Medical Faculty - 135 students
 - Treatment - 120 students
 - Pharmacy - 15 students

This vacancy planning per faculty and department was based on the main building plan which was approved by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the USSR and coordinated with the State Planning Committee of the USSR on September 21, 1961. The approved main building plan had a projection of required square meters as 37000 m² for educational and laboratory area and 5300 m² for the auxiliary area.

Within this framework, the state project design institute "Mosproekt" developed and presented two project options. In the first option the main building was designed in a square form with four floors, with an attachment of two-story high building in east-west dimension. In the four-story building, there projected to be preparatory school, Engineering, Physical-Mathematical and Natural Sciences, Agricultural, Historical-Philological, Economics and Law are located. In the two-story part, there was a group of dining rooms, libraries, administrative-public blocks, and lecture auditoriums. The Medical Faculty and teaching-production workshops were designed as separate free-standing blocks connected with the main building by covered passages.²⁹⁷

In the second option, the main building is designed in the form of a free composition of four-story faculty buildings connected by two-story blocks and covered passages. In the two-story blocks, there are located: the library, public-administrative block,

²⁹⁷ RGAE, F.5 1 138

lecture halls, and an auditorium. The Medical Faculty and teaching-production workshops, as in the first option, are designed as separate free-standing blocks.

In the presented variants, the educational and laboratory areas were reduced to 35,577 square meters, and the auxiliary area to 4,706 square meters. The volume per student is set at 66 cubic meters. The total volume of the educational buildings complex is obtained: for Option 1, 275 thousand cubic meters and for Option 2, 280 thousand cubic meters. This necessity of volume was also included “the cubic capacity of the sports complex necessary to support educational work.”²⁹⁸ However the open sports arena was not included in the calculation.

In a letter to both The Ministry of Education and the rectorate of the University, N. Simirnov, the Head of the Department for the Construction of Large Buildings and Structures and Foreign Objects, compares the increased construction volume per student, 66-70 cubic meters with 50 cubic meters in the practice of construction of regular Soviet universities, specifying that was a consequence of a number of excesses included in the project. Recommending the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the USSR and the University Rectorate that it was required to revise the departments and educational plan of the university, based on the fact that the normal construction volume per student should not exceed 65 cubic meters. It was also remarked that special attention should had been paid to the architectural-spatial composition and the reduction of construction volumes and costs.²⁹⁹

Below is the summary of lecture-laboratory and auxiliary areas by faculties, according to the approved task and project estimates for the building complex of the University of Peoples' Friendship named after Patrice Lumumba.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

| No. | Name of Faculties and Auxiliary Areas | Total Area in sq.m. | Including | |
|--------|--|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| | | | Educational-Production Area | Auxiliary Area |
| 1. | Library | 3000 | 2620 | 380 |
| 2. | Assembly Hall | 1630 | -- | 1630 |
| 3. | Administrative and Utility Rooms | 2710 | -- | 2710 |
| 4. | Engineering Faculty | 13360 | 11400 | 1960 |
| 5. | Faculties of Natural Sciences and Humanities | 7444 | 5454 | 1990 |
| 6. | Medical Faculty (without clinics) | 5870 | 4360 | 1610 |
| 7. | Agricultural Faculty | 2115 | 1605 | 510 |
| 8. | Historical-Philological and Economic-Law Faculty | 3304 | 2824 | 880 |
| 9. | Preparatory Faculty | 8200 | 7060 | 1140 |
| Total: | | 48133 | 35423 | 12710 |

Table 3.4. “The passport” of the University. (GARF)

The table indicates that 15 million 512 thousand rubles were estimated to be spent in the construction of the Patrice Lumumba Peoples’ Friendship University’s new campus complex. The table also shows the additional constructions start and finish dates, which was foreseen in the preliminary design phase as the future development of the University.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ GARF, F.9606 9 787

| Name of Construction Areas | Estimated Cost | Year of Construction Start | Year of Construction Finish |
|---|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Complex of educational buildings on Miklukho-Maklaya Street (43rd block): | 15 million 512 thousand rubles | 1967 | not finished* |
| Garage-parking | | 1967 | 1970 |
| Sports complex | | 1967 | 1970 |
| Vivarium | | 1967 | 1970 |
| Medical building | | 1967 | 1971 |
| Educational complex | | 1967 | 1975 |
| a) Cafeteria | | 1967 | 1975 |
| a) Lecture halls | | 1967 | 1975 |
| No.2 | | 1967 | 1975 |
| No.4 | | 1967 | 1975 |

Table 3.5. Construction of Educational and Dormitory Buildings (GARF)



Figure 3.17. Rally at the groundbreaking of the new university campus
(S.V. ,Rumyantsev, i drg.)



Figure 3.18. Main entrance of the University's new building.
(Photo by Kester Ken Klomegah)

(<https://thebftonline.com/2023/02/07/russian-university-renamed-after-congolese-patrice-lumumba/>)



Figure 3.19. Peoples' Friendship University main building.
(Sirke Mäkinen)

Aligned with the Soviet Union's commitment to internationalism, the architectural features of the main building also represented the international trends in post-war modernism. A new monumentality expressing the main entrance with protruding blind wall and a transparent concourse on the first ground was welcoming the international students to foster new encounters of friendship.

During the similar year another modernist educational building was constructed in Moscow with reference to avant-gardist features. The Moscow Engineering and Construction Institute not only had direct reference to Melnikov's constructivist "Rusakov Workers' Club" (1929) but also hosted Melnikov himself as instructor.³⁰²

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Figure 3.20. Rusakov Workers' Club, Melnikov. 1929.

(<http://russianconstructivists.blogspot.com/2011/09/rusakov-workers-club.html>)



Figure 3.21. V. V. Kuibyshev, Moscow Engineering and Construction Institute (Moscow State Construction University), 1968-86, Architects: Valery Stepanov, Ruben Melkumyan, Leonid Olbinsky, Yakov Studnikov, Vladimir Filatov, Vladimir Tyurin, I. Doronina.

(Anna Bronovistkaya, Nikolay Malinin, and Yuri Palmin, p.77.)



Figure 3.22. Wallpaper for the History of the Student Construction Brigade of Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (PFUR, September 2021)

When the construction of the University's campus began in 1966, under the brigade, the students also joined in their university's construction. It was in 1964 that the first construction brigade from Peoples' Friendship University was formed.

The wallpaper above describes the purposes of the Student Construction brigades as to unite students from various countries, to provide practical construction experience and to foster international cooperation and cultural exchange. Within this perspective the activities of the brigades were concentrated on the on construction of residential buildings, educational facilities, and community structures, organized cultural events, sports competitions, and community service projects, and improved friendship and mutual understanding among students from diverse backgrounds structured on communal labor. During the brigade service the students also organized cultural events, sports competitions, and community service projects. Those texts were the students' descriptions of the brigades:

Working in the construction brigade was not just about building structures. It was about building friendships and learning new skills. ... Every year, more and more students joined the brigades, contributing to the growth and development of our University. ... From the beginning, our goal was to provide practical experience and foster international cooperation. ... Students from different countries worked side by side, learning from each other and building a brighter future.³⁰³



Figure 3.23. Photos of participation of Student Construction Brigade of PFU to the construction of the university.

Prof. Rafael Arslanov, who is a professor in the Department of History currently in Peoples' Friendship University, also participated in the construction brigade while the University was under construction.

(Photographs from Arslanov's personal archive)

³⁰³ From the wallpaper.

3.2.2.2. The Campus

Moscow's urban development during Khrushchev's era saw significant changes. The existing city master plan was unsuitable for the new development model. As factories for reinforced concrete elements were being built, city planners developed a scheme for siting construction, determining the layout of mass housing districts on greenfield sites. The 1957 scheme retained the idea of a new city center on the Lenin Hills from the 1951 General Plan, prioritizing the southwest development and concentrating many individually designed buildings there. By 1960, the feasibility study for the General Plan for 1961-1985 was ready, though the General Plan itself would only be adopted in 1971, so the feasibility study (amended in 1966) fulfilled its role for ten years. "The main task was to determine the structure of residential districts based on the microdistrict principle, but also to identify locations for district centers intended to take on certain city-center functions in connection with the city's expansion. In the General Plan approved in 1971, prepared under the leadership of Moscow chief architect Mikhail Posokhin and intended to turn Moscow into an exemplary communist city, the logic of the concentric planning inherited from the 1935 plan remained, although it was partly compensated by polycentrism."³⁰⁴



Figure 3.24. Competition project for the reconstruction of Moscow City Center by Youth Brigade of Mosproekt-2, 1966
(Bronovistkaya, Malinin, and Palmin, p.18.)

³⁰⁴ Bronovistkaya, Malinin, and Palmin, pp.18-19

The city was segmented into eight planning zones, each equipped with its own center, production base, and social infrastructure—including educational, medical, and cultural institutions, stores, stadiums, and parks—ensuring residents could fulfill their needs locally. The radial planning zones’ centers extended along highways, with many unique buildings constructed within these boundaries. Olympic sports facilities were added later. The central planning area within the Garden Ring housed administrative and cultural institutions of city-, republic-, and national importance.³⁰⁵

Moscow State University (MGU) was marking the Lenin Hills in its historicist and soc-realist architectural style and being the tallest building of Europe till 1990s. However, the First Humanities Building of Moscow State University was built on the same plot being the first modernist inclusion in the monumental ensemble of Moscow State University on Lenin Hills. MGU’s decision to build a block on Lenin Hills to house the history, philology and law faculties was in 1965.



Figure 3.25. First Humanities Building of Moscow State University, 1965-1971.

Architects: Alexander Khryakov, Esfir Zolotnitskaya, Mikhail Chesakov.

(Bronovistkaya, Malinin, and Palmin, p.119.)

³⁰⁵ Bronovistkaya, Malinin, and Palmin, p.18.



Figure 3.26. View against the background of the Moscow State University complex together with Moscow State Circus, 1970s.

(Bronovistkaya, Malinin, and Palmin, p.118.)

The site selection of the Peoples' Friendship University dormitories and the educational and sportive complex was on the same direction to the south-east of the city. It was just at the outskirts of the city located out of the ring.



Figure 3.27. The campus area in 1961.

The Moscow State University building can also be seen at the background.

(V. A. Abramyan, p.4)

In the preliminary design examination report of main educational complex of Peoples' Friendship University, about the general settlement of the building in the site, it was commented that:

when determining the area for the educational and production zone, 70-80 m² per student should be considered as a minimum.

Thus, the area of the educational zone for a contingent of 4,000 people should be no less than 30-32 hectares, not including sports, residential, and other zones, which should be defined according to current standards.

To address issues of the university's prospective development, it is necessary to allocate a reserve zone of at least 10-15 hectares. The placement of a construction and other machinery testing ground in this area is considered impractical by the experts. The testing ground should be allocated a site outside the residential area of the city.³⁰⁶



Figure 3.28. University's modern-day campus from University's web page (<http://eng.rudn.ru/about/our-campus/>)

³⁰⁶ RGAE, F.5 1 138

From Moscow plans the location of the selected site for Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University is marked on the below maps.



Figure 3.29. Scheme of Moscow, 1968.

Printing house VDNKH

(http://www.etomesto.com/map-moscow_1968-vdnh/)

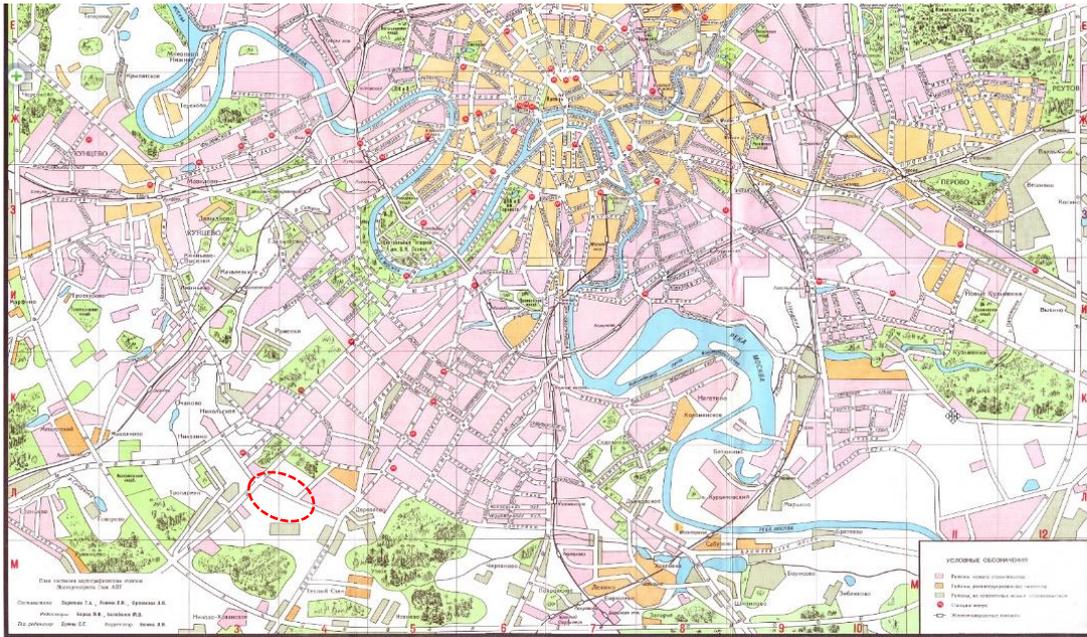


Figure 3.30. Plan of Moscow, 1968

(http://www.etomesto.com/map-moscow_1968/)

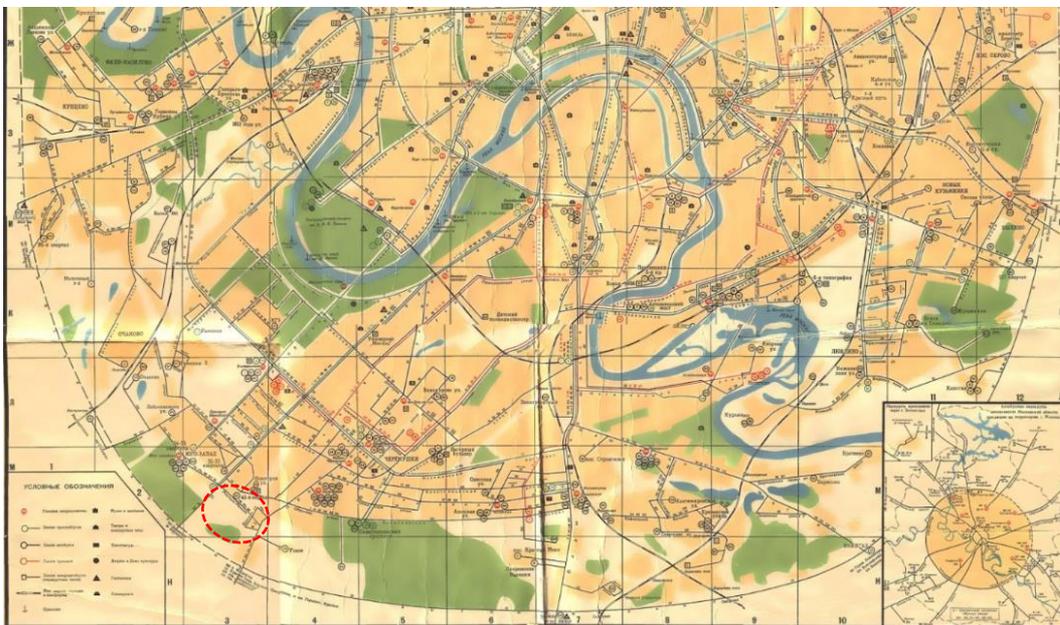


Figure 3.31. Scheme of urban transport routes in Moscow, 1969

(http://www.etomesto.com/map-moscow_1969-transport/)

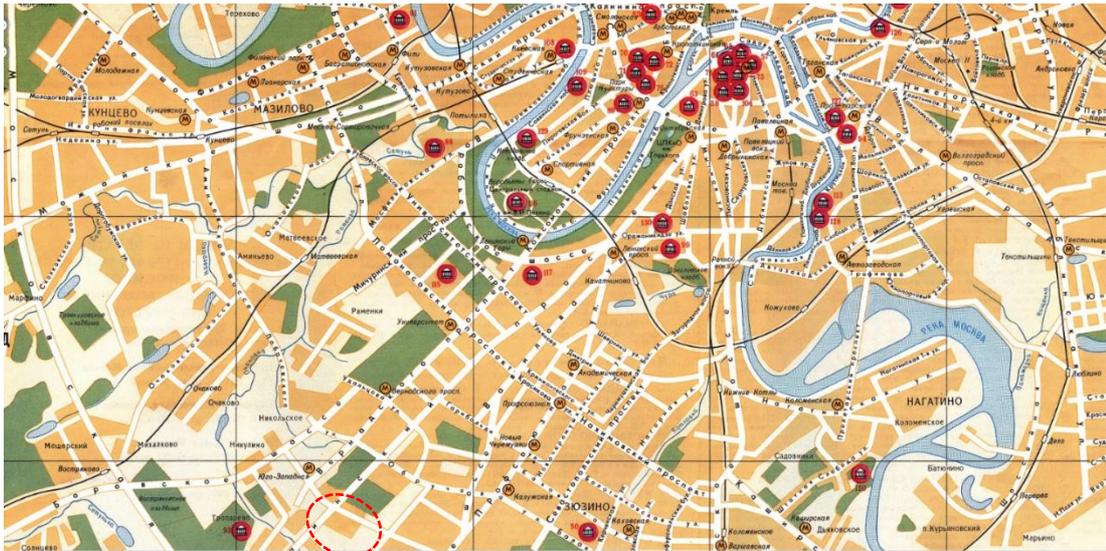


Figure 3.32. Architectural map of Moscow, 1973

(http://www.etomesto.com/map-moscow_1973-architecture/)

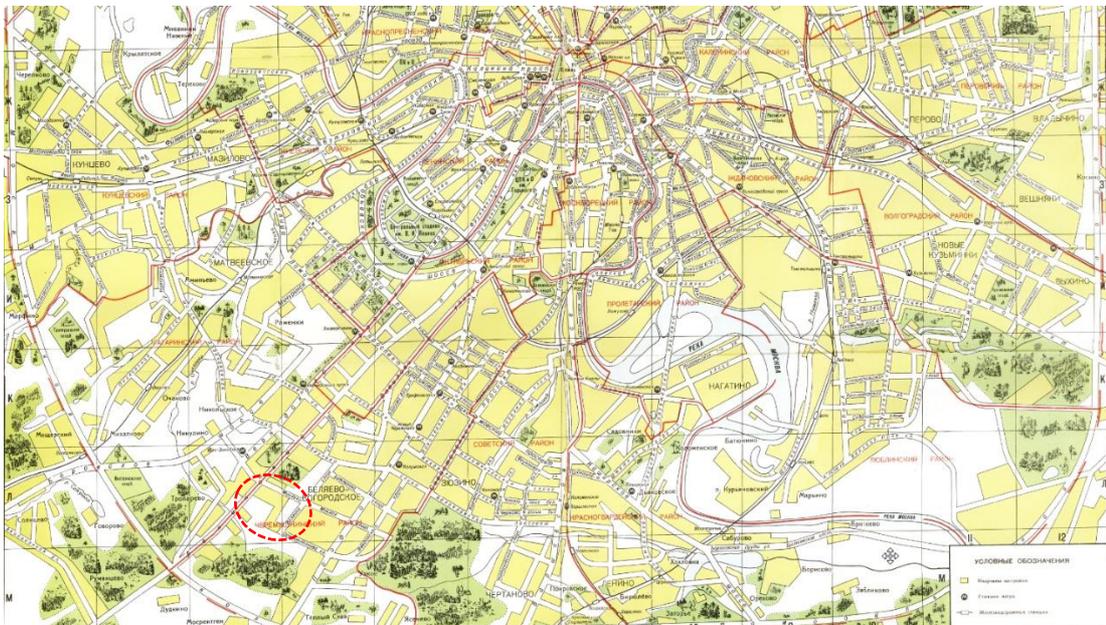


Figure 3.33. Schematic plan of Moscow, 1973

(http://www.etomesto.com/map-moscow_1973/)

The site chosen for the campus of the Peoples' Friendship University was on the outskirts of Moscow. At the beginning of the 1960s the south-west district of Moscow had more open and available land for large-scale developments. The area was relatively had less connections to the central parts of Moscow, however the expansion of Moscow Metro was under process to the further developments in the south-east part

of the city. The Sokolnicheskaya Line³⁰⁷ was the first metro line in Moscow and its expansion to the south-east part of Moscow was executed by the opening of the metro station “Yugo-zapadnaya”³⁰⁸ in 1963. As Figure 3.32 and Figure 3.34 shows, the selected site of the campus was close to the planned the metro station “Yugo-zapadnaya.”

As Moscow experienced significant growth and urbanization, the surrounding of the university campus gradually became more integrated into the city's broader urban landscape. In contemporary times, the south-west district of Moscow, where the campus is situated, has evolved into a densely populated and well-developed area, featuring extensive residential, commercial, and educational infrastructure. Indeed, the university is proud of its green campus celebrating it as a greenest campus in Moscow and calling the university as “city in city.”³⁰⁹

3.3. Living in the Peoples’ Friendship University

3.3.1. Being a (Foreign) Student in USSR, Moscow, Peoples’ Friendship University



Figure 3.34. Map of the Soviet Union in the University’s booklet

³⁰⁷ The red line

³⁰⁸ Means south-west

³⁰⁹ RUDN website.

<https://eng.rudn.ru/about/our-campus/>

Figure 3.34 highlights Moscow's location and giving information about summer planning and resting opportunities for foreign students studying in Moscow, the text on the figure is as: ³¹⁰

During summer vacations the students have their rest at rest homes and sanatoria of Soviet Trade Unions, sport camps situated in picturesque places of the Black Sea coast, health camps in the agricultural regions of Moldavia, and also go on tourist trips throughout the republics and cities of the Soviet Union. The students usually spend their winter vacations at rest homes in the Moscow suburbs or stay in Moscow and take part in excursions, go to the theatres, concert-halls, clubs, cafés and meet their Moscow friends.

The University allocates additional funds for the organization of the students' rest. The students in need of medical treatment are sent to sanatoria free of charge.

*The University also carries over 50% of the expenses during trips to rest homes, camps and long-distance trips to other cities and republics of the country.*³¹¹

A report, on the planning of summer vacation of the foreign undergraduate and graduate students where the students could go to rest in the Soviet facilities, were conducted on Komsomol's organizing the non-educatory period for the students, and outlined the summer vacation plans for foreign students in Moscow in 1962, detailing the number of students, their destinations, and accommodation arrangements. According to the report, total number of foreign students studying in Moscow in 1962 was 9567 students. Significantly, the planning report makes a distinction between the students which had come from other socialist countries ("people's democracies" in the report) and non-socialist countries. In that regard the number of the student from

³¹⁰ V. A. Abramyan, p.68

³¹¹ Ibid.

socialist countries was 6125 whereas the number of the students from non-socialist countries was 3442.³¹²

It was foreseen that by July 1 of 1962 approximately 830 students would be graduated from Moscow universities and return to their home-countries, and approximately 3000 students were considered to go home, to their countries for spending their holidays. In that regard it was the number of 5700 foreign students that were estimated to be remained in the Soviet Union for the summer period of the year 1962.

According to that plan 2100 vouchers to rest homes and sanatoria are allocated by the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions to the students who needed treatment. Also for the number of 3800 students the sports and wellness camps of Moscow universities were organized as:

1. In Zvenigorod 600 people - in two shifts – MGU (Moscow State University)
2. At the rest home "Burevestnik" - Lazarevskaya station - MGU - 400 people, in two shifts
3. In Gelendzhik 400 people - in two shifts – MEI (Moscow Power Engineering Institute)
4. At the rest home "Chaika" - Lazarevskaya station 600 people – in two shifts, MADI (Moscow Automobile and Road Construction State Technical University)
5. In "Alushta" 400 people - in two shifts MINH and GP (Moscow Institute of Petrochemical and Gas Industry)
6. In Gurzuf 600 people - in two shifts MGIMO (Moscow State Institute of International Relations)
7. In Moldova 600 people - in two shifts Peoples' Friendship University.

³¹² GARF, R9606 2 77-78 (P9606 2 77-78)

Moreover, for 800 foreign students they planned excursion trips to other cities of the Soviet Union which were: Leningrad, Kiev, Riga, Odessa, Baku, Tbilisi, etc. according to university plans. Likewise, 600 foreign students which were studying in universities out of Moscow were estimated to come to Moscow for July and August of the same year. 400 of them were planned to be accommodated in the Student House of Moscow State University and the remaining 200 students were planned to be accommodated in the dormitory of Moscow Power Engineering Institute in Lefortovo.³¹³

In his speech in the year of 1975, the rector of the Peoples' Friendship University specified that the University had its own two camps in Moldova.³¹⁴

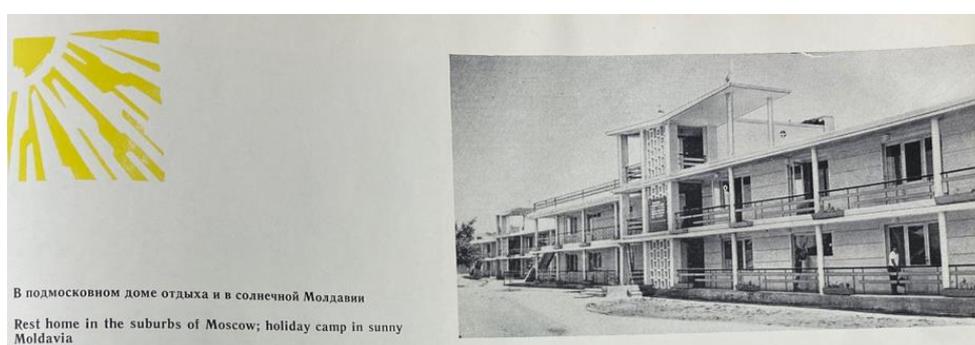


Figure 3.35. The camp facility in Moldova.

(V. A. Abramyan)



Figure 3.36. “They become friends in Moscow”

(*The Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow*, Moscow:

Novosti Press Agency publishing House, 1973.)

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ V. F. Stanis,

3.3.2. Public and Private, and Student Life in the Campus

The distinction between public and private life in the Soviet Union during the Khrushchev era is complex and fluid, often defying clear categorization. Scholars typically use spatial metaphors like spheres or realms to define public and private aspects of life, but these metaphors struggle to encapsulate the lived reality of the time. The Russian term "*byt*" encompasses domesticity, lifestyle, and personal relations, highlighting the everyday aspects of life that were subject to both state oversight and individual autonomy. The state's policies were contradictory, aiming to merge public and private life while also maintaining some separation, leading to shifting and unstable definitions of what constituted public and private spheres.³¹⁵

The state's inconsistent approach to private life, especially under Khrushchev, further complicated this dichotomy. Efforts to monitor and regulate personal behavior under the banner of communist morality coexisted with policies that allowed for some personal autonomy. The concept of a "correct communist private life" was heavily propagandized, with professionals and organizations providing specific guidelines on private matters such as sex, marriage, and child-rearing. This paradoxical stance highlighted the intangible and variable nature of public and private life, where public policies and private practices often intersected and overlapped, creating a nuanced and dynamic interplay.³¹⁶

Understanding private life in this context involves considering how Soviet citizens navigated their personal spaces within the constraints of state policies and communal living conditions. Privacy was often achieved not through physical spaces or institutions but through imaginative and emotional exertions. Practices like "depersonalization" of neighbors or manipulation of official discourse were strategies to carve out private spheres within the public domain. This resulted in a versatile and changeable set of practices that defined private life, challenging traditional metaphors

³¹⁵ Field, p.163.

³¹⁶ Ibid., pp.164-165.

and requiring new conceptual frameworks to accurately describe the interplay between public and private in Soviet everyday life.³¹⁷

Defining everyday life as in endless flux, transdisciplinary approach leads scholars to the examination of “contact zones of everyday life where grand historical events and ideological contests are personally experienced,” and identities and subjectivities were formed in its nexus.³¹⁸

Scholarly, everyday life is described as a secular and democratic concept as it is no longer connected with the sacred or magical and it recognizes the shared reality of mundane as every life contains elements of the ordinary.³¹⁹ Thus, everyday life is grounded in three key features: time, space and habit, where, in Felski’s view, temporality is about repetition, spatiality is anchored in the sense of home, and the experiencing the everyday is characterized in the mode of habit.³²⁰

Exploration of everyday life architecturally is accompanied by Lefebvre’s research where he tied everyday life with sustenance, clothing, furnishing, homes, neighborhoods, and environment by drawing attention not to confuse it with just as material culture. So, his definition of everyday is “the nexus of spaces and times that repeatedly trigger bodily habits and cultural memories-the habitus.”³²¹ As Upton shows, the everyday works “through bodily memory instilled by repeated action in organized time and space.”³²²

The repetitive activities of everyday life are strictly connected with the reproduction of physical life by the self-realization at participating in social networks, cultural

³¹⁷ Field, p.177.

³¹⁸ Chatterjee, et al., pp.2-4.

³¹⁹ Rita Felski, “The Invention of Everyday Life,” *New Formations*, 39, (Winter: 1999-2000), p.16.

³²⁰ Felski, p.18.

³²¹ Upton, p.720.

³²² Ibid.

performances and evolving practices at home, at the workplace, and at sites of leisure.³²³

The communal dormitory, or *obshchezhitie*, was a primary form of housing for many Soviet citizens due to housing shortages and mass urban migration. These dormitories were meant to embody values of equality, frugality, and communal responsibility, but often resulted in excessive communality and the need for residents to find privacy in public spaces like corridors. The design and function of these buildings reflected the state's attempts to merge public and private life, yet the reality was more nuanced. The ideological goals of these infrastructures were underdetermined by their material forms, leading to a complex interplay where public and private realms coexisted and interacted in unexpected ways. This dichotomy highlights how Soviet dormitory life blurred the lines between public and private, shaping a unique social dynamic that both adhered to and deviated from state-imposed ideals.³²⁴

The construction of the dormitories at the Peoples' Friendship University began alongside the establishment of the university in 1960. The dormitories were part of the initial infrastructure development to accommodate the diverse international student body. The main construction phase for the dormitories, along with the main educational buildings, started in the mid-1960s and continued into the early 1970s. By 1970, significant portions of the campus, including the dormitories, were completed to support the growing number of students from various countries.

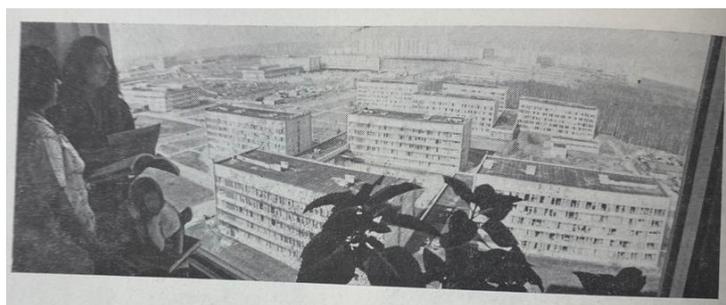


Figure 3.37. Dormitories (Museum of Peoples' Friendship University)
(V. A. Abramyan)

³²³ Chatterjee, et al., p.2.

³²⁴ Caroline Humphrey, "Ideology in Infrastructure: Architecture and Soviet Imagination," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (Mar., 2005), p.52.

There were 100 major organizations of students, graduate students and interns, the main ones being: student councils of faculties, dormitories, national united citizens, women's committee, international boards of university club and sports club, council of scientific student society, editorial board of newspaper "Drujba", etc.

At the university there are several clubs where concerts, national festivals, parties, discussions exhibitions, film-shows, etc. were often organized.

The clubs direct the work of amateur art societies guided by experienced teachers can develop their abilities in arts. There was an art studio at the club. All club facilities are free of charge.³²⁵

In the booklet of the University published in English, the Soviet student Alexei Zhinkin's reviews about the student life in the Peoples' Friendship University facilities shows the encounters from the local point of view.

It so happens that Soviet and foreign students room together. My room-mate is Japanese, and we have been living together like brothers the whole time. We have a lot in common and have not run into any difficulties during the four years. In many respects we even have similar views, although he comes from a capitalist country and I was born in a socialist country and do not know what capitalism is like.

One of my friends is a student from Nigeria, Philip Patupo. He is a great chap. I am in the same study group as Alvarado Gonzalez from Nicaragua and many other young people from Arab states and Latin America. I came to know the Latin Americans quite well because I play basketball with them in the University team.

³²⁵ V. A. Abramyan, p.78.

The students in the room next to us are going in for law. I help them with their studies, especially in coping with the Russian language. And I must say that the foreign students are just as well versed in other subjects as Soviet students are. And at the examinations it is the knowledge of the subject generally, and not Russian, that is the main thing. Naturally, there are both Russian students and students from other countries who get excellent marks and some who happen to fail.

Any of the students, especially those who have been here for some time, will agree that there is a friendly comradely atmosphere at the University.³²⁶



Figure 3.38. Students' gathering in the dormitories
(V. A. Abramyan)

The university was also able to provide networks of associations along national lines through student groups. Before the establishment of the Peoples' Friendship University, one of the major complaints of foreign students in the Soviet Union was the prohibition against forming student organizations based on nationality. However,

³²⁶ *The Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow*, Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1973, pp.42-43.

the shifting policy towards national independence movements in the 1960s and the more isolated environment of the Peoples' Friendship University helped to alleviate the previously tense situation surrounding national student groups. These national organizations, while always working closely with university administrators, played a crucial role in helping new students adapt, providing academic support, nominating candidates for student government, and actively participating in various conferences, seminars, meetings, amateur drama contests, and sports competitions.³²⁷



Figure 3.39. Football tournament in the campus
(S.V., Rumyantsev, i drg)

The selection of the photographs in the Peoples' Friendship University booklets exemplifies how the University itself desired to present its spatial opportunities and facilities. The spacious, transparent insides which also have vistas showing the outside campus tries to welcome the prospective students to the modernist atmosphere of the University

³²⁷ Abigail Judge Kret, "We Unite with Knowledge' The Peoples' Friendship University and Soviet Education for the Third World," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 33, No. 2, (2013), p.254.

3.3.3.1. The Critics

Reactions against Soviet practices of recruitment and indoctrination, as well as student denunciation of racial discrimination and criticism of their poor living conditions in the USSR, began before the Peoples' Friendship University had even opened its doors. There were concerns about segregation, with efforts to segregate the non-whites from the whites by placing them in a separate university institution altogether. Accounts of disillusioned Africans, former students at Moscow State University (MGU), appeared in several languages and were used in Western propaganda to caution Africans that Moscow should not be regarded as their Mecca.³²⁸

The university also faced issues about placing or accommodating students from newly independent countries which did have very different cultures and sometimes did not have good relations among them. Particularly some African countries criticized this situation in accordance with the dividedness of Africa. Arab governments of north African countries questioned Soviet decision to create a university specifically for students from Third World countries. In some Arab countries, the rejection of Peoples' Friendship University was due less to the relative isolation of Arab students from the Soviet milieu and more to the diverse Third World mixture of the University's student body. There were concerns about coexisting with students from Sub-Saharan Africa, for whom Peoples' Friendship University was perceived to be reserved. For example, the government of Morocco stated in a diplomatic note to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs in October 1960 that they did not intend to send students to the Peoples' Friendship University, preferring their students to connect with the Soviet cultural and student milieu rather than mixing with Afro-Asian or Latin American students, who could be met in their own countries. There was also a sentiment that young Tunisians had an education level comparable to European students, while the

³²⁸ Abigail Judge Kret, "We Unite with Knowledge' The Peoples' Friendship University and Soviet Education for the Third World," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 33, No. 2, (2013), p.244.

university was more suited to African students whose level was perceived to be lower.³²⁹

As part of the direct recruitment and selection program of the new university, Soviet embassies and consulates in Asian, African, and Latin American countries circulated information detailing eligibility and study conditions at the University. Local Communist parties and organizations such as the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, along with their affiliates and newspaper advertisements, helped inform prospective students of available scholarships and the rules of admission. However, Peoples' Friendship University's recruitment policy was a major cause of anxiety, which Western-oriented countries strongly opposed. For instance, Algeria demanded that the Soviets close non-governmental channels for granting scholarships, while Syria criticized Peoples' Friendship University for recruiting students without the knowledge of the Syrian government.

Issues also arose concerning the accreditation and recognition of UDN diplomas. In Sri Lanka, the right-leaning United National Party, which came to power in 1965, refused to recognize the degrees of Peoples' Friendship University graduates. Similarly, the anti-communist Indonesian regime did the same after 1966. Graduates from Mexico and Ecuador reported administrative complications and delays in accrediting their degrees. Several countries either refused to accredit the Peoples' Friendship University diploma or did so slowly, after their commissions had dealt with each returnee separately.

Taking into account of the criticisms the rectorate of the University rearranged the study durations of the faculties. This expansion included a reduction in weekly class hours and the systematization of practical training for all students. History and Philology students often trained in museums, mining engineers utilized MGU bases in Crimea, and civil engineers worked at construction sites around Moscow, including the campus of the University. Completed in the mid-1970s, the campus featured a polyclinic for medical student training, a computer center, numerous well-equipped

³²⁹ Constantin Katsakioris, "The Lumumba University in Moscow: Higher Education for a Soviet–Third World Alliance, 1960–91," *Journal of Global History*, 14: 2, (2019), p.291.

laboratories, and various other facilities. According to the plan, between 1976 and 1987, the annual enrollment of Soviet students averaged 358, compared to 655 foreign students. Carefully selected by the Komsomol, many of these students were PhD candidates aspiring to careers in the growing field of Soviet–Third World relations. As an international school offering linguistic training to Soviet students, Peoples’ Friendship University was also the only university where a Soviet jurist, mathematician, or engineer could defend their thesis in a foreign language.³³⁰

The duration of study per main faculties of the Peoples’ Friendship University was established as:

- Faculty of Engineering - 5 years;
- Faculty of Physics, Mathematics and Natural Sciences - 5 years;
- Faculty of Medicine - 6 years;
- Faculty of Economics and Law - 4 years 6 months;
- Faculty of History and Philology: in “Russian Language” - 5 years; in History - 5 years;
- Faculty of Agriculture - 4 years 6 months.

Despite these criticisms, Peoples’ Friendship University remained a powerful symbol of Moscow’s, and hence the Soviet solidarity with the Third World. The university was seen as a safe haven by some, but to others, it was viewed as a terrorist camp. This dichotomy highlighted the complex and often controversial role that the university played in the global political landscape.

Administration of the University was the governing body of the university to which the rector is responsible, the University Council, remained much the same in composition though its size increased during several years of operation. It consisted of the rector as chairman, representatives of the three declared founding organizations

³³⁰ Constantin Katsakioris, “The Lumumba University in Moscow: Higher Education for a Soviet–Third World Alliance, 1960–91,” *Journal of Global History*, 14: 2, (2019), p.296.

of the university (the Soviet Committee of Solidarity of Asian and African Countries, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions), representatives of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and of Soviet youth organizations, prorectors, deans of the faculties, and representatives of the teaching staff and students.³³¹

3.4. Concluding Remarks on Building the University as the Social Condenser

Savaş points out that post-war public universities which were designed and founded in the 1950s and the 1960s became the sites of architectural diversity and coherence, representing the modern architecture's engagement with the issues of ideological will and the democratic distribution of "intellectual wealth", thus being more than an aesthetic impulse. It was the campus architecture that enabled the functionalist architectural discourse to be flourished in with new insights based on technological and social progress.³³²

As an exemplary site from Turkey, Erdim identifies the making of the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara "as one of the first and significant projects where the idea of training for development was fully realized." This process was an outcome of American university contracts (discussed in the Chapter 2) abroad with the governments of receiver states. University making and the campus building of METU could thus be regarded as the realization of the institutional and spatial conceptualization of the idea of training and education as a new strategy of development in the political context of the cold war. In this regard, the development of METU was significant in depicting how post-war modernism's approach to issues of housing and town and country planning was mediated and transformed within the

³³¹ Seymour M. Rosen, *The Development of Peoples' Friendship University in Moscow*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p.10.

³³² Ayşen Savaş, "Three Modern Campuses, Three Revolutions, Three Experiments," *OverHolland* 22. Vol: 14. 2023, pp.9-11.

political and professional settings it encountered as it traveled from the United States to the post-war Middle East.³³³ Despite the intentions of the USA and Turkish governments of the 1950s, “it is significant to note that the University and its Campus had become the epi-center of anti-American and anti-capitalist national revolutionary movements in Turkey by the late 1960s and the early 1970s. ... Many METU buildings and sites around its Campus had also inscribed themselves into the Turkish national consciousness as iconic sites of resistance and revolution against right-wing conservatism, capitalism and imperialism.”³³⁴

Yıldız underlines the capacity of universities to generate publicness within the scope of its ability for knowledge production, research and academic practices in a wider scale. Her attention to the potentially important social, cultural and political practices and the role of spatial configuration of the campus to these practices, fulfills the inefficiency in the literature. In this regard, the relation between the production of learning environment and the production of public realm where the students and teaching staff get into various social relations becomes important, amidst the relation between the spatial organization of campus and its accessibility and openness both for the society and academic community. Hence, university campuses are public spaces which, unlike city parks, streets and plazas, are not publicly accessible and shared by all citizens.³³⁵

In this context, the open areas of the Peoples’ Friendship University were open to the public, whereas the educatory and accommodational buildings were not accessible by the common public. However, starting from the construction of the University, the participation of the public, through the student construction brigades, was a significant feature.

³³³ Burak Erdim, “Middle East Technical University and Revolution: Development Planning and Architectural Education during the Cold War, 1950-1962” Ph.D. Diss., Raleigh, North Carolina: University of Virginia, December, 2012, p.1.

³³⁴ Burak Erdim, p.13.

³³⁵ Berna Yaylalı Yıldız, “University Campuses as Places of Potential Publicness: Exploring The Political, Social and Cultural Practices in Ege University,” Ph.D. Diss., İzmir: İzmir Institute of Technology, 2014, p.255.

The contribution of students to the construction of their own university is a very “unique” example of collective process, which reminds the historical avant-gardist methodologies. Constructivism, as described by Ginzburg in the journal *SA (Contemporary Architecture)* as a method of laboratory and teaching work³³⁶, can be claimed to have been materialized in the course of building the Peoples’ Friendship University.

Revisiting the constructivist principles, Catherine Cooke reminds that the Constructivist group developed from several groups of which the Inkhuk’s Objective Analysis Group (OSA) was the seminal one. The ideals of Tatlin and Kandinsky together with the Inkhuk’s working group were developed as the constructivists’ method during the mid-1920s. The principles and methods of the avant-gardist collective were publicized by three important publications, which are Alexei Gan’s book *Constructivism* of 1922, Moisei Ginzburg’s article “Style and Epoch” of 1924, and the journal of the group *Contemporary Architecture (SA)*, which published series of theoretical articles during 1926-27.³³⁷

Gan’s book Constructivism of 1922 was a highly political polemic which gave Marxist coloration to that shift in the artists role which had been signalled by Tatlin. In Tatlin’s language, the artist whom capitalism allowed only to ‘embellish individual family nests’ would now ‘take control of the forms of the new way of life.’ The fine-artist would become a designer. Gan was the first to identify these and other key ideas of emergent Constructivism not just with ‘Revolution’ but with Marxism, and to give a clearly materialist rationale for their engagement with architecture and city form. In drawing attention to how the old capitalist buildings were hindering social reorganization, and how ‘correct’ buildings could conversely help it, he planted the notion of the building as social catalyst that Constructivist architects later formalized, on a

³³⁶ Cooke, p.90.

³³⁷ Cooke, p.89.

*chemical or electrical analogy (it is not clear which) as 'the social condenser.'*³³⁸

Gan insisted that design was no longer to be 'the communication of one's own fantasies.' The Constructivists believed that, in a socialist society, it must be an open, collective process to which specialist and laymen would contribute at appropriate points.³³⁹

If we turn back to the 1960s, on the one hand, it is considered that "the single-family house campaign", which was a policy of the Khrushchev period, would increase the quality of life of Soviet citizens, but on the other hand, it can be argued that this was an attempt that was far from helping the production of the new way of life discussed by Tatlin in the 1920s, and was even a fact behind the period that it should have surpassed.

Therefore, campus environment and university corridors and education-related units, sports facilities, dormitories where life is reproduced outside the house provide more opportunities for the production of a new way life.

The concern to reproduce a Marxist perspective in the spheres of art and architecture, rising with theoretical references and polemics and not relying solely on the rhetoric of being revolutionary, was a pluralist environment of historical avant-gardists in the revolutionary times where intellectual vitality, creativity and discussion were fostering the productivity, and the productivity fostered the pluralist environment. We see this environment in certain respects in the 1960s, a period when world socialism had not yet begun to decline, when world liberalism had not yet declared its victory, and when world capitalism had succumbed to the successive waves of independence and revolution in the international arena, and when this situation created excitement in intellectuals and directed students to recreate a potential that would reorganize the streets. This period was also a period when references to the 1920s were established

³³⁸ Cooke, p.89.

³³⁹ Cooke, p.89.

and revolutionary concepts were re-visited and questioned again in art and literature. In this regard the constructivist concepts were revisited as a philosophy predominantly concerned with the function of architecture as a social catalyst, with what Soviet terminology calls literally “social construction.”³⁴⁰

In this frame, I would like to compare constructivist architects’ approach, i.e. in what sense they were Marxist as Cooke questions, with the process of building the Peoples’ Friendship University. Firstly, the reality of the early postcolonial period gave the possibility or opportunity to the Soviet leadership to contribute to the shaping of the future of newly liberated nations. Cooke reminds that it was Gan who referred to Marx’s famous quote describing the constructivist principles. “The theoreticians of the proletariat must set themselves the cognitive task of giving themselves an account of what is really going on in front of their eyes, and of becoming the interpreters and explainers of that reality.”³⁴¹

Sargin and Savaş’s reminder that “a university is a society,”³⁴² making the Peoples’ Friendship University with its curriculum, admissions, academic aims, and realizing it on the soil with reinforced concrete, with carefully calculated design process can be regarded as a reference to the constructivist principle of looking at problems and event in their total contexts, “not compartmentalizing them off from factors that were in reality having an influence on them.”³⁴³

As the design report signified before the construction, the University would change and expand over time, so that the site allocation should be arranged accordingly. Similarly, the reminder of Cooke that being Marxist meant looking at things in terms of how they are changing, and the worlds of Communist Party Secretary Kaganovich while talking of housing and planning in 1931 could be noted: “It would be entirely

³⁴⁰ Catherine Cooke, “Russian Avant-Garde: ...” p.99.

³⁴¹ Cooke, p118.

³⁴² Güven Sargin and Ayşen Savaş, “‘A University is a Society’: An Environmental History of the METU ‘Campus’,” *The Journal of Architecture*, 21:4, (2016), pp. 602-629.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

un-Marxist to try to foresee what exactly the form of the communist way of life will be in the distant future: we know only that it will change.”³⁴⁴

Post-war design process in the Soviet Union resembled the collective production. The design institutions such as *Mosproekt* (Moscow Workshops for Research and Production in Architecture and Urban Planning) was responsible for the preliminary design of the Peoples’ Friendship University. This was the fourth phenomenon of the constructivists in their insistence on collective responsibility on architectural process.

Besides the designing phase, the designed environment become a “social catalyst” in the way to participate in both the national economy and the international economies via foreign students. Moreover, education in the Soviet Union was participatory, as it took the polytechnic principles to be integrated in life matters of economy both in factories and farms, as well as the scientific facilities. Students’ participatory education, and students’ participatory construction intertwined in the campus together with collectivized non-educatory social, artistic, sportive and recreational re-organization of life of students who were temporarily gathered from different backgrounds of cultures, territories and linguistic diversities.

This is also how the university was proactive, reflecting the fifth principle to have the products of the architectural work to be agents of specific social change. It was designing and constructing for the purpose of changing the world, where the Peoples’ Friendship University’s purpose was put as to raise the future cadres of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America who would be the bearers of the development of their independent states.

In this regard:

The idea of the social condenser proposed deploying architecture as a way to forge radical new kinds of human collectivities: collectivities of co-habitation, of coproduction, of intellectual work; as well as collectivities of affect, beauty,

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

*empathy and passion. ... In its very formulation, it encompasses society's economic and material infrastructure, the humdrum minutiae of everyday life as well as the unruly domains of the transcendental and fantastical. Crucially, it also encompasses the entire domain of architectural endeavour: from dwelling and work to public space and everything in between.*³⁴⁵

³⁴⁵ Michał Murawski and Jane Rendell, "The Social Condenser: A century of Revolution through Architecture, 1917-2017," *The Journal of Architecture*, 22:3, (2017), p.369.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The Marxist literature claims that the dialectics of two contradicting entity would end up with triumph of one. Two competing and contradicting world systems, capitalism and socialism, regenerate their dispute in every possible way and condition with institutionalizing every possible establishment. And ideology gains significance in its convertibility of feelings such as sympathy and antipathy. This is how the Soviet Union was perceived by different generations of outsiders (and now insiders) with the feelings of being charmed and disappointed. The policy of “peaceful coexistence” in the Cold War context trying to survive the war-worn Soviet multi-nation and impress the foreign public can be regarded as a good rhetoric but a hard example of testing the theory that would lead to serious consequences.

The socialist experiments to date have faced a series of internal problems, in addition to the interventions of the capitalist world. In this respect questions on how to sustain economic growth in the face of constantly changing needs and expectations; how to sustain the revolutionary momentum through the second, third and fourth generations of the revolution; how to balance a revolutionary internationalist foreign policy with the need for peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world; how to take advantage of the latest global developments in science and technology while avoiding economic and diplomatic isolation were the challenging issues especially for the central power of the socialist world.³⁴⁶

A centralized and planned country shaped on the basis of a planned economy like the Soviet Union, contains an integrated social life “from end to end” which is a unique

³⁴⁶ Carlos Martinez, *Başlangıcın Sonu: Sovyetler'in Çöküşünden Dersler*, Çev.: Ali Haluk İmeryüz, İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2022, p.11.

togetherness of all elements of life. This integration when met with creativity, youth and multiculturalism that expressed themselves in this integrated life, created a new hope for the future and a chance for world peace. If we consider “social condenser” from this perspective, the Peoples’ Friendship University’s potential to reproduce or reevaluate the "avant-gardist concept" in the creation of a new urban culture with the opportunities and limitations it offered can be appreciated more than the students’ dynamics of the Nanterre as Lefebvre re-conceptualizes the term. However, it should be noted that potentiality in a “failed utopia” can also be regarded as a “failure” as far as it is unable to turn leisure time into enjoyable time, the use of leisure time outside what the bourgeoisie has found, the inability to find enjoyable time, and the failure to create a new human.³⁴⁷

However, the potential of the 1960s’ urbanized and industrialized socialist capital to reproduce the everyday space with an “architectural method for harnessing, or ‘crystallizing’ the extraordinary or not-yet-formed, for bringing it down to earth and deploying it to create a new society”³⁴⁸ became an important issue to investigate. The finding of this study is closer to the portrayal of the avant-gardist concept of “social condenser” as Murawski and Rendell figure out that “the idea of the social condenser proposed deploying architecture as a way to forge radical new kinds of human collectivities: collectivities of co-habitation, of coproduction, of intellectual work; as well as collectivities of affect, beauty, empathy and passion”.³⁴⁹

Building Peoples’ Friendship University with its aims, facilities, campus and encounters of multinationalism and internationalism within itself is also closer to that description of a social condenser which is “riven with paradoxes and contradictions: between collectivist and individualist understandings of social relations; centripetal and centrifugal motions and spatialities; determinism and indeterminacy; small and

³⁴⁷ Yalçın Küçük, *Sovyetler Birliği’nde Sosyalizmin Çözülüşü*, İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1991, p.11.

³⁴⁸ Michał Murawski, “Introduction: Crystallising the Social Condenser,” *The Journal of Architecture*, 22:3, (2017), p.379.

³⁴⁹ Michał Murawski and Jane Rendell, “The Social Condenser: A century of Revolution through Architecture, 1917-2017,” *The Journal of Architecture*, 22:3, (2017), p.369.

large scales; vertical and horizontal forms; mundaneness and extraordinariness; expropriatory and appropriatory economic and social logics; success and failure.”³⁵⁰

The study has tried to examine why and how Peoples’ Friendship University aimed to become a “social condenser” of the relation between the Soviet Union and other countries. In line with the findings of this study, further research is required in order to evaluate whether its potentiality did remain within the boundaries of its campus or reached overseas by its graduates as a result of the literal link between this university’s graduates and the decolonization and liberation movements in the Third World. Thus, postcolonial theory should incorporate this unique case into the global narrative of social, urban and architectural histories.

Renamed for Patrice Lumumba after the Congolese leader was killed in 1961, the university became a hub of knowledge production especially on Africa, as were other specialized institutes established in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia over the course of the 1960s. The department of construction engineering (and later the department of architecture) produced knowhow about designing and building on specific African climates and locations. Moreover, the university was instrumental to produce knowhow on architecture for hot climates. Experiences of the student construction brigades also helped this knowledge production as the Soviet officials portrayed the similarity of the sites of central Asian Soviet republic in terms of climate and culture. Thus, the University become instrumental for future construction of hospitals, theatres, sports facilities and community centers in the newly independent countries. Although these structures vary in their functions, subsequent uses, forms of construction and architectural features, they continue to provide frameworks for daily life, form points of concentration and vectors of expansion for urbanization processes and are sometimes even celebrated as monuments of decolonization and national independence. Construction industries in these cities often rely on materials produced by factories established by socialist state

³⁵⁰ Michał Murawski, “Introduction: Crystallising the Social Condenser,” *The Journal of Architecture*, 22:3, (2017), p.372.

enterprises, and local architecture and planning schools use curricula developed from early iterations written by professionals from socialist countries.³⁵¹

To conclude, examining why and how Peoples' Friendship University aimed to become a "social condenser" of the relation between the Soviet Union and other countries, this study points out the fact that its campus provided the space for the realization of this aim, and the potential influences of the university exceeded the boundaries of the campus to reach overseas by its graduates in the Third World. Further investigations for tracing the trajectory of the knowledge production on how it exceeded the boundaries would enrich the postcolonial theory.

³⁵¹ Łukasz Stanek, *Architecture in Global Socialism: Eastern Europe, West Africa, and the Middle East in the Cold War*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2020, p.2.

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APPENDICES

A. PHOTOS FROM THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS (SEPTEMBER 2021)

(taken by the author)











B. CURRICULUM VITAE

ALİ HAYDAR ALPTEKİN

EDUCATION

- Ph.D.: History of Architecture,
Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey (July 2024)
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PUBLICATIONS (National)

Journal Papers

- Alptekin, Ali H., “Moskova’dan Bakmak: Batılı Aydınların Gözünden Modernin Moskova Seyahati [ya da Bauhaus’un Sonu, Avangardın Yönü]”
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- Alptekin, Ali Haydar, Ed., *Etik ve Bilirkişilik*, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2011.
- Madran, Emre, Ali Haydar Alptekin, Eds., *Cumhuriyet’in Mimarlık Mirası*, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2011.
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- Madran, Emre, Ali Haydar Alptekin, Eds., *Mimarlık Korumanın Neresinde?*, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2009

WORK EXPERIENCE

IFS Turkey – Ankara, Istanbul, Turkey | ERP Consultant
February 2023 – ...

ÇANKAYA UNIVERSITY – Ankara, Turkey | Instructor, part-time, Architectural Design
Studio for 4th grade
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Freelance A&E Professional
April 2020 – February 2022

AR KEL INTERNATIONAL LLC. – Ankara, Turkey | Senior Architect in Ankara Technical Office
September 2019 – April 2020

EPIK INTERNATIONAL INC. – Ankara, Turkey | Architect in Design & Technical (Central) Office
December 2015 – September 2019

DIA CONSTRUCTION – Ankara, Turkey | Design Team Leader
July 2014 – December 2015

RENAISSANCE CONSTRUCTION – Moscow, Russian Federation | Design Office Chief (Architectural)
September 2012 – May 2014

CHAMBER OF ARCHITECTS OF TURKEY – Ankara, Turkey | Deputy Secretary General
May 2009 – July 2011

MEGARON CO. – Design Office, Moscow, Russian Federation.
August 2008 – May 2009

ANT YAPI INT LTD CO. – Moscow Project Group, Moscow, Russian Federation | Coordination Architect.
January.2007 – July 2008

URBAN CO. – Moscow, Russian Federation. Architect in Design Office.
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LANGUAGES

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OTHER ACADEMIC WORKS AND APPLICATIONS

Organized Events

Alptekin, Ali Haydar, “SSK İşhanı: SSK Kızılay Rant Tesisleri,” *DEKAM, Panel, Ankara’da İz Bırakan Mimarlar: Orhan Dinç, Ankara, December, 2020.*

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Sovyetler Birliği'nde "sosyalizmin nasıl gelişeceği veya ilerleyeceği" konusundaki perspektifler ve politik kararlar ile mekânsal ve kentsel koşullar arasında doğrudan bir ilişki vardır. Dahası, Sovyetler Birliği içindeki politik ortamın farklı güçlerin etkisi altında her zaman çoğulcu bir karaktere sahip olduğu akılda tutulmalıdır. Ayrıca, Sovyetler Birliği içindeki politik tartışmalar veya çatışmalar ülkedeki estetik kanonu doğru orantılı bir şekilde etkilemez. Üçüncü olarak ise, belki de bu ikinci özellik nedeniyle, mekânsal ve estetik koşulların ülke içinde nasıl yaşandığı ve yorumlandığı ile Sovyetler Birliği dışındaki, özellikle de Batılı yorumcular tarafından nasıl algılandığı ve eleştirildiği arasında bir fark vardır. Dolayısıyla, belirtilen bu üç noktanın bir araya geldiği yerde, bu araştırmanın nesnesinin veya araştırmanın merkezinde yer alan konuların, modernitenin perde arkası aktörlerini ve ağlarını keşfederek; ilgili bağlantıların ve ağların, ilişkilerin, yer değiştirmelerin ve eklemlenmelerin ölçülerek; ekonomik, politik, kültürel, ideolojik, toplumsal boyutlarının incelenmesi gerekir.³⁵² Bu çalışmanın odak noktası olan mimari ve mekânsal ürün için, Sovyet kentsel ve mimari bağlamının oluşumunda aktörler ve ağlar, bağlantılar, ilişkiler, çeviriler ve eklemlenmeler incelenmelidir.

1924'ten 1953'teki ölümüne kadar Sovyetler Birliği lideri olan Josef Stalin'den sonra Sovyet yönetimindeki değişen paradigma kendisini mimarlık alanında ve mekanla ilgili konularda da göstermiştir. Nikita Kruşçev selefinin ölümünden bir yıl sonra 1954'te Sovyet İnşaatçılar ve Mimarlar Birliği Kongresi'ndeki konuşmasında Stalin döneminin sosyalist-gerçekçi olarak ifade edilen eklektik, tarihsel göndermeler içeren yapıları karşısına almıştır.³⁵³ Kruşçev, "tip planlar ve endüstriyel yapı yöntemleri, mimari teorinin pratiğe doğrudan hizmet etmesi gerekliliği ve savaştan önce mesleğin

³⁵² Latour and Yaneva, p.108.

Lecomte, pp.464-465.

³⁵³ Karpova, pp.61-62.

uygulanmasında söz ve ağırlık sahibi olan mimarların bireysel çalışmalarının kınanmasına” çağrı yapmaktaydı. Aslında Kruşçev'in bu tutumu, onun hızlı ve çabuk çözümler ile sosyalizmi inşa etme yolundaki niyetinin temel özellikleri olarak yorumlanmaktadır.

Sovyetler Birliği'nde sosyalizmin nasıl gelişeceği veya ilerleyeceği konusundaki perspektifler ve politik kararlar ile mekânsal ve kentsel durumlar arasındaki ilişki, aynı zamanda üretici güçlerin koşulları ve bunların nasıl şekillendirileceği konusundaki perspektiflerle de oldukça ilişkilidir. Paris Komünü deneyiminden sonra Sovyetler Birliği, Marx'ın Komünist Manifesto'da öngördüğü ve yönlendirdiği gibi işçi sınıfının iktidara geldiği ilk ülke olarak kabul edilir. Ancak, iktidarın alınması, sınıf temelli ekonominin ve toplumsal yapının ve farklı toplumsal katmanların farklı çıkarlarının sonu anlamına gelmiyordu. Sovyet tarihi boyunca, burjuva ve küçük burjuva sınıfları tamamen ortadan kaldırmak ve pazar ekonomisine son vermek anlamına gelen sosyalizmin geliştirilmesi için farklı çözüm önerileri oldu. Kapitalist ekonominin aksine, sosyalist ekonominin inşasında bu kendiliğinden olamazdı, ancak devletin yeniden örgütlenmesini – işçi sınıflarının çıkarlarına uygun olarak – merkezi ve planlı bir ekonomiyi gerektiriyordu. Dolayısıyla, “...özel faktör sosyalizmde kapitalizmden çok daha önemlidir. Bu hem bir güç hem de bir kırılmalıdır. Sosyalizm ile kapitalizm arasındaki niteliksel fark, ‘kapitalizm büyür; sosyalizm inşa edilir’ sözünde yakalanır.”³⁵⁴ O zaman liderlik ve (işçi sınıflarının veya halkın vb.) örgütlenme dinamikleri sosyalizmin bu inşa sürecinde itici güç olarak ortaya çıkar.

Birçok entelektüel, Sovyetler Birliği'ndeki kültürel fırsatlardan ilk on yıllarda etkilenmiş ve yeni devrimci ülkenin izolasyonuna karşı güçlü bir destek ifade etmiştir. Batılı entelektüellerin Sovyetler Birliği'ne olan bu ilgisi, özgürlük, eşitlik ve kardeşlik gibi sosyalist ideallere dayanmaktadır. Bir yandan, yirminci yüzyılın başları Büyük Buhran, faşizmin yükselişi ve yaklaşan savaş tehdidiyle karşı karşıyaydı. Öte yandan, Sovyetler Birliği sinema, tiyatro, edebiyat, sanat ve mimaride avangard başarılarla dünyaya önemli katkılarda bulunmuş ve yirminci yüzyılın başlarındaki modernistlerin

³⁵⁴ Keeren and Kenny, p.272.

mimari tasarım ile kentsel tasarım planlamaya dair hayaller vizyonlarını gerçekleştirmişti.³⁵⁵

Sovyetler Birliği, bir diğer taraftan da kapitalist dünyadan izolasyonunu kırmaya çalışıyordu. Komünist Enternasyonal (Komintern) gibi örgütler aracılığıyla diğer işçi ve komünist partilerle uluslararası siyasi bütünleşmeyi sürdürmenin yanı sıra, “Sovyet kültür politikası” filozoflar, yazarlar, sanatçılar, mimarlar, film yapımcıları ve sanat tarihçileri gibi Batılı entelektüellerle güçlü bağlar kurmayı amaçlıyordu. Batılı mimarlar da SSCB'de tasarım yapmaya veya mimari yarışmalara katılmaya davet ediliyordu

Sovyetler Birliği'nin uluslararası destek arayışı II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra da devam etti ve bağımsızlıklarını kazanmaya başlayan "Üçüncü Dünya" veya gelişmekte olan ülkelere kaydı. Bu sömürge olmaktan yeni kurtulmuş ülkelerin gelişimini desteklemek ile Sovyetlerin kendisinin kapitalist dünya tarafından izole edilmesini kırmak birlikte yönetildi. Bu konu, savaştan sonra "iki dünya" arasında rekabet alanı haline de geldi. Bu bağlamda bilgi üretimi ve eğitim “ekonomik ve sosyal büyümenin en önemli faktörü”³⁵⁶ haline geldi. Sonuç olarak, yüksek öğrenime yapılan kamu yatırımlarının kayda değer bir oranda arttığı 1961 ile 1970 yılları arasında dünya çapında yaklaşık iki yüz yeni üniversite kampüsü kurulmuştur.”³⁵⁷

Bu çalışma, kentlileşmiş ve sanayileşmiş sosyalizmin tam merkezinde, Sovyetler Birliği'nin başkenti Moskova'nın uluslararası temaslarının gelişmeye başladığı İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemdeki mekânsallığını değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Moskova'nın uluslararası etkinliklere ev sahipliği yapmaya başlaması 1950'lerin sonlarına denk geliyordu. 1957'de Moskova'da Altıncı Uluslararası Gençlik Festivali'nin düzenlenmesi, Moskova meydanlarında ve sokaklarında yabancıların varlığını sağlayarak uluslararası kültürel etkileşimler ve alışverişler yarattı. Batı dünyası ile kültürel alışverişler bir taraftan da yabancı kültürel öğelerin Sovyetler

³⁵⁵ Stern, pp.2-3.

³⁵⁶ Schrum, p.1.

³⁵⁷ Taylor and Pellew, p.1.

Birliđi'nin kamusal yařamının ayrılmaz bir parçası haline gelmesinin yolunu açtı. Moskova, Sovyet sosyalist modelinin kalbi olmaktan, film festivalleri, sergiler veya Olimpiyat Oyunları gibi uluslararası mega etkinliklerin merkezi olan büyük bir Avrupa şehrine dönüşmeye başladı. Sovyet yurttaşlarının boş vakit aktiviteleri açısından evde dinlenmek yerine, kolektif etkinlikler Sovyet yönetimi tarafından teşvik edildi.³⁵⁸ Moskova, Rus tarihinde her zaman bir kültür merkezi olmuştur;³⁵⁹ ancak savaş sonrası dönem ve özellikle 1960'lar şehirde yaygın kültürel, sportif ve turistik mekanların inşasına tanıklık etmiştir.

Uluslararası açıdan, 1960'lar bilgi, kültürel modeller ve fikir akışlarıyla ulus-ötesi ve kültür-ötesi etkileşimler ve etkilenmeler için ön plan sağlamıştır.³⁶⁰ Ancak, bu karşılaşmalar ve etkileşimler, 1961'de Berlin duvarının inşa edilmesiyle hem fiziksel hem de sembolik olarak bölünmüş dünyanın işaretini de beraberinde getirmiştir.³⁶¹ Bu bölünmüşlük durumu içinde küresel entegrasyon ve devam eden siyasi farklılaşma arasında bir denge vardı.³⁶² Bu durum Kruşçev dönemi enternasyonalizmini hem Birinci Dünya ile "barış içinde bir arada yaşamak" hem de Üçüncü Dünya ile daha geniş bir iş birliğini içermeye zorlamıştır.

Bu bağlamda, gelişmekte olan ülkelere dostça yardım etmeye adanmış bir yüksek öğrenim kompleksi kurma kararı, Moskova'da Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin açılmasıyla somutlanmıştır. Üniversite, gelişmekte olan ülkelerden gelen öğrencilere tıp, tarım, ekonomi ve mühendislik alanlarında eğitim olanakları sunmuştur.

Bu çalışma, özellikle sosyalist modernizmin 1960'lardaki uluslararasılaşmasına odaklanılarak, sonrasında Patrice Lumumba adını alacak olan Halkların Dostluğu

³⁵⁸ Attwood, p.2.

³⁵⁹ Brooke, 2006.

³⁶⁰ Gorsuch and Koenker, p.2.

³⁶¹ Kagarlitsky, p.286.

³⁶² Gorsuch and Koenker, p.2.

Üniversitesi'nin farklı kamusal ve özel ortamlarındaki mekânsal olanakları, bilgi üretimi ve deneyimleri incelenmektedir.

1991'de Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasından sonra "Sovyet yaşamının varsayılan farklılığının" sona erdiği düşünüldüğünde, Rus ve Sovyet tarihlerinin küresel tarih anlatısına entegre edilmesi daha olasıdır. Bu nedenle, postkolonyal ve ulusötesi tarih yazımının bu "benzersiz" vakayı çağdaş metodolojilerle yeniden ele alması gerekir.³⁶³ Modern mimarinin kanonik ve kahramanları merkeze alan dönemine meydan okuyan soruşturmayla eş zamanlı olarak,³⁶⁴ Sovyet avangardı hem Batı'da hem de Sovyetler Birliği'nde ancak savaş sonrası Demir Perde'nin ötesindeki karşılaşmalar ve temaslardan sonra yeniden keşfedildi. Anatole Kopp'un, devrim sonrası Sovyet mimarisini geniş kitlelere tanıtan Kent ve Devrim (1967) adlı eseri, Mayıs 68 hareketlerinin arifesinde Fransa'da yayımlandı.³⁶⁵ Kopp'un sonuç bölümünde belirttiği gibi:

*Yeni bir mimari, yalnızca yaratıcılarının deneysel ve yaratıcı ruhundan, yalnızca teknik ilerlemelerden değil, her şeyden önce, tarihin toplumu aniden karşı karşıya getirdiği sorunlardan doğar.*³⁶⁶

Sovyet avangardının –çoğunlukla konstrüktivist- kavramlarının yeni bir bağlamda yeniden incelenmesi, mimarlık tarih yazımına mekânsal analiz ve şehirciliği de dahil eden disiplinler-arası yaklaşımla birlikte 68 gençlik protestolarının “mekânsal potansiyelinin” keşfiyle aynı zamana denk gelir. Bu karşılaşmalar ve “Doğu Avrupa sanatının yeni Sol tarafından keşfi”³⁶⁷, avangard birikiminin birçok farklı

³⁶³ Chatterjee, et al., p.2.

³⁶⁴ Ockman, p.13.

³⁶⁵ Stanek, “Collective Luxury,” p.480.

³⁶⁶ Kopp, p.240.

³⁶⁷ Forgacs, pp.93-104.

fraksiyonundan biri olan konstrüktivizmin modern mimarlık anlatılarına entegre edilmesini sağladı. Bu dahil etme, Catherine Cooke tarafından mimarlık tarihi anlatısındaki “tarihsel boşluğu doldurmak” olarak tanımlanıyor.³⁶⁸ Ancak, bu dahil etme aynı zamanda, savaş sonrası dönemde Sovyet mimarlık tarihinin sonraki gelişmelerinin ve deneyimlerinin dışlanması anlamına da geliyordu.

Modernizmin kapitalizmle ilişkisi açısından sınıf perspektifinden hareketle sorgulanmaya başlandığı 1970'lerdeki politik ortam, yerini yavaş yavaş sınıf temelli perspektiflerden uzaklaşarak, mimarlık tarihi alanında daha fazla kültürel ve kimlik temelli araştırmalara odaklanan neo-Marksist teorilere bıraktı. Zamanla, akademik çalışmalar cinsiyet ve queer teorisi, göç ve göçmen mirasları, ulusal, etnik ve dini farklılıklar vb. konulara daha fazla odaklandı. Cinsiyet çalışmaları ve postkolonyal teorilerden esinlenen eleştirel mimari teorinin sonraki versiyonları, Frankfurt okulunun ve diğer Batılı, neo-Marksist teorilerin ve eleştirel düşünürlerin yerleşik geleneği ve mirası üzerine inşa edildi.³⁶⁹

Bununla birlikte, son yıllarda Sovyetler Birliği'nin ve Doğu Avrupa'nın eski sosyalist ülkelerinin mimari tarihine artan bir ilgi olmuştur.

Son dönem bazı akademik çalışmalar, sosyalist ülkelerdeki deneyimlerin İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası mimari ve mekânsal tarihlerine odaklanmış ve bu dönemi “olgun sosyalizm”, “ileri sosyalizm”, “gelişmiş sosyalizm” veya “geç sosyalizm” olarak adlandırmıştır. Bu çalışmaların birçoğu, sanat ve mimarlık tarihi inceleme ve tartışmalarında, ev içi yaşam ile konut, mahremiyet, eğlence, tüketim malları vb. gibi geleneksel akademik çalışmaların sınırlarının ötesindeki konulara yoğunlaşmaktadır.

Rus tarihi örneğinde, gündelik yaşam veya “yaşam biçiminin” dilde tek bir kelimeyle kendi temsili vardır: “*bit*.” Yeni bir yaşam biçimi (*novi bit*) arayışı, yalnızca erken Sovyet döneminin devrimci programının oluşturulmasındaki gündemlerden biri değildi, aynı zamanda Rus halkının, Rus seçkinlerinin ve Rus yöneticilerinin farklı

³⁶⁸ Cooke, p.146.

³⁶⁹ Heynen and Loosen, p.1.

ütopik fikrîsel geleneklerinden ortaya çıkan tarihsel köklere de sahipti.³⁷⁰ Sovyet devriminin, tinsel, fikrîsel ve dışavurumsal biçimini, bu halihazırda var olan ütopik geleneklerin çarpışmasından ve işbirliğinden aldığı iddia edilebilir. Sıradan insanların, aydınların ve yöneticilerin düşünce ve eylemlerindeki devrim öncesi ütopyaçı gelenekler, devrimci zamanların avangard hareketlerinin yeni bir toplumsal içerikle yeni estetik biçimleri yaratma arayışlarında kristalleşmiştir. Yine de, dönemin avangard anlayışı, toplumsal olarak daha dengeli ve eşitlikçi olacak ve kurtuluşun gerçekleşeceği yeni bir toplum için yıkım ve yeniden inşa mantığına sahipti.³⁷¹ Sanat icrası ile yeni bir hayatın kurgusunun kesiştiği noktada, 1920'lerin genç Sovyetler Birliği "çok çeşitli ütopik projelerin yaratıcı bir laboratuvarı" haline de gelmiştir.³⁷²

Attwood, devrim yıllarında Bolşevik programının en önemli özelliklerinden birinin "tamamen yeni bir insan tipi tarafından yaşanacak tamamen yeni bir günlük yaşam tipinin (veya *novyi bit'in*) yaratılması" olduğunu iddia eder. Bu yeni insanın yaratılması, aynı zamanda, sanayi proletaryası ve cinsiyetlerin eşitliğinden ortaya çıkacaktı. Temel özellikler olarak, bu yeni insan tipi kültürel olarak gelişkin, kolektif yönelimleri baskın, akılcı ve sağlıklı boş zaman aktivitelerine sahip, temizlik ve hijyene önem veren ve temel ev idaresi prensiplerini benimsemiş özelliklerde olması bekleniyordu. Bu bakış açısından hareketle, bir yandan kadınların ev işlerinden kurtulması ve iş hayatına eşit bir şekilde dahil edilmesi ve toplumsal hayata aktif katılımı önemliydi ve diğer yandan da erkeklerin sosyal ve politik olarak daha bilinçli hale gelmesi ve işe ve boş zamana karşı daha sorumlu bir tutum geliştirmesi önemseniyordu.³⁷³

Caroline Humphrey, Sovyetlerdeki devrimci insanın görevinin, yeni bir toplumdan daha azını şekillendirmeyecek maddi temeller inşa etmek olduğunu iddia eder.³⁷⁴

³⁷⁰ Stites, pp.3-4.

³⁷¹ Heynen, p29.

³⁷² Boym, p.126.

³⁷³ Attwood, pp.25-27.

³⁷⁴ Humphrey, p.39.

Sovyet yönetiminin boş zaman ve günlük aktivitelerde kolektivistliği teşvik etmesinin yanı sıra, aslında "insanlar bu amaçla tasarlanmış binalar olmadan önce komünler kurmaya başlamışlardır" İşçiler, eski burjuvalara ait geniş evlerde komünler kurmuşlardı. Khan-Magomedov'dan alıntı yapan Humprey, "mimarların kısa sürede: kübist, dairesel, kule benzeri, asimetrik yapılar içeren fütüristik deneysel prototipler tasarlamaya başladıklarını" belirtir. Bu bağlamda, Humprey, yeni insanın yaratılmasında, yeni bir tür yapı olan komünal evlerin gerekli altyapıyı sağlayacağını iddia eder. Ne var ki, Attwood'a göre, halkın Çarlık döneminde bile konut stoğunun eksikliği nedeniyle evleri paylaşmaya başlamıştır.³⁷⁵ Ancak erken dönem Sovyet kentinde, bu kolektivist amaçtan yola çıkarak, Kültür Sarayları ve İşçi Kulüpleri, yeni sosyalist toplum için yeni mimari ve toplumsal çözümler olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Ayrıca, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerini çözerken yaşam biçimini dönüştürmeyi amaçlayan sosyalist proje, kadınların ev işlerinden kurtarılmasıyla da ilgiliydi. Bu bağlamda, yemek hazırlama, çocuk bakımı, temizlik vb. gibi birçok ev içi meselenin kolektifleştirilmesi ve kadınların ev işlerinden uzak tutulması amaçlandı. Kamusal yemek tesisleri, kreşler ve anaokulları yine 1920'lerde önerilen yeni yapı türlerindedir.

Kamusal-özel, gençlik, sıradan insanlar, "toplumsal yoğunlaşma" kampüsü, hareketlilik, gündelik yaşam, uluslararasılaşma ve sınırları aşma gibi tüm kavramları gündemimize getiren bu çalışma, 1960 yılında Moskova'da kurulan ve daha sonra 1961 yılında Afrika halklarının bağımsızlık mücadelesinin sembollerinden biri haline gelen Kongo'nun ilk başbakanı Patrice Lumumba'nın adını alan Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi örneğine odaklanacaktır. Üniversite, 1965 yılında "47 ülkeden 228 genç uzman adayının kaydolması ile eğitim hayatına başladı. Moskova'nın güneybatısındaki kampüsün inşası 1966'da başladı.

Üniversite ve ona bağlı tesisler şunlardan oluşuyordu: "müze, atölyeler ve laboratuvarlar, bir bilgisayar merkezi, tıp öğrencileri için bir klinik, deneysel çiftlik

³⁷⁵ Attwood, pp-1-4.

arazileri, 4.200 öğrenci için yurtlar, 1.500 kişilik bir kampüs kulübü ve uluslararası spor müsabakaları için 5.000 kişilik bir stadyum."³⁷⁶

Bu çalışmada, akademik olarak "çağdaş ile henüz var olmayan arasındaki boşluğu kapatma mekanizması" olarak kabul edilen "sosyal yoğunlaştırıcı" (social condenser) kavramına atıfta bulunarak bu Sovyet üniversite kampüsünü incelemek istiyorum. Sosyal yoğunlaştırıcı, olağanüstü veya henüz oluşmamış olanı dizginlemek veya "kristalleştirmek", onu yeryüzüne indirmek ve yeni bir toplum yaratmak için kullanmak için kullanılan bir mimari yöntemdi ve bu, onun "bilimsel" karakterini daha az değil, daha da güçlü kılan şeydi.³⁷⁷ Kopp'un "toplumun içine yerleştirileceği kalıp olmak üzere tasarlanmış bir mimari biçimi"³⁷⁸ terimini kullanmasına benzer şekilde, bu çalışma, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin Sovyetler Birliği ile diğer ülkeler arasındaki ilişkinin "sosyal yoğunlaştırıcısı" olmayı neden ve nasıl amaçladığını inceleyecek; ve potansiyelinin kampüs sınırları içinde kalmadığını, mezunları aracılığıyla denizaşırı ülkelere ulaştığını, üniversitenin mezunları ile Üçüncü Dünya'daki sömürgecilikten kurtuluş ve özgürlük hareketleri arasında gerçek bir bağ olduğunu iddia edecektir. Bu nedenle, post-kolonyal teori bu benzersiz durumu mimarlık tarihinin küresel anlatısına dahil etmelidir.

İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası Amerikan üniversitesinin kurumsallaşması hem eski sömürgeci kapitalist ülkelerinin hem de yeni bağımsız ulusların gelişimi için bilgi üretiminin hizmetinde olacak üniversitenin uluslararasılaşmasıyla birlikte gerçekleşmiştir. Benzer şekilde, savaş sonrası sosyalist üniversite hem sosyalist ülkelerde hem de gelişmekte olan ülkelere toplumun ihtiyaçlarına hizmet etmek için uluslararasılaşmaya ve yeni ufuklar bulmaya çalıştı. Üniversite kampüsü inşası, araştırmacılar, hocalar, öğrenciler ve toplumun farklı kesimlerinden, ve farklı kimliklerle daha geniş dünyadan gelenler için bir buluşma yeri haline dönüşen üniversitenin araştırma ve bilgi inşasıyla birlikte düşünülmelidir.

³⁷⁶ Rosen, 1973.

³⁷⁷ Murawski, p.379.

³⁷⁸ Stanek, "Lessons from Nanterre," p.63.

Lefebvre'in kentleşme sürecinin hem merkezkaç hem de merkezci güçlerle bağlantılı olduğu "merkezilik diyalektiği" kavramını hatırlatan Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi ve kullanıcılarının sosyalist başkentteki mekânsal potansiyeli, mekân üretimindeki anlayışımızı genişletebilir.³⁷⁹ Üniversitenin yapılı çevresi, öğrencilerin konaklamadan eğitim, araştırma, spor, yemek yeme ihtiyaçlarına kadar gündelik yaşamlarının tüm günlük rutinlerini barındırmakla kalmadı, aynı zamanda Moskovalılar ile yabancı öğrenciler (ve yabancı öğrencilerin farklı kültürleri) arasında etkileşimlere de olanak sağladı; bu da sosyalist başkentte,, Sovyetler Birliği'nin farklı bölgelerinde (örneğin öğrenci inşaat tugaylarıyla) ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerde mekânsal-kültürel yansımalarını yarattı, çünkü bu eğitim merkezi aynı zamanda zamansal geçiciliği de içeriyordu.

Bu çalışma, bir giriş ve bir sonuç da dahil olmak üzere dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. "Soğuk Savaş Bağlamında Üniversite" başlıklı İkinci Bölüm, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin oluşumunda öne çıkan koşulları ve politik, kültürel ve ideolojik durumları tanımlamaktadır. Bu bölüm, "Soğuk Savaş Üniversitesi" ve "Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin Kuruluşu" olmak üzere iki alt başlığa ayrılmıştır. İlk bölüm, II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra uluslararası ilişkilerde "kalkınma" kavramına ve bu kavram yardımıyla, iki süper gücün bu iki kutbu yönettiği bölünmüş dünyanın, yani Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD) ve Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği'nin (SSCB), yükselen sömürge karşıtı hareketler karşısında siyasi etki -veya manipülasyon- alanlarını nasıl konsolide etmeye çalıştığına odaklanmaktadır.

II. Dünya Savaşı sırasında, savaş harcamaları, Avrupa'nın büyük bir kısmı yıkıma uğramışken, endüstriyel ekonomisinin patlamasıyla ABD'yi ekonomik bunalımdan çıkardı. Bunu, ABD'nin her cephede batı dünyasına hakim olması izledi; ABD endüstriyel, diplomatik ve askeri olarak tüm dünyayı yönetmeye ve örgütlemeye istekliydi. Bu güç değişiminin bir yansıması kültürel alanda ve üniversitelerde de görüldü. Savaş sonrası Amerikan üniversitesi, prosedürel rasyonalite, organize araştırma ve dış patronlar tarafından proje tabanlı fonlama özelliklerinin öne çıkmasıyla Amerikan modernliğini yönetmek için önemli bir araç haline geldi ve toplumsal düzeni şekillendirmek için teknik ve idari bilgi üretimini sağladı. Aynı

³⁷⁹ Stanek, "Collective Luxury," p.481.

şekilde, Amerikan üniversiteleri 1950'lerde en azından orta derecede etkili diplomatik aktörler haline geldi. Ayrıca, Sovyetler Birliği de uluslararası eğitim programları aracılığıyla mezunlar üzerinden ilgili ülkenin SSCB'ye yönelik siyasi yönelimini şekillendirmeye çalıştı.

1960'lardaki, kıdem ve soyluluk karşısında bireylerin, sıradan insanların ve gençlerin artan önemini mümkün kılan kültürel ve toplumsal dönüşümlerin, Soğuk Savaş dönemi siyasi gelişmeler, kültürel çatışmalar ve savaş sonrası dönemdeki ideolojik mücadelelerle de ilişkili olduğu iddia edilebilir. Bu bağlamda, 1960'lar, dünya çapında hızlı kentleşme ile insanların, bilginin, kültürün ve teknolojinin hareketliliğiyle öne çıkmıştır.

“Sosyalist Modern Üniversite” başlıklı Üçüncü Bölüm, başlangıçta savaş sonrası modernizmi incelemektedir. Sosyalist Modern, Sovyet kültür tarihinde her zaman bir referans noktası olan “tarihsel avangard” ve Soğuk Savaş Amerikan ruhunun oluşumunda önemli bir özellik haline gelen “neo-avangard” ile çapraz referanslarla tartışılmaktadır. Bu bölümün üç alt başlığı bulunmaktadır: “Savaş Sonrası Modernite ve Sosyalist Modernizm”, “Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesini Kurmak” ve “Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesinde Yaşamak.”

Hem toplumların birçok sosyo-politik ve sosyo-kültürel alanındaki paradigmadaki değişim hem de sosyalist ve kapitalist devletler arasındaki düşmanlık paradigmasındaki değişim, savaş sonrası koşulların ve Soğuk Savaş anlaşmazlıklarının tanımlanmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Kültürel ve toplumsal değişim savaş sonrası dönemde başlamış ve 1960'larda kristalleşmiş ve mimari pratik, teori ve tarih yazımında da yankı bulmuştur.

Son olarak, Dördüncü Bölüm bu tezi, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin Moskova'da, Sovyetler Birliği'nde ve küresel perspektifte sosyal yoğunlaştırıcı rolünün analizinin sonuçları ve yorumlarıyla sonlandırır ve konuyla ilgili daha fazla araştırma için önerilerde bulunur, özellikle Üniversitenin bilgiyi sahada yeniden üretme ve gerçekleştirme fırsatı, kapasitesi ve bağlantılarına odaklanır. II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası bağlamda, "kalkınma" kavramı hem sömürgeci güçlerden bağımsızlıklarını kazanan yeni egemen devletler için temel bir strateji olarak; hem de

ABD üniversiteleri içinde sosyal bilimlerde yeni bir akademik araştırma alanı olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu aynı zamanda hasım topraklarda ya da ABD kapitalizminin gelecek tasarımları ve planların olduğu yerlere dönük uzmanlaşmış alan çalışmalarını da doğurmuştur. Bu alan çalışmalarının olduğu merkezlerin kurumsallaşması, üniversitelerin fonlanan araştırma üniversitelerine dönüştürülmesi konunun başka bir yönü olmuştur. II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemin karmaşık ilişkileri ve gerçekliği, bilim ve teknoloji yoluyla restorasyon ve kalkınmanın hükümetlerin en acil görevleri haline gelmesi ve bilginin iki sistemin, yani kapitalizm ve sosyalizmin rekabeti ve yarışı arasında temel kavram haline gelmesidir. Dolayısıyla, II. Dünya Savaşı'nın çığnlığı ve yıkımıyla zarar gören hem kapitalist hem de sosyalist dünyanın onarılması ya da restorasyonu, iki kutuplu dünyanın bu iki merkezinin, yani Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD) ve Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği'nin (SSCB) politikalarında çok önemli olmuştur.

Bu bağlamda, uluslararası yardım sadece savaşta yıkılan ülkelerin yeniden inşasında değil, aynı zamanda II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemde Soğuk Savaş'ın iki tarafının ötesinde "Üçüncü Dünya" ülkelerine müdahale etmenin yeni bir yolu olarak da önemli olmuştur. (Kapitalist ülkeler Birinci Dünya'yı, sosyalist ülkeler ise İkinci Dünya'yı oluşturuyordu.) "Üçüncü Dünya" terminolojisi, bu İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemin veya Soğuk Savaş bağlamının bir ürünüydü. Bu ülkelerin devlet ve ulus inşası süreçlerinde gelişme niyetleri ve istekleri, uluslararası yardımın alıcıları olmalarını sağladı. Soğuk Savaş sırasında uluslararası politikada çok sayıda faktör, aktör, ağ ve kavram iç içe geçmiştir; iki karşıt sistem de sınırlarının sessiz bir anlaşma altında olduğu Avrupa dışında yeni bağımsız topraklarda etki alanlarını genişletmeye çalışmıştır.

Asya ve Afrika'daki eski sömürge ülkeleri II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra bağımsızlıklarını kazanırken, refah içerisinde olacak olan ulus devletlerin inşası için vazgeçilmez ön koşullardan biri eğitimin geliştirilmesi ve seçkinlerin eğitilmesiydi. Savaş sonrası konjonktür hem yeni bağımsız ülkeleri hem de eski sömürgeci ülkeleri eğitim ve kalkınma arasındaki özel bağı kuvvetlendirmeye yöneltmiştir.

Eğitimin yaygınlaştırılması, 1945'ten sonra Avrupalı sömürgeci güçler tarafından uygulanan sömürge kalkınma programlarının ayrılmaz bir

parçasıydı. Birleşmiş Milletler Eğitim, Bilim ve Kültür Örgütü (UNESCO), eğitim faaliyetini hem barışa hem de kalkınmaya bir katkı olarak değerlendirmiştir. Ekonomistler, insan sermayesine yapılan yatırımın sabit sermayeye yapılan yatırımdan daha yüksek getiri vaat ettiğini savunmuştur.³⁸⁰

Bağımsızlığını yeni kazanmış ülkeler için, öğrencilerin sömürge yöneticilerinin, öğretmenlerinin ve yabancı mühendislerin yerini alması beklendiği için eğitiminden daha hayati hiçbir şey yoktu. Hem dünya kapitalizmi hem de dünya sosyalizmi binlerce bursu finanse etti ve yabancı öğrencilerin eğitimine öncelik verdi çünkü öğrencilerin ülkelerinin geleceğini belirleyecek yeni seçkinler olacağına inanılıyordu.³⁸¹

Bu bağlamda, Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinden genç profesyonelleri eğitmek amacıyla Sovyet Bakanlar Konseyi tarafından Afro-Asya Dayanışma Komitesi ile iş birliği içinde Şubat 1960'ta Moskova'da Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi kuruldu. Nikita Kruşçev'in Cakarta ziyareti sırasında kuruluşunu duyurmasının ardından üniversitedeki 600'den az yer için 43.000'den fazla öğrenci başvuruda bulunmuştur. "Bilgiyle Birleşiyoruz" anlamına gelen *Scientia Unescamus* sloganıyla kurulan Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi sayesinde Sovyetler Birliği, eğitim yoluyla Asya, Afrika ve Latin Amerika ile kalıcı bağ kurmayı amaçlıyordu. Bu nedenle üniversite, İkinci ve Üçüncü Dünya ülkeleri arasındaki fikir alışverişinde önemli bir rol oynadı ve savaş sonrası modernleşme, kalkınma, gelişme ve büyümenin daha büyük anlatısının bir parçasıydı.³⁸² Bu amaçla üniversite Soğuk Savaş bağlamında incelenerek ve ABD ile SSCB arasındaki bilginin uluslararasılaşmasındaki rekabetinin analizi önem kazanır. Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin kuruluşu bu amacı anlamak için önemli bir örnek olarak sunulmuştur. Soğuk Savaş bağlamının dünya çapında bilginin yayılmasında ve Soğuk Savaş'ın her iki tarafında ve bağımsızlığını yeni

³⁸⁰ Katsakioris, p.281.

³⁸¹ Ibid, 282.

³⁸² Kret, p.239.

kazanan ülkelerde modern üniversitenin yeniden inşasında şekillenmesi, “kalkınma” ve “modernleşme” kavramlarının yanı sıra “dekolonizasyon” ve “postkolonyal teori” dinamiklerinin analizi yapılmadan tam olarak tespit edilemez. Bu çerçevede, dünyaların birinci, ikinci ve üçüncü olarak kavramsal olarak bölünmesi ve ilk ikisi arasındaki yaşamsal (veya belki de ölümcül) çelişki ile üçüncüsünün bunlar arasındaki oyun (ve savaş) alanı olarak belirmesi, yalnızca siyasal ve ekonomik alanda değil, aynı zamanda toplumsal, kültürel, mekânsal ve estetik alanlarda da sonuçlar doğurmuştur.

Halkların eşitliğini teşvik eden Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi, Sovyet yapısal ırkçılık karşıtlığı üzerine kurulan ilk Sovyet kurumu oldu. Üniversite kitapçılarından birinde belirtildiği gibi, "Burada parlak sarıklar, kar beyazı galabiyalar, gökkuşağı sarileri ve kimonolar giymiş, birçok farklı dil konuşan tüm ırklardan gençlerle karşılaşırız. Gençlik, dostluk ve bilgi tek bir çatı altında, Patrice Lumumba Dostluk Üniversitesi'nde geliyor." Bu ve buna benzer birçok mesaj, Üniversite ortamlarını idealize etmiş ve Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin Sovyet ırkçılık karşıtlığına olan sorumluluğunu vurgulamıştır.³⁸³

22 Şubat 1961'de Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'ne, Kongo lideri ve Afrika halklarının bağımsızlık mücadelelerinin sembollerinden biri olan Patrice Lumumba'nın adı verildi. "Sembolik düzeyde, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'ni ulusal lider Patrice Lumumba'nın adıyla anarak Moskova, komünist olmayan aktörlerin önderlik ettiği anti-emperyalist mücadeleleri benimsediği mesajını duyuruyordu."³⁸⁴

Üniversite, eğitime başladığı ilk yıl Rusça hazırlık eğitimi vermeye başladı. Daha sonra 1961 yılında altı fakülte kuruldu ve bu fakültelerin altındaki bölümler birinci sınıf öğrencilerine eğitim vermeye başladı. Bu fakülteler şunlardı: Mühendislik, Tarih, Filoloji, Tıp, Ziraat, Fizik ve Matematik, Fen, Ekonomi ve Hukuk Fakülteleri. Üniversitenin ilk binası (şu anda Mühendislik Akademisi ve Fen Fakültesi binası olarak kullanılıyor) 1930 yılında inşa edildi ve SSCB Silahlı Kuvvetleri Genelkurmay Askeri Akademisi'nin ana binasıydı. Üniversite, Moskova'da üç eski binada yer

³⁸³ Kirillova, p.224.

³⁸⁴ Katsakioris, p.285.

alıyordu. Sekiz katlı ana okul binası ve daha küçük bir bina eskiden askeri okullardı. Yurt olarak hizmet veren üçüncü bina ise öncesinde askeri bir kışlaydı.³⁸⁵

Üniversite, Sovyet tarihinde önemli bir dönüm noktasında açılmıştır: de-Stalinizasyon süreci eski devletin ve toplumun kalıntılarını ortadan kaldırmaya başlarken, Soğuk Savaş'ın şekillendirdiği yeni bir küresel bakış açısı ise sömürgeciliğin sona ermesinin ardından ortaya çıkıyordu. Üniversite, yüksek öğrenim kurumu olarak birincil rolünün ötesinde, Sovyet yaşamı ve toplumunun imajını dünyaya yansıtan güçlü bir sembol olarak hizmet etti. Üniversitenin bilime, anti-empyrializme ve enternasyonalizme odaklanması, modern, eşitlikçi ve küresel entegrasyona açık olmaya çalışan bir devleti vurguluyordu. Bu bağlamda, Sovyetlerin Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'ni modernitenin alternatif bir vizyonunu oluşturmak ve tanıtmak için nasıl kullandığı araştırılması gereken önemli bir konu haline gelir. ³⁸⁶“... İkinci ve Üçüncü Dünya arasındaki Soğuk Savaş alışverişlerinin mirası fiziksel altyapılarla sınırlı değildir, aynı zamanda birden fazla paydaşı entegre eden ve yeni küresel ağlar oluşturan yeni kurumların yaratılmasını da içerir.”³⁸⁷

Bu bağlamda, gelişmekte olan ülkelere kardeşçe yardım için ayrılmış bir yüksek öğrenim kompleksinin başlatılması kararı Moskova'daki Halkların Dostluk Üniversitesi'nin açılışını somutlaştırdı.

II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra, iki savaş arası dönemin mimari modernizmi ilk sınırlarının çok ötesine yayıldı. Artık ilk ortaya çıktığı yerlerle sınırlı olmayan modernizm büyük bir başkalaşım geçirdi. Sadece yeniden üretilmedi; Soğuk Savaş jeopolitiği ve ekonomik dinamikleri bağlamında dönüştürüldü ve uluslararasılaştırıldı. Bu dönüşüm, savaş sonrası yardım akışı ve teknik uzmanlık alışverişi ile kolaylaştırıldı. Modernizm, modernleşmenin, endüstrileşmenin, kentsel gelişimin ve sömürgeciliğin ilk aşamalarının dokusuna karmaşık bir şekilde örüldü. Afrika'dan

³⁸⁵ Rosen, p.1.

³⁸⁶ Kret, p.240.

³⁸⁷ Bocharnikova and Kurg, p.599.

Asya'ya, Latin Amerika'dan Orta Doğu'ya, bu bölgeler II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası modernizm için önemli deney alanları haline geldi.³⁸⁸

Bu bağlamda, Sovyetler Birliği'nde sosyalist modernist mimarinin en çarpıcı tezahürleri, yataylık, asimetri ve şeffaflık mimari ilkelerinde; standart elemanlardan üretilen standart dışı konut mimarisi arayışında, farklı işlevleri benzersiz bir tasarımda birleştirme deneylerinde, tasarımlarda renk kullanımında ve 1920'lerin erken modernistlerine ve avangardlarına referansta biçimlenir.

Sovyet bakış açısına göre, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin kurulması, yeni bağımsız ülkelerin bilim, bilgi ve belirli uzmanlık alanlarında derin uzmanlık yoluyla gelecekteki kalkınmasıyla bağlantılıydı. Üniversite rektörü V. F. Stanis Uluslararası Üniversiteler Birliği'nin 6. Konferansı'nda "Patrice Lumumba Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin Asya, Afrika ve Latin Amerika Ülkeleri İçin Personel Eğitimindeki Rolü" başlıklı bir rapor sunmuştur.

Üniversite ilk mezunlarını verdikten bir yıl sonra, 1966 yılında, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi için yeni bir kampüs inşaatı Moskova'nın güneybatı bölgesinde başladı. Üniversitenin 1966 tarihli tanıtım kitapçığına göre, seçilen kampüs alanının konumu neredeyse kırsal veya pastoral bir duruma sahipti.

Beş katlı yurtların inşası ise, Üniversitenin eğitim kampüsünün inşasından hemen önce, 1962'de başladı ve yurtlar 1963 yılında öğrencilerin kullanımına hazır hale geldi.

Sovyetler Birliği'nin enternasyonalizme olan bağlılığıyla uyumlu olarak, ana binanın mimari özellikleri aynı zamanda savaş sonrası modernizmin uluslararası eğilimlerini de temsil ediyordu. Çıkıntılı sağır bir duvar ve birinci kattaki şeffaf bir fuaye ile ana girişi ifade eden yeni bir anıtsallık, uluslararası öğrencileri yeni dostluk karşılaşmaları yaratmaya davet ediyordu.

Üniversite kampüsünün inşası 1966'da başladığında, öğrenciler de üniversitelerinin inşasına öğrenci inşaat tugayları ile katıldılar. Halkların Dostluk Üniversitesi'nin ilk inşaat tugayı 1964'te kurulmuştu. Öğrenci İnşaat tugaylarının amaçları, çeşitli

³⁸⁸ Gürel, p.1.

lkelerden ğrencileri bir araya getirmek, pratik inaat deneyimi saėlamak ve uluslararası i birliėini ve kltrel deėiimi tevik etmek olarak tanımlanmıtır. Bu bakı aısıyla tugayların faaliyetleri, konut binaları, eėitim tesisleri ve topluluk yapıları ina etmeye, kltrel etkinlikler, spor msabakaları ve toplum hizmeti projeleri dzenlemeye ve kolektif emek zerinden farklı gemilere sahip ğrenciler arasında dostluėu ve karılıklı anlayıı gelitirmeye yoėunlatı.

Halkların Dostluėu niversitesi kamps iin seilen yer Moskova'nın dı mahallelerindeydi. 1960'ların baında Moskova'nın gneybatı blgesi, byk lekli gelimeler iin daha aık ve kullanılabilir araziye sahipti. Blgenin Moskova'nın merkezi kısımlarına nispeten daha az baėlantısı vardı, ancak Moskova Metrosu'nun genilemesi Őehrin gneydoėu kesimindeki daha fazla gelimeye doėru ilerliyordu. Sokolnicheskaya Hattı Moskova'daki ilk metro hattıydı ve Moskova'nın gneydoėu kısmına doėru genilemesi 1963'te "Yugo-zapadnaya" metro istasyonunun aılmasıyla gerekleti. Kampsn seilen yeri planlanan "Yugo-zapadnaya" istasyonuna yakındı.

Moskova nemli bir byme ve kentleme yaadıka, niversite kampsnn evresi giderek Őehrin daha geni kentsel manzarasına daha fazla entegre oldu. Gnmzde, kampsn bulunduėu Moskova'nın gneybatı blgesi, kapsamlı konut, ticari ve eėitim altyapısına sahip yoėun nfuslu ve iyi gelimi bir alana dnti. Gerekten de niversite, yeil kampsyle gurur duyuyor, onu Moskova'daki en yeil kamps olarak kutluyor ve niversiteyi "ŗehir iinde ŗehir" olarak adlandırıyor.

Sava, 1950'lerde ve 1960'larda tasarlanıp kurulan sava sonrası kamu niversitelerinin mimari eitlilik ve tutarlılıėın mekanları haline geldiėini, modern mimarinin ideolojik irade ve "entelektel zenginliėin" demokratik daėıtımı meseleleriyle meguliyetini temsil ettiėini ve dolayısıyla estetik bir drtden daha fazlası olduėunu belirtiyor. Teknolojik ve sosyal ilerlemeye dayalı yeni bakı aılılarıyla ilevselci mimari sylemin gelimesini saėlayan kamps mimarisi olmutur.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁹ Sava, pp.9-11.

Yıldız, üniversitelerin daha geniş bir ölçekte bilgi üretimi, araştırma ve akademik uygulamalar yapma becerisi kapsamında kamusal alan yaratma kapasitesinin altını çizer. Potansiyel olarak önemli sosyal, kültürel ve politik uygulamalara ve kampüsün mekânsal yapılandırmasının bu uygulamalara olan rolüne olan dikkati, literatürdeki eksikliği gidermektedir. Bu bağlamda, eğitim ortamının üretimi ile öğrencilerin ve öğretim görevlilerinin çeşitli sosyal ilişkilere girdiği kamusal alanın üretimi arasındaki ilişki, kampüsün mekânsal organizasyonu ile toplum ve akademik topluluk için erişilebilirliği ve açıklığı arasındaki ilişki ortasında önemli hale gelmektedir. Dolayısıyla, üniversite kampüsleri, şehir parkları, sokaklar ve meydanların aksine, kamusal olarak erişilebilir olmayan ve tüm vatandaşlar tarafından paylaşılamayan kamusal alanlardır.³⁹⁰

Bu bağlamda, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin açık alanları kamuya açıkken, eğitim ve konaklama binaları genel halk tarafından erişilebilir değildi. Ancak, Üniversitenin inşasından başlayarak, öğrenci inşaat tugayları aracılığıyla halkın katılımı önemli bir özellikti.

Öğrencilerin kendi üniversitelerinin inşasına katkısı, tarihsel avangard metodolojileri hatırlatan kolektif sürecin çok "benzersiz" bir örneğidir. Ginzburg'un SA (Çağdaş Mimarlık) dergisinde laboratuvar ve öğretim çalışması yöntemi olarak tanımladığı konstrüktivizmin, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin inşası sürecinde somutlaştığı ileri sürülebilir.

Konstrüktivizmin ilkelerini yeniden ele alan Catherine Cooke, Konstrüktivistlerin, Inkhuk'un Objektif Analiz Grubu'nun (OSA) öncüsü olduğu birkaç gruptan geliştiğini hatırlatır. Tatlin ve Kandinsky'nin idealleri, Inkhuk'un çalışma grubuyla birlikte, 1920'lerin ortalarında Konstrüktivistlerin yöntemi olarak geliştirildi. Avangard kolektifin ilkeleri ve yöntemleri, Alexei Gan'ın 1922 tarihli Konstrüktivizm kitabı, Moisei Ginzburg'un 1924 tarihli "Stil ve Dönem" makalesi ve 1926-27 yılları arasında

³⁹⁰ Yıldız, p.255.

bir dizi teorik makale yayınlayan Çağdaş Mimarlık (SA) dergisi olmak üzere üç önemli yayın tarafından kamuya duyurulmuştur.³⁹¹

*Gan'ın 1922 tarihli Konstrüktivizm kitabı, Tatlin tarafından işaret edilen sanatçının rolündeki bu değişime Marksist bir bakış açısı sunan oldukça politik bir polemikti. Tatlin'in deyişiyle, kapitalizmin yalnızca 'bireysel aile yuvalarını süslemesine' izin verdiği sanatçı, artık 'yeni yaşam biçimlerini kontrol altına alacaktı.' Güzel sanatlar sanatçısı bir tasarımcı olacaktı. Gan, ortaya çıkan Konstrüktivizmin bu ve diğer temel fikirlerini yalnızca 'Devrim' ile değil, Marksizm ile de özdeşleştiren ve mimarlık ve şehir biçimiyle etkileşimleri için açıkça materyalist bir gerekçe sunan ilk kişiydi. Eski kapitalist binaların toplumsal yeniden örgütlenmeyi nasıl engellediğine ve 'doğru' binaların tersine buna nasıl yardımcı olabileceğine dikkat çekerken, Konstrüktivist mimarların daha sonra kimya veya elektrik alanından bir benzetme olan toplumsal yoğunlaştırıcı' olarak resmileştirdiği bina kavramını toplumsal katalizör olarak yerleştirdi.*³⁹²

Gan, tasarımın artık 'kişinin kendi fantezilerinin iletişimi' olmaması gerektiğinde ısrar etti. Konstrüktivistler, sosyalist bir toplumda, uzmanların ve amatörlerin uygun noktalarda katkıda bulunacağı açık, kolektif bir süreç olması gerektiğine inanıyorlardı.³⁹³

1960'lara dönersek, bir yandan Kruşçev döneminin bir politikası olan "tek aile için ev kampanyası"nın Sovyet vatandaşlarının yaşam kalitesini artıracığı düşünülürken, diğer yandan bunun Tatlin'in 1920'lerde tartıştığı yeni yaşam biçiminin üretilmesine

³⁹¹ Cooke, p.89.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid.

yardımcı olmaktan uzak bir girişim olduğu, hatta aşılması gereken dönemin gerisinde kaldığı ileri sürülebilir.

Dolayısıyla kampüs ortamı ve üniversite koridorları ile eğitimle ilgili birimler, spor tesisleri, evin dışında yaşamın yeniden üretildiği yurtlar yeni bir yaşam biçiminin üretilmesi için daha fazla fırsat sunmaktadır.

Sanat ve mimarlık alanlarında, teorik referanslar ve polemiklerle yükselen ve yalnızca devrimci olma söylemine dayanmayan Marksist bir perspektifi yeniden üretme kaygısı, entelektüel canlılığın, yaratıcılığın ve tartışmanın üretkenliği beslediği ve üretkenliğin çoğulcu ortamı beslediği devrimci zamanlardaki tarihsel avangardların çoğulcu ortamıydı. Bu ortamı belirli açılardan, dünya sosyalizminin henüz gerilemeye başlamadığı, dünya liberalizminin henüz zaferini ilan etmediği, dünya kapitalizminin uluslararası alanda ardışık bağımsızlık ve devrim dalgalarına yenik düştüğü ve bu durumun aydınlarda heyecan yarattığı ve öğrencileri sokakları yeniden örgütleyecek bir potansiyeli yeniden yaratmaya yönelttiği 1960'larda görüyoruz. Bu dönem aynı zamanda 1920'lere referansların kurulduğu ve devrimci kavramların sanatta ve edebiyatta yeniden ele alınıp sorgulandığı bir dönemdi. Bu bağlamda, Konstrüktivist kavramlar, Sovyet terminolojisinin tam anlamıyla "toplumsal inşa" olarak adlandırdığı şeyle, mimarının toplumsal bir katalizör olarak işleviyle ilgilenen bir felsefe olarak yeniden ele alındı.³⁹⁴

Bu çerçevede, konstrüktivist mimarların yaklaşımını, yani Cooke'un sorguladığı anlamda hangi özellikleri üzerinden Marksist bir yaklaşıma sahip olduklarını, Halkların Dostluk Üniversitesi'nin inşa süreciyle karşılaştırmak önemlidir. İlk olarak, erken postkolonyal dönemin gerçekliği, Sovyet liderliğine yeni özgürleşmiş ulusların geleceğinin şekillendirilmesine katkıda bulunma olanağı veya fırsatı verdi. Cooke, konstrüktivist ilkeleri tanımlayan Marx'ın ünlü sözüne atıfta bulunan kişinin Gan olduğunu hatırlatır. "Proletaryanın teorisyenleri, gözlerinin önünde gerçekten olup

³⁹⁴ Cooke, p.99.

bitenin hesabını verme ve bu gerçekliğin yorumlayıcıları ve açıklayıcıları olma bilişsel görevini kendilerine vermelidir."³⁹⁵

Sargın ve Savaş'ın "üniversite bir toplumdur"³⁹⁶ hatırlatması, müfredatı, öğrenci kabulü, akademik amaçları ve bunu betonarme zeminde, dikkatlice hesaplanmış bir tasarım süreciyle gerçekleştiren Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi, sorunlara ve olaylara bütünsel bağlamları içinde bakma, "onları gerçekte üzerlerinde etkisi olan faktörlerden ayırmama" ilkesine bir gönderme olarak görülebilir.³⁹⁷

İnşaat öncesinde tasarım raporunun da belirttiği gibi, Üniversite zamanla değişecek ve genişleyecekti, dolayısıyla alan tahsisi buna göre düzenlenmeliydi. Benzer şekilde, Cooke'un Marksist olmanın, şeylere nasıl değiştikleri açısından bakmak anlamına geldiğini hatırlatması ve Komünist Parti Sekreteri Kaganovich'in 1931'de konut ve planlama hakkında konuşurkenki dünyaları not edilebilir: "Komünist yaşam biçiminin uzak gelecekte tam olarak nasıl olacağını öngörmeye çalışmak tamamen Marksistlik dışı olurdu: sadece değişeceğini biliyoruz."³⁹⁸

Sovyetler Birliği'ndeki savaş sonrası tasarım süreci kolektif üretime benziyordu. *Mosproekt* (Moskova Mimarlık ve Şehir Planlama Araştırma ve Üretim Atölyeleri) gibi tasarım kurumları, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin ön tasarımından sorumluydu. Bu, Konstrüktivistlerin mimari süreçte kolektif sorumluluk konusundaki ısrarlarında önemli bir olgudur.

Tasarım aşamasının yanı sıra, tasarlanan çevre, yabancı öğrenciler aracılığıyla hem ulusal ekonomiye hem de uluslararası ekonomilere katılma yolunda bir "sosyal katalizör" haline geldi. Dahası, Sovyetler Birliği'ndeki eğitim katılımcıydı, çünkü politeknik ilkelerin hem fabrikalarda hem de çiftliklerde ve bilimsel tesislerde ekonominin yaşam meselelerine entegre edilmesi gerekiyordu. Öğrencilerin katılımcı

³⁹⁵ Cooke, p118.

³⁹⁶ Sargın and Savaş, pp. 602-629.

³⁹⁷ Cooke, p118.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

eđitimi ve öğrencilerin katılımcı inşası, kampüste, farklı kültürlerden, bölgelerden ve dil çeşitliliklerinden geçici olarak toplanan öğrencilerin kolektifleştirilmiş, eğitimsel olmayan sosyal, sanatsal, sportif ve eğlence amaçlı yaşam yeniden organizasyonu da iç içe geçti.

Üniversitenin proaktif olması da bu şekilde olduğu iddia edilebilir. Bu Cooke'un hatırlattığı mimari çalışmanın ürünlerinin belirli bir toplumsal değişimin aracısı olması yönündeki beşinci ilkeyi yansıtıyordu. Okulun tasarımı ve kampüsün inşası dünyayı değiştirme amacıyla iç içeydi. Halkların Dostluk Üniversitesi'nin amacı Asya, Afrika ve Latin Amerika uluslarının bağımsız devletlerinin gelişiminin taşıyıcıları olacak gelecekteki kadrolarını yetiştirmek olarak belirlenmişti.

Bu bağlamda:

Sosyal yoğunlaştırıcı fikri, mimariyi radikal yeni insan toplulukları oluşturmanın bir yolu olarak kullanmayı önerdi: birlikte yaşama, ortak üretim, entelektüel çalışma toplulukları; ayrıca etki, güzellik, empati ve tutku toplulukları. ... Formülasyonunda, toplumun ekonomik ve maddi altyapısını, günlük yaşamın sıradan ayrıntılarını ve aşkınlığın ve fantastik olanın asi alanlarını kapsar. En önemlisi, mimari çabanın tüm alanını da kapsar: konuttan ve işten kamusal alana ve aralarındaki her şeye.³⁹⁹

Marksist literatür, iki çelişen varlığın diyalektiğinin birinin zaferiyle sonuçlanacağını iddia eder. İki rekabet eden ve çelişen dünya sistemi, kapitalizm ve sosyalizm, anlaşmazlıklarını mümkün olan her şekilde yeniden canlandırır ve her olası kurumu kurumsallaştırarak şart koşar. Ve ideoloji, sempati ve antipati gibi duyguların dönüştürülebilirliğinde önem kazanır. Sovyetler Birliği, farklı nesiller tarafından (ve şimdi içeridekiler tarafından) büyülenme ve hayal kırıklığına uğrama duygularıyla böyle algılandı. Soğuk Savaş bağlamında, savaştan yıpranmış Sovyet çok

³⁹⁹ Murawski and Rendell, p.369.

ulusluluğunda hayatta kalmaya ve yabancı kamuoyunu etkilemeye çalışan "barış içinde bir arada yaşama" politikası, iyi bir retorik olarak görülebilir ancak ciddi sonuçlara yol açacak teoriyi test etmenin zor bir örneğidir.

Bugüne kadarki sosyalist deneyler, kapitalist dünyanın müdahalelerine ek olarak bir dizi iç sorunla karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Bu bağlamda, sürekli değişen ihtiyaçlar ve beklentiler karşısında ekonomik büyümenin nasıl sürdürüleceği; devrimin ikinci, üçüncü ve dördüncü kuşakları boyunca devrimci ivmenin nasıl sürdürüleceği; Devrimci enternasyonalist bir dış politika ile kapitalist dünya ile barış içinde bir arada yaşama ihtiyacı arasında nasıl denge kurulacağı; ekonomik ve diplomatik izolasyondan kaçınırken bilim ve teknolojiye son küresel gelişmelerden nasıl yararlanılacağı, özellikle sosyalist dünyanın merkezi gücü için zorlu konulardır.⁴⁰⁰

Sovyetler Birliği gibi planlı bir ekonomi temelinde şekillenen merkezi ve planlı bir ülke, yaşamın tüm unsurlarının benzersiz bir birlikteliği olan "uçtan uca" bütünsel bir toplumsal yaşamı içerir. Bu bütünlük, kendilerini bu bütünsel yaşamda ifade eden yaratıcılık, gençlik ve çok kültürlülükle karşılandığında, gelecek için yeni bir umut ve dünya barışı için bir şans yaratmıştır. "Sosyal yoğunlaştırıcıyı" bu perspektiften ele alırsak, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin sunduğu fırsatlar ve sınırlamalarla yeni bir kentsel kültür yaratmada "avangard kavramı" yeniden üretme veya yeniden değerlendirme potansiyeli, Lefebvre'in terimi yeniden kavramsallaştırmasıyla Nanterre'in öğrencilerinin dinamiklerinden daha fazla takdir edilebilir. Ancak, "başarısız bir ütopya"daki potansiyelin, boş zamanı hoş zamana dönüştüremediği, boş zamanın burjuvazinin bulduğunun dışında kullanılması, hoş zaman bulamama ve yeni bir insan yaratma başarısızlığı ölçüsünde bir "başarısızlık" olarak da görülebileceği belirtilmelidir.⁴⁰¹

Ancak, 1960'ların kentleşmiş ve sanayileşmiş sosyalist başkentinin gündelik mekanı "olağanüstü veya henüz oluşmamış olanı kullanma veya 'kristalleştirme', onu yeryüzüne indirme ve yeni bir toplum yaratmak için kullanma" için bir "mimari yöntem" ile yeniden üretme potansiyeli araştırılması gereken önemli bir konu haline

⁴⁰⁰ Martinez, p.11.

⁴⁰¹ Küçük, p.11.

gelir.⁴⁰² Bu çalışmanın bulgusu, Murawski ve Rendell'in ortaya koyduğu gibi, avangard "sosyal yoğunlaştırıcı" kavramının tasvirine daha yakındır.

Amaçları, tesisleri, kampüsü ve kendi içinde çokulusluluk ve enternasyonalizm karşılaşmalarıyla Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'ni inşa etmek, "toplumsal ilişkilerin kolektivist ve bireyci anlayışları; merkezci ve merkezkaç hareketler ve mekânsallıklar; determinizm ve belirsizlik; küçük ve büyük ölçekler; dikey ve yatay biçimler; sıradanlık ve sıra dışılık; başarı ve başarısızlık" arasında paradokslar ve çelişkilerle dolu bir toplumsal yoğunlaştırıcının tanımına daha yakındır.⁴⁰³

Bu çalışma, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin Sovyetler Birliği ile diğer ülkeler arasındaki ilişkinin "toplumsal yoğunlaştırıcısı" olmayı neden ve nasıl amaçladığını incelemeye çalışmıştır. Bu çalışmanın bulguları doğrultusunda, bu üniversitenin mezunları ile Üçüncü Dünya'daki sömürgecilikten kurtuluş ve özgürlük hareketleri arasındaki gerçek bağın bir sonucu olarak, üniversitenin potansiyelinin kampüs sınırları içinde kalıp kalmadığını veya mezunları tarafından denizaşırı ülkelere ulaşıp ulaşmadığını değerlendirmek için daha fazla araştırma yapılması gerekmektedir. Bu nedenle, postkolonyal teori bu benzersiz vakayı toplumsal, kentsel ve mimari tarihlerin küresel anlatısına dahil etmelidir.

1961'de Kongo lideri öldürüldükten sonra Patrice Lumumba'nın adını alan üniversite, özellikle Afrika üzerine bilgi üretiminin merkezi haline geldi. 1960'lar boyunca Çekoslovakya, Doğu Almanya, Macaristan, Polonya ve Yugoslavya'da kurulan diğer uzmanlaşmış enstitüler de benzeri denemeler olmuştur. İnşaat mühendisliği bölümü (ve daha sonra mimarlık bölümü) belirli Afrika iklimleri ve bölgelerinde tasarım ve inşaat konusunda bilgi birikimi üretmiştir. Dahası, üniversite sıcak iklimler için mimari konusunda bilgi birikimi üretmede etkili olmuştur. Öğrenci inşaat tugaylarının deneyimleri de bu bilgi üretimine yardımcı olduğu görülür çünkü Sovyet yetkilileri iklim ve kültür açısından Orta Asya Sovyet Cumhuriyeti'nin benzerliğini tasvir ettiler. Böylece, Üniversite bağımsızlığını yeni kazanan ülkelerde hastaneler, tiyatrolar, spor tesisleri ve toplum merkezlerinin gelecekteki inşası için etkili olmuştur. Bu yapılar

⁴⁰² Murawski, p.379.

⁴⁰³ Murawski, p.372.

işlevleri, sonraki kullanımları, inşaat biçimleri ve mimari özellikleri bakımından farklılık gösterse de, günlük yaşam için çerçeveler sağlamaya, yoğunlaşma noktaları ve kentleşme süreçleri için genişleme vektörleri oluşturmaya ve hatta bazen sömürgeciliğin sonlanması ve ulusal bağımsızlığın anıtları olarak kutlanmaya devam ediyorlar. Bu şehirlerdeki inşaat endüstrileri genellikle sosyalist devlet işletmeleri tarafından kurulan fabrikalar tarafından üretilen malzemelere dayanır ve yerel mimarlık ve planlama okulları sosyalist ülkelerden gelen profesyoneller tarafından yazılan erken yinelemelerden geliştirilen müfredatları kullanır.⁴⁰⁴

Sonuç olarak, Halkların Dostluğu Üniversitesi'nin Sovyetler Birliği ile diğer ülkeler arasındaki ilişkinin “sosyal yoğunlaştırıcısı” olmayı neden ve nasıl amaçladığını inceleyen bu çalışma, kampüsünün bu amacın gerçekleştirilmesi için alan sağladığını ve üniversitenin potansiyel etkilerinin kampüs sınırlarını aşarak Üçüncü Dünya'daki mezunları aracılığıyla denizaşırı ülkelere ulaştığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bilgi üretiminin sınırlarını nasıl aştığına dair yörüngeyi izlemek için daha fazla araştırma yapılması, postkolonyal teoriyi zenginleştirecektir.

⁴⁰⁴ Stanek, *Architecture in Global Socialism: Eastern Europe, West Africa, and the Middle East in the Cold War*, p.2.

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