

Irina Gordeeva

Nonviolence and Peaceful Methods of Protest in Public Thought and Historical Experience of the Soviet Opposition

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Nonviolent ideas in Russia: history and historiography

Since at least the second half of the twentieth century in world historiography the problem fields of Peace and Nonviolence Studies were constantly remaining an actual and dynamic interdisciplinary area of the humanitarian research. However nowadays in Russian historiography Peace and Nonviolence Studies is not a subject of the lively academic interest. The main reason for this is a legacy of the Soviet “official” “struggle for peace”: in its background in public consciousness the peace movement looks like a “sad and pretender pain”. Hence the world narrative about nonviolence suffers from the lack of the data on the Russian history. Peter Brock from the University of Toronto was almost an only scholar who succeeded to involve the data on the Russian and Soviet conscientious objection into his more general accounts. Besides there were extremely interesting pacifism studies projects of the Russian philosophers and historians together with foreign scholars and public activists in the nineties, which suddenly stopped at the end of the decade.

The idea of the current research project outflow from my doctoral dissertation theme, entitled “The Theory and Practices of the Radical Pacifism in Russia in the Twentieth century”. In my dissertation I explore the forms of self-organization, ideas and historical experience of the Russian nonviolent movement throughout the whole twentieth century. The aim of my studies is to attract attention to the Russian grass-roots pacifist tradition, which arose in the beginning of the twentieth century and became an inherent part of the European history of pacifism, developed under its influence and influenced it in return. My theme was thoroughly provided with the historical sources on the period till the end of the thirties, but I had a lack of the materials on the later periods. That is why the

librarian from the sector of the informal press of the State historical public library (Moscow) advised me to pay my attention to the OSA collections.

Definitions

The bulk of the phenomena which refers to the notion “nonviolence” is rather contradictory in the context of the Russian history. The adherents of nonviolence aim both international peace and internal, everyday nonviolence. Hence they form the different kinds of anti-war (later - anti-nuclear) movements as well as a pacifist movement. In pre-revolutionary Russia the movement for the international peace was rather weak, it was supported mainly by the liberal intelligentsia, joined within several infirm Peace societies. These societies were not mass or influential; they were financed by the Carnegie foundation and stopped their activity just after the beginning of the World War I.

At the same time since the end of the nineteenth century the Russian authorities used to consider peacemaking rhetoric to be a part of the state ideology. The “official” Soviet movement for peace can be regarded as a continuation of the same tradition. In comparison with the pre-revolutionary period the difference was in pretence of the Soviet “official” peace organizations to look like a genuine grass-roots movement, while in fact they were firmly controlled by the Soviet authorities and the Communist party.

Russian pacifist tradition with pure nonviolent ideals was shaped at the end of the nineteenth century by the adherents of Leo Tolstoy, so-called “Tolstoyans” or the “Independent Christians” in their own terms. They struggled against any sort of violence – international, physical, political, social and cultural. They encouraged the liberal and “official” peace-makers in most their peace initiatives, but failed to obtain their support for their own nonviolent activity. The fate of this pacifist movement and nonviolent ideas in the twentieth century is the subject of my research.

For the purposes of my research it’s helpful to distinct 3 modes of the involvement into nonviolent activity:

- persons and groups for which the value of nonviolence is the core of their identity (they are the true pacifists);
- persons and groups, which respect the value of nonviolence, but it is not principal for them in any situation (let us call them “the companions” of the pacifists);
- persons and groups, which only make use of the rhetoric of nonviolence and nonviolent movements for their own aims, which sometime are far from nonviolence (the “parasites”).

In Russia the “true” pacifists were socially active only in the very beginning and very end of the twentieth century. Their agenda included both peace and nonviolence, while simultaneously the separate “peace” movements existed, which was indifferent or even hostile to the values of nonviolence.

OSA Archive sources on the history on nonviolence in the USSR

My target in the OSA Archive was to complete the “blank spots” in the history of the late Soviet nonviolent thought and practice. The revealing of the documents was conducted in three directions: by thematic, personalia and titles of informal press. The following types of the records have been found:

- tremendous quantity of the published and some unpublished samizdat on the history of the unofficial peace movement in the USSR;
- big collection of the analytical materials created by the staff of the Radio;
- numerous texts of the radio programs and interviews with the participants of the Soviet pacifist movement;
- rich collections of the materials of the foreign press on the subject of the Soviet official and unofficial peace movements;
- several titles of the extremely rare informal periodicals related to the informal peace movement in the USSR;
- collections of the clips from the Soviet periodicals on the subject.

I used primary the following sections of the OSA Archives:

from the Soviet Red Archives:

HU OSA 300-80-7 USSR Biographical Files, 1953-1994

HU OSA 300-80-1 Old Code Subject Files, 1953-1994

HU OSA 300-80-2 New Code Subject Files, 1954-1994

from Samizdat Archives:

HU OSA 300-85-12 Subject Files, 1968-1992

HU OSA 300-85-13 Biographical Files, 1968-1993

HU OSA 300-85-14 Materialy Samizdata, 1971-1991

HU OSA 300-85-19 Informal Press

HU OSA 300-85-44 Unpublished Samizdat: Subject Files, 1963-1992

HU OSA 300-85-45 Unpublished Samizdat: Biographical Files, 1940-1992

Most of the documents found refer to the period of the eighties.

The results of the preliminary exploration of the records totally turned my notion about the theme I study. Previously I thought that the period of the beginning of the twentieth century had been an only important time in the history of the Russian pacifism. Now I am sure that unofficial pacifism of the late Soviet period obtained all the characteristics of the “classical” nonviolent movement, it was famous worldwide and developed in tight connection with Western peace and pacifist movements.

First stage of the history of nonviolence in Russia (“Tolstoyas” period)

As I have already mentioned above, the Russian pacifist movement appeared at the end of the nineteenth century as a result of the public identification of so-called “Tolstoyans” – the adherents of prominent Russian writer and thinker Leo Tolstoy. They also called themselves “independent Christians” or “independent religious movement”. Their chief value was nonviolence and later they accepted the title of “pacifists”. They were active in defense of conscientious objectors, the freedom of conscience and other human rights, rejecting the militarization of the society, death penalty and all kinds of social and political violence, promoting the values of nonviolence and struggling for international peace.

Despite the fact that the leaders of the radical pacifist movement in Russia were mainly originated from the privileged and even aristocratic spheres, the

movement was principally oriented to the masses of ordinary people, namely the religious sectarians, peasants and workers. In search of the ideology the leaders of the movement applied to the Christian tradition, the ideas of Tolstoy and world philosophy of nonviolence and civil resistance, as well as the experience of the folk religious dissent – the Russian and the foreign ones. The social base of the Evangelical pacifism in pre-revolutionary Russia was rather narrow because of the religious illiteracy of overwhelming majority of population, but it grew rapidly till the beginning of the twenties.

The “Tolstoyans” intentionally examined the phenomenon which James C. Scott later will call “weapons of the weak” – the stable behavioral stereotypes of the folk protest, the different forms of escape, passive resistance and creation of the communities autonomous from state institutions. They attempted to transfer these backward practices into the up-to-date effective technologies of social resistance. The result looked like anti-disciplinary protest on the base of the Christian values. The Russian radical pacifists built their movement in intensive contacts with the Western pacifist organizations and movements - both religious and secular, adopting the Western thought and political terminology, the principles of organization and methods of protest.

The pacifist leaders were Vladimir Chertkov (the friend of Tolstoy, who became a prominent defender of the believers under the Bolsheviks), Pavel Birukov (together with Chertkov was in the forced emigration in the very beginning of the century and established the Tolstoyans’ press in Geneva and London); Ivan Tregubov (the theoretician of “general peaceful strike” and in the Soviet period (together with Birukov) the author of the project of economic cooperation between the Bolsheviks and sectarians), the family of Ivan Gorbunov-Posadov (tooled in the publishing house “*Posrednik*” and later in the twenties spread the *samizdat*) and Valentin Bulgakov (the last secretary of Leo Tolstoy, the author of the anti-war appeal at the period of the World War I, in the forced emigration in Czechoslovakia - the director of the Russian cultural centre, the founder of the International Movement for the Christian Communism, turned to

patriotism from pacifism and returned to the USSR after the fascist concentration camp). All of them since the Tolstoyans' forced emigration in the beginning of the twentieth century kept a company with Bolsheviks V.D. Bonch-Bruевич and his wife V. Velichkina, V.I. Lenin and his wife N. Krupskaya. Thanks to all these connections the pacifist movement in Soviet Russia survived until the thirties. As my research in the OSA Archive revealed, very similar situation occurred in the eighties, when the leaders of the unofficial pacifist movement had kin, friend and professional connections with the representatives of the upper ranks of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The peak of the public success of the early radical pacifism in Russia falls upon the period after the revolutions of 1917. At this period the Tolstoyans organized the Society of True Freedom in Moscow and its numerous local branches, obtained several central and regional periodicals, created the inter-confessional United Council of the religious communities and groups for defense of conscientious objectors and enjoined raising public sympathy. Political success of the radical pacifists at this period marked by the Decree of 1919 which approved the right to reject military service on the motives of the conscience. In the twenties the Soviet radical pacifists continued the communication with their foreign counterparts: they corresponded to the War Resistance International, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Movement for Christian Communism, Romain Rolland, Gandhi and some others.

This stage of the development of nonviolent ideas in Russia demonstrates us the most classical features of the world nonviolent movements:

- denial of violence both in physical and structural senses, the quest for international as well as for internal social peace;
- sense of the personal responsibility for the history and the belief that people's will can affect the history;
- commitment to the principle of openness of the protest, necessary public articulation of the identity and aims, gameness to accept all the consequence of action, including imprisonment;

- principal attention to the methods of action, the choice of their nonviolent character;
- allegiance to the informal non-hierarchic structures of organizational building and network systems of communication;
- principal orientation to the dialogue with authorities;
- presumption of the humaneness of the antagonist.

In the middle twenties in Soviet Russia the pressure on the believers and other dissenters had grown and the radical pacifist movement was pushed out to the Tolstoyans' agricultural communes or to underground. Until the final distraction in the late thirties the nonviolent ideas in Russia existed only in the *samizdat* and private correspondence of the pacifists, in their life-style, in the persecuted Tolstoyans' communes and in the alternative demilitarized educational programs in the Tolstoyans' schools.

The outlooks and behavior of the repressed pacifists face-to-face with the penal authorities revealed, that one of the significant results of this movement was the birth of unique for Soviet Russia type of subjectivity, which determined by his own conscience, independent from the dictated external authorities, possessing unusually high for the Soviet Union level of independent thought and nonconformity. I think this conclusion can contribute to the recent debates about the nature of the Soviet subjectivity.

This "subjectivity" disappeared in the Stalin's GULAG for 30 years and returned to historical scene only in the sixties embodied in the Soviet dissidents and hippies. Throughout the whole this period Leo Tolstoy was regarded worldwide as a founder of the modern peace movement. However for the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people Tolstoy was known as only a great novelist. So the traditions of the Tolstoyan nonviolence were kept only abroad and interrupted in Russia. Additionally the historical memory about the World War II, extremely traumatic for the Russian people, was canalized by the authorities into the patriotic, but not pacifist sentiments. The Soviet patriotism had an aggressive character, so the word "pacifism" regarded as an abusive term in official language.

Second stage of the history of nonviolence in Russia (nonviolent ideas of the Soviet dissidents)

In the “Thaw” period some nonviolent values revived, but initially in rather fuzzy complex of ethical ideas of the Soviet dissidents. The claim that most of the Soviet dissidents were opposite to violence is a common place of the historiography. Andrei Sakharov underlined that the strategy of the Soviet dissidents was based upon “the total, principal refuse of the claims for violence”. I think this is not true only for the dissident of the right and some other marginal wings of the dissident circles.

There are a lot of papers devoted to the “ethics” of the dissidents, but almost none of them pay attention to the problem of method of public action or the values of nonviolence. Nevertheless I can state that in some dissidents’ ideas we can reveal a some sort of the “proto-pacifist” outlooks, which served as a feeding ground for would-be nonviolence movement.

The historians tried to trace the nonviolent sentiments in the following phenomena of the Soviet dissent:

- nonviolent character of the upheavals in the labor camps just after the death of Stalin;
- struggle of the Soviets scientists and first of all of A. Sakharov for restriction of the nuclear arms;
- Sakharov’s ideas of convergence;
- general mood of the Soviet people who hold abomination for the war after the World War II (expressed in the Russian antiwar belletristic, for instance);
- among the persons who protested in August 1968 against the Soviet invasion to Czechoslovakia;
- among those who protested in 1979 and later against the Soviet invasion to Afghanistan;
- in the late Soviet feminism and some “parental” organization of the Soviet period.

Gene Sharp and some Russian scholars in their accounts about the history of nonviolence mentioned the upheavals of the prisoners in Vorkuta and other camps in 1953 as the historical precedents of nonviolent civil resistance. The recent researches demonstrated that perhaps it was the civil resistance, but the nonviolent interpretation of these events is far from the reality.

I revealed only one person in the Soviet dissident movement of the sixties and seventies who deliberately called himself a “pacifist”, namely Yurii Galanskov. His works of 1959-1966 imply that he was aware about some points of nonviolent ideas of Tolstoy and tried to generate his own position on the subject. He understood violence not only in physical, but at the same time in structural sense. At the same time his quest for nonviolence was connected with his preoccupation about international peace. In June of 1965 Galanskov promoted 4 hours one person demonstration in front of the American Embassy against USA invasion to Dominican Republics. In 1966 Galanskov wrote two articles on the themes:

- 1) “The organizational problems of the movement for the total and general disarmament in the whole world”
- 2) “On the project of program of Universal Union of supporters of general disarmament”.

He planned to organize mass grassroots worldwide union of the supporters of peace, independent on their governments. He also intended to issue a social-pacifist journal. He criticized as fruitless the Soviet experience of the “official” struggle for peace. The materials of the OSA Archive demonstrate that Galanskov was respected among his friends for his pacifist ideas, but almost none of them supported these ideas because of their “utopian” character.

The same problem of the “official” peace movement was explored later in by another prominent Soviet dissident Vladimir Буковский in his pamphlet “The pacifists against the peace” (1982) He accused the foreign peace movements to be the “useful idiots” for the Soviet politicians. According to him, the absence of their critique on the Soviet invasion to Afghanistan revealed the false character of the

movement. He pointed that even some foreign Communist parties condemned this invasion, but none of the world peace movement leaders did this.

The conclusion of Bukovskii was that the alternative “war or peace” is less actual than “freedom or slavery” and the chief task of the peaceniks is to help the Soviet people to break away with the totalitarianism. In OSA Archive I have found a significant amount of the reviews and polemics of the representatives of the world peace movement with this point of view.

Later very similar ideas were expressed by Vaclav Havel, who said that the word “peace” has been drained of all content in the Soviet bloc. For years in Czechoslovakia slogans such as “Soviet Union, the Guarantor of World Peace” and the mandatory peace parades with mandatory placards have created an alienation among the ordinary people toward any pronouncements from East or West about peace. Havel claimed that agreeing with a Western peace movement platform removes the dissidents from the ordinary realm of domestic human rights criticism. He criticizes Western peace groups for failure to realize and incorporate into their activities the inseparability of peace and human rights.

The dissidents indeed demonstrated several “Tolstoyan” values. The quest for open protest according the conscience and the feeling of the ability to attract history were principal for them. Alexander Daniel said that the Tolstoyan sentence “I Cannot Be Silent!” is the best one for understanding of the dissident’s ethics. But the purposeful application to the “Tolstoyan” tradition was extremely rare among the Soviet dissidents.

Nevertheless they used some methods of protest which can be regarded as nonviolent technologies. The experience of the Czechoslovakian “nonviolent revolution” in 1968 was an important for self-reflection of the Soviet dissidents. Some of them protested against the Soviet invasion to Czechoslovakia in August 25 in the Red Square. This story is one of the most famous in the history of the dissident movement. It entailed the discussion about the morality and conscience in politics, which included the references to Tolstoy, but did not led to the any significant reflection on the problem of nonviolence. The participant of the action

in the Red Square Natalia Gorbanevskaya said that for her and her friends the involvement into this action was connected with the individual sense of the responsibility for the history. In fact this is very close to the pacifist ethics.

Another peace demonstration is much less famous, but extremely interesting because it was organized by the female activists of the Soviet underground Baptists and was really massive. This demonstration has never been analytically explored in the Russian historiography; it has been studied only by the prominent Mennonite historian Walter Sawatsky, whose papers were very important for my understanding of the nature and limits of the religious protest.

Baptists' demonstration occurred in May 1966 in Moscow in front of the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. About 400-600 Baptists from 130 towns of USSR probably participated in it. It was absolutely peaceful and sometimes performed in the form of collective prayer. The Baptists asked Brezhnev stop interfering into the church life. A week later the same demonstration occurred in Kiev.

I failed to find in OSA Archive any polemics of the Soviet dissident on the problem of the methods of collective action and continue my searches in the Russian emigrant periodicals.

The intellectual background of the independent peace movement in the late Soviet period was formed by Andrei Sakharov, an eminent Soviet nuclear physicist, dissident and human rights activist. He was one of the creator of nuclear weapon and from the late 1950s had become concerned about the moral and political implications of his work. Sakharov was bothered a lot with the possible aftermath of its application. In May 1968 he completed an essay "Reflections on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom", where the problem of nuclear war prevention was connected with task of social and economical reformation of the Soviet system, the development of civil rights society in the USSR and rapprochement of the socialist and capitalist systems. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975. The activists of the East European independent peace Movement highlighted the importance of the ideas of Sakharov for them.

OSA Archive contains a huge number of files on the activity of Andrew Sakharov. According to these records his “peaceful” initiatives and theory of “convergence” obtained a great influence in the West in human rights and peace movements. These records let me to reveal the names of the scientists who supported his ideas. So thanks to the findings in the OSA Archive the milieu of the Soviet scientific intelligentsia became a part of my concern. At the same time there was a certain distrust to Sakharov’s tactics from the some wings of the Western peace movement, and this plot is also can be explored on the base od the OSA Archive records.

The essays “To live without lie” by the Soviet dissident writer A. Solzhenitsyn (1974), the ethics of which was very close to the Tolstoyan ideas, provoked significant polemics among the Soviet dissidents. Solzhenitsyn stated the necessity to live according to the conscience and reject to support the authorities (the similar ideas we can find in the book “Power of the Powerless” (1978) by Vaclav Havel). The polemics on Solzhenitsyn’s essays was published in three volumes by dissident Viktor Sokirko under the pseudonym “K. Buarguademov” (K means Communist, Bourgeoidemov means Bourgeois Democrat). These volumes are extremely interesting. I would like to attract the attention only to the position of Sokirko, who called the dissidents to address to the folk tradition of the passive resistance and apply different methods of dissimulation, Schweik-ing, the “pragmatic” strategies of earning the private profit from the authorities and other forms of private enterprise. Sokirko thought that the way he suggesting could be much more popular among the ordinary people then Solzhenytsyn’s idea. I see in his ideas an attempt to overcome the elitist character of the Soviet dissident movement and apply to a some sort of what J. Scott called “mētis”. The very folk tradition of protest inspired Sokirko. This was rather uncommon for the Soviet dissidents, most of which felt contempt for the Russian people and regarded only intelligentsia (or even its part) as a principal subject of would-be “emancipation” of Russia.

There were only few separate people and only one group who declared an open protest against the invasion of the Soviet troops to Afghanistan. This dissident group was the Group Maria from Leningrad. This Group was unique in the Russian dissident movement, combining feminism, religious Orthodoxy and some pacifist motives. Her members protested against the Soviet invasion to Afghanistan, because some of them had sons in the age of drafting. They were also connected with the nonconformist artists, in which milieu some proto-pacifist ideas were discussed.

Before visiting OSA Archive I had rather poor information about this Group. I failed to find their *samizdat* journals in Moscow. The historians of this group have the same problem with historical sources. It's funny, but one of the scholars, Alla Mitrofanova, has written an article on the "Leningrad's feminism in the seventies" for Russian Wikipedia, and this article was banned after the hot debates because they seemed that the author did not have enough primary sources to prove the very existence of the feminism in Leningrad at this period. They said that Google did not show convincing results in this subject.

In OSA Archive I have found about 10 separate copies of the articles from the issues of the Group's Maria *samizdat* journals and a copy of one full issue, so I can at least try to reconstruct its position. Besides several reviews were revealed as well as numerous interviews with the emigrant participants of the Group Maria, and other biographical materials. So there are things in which OSA Archive is cooler than Google.

The open protest against the violence in the late Soviet period was also a part of the public activity of some religious groups. One of them, the underground Soviet Baptists, created their own human rights organization, entitled "The council of relatives of the prisoners". I view this Council and the Group Maria as the forerunners of the contemporary "parental" movement in Russia, for example, of the committees of the soldiers' mothers, which have always been the severe companions of the pacifists.

At the start, when I searched primarily for the materials of the sixties and seventies, I was rather disappointed by my findings in the OSA archive. But when I applied to the eighties, I have found a tremendous volume of the materials on the Soviet unofficial peace movement of the period. Sometimes it looked like almost the whole archive was devoted to my theme. Initially I was shocked and experienced mystical feelings. In fact the volume is really huge. But finally I decided that this is reasonable, because the real nonviolent movement is principally open, but not clandestine one. And the circumstances for such openness appeared only in the eighties. Another reason is a great attention to this movement of the foreign public, inspired by its really grass-roots character.

The third stage of the nonviolent movement in Russia (the Trust Group)

The independent peace movement in Soviet Union appeared in 1982, when the Group to Establish Trust between USA and USSR was organized. In the same year the Soviet hippies created another pacifist organization – “The Independent Initiative”. The very fact of appearance of the independent peace movement with pure pacifist ideas marks the new quality of the society in the Soviet Union. These groups started with peace-making ideas, but till to the late eighties became the typical pacifist groups of the western kind with wide agenda.

In fact I was aware in general about the basic facts from the history of the Trust Group from the Russian paper by Russian scholar T. Telukova, published in the collection of the articles on pacifism, and from the English-language collection of the Group’s documents, compiled, translated and edited in May 1984 by the staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 148 pages. Besides in 2008 I have found separate materials on the Group in the Archive of the War Resisters International in the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam). In addition in 2010 I worked with the archive of the historical descendant of this Group – the Transnational Radical Party, but the access for the most of its documents had been prohibited by the holder. The history of the Independent Initiative was much less supplied by the primary sources.

There are some books which pay significant attention to the history of the independent peace movement in the USSR. Most of them were created by the scholars, who at the same time were the western counterparts of the Soviet peaceniks:

- Fitzpatrick, Catherine A. *Moscow's Independent Peace Movement*. U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, 1982.
- Fitzpatrick, C.; Fleischman, J. *From Below: Independent Peace and Environmental Movements in Eastern Europe and the USSR*. A Helsinki Watch Report. October, 1987.
- Bacher, John. *The Independent Peace Movement in Eastern Europe* // *Peace Magazine*. 1985. December. P. 8.
<http://peacemagazine.org/archive/v01n9p08.htm>
- Roberts, Adam. *Civil Resistance in the East European and Soviet Revolutions*. Albert Einstein Institution, 1991. 43 p. ([The Einstein Institution Monograph Series. Vol. 4](#))
- Cortright D. *Peace Works: The Citizen's Role in Ending the Cold War*. Oxford, 1993.
- Kuznetsov E. *The Independent Peace Movement in the USSR* // *In Search of Civil Society: Independent Peace Movements in the Soviet Bloc* / Ed. by Vladimir Tismaneanu. N.Y., L.: Routledge, 1990. P. 54-70.
- Spencer M. *The Russian Quest for Peace and Democracy*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010.

The majority of these books are based on the idea that ordinary citizens played a significant role in ending the Cold War. My impression is that the history of the Soviet unofficial peace movement is more the story about the roots of the contemporary political culture in Russia and less about the end of the Cold War or collapse of the Soviet system. At the same time my visit to the OSA Archive revealed that I need more profound reading of Peace Studies literature.

The agenda of the Soviet independent peace movement developed within the following topics:

- fight for the international peace;
- promotion of mutual trust between the people of the USSR and the USA (East and West);
- right for emigration;
- right for conscientious objection;
- protest against death penalty;
- protest against militarization of everyday life and education;
- balance of civil-military relations;
- defense of freedom of consciences and other human rights;
- rights of religious and ethnic minorities;
- ecological issues;
- rights of sexual minorities;
- anti prohibition and other libertarian agenda.

I suspect that OSA Archive holds almost all official applications of the Trust Group and the Independent Initiative Group to the authorities and foreign public. Most of them are part of the published *samizdat* collection. The appeals of the Soviet unofficial pacifist are remarkable, but still underestimated by the historians part of the late dissident movement.

At the end of 1982 the Trust Group officially applied to the Moscow Party City Executive Committee for registration, but received an oral response that “In order to fight for peace, you don’t need to register in our country”. The Trust Group tried to collaborate with the chief “official” peace organization - the Soviet Committee of Peace Defence, but since the very beginning the Committee confronted the informal pacifists. The history of the attitudes of the “official” and unofficial Soviet peace movements is represented in the records of the OSA Archives in details.

All the activity of the Group was open. Initially the Trust Group was a peace group that unintentionally ran afoul of its government. Being the first independent

peace movement in the USSR, the members of the Trust Group in the eighties were probably an only dissident group which practiced an open protest and at the same time were oriented to the dialogue with the authorities.

The Trust Group had an “open” membership, so everybody who had ever signed its letters or participated in its actions could be regarded as a member of this Group. Now thanks to the materials of the OSA Archive I know more than 250 names of such people. The Group had its network in several Soviet towns, including Dolgoprudnyi, Novosibirsk, Kuibyshev, Lviv, Kiev, Odessa and some others.

There were some other attempts to organize informal pacifist groups at this period. For instance, several scientists detached from the Trust Group in November 1982 and formed the group “Friendship and Dialog”. They were disagree with its radical character of the Trust Group and decided to continue their peace-making activity within the scientific seminar “Peaceful and social research” in Dolgoprudnyi. It was irregular and became active only in 1987, when its leaders organized the discussion club in Moscow and supported the press-club “*Galsnost*’.

The hippies’ Independent Initiative group was formed after the death of John Lennon. His phrase “all we need is love” has become their slogan. They argue that “only love will save us all”, saying they “feel close to young people in America”, being united with them through “common hopes and common paths, even though these often take forms that seem absurd to our older generations”. On June 1 of 1984, numerous persons were arrested at an Independent Initiative demonstration calling for the U.S. to leave El Salvador, the Soviets to leave Afghanistan, and both to take their rockets out of Europe. On December 11, 1984, in Moscow's Lenin Hills Park, they organized an anti-war demonstration dedicated to the memory of John Lennon. Several hundred persons took part and although 150 persons were arrested, all were released by the evening of the same day. All these figures found in the OSA Archived have to be proved by the official documents.

The Soviet unofficial pacifists were persecuted, suffered psychiatric detention, imprisonment and forced draft. They were not officially prosecuted for

peace activity, instead, charges were fabricated like “leading a parasitic life-style”, “not paying alimony”, “resisting officers” and so on. The records of the OSA Archive contain the daily history of the Trust group actions and persecutions, they let to trace the fate of its supporters in prisons, mental hospitals and abroad in emigration.

The extensive coverage of the Group’s activity by foreign media attracted the attention of a number of peace organizations in the West, primarily in West Germany, Holland, the United States, England, and Australia, whose representatives, traveling by official invitation to the USSR, began more and more frequently to look for opportunities to make contact with the Group. Foreign radio stations that broadcast to the USSR in the languages of the Soviet peoples, including Radio Liberty, the BBC, Voices of America, German Wave, and Voice of Israel, began to air frequent and detailed reports about the Group’s activity. Most of them can be found in the OSA Archive. There is a unique collections of interviews with the activists of the Group in the OSA Archive.

Initially the pacifist from the Trust Group denied the politics like the elder generation of the Soviet dissidents did it. But finally they came to the conclusion that what they are doing is politics itself. “The private is political” was their slogan and activity imperative.

In Moscow I wasted a lot of time to find the *samizdat* of the Soviet pacifist, and the results were disappointing. Here in the OSA Archive there are 2 full boxes of the pacifist periodicals. This is really a fantastic finding.

The problem of social base of the late Soviet pacifism

The representative of five social groups were active in the unofficial pacifist movement in the USSR:

- scientists: mathematicians, physics and so on, some of them were also refuseniks;
- Jews-refuseniks, which were often intersected with the scientists;
- nonconformist artists, some of them were also hippies;
- hippies, some of them were also nonconformist artists;

- believers-refuseniks and consciousness objectors, mainly the Pentecostals.

Besides the Trust Group acted in the tight contact with the Initiative Group for defense of invalids' rights and some of its members were disable persons.

Hence there is a question what was common for all these social groups, which pushed them to join into the unite movement? I can only preliminary say that each of these groups had their own "the great refusal" with long history. Even the scientists involved into the Soviet unofficial peace movement, were very critical toward not only the Soviet system, but the contemporary technocratic civilization (some of the at the same time participated in the seminars on the problems very close to the "New Age" agenda).

There is another question - whether these people were genuinely concerned about creating conditions for peace. The representatives of the official Peace movement, the Soviet Peace Committee, called independent pacifist alcoholics or criminals or Jews trying to get to Israel. It's fanny, but the prominent Soviet dissident Elena Bonner, the wife of Anfrei Sakharov, had very similar opinion.

According to the reminiscences of the Trust group activist Irina Krivova, they were strictly disappointed by their visit to Andrei Sakharov. They intended to discuss with him the development of the nuclear energetics in the USSR. They were met by Bonner who claimed that the Trust Group contains 75% of the Jews-refuseniks, and that she and her husband have nothing to do with them, because they are not going to émigré. Sakharov paid only a minute them to say that he supports the development of the nuclear energetics and could not encourage the Trust Group.

It seems that for the hippies the initial impact for the involvement into the nonviolent activity was social but not intellectual one. Young people started with anti-disciplinary protest and at the same time searched for the ideology of their protest. There were only two obvious intellectual roots of the pacifist ideas of the unofficial peace movement in the USSR:

- philosophy of Leo Tolstoy;
- influence of the western hippies.

It's turned out to be that the ideas of Tolstoy were not widely known among the Soviet people until late eighties. Only several hippies were aware about these ideas, and these were hippies from the Baltic republic Latvia and from Ukrainian town Lviv. They read Tolstoy's essays on nonviolent even in the middle seventies. All their program statements signed by the influence by the ideas not only of Tolstoy, but of the Tolstoyans as well.

The tradition of the Western hippies were also known to them. The influence of the Western pacifist thought and East Europe experience of democratic movement (especially Polish Solidarity) became more actual at the stage of the active participation in the movement, when the foreign contacts had grown.

The historical fate of the late Soviet pacifist movement

At the period of Perestroika the Soviet informal pacifists were among the leaders of the non-formal movement. They developed their own periodicals and participated in almost all the radical actions of 1987-1988.

The Trust Group suddenly disappeared in 1989. In fact in its base several other organizations and movements were created:

- Democratic Union (ultra-liberal party of V. Novodvorskaya)
- Transnational Radical Party (Gandhism and libertarianism) – a Russian branch of the Italian Radical party
- Antimilitarist Radical Association
- Libertarian party (LGBT-movement)

Thus I started with the Tolstoyans and finished near the LGBT movement. I think the findings in the OSA Archive let me to find a certain historical logic in such transformation of the nonviolence movement in Russia.

At the post-Soviet period the very descendants of the Trust group fulfilled the historical mission of the pacifist movement – promoted the adoption of the Law on alternative civilian service. Besides the influence of its ideological heritage can be traced in the ideas and activity of the contemporary Tolstoyans and some youth alternative movements.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the radical pacifist groups in the Russian democratic movement were marginalized. However the ideas of nonviolence were actively used by the “companions” of the nonviolence as a common communicative space. At this period nonviolent ideas are rather popular among the alternative youth groups, but their activists are more aware about the tradition of the Western pacifism than about Russian one. They know more about the “Food non Bombs” organization than about the Tosloyans or the Trust group.

Preliminary conclusions and future plans:

Hence I have two preliminary conclusion:

- 1) the ideas of nonviolence were important in the proto-political stage for the shaping of political parties, because they were a good tool for mobilizing and consolidation of the people;
- 2) the pacifist movement served as a kind of bridge between traditional political movements and the new social movements, it shaped the system of values which helped to the new movements to rethink their identity and the notion of “political”.

I think the next stage of my work would be the thorough examination of all the copied materials and the interviewing of the lived participants of the movement. Most of them are alive now and even not very old. Besides it would be interesting to look through the archives of the “official” Soviet peace organizations and to read again with new questions the articles of the Soviet dissidents published in the emigrant periodicals.

The records I have found in the OSA Archive will be enough for writing a thick book. I hope to write it in 2-3 years. I am very grateful for the people who collected and hold these materials, who gave me the possibility to work here and who assisted me the whole time.