

THEN AND NOW: THE SIGNIFICANCE OR INSIGNIFICANCE OF PARALLELS

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First, let me express my intense appreciation to Professor Rogelio Alonso and the conference organizers for giving me another opportunity to enjoy Zaragoza.

My aim today is to draw attention to several striking parallels between our present situation and one which began over 125 years ago, or between the first or “Anarchist Wave of Modern Terror” and the fourth or “Religious Wave”.¹ I do not have enough time to talk about the contemporary situation. My previous experiences here made it clear that the organizers will terminate my speech at the specified time; so perhaps we can treat the comparisons together in the discussion period. The footnotes treat some comparisons.

Many here are familiar with my paper “The Four Waves of Modern Terror”, a major source for today’s talk, so I will describe it only briefly. Modern terror began in the 1880s. Small groups sprung up in many countries, groups able to terrify masses because the invention of dynamite gave them powers no small group had before, and the bomb has remained the principal weapon of modern terror. Those groups had relations with each other and with a variety of foreign states. Despite their small size (indeed perhaps because of their small

¹ The anarchists were the wave’s most important element. The tactics of other significant groups, i.e. the nationalist were influenced by the anarchist emphasis on assassination. Only a small undetermined number of anarchists embraced terror. The Russian terrorists are treated as anarchists because Bakunin inspired their initial efforts; they had enormous influence on

size) the groups would often fragment, and in the process produce more indiscriminate violence. The hope inspiring the original wave dried up in 40 years, and a similar process materialized in successive periods. Modern terror always reflects the hope and rage of a “new” generation, and the importance of time in politics is rarely appreciated.² We shall focus on three topics; global character, martyrdom, and the new forms of violence governments used to deal with the terror.³ The categories, while conceptually distinct, do overlap in the context discussed.

GLOBAL DIMENSSIONS

The geography of the activity is striking. Specifically, the activity occurred in all continents, foreign personalities were leaders of domestic groups, immigration everywhere was a critical element, a number of countries provided sanctuaries and aid to terrorists, and events in one state often had significant impact on activities in others.

The anarchists were most conspicuous in Europe, especially the non-Protestant areas. They were important in North and South America, particularly the U.S., Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Cuba, and Brazil, and made their mark on Asia, i.e. Persia, the Ottoman Empire (especially the Balkans), China, Japan, India and the Philippines. Finally, Africa experienced anarchists activity, especially Egipt and Ethiopia.⁴

anarchists elsewhere and anarchists did dominate the last phase of Russian terror from 1904-07.

² See my “Generations in America” **Protest and Discontent** eds. Bernard Crick and William Robinson (London: Penguin, 1970) 180-93.

³ The list of categories is not meant to be inclusive. Other striking parallels like economic ones will be discussed in the final draft.

⁴ European states have been significant in every ave; but the geppgraphy of each wave had a distinctive geographic center, and the geographies of various waves overlap. The first was concentrated in Europe but there was activity in Asia, North and South America. The second was dispersed throughout various Western Empires in Asia, the Middle East and Africa. The

Important leaders in particular states were often foreigners, and foreigners were also important in creating doctrine. Our Spanish hosts will remember that Bakunin, the Russian theorist, had an enormous influence on the development of Spanish anarchism; many even consider him to be his father.⁵ He had important influence in Italy too. Nechaev and Kropotkin were among other important Russian theorists and activists influencing thought and action in Western Europe as did the Frenchman Proudhon. Johann Most, a German immigrant, was perhaps the major figure in the development of terrorism in the U.S.

Foreign immigrants organized many terror attacks. No one has compared the numbers of their terrorist attacks those by natives, but in many countries it appears as though the immigrants launched many more attacks.⁶ The newcomers belonged to ethnic communities that sponsored radical study groups. Although attacks were often by individuals, the basic unit was an autonomous cell consisting of several persons.⁷ Although the public frequently perceived anarchist terror as internal conspiracy partly because acts followed each other in regular succession, the facts are there was no coordinating committee or no chain of command. It should be emphasized that unlike the

third had deep roots in the Americas, Western Europe, and Japan. The Middle East was particularly important, Palestinian group operations most often occurred in Europe. The fourth wave is primarily concentrated in the Islamic world. Beginning in Iran, it moved quickly to neighboring Shiite communities. Sunni Arab groups were attracted to Afghanistan which became the second major center though their activity now is largely in the Middle East with related movements in various parts of South and Southeast Asia. The Islamic Diaspora in the West has provided resources to make the U.S. and some European states significant targets.

⁵ Brennan, Gerald, **The Spanish Labyrinth**, 2nd Edition (Cambridge, UK: 1950, University Press), p.131

⁶ Richard Jensen informs me he intends to produce a study on the subject. We are using the term immigrant to include first generation offspring in the host country.

⁷ Small group formation in cafes Brennan note 5. For contemporary parallels see Mark Sageman, **Inside Terrorist Networks** (Philadelphia 2003, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press) and

present situation immigrants seemed to invoke terrorism in all states where they settled.

The global character of immigrant activity was striking. Italian anarchists operated both in and from Argentina, the U.S., France, and Spain. Russians functioned in France, Belgium, Britain, Austria, Japan and Hong Kong. There were Spaniards in France, Brazil, the Philippines, and Cuba. French terrorists operated in Argentina, Spain, Ethiopia, etc. Puerto Rican and Cuban terrorists were present in Haiti and the Philippines. Germans were active in England, US and Australia. Philippines and Cubans found their most reliable allies among French, Spanish, Italian, Belgian and British anarchists. Japanese terrorists had bases or networks in Mexico, U.S. and the Philippines, while the Chinese had similar connections in Japan, Philippines, and the U.S. If dignitaries went abroad, they were sometimes attacked by natives of the countries visited. When, for example the Prince of Wales visited Brussels, a Belgian tried to kill him because of Britain's war against the Boers in South Africa. Similarly, when the Shah of Persia visited Paris, a French anarchist made an assassination attempt.

The major foreign sanctuaries for terrorists were Switzerland, England, and Tangiers, a free city-state that time. Democratic states like France, Belgium, the UK and the U.S. allowed known terrorists and supporters fleeing foreign jurisdiction to settle, and even continue their activities albeit in a more restricted fashion. A revolutionary change in the law of extradition made these sanctuaries possible. Traditionally, political fugitives had always been returned when requests were made. But the mid-19 century almost every European country passed laws to prevent the extradition of political offenders.⁸ That

Alonso, Rogelio and Fernando Reinares, "Maghreb Immigrants Become Suicide Terrorists" in Ami Pedazur ed. **Root Causes of Suicide Terrorism** (London: 2006, Routledge)

⁸ Belgium was the first in 1833, and most others quickly followed. See Bassiouni, M.Cherif, "The Political Offense Exception in Extradition Law and Practice", in his **International Terrorism and**

reluctance also made it possible for a class of professional revolutionaries or individuals who worked full time on revolutionary activity to emerge. The general peace agreement made at the Congress of Vienna (1815) lasted a century, making movement for terrorists through Europe quicker and easier.⁹

Sanctuaries sometimes were used for groups to organize attacks, a particularly significant feature of Switzerland, a noteworthy point to present day observers who associate safe-havens with “failed states.”¹⁰ State sponsored terror was evident only in Eastern Europe, where Russia and Bulgaria sponsored Armenian and Macedonian uprisings in the Ottoman Empire. The practice had serious consequences for the relations between states. The most important was World War I, the costliest war in history up to that time, which began when the Austrians could not wait for the Serbian government to demonstrate that it did not participate in the assassination of Arch-Duke Franz Ferdinand. Bulgaria joined Austria-Hungary in that war because Bulgaria was competing with Serbia and Greece in sponsoring Macedonian groups and thought that if the Central Powers were victorious, Serbia and Greece (who joined the Allies) would lose their political influence.

Terrorist events in one country frequently mobilized persons elsewhere, inducing the public to believe in an international conspiracy. After the Corpus Christi bombing of a religious parade in Barcelona (1896), Spain declared martial law. The police made massive arrests and conducted gruesome tortures in the gloomy fortress of Montjuic. Massive protest rallies materialized in

Political Crimes, ed. (Springfield, Ill. 1975, Charles Thomas) p. 398. See also Zlatric, Bogdan, “History of International Terrorism and Legal Control”, **ibid.**, 474-84.

⁹ The few European wars were over quickly and occasioned few casualties, i.e. Franco-Prussian War. The more violent ones occurred elsewhere, i.e., the American Civil War (1861-65) and the War of the Triple Alliance (Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay vs. Paraguay) (1865-70).

¹⁰ Al Qaeda’s haven in Afghanistan frames the contemporary experience concerning the location of havens (i.e. failed states), but in all waves the haven varies depending on the terrorist purposes and the nature of the international world.

London; 20,000 people at one rally came to see Tarrida del Marlmor, a prisoner whose sexual organs had been burned, toe nails had been pulled out and body was clearly a mass of cuts and stripes. The sight so infuriated one Italian anarchist present that he went immediatly to Spain and assassinated the Prime Minister Cánovas del Castillo,. It is worth noting that the original bombing was most likely organized by a Frenchman who fled to Argentina.

Russian terrorists commanded the most respect abroad. Several months after **Narodnava Volya** (Will of the People) assassinated Czar Alexander II in 1881, an international anarchist conference in London celebrated the deed proclaiming that **all** “illegal weapon”. It called foe the study and application of (technical and chemical) sciences as methods of defense and attack.¹¹

Foreign liberals who wanted Russia to have a parliamentary government, an objective once proclaimed by **Narodnava Volya**, supported the terror. Even Karl Marx, who was hostile to anarchist terror, applauded the group associated with Bakunin, his greatest socialist enemy.

A second Russian group, the Terrorist Brigade, a unit of the Socialist Revolutionaries (1901-07), moved freely in Western Europe. Three days after they assassinated Count Von Pleve (1904), all surviving participants reconvened in Geneva to plan their next move! The Executive Committee moved back and forth for meetings in Brussels, Paris and other foreign capitals.¹² The Italian government refused to extradite the Terrorist Brigade’s leader, and the surviving German Social Democrats provided “legal assistance

¹¹ Cahm, Caroline: **Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism**, (Cambridge: 1989 Harvard Uni. Press) p.158. One representative who pushed hard for the chemical and biological weapons was a police agent.

¹² Savinkov, Boris, **Memoirs of a Terrorist**, trans. Joseph Shaplin (New York: 1931, Albert and Charles Boni) p.72

on several occasions when Russian radicals were tried in German courts for subversive and criminal activities”.¹³

International terrorist activity produced striking instances of international police cooperation. A Scotland Yard official was invited to reorganize the Spanish police in Barcelona. Alexander III invited the Paris chief of police and ex-revolutionary Louis Andrieux to transform the Russia’s police after Alexander II was assassinated. An international anti-anarchist accord was signed in St. Petersburg, 1904.

One dramatic event was the President Theodore Roosevelt’s effort in 1901 to lead an international “crusade” to eliminate terrorism from the globe. The “crusade” lasted 4 years only, a collapse largely due to the unwillingness democratic states to pursue the conflict. Ironically, those same states led by another American president one century later launched the second and only other international “war” to eliminate terrorism!

MARTYRDOM

Anarchists made martyrdom a feature of modern terrorism. Mob terror in 18th and 19th century Western states left no martyrs, as the histories of the most successful ones, the Sons of Liberty, who generated the American Revolution, and the KKK, who got the peace the South wanted after North won the Civil War, illustrates.¹⁴ All succeeding waves produced martyrs, but only the 1st and the 4th waves made it a central feature.

¹³ Geifman, Anna, **Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia 1894-1917**, (Princeton, N.J. Princeton Univ. Press) p.201

¹⁴ For a full discussion of the contrast, see my “Before the Bombs, there were the Mobs”, in Andrew Stratham and Pamela Stewart, Eds: **Global Terror and the Imagination**, (Durham, N.C. Duke University Press) 2007 forthcoming.

Vera Zazulich was the first martyr. In 1879 she wounded General Trepov for abusing a prisoner and threw her loaded pistol to the ground. When asked to explain her restraint, she replied that she was a terrorist, not a criminal. The jury declared her innocent and carried her out to a jubilant crowd! Nicholas Morozov, a member of Narodnava Volya, explained the impact.

Zasulich's shot was the starting point for the whole struggle that followed. From this point on the movement took on definite form, and it went almost without deviation to the new already clearly established ideal. It is an example that is needed... and not just in name alone, but in action. We need energetic utterly dedicated people, prepared to gamble all and to sacrifice everything. We need martyrs whose legend is far greater than their real worth and their contributions to the work. Unless there be some extreme need, no one has the right to endanger the moral stance of the socialist struggle.¹⁵

When Vera Figner, a Narodnava Volya leader, waited for a court to proclaim what she imagined would be her death sentence, she found herself revitalized by the belief that she would become a martyr.

My thought for some reason turned to the fate of revolutionary movements in general in the West and at home; to the continuity of our ideas and of their dissemination from one country to another. Pictures of time past long past of people who had died long ago awoke in my memory, my imagination worked as never before.¹⁶

Those early Russian, especially woman, terrorists have remained heroes everywhere enveloped by "legends surrounded by the aura of romance that

¹⁵ "The terroristic Struggle", p.141-2

¹⁶ **Memoirs of a Revolutionist.** (New York: 1927, International Publishers), p.174.

defies criticism”.¹⁷ One female refused to appeal her sentence and “went to her death like a holiday fest”. Another begged to be shot but was raped by soldiers instead and the public was outraged. “No wonder decades later, the Soviet dictator Stalin tried to expunge all references to them warning that ‘if we bring our children on stories of the People’s Will, we should make terrorists out of them’.”¹⁸

Anarchist martyrdom derives from the Christian form; is it a coincidence that nearly 12% of the Russian terrorists were children or Russian priests? Christian martyrs, of course, did not kill; they were prisoners, who accepted death rather than deny their faith, and the most desired form of anarchist martyrdom occurred when one accepted a sentence of death after refusing to plea-bargain or deny his deed. “The terrorist nearly always accompanied his deed by a voluntary sacrifice of his own... life. Only un this way could terrorist acts be justified.”¹⁹

Why was martyrdom so important to the first modern terrorists? There are many reasons. One important generally neglected reason was that it was linked closely to assassination, the chief tactic of the wave, or in the words of one anarchist:

¹⁷ Amy Knight, “Female Terrorists in the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party”, **Russian Review** 38/2 (1979), p.140. Knight also discusses the other cases..

The mob terror which preceded the modern form made no effort to create martyrs. But a bomber must be unidentified before he strike and the public can not be sure who made the strike and why. Thus, attacks normally are associated with publicity stated claims that identify sources and intentions.

¹⁸ Ulam, Adam, ***In the Name of the People*** (New York: 1977, Viking), p.365.

¹⁹ Stepniak, ***Underground Russia*** (Westport, Conn. 1973, Hyperion), p.40. Anarchist martyrs have in recent years been called “suicide bombers”, though the reference has not been fully examined. See Geifman, ***Thou Shalt Kill***, note 13, and Anderson, Benedict, ***Under Three Flags: Anarchism and Anti Colonialism*** (London: 2006 Verso). Spanish terrorists involved in the Madrid bombings (2004) committed suicide after the event when under police attack. The process is unusual and contradicts the anarchist pattern of seeking a trial. See Alonso and Reinares, note 7, p.185 ff.

Political assassination is in the present circumstances, the sole means of self-defense and one of the best means of agitation. By dealing a blow at a time, the very center of governmental organization, its awful force will give a mighty shock to the whole regime... an electric current throughout the entire state and will cause disruption and confusion in all its activities.²⁰

More heads of state and Prime Ministers in major states were killed during the 1890s than ever before or since.²¹ Successful assassinations, Machiavelli observes, require one to get sufficiently close enough to the potential victim, a proximity that requires that the assassin be willing to die too.²² Most anarchists, particularly the Russians, confined themselves to assassinating officials.

Martyrdom became less common in the 2nd and 3rd waves, where participants killed from a distance, a feat technically more feasible than it had been earlier.²³ Killing from a distance is easier today than in the 2nd and 3rd

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²¹ While dynamite is very important and the continuation of modern terror is inconceivable without it, in the first wave most attacks did not employ it.

²² Terrorist attacks in 1906-07 killed “thousands of capable lower level civil and military officials. The officials who did not themselves become the targets of terrorist attacks continually lived in fear of their lives and the lives of their families –a fear that undoubtedly had an adverse effect on both their attitudes and the way they performed their official duties. To a large extent, the revolutionaries succeeded in breaking the spine of Russian bureaucracy, wounding it both physically and in spirit, and in this way contributed to the general paralysis in the final crisis of imperial regime in March 1917.” See Geifman, Anna, **Thou Shalt Kill** (Princeton: 1993, University Press), p.250. Norman Naimark’s figures are 2,563 government personnel were assassinated between 1905-8, and 2,594 wounded. In 1906-7, 1,114 persons were executed by secret courts-martial. “Terrorism and the Fall of Imperial Russia”, **Terrorist and Political Violence** (2/2), Spring 1990, p.172 and 190.

²³ Despite the preference to kill from a distance, the 2nd and 3rd waves produced striking instances of martyrdom, but they were much closely linked to the Christian ideal of suffering. 8000 Irish citizens in 1923 went on a hunger strike to oppose the Anglo-Irish treaty. In the 1980s a hunger strike led by Bobby Sands failed to change British prison policy of mixing criminals and terrorists, but it had an enormous impact on crucial Irish constituencies in America that had lost

waves; but martyrdom has become significant again in the form of suicide bombing.²⁴ One reason is that this form of martyrdom, like the anarchist form, produces much more effective targeting. No tactic in the history of terrorism has produced so many casualties for so little cost.

The sociology of martyrdom has intrigued academics for some time. While the materials are drawn from religious contexts, most of which were non-violent, they help explain what attracted the anarchists, the impact they created, and features of the government striking reactions. Martyrdom, the Encyclopedia of Religion explains, politicizes the relationship between groups... The exemplary act of a martyr strengthens people's courage to bear their tribulations and directs their anger to the cruel murderous adversary, the source of their tribulation. (It) creates authority, escalates the struggle... unifies the new "culture" by demonstrating its priority over nature.²⁵

The martyrs produced by the anarchists had global impact. In 1907 Parisians rallied to celebrate and protest the fate of the first Chinese martyr who participated in an assassination, but refused to leave the scene and was raped in prison before her trial.²⁶ To honor anarchists executed in Europe, Chicago,

interest in the struggle. Despite those events, the desire for martyrdom kept diminishing. I remember how disappointed students in my terrorism classes in the 70s were when Weather Underground members "plea-bargained". Europe's most effective group, the Italian Red Brigades, was finally broken after prisoners voiced public repentance to gain pardons.

²⁴ While Islamic elements introduced the form and use it in many countries, non-Muslims (i.e. the Tamils in Sri Lanka) without religious connections employ it too. In the fourth wave it is striking that the American Christian religious racist terrorist groups have not produced a martyr. See Barkun, Michael, "Appropriated Martyrs", **Terrorism and Political Violence**, 19/1 (Spring), 2007, forthcoming. The most recent example of a "Christian" terrorist unwilling to become a martyr is Eric Rudolph, the bomber in the 2000 Olympics (Atlanta), who surrendered (2006) without resistance, and then dismayed sympathizers by plea-bargaining to save his life.

²⁵ 2nd Edition (New York: 2005, Macmillan). Our quotation are from Samuel Klausner's "Martyrdom" article pp. 5737-44.

²⁶ Dirlik, Arif, **Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution** (Berkeley: 1984 UC Press, 1991), p.74. Oddly, Dirlik refers to the act of refusing to leave the scene as a suicide and doesn't use the term martyr in his study. There was also a Buddhist dimension in the Chinese acts, see Price,

Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and other American cities generated huge demonstrations expressing indignation.

When a German anarchist, August Reindorf, was beheaded for attempting to assassinate Kaiser Wilhelm I (1885), Johann Most, a prominent German terrorist leader living in America, published a piece saluting him. “One of our noblest and best is no more... August Reindorf ended a life full of battle and self-sacrificing courage as a martyr to the great revolution.”²⁷ When another German anarchist was beheaded for killing the Frankfurt police chief (1885), an anarchist journal, *The Alarm*, commented: “He will go to the scaffold because he is a hero. He dies because he is an Anarchist but he will be avenged”. The “blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church”. Christians believe, and anarchists thought that martyrdom would supply an inexhaustible supply of recruits.²⁸

The immediate impact of such events was usually significant, but the long run meaning was less clear. The Chicago “Haymarket Tragedy” (1886) is an interesting example occurring during a peaceful anarchist led demonstration for an 8 hour workday. When the police tried to break it up, the first dynamite bomb exploded in America terrifying the police who indiscriminately opened fire. Seven police officials died and sixty other policeman were wounded. Eight civilians died and nearly forty were wounded. Although the police caused virtually all the casualties, four anarchists were executed who became martyrs, celebrated in a new European festival of May Day declared by the anarchist international in 1889. The festival survived, but the role of the particular martyrs

Don. **Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution** (Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press), 1974.

²⁷ Avrich, Paul, **The Haymarket Tragedy** (Princeton: 1984 University Press), p.138.

²⁸ Emile Hodel, who tried to assassinate Kaiser Wilhelm I, had his photograph taken before hand thinking that he would become famous and people would want it. The pattern has become systematized among Islamic suicide bombers, who normally make a video explaining them. See Nunzio Pernicone, **Italian Anarchism, 1864-92** (Princeton: 1993, University Press), p.149.

inspiring it has largely been forgotten, an eclipse that generally happens when the community associated with them disappears.²⁹

GOVERNMENT REACTION

Historians emphasize that the first modern wave of terror produced extraordinary fears. The bomb was a new weapon that made it possible to inflict casualties indiscriminately. Although assassination was the principal tactic, attacks in the Western states were made on a stock exchange, an opera house, cafes, parliament buildings, the Greenwich Observatory, religious processions, women, and children. Public anxiety was intensified when anarchist publications recommended chemical weapons and mass poisonings and provided details for doing those deeds. While the number of casualties was generally small by our standards, the public had no experience with such threats and no defense had been developed for this “global conspiracy”.³⁰ The martyrdom ethos made onlookers think the terrorists welcomed death, and the political objective seemed so unreal there was no way to deal with it politically. Finally, this was

²⁹ The ninth chapter of George Eselwein’s **Anarchist Ideology and the Working Class Movement in Spain 1868-1898** (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989) focuses on the significance of the “Haymarket Tragedy” for Europe. Originally, on May Day anarchists demonstrated through strikes which frequently occasioned violence. Afterwards, socialists adopted the holiday and turned it into a peaceful one. The Soviets made it a national holiday and obscured the anarchist role. In the contemporary world where those involved in self martyrdom invoke Islam as a justification, the collective memory of the deeds may last much longer.

³⁰ “How to do it Manuals” like Johann Most’s, **The Science of Revolutionary War**, were often inaccurate especially in explaining how to put together weapons of mass destruction; but that did not allay anxieties much. The Barcelona opera house bombing killed thirty, which was the deadliest attack of the 1880s. Barcelona became known as the “city of bombs”. From 1903-09 eighty bombs exploded there, though the casualty toll was small by our standards. It was not until the final stage of Russian anarchists who focused on assassination that the numbers grew large even by our standards. See end note 21. For a discussion of the panics the first wave generated, see Richard Jensen, “The Evolution of Anarchist Terrorism from the Nineteenth Century to World War I”, in **Terror: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism in Europe, 1605 to the future**, ed. Brett Bowden & Michael T. Davis, with a Preface by Geoffrey Robertson (Brisbane: Univ. of Queensland Press, 2007 forthcoming).

also the time in which mass media developed and it played on the public's existing fears.

The ...papers, always ready to capitalize on the sensational, never failed to give the wildest utterances of the anarchists conspicuous display. The Times, The Tribune, and The News played up the radical threat and reported each harangue or demonstration as if it were the first blow of the social revolution. By 1886, as a result, the International had been magnified into a bugbear menacing all that established society held dear.³¹

Rage and fear explain the mass arrests and tortures that occurred. The Encyclopedia of Religion reminds us that most societies threatened by martyrdom attempt to control the publicity effects so that “the martyr's group may be denied the benefits of its champion. Unrecorded numbers of martyrs died in dungeons with their ashes cast into the sea”.³² In the first wave public trials, especially by juries, were abandoned. In Russia at the height of the troubles, prisoners received secret court-martials. In one year “the number sentenced to death –often hung or shot within twenty-four hours of sentence may have been over a thousand.”³³

President McKinley's assassin was muzzled on the electric chair to prevent him from speaking. Many thought the assassin insane, a common view of assassins in the period (especially Spain and Italy) and in all periods when

³¹ Avrigh, Paul, **The Haymarket Tragedy** (Princeton: 1984, University Press), p.176. Avrigh also explains that the weapon helped cement anarchist confidence, a confidence that all potential rebels need to begin and persist in a revolutionary struggle. Albert Parsons, who was hung in the aftermath of the Haymarket Tragedy, tells us that confidence came initially from the anarchist understanding of history. “Anarchists do not make the social revolution. They prophesy its coming... The economic forces... work incessantly generating the forces of the social revolutions. We can neither retard nor hasten the result, but we can aid and direct its forces”, quotes by Avrigh, p.162.

³² Note 25, p.5738.

³³ Ronald Hingley, **The Russian Secret Police** (London: 1970, Hutchinson), p.101

martyrs are common.³⁴ But the government refused to release its records and buried him in a grave filled with sulfuric acid to ensue a quick dissolution of the body and the problem. After Maria Spirodnova assassinated a Russian official in 1906, she made no attempt to escape proclaiming: “My death represents something... valuable to society and I am looking forward to it.” But the government, apprehensive of creating a martyr, held her in prison, where she was raped. The event could not be concealed and it aroused protest that forced the government to commute her sentence.³⁵

Terrorism transformed the police, who traditionally limited activities to deterrence and responses to illegal actions. Now pre-emption was the principle concern, i.e., efforts to make it impossible for certain actions to occur. Pre-emption requires information about intentions, and the search for that information was exhibited in many ways. The most conspicuous was the revival of torture practices to make prisoners reveal what they knew about other particular groups. On the European continent, “investigation under torture was a routine part of criminal procedure in medieval and early modern times.”³⁶ But all efforts to curb abuses associated with torture failed; and by mid 18th century the practice itself was abolished. With the emergence of terrorism, torture became common again and even appeared in states which had never sanctioned its use

³⁴ For an interesting discussion of the period, see Richard Jensen, “Criminal Anthropology and Anarchist Terrorism in Spain and Italy”, **Mediterranean Historical Review**, 16:2 (December 2001), pp.31-34. **The Encyclopedia of Religion**, note 25, also discusses this propensity and indicates that because most martyrs are product of cells, it is difficult to imagine that the individual could be insane. (p. 5741).

³⁵ Knight, “Female Terrorists”, supra, note 16.

³⁶ John H. Langbein, “The Legal History of Torture”, in Sanford Levinson ed., **Torture** (Oxford: University Press 2004), pp.93-101. The practice was normal in countries using Roman civil law, where conviction required two eyewitness to a murder and circumstantial proof was not admitted. England was the principal exception to this traditional practice where the common law prevailed utilizing the jury system and circumstantial evidence. When torture was abolished on the Continent, the rules of evidence were changed.

in conventional interrogation activity earlier such as the U.S. and in the Philippines.³⁷

Did torture help or hinder the fight against? The tortures at Montjuic not only precipitated the Spanish premier's assassination; it also had another unexpected consequence. "When ...an attempt was made to assassinate... the police captain responsible for these horrors, his assailant had to be released because no judge would convict him."³⁸ This led a British Vice Consul on the scene³⁹ to declare that "much of the violence of the Anarchist movement must be attributed to the cruelty of police repression", a view endorsed by a conservative historian.⁴⁰

A second practice pre-emption generated was undercover agents to penetrate terrorist groups. Informers had occasionally been employed to penetrate criminal groups, but now they were used with such increasing frequency and consistency that the head of the Russian police describes them as the "very foundation of police operation".⁴¹ "Political crimes unlike ordinary crimes were marked by 'intellectual characteristics' and by long-term clandestine planning enabling the police to take steps ...to expose them in advance."⁴² Most agents came from terrorist ranks because, as one police official puts it, terrorists "naturally suspect each other and from their ranks the police (could)

³⁷ See Senate Investigatob described Benedict Anderson note 19.

³⁸ Brennan (note 5), p.169.

³⁹ David Hannay (Barcelona). Check his **Twentieth Century Spain** and **Cambridge Modern History**, Vol. XII.

⁴⁰ H.B. Clarke, **Modern Spain**, 1905, p.454.

⁴¹ Alexsei Lopukhin, head of Russian Police 1902-04, quoted by Nurit Schleifman, "The Challenge to the Police", **Undercover Agents in the Russian Revolutionary Movement**, Houndsmill, UK: 1968 (Macmillan); reproduced in David C. Rapoport, Ed. **Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science** (London: Routledge 2006), Vol I, p. 402.

⁴² N. Schleifman, **ibid.**

easily recruit its agents. Their suspicion of each other contributes far more to their helplessness than to their safety”.⁴³

The police, one official emphasized, could “take the initiative in directing the public mood; it must take uprisings by the throat and choke them before they had a chance to spread.”⁴⁴ Specifically, this meant establishing “agent provocateurs” to shape terrorist policies and actions. By 1912 the Russians had 26,000 “agents provocateurs” (the number of informers presumably was greater), and an anti-terrorist network of 200,000 persons.⁴⁵ The provocateurs aimed to provoke internal tensions and mutual suspicions among terrorists and make efforts to control rebel group policies. “Provocateurs often carried out actions that caused revulsion of public opinion away from the revolutionary cause by shaming it and disgracing it.”⁴⁶

Russian and French police funded anarchist newspapers at home and abroad, hoping thereby to provide “telephone cable(s) from the world in which the conspiracies were being planned straight to the office of the Chief of Police”.⁴⁷ Ironically, because many knew that the police were involved in such activities, the police could exploit that suspicion to discredit authentic anarchist pamphlets believed dangerous by describing them as police products!

So successful were the Russians in their penetration efforts that a Russian police agent, Yevno Azev, became the leader of the Terrorist Brigade of the Socialist Revolutionary Party from 1903 to 1909! However great the damage, his activities were to the Brigade, his exposure by Brigade members

⁴³ Ivianski, Zeev, “Provocation at the Center: A History of Counter-Terrorism”; **Terrorism**, 3/1 (1980), reproduced in Rapoport, **Terrorism: Critical Concepts** (Note 42), Vol I, p.342.

⁴⁴ **Ibid.**

⁴⁵ **Ibid.**, p.343. Ivianski notes that Czar Nicholas I was the first to use undercover agents a century earlier only employed 100 individuals.

⁴⁶ **Ibid.**, p. 357.

⁴⁷ **Ibid.**

seemed more consequential, for the organization was so demoralized, it disintegrated.

The double role double agents played made it difficult to know which side an individual was really committed. The police found themselves confronted by issues that they had not anticipated because in giving agents such enormous freedom they made it possible for the agent's individual interests to become significant.⁴⁸

Note one police historian's summary: For many years... Okhrana agents had organized assassinations, Fomented strikes and printed stirring calls to bloody revolution... A bonus was paid to Okhranniks who unearthed illegal secret Printing presses, and it was not uncommon for a police official to found such a press himself –and on police money- as a preliminary to “detecting” it and claiming customary money from police funds. ...The Okhrana had systematically undermined the legality it was charged to uphold-as the Commissioners lost no opportunity to point out. Some former Okhrana chiefs.

Asked in reply what (other) effective means were available. (N)o convincing answer could be given... a measure of the impasse in which the late Okhrana found itself.⁴⁹

The police generated imaginary fears. In Spain, the Mano Negra (Black Hand) plot to assassinate all the landowners in Andalusia ended in thousands being arrested, 300 imprisoned and 8 executed after being tortured: but its very existence has been doubted. In France the Black Band, an organization of miners, was broken up with similar allegations and results. The Russian police forged “The Protocols of Zion”; a fictitious plot by Jews to take over the whole world, a forgery Russian terrorists participated in. The aim was to produce pogroms and compel the Jewish community to turn completely against the

⁴⁸ See Schleifman's chapter, note 41.

terrorists. The Protocols are still used to justify Islamic terror in our world and anti-Semitism is significant in both waves.

Now the question which inspired the talk; what if anything can we learn from history about our present situation? It is your turn to talk.

Zaragoza, 30 de noviembre de 2006.

⁴⁹ **ibid**, p.113. Several similar cases were produced in Spain in the same decade.