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Analysis of the anarchist and anti-colonial wave basing on the concept of the Four Waves of Terrorism by David Rapoport and selected political events

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the analysis of two initial terrorism waves proposed by an American professor, David Charles Rapoport. In the first part of the dissertation, the author is going to present issues connected with the impossibility of coining a universal definition of terrorism and postulates the need of examining the waves of terrorism. In the further part of the paper, the author presents his considerations based on selected political events which took part during two waves of terrorism. At the end, the author provides an answer to the question of what differences there were between terrorist actions before the First World War and during initial decades after its conclusion. Within the scope of the paper, references to current events strictly relating to security and methods used to deal with terrorist attacks are also provided.

Keywords: Terrorism, The Four Waves of Terrorism, David Charles Rapoport, Fascism, Nazism, Communism, Alexander II of Russia, William McKinley, Irish Citizen Army, Black Hand, Consul Organization, Secret Army Organization, Iron Guard, NSDAP

1. INTRODUCTION

The predominant goal of this paper is to elaborate on the assumptions of first and second terrorism waves proposed at the beginning of the 2000s by an American professor,

David Charles Rapoport and his colleagues. The topic is intriguing and vital due to the fact that it helps understand the notion of terrorism – the concept that has been burdensome for numerous scholars, as it is difficult to define in a straightforward and comprehensive manner (Primoratz, 1990). While analyzing the literature of the subject, it is difficult not to agree with the definition of terrorism presented by David Rapoport, who said that *Terrorism is the use or threatened use of force against innocent victims for political purposes* (White, 2016). A number of publications touching upon the notion of terrorism includes a common thesis that the phenomena in question is always connected with violence and in many cases it is political violence (Cronin, 2002/03). To fully understand terrorism, one has to understand changes occurring throughout the consecutive ages. Those alternations are perfectly depicted in the theory of Four Waves of Terrorism by David Rapoport. Within the scope of this article, the author is going to seek a sensible answer to the question of what the goal and utilized means of terrorist actions were in the case of the first and second terrorist waves, as well as is going to try to compare them with one another and find some connections to the contemporary terrorism.

2. FOUR WAVES OF TERRORISM

Before proceeding to the analysis of the two aforementioned waves, one has to provide the four wave concept as such. All of the waves occur during four time periods, during which the goal of using terror has been different. The very first wave is called the anarchist one and lasted from a half of the eighteenth century up to the outbreak of the First World War. The second, anti-colonial wave was predominantly noticeable right after the Second World War. The third wave, also called the New Left one, occurred during the formation and development of far-left movements, whereas the last, religious one started in the 80s and continues up to this day (Weimberg, Pedahzur & Hirsch-Hoefler, 2004). Within the framework of this section of the dissertation, two initial phases defined by David Rapoport are going to be discussed. Each of them is going to be combined with specific political events which caused both the development of terrorism, as well as made it possible to create tools that are currently used to limit civil rights for the sake of widely-understood security and eliminating terrorist-oriented threats.

2. 1. First (anarchist) wave

The second part of the nineteenth century in Russia was the example of dissonance between the dynamic development of culture and economy and the stagnation of the political stage. It has to be mentioned at this point that in contrast to other European countries, the citizens of Russia were still not allowed to decide about the future of their country and any critique of the current regime was treated as a crime. It is also possible to notice a significant difference in wealth in Russia of the discussed period. One can identify a large group of poor and uneducated peasants and workers juxtaposed with a small and educated elite class. The beginning of the anarchist was identified to have been in 1864, when the Tsar decided to introduce the Great Reforms (aiming at making relations between Russia and West European countries better) and create an independent judiciary. Interestingly enough, the said change, together with citizens being granted more privileges than ever before, had a different impact on the society than expected.

Instead of being grateful for the amendments made, the citizens demanded more changes in law and even radical groups were created. The Tsar quickly noticed the social unrest and decided to revert the legal changes to the former state, but he failed. A radical movement, supported by the general public made a bomb attack on 13 March 1881, aimed at Alexander II of Russia, the well-known father of numerous liberal reforms. The *Narodnaja Wola* (Salij, 2005) organization claimed to have been responsible for attacks. After the death of his father, Alexander III of Russia became the emperor of the country and cancelled numerous liberal law regulations introduced by his predecessor, leading to social unrest and numerous demonstrations. Many similarities can be drawn between the condition of Russia in the nineteenth century and the contemporary Syria, where anti-governmental organization have been created to force the ruling class to introduce even more liberal rights for the citizens of the country. It has to be borne in mind that the first wave of terrorism does not only relate to events in Russia only. On 28 July 1900, an Italian anarchist, Gaetano Bresci decided to take revenge for causalities during worker strike in Milano (in May 1898) and attacked Humbert I, the king of Italy (Jensen, 1981).

The said action was an inspiration for a young anarchist, Leon Czolgosz, who successfully attempted to kill the twenty-fifth president of the USA, William McKinley. The attack took place in Buddalo on 6 September 1901. For his terrorist attack, Czolgosz was sentenced to death. Before being killed, he said: *I killed the president because he was the enemy of the good people – the good working people. I am not sorry for my crime.* (Cavendish, 2001). Yet another and possibly the best known act of terror that took place at the beginning of the 20th century and started the First World War was the murder of the Austrian ruler-to-be, Franz Ferdinand. A Serbian anarchist organization called the Black Hand was responsible for the attack. Its aim was to free the Serbian land from the reign of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. The organization was extremely radical, which can be guessed after familiarizing oneself with its credo: *Ujedinjenje ili smrt* which can be translated as Unification or Death (MacKenzie, 1982). In 1911, the Black Hand also tried to kill Franz Joseph I of Austria and Oskar Potiorek, a military governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, yet unsuccessfully. The attack on Franz Ferdinand, however, caused the Austro-Hungarian Empire to declare war on Serbia and start the First World War. Even though the Black Hand and organizations affiliated with it were not strictly terrorist in character, the said event is considered to be the end of the first phase of terrorism.

2. 2. Second (anti-colonial) wave

Shortly after the conclusion of the First World war, new countries were created in Europe, whereas others were to a smaller or greater extent dependent on them. It should not surprise anyone that after the Great War, numerous right-wing organizations started forming. When it comes to the anti-colonial wave, the Irish Citizen Army has to be mentioned. It was created in 1916 by merging the Irish Volunteers with the Irish Citizen Army (Hearne, 1992). Its main goal was to separate Ireland from Great Britain, which was achieved in 1921, after two years of fighting for independence. The success was, however, not ultimate, as the northern part of Ireland was still under a heavy influence of England. The unification of Ireland as a country became the major goal of the Irish Citizen Army. The radical wing of the organization started a civil war which turned out to be a failure. Yet another right-wing organization was created in Germany in 1921.

It was called the Consul Organization (O.C.). Its main goal was to destabilize the democratic system of the Weimar Republic, which was attempted by secretly killing individuals, the actions of whom were considered to have endangered the national interests of Germany (Stern, 1963). The organization organized a number of attacks inducing terror, mainly amongst politicians making decisions that were key for Germany. The most recognizable action of the Consul Organization was shooting down the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Walther Rathenau, which took place on 22 June 1922 (Kollman, 1952). The organization included predominantly former soldiers and that is why its members were highly disciplined. Sharing its secrets with others was punishable by death, so it was difficult to eliminate the discussed organization.

After murdering such a prominent figure, the organization was highly invigilated and therefore ceased existing. Many of its members turned to the Storm Detachment, (SA). It was primarily only one of units responsible for protecting meetings of the NSDAP party, but it later on became a tool of the ruling Nazi Party which was fighting with communists. Since 1933, the Storm Detachment became one of foundations of German army, with its major leader being Adolf Hitler. Heinrich Himmler Reichsführer Schutzstaffel (SS), willing to be the only one having the right to supervise the army, organized the so-called Night of the Long Knives, during which the majority of SA's high authorities were murdered. It resulted in the increase of influence of SS and its becoming an elite unit instead of a paramilitary one only. In the 30s, NSDAP maintained friendly relations with Romania, where a fascist political organization called the Iron Guard operated from 1930 to 1941. The organization, the members of which murdered, among others, two prime ministers of Romania, was created by Corneliu Codreanu. The organization, the ideology of which was mainly rooted in nationalism and fascism, proclaimed the creation of the National Legionary State. In 1937, the party was elected for parliament and became the third ruling party. Such a state of affairs was rejected by the king of Romania, Charles II. He ordered the assets of the members of said party to be confiscated and started legal proceedings against Corneliu Codreanu, who was murdered shortly afterwards. After the abdication of king Charles II, the Iron Guard started ruling under the name of the National Movement, managed by Horia Sima. Sima organized an official funeral of Codreanu. When communists started ruling the country, the Movement was completely defeated and its members had to start working undercover. They were also frequently infiltrated. Going back to the motif of anti-colonialism, it was at its peak for two decades after the conclusion of the Second World War. Said period was characterized by the activeness of the Irish Citizen Army and the Secret Army Organization (OAS). The latter was an extremely right-wing terrorist group operating between 1961 and 1962 (Drake, 1996). The fundamental goal of the organization was to stop the decolonization process which was taking place in France. OAS was highly active especially in Algeria, which became independent in 1962. Numerous acts of terror caused Algerian soldiers to be hostile against citizens of French origin living in the country. The organization was liquidated by the French government after its unsuccessful attack on Charles de Gaulle (Jackson, 1999).

3. CONCLUSIONS

All of the organizations and individuals discussed above shared one common feature – they all aimed at scaring people. They wanted to terrorize both civilians and politicians who

considered their ideology to be wrong. Both during the first and the second wave of terrorism identified by David Rapoport, one can notice that major goals were to gain power or to influence the rulers.

The first wave was predominantly characterized by actions performed by the individuals known currently as „lone wolves". Such people acted individually and when no one expected them to. Thanks to their cunningness, they were able to kill the emperor of Russia, the king of Italy, and the president of the United States. Nowadays, more and more acts of terror are committed by the so-called „lone wolves", mainly due to the fact that they are difficult to track and invigilate. During the first wave of terrorism, terrorist organizations existed, but attacks were rather organized out of the initiative of individuals. Today, terrorist groups are monitored and invigilated, so it is truly difficult for them (but still – not impossible) to influence certain groups, but it is at the same time relatively easy to do so by individuals with a proper mindset.

The second wave, which started after the conclusion of the First World Word showed, that after a military conflict, people require significant changes. It was remarkably easier for right-wing groups to be fully accepted by the society. Even though they terrorized elites and politicians, societies accepted that, making such organizations political parties – in a direct or an indirect manner. However, events taking place after the Second World Was showed people that extremist fascist and communist parties were the source of bloodshed and misery (O.A. Lizardo, A.J. Humboldt, 2003). Nowadays, numerous constitutions of various countries include amendments disallowing parties expressing fascist, communist, and Nazi beliefs to operate. To sum up, it can be concluded that the political situation and the will of a given nation are major factors that contributed to the development of terror during both the first and the second wave of terrorism.

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