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RUSSIA'S INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TERRORISM AT THE TURN OF THE XX CENTURY

Summary. The article is aimed at the study of the global community's first attempts to conclude international agreements on the struggle against terrorism, the authors' special attention has been paid to Russia's preparations for the 1898 Rome Conference and signing the Secret Protocol on the struggle against anarchism.

Key words: political terrorism, anarchism, conference, Secret Protocol, police, international cooperation.

In the domestic historical and legal science there has been experience in researching the global community's first attempts to unite efforts in combating the growing threat of terrorism in the late XIX century. Probably, the European states' anti-terrorism efforts activation has contributed to the fact that terrorism in Russia is waning.

It should be noted that already at the beginning of the XX century the first attempt to research the international cooperation in the struggle against terrorism was made. In 1907, the *Byloe* magazine published an article called "Count Bismarck as an initiator of the Russian political secret service overseas". An unknown author, basing on the documents of the diplomatic correspondence between the Third Department and the Commission of Inquiry investigating Karakozov's case, studied the events of 1866.

It was after the assassination attempt upon Bismarck in April of that year when Germany's Chancellor suggested the existence of an International Secret Society with its goal of providing political murders. The author comes to the conclusion that Bismarck's proposal about the need for joint investigation of the society like that, leading by the Russian and German police forces, has resulted in the formation of the Russian Police Foreign Secret Service.

Assessing the pre-revolutionary phase of investigating the problem of terrorism and the state's anti-terrorism activity in Russia, it should be noted that the above problems just started developing. The contemporaries and the participants of the events found it difficult to give an objective and balanced assessment to both terrorism and the state's measures aiming at combating it.

Wealth of factual material on the history of confrontation between Tsarism and Revolutionary movement is contained in the published in 1917-1919 works, devoted to the results of the Provisional Government Commission's activity in analyzing the archives of the Police Department. They also contained some secret documents

concerning the Police Department Foreign Secret Service's activity, which is extremely important for solving the tasks of the given study.

In 1919, the *Byloe* magazine published an article by E.V. Tarle "Knyaz Bismarck and Regicide on March 1, 1881". Tarle's work, basing on the studies of the Russian Foreign Policy Archive's materials, portrayed an episode, associated with Bismarck's suggestion, after the assassination of Alexander II, that an International Conference should be convened to take joint measures against the anarchists. The author argued that Bismarck's proposal, received seriously and with enthusiasm by the Russian diplomatic community, was doomed to failure. Bismarck himself, in Tarle's opinion, not only had illusions about the fate of his initiative but also deliberately made a similar proposal to Russia, pursuing the aims of the Germany's Foreign Policy.

In 1920, the *Vestnik NKID* magazine published an article by an unknown author, called "New Holly Alliance". In this article there was an attempt taken to study the events, associated with Russia's participation in the preparations for the 1904 Secret Protocol on the struggle against anarchism. The source of the study is based on the documents of the Russia's Foreign Policy Archive. The author condemned the secret diplomacy of the Russian and European Governments and sought to show that the Tsarist Government's aim was not only to suppress the revolutionary movement within the country but also to try to "lay a hand on every aspiration for freedom all over the world".

The study of the Tsarist Government's activity and the political police in the struggle against the revolutionary movement at different times was dedicated to by many Soviet historians in their works. The problems of the state's struggle against the revolutionaries' terrorism were secondary in those works, however, it is important for us to see that they partially touched upon the problems and reflected the facts of the Empire Authorities' international cooperation in countering the revolutionary movement.

A number of key episodes involving the Russian Empire's participation in international countering terrorism were investigated by O.F. Soloviev. In his monograph, in particular, the events, associated with Russia's participation in the Rome Conference of 1898 and in the

preparations for an International Secret Protocol on the struggle against the anarchism of 1904, have been studied. The author doesn't consider terrorism as an object of international counteraction. The terrorist actions of the anarchists in Europe, in his opinion, only stimulated the formation of the global counter-revolutionary forces. Assessing the role of the Russian Empire and the European states in the struggle against the revolutionary movement, Soloviev's conception differs from the one of the author of the above mentioned article published in the *Vestnik NKID* in 1920. He writes about attempts at "exporting counter-revolution" to Russia, made by the European monarchies and reactionary bourgeois governments in agreement with the Tsarist Government.

The important achievement of the Soviet scientists was the accumulation of large amount of factual material on the history of terrorism and the state's anti-terrorism (including the international aspects of these problems).

However, the main feature of most studies is the presence of a rigid ideology. Almost always, this or that researcher touched upon the problem of terrorism, he/she knew in advance both the perpetrators of this crime and the afflicted side, i.e. the questions of terrorism and terrorism counter-actions were being solved in black and white.

The anti-terrorism activity of the state also became an independent subject of a study in Modern domestic historiography. N.D. Litvinov, A.I. Suvorov were active in developing the related problems; more collections and articles, in which the authors pay attention to this issue, are being published.

Also, the researchers didn't ignore the international aspects of the anti-terrorism policy of a state, its law enforcement agencies. Thus, in the book by A.I. Suvorov, a separate chapter is devoted to the Department Police Foreign Secret Service's activity, there are some facts of the Russian diplomatic and Police Services' cooperation with the European colleagues in solving the issues of countering the revolutionaries and anarchists' terrorism activities.

Evaluating this collaboration, Suvorov points out that the problem of international interaction was not significant in the late XIX-early XX centuries, the danger of terrorism as an international crime was not estimated and recognized in a proper manner. Thus, the role of international cooperation in combating terrorism was, in his opinion, insignificant.

One of the main trends, which studies the Russian Empire's anti-terrorism policy, is the study of law enforcement and police agencies. The works of most authors, to a greater or lesser extent, reflect the Police Department Foreign Secret Service's activities.

However, as a rule, in these investigations special attention has been paid to various aspects of special investigative techniques activity, including the Police's international cooperation and the organizational structure of the political police institutions.

The most significant domestic research, dedicated to the organization of the political police's activity, is Z.I. Perehudova's monograph. In her book, basing on extensive sources, she studied the organization and functioning of the Russian Empire's political spying system in 1880-1917. A separate chapter of the monograph is devoted to the issues of the Police Department Foreign Secret Service's activities, which is of great importance for the subject of the given dissertation research.

The arrests of the terrorists in Russia have caused their immigration to Europe. There, special centers were being formed, more literature was being published, more weapons and explosive devices were being imported or manufactured, the public opinion of Europe was being handled to protect the Russian terrorists. This motivated to strengthen the Russian Foreign Secret Service and to develop contacts with Overseas Services. In the counteraction against the powerful Russian political immigration the Russian Security Services were working in unexplored ways.

In 1993, in Europe, the Police Department found the Regular Secret Service Agency, with its centers in Paris and Zheneva, later in Berlin. It was headed by General P.I. Raczkowski for about 20 years. The Foreign Secret Service agency spied on the immigrant terrorists' movements, unveiled their plans, the distribution ways of weapons and literature, spread information on the political life in Russia. The notorious case of Raczkowski's group of agents was the liquidation of the *Narodnaya Volya* Printing Establishment in Zheneva in November of 1886, for what Raczkowski was given the Order of St. Ann, the participants of the act were rewarded. Raczkowski's merit lays in creating tight mutual relations between Russia and France.

In his memoirs Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Count S.Y. Witte stated that Raczkowski had played a more significant role in creating the Entente than the Russian diplomats.

It should be noted that still in 1884 Russia were having talks with Germany concerning concluding an agreement on the extradition of the persons who had committed or were making preparations for committing terrorist acts. The murder of a Secret Police agent Rumpf by the anarchists in December of 1884 in Frankfurt made a strong impression on Germany's public opinion, being inclined to the need for active struggle against terrorism. The texts of the agreement were approved in both capitals and then were published almost simultaneously: in the *Deutsche Rayhsantsayger* on January 23, 1885 and in the *Collection of the Government's laws and ordinances* on January 22, 1885. Unfortunately, the document was not ratified by Germany's Reichstag Building because of its sudden dissolution.

By strengthening the international cooperation in struggle against dangerous crimes, in 1885, Russia's Government signed a bilateral agreement with Germany,

Austria-Hungary, and Romania on the extradition of the political criminals, and with Spain, Portugal, Netherlands, Bulgaria and Monaco – agreements on the extradition of the persons, involved to regicide.

Professor of Police Law I.E. Andreevski was sent on a business trip by the Police Department to London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna to be acquainted with the production of the ways of struggling against anti-state crimes.

Interestingly, it was in the late XIX century when the global community took the first attempts at uniting in struggle against the growing threat of terrorism.

In December of 1898, Russia's representatives took part in an International Security Services Conference in Rome, the resolution of which foresaw the European countries' cooperation in combating terrorism. Following the results of the Forum's work, the representatives from 20 states signed the Rome Conference's proposals, the other 17 countries took its recommendations without any reservations. The signed on December 21, 1898 Act included a number of activities, dealing with the administrative, legislative and political spheres.

The preparations for an International agreement on combating anarchism on March 1 (14), 1904 is one of the most significant episodes of Russia's participation in international combating terrorists' activities. In historiography the process of the preparations for the agreement and Russia's participation in it has not been adequately covered. From the sources devoted to the current issue only one agreement text was published on March 1 (14), 1904. Additionally, the process of the preparations for the agreement was not adequately reflected in the press of the period under consideration, as it was extremely secret. Thus, the only good source for investigating the basic events of the period are the Archive's materials. On the basis of studying the materials contained in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SARF) and the Russian Empire's Foreign Policy Archive (REFPA) we tried to analyze and evaluate the basic events of the first step of the preparations for the agreement of March 1 (14), 1904? and to define the main results of this period.

The considered archive material causes the allocation of two phases of the preparations for the Secret Agreement. The first stage: August of 1900 – December of 1900. The second stage: November of 1901 – March 1 (14), 1904.

Turning to the analysis of the first stage at the first stage, it is wiser first to focus on considering a circular letter text of the Russian Empire's Ministry of Foreign Affairs by a Russian representative overseas. The Russian Empire's of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggested that the states, declaring their joining the Final Protocol of the Rome Conference of December 21, 1898, should discuss the issue of possible practical realization of the measures, directed to combating anarchism and recommended in this document. The basic way of discussing the

mentioned problems was secret opinion exchange between the cooperating countries.

The reviews of the circular letter, received by the Russian Empire's Ministry of Foreign Affairs by late in August-December of 1900, unanimously expressed the European governments' sympathy with the point of view of the need for searching effective means of suppressing anarchism. However, the representatives of the constitutional and parliamentary governments announced the insurmountable difficulties that may arise when trying to change the direction of basic state laws.

Germany expressed the greatest degree of its solidarity concerning Russia's proposals. In the Note of November 6 (19), 1900 Germany's Government, giving its preference to the production of the administrative measures of combating anarchism, suggested that an international uniform organization of informational service through a formal agreement" should be established.

To the Note there was a project of the above international convention attached. The project was discussed and approved by the Russian Empire's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Internal Affairs. Afterwards the contacts with the European countries concerning the problems touched upon in the circular letter of August 9, 1900 were not renewed till September of 1901.

Thus, we can say that the problem of terrorism and the state's anti-terrorism activities in the Russian Empire is under wide research by contemporary local historians. The problem of the state's international cooperation in this sphere is not recognized as an independent research task by scientists (A.I. Suvorov 's work is limited to a brief essay of a few more significant episodes of the cooperation).

The most significant achievement of the researches investigating Modern terrorism is directing attention to the problem of international cooperation in struggle against terrorism. The experience in counter-terrorist activities of different states and the international legal base of cooperation are actively being studied. Russia's participation in the system of international combating terrorism is becoming an independent subject of research. Moreover, we can state that to study other countries' experience in anti-terrorism activities the material, basically, of the last two or three decades are being used; to study experience in Russia's participation the material of the last 10-15 years are being involved. Besides, the sources for researching this kind of experience are exclusively legal documents, agreements, conventions, treaties, declarations, i.e. what makes up the international legal basis of the cooperation. The authors only episodically consider the facts of real cooperation between countries. Thus, the task of the research dealing with international combating terrorism and Russia's participation in this struggle has not been completely solved in historiography yet.

Піджаков А.Ю. Международное сотрудничество России в борьбе с терроризмом к началу XX века. – Статья.

Аннотация. Статья направлена на изучение первых попыток международного сообщества по заключению международных соглашений по борьбе с терроризмом, особое внимание автора уделено подготовке России к Римской конференции 1898 года и подписанию Секретного Протокола по борьбе с анархизмом.

Ключевые слова: политический терроризм, анархизм, конференция, Секретный Протокол, полиция, международное сотрудничество.

Піджаков О.Ю. Міжнародне співробітництво Росії в боротьбі з тероризмом на початок XX століття. – Стаття.

Анотація. Статтю спрямовано на вивчення перших спроб міжнародного співтовариства із укладання міжнародних домовленостей з боротьби з тероризмом, особливої уваги автором було приділено підготовки Росії до Римської конференції 1898 року та підписанню Таємного Протоколу з боротьби із анархізмом.

Ключові слова: політичний тероризм, анархізм, конференція, Таємний Протокол, поліція, міжнародне співробітництво.