www.revistageintec.net ISSN: 2237-0722



Sociological Analysis of Documents on Countering the Ideology of Terrorism in Modern Russia

Valery A. Lapshov¹

¹Department of Social Sciences, Institute of International Relations and Social and Political Sciences, Moscow State Linguistic University, Moscow, Russian Federation.

Security Problems Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation.
¹valeralapshov@gmail.com; ORCID 0000-0002-4793-5052

Abstract

This paper expounds the results of a sociological analysis of the legal documents related to counteracting the ideology of terrorism in the Russian Federation in the 20s of the XXI century. Based on opinions from experts, the author examined such doctrinal documents of the Russian Federation as the concepts of counteraction to terrorism and public security, strategies of national security and counteraction to extremism, federal laws on countering extremist activities and terrorism. He also analysed comprehensive plans to counter the ideology of terrorism in the Russian Federation for 2013-2018 and 2019-2023. Scientific novelty of this work lies in the fact that sociological analysis of documents on countering the ideology of terrorism in the Russian Federation is carried out for the first time. In the research the author used expert survey, traditional analysis and content analysis of documents. He clarified the operational definitions of the research subject. The obtained results allowed making a conclusion about the need of further adjustments in the general methodological approaches that ensure unity of actions and timely codification of the Russian legal framework regulating counteraction to the ideology of terrorism.

Key-words: The Ideology of Terrorism, Counteraction to Terrorism Ideology, Counterterrorism Legislation.

1. Introduction

The acts of terrorism at the beginning of the XXI century revealed shortcomings in the legal foundations of most world states and forced their leadership teams to focus on the danger of terrorism to society as a global phenomenon. Thus, In Russia alone, between 2000 and 2017, more than 20 large-scale terrorist acts took place, killing more than 800 people, injuring and affecting about 2700 people.¹

ISSN: 2237-0722 Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

Received: 14.06.2021 - Accepted: 16.07.2021

Therefore, by the 20s of the XXI century, the government of the Russian Federation formed

legal framework of counteraction to the ideology of terrorism; it is reflected in a number of domestic

legislative acts and doctrinal documents.²

Sociological analysis of documents on countering the ideology of terrorism in modern Russia,

when aimed at revealing diverse approaches and variegated readings in understanding various

phenomena in this sphere, will allow determining a general vision of counteracting the ideology of

terrorism in a completed and integral form. This will facilitate further work on the adjustments in

general methodological approaches that ensure unity of actions, as well as timely codification of

normative legal acts and doctrinal documents that reflect the vision and regulate counteraction to the

ideology of terrorism in modern Russia.

2. Materials and Methods

In the analysis of documental materials, the author used the following methods: traditional

(classical) method and content analysis. Traditional analysis included the whole variety of mental

operations aimed at the interpretation of information on the mechanisms of countering terrorist

ideology in Russia, which were contained in separate national legislative acts and doctrinal

documents.

The information of interest for the research is embedded in the indicated documents but it is

present there in a hidden form. It is stated in the form that corresponds to the purposes, with which

one or the other document was created. Therefore, the original form of this information was

transformed into the form required for the study. In general, it is an interpretation of the content of

documents, their construing.

In order to get rid of the subjectivity, which is specific for classical analysis and is its main

disadvantage, the study applied content analysis. This type of analysis is a research technique for

drawing conclusions by means of studying the content of texts about the mechanisms of

counteracting the ideology of terrorism in Russia.

The categorical model of the content analysis subject was Russia's legislation on the problem

of countering the ideology of terrorism. The system of units for the analysis included the following

concepts: terrorism, terrorist activity, subjects of countering terrorism, ideology of extremism,

countering extremism, radicalism, ideology of terrorism.

The universal characteristics of any text are its size and discreteness. Therefore, the content

analysis of this study had two types of units: size units (text volume in square centimeters) and

frequency units (single presence of a text content element). This research procedure consists of

several operations and includes special techniques ensuring the reliability of individual operations.

The coding procedure was performed on a personal computer based on special thematic dictionaries.

Expert assessment helped to answer the question about inclusion of the sources of information

into the study sample. The experts were 30 representatives - members of the National Anti-Terrorist

Committee, antiterrorist commissions of the socially typical RF regions, as well as curators from the

regional authorities, and members of the security forces. This assessment gave grounds to select

seven documents, which reflected the information on the RF legislation on the problem of countering

the ideology of terrorism in the most reliable way.³

3. Results

Article 1 of the Federal Law No. 114-FZ of the Russian Federation of 25 July 2002 "On

Counteracting Extremist Activity" contains a definition of extremist activity (extremism), which

includes, inter alia, the public justification of terrorism and other terrorist activities.

Article 3 of this Law sets forth the main directions of countering extremist activity. They

include:

Taking proactive measures aimed at preventing extremist activities, including the

identification and subsequent elimination of the causes and conditions conducive to the

implementation of extremist activities;

Detecting, preventing and suppressing extremist activities of public and religious

associations, other organizations and individuals.

In the Federal Law under study, the notions of "terrorism" or "ideology of terrorism", in the

presence of an objectively existing and proven close relationship between the phenomena of

extremism and terrorism, are not used in another context.

The Federal Law No. 35-FZ of 6 March 2006 "On Countering Terrorism", Article 3, states the

following concepts related to its ideology:

Terrorism is the ideology of violence and the practice of influencing decision-making of

state authorities, local authorities or international organizations, which are related to

intimidation of the population and (or) other forms of unlawful violent actions;

Terrorist activity is an activity that includes, but is not limited to, propaganda of the ideas of

terrorism, dissemination of materials or information calling for terrorist activities or

3531

justifying the need for such activities.

ISSN: 2237-0722

Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

This law also characterizes countering terrorism as activities of state and local government

bodies in term of:

Prevention of terrorism, including identification and subsequent elimination of the causes

and conditions conducive to the commission of terrorist acts (terrorism prevention);

Identification, prevention, suppression, disclosure and investigation of terrorist acts (fight

against terrorism);

Minimization and (or) elimination of the terrorism manifestation consequences.

The Concept of Combating Terrorism in the Russian Federation (approved by the President of

the Russian Federation on 5 October 2009) defines the basic principles of the state policy in the field

of counter-terrorism efforts, as well as the purpose, objectives and directions of further development

for the national counter-terrorism system in the Russian Federation.

The document outlines the main trends of modern terrorism (Article 1). It is ascertained that

the emergence and spread of terrorism in Russia has certain historical prerequisites and are associated

both with internal economic, political, social, interethnic or religious contradictions, and with external

terrorist threats, including those common to the entire world community.

In Article 5 of the Concept, it is determined that the national system for combating terrorism

is to be a combination of two components:

Subjects of countering terrorism;

Normative legal acts regulating the activities of these subjects in detecting, preventing,

suppressing, disclosing and investigating terrorist activities, minimizing and (or)

eliminating the terrorism manifestation consequences.

Article 6 asserts that the national system of combating terrorism is to ensure implementation

of a unified state policy in this sphere and is aimed at protecting fundamental civil and human rights

and freedoms, as well as ensuring the national security of the Russian Federation.

Unlike the Federal Law "On Countering Terrorism", the concept indicates the following

subjects of countering terrorism (Article 7):

Authorized bodies of state power and local government, the responsibility of which

includes the implementation of measures to counter terrorism,

Non-governmental organizations and associations, as well as citizens that provide

assistance to bodies of state power and local government in the implementation of anti-

3532

terrorism measures.

ISSN: 2237-0722 Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

The purpose of countering terrorism in the Russian Federation is determined in Article 10 as

"protection of the individual, society and the state from terrorist acts and other manifestations of

terrorism".

The main objectives of counter-terrorism (Article 11) include countering the spread of the

terrorism ideology, as well as intensifying the efforts to provide information and awareness-raising

support for counter-terrorism measures.

Creation of a system to counteract the ideology of terrorism is singled out among the three

main directions, within which the prevention of terrorism is carried out.

The Concept (Article 15) outlines the tasks, the solution of which is aimed at preventing

terrorism, and part of these tasks is related to counteracting the ideology of terrorism:

Development of measures and implementation of activities to eliminate the causes and

conditions conducive to the emergence and spread of terrorism;

• Countering the terrorism ideology spread by ensuring the protection of the entire

information space of the Russian Federation; improving the system of countering terrorism

by information means.

• Article 16 of the document notes that the organization of the fight against terrorism is based

on:

An integrated approach in analyzing the causes of terrorism emergence and spread and

identifying the subjects of terrorist activity;

A clear delineation of roles and responsibilities of the subjects participating in counter-

terrorism;

• Timely determination of priorities in solving assigned tasks.

The concept states that one of the main conditions for improving the effectiveness of the fight

against terrorism is to obtain proactive information, including information about the activities to

spread the ideology of terrorism.

In carrying out activities to prevent terrorism, the document (Article 20) provides for the

application of measures aimed at:

• Reducing the threat of terrorist acts, resolving economic, political, social, national and

confessional contradictions that can lead to armed conflicts and, as a result, contribute to

terrorist manifestations;

• Prevention of citizens' terrorist intentions;

• Hindering the actions of terrorist activity subjects.

ISSN: 2237-0722 Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

Received: 14.06.2021 - Accepted: 16.07.2021

At that, the Concept enacts the use of various forms of general and targeted preventive

measures, taking into account demographic, ethno-confessional, individual-psychological and other

characteristics of the object to which preventive measures are applied.

The main measures to prevent terrorism (Article 21) also include information measures

related to explaining the essence of terrorism and its social danger, forming society's persistent

rejection of the ideology of violence, as well as the involvement of citizens in countering terrorism.

The Concept of Public Safety in the Russian Federation (approved by the President of the

Russian Federation on 14 November 14 2013, No. Pr-2685) is a system of views on ensuring public

safety as part of Russia's national security.

The Concept identifies the main sources of threats to public safety, the goals, objectives,

principles and main directions of the activity of authorized state bodies, local authorities, other bodies

and organizations involved in ensuring public safety.

The document contains (Article 10) an estimated judgment that the level of the terrorist threat

on the territory of the Russian Federation continues to be high; the scale of the terrorist acts

consequences is significant. Terrorists strive to expand the geography of their activities; international

terrorist organizations are active in Russia as well.

In the context of countering the ideology of terrorism, the main activities of the public

security forces also deserve attention (Article 28). The scope of their activities is formulated as

follows:

Improving the system for countering the ideology of terrorism, implementing legal,

organizational, operational, administrative, security, military and technical measures aimed

at ensuring the anti-terrorist protection of potential targets of terrorist attacks and

strengthening control over compliance with administrative and legal regimes;

Fight against terrorism on the basis of a comprehensive approach that takes into account

analysis of the causes of terrorism emergence and spread, identification of terrorist activity

subjects, clear delineation of the public security forces' functions and areas of

responsibility, timely determination of priorities in solving their tasks, and improvement of

organization and interaction of public security forces with public associations, international

organizations and citizens;

Reducing and (or) eliminating the consequences of terrorism manifestations, minimizing

the consequences of terrorist acts and their adverse moral and psychological impact on

society or individual social groups;

Taking precautionary, educational and advocacy measures aimed at preventing extremist

activities, identifying and subsequent eliminating the causes and conditions conducive to

the implementation of extremist activities and the development of social and inter-ethnic

conflicts, countering extremism through a comprehensive approach to the analysis of the

causes of extremism emergence and spread, clear delineation of public security forces'

functions and responsibilities, and countering the spread of extremist materials through the

media and Internet:

Identification of extremist activity subjects, prevention and suppression of the extremist

activity of public and religious associations, other organizations by taking measures to

prevent such activities; improvement of organizational and operational measures aimed at

suppressing extremist activity of organizations and individuals.

The Strategy for Countering Extremism in the Russian Federation until 2025 (approved by the

President of the Russian Federation on 28 November 2014, Pr-2753) is a fundamental document for

federal government bodies, government bodies of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation,

and local government bodies. It defines the goal, tasks and main directions of the state policy in the

field of countering extremism, taking into account the challenges and threats faced by the country.

The document is aimed at uniting the efforts of the mentioned bodies, civil society institutions,

organizations and individuals in order to suppress extremist activity, strengthen civil unity, achieve

interethnic and interfaith harmony, preserve the ethno-cultural diversity of the peoples in the Russian

Federation, create an environment of intolerance towards extremist activity and extremist ideas

dissemination in society.

The strategy (Article 4) defines a number of notions related to understanding the essence and

content of the terrorism ideology and counteracting it:

"Ideology of extremism (extremist ideology)" is a system of views and ideas representing

violent and other unlawful acts as the main means of resolving social, racial, national, religious and

political conflicts;

"Manifestations of extremism (extremist manifestations)" are socially dangerous and unlawful

acts committed on the grounds of political, ideological, racial, ethnic or religious hatred or enmity, as

well as acts that contribute to the emergence or exacerbation of interethnic, interfaith and regional

conflicts:

"Subjects of counteraction to extremism" are federal bodies of state power, bodies of state

power in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, bodies of local government, civil society

institutions, organizations and individuals;

"Counteraction to extremism" is the activity of counter-extremism subjects; it is aimed at

identifying and subsequent eliminating the causes of extremist manifestations, and at preventing,

suppressing, disclosing and investigating extremist crimes and minimizing and/or eliminating the

consequences of extremism;

"Radicalism" is strong commitment to the ideology of extremism that contributes to the

commission of actions aimed at changing the foundations of the constitutional system by force and

violating the integrity of the Russian Federation.

The document (Article 13) sets out an important premise that in modern social and political

conditions, the utmost manifestation of extremism is terrorism, which is based on extremist ideology.

Therefore, it is argued that the threat of terrorism will persist as long as there are sources and

channels for the dissemination of this ideology.

According to the Strategy (Article 14), extremist ideology is the main component that bonds

the members of extremist organizations, shapes the character and orientation of their activities; it is

also a means of involving various population segments in extremist activities. The document contains

a substantiated statement (Article 15) that the dissemination of extremist ideas, in particular the

opinion of the acceptability of violent acts to achieve goals, threatens public security in the Russian

Federation due to the amplified aggressiveness of the extremist ideology and the increase in its

propaganda in society.

The Strategy (Article 24) points out the aim of the state policy on countering extremism: to

protect the foundations of the constitutional order of the Russian Federation, public security and the

rights and freedoms of citizens against extremist threats. The document provides for measures to

implement this policy.

From 2013 to the present, the government has developed two Comprehensive Plans to

Counter the Ideology of Terrorism in the Russian Federation (hereinafter - the Comprehensive Plan).

Thus, the Comprehensive Plan to Counter the Ideology of Terrorism in the Russian Federation for

2013-2018 reasonably recognizes that "in order to radically reduce the threat of terrorism, it is

necessary to destroy the very system of its reproduction based on the terrorism ideology, its bearers,

and also the channels of its dissemination".

The document contains elements of the general vision of countering the ideology of terrorism.

Thus, the goal of the Comprehensive Plan implementation is to reduce the level of radicalization of

various population groups, primarily youth, and to prevent their involvement in terrorist activities.

Achieving the goal set in the Comprehensive Plan is possible through completing a number of tasks.

Solution of these tasks stipulates involvement of state and civil society institutions.

The ideology of terrorism (terrorist ideology) (IT) in the Comprehensive Plan is understood as a set of ideas, concepts, beliefs, dogmas, targets, slogans that substantiate the need for terrorist activities and are aimed at mobilizing people to participate in these activities.

The bearers of the terrorist ideology are persons and organizations interested in IT development and dissemination, as well as the people who fall under IT influence and act on its

dissemination or in accordance with its slogans and targets.

IT dissemination channels is a complex of technical and other means ensuring IT delivery to the objects of ideological influence (Internet, distribution of printed materials, sermons and personal

contacts).

The subsequent Comprehensive Plan to Counter the Ideology of Terrorism in the Russian Federation for 2019-2023 was developed as a follow-up to the previous Comprehensive Plan for 2013-2018. It is aimed at implementing the provisions of the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation, the Concept of Combating Terrorism in the Russian Federation, as well as other

regulatory legal acts in the field of ensuring the safety of individuals, society and the state.

Taking into account the forecast of the situation development, the implementation of this Comprehensive Plan measures is aimed at protecting the population from the propaganda (ideological) influence of international terrorist organizations (ITO), communities and individuals.

The Comprehensive Plan activities address the following the priority tasks:

Improving the effectiveness of preventive work with people susceptible to and influenced

by the ideology of terrorism;

Implementation of measures to form anti-terrorist consciousness in the population of the

Russian Federation;

Improving the measures of informational and advocacy character and the measures to

protect the information space of the Russian Federation from the ideology of terrorism;

Development of organizational and other measures aimed at improving the effectiveness of

the counter-terrorism subjects' activities.

The National Anti-Terrorism Committee coordinates and monitors the activities of executive bodies (federal, regional and local ones) in terms of the Comprehensive Plan implementation. Senior officials (heads of the highest executive bodies of state power) in the RF constituent entities coordinate and control the measures taken to implement its activities. Particular attention in the Comprehensive Plan is drawn to the fact that the heads of federal executive bodies and senior officials (heads of the highest executive bodies of State power) in the RF constituent entities bare personal responsible for the implementation of the measures contained in the Comprehensive Plan.

ISSN: 2237-0722

Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

In the Plan, family members of a terrorist are understood as spouses (including widower,

widow), parents, children, adoptive parents, adopted children, brothers and sisters who share the

ideology of terrorism.

The Comprehensive Plan indicates that traditional Russian spiritual and moral values include

the priority of the spiritual over the material, protection of human life, human rights and freedoms,

family, creative work, service to the Fatherland, moral standards, humanism, mercy, justice, mutual

assistance, team spirit, the historical unity of Russia's peoples, the continuity of the Homeland

history.

The Comprehensive Plan clarifies the notion of terrorist materials: those are the materials

containing public calls for terrorist activities or publicly justifying terrorism, as well as materials

included in the federal list of extremist matter, access to which is subject to restriction in the Russian

Federation.

In this Comprehensive Plan, public opinion leaders are defined as persons who influence the

opinion of the population, especially young people, by interpreting (commenting) the content and

meaning of the information they disseminate about events that take place. In this document, the

population of the Russian Federation (social groups) aged 14 to 23 years is classified as a youth.

4. Discussion

The problem of the terrorism ideology has been addressed to varying degrees by many

researchers. Some of them analyzed the reasons for the modern ideology of terrorism in Russia and

offered many own explanations of why it persists. Most often, these scholars accused the Russian

Federation of suppressing the struggle of Muslims living on its territory for their national liberation,

because they proceeded from the assumption that Russia pursues its own interests in the use of oil or

gas resources in the territory of residence of certain nationalities.

A critical analysis of these approaches is presented in I. Mukhina's work "Islamic Terrorism

and the Question of National Liberation, or Problems of Contemporary Chechen Terrorism"⁴, which

examines various cases of Chechen terrorism in 1991-2002. The author concludes that the dynamics

of terrorism does not back up the view that Chechen rebels are fighting for independence and that the

declared "failure" of the Russian government to "let go of Chechnya" provokes future terrorist acts.

Another researcher, P. Baev, in his paper "Counterterrorism for Regime Consolidation in

Putin's Russia"⁵ concludes that since the late 1990s, Russia has been among the countries most

affected by terrorism, and its president V. Putin had almost no doubts and even no enthusiasm about

ISSN: 2237-0722

joining the U.S. "war" against terrorism. In P. Baev's view, the authorities' fight against the terrorism ideology and Chechnya, being interconnected, still significantly differ in Russian security policy. Therefore, this author's work is aimed at studying how the fight against terrorism shapes the main features of Russian foreign and domestic policy during Putin's first presidency. Internally, fight against terrorism provides sufficient mobilization of Russian society around today's power. At the international level, this anti-terrorism strategy helped Russia to secure a more prominent role than the huge size of its "assets" would justify. The author assumes that it is not a matter of defeating the terrorist ideology, but of numerous "spin-off" benefits for the current leadership of the country headed by President Vladimir Putin.

P. Rich in his researcher work "Understanding Terror, Terrorism, and Their Representations in Media and Culture" reviews four recently published books on terrorism and insurgency war. Here, the author argues that research on the ideology of terrorism in the early 1970s differed significantly from the studies of terrorism in the period after 1945. Scientists of that time tended to marginalize the role of states in fomenting terror. The given article considers descriptions of terrorism in art and cinema, and also recent historiography of terrorism. The author asserts that much greater emphasis should be placed on the role of the French Revolution in the development of terrorism in the XIX century. At the same time, the majority of researchers emphasized the Russian terrorism of the late XIX century, which is a rather big exaggeration, as many terrorist movements (for example, in 1880s in Chicago) had no Russian trace. Finally, the paper shows that the link between terrorism and political nihilism was exaggerated. Only few terrorist movements (unlike some theorists of terrorism) were guided by the nihilistic program.

A. Peled's work "Coerce, Consent, and Coax: A Review of U.S. Congressional Efforts to Improve Federal Counterterrorism Information Sharing" is based on an analysis of reports from various structural units of the U.S. government. The author concludes that the U.S. Congress used three different legislative approaches to overcome federal counter-terrorism information sharing: coercion, consent, and coax. He gives the following examples: The Homeland Security Information Network project illustrates a coercive approach; Intellipedia illustrates a consensual approach; and the Office of the Chief of the Information Exchange Program illustrates a coaxial approach. The author also considers other examples to improve information sharing in the fight against terrorism at the federal level, including the work of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence and the National Counterterrorism Centre. The paper discusses and compares the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches. In his conclusions, the researcher proposes an idea of using all three approaches in an integrated manner as the most appropriate for specific counter-terrorism tasks.

ISSN: 2237-0722 Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

Received: 14.06.2021 - Accepted: 16.07.2021

Scientist M. Stempien, in her scientific work "Russia in the Eyes of Islamic State: An Analysis of the Content of Dabig and Rumiyah Magazines and Russia's Involvement in the Fight against the Islamic State", considers Russia's participation in the fight against the Islamic State. The work analyzes a large number of English-language magazines of the Islamic State (IS) Dabiq (fifteen issues, 2014-2016) and Rumiyah (thirteen issues, 2016-2017). These magazines represent a prominent textual sample of the IS propaganda prepared for English-language publications. The author tries to define the methods of IS propaganda and identify the leading topics related to Russia, which are used in these magazines. The results of the author's research confirmed a strong, omnipresent religious dualism between "believing" and "disbelieving" in relation to non-religious entities, seen by IS as enemies. These magazines characterized Russia, as a military IS opponent, by such words as "crusaders" and "unbelievers". At the same time, the self-proclaimed caliphate is portrayed as the last Muslim bastion against invaders. The article attempts to fill the gap in the study of the main methods of propaganda against the Russian Federation used by the IS in its leading online magazines.

A group of researchers, in the "Terrorism and Political Violence in the Nordic Countries", study the issues of terrorism and political violence in Northern Europe. They review the status of scientific research on this topic. Although the Nordic countries seem to be affected by lower levels of terrorism and political violence than many other European countries, they were less fragmented and secondary to terrorism and political violence than it might be expected. While some well-known acts of violence, such as the attacks in Norway in July 2011, were covered to some extent in research literature, other phenomena, such as extreme right-wing violence in Sweden, received less attention. The article discusses other works on terrorism and political violence in the Nordic countries that contribute to this research area.

Researcher I. Fedotenkov in his article "Terrorist Attacks and Public Approval of the Russian President: Evidence from Time Series Analysis" uses analysis of time series to study weekly data on Vladimir Putin's approval rating and their dependence on terrorist attacks. He believes that minor terrorist acts with little or no casualties in Chechnya, Ingushetia and Dagestan raise Putin's ratings, while major terrorist acts with more than four victims have a negative impact on them. The author provides evidence that terrorist acts in other Russian regions reduce Putin's public approval. However, this evidence lack in reliability and validity, which depend on a subjective assessment of the author's research model. I. Fedotenkov studies media coverage of the main annual events with Russian President Vladimir Putin as a participant: the TV program of questions and answers "Direct Line with V. Putin", V. Putin's Address to the Federal Assembly and the Large Annual Press

ISSN: 2237-0722 Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

Received: 14.06.2021 – Accepted: 16.07.2021

Conference. The author believes that mass media coverage of these three events strengthens voters'

approval of Russian President's actions, but the Direct Line has the least effect.

G. Lapidus, Senior Fellow at Stanford University's Institute for International Studies and

Professor of Political Sciences, believes ("Putin's War on Terrorism: Lessons from Chechnya" that

the events of September 11 accelerated the dramatic reconfiguration of Russian-American relations

and the international security situation. Vladimir Putin was the first foreign leader to contact

President Bush by phone to express his sympathy and support, and despite his considerable

ambivalence and fears in the Russian military structures of foreign policy and security (as well as in

the Muslim religious leadership of Russia), he provided political support for the U.S. anti-terrorism

campaign.

Some people argue that it was a bold and risky step in Russian politics. But according to G.

Lapidus, the deed of Russian President Vladimir Putin was not, in fact, as radical a retreat as some

believe. The author of the article proceeds from the fact that V. Putin managed to treat September 11

as justification of his efforts to define international terrorism as the main threat to world security and

to present the war in Chechnya as Russia's own effort to fight this threat. At the same time, the

Russian leadership team sought an opportunity to use the problem of terrorism to change relations

with the United States. Putin's main argument is that despite America's considerable economic and

political power, only multilateral cooperation, and particularly partnership with Russia, can

effectively address the security challenges that threaten the entire civilized world.

Political scientist G. Hahn¹² analyzes vicissitudes of the rebellion movement of jihadists in the

Caucasus and Russia's efforts to fight the rebels since 2005; his article "The Jihadi Insurgency and the

Russian Counterinsurgency in the North Caucasus" is based on the jihadist press and websites. The

author investigates such problems as development of jihad-oriented combat units, growth and decline

of Maskhadov's domination, growth of Islamist elements, Chechen separatist movement and

expansion of jihad, Moscow's success in fighting jihad, a network of jihadists after Basayev's death,

Ramzan Kadyrov's rise and career. He analyses these events in terms of the dynamics of rebellious

and counterinsurgency conflicts.

The analysis of contemporary research in the field of the ideology of terrorism allows us to

assume that none of the scientists specially addressed the problem of sociological analysis of

documents on countering the ideology of terrorism in the Russian Federation. This fact leads to a

distortion of the world community's ideas about the essence of social institutions in this counteraction

and does not make it possible to form the general vision of countering the ideology of terrorism in a

complete and holistic manner.

The author's content analysis of the documents on countering the ideology of terrorism in the Russian Federation showed that RF social and legal support of the phenomenon under study has some

drawbacks.

For example, it is worth noting that the Federal Law of the Russian Federation No. 35-FZ "On

Countering Terrorism" of 6 March 2006, when characterizing counteraction to terrorism, does not

directly formulate fight against its ideology (which, however, is included in the content of terrorism).

In addition, the document does not provide for the involvement of civil society institutions,

educational organizations, scientific institutions, religious organizations, expert communities, etc. in

counter-terrorism activities.

An analysis of the content of the Concept of Combating Terrorism in the Russian Federation,

in connection with determining the components of the vision of countering terrorism ideology, makes

it possible to ascertain the following (the general assessment of the document is positive).

The vision of counteracting the ideology of terrorism is described in the document rather

fragmentary; it is very problematic to single it out in a holistic form. Besides, understanding of the

national system of counteraction to terrorism as a set of only two components (subjects of

counteraction to terrorism and normative legal acts regulating these subjects' activity) seems

obviously insufficient. Apart from the fact that the said system actually includes a number of other

components, primarily the activity-related ones, it is actually presented in the concept as a static (not

dynamic) phenomenon. Due to this circumstance, the state system of terrorism counteraction cannot

fulfill its functional purpose defined in the concept, i.e. it cannot ensure implementation of the unified

state policy in the field of terrorism counteraction.

The purpose of counter-terrorism defined in the Concept (protection of individuals, society

and the state from terrorist acts and other manifestations of terrorism) actually reflects the passive,

reactive and defensive nature of counteraction. It does not imply:

Eradication of terrorism, including formation and dominance in society of a counterterrorist

ideology associated with the disapproval and rejection of its postulates

Uniting the efforts of society and the state in the fight against terrorism;

Exposing its antisocial and destructive essence and discrediting its ideology.

In addition, it should be recognized that the final achievement of this purpose is not possible

in the proposed wording.

A literal reading of the document reveals the following contradiction - Article 5 gives a

description of the national system for combating terrorism. At that, Article 11 actually defines

creation of a system for countering the terrorism ideology as a task.

ISSN: 2237-0722

3542

It should be noted that the Concept of Public Safety in the Russian Federation objectively

reflects the dependence of the country's public security status on the success of the fight against

terrorism. It is noteworthy that the term "terror" and its derivatives are mentioned in the text of the

document about 30 times.

An analysis of the Strategy for Countering Extremism in the Russian Federation until 2025

makes it possible to assert a sufficiently high level of conceptual clarity of the document's wording

(however, some part of the wording is discussable). That results in a comprehensive theoretical and

conceptual basis for countering extremism and terrorism, including basis for practical counteraction

to the ideology of terrorism.

The close connection and general foundations of the ideologies of extremism and terrorism

are also indicated by the fact that the root "terror" is used in more than 10 words, which is quite

appropriate and correct in general.

Discussing the stated goal of implementing the Comprehensive Plans to Counter the Ideology

of Terrorism in the Russian Federation, it should be noted that the term "radicalism" (from Latin

radix - root) is used to denote political ideas and actions aimed at radical change of existing social

and political institutions. Radicalism is characterized by a tendency to a rapid pace of change and

justification of force methods to achieve goals. In some cases, the term "radicalism" is used as a

synonym for the term "extremism". At the same time, they are significantly different. Radicalism

serves as an ideological, theoretical substantiation of a political action rather than the action itself.

Extremism, on the other hand, manifests itself in practical activities, in the use of extreme, mainly

violent means of political struggle. Besides, radicalism is always based on some ideological platform,

while extremism may be less ideological. At that, ideologies of radicalism may serve as a theoretical

grounds and justification for terrorism, while extremism implies widespread use of terrorist means in

actions.

The revealed drawbacks and lack of objective knowledge in this area do not allow comparing

different methodological approaches in forming social and legal aspects of countering the ideology of

terrorism in the world community.

While making sociological analysis of the goal to counter the terrorism ideology in modern

Russian society, it is important to understand the following facts concerning terror and terrorism:

1. In the broad sense, terrorism is the theory and practice of terror carried out for political

purposes. It contains a political component and includes a spiritual and ideological

component, which is a system of asocial, inhuman ideological attitudes, norms and values

ISSN: 2237-0722

3543

aimed at intimidating certain groups and/or the whole society in order to solve political

problems.

2. Violent and other acts of a terrorist nature are not self-dependent goals; they serve as a

means to achieve other goals;

3. The atmosphere of fear arising as a result of terrorism is not simply a consequence of the

committed action and public response; it is purposefully created with an intention of putting

pressure on and forcing authorities to make or renounce decisions in the interests of the

terrorist community;

4. The final result is expected to be achieved not through terrorist acts, but through the actions

of the persons against whom the deterrence effect is directed.

The emergence and spread of the terrorism ideology are stimulated by the following

conditions and reasons:

Weakness of state power and its specific institutions, inability of authorized structures to

identify and neutralize terrorists in a timely manner;

Inconsistencies in the interaction and actions of state and society institutions (within

institutions and between them);

Support (in some cases, approval) of terrorists' intentions and actions, their social

environment and particular components of terrorism by social groups;

Presence and development of some "ideological heritage", historical roots and traditions,

theoretical principles of nationalist, religious, radical and other extremist organizations, for

which the use of force is a preferable mode of behavior;

Dissatisfaction of a part of the society with the current political course, claim for radical

changes (both towards liberalism and authoritarianism), change of power (also through

violence);

Objectively existing social inequality and significant social stratification in terms of

income;

Inability or unwillingness of some state institutions to improve the existing situation;

External support of organizations, groups and movements that are inclined (sometimes - by

force) to change their political course.

It is important to keep in mind that the ideology of terrorism appears to be a rather accurate

3544

indicator of the state of society and the success of the reforms carried out in society. This ideology

starts spreading in line with aggravation of socio-economic and other social problems – in the places

where society does not provide adequate welfare of individuals or social groups and guarantee the

ISSN: 2237-0722

rights to a decent life, work, education and healthcare. The presence of such an ideology can be seen as a signal that society has a potential of social discontent initiation, which can be used for asocial

purposes and putting pressure on social institutions.

Therefore, terrorism seeks to find a breeding ground on the territories with unresolved social and political contradictions. Originating and functioning in one specific area of life, social and political contradictions depend on the state of affairs in other areas of public life (primarily economic ones) and are often determined by them. Terrorism arises from the existence of neglected, aggravated social and political conflicts resulting from such a state of political and social system that does not

ensure the expression and consideration of interests of certain social strata or groups.

Terrorist ideology appears as a result of a community or social group's awareness of its poor condition and inability to realize its own interests within the existing social and political institutions. Terrorist ideology has a number of characteristic features:

Offensive and aggressive character, purposeful attraction of attention of a social group

(social strata) dissatisfied with its conditions to terrorism problems;

Dissemination of a certain ideology in order to find supporters who share terrorists' views;

Availability of its own communication strategy allowing the threat of terrorist acts and

other acts of violence in order to force official institutions to reckon with its interests;

The desire of terrorists to create an attractive image in the eyes of society, especially among

those social groups that they may potentially sympathize with.

It is thus right to assert that the essence of terrorism is determined by the existence of a special ideology and the use of extreme forms of violence and means of maximum intimidation, stirring up panic, fear and terror in order to achieve political objectives. In turn, counterterrorism activities involve a combination of targeted and systemic actions to address the causes of terrorism and

minimize the terrorist threat.

When preparing integrated plans of practical measures to counter the terrorism ideology, it is necessary to provide for the following sections and goals for the implementation of the planned

measures:

1. Scientific-theoretical, conceptual and regulatory counteraction to the system of views underlying terrorist activity against the Russian Federation. Here, the goal is to create and

improve the scientific concept of counteraction to terrorism and the state regulatory system

determining effective counteraction to origination and propagation of the terrorism ideology;

2. Neutralization of the activities performed by the creators of the system of views underlying

terrorist activity; neutralization of the terrorist activity subjects and the basis for terrorism

ideology reproduction that are directed against the Russian Federation and its allies. The

goal is to completely discredit, in the public consciousness, the system of views underlying

terrorist activities, to eliminate the foundations of terrorism ideology reproduction, to cease

the terrorism ideology subjects' activities and deprive terrorist forces of the opportunity to

introduce terrorist views into the public consciousness;

3. Limitation of the possibilities for spreading the views underlying terrorist activities against

the Russian Federation. The goal is to eliminate the technical capabilities of the terrorism

ideology subjects to propagate the views underlying terrorist activity, to create conditions for

the public consciousness to reject the terrorist ideology;

4. Inducing the bearers of views underlying terrorist activity and subjects of terrorism to

renounce illegal activity. The goal is to remove people able to give up their commitment to

the basics of terrorism from governance of opposing political forces and to create conditions

for subsequent political and social cooperation;

5. Improvement of organizational framework to counter the spread of terrorism ideology and

eliminate the causes and conditions conducive to its perception in the society. The goal is to

create an effective system of organizational measures to counteract the ideology of terrorism

and its dissemination;

6. Improvement of legal support for the performance of functional counterterrorism-related

duties by officials of anti-terrorist commissions and government authorities of the RF

constituent entities. The goal is to create conditions for the effective work of anti-terrorist

commissions and to improve the level of coordination of their counter-terrorist activities

with the regional (local) ministries, departments and committees.

5. Conclusion

The official directives contained in the legal acts and doctrinal documents of the Russian

Federation were analyzed for the existence of a general vision of countering the ideology of

terrorism. This analysis allowed drawing the following conclusions.

The documents described in this paper set out important regulations related to the vision of

countering the terrorist ideology and its realization:

There is a number of key terms that expand comprehension of certain signs and

3546

manifestations of terrorist ideology and activities related to countering it;

ISSN: 2237-0722

The texts define the subjects whose activities are related to countering terrorism, extremism,

radicalism and other phenomena and processes that affect the state of the national security

of the Russian Federation;

The documents formulate, in one form or another, the objectives, tasks, resources, main

directions, priorities, methods, technologies and other elements of countering terrorism,

extremism, radicalism and other asocial phenomena.

The indicated documents show signs of diverse approaches and discrepancies in

understanding of these or those phenomena associated with the ideology of terrorism and

counteraction to it.

The generated approaches are fragmented in a number of parameters and assessments,

understanding of the essence and content of the occurring phenomena and processes; documents are

not sufficiently conjugated, interconnected and agreed with each other. Conjugation and coherence

suppose that documents and approaches form a holistic entity and are based on a common

understanding of core ideas and assessment of what is happening.

As a result, there are grounds to assert that, despite the emergence of important official

attitudes and approaches, the Russian Federation does not currently have a complete and holistic

definition of the vision for countering terrorist ideology. This fact cannot but affect the organization

of practical activities to counter the ideology of terrorism due to the lack of a common understanding

of the phenomenon in question.

In particular, that is the reason why the analysis of the content of the Comprehensive Plans to

Counter the Ideology of Terrorism in the Russian Federation and the reports characterizing their

implementation does not make it possible to: establish the degree of achievement of the goals stated

in the documents; assess the possibility of determining intermediate results; set priorities depending

on changing conditions, etc. In fact, the officials and institutions authorized for implementation of the

Comprehensive Plan mainly report on the taken measures in accordance with quantitative indicators,

without regard to the achievement of the goal stated in the document and the expected results, which

are also not clearly specified.

Under the current conditions, it is necessary to develop and promptly adjust the general

methodological approaches ensuring the unity of actions, to carry out timely codification of

normative legal acts and doctrinal documents that reflect the general vision and regulate

counteraction to the ideology of terrorism.

ISSN: 2237-0722

References

"Terrorist attacks of the XXI century in Russia," *Kommersant*, February 06, 2020, https://www.kommersant.ru/gallery/2249356#id904416

The State Program of the Russian Federation "Ensuring of State Security". (approved by the Government of the Russian Federation, Order No. 119-r of February 4, 2013), http://docs.cntd.ru/document/902396764 (accessed April 02, 2020).

The State Program of the Russian Federation "Maintenance of Public Order and Fight Against Crime". (approved by the Government of the Russian Federation, Decree No. 345 of April 15, 2014), http://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/70544264/ (accessed April 02, 2020).

The State Program of the Russian Federation "Implementation of State National Policy". (approved by the Government of the Russian Federation, Decree No. 1532 of December 29, 2016), http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_210753/ (accessed April 02, 2020).

Comprehensive Plan to Counter the Ideology of Terrorism in the Russian Federation for 2013 – 2018. approved by the President of the Russian Federation on April 26, 2013 No. Pr-1069, https://www.npitu.ru/assets/files/department/dpeik/kompleksnyi_plan_protivodeystviya_ideologii_terrorizma_v_rf_n a 2013-2018gg.pdf (accessed February 21, 2020).

Comprehensive Plan to Counter the Ideology of Terrorism in the Russian Federation for 2019 – 2023. approved by the President of the Russian Federation on December 28, 2018 No. Pr-2665, http://nac.gov.ru/terrorizmu-net/kompleksnyy-plan-protivodeystviya-ideologii-terrorizma-v.html (accessed February 21, 2020).

The Concept of State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2019-2025. Approved by the President of the Russian Federation on October 31, 2018, http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_310139/ (accessed April 02, 2020).

The Concept of State Youth Policy in the Constituent Entities of the Russian Federation, Members of the North Caucasus Federal District, until 2025. Approved by the Government of the Russian Federation, Order No. 506-r of April 17, 2012, https://rg.ru/2012/04/24/molodej-site-dok.html (accessed April 02, 2020).

The Concept of Public Safety in the Russian Federation. Approved by the President of the Russian Federation on November 14, 2013 Pr-2685. http://kremlin.ru/acts/news/19653, (accessed February 21, 2020).

The Concept of Combating Terrorism in the Russian Federation. Approved by the President of the Russian Federation on October 5, 2009, https://rg.ru/2009/10/20/zakon-dok.html (accessed February 21, 2020.

Fundamentals of the State Youth Policy of the Russian Federation for the period until 2025. approved by the Government of the Russian Federation, Order No. 2403-r of November 29, 2014. https://rg.ru/2014/12/08/molodej-site-dok.html (accessed April 02, 2020).

The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation. approved by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 683 of December 31, 2015.

http://www.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc&base=LAW&n=191669&fld=134&dst=100014,0&rnd=0.3596356937626495#07739939252480581 (accessed February 21, 2020).

The Strategy for Countering Extremism in the Russian Federation until 2025. Approved by the President of the Russian Federation on November 28, 2014 No. Pr-2753.

ISSN: 2237-0722 Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

Received: 14.06.2021 - Accepted: 16.07.2021

3548

http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_194160/ (accessed February 21, 2020).

Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 116 of February 15, 2006 "On Measures to Counter Terrorism", http://base.garant.ru/12145028/ (accessed April 02, 2020).

Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 1666 of December 19, 2012 "On the Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation for the Period until 2025", http://base.garant.ru/70284810/ (accessed April 02, 2020).

Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 664 of December 26, 2015 "On Measures to Improve Public Administration in the Field of Countering Terrorism", http://base.garant.ru/71291674/ (accessed April 02, 2020).

Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 204 of May 7, 2018 "On National Goals and Strategic Objectives of the Development of the Russian Federation for the Period until 2024", http://kremlin.ru/acts/bank/43027 (accessed April 02, 2020).

Federal Law No. 153-FZ of July 27, 2006 "On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation in Connection with the Adoption of the Federal Law 'On Ratification of the Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism' and the Federal Law 'On Countering Terrorism', http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_61802/ (accessed April 02, 2020).

Federal Law of the Russian Federation No. 114-FZ of July 25, 2002 "On Counteracting Extremist Activities. http://kremlin.ru/acts/bank/18939 (accessed February 21, 2020).

Federal Law of the Russian Federation No. 390-FZ of December 28, 2010 "On Security". http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_108546/ (accessed April 02, 2020).

Federal Law of the Russian Federation No. 172-FZ of June 28, 2014 "On Strategic Planning in the Russian Federation". http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_164841/ (accessed April 02, 2020).

Federal Law of the Russian Federation No. 35-FZ of March 6, 2006 "On Countering Terrorism, http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_58840/ (accessed February 21, 2020).

The seven documents are RF Federal Laws "On Countering Terrorism", "On Counteracting Extremist Activities", the Strategy for Countering Extremism 2025, the Concept of Combating Terrorism, the Concept of Public Safety and Comprehensive Plans to Counter the Ideology of Terrorism in the Russian Federation for 2013-2018 and 2019 – 2023.

Irina Mukhina, "Islamic Terrorism and the Question of National Liberation, or Problems of Contemporary Chechen Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 28, no. 6 (2006): 515-532. https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100500236923.

Pavel Baev, "Instrumentalizing Counterterrorism for Regime Consolidation in Putin's Russia," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 27(4) (2010): 337-352. https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100490461114/.

Paul Rich, "Understanding Terror, Terrorism, and Their Representations in Media and Culture," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36(3) (2013): 255-277. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2013.755915/.

Alon Peled, "Coerce, Consent, and Coax: A Review of U.S. Congressional Efforts to Improve Federal Counterterrorism Information Sharing," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28(4) (2014), 674-691. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2014.924410.

Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

Received: 14.06.2021 – Accepted: 16.07.2021

ISSN: 2237-0722 3549

Marta Stempień, "Russia in the Eyes of Islamic State: An Analysis of the Content of Dabiq and Rumiyah Magazines and Russia's Involvement in the Fight against the Islamic State," *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2019). https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1657097.

Leena Malkki, Mats Fridlund, Daniel Sallamaa, "Terrorism and Political Violence in the Nordic Countries," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30(5) (2018): 761-771. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1447184.

Igor Fedotenkov, "Terrorist Attacks and Public Approval of the Russian President: Evidence from Time Series Analysis," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36(2) (2020): 159-170. https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2019.1707566.

Gail Lapidus, "Putin's War on Terrorism: Lessons from Chechnya," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 18(1) (2013), 41-48. https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2002.10641512.

Gordon Hahn, "The Jihadi Insurgency and the Russian Counterinsurgency in the North Caucasus," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 24(1) (2013): 1-39. https://doi.org/10.2747/1060-586X.24.1.1

ISSN: 2237-0722 Vol. 11 No. 4 (2021)

Received: 14.06.2021 – Accepted: 16.07.2021