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

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Abstract

This paper expounds the results of a sociological analysis of the legal documents related to countering 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.
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 justifying the need for such activities.
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-terrorism measures.
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.
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.
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
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.
Scientist M. Stempien, in her scientific work “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”\(^8\), 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”\(^9\), 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”\(^10\) 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
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”11) 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.
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
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 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...
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.

1. 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 manifestations of terrorist ideology and activities related to countering it;
• 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.

2. 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.
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