

## Summary

### Evolution of Russian anti-terrorism policy in 1991-2020

Russia is a country with an extremely rich history and experience in combating terrorism, both in the kinetic and preventive dimensions, as well as in the field of information security of activities. Until October 1917, the entire system of state and non-state bodies in Russia was engaged in the protection of the state and social system and the fight against terrorist threats. The main activities in the field of prevention and suppression of terrorist activities were carried out by the special services of tsarist Russia, whose activity is considered prototypical also for contemporary Russian secret services. It was then that a specific work ethos of state security bodies was formed, which is now cultivated by the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation - the main body of the executive power involved in combating terrorism and implementing the Russian anti-terrorist strategy.

The Russian anti-terrorist policy, which was developed in the years 1991-2020, is an example of a system with a consolidating nature of organizational and legal solutions introduced in the fight against the terrorist threat, which has a centuries-old tradition in Russia. Defined differently depending on the historical period, the terrorist threat has always aroused the reaction of the Russian state in the form of introducing new criminal sanctions and introducing new legal and organizational solutions. A synthetic analysis of the evolution of Russian anti-terrorist policy after 1991 will show the continuity of the tradition of solutions used by the Russian state in the context of the terrorist threat defined differently over the years. The basis for strengthening solutions within Russia's Russian policy is the determinants of the terrorist threat on the territory of the Russian Federation, especially the threat of Islamic terrorism, which developed during the Chechen wars and during the period of the so-called Caucasus Emirate. A significant factor determining the solutions and directions of Russian anti-terrorist policy is also the involvement of the Russian Federation in conflicts outside Russia. External factors largely determine the development of Russia's anti-terrorist strategy and determine the competences of the bodies responsible for combating the terrorist threat.

In Russian policy aimed at combating terrorism, an important role has been played and still is by the focus on tightening legislation, accompanied by tightening the competences of the special services responsible in various historical periods for the implementation of the state's anti-terrorist policy.

The history of terrorism in Russia is therefore integrally related to the development of the structures of the Russian state. The first recorded act of terrorism in Russian history is associated with the political assassination of the brothers - Prince Boris of Rostov and Prince Gleb of Murom - by their cousin - Prince Sviatopolk of Turov, who took over the throne of Kiev after the death of Prince Vladimir I. Boris and Gleb became the first saints of the Russian Orthodox Church. Terrorist methods, which are now called state terrorism, were also used by the first Russian Tsar - Ivan IV the Terrible, who, by establishing the Russian state security organs, initiated the process of shaping the Russian state security organs as an environment combating all manifestations of the then subversion and "grassroots terrorism" aimed at violating the foundations of the existing self-tenant. model of governance. Politically motivated

murders also occurred in Russia in later centuries, an example of which is the murder of Tsars Peter III and Paul.

The phenomenon of a terrorist threat, understood primarily as activity directed against the state, accompanied the development of Russian statehood from the second half of the 19th century. 19th century, when the Russian authorities initiated the process of creating appropriate legal and criminal regulations in the field of penalization of terrorist crimes and extremism in parallel with the consolidation of competences of state security bodies involved in the fight against terrorism.

The history of Russian anti-terrorist policy shows that the legal and organizational solutions introduced within the Russian anti-terrorist system particularly prioritize the importance of special services - historically, services such as Okhrana, Cheka, and today the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation in coordinating the kinetic and preventive dimensions of combating terrorist crimes and extremism in Russia in the years following the creation of the FSB of the Russian Federation in 1995. The essential problem of combating terrorism in the Russian case is determined by the international environment and the political situation in the Middle East. Attempts to integrate the anti-terrorist system with the establishment of the dominant role of the FSB of the Russian Federation are reflected in the establishment of the National Anti-Terrorist Committee (NAK FR) in 2006.

The nature of terrorism in Russia, despite of the political and historical period, takes the form of anti-state activities that threaten the vertical structure of power and undermine the integrity of the Russian state.

In all analyzed historical periods, there is a noticeable trend of tightening anti-terrorist legislation and expanding the definition of a terrorist crime in situations of threat to the stability of political power. The established position of state security bodies in the Russian political system is a derivative of the perception of these bodies as the main organizational and executive support for implementing the assumptions of the anti-terrorism strategy. Russian activities in the field of counteracting and combating terrorist crimes are based on the staff and specialized potential of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, consistently consolidated over the years. Terrorist acts constantly pose a real threat to the security of the Russian Federation. The fight against domestic terrorism during the Chechen conflict, as well as the international one, is a significant and fundamental factor shaping Russia's anti-terrorist policy, especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. It should be emphasized that Russia began its fight against terrorism and extremism a decade before the attacks organized by Al-Qaeda fighters and the official start of the so-called global war on terrorism.

In currently existing Russian Federation regardless of the level of terrorist threat or the likelihood of carrying out a terrorist act, Russian strategic security documents recognize terrorism as one of the main threats to the state security of the Russian Federation. Moreover the fight on terrorism in Russia is a tool that is needed in realizing and securing the Russian *raison d'état* and at the same time protected against any attempts of destabilization that could threaten state security in a large scale.

Therefore, the documents constituting the anti-terrorist policy in Russia in the years 1991-2021 constitute the legal basis of the Russian anti-terrorist system. They constitute a conglomerate of various approaches as well as discrepancies in the understanding of

phenomena directly related to the ideology of terrorism and extremism and terrorist prevention, as well as the kinetic fight with terrorism.

The Russian anti-terrorist system, with particular emphasis on the role of state security organs - including the FSB of the Russian Federation in the context of the historical importance of these kind of law enforcement agencies and its predecessors involved in ensuring the security of the structures of the Russian state, can be considered communicated, interconnected set of elements based on a collective understanding of the basic ideas in combating terrorism, as well as the assessment of the situation threats of terrorism.

The laws and decrees analyzed in the doctoral thesis define terrorism, terrorist activities, the term terrorist, the fight against terrorism and anti-terrorist operations. These acts define priority tasks in the fight against terrorism and the principles of counteracting terrorism. Anti-terrorism laws also designate entities responsible for combating terrorism and extremist activities. According to the 1998 Act, the FSB is the main entity responsible for combating the terrorist threat and conducting anti-terrorist operations. The entities obliged to cooperate in the context of a terrorist threat are the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Foreign Intelligence Service, the Ministry of Defense and the Federal Protection Service. The entity coordinating anti-terrorist activities is the FSB.

In order to provide the most comprehensive analysis of the formulated research problem and to fully verify the hypotheses and answer research questions, this dissertation has been divided into 6 parts. Each of them consists of chapters. The division into parts was introduced due to the extensive research area of the terrorist threat and systemic solutions within the framework of the Russian anti-terrorist strategy in its historical context.

Part I of the dissertation was devoted to the historical conditions of terrorism in Russia. The time caesura used is the second half of the 19th century, when in Russia, Narodnik terrorism and anarchist terrorism were one of the main internal threats to state security. Terrorism became the key method of struggle of Narodism sympathizers against the tsarist regime. The modus operandi of the terrorist organizations and groups was based on attempts to physically eliminate officials of the tsarist regime, and in a moderate formula it also assumed informational and ideological sabotage. The considerations constituting the content of chapter there is a clear Focus on the evolution of revolutionary terrorism in the second half of the 19th century. the 19th century and the 20th century, which is located in the context of consolidation of the functions, tasks and competences of state security bodies and changes in legal and criminal provisions in the fight against terrorism, ranging from revolutionary terrorism, through the Narodnik's rebellion against the political authority considered as an oppressive factor, to regulations legal system for combating terrorism in the 20th century, during the existence of the Soviet empire.

Showing the historical context and evolution of russian anti-terrorist system and the approach to the practice and strategy of combating terrorism in Russia - both tsarist and Soviet - leads to a broader analysis of the conditions of the terrorist threat in Russia in a broader sense, which increased after the collapse of the USSR in 1991. The collapse of the USSR is analyzed as the erosion of a uniform identity in favor of the disintegration and striving for independence of numerous ethnos. The emergence of the independent Republic of Chechnya and Dagestan reconstructed the face of Islam in Russia. The Russian-Chechen conflicts, in particular the Second Chechen War, are a model example of a religious war.

Part II is the analysis, first of all, the specificity of defining extremist crime in Russian legislation. The analysis of legal and criminal definitions takes into account both the definitional aspects of extremist crimes as well as the scope of criminalization of this type of threats along with criminal sanctions. In Part II, the main idea is to present a criminological analysis of extremist crime in Russia in the light of criminal law provisions and strategic documents, which are also reflected in Russian anti-extremist legislation. The structure and nature of the legislation regulating the principles of the fight against extremism is characteristic of the Russian strategic culture and the understanding of state security as the stabilization of the center of political power, which has creative power in the field of anti-terrorist or anti-extremism legislation. The essence and concept of extremist crimes include both legal qualification and determine the operational and investigative activity of the security services involved in the process of combating extremism. The Russian anti-extremism fight and prevention strategy is a derivative of the provisions of the main strategic documents, which in the Russian Federation define the guidelines of the state security ecosystem. In the opinion of researchers of the phenomenon of extremist and terrorist crime, there is a common belief that extremism (Latin: Extreme - *extreme*) may be a presumption to the involvement of an individual or group in carrying out terrorist activities.

Part III of the dissertation deals with the specific character of terrorist crime in the Russian Federation in the context of a implemented set of solutions and definitions determining the scope and nature of penalization in the light of criminal law provisions. The analysis focused primarily on the criminological definition of terrorist crime, taking into account penalization and aspects characterizing this type of threat in the Russian Federation. The context of the considerations, and at the same time the research material, are individual subject-related laws constructing the Russian anti-terrorist system, which include the Federal Law "On the Fight against Terrorism" (1998) and the Federal Law "On Counteracting Terrorism" (2006). The chapters of Part IV present the evolutionary nature of Russian anti-terrorist legislation, including the 2016 amendment to the anti-terrorism legislation, which allowed for the crystallization of the basic directions of changes in the context of the evolution of anti-terrorist legislation, both in terms of penalization and definitional changes in the field of terrorist threats. A significant part of the analysis was devoted to the phenomenon of terrorist crime in the light of Russian criminal code.

Part IV of the dissertation is a complement to the systemic analysis of the phenomenon of extremist and terrorist crime contextualizing these two phenomena within the legal and organizational solutions that are the core of the Russian anti-terrorist system. The reference matrix of the analysis carried out in Part V is the concept of anti-terrorist security from the Russian perspective. The Russian anti-terrorist system is built on the foundation of the evolution of legal regulations and organizational forms that constitute the state mechanism of counteracting and kinetic combating terrorism. The Russian anti-terrorist system is not only a number of legal solutions reflected in the subject-related laws, but also a number of entities and institutions responsible for combating terrorism within the Russian anti-terrorist system, which include the National Anti-Terrorist Committee of the Russian Federation (NAK FR), the President of the Russian Federation, the Government of the Russian Federation and the Security Council of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, taking into account the role and competences of these entities in the field of combating terrorism. In Part V, as entities directly involved in the fight against terrorism, Russian security services, such as the GRU, the Foreign

Intelligence Service of the Russian Federation (SVR FR), the Federal Migration Service, as well as the Federal Protection Service of the Russian Federation.

Part V is a analysis, first of all, of the specific conditions of Islamic religious fundamentalism in the North Caucasus, which is considered a region constituting the source of terrorist activities in Russia. Due to its religious specificity, this region is a source of ethnoreligious terrorism in the Russian Federation. The North Caucasus region is the area of operation of the main terrorist organizations and contacts between local Islam and traditional Islam, which naturally developed in the Middle Eastern countries. The activities of the Caucasus Emirate show the complex nature of the determinants of the organizational activities of radicalized followers of Islam in the context of the Russian-Chechen conflict. The phenomenon of Caucasian terrorism was presented as terrorism determined by separate sources, particular goals and features defining the methods of operation and carrying out terrorist attacks. Nevertheless, the modus operandi and organizational forms are inspired by the global jihad movement. Part VI of the work was entirely devoted to the analysis of the role, importance and competences of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation and its position in the Russian anti-terrorist system. The activities of the FSB are presented in the context of the evolution of the Soviet security services environment, from the State Security Committee (KGB) to the creation of the Federal Counterintelligence Service, which immediately preceded the creation of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation in 1995.

Part VI analyzes the tasks, functions and competences of the Russian FSB as the main service creating and implementing the guidelines of the Russian anti-terrorist strategy. The FSB of the Russian Federation is not only a service with a high position in the Russian anti-terrorist system, but above all a service that plays a dominant role in the Russian state security system. The main research material for the analysis of the phenomenon of the FSB of the Russian Federation were documents defining the status of the service and its competences, which include: Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of June 23, 1995 No. 633, Law No. 40-FZ of April 3, 1995 "On the Federal Security Service "Russian Federation".

In the field of operational and investigative activities carried out by the FSB, the document of key importance is Federal Law No. 144-FZ "On operational and investigative activities" of August 12, 1995. An important vector of the activities of the FSB of the Russian Federation in the fight against terrorism are the activities and official competences within the Security Service. Constitutional Order and the Fight against Terrorism FSB FR (SZKSBT FSB FR). The importance of the FSB of the Russian Federation was analyzed also taking into account the dominant role of the structure in the organization and coordination of activities within the National Anti-Terrorist Committee (NAK FR) in the light of the provisions of Presidential Decree No. 116 of February 15, 2006 "On measures to counteract terrorism". The anti-terrorist activities of the FSB of the Russian Federation are also implemented in the kinetic dimension. Within the FSB of the Russian Federation, there are special purpose anti-terrorist units "Alpha" and "Vypel", which are integral elements of the Special Purpose Center of the FSB of the Russian Federation, which carries out tasks in the field of physical combating terrorist activities. The legal act finalizing the considerations of Part VI is the new anti-terrorist legislation adopted in 2016, on the basis of which the tasks, functions and thus the position of the FSB of the Russian Federation within the Russian anti-terrorist system were significantly consolidated and at the same time it is a forecast of the development of the phenomenon of the

FSB of the Russian Federation, taking into account the evolution of both international terrorism and internal North Caucasian threat of a resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism.