

HISTORICAL WAY OF FORMING TERRORISM AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

PERCURSO HISTÓRICO DO SURGIMENTO DO
TERRORISMO COMO FENÔMENO SOCIAL

HISTORIA DE LA FORMACIÓN DEL TERRORISMO
COMO FENÓMENO SOCIAL

SUMÁRIO:

1. Introdução; 2. Desenvolvimentos teóricos; 3. Análise da atividade terrorista; 4. Apresentação do material principal; 5. Conclusão; Referências.

ABSTRACT:

The article examines the main theoretical constructs and practical aspects of terrorism. The world and European countries pray for peacekeeping and oppose all manifestations of terrorism. The UN international organizations and the leaders of the European countries are constantly considering the solution of the main problem of peacekeeping through the fight against our favorite criminal manifestations, among which terrorism is one of them. At the state level, terrorist organizations are banned, they are prosecuted by criminal justice bodies, the leaders of these organizations are identified and held criminally responsible, the possibilities of financing terrorist organizations are limited, and so on. Ukraine, which is under constant terrorist threat from the Russian Federation, feels all the elements of terrorism. The number of civilians and residents killed exceeds thousands. Russia's war against Ukraine is a financial blow to the economy, estimated to be in the billions. Terrorism is not limited to one state but creates the

Como citar este artigo:

SLINKO, Dmytro,
STRATONOV, Vasyl,
KAZMIERCZAK,
Luiz, ALVES,
Fernando.

Historical way of
forming terrorism as
a social phenomenon.

Argumenta Journal
Law, Jacarezinho – PR,
Brasil, n. 39, 2023,
p. 261 -285

Data da submissão:
28/03/23

Data da aprovação:
27/04/2023

1. Kharkiv National University – Ukraine
2. Kherson State University - Ukraine
3. State University of Northern Paraná - Brasil
4. State University of Northern Paraná - Brasil

conditions for globalization and its export in various forms. In particular, the conclusions emphasize the evolution of the development of terrorism over the past two centuries, as well as the magnitude of terrorist actions committed, which forms the basis for rethinking value orientations.

RESUMO:

O artigo examina as principais construções teóricas e os aspectos práticos do terrorismo. O mundo e os países europeus rezam pela manutenção da paz e se opõem a todas as manifestações de terrorismo. As organizações internacionais da ONU e os líderes dos países europeus estão constantemente considerando a solução do principal problema da manutenção da paz por meio da luta contra nossas manifestações criminosas favoritas, entre as quais o terrorismo é uma delas. Ao nível estadual, as organizações terroristas são proibidas, são processadas por órgãos de justiça criminal, os líderes dessas organizações são identificados e responsabilizados criminalmente, as possibilidades de financiamento de organizações terroristas são limitadas e assim por diante. A Ucrânia, que está sob constante ameaça terrorista da Federação Russa, sente todos os elementos do terrorismo. O número de civis e residentes mortos ultrapassa os milhares. A guerra da Rússia contra a Ucrânia é um golpe financeiro para a economia, estimado em bilhões de euros. O terrorismo não se limita a um Estado, mas cria as condições para a globalização e sua exportação em várias formas. As conclusões enfatizam, em particular, a evolução do desenvolvimento do terrorismo nos últimos dois séculos, bem como a magnitude das ações terroristas cometidas, o que forma a base para repensar as orientações de valor.

RESUMEN:

El artículo examina las principales construcciones teóricas y aspectos prácticos del terrorismo. El mundo y los países europeos rezan por el mantenimiento de la paz y se oponen a todas las manifestaciones del terrorismo. Las organizaciones internacionales de la ONU y los dirigentes de los países europeos se plantean constantemente la solución del principal problema del mantenimiento de la paz mediante la lucha contra nuestras manifestaciones delictivas favoritas, entre las que se encuentra el terrorismo. A nivel estatal, las organizaciones terroristas están prohibidas, son

perseguidas por los órganos de la justicia penal, los dirigentes de estas organizaciones son identificados y considerados penalmente responsables, las posibilidades de financiación de las organizaciones terroristas están limitadas, etc. Ucrania, bajo la constante amenaza terrorista de la Federación Rusa, siente todos los elementos del terrorismo. El número de civiles y residentes asesinados supera los miles. La guerra de Rusia contra Ucrania supone un golpe financiero para la economía, estimado en miles de millones de euros. El terrorismo no se limita a un Estado, sino que crea las condiciones para la globalización y su exportación en diversas formas. En particular, las conclusiones hacen hincapié en la evolución del desarrollo del terrorismo a lo largo de los dos últimos siglos, así como en la magnitud de las acciones terroristas cometidas, lo que constituye la base para repensar las orientaciones de valor.

KEYWORDS:

Terrorism; History; Law; State; Society; Criminal justice; International Relations; Politics; Economics; Terrorism; State; Society.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:

Terrorismo; História; Direito; Estado; Sociedade; Justiça criminal; Relações internacionais; Política; Economia; Terrorismo; Estado; Sociedade.

PALABRAS CLAVE:

Terrorismo; Historia; Derecho; Estado; Sociedad; Justicia penal; Relaciones internacionales; Política; Economía

1. INTRODUCTION

Relevance and extent of the research. Terrorism is one of the most acute problems and threats for the world community at the beginning of the 21st century, which negatively affects both various spheres of public life within the state, as well as various aspects of international relations [1, p. 5-6]. It should be noted that terrorism has become transnational, includes not only individual groups, but becomes dangerous at the state level. It is becoming globalized, and its danger tends to increase. Terrorist groups include more and more people who do not have a permanent

place of residence, criminals, as well as people who have undergone combat training and join terrorist organizations for money.

The purpose and objectives of the research. The purpose of the study is to conduct an analysis of the historical development and formation of an illegal social phenomenon, which is terrorism. Based on the historical origins of terrorism, starting with the first acts of terrorism that took place in ancient Kyiv, Moscow and other places, it is possible to understand what processes influence its development and to form countermeasures in ideological and legal approaches.

The novelty of the article. World and European states are begging for the preservation of peace and opposing all manifestations of terrorism. The international organizations of the UN and the leadership of European countries constantly set before themselves the solution of the main problem of maintaining peace by means of fighting against our favorite criminal manifestations, which includes terrorism. At the state level, terrorist organizations are prohibited, they are prosecuted by criminal justice bodies, the leaders of these organizations are established and prosecuted, the possibilities of financing terrorist organizations are limited, etc. [2, p. 45].

Terrorism, as an illegal, criminal activity, is covered by slogans of struggle against international capital and proposes the establishment of jihad against individual heads of state bodies with the aim of their physical destruction, establishment of Islamic Sharia law, etc. Leaders of terrorist organizations propose attacks on credit banks, international institutions, and individual citizens who support the fight against terrorism. Recent media appearances indicate the spread of international terrorism. Terrorist organizations embark on the path of introducing new weapons technologies, penetrate nuclear and biological facilities, with the aim of using these weapons in the future. Computer terrorism is of particular concern. All countries of the world have recently experienced these attacks, which pose a danger and threat to national security, disrupt the normal operation of state and financial bodies, affect society and individuals [3, p. 20-21].

Wars, unstable living conditions, financial disasters and other recent events in the world testify to the progressive modification of terrorism. The problem has become especially urgent when terrorism is escalating in the world. Political, ethnic, extremist groups carry out acts of terrorism

daily, which are constantly reported by mass media.

Ukraine, which is under constant terrorist threat from the Russian Federation, feels all the elements of terrorism. It is not necessary, it seems, to cite the latest statistical data on military escalation, computer attacks on state and financial institutions, providing false testimony against citizens and society. The number of dead civilians, residents of Donbass and Luhansk exceeds thousands, among them children. Military operations on the part of Russia deal a financial blow to the economy, which is estimated at billions of euros. Terrorism does not stop at one state, it creates the conditions for globalization and its export in various forms. We mean terrorist actions in England, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria and other European countries.

Despite the spread of terrorism, its consequences, which indicate human casualties at the international level, an appropriate legal framework has not been created in the field of its counteraction. As practice shows, anti-terrorist, state activity acquires a systemic meaning, but does not have a scientifically based foundation and global interdisciplinary scientific studies of the specified issues. It must be stated that at this stage of scientific research, a few key problems of combating terrorism have not been theoretically developed at all or have not been sufficiently investigated by science. First of all, the concept of ideological, social, economic, financial and other nature of terrorism, the definition of its features remains in the theoretical development of science. It can be stated that this problem, the solution of which requires the application of a systematic, complex interdisciplinary approach based on political science, sociology, psychology, criminology, in connection with legal sciences, military, etc.

2. THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Terrorism became more active after 2000 year. Until now, scientific developments had a theoretical content and determined the main aspects of terrorist activity. First, the theoretical elements did not include groups, but individual forensic attacks aimed at obtaining funding for their criminal activities. Secondly, in recent times, terrorism crossed the border of criminality and began to operate within state institutions. He began to define the ideological content of his activity. At the state level, terrorist groups have received power, funding, weapons, and support from special

services, which must, on the one hand, carry out the tasks of combating terrorism, and on the other hand, they provide their means and opportunities for terrorist operations.

All this led to the definition of terrorism, its difference from the disposition of other articles of the criminal legislation of Europe and the world. The fight against this manifestation should be conducted at the level of all international organizations and states that introduce sanctions and establish security measures for the state, society and citizens.

Some of the first scientific publications on the definition of terrorism in the Soviet Union appeared in 1961. The theoretical shortcomings of these scientific approaches included the fact that terrorism was viewed as isolated criminal acts by extremist elements and organized criminal groups.

After the terrorist threat against the USA, Germany, France and other countries of the world, scientists defined a new opinion and approach to the theory of terrorism. Scientific developments are based on international legal experience, which defines the theoretical and practical content of combating terrorism.

The main scientific developments were provided by a few scientists who proposed the definition of terrorism in a broad and narrow sense, provided the elements on which the ideology and personnel approach to the selection into terrorist groups are built, the selection of “people who play the role of a suicide bomber” during an act of terrorism, for example in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and other countries of the world. The main goal of scientific research was deployed to counter terrorism, the possibility of a practical approach to the elimination of international terrorist groups, not only to further ensure the security of the state, society and individual citizens, but also to stop terrorist activities in the world.

Terror as a way to achieve a goal in a political struggle with the help of physical and moral and psychological violence has been known since the dawn of human civilization. However, modern terrorism has turned into one of the most dangerous global problems in the world, it poses a serious threat to the security of the entire world community. Russia was among the countries that faced its most aggressive manifestations.

As a criminal phenomenon, terrorism can be defined as an illegal, criminal activity expressed in the execution of explosions, arson or other

actions, which creates a danger of death of people, causing significant property damage or the occurrence of other socially dangerous consequences, if these actions are carried out with the aim of violating public safety, scaring the population or exerting influence on the adoption of solutions by authorities, as well as the threat of carrying out the specified actions for these purposes.

Terrorism includes an ideology of violence and terrorist activity in various forms. Terrorist activity includes planning the creation and (or) creation of terrorist structures, involvement in terrorist activity, financing and other assistance of this activity, promotion of violent methods of achieving socio-political goals, as well as typically carrying out terrorist acts.

3. ANALYSIS OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY

Experts distinguish about 200 types of modern terrorist activity. The main ones are: political terrorism, nationalist terrorism, religious terrorism, criminal terrorism.

Political terrorism is a tactic of political struggle that involves the use (or the threat of use) of organized violence by policy subjects with the aim of fundamentally or partially changing the constitutional order or economic order in the country. Aimed at preventing or accepting any resolution related to the state system. Political terrorism can exist only if it relies on at least a minimum of support and sympathy from public opinion. In conditions of complete socio-political isolation, he is doomed to a quick defeat. At the same time, terrorists place their main bet on the press. As a rule, the subjects of political terrorism are radical political parties, separate groups within parties or social associations, extremist organizations that deny legal forms of political struggle, and rely on forceful pressure.

Religious terrorism manifests itself in extreme intolerance towards representatives of different faiths or irreconcilable confrontation within the framework of one faith. It is most often used for political purposes, in the struggle of religious organizations against the secular state or for asserting the power of representatives of one of the faiths. The most ardent extremists set as their goal the creation of a state, the legal norms of which will be replaced by the norms of one religion common to the entire population. Since the beginning of the 80s of the XX century. re-

religious terrorism is primarily associated in the public mind with radical Islamism. Terrorism cloaked in Islamic slogans is the result of the Islami- zation of social and national terrorism in the Near and Middle East. To- day it is a powerful international community covering all Islamic regions of the planet. Several separatist movements are closely associated with religious terrorism - in the state of Kashmir (India), in the Philippines, and in the Chechen Republic. Examples include terrorist organizations, including Al-Qaeda and the Taliban movement (Afghanistan). “Muslim Brotherhood” (Egypt), etc.

Nationalist terrorism is expressed in asserting the superiority of a certain nation or race, aimed at inciting national intolerance, discrimi- nating against representatives of other nations, and aims to squeeze ano- ther nation out of its power through intimidation. Nationalist terrorism is organically connected with separatism aimed at changing the existing state system, the legal status of nation-state or administrative-territorial entities, violation of the territorial unity of the country, the withdrawal of certain territorial units from the state, the creation of an independent state. It is carried out by organizations that have an ethnological separatist orientation with the aim of eliminating the economic and political dicta- tes of non-national states.

The most dangerous **technological terrorism**, which consists in the use or threat of use of nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons, radioactive and highly toxic chemical and biological substances, as well as the threat of seizing nuclear and other industrial facilities that pose an increased danger to people’s lives and health. As a rule, technological terrorism has political goals. According to the degree of destructiveness, nuclear terrorism is distinguished, which consists in the deliberate actions of individuals, groups or organizations, and even some states, aimed at creating a sense of fear in people, the appearance of dissatisfaction with the authorities or other subjects associated with the use (threat of use) of extremely dangerous properties of nuclear weapons, nuclear materials, ra- dioactive substances. Such actions are carried out in the interests of achie- ving the political, military, economic, social and other goals of terrorists.

There is an increase in the danger of **cyber-terrorism** - actions to di- sorganize automated information systems, which create a danger of hu- man death, significant material damage or the occurrence of other so-

cially dangerous consequences. The main form of cyber-terrorism is an information attack on computer information, computer systems, data transmission equipment, other components of the information structure, which allows to penetrate into the attacked system, intercept control or suppress the value of network information exchange, exert other destructive effects.

The most dangerous attacks are on energy facilities, telecommunications, aviation control systems, financial electronic systems, government information systems, as well as automated military and strategic weapons control systems. Cyberterrorism poses a serious threat to humanity, comparable to nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical weapons, and the extent of this threat due to its novelty is not yet fully understood and studied.

Criminal terrorism consists in the use by criminal criminals of methods of violence and intimidation borrowed from the practice of terrorist organizations. The main subjects of criminal terrorism are organized criminal communities of a national nature, which use intimidation and violence as the main means of influencing representatives of the authorities and their business competitors in order to redistribute spheres of influence, property and financial flows. Forms of manifestation: ordered assassinations, dissension between the main competing groups, violent extortion, etc. For their part, terrorist organizations are increasingly turning to criminal activity as an alternative source of funding for political terrorism. A political organization that adopted terrorist methods of struggle later transforms into a criminal group masked by political slogans.

A new trend has become the fusion of punitive terrorism with political, nationalist, and religious ones. As a rule, the leaders of all modern terrorist groups, in addition to achieving national, religious, territorial, political goals, seek to obtain material benefits or ensure access to power. Recently, there has been a politicization of criminal terrorism, which is manifested in the desire of criminal authorities to influence the adoption of state solutions with the aim of weakening the activities of law enforcement agencies, inhibiting legislative initiatives that are not beneficial to the criminal environment, and even in actions aimed at the entry of criminal authorities or their deputies in the body of legislative and executive power. As a result, there was a tendency to merge power and criminal structures.

The main trends in the development of modern terrorism are: expansion of the geography of terrorism in the world and its internationalization; strengthening of the mutual influence of various internal and external social, political, economic and other factors contributing to the emergence and spread of terrorism; increasing the level of organization of terrorist activity, creating large terrorist formations with developed infrastructure; strengthening the relationship between terrorism and organized crime; growth of financial and logistical support of terrorist structures; the desire of the subjects of terrorism to gain control by means of mass defeat of people; attempts to use terrorism as a tool for interference in the internal affairs of states; use of international non-governmental organizations by the subjects of terrorism; development and improvement of new forms and methods of terrorism, aimed at expanding the scope of the consequences of terrorist actions and increasing the number of victims.

The degree of danger of threats of terrorist acts is determined by the level of improvement of the forms, methods, effectiveness and means of terrorist activity, tactics of its implementation, as well as the effectiveness of anti-terrorist measures of national and international counter-terrorism systems.

Ways of committing terrorist acts - a certain order and sequence of means and techniques used by a terrorist (group or organization) to commit a terrorist act.

The most typical methods of terrorist activity are: an attack carried out both openly and from an ambush; mining of industrial facilities, transport, communications, military facilities, residential and administrative buildings; mining the places of permanent residence or movement routes of the object of criminal encroachment; use of explosive and poisonous substances, camouflaged as household items, as well as in postal parcels or packages addressed to a specific person (victim); armed hostage taking; spread of radioactive, chemical, biological and other hazardous substances and their components harmful to human health; application of elements of computer and information technologies.

4. PRESENTATION OF THE MAIN MATERIAL

Considering terrorism, its sources can be determined that its first manifestations took place at the beginning of the 18th century. Scientists pay attention to the first terrorist attacks on the heads of state that took

place in France, in relation to Emperor Napoleon. On the one hand, the social approach of terrorist activity was determined, on the other, the economic conditions that provided opportunities for the expansion of terrorism across Europe.

Further scientific developments formulated the forms of terrorist activity. Its socio-political sources have been identified and the economic conditions that contribute to terrorism have been identified.

Starting from the middle of the 19th century, science formulated terrorism “as a social phenomenon among the ultra-revolutionary radicals of Europe and Soviet Union”. A definition was given to “systemic” terrorism, which appeared in these times and began to spread from Poland to Europe and Soviet Union [4, c. 343].

Y.V. Antonyan, researching the first terrorist organizations that originated from the April 4, 1862 year shooting of Emperor Alexander II by the terrorist V.N. Karakozova. After that, science concluded that terrorist actions do not have a universal means of solving many problems that have arisen in social life, but ideological support. Russian revolutionaries, radical nationalists from Ireland, Macedonia, Serbia, Turkey, Armenia, etc., are recognized as the characteristic bearers of the ideology of terrorism [5, c. 144-150].

H.V. Plekhanov believed that one of the first terrorists in Imperial Russia was S.N. Khalturin, who developed the ideology of terrorist activities and came to the opinion that “if the tsar falls at the hands of terrorists, a new era of freedom, democracy of workers and peasants will come. The death of Alexander II will bring with it political will. He proposed the creation of political alliances with workers and peasants to call a revolt against tsarism in order to destroy the autocracy [6].

The ideological opponent of terrorism was the “father” of the development and attitude of communism, Karl Kautsky, who at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries expressed the main elements of terrorism. His first attempt was to determine the historical development of terrorism at the state level. He provided an analysis of the terrorist activities that occurred during the Great French Revolution. Having exposed the ideology of French terrorism, he turned his attention to terrorism in Russia, after the “October” revolution of 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power and established the Red Terror. In the monographic study “Terrorism and

Communism”, he argued that the social catastrophe that occurred in Russia led to the establishment of terrorism against the class of nobility, Cossacks, peasants, and others who were destroyed by the Bolsheviks. At the same time, personal responsibility for the bloody actions that led to the coup d'état and the establishment of the terrorism of the “proletariat” was assigned to L.D. Trotsky [7].

L.D. Trotsky, one of the ideologues of terrorism, wrote several monographic publications where he formulated the ideology of the proletariat, defined the red terror and justified political repression [8]. It should be noted that his ideological developments were embedded in the ideology of terrorism.

From Soviet Union, a specific wave of terrorism spread to Europe. Historians emphasize that the main elements of terrorism were inspired by revolutionary trends and anarchist propaganda.

M.A. Bakunin, P.A. Kropotkin, S.G. Nechaev et al. ideologies of anarchism believed that a significant role in the formation of the ideology of terrorism was played by Marxist philosophy, which denies the legal ways of civilized formation of social relations and calls for non-legal methods of radical destruction of the foundations of the social order, which its representatives imagine to be unjust [9, 10].

P. A. Kropotkin believed that anarchism originates from a revolutionary protest against the state, which mocks society and its citizens. He proposed to establish a new social order, as a free union of self-governing units, based on the principles of voluntariness. From a methodological approach, it can be determined that the author sought to prove that Ch. Darwin's statement about the struggle for existence must be understood as a struggle between species [9]. His ideological desire to establish without power, submission only to a free union was defined as the ideological position of terrorism.

The fight against terrorism continues in Europe. The main constructions of terrorism were defined by scientists who considered terrorism based on political motivation. In this case, four groups were identified, namely separatists, who have national aspects of their activities, advocate the establishment of state leadership over the spheres of ideology, mass media, financing, military formations, etc. An example is the separatists of the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics.

The second group includes left and right radical formations. In this case, terrorist formations and Islamists (jihadists) are combined. Analysis of the actions of these terrorist formations shows that in recent years there has been an increase in their activity in Europe. Most of the terrorist acts have a direction that is connected with separatist aspects and is aimed at expanding the territory. Among the jihadists and the right of radical terrorist attacks, one can see tendencies towards the growth of their purges by giving the “suicide bomber” the opportunity to undermine himself in the name of the ideology of establishing power. At the same time, the authors of the ideological approach refer to the Muslim book of the Koran, but nowhere in these statements is the reference to terrorism indicated. The ideology of Muslim peace, on the contrary, is aimed at establishing well-being.

Interpol, state police constantly determine the activity of terrorist organizations of an Islamist nature, therefore the fight is carried out by all legal means.

The Ministry of Justice of the European Union provided a definition of terrorism. “Terrorism is an activity whose purpose is to intimidate the population by means of an armed attack; to compel an international organization or state government to take a certain action or inaction; destabilize or completely destroy the constitutional, political, economic, social structures of the state or international organization” [3].

European Union legislation has established a list of terrorist acts, namely murder, kidnapping, hostage-taking, robbery, illegal possession of weapons, threats, causing serious damage to public and public institutions, the transport system or infrastructure, including information systems, or actions that may cause a threat human life or cause economic damage [11].

Interpol divides terrorist attacks into four groups, according to the political motivation of terrorists: jihadist terrorism has a nationalist and separatist content. Left-wing radical terrorism has an anarchist and anti-authoritarian ideology with elements of Marxism-Leninism; right-wing radical terrorism directed against left-wing activists, migrants, and refugees, including nationalist, historical, xenophobic, anti-migration, anti-Islamic, etc. [12].

According to Interpol, there has been a slight increase in terrorist

activity in Europe in recent years. At the same time, the leaders in terms of the number of terrorist attacks and the number of victims are Great Britain, France, and Spain. Most terrorist acts in Western Europe are separatist in nature. At the same time, recently there has been a tendency to increase the share of jihadists and right-wing radical terrorist attacks. In addition, there is an annual increase in the number of arrests of persons suspected of terrorism. At the same time, the largest number of arrests is related to jihadist terrorism. A decrease in the number of arrests related to right-wing terrorism is also noted. Among those arrested for the period 2016-2022, 58% of suspects were born in the EU [12].

In general, in recent years, Western Europe has also seen a general increase in the number of victims of terrorist attacks. Thus, in 2020 alone, 151 people were killed and more than 360 people were injured in various degrees of severity in the territory of the European Union as a result of terrorist attacks [10]. In 2021, 142 people died as a result of terrorist attacks in Europe, of which 135 were victims of Islamists (Interpol data) [13].

According to researchers from the University of Maryland, who maintain the largest Global Terrorism Database, which contains information on all terrorist attacks in the world for the period 1970-2022, a total of 11,809 terrorist attacks were registered in Western Europe. Most of them were made in Great Britain, Spain, France, Italy. The Kurdistan Workers' Party, the Greek October 17 Revolutionary Organization, and the Irish Republican Army [14] claimed responsibility for the largest number of terrorist attacks. It should be noted that the number of terrorist attacks and victims are in no way interdependent.

An example can be given. The Working Party of Kurdistan carried out 153 terrorist attacks during the specified period, but only two people died as a result. Many terrorist attacks were even pre-announced to avoid large numbers of civilian casualties [14].

The newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, based on data from the Global Terrorism Database, gives a rating of terrorist organizations that committed the largest number of terrorist acts in Western Europe in the period 1970-2021 or that committed terrorist attacks with the largest total number of victims [15].

In the period from the 1880s to the 1910s, American Presidents Garfield and McKinley, French President Carnot, Spanish Prime Minister

Canovas, Austrian Empress Elizabeth, and Italian King Umberto became victims of terrorist actions. Scientists associate this series of terrorist attacks primarily with a special political and ideological type of terrorism, which was resorted to by extremist groups and individuals. It was associated with labor conflicts in the US, we mean the Haymarket Square terrorists (1886), the killers of the governor of the state of Idaho (1905), the Molly Maguire group operating in the 1970s, etc.

In 1849, in the article "Murder", one of the German ideologues of political terrorism, Karl Genzgen, wrote: "We declare as our basic principles, which we were taught by our enemies, that murder, whether individual or mass, remains a mandatory tool for solving historical tasks. If we have to destroy half a continent and shed a sea of blood to destroy a party of barbarians, don't be guilty of it. He is not a true republican who would not gladly give his life for the destruction of a million barbarians." [11, c. 165].

From the very beginning, terrorist activity was aimed at the physical removal of a tyrant, dictator, and despot from the political arena. Terrorism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. had a local, targeted meaning and had limited consequences. Victims of terrorists, as a rule, were specific representatives of the authorities. At that time, the position of the head of state of the president or prime minister, current or former, was considered the most dangerous (not absolute numbers are meant, the ratio of the number of people employed in this profession to the number of dead). State institutions provided special protection to monarchs and family members.

There was another line of development of terrorist activity. It was connected with the activities of law enforcement agencies of the former USSR. The organs of the OGPU were aimed at organizing terrorist activities against political leaders. The head of management of the OGPU of the USSR P.A. Sudoplatov planned political murders, namely the murder of a political rival of I.V. Stalin - L.D. Trotsky, head of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists E.M. Konovaltsa, S.A. Bendery and others.

One of the bloody facts of terrorist activity in the world is the shooting and killing of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. After this terrorist act in 1914, the First World War began.

One of the first forms of armed attack on crowned persons and statesmen arose in Imperial Russia. For a long time, terrorist attacks were

carried out against the emperors of Russia. P.A.S. Stolypin introduced military tribunals to combat this phenomenon. During the period 1900-1914, practically the entire leadership of the People's Will Party was convicted and sent to hard labor.

It should be noted that terrorism has been constantly changing over a long period of time. The emphasis in terrorist activity gradually shifted to civilians, random people. If at the initial stage the terrorists' weapon was, relatively speaking, a "dagger", then over time the set of means of violence expanded. Terrorists began to use firearms, bombs, and dynamite.

The ideas of revolutionary terror established a new formula of certain ideological doctrines in the era of development of the countries of Europe and America in the 19th century. One of them was anarchism, which espoused the idea of using the terrorist threat to assert itself as a political force. Anarchists adopted acts of terrorism and sabotage, and their main postulate was the denial of any state power and the preaching of the unrestricted freedom of every individual. The main ideologists of anarchism at various stages of its development were Proudhon, Stirner, and Kropotkin.

It is necessary to pay attention to the anarchic activity of N.I. Makhno, who built an independent anarchist state on the territory of Ukraine in 1918-1920. The basis of his political activity included the provision of land to peasants who fought for it and considered themselves free from any authority, since all arising issues were resolved by assemblies.

Before the First World War, terrorism was considered a weapon of left-wing parties. But it was resorted to by individualists without clearly defined political platforms, as well as nationalists of the most diverse orientations. "The essence of terrorism, - note the authors of the "Carlos Complex" K. Dobson and R. Penn, - like many other anti-humane concepts - to sow fear" [12, c. 208].

According to the criminal law, a terrorist act is a completed crime after the start of the terror. It is carried out with the expectation of further reaction. Terrorism is guided by the principle: "Kill one, frighten thousands." Adhering to this criterion, the first cases in history of the conscious and systematic use of terrorist tactics can be considered the activity of two sects: the sicarii, who destroyed many representatives of the Jewish nobility and supported the alliance with the Romans, and the Muslims -

Ismailis (assassins), that is, professional killers - fedayee (I century AD). Ismaili leader Hasan ibn Sabbah.

Historian I.V. Mozheyko wrote that Hassan ibn Sabbah became the first leader who turned terrorism into the main means of “convincing” opponents, universal intimidation, and blackmail [15, c. 127].

Ismaili terrorism gained such scope that it appeared not only as a means, but as a goal, the content of politics. Based on the historical aspects of the development of terrorism, it is possible to reveal many of its essential features, in particular: calculation on fear, which is achieved by brutal murders; the maximum dissemination of information about their activities, the perpetrators of the terrorist act and the leaders who ordered the execution of the terrorist act are indicated.

An example is a terrorist act committed on the territory of the United States by the Al Qaeda terrorist organization. About three thousand civilians of New York died during the terror.

French journalist L. Dispo wrote: “Terrorism is a dictatorship in the name of an imaginary people, against a real people” [9, c. 134].

It is this aspect of Ismaili activity that I.V. draws attention to. Mozheiko He notes that the people were used by them with a purely utilitarian purpose: as a supplier of food and a necessary element in propaganda work. During the activities of the “assassins” sect, another indisputable law of terrorism worked: terror directed upward always inevitably turns inward and begins to work against its immediate supporters and associates. By means of intrigues, the execution of two sons of the Ismaili leader was provoked, and his closest associate was killed. The strategic failure of terrorism was also manifested none of the Ismaili uprisings ended in success [13, c. 157].

Opponents consider the system of terrorism from the point of view that it is non-targeted and irrational, it is dominated by a random, incomprehensible element [16].

One can disagree with this theoretical content, namely, if we look at the basis of terrorism from a historical point of view, it is necessary to pay attention to a certain regularity, in particular: terrorist violence intensifies during periods of change in social and economic formations, secondly, the formation of new productive forces, adequate new means of production. Such transitional periods require the violent breaking of old

and maintenance of new productive forces.

Characterizing the actions of the Jacobins during the Great French Revolution of 1793, K. Marx wrote that French terrorism was nothing more than a plebeian way to deal with the enemies of the bourgeoisie, with absolutism, feudalism, and the bourgeoisie [17, c. 114].

From this statement, we can conclude that terrorism was objectively subordinated to the interests of the bourgeoisie in its struggle to establish new social and economic relations.

The history of the development of terrorism was covered quite fully by U. Lacyor [16]. He paid considerable attention to the second half of the 19th century. He believed that the gradation and systematic construction of terrorism took place during this period. Among the characteristic representatives of terrorist activity and its ideologues, he includes Russian revolutionaries of 1878-1881, radical nationalists of Ireland, Macedonia, Serbia and Armenia, French anarchists of the 1990s, as well as similar groups in Italy, Spain and the USA. The scholar's emphasis on the formation of the ideological platform of modern terrorism deserves attention. K. Heintzen and U. Lakior were the first to create a complete doctrine of modern terrorism [16, c. 111].

V. Weitling proposed the idea of the union of the working class with criminal elements as the basis for the formation of the foundations of anarchic terrorism [18].

S.G. Nechaev proposed a kind of "genotype" of modern left-wing terrorism. In his monograph "Catechism of a Revolutionary", he defined the left-terrorist doctrine, which is used by terrorist organizations in Russia today. His statement regarding the terrorist activity of Narodnaya Volya deserves special attention, where he emphasized the "Russian roots" of terrorism, its "Russian tradition" [10].

It can be said that the opponents consider the Russian People's Volunteers to be the forerunners of modern terrorists. However, despite all the falsity of the theory and practice of the People's Voluntaries, terror was considered by them as an extreme and forced means. Exceptional caution in choosing victims of terror is known, as opposed to Nechaev's absolutization of terror and the cult of violence. The main section, along which the demarcation between the People's Voluntaries and S.G. Their different attitude to the issue of the permissibility or inadmissibility of any means

in the name of the goal stands out as a gratuity.

V. Figner wrote that Nechaev's theory, which establishes a goal that justifies the means, pushes us away from him [19, p. 167].

K. Marx believed that the goal for which illegal means are necessary is not a legal goal [20, p. 65].

V.I. Lenin believed that the nobility and self-sacrifice of the People's Volunteers were able to play an important role in Russian history [21, p. 176].

V. Vityuk, S. Yefirov believed that patriots were characterized by a high personal idealism, sincere and deep love for the people, crystal honesty and a sensitive conscience [22, c. 81].

These qualitative characteristics are by no means characteristic of modern terrorists.

U. Lacyor, cites an example when Kalyaev, a militant of the terrorist organization, did not dare to throw a bomb at Grand Duke Serhiy Alexandrovych, seeing that he was with his children [16, p. 201].

All the main ideological principles of construction were determined by the combat organization of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Illegal activity became unprecedented for the period of history 1914-1921.

V. I. Lenin wrote that if the original of the historical event reminded in this connection the words of K. Marx about the tragedy, which is carried out as a result of terrorist activity, then the copy of this statement is only a farce [21, c. 179].

The lack of vision of the possibility of compromise between different social sections of society, dissatisfaction with life and the desire for fateful sudden changes outside the necessary social, political, economic, psychological, and other prerequisites usually give rise to the spirit of terrorism.

The political assassination of "theoreticians" of terrorism, such as Morozov, Stepnyak-Kravchinsky, B.V. Savinkov, is interpreted as "the most just action of all existing forms of revolution, which "provides an opportunity to overcome the invincibility of tyranny.

Y. Antonyan believed that the historical development of Russia was such that in the way of life, the very perception of its peoples, social tablets and collective forms of adaptation were fixed. Because of this, informal norms regulating intergroup relations, as well as low resistance to mass psychosis and group influence, were always active. The mentioned norms

created a special closed culture within which it was impossible to solve all the complex problems that arose. The state was therefore forced, breaking these boundaries, to intervene persistently and on a large scale, sometimes very harshly, in the lives of people and their communities, which created an inextricable link between them and the authorities. [5, c. 86-87].

In many cases, the practice of modern “classic” terrorism is identified with the practice of “state terrorism”, despite the essential difference between these phenomena. In the case of the use of terrorist attacks by the special forces of some states against others, there can be no question of “irrational beginnings” or “politicization of emotions” as the determining motivation of such actions. In this case, we are talking about carefully planned actions at the level of state bodies and special services and about a certain type of state ideology that actively shapes mass consciousness, creates illusory models of reasoning that should convince every citizen of the necessity and “justice” of similar actions in relation to other countries.

Before the First World War, terrorism was primarily associated with left-wing radicalism, although terrorist actions were also carried out by individuals without a certain ideological background, who committed ordinary criminal crimes “by analogy” with terrorist acts.

For example, the “black hundreds” in Russia and many other organizations were not directly related to left-wing radical movements.

After the First World War, the methods of terrorism were used by the Croatian Ustashi, the “Iron Guard” in Romania, and the Nazis in Germany. In special studies, even the political murders of K. Liebknecht and R. Luxemburg in 1919, Rathenau in 1922, the Yugoslav King Alexander and the French Prime Minister Barthes in 1934 are known.

In Spain, the history of terrorism begins to be studied from the period of the so-called Carlist wars and the activities of some organizations of an anarchist orientation, such as the Iberian Federation of Anarchists with its leader Buonaventuro Durutti.

A kind of “renaissance” of terrorism in the second half of the 20th century is usually associated with the activities of neo-fascist organizations.

The bloody terror of the early 1980s in Italy, the explosion of a bomb at the train station in Bologna, when 80 people died and more than 200 were injured, the mining of trains Naples-Milan trains was the result of

planned actions Italian Social Movement - National Front.

In the 20th century the arena of the most extreme manifestations of terrorism became Latin America, where dozens of extremist organizations emerged. In Uruguay, the terrorist group MLN (tupamaros) was created in the early 1960s. In Brazil, the campaign of “urban” terrorism was started by several relatively small groups: People’s Revolutionary Vanguard, National Liberation Action, Armed Revolutionary Vanguard.

In Peru, several military-political organizations resorted to terrorist activities, primarily the Communist Party of Peru “Sendero Luminoso” and the revolutionary movement of Tupac Amaru (MRTA). Senderists attached decisive importance to the tactics of the revolutionary struggle to “revolutionary violence”, terror, sabotage, bank robberies, and the physical elimination of individuals. As a result of the political violence started by the Senderistas, more than 20 thousand people died in Peru in just ten years [23, c. 44-50].

During the postwar years, three types of terrorism were formed and acquired regional specificity: separatist-nationalist. An example is the struggle between terrorist organizations and government agencies in Ulster, the Middle East, Spain. In addition, terrorism was divided into far-right and far-left terrorism, especially in the varieties of its orientation. It is extremely common in Turkey, Italy and other countries of the world.

It is impossible not to pay attention to the terrorist activity of Russia towards the former republics of the Soviet Union, the ideological processing of the population, blackmail, and the adoption of means of terror against certain groups of the population. The second line of the Russian special services is the murder of political opponents in other countries of the world, namely in England, Bulgaria, Serbia, etc.

Currently, Russia is conducting military operations against Ukraine. The main goal of these actions is the destruction of the state leadership, the seizure of territories, etc. For this purpose, Russia has introduced troops into the territory of an independent state, is destroying economic potential, erasing cities from the face of the earth, killing children, civilians, etc. Directly bombards the territory of the state of Ukraine every day, indicating blackmail, a signature of surrender.

The fight against terrorism is becoming a problem not only of the state, but of the whole world. Countering terrorism is the activity of state

authorities and local self-government bodies to: prevent terrorism, including the identification and subsequent elimination of causes and conditions that contribute to terrorist acts (prevention of terrorism); detection, prevention, termination, disclosure and investigation of terrorist acts (prevention of terrorism); minimization and (or) elimination of the consequences of manifestations of terrorism.

The national anti-terrorism system is a set of organizational structures (subjects of counter-terrorism) that, within the framework of the powers established by laws and issued on their basis by normative legal acts, carry out activities to counter terrorist threats, develop and implement a set of measures for the prevention of terrorist threats, detection and termination of terrorist activity, minimization and elimination of possible consequences of terrorist acts.

The national system of combating terrorism is: identification and elimination of factors contributing to the emergence and spread of terrorism; detection, prevention and cessation of actions of persons and organizations aimed at the preparation and execution of crimes of a terrorist nature and (or) providing assistance to such activities; prosecution of subjects of terrorist activities in accordance with current legislation; stopping attempts to transfer the activities of international terrorist organizations, involving the potential of the international anti-terrorist coalition in this process; constant improvement of OSHPT, support in a state of readiness for use of force and funds intended for detection, prevention, termination of terrorist acts and minimization (liquidation) of their consequences; provision of anti-terrorist protection of objects of terrorist attacks - critical infrastructure, life support and places of mass stay of people; countering the spread of the ideology of terrorism, implementation of active anti-terrorist information and propaganda measures.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Historically (since the middle of the 19th century), terrorism was started by individuals who were not legitimately recognized in the functioning system of state organization and social hierarchy. The emergence and spread of this socio-political phenomenon are a consequence of the emergence in society of the possibility of using violence by a “weaker” party against a stronger one, as revealed by such a meaningful form of

protest, as a means of achieving certain political goals. This is largely emphasized by the evolution of the development of terrorism during the last two centuries, as well as the scale and resonance of the committed terrorist actions, the reinterpretation, so to speak of the value orientations of their perpetrators. The specified values contain elements of “truth”, “truth”, “authenticity” of the life plan, but they, in their opinion, cannot be embodied in any other way than the specific use of force and intimidation of the ruling part of society. Such values are shared only by a part of society, as a rule, that is in the minority, which can sympathize with terrorists, even be sympathetic to their ideology. But these values are not recognized by the dominant value system and the official worldview and ideological system.

Terrorism is always the use of violence; it is actions that contradict the universal criteria of humanism. In addition, this is the use of violence in a situation of disintegration of the general societal value paradigm and moral norms. The practice of terrorism is based not only on relevant political and ideological motivations, but also has a pronounced moral (or moral-psychological) component.

Being a historical phenomenon, terrorism changes and acquires features and characteristics inherent in a specific stage of human development. Previously, terrorism was not a global phenomenon: modern terrorism is characterized by the use of the latest technologies in the field of weapons, explosives and poisonous substances, the most modern means of transport and communication. Today, no one is safe from terrorism, no one is sure that it will not happen on the territory of his state.

The second half of the 20th - the beginning of the 21st century was marked by the fatal trend of globalization of the terrorist threat, which is connected not least with the growth of ties between various types of terrorist organizations. Most of the world's governments are beginning to treat terrorism as a threat to their own national security.

Scientific and technical progress, intensive economic cooperation and other factors have significantly increased the potential of terrorism threats, with the help of which they are trying to solve tasks not so much of a local, tactical nature, but of a strategic, global scale. Terrorism as a method of action in modern conditions is characterized by its “effectiveness” (the presence of successful precedents), accessibility (attacks on innocent people who have nothing to do with the essence of the conflict),

scale and the presence of certain social support.

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