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Radicalism and Terrorism Problems in a Scientific Discourse of Russian Social Sciences

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Abstract

The article is devoted to the analysis of the range of questions connected with political radicalism and its extreme form – terrorism and also their reflection in a scientific projection. In Post-Soviet Russia, political terrorism is a new political problem connected with tendencies to separatism of certain regions and territories and is poorly investigated and therefore not understood as a social, psychological and cultural phenomenon. The article considers this new phenomenon in the context of modern theories of political violence. It deals with the carried out chronological comparison of official statistical data on the quantity of acts of terrorism and intensity of scientific researches of problems of radicalism and terrorism for this period. On the basis of the content analysis of research activity of scientists the article reveals the problematic distinctions in the publications of professional academic magazines. The author claims that Russian periodic scientific press hasn’t fully used the potential of timely, expeditious, preventive discussion of problems of terrorism. The share of publications considers the problems of tolerance consciousness formation, instead of counteraction to terrorism and localization of its preconditions. Discussion of the problems of radicalism has late effect. On the basis of the content analysis of dissertation researches (2000 - 2012) on radicalism and terrorism problems in the context of chronology of terrorism acts it is claimed that their maximum falls on the period of the minimum number of terrorism acts. Researchers fail to pay enough attention to the discussion of actual issues of terrorism in the regions of the Islamic right and culture (in the North Caucasus) within political science, law, sociology, philosophy. The psychology and pedagogics take the latest place in development of this perspective at dissertation level, but they take the leading place in publications of the scientific periodical press.

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Keywords: radicalism; terrorism; social sciences; Russia; regions of Islamic culture and right; content analysis; academic scientific magazines; dissertation researches.

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1. Introduction

In Russia, a new phenomenon demanding a special public attention – the development of radical moods of a part of citizens who try to defend their political and religious interests by means of the most radical measures, terrorism - is observed. As a whole, terrorism isn't essentially a new phenomenon - in the 19th century, besides men, even women participated in acts of terror, for example Vera Zasoulich (1878, Petersburg), Sofia Perovskaya (1881, Petersburg). For the first time the terrorism problem as a subject of a public discourse appears in political philosophy of the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin (1866). Proving the strategy of using of revolutionary terrorism, he considered that terrorism is an obligatory, but a short phase of revolution: «At the outset (when the people, for just reasons, spontaneously turn against their tormentors) the Revolution will very likely be bloody and vindictive. But this phase will not last long and will never [degenerate into] cold, systematic terrorism...».

The strategy of the revolutionary terrorist organization "Narodnaya Volya" ("National Will") which has arisen in 1879 after the split of the party "Zemlay and Volya" ("Earth and Will") and the disintegration of the terrorist group "Freedom or Death", was political terror. A participant of this organization, the well-known revolutionary Vera Figner (1964) recollects in 1920 that "activity in the people was decided to continue, but to include in it agrarian terror; along with this, it was decided to continue terrorist fight in the city, including in it regicide».

Vera Figner presents a method of assassination for achieving of a democratic system in Russia. Analyzing efficiency of agrarian terror, she recognizes that "acts of terrorism passed in the village completely, there was nobody to observe impression made by them". She emphasized for the first time need of creation of conditions for publicity of an act of terrorism as the bearing message of the public the means of social communication.

The problem of identification of terrorism as socio-cultural phenomenon is presented in the works of Peter Kropotkin (1899). It explains theoretical differences between terrorism and nihilism and estimates its prospects: «The movement is misunderstood in Western Europe. In the press, for example, nihilism is continually confused with terrorism. The revolutionary disturbance which broke out in Russia toward the close of the reign of Alexander II and ended in the tragic death of the Tsar, is constantly described as nihilism. This is, however, a mistake. To confuse nihilism with terrorism is as wrong as to confuse a philosophical movement like stoicism or positivism with a political movement such as, for example, republicanism. Terrorism was called into existence by certain special conditions of the political struggle at a given historical moment. It has lived, and has died. It may revive and die out again. But nihilism has impressed its stamp upon the whole of the life of the educated classes of Russia, and that stamp will be retained for many years to come».

The theorist of social democracy Georg Plekhanov (1883) on the whole negatively estimates terrorist strategy as inhumane. He considers that terrorism is not the principle, and fight reception. At the same time each new terrorist fact brings only a new proof that heroism of separate and thus very few persons is insufficient to fight against the whole political system. However he recognizes that «terrorism" grew quite logically out of our "rebelliousness" and «the so-called terrorist movement has opened a new epoch in the development of our revolutionary party – the epoch of conscious political struggle against the government».

New and unprecedented till that time in world history the terrorist wave in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century (1901-1911) cost to the country 17 thousand victims which exceeded the number of all people taken together who died in the armed revolts of 1905-1906 executed on a sentence (Morosov, 1998). Drama pages of the Russian history of the first quarter of the 20th century are interfaced to different types of terror and understanding of a role of performers of an act of terrorism. The party leader of revolutionary socialists and the head of the Fighting organization of revolutionary socialists B.A. Savinkov (2006) a good judge of terror, distinguished psychological features of "fighter" who directly made act of terrorism, and the "animator" bearing the words "truths" in masses, offered various systems of their preparation.
Systematic researches of these phenomena in Russia were the object of scientific research mainly in Post-Soviet time. The terror of party of revolutionary socialists ("Eserovsky terror") was investigated by historian R.A. Gorodnizki (1998), K.N. Morozov (1998). "Red" and "white" terror during the years of revolution of 1917 and civil war (1917-1922) was studied by the historian emigrant S. P. Melgunoff (1924) whose work was translated into Russian and for the first time it was published in Russia in 1990, and also A. Litvin (2004), S. S. Balmasov (2006), O.B. Budnitsky (2000). Nowadays there is no joint point of view on when "red" terror began – by the Resolution of Council of People's Commissars as the answer to "white" terror on September 5, 1918, to the murder of an imperial family or to the murder of revolutionary W. Wolodarsky.

During the post-war period, all terrorist movements were crushed and the problem of terrorism was investigated in Russia in a context of the analysis of problems of the left terrorism in the West or the countries of the Arab East. At the same time, in the late seventies in Russian mass media there was information on stealing of airplanes and capture of hostages, attempts at the top management of the country. Officially it was considered that these acts were made by intellectually defective people therefore the problem of terrorism was investigated by physicians.

The disintegration of the USSR and the geostrategic outcome of Russia from the Muslim East stated a problem of research of radicalism and terrorism. In A. Dugin's (2007) known geopolitics work a definition of modern terrorism is given, "terrorism — the method of political action peculiar to those groups and sects of political (geopolitical, religious) range who owing to certain circumstances aren't capable to achieve the objectives (or it is simple to declare, to report about their point of view in desirable scale), working within the law". In the modern Russian researches focused on structurally functional model of Parsons or structural and class model of the conflict of Darendorf, problems of history of terrorism in Russia, its place in a context of problems of development of the modern democratic states, preconditions and consequences of commission of acts of terrorism, the psychological problems connected with the preparation of terrorists and prevention of acts of terrorism are analyzed by A.A. Korolev (2008). Problems of influence of mass media on the Russian society are covered in foreign publications devoted to terrorism issues (Elena Vartanova and Olga Smirnova, 2012).

Developing Vera Figner's thoughts about publicity of terrorist acts, the Russian researchers agree in the opinion that according to the logic of terrorist thinking, the act of terrorism is a trouble-free method of the report of information on political positions which has the widest resonance. The activity of terrorists is always organized, for the acts of terrorism are prepared beforehand, the work on preparation is grouped, instead of individual, even if groups are not numerous.

2. Concept and research plan
In Post-Soviet Russia in connection with increase in number of acts of terrorism in 2006 the Federal Law № 35 «Concerning counteraction of terrorism» (now in version of 2011) (http://www.ncfu.ru/uploads/doc/fz35.pdf) and in 2002 the Federal Law N 114 "Concerning counteraction of extremist activity" (http://www.rg.ru/2002/07/30/extremizm-dok.html), with modifications, were adopted in 2008. The basic principles and the directions of counteraction of extremist activity, subjects of counteraction of extremist activity, responsibility for implementation of extremist activity are defined in these documents. They contain definitions assumed by Russian scholars. Terrorism is defined as ideology of violence and attempts to force central and local authorities, as well as international organizations, into making certain decisions. They are related to population harrassment and (or) other forms of violent criminal acts. Terrorist activity involves not only organization, planning and execution of the terrorist attack; it also implies "terrorism advocacy, distribution of the materials or information, inciting violence and acts of terror, or justifying the necessity of such activity". Extremist activity (extremism) is defined as a broader notion, including acts of forcible alteration of the Russian Federation Constitution, acts aimed at violation of the state integrity, Russian Federation security harm, and terrorist activity. A counterterrorism framework was developed in Russia (approved by the president October, 5 2009, http://www.rg.ru/2009/10/20/zakon-dok.html).
The following two types of research practices were specified by the national security issue – 1) formally inaccessible, “restricted” research, carried out as part of special-purpose grants or on special demand of relevant authorities; 2) “open” research with officially available. On the basis thereof, the problem of the research is the identification of dynamics of the appeal to problems of radicalism and its extreme form - terrorism - in various types of officially available social research.
Research was conducted in two directions (two blocks).
The subject of Block 1 is content analytical research of activity of terrorists and fight against them according to official information sources.
The second block included research of the problems of reflection of an extremist perspective in scientific researches of various levels. In each case specifics of a used method of research was defined. Data conclusions were drawn on the basis of comparison.

3. Block 1. Research of dynamics of terrorist activity in Russia

3.1. Method: Source base research
While selecting the sources of reliable data on the number of terrorist acts and casualties, we are guided by the following legal and public documents:

1) The “Framework of Counter-Terrorism in Russian Federation” and its Provision 38, which states “the necessity to authorize the functions of coordinating scientific and technological development in the sphere of counter-terror to one or more federal executive bodies in order to contribute to the national counter-terrorism defence system (http://www.rg.ru/2009/10/20/zakon-dok.html ).

2) Federal Law "Concerning counteraction of extremist activity" № 114 (http://www.rg.ru/2002/07/30/extremizm-dok.html). According to Article 4, the actors of extremism counteraction are federal and regional bodies of state power.

Thus, we can obviously regard as a source the web site of the National Anti-Terrorism Committee, which was set up by the Edict № 116 of the President of the Russian Federation of 15 February 2006 “On Counter-terrorism Measures”. Its link: National Anti-Terrorism Committee (http://nak.fsb.ru/nac/media/terrorism_today/history.htm; Federal Law "Concerning counteraction of extremist activity" № 114. According to Article 13, a certain watch list is formed to cover publications of some organizations which were recognized as extremist-oriented. The list includes, for example, the site of The Caucasus Centre (№ 985 - www.kavkazcenter.com), the Internet resource № 1038 http://kavkazanhaamash.com/meny.html. They cannot be used as the data source. The Head of the State Duma Committee on Information Policy, IT and Communication Aleksey Mitrofanov (http://www.rg.ru/2013/03/19/mitrofanov-site.html) points out, that “the Internet anti-extremism campaign will be increasingly similar to the anti-extremism campaign beyond the Internet. The Internet is not different from any sphere”.
Therefore, we analyze the data obtained from Research Center “Charta Caucasica” (http://www.caucasica.org/chrono/detail.php?ID=1040);
Special portal "Science and Education against Terrorism" (http://scienceport.ru/lib/Statistika-terroristicheskikh-aktov-na-territorii-Rossiyskoy-Federatsii-v-2005-2011-gg.html). They are not officially recognized as extremist sources.

3.2. Instruments
The potentiality of content analyses is contained in calculation of semantic units which are important for the researcher.
We defined that for the calculation of the information significant concepts which are recorded in three considered sources and are important. They are designated as "act of terrorism", "lost victims", "wounded person" and
“killed terrorist”. They are categories of the analysis as semantic units covering information space of reality in which the terrorism is made.

Content analysis units of account - number of the facts containing mentions of acts of political terrorism in the territory of Russia and the facts, reflecting consequences of activity of the terrorist orientation reflected in three information sources.

3.3. Procedure
The data of the three sources cover the various temporary periods of analyzed events (acts of terrorism) and their consequences. They were built on chronology, supplementing each other, duplication of information was excluded.
The maximum data containing in one of three resources is taken in the capacity of final indicator. It was considered in the quoted table.
During the procedure of content analysis all steps of content analysis as method including involves coding, categorizing as creating meaningful categories into which the units of analysis can be placed, comparing were used. We have employed the codebook and cording forms which are used in the current study for assistance in providing a systematic design. Simple graphs were drawn in Microsoft Excel.

4. Results and Discussion
The first series of the content analysis was carried out on the basis of official statistical data and other two.

Fig. 1 Range of the distribution of the total number of acts of terrorism ( ), lost victims ( ) and wounded people ( ) presented in official statistic data (http://nak.fsb.ru/nac/media/terrorism_today/history.htm) and added with data of other Sources

The dynamics of the acts of terrorism is a little connected with legislative activity of the Russian Parliament. Federal Law N 114 "Concerning counteraction of extremist activity" appeared on surge in the terrorist activity which has brought many victims. The version of 2008 appeared at a low level of terrorist activity.

The Federal Law No. 35 "Concerning counteraction of terrorism" is published on a minimum of terrorist activity, its version of 2011 - on a trend to increase in activity.
The second series is devoted to the comparison of the lost people and the killed terrorists in acts of terrorism for the same period.

Graphs demonstrate that the number of lost victims among the population much more exceeds a number of the killed terrorists during fighting against them. It testifies considerable danger for the population of the fact of commission of an act of terrorism. Acts of terrorism as politically motivated violence strongly influence the mood of society, are sources of fear and destabilize population life, both in the capital, and in the North Caucasus.

The population which suffers from acts of terrorism is only in the large cities. The objects of attack were never villages or small settlements. Their approach is conformable to Vera Figner's ideas about uselessness of carrying out acts of terrorism where not enough population and therefore consequences have a small public resonance.

5. **Block 2. Research of scientific periodicals and dissertations**

5.1. **Method: Source base research**

To conduct content analysis as an information source chosen text arrays leading specialized journals
1. Sociological Studies/"SOCIS" ([http://www.isras.ru/socis.html](http://www.isras.ru/socis.html)) was founded in 1974 and is published by the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. It is the leading magazine in the field of sociology;
2. “Political Studies” /"POLITEIA" ([http://www.politeia.ru](http://www.politeia.ru)) is based in 1996. The founder of this journal is the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences. It is the leader in the field of political researches;
3. The founder of “Russian Psychological Journal” ([http://rpj.sfedu.ru](http://rpj.sfedu.ru)) is the Russian Psychological Society. It is published since 2005. It unites all professional psychologists of Russia.

For the research of dissertations the resource of the Russian State Library containing the texts of the Russian theses is used ([http://rsl.ru](http://rsl.ru)). The texts of all dissertations defended in Russia can be found in the library. This only complete collection of the theses, the fullest information resource in Russia.
5.2. Instruments
In the process of the research conceptual foundation development the issue of its potential semantic category was being solved.
A unit of content analysis is the category "radicalism" (including "terrorism" and other close semantic concepts); Due to the specificity of the journal articles, their titles and subheadings contain some conceptual metaphors, elliptical sentences which have notional connotations, dates, geographic names for the places of terrorist acts, names of the people involved in financing, promulgation, execution of the terrorist acts and other subversive actions, information on the terrorists nationality, religion, place of living. For instance, such words as “September 11”, “Kosovo”, “Beslan”, “Dubrovka”, “Chechnya”, “tolerance” are considered to be within the semantic category analysis field of “radicalism”.
A unit of account is the title of article or dissertation.

5.3. Procedure
During the procedure of content analysis were used all steps of content analysis as method including involves coding, categorizing (creating meaningful categories into which the units of analysis can be placed), comparing (frequency and amount of use of units of content analysis in analyzed journals and making links between them) and concluding – drawing theoretical conclusions from the text.
In proceedings were taken into account the following.

- The entire meaningful volumes of publications including the main headings (Editorial, Discussion, Reviews of scientific events and books) except Index, Notes on Contributors and Notes for Contributors were included;
- The article is a unit of account in the case in the journal, on the pages of which it is located regardless of the volume of publication.
- The title of the dissertation was to take into account two factors – the presence of the terrorism- and radicalism-related semantic filed and scientific research classification system number (sociology, philosophy, psychology and others).

6. Results and Discussion
The first series of the content analysis is devoted to the comparison of articles in the magazines "SOCIS", "POLITEIA" and “Russian Psychological Journal” in a context of representation of radicalism problems by them.
Fig. 3 Results of content analysis of magazine articles on the problem of radicalism: (X) - the total number of articles (all magazines), ( Sabha ) - "SOCIS", ( Sabha ) - "POLITEIA", ( ▲ ) - "Russian Psychological Journal"

As the graph demonstrates, the problems of radicalism were the object of special attention of the Russian Psychological Journal. Materials of the researches presented at the anti-terrorist festival "World Caucasus" (2010, Rostov on Don, Russia) are published in it. In systematic research of problems of terrorism sociologists are in the lead.

The second series presents the results of comparison the number of terrorist acts and the number of articles on the problem of radicalism.

Fig. 4 Comparison the number of terrorist acts and the number of articles on the problem of radicalism: ( Sabha ) - the total number of acts of terrorism, ( Sabha ) – the total number of articles devoted to radicalism in "SOCIS", "POLITEIA", “Russian Psychological Journal”

The histogram demonstrates that interest to scientific illumination of problems of radicalism doesn't coincide with chronology of acts of terrorism. The quantity of acts of terrorism tends to fall while the number of researches tends to increase. Delay of a scientific reflection of this social phenomenon takes place.

The aim of the third series of content analysis is to define the number of articles on the problem of tolerance and radicalism in magazines.
Fig. 5 Range of the distribution of the total number of articles devoted to tolerance and radicalism in in "SOCIS", "POLITEIA", “Russian Psychological Journal”

Publications on problems of tolerance make ¼ of all the volume of publications on radicalism problems. Problems of tolerance are investigated as the education purpose, the nature of the tolerant relation to “another” is investigated.

Fourth series of content analysis includes research of dissertations devoted to the problems of radicalism and terrorism.

Fig. 6. Rating of dissertation research on the problem of radicalism and terrorism (2000 -2012). (■) - dissertations devoted to the problems of radicalism, (▲) - dissertations devoted to the problems of terrorism.

The fifth series of content analysis is devoted to a comparison of research activity at dissertation level and the total number of acts of terrorism in Russia (2000 – 2012).

Fig. 7. The ratio of dissertation research on the problem of radicalism and terrorism and terrorist acts in Russia. (■) - the total number of acts of terrorism, (▲) - dissertations devoted to the problems of radicalism, (▲) - dissertations devoted to the problems of terrorism

Paralleling the general tendency of decrease in acts of terrorism that is connected with activity of law-enforcement activity within Laws, a sharp increase of research activity in research on terrorism problems takes place. Radicalism problems, except aspects of terrorism, have an insignificant ascending trend.
Conclusion
The problems of extremism have a pronounced research discourse. They are connected with the analysis of the range of questions, concerning political radicalism and its extreme form – terrorism, and also their reflection in a scientific projection, namely in a scientific discourse of sociology, political science, psychology, law, philosophy. In Post-Soviet Russia, political terrorism is a new political and social problem connected with tendencies to separatism of certain regions and territories, and is poorly investigated and therefore not understood as social, psychological and cultural phenomenon.

- Russian scientific periodicals haven’t fully used the potential of timely, expeditious, preventive discussion on problems of terrorism.
- The share of publications considers the problems of tolerance consciousness formation, instead of counteraction to terrorism and localization of its preconditions.
- Discussion of the problems of radicalism has late effect.
- On the basis of the content analysis of dissertation research (2000 - 2012) on radicalism and terrorism problems in the context of chronology of terrorism acts it is claimed that their maximum falls on the period of the minimum number of acts of terrorism.
- The subject of dissertation research contains considerable historical digression and the problems connected with criminally legal responsibility for terrorism.
- Researchers fail to pay enough attention to the discussion of actual issues of terrorism in the regions of the Islamic right and culture (in the North Caucasus) within political science, law, sociology, philosophy.
- The psychology and pedagogy take the latest place in development of this perspective at dissertation level, but they are in the lead in publications of the scientific periodical press.

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