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# RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF CRIMINAL LIABILITY FOR TERRORIST OFFENSES

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**Abstract.** The article is devoted to the retrospective analysis of terrorism as a social phenomenon and criminal-legal norms establishing responsibility for various forms of its manifestation in the sources of law of medieval Russia, the Russian Empire and the USSR. In the period of formation of the legal system of Tsarist Russia, the norms on criminal responsibility for committing crimes of terrorist orientation were not singled out from the general normative material, were dissolved in crimes against the state; this provision was retained in the legislation of the Russian Empire. The social processes of XIX gave rise to a wave of political crime, the Decembrists and, later, the member of Narodnaya Volya, expressing their protest against serfdom and tsarism, committed a number of high-profile assassination attempts against prominent state officials. The legislator responded to the growth of crime by expanding the range of offenses establishing liability. The Code of Criminal and Corrective Penalties of Russia 1845 contained chapters "On crimes against the sacred person of the sovereign emperor and members of the imperial house", "On rebellion against the supreme power and treason". During the establishment of the USSR, terror was considered by the Bolsheviks as a permissible means of class struggle. In domestic criminal legislation, the category of "terrorist act" first appeared in the Criminal Code of the RSFSR of 1960, where it was understood as the murder of a state official for political reasons.

**Keywords:** *terrorist act, terrorism, history of terrorism, history of terrorist crimes,* member of Narodnaya Volya, "Red terror".

The fight against terrorism in Russia has a long history, and legal regulation of terrorist activity as a criminal offense has always been used as the main tool. In the development of the institution of responsibility for crimes of a terrorist character, three stages of formation can be conditionally distinguished: the pre-revolutionary (Tsarist), Soviet, and post-Soviet periods.

Initially, the relevant legal norms were embedded within the general body of law and were not allocated to a separate branch. Prohibitions primarily concerned property rather than public interests and were enforced through the imposition of propertyrelated sanctions. The sources of law included customary practices, the legislative activity of princes, treaties, veche resolutions, Byzantine ecclesiastical law, and khan's decrees.

With the development of society and the state, the process of unifying legislation began in the late XV century. This was reflected in the court charters of the free cities of Pskov and Novgorod, and later in the Moscow Law Codes of 1497 and 15501, which did not abolish previous statutory charters but functioned alongside them. The Law Codes established legal responsibility for offenses against the state and public interests but did not include provisions for crimes against the life, health, or inviolability of the sovereign.

The Council Code of 1649, issued by Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, was the culmination of economic, political, and social development. This landmark of criminal law recognized the public danger posed by crimes against the state and established the death penalty as punishment for offenses against the sovereign, state integrity, treason, skopa, and conspiracy<sup>2</sup>.

During the reign of Peter the Great, the Tsardom of Russia was transformed into the Russian Empire. By royal decree on April 26, 1715, the Military Article was introduced, establishing criminal responsibility for serious state crimes.

In the criminal law of the Russian Empire, there was no legislative distinction between terrorist and extremist acts. Terrorism and extremism were viewed as part of a single concept. Criminal acts containing elements characteristic of terrorism were equated with crimes against the state.

During the Patriotic War of 1812, the Decembrist movement emerged in Russia. It advocated a radical overthrow of the feudal order through a military revolution<sup>3</sup>. The Decembrist uprising on Senate Square on December 14, 1825, involved a plan to seize power by taking Emperor Nicholas I and the Senate hostage and to compel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Khrestomatiya po istorii gosudarstva i prava Rossii: ucheb. Posobie [Chrestomathy on the History of the State and Law of Russia: textbook] / sost. Yu. P. Titov. 2-e izd. perab. i dop. M.: TK Velbi, Izd-vo Prospekt, 2008. Pp. 34-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii s 1649 g. Tom 1, sobranie 1 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire since 1649, Volume 1, Collection 1]. SPb., 1830. P. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Semenova A. V. Vremennoe revolyutsionnoe pravitelstvo v planakh dekabristov [The provisional revolutionary government in the Decembrists' plans]. M.: Mysl, 1982. P. 176.

them to publish a "Manifesto to the Russian People". The manifesto proclaimed the abolition of autocracy and estates, the end of serfdom, the establishment of democratic freedoms, and the transfer of supreme power to the people. The authorities ultimately suppressed the rebellion. Nicholas I, fearing popular unrest, pursued a policy of strengthening autocracy. He expanded the powers of the secret police, whose responsibilities included gathering information on unreliable individuals. The press was subjected to censorship, and private correspondence was subjected to perlustration. Priority in combating political dissent was given to the special services, which carried out preventive measures in this area, rather than to economic and social reforms that could have improved the quality of life for individuals and society as a whole. To consolidate and uphold the regime, under the leadership of M. M. Speransky, the Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire covering the years 1649 to 1826 (published in 1830), and the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire (1833) were compiled. The main shortcoming of the legislative approach was the attempt to unify legal provisions from eras that were fundamentally different in character, which resulted in poor legal technique and internal contradictions<sup>1</sup>.

In the Code of Criminal and Correctional Punishments of 1845, the offenses that contain signs of terrorist nature include section three "On crimes of state", Chapter One "On crimes against the sacred person of the sovereign emperor and members of the imperial house".

Section Three "On state crimes", Chapter One "On crimes against the sacred person of the sovereign emperor and members of the imperial house", Chapter Two "On rebellion against the supreme power and treason" may be referred to as crimes containing signs of terrorist character.

The law of March 27, 1867 "On illegal societies" prohibited all secret societies, as well as any circles, meetings, artels and others with harmful purposes for the Empire. The founders of secret societies — in the dissemination of doctrines aimed at changing the state structure — were punished by deprivation of all rights of status and exile to hard labor in mines from 12 to 15 years<sup>2</sup>.

The described period falls on the reign of Tsar Alexander II, who took the course of liberalization and adopted 19.02.1861 "Regulations" and "Manifesto" on the abolition of serfdom<sup>3</sup>, which was a necessary condition for maintaining social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Belogrits-Kotlyarevskiy L. S. i dr. Kratkiy kurs russkogo ugolovnogo prava [Short course of Russian criminal law]. Kiev, 1908. P. 37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, sobranie 2. Tom 42, otdelenie 1 [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire, Collection 2. Vol. 42, Branch 1]. SPb, 1871. Pp. 329-331; Kochina Z. S. Vologodskaya khronika i Rossiyskie zakony XIX vek [Vologda Chronicle and Russian Laws of the XIX century]. Vologda, 2006. P. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, sobranie 2. Tom 36, otdelenie 1 [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire, Collection 2. Vol. 36, Branch 1]. SPb., 1863. Pp. 218–231.

stability under the growing revolutionary threat. Dissatisfaction and social injustice activated social movements. In the period of 1861 and 1862 there appeared the organization Zemlya i Volya (Land and Liberty) (the main ideologists A. I. Herzen and N. G. Chernyshevsky), which aimed to eliminate autocracy and the establishment of democratic freedoms through a revolutionary uprising. The destruction of the existing state system<sup>1</sup> was to lead to communal socialism and equality of people, bypassing capitalism. After the arrests of activists, the organization ceased to exist. The processes that had been set in motion were already irreversible. Criminal law prohibitions could not stop the new wave of Narodnik terror. Revolutionary hotbeds flared up in different parts of Russia, and targeted attacks on officials began. The revival of Narodnik ideas, known as the "Going to the People" movement (1873-1875), was characterized by peaceful agitation and the education of peasants and factory workers. The Narodniks<sup>2</sup> believed that the people wanted land redistribution, and their main political slogan was the peasants' right to land. However, the Narodniks failed to resonate with the peasants due to the latter's strong belief in the "good tsar". The people lacked a revolutionary spirit. The alien ideas of socialism and revolution found no support, and it all ended with the mass arrest of the Narodniks<sup>3</sup>.

The Narodniks had a clear program of action. They carried out peaceful agitation, published and distributed various anti-government publications, proclamations, and leaflets. Within this environment, ideas emerged about liberating Russia from autocracy by organizing assassinations of high-ranking state officials and committing serious and especially grave crimes.

These circumstances led to a split within the organization into two factions: Black Repartition and People's Will. The former rejected terror as a tactic and continued propaganda efforts among workers and rural residents.

Terror was not proclaimed as the sole method of struggle by the socialist party; the primary goal was to change the existing state system and social order through a coup4.

The Law of May 19, 1871, "Rules on the procedures for the actions of gendarmerie corps officials in investigating crimes"5, abolished the investigative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gorev B. I. Revolyutsionnoe narodnichestvo semidesyatykh godov [Revolutionary Narodnikism of the seventies]. M., 1928. P. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Members of a populist movement in 19th-century Russia advocating agrarian socialism and peasantbased reform (Editor's Note).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Itenberg B. S. Dvizhenie revolyutsionnogo narodnichestva [The movement of revolutionary Narodnikism]. M., 1965. P. 200.

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;Narodnaya volya" v dokumentakh i vospominaniyakh ["People's Will" in documents and memoirs] / pod red. A.V. Yakimovskoy-Dikovskoy; M.F. Frolenko; I.I. Popova i dr. M., 1930. Pp. 41–43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, sobranie 2. Tom 46, otdelenie 1 [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire, Collection 2. Vol. 46, Branch 1]. SPb., 1871. Pp. 591-594.

commissions for state crimes and transferred the investigation of political cases to the gendarmes.

To prevent courts of general jurisdiction from handing down lenient sentences, the law of June 7, 1872, approved a new version of the Statute of Criminal Procedure. Under Articles 1030–1061, cases concerning the judicial structure for state crimes were to be considered by the Special Presence of the Governing Senate<sup>1</sup>. The actions of the radical Narodniks were directed against the government, and the injured party was to be recognized as an interested party, acting not out of moral conviction but on the basis of government orders<sup>2</sup>.

In order to suppress crimes against public officials, committed under the influence of socio-revolutionary ideologies aiming to change the state system and the form of government, the government decided to transfer jurisdiction over state crimes to military courts (Law of August 9, 1878)<sup>3</sup>. These courts handled all cases of political assassinations and other acts of violence against officials, which had previously been tried by jury courts. Initially, gendarmes conducting the inquiries transferred to military courts only those cases in which individuals were accused of armed resistance. The law of April 5, 1879, granted governors-general broad discretion to transfer cases of state crimes to military courts<sup>4</sup>.

A series of unsuccessful assassination attempts against Tsar Alexander II were organized by the Narodniks, most notably the explosion in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. On February 7, 1880, the Executive Committee of the "People's Will" issued a proclamation claiming responsibility for the attempt on the tsar's life. It expressed sorrow over the deaths of unfortunate soldiers of the imperial guard and stated that, as long as the army remained a bulwark of tsarist despotism, such tragic clashes would be inevitable<sup>5</sup>.

On March 1, 1881, in St. Petersburg, Alexander II was fatally wounded by an explosive device; 20 people were injured, and one child died. The emperor's death did not rouse the masses or lead to the expected popular uprising. His successor, Alexander III, embarked on a course of counter-reforms and halted

Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, sobranie 2. Tom 47, otdelenie 1 [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire, Collection 2. Vol. 47, Branch 1]. SPb., 1872. Pp. 808–809.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Troitskiy N. A. "Narodnaya volya" pered tsarskim sudom, 1880–1891 gg. ["People's Will" before the Tsar's court, 1880–1891.]. Saratov, 1983. Pp. 144–145.

Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, sobranie 2. Tom 53, otdelenie 2 [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire, Collection 2. Vol. 53, Branch 2]. SPb., 1880. Pp. 89–90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii, sobranie 2. Tom 54, otdelenie 1 [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire, Collection 2. Vol. 54, Branch 1]. SPb., 1881. P. 289.

<sup>5 &</sup>quot;Narodnaya volya" v dokumentakh i vospominaniyakh ["People's Will" in documents and memoirs] / pod red. A.V. Yakimovskoy-Dikovskoy; M.F. Frolenko; I.I. Popova i dr. M., 1930. P. 94.

the constitutional reform. Revolutionary movements<sup>1</sup> and their supporters<sup>2</sup> were subjected to harsh repression by the authorities.

The political trials of "People's Will" members attracted international attention to the Russian liberation movement<sup>3</sup>. Revolutionaries were portrayed as heroes fighting to liberate their homeland from tsarist oppression and tyranny.

The Criminal Code of 1903 was enacted only partially. Of the Special Part, only the provisions concerning political and religious crimes were implemented, along with all provisions of the General Part, which were applicable only to the offenses provided for in the active articles of the Special Part<sup>4</sup>.

The study of pre-revolutionary legislation revealed the existence of acute social conflicts reflected in criminal law - primarily associated with opposition to autocracy, succession to the throne, and the transformation of the existing state order. The existing criminal statutes proved ineffective in curbing the terrorist threat posed by a new wave of militant groups, including Socialist Revolutionaries, Maximalists, anarchists, Social Democrats, the Polish Socialist Party, and others who continued the cause initiated by the Narodniks.

Another pivotal moment was the workers' and soldiers' uprising in Petrograd, followed by the February and October Revolutions of 1917, which overthrew the autocracy and later the Provisional Government of A. F. Kerensky<sup>5</sup>. The establishment of the new regime brought fundamental changes to the state, political, economic, public, and social life of the country, leading to a reassessment of criminal prohibitions.

The new Bolshevik regime dismantled the old pre-revolutionary legal system and, over the next several years, developed its own Criminal Code (1919, 1922, 1926). Decree No. 1 "On the Court", dated November 24, 19176, abolished existing laws and declared the revolutionary legal consciousness of judges as the primary source of criminal law. This effectively justified arbitrariness and broad judicial discretion; thus, the principle of legality was replaced by revolutionary class expediency.

<sup>1</sup> Troitskiy N. A. "Narodnaya volya" pered tsarskim sudom, 1880–1891 gg. ["People's Will" before the Tsar's court, 1880-1891.]. Saratov, 1983. Pp. 355-356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Volk S. S. "Narodnaya volya" (1879–1882 gg.) ["People's Will" (1879–1882)]. M., 1966. P. 276.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Troitskiy N. A. "Narodnaya volya" pered tsarskim sudom, 1880–1891 gg. ["People's Will" before the Tsar's court, 1880-1891.]. Saratov, 1983. P. 338.

Piontkovskiy A. A. Sovetskoe ugolovnoe pravo. Tom I. Obshchaya chast [Soviet Criminal Law. Volume I. General part]. M., 1929. P. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Tsamutali A. N., Belousov M. S. 190-letie vosstaniya dekabristov [190th anniversary of the Decembrist uprising] // Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta [Bulletin of St. Petersburg University]. 2015, Ser. 2. Vyp. No. 4. P. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Khrestomatiya po istorii gosudarstva i prava Rossii: ucheb. Posobie [Chrestomathy on the History of the State and Law of Russia: textbook] / sost. Yu. P. Titov. 2-e izd. perab. i dop. M.: TK Velbi, Izd-vo Prospekt, 2008. Pp. 285-286.

The class character of criminal legislation manifested primarily in the use of criminal repression to protect the existing order — the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dissent was suppressed through violence, including in the struggle against counterrevolutionary organizations.

The Decree of November 28, 1917, "On the Arrest of the Leaders of the Civil War Against the Revolution" stated that "members of the leading institutions of the Cadet Party, as a party of enemies of the people, are subject to arrest and trial by revolutionary tribunals".

In the early years of the revolution, the new government adopted a number of decrees related to criminal law<sup>2</sup>. The protection of public order was carried out through revolutionary terror, which functioned as a legal means of political struggle and retribution against the class enemy<sup>3</sup>.

The Bolsheviks' seizure of power enabled the development of legal instruments to combat counterrevolutionary activity. The Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) and Mensheviks, who were excluded from political life, took an active part in most anti-Soviet conspiracies (the coup in Arkhangelsk, kulak uprisings, etc.), as well as in organizing acts of sabotage and terrorism against the leaders of the party and government<sup>4</sup>.

On September 5, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR adopted the resolution "On Red Terror", according to which all individuals involved in White Guard organizations, conspiracies, and uprisings were to be executed. The resolution further required the publication of the names of those executed, along with the reasons for the application of this measure. State terror was used as a retaliatory measure against the actions of political opponents and their sympathizers. Mass repressions and arrests ultimately extinguished any hope for democratic reforms in society and government.

In the Guiding Principles of 1919, when characterizing the corpus delicti, the authors focused solely on the objective element, discarding the provisions related to

Department of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University // www.hist.msu.ru.: [Electronic resource]. — URL: http://www.hist.msu.ru/ER/Etext/DEKRET/17-11-28.htm (date of address: 01.02.2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ugolovnoe pravo Rossii. Obshchaya chast: Uchebnik. 3-e izdanie, pererabotannoe i dopolnennoe [Criminal Law of Russia. General Part: Textbook. 3rd edition, revised and supplemented] / pod red. F.R. Sundurova, I.A. Tarkhanova. Statut, 2009. 392 p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Pidzhakov A. Yu., Bayramov Sh. B.* Gosudarstvennyy terrorizm v sovetskiy period [State terrorism in the Soviet period] // Istoriya gosudarstva i prava [History of State and Law], 2011, No. 5. Pp. 33–35.

Istoriya sovetskogo ugolovnogo prava [History of Soviet Criminal Law] / A. A. Gertsenzon, Sh. S. Gringauz, N. D. Durmanov, M. M. Isaev i dr. M.: Yurid. izd-vo MYu SSSR, 1948. P. 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Resolution of the CPC of the RSFSR of 05.09.1918 "On the Red Terror" // "Izvestiya VTsIK", No. 195, 10.09.1918 (The document became invalid due to the issuance of the Resolution of the VTsIK, CPC of the RSFSR of 25.01.1928).

guilt and the subjective element, which they regarded as vestiges of the bourgeois system. This marked a departure from the principle nullum crimen sine lege ("no crime without a law"). Rejecting the idealistic bourgeois doctrine of guilt, the authors of the Guiding Principles expressed a specific social attitude — they regarded guilt as the manifestation of a hostile element. The basis for the imposition of punishment was found not in the act itself, but in the perceived dangerousness of the offender's personality<sup>1</sup>, in relation to the nascent Soviet state and society as a whole.

The next Criminal Code of the RSFSR, dated June 1, 1922, which summarized the previous experience of revolutionary tribunals and people's courts, also borrowed the reactionary views of the sociological school, such as the concept of the "dangerous state of personality" but interpreted them from Marxist positions — based on the class danger posed by the individual.

For the first time, the term "terrorist act" was introduced in Article 64, which provided punishment "for participation in the execution of terrorist acts committed for counter-revolutionary purposes and directed against representatives of Soviet power". Liability was also established for concealment and aiding and abetting (Art. 68), as well as for failure to report reliably known impending or committed terrorist acts (Art. 89).

The essential character of terrorism was determined by the social affiliation of the object of the attack and its aims; that is, it was based on political motives and the struggle for power — the overthrow of Soviet authority, the transformation of the social system, existing legislation, and territorial integrity.

The legislator did not define the corpus delicti of a terrorist act but laid the foundation for future normative acts regulating this sphere.

In the next Criminal Code of the RSFSR (1926), the Special Part (Chapter I) was titled "Counterrevolutionary Crimes", which recognized as criminal any actions aimed at the overthrow, undermining, or weakening of the workers' and peasants' government, as well as providing assistance to the international bourgeoisie pursuing the same goals (Art. 58.1). Organizing a counterrevolutionary uprising or armed invasion of Soviet territory entailed capital punishment and confiscation of property (Part 1, Art. 58.2). Part 2 of Article 58.2 provided for a mitigated punishment imprisonment for up to five years and confiscation of property. Participation in such organizations was punishable by a more lenient measure of social protection, as provided in Parts 1 and 2 of Article 58.2. Participation in and assistance to organizations acting in support of the international bourgeoisie under Article 58.1 were subject to the same penalties (Art. 58.5). Article 58.6 established liability for inciting the population to mass unrest, armed uprising, or armed invasion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Istoriya sovetskogo ugolovnogo prava [History of Soviet Criminal Law] / A. A. Gertsenzon, Sh. S. Gringauz, N.D. Durmanov, M.M. Isaev i dr. M.: Yurid. izd-vo MYu SSSR, 1948. P. 168.

The Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR dated September 14, 1937, "On Amendments to the Current Criminal Procedure Codes of the Union Republics", prescribed the initiation of criminal cases for counterrevolutionary sabotage and diversion falling under Article 58.9 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (1926), which reproduced Article 65 of the Criminal Code of 1922.

The next significant document was the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics dated December 25, 1958. According to the Law on Liability for State Crimes of the same date, the following were classified as especially dangerous state crimes: treason against the Motherland (Art. 1), espionage (Art. 2), and a terrorist act against representatives of a foreign state (Part 1, Art. 4) committed with the aim of provoking war or international complications — all punishable by death and confiscation of property. Serious bodily injury inflicted on such persons for the same purposes was punishable by imprisonment from eight to fifteen years and confiscation of property¹.

The Criminal Code of the RSFSR (1960) made attempts to define the disposition of terrorist crimes. It established liability for a terrorist act (Art. 66) and a terrorist act against a representative of a foreign state (Art. 67), which was defined as the murder (or infliction of grievous bodily injury) of a statesman for political motives, or of a foreign representative with the aim of provoking war or international complications. In cases where such acts were committed as part of terrorist activity, the offense was to be qualified in conjunction with other serious crimes, such as hijacking an aircraft or taking hostages.

Thus, a terrorist act encroached upon the social order and an individual (life and health) representing the state in question. At the same time, the aim was emphasized: to undermine and weaken the state.

The term "terrorism" was for the first time introduced into the Criminal Code of the RSFSR of 1960 by Article 213.3, pursuant to the Federal Law No. 10- $\Phi$ 3 of 01.07.1994: "committing, for the purpose of violating public security or influencing decision-making by public authorities, an explosion, arson, or other acts creating a danger of loss of life, significant property damage, or other grave consequences"<sup>2</sup>.

Concluding the historical analysis of legislation regulating crimes of terrorist character, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. The historical prerequisites for introducing criminal liability for crimes of terrorist character were public manifestations of revolutionary-terrorist groups, organizations, associations, and liberation movements that adopted terrorist methods

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Khrestomatiya po istorii otechestvennogo gosudarstva i prava. 1917–1991 gg. [Chrestomathy on the History of the National State and Law. 1917–1991]. M., 1997. P. 340.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Criminal Code of the RSFSR (approved by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR 27.10.1960) (ed. of 30.07.1996) // Vedomosti VS RSFSR, 1960, No. 40, Art. 591 (Repealed as of January 1, 1997 (Federal Law of 13.06.1996 No. 64-Ф3).

as the primary means and form of struggle against the legitimate government — with the aim of overthrowing it and/or altering the existing state system. In this regard, the legislator, in order to preserve power and public order, adopted appropriate measures, including criminal prohibitions.

- 2. Pre-revolutionary criminal prohibitions related to terrorist activity were scattered throughout the Code of Criminal and Penal Sanctions and lacked a coherent concept for combating this phenomenon. In the Soviet period, criminal legislation was aimed at suppressing counterrevolution through mass repressions, accompanied by extrajudicial executions, torture, killings, and the GULAG system<sup>1</sup>.
- 3. The principal features of terrorism in the second half of the XIX century and early XX century consisted in the targeting of high-ranking state officials, which was regarded as a particularly dangerous form of state crime.
- 4. Pre-revolutionary terrorists directed their methods against those they opposed (individual terror). Acts of violence were, for the most part, political in character and aimed against the existing authorities. In contrast, modern terrorist acts are directed at an indeterminate number of persons unrelated to any specific conflict (mass terror).
- 5. The legal assessment of terrorist acts depends on the character of the sociopolitical structure of the state<sup>2</sup>. In totalitarian regimes, terror is justified and permissible, applied against class enemies; whereas in traditional states, such actions are qualified as criminal offenses.
- 6. The social prerequisites for introducing criminal liability for crimes of terrorist character are associated with a heightened level of public danger, which discredits the current government as incapable of protecting its citizens from terrorist threats — threats that are marked by monstrous consequences, including loss of human life.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Main Directorate of Correctional Labor Camps is a division of the USSR NKVD, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, USSR Ministry of Justice, and USSR Ministry of Justice, which managed detention facilities in 1930-1959. After 1959, there was the Main Directorate of detention centers, and since 1968 — the Main Directorate of Correctional Labor Institutions (Editor's Note).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar yunogo istorika: otechestvennaya istoriya [Young historian's encyclopedic dictionary: national history] / Sost. V. B. Perkhavko. M.: Izd-vo "Pedagogika-Press", 1997. P. 518.

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