



ESTONIAN INTERNAL SECURITY SERVICE

ANNUAL REVIEW 2013

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Director General of the Internal Security Service Arnold Sinisalu

FOREWORD BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

Dear reader

The international situation is becoming increasingly tense and we cannot ignore what is happening in 2014 when we look back to 2013. The events that began in Ukraine in November 2013 resulted in a confrontation between Russia and Ukraine in February 2014, the long-term effects of which cannot be foreseen. What is clear, however, is that the results of this conflict will in one way or another affect the whole of Europe.

International security is indivisible. The choice of our state and our people is to be a part of the family of Western countries – the European Union and NATO. This is an important guarantee of our security, but for our part it also requires us to make a worthy contribution to both organisations. The international cooperation with the countries in our cultural environment lets us stand against forces that would threaten our way of life and our values.

Today the dangers of the regime of Vladimir Putin and its nationalist nature are much more apparent to the public in Estonia and all over the world than they were several years ago. The events in Ukraine have opened the eyes of many to the true goals and nature of the Russian compatriot policy. Russia wants to expand the Russian empire using Russian-speaking residents as one of its tools. The need to protect Russian people is used as an excuse for aggression, although it clearly ignores facts that the entire world can see and hear through the free media. Let us name just two. Firstly, Russia is not a home for just one chosen nation. Many nationalities and languages require protection in Russia as they do not have any other home and cannot choose where to live. Secondly, there is no known evidence of any systematic violence against Russians in European countries. In democratic states where Russians reside they feel safer and freer than in Russia itself. We believe that a broader understanding of Russia's influence op-

erations will help all the residents of Estonia and the international public to resist the threat more effectively.

We are as open as a security institution can ever be. The annual review gives the Internal Security Service a good chance to explain to the public the events and processes of the past year that are important for national security. The information presented in this book was obtained from various sources through legitimate means and methods. We hope that reading will encourage further reflection, help us to see better the current security threats and to be able to avoid them.

It is important to help people to see the use of soft power as well as the hostile influence and propaganda that hides behind innocent concepts. We wish once again to emphasise that the attempts of Putin's regime to call our fellow countrymen Russia's compatriots and prejudice them against Estonia can threaten our constitutional order.

Exposing traitors is certainly among the clearest ways to highlight the activities of the Russian secret services. The fact that traitors exist is unpleasant and unfortunately it is impossible to stop their activities altogether. At the same time, exposing the traitors and prosecuting them is evidence of our strength. We have shown that the Estonian national capacity to protect its state secrets has grown over the years.

The internet is a growing part of our everyday lives. Since we are aiming to create a digital cloud state we need to know how to ensure our personal security and the security of the entire country online. In cyber-security we need to learn and study together with our partners, since the hazards transcend national boundaries and the borders of any particular digital cloud. Threats can materialise if the future is here before we're ready for it. Only together can we cope with new threats for the new age.

International terrorism poses a threat to the security of the whole of Europe. It is hard to predict the future behaviour of those fighting in Syria. Even in Estonia there are people interested in joining Syria's jihad.

If we can identify potential threats to Estonian society at the earliest possible stage through cooperation and the exchange of information, we can prevent the worst from happening.

Last year we observed attempts by organised criminals to influence members of democratic representative bodies illegally. There were at-

tempting place after 60 years. The Internal Security Service continues to work against attempts to rehabilitate the criminals and to protect the good name and dignity of the Estonian people.

In 2013 the change of director general was a milestone in the history of the Internal Security Service. I

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tempts to use elected representatives in the economic interests of criminals. The Internal Security Service continues its extensive activities to fight and prevent high-level corruption, which is the one of the most dangerous threats to national security.

In this annual review we attempt partially to repay our society's debt to those who fought for the freedom of Estonia against the Stalinist regime of terror. We inform readers how the people murdered by the foreign power for hiding in Võrumaa woods have finally found their honourable last

sincerely thank Raivo Aeg, who was the head of the Internal Security Service for the last five years. He left a well-functioning security institution where people understand their role in a democratic law-governed state and protect the freedom of the country in cooperation with international and domestic partners.

I hope you will find our annual review inspiring.

Arnold Sinisalu

Director General of the Internal Security Service



DEFENCE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER

The defence of the constitutional order is the job of the Estonian Internal Security Service. The constitutional order is that we are independent, and it is the Estonian people alone who decide how to organise life in Estonia by making our choices and discussing our opinions freely with each other on decisions of varying import. In a free and democratic country, there are many ways to express and

gression from a foreign state. We are pleased to note that none of these internal factors posed a direct threat to Estonian national security in 2013. Unfortunately, the threat from external factors, and more specifically the threat of aggressive action from Russia, has increased. Before the recent events in Ukraine, Russia refrained from taking openly aggressive steps in order to avoid inter-

whom, why and how is explained in further detail below.

Extremism

The vast majority of the world's security authorities work to prevent and block extremism and the resulting threats to national security. Over the past 15 years, the Estonian Internal Security Service has described the kinds of threat extremism poses to the constitutional order in its annual reviews. In 2013, no form of extremism constituted a direct threat to national security in Estonia. In our society there is no significant support for left-wing or right-wing extremism, nor is there any for the Russian nationalists who have tried to gain attention here and elsewhere. Unfortunately, the lack of support for extremism and its lack of strength in Estonia has not prevented attempts to give this impression or to make the public believe this. In our earlier annual reviews, we have talked about various project-based extremists. These characters turn up repeat-

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resolve differences of opinion, and the most important is the elections that are held to various representative bodies. Such a constitutional order and the decisions it leads to may not suit everyone.

Democracy can be threatened in many ways, from violent attempts by extremists to change the public order, to the emergence of separatist movements, or direct or indirect ag-

national isolation. Today, this is no longer a priority for Russia. Any future aggression from Russia towards its neighbours can only be prevented through military deterrence in the form of NATO's collective security or a sufficiently strong independent defence capability. In that case, there is even more cause to talk about indirect threats, and particularly about attempts to influence the sovereignty of the Estonian state and nation. By

edly in various situations and as the spokespeople for various organisations, but their total number together with their few supporters is not larger than around one hundred people. For the most active among them, extremism has become a source of income, and more of a lifestyle. Thus, the more active Russian nationalists get support from Russian national funds and agencies and earn their living by spreading the three main messages of Russia's influence operations and fighting against integration between the various ethnic and language groups living in Estonia. The three main messages they try to promote are:

- Estonia supports Nazism;
- Russian-speaking people are discriminated against in Estonia en masse;
- Estonia is a dead-end state that only causes problems for its Western partners.

One method in Russia's influence operations is to use extremists to achieve Russia's foreign policy goals.

Russia's soft power and compatriot policy

In the latest statement of Russian foreign policy (12.02.2013), the desire to use "soft power" to achieve foreign policy goals and enhance the reputation of the country is outlined.¹ Soft power is defined as a "*complex set of tools for handling foreign policy that work through civil society, using methods and technologies that are informational and communicational, humanitarian and in other ways different from traditional diplomacy*". The international term "soft power" was first used by the American political scientist Joseph Nye to denote the ability of a state to win over allies by using attractive non-tangible re-

sources such as culture and ideology rather than coercive measures. The opposite of this is hard power, which denotes the use of physical strength, threats or payments of money. The use of soft power only attracts the attention of national security institutions if it forms a part of the influence operations of a foreign state, and the understanding of the Russian authorities of what soft power means is an example of that.

The national agency *Rossotrudnichestvo*, which was set up under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in 2008, plays a key role in the use of soft power in Russian foreign policy. This agency is involved with CIS countries, compatriots living abroad, and international humanitarian co-operation.

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In the new foreign policy concept, *Rossotrudnichestvo* has, for the first time, been defined as a department that participates in developing and running the foreign policy of the Russian Federation in providing international development assistance, international humanitarian co-operation, and support for compatriots and in promoting the Russian language around the world. *Rossotrudnichestvo*'s tasks include developing Russian Science and Culture Centres abroad.

The Russian government's action plan for 2013-2014 for compatriots has been divided into 30 courses of

actions, 19 of which are the main or shared responsibility of *Rossotrudnichestvo*, and its importance in Russian compatriot policy has increased considerably. According to Konstantin Kosachev², Russia is interested in the organisations of fellow Russians abroad becoming even more independent and better able to demand their rights themselves, so that they are less dependent on the support of the Russian Federation. In order to achieve this goal, Kosachev considers it important to have "closer co-operation" with Russian businessmen who are active in foreign countries.

Kosachev's words make the changes in the local Coordination Council of Russian Compatriots significant – in 2013, it reorganised its activity into sectors, one of which

was an economic sector. The sector manager's job is to find Russian and local businessmen who would be ready to finance organisations or activities that promote the Russian compatriot policy in Estonia.

It is worth remembering here that the Coordination Council of Russian Compatriots is an association of Estonian non-governmental associations that are connected with the Russian compatriot policy and act under the guidance of the Russian embassy, and membership of the Council is approved by the embassy. The local coordination council is a part of the

¹ In the Estonian Internal Security Service annual review for 2012, we explained the connections between "soft power" and influence operations in greater detail

² *Rossotrudnichestvo*'s director Konstantin Kosachev b. 1962 MGIMO graduate 1984, worked in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 1998, including as an adviser in the Russian embassy in Sweden. 1998-1999 adviser in the Russian prime minister's secretariat, later deputy manager. Member of the state Duma 1999-2012, member of the United Russia party. Director of *Rossotrudnichestvo* since 5 March 2012.

more extensive international system of the Coordination Council of Russian Compatriots that is coordinated by the Government Commission on Compatriots Living Abroad and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its function is to organise and coordinate the Russian diaspora living in foreign countries to support the objectives and interests of Russian foreign policy under the direction of Russian departments. The compatriot policy aims to influence decisions taken in the host countries, by guiding the Russian-speaking population, and by using influence operations inherited from the KGB, and also by simply financing various activities.

The success of the compatriot policy in Estonia requires the Russian-speaking population in Estonia to be segregated, and so integration processes are undermined, as they would enable the local Russian-speaking population to man-



Tallinn University of Technology 10 May 2013. Self-styled anti-fascists Maksim Reva, Elena Sheremet-Anikeyeva and Aleksandr Kornilov disrupting the conference "Democracy Crisis in Russia", organised by the members of the Russian opposition. PHOTO: Vladislav Kopylkov, vkop.eu

the Fund for the Legal Protection and Support of Russian Federation Compatriots Living Abroad (2012). There are plans to set up a fund to support Russian-speaking media based abroad.

Corruption is common given the lack of transparency in the financing of the Russian compatriot policy. There is no shortage of interested parties who would like to access a piece of the Russian national budget.

method of earning money provides an income for quite a few proponents of the compatriot policy, as the sums distributed for support can amount to hundreds of thousands of euros.

The Fund for the Legal Protection and Support of Russian Federation Compatriots Living Abroad

In the Russian argument, the protection of compatriots and the defence of the rights of Russian citizens is a standard justification for intervening in the internal affairs of other countries. The new foreign policy concept of Russia states that Russia has its own view on the defence of human rights, and this approach must be defended in "various international formats".

The goal of the Fund for the Legal Protection and Support of Russian Federation Compatriots Living Abroad, founded in 2012 under the management of Igor Panyovkin, is to support and finance NGOs (non-governmental organisations) in foreign countries that support Russia and its point of view, and to train and guide them and to use them in Russia's influence operations in international organisations and in the media. The use of such government-organised and government-financed non-profit

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age on their own. In that case, they would be less dependent on Russia and Russia would be less able to manipulate them.

In the Russian compatriot policy, money is a means to an end for some, but an end in itself for many. The Russian compatriot policy is funded from various dubious sources. In recent years, an important channel of support and financing has been government-created funds, which are also mostly financed from the Russian state budget, notably the Russki Mir fund, created in 2007; the Public Diplomacy Support Fund named after Aleksandr Gorchakov (2010); and

In the jargon of Russian officials, it is, indeed, referred to as the cutting of pieces, or *raspil*. The amount of money is always limited, but the number of people looking for an easy income from the funds is always high. That is why a patron must be found from among the officials in Moscow. In return, the patrons will receive some of the money allocated from the fund. This procedure is described in Russian jargon as *otkat* or returning. Therefore, Russians officials often turn a blind eye when some of the money allocated for organising an event, publishing a magazine, or some other activity, is simply pocketed by the applicant. This

associations or GONGOs (government organised non-governmental organisations) as tools in influence operations for achieving Russia's foreign policy goals has also been discussed in our earlier annual reviews.

In this way a network of organisations supporting Russia's foreign policy and influence operations is being set up in foreign countries and financed by the Russian compatriot support fund. In several places around the world, Russia has started to create what it calls centres for protecting the rights of compatriots, with help and financing from the fund. In 2012, such a centre was also founded in Tallinn by the non-governmental association MTÜ Inimõiguste Teabekeskus (Legal Information Centre for Human Rights). It is run by a politician, Alexey Semyonov, who is responsible for protecting the rights of compatriots in the Coordination Council of Russian Compatriots, which operates under the local embassy of the Russian Federation. Panyovkin has emphasised that one of the goals behind the creation of such centres is to encourage the consolidation of the Russian-speaking community in foreign countries – thus, not so much concealing the influence operation as hiding it behind euphemisms.

In accordance with the new foreign policy concept of protecting Russian perspectives on human rights in various international formats, the fund organised for several compatriot policy activists operating in Estonia to participate in the annual Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, HDIM, of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), held in Warsaw from 23.09-04.10.2013. Unfortunately, these activists criticised Estonia at this meeting, using the main Russian messages noted earlier. At the OSCE event, the Moscow-based Interna-

tional Institute of the Newly Established States organised a round table on 25 September entitled "Monitoring the observance of human rights in Central and Eastern Europe, in theory and in practice", led by Dmitry Kondrashov, a compatriot activist with the title of Director of the Baltic Research Centre at the institute. Using information already known to us, we mentioned Kondrashov's ties with the Russian secret services in the 2007 annual review. The Baltic Research Centre was founded in 2012 and works from the principle

example of an influence operation carried out in the name of an apparently independent non-profit association that is acting in the interests of Russia.

In addition, Panyovkin's fund also finances the training of activists and spokespeople who support Russia's specific point of view on human rights. Starting from 2014, such long-term training will be run through the Russian State University for the Humanities. From 29.11-01.12.2013, the Legal Information Centre for Human

The preferred target group is young people, who are generally more receptive to Russian propaganda, as they do not know about the reality of the history of the Soviet Union and its consequences for the Estonian state and nation.

that the Baltic states are not legal successors to earlier states and are new entities created from the former Russian Empire when the Soviet Union collapsed. Speakers from Estonia at the conference table were Sergei Seredenko, Maksim Reva and Larissa Semyonova. According to Sergey Seredenko, the entire theory of the Russian occupation is meant only for internal consumption. This is a good

Rights held a training event in Narva, supported by the fund. The goal of the event was to bring new people into the compatriot policy of the Russian Federation. The preferred target group is young people, who are generally more receptive to Russian propaganda, as they do not know about the reality of the history of the Soviet Union and its consequences for the Estonian state and nation.



Oleg Besedin and Nikolay Pechatnov in front of the Russian Embassy in Tallinn.
PHOTO: Andres Putting

Russian clubs: media club Impressum, Format-A3, Skovoroda Club, Izborsk Club

The three main messages in the anti-Estonian influence operation are accusations of Nazism; discrimination against the Russian-speaking population because of the large number of people with undefined citizenship in the society and the conversion to Estonian-language studies in Russian-language high schools; and the promotion of the image of a dead-end small country that has gone from the best in the Soviet Union to the poorest in the European Union.

One of the tools for spreading these messages and narratives in Estonia is a propaganda club, the non-profit association named MTÜ Impressum, which started operations in Tallinn in October 2008, under the management of a local entrepreneur, Igor Teterin, and Galina Sapozhnikova, a correspondent of the newspaper Komso-



The aim of Irbzok Club is to restore the might and the size of the Soviet Union

The way the propaganda club Impressum works can be seen in the technique used skilfully to bring some guests, who might seem too neutral otherwise, back to the familiar old topics. At the meetings, the “questions from the listeners” that Igor Teterin reads out are almost always about the discrimination against the Russian-speaking population in Estonia, and the spread of Nazism in Estonia. Even if the guests do not have a strong opinion on these matters, they still have to say something. Usually, the negative or



in countries neighbouring Russia. In July 2009, the club Format-A3 was formed in Moldova and in Crimea (Ukraine), which uses an identical format to Impressum, and the same speakers. In April 2011, Format-A3 started holding meetings in Latvia, and in autumn 2012 it did so in Lithuania.

In September 2010, the media clubs expanded elsewhere in Ukraine as well, when the Skovoroda Club started in the capital, Kiev. The latter was founded by Dmitry Kiselyov, a presenter on a Russian TV channel Rossiya, who is known primarily for his ferocious support for the Kremlin and his antagonism towards Western countries. The importance of information and influence operations is evident in the decree signed on 9 December 2013 by the president of Russia, Vladimir Putin, dissolving Russia's largest news agency RIA Novosti, and replacing it with an international media company Rossiya Segodnya, which focuses on coverage of Russian politics and public life. The new media company is a combination of the former news agency RIA Novosti and the radiostation Golos Rossii. Dmitry Kiselyov, the founder of the Skovoroda Club, was appointed as the new director of the agency and Margarita Simonyan as the editor in editor-in-chief (simultaneously in RT).

The propaganda club Impressum, which was founded in Estonia, was the first club started after the collapse of the Soviet Union on a territory that Russia still considers to be in its sphere of influence and in the so-called near abroad.

molskaya Pravda. The main activity of the so-called “international media club” is evenings with media figures and public figures famous in Russia, who give presentations on topics that usually coincide quite precisely with the Russian anti-Estonia messages. At these evenings, Impressum's guests refer to themselves directly as imperialists. The audience can hear stories of the growth of Russia's might and influence and how excessive orientation towards the West and mistrust towards Russia are the main causes of all Estonia's problems.

incorrect statements in the question are simply repeated. Similar selected questions are used to keep topics that are important to Russia constantly on the agenda.

The propaganda club Impressum, which was founded in Estonia, was the first club started after the collapse of the Soviet Union on a territory that Russia still considers to be in its sphere of influence and in the so-called near abroad. Over the years, the same interest group has been continuously expanding its activity

The creation of identical propaganda clubs in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova and Ukraine and their shared pattern of activity bear witness to the continuation of the old Soviet policy of spheres of influence among Russia's ruling elite. Countries occupied in 1939-1940 under the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact are treated as a whole that requires similar treatment. Today, Moscow's goal is to keep a yearning for the Soviet Union alive in the Russian-speaking communities of these countries, and to prevent their natural integration in the local society.

Lately, the most popular, but so far publicly unrecognised partner for Impressum and its sibling clubs is the Izborsk Club, founded in 2012 in Pskov. This is an association of Russian public figures and experts with anti-liberal views. The chairman and main ideologist of the club is Aleksandr Prokhanov, the nationalist editor-in-chief of the Russian nationalist newspaper Zavtra. The core of the club is comprised of people connected to the Institute of Dynamic Conservatism (DKI), which has previously engaged in anti-Estonian information and influence operations. For example, in 2010, the propaganda portal Regnum published a "Public memorandum on the principles of Russian policy towards Estonia", which aimed to persuade the Russian government to continue their hostile policy towards Estonia (cf. the Estonian Internal Security Service annual review for 2010). The signatories included Mikhail Demurin, the programmes director at DKI, and several other people now involved with the Izborsk Club. In the same year, Mikhail Demurin was awarded with the commemorative medal for the 300th anniversary of the annexation of Livonia and Estonia to Russia. This medal was issued by the public committee of the celebration of the

300th anniversary of the annexation of Livonia and Estonia to Russia, based in Riga.

In September 2012, the Russian Ministry of Culture, Vladimir Medinski, gave a speech of welcome at the opening event of the Izborsk Club in Pskov. Later, the Kremlin tried to claim that the minister was present during the foundation of the club practically by chance, because the anniversary celebrations of the village of Izborsk were being held at the same time. In short, the goal of the Izborsk club is to restore the might and strength that Russia had in Soviet times through harsh and conservative policies. Aleksandr Prokhanov, the ideologist of the

change the name of Volgograd back to Stalingrad, and to erect a statue of Stalin in that city.

Several current members of the Izborsk Club, including Mikhail Delyagin, an economic analyst; Maksim Shevchenko, a presenter and journalist; Nikolai Starikov³, a publicist; and Mikhail Hazin and Andrei Kobaykov, both economists, have appeared in Estonia at Impressum with their presentations. On 24 January 2013, Impressum's sister club Format-A3 organised an evening in Chisinau, Moldova, with the chairman of the Izborsk Club, Aleksandr Prokhanov, on the topic "Russia: imperialist ambitions and national priorities". On 15 June 2013, Format-A3 helped to

"Our club is a laboratory, where the ideology of the Russian state is being developed; it is an institute where the concept of a breakthrough is created; it is a military workshop, where an ideological weapon is being forged that will be sent straight into battle".

club, wants to create an "ideological weapon", and give it to the Russian authorities. More specifically, Prokhanov said, "Our club is a laboratory, where the ideology of the Russian state is being developed; it is an institute where the concept of a breakthrough is created; it is a military workshop, where an ideological weapon is being forged that will be sent straight into battle".³ So far, the Russian media has focused most on the club's address to Vladimir Putin, calling for preparations to be made for a glorious celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Soviet Union, and for a gigantic museum of the Soviet Union to be built in Ulyanovsk. The club also wants to

organise a tour of the Izborsk Club to Tiraspol, the capital of the internationally unrecognised Transnistria, where thoughts of a Eurasian Union and the restoration of the empire were again shared with local Russian-minded politicians.

It is obvious that the members of the Izborsk club, and their sympathisers in the political elite of Russia consider the Baltic countries, Moldova and Ukraine to be simply temporarily lost Russian territories. It is of symbolic significance that Izborsk (Estonian Irboska), which the club was named after, used to be a territory of the Republic of Estonia under the Treaty of Tartu.

³ Russian "Наш клуб – это лаборатория, где будет вырабатываться идеология русского государства, институт, где будет создаваться концепция рывка, военная мастерская, где будет коваться идеологическое оружие, которое сразу будет отправляться в бой". <http://rusnovosti.ru/news/224797/>

⁴ Born in 1970 in Leningrad. By education, an engineer-economist of the chemical industry. Very prolific writer. Praises the empire, Stalin and Putin. Was a guest of Impressum in 2011.

Historical propaganda

In the Soviet Union, history was treated primarily for the purposes of propaganda and as a method of ideological education, and it was used to suffocate dissidence among other things. Russia has not yet been able to escape truly from this Soviet mentality even today, and that is why they do all they can to deny the Soviet occupation in the Baltic countries and to justify the repressions by the Soviet power during the occupation. The secret services of the Soviet Union and Russia have always defended this concept of history and today still decide on which select people have access to the archived documents containing the darkest secrets of WWII in Russia.

Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians were working alone here, forming more and more police battalions, legions and self-defence force units to eliminate Russian civilians. It also uses famous clips from the Warsaw Ghetto to illustrate the killing of Jews in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania during the German occupation.

The archives of Soviet historical propaganda have been searched for accusations that were extensively used in the 1950s and 1960s of collaboration with Nazis and participation in the holocaust, which back then were mainly directed at the refugees from the Baltic states. Again, KGB files are used in the film, and confessions of dubious value by former sol-

depicts all those that participated in the resistance movement as bandits and bloody cut-throats with fascist inclinations.

The article goes on to describe the activity of the ERNA reconnaissance group, and the leader of the unit, the "Abwehr agent" Henn-Ants Kurg is mentioned. The article contains stories about ERNA members murdering officers of the Red Army and local communist activists, cutting the letter E on the bodies of the victims as a "business card", and leaving behind bloody Finnish belt knives. Identical claims about ERNA were made by the chief of the Estonian SSR KGB investigation department, Leonid Barkov, in his 1974 book "The Abwehr in Estonia". This is only one example of how cold war era propaganda is reused in the 21st century by the Russian secret services.

Cold war era propaganda is reused in the 21st century by the Russian secret services.

Maksim Reva, who became known as an activist after the riots of April 2007, presented his documentary film "The hidden history of the Baltic states" in St. Petersburg and in Tallinn in 2013. The director and cameraman of the film was Oleg Besedin, who worked for a Russian TV channel in Estonia, TVN; the editor of the film was Nikolai Pechatnov, who had served in the Soviet armed forces; and the consultant was Timofei Potapenko, a historian from St. Petersburg. Using archive materials and contemporary materials, Reva tries to defend the ludicrous claim that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are carrying out ethnic genocide, by comparing Russians in modern-day Estonia to Jews in Nazi Germany.

The film does not make any mention of the Soviet occupation and its repressive policies and it tries to give the impression that during the German occupation from 1941-1944,

diers of the 36th Defence Battalion, obtained following physical violence and the threat of execution. It is interesting to note that the archives of the FSB, the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, are named first in the list of materials used in the film, and that the general public does not have access to these.

In the 2013 December issue of the magazine "FSB: For and Against", published by the FSB public committee and dedicated to the 95th anniversary of the Russian military intelligence service SMERSH, there was an article by Vladimir Petrishchev, the former chief of FSB military counter-intelligence, "Military counter-intelligence at the front", which tells the story of the fight between SMERSH and the resistance movements in the Baltic countries and western Ukraine in the years after the war. The entire piece takes a Soviet perspective on history and

Mir Bez Natsizma

The GONGO Mir Bez Natsizma (MBN – World Without Nazism), which describes itself as a civil rights movement, represents Russian interests at an international level and constantly spreads accusations of Nazism about Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and other countries. MBN works tirelessly to promote a public image as a neutral international institution for the defence of human rights. However, behind this image they spread the propaganda messages of the Russian authorities and take advantage of the good name and reputation of the OSCE, the UN, the Council of Europe and other well-known international organisations. In 2012, MBN held a meeting of its members in Strasbourg, and on 4 June 2013 in Washington, DC, where Estonia was represented by Yana Toom.

In autumn 2013, several members of MBN participated in the

OSCE ODIHR annual conference in Warsaw. In addition to the planned sessions, all the NGOs at the forum were able to hold auxiliary events and round tables with no set topic during lunch breaks and in the evenings. The programme stated that the headings of the auxiliary events had been worded by their organisers, and they might not represent the opinions of the OSCE ODIHR. However, for several Russian GONGOs, this was an opportunity to spread their messages directly under the banner of the OSCE.

A typical example of a Russian influence operation at the OSCE event was the HDIM auxiliary event “Mass statelessness in Estonia and Latvia as a result of ethnic discrimination”, held on 30 September by MBN and its subsidiary organisations Latvia Bez Natsizma and Estonia Bez Natsizma.

In 2013, MBN’s activities were hindered by scandals that centred around Boris Shpigel, a businessman, leader of the organisation, and former member of the Russian Federation Council. In January 2013, copies of a court verdict started to circulate in Russian social networks, showing that Shpigel had been convicted of a sexual offence under §120 of the Russian SSFR Criminal Code in 1982. In November 2013, Andrei Karaulov, the presenter of the Russian channel 5 TV show “Moment Istiny” (“The Moment of Truth”), sent letters to MBN and the World Forum of Russian-Speaking Jewry asking them to comment on the prosecution of Shpigel. However, after some time, these organisations received forged letters with Karaulov’s name and signature refuting the contents of the previous enquiries. In December 2013, the Russian journalist Andrei Karaulov accused Shpigel of forging enquiries with his signatures.

Youth camp Soyuz – children under the red flag from an early age

Another telling example of Russia’s yearning for its Soviet past and its desire to keep the memory of its former empire alive is the military and athletic youth camp “Союз: Наследники победы” (Union for the Descendants of Victory). A few hundred children from Russia, the CIS and the Baltic states, including a group of students from a school in Maardu, participate in this youth camp, which is held every year. This camp is held in honour of Russia’s victory in the second world war and has attracted the attention of Estonian and Latvian media earlier as a kind of a curiosity. However, the slogan of friendship between nations, which accompanies

Odessa, and the oblast administration played at most the role of extras. The better-known among the numerous supporters of the event included the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and the International Antifascist Front. That this was not an insignificant event is shown merely by the fact that the event’s media partners included all of Russia’s larger information agencies and publications. In addition to RIA Novosti, ITAR-TASS, Komsomolskaya Pravda and Rossiiskaya Gazeta, several departmental publications of the Russian army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs publicised the event, as well as the constantly re-emerging nationalist newspaper Zavtra.

The organisers of the Soyuz military and athletic youth camp are

The slogan of friendship between nations, which accompanies the event and is familiar from Soviet times, cannot disguise the aggressive nature of the event, which aims for global military superiority and is intolerant towards others.

the event and is familiar from Soviet times, cannot disguise the aggressive nature of the event, which aims for global military superiority and is intolerant towards others. Estonians, who suffered for decades under the Soviet occupation, feel uneasy seeing the constant use of Soviet symbols and the waving of red flags.

Another Soyuz youth camp in September 2013 was somewhat different from the previous camps, as it was the first one held outside Russia. The event in Odessa was held under the auspices of the Russian federal agency Rossotrudnichestvo and the association *Доблесть Отечества* (The Courage of the Fatherland). The public council of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence, the city of

closely connected to the Russian military intelligence service the GRU, an organisation that is not renowned for its altruism. The main organiser of the camp, The Courage of the Fatherland, is led by a former GRU officer, Oleg Bakanats. Children attending the camp were taught skills that are important for a Russian intelligence agent: acting, diplomacy, the compilation of overviews and analysis and battlefield medicine. Yuri Babayants, a retired Lieutenant General of the military intelligence service and the president of the Association of Russian Military Intelligence Service Veterans, shared his personal experiences of military intelligence with the children.



COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

The year 2013 was an eventful one for counter-intelligence. There was a release of information and a lot of discussion in the global media and in public about electronic intelligence and its scope, the agencies

that decade, Estonia has exposed four traitors.

We identified the activities and interests in Estonia and towards Estonia of several intelligence services.

In our annual reviews, we have repeatedly highlighted the increasing importance of cyber intelligence and we do so again now. Identifying cyber intelligence and the extent of it and locating those behind it is a difficult challenge for counter-intelligence personnel and the law enforcement system. The tactics and methods of intelligence operations change rapidly with changes in technology and software and in people's IT habits. Any private entity, company, public institution or online environment that has access to sensitive information can be a target for intelligence.

The tactics and methods of intelligence operations change rapidly with changes in technology and software and in people's IT habits.

behind it, the ethics of espionage and the legislation of intelligence, and treason. There has not been this much public attention paid to intelligence activities for at least a decade. During the latter half of

As in previous years, it was evident that Russia's secret services paid us the most attention, and Russia's foreign policy interests and geopolitical engagements mean this could pose a threat to Estonian national security.

Points to consider

- As a member of NATO and the European Union, Estonia is of interest to foreign intelligence services. Russian secret services are particularly active against us, and they have sufficient interest and resources to work against Estonia and our allies. Intelligence of various types and platforms is used, with human intelligence, electronic intelligence, diplomatic intelligence, intelligence from the

observer's own territory, illegal residents, and other forms.

- Any Estonian resident or citizen who possesses information or can influence processes that could be useful for the aims of the Russian services may become a target for Russian intelligence.
- Every person, public institution and company can protect themselves from recruitment, unlawful penetration of com-

puter networks, compromising activities, and other intelligence work. Everyone can protect their personal and professional computer environment by being more aware about cyber security and by using their computer safely.

- The best way to stay safe is to notify the Estonian security institutions of any suspicions of contact with the secret services of a foreign power as soon as possible.

The Russian secret services, and their interest in Estonia



FSB – The Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation. Although it is an internal security service, the FSB also collects traditional foreign intelligence, including political information, and attempts to exert influence abroad. It plays a significant part in gathering cyber intelligence and several central units of the FSB deal with Estonia. Regional governments should be particularly aware of the FSB's activities aimed against Estonia from the city of St. Petersburg, and the Leningrad Oblast. Signals intelligence units, including cyber intelligence, work for all FSB operative units. The FSB's main approach to human intelligence is recruiting targets who visit Russia and sending their agents to Estonia. Although recruitment by the FSB and its handling of human sources is mainly done in Russia, there are some cases where it happens in other countries as well. The main target groups of FSB recruitment in Estonia are government officials, employees or former employees of law enforcement, businessmen and people with political connections. FSB recruitment is often heavy-handed as pressure is put on potential recruits, while benefits may also be offered. If the recruitment fails, the FSB tries to make the target's everyday life difficult by hindering their business operations, denying them the right to visit Russia, or threatening them.

The FSB is systematically increasing its skills in cyber intelligence and cyber counter-intelligence. On 15 January 2013, the President of Russia ordered the FSB to develop a national system for fighting cyber attacks against the government institutions of Russia and its critical infrastructure, and the legislative changes were passed by the State Duma in December last year. The main cyber intelligence objective of the FSB is to break into the classified computer networks of foreign powers. The FSB supplies secret service support for the creation of a Eurasian Union led by Russia. While collecting information on foreign policy around the world and influencing it has traditionally been the role of the SVR, the FSB is also involved in exerting influence abroad.



The SVR – Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service. The SVR does intelligence work against Estonia from within Russia, from third countries, and from Estonian territory, using both diplomatic and non-traditional cover for this. It seeks support for its intelligence work among the local population and people with earlier contacts and ties to the KGB of the ESSR can be important. The SVR's main interests and targets in the Republic of Estonia are the institutions that secure Estonian national security, including the Estonian Internal Security Service, and the professional skills of these institutions and the classified information they hold that is important for national security. In addition, there is interest in the domestic and foreign policies of the Republic of Estonia and in the party political landscape. The SVR is also interested in Estonia's participation

in international organisations and alliances, and the bilateral or multilateral international agreements of the Republic of Estonia. In acquiring political information, the SVR has shown an increasing interest in the younger generation of Estonian politicians, through whom they wish to have access to political decision-making processes, particularly for foreign policy. Although the local government council elections held in autumn 2013 did not lead to a significant increase in the SVR's information acquisition work, more of it may be expected during the 2014 elections to the European Parliament, and before the next elections to the Estonian Parliament (Riigikogu). It is currently very important for Russia to have the maximum possible number of supporters in the European Union as one of Russia's most important foreign policy objectives in 2013 was to achieve visa-free travel to and from the European Union.



The GRU – The Main Directorate of Military Intelligence of the General Staff. The GRU is the intelligence arm of the Russian armed forces and defence industries and its main role is to set up, operate and broaden operational bases near to possible enemies. The Russian armed forces continue to train in the Western military district and practise combat operations against an enemy on the Western front. In autumn 2013, Russia and Belarus held the strategic military training exercise ZAPAD-2013 and the GRU was also a part of this. The highest political leadership of Russia has requested the GRU to increase its operational and intelligence potential.

Traditionally, diplomatic cover is used for intelligence, and intelligence activities are carried out from their own territory, Russia. The structure of the GRU is divided between the army and navy intelligence arms and its signals intelligence arm, which carry out the tasks assigned to the GRU for information collection and intelligence priorities. Russian military intelligence also collects information about Estonia in third countries and through them.

military intelligence also collects information about politics, the economy, energy, and scientific and technological development. This knowledge is sometimes acquired to order for the Russian military-industrial complex. In 2013, the GRU took a clear interest in Afghanistan, cyber defence, NATO infrastructure and various NATO exercises, including the STEADFAST JAZZ 2013 exercise conducted by NATO and its partner nations. Interest was also shown in companies in

uncover the activities of intelligence officers working for foreign countries and operating in Estonia. Without a doubt, the most active foreign secret services have been those of the Russian Federation, but their work against the security of the Republic of Estonia has not gone unnoticed. We are, however, only able to share publicly some of the results of the work we have done to discover, stop and prevent such long-term intelligence activity.

They assess the Estonian military forces as a whole, its capabilities and military sites, international co-operation, and details of Estonia's membership of NATO.

The main strategic target of Russian military intelligence is NATO, the political and military planning of the alliance, its classified information, and the people who can access that information. They assess the Estonian military forces as a whole (the Estonian Defence Forces and the Estonian Defence League), its military capabilities and military sites, international military co-operation, and details of Estonia's membership of NATO. In addition to military information, Russian

the Estonian military industry. It is probable that GRU conducts intelligence operations against the missions of the Estonian Defence Forces and international organisations based in Estonia.

EXPOSING TRAITORS

Since the Republic of Estonia regained its independence, one of the main functions of the Estonian Internal Security Service has been to

In 2013, the Internal Security Service revealed the results of a long-term counter-intelligence operation when it arrested Vladimir Veitman on 7 August. The evidence collected against Veitman, who had worked as a technical specialist for the Internal Security Service and had retired a couple of years ago, was conclusive and he pleaded guilty. The Harju County Court convicted Veitman of treason and sentenced him to a total of 15 years in prison, and confiscated 120,000 euros that he had earned from his crimes. The court also satisfied the civil claim of 65,000 euros made by the Internal Security Service against Veitman. On the same day as the trial, which was held in camera in order to protect state secrets, the Estonian Internal Security Service and the Office of the Prosecutor General held a joint press conference revealing the details of the crime and how it was discovered.

A valuable expert becomes a traitor

Vladimir Veitman joined the Internal Security Service in December 1991. After regaining its independence, the Republic of Estonia needed strong security authorities, and this meant that many difficult decisions had to be taken. When the Internal Security Service was re-established,



A small part of the criminal income that was taken from the traitor



V. Veitman

the only technical information collection specialists in Estonia were those who had previously worked for the Committee for State Security (KGB) of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the heads of the Internal Security Service had to decide whether they wanted to use the KGB's technological know-how or leave Estonia vulnerable because our modest technical capacity would put us in a much weaker position than our adversaries. The service heads decided to use former KGB employees in technical operations when absolutely necessary but to exclude them from the planning and management of operations.

For years, Vladimir Veitman was a rigorous and honest worker. He was never part of the management of the Internal Security Service, never took part in planning our operations, never had access to any information about people recruited for secret operations or to data collected by them. It is also important to stress that Veitman did not have access to any EU or NATO secrets. He was recruited by the Russian secret services many years later and actually started working with the SVR (the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service) in 2002.

Why did Vladimir Veitman decide to work for the secret services of an unfriendly country? The experience of the security services of Estonia and other countries suggests that new agents are not recruited or convinced to commit treason overnight; it requires a long-term effort, which may take years and is known as the cultivation phase. After actual contact is established – or, in Veitman's case, maintained – there follows constant testing of whether the subject might be ready for recruitment.

After his years spent in the KGB, Vladimir Veitman had kept in touch with Nikolai Yermakov, a former colleague who had joined the SVR. As a result, Yermakov had a pretty good idea of what was going on in Veitman's life. With one exception – at first, he did not know what Veitman did at work. Everything changed when Veitman, prompted by problems in his personal life

an ego bruised by setbacks in his personal life was boosted; Veitman also received offers of money and as a result of a moment of weakness, the valued specialist had become a traitor.

As unlikely as it may sound, Veitman's treason had no direct connection with his KGB background, which had never been a secret to the Internal Security Service. The Republic of Estonia has taken various steps to eliminate the security risks connected with former KGB employees. In 1995, we passed the Procedure for Registration and Disclosure of Persons who Have Served in or Cooperated with Intelligence or Counter-intelligence Organisations of Security Organisations or Military Forces of States which have Occupied Estonia Act. Many former KGB agents have been discovered under this act; many have come forward and admitted to working for

In some situations you either do something or you do not do it, there is no middle ground, so for instance, you cannot reveal “a little bit” of a state secret.

and his professional life, made the terrible error of telling Yermakov a little something about his work. In some situations you either do something or you do not do it, there is no middle ground, so for instance, you cannot reveal “a little bit” of a state secret. After the incident, Veitman again took the wrong decision and failed to notify his superiors in the Internal Security Service of the interest he had aroused. The SVR, the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, seized the opportunity. Veitman was convinced to cooperate with Russia through a slow and smooth process of manipulation that played on various motivators: a man disappointed in his career was given a chance to be important,

the KGB, making it harder for the Russian Federation to contact them, though it does not entirely eliminate the possibility of such contact. The results of constant and thorough collection of information about such people can be seen in Veitman's case as well. For various reasons, we can now say that we know more about the former KGB agents operating in Estonia than the Russian Federation does, as the documents that Russia has on those agents date back to the Soviet regime. This means that blackmail cannot be considered an important factor in Veitman's case, and indeed, in the experience of our counter-intelligence experts, successful long-term operations are generally not built on blackmail

– it is rather a question of creating favourable circumstances at the right time; the agents agree to work for an unfriendly country and cannot find a way to stop doing so later on. It is once again worth remembering that it is always best for the person to contact the Estonian security authorities and explain what has happened to ensure the consequences are less serious, and the sooner this is done, the better.

Veitman was finally caught in August 2013, once enough evidence had been collected against him. Having been presented with irrefutable evidence after his arrest, Veitman decided to cooperate with the investigators. During the interrogations, he provided the investigators with additional useful information. The Internal Security Service has identified the people in the secret services of the Russian Federation who guided Veitman's work. Veitman's handler was Nikolai Yermakov, an agent of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service. The contact person for Yermakov, a citizen of the Russian Federation, was Valeri Zentsov, an officer of the SVR.

Veitman generally met Yermakov in Estonia three or four times a year. There was only one meeting outside Estonia, in Dubrovnik, Croatia, in August 2007. Valeri Zentsov, Yermakov's curator and former KGB officer, also attended this meeting. We have talked about this man before because he was also Hermann Simm's handler.

Veitman warned the SVR that Simm was being watched

We cannot publish all details about the information leaked by Veitman to the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service over the years or the extent of the damage caused by his actions, for we do not wish to help the Russian secret services to damage Estonia's security. Even though the Internal Security Service only gives out information on a strict need-to-know basis and is careful that this principle is followed, Veitman did have quite a lot to reveal in more than 10 years: information about his colleagues and the organisation of our work, and as much as he knew about about the technical capacity of the Internal Security Service. As an experienced security service specialist Veitman must have understood the risk of getting caught and taken it into consideration when sending his information. Veitman's methods of delivering the information were mostly old-fashioned – he met his contacts in person and passed the data on orally, not using technical means of communication.

We can reveal the most substantial and clear consequence of Veitman's actions was that he informed the Russian intelligence service that Herman Simm was under the surveillance of the Internal Security Service. Even though Veitman warned the Russian institution, the Internal Security Service managed to keep Simm from finding out that he was a suspect

prior to his arrest. Veitman's actions were, however, clearly detrimental to a lot of the work of the Internal Security Service in terms that cannot be measured financially. The Service has had to replace various software products as well as making other re-adjustments.

Undoubtedly the traitor has caused damage to the security of our country; the whole incident is rather unpleasant and gives us plenty to think about. It is never easy to catch traitors, for there are professionals at work on both sides and the acts of traitors are always carefully planned and secret. Catching traitors is always a victory for the chasers and a major blow to those using the traitors.

The fact that the Internal Security Service has managed to catch four traitors in the last five years, three of them in the last two years, indicates principally that:

- The intelligence services of the Russian Federation are aggressively targeting Estonia, because Estonia possesses secrets Russia is very much interested in.
- The Russian secret services only care about their agents for as long as they provide useful information – once the agents are in trouble, they are abandoned.
- The Estonian security authorities are now strong enough to battle the aggressive espionage, uncover the secret operations, and bring traitors to justice.

Vladimir Veitman

- Born 15.02.1950 in Tallinn.
- 1957-1967 30th High School of Tallinn.
- 11.1968-11.1970 Soviet army, communications operator.
- 1970-1980 Tallinn Telephone Network of the Ministry of Communications (electrician, engineer, department manager).
- 1972-1978 Tallinn Polytechnic Institute, automatics and telemechanics.
- 05.1980-11.1991 KGB of the ESSR, operative-technical department (OT department).
 - 1980-1986 operative officer.
 - 1986-1989 deputy head of OT department.
 - 1989-11.1991 head of OT department.
- 12.1991-31.05.2011 the Estonian Internal Security Service, technical specialist.
- Retired since 31.05.2011.
- Arrested 07.08.2013.
- Convicted 30.10.2013.



V. Veitman in his different roles over time



Nikolai Yermakov – SVR agent

- Born 10.02.1948.
- 1975-1991 KGB of the ESSR.
- Since 1991 working in the business sectors of Estonia and Russia.
- Citizen of the Russian Federation with an Estonian residence permit.

Valeri Zentsov – Yermakov's curator

- Born 31.08.1946.
- 1969-1991 KGB of the ESSR.
- Continued his service in the Russian SVR.
- Until 2001, handler of Herman Simm, former official of the Estonian Ministry of Defence.



PROVIDING CYBER SECURITY

The role of the Internal Security Service

National security threats are being found more and more often in the cyber environment and so we are focusing a great deal on the dangers that come from cyber intelligence, the fight against extremism and terrorism and attempted sabotage. The job of the Internal Security Service

the Estonian Information System's Authority, the Information Board and the Police and Border Guard Board. The key to national cyber security however, is that all public authorities, businesses and individual computer users must be alert and aware about security and must be careful to take all the necessary security measures.

We use technical and other sources from our domestic and interna-

so that we can start a criminal investigation to find the attacker's identity. If the attack is run from another country, it is rarely possible for us to identify or catch the operators behind the attack, but we can give our considered assessment of the attacker's country of origin and motivation. Together with our partners we use the technical information about the attack to strengthen our national cyber defence so that we can prevent harm to our national security and economy.

Cyber intelligence

The most consistent and widespread cyber threat is cyber intelligence work supported and organised by the authorities of foreign states. Such attacks try to gain illegal access to information about Estonian political, national security or eco-

Together with our partners we use the technical information about the attack to strengthen our national cyber defence so that we can prevent harm to our national security and economy.

is to detect and prevent such threats through intelligence work and criminal investigation. The Internal Security Service is one part of the national cyber security system together with

tional partners to identify attempted attacks. When there is an attack, we analyse the technical circumstances around it and the methods used and look at the background of the target

conomic information and they can target both networks connected to the public internet and closed networks. Significant technical, financial and human resources are being devoted by national governments to cyber intelligence and malware is becoming increasingly sophisticated, so that it is ever harder to identify and remove, while attacks are appearing from new directions. In 2013 we detected a number of attempted attacks run from other countries, which tried to access information illegally. As technology moves towards increasingly wide networking, cyber intelligence becomes more and more important as a means of gathering intelligence.

National cyber intelligence is mostly project-based, but the projects can last for years. The computer networks that are targeted for attack are studied in depth and there is a constant ongoing search for vulnerabilities. If the attacker cannot gain remote access to the target over the internet straight away, they will generally look for a person who can act as a conduit for their attack. The most common way of doing this is through fake email messages addressed to a specific person. Such emails often look like they came from an someone the targeted person knows, or someone they work with, but the email has an attachment that contains malware, and when the attachment is opened, a backdoor is created that gives the attacker remote access to the target computer or the entire network. Unfortunately, we have seen cases where attackers have been unwittingly assisted by people ignoring basic security measures and using the same password for remote access for a long time or connecting to their network from foreign countries or public wireless access areas.

Sabotage and influence operations

Cyber attackers may try to attack important Estonian databases and information in order to stop vital services from functioning. This may be done to inflict economic damage or to cause instability and divert attention from what is happening elsewhere. This phenomenon is known internationally as sabotage and in some circumstances it could also be attempted influence operations. Attackers may be foreign sponsored groups, extremists, terrorist-type movements, or individual perpetrators. A lot less is known about attacks of this kind either in Estonia or elsewhere internationally than

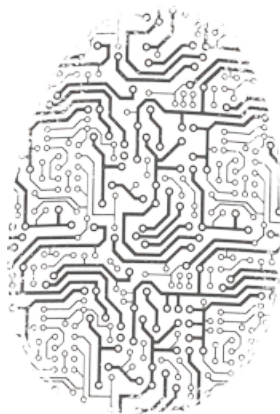
without the owner's knowledge (defacement), which may be a part of a broader, nationally coordinated, influence operation. Cyber-attacks are an excellent tool for influencing state decisions or preventing effective decision making.

Economic intelligence and economic security

The economic aspects of cyber security are also important. Many countries focus their cyber intelligence primarily on supporting their national economic interests, and their attacks may be aimed not only at military or political information, but also at economic and scientific information that can give them

Attackers may be foreign sponsored groups, extremists, terrorist-type movements, or individual perpetrators.

about cyber intelligence attacks, where information is collected secretly without any covert response. However, if such an attack were to take place, the consequences for national security and the economy could be serious.



The cyber environment offers new opportunities for influence operations like extensive distributed denial-of-service (DDoS) attacks and hacking of websites to replace content

an economic advantage. There is a constant increase in the amount of information and its availability, and the internet of things, which connects communication, industrial and household devices, is expanding. The transfer of information requires networks to be connected and information to be available, but this in turn increases the vulnerability of the networks. This is inevitable, but the interdependence leads to a growing security threat that people responsible for individual segments are not always able or willing to recognise. A successful cyber-attack need only breach a single weak point to destroy the entire chain.

As Estonia has an advanced e-government, the issue of cyber security is more important for Estonia than for most other countries, as all the services offered in the cyber environment are potential targets for cyber attacks.

PROTECTION OF STATE SECRETS

Protecting state secrets is part of the work of preventing intelligence activities directed against the Republic of Estonia, and this makes it one of the main tasks of the Estonian Internal Security Service.

Given the cases of disclosure of state secrets in recent years, like the Wikileaks and Snowden cases, the question may arise whether it might indeed be possible and necessary to declassify state secrets earlier and, if so, what the correct procedure would be.

The motives and arguments presented in foreign media to explain and justify the unlawful publication of secret information have not been convincing but have rather served as an attempt to justify unlawful actions with rather dubious reasons behind them.

Such unlawful disclosure of confidential information is a criminal offence against the state and leads to a criminal prosecution. Depending on the circumstances, the crime may be treason, espionage or intentional disclosure of state secrets. The unlawful disclosure of state secrets damages the security of the state and also the system of protection of state secrets and can, in more serious cases, cause irreparable damage to human sources, military training, the protection of technical data collection, and more. Another result of the disclosure of state secrets, besides a criminal case, is that additional investment and new procedures for protecting classified information are needed in order to prevent or reduce further damage that may result from the disclosure of state secrets.

According to § 45 of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia,

everyone has the right freely to disseminate ideas, opinions, beliefs and other information by word, print, picture or other means. This right may be circumscribed by law for civil servants employed by the national government and local authorities in order to protect state secrets that civil servants come across in their work. There are similar restrictions on the freedom of expression in order to protect national security or state secrets in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and most fundamental rights provisions of the member states of the European Union.

The State Secrets and Classified Information of Foreign States Act clearly defines the information regarded as a state secret: a 'state secret' is information described solely in the State Secrets and Classified Information of Foreign States Act or related legislation which should not be disclosed in the interests of the national security or foreign relations of the Republic of Estonia, with the exception of classified information from foreign states. The decision on whether a piece of information should be classified or not is not made by the person who has that information but is regulated by law. These regulations make it impossible to use classification to conceal abuses or to deny access to information that is meant to be published.

The types of state secrets include:

- state secrets related to foreign relations,
- state secrets related to national defence,
- state secrets related to the maintenance of law and order,
- state secrets related to the security authorities,

- state secrets related to infrastructure and the protection of information.

Unlawful disclosure of state secrets or an intention to disclose such secrets can not simply be defined as mere 'whistleblowing' or an intention to 'blow the whistle' as § 19 of the State Secrets and Classified Information of Foreign States Act states that anyone with the right of access to state secrets or a Facility Security Clearance is required to maintain the confidentiality of any state secrets or classified information of foreign states that they know about and to protect any classified media that they have from disclosure and from access by unauthorised persons who have no right of access or need to know. So if someone believes that the public interest and the people's need to know outweigh the obligation to keep state secrets, that person does not have the right to disclose classified information at their own discretion. The law cannot leave room for people to act solely according to their consciences and use the freedom of expression as an unlimited right.

State secrets stop being classified as secret when the classification expiry date passes, or if a fixed even occurs, or if the decision is made to declassify the secret early. State secrets can be declassified early under § 13 of the State Secrets and Classified Information of Foreign States Act. If information classified as a state secret no longer needs to be kept from disclosure in the interests of the national security of the Republic of Estonia, the information can be declassified early.

If the person processing a state secret believes or thinks due to their personal conviction that the classified information should be made public, they need to follow the legal steps. Firstly a reasoned proposal can be filed requesting the early declassification of classified information. If the person processing classified information doubts the reasonableness of the classification of a document and believes that the information should be made public, then they should contact the authority responsible for protecting state secrets and enforcing the law. The authority can then assess whether the classification is justified and if appropriate can propose the early declassification of the information in cooperation with the agency that compiled the document or holds the information. Somebody who suspects that a piece of information has been classified inappropriately has no right, legal or otherwise, to disclose state secrets.

In Estonia, the decision to declassify classified information early is generally taken by the Government of the Republic, the President of the Republic, the Board of the parliament, Riigikogu, a minister, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chancellor of Justice, the Auditor General, the Governor of Eesti Pank, or the State Secretary.

The head of a security authority can take the decision to declassify classified information early for information about the collection of covert information by a security authority, including information about the methods for collecting information. A state secret is declassified before the intended expiry of the classification if this is necessary for the work of a security authority and only as far as it does not endanger the security of individuals who collected or helped collect the information or are mentioned in it.

Risks connected with unlawful disclosure

Historical evidence for indicators of danger and risk proves that some risks to the protection of state secrets have remained the same.⁵ If a person who has decided to disclose confidential information has actually done so by order of a foreign state, it is a case of treason and the very first security risk is the connection between the traitor and the foreign institution collecting the confidential information. However, if the confidential information has been disclosed without the initiative of a foreign country, the main security risk has always been the untrustworthiness of the person who disclosed the information. This means that a person driven by their own private motives is capable of disclosing state secrets and is ready to do it, in words and in actions. Security checks may not reveal these motives if there are no other indicators of security risk connected

Cases of treason and large-scale disclosure of confidential information in Estonia and the rest of the world prove that the outward signs and habits hinting at the possibility of such behaviour need to be checked thoroughly and constantly. Although a security check is not a magic wand, it needs to determine whether the good, bad, active or lazy employee has a dark side, and must reveal the essence of their character and determine their level of risk.

The actions of Wikileaks, Snowden and Manning have not shifted the boundaries between the protection of state secrets and freedom of expression in democratic societies. However, the disclosure of state secrets does mean additional challenges for the authorities protecting the security of the state. How can they understand that a person is not trustworthy before it is too late? What would be the best way to ensure the protection of classified information? In a democratic society,

Although a security check is not a magic wand, it needs to determine whether the good, bad, active or lazy employee has a dark side, and must reveal the essence of their character and determine their level of risk.

to that person. A person's values and intentions may also change over time. The experience of other institutions around the world confirms that confidential information can sometimes be recklessly or carelessly disclosed by people who have been processing such information correctly for years. The well-disguised motives and changes in values can come to light years after the initial security checks, even if checks are repeated regularly.

it is not possible to impose strict limits on people's fundamental rights in order to ensure the protection of state secrets, so we should never excessively limit anyone's freedom of expression or right to internet access. Once the standard methods used to protect the security of the state start to look disproportionate to people's fundamental rights, we can no longer talk about a society whose ideas and mentality are reflected in our constitution.

⁵ Ivo Juurvee, who holds a PhD in history, reaches the following conclusion about background checks in his new research paper 'Rääkimine hõbe, vaikimine kuld: Riigisaladuse kaitse Eesti Vabariigis 1918–1940' (Speech is silver, silence is golden: the protection of state secrets in the Republic of Estonia in 1918–1940) (page 176), 'Understandably, the protection of state secrets was never the main function of any authority processing state secrets. Likewise, the heads of the authorities could not make the ability to keep state secrets the main priority when hiring new people – other characteristics and skills may have been more important. The conflict was inevitable. On the other hand, if a person applying for a position is loyal to his or her job and country, has no problems with alcohol or debts and no criminal record, it is only natural to assume that the person shall be a good employee'.



PREVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Definitions

Any review of terrorism, especially Islamic terrorism, needs the definitions to be clarified first. As Islamic terrorism has the highest international profile at the moment, it is a good place to start. Despite populist attempts to equate the social activity of Muslims with a threat to the ruling system of government, which have even been seen within the European Union, it is the substance and the goals of the activity of individuals that need to be assessed first. Fundamental Islam, which is a commitment to follow the “original” Islam of the Prophet Muhammad’s era in everything from rules of behaviour and clothing, to the organisation of family life and more, can also be encountered in Estonia. Practising and promoting fundamental Islam is within each person’s fundamental rights and does not threaten national security. A person’s religious beliefs alone cannot constitute a reason for interfering with their privacy or restricting their fundamental rights.

Even so, it can be that what emerges from the religious belief is the desire of some people to spread radical Islam in the form of Islamism. Islamism is a political theory which views Islam not only as a religion, but as a perfect political system that must form the foundation for the organisation of society. The goals of Islamist groups are generally inconsistent with standard social practices and in the worst case can result in acts of violence.

Recent trends in the member states of the European Union, have seen growth in the numbers of Muslim communi-

ties and an increase in the proportion of the population who are Muslim. As immigration is one of the main reasons for this growth, the success of integration reflects quite accurately the actual readiness of countries to accept immigrants. At the same time, it means that it is in the interests of the state to support the assimilation of minority communities and to encourage social activity rather than social isolation. This is preferable to allowing the development of closed communities and of radicalisation caused by social passivity and isolation.

International Events

The terrorist attacks of 2013 confirmed that terrorism remains a significant asymmetric security threat which aims to create political, economic and general instability through violence. Here follows a description of individual incidents in 2013 that illustrate the fatal danger of terrorism.

committed in Woolwich in the south-east of London, the capital of Great Britain. According to witnesses, two men attacked a third, who was a British Army soldier. The assailants acted on religious grounds.

On 21 September 2013 militants of the al-Shabaab terrorist organisation carried out a terrorist attack in the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya, which resulted in the deaths of 70 people.

The danger from terrorism for the general public not only manifests itself through actual terrorist attacks, but also influences political processes and the activities of various law enforcement agencies. In 2013, the paramilitary wing of the Islamic organisation Hizbullah operating in Lebanon was added to the list of terrorist organisations in the European Union. The opposition of some member states meant that the para-

Islamism is a political theory which views Islam not only as a religion, but as a perfect political system that must form the foundation for the organisation of society.

On 15 April 2013, two improvised explosive devices exploded in Boston, USA, killing 3 people and injuring over 180 others. Law enforcement authorities organised an 18-hour manhunt, during which Tamerlan Tsarnaev, one of the men behind the terrorist attack, died. His brother Dzhokar Tsarnaev was severely injured and arrested. One police officer died and one was wounded during the operation.

On 22 May 2013, a brutal murder with knives and a cleaver was

military wing of Hizbullah had not been classed as a terrorist organisation in the European Union before.

In August 2013, the official announcement by the USA that over 20 US embassies in the Middle East and North Africa would be closed down because of the heightened terrorism threat made headline news. The threat was mainly associated with Yemen, which is where the Arabian Peninsula affiliate of the Al-Qaeda terrorist organisation operates.

One of the primary tasks of the Estonian Internal Security Service in combating terrorism is to prevent terrorism threats in Estonia. In order to do this successfully, the Internal Security Service also watches, analyses and assesses international developments and events. Close cooperation between the Internal Security Service and its partners domestically and abroad has contributed greatly to our understanding of terrorism and its effects and to the indirect prevention of terrorism through deterrence mechanisms.

The Situation in Syria and its Effects

The crisis in Syria has by now lasted for several years and has drawn close international attention. The protests and demonstrations against the ruling authoritarian and dictatorial regimes that started in the spring of 2011 in the Arab world, popularly known as the “Arab Spring”, also spread to Syria. As events unfolded, what was first termed a crisis became an uprising, and by the end of 2013, the situation in Syria had escalated

to a civil war. Many who had initially participated in demonstrations became members of armed opposition movements whose primary shared goal is to overthrow the ruling regime of Syria headed by the Alawite⁶ president Bashar Hafez al-Assad.

The events in Syria are accompanied by extensive and severe violence for the people of Syria, and what has occurred is a humanitarian disaster. Millions of Syrians have been forced to leave their homes and homeland and hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees are living in poor conditions in Syria’s neighbours. They are attempting to try and settle in Europe, which puts pressure on the external borders of the European Union and the social systems of the host countries.

We mentioned earlier that the primary shared goal of the Syrian opposition forces is the overthrow of Syria’s ruling regime. Unfortunately, this is the whole extent of the opposition forces’ shared agenda. The opposition has split: pragmatic movements want to establish a modern democratic state after overthrowing Assad while extremist movements want to

set up an Islamic state or caliphate based on Islamic sharia law. The extremist movement best known to the public is the Al-Nusra Front⁷, which is an ally or branch of the terrorist organisation Al Qaeda in Syria.

Thousands of foreign fighters are fighting in the Syrian civil war within extremist opposition movements. Hundreds of people have left Europe for Syria to participate in the jihad or Holy War to create the caliphate. Most of the jihadists who went to Syria from Europe are young men, but there have been cases of boys aged 16–17 and even teenage girls going to Syria. The majority of those bound for Syria are of Middle Eastern descent and from an immigrant background. However, among the travellers to Syria are some who have converted to Islam and have no experience of previous contact with Syria or the Middle Eastern region.

The foreign fighters moving to Syria from Europe can pose a genuine threat to the security of European countries. Before they reach the battlefield, foreign fighters receive extensive preparation in training camps, which, among other things, teaches them close combat techniques, the use of firearms and how to make explosive devices. The Al-Nusra Front has also used suicide attacks among its methods. Those who have received such training and gained combat experience become potential sources of danger when they return to Europe. The danger is increased because the camps not only teach combat skills and knowledge but also practise systematic dissemination and reinforcement of a form of Islam that is hostile to western democracy.



Jihadist fighters in a boot camp

⁶ Alawites – a branch of Shia Islam, most of whose followers live in Syria.

⁷ Also known as the Jabhat-al Nusra. The movement is considered to be a terrorist organisation.



Horrors of the Syrian civil war

This work speeds up the radicalisation of those who stay there.

The Estonian Muslim Community

The Estonian Internal Security Service has observed that some people have left Estonia for Syria to participate in or support military action there. It is not impossible that more people will go from Estonia to Syria, as certain individuals from the Estonian Muslim Community have expressed interest in travelling to Syria to support the jihad.

For these reasons we request that anyone who has noticed their relatives or acquaintances showing an unjustifiably intense interest in the matter or expressing a wish to go to the conflict point of the crisis to contact the Internal Security Service.

The Estonian Muslim community consists of the local Azerbaijanis and Tatars and is, on the whole, peaceful and integrated into Estonian society.

The number of community members who have converted or newly immigrated to Estonia is slowly but steadily increasing and the population census of 2011 documents this trend.

Converts and new immigrants tend to be more active and stricter in their religious observations than the established Muslim community. An example of how active the converts are can be seen in the establishment of a new Muslim prayer room in Tartu in 2012. The bulk of the visitors to

become closer. In the summer of 2013 the active converts organised a campaign to help Syrian refugees. This was a large-scale initiative for a country the size of Estonia, and a remarkable amount of various clothes and everyday articles was gathered to support those who had endured the atrocities of the war in Syria.

Similar campaigns to help refugees have been held in many countries by social movements, some of which had no connection to Islam. The do-

Some people have left Estonia for Syria, and they may participate in or support military action there, and it is not impossible that more people will go from Estonia to Syria for that purpose.

the Tartu prayer room are Muslim converts living in the south of Estonia and the Muslim foreign students of the University of Tartu.

Estonian converts to Islam are becoming better and better informed about what is happening in Islamic countries and their contacts with foreign Islamic organisations have

nations for refugees were generally money, clothes, everyday articles, medical supplies and toys for children. The living conditions for the Syrian refugees in various refugee camps is disastrous and they often lack even food and drinking water. Even so, it is important to be sure that donations to such campaigns find their way to those in need. Donating



The Estonian muslim community is, on the whole, peaceful and well integrated into Estonian society

money should be avoided unless it is certain that it will be used to provide clean drinking water for refugees or put food on their table. There have been numerous examples where the financial aid gathered under the cloak of charity organisations and donated in good faith was used to support terrorism. In other words, the 100 euros given by a genuine benefactor can end up paying for ammunition instead of buying warm clothes for refugees.

this to spread fundamental Islam, recruit new members and provide the local community with material support. While our earlier annual reviews mainly mentioned organisations originating from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates like Awqaw General Trust, Al-Waqf Al-Islam, the Muslim World League, and Jamaat Tabligh and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, this time we note also the Fethullah Gülen

As far as broader social developments are concerned, we have noticed attempts to split the Muslim community, which has so far been quite unified.

As far as broader social developments are concerned, we have noticed attempts to split the Muslim community, which has so far been quite unified. It is mainly young Muslims and converts and the Muslims who have newly immigrated who are behind such attempts as they are not content with the current management of the Turath Islamic Cultural Centre.

Influence of Foreign Islamic Organisations

Numerous foreign Islamic organisations have visited Estonia and built up contacts with the local Muslim community in recent years. They do

Movement, FGM⁸, a Muslim organisation originating from Turkey.

The Fethullah Gülen Movement

The FGM is an international movement guided by the teachings of Fethullah Gülen, an Islamic scholar of Turkish descent. He is a controversial figure in Turkish politics, who was tried in court in 1999 and accused of attempting to overthrow the ruling authorities. Since then, he has lived a secluded life in the state of Pennsylvania, USA. Gülen

promotes a version of Islam that follows the Sunni Muslim scholar Said Nursi and he is working on modernising it. In his teaching, Gülen emphasises the importance of science, interfaith dialogue and democracy. What Gülen means by “interfaith dialogue” is dialogue between the “People of the Book” (Christians, Muslims and Jews). By democracy he means a form of government which is ruled by a multi-party system and where democracy and Islam are symbiotic. The concepts of love, peace, tolerance, compassion, involvement, humanity and forgiveness occupy an important place in his teaching.

Despite its seeming openness, the FGM is a closed organisation, which primarily works on disseminating its Islamic teaching, recruiting new members and obtaining the resources necessary for it to function in the shade of its publicly advertised interfaith dialogue, business partnership and promotion of culture. The FGM has numerous supporters in Turkey and Central Asia, and their numbers are growing all around the world. The exact number of the supporters of the movement is unknown, but various sources estimate it as several million people. The members of the FGM abroad have established hundreds of schools, which also teach the FGM ideology among other things, and members of the FGM have created a huge media empire with numerous television channels, newspapers and magazines.

Although the movement does not propagate the spread of the extremist version of Islam which incites violence, its long-term target is to create positions in government institutions and ruling political circles where it can steer events in the direction it favours in future, which is also reflected in the government crisis that Turkey has experienced.

⁸ Also known under the name of Hizmet.

Criticism of the Fethullah Gülen Movement and Its Activities in Estonia

In March 2011, seven journalists were arrested in Turkey for having written a book (The Imam's Army) in which they claimed that the FGM had infiltrated the state security forces. After the arrest, all the materials used for the book were confiscated. Even before this incident, there had been stories in Turkish media about the FGM having complete control over Turkish media and dictating various investigations into people who opposed the FGM. An example was the arrest in 2010 in Turkey of a chief of police and former FGM supporter for publishing a book describing how the FGM had penetrated the police.

Public sources describe the FGM as an organisation with strict internal discipline which recruits new members through the educational system it has created. It has also been claimed that every city and town in Turkey is responsible for a particular country, so that the FGM members in Ankara are responsible for activities in Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan for instance. This means that businesses in these cities are forced to allocate money for the activities of the FGM in those two countries. It should be noted though that such public sources should be regarded with considerable scepticism.

At the initial stage, the activities of the FGM abroad focus on creating positions among the business, cultural, educational and political elite. When effective and advantageous connections have been established, support for the foundation of an FGM school in the state is generally demanded next.



Public demonstration against FGM.

PHOTO: <http://www.theexpose.org/flagallery/gulen-protest-in-ny>

Numerous foreign media sources have claimed that the FGM is like a religious sect, continuously trying to extend its influence in Turkey and other countries, with the ultimate goal of establishing an Islamist government in Turkey and spreading the FGM ideology in other countries. Such reports have caused anxiety among many secular Turks and there were several anti-FGM demonstrations in the USA in 2013 claiming that Gülen wants to establish an Islamist regime in Turkey. This is why Gülen has opened numerous schools where extremist views are instilled in the young.

opened in Tallinn; the EESTÜRK association was founded; Turkish language competitions are held; and receptions in Turkey for the business elite and public figures are organised every year. At the moment it can be noted that EESTÜRK, the local sub-organisation of the FGM, is much involved in organising the studies of Turkish exchange students in Estonian universities, and this has also resulted in certain influence activities among the representatives of Estonian universities and local governments and among businessmen and the cultural elite. Despite their shared religious beliefs, the contacts

There had been stories in Turkish media about the FGM having control over Turkish media and dictating various investigations into people who opposed the FGM.

It was in 2005 that the FGM made its first attempts to extend its activities to Estonia. The first operations of the movement were only the teaching of Turkish language and culture to interested groups, but in 2010 a new representative arrived and the local activity of the FGM became much more vigorous. Under the new leadership a subsidiary of FGM's major sponsor Baklavacı Güllüoğlu was

between the FGM members and the local Muslim community have essentially remained at a general level.

Investigating Crimes Related to Terrorism

It is essential in the fight against international terrorism that crimes associated with terrorism be investigated in order to stop international arms trafficking and the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Of course not all of the crimes discussed in this context are directly related to terrorism, but they could help in preparing a terrorist attack or making it easier to carry one out. There has been a steady fall over the years in the amount of forbidden explosives circulating in civilian hands, such as old munitions from the two world wars that can still be dug out from Estonian soil by keen amateurs with metal detectors. Although many of those who look for military items are law-abiding people with an interest in history, unfortunately, some of them collect wartime explosive devices illegally to sell them on. We can confirm that the number of incidents investigated by the Internal Security Service has fallen, but the problem has not en-



People who reactivate already deactivated firearms possess a threat to security

nation of a discrepancy between different laws that had required a criminal investigation to be started following any submission of explosive substances that pose a serious danger to people's life and health. People can now voluntarily inform the authorities about serious danger without fearing any punishment. This does not apply only during the campaigns run by the Rescue Board with support from partner authorities, but can be done all year round. However, it does not apply to those who intentionally handle explosive substances or firearms il-

do so soon, before any incidents occur that result in death or serious injury for many people.

Another large risk in addition to explosives, comes from people who reactivate already deactivated firearms. Fortunately, no major tragedy has occurred in Estonia in connection with reactivated firearms, but an urgent change in behaviour and attitudes towards the problem are needed, before it takes a turn to the worst. The civilian use of automatic weapons is forbidden because preventing tragedies from happening is more important than investigating them after they have happened and lives have been lost, and any incident involving automatic firearms would be very likely to result in large numbers of fatalities. International co-operation to combat the illegal arms trade has shown for years there are large profits to be made from trading in such dangerous firearms. Not only is the trade lucrative, but there is also the risk that such weapons could end up in the hands of people with extremist views or of someone who is psychologically unstable, posing a great danger to many people. These days such souvenirs can easily be activated and made usable again, posing a dormant threat to the security of the state and to public safety.

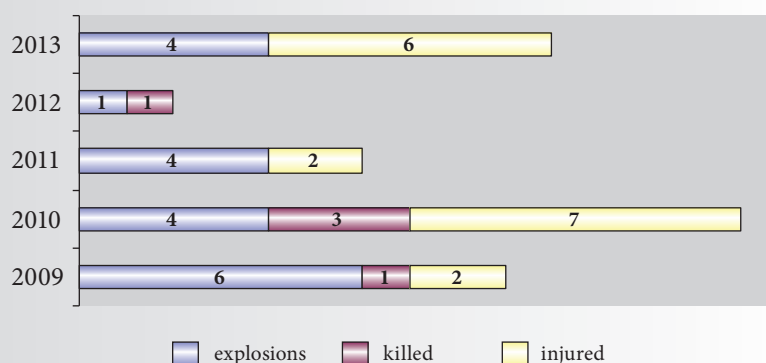
Another large risk in addition to explosives, comes from people who reactivate already deactivated firearms.

tirely gone away. Numerous hazardous objects circulate among enthusiasts with metal detectors, which is why their illicit activities pose a threat to the security of the state: the explosives they have found may end up in the hands of people or groups with criminal intent or, in the worst case, of terrorists.

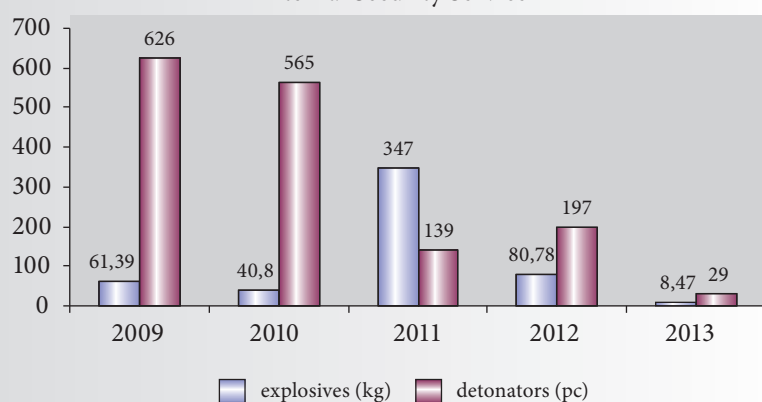
A long-expected crucial step forward to prevent tragedies and reduce the number of extremely dangerous explosions was taken on 27 March 2013 when the parliament, Riigikogu, approved the elimi-

legally by keeping them at home for any reason or trafficking explosive substances. The Internal Security Service has for many years caught criminals and worked with the Prosecutor's Office to bring them to court and see them tried. Unfortunately, the penalties do not always succeed in providing a deterrent and making people change their ways, and it often happens that those who have got off lightly with a suspended sentence later re-offend. It is to be hoped that those who have still not realised the dangers of handling explosive substances illegally

Detonations of explosive devices in Estonia, 2009–2013



Explosive substances and detonators confiscated by the Internal Security Service



Notable Cases

On 6 September 2013, a grenade exploded in an apartment building, resulting in three people receiving injuries of varying severity. The grenade was thrown into the window by 50-year-old Jevgeni Efimov, who had been drinking alcohol with the same group earlier and was later apprehended in Maardu. Harju County Court found Efimov guilty and sentenced him to 10 years in prison. His defence attorney can still appeal the County Court's judgement.

On 14 April 2013 an improvised explosive device detonated in an apartment in Võru Street, Tartu, and the female owner of the apartment was slightly injured. Judging by the force of the explosion of the device hidden in the stove, it can be considered a miracle that nobody died as a result. What made this explosion exceptional is that it was

the first case where there is a reason to suspect an explosive device had been used in an assault on a person's life in southern Estonia in the last decade. KAPO apprehended the suspect during the night after the explosion and Tartu County Court tried 3 people on various charges: J. Kolpakov was sentenced to 17 years in prison, two other men received suspended sentences. They can still appeal the County Court's judgement.

On 10 June 2013, an explosion in Helme rural municipality in Valga County resulted in the man who had caused the detonation of the explosive device losing his hand. The blast proves that explosive devices left on the territory of Estonia by the two world wars remain dangerous. The person who caused the explosion will have to bear the consequences of his inexpert handling of the explosive device for the rest of his life.

On 18 November 2013, an explosive device detonated near 8 Eha Street in Jõhvi, injuring a middle-aged man. A suspect has been detained for the crime.

On 14 January 2014, 64-year-old Andres was convicted by the Tartu County Court for keeping various explosive materials, components of explosive devices and ammunition for firearms in his home in Valga County without a permit. Although Andres had learned the technical skills for handling explosives as an active member of the Estonian defence League, his 13-year-old child did not have the same skills. The child used the free access to the father's stock of ammunition and showed the ammunition taken from home to other children. The intervention of a more careful parent prevented there being any fatal consequences, and this parent also informed the police about the illegal ammunition.

Paymaster of a Failed Hit Gets 11 Years in Prison

On 13 June 2013 the Supreme Court upheld the sentence of 11 years in prison given by Harju County Court on 20 September 2012 to a man who had ordered a contract killing with a grenade. The Internal Security Service started a criminal investigation into the blast on 4 December 2009 in Tallinn following the attempted murder of a man named Sergei with an F1 hand grenade next to the apartment building at 56 Vilde tee. The target sustained only minor injuries as he was lucky enough to manage to run a short distance away just before the grenade exploded. The blast left lacerations on Sergei's legs and shattered windows in the apartment building and damaged its exterior door and façade.

Vladimir Lunkin, who had committed the crime for a payment of 20,000 kroons, was found guilty by the courts and sentenced to nine years in prison in 2010. In September 2012, Harju County Court found Reino Agone, born in 1970, guilty of ordering the attempted murder. The evidence found in the course of the criminal investigation proved he had ordered and organised the attempted murder, handed the grenade used in the attempted murder to Lunkin and induced Lunkin to commit the crime. In addition, the court found Agone guilty of threatening to murder another person and of handling a large quantity of a narcotic substance.

On 24 September 2012, Harju County Court found Agone guilty of these crimes and sentenced him to a total of 11 years in prison. Agone and his defence attorney appealed the County Court's judgement but the Tallinn Circuit Court upheld the County Court's ruling on appeal on 20 December 2012. The defence at-



A. Evstafev collected explosives and sold them

numerous explosive materials classified as components of explosive devices, which were all confiscated during searches at the end of 2011 and the beginning of 2012 in Saare County.

The chain of events started in September 2011 when a search in the home of Janek Hein in the village of Suur-Pahila, Orissaare rural municipality, yielded cannabis plants, an illegal firearm, detonators and

was associated with the Saaremaa Sõjavara Selts (Military Equipment Museum of Saaremaa).

One of the locations searched was an old cattle barn near Orissaare belonging to the non-profit organisation Saaremaa Sõjavara Selts, where Joel Nõukas, an old weapons enthusiast, kept his collection. Although Nõukas held a weapons permit, the officers of the Internal Security Service found a large quantity of unregistered firearms, parts for weapons, and explosives in the barn. During the search, several kilos of explosives, 45 kilos of smokeless powder, almost 3 kilos of safety fuse, explosive devices and a large number of firearms and parts were confiscated.

A threat to the security of the state: the explosives they have found may end up in the hands of people or groups with criminal intent or, in the worst case, of terrorists.

torney filed an appeal of cassation with the Supreme Court against the Circuit Court ruling but on 13 June 2013, the Supreme Court upheld the verdict of the Circuit Court.

Handling of Explosives and Illegal Firearms on Saaremaa

In 2013, the courts reached a verdict in the case of 48 illegal firearms, a large amount of parts for firearms, 1016 firearm cartridges, over 50 kg of gunpowder classified as explosive material, 6 kg of explosives, and

explosive material. The criminal investigation found that apart from growing cannabis, Hein had organised rock blasting in the neighbourhood. At the request of locals, Hein would blast large rocks or do land improvement work on hard soil. The preliminary investigation showed Janek Hein purchased the explosives and detonators necessary for blasting from his acquaintances. It was found that Hein had purchased the explosives and detonators from a total of four people, who were all found guilty of illegal acts. One man who provided Hein with explosives was Joel Nõukas, who

Dealer in Dangerous Explosives Sentenced to Prison

In the summer of 2013, the Internal Security Service discovered yet another attempt to sell usable explosives from World War II on the black market. In June, it was discovered that Aleksei Evstafev, a resident of Narva, was collecting explosives in the forests of Vaivara rural municipality and selling them. By the end of August, sufficient evidence of the man's dangerous crimes had been accumulated, and at the request of

the Prosecutor's Office, the man was arrested and has now been convicted. The sentence for selling 8.1 kilograms of explosives was three years in prison.

A Man Suspected of Weapons Proliferation was Caught in Estonia

International cooperation is especially important in the fight against the spread of weapons of mass destruction. One successful case was seen in 2013 when the Estonian Internal Security Service arrested a Taiwanese businessman suspected of crimes of proliferation. This person is suspected of illegal assistance for North-Korea and following a decision by the courts, he was handed over to the USA at the beginning of October 2013.

Hsien Tai Tsai, suspected of exporting strategic goods, was arrested on May 1 2013 by Internal Security Service officers following the request for preliminary detainment by the USA. The following day he was taken into custody for 30 days. In accordance with the extradition materials, the state prosecutor's office applied for court permission to hand the suspect over to the US authorities and the court granted their application. The person is under US criminal investigation and the investigation is being conducted by the FBI.

The US authorities announced on 6 May 2013 that the Taiwanese businessman arrested in Estonia is suspected of conspiring to circumvent an export ban, imposed by the United States Department of the Treasury for attempting to provide support for North Korea's advanced weapons programme. Hsien Tai Tsai, 67 years old, was arrested

in Estonia. His son, 36-year old Yueh-Hseun Tsai was arrested on 1 May in Glenview, Illinois, US. The court gave permission to hand Tsai over to the USA, but the suspect appealed. The court of appeal also confirmed that the extradition to the USA is legally permitted and the Estonian Government turned Tsai over to the USA at the beginning of October 2013.

Hsien Tai Tsai was already prohibited from conducting business activities in the USA in 2009, but he kept trying to export equipment from the USA with the help of his son. If convicted, the suspects could face up to 20 years in prison and up to 1.75 million dollars in fines.

The Ambassador of the United States of America in Estonia, Jeffrey D. Levine, expressed his gratitude to the Estonian security services for catching the suspect. "We greatly appreciate our strong relationship with Estonia on issues related to law enforcement and international crime. The recent arrest was the result of close cooperation between the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Estonian Internal Security Service (KAPO) and the Estonian Prosecutor's Office," said Levine in a press release. The Ambassador also added that the suspect was arrested under the authority of our mutual legal assistance treaty. He extended his thanks to all in the Estonian government who contributed to this case.



Kohus vaeb Põhja-Korea relvaäris kahtlustatava USA-le väljaandmist

01.07.2013 13:19
Rubriik: Eesti

USA taotleb Eestilt Põhja-Koreale strateegilise relvastuse ehitamiseks vajalike detailide vahendamises kahtlustatava taivanlasest mehe väljaandmist.

Delfi teatel vaeb Harju maakohus sel nädalal Tallinnas 1. mail kinni peetud Taiwanil kodaniku Hsien Tai Tsai (67) väljaandmise õiguslikku lubatavust.

Riigiprokurör Eve Oleski sõnul sõltub praegu vahi all



Põhja-Korea vapp Scanpix

The case of the captured proliferation suspect got a lot of media attention in Estonia



People preparing to commit a crime. In autumn 2013 KAPO prevented people connected with organised crime from becoming members of the Tallinn City Council

THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

The European Parliament has approved the action plan for the fight against serious crime for 2014–2019. The plan says that corruption costs the European Union around 120 billion euros a year, which is equal to 1% of the Community's GDP. According to data from the World Bank the total value of corruption is 5% of the world's GDP. This makes the fight against corruption a serious issue internationally and within Estonia.

The Corruption Perception Index report 2013 by Transparency International gave Estonia a score of 68 points, which is four points higher than a year earlier. In the overall ranking in 2013 Estonia has risen to 28th place out of 177 countries from 32nd out of 176 in 2012. According to the corruption studies published in 2013, a large proportion of Esto-

nian people and businesses consider corruption in the public sector to be a serious problem that should continue to receive proper attention. The survey found that 6% of the population of Estonia said that they had had to give a bribe during the last 12 months. Most bribes or gifts were given for healthcare, followed by bribes for licensing and registers, and education.

Domestically, serious cases of corruption in areas of key importance for the state can significantly damage the functioning of the state as a whole, affecting the country's foreign, domestic and economic security. Preventing and combating corruption where it presents threats to national security is done under the Security Authorities Act and this task is substantially different

from more usual work of the police authority. Preventing threats at the earliest possible stage and stopping them reaching preparation or execution falls within the jurisdiction of the Internal Security Service. To prevent risks from being realised, general and specific developments are monitored, strategic information is analysed and where necessary the officials with decision-making officers are informed about the risks.

In the fight against corruption the legislator makes clear distinctions between the nature of the work of the Internal Security Service as a security authority and the work of the police authorities. The Security Authorities Act gives a clear indication that fighting the corruption that threatens national security is essentially equal to the other secu-



city tasks of the Internal Security Service. Since 2013, Article 6 of the Security Authorities Act provides that preventing and combating corruption that could endanger national security is a function of the Internal Security Service alongside counter-intelligence, defence of the constitutional order and prevention of terrorism, as is collecting and processing the information needed to counter corruption. The law indicates that the Internal Security Service should not focus only on investigating specific cases of corruption, but also on addressing the problem on a considerably broader level.

That high-level corruption is a security threat was confirmed in the “Anti-Corruption Strategy for 2013–2020” approved by the Government of the Republic in 2013. This strategy is intended to increase public awareness of corruption, make public sector decisions and processes more

transparent, and improve the quality of investigations into crimes involving corruption. These principles are based on the changes introduced into the government regulation “Investigative jurisdiction between the Police Board inclusive of the agencies under its administration and the Internal Security Service”, which

With this in mind, the Internal Security Service pays special attention to corruption in law enforcement agencies and defence structures. It is also focused on fighting and preventing corruption connected to large-scale procurements and strategic decisions in infrastructure, energy, transport, the defence industry and healthcare.

Fighting the corruption that threatens national security is essentially equal to the other security tasks of the Internal Security Service.

tasks the Internal Security Service with addressing cases of corruption that primarily require attention and intervention for reasons of security. The regulation of the Government of the Republic gives the Internal Security Service jurisdiction over all the heads of agencies and other officials in a managerial role, whose corruption may impair the foreign, national or economic security of the state.

The year 2013 was an important year for the fight against corruption, as the new Civil Service Act and the new Anti-Corruption Act came into force. They changed the principles for restrictions on the actions and operation of public officials to match the decisions of the Supreme Court. The new regulation allows many officials to engage in business alongside their primary work. This

unquestionably makes the job of law enforcement agencies more complex, as the boundaries between the business interests and the public role of an official are not always clear and unambiguous. In particular, the amendment will affect cases where the person's business and public official's job are in the same field. Court cases will have to provide the interpretations that will apply for the new regulation.

As in 2012 we again emphasise that a more effective system of fighting corruption and of legal regulation is needed if greater success in fighting corruption is to be achieved. Every public official needs to realise that there are generally accepted ethical principles that exist in society in addition to the actual laws. Entrepreneurs should understand that building their businesses upon corruption is short-sighted and in the long run will inhibit the development of business and freedom of competition. The benefits from corruption are often illusory, since corruption has long-term negative consequences.

External security threats connected to corruption

Corruption can pose a threat to the country's external security through the attempts of unfriendly states to influence government decision-



Ivo Parbus running errands

weakening the country's defensive capabilities, and putting at risk the country's ability to meet its international obligations. The main corruption cases in national defence and the defence industry have been in public procurements and the provision of support services. In these areas the situation has improved, but the incidents investigated in 2013 demonstrate that the problem still exists.

It must be emphasised that high-ranking officials, including corrupt officials with access to the various structures of the Estonian defence forces and charged with ensuring the defensive capabilities of the state, are without doubt good recruitment targets for the secret services of unfriendly foreign countries. Counter-intelligence work here has

number of years these officials were providing the intelligence services of a foreign country with classified information, and the main reason for their treason was money.

Corruption that poses a threat to national security

Corruption that poses a threat to national security is primarily found in high-level judicial corruption. The most dangerous cases of judicial corruption are cases of cooperation between public officials and organised crime, in which public officials may systematically leak sensitive official information to criminals, make decisions in favour of criminals, or do them favours in exchange for bribes and gifts. Another worrying trend in judicial corruption is the attempt of organised crime to infiltrate public structures using their corrupt connections. In some cases officials who are trying to prevent the infiltration are defamed.

There have been cases where criminals were trying to extort money from other people by manipulating their allegedly corrupt connections with law enforcement agencies, even

Every public official needs to realise that there are generally accepted ethical principles that exist in society in addition to the actual laws.

making through corrupt officials and political circles who may be susceptible to blackmail. Corruption particularly threatens the external security of the country in national defence and the defence industry,

led to the discovery of the treason of Herman Simm, an official at the Ministry of Defence, and the cases of Aleksey Dressen and Vladimir Veitman, both former officials of the Internal Security Service. Over a



Parbus counting criminal money

though the connections were not real. The defamation of law enforcement agencies and their employees in this way is an extremely dangerous trend that unjustifiably reduces the authority of the state. Therefore the Internal Security Service considers such carefully planned defamation campaigns as threats to public order. One such incident took place in 2013. A previously convicted criminal, Marko Loim, slandered the head of the Investigation Bureau of the Central Criminal Police by telling several people he knew that the official had personally accepted money from him in exchange for abusing his official position. Loim knew, however, that the police official has never done any such thing. Loim also submitted a claim against the police official to the Internal Security Service containing false accusations of accepting bribes. The court sentenced Loim to a total of 2 years, 9 months and 28 days in prison together with the unserved portion of the previous sentence.

Alongside judicial corruption we also look out for exposure to corruption at borders and customs points. Our position on the external border of the European Union means our

state must be able to deter the smuggling of weapons, explosives and other strategic goods, and stand against problems like illegal immigration. In consequence corruption at borders and customs points constitutes a direct threat to national security. Among the cases detected in 2013 the case of Sergei Platonov, the former senior inspector of the Eastern division of the investigation department of the Tax and Customs Board, deserves special attention. Platonov leaked information on surveillance procedures to Vasily Sachuk

A municipal official prone to bribery can later reach a position of higher strategic importance at national level.

and Sergei Zykov, both of whom were involved in organised crime in Ida-Virumaa, in exchange for a bribe. Platonov was also personally involved in smuggling contraband cigarettes. The court sentenced Platonov to two years in prison. Sergei Zykov was sentenced to a total of five years and seven months in prison together with the unserved portion of a previous sentence. Vasily Sachuk was sentenced to one year of conditional imprisonment, with one month and 21 days to be served immediately.

National security can also be threatened by large-scale corruption at the local municipality level. Corruption undermines the functioning of the state as a whole and in conjunction with external factors it may threaten the constitutional order. The work of the Internal Security Service in investigating corruption in local municipalities has reduced the dangers of corruption somewhat. At the same time, the continuing concentration of people and businesses in large centres means the probability of new corruption cases arising is increasing rather than decreasing. Corruption in local municipalities cannot be underestimated, because the small size of Estonia means that a municipal official prone to bribery can later reach a position of higher strategic importance at national level, where such illegal activity can result in much greater damage.

Among the court cases concluded in 2013 concerning corruption at local municipality level, the case of Ivo Parbus, the former adviser to the deputy mayor of Tallinn City Government, deserves special attention. Parbus repeatedly accepted gifts

from representatives of several companies and individuals in the form of property, gift cards, gift vouchers and cash to a total value of 140,410 kroons, and agreed to accept gifts worth at least 10,000 kroons more. One person who made payments to Parbus was Aleksander Raide, the former deputy city district elder for the Kristiine district. At the instigation of Elmar Sepp, a member of the board of the Jüri Vilmsi Sihtkapital Foundation, Parbus agreed to demand and accept payments repeatedly from

representatives of several companies for a total value of 800,000 kroons, which was transferred as donations to the bank account of the Jüri Vilmsi Sihtkapital Foundation. In return Parbus acting in his official capacity, helped to solve several problems that arose in the course of detailed planning proceedings in favour of particular parties and to facilitate the proceedings in the Tallinn City Planning Department. Parbus also used his official supervision capacity in return for payment to assist in getting a construction permit granted to legalise an illegally built annex on one building. The court sentenced Parbus to three years in prison. Raide and Sepp were sentenced to two years and six months of conditional imprisonment with a probation term of four years. Five months of imprison-

ment were to be served immediately. Those making illegal payment were sentenced as follows: Tõnu Kort 2 years and 3 months, Raivo Unt 1 year and 6 months, Toivo Susi 2 years and 6 months and Peeter Palusaar 1 year and 9 months in prison. The companies involved in the crime (OÜ Woody, OÜ Metsailu, AS Järvevana, OÜ Constancia, AS Merko Ehitus, Tallinna Farmaatsiatehase AS, TLS Invest OÜ, Kaupmehe arenduse OÜ) were fined a total of 1,350,000 euros.

Drawing parallels with Estonia before WWII, it could be noted that in the second half of the 1930s the reports prepared by the political police commented on the spread of corruption in local municipalities. One such report written on 29 July 1937 by J. Põldoja stated: "It is not permissible

to take bribes in state or local municipality institutions. This phenomenon is especially widespread in local municipality institutions, where bribes are consistently accepted for city planning amendments or for the approval of projects for the construction of houses or other structures. People who have achieved something through bribes consider that the payment of such money was very helpful and that it is very good that there is a way to facilitate certain essential matters".⁹



Corrupt former senior inspector S. Platonov with his associates on his criminal path

Corruption threatening economic security

Corruption threatening economic security primarily affects the personal business interests of influential groups. Consequently, the decisions made benefit not the state, but rather certain groups of individuals. The major security threat consists in corrupt people gaining access to the management of strategic businesses or foundations linked to the state. It must also be remembered that many foundations distribute finances from the European Union structural funds, and so their transparency is important for the international credibility of Estonia. Some Estonian business operates in economic areas and industries that are subject to unfriendly foreign interest.

Once again drawing parallels with period before WWII, it should be noted that in 1938 the reports written by the political police referred to decisions being made in favour of certain influential groups and to the spread of nepotism as being among the major threats to economic security. In a report to the deputy head of the Police Service, J. Edesalu says “never in the history of the Republic was nepotism so unrestricted as it is in our days – in every area imaginable”¹⁰. In his report of 27 September 1938, assistant A. Nõgu emphasised

that “we can still speak of nepotism flourishing in local municipalities and in the management of businesses”.¹¹

The Internal Security Service prevents and fights corruption that may threaten economic security in the transit, logistics, energy, environment and healthcare industries, where the interests of business groups can clash with the public interest. In the transit, logistics and environmental sectors the major problems come from the fight between various interest groups for market

the head officials of medical institutions, which companies may use to their advantage.

In preventing and fighting the corruption that threatens economic security we focus on the major public procurements and on use of finances from the structural funds of the European Union. The cases investigated by the Internal Security Service so far indicate that the conditions for public procurement are often not sufficiently thought through, with the result that the conditions change in the middle of the procurement

In preventing and fighting the corruption that threatens economic security we focus on the major public procurements and on use of finances from the structural funds of the European Union.

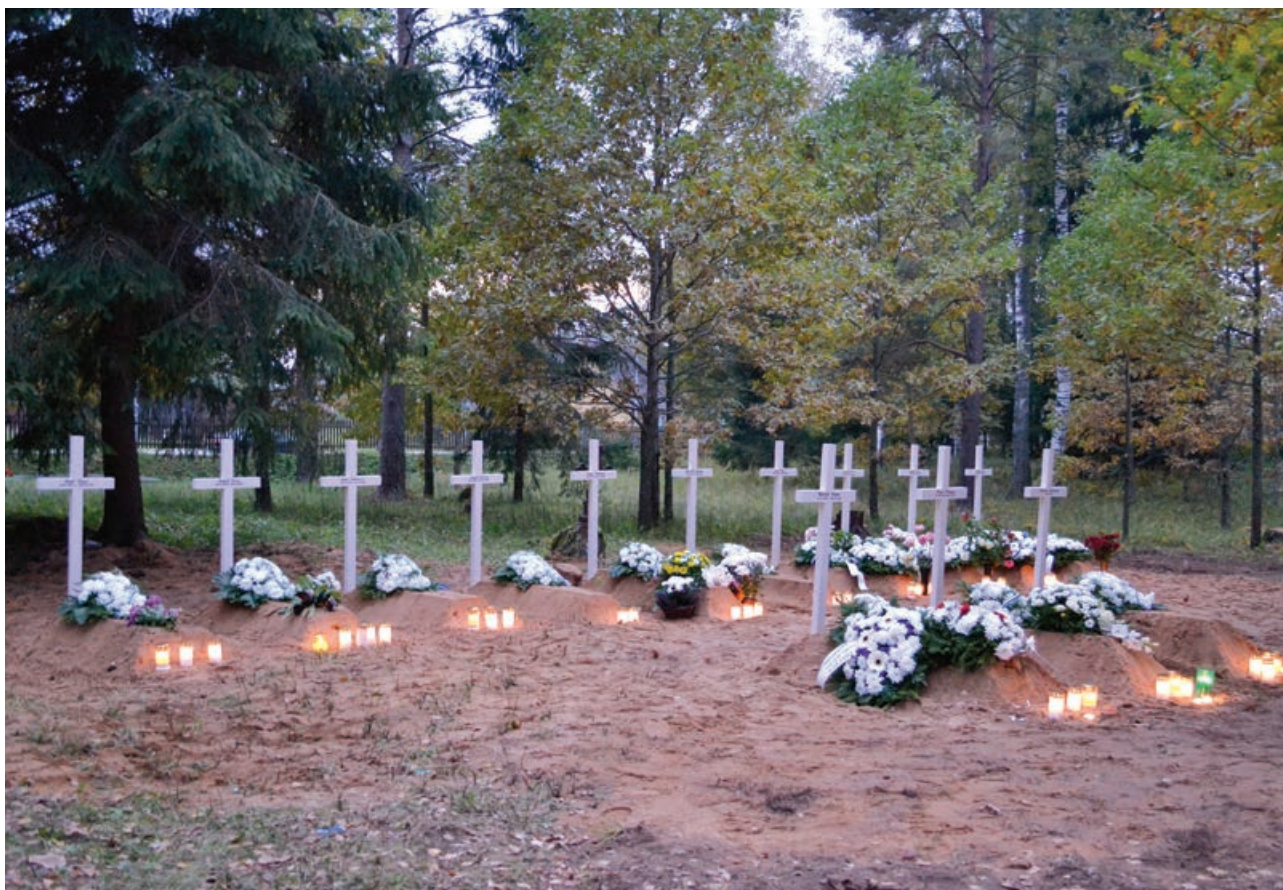
share. Among other factors, public officials may in this situation balance on the border between the permitted and the prohibited. Certain officials may also have their own personal hidden interest in these sectors. In the energy sector, both domestic and international investments where procurement may be conducted with specific or hidden goals are of great interest from the point of view of state security. The healthcare sector has a lot of non-transparent relations between the companies selling medicinal products and equipment and

process. Here we should emphasise that it is not legal to change the conditions of a procurement partway into the procurement process if it is not required for objective reasons and, among other things, it is unfair to the companies participating in the procurement.

⁹ Reports of superintendents, assistants and agents on the internal political situation 1937 – 1938. Estonian State Archives (ERA), Fond 949 (The Superintendent of the Political Police in Tallinn).

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid



COMMEMORATION OF THE VICTIMS OF TIMELESS UNIVERSAL CRIMES

Reburial of the Fallen

Forest Brothers

On 21 September 2013, the remains of thirteen Estonian Forest Brothers who fell in the resistance struggle were buried in Vastseliina cemetery in Võrumaa. The secret grave of ten of them was discovered in August

Forest Brothers killed by the Soviet occupying forces on 27 March 1953 in Viglasoo and on 29 March 1953 in Puutlipalu: Richard Vähi, Elsa Vähi, August Kuus, Endel Leiman, August Kurra, Karl Kaur, Lehte-Kai Ojamäe, Leida Grünthal, Rafael Vähi and Väino Härm. The remains of three other Forest Brothers who were killed in the battle at Lükkä bunker,

killed by the NKVD in Lükkä remained undiscovered for decades before it was found in 2011.

Investigating international crimes with no statute of limitation is one of the tasks of the Internal Security Service. In Estonian forests, there are still many unmarked graves where Estonian men and women are buried who dared to resist the violent communist regime. In September 2012, the bones of five more people were found near the Reedopalo grave, and the investigators are working to identify them.

We thank all the people who have helped us to uncover these most horrible truths.

In Estonian forests, there are still many unmarked graves where Estonian men and women are buried who dared to resist the violent communist regime.

2011 in Reedopalo forest, 1.6 kilometres outside the town of Võru. Investigators from the Internal Security Service established that the secret grave held the bodies of ten

Luhasoo, on 28 December 1945 and buried next to the bunker were also reburied. The exact burial place of Harald Keem, Henn Pihlapuu and one other unknown Forest Brother



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