



ESTONIAN INTERNAL SECURITY SERVICE
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Dear reader,

To start on a positive note: in Estonia, which has just celebrated its centenary, constitutional order, safety and security have been ensured, and national defence is built on a solid foundation that the people truly appreciate.

According to public opinion, the greatest threat to the security of the Estonian people is terrorism. In recent years, terrorists have shocked communities with their cruelty, in Europe and across the world. Nevertheless, life in Europe continues at its own pace. Life is for living, and that is the best moral response to terrorism. Terrorism feeds on fear. In Estonia, we are focusing on the prevention of terrorism. Last year, a decision by the Supreme Court entered into force: this was the first time that supporters of terrorism had been convicted in Estonia. In other words, we can say we are no longer a country untouched by terrorism, although there has not been a direct terrorist attack, and our task is to do everything we can to prevent one. This is not possible without the combined efforts of society as a whole.

Nowadays, information can travel faster than ever before. However, as a security authority, we sadly have to deal with the downside of that progress as well. For years, the Internet has been a means of spreading hateful material and radicalising anyone involved. The professionalism of Daesh propaganda comes a close second to Hollywood blockbusters. The attractiveness of material inciting vio-

lence accelerates radicalisation, which in turn produces the demand for new material. It is time to discuss what to do about terrorist propaganda that is violent or incites violence. Is the possession and spreading of such propaganda a matter of culture, education and taste, or should the law intervene? The whole of society can work together to find the answer to this question. There are no black-and-white solutions – all of us have to make an effort to find clarity through discussion and analysis.

Nobody is a born terrorist; for somebody to obtain extremist views, or to use terror to achieve their goals, a process is involved. Without other people close by, it is simply not possible for a security authority or the police to detect and identify the right moment to intervene.

At the same time, we must be aware that terrorism in Europe is nowhere near a level that seriously threatens the constitutional order, even if some countries have had to take exceptional measures by bringing their defence force onto the streets. Similarly, in the case of Estonia, terrorism is not a direct existential threat to our country. However, we are well aware of how Russia is trying to take advantage of the threat of terrorism in order to damage the security of the EU, as well as other Western countries and thereby also the whole world.

Our greatest problem in ensuring national security is still the threat to constitutional order that arises from the Kremlin's divisive policies. The target of these is Estonian society as a whole. The Internal Security Service

(KAPO) uses all available lawful non-military measures to prevent such threats. One of our methods is to share our analysis in the Annual Review, which we hope will help readers to understand and prevent, as much as possible, potential threats to national security.

In recent years, there has been a clear trend in Russia's divisive policies towards a focus on young people. Efforts by numerous institutions of the Russian Federation to include Russian-speaking youth in Estonia in these policies is a clear indication that there isn't much point in expecting or hoping for the relationship between the two countries to become amicable, or for a reduction in Russian hostile influence in our direction. But why does the Kremlin attempt to draw in young people? Of course, they do it to maintain access to people through whom they can keep influencing Estonian politics. Such actions can only be referred to as divisive policies.

Many in Russia approved of the occupation and annexation of Crimea. Admittedly, many people who otherwise consider themselves to be liberal do not wish Crimea to be returned to Ukraine. To us, that fact is indicative of one thing only: under the Kremlin's leadership, imperialist chauvinism has become deeply rooted in Russia. A lot has been said about that tendency, and it is nothing new, because the collapse of every empire is a painful process.

Here, it is appropriate to remind readers that, in August 2018, ten years will have passed since the Kremlin attacked Georgia. The legal status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia has not improved; Georgia has de facto lost control over its territory in these regions.

Blaming countries and nations for a multitude of sins creates ill feeling, and such enmity always tries to find a channel. Inciting hatred and enmity by using national propaganda could have fateful consequences. However, despite Kremlin propaganda, Estonia has many friends in Russia.

How we end up remembering history is very important. The way we remember what happened in the past can unfortunately be manipulated – sometimes more, sometimes less. Daniel Kahneman, a Nobel Prize laureate, has described very expressively how, at the end of a beautiful concert, a small mistake can spoil the entire concert experience for the listener. In reality, what had been heard earlier did not become objectively worse, but the memory of the concert experience may have been ruined. That should also be our approach towards the Kremlin's history propaganda; facts cannot be changed, but interpretations of past events can be shaped, and that is precisely what the Kremlin is trying to achieve.

In the history segment of this Annual Review, we have an overview of repressive Soviet state organs, which aimed to alienate Estonian communities in Es-

tonia from their compatriots abroad, to speed up the Sovietisation of Estonia and to keep the population under control. I take this opportunity to commemorate a friend of Estonia who passed away in 2017: Arseny Roginsky, head of the International Historical and Civil Rights Society Memorial and a member of the Estonian International Commission for Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity. He helped to recall evil, and to learn from it. But we can also learn from history that sometimes we just have to let things go their way, and that time will heal at least some wounds.

Life is for living, and that is the best moral response to terrorism.

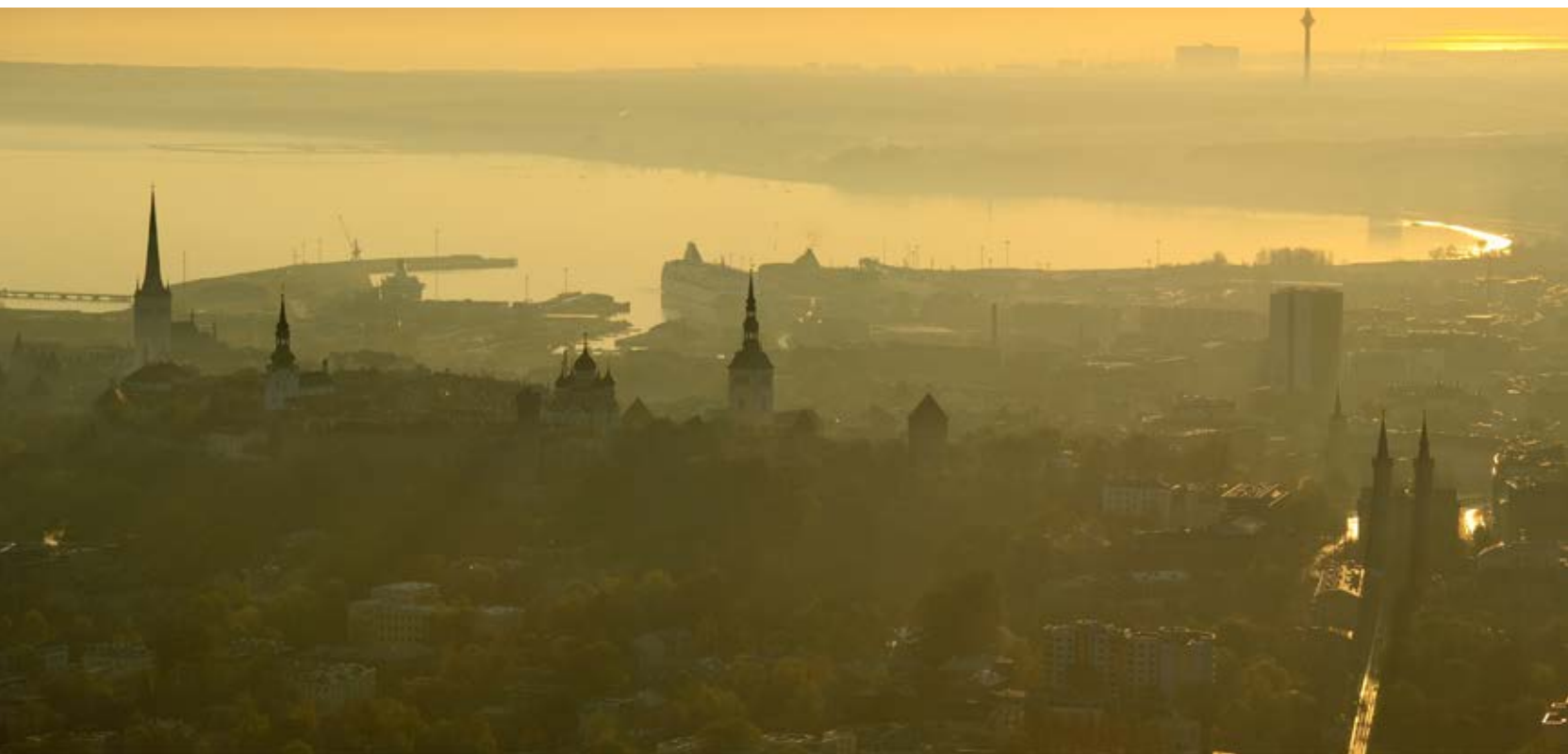
The counterintelligence segment in this year's review includes information about convicted individuals who collaborated with Russian special services. Even the initiation of such anti-Estonian collaboration is a crime – even if the recruited person does not gain access to state secrets. We also address risks in the field of the protection of state secrets as well as cyber security.

Estonian society's attitude towards corruption is mainly one of disapproval, and this highly dangerous field of crime has had to become increasingly clandestine. However, such hiding does not make the crimes vanish, and we will have to keep detecting complex corruption schemes. Several pending court cases vouch for the fact that we are currently doing relatively well in this area. The current Estonian law is thought-out and European, providing enough time for complicated investigations.

Within Estonia and at the international level, collaboration with partners is very good, and risk management is only the better for it. Unfortunately, we can manage and prevent only those risks that we know about or can foresee. Given all the risks, I am glad that Estonian society has been able to organise itself with cautious openness, and I hope it continues to do so.

In this Annual Review, KAPO would not have been able to make definitive statements on many issues if we had not been identifying and perceiving threats in a similar way to many other people, authorities and institutions. I am grateful to the people of Estonia, but also to our friends and allies abroad for their inestimable help in ensuring national security. I am particularly grateful to KAPO's employees and their families, without whose personal dedication Estonia would be a lot less protected.

Arnold Sinisalu



DEFENDING THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER

The primary task and duty of the KAPO is to defend the constitutional order of the Republic of Estonia. This requires gathering information on potential threats and taking appropriate measures to keep the threat of violent damage to the country's constitutional order and territorial integrity permanently at bay.

We can assure the public that Estonia's constitutional order was not under any immediate threat during 2017.¹ KAPO believe the most likely and serious threat to constitutional order continues to arise from Russia's aggressive foreign-policy objectives. Attempts by the Kremlin to weaken the EU and split the member states' societies by stirring up existing tensions or creating artificial ones speak for themselves. In this Annual Review we will reveal the security threats arising from the Kremlin's operations using three examples: manipulation of the young, attempts to create public tension over memorials, and efforts to legitimise the annexation of Crimea. The examples cover historical propaganda and influence operations in which the government-controlled Russian media is used as a foreign-policy tool. These threats were indirect and opportunistic rather than imminent. They sought anxieties and tensions in so-

ciety that could be escalated into something worse through provocation. They can also be regarded as the product of a self-fulfilling prophecy with the goal of creating tension through repeated attempts.

Manipulation of the young

In his speech at the annual divisive-policy conference titled "100 Years of the Russian Revolution: Unity for the Future" in October 2017, foreign minister Sergey Lavrov announced that the necessary prerequisites existed for creating a network of young compatriots abroad. He also pointed to the ministry's readiness to support the establishment of such a network. His statement should be seen in the context of the major events held for Russian compatriots and the youth of other countries in the autumn of 2017. Among the participants in these "youth diplomacy" events, the Kremlin hopes to find a new generation of divisive political activists abroad.

Moscow is paying increasing attention to establishing a network of such (Russian-speaking) youth outside Russia and, in fact, began to lay the groundwork years ago. New formats for youth events were launched

¹ It should be noted in the context of this conclusion that military security is not part of the work of KAPO. This review describes the protection of national security from a non-military perspective.



Photo: Sven Začek

or existing ones extended in 2015, when many local and regional formats became “global”. Dozens of divisive political events are held in Russia and abroad every year, targeting foreign youth of various age brackets and profiles. The following are a few examples from last year. The World Games of Young Compatriots, for schoolchildren up to the age of 15, were held in Kazan in May 2017. The Third World Youth Forum of Russian Compatriots “Destiny of Russia: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow” held in Sofia, Bulgaria on 22–26 September was targeted at Russian youth in the 18–35 age bracket living outside Russia. The major event given special attention by Russia was the 19th World Festival of Youth and Students in Sochi in October, to which the youth of the world were invited. Young people from Estonia participated in all these events.

These events are only the tip of the iceberg and young people are also engaged through various linguistic, cultural and educational competitions, youth camps and workshops. The events are attractive for the young; the organisers, who are supported by government foundations and offices of the Kremlin’s divisive policies, often cover the travel and accommodation costs of participants and offer free entertainment

in addition to the ideological component. As well as spreading Russia’s world ideology and the Russian official interpretation of history, rebellious and easily manipulated people are sought at youth events to be recruited and exploited later.

The most likely and serious threat to constitutional order continues to arise from Russia’s aggressive foreign-policy objectives.

The goal of these events is to spread messages containing Russia’s foreign-policy objectives, to find loyal youths and attract them to the organisers’ sphere of influence. The Russian interpretation of World War II (including cultivating the myth of the Red Army as liberators) and the justification and glorification of Russian foreign policy is often at the core of the influence activities conducted during these events. New messages delivered in recent years have called for the lifting of Western sanctions imposed following Russia’s aggression against Ukraine and working with Russia against

terrorism. Moscow is also trying to prevent the integration of Russian-speaking youth into the Estonian cultural and values sphere, to ensure a new generation able to implement the Kremlin's divisive policies and to find potential recruits for the Russian special services. To that end, the organisers of divisive-policy events and the Russian authorities gather personal data on the participants and those close to them. In other words, Russia wants to use the young as a tool by manipulating them to achieve its foreign-policy and influence goals abroad, including in Estonia.

The speech by Oleg Malginov, Head of the Russian foreign ministry's Department for Relations with Compatriots Abroad, at hearings in the State Duma on 20 March 2017 gives an insight into the Russian approach. He said that "maintaining contacts with these young people of high potential and supporting their ambitions and success plans is, without doubt, in our interests, as they may soon become influential".

Russia continues to regard its compatriots as a major



Russia is keen to use young people as a tool: manipulating them will help it achieve the goals of its foreign-policy and influence activities abroad. The Russian ambassador and the Head of the Russian foreign ministry's Department for Relations with Compatriots Abroad visited a youth event in Järvamaa. Photo: Facebook

tool for ensuring its influence in neighbouring countries by manipulating them and appearing to represent and protect their interests. However, Russian officials are concerned, because the Kremlin's divisive policies is not very attractive to the youth of Estonia, which is why the political activists are usually older people of limited ability and little popularity. The local Russian youth has also integrated into Estonian society rela-

tively better. Finding a new generation of activists to replace relatively well ageing fighters was thus one of the main items at the annual conference of the local leaders of the Kremlin's divisive policies in Tallinn in April 2017. On the other hand, the self-appointed figureheads of the local Russian community are largely uninterested in youth work but, rather, motivated by personal political and/or economic ambition. They seek financial support from sources such as the Russkiy Mir Foundation, Rossotrudnichestvo² and the Russian Embassy, and an opportunity to promote themselves on Russian media channels.

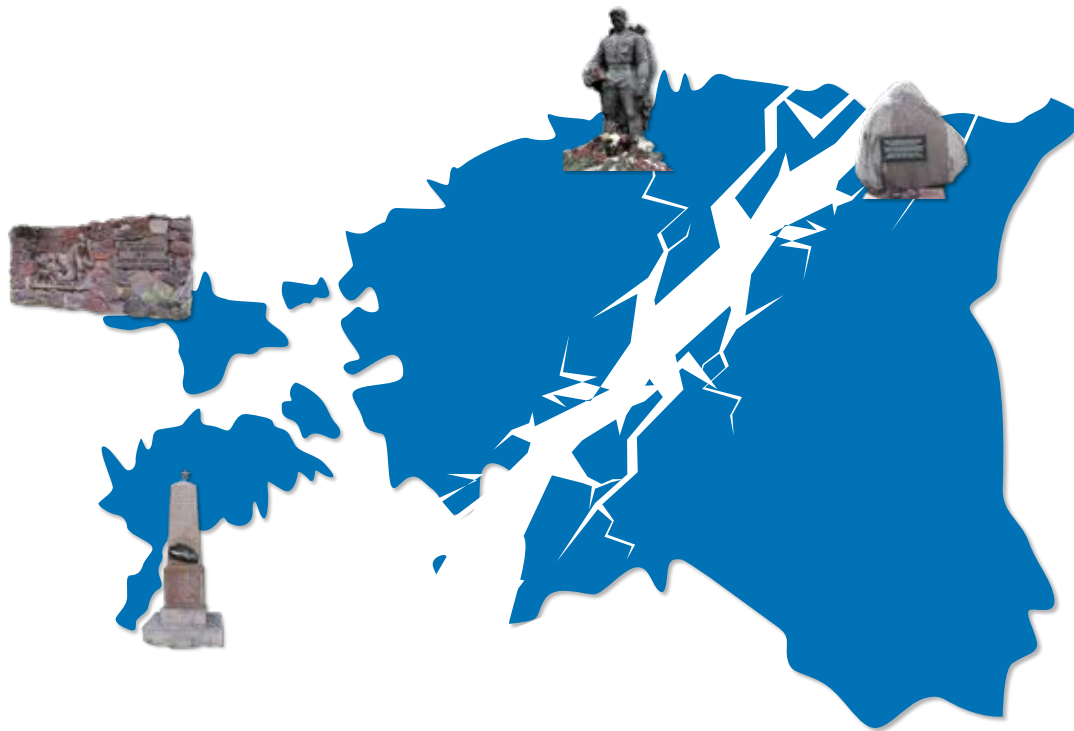
As directed by the Russian foreign ministry, the Embassy in Tallinn is paying more attention to involving youth. Two events were held in Estonia in 2017 for the Russian-speaking youth of the Baltic countries, with funding from the embassy and the Russkiy Mir Foundation: the "My Baltics" youth forum in Järva in May 2017 and the "BaltFest 2017" youth forum in Harju in the autumn. The first was attended by Oleg Malginov, who said his department wanted to reorganise its work, abandon formal work schemes and orientate towards target groups and youth work. He recommended that the experience gained at the forum be used in other countries.

One of the target groups through which the young are targeted is teachers. Free training and study programmes offered by Russia present a threat with their ideological and biased content. Especially deplorable are the complimentary history training events for teachers in Russia, the propaganda narratives of which are later shared with Estonian pupils. For example, a training programme titled "History of the State of Russia" for Russian compatriots was held in St Petersburg in August 2017, with the main topic "100 Years After 1917: An Objective Retrospect – Lessons for the Future". History and social science teachers from schools in Kohtla-Järve, Narva and Tallinn were present.

Pro-Kremlin individuals and groups that instigate heated confrontations in society are trying to involve the young in their marginal protest actions.

Recently, young people participating in the Russian divisive policy events are being encouraged to establish mutual contacts to continue organising activities and actions in their home countries. The aim is to enhance the activities of youth organisations by directing them to engage in the "right" activities and increase communication between them.

² Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation.



Memorials as means to divisive policy

The Kremlin is paying consistent and increasing attention to history as propaganda (the myth of the Great Victory was complemented in 2017 by the centenary of the Russian Revolution) and is trying to politicise the subject of Soviet and Russian memorials abroad, approved by Putin himself. The aim is to consolidate Russians and like-minded people in Russia and abroad with the Kremlin, to involve new divisive-policy activists (including the young) and to use them as a tool for increasing the Kremlin's influence abroad.

One of the aims of this activity is to split foreign societies and stir up enmity between ethnic groups. Russia is increasingly prioritising actions in the public space of foreign countries. This was apparent on 9 May, which has for some years increasingly been the subject of attempts to transform it from a memorial day and anniversary of the end of the war into a revanchist demonstration of power. To that end, Russia is supporting campaigns distributing ribbons of the Cross of St George and the organisation of "Immortal Regiment" marches and various road trips sporting provocative symbols outside Russia. The Kremlin is interested in expanding these activities and celebrating those involved in organising them; the organisers of Immortal Regiment activities in Estonia in 2017 were sent letters of thanks.

Clear evidence of the Kremlin's desire to extend its activities abroad is provided by the minutes of the 20

April 2017 meeting of the Russian organising committee Pobeda (Victory). These contain clear guidance to Russian state agencies and government-organised non-governmental organisations (GONGOs). The minutes dedicate much attention to the fight against the "falsification" of history. This is not a new phenomenon, but the guidance is not limited to Russia's attempts to establish pro-Russian narratives in prop-

9 May has increasingly been the subject of the Kremlin's attempts to transform it from a memorial day and anniversary of the end of the war into a revanchist demonstration of power.

aganda conferences and (Russian-language) media; it also provides for various activities in the public sphere of other countries. For example, Russian agencies must identify, preserve and popularise cultural and historical monuments related to Russia's historical past abroad. They must assist the Russian War History Society and Russian compatriot organisations and activists in the establishment of memorials, monuments and memorial plaques dedicated to Russia's war history and victory over fascism. Agencies are directed to establish contacts with and encourage foreign organisations searching for the remains of Russian/Soviet soldiers and documenting memories of them.

Unfortunately, in 2017 such provocative Russia-instigated activities also occurred in Estonia. For example, a memorial stone in the village of Rääsa in Lügane Rural Municipality dedicated to a Soviet army pilot shot down in 1944 was moved to a private property in the town of Kiviõli just before 9 May. It should be noted that this was not a gravestone, as no body was buried nearby. A “solemn unveiling ceremony” for the relocated stone was held on 9 May. Clearly, the stone was moved with the knowledge, or even on the instruction, of the Russian Consulate-General in Narva. The aim of the operation was to instigate conflict in society and cause tensions between ethnic groups. The activities of Consul-General Dmitry Kazennov and Consul-Adviser Andrey Surgaev were contrary to Article 41 of the Vienna Convention. Estonia therefore exercised its right under Article 9(1) of the Convention and Section 9(2)(6) of the Foreign Relations Act to declare these employees of the diplomatic mission of a foreign state to be *personae non gratae*.

In this context, a council for war memorials was established in the Russian Embassy in 2017. Chaired by the Ambassador, Alexander Petrov, it includes other embassy staff and activists of the Russian divisive policy, among them a convicted criminal. The purpose of this advisory body is to strengthen the embassy’s control over organisations and individuals that document memories of Russian/Soviet soldiers who fell in Estonia, search for and reinter their remains, and look after war graves and memorials. The council also plans activities and events guided and coordinated by the embassy, such as history conferences, unveiling ceremonies for memorials, and celebrations and commemorative events for Russian historical events and national holidays.

The importance of this area for Russia is also demonstrated by the fact that the upkeep and renovation of war memorials in Estonia takes priority for funding over other Kremlin divisive-policy activities. This drives the interest of “professional” Russian compatriots in the field. These are people who will participate in any Russian influence projects, be it the staging of the fight against fascism or the struggle for peace, if the work is paid. As Russia is devoting increased resources to history propaganda and the upkeep of monuments, various interest groups have emerged that want to make money from this activity.

The Kremlin wants to enhance its control over and direction of veterans’ organisations and cooperation between them. Russia sees the network of veterans’ organisations as a tool for pressuring the leaders of other countries. For example, at the conference “Honour Their Memory”, dedicated to the condition of Soviet monuments in Poland and held at the Rossotrudnichestvo office in Warsaw in October 2017, representatives of veterans’ organisations from various countries including Estonia adopted a petition deploring the memorials policy of the Polish authorities.

The goal of these activities by Russia is to disrupt social coherence, stir up enmity between ethnic groups, and thereby undermine the stability of the state and society by manipulating the people of Estonia. It is telling that most of the very few surviving World War II veterans are interested in respecting the memory of their comrades and not in being part of an opportunistic present-day policy.



*Estonia declared the Consul-General, Dmitri Kazennov, and Andrey Surgaev to be *personae non gratae*, as their undiplomatic behaviour aimed to instigate conflict and cause tension in society. Photo: Ekspress Meedia*



Legitimisation of the annexation of Crimea

Since the annexation of Crimea, Moscow has been trying to shatter Western unity over applying sanctions, on the one hand, and organising ever more propaganda events on the peninsula, including for young people, and visits there by representatives of various levels, civil organisations, entrepreneurs and others from European countries, on the other. An example of this “people’s diplomacy” was the international conference “Crimea in the Modern International Context: The Friends of Crimea Forum”, held in Yalta in November. Despite the modest reputation of the event, one outcome was the establishment of an International Association of Friends of Crimea.

Youth events are organised in Crimea, also involving foreigners. For example, in 2015 an Estonian student who participated in three international “Living Classics” reading competitions won a holiday to the Artek children’s camp in Crimea.

The Kremlin’s goals in Crimea are also supported by “history and media clubs” and individuals spreading Russian propaganda messages. For example, the Irboska Club opened a “branch” on the peninsula already in 2016.³ In the summer of 2017, a group of extremists from Estonia and Latvia participated in a forum in Yalta discussing cooperation in the post-Soviet area. Discussion included classic lies about ethnic and linguistic discrimination and the rehabilitation of fascism in the Baltic countries.

Another example of Russia’s influence operations was an event in Simferopol titled “US, Europe, Russia: Geopolitics of the Clash of Ideologies”, held in September 2017 by Format A-3,⁴ which styles itself an international media club. This was attended by an Estonian academic from Tallinn University, Rein Müllerson, who justified the annexation of Crimea and opined that the West would soon legally recognise Crimea and abolish sanctions without much of an outcry.

It is appropriate to recall the words of Olga Timofeyeva, a member of the Russian Federation Council’s Committee on Foreign Affairs, at the Baltic Russian Compatriots Forum in Leningrad Oblast in October 2017. She stressed that she was from Sevastopol, representatives of which had until recently participated in the forum as compatriots. She also said Russian cooperation and programmes had helped solve the problems of the Russian-speaking population of Ukraine and helped the Crimean Spring to become a reality.

The main goal in establishing this association, the organisation of events in Crimea and inviting relatively marginal politicians and other presenters to speak at them was to obtain recognition for the 2014 referendum on the status of Crimea and to legitimise the annexation and occupation of Crimea by Russia.

We advise Estonians to avoid such events, and call on society to explain their real nature to the young, especially students.

³ The Irboska Club, founded in Pskov oblast in 2012, brings together public figures and experts with anti-liberal views. Its chairman and main ideologist is Alexander Prokhanov, the jingoist editor-in-chief of the Russian nationalist newspaper Zavtra.

⁴ Format A-3 is a Russian influence project, whose Estonian counterpart is Impressum, which also calls itself an international media club. We have described the messaging of such clubs and the nature of their events in our Annual Reviews since 2008.

Methods of Russian influence operations: production of fake news and falsification of history

Russian TV channels continued to target Estonia in 2017. As is typical of Russian influence activities, false statements and misinformation were knowingly presented in the guise of factual reports. With machine-like perseverance, Estonia was falsely accused of Nazism and xenophobia in order to depict or cause enmity between the various communities in Estonia.

The intentional organisation of influence operations serving the Kremlin's goals and the dissemination of anti-Estonian propaganda are not values protected as freedom of the press.

The most provocative fictions about Estonia were presented by Petersburg–Channel 5. The activities of Channel 5 employee Anatoliy Maiorov, who was repeatedly sent to Estonia in 2017, clearly show how the pursuance of Russia's media and governmental goals is intertwined. Knowing that Estonia has turned back Russian TV crews at the border in the past, Maiorov's crew employed deception, entering Estonia via the Schengen visa area and using local prepaid telephone cards for communication.

Their pieced-together reports conveyed the typical messages of Russian influence operations with the aim of damaging Estonia, the EU and NATO. The following are some examples.

The Channel 5 programmes "Itogi Nedeli" and "Glavnoe" ridiculed Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko's visits to Estonia and Finland, as well as the Baltic states' interpretation of history and their claims against Russia. Local workers were used to glorify the Soviet period and falsely claim that only former members of the SS were entitled to pensions in Estonia. Estonia has been falsely accused of Nazism many times, and the annual events in Riga and the Sinimäed were presented by Channel 5 as examples of support for fascism in the Baltic states.

REN TV, which belongs to the same group as Channel 5, covered an event in a cemetery in Jõhvi with a provocative and maliciously misleading report titled "Nazism after death: Russians will be denied burial in Estonian cemeteries". Maiorov's report falsely stated that Russians buried in the cemetery would be reinterred, and the whole topic was related to the exhumation of the remains of Red Army soldiers who fell in World War II. Maiorov claimed that this was the long-term anti-Russian strategy of the Estonian government.

The intentional organisation of influence operations serving Russian goals and the dissemination of anti-Estonian propaganda are not values protected as freedom of the press, and Estonia took appropriate measures. Anatoliy Maiorov was banned from entering the Schengen visa area for three years. Following the ban, he left Petersburg–Channel 5.

Who owns Petersburg–Channel 5?

72.4% of Petersburg–Channel 5 is owned by National Media Group, whose chairman is Alina Kabaeva, the president Kirill Kovalchuk, and the director general Olga Paskina. The other shareholder is the St Petersburg city council, with a 27.6% holding. National Media Group also has holdings in REN TV (82%) and Channel One (25%). The group's TV channels exchange filmed material, and much of the Channel 5 footage from Estonia was broadcast by its other channels. The group's main audience is in Russia, so its depiction of Estonia, while not believed by Estonian viewers, is intended to shape the views of the domestic Russian audience.

Examples of history propaganda: Russian Association for Baltic Studies and Historical Memory Foundation

In October 2017 the Russian Association for Baltic Studies (RAPI) organised a conference in St Petersburg, “Wars and Revolutions: 1917–1920: Development of the Statehood of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania”. The establishment of RAPI and its role in history influence operations against the Baltic states was covered in our Annual Review for 2016. The main goal of the association, which was founded with the participation of the history propaganda agency Historical Memory Foundation, is to propagate and distribute a history narrative based on Russia’s foreign-policy interests under the labels of international cooperation and academic studies. RAPI does not want to be publicly associated with the foundation, whose aggressive style in disparaging the Baltic states has effectively already been exhausted.



The RAPI format allows people participating in Russia’s influence operations to spread their ideas in a seemingly reasonable format and make contact with representatives from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania for further activities. It is, therefore, no coincidence that the speakers at the RAPI conference included Historical Memory Foundation director Alexander Dyukov and its head of research programmes, Vladimir Simindei, who is well known for his rhetoric justifying Soviet repression and accusing the Baltic states of falsifying history. The hidden goal of RAPI and other similar pseudo-academic organisations is to involve researchers from the Baltic states and use their good reputation to help spread the Kremlin’s messages.



A classic example of propaganda was an article by Nikolay Kabanov in the Russian-language daily Segodnya (vesti.lv) on 29 October 2017. This spoke about the RAPI conference in St Petersburg and was titled “The birth trauma of statehood”. The sub-headings speak for themselves: “Latvians and Estonians were not regarded as political subjects”, “German roots of the Republic of Lithuania”, “Where Germany steps, there will be no other power”, etc. Readers were introduced to the viewpoints of Russia’s representatives, claiming that the Baltic states only came into existence thanks to Russian goodwill, that a “cruel anti-Russian policy” is currently being pursued in these countries, and so on. The views of historians from the Baltic states are mentioned in the article merely as an example of the broad scope of scientific views, characteristic only of “modern Russian conferences”.



A similar example of exploitation was the presentation of the fictional work *The Cross of Konstantin* by Russian author Semyon Danilyuk, held in Moscow in November 2017. The book is about the life of Estonian President Konstantin Päts during his imprisonment in the USSR. The Russian-language book was published by KPD in Tallinn with an afterword by an Estonian journalist. As this person had previously contributed repeatedly to the Historical Memory Foundation, the foundation’s Vladimir Simindei also attended the presentation. He was featured as a history expert in Estonian Public Broadcasting’s (ERR) news coverage and he managed to show himself close to the Estonian ambassador, who also spoke at the event. The pseudo-academic thus attempted to take advantage of the well-intentioned participation of the ambassador.



A screenshot of Estonian Public Broadcasting news on 30 November 2017 reporting a book presentation in Moscow.



The court sentenced Alexey Vasilev to four years in prison for a criminal offence against the state by collaborating with the FSB against Estonia.

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

Counterintelligence seems a simple notion at first glance, but life has shown that simplicity can be deceptive. Based on our experience, we want to explain that counterintelligence is not intelligence, but the prevention and blocking of intelligence that involves the protection of state secrets. Agencies obstructing the activities of foreign agents in their homeland are sometimes even called “domestic intelligence” by the press, which is a meaningless notion in a democratic country that gives a misleading understanding of counterintelligence.

Intelligence and counterintelligence share the need to gather information, while the purpose and sometimes the methods of the work can be radically different. It is essential to distinguish between the two,

as counterintelligence in Estonia includes the criminal investigation of people and the right to use force against them. The latter is justified if required in the interests of national security, including for the prevention of crimes against the state. It should be understood in the context of such rights and duties that distinguishing between intelligence and counterintelligence is not a mere pedantic exercise, but helps people to understand who can act, why and with what powers, especially when it comes to restricting a person’s basic rights. It is important to understand that fundamental rights can only be restricted in a lawful manner, and that questions like why and how should be made as clear as possible to the public and be part of understanding the role of a state and its agencies.

It is no exaggeration to say that 2017 was quite busy for KAPO in the field of counterintelligence. The major military exercise Zapad by the Russian Federation's Western Military District, local government elections in Estonia and events related to the Estonian Presidency of the Council of the EU resulted in an unusual environment, the security risks associated with which cannot be underestimated. Battlegroups of NATO Allies including the UK and France arrived in Estonia in spring 2017, as agreed at the Warsaw Summit. Estonia received over 1,200 allied soldiers, and even more for the period of the EDF exercise Spring Storm, when Estonia accommodated the largest number of allied units since the restoration of independence. The arrival of allied forces and equipment and the establishment of infrastructure attracted increased interest from hostile states' special services. The Russian special services have in particular always expressed such interest very aggressively.

KAPO must therefore counteract such aggression and employ its counterintelligence capabilities. In our previous Annual Reviews we have described several cases of persons who have been used by Russian special services to obtain information on state or law-enforcement structures and have since been convicted. The trend continued in 2017. Russia continues to use agents it regards as of low importance, who the press gleefully describe as "economy class agents".

Individuals engaged in illegal cross-border activities, including persons with dual citizenship, are easy targets for the Russian special services; their capture is no big loss for them. They are easy to recruit, force into cooperation and eventually disown if they are caught. People who have been caught due to a misdemeanour or youthful daring are also easy prey for the Russian special services. The "spy romanticism" factor should not be underestimated. People recruited young tend not to have a fully developed or adequate understanding of the world. The propagandistic and biased Russian media, which produce a national image of spies as romantic and treats them as heroes, facilitate such mistaken ideas. Such a false image and incitement to patriotism can lead young people to carry out crimes against Estonia more easily.

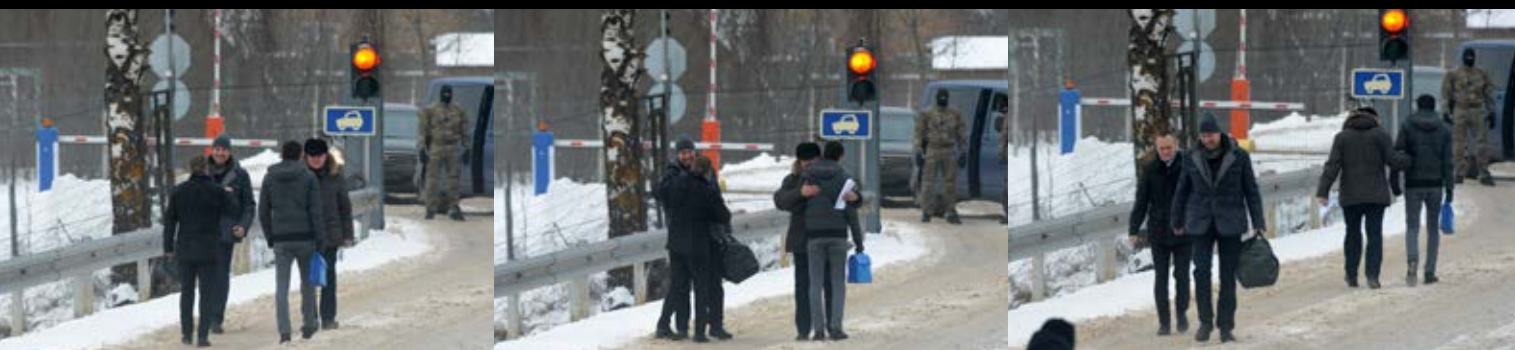
A GRU agent was caught in Estonia for the first time

On 9 January 2017 KAPO arrested the Russian citizen Artyom Zinchenko, who was living in Estonia under a residence permit. On 8 May the Harju County Court sentenced him to five years in jail under § 233 of the Penal Code for a non-violent act committed against the Republic of Estonia. Zinchenko was recruited in 2009 by officers of the Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation (GRU) and, since moving to Estonia in 2013, had participated in intelligence activities against Estonia.

The propagandistic and biased Russian media facilitates mistaken ideas.

Zinchenko's duties included gathering information about important national defence and essential services assets. Like the FSB agents previously discovered by KAPO and convicted by the courts, his duties included visual intelligence on allied forces in Estonia. Zinchenko passed this information on using various means of communication and during meetings in St Petersburg.

On 10 February 2018, at the Koidula border crossing point, Estonia and Russia exchanged Zinchenko for Raivo Susi, an Estonian businessman who had been convicted of espionage in Russia. The exchange was possible as the parties came to a mutually satisfactory agreement. Both individuals submitted an appeal for pardon, which was accepted by the presidents of Estonia and Russia.



The exchange of Artyem Zintshenko and Raivo Susi at the Koidula border crossing point.

Zinchenko was not the only example of GRU intelligence activity against Estonia brought to justice in 2017. On 10 December KAPO arrested Estonian citizen Ilya Tikhanovski, suspected under § 235¹ of the Penal Code for conspiracy against the Republic of Estonia. Tikhanovski is suspected of working for the GRU to collect information on assets essential to national security and state affairs, and of performing other duties. Both these cases clearly show that GRU intelligence activities against Estonia have intensified in recent years.

In addition to the GRU, Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB) continues to stand out for its intelligence activities against Estonia. As in recent years, we are publicising those cases that ended in convictions.

On 17 October 2017, Russian citizen Mikhail Petrov was sentenced to five years in prison under § 233 of the Penal Code for engagement in non-violent activities directed against the independence and sovereignty or territorial integrity of Estonia. Petrov had collaborated with the FSB since the 1990s, gathering and sending

information about KAPO's buildings, employees and vehicles and about people in contact with its officers. Petrov was also tasked with establishing, developing and maintaining contacts with Estonians and with gathering and forwarding to the FSB information describing individuals and their social networks.

The court handed down a final decision on 4 October in the case of Albert Provornikov, an Estonian-Russian dual citizen, imposing a sentence of three years in prison under § 235¹ of the Penal Code for conspiracy against Estonia. The FSB recruited Provornikov for secret collaboration to procure information on the Police and Border Guard Board's border posts in the South Prefecture and structures of KAPO and the Kuperjanov Infantry Battalion.

It is already public knowledge that, on 4 November 2017, KAPO arrested the Russian citizen Alexey Vasilev, suspected of, among other things, computer crimes in the procurement of intelligence, at the Narva road border crossing point. On 21 March 2018 Harju County Court sentenced Alexey Vasilev to



Collaborators recruited by the GRU and FSB; Ilya Tikhanovski is on the left.

four years of imprisonment for non-violent activities carried out against the Republic of Estonia as an FSB agent and preparation of a computer-related crime, in accordance with § 233 and § 216 (1) of the Penal Code. We have previously revealed the interest of Russian special services in digital data and persons with access to it, and this type of intelligence appears to be a growing trend.

The use of “economy class agents” like Vasilev does not imply that the work of professional agents has decreased. Agents with proper training and preparation continue to carry out their tasks in Estonia, but the effective work by KAPO over recent years will, we believe, hinder the use of such agents. Everyone involved in intelligence against Estonia should realise that, whatever its apparent “romance”, espionage carries serious consequences, and the suggestion by hostile special services that it is practically impossible to be caught by Estonian counterintelligence should not be believed.

It is commonly supposed that the main goal of every special service is to have an agent with access to sensitive government information. However, the intelligence gathered by Russian special services is usually internal or personal information. This is used to plan intelligence operations or as source material for analyses. The notion that special services are only interested in state secrets is therefore no longer valid or relevant. In Estonia, not only is the communication of a state secret to a representative of a foreign state a crime, but also the performance of other tasks that damage the security of the Republic – as shown by the convictions described above.

From the military perspective in 2017, Russia’s major military exercise Zapad was of great interest. Such exercises always increase the risk of espionage. As a rule of thumb, Russian exercises based on opposing NATO are accompanied by various aggressive forms

of intelligence activity. In the context of Zapad, intelligence activities focused on Lithuania and Poland rather than Estonia. We identified more incidents against allies, but the general intensity of intelligence activity was comparable to that of previous years.

Russian propaganda, which seemed to have learned some lessons, offered no special surprises during the year. The framework themes were ridiculing fears over military exercises, blaming the US and NATO for this, and producing fake news about Russophobia. Russia has organised similar exercises before and will do so in future, and provocations are a natural part of these.

The notion that special services are only interested in state secrets is no longer valid or relevant.

An example of classic provocation by Russia came on 23 February 2017, when for the first time the anniversary of the Soviet Army was celebrated with a demonstration of military equipment in Ivangorod, close to the Estonian Russian border. Whether on the pretext of the parade in Estonia or Allied troop movements in Narva, such demonstrations of force and provocative pointing of weapons towards Estonia have not occurred before.

Our assessment is that, during Estonia’s EU Presidency and the local government elections in 2017, Russia’s deeper interest in Estonia was perceivable, but intelligence activity was not especially intensified. We detected interest by Russian special services in political circles during the pre-election period and KAPO expects that political intelligence work will not reduce in the years to come.



PROTECTION OF STATE SECRETS

The protection of state secrets is essentially preventive, with the aim of preventing damage to national security and external communication. Although the obligation to implement protective measures for state secrets mainly lies with each institution, the responsibility nevertheless starts with every individual.

Classified information protection requirements are usually breached because a person is not fully aware of why they are necessary.

The arrangements for protecting classified information may sometimes seem cumbersome, and even a hindrance to the completion of work, but their purpose is to prevent damage to national security and external communication. The unlawful publication of a state secret can endanger both these. To avoid such an eventuality, the legislative authority considers a situation with even the risk of publication of a state secret an infringement of protection requirements. Anyone who comes into contact with state secrets must be well

informed about the requirements for protecting them and adhere to these conscientiously. We hope the more common infringements of state secret protection we describe in this year's Annual Review will help to increase awareness and help every institution and individual to prevent threats more effectively.

Most security incidents involving classified information have been related to information forwarded via improper e-channels. In such cases, the infringement was committed by the initial sender, but if an official forwards info the same way to a third person, a situation may arise in which the latter person breaches requirements for protecting classified information, enabling the publication of classified information. The electronic transmission of confidential information is only permitted using a processing system accredited by the Estonian Foreign Intelligence Service or via an encrypted e-mail (in the case of restricted classified information).

The most common infringements relate to everyday handling activities. These include processing classified information in the wrong place (inappropriate location, for instance in an unlocked cabinet/drawer rather than in a safe), using an incorrect method of transmission (wrong packaging and transportation measures), and carelessness over registration (insufficient information in the registry). More serious infringements can result in unlawful access – a person may access classified information without anyone ascertaining whether they have a valid national security clearance, or classified information may be taken into a public area.

Some examples of misunderstandings include thinking that when storing restricted classified information in the correct area but in an unlocked cabinet, it is sufficiently protected. This is not the case. Leaving classified information in an unlocked cabinet or on a desk means that it may be unlawfully accessed by any malicious or random passer-by – a cleaner, a guest of a colleague, a maintenance technician, or a rescue officer attending an emergency. Confidential and top secret information must be processed in a secure area, with the approval of the relevant institution. This requires the area to be protected with various measures against attack and accident.

Flexible working methods, so common these days, are not compatible with the protection of information. State secrets and home environments do not mix, as a rule. Taking classified material home is dangerous, as domestic conditions constitute insufficient protection in the event of attack or accident.

Even if a person does not take classified information home, it must still be transported from one place to another. As a rule, data media containing classified information should be in double packaging. People who have breached this requirement have considered it to be impractical, because they have not understood that its purpose is mainly to protect the data from accidental unlawful access. The inner container of a double package must always be labelled with the level of classification, which is an indication of the contents being a state secret. If a person has, for whatever reason – for example, in the case of an accident or carelessness – ended up with a package labelled as a state secret, they have an obligation to keep it confidential (as stipulated by the State Secrets and Classified Information of Foreign States Act) and to notify the KAPO immediately and hand over the package to them.

When data media is transported, it must be kept in the personal possession of the individual at all times.

If a stop is made on the way and the data media is left in a vehicle without supervision, for example, the classified information could be stolen.

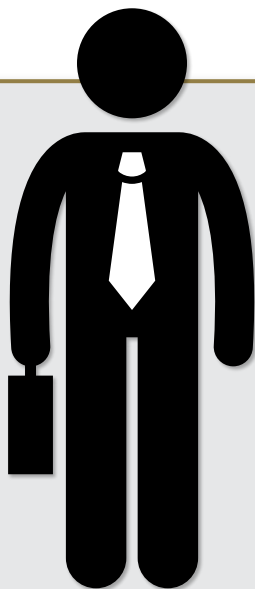
When discussing classified information, it must be ascertained that the other person has the required national security clearance and the need to know. You may be committing an offence even if you fail or forget to ask for an appropriate national security clearance. A breach of the requirements for the protection of classified information is a misdemeanour or a criminal offence and can endanger national security or external communication.

Not reacting to less dangerous small infringements paves the way for worse, which can lead to the publication of classified information.

Infringements can be successfully prevented by notifying and monitoring institutions that process classified information. Notifying infringements related to classified information is one obligation of a person holding national security clearance. The purpose is to protect the classified information and to minimise possible damage. This is not a hypothetical matter – KAPO has repeatedly uncovered a regrettable chain of events: not reacting to less dangerous small infringements paves the way for worse, which can lead to the publication of classified information. That is why each lapse must be taken seriously, and every effort must be made at the institutional and individual level to discover such lapses as early as possible, react immediately, and learn from mistakes. This is the only way to avoid similar situations in the future and to stop an undesirable course of events. If necessary, KAPO can also be involved, and many institutions have opted for this reasonable solution. For example, in collaboration with the Government Office, the worst was prevented last year when one case ended with a conviction. The actions of Raine Eenma, a former experienced employee of the Government Office, resulted in a conviction for breaching state secret protection requirements, but bigger risks regarding state secrets were controlled. Organisations can learn from every experience, particularly from bad ones, and amend internal guidelines to prevent threats to state secrets, the release of which would damage national security.

The following summary, based on an analysis of problems caused by people's behaviour surrounding the protection of classified information, contains the three most common offence profiles. This is a simple tool for the thousands of people who come into contact with state secrets, in order to recognise and manage the main risks applicable to them.

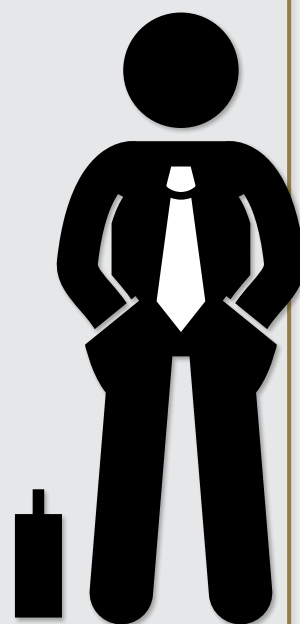
1. "NOVICE" – recently gained the right of access (national security clearance held for less than five years):



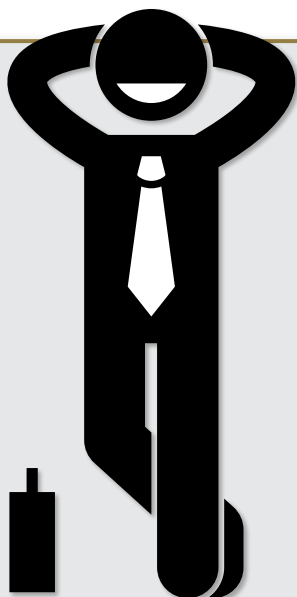
- a. not familiar with legislation (unfamiliar with information processing requirements);
- b. does not fully understand the spirit of the rules (knows them, but does not consider it necessary to follow them, as their purpose is not understood);
- c. little experience with classified information (work tasks do not require daily exposure);
- d. other people's bad example (even if someone is aware of the processing requirements, they follow the lead of experienced colleagues);
- e. excessive curiosity (classified information is often considered to be very exciting, which is why some people tend not to adhere to the need-to-know principle. For example, some people may try to find out about matters that are not relevant to their work).

2. "OLD HAND" – right of access for a long time (national security clearance held for more than five years):

- a. not familiar with legal provisions (when someone does not learn the processing requirements immediately, they generally will not do it later, either, i.e. during the validity of national security clearance);
- b. used to know the rules a long time ago (legislation can change over time, which is why relevant knowledge should be refreshed, during the validity of security clearance);
- c. vague understanding about the need for the rules (knows what they are, but does not consider it important to follow them, as their purpose has not been understood);
- d. routine (people who constantly work with classified information may commit infringements due to convenience and previous habits);
- e. careless and superficial approach to exercise of due diligence (forgetting requirements and obligations, actions based more on convenience);
- f. unreasonably high self-esteem, lack of self-criticism (no longer takes it seriously enough when colleagues point out possible problems, increased risk of more serious infringements);
- g. sense of impunity (considers infringements related to classified information insignificant, naively assumes that the infringement will not be discovered);
- h. self-righteousness (knows the rules but thinks he/she knows better what has to be done and what not).



3. “USED-TO-BE” – previously had the right to access:



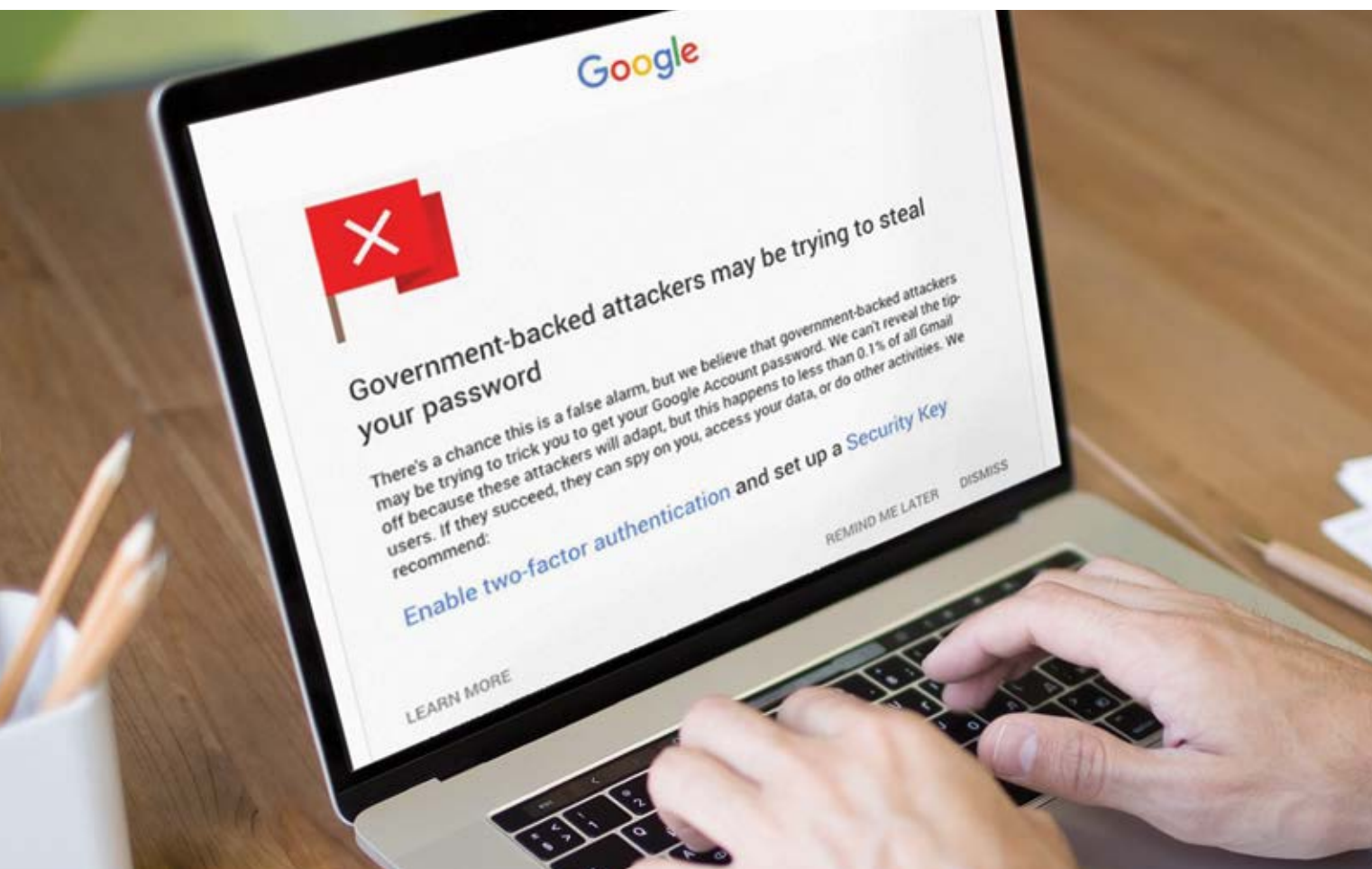
- a. unfamiliar with legislation, particularly about the end of the clearance validity period (did not become thoroughly acquainted with the processing requirements, knows little about the rules on the end of the clearance validity);
- b. forgetting obligations/rules (no longer involved with classified information, and has started to forget processing requirements and individual obligations);
- c. sense of ownership (considers the information he/she has collected and/or assembled to be theirs, deciding on their own what to do with it, forgetting the basic rule that classified information is owned by the state, which limits the person's own decision-making competence in the matter);
- d. tries to compensate for a change in position by bragging (trying to portray him/herself as still knowledgeable and influential by disclosing classified information).

To prevent any infringements of classified information protection requirements, every individual must be thoroughly acquainted with them, and particularly their obligations in the protection of state secrets, as regulated in § 19 of the State Secrets and Classified Information of Foreign States Act.

The simplest and most important rule of thumb is as follows: every person must keep confidential any state secret that becomes known to them. This obligation must be fulfilled even after national security clearance has expired, which means that changing jobs or withdrawing clearance does not give a person the right to make classified information public. The obligation to protect information in a person's possession comprises all classified information protection requirements, including the individual ascertaining how it would be possible to create, introduce, transmit or destroy classified information.

If any infringements are discovered, the institution's head of protection of state secrets and KAPO must be notified immediately and, in collaboration, appropriate methods must be taken to reduce the risk of unlawful publication or disclosure.

The protection of state secrets is the duty of us all – the state, the specific institution and every individual.



PROVIDING CYBER SECURITY

KAPO provides cyber security in Estonia by identifying and preventing foreign attacks or attacks threatening national security. In 2017, we checked several suspected cases of foreign cyber operations attempting to gain unlawful access to information in the possession of Estonian individuals or agencies. There was no increase in hostile cyber-attacks in relation to the Estonian Presidency of the Council of the EU or the arrival of NATO units.

The extensive use of digital services has resulted in foreign intelligence services focusing increasingly on cyber intelligence. The characteristic features of cyber threats are the lack of national borders and the global nature of the attacks. As is evident from several cases in other countries that became public

in 2016-2017, cyber operations have global reach and effect. We must consider that information originating in Estonia is not electronically processed only here – Estonian agencies often exchange information with other countries and international organisations electronically. For a foreign attacker, it does not matter from which country the information comes. Naturally, terminating all communication is not a solution; instead, people must be aware of threats, consider the risks, and choose a safer method for handling more sensitive information. The need to achieve a uniformly high level of data security in the computer networks of the EU and NATO Allies cannot be exaggerated.

In our last Annual Review, we provided a schematic overview of how the attacker is hidden in the case of cyber-attacks originating from foreign authorities. Previously, we have looked in detail at one of the most common methods—phishing scams, in which the targeted person receives a credible but fake email that contains an attachment or link with malware. This continues to be popular in the field of cyber intelligence. When the recipient opens the attachment or clicks on the link, the attacker can use the malware to gain access to their account, or even all the information on the computer. Due to the high success rate of this type of attack, this year we take a more detailed look at state-commissioned attacks originating abroad against people's private email accounts.

By way of explanation, and perhaps to reassure readers, we should say that a relatively small circle of people is at risk—attackers are trying to gain access to the private email accounts of those of interest to foreign intelligence services due to their work, i.e. the same kinds of people those services are usually interested in: diplomats, politicians and people involved in military and national security.

There are several reasons for wanting to gain unlawful access to private email accounts. First, such accounts are often also used for transmitting work-related information; second, private email accounts may contain compromising material, for example information about illegal hobbies, or colourful comments which might differ significantly from a person's public statements.

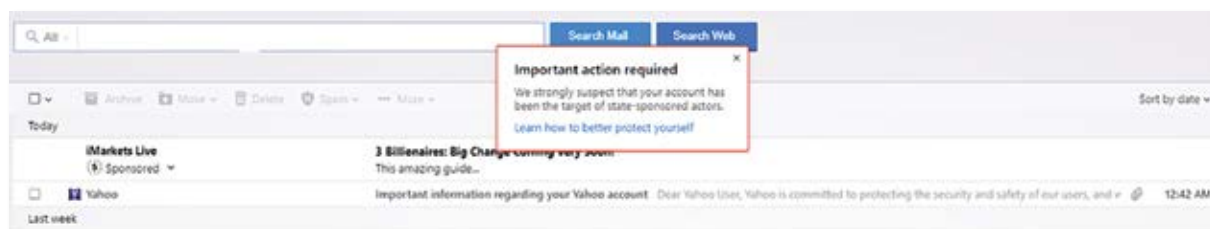
An account provides an abundant source of interesting information for intelligence services, helping them to plan further unlawful activities. For example, it could provide information about the person's other means of communication, their social circle and visited locations, and, as accounts are often linked to other

platforms, enable access to social media accounts. Attackers can also experiment with the usernames and passwords of private accounts in an attempt to log in to a person's work email account.

The need to achieve a uniformly high level of data security in the computer networks of EU and NATO Allies cannot be overestimated.

The prevention of such attacks is very difficult for security authorities as they target people's private information. The two largest free email service providers among Estonians (Google's Gmail, and Yahoo!) have taken steps to warn people against these threats. These providers used by Estonians collect technical information from public sources and international cybersecurity experts regarding the methods and infrastructure of attacks originating from foreign authorities. If they then identify an attempted attack against a specific email account, the account holder will get a warning about possibly being the target of an attack originating from a foreign authority. The sample pictures show the warning message. Anyone who has received such a message is advised to contact their institution's data security expert to discuss whether sufficient protective measures are being taken. Of course, KAPO would also be grateful to be notified about such cases.

We recommend paying increased attention to the safety of email services. For example, a person's Google account contains not only their emails, but also several other services (search history, location history, saved files, etc.). Users are often unaware of these, but for an attacker from a foreign authority they provide valuable information to look for.



An example of a warning about an attack originated by a foreign authority.



Photo: Scanpix

PREVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

The international environment and its effect on Estonia

Looking back on 2017, we can see that, as in previous years, acts of terror are unfortunately still happening in Europe. Using a vehicle to kill people in London, a bombing using a home-made explosive device in Manchester, an attack in the heart of Barcelona, and a stabbing in Turku, Finland, are just some examples in this tragic sequence. Although Islamic extremists lost ground in the Syria-Iraq conflict zone, this did not result in a reduced threat of terrorism in Europe. The problem of foreign fighters returning from conflict zones, particularly if these are citizens of European countries, will re-

main our touchstone for many years to come. Questions around stopping the spread of radical ideology online, including on social media, and about curbing radicalisation in prisons have become even more pressing.

The fact that terrorism as a phenomenon is not just an abstract, distant problem for Estonia or its neighbouring regions is also evidenced by court judgments in Estonia and Latvia. In April 2017, the Estonian Supreme Court decided to uphold the Circuit Court's judgment of conviction in force. Roman Manko was sentenced to two years in jail and Ramil Khalilov to three years for supporting Ivan Sazanakov, who had become a member of a terrorist group in Syria. This was the first court case in Estonia to involve support for Islamic terrorism.

The first criminal offence related to Islamic terrorism has been through all court stages in Estonia, and the first person from the Baltic states known to have participated in the conflict in Syria and returned to his home country has now been convicted in the Circuit Court. In autumn 2017, the Riga Regional Court sentenced the Latvian Martins Grinbergs to ten years, three months of imprisonment.

Considering these judgments, it is clearly becoming increasingly hard to draw a line between national security at home and abroad. Events happening thousands of kilometres away have an effect in Estonia and on our allies in Europe. This is also evidenced by the fact that, since the outbreak of the conflict in Syria, Estonia has repeatedly been used as a transit country by foreign fighters moving to the conflict zone.

The threat of terrorism in Estonia

Although the probability of a terrorist incident is currently low in Estonia, past events emphasise the need to pay constant attention to the prevention of terrorism, as well as being ready to react in an appropriate manner. From the perspective of the wider public, several key elements can be distinguished from terrorists' behaviour patterns. First, an increasing number of attacks are carried out using whatever equipment is available, such as vehicles and knives, the use of which requires no special training. Second, the attacks are mainly directed at people in ordinary urban spaces – on the street, and in squares and meeting places. That is why visible security measures must be used in Estonia, too. Third, in the light of recent attacks, we must emphasise the element of opportunism – i.e. the attackers do not choose victims based on specific criteria, but rather as the opportunity arises. That is something we had to admit in 2016 in Nice, when two Estonian citizens were among those killed on a promenade.

On leisure and business trips, regardless of the destination, it is recommended to stay vigilant and to have an action plan ready in case a critical situation arises. For that purpose, we recommend becoming acquainted with information available on the websites of various agencies about how to act in the event of an emergency.⁵

⁵ https://www.siseministeerium.ee/sites/default/files/terrorirunnaku_korral.jpg (in Estonian).

Counter Terrorism Group CTG

There are no regional threats to national security in the EU, i.e. threats that concern only certain parts of Europe

The main collaborative forum with the security authorities of other European countries is the Counter Terrorism Group (CTG). This informal group of security agencies was established in 2002 and includes intelligence agencies from 30 countries. Its purpose is to improve collaboration between security authorities in the fight against terrorism, and to ensure the fast and secure exchange of information.

The group has rotating chairmanship; in the second half of 2017, it was led by KAPO in collaboration with the United Kingdom's MI5. It is important to understand that the CTG is not connected to EU institutions. Hence, the countries' voluntary readiness to keep promoting cooperation is itself a sign of initiative and dedication to fulfilling their duty.

Despite all this, people sometimes wonder what governments, including security authorities, are doing to protect their people and to reduce the threat of terrorism. Because it is not reasonable or, often, even possible for us as a security authority to describe our operations in detail, the public view is unfortunately mainly limited to situations that have ended in tragedy.

In recent years, international cooperation has grown significantly, as terrorist attacks have increasingly begun to involve crossing national borders – this cannot be ignored because human lives are at stake. At the EU level, one of our main partners is the Intelligence and Situation Centre (INTCEN), a body of the European External Action Service (EEAS) of the EU. INTCEN analyses containing information submitted by security authorities give EU institutions an overview of the main threats and trends.



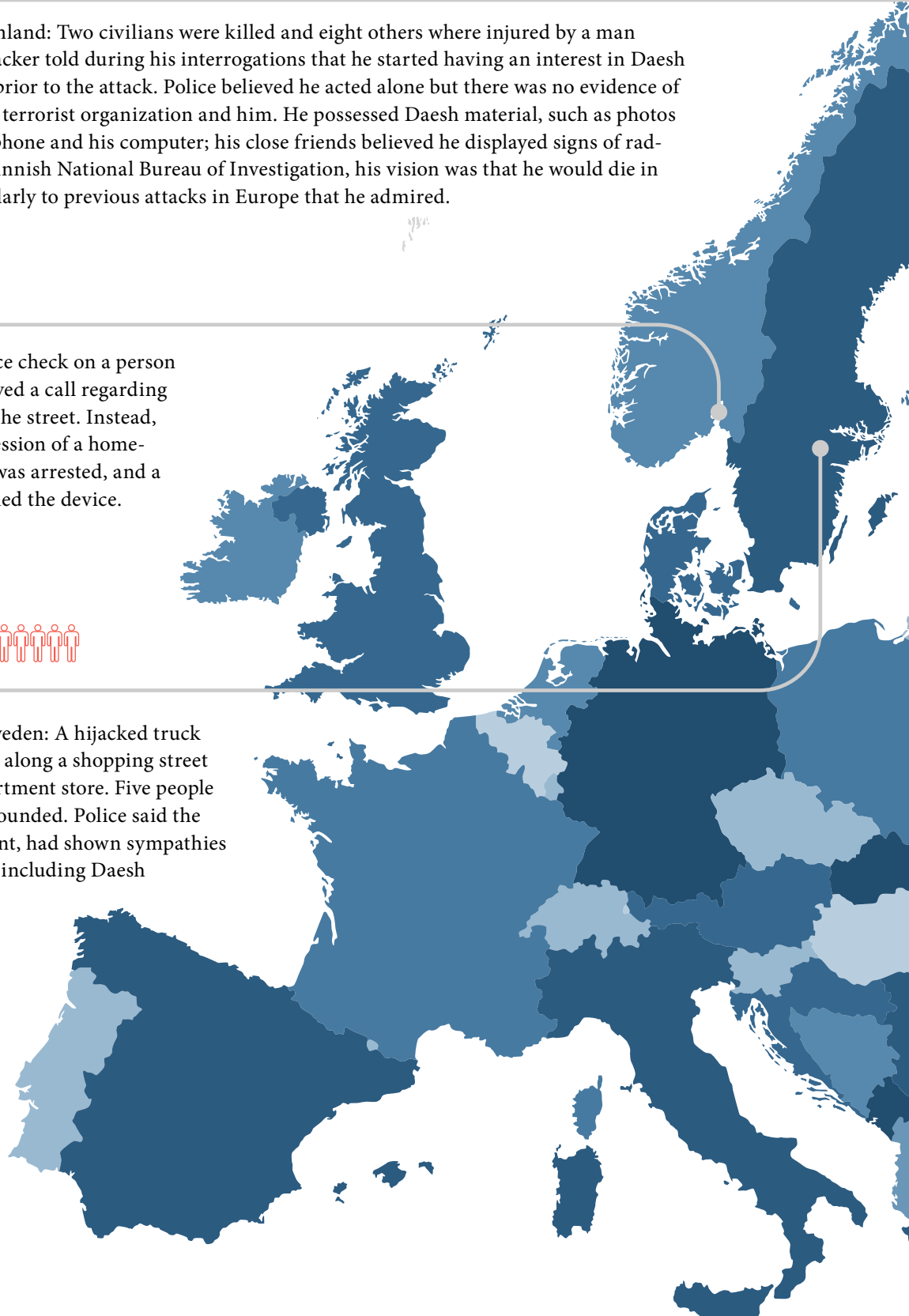
18 August 2017 - Turku, Finland: Two civilians were killed and eight others were injured by a man inspired by Daesh. The attacker told during his interrogations that he started having an interest in Daesh propaganda three months prior to the attack. Police believed he acted alone but there was no evidence of direct contact between any terrorist organization and him. He possessed Daesh material, such as photos and videos, on his mobile phone and his computer; his close friends believed he displayed signs of radicalization. According to Finnish National Bureau of Investigation, his vision was that he would die in the attack as a martyr similarly to previous attacks in Europe that he admired.

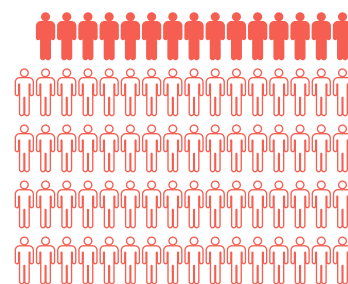


8 April, Oslo, Norway: Police check on a person about whom they had received a call regarding suspected drug dealing on the street. Instead, the man was found in possession of a home-made explosive device. He was arrested, and a bomb disposal team disarmed the device.



7 April 2017, Stockholm, Sweden: A hijacked truck was driven into pedestrians along a shopping street before crashing into a department store. Five people were killed and 14 others wounded. Police said the suspect, an Uzbek immigrant, had shown sympathies for extremist organizations including Daesh.





3 April 2017, St Petersburg, Russia: A terrorist attack on a metro train travelling between the stations Sennaya Ploshad and Tekhnologicheskyy Institut.

According to the Russian authorities, the suicide bomber was an Uzbek and a Russian citizen who used a home-made explosive device. 15 people were killed and 64 injured.



10 April, Estonia: the Estonian Supreme Court decided to uphold the Circuit Court's judgment of conviction in force. Roman Manko was sentenced to two years in jail and Ramil Khalilov to three years for supporting Ivan Sazanakov, who had become a member of a terrorist group in Syria. This was the first court case in Estonia to involve support for Islamic terrorism.



16 November, Latvia: Latvian citizen Mārtiņš Grīnbergs was sentenced by Riga Regional Court to ten years and three months in prison for fighting on the side of Daesh terrorist organization.

An overview of events in Estonia and the neighbouring region.

The influence of Daesh does not wane when Daesh does

In the Foreword to this Annual Review, we noted that what is happening on Iraqi-Syrian territory might not initially mean a reduced threat of terrorism in Europe. It is, rather, clear that not all foreign fighters who have moved to terrorist groups come back. This is mainly due to death, unwillingness to face justice upon return, or moving to other conflict zones for ideological reasons.

We have identified about a dozen people with ties to Estonia who are currently or have been in the Iraq-Syria conflict zone. Nearly half of these are minors.

However, the reduced size of the territory under the physical control of Daesh highlights the issue of the future of the women and children who have been living in the conflict zone. It is likely that many of them will return, forcing European countries to face tough questions. Are they able to shake off radical ideology upon their return to Europe? How should children be (re-)integrated into society, if their life experience and learned value judgements are based on war and they have been living in an environment poisoned by terrorist propaganda? Do children born in a conflict zone, and potentially also future generations, see themselves as new members of a society? These questions will inevitably remain unanswered for decades.

These problems are not just theoretical. In previous Annual Reviews, we have mentioned that there is a fighter from Estonia, Abdurrahman Sazanakov, in the Iraq-Syria warzone. In addition, we have identified about a dozen people with ties to Estonia who are currently or have been in that conflict zone – nearly half of them minors.

The gradual decrease in the physical territory controlled by Daesh does not mean that radical ideology or value conflicts are no longer spreading. That is why all involved parties must still try to find an answer to the question: why does radical ideology continue to be popular? As a radicalised person sometimes attracts the attention of a security authority regrettably late, we hereby repeat our call to take notice of changes in the behaviour of the people close to us, our fellow students or colleagues, and try to find a solution together in the event of any issues. The radicalisation of a person is generally a social problem: offering support at the right time can help the individual and avoid later tragic consequences for themselves and society at large.

Activities arising from the migration crisis

As of late 2017, Estonia has relocated and resettled⁶ 175 war refugees from Greece, Italy and Turkey. These are located in cities and townships all over Estonia, which is one of the countries that conducts interviews with refugees before they arrive. The purpose is to assess any threats they might pose to national security and public order, and their ability to integrate into society. So far, Estonia has rejected refugees mainly due to insufficient potential for integration and reasonable doubt about the truth of their statements, or where attempts to integrate into Estonian society have clearly failed.

Accepting and integrating war refugees from a distant culture is a touchstone for Estonia, including KAPO, regarding both resources and the novelty of the situation. Meanwhile, we should not forget that, during the same period (2016–17), nearly 25,000 other people⁷ have settled in Estonia, i.e. nearly 140 times as many. Of course, these people have a positive economic and demographic influence, but we should not overlook the security dimension of this process either

Experience so far has been controversial. Nearly half of the received refugees have left Estonia. As the main reasons behind their departure they have stated low social benefits, the lack of an Islamic community and other cultural-religious issues. Although the majority of the refugees are unlikely to return voluntarily, Estonia is obliged to take them back if their current country of residence so demands. This means that any refugees who have been offered asylum in Estonia will remain tied to Estonia even if they currently happen to be elsewhere.

Somewhat paradoxically, we have seen that social benefits are one of the things that cause a lack of motivation. Although such benefits are relatively modest in Estonia, they are not particularly time-limited, which in turn does not encourage refugees (the majority of whom are poorly educated and illiterate) to reject subsistence benefits for the sake of their long-term, future-oriented well-being. This, in turn, increases the isolation of first- and second-generation immigrants, their social vulnerability, and thereby also their susceptibility to radical ideology.

The activities of refugees received in Estonia so far have not threatened our national security. However, the wider problem is that the majority have not assimilated into society. Few have permanent work. Some consider Estonia morally responsible for the hardships they endured on the way to Europe. In some cases, they are dissatisfied with the work available and have unrealistic salary expectations. Children's rapid

⁶ There is a geography-based difference between these terms: 'relocating' refers to an activity within the EU (e.g. from Greece), while 'resettling' refers to receiving refugees from a third country (e.g. Turkey).

⁷ Reviewed migration data for 2016 and preliminary data for 2017, Statistics Estonia.



*Result of severe domestic violence that is unacceptable in Western culture: Harju County Court sentenced K.Mohammad to 10 years imprisonment.
Photo: Siim Lõvi/ERR*

adaptation to local customs and their surroundings can be seen as the only positive exception.

Problems have arisen for refugees in the context of Estonian legislation and culture, e.g. female genital mutilation, planning marriages between relatives, favouring arranged marriages, and applying for exceptions on religious grounds that create segregation. Cases of domestic violence have also received extensive public attention; the worst case was of a husband setting his wife on fire. Harju County Court sentenced Kovan Mohammad, who used unusually painful violence, to ten years in jail; in December, the Circuit Court upheld this judgment, but it has not entered into effect, as it has gone to the Supreme Court on appeal.

In the light of the considerable number of people leaving Estonia, discussion has arisen whether the government should and could do anything differently. One suggestion has been to abandon the current model, according to which war refugees who have arrived in Estonia are spread around the country. In KAPO's view, dispersal is justified and necessary, both for national security and in the best interests of the refugees themselves. On the one hand, it eases the load on local social and educational systems, as the number of people in need in a single place is not excessive; and on the other, it gives the refugees the opportunity to integrate into local life more quickly.

Earlier practice with refugees from other cultures shows that in the case of larger cities such as Tallinn, Tartu and Pärnu living together as a community presents new challenges for the families and the government alike. International experience has shown that, if a resettled person can manage in their own community without the need to adapt to local conditions in a new environment, and initially without communicating with the government, there is an increased risk of a closed community and segregation emerging. If the customs and traditions of the country of origin are followed in a closed community contrary to Estonian laws, integration becomes very unlikely, and the living arrangements of such people are essentially separate from the Estonian constitutional order. The government must avoid such a course of events.

Given the reasons for refugees' departure from Estonia, it is debatable whether their resettlement in cities would have been a sufficient source of motivation to stay in Estonia. This, in turn, forces us to admit that the majority of those who have left Estonia are economic migrants, not war refugees. Given the greater social benefits and existing communities in other European countries, it is likely that these departures will not be the last.

Ensuring security for meetings during the Estonian Presidency of the Council of the EU

During the Estonian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, some 200 meetings were organised in Estonia. The majority were meetings of working groups of various levels, including informal meetings of ministers, events with MEPs, conferences, and other high-level meetings. The visit of Mike Pence, Vice President of the United States, and his wife also occurred during this period.

Such high-level meetings attract increased public interest all over the world, placing great responsibility on law-enforcement agencies for ensuring the security of people and places. Similarly, events gaining greater international attention can result in an increased possibility of attack, as terrorists may target individuals attending an event who are the subject of public interest.

Due to the large number of events, a four-step system was introduced for planning and implementation security measures, and the extent and scale of the measures varied according to the particular category. We did our share by involving staff from across KAPO, and for higher-risk categories we also involved the Estonian Defence Forces to ensure security in the form of civilian-military cooperation.

Generally, in the event of large-scale national events and state visits, KAPO's task is to compile risk assessments, carry out background checks on

the people involved, provide technical support, and support physical security if necessary, as well as ensure readiness for reacting to unforeseen circumstances with the help of additional forces. During the Estonian Presidency, KAPO focused on organisational aspects and ensuring event security to a greater extent than usual, involving participation in specifically-formed management structures as well as implementing preventive measures in specific locations, including ensuring readiness for a CBRN event.⁸ In addition, KAPO's response readiness was increased during the Presidency, in order to manage any events in its investigative jurisdiction. KAPO devoted even greater attention to ensuring the security of large events in Estonia during the Presidency, such as the 12th Estonian Youth Song and Dance Celebration.

Ensuring security during the visit of the US Vice President and his wife is particularly noteworthy, as this always entails extensive cooperation between diverse agencies and the visiting dignitary's security team. Security preparations were intensive, and there was active communication between Estonian authorities and foreign partners over any persons or groups who might pose a threat to the visit. Although there can often be demonstrations and acts of violence during high-level visits, the meetings took place peacefully and without significant incident. The public was understanding about the traffic restrictions imposed.

To sum up, KAPO's collaboration with the institutions involved in the organisation of these events and ensuring security went smoothly and efficiently, so that the Presidency and the US Vice President's visit were successful.

⁸ CBRN: chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear hazard.

Work at an anti-terrorist exercise location, gathering evidence of a car bomb explosion.





A Black Hawk helicopter over the centre of Tallinn during the visit of the US Vice President. Photo:Scanpix

Protecting national defence assets

The threat of terrorism has increased rapidly in recent years, and its sphere of influence has expanded. Terrorist foreign fighters who are a higher risk to national security on their return to Europe and individuals who have been inspired by or even received instructions from terror groups abroad have all played their part in this. Although effective international cooperation and response is a must due to the global nature of terrorism, national prevention to manage possible dangers and protect the population is just as important.

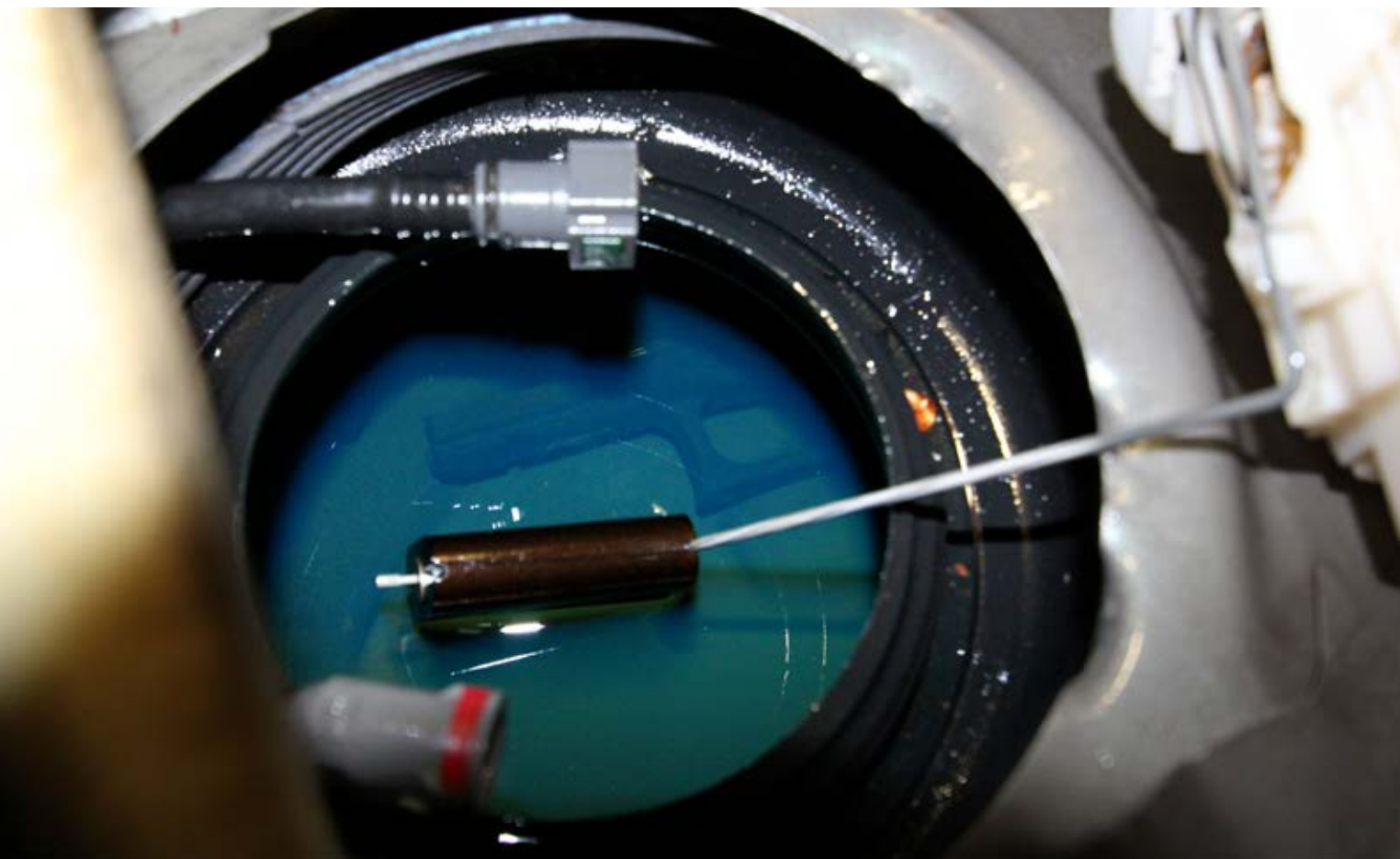
In order to prevent attacks and manage threats, KAPO continues to focus on the protection of national defence assets, following national guidelines. In addition, national defence assets can also be so-called soft targets, an attack against which could result in a reduced sense of security in society or hinder the regular functioning of the state.

The purpose of protecting national defence assets is to manage identified risks and reduce any negative impact. To this end, an asset-specific risk assessment and security plan is compiled, with the goal of identifying important and relevant threats affecting the specific asset, and to plan reasonable protection measures to manage these. The measures to be implemented must be analysed while taking into account physical, procedural and technical possibilities.

Categories of national defence assets:

- 1) Belonging to a public authority;
- 2) Related to the provision of an essential service;
- 3) Important for ensuring public order, including an asset whose damage or destruction would create a threat to people's lives and health, national cultural heritage and society's sense of security;
- 4) Related to the functioning of military national defence, including a national defence building as stipulated in the Building Code;
- 5) Belonging to a security authority, including a security authority building as stipulated in the Building Code;
- 6) Related to ensuring security.

KAPO continues to advise asset owners on the implementation of risk assessments and security plans, and, if necessary, changes the risk levels of the asset if its owner has the main responsibility for ensuring its security, organising the necessary protection and overseeing the implementation of appropriate measures.



A weapons compartment discovered in the fuel tank of a passenger car. In total, an attempt was made to smuggle parts of 15 pistols out of Estonia in this way.

Increased threat factor: trade in deactivated firearms

KAPO investigates crimes related to explosives and illegal international arms trafficking for a very simple reason: for people with malicious intent, the availability of explosives and automatic firearms can lead to much more tragic consequences for the public, threatening national security. For example, during the attacks in Paris in 2015, terrorists used restored deactivated automatic firearms, and in a case like this even the very fast response by police could not save many lives.

KAPO devotes considerable resources to investigating people who trade in illegal automatic firearms. We do not consider it particularly credible that somebody would need firearms with full automatic firing capability for self-defence in an EU country. The arrests of criminal groups we have made in recent years indicate that the black market for automatic weapons has not disappeared, although it is dwindling.

Members of criminal teams that conspire to an increasing extent may well claim they are quietly prac-

tising a weapon-related hobby and catching fish with explosives, but the judgments handed out for offences of causing a danger to the public clearly indicate that such fairy tales do not reduce the liability of the people involved. In December 2017, a Supreme Court judgment entered into effect sentencing Sergei Olar, the leader of an arms trafficking group, to more than 12 years in prison.

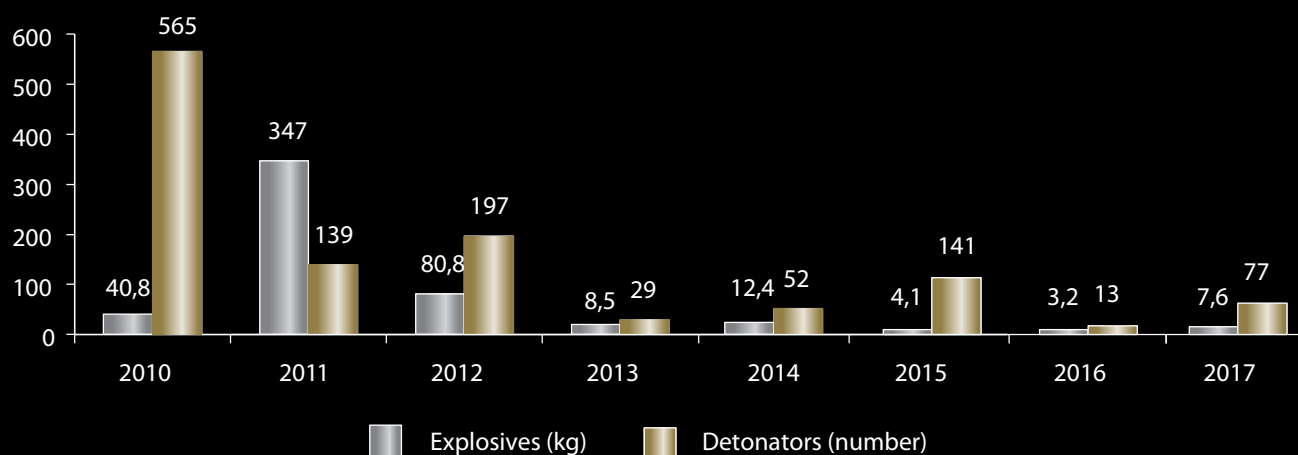
In the context of curbing cross-border arms trafficking, we consider it an important development that the requirements for deactivated weapons have been tightened within the EU, and it is no longer as easy to trade in replica weapons, which can easily be modified into automatic firearms for criminal groups and terrorists.

We also monitor smaller incidents, but we certainly do not liken a farmer unlawfully hiding a wartime rifle in his barn to gun dealers who have set up an illegal production line. It should be noted that the law gives people the opportunity to make the former type of weapon legal – which is something we recommend doing before law-enforcement agencies come knocking on your door!

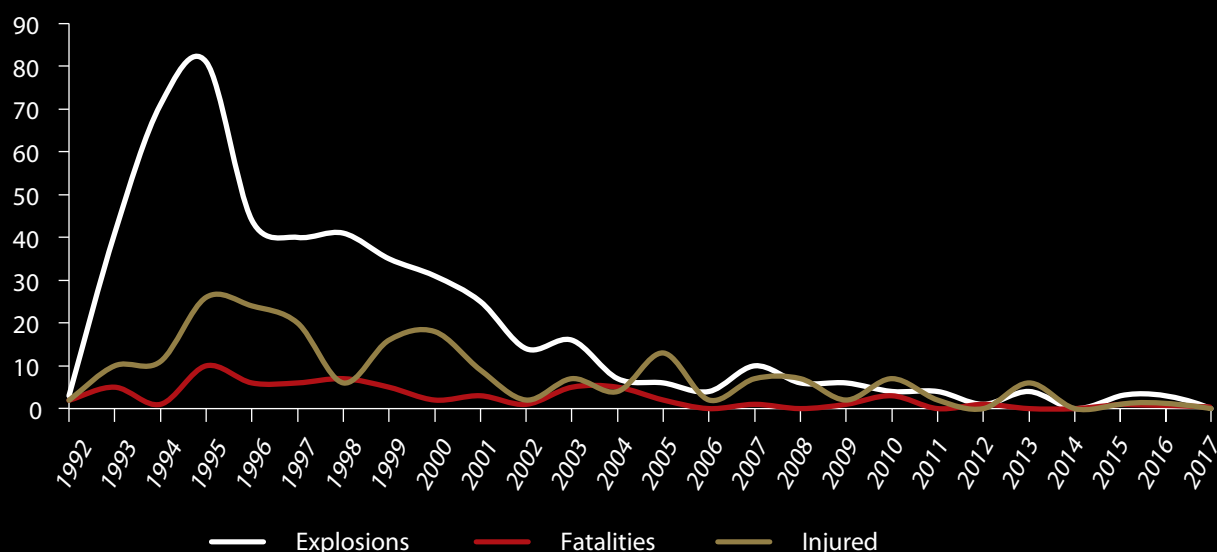
There are ways to make a weapon legal, as well as certain rules governing found firearms, firearms that have been kept by a person illegally for years, or an ancestral firearm that is considered a family heirloom by the current owner. It is also possible for a person to dispose of a firearm in their illegal possession without incurring criminal liability. Of course, all this is possible only if such a firearm has not been identified as having previously been used in illegal activities. The framework for

this process is cumulatively covered by the Weapons Act and the Penal Code. For example, § 199 (1)(7) of the Penal Code stipulates that criminal proceedings shall not be commenced in case of illegal possession of firearms, firearms forbidden in civilian use, or the substantial parts or ammunition thereof, if the person voluntarily surrenders such firearms. The Weapons Act stipulates the necessary behaviour and requirements the person must adhere to in order to achieve such an outcome.

Explosives and detonators withdrawn from circulation by the Internal Security Service



Explosions in Estonia caused by explosives





Priit Roostfeldt, a former chief inspector in the Customs Department, taking a bribe.

THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

National security is a situation in which a country's sovereignty and the capability of constitutional institutions to fulfil their constitutional obligations is not affected by anything other than what has been specified in the Constitution. National security is ensured when a country's sovereignty and the democratic functionality of its constitutional institutions is not breached in an unconstitutional way. National security is threatened by any activity directed against the preservation and operations of the state.

KAPO is a security authority that is only authorised to investigate corruption that endangers national security, specifically:

- the country's trustworthiness, for its people and allies;
- its defence capability;
- its operational capability throughout its territory, whether in the form of the honest use of executive authority by top officials, border checks, law enforcement, local government or critical infrastructure ensured by the state;
- its economic security.

Estonian security policy aims to ensure the independence and sovereignty of the Estonian state as well as its territorial integrity and constitutional order and the

security of its people. KAPO's anti-corruption function simultaneously helps us deliver the security policy and our strategic goals in this field. We work to prevent and combat corruption in the highest quarters at the earliest stage possible because this allows us to intercept the initial transfers that damage the organisation of both state and society. KAPO has jurisdiction over investigating corrupt practices of state officials and those in the six largest and most influential local governments. That top government officials act within the law is of utmost importance in combatting corruption because their example is the foundation for the preparedness and willingness to minimise corruption in many institutions. Corruption significantly affects trust in the state, both at home and abroad. This is not just a national issue; living standards and regional development in a smaller area are in the long term linked to the impact of corruption and the local government's ability to combat it. Institutional corruption in a region or sphere deters investors and exacerbates divisions in society.

In terms of economic security, the sectors at greatest risk are energy, transportation (including transit) and IT, which are the primary focus of our work. The negative consequences of corruption can affect the functioning of entire sectors for years. In addition to internal threats, we focus on the dangers resulting from subversive activities by Russia's powerful agencies. We need to

be ready for the Kremlin to resort to corruptive practices in order to steamroll its interests here. It is essential that the state can implement its freely chosen economic policy for the development of the national economy – in other words, sovereignty in economic policy. However, economic security is not limited to fiscal sovereignty. It is ensured when the country can resist economic pressure in all its important decisions – whether related to choosing allies, the official language or citizenship policies. Economic pressure does not need to originate directly from other countries. The government's own completely independent fiscal decisions may well create financial pressure that the state cannot handle, or which any hostile forces, whether inside the country or abroad, are ready to use to their advantage.

Corruption can be a threat to economic security if:

1. Free competition is impeded by corruption to the extent that significant investments are not made in a particular sphere of life, a certain region or the entire country, or that investors leave.
2. Corruption jeopardises an economic sector that provides essential infrastructure or is otherwise strategically significant. The general logic implies that the state will strive to retain control over such economic activities by means of stricter regulations, state ownership, or both. In recent years, KAPO has effectively prevented and detected corruption in such state-owned enterprises.
3. Corruption affects the government's strategic economic decisions, by undermining the national economy, abusing resources, or making Estonia vulnerable in other ways by the use of economic pressure.
4. Corruption in the economic sphere is used to influence the state's political decisions in a broader sense, i.e. the impact is not on the economy alone.

Cases of hidden corruption are becoming more common in Estonia; for instance, bribes are no longer openly demanded from the public, and criminal agreements are disguised with meticulousness characteristic of hidden crime. With rather extensive experience of identifying, combating and investigating corruption KAPO can testify that without specialising, it is difficult to achieve effective results. Systematic data-gathering and analysis allows elements causing and delivering corruption to be identified, and corruption can be stopped at this early stage in collaboration with other government institutions and community leaders.

Just as no country is untouched by corruption, neither is it possible for action against it result in its complete elimination. Each corruption-related offence must be subjected to appropriate treatment under the law because this is how citizens will perceive and recognise that the state they live in is trustworthy and adheres to values and principles. Corruption has a very broad meaning in society – essentially, the abuse of public authority – and security-related and law-enforcement activities alone do not create a strong, comprehensive foundation for combating it. The prevention of corruption on the level of institutions, businesses and individuals is important precisely because corruption is not a phenomenon that can be regulated by law-enforcement measures alone. When the threat of corruption is more broadly perceived and understood, and preventive internal rules are imposed, society can be made considerably less corrupt.

People in Estonia have shown themselves relatively sensitive to corruption; we place high in corruption perceptions indices, and the prevention of corruption – especially systemic corruption – has been improving. This is illustrated by corruption-related surveys but, unfortunately, there is no room for complacency, as became apparent in 2017, when corruption-related proceedings were initiated in our three largest local governments: Tallinn, Tartu and Narva.

In 2017 Estonia ranked 21st in Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, relatively unchanged from recent years. Nordic countries have always been in the top part of the index ranking, and we are glad to see our southern neighbours steadily improving their score. At the same time, the Baltic states need to work constantly to turn the region (not including Russia) into one of the least corrupt areas in both Europe and the world.

What must be understood in combating corruption at the highest levels is the decision- and regulation-making process, as well as the background to them. Lobbying remains a part of democracy as long as it is performed in accordance with agreed rules that rule out corruption. The more hidden the lobbying and the broader its effect or the less transparent the result, the more grounds there are to check the reasons for and background to the lobbying for corruption. Inappropriate lobbying may entail criminal elements of bribery, violation of procedural rules, or influence-peddling. We believe it is essential to implement various measures and increase transparency, which will reduce covert and inappropriate lobbying.

It is worth knowing that it is a punishable offence even to promise goods or other benefits to an official as a bribe or to accept such a promise or act as an intermediary in giving or accepting it. A recent example of such a court verdict is the case of Villu Reiljan, discussed below.

Corruption-related verdicts in 2017

A corrupt former specialist in the protocol division

Harju County Court found Kristjan Varik, a former specialist in the protocol division of the Estonian Defence Forces (EDF) information department, guilty of repeatedly taking bribes, and businessman Margo Tomingas was found guilty of paying bribes.

Kristjan Varik's duties included the organisation of and technical support for meetings for EDF protocol officers, providing transport for participants and visitors, renting vehicles, ordering souvenirs and publications, and organising related catering and other services. Another task was to arrange payment of invoices for ordered goods and services issued to the EDF Headquarters.

During his employment in EDF Headquarters, Varik ordered transport services and vehicle rentals from various companies for EDF protocol events or meetings, using protocol division funds, following an agreement with Margo Tomingas. In return for his activities, Varik took cash from Tomingas and was granted free use of a Lexus GS300 and a BMW X5. In addition, Varik arranged the issue of false invoices, which the intermediary used to withdraw cash from the bank account to hand over to Varik. Varik also accepted bribes from entrepreneurs in return for ordering publications, souvenirs and catering.

Varik received an 18-month conditional sentence with 18 months' probation. In addition, 11,700 euro and two mobile telephones received as bribes were confiscated from him. Tomingas was fined 15,000 euros.

Failed attempts to corrupt national defence officers

Tartu County Court fined Sergei Vesselkov 170 daily payments totalling 1,751 euro for the offence of offering a bribe. Vesselkov had offered cash and gift cards to the commander of a unit in the support battalion of the EDF 2nd Infantry Brigade in Võru as payment for the EDF officer ensuring that goods in framework agreements would be ordered from Ilva Eesti OÜ, which Vesselkov represented.

Laar

Tartu County Court imposed a two-year conditional sentence with two years' probation on Marek Laar for the offence of offering a bribe. Laar offered cash to the commander of an Estonian Defence League unit in Võru as payment for the EDL representative ensuring that construction work would be ordered from MH Koduehitus OÜ, represented by Laar.

Although the amounts offered as bribes as well as the monetary value of the orders the perpetrators tried to obtain were fairly modest, KAPO deplores attempts to discredit military personnel by corruption and acknowledges the appropriate response of the military personnel in question to offers of bribes.

Roostfeldt, a former chief inspector in the Customs Department

Harju County Court found Priit Roostfeldt, a former chief inspector of the Northern Mobility Inspectorate within the Customs Department of the Tax and Customs Board, guilty of repeatedly taking bribes, and businessman Valeri Kolesnik was found guilty of repeatedly paying bribes and acting as intermediary.

Roostfeldt's duties included customs control and supervision. He made an arrangement with Kolesnik under which individuals organising the transportation of oil into Estonia would pay Roostfeldt between 300 and 1,000 euro per truckload, and in return Roostfeldt would not exercise his duties or interfere with the transportation of oil from Poland. This allowed goods which did not conform to consignment documents to be transported and the payment of excise duty to be avoided. Between 1 January and 28 April 2013, Roostfeldt accepted a total of at least 10,000 euro with the assistance and mediation of Kolesnik for his official misconduct. Through Kolesnik's mediation, Roostfeldt demanded additional bribe of 50,000–60,000 euro from oil traffickers.

Roostfeldt received a 20-month conditional sentence with 30 months' probation. In addition, 10,000 euro he had received as bribes was confiscated. Valeri Kolesnik received a 30-month conditional sentence with 26 months' probation.

Bribes offered to customs officials by fuel smugglers

Pärnu County Court found Zagris Ždanovs, a Latvian citizen, and Artyom Santashov, an Estonian citizen, guilty of two separate cases of offering bribes to an official in the Customs Department of the Tax and Customs Board.

Zagris Ždanovs asked an official to default on their duties so that officials of the Customs Department's Mobility Inspectorate would not check vehicles carrying contraband fuel as they entered Estonia and travelled along the Tallinn–Pärnu–Ikla road, thus allowing fuel to be transported into Estonia without obstacle and without paying taxes due. In return for the official defaulting on his duties, Ždanovs promised a bribe of 5,000 euro per week. Ždanovs received an 18-month conditional sentence with two years' probation for the offence of offering a bribe.

Artjom Santašov phoned an official in the same department and told him that he had sent a flash drive to him by the Cargobus® courier service to Pärnu as a personal package; the drive was said to contain an offer of a meeting to discuss the problem-free movement of goods by road. On meeting the official, Santašov handed over a SIM card and a written offer that the official should default on his duties and disclose official information which would allow one full fuel truck per day to enter Estonia without paying taxes. In return, Santašov promised the official a bribe of 8,000 euro. Santašov was fined 350 daily payments totalling 1,750 euro for the offence of offering a bribe.

Corruption scheme that held back Narva's development

On 6 September 2017, a court verdict concerning a criminal case initiated in 2010 came into effect. This found five men guilty of competition- and corruption-related offences: the former deputy mayor of Narva, Andrei Filippov; businessman Fjodor Ovsjannikov, a member of Narva City Council, who had been a member of the city government's public procurement tender committee at the time of the offence; and Narva local entrepreneurs Sergei Hamitski, Aleksandr Arsentjev and Viktor Belsner. Businessman Gennadi Fanfora had been found guilty in 2012 through a plea bargain.

Judging by the facts of the criminal case, in Narva in 2010–11 local businessmen had divided up the market for construction and repair services ordered by the city among themselves. Ovsjannikov, Hamitski, Arsentjev, Belsner and Fanfora agreed in 2010 that, thenceforth, the range of companies to participate in public procurement tenders announced by the Narva city government, the bids to be submitted, and the estimates/budgets supplied with the bids should be coordinated. The agreement served to share out the construction market share of Narva city's procurement orders in relation to certain tenders, and the winner of each relevant tender would be determined each time to receive the city's contracts. Filippov, who was deputy mayor at the time, helped to prepare the tender documents and establish tender conditions favourable to the businessmen involved in the competition-limiting agreement: through Hamitski, he disclosed confidential information about tenders (lists of intended procurements, budgets and other information that would help the parties to the agreement coordinate their activities) to the businessmen involved in the agreement before the tenders were announced, and instructed officials in the city's Department of Municipal Property and Service to send out calls to participate in tenders or procurements only to a certain group of businessmen who had made the agreement and coordinated between themselves beforehand. By manipulating the list of recipients of the calls, it was ensured that third parties would be unable to participate in certain tenders and that all the necessary procurements would be divided up among the group.

In addition, Hamitski and Filippov agreed in late October or early November 2010 that Hamitski would organise the remodelling of Filippov's wife's apartment at a substantial discount. This was Hamitski's gift to Filippov in return for acting in the former's interests and for his benefit. It was also agreed that, if necessary, Filippov would receive discounts on construction materials, home appliances and furnishings from various stores and companies through Hamitski. Filippov saved some 35% of the amount initially intended to be spent on the remodelling works in direct and indirect discounts promised by Hamitski in return for his favours.

The court verdict found Andrei Filippov guilty of offences under § 400 (2)(3), § 22 (3), and § 294 (1) of the Penal Code, and he was given a conditional sentence of 19 months, 19 days with two years' probation. Councilman Fjodor Ovsjannikov was found guilty of offences under § 400 (2)(3) and received a 13-month conditional sentence with two years' probation. Sergei Hamitski was found guilty of offences under § 400 (2)(3) and § 294 (1) and was given a 19-month conditional sentence with two years' probation. Aleksandr Arsentjev was found guilty of offences under § 400 (2)(3) and received a 14-month conditional sentence with two years' probation. Viktor Belsner was found guilty of offences under § 400 (1) and § 400 (2)(3) and was fined 4,860.80 euro.

In 2012, Gennadi Fanfora was found guilty of offences under § 400 (1) and § 298(1) through a plea bargain and was fined 5,018.10 euro.



Criminal offenders Aleksandr Moisseyev (far left) and Fyodor Ovsyannikov (second from left) in a photograph published in Äripäev. The photograph was taken several years ago on a holiday trip, and includes mayor Tarmo Tammiste (right), Andrus Tamm, and the manager of Narva Hospital, Olev Silland (centre). Photo: private collection

Former high-level politician mediated a bribe

Harju County Court found Villu Reiljan guilty of bribery mediation, through a plea bargain. This case pertains to the criminal case of Edgar Savisaar, the former mayor of Tallinn, in which evidence was found that on 15 December 2014 Reiljan met Savisaar in the latter's office, where Reiljan mediated the request of his employer, Vello Kunman, that Savisaar ensure that officials in the Tallinn Urban Planning Department would allow the construction of dwellings at 108 Sihi Street to continue despite a violation of the terms of the building permit. Reiljan also forwarded to Savisaar a promise to support MTÜ Eesti Keskerakond (the Estonian Centre Party) with a donation of 20,000 euro in return for Savisaar abusing his official position. Villu Reiljan was fined for bribery mediation 350 daily payments of 95.20 euro, totalling 33,320 euro.

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ПЕРВОЕ ГЛАВНОЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЕ КГБ СССР

Секретно
Экз. № 10

**ОЧЕРКИ ИСТОРИИ
ПЕРВЫХ ПОДРАЗДЕЛЕНИЙ
ТЕРРИТОРИАЛЬНЫХ ОРГАНОВ
КГБ СССР**

Сборник №2

Москва 1985

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SOME HISTORY: THE KGB V. ESTONIAN EXILES. THE WORK OF THE ESTONIAN SSR KGB'S FIRST DEPARTMENT IN THE 1940s-60s

The Soviet security agencies played a key role in carrying out the annexation of Estonia and implementing the mass repressions that followed. Crimes against humanity, deportations, murder and imprisonment were the main Chekist tools in Sovietising Estonia and controlling its people during the early years of Soviet occupation.

KGB units also played a major role in the creation and maintenance of a climate of terror in the following decades; the crimes did not come to an end with the death of Stalin. The persecution and punishment of dissidents gained momentum in the late 1950s. Estonians' contacts with the West, especially the expatriate communities in West Germany, Sweden, the US, etc. received special attention from the KGB.

The KGB's repressive activities have now been thoroughly studied, based on material preserved in Estonian archives; numerous research papers and documents have been published. A majority of the published literature is dedicated to the Stalinist mass repressions, due to greater public interest and the nature of the source material preserved and usable in Estonia. We discussed the study of timeless international crimes in previous Annual Reviews.

The material preserved in the Estonian archives concerning the KGB's activities since the second half of the 1950s is much scarcer and any documents and publications casting light on this later period are therefore especially valuable. For example, the National Archives' (NAE) Ad Fontes series includes reports by the Estonian SSR KGB's Second and Fourth Departments from 1954 to 1958 (National Archives collection 131SM). The Second Department was a counter intelligence department subordinated to the USSR-wide KGB's Second Chief Directorate. The Fourth Department operated much like a counter intelligence department in that it followed foreign intelligence agents, German occupation collaborators, deportation escapees, etc. The KGB has been discussed in depth by the historian Indrek Jürjo in his book *Pagulus ja Nõukogude Eesti* ("Refugees and Soviet Estonia") (1996, reprinted 2014).

Foreign intelligence was the responsibility of the Estonian SSR KGB's First Department, which reported to the Soviet Union KGB's First Chief Directorate. The

full reports of the foreign intelligence department have not been preserved in the Estonian archives. Some insight into the work of the First Department can be gained from the collection of Estonian SSR KGB foreign intelligence files in the NAE (collection 138SM), which contains documents from 1924 to 1968. To complement this source material, we now publish an

KGB units also played a major role in the creation and maintenance of a climate of terror in the 1940s to 1960s; the crimes did not come to an end with the death of Stalin.

article about the history of the Estonian SSR KGB intelligence department, the authors of which are named as KGB officers E.K. Gein⁹ and A.K. Johanson¹⁰. The article was published in 1985 in the USSR KGB's First Chief Directorate Institute publication "Overview of the History of the First Subunits of Soviet Union KGB territorial bodies. Volume 2. Overview of the history of the first (intelligence) subunits of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian SSRs", and was marked "secret". Some of the people and events mentioned in the KGB review are also cited by Indrek Jürjo in his book.

Considering the scarcity of publicly available source material about the KGB's foreign intelligence operations and the fact that the KGB review describes the recruitment and activities of agents of Estonian origin, it is certainly worth publishing this historical material. This Annual Review contains the most important and interesting part of the article on the Estonian SSR KGB's intelligence history; the full original text in Russian has been published on the KAPO website. The following translation intentionally tries to convey typical KGB vocabulary. The quotation marks used with agent names in the Russian text have also been kept, although these are not normally used in English orthography. The quotation marks make reading easier, as the text also contains many people's real names.

It is important to remember that the article is in the traditional KGB spirit, dedicated to the 40th anniver-

⁹ Ernest Gein (Hein), born 1923 in Leningrad, employee of the Estonian SSR KGB First Department.

¹⁰ Albert Johanson, born 1933 in Kostroma Oblast, Russia, employee of the Estonian SSR KGB.

Kõigi nende proletariaad, ühinege!
EESTIMAA KOMMUNISTLIKU
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Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ПАРТИЯ
ЭСТОНИИ
ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ КОМИТЕТ

Salajane — Секретно

ПОСТАНОВЛЕНИЕ

БЮРО ЦК, протокол № 74 § 21 от 4 февраля 1960 г.

О создании "Комитета связи с зарубеж-
ными эстонцами".
(Г. Туглас, член Бюро ЦК КП)

В целях разоблачения антисоветской деятельности и дезинформации, проводимой зарубежными реакционными эмигрантскими организациями и их главарями, а также укрепления связи с эстонцами-эмигрантами, проживающими в капиталистических странах, особенно с прогрессивно настроенными, лояльно относящимися к Советскому Союзу, бюро ЦК КП Эстонии ПОСТАНОВЛЯЕТ:

1. Считать целесообразным создать в республике общественную организацию по развитию связей с зарубежными эстонцами — "Комитет связи с зарубежными эстонцами".

2. Возложить на "Комитет связи с зарубежными эстонцами" выполнение следующих задач:

а) всесторонняя информация зарубежных эстонцев (а через них и коренного населения тех стран, где эстонцы живут) о развитии хозяйства и культуры Советской Эстонии и других стран, а также о деятельности и внутренней политике нашей страны.

A classified decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia dating from 4 February 1960, on the creation of a "Committee for Developing Ties with Estonians Abroad".

In order to uncover anti-Soviet activities and disinformation carried out by foreign reactionary emigré organisations and their leaders, and to strengthen ties with Estonian emigrés abroad who are progressively minded and loyal towards the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia DECIDES as follows:

1. To consider it advisable to create a social organisation in the republic for developing ties with Estonians abroad — "Committee for Developing Ties with Estonians Abroad".
National Archives of Estonia

sary of the Estonian SSR KGB's First Department and glorifying its early years. It refers to archive files from the First Department, but the information has been presented selectively to avoid disclosing the names of agents, working methods, and operational details. If you can add information about the events described below or know about similar events, please contact KAPO.

On the history of the Estonian SSR security authorities' intelligence subunit

/Following part is a translation of KGB document./

The People's Commissariat for State Security (NKGB) was established in the Estonian SSR in February 1941; the former political prisoner and underground communist Boris Kumm, son of Hans, and the son of a well-known Estonian revolutionary Sergei Kingisepp, son of Viktor, became its heads. An intelligence department was created within this structure by Order No. 001 of 5 March 1941 of the Estonian SSR NKGB; appointed as its head was the experienced Chekist S.M. Samovski.

The department had a staff of ten Chekist spies. This structure was made up of Chekist-communists sent as assistance from the Leningrad NKGB Directorate. Estonian Chekists also sent their best comrades to work for the department.

Considering the existing possibilities for intelligence operations, the department chose the sea route as its main target. An operable network of seamen travelling abroad was quickly created in the department. Especially outstanding in this sphere was the work of the senior operative commissioner, Ferdinand Schmitte, son of Otto.

The fate of this Estonian spy was remarkable. He was born into the family of a blacksmith in 1914. At age 19 he became a seaman on vessels operated by Estonian companies. When on board a ship in Leningrad in 1937, he learned about an opportunity to travel to Spain. In France he left the ship, went to Paris and then to Spain, where he fought in an international brigade with the Republicans. In 1939 he returned to his homeland through France and was put in a concentration camp. He managed to come home only after the restoration of Soviet power. In December 1940 he began to work for state security agencies. In 1941 colleagues accepted F.O. Schmitte as a candidate member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Due to his energy and discipline, life experience and

familiarity with seamen's psychology, he made an outstanding contribution to the creation of a network of security agents in Estonia during the pre-war period.¹¹

The attack on the Soviet Union by fascist Germany did not allow the new department to launch wider intelligence operations properly.

In August 1941 most Estonian Chekists were personally involved in the fight against the German fascist forces attacking Tallinn. Nearly half of Estonia's Communist Party and Chekist staff fell fighting the enemy. The Estonian Chekists and spies I.V. Lichevsky, F.O. Schmitte, V.E. Rooni, P.G. Kantemirov, V.V. Markov¹², V.I. Shuneiko, I.I. Miroshnichenko, I.A. Lansikh and A.A. Borzov fell as heroes.

If you can add information about the espionage activities mentioned or know about similar events, please contact KAPO.

During the war, intelligence operations targeting Estonia were the responsibility of the Estonian SSR NKGB's Fourth Department, which was re-established during the Siege of Leningrad in 1943. The department was led by the experienced Chekist and former partisan brigade commander, Korchagin. In 1943–4 Estonian Chekists prepared and sent behind enemy lines over 100 agents, who were organised into various diversion and intelligence groups.

In the autumn of 1944, after Estonia's liberation from fascism, it was the Chekists who uncovered and liquidated the agents left behind by the Hitlerians, sought out enemy henchmen and fought against underground nationalist banditry in the Baltics.

Banditry became the sharpest tool in the anti-Soviet struggle by the bourgeois-nationalist element. The bandit underground was organised and motivated by the US, British and Swedish special services, which sent arms, money, means of communication, and espionage and diversion equipment to the country.

All the Chekist forces in the republic engaged in the fight against the bandit underground. This is why the First Department, which was established in the republic's system of security agencies in May 1945, began to operate as an intelligence unit only in 1950.

Chekist spies contributed to the destruction of the bourgeois-nationalist bandit underground. The special unit fighting against banditry was led by D.D.

¹¹ A brief description of Schmitte appears in Valdur Ohmann, *Hispaania kodusõjas (1936-1939) osalenud eestlaste arv* ("Number of Estonians participating in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)"). Tuna 1/2017, p. 97.

¹² Vladimir Markov, born 1912 in Leningrad, investigator in the Investigation Unit of the Leningrad Oblast People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), and in 1940–1 assistant chief and deputy chief of the ESSR NKVD Investigation Unit.

Taevere,¹³ who was also the chief of the First Department. E.I. Vertmann,¹⁴ later chief of the First Department, personally participated in the liquidation of bandits and in the introduction to the republic of the enemy's emissaries in the course of operative radio games. The Chekist spy E.R. Simson¹⁵ infiltrated the gang, together with two execution agents. State security agents and employees were taken to England through bandit underground channels. They returned after training at British intelligence centres, supplied with equipment, arms, cyphers, communications contacts, and accompanying radio operators and emissaries.

...

In May 1950 the First Department was tasked with launching operative work in a short time frame to identify and block anti-Soviet subversive activities by special services of foreign countries and Estonian nationalists abroad. The department's main targets were the thousands of Estonian emigrants spread across nearly 80 countries, mainly people formerly related to the bourgeois-nationalist state order or German fascist occupiers. The émigré organisations, unions and societies with their numerous members were not limited in their activities to subversive acts against Soviet Estonia and were also widely used by foreign intelligence services to organise and conduct espionage and diversion against the Soviet Union.

The work of the First Department was made difficult by a lack of reliable agents to work abroad and of channels for sending them there. At the same time, the First Department also lacked staff with the necessary experience to infiltrate the enemy's special services. However, thanks to the efforts of department chiefs M.V. Goop and E.R. Simson,¹⁶ the work was launched relatively quickly and positive results were achieved.

As the recruitment and preparation of agents for intelligence work abroad was a difficult and lengthy process, the department initially selected the most able and highest qualified agents from the security agencies' counterintelligence subunits. This was justified at the time, as it allowed for faster infiltration into the enemy's special services. This is how the agents "Maiski", "Skvortsov", "Belkin", "Viktoria" and others, who later proved their worth, became members of the First Department's network.

"Maiski",¹⁷ born in 1917 in Estonia, was an agronomist-economist, the son of a Jewish merchant. During his studies at the Jewish Upper Secondary School

and the University of Tartu, he belonged to the Zionists-Revisionists organisation, was the chairman of the Zionist student club Hasmonea, and had extensive contacts with leading Zionist figures in Baltic and European countries and Israel. During the war, he worked in various agencies and offices in the Soviet rear. He was recruited by state security agencies in 1946, being described as a dutiful agent. He provided valuable information on the activities of Zionist organisations in Estonia and abroad. His material stood out for its objectivity and in-depth analysis of the targets. He was a virile and determined man and showed reasonable initiative in performing his assignments. Given these personal qualities as well as family relations and influential acquaintances in Finland, Israel and other capitalist countries, he was chosen as the candidate to be sent to Israel.

When his preparation was complete, "Maiski" was sent via Finland to Tel Aviv in early 1952. After coming under heightened surveillance by Israeli counter intelligence, he successfully passed repeated official and unofficial checks and became legalised with the help of the counter intelligence chief Manor, who believed his legend, and was employed in the Ministry of Agriculture. Soon "Maiski" began to fulfil the plan prepared during his training and despatch. He won the complete trust of Manor, who introduced him to the Israeli intelligence chief K. Karmil.

While working under the direction of the Tel Aviv residency of the Soviet security authorities, "Maiski" obtained valuable material about Israeli spies working in Moscow under diplomatic cover – two of whom were expelled from the Soviet Union – and communicated other operational material to the Soviet intelligence service.

"Maiski"'s good reputation with the Israeli intelligence service helped him reach high positions in the political parties Betar and Herut and to become acquainted with their leaders, including M. Begin.¹⁸ "Maiski" supplied the Centre with regular information on the Zionist organisations he targeted, detailed descriptions of Israeli political and state figures, and information on the Israeli intelligence service's anti-Soviet subversive operations.

By summer 1955 the agent achieved additional spying opportunities – he was approached by an attaché at the US Embassy, the CIA worker Zagorski, and his successor Sutterlan. However, at that time the Centre recalled him to the Soviet Union due to the imminent

13 Dmitri Taevere, born 1905 in St Petersburg, chief of the First Department of the ESSR State Security Ministry (MGB) in 1947–8 and chief of Department 2-N in 1948–50, afterwards posted to work in Moscow.

14 Elmar Vertman, born 1923 in Leningrad, employee of the ESSR MGB, posted to Sweden in 1955–8, deputy chief of the ESSR KGB First Department in 1958–60 and chief in 1962–3; died during a special mission in Germany, according to the KGB.

15 Ernst Simson, born 1915, operative liaison officer of the ESS MGB, worked undercover in the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm in 1945–9, deputy head of the ESSR KGB First Department in 1954.

16 Original text erroneously refers to "E.G. Simson".

17 Identified as Leon Blumenfeld (1917–68); after his return in spring 1956 he worked in the ESSR Planning Committee until his death.

18 Menachem Begin (1913–92), politician, Prime Minister of Israel 1977–83.

KODUMAA

Jää kaarma, Kulevite konge rannas
ja seta lauljuna, ma kodumaa!

VEKISMAAGA SÕPRUSE JA KULTUURISIDEMETE ARENDAMISE EESTI ÜHINGU VILJAANNE

14 (72)

III aastakäik

April 1960

Hind 20 kop.

Meie ajastul võivad võidule pääseda ja peavad võidule pääsema rahu ja õnn!

NSV LIIT JA PRANTSUSMAA: kõik reguleerimata rahvusvahelised
tõusimused tuleb lahendada jõudu rakendamata, rahupüüdlite vahenditega

Lüüdi Ministrite Nõukogu esimehe N. S.
Kõvi riiklik visiti Prantsuse Vabariiki on
jõudnud. Mõlemad pooled hindavad selle
sõltumatust. Kogu maailma, nii sotsialismi-
ku kui ka rühma osa kapitalistlike riikide
dus tõstatas esile selle.

NEVUSE EDASISELE LÕDVENDAMISELE
RAHU TUGEVDAMISELE
MAAILMAS



HOMELAND

Supplement to the **KODUMAA** weekly

No 1 WEDNESDAY
JANUARY 9
1985-85

DEAR READER!

What you are holding in
your hands is the first English-
language supplement to the
"Kodumaa" ("Homeland")
newspaper. From now on,
every issue of "Kodumaa"
will be accompanied by
"Homeland" summarizing the
main articles of the weekly.

Our readers abroad have
long been waiting for an
English supplement to "Ko-
dumaa" to be launched. No
wonder — lots of Estonian
families living abroad have
relatives and acquaintances
whose knowledge of Estonian
is scarce but who, neverthe-
less, would like to have a
better idea of what the life
in their native country is like.
"Homeland" will try to help
them in this respect. It will
contain news and information
about the life and work of
Estonians abroad, as well as
news and information about
the life and work of Estonians
in their native country.



Long ago, the spires of Tallinn
were as landmarks for the mer-
chants who gathered in the
Town Hall Square to do busi-
ness and who altered their
plans according to the news
they heard. Today, the spires of
Tallinn are still landmarks for
the Estonians who live abroad
and who are interested in
the life and work of their
fellow countrymen in their
native land.

Loodi Väliseestlastega Sidemete Arendamise Komitee

Ajalehes «Kodumaa» ning ra-
dioos avaldati hiljuti grupi Rootsis
elavate eestlaste kiri selle kohta,
et tuleks asutada ühing, mis ai-
taks väliseestlastel tihendada
kontakti kodumaaga. Väliseest-
laste algatusse üles ajakirjanduses
mõtteid vahetades tehti ettepanek
luua ka Eesti NSV-s organisatsi-
on, mis aitaks omalt poolt
kaasa sidemete arendamise-
le ja tugevdamisele välis-
eestlastega. See ettepanek leidis
meie vabariigi avalikkuses laial-

dast vastukaja. Avalikkuse esin-
dajate ettepanekuid ning soove
arvestades kutsuti Tallinnas 2.
aprillil kokku initsiatiivgrupp,
kes arutas oma koosolekul vä-
liseestlastega sidemete arenda-
misorganisatsiooni loomist. Init-
siatiivgrupp kiitis taolise orga-
nisatsiooni loomise mõtte heaks
ning otsustas korraldada vaba-
riigi ettevõtete, asutuste ja or-
ganisatsioonide esindajate koos-

(Järg 2. lk.)



Kodumaa was a weekly paper (published 1958–1991) intended to spread Soviet propaganda amongst Estonians living abroad; it also had an English supplement called Homeland. In 1985, it published an article about establishing VEKSA – the Committee for the Development of Cultural Ties with Estonians Abroad. The text tries to imply that the initiative for this came from Estonians living in Sweden and the interests of the public were satisfied in Estonia. In reality, it was a complete fabrication by the KGB – VEKSA was actually established on the basis of a secret decision by the Communist Party.

danger of Israeli counter intelligence discovering the link between “Maiski” and the expulsion of its agents from Moscow.

Having served Soviet intelligence usefully during his stay in Israel, “Maiski” returned to Estonia. The agent’s successful work in the complex agency and operational situation was possible owing to good preparation for working abroad. The preparation of a legend, finding a channel for despatch to Finland and the despatch operation itself were led by the First Department chief, M.V. Filimonov.¹⁹ “Maiski”’s work in Israel was run operationally and smoothly by the Tel Aviv residency.

...

The agent “Skvortsov”²⁰ was sent to Sweden in 1955 with the task of infiltrating Estonian nationalist organisations. During his eight years there, “Skvortsov” became not only well known and respected in nationalist circles, but also a great scientist with international contacts and an influential collaborator for an American information agency, which presented extensive potential for espionage.

“Skvortsov”, the son of a bourgeois Estonian diplomat, was deported in June 1941 with his mother and sister to Kirov Oblast, where he graduated with honours from an institute of education. In 1944, still in Kirov, he was recruited by state security agencies to target Estonian nationalists. In 1948 “Skvortsov” returned to Tallinn and worked as a teacher of English in a school, at the same time renewing his contacts with former foreign ministry officials and members of the local intelligentsia. His work with people with nationalist views was assessed positively by the authorities.

“Skvortsov” proved himself a qualified, politically educated and dutiful collaborator, skilfully winning the trust of his targets, showing reasonable initiative and essential vigilance. After thorough preparation, “Skvortsov” was sent to Sweden via Finland in autumn 1955. Having successfully passed a Swedish police check, he took up a job in a department of the US news agency Associated Press.

A year later, “Skvortsov” graduated from Stockholm University and became a researcher. He continued working for the news agency while doing research and giving lectures.

As “Skvortsov”’s position strengthened, émigré organisations’ interest in him grew. They involved him in community work and elected him to the management of one of the leading organisations, the Representation

of Estonians in Sweden. He collaborated with the émigré press, gave presentations and held lectures.

In spring 1961 “Skvortsov” was brought to the Soviet Union for further instructions and to summarise his work results. After returning to Sweden, he continued to strengthen his positions in the émigré community, while gathering intelligence on nationalist subversive operations, on the Swedish, US and British agents he identified, and on the situation of state and émigré organisations.

“Skvortsov”’s activities could not go unnoticed by US intelligence. The Americans wanted to recruit him, and undertook various combinations together with Swedish special agencies to induce him to cooperate. In early 1962 the CIA took him to the US on a pretext, where he was subjected to enhanced treatment by US special services. He underwent an entire range of means of psychological influence, including blackmail and threats, persuasion and promises, to induce him to cooperate. Without achieving their goal, the Americans had to allow “Skvortsov” to return to Sweden, where an extensive defamation and terror campaign was organised against him. Given his situation, it was decided to recall “Skvortsov” home.

While carrying out Soviet espionage duties abroad for nearly eight years, “Skvortsov” targeted anti-Soviet emigrant centres and their leaders with his characteristic persistence. He regularly supplied reliable and important information using dead-letter drops and postal channels, radio, and meetings with Soviet agents. Several counter intelligence measures were implemented based on his material; amongst other things, a provocative action was prevented at an international youth festival in Helsinki.

Less successful was the work of the agents “Belkin” and “Viktoria”.

“Belkin”²¹ was an Estonian who lost his parents early, grew up in a Baltic German family and spoke German and Russian fluently. In the early 1930s he travelled to Europe to look for work. In Belgium he worked as a sailor, stoker and ship’s cook for nearly five years. He worked in France for some time. In summer 1939 he returned to Estonia and left for Germany in winter 1941 as a Baltic German. After the outbreak of war, he was employed in the military construction organisation Todt and then the company Ost-Faser, which transported agricultural produce from the occupied regions. In 1943 he was in Kursk. As German forces retreated, “Belkin” deserted the army and came to Estonia. In autumn 1943 he was arrested and impris-

¹⁹ Mikhail Filimonov, born 1914 in Yaroslavl Oblast, chief of the ESSR KGB First Department in 1954–5.

²⁰ Identified as the linguist Juhan Tuldava (1922–2003). While living in Sweden he used the name Arthur Haman. His original name was Arthur Juhan Haman, which his parents changed before war.

²¹ Identified as Kristjan (Christian) Beick, born 1901 in Tartu.



"Beauty" of history. Soviets have made it a habit to glorify history, but it is not known to have given any glory to it. A severely retouched photograph depicting a group of Estonian-Americans looking at the city from Toompea during the 1960 ESSR Song Festival. At right is Raoul Viies, Chairman of the VEKSA Presidium.

Photo: Film Archive of the National Archives of Estonia

oned, but he was released a few days before the liberation of Tallinn by the Soviet Army, with instructions to travel to Danzig and appear before the authorities there. "Belkin" did not go, and hid with acquaintances in Tallinn.

At the end of 1944 he was recruited by state security agencies. In 1945, the dossier on agent "Pereprava" was implemented on the basis of his information and with his personal participation; 53 people, including the Abwehr and US agent Vuks,²² were arrested. "Belkin" was described as an able, enterprising, resourceful and brave secret agent.

"Belkin"'s personal and professional qualities, his extensive contacts and close relations with Estonian nationalists and Baltic Germans in [West Germany] and Sweden, and the fact that his sister and three cousins lived in West Germany, were decisive in sending him abroad in order to infiltrate émigré centres and, through these, enemy special services.

In May 1951, "Belkin" was taken to West Germany among Germans who had applied for emigration from Lithuania. He spent nearly two months in a migrant camp in Kaunas together with an operative officer. In West Germany, "Belkin" stayed with his relatives, became acquainted with the situation in the Estonian colony, restored his old contacts and established new ones. By 1952, he had acclimatised to the country, had interesting connections and began to provide valuable information. He renewed his acquaintance with the British agent Rutkovski and with Ludvig Jakobsen,²³ a former colonel of the Second Department (Intelligence) of the Estonian Army Headquarters, who was formerly a military attaché for bourgeois Estonia in Germany and now a US and French intelligence agent. "Belkin" already knew them from Estonia. He began to target Rutkovski and Jakobsen.

"Belkin" was active and decisive, and his relations with security agencies were comradely and business-like. His work was supervised by KGB Germany office employee P.I. Raud.²⁴ "Belkin" soon noticed that some emigrants began to distrust him and gossiped about him being a Soviet agent. He was advised to reduce new contacts and relationships and visits to émigrés. "Belkin" did not appear for his next meeting and contact with him was lost in March 1954.

When analysing the loss of contact with an agent, it should be mentioned that the appearance of "Belkin" in West Germany in 1951 through the repatriation channel was sufficient grounds to suspect him of connections with the Soviet intelligence services, because

the Abwehr and Gestapo had already been cautious about persons arriving this way from the Soviet Union before the war.

"Belkin" himself also made certain mistakes. Before he was contacted by P.I. Raud, the agent was on his own, travelled around and made surprise visits to his compatriots. This level of initiative was often unnecessary and the legend was weak. All this caught the attention of the enemy's counter intelligence and the agent only needed to take one clearly unnecessary step to be declared a Soviet agent.

In 1941 the ESSR KGB intelligence department targeted "Viktoria",²⁵ an actor in the Estonia Theatre, for recruitment. Her father, a major shipowner, had anticipated political change in Estonia and taken his capital abroad; he travelled to Sweden and then on to the US with his grandchild ("Viktoria"'s son).²⁶

"Viktoria"'s family belonged to Tallinn high society. Her husband was an eminent diplomat. Businessmen, senior state officials and military officers, foreign diplomats – these were the circles she knew well. She lived abroad for a long time with her husband, and was fluent in Russian, German, French and English.

A few days before the beginning of the war, "Viktoria", her husband and mother were deported to Kirov Oblast. Her secret collaboration with state security agencies began in 1943. "Viktoria" collaborated voluntarily and was praised many times. In 1946 she was successfully involved in the targeting of British diplomats in Moscow and gave significant information. In 1947 "Viktoria" returned to Tallinn, where she was also employed on counter intelligence.

In the early 1950s "Viktoria" was transferred to the First Department. Using her completely natural request to join her father and son as a pretext, it was decided to send her permanently to the US to target prominent Estonian nationalists with connections to the enemy's secret services. Her positive professional and personal qualities, practical work experience and extensive connections abroad, her father's strong position and eventually her consent to cooperate with Soviet intelligence after settling in the US were taken into consideration.

"Viktoria" left the Soviet Union in 1958. She sent several encrypted messages by post, reporting her good position and her resumed and new connections. In 1961 she successfully met the operative liaison officer of the Soviet residency.

However, in 1962 "Viktoria" announced that local counter intelligence was targeting her and some com-

²² Aleksander Vuks (1909–70), arrested on 12 April 1949.

²³ Ludvig-Karl Jakobsen (1893–1961), Estonian serviceman and military representative abroad.

²⁴ Pavel Raud, later deputy chief of the ESSR KGB First Department.

²⁵ Identified as Aino Sammul Greenhead (1912–96, US).

²⁶ Aino Sammul's son Arne Kalm, born in 1936, published in 2002 the diary of his grandfather Alfred Kalm (1883–1959) titled *Eesti ärimees aegade tuultes. Alfred Kalm. Tagasivaated. Päevaarmat 1940–46* ("An Estonian Businessman in the Winds of the Times. A Retrospect. Diary 1940–1946").

patriots were beginning to distrust her. Shortly afterwards, agent “Skvortsov” confirmed that the Americans had targeted “Viktoria”.²⁷ After this, “Viktoria” began to avoid meetings and almost stopped writing to her relatives in Estonia. Repeated attempts to resume contact with her failed.

It is not surprising that “Viktoria” was targeted. She was the only Soviet citizen who left Tallinn in 1958 to join her family in the US. Given her social background and deportation, it is clear that the FBI would have been interested in her. “Viktoria”’s return to Tallinn from deportation in 1947 was a rare occurrence, and her reputation was poor. She was a sensation widely discussed in certain circles. It was speculated that she had “earned” her return from deportation by collaborating with state security agencies. All this led to the negative result after her arrival in the US.

The operation to despatch the married couple “Alfred” and “Herta” as agents to West Germany in 1961 through a repatriation channel is remarkable and informative.²⁸ Estonian agents contacted the German Federal Intelligence Service (BND) for the first time when working with their agents and received information on some of their working methods and tactics.

“Alfred” was a Baltic German who moved with his father and sister from Tallinn to Germany in 1941 “at Hitler’s invitation”, studied at an upper secondary school there, served in the German Air Force in 1944 and was imprisoned by the Americans. After repatriation to the Soviet Union he served in a labour battalion, was an exemplary and dutiful soldier, became a member of the Komsomol²⁹ and was repeatedly praised by its administration. After demobilisation he graduated from construction college and worked as a manager in one of Tallinn’s building administrations. In 1955 he was recruited by state security agencies.

“Alfred” willingly agreed to collaborate with Soviet intelligence. During preparations for his despatch to West Germany, he demonstrated diligence and interest in his future work in difficult conditions. The operative plans concerning “Alfred”’s despatch changed because of his marriage to the Estonian “Herta” in 1958, who he wanted to take with him. “Herta” was also a member of the Komsomol and later the Communist Party; she worked as a primary school teacher and was a pioneer leader. “Herta” was recruited in 1961 as “Alfred”’s partner and received the relevant training. The couple were sent to West Germany in 1961 using the repatriation channel.

Once settled in their new location, they established regular contacts with the Centre. They soon reported

having joined local émigré organisations and were establishing necessary contacts. In 1962 they announced that the BND had recruited them and was going to send “Herta” to Tallinn. The agents warned that they were under surveillance and that their correspondence was read.

In 1963, “Herta” visited the Soviet Union as a tourist for ten days. She prepared a summary of their legalisation in West Germany, of their contracts with Estonian emigrants and Baltic Germans, their interrogation by the Americans and recruitment by the West German intelligence agency. “Herta” reported that a BND employee who introduced himself as Müller had asked her to recruit her mother.

“Herta” fulfilled Müller’s request under the control of state security agencies. She recruited her mother³⁰ and supplied her with a simple code, using which her mother had to send her daughter, in letters, the information that West German intelligence was interested in. “Herta” told her mother how and what had to be done and what had to be reported. After her return to West Germany, she announced that everything had gone well: Müller was satisfied and was preparing a new task for her.

“Herta” visited the Soviet Union a second time with a private visa for a month. She had several intelligence tasks from Müller, including recruitment. “Herta” had to consolidate her mother’s recruitment. She was also tasked with recruiting her uncle.

The latter task was cancelled due to operational considerations and replaced by the recruitment of a friend of “Herta”’s – a Tallinn schoolteacher, “Katrin”. “Herta” gave the recruited “Katrin” a simple code and taught her to use it. The BND had contacts with “Katrin” via “Herta” for over a year, receiving disinformation prepared by the ESSR KGB’s First Department.

These examples of recruitment are remarkable because the entire agency acquired by them was generally obtained from an environment unfriendly toward the Soviet power. It took great skill and stamina by the Chekist spies to turn these people and shape them into confident, loyal and capable security agents. Employees of the ESSR KGB’s First Department learned professional mastery from the mistakes and shortcomings experienced in working with them.

Besides the new agents sent abroad, the First Department did not take its attention off the operative rear, which was created by the first Soviet Estonian Chekist spies who fell in the war. A series of pre-war

²⁷ The aforementioned agent Juhan Tuldava.

²⁸ Identified as Bruno Reinthal, born 1927 and Maret Reinthal (Ulm) born 1934.

²⁹ All-Union Leninist Young Communist League.

³⁰ Identified as Emma Ulm, born 1907.

agents living abroad were identified through painstaking work. Measures were taken to establish contact with them.

One such agent was “Miss”. Department chief M.V. Filimonov and the recruiter agent “Start”³¹ were mainly involved in working with her.

“Miss” was a peasant’s daughter. She finished upper secondary school but did not enter a university for lack of money. While searching for a permanent job, she worked as an actress in a regional theatre, a shop assistant and eventually a waitress. She spoke German and English.

“Miss” caught the attention of state security agencies because of her connections with officers of the bourgeois Estonian Army Headquarters Second Department, one of whom was her lover. The suggestion to recruit her came from her brother, agent “Start”.

“Miss” was recruited before the war and prepared for illegal despatch to Sweden, to where her acquaintances – former Estonian servicemen and bourgeois figures – had escaped. A task and means of communication had been prepared for her and a password provided by spring 1941. However, sending “Miss” to Sweden before the war failed and she remained in occupied Estonia.

In 1950 “Start” reported that “Miss” was living in a resort town in West Germany. “Start”, who travelled with a sports delegation, contacted “Miss” and agreed to a meeting in Switzerland. This took place in Berne in 1954; “Start” was accompanied by Filimonov. As a result of the interview, “Miss” agreed to resume her collaboration with Soviet intelligence. She supplied detailed information of interest to the agency, a list of her contacts and their descriptions.

“Miss” was in contact with employees of the residency for many years. Contact with her was lost when she moved to Hamburg and her potential for espionage ended.

It is also worth mentioning the First Department’s cooperation with the agent “Rom”, who was recruited on ideological-political grounds in 1946 with help from the Stockholm residency.

“Rom”³² was an Estonian, born in 1907, who graduated from the University of Tartu. In the 1930s he was arrested for voicing anti-government opinions. During the Hitlerian occupation he worked for building companies. He was threatened with imprisonment for speculation. In summer 1943, fearing arrest, “Rom” escaped to Finland with his wife and children, and from there in 1945 to Sweden, where he was recruit-

ed. “Rom” proved to be a kind and capable agent, who supplied Soviet intelligence with much valuable material about the subversive activities of Estonian nationalists living in Sweden and about their illegal communications channels with the nationalist underground in Estonia. Information received from “Rom” helped Chekists to catch three British agents led by the nationalists’ emissary Vahtras.³³

“Rom” worked successfully until 1949, when Swedish authorities arrested him for “communicating with Soviet intelligence”. The court, however, was unable to prove his “espionage” and he was sentenced to four months in prison for “gathering data on emigrants”. After his release, “Rom” returned to Estonia and successfully continued to collaborate with state security agencies.

A large part of the work of the First Department was dedicated to the sea route. The sea border and the vicinity of Sweden and Finland made it possible to send agents illegally to capitalist countries to target émigré centres and enemy special services. A number of early operations through this channel failed. The attempt to establish a permanent channel for despatches to Finland (“Zaliv”) with the help of the recruited fishermen “Tõnis” and “Luup” were unsuccessful, among others. An operation involving agent “Turbin” also failed.³⁴

Despite the initial failures, the department managed to actively use the sea route to communicate with agents in Scandinavian and European coastal towns, especially in Sweden, West Germany and England. The sea route helped send agents to implement operational measures even in areas closed to visiting Soviet citizens.

Work with the agent “Vään”³⁵ is an example of the successful use of the sea route.

“Vään” was a descendant of Swedish immigrants from the 13th–14th centuries who made up a small Swedish colony on the coast of north-west Estonia. He was born there into the family of a well-known enlightener. Until 1935 he studied philology, law and theology at the universities of Tartu and Uppsala (Sweden). Before 1940 he was a pastor in Swedish Lutheran congregations. After the re-establishment of Soviet power in Estonia, he was a secondary school teacher besides working in the church. In late 1940 Chekists found out that he had embezzled money from members of his congregation. This compromising fact, as well as “Vään”’s leading position in the Swedish colony and his extensive contacts with the Estonian cler-

31 Identified as Helene Lorents (Lorentz), born 1912 and her brother Elmar Martin 1909–1982, acknowledged sports masseur.

32 Identified as Erik Suurväli (1907–75); see *Album Academicum Universitatis Tartuensis 1918–1944*, Vol. III, Tartu, 1994, p. 37, and Voldemar Kures, *Seitsme lukuga suletud raamat* (A Book Sealed with Seven Locks), Vol. I, 2006.

33 Aksel Vahtras (1915–72) was arrested on 10 June 1946 on the coast of Hiiumaa island on his way back to Sweden by boat.

34 Identified as the seaman Richard Jerem (1898–1971).

35 Identified as the pastor Hjalmar Pöhl (1908–64); during resumed collaboration he worked as a pastor for the South Swedish Congregation of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church in Lund.

gy and anti-Soviet elements, were the reasons for his recruitment. From that moment, “Vään” voluntarily collaborated with state security agencies.

He was not contacted during the German occupation, but remained in town, did not live poorly, held church services, used the trust of occupying authorities, and frequently visited Sweden on behalf of the Swedish colony. When a majority of Swedes left Estonia for Sweden, “Vään” joined them. He continued his clerical work, communicated with the leaders of the émigré community, and entered Swedish government circles.

Getting to know “Vään” showed that he was loyal to the Soviet Union and did not engage in anti-Soviet activities. In August 1961 an operative liaison officer travelled to Sweden on board a vessel of the Estonian Shipping Company to conduct a recruitment interview with “Vään”. He travelled to “Vään”’s hometown, taking the appropriate precautions. During the interview, the operative liaison proposed that “Vään” refresh his agent relationship and supported the proposal with compromising material. “Vään” agreed to continue his collaboration with state security agencies.

The agent worked actively and voluntarily for the agencies for four years. He supplied valuable material on emigrants and their leaders, who were connected to enemy special services, providing detailed descriptions of them. He reported on the activities of émigrés in West Germany, England, Canada and the US, providing useful political intelligence. Communication with him via the sea route was well established and no meeting failed to materialise.³⁶

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A significant number of Estonians were in exile after World War II. About 80,000 lived in capitalist countries.

To uncover foreign nationalist organisations and their leaders and to support the return of Soviet citizens to the USSR, a repatriation committee was established in April 1955 at the proposal of the KGB.³⁷

The committee, based in Berlin, did much to develop a patriotic movement among Estonian emigrants in capitalist countries, to break the anti-Soviet layer of the movement and to separate it from the main mass of emigrants. The agency working under this cover employed much energy and knowledge to communicate the truth about Soviet Estonia to Estonian emigrants and to reduce the influence and prestige of émigré anti-Soviet organisations and their leaders.

Estonian nationalists tried to impede the work of the committee in every way, stole and destroyed socio-political and art literature from libraries, and threatened committee activists with physical revenge.

Active measures were taken in the mid-1950s to obstruct the anti-Soviet activities of leaders of Estonian nationalist centres in West Germany and to compromise their leaders.

The newspaper *Võitleja* was the central ideological tool of Estonian nationalists. “Estonian fighters against Bolshevism” – former Estonian officers and soldiers who had fought on Hitler’s side, death squad members and war criminals, many of whom were agents of enemy special services – grouped around the newspaper.

Two reliable executors who had proved themselves in the course of active operations were selected with the help of German friends. They willingly agreed to break into the *Võitleja* offices. Among the papers seized were important documents revealing disputes between emigrants and their leaders. Some of the material obtained was used in operative planning and counterpropaganda action.

The action against *Võitleja* proved very effective. It enraged émigré figures, sowed distrust among them and caused mutual accusations of failing vigilance. They began to look for Soviet agents close to home. The editorial office could not find new premises for over a year and it took a long time to restore subscribers’ addresses.

In 1956 the ESSR KGB went to the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party with a proposal developed by the First Department to establish a society in Tallinn for developing cultural relations with Estonian expatriates.³⁸ The proposal was supported and the society was established in April 1960. It was staffed with experienced agents and, from that moment, Estonian émigrés were targeted using the society as cover.

These organisational measures enhanced the implementation of the October 1959 Regulation “on work with Soviet citizens and emigrants in capitalist states” and the USSR KGB’s July 1979 Decision “on the intensification of the fight against nationalist organisations”.

This is how the experience gained by Estonian Chekist spies by the early 1960s became the basis for developing and intensifying the espionage work of the ESSR’s state security agencies.

/End of translation./

³⁶ Contact was lost when Pöhl died on 12 June 1964.

³⁷ The “Committee for Return to the Homeland”.

³⁸ Society (initially Committee) for the Development of Cultural Ties with Estonians Abroad, the society became known by the abbreviation VEKSA. Operated between 1960 and 1990.

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