



# ESTONIAN INTERNAL SECURITY SERVICE

ANNUAL REVIEW 2015

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The Director General of the Estonian Internal Security Service, Arnold Sinisalu

### Dear Reader,

As a security authority, the first duty of the Internal Security Service is to prevent, combat and bring to justice the criminals who threaten national security. Cooperation with partners enhances our capacity to acknowledge various threats and to reduce and manage risks. We are convinced that the security of Estonia is better protected than ever before – which, unfortunately, does not imply the lessening of threats.

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In the context of Russian aggression, the security threat arising from a weakening of the European Union is many times greater than that arising from the refugees settling in Estonia.

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We are concerned about how easy it is to forget that the armed conflict that started in Ukraine in 2014 is still going on. We know what the Estonian nation felt after World War II when the three Baltic states practically disappeared from the world news. Russia continues its attempts to breach European unity, and until the territorial integrity of Ukraine has been restored, security cannot be said to be ensured in Europe. The Kremlin regime, following the Gerasimov Doctrine, will remain aggressive as long as it can.

The European Union is meanwhile struggling with a migration crisis that has a clear security dimension in Europe in general and Estonia in particular. Against the background of Russian aggression, the security threat arising from a weakening of the European Union is many times greater than that arising from the refugees settling in Estonia. It is a fact that terrorists are trying to hide among the refugees, and it may be difficult to distinguish a person in genuine need of help from a potential security threat. However, we must in no way assume that all the refugees are potential terrorists. The current terror threat in Estonia is low, while the general uncertainty in this field in Europe is increasing and nothing can be ruled out. The current situation is well characterised by a court judgment in 2015 (pending entry into force) that convicted two Estonian residents of financing and supporting terrorism.

More and more people are living in a virtual world where the instigation of social hostility is a kind of lifestyle for anonymous cowards. Also virtual is the excuse of certain former criminals and their sympathisers for patrolling the streets. They seem to want to catch a black cat in a dark room, but the cat happens not to be there. The common goal of our nation – the preservation of statehood and culture – is inseparably linked to national security. The freedom of speech and action ends where violation of public order or other rights begins. We should not pay too much attention to extremists, but neither



should we bury our heads in the sand. Security can be jeopardised if extremism grows and splits our society. Adapting the old saying that a state in which the parties are at odds will not last, if we learn from it and look at our cultural area, it should be nobody else's business what the law-abiding people of a free country do in their homes. The state should intervene in people's private activities only if they involve acts punishable by law.

Russia's influence operations continue and certain methods are being developed in certain areas. The Internal Security Service has to untangle and reveal this mess of blatant lies, pseudo NGOs and half-truths as much as possible in order to prevent threats. Where necessary, we investigate the activities of people who contribute to hostile influence operations – this is an essential step in preventing dangerous developments.

In 2015 four court cases came to an end in which the Internal Security Service had to defend its right to prevent security threats by informing the Estonian and international public. It is normal in a democratic society that people have recourse to the courts in order to protect their rights, and the Internal Security Service must acquiesce when the court decides in favour of the other party. This was partly the case in one of four litigations. For the sake of legal clarity and certainty, we are now better informed of the court's positions as to when people have the right to know personal details relating to security threats and when they don't. Informing the public is one of the most

efficient and democratic means of threat prevention that the Internal Security Service is allowed to use in order to defend the constitutional order. It is our duty to employ the best ways and methods.

The public is now aware of two men convicted in 2015, and one in 2016, who carried out anti-Estonian activities. These people were involved in illicit trafficking and used by the Russian special services.

An important aspect of maintaining national integrity is the fight against corruption that threatens national security. A number of large-scale corruption cases were brought to light during the past year. The Estonian state justly considers preventing and combating corruption an important tool in ensuring national security.

The 20th anniversary of our Service beginning to investigate crimes against humanity and war crimes in Estonia fell in 2015. The Internal Security Service conducts procedures concerning time-unlimited crimes as long as the people who committed them are still alive. Investigation is also important to prevent such crimes from being repeated. However, appalling time-unlimited crimes are now becoming, rather, a subject of investigation for historians.

Last but not least, I am very glad that Eston Kohver is back and continues to work with us. Thanks to everyone who helped bring him back.

**Arnold Sinisalu**



# DEFENCE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER

Our primary duty is to defend the constitutional order. In broader terms this means that, as a security authority, we must prevent and combat any threats to that order. More specifically, this firstly implies the most direct threats, such as violent extremism against public order, separatism, and the operations of foreign countries that may cause or provoke such threats. The duty of the Internal Security Service is to ensure national safety by non-military means. This is why our annual review does not deal extensively with military national defence. We focus mainly on threats to the constitutional order in the narrower meaning. Looking back over the year, we must once again admit that behind the escalation and utilisation of the problems and related tensions in Estonia and the whole European Union lies Russia, with its toolkit of aggressive foreign policy, military activity, special services, information influence operations, and manipulation through the Russian diaspora.

Media projects are the most visible part of Russia's influence operations, while its core arsenal has remained unchanged and its foreign policy and military activities played an important role in the conflicts in both Ukraine and Syria. The main messages of anti-Estonian influence operations did not change much in 2015. Estonia was again accused of favouring Nazism and discriminating against the Russian-speaking population. Among the messages disseminated by Russian influence operations, an important role is played by the large proportion of inhabitants in Estonia with undetermined citizenship and the transition of upper secondary schools with Russian as the language of tuition to Estonian. As a notable addition, the migration crisis was used to instigate tensions in both Estonia and the entire European Union. It was mainly due to the refugee crisis that the contrasting of the Western and so-called Russian civilisations, and instigation of opposition to the EU and NATO, intensified.

While in previous years not everyone fully perceived the threat posed by influence operations, the understanding is much clearer after Russia's behaviour following the Gerasimov Doctrine<sup>1</sup>. When preparing for aggression against Ukraine in 2014, Russia used influence operations among other tactics, and involved some extremists who had gained experience in Estonia. Information collected by the Internal Security Service clearly indicates that Russian special services persistently try to find or create possibilities to cultivate tension in Estonian society and to negatively influence this country's internal processes and foreign-policy decisions against our own interests. The influence operations employ familiar methods, including support for extremists and the use of GONGOs<sup>2</sup>, and the launch and expansion of media projects.

## Extremism

Extremism threatening the constitutional order continues to have a narrow base in Estonia. The activities of individuals advocating aggressive ideologies are limited to minor concerts or marginal demonstrations. In 2015 we had to take preventive action against extremist activities. One example was the expulsion of, and imposition of a re-entry ban on, Risto Teinonen, who promotes Nazi Germany and its ideology. While in Estonia, Teinonen drew together individuals with extreme right-wing views and established the non-profit organisation La Colonia in 2011.

Through La Colonia, Teinonen continued to publicly promote hostile Nazi German ideology in 2015. His activities were coordinated with Russia's influence operations, the consistent messages of which include the accusation that Estonia supports Nazism. A situation in which a foreigner instigates hostility in Estonia, manipulates the patriotic spirit of Estonians gathered around him and damages the international reputation of the country poses a threat to public order and the security of the Republic of Estonia. In order to prevent such a threat, the Ministry of the Interior banned Teinonen from re-entering Estonia for five years from 16 December 2015 and expelled him from the country two days later.

## Estonian security dimension of the migration crisis

The widespread migration crisis that affected the Mediterranean countries in 2015 has become a Europe-wide problem that not only raises political, economic and social issues, but also has a security dimension. The main issue relating to the subject of migration in Estonia is fear caused by ignorance, which has created fertile ground for the growth of anxiety, tension and aggression in society. Opposition to the EU and support for populists and extremists has grown. Anti-refugee groups were created on social media and about ten public meetings were organised. Amid increased public and media attention, the accommodation centre for asylum-seekers in Vao was repeatedly attacked.

Such sentiments, mainly triggered by ignorance and irrational fear, show signs of xenophobia and the wish to oppose the state and society and defy the authorities' actions. Populism that takes advantage of social tensions in turn damages the security of society and international stability, dividing the European Union.

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The national populists who use the refugee crisis to instigate fear are generally opposed to a European liberal and tolerant world-view, as well as to Europe, the USA and NATO. Russian propaganda thus paradoxically serves them as a suitable source of information and "ally". The attention received by national populists in turn offers leftist populists an opportunity to stand up for counteractions and increase their own influence. They are also supported by Russian propaganda that continues to glorify the communist past against the backdrop of new developments.

<sup>1</sup> For more about the Gerasimov Doctrine, see the counterintelligence chapter of our Annual Review for 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Government-organised non-governmental organisation.

## Russia's pressure on the EU public and governments to split the European Union



The criticism of Russia that followed the Ukraine conflict is being replaced with a fear of refugees. It has been repeatedly stated on social media that the conservative Western values that are arguably under attack (such as a heterosexual family and the nation-state) would be best protected by an authoritarian government model typical of Russia. Thus, the greater the irrational fear and contrasting – whether about the refugees or their opponents – the more open the public is to hostile propaganda and likely to forget the difference between imaginary threats and real ones.

The emotional amplification of the migration issue damages the interests of Estonian society. This is a welcome situation for the current leadership in Russia, who use every opportunity to sow disorder in Estonia and to damage the integrity of the European Union and NATO, and try to pave the way to extend its sphere of influence in Europe.

### Attempts to exploit the Russian diaspora

The Kremlin's foreign policy towards Russia's neighbours is characterised by the notion of “the near abroad”, which involves the idea that a good neighbour is a controlled neighbour. The Kremlin refers to representing the rights of Russian-speaking people as a pretext and self-justification to gain more influence. It usually fails to have the desired effect as long as the average person's quality of life is better in the neighbouring country than in Russia. Instead of supporting Russian-speaking people, the Kremlin has decided to use the slogan of “compatriot policy” to instigate segregation and undermine integration. To increase its influence, Putin's regime uses real and imaginary problems and sensitive topics alongside its soft power. Where necessary, the

Kremlin artificially creates and exacerbates problems. This is an important aspect to understand in the context of ensuring the national security of Estonia, as Russia has used the violation of the rights of the Russian-speaking population to justify military intervention in the affairs of its neighbours and has violated their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Russia funds associations and individuals in Estonia who present and advocate the message about violations of the human rights of the Russian diaspora and justify Russia's claims. They are being supported from various sources. A Fund for the Legal Protection and Support of Russian Federation Compatriots Living Abroad was even established in Russia in 2012 to support such "legal protectors" acting in foreign countries.

Events in Ukraine in 2014 showed that the beneficiaries of the fund are also active supporters of the annexation of the Crimea. The Kremlin fund often supports court cases involving people with links to the Russian special services. Many employees of the fund have a special services background. The fund can be considered a potential instrument of hybrid war.

It finances reviews of the human rights and minority position of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia by non-profit associations that spread Russia's messages, which are then forwarded to the client – the Russian authorities that use such reviews in the interests of the Kremlin. The results of these selective reviews are presented in the media and at public events as part of anti-Estonian influence operations from a perspective favourable to Russia.

Russia considers it important to receive an international response to the "Estonian problem". The fund therefore supports the participation of "legal protectors" in events held by international organisations, for example by paying their travel expenses. In 2015 the Kremlin fund once again paid the costs of representatives of the MTÜ Inimõiguste Teabekeskus (the NPO Legal Information Centre for Human Rights, or LICHR) and the MTÜ Vene Kool Eestis (Russian School in Estonia, another NPO) at the annual Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, organised by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, in Warsaw in September. The costs of a representative of the LICHR to attend another OSCE meeting, in Vienna on 29–30 October, were also covered.

Representatives of GONGOs funded by Russia purport to act as "independent representatives of Estonian civil society" at such international events and meetings. They submit their comments on minorities

and the human rights situation in Estonia for inclusion in these organisations' assessments. If their positions are included in the reviews, Russia can back up its own criticism by referring to these "independent" third parties. In fact, Russia justifies its made-up accusations with its own fantasies. That the "independence" is not real is illustrated by the fact that many leading figures in the GONGOs are current or former members of the Coordination Council of Russian Compatriots (CCRC), managed by the Russian Embassy. The embassy's role in the CCRC is evident from the fact that at least one embassy diplomat always attends every meeting of the Council.

Russia's anti-integration policy, which it persistently calls "compatriot policy", also involves corruption.<sup>3</sup> The circle of beneficiaries of anti-integration funding in Estonia is rather limited. It has become a major or even the main source of subsistence for a number of professional activists. Certain mandatory criteria have to be met in order to receive project funding from the Kremlin. As the welfare of many GONGOs and their leading figures depends on this funding, they try to draw up their projects, surveys and analyses so as to demonstrate the problems included in these criteria, even if they are not

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actually present. More experienced project writers and support applicants take advantage of the weak follow-up by the Kremlin funds and pocket most of the money, presenting only formal "evidence" of their expenditure and its eligibility to the funders (press coverage, photographs of events, a few bills, etc.). The principle is that the greater the problems are shown to be, the more likely the GONGO is to receive funding. The Kremlin thus shapes its official opinions on the basis of self-created evidence.

In order to maintain the role play and avoid a deterioration in the standard of living, the money allocated from Russia's state budget must be divided with the Russian officials deciding the allocation. Although this seems to be a problem of Russian corruption, it has a cross-border effect, as the corrupt beneficiaries of these funds include members of Estonian political parties and local government and council officials who do not hesitate to adopt the same methods in Estonia.

<sup>3</sup> See also the Annual Review of the Internal Security Service for 2013.

## The media in Russia's influence operations

Russia pays close attention to the coverage of its messages in the international media. To facilitate this, funding is provided to create new media resources abroad, including in Estonia. The most influential media outlets, especially the major and most popular TV channels, are still under government control in Russia, which is why the media space thus controlled also covers a large part of the Russian-speaking diaspora of neighbouring countries, including Estonia. The effect is difficult to estimate as it is not a single, unarguable fact.

For fear of losing its audience in Estonia, the Russian government's propaganda channels made a number of attempts in August and September 2015 to label ETV+, the new Russian-language TV channel of Estonian Public Broadcasting, as a mouthpiece of the Estonian government, or to simply undermine it. A crew from the Russian TV channel Rossiya visited Estonia on 14–18 July, led by the journalist Grigory Vdovin. On 26 July the Rossiya news programme *Vesti* aired a report titled "Estonia wants to forget everything Russian-like and launches a Russian-language TV channel". The programme conveyed messages convenient for Russia – alleged persecution of the Russian-speaking minority, the unjustified increase in defence expenditure, exaggeration of the Russian threat –

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and also claimed that official contacts with Russian colleagues were prohibited. The claim that ETV+ would only follow the instructions of the Estonian government and was launched as a propaganda channel to influence the minorities gave rise to much discussion. The news report featured Dmitry Klensky, A. Semyonov, Märt Sults, Mihhail Kõlvart and Alisa Blintsova as selected spokespersons.

<sup>4</sup> In March 2016 Sputnik ended publishing in local languages in Scandinavia.

## Estonian office of Rossiya Segodnya

Rossiya Segodnya ("Russia Today"), a Russian state media company, was established in December 2013 to take the place of the Russian news agency RIA Novosti and the radio company Golos Rossii ("Voice of Russia"). Rossiya Segodnya's multimedia channel, Sputnik, was launched in November 2014 to distribute messages supporting Russia's policy via web portals, radio stations and press centres in 35 languages.<sup>4</sup>

Rossiya Segodnya has been working to establish an office in Estonia and an Estonian- and Russian-language portal for Sputnik since spring 2015. Sputnik's Baltic operations are led by Andrey Blagodyrenko of Rossiya Segodnya. The Estonian office is overseen by Marina Perekrestova and Liana Minasyan from Moscow. Elena Cherysheva was hired as the head of the Estonian office in July 2015 and a bank account was opened at the Tallinn Business Bank in September. The account was seized by the Financial Intelligence Unit, as European Union sanctions have been imposed on Dmitry Kiselyov, Director General of Rossiya Segodnya, and the companies related to him, for destabilising activities against Ukraine. The editorial office includes Viktoria Jürmann, disclosed former KGB employee. Most of the staff of the Estonian editorial office of Sputnik received "professional training" at Rossiya Segodnya's head office in Moscow. Every person hired by Sputnik in Estonia underwent a background check by Rossiya Segodnya before signing a contract.

The launch of a web portal in Estonia was repeatedly postponed. The delay was mainly due to difficulties in finding journalists with a sufficient command of the Estonian language and the unwillingness of many potential candidates to participate in the neighbouring state's propaganda. Due to the lack of its own journalistic capacity, Sputnik translates articles from Russian into Estonian as a temporary measure. Sputnik announced the opening of its Estonian website on 24 February 2016. Sputnik's offices in Latvia and Moldova were opened at more or less the same time.

A similar case is the Baltnews news portals that were launched simultaneously in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the autumn of 2014. These portals



From left: E. Cherysheva, D. Kiselyov and L. Turpakova

are funded by Russia via front enterprises in European countries. One of the media projects targeting the Baltic countries is the magazine *Baltiiski Mir*, which is funded by the Russian foreign ministry and whose activities are related to MTÜ Integratsiooni media (Integration Media Group, an NPO).

A new Russian media project supporting accusations against the Baltic countries was launched in 2015. This is the “Pravozashchita” section of the online edition of the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda v Severnoi Evrope*.<sup>5</sup> It was financed by the non-profit organisation Baltinpress. The range of topics and tone follow the traditional Russian rhetoric on the Baltic countries.

The effectiveness of the media projects in Russia’s influence operations is, however, low, because

the visible reality is fundamentally and materially different from what is served up by the Kremlin’s media manipulations. The conflict and hostility instigated by Russia does not outweigh the better living environment, peace and stability of the target group. Without question, Estonian society must continue to seek and find ways to enhance integration. We must not forget that democratic processes take generations and require peace and stability to evolve naturally. The main duty of the state is to promote these processes by democratic means, with legal certainty and consistency. It is very important to understand that the security and safety of Estonia and all its inhabitants depend on the security of Europe as a whole and on how the European Union overcomes its challenges.

<sup>5</sup> kompravda.eu/daily/eu\_pravo



Television channel Rossiya in Vao refugee center looking for indications of hostility

### On a propaganda mission with a tourist visa

Russian state media actively covered the anti-refugee protests and sentiment in the European Union, especially in the Baltic countries, in 2015. Compliant journalists were sent to Estonia to cover anti-refugee meetings and use this background to convey propaganda messages about Estonia as an intolerant and hostile country. The xenophobic sentiments conveniently support the Kremlin's claims that the inhabitants of the Baltic countries hate foreigners – implying both refugees and Russians. On 13 October 2015 a crew from the Russian TV channel Rossiya's news programme Vesti arrived in Estonia, including correspondent Nikolay Vassilyev, cameraman Sergey Ishchenko and their driver Alexander Fedorov. Fedorov and Vassilyev had received tourist and business visas, respectively, from Finland. Ishchenko had a tourist visa issued by Lithuania. The crew drove to the accommodation centre for asylum-seekers in Vao and insisted on interviewing Syrian refugees. Eventually the media team managed to interview Abdul Sattar from Pakistan (anonymous in the photograph with Vassilyev), who offered to be a "spokesperson" and said that refugees were not tolerated in Estonia.

It is known that one of the Rossiya crew's goals was to obtain confirmation from a Syrian refugee that Russia's military intervention in Syria was justified in order to stop terrorist attacks and the flow of refugees. The crew showed no interest in any of the refugees from other countries (including Ukraine).

An anti-refugee demonstration was organised in Estonia on 14 October with the slogan "Restore manned border posts on Estonia's borders". Its organisers first gathered in front of the German Embassy and then marched to Toompea. The event was attended by the crew from Rossiya TV, who filmed the occasion and interviewed the participants and organisers, in particular Kristiina Ojuland. They did not cover the demonstrators' torchlight procession later that evening. This may have been due to the interest of the Police and Border Guard Board in the television crew, and also that the material they needed had already been obtained. The messages received from Vao and Toompea supported Russian propaganda: refugees (and people of other nationalities in general) were not welcome in Estonia, Estonia's affairs and decisions were dictated by Brussels, and Putin's actions in Syria were justified. A report prepared by Rossiya concluded that the activities of the EU and the Estonian government forced Estonians and local Russians to cooperate and that the attitude to Russia's actions was becoming more positive.



Alisa Blintsova, who has links to the non-profit organisation Russian School in Estonia, commenting on EU refugee policy to NTV in June 2015



Sergey Chaulin, a Kremlin activist, explaining the message on his placard to Rossiya at the farmers' demonstration in Toompea in September 2015



St. Petersburg's Channel 5 presenting the notion of "everyday racism in Estonia" in November 2015

The Police and Border Guard Board detained the Rossiya television crew as they left Estonia on 15 October 2015, because they had lied about the purpose of their visit to the country in their visa applications. They were allowed to leave for Russia after formalities were completed. The crew's visas

were cancelled because they had also stayed in Estonia on business in September using the same tourist visas. Estonia had previously refused to issue a tourist visa to Fedorov, who attempted to visit the country on a propaganda mission in 2010.

## History as a tool

Russia's influence operations in the field of history have always been an integral part of Moscow's foreign policy. Russia's aggression in eastern Ukraine clearly showed how contrasting interpretations of history have been employed as an effective propaganda weapon. The goal of historical propaganda is to justify Russia's conquering policy and to incriminate the Ukrainian government with war crimes and the instigation of an armed conflict. The main anti-Ukrainian tool of the Kremlin's influence operations is the Nazism card, which has been played extensively in the Baltic countries and is a tool for seeking international understanding and mobilising popular support.

In parallel with accusations of Nazism, the Russian propaganda arsenal has always included the "fight against the falsification of history", which is used in an attempt to ridicule or refute any approaches to history that conflict with the Kremlin's policy or are inconvenient for Russia. In addition to the Russian Historical Society (RIO) and The Russian Military History Society (RVIO), the importance of the fight against the falsification of history has also been publicly stressed by the Russian special services. In October 2015 the news spread that the Russian defence ministry was establishing a special research unit to contest history.<sup>6</sup> Attempts were later made by the Russian General Staff to refute this statement,<sup>7</sup> but the idea clearly shows that Russia actively engages in the shaping of the historical narrative on the government level and this has effectively become a part of the Russian military doctrine.

Russia is increasingly selective in shaping its official interpretation of history. It only chooses moments in history that suit its propaganda and tries to construct a new narrative compatible with current Kremlin goals. Especially controversial is Russia's attitude to the Soviet Union and its policy of repression. On 15 August 2015 the Russian Prime Minister, Dmitry Medvedev, approved a national political concept for the perpetuation of the memory of victims of political repression in Russia. The document states that these people have not been adequately rehabilitated and that the exact number of individuals who were repressed is still unknown. Neither has a public monument been erected to the victims. The document also notes that it is unacceptable to justify repression by the situation at the time or to completely deny it in the history of Russia. Curiously, Stalin's personality cult was being revived at the same time and he is being increasingly glorified as

the creator of Soviet power and an ingenious leader in the Great Patriotic War. This tendency was especially apparent in Russia in 2015 during the grandiose celebrations on 9 May marking the 70th anniversary of the end of the Great Patriotic War.

Russia is looking forward to a number of historical anniversaries in 2017. The most important are the centenary of the October Revolution and the 80th anniversary of the peak of Stalin's terror in 1937. We hope that Russia can assess these historical events objectively and not hush them up, but rather give a fair assessment of the mass repressions that accompanied communist terror. So far, Russia has unfortunately placed its bets on propaganda activities. At the end of 2014, a financial grant by the Russian president was made to Boris Spiegel, who leads the Russian government-organised association Mir Bez Natsizma (MBN, World Without Nazism).<sup>8</sup> MBN used the money to organise an "international youth conference" titled "Youth for a Nazism-free world" in Strasbourg on 23 April 2015 and announced the foundation of the MBN youth league. Efforts have also been made to recruit members from Estonia. MBN's international activities have so far mainly consisted of accusing the Baltic countries, Ukraine and others of Nazism, and disseminating messages favourable to the Russian authorities. It continues to try to give the impression that its activity is based on the European Union and is truly international. In fact, the bulk of MBN members are Russian citizens or members of the Russian diaspora, who can be used in Russia's interests if necessary.

The duplicity of Russia's historical policy was shown clearly on 28 November 2015 in Paldiski, where the Russian Embassy organised an event to commemorate the submarine *Akula*, which sank in Estonian waters in 1915. The event was attended by the Metropolitan bishop of Tallinn and All Estonia, Cornelius, and the Russian Ambassador to Estonia, Aleksandr Petrov. The Russian Embassy asked the history publisher Grenader to arrange an exhibition of its publications to coincide with the event. This choice of partner was somewhat unexpected, as the Russian media had repeatedly described Grenader as neo-Nazi and accused it of the rehabilitation of Fascism. But as Grenader had published a number of books about World War I and the submarine war in the Baltic Sea, which dealt with the context of the event, the organisers decided to be pragmatic on this occasion and forget the differences. This is a good example of the emptiness of Russia's accusations of Nazism and their use only for propaganda purposes.

<sup>6</sup> [www.interfax.ru/russia/472792](http://www.interfax.ru/russia/472792)

<sup>7</sup> [www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/2015/10/13/612686-minoboroni-oproverglo-nauchnoi-roti](http://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/2015/10/13/612686-minoboroni-oproverglo-nauchnoi-roti)

<sup>8</sup> GONGO Mir Bez Natsizma is a typical project of Russian influence, constantly spreading accusations about Nazism in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and other countries. MBN works tirelessly to promote a public image for itself as a neutral international institution for the defence of human rights, but actually spreads propaganda messages for the Russian authorities trying to distract international attention away from uncomfortable topics about Russia.



In the 1930s Stalin ordered tens of thousands of Orthodox priests to be killed and churches to be destroyed in the Soviet Union. The Izborsk Club commissioned an icon in 2015 depicting Stalin and Red Army leaders. For more about Izborsk Club, see our Annual Review for 2013.



## COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

The detection and prevention of anti-Estonian intelligence is one of the main duties of the Internal Security Service. No major changes occurred in the field of counterintelligence in 2015. The largest number of detected cases of anti-Estonian intelligence concerned the special services of the Russian Federation. Their goal is to collect information to

**The FSB continues to be the most aggressive Russian special service targeting Estonia.**

influence the affairs of the target country. The importance of direct influence characterises the goal and nature of intelligence collection. The Federal Security Service (FSB), the Main Directorate of Military Intelligence of the General Staff (GRU) and the Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) are all still active against Estonia, but in this year's review we focus on the FSB's activity. The FSB continues to be the most

aggressive Russian special service targeting Estonia, and one of the most characteristic examples of its actions is the kidnapping of Estonian Internal Security Service officer Eston Kohver in 2014. The FSB is Russia's largest special service and reports directly to Russian president Vladimir Putin.

On 31 December 2015 Putin approved updates to the "National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020" by Directive No. 683. The sub-section "National and public security" identifies among the main threats to public stability the anti-Russian activities of foreign intelligence and special services that, in parallel with radicals and terrorists, attempt to spread damaging information among Russian citizens. In order to neutralise the threat and protect citizens, the strategy calls for the centralised development of the Russian law-enforcement authorities and special services: the provision of social guarantees to employees, state-of-the-art training and modern equipment. As an additional internal security measure, the strategy provides for



the development and modernisation of technical capabilities on Russia's external borders to facilitate a more systematic exchange of information between the Russian authorities as well as between Russian and foreign border authorities.

At the end of 2015 Putin brought into force amendments to the federal law governing the work of the FSB, giving its employees additional powers to use firearms and other special means against civilians without prior warning. The amendments elaborate on the rights of FSB employees and individuals close to them in using social media and communication networks and the prohibition of holding or opening foreign bank accounts. Furthermore, the FSB may collect on the Russian border, process and maintain personal biometric data. The central processing of the data will be facilitated by the planned supply of modern special equipment to the external border.

### The FSB increases its influence in Russia

The legal amendments confirm that Russia's leaders strongly support the activities of the FSB and the extension of its powers, and that it is in a clearly preferential position. The FSB is well funded from the federal budget. Thanks to a law ratified

by the State Duma in December 2015, the indexing of salaries of civil and military personnel was suspended until the beginning of 2017 and a staff cut of 10% was announced for officials. While the end of indexing does concern the FSB, as high inflation reduces the purchasing power of members of the special services, a pay rise for the FSB was discussed in 2015, effective from 2016. The staff cuts of 2015 only concerned the support structure of the FSB, and the front-line staff was effectively left alone.

The FSB's position relative to the GRU strengthened in 2015 in relation to their respective influence in the Ukraine conflict. Igor Sergun, who led the GRU from 2011 and unexpectedly passed away at the beginning of 2016, strengthened its position and reduced the influence of the FSB on military intelligence. While the GRU special forces or "little green men" became known in the annexation of the Crimea in 2014, the FSB could not foresee the collapse of President Yanukovych's power and underestimated the readiness of Ukrainians to confront the Russian invasion of eastern Ukraine. The FSB's miscalculation allowed the GRU to increase its influence in Ukrainian operations. However, the FSB is now restoring its leading role in shaping events in Ukraine. This includes a boost to the FSB-led anti-Ukrainian influence and propaganda operations on web portals and social networks.



From left: Mikhail Fradkov, head of the SVR, President Vladimir Putin and FSB director Alexander Bortnikov

### Far beyond state borders and laws

The role of the FSB outside the borders of the Russian Federation has increased since the early 2000s. At first, FSB employees dispatched abroad mainly worked as communications officers. The findings of the UK's official investigation into the death of Alexander Litvinenko, made public in January 2016, show the activity of the FSB in foreign countries in a

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Nowadays the activity of the FSB in foreign countries has been seen in a new light.

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new light. Its conclusions state that former FSB employee Litvinenko (1962–2006), who escaped from Russia to England in 2000 and was given political asylum there and later also British citizenship, was killed by Andrey Lugovoy (born 1966), who had a background in the Russian special services, and Dmitry Kovtun (born 1965). According to the in-

vestigation report, the murder was probably personally approved by both Nikolay Patrushev, who was director general of the FSB from 1999 to 2008, and President Putin. The UK has demanded that Russia extradite Lugovoy and Kovtun for justice to be done, but the Kremlin has repeatedly refused to do so.

In previous years our Annual Reviews have covered the aggressive anti-Estonian activities of Russian special services in the context of their interest in people with access to state secrets or employed in influential positions, etc. This year we have reason to look at cases in which the Russian special services have solicited people into secret illegal collaboration and people carrying out various tasks for the special services.

In October 2015 and February 2016, court judgments were made in three criminal cases handled by the Internal Security Service, in which all the accused were Estonian residents who had engaged in voluntary secret cooperation with the FSB.

Секретно  
Экз №

Экз № —  
Первому заместителю  
Директора ФСБ России  
Генералу армии [REDACTED]

Секретно  
Экз № 1

УТВЕРЖДАЮ  
Руководителя  
директора ДКРО  
Службы

УТВЕРЖДАЮ  
Первый заместитель Руководителя Управления  
Службы - Руководитель Литовской

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УТВЕРЖДЕНА  
Указом Президента  
Российской Федерации  
От [REDACTED] № [REDACTED]

В Управление кадров Службы ФСБ России  
контрольного подразделения федерального государственного органа

B

В Управление кадров Служба ФСБ России  
(указывается наименование кадрового подразделения федерального государственного органа)



Convicted under § 235<sup>1</sup> of the Penal Code (Conspiracy against the Republic of Estonia) in the first case was Alexander Rudnev, who has both Estonian and Russian citizenship. He was recruited and signed an agreement with the FSB in 2013. Over about two years, his activities included organising visual intelligence, and sharing with the FSB information on the activities of the Defence Forces of Estonia and its allies and on the movement of defence equipment in Estonia. He also shared information on the border-guard stations and service locations of the South Prefecture of the Police and Border Guard Board and of the Board's staff, thus compromising Estonia's security. For his services, Rudnev repeatedly received cash from a representative of the FSB. Rudnev was arrested in March 2015 and in October the Tartu County Court convicted him of conspiracy against the Republic of Estonia and sentenced him to two years in prison.



In the second case, proceedings were conducted under § 233 of the Penal Code (non-violent acts committed by [an] alien against the Republic of Estonia) concerning the activities of Pavel Romanov, of unspecified citizenship. Romanov was knowingly involved in operative agency work for the FSB (originally the Federal Counterintelligence Service, FSK) from 1994 until his arrest in 2015. Russian special services agents recruited Romanov in 1994, as confirmed by his signature on the cooperation agreement. The information Romanov forwarded to his recruiter mainly concerned the personal details and duties of employees of Estonian law-enforcement authorities, and the work methods and tactics of border guards of the South Prefecture of the Police and Border Guard Board, the locations of checkpoints and surveillance cameras, and information on how to cross the border illegally. The information given by Romanov also concerned Defence Forces installations and their surveillance systems in southern Estonia. In summary, Romanov was for many years involved in operative agency work on Estonian territory, initially for the FSK and later for the FSB, aimed at damaging Estonia's military defence capability and state border, the EU external border and the activities of the Estonian law-enforcement authorities, inter alia by forwarding information intended for internal use. The Tartu County Court convicted Pavel Romanov and sentenced him to four years ten months in prison.



The proceedings of the third case were also based on § 235<sup>1</sup> of the Penal Code and concerned the activities of Maxim Gruzdev, an Estonian citizen. Gruzdev began his secret cooperation with the FSB in the second half of 2013 by signing an agreement at a meeting in the Pskov Oblast of Russia. From his recruitment until his arrest in October 2015, he supplied the FSB with information on the employees and activities of Estonian investigation and security authorities, including the Internal Security Service, and participated in the operative agency work of the FSB on Estonian territory. In February 2016 the Tartu County Court sentenced him to four years in prison.

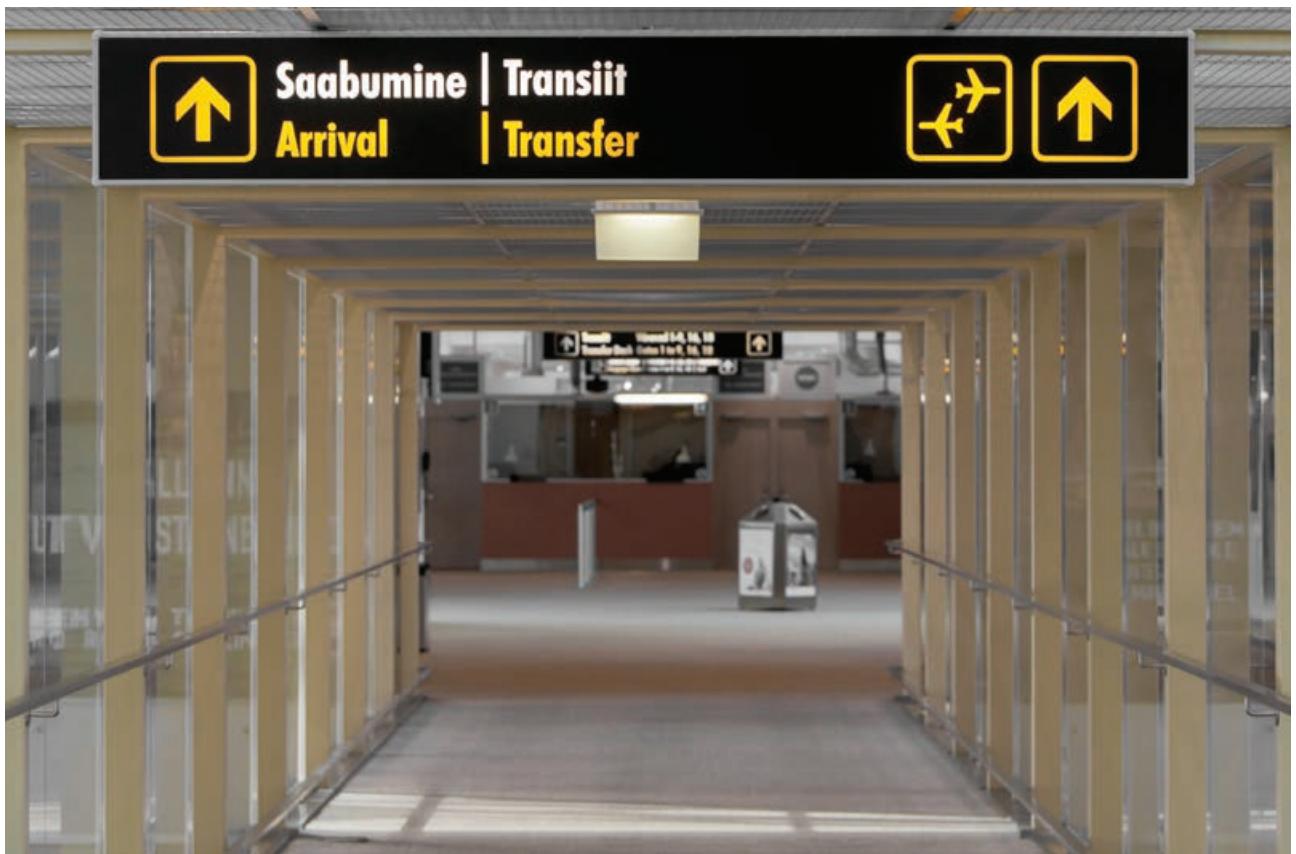


## Cross-border recruitment of criminals by the FSB

The common feature of the above cases is that the FSB recruited people with links to criminal circles. The illegal cross-border activities of these individuals made them an easy target for the FSB. The crimes detected by the Internal Security Service are a good example of the FSB's aggressive activities against Estonian residents who have no direct access to state secrets. These three cases should provide food for thought to anyone who believes that access to state secrets or employment in a sensitive area are prerequisites for attracting the interest of hostile special services. These cases clearly show that access to or the communication of state secrets need not always be part of a crime against the state.

Unfortunately, the cases described above are not the only ones of their kind involving residents of Estonia. We call on everyone who has been approached by the FSB or other Russian special services, whether in Estonia or in a third country, to contact the Internal Security Service. Together we can always find the best possible solution.

- To be targeted by the special services of a foreign country, you do not need to have access to state secrets or sensitive information – recruited individuals can also be used in other areas.
- If you have been approached by someone you think represents the special services of a foreign country, contact the Internal Security Service. Call 612 1455 or send an e-mail to [korrapidaja@kapo.ee](mailto:korrapidaja@kapo.ee)



## PROTECTION OF STATE SECRETS

Like any self-respecting state, Estonia takes various measures to protect secrets that, if disclosed, would damage national security or international cooperation. The Internal Security Service considers preventive protection measures to be the most important, as they allow for certain risks to be managed before they arise and ideally preclude any negative implications for national security and diplomacy. This means that the main goal of the protection of state secrets is to create and maintain physical, staff-related and processing conditions that help prevent the leakage of classified information. It is important to remember that the threats in this area are not due merely to the intelligence activities of foreign countries; there are also non-government organisations and groups that are interested in access to classified information, such as organised crime groups, extremist or terrorist groups, companies that sell information, and even the media. In certain cases, employees can endanger the protection of state secrets if they negligently or intentionally disclose restricted information, thus damaging their employer and the state. A variety of risks must therefore be kept in mind, and protection methods and tactics

adopted as appropriate. Over the past few years, the activities of the Russian Federation have had the greatest impact on the protection of state secrets. Due to increased risks, the Riigikogu (Parliament) adopted a number of important amendments to the legislation governing the protection of state secrets in 2015, mainly in relation to personnel security.

### Legal changes

Certain amendments to the State Secrets and Classified Information of Foreign States Act entered into force on 16 March 2015. They impose additional responsibilities on persons with the right of access to state secrets, and on the agencies, constitutional institutions and legal persons that have the right of access to state secrets by virtue of their contract of service or other contractual relationship.

As from March 2015, persons with the right of access to state secrets must inform their employers of intended private visits to high-risk countries, which in the regulations are referred to as "states for which

a notification requirement is applied". If a person has the right of access to state secrets under another type of contract, the contractual partner has to be notified. Of the persons who have the right of access to state secrets by virtue of their position, this duty does not apply to the President of the Republic, members of the Riigikogu, members of the Government of the Republic, judges, the Commander of the Defence Forces, the Chancellor of Justice and his/her deputy adviser, the Auditor General, the Governor and members of the executive board of Eesti Pank, and the head of the Data Protection Inspectorate. The duty does apply to those who have a limited right of access and to people who are granted access by a decision of the head of the authority. According to the Ministry of the Interior directive<sup>9</sup>, high-risk countries are the Russian Federation, the Republic of Belarus and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The notice is to be submitted to the person organising the protection of state secrets in a format which can be reproduced in writing, stating the name of the person, means of communication, the foreign state to be visited, and the period and reason for staying there.

The employer supporting the grant of the right of access to a natural person or the person organising the protection of state secrets for the contracting partner or an official of a security authority must explain to the individual the personal and national security risks involved in travelling to a high-risk country and offer advice on how to manage such risks. We understand that the duty of notification and an additional conversation with a security officer or person organising the protection of state secrets can be burdensome in some cases. The Internal Security Service draws attention to the fact that the duty to protect state secrets lies particularly with persons with the right of access and consists of the passive duty to maintain the confidentiality of the information that has become known to them (§ 19 (1) 1 of the Act) and the active duty to take measures for the protection of information (§ 19 (1) 2).



The duty of notification and acknowledgement of risks help to prevent potential problems and manage the risks involved in the presence in high-risk countries of persons with the right of access and those close to them.

### Non-compliance can result in withdrawal of security clearance

Regardless of their past or employment, when visiting high-risk countries citizens of the European Union and NATO countries must consider the potential interest of the visited countries' special services, which may take an aggressive form and endanger the person in addition to damaging national security. Individuals with the right of access to state secrets must consider themselves important targets for special services and likely to be compromised, influenced or forced into secret collaboration.

The Act has been supplemented with additional grounds for the refusal to extend or the revocation of security clearances. The granting of a security clearance or extension of its duration may be refused to a natural person:

- who has stayed repeatedly in a high-risk country in circumstances that cannot be identified;
- who has not complied with the notification requirement before travelling to high-risk countries;
- to whom the threat to national security related to travel to a foreign state has been explained, but has not followed the recommendations given.

In its training on the protection of state secrets and in security clearance interviews, the Internal Security Service provides information on the threats and gives recommendations on how to manage various risks. The most important of these can be read on the Service's website [www.kapo.ee](http://www.kapo.ee).<sup>10</sup> Following our recommendations will not absolutely guarantee that a visit to a high-risk country will be problem-free, but an adequate sense of the threat and awareness does help a person to protect themselves and the information better. General recommendations apply to everyone with the right of access, regardless of their background, job or other circumstances. The notification requirement helps to be more specific when explaining the risks and giving recommendations, to point out the particular risks arising from a person's background and to give tailored advice on how to manage such risks.

<sup>9</sup> Ministry of the Interior Directive of 2 June 2015 No. 1-3/125.

<sup>10</sup> <https://kapo.ee/en/content/protection-state-secrets.html>.



## CYBER SECURITY

In providing cyber security, the objective of the Internal Security Service is to identify cyber-attacks that could have been initiated by a foreign state or may threaten national security. The Information System Authority, the Estonian Information Board and the Police and Border Guard Board play an important role in the national cyber security community. And great responsibility undoubtedly rests with private-sector experts and international organisations, for example, the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence in Tallinn.

Of course, the cyber environment is significant for both people and organisations. The IT sector is important for Estonia in terms of both form and substance. Below we provide a brief overview of international threats, and which of these have had the greatest impact on Estonia.

Foreign states mainly exploit the cyber environment for cyber-intelligence

In our region, potential threats include cyber sabotage and influence operations through cyber-attacks. While access to non-public information is considered important in cyber-intelligence, sabotage implies obtaining access to computer systems with the sole purpose of rendering a computer network or another computer-controlled system inoperative at a particular moment, or changing or deleting the data being processed within it. Events in Ukrainian energy systems last Christmas, when malware was allegedly used to cause large-scale power outages, have generated much discussion.

The inside information obtained through cyber-intelligence can be used in influence operations, being disclosed at the “right” moment and in the “right” context. Defacement and denial-of-service attacks can also become parts of sending a message to the enemy, i.e. influence operations.<sup>11</sup> Some Estonian websites were defaced with Daesh symbols and messages in 2015. Although this was part of a global marketing campaign, it could also be regarded as a message to Estonian society. We know that several foreign states have the sophisticated infrastructure necessary for cyber operations. First, there are people with the relevant qualifications whose daily work is to organise attacks. Second, there are the financial and technological resources needed to carry out the attacks and to hide the participation of the authorities remaining in the shadows. For the purpose of carrying out cyber operations, systematic and targeted searches for targets’ vulnerabilities are continuously performed.

No attack should be considered fortuitous as there is reason to believe that attackers always have an “order” specifying which institutions in which states to focus on and what information is in demand. Once an attack has begun, it can go on for years. The attacker might well resort to numerous technical means, but eventually a pattern of behaviour develops, which can serve as the basis for identifying the so-called “attack campaign”. A code name is assigned to the identified campaign in the community engaged in information security (companies operating in the sphere of antivirus protection and computer security, CERTs,<sup>12</sup> special services, etc.), followed by the exchange of information to determine the extent, nature, targets and technical characteristics of the campaign. The investigation of cyber-attacks against a state is only possible through international cooperation.

Cyber security is closely linked to so-called “ordinary” cyber-crime and criminal hackers. On the one hand, law-enforcement agencies attempt to identify hackers at any cost, and on the other, hostile special services sometimes want to exploit hackers’ skills and knowledge for their own purposes. It is therefore not unusual for an operation that seems at first sight to be purely criminal actually to be carried out

in the interests of another state. Genuine players are not easily distinguished from false identities in this sphere. In 2015, there were several waves of ransomware<sup>13</sup> campaigns in Estonia targeting a number of state agencies.

Cyber-crime is constantly evolving. Criminals study and implement new methods to gain access to data and key systems, as well as to avoid detection by information security providers and to conceal their tracks from computer forensics.

Estonian companies and organisations can do a lot to prevent attacks themselves. Besides security updates, the monitoring and surveillance of what is happening in computer networks and information systems is at least as important, and being aware of the foregoing may prevent violations within companies or institutions.

The highest risks to information security are related to people’s behaviour, particularly among the personnel managing information systems and hardware. Users’ security awareness needs to be increased so that notification of unusual or suspicious incidents is ensured. It is not uncommon for

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The highest risks to information security are related to people’s behaviour, particularly among the personnel managing information systems and hardware.

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the personal computers, smart devices and e-mail accounts of key individuals to be attacked in addition to infecting the computers and other devices at their disposal at work with spyware to monitor what they are doing, because security measures implemented on personal devices may be less stringent. This is also one of the reasons why personal devices or e-mail accounts must not, as a rule, be used for the transmission or processing of work-related data. We would like to emphasise that, if an institution’s employees urgently need remote access to work-related information in its information system, the institution must be able to provide a secure solution to enable this.

<sup>11</sup> Defacement involves an unauthorised person gaining control of a website and changing its content. Denial-of-service attacks prevent access to the website and the services it provides.

<sup>12</sup> CERT – computer emergency response team. CERT Estonia identifies, monitors and resolves security incidents that have occurred in Estonian computer networks, informs about threats and organises preventive action. More information about CERT Estonia can be found on the Information System Authority’s website, [www.ria.ee](http://www.ria.ee)

<sup>13</sup> Ransomware, also known as cryptovirus or cryptoworm, is a type of malware that encrypts either the important data on a user’s computer or the entire hard disk, after which cybercriminals demand a ransom for decrypting the data. However, paying the ransom does not guarantee that the victim will receive the encryption key. Additional information is available at [www.aryutikaitse.ee](http://www.aryutikaitse.ee)



# PREVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

## The global situation

2015 was a frustrating year in terms of the global threat of terrorism and actual terrorist attacks. Numerous terrorist acts that claimed the lives of many people were committed in the Middle East, Asia, North Africa and Europe. The international public is aware of what happened in France in January and February, and in Denmark in February, and the Russian passenger flight Metrojet 9268 disaster over the Sinai Peninsula.

In Europe, several other terrorist attacks took place in 2015 that were not covered as extensively in the Estonian media:

- On 26 June in France, a terrorist decapitated a man, and rammed his vehicle into a gas plant in Lyon. On the same date, there was a series of other terrorist attacks in Kuwait, Somalia and Tunisia.
- On 21 August, a lone terrorist used an automatic firearm to shoot passengers on a train from Amsterdam to Brussels and Paris. Thanks to the fast reaction of other passengers, only two people were injured.

• There were several terrorist-inspired blade attacks, such as the stabbing of three people in Leytonstone underground station in London on 5 December.

In the USA, on 2 December a married couple opened fire in a medical and health centre in the city of San Bernardino, California, killing 14 people.

In our 2014 annual review, we stated that the terrorist threat in Western countries was increasingly related to so-called “lone wolves”, or small groups, who generally act independently, or who receive minimal guidance from terrorist organisations, mainly in the form of inspiration and intellectual support. Terrorist acts are committed spontaneously and opportunistically, and with a shorter preparation time. The number of people aware of any plans is very small. The events of 2015 were a clear example of the threat arising from lone terrorists. These developments constitute a serious challenge for security authorities: the activities of individuals are very difficult to discover and prevent.

However, the wave of terrorist attacks that took place in Paris on 13 November, which claimed the lives of 130 people, was completely different in

character. The planning was indicative of thorough preparation, organisation, coordination and development, allowing terrorists to start shooting with automatic firearms and explode suicide belts in different locations at the same time.

Terrorism is an even more acute problem in Syria and Iraq and the neighbouring region. The conflict there began in the spring of 2011. According to various estimates, more than a quarter of a million people have perished. More than four million have fled from Syria, and an even larger number have been displaced within the country.<sup>14</sup> In addition to the existing parties to the conflict, Russia actively joined in the war in Syria in 2015. The Russian intervention had not resulted in a positive change of direction in the conflict by the end of the year. Rather, it further increased the violence, and created further tensions in the confrontation between NATO and Russia. The situation culminated on 24 November, when Turkey, a member of NATO, shot down a Russian military aircraft after it had flown provocatively close to disputed airspace.

## The problem of fighters still in our midst

Despite the horror prevalent in Syria and Iraq, there are still people all over the world, including Europe, who are undaunted by the number of dead and the humanitarian catastrophe, and who travel to this area to fight or for other purposes. Thousands of people have travelled from Europe to Syria or Iraq to join local terrorist organisations. Often, they take families with small children.

The number of people returning from Syria or Iraq to their country of origin is growing steadily. In some cases, those who return are either disappointed about or scared of what they have seen. At the other end of the scale are people imbued with the distorted ideology of terrorist organisations, who have received high-level training and are ready to use their skills on European territory. Some individuals have fought in Syria or Iraq on numerous occasions.

Even countries with fewer people travelling to Syria or Iraq often still encounter problems, as transit countries. Unfortunately, there is no reason to consider Estonia an exception to this because, due to its geographic location, it is on the route for people with terrorist connections who prefer to, or have to, travel by sea or land.

In 2015, Daesh<sup>15</sup> replaced al-Qaeda in leading the so-called global *jihad*.<sup>16</sup> Daesh can be considered the most dangerous terrorist organisation in Syria and Iraq. It gives itself various impressive titles and names, such as state or caliphate, and is directly or indirectly responsible for the majority of the terrorist acts mentioned above. Thousands of people from Middle Eastern, North African and European countries have joined Daesh, and several other terrorist organisations from other parts of the world have sworn allegiance to it. As of the autumn of 2015, Daesh had certain administrative capability over its conquered territory. In addition to organising acts of violence, Daesh is growing its army of supporters with the help of mass-distributed propaganda, which depicts inhumane violence. In 2015, Daesh's journal *Dabiq* – whose goals include to motivate foreign radicals to commit terrorist acts and to recruit new members – depicted Estonia as a member of an anti-Daesh coalition. As far as we know, this was the first time that Estonia had been specifically mentioned in the journals of a terrorist organisation, but such groups also mentioned the country in other channels.



Estonia featured in the propaganda of terrorist organisations in 2015

In order to prevent the threat of terrorism and foreign fighters, many Western countries have amended and expanded counterterrorism legislation: the display of the insignia of terrorist organisations and various specific support activities have been criminalised; legal measures have been created for preventing the travel of foreign fighters to crisis areas by cancelling or confiscating travel documents; programmes have been implemented for the prevention of radicalisation, and for de-radicalisation; and steps have been taken to enhance cooperation and coordination mechanisms in the Schengen Area.

<sup>14</sup> As of mid-2015.

<sup>15</sup> In our previous annual review, this organisation was referred to as ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant). "Daesh" is an acronym of the organisation's Arabic name, Dawlat al-Islamiyah f'al-Iraq w Belad al-Sham.

<sup>16</sup> A term from Islam, meaning a struggle. Depending on the interpretation, this could be the internal struggle within an individual to become a better Muslim, or the struggle against non-believers and the enemies of Islam.



Roman Manko after the court verdict. Ramil Khalilov and Roman Manko in court

### The threat of terrorism in Estonia

Compared to the devastating developments around the world, the threat of terrorism in Estonia is currently small. A terrorist act in Estonia planned, conspired and sanctioned by a terrorist organisation is considered unlikely at the moment. However, like other countries, we unfortunately have a lot less protection against lone terrorists. In the recent past, Estonia had the example of Karen Drambjan, who attacked the Ministry of Defence in August 2011, acting out of personal resentment but nevertheless with an indirect political aim, considering the target of the attack.

Estonia has been mentioned in the propaganda of terrorist organisations. We therefore ask all representatives of Estonian interests and residents working in or visiting high-risk countries to be more vigilant. Before travelling, please read and take into consideration the travel information published on the website of the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>17</sup>

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Examples of radicalisation among members of the Muslim community in Estonia are unfortunately becoming more frequent.

The threat of terrorism has become increasingly real for Estonia. According to public sources, while the threat is on the same level in Latvia and Lithuania as it is in Estonia, the level was raised in 2015 in Sweden and Finland. In December, Finland's Central Criminal Police arrested two men of Iraqi origin, suspected of war crimes in Iraq. Similar arrests were made last year in Sweden.

<sup>17</sup> [www.vm.ee/etriigid/reisiinfo](http://www.vm.ee/etriigid/reisiinfo).

### Tensions in the Estonian Muslim community

The Muslim community in Estonia continues to be generally peaceful, but there is some internal dissatisfaction. The tensions between various interest groups are mainly concentrated within the Turath Islamic Cultural Centre on Keevise in Tallinn, caused by the non-transparent and supposedly selfish management style of the centre's management. In the spring of 2015, a new foundation called Eesti Islami Keskus (the Estonian Islamic Centre) was established and took over the administration of the building. The centre's existing management disapproved, and considered this development a takeover.

In 2015, Estonian Muslims also received more attention in the media, when their leaders commented on terrorist acts around the world and on issues related to refugees. They were also asked to comment on developments within Estonia: the idea of banning items of clothing covering women's faces, as used in many Muslim cultures; problems in the Islamic Centre; building a new mosque in Estonia; examples of radicalisation among Estonian Mus-



Radicalisation expressed in social media

lims; the activities of a former Estonian resident, Abdurrahman Sazanakov, in Syria; and the first criminal proceeding against the support of Islamist terrorism. Unfortunately, comments on these issues by Estonian Muslim leaders were more indicative of a desire to distance themselves from these problems, rather than a readiness to address the issues and guide radically-minded people back onto the right path. At first, they did not wish to respond to journalists' questions about Abdurrahman Sazanakov, and they later stated that he was an ordinary member of the Estonian Muslim community who did not raise any suspicions.

In addition to Tallinn, regular Muslim prayers are also held in other Estonian cities. In 2015, there were attempts to re-open a Muslim prayer room in Tartu. Unfortunately, there were several worrying aspects about the process: the initiative, and partial funding, for its establishment came from abroad, and there is currently no religious cleric with the correct qualifications to conduct prayer sessions.

Examples of radicalisation among members of the Muslim community in Estonia are unfortunately becoming more frequent, expressed mainly through the display of terrorist organisations' insignia. This assessment is justified by claims that the insignia are not connected to terrorist organisations but, rather, Islam as a religion. At the same time, such symbols are indeed mostly used by terrorist organisations and their supporters, which in turn scares people. The display of such insignia is used to test, and try to shift, the tolerance limits of society and the law-enforcement authorities.

The Internal Security Service recommends that the Muslim community in Estonia take greater responsibility for the identification and prevention of the radicalisation of its members. This means dealing with problems and guiding any Muslims who are excited about violence back to peaceful beliefs. The problem will not be solved if it is not recognised, and if people seek culprits and scapegoats from outside the Muslim community.

A few Estonian Muslims are still interested in travelling to crisis areas. Practical experience from countries that have encountered this problem to a greater extent shows that family and close acquaintances play a central role in guiding a person back to the right path, followed by support from employees of social institutions, such as social workers and teachers.

In our partner countries, there have been cases of parents notifying law-enforcement authorities too late about their minor children who have travelled to Syria. Some cases have also been reported in the media: recruiters working for terrorist organisations have lured young girls to Syria, to live a perfect life under Sharia law.<sup>18</sup> However, on arrival, these girls have been faced with violence and sexual slavery.

Any attempts at escape are subject to Sharia punishments and even execution. It is important to notify law-enforcement authorities immediately when the first warning signs become apparent in any of your close acquaintances or family members – for example, if they become withdrawn, acquire suspicious friends, have fundamental religious or anti-Western opinions, are anti-Semitic, or look at Internet websites and watch videos with radical content.

Being informed about danger signs and suspicions has helped us in our preventive work. The Internal Security Service is grateful to all those who have shared their observations, and asks that people kindly continue to help prevent the worst developments by early recognition and notification, for the sake of the security of their family and acquaintances as well as fellow citizens and the state.

## Investigation of support for terrorism

Unfortunately, it is impossible to prevent all cases of terrorism. During the first half of 2015, the Internal Security Service initiated criminal proceedings on the basis of § 237<sup>3</sup> (1) of the Penal Code ("Financing and support of act[s] of terrorism and activities directed at it"). This was the first criminal proceeding of its kind in the Estonian legal system. Two Russian citizens resident in Estonia, Ramil Khalilov and Roman Manko, were accused of supporting Islamic terrorism. On 12 January 2016, Harju County Court sentenced Ramil Khalilov to seven years' imprisonment and Roman Manko to five years. At the time of finalising this review, the county court judgment has not entered into force, and the men have appealed to the circuit court.

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It is important to notify law-enforcement authorities immediately when the first warning signs become apparent in any of your close acquaintances or family members.

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The central character in this case was Abdurrahman Sazanakov<sup>19</sup>, who travelled from Estonia to Syria in 2013 and joined a terrorist organisation there, and with whom Ramil Khalilov and Roman Manko were in contact, organising financial help and giving him spiritual guidance. Sazanakov's own participation in these proceedings was limited to a video message presented to the court by the defence attorney of a convicted offender, in which Sazanakov denies being a member of a terrorist organisation.

<sup>18</sup> Law based on and interpreting the Quran.

<sup>19</sup> Sazanakov featured in the Internal Security Service Annual Review of 2014.

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## How the migration crisis affects the prevention of international terrorism

When Estonia joined the Schengen Area at the end of 2007, there was no marked increase in illegal immigration; but ever since that time, the pressure on Estonia from illegal immigration has increased.

In 2015, Estonia had to admit that the events and developments that began in 2011–2, mainly in the Arab world – and which were almost totally unconnected with Estonia – had by then caused a massive flux of refugees towards Europe, also affecting Estonia. The flow of refugees creates social tensions in the countries receiving them, particularly in those countries that have no previous experience of refugees from the Middle East, Asia and Africa. Social pressures in countries that are already familiar with such migrants also increase, primarily because the number of arriving refugees is so large.

Unfortunately, there are terrorists among the refugees arriving in Europe. This was confirmed by the terrorist acts in Paris on 13 November 2015, as two of the organisers had arrived in Europe among the refugees. There are also other people with radical beliefs among the refugees. However, it is certainly wrong to generalise and say that everyone escaping

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It is certainly wrong to generalise and say that everyone escaping from conflict is a terrorist.

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from conflict is a terrorist. Estonian agencies are constantly working to achieve a situation in which the Estonian government can give real help to people who genuinely need it, who do not have hostile intentions, and who are able to adapt to living in Estonia's cultural environment. Due to insufficient documentation and few reliable sources, it is difficult to establish clearly the exact background of these people.

One of the critical aspects of the refugee crisis is criminal gangs that organise illegal migration. Several human-trafficking gangs skilfully took advantage of the problems on the EU's southern border, earning massive profits. By the end of 2015, the situation there had not measurably improved.

## Islamism

In our previous annual reviews, we have briefly described the phenomena, organisations and terminology related to Islamic terrorism, and radical and fundamentalist Islam, such as Wahhabism (2011 Annual Review) and Salafism (2012).

This year, we give an overview of Islamism, for which there is no internationally accepted definition. We do not claim this to be the only correct interpretation but, rather, we attempt to analyse things related to Islamism as impartially and succinctly as possible. Some experts or scientists may not agree with the following claims and interpretations, but we consider it important to attempt to analyse this core phenomenon and concept of Islamic terrorism. A religiously motivated terrorist crime is an extremist's weapon. We will now look more closely at how such weapons can be used.

Islamism, or political Islam, is an attempt to implement a way of life in the Islamic world that is based on Sharia or godly law. Sharia law – based on the Quran, Sunna<sup>20</sup> and Islamic medieval legal practices – regulates all aspects of life, on both an individual and a societal/state level. The application of Sharia law is the main characteristic of an Islamic society and a country based on Islam (an Islamic state); according to Islamists, adherence to Sharia law in the Islamic world is the measure of a true Muslim. Islamists strive towards the unconditional implementation of Sharia law in the Islamic world and, ideally, in the entire world, considering Allah's message (as shared by the Prophet Muhammad) to be valid everywhere, and defining anyone who objects to the benefit of Islam as non-believers, who the core Islamic texts scold mercilessly.

The core topic of Islamism is the question of power: according to Sharia law, true Islam can be practised only in an Islamic state where religion is an integral part of the state. Based on Sharia law, Islamism does not take into consideration any changes that have occurred in society, or any processes, ideologies or ideas that contradict the fundamental principles of Islam. Within the Islamic world, Islamism opposes such fundamental elements of Islamic culture as dance and music, and does not approve of the masterpieces of Arabic secular literature; Islamism criticises other Islamic sects (e.g. Shia, Baha'i and Ahmadiyya). At the same time, Islamism is very

<sup>20</sup> A collection/description of the actions, sayings and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad.

flexible, adopting modern achievements that can be used for the benefit of Islam, such as technology and the Internet.

The starting point of contemporary Islamism is considered to be the Salafist movement of the late 19th century, following the original ideals of Islam; and the idea spread in 1920s–30s Egypt with the first Islamic party, the Muslim Brotherhood, practising Islam as stipulated by Sharia law as the solution to all social problems. The slogan “Islam is the solution” is also one of the cornerstones of modern Islamism.

Islamism is not a unified movement; the Islamist idea of Sharia rule connects seemingly different, and often contradictory, ideologies. But the objective of all of these is to establish a polity based on Sharia law. At the same time, Islamists consider there to be many ways of achieving this and, in practice, many branches often accuse others of relinquishing the ideals of Islam.

The causes of the spread of Islamism lie behind the acceptance of Sharia law by oil-rich countries, and the export of Islamism to poorer parts of the Islamic world and, covertly, also to Western countries. The spread of Islamism has also occurred partly due to the population explosion in Islamic countries, and the Islamist cultural revolution, as a result of which the core texts of Islamism that were previously used by Islamic scholars are now easily available thanks to various technological developments, and can be spread and interpreted easily and extensively on social media.

In essence, Islamism is against the Western world (and, by implication, the Estonian Constitution), as the Islam-pre-eminent principles of Sharia law, and the medieval methods for imposing and maintaining such a system, contradict the main Western values – the principles of human rights (regarding freedom of religion, speech and conscience, as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) – which are not recognised by Sharia law. Neither does Sharia law accord equality to women or similar rights to religious minorities; Sharia law also adheres to different educational, cultural and other general humanist principles.

The Islamist view of Western civilisation has become essentially precarious in recent decades, as it

is no longer considered a respected “twin religion”, but rather, a society of non-believers who have abandoned religion completely, and which is the biggest enemy according to Islamic core texts and Sharia law. Islamism accuses the West of supporting those Islamic countries that do not follow Sharia law in everything; another core accusation is that of supporting Israel, Islamism’s greatest enemy.

Over the course of the past few decades, Islamism has started to consider Western civilisation to be not only its essential distant enemy, but an aggressor directly attacking Islam. Islamists are convinced that the duty of a true Muslim is to fight against the aggression of the godless West. According to the Islamist understanding of the war between “good and evil”, Western civilians are also considered to be participating in the war, wherever they happen to be. In the Islamist view, such a war against the enemies of Islam is every Muslim’s personal duty –

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According to the Islamist understanding Western civilians are also considered to be participating in the war, wherever they happen to be.

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according to Sharia law, those Muslims that fight against the enemies of Islam are the noblest of the believers. Islamism is thriving in the Islamic world and in the West, as evidenced by the fact that an increasing number of radical Muslims wish to establish Sharia law. The belief that the global Islamic victory through the supremacy of Sharia law is an inevitable scientific truth is increasingly prevalent among “true” Muslims; in the Soviet Union, similar attempts were made to “prove” that communism was the last, victorious stage of history, triumphing over other forms of society.

## Potential terrorist access to illegal weapons

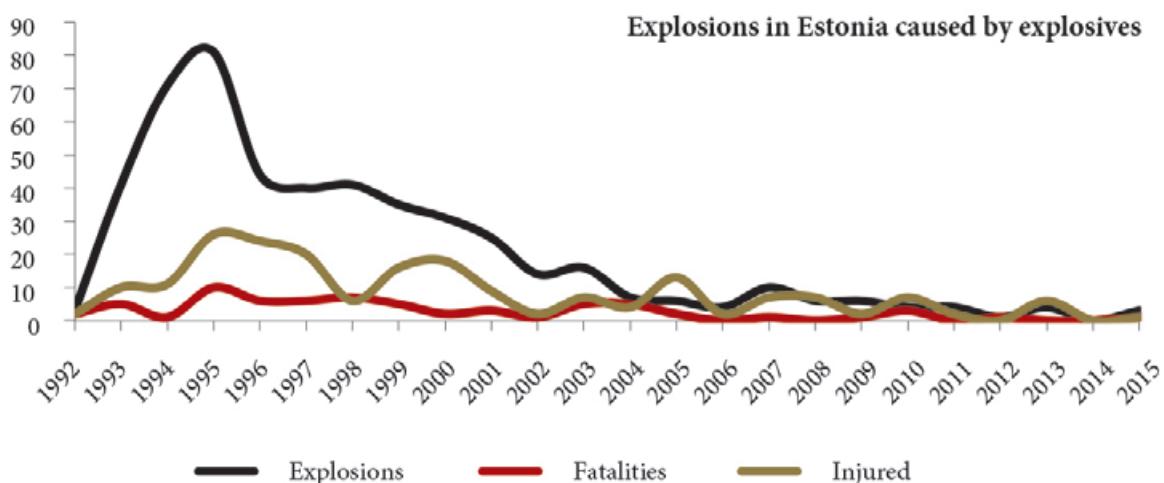
As part of preventing terrorism, it is important that illegal weapons and explosives should be very difficult to acquire. As a result of many years of work, we have disposed of tonnes of explosives, which have been neutralised by our good partners, the specialists of the mine clearance unit of the Estonian Rescue Board. No country has been able to eradicate the market for illegal weapons completely, but we can confirm that the illegal weapons trade in and around Estonia is dwindling. In these circumstances, some criminals have seen an opportunity to profit from recommissioning and marketing previously deactivated weapons. This kind of dangerous cross-border weapons trade requires unambiguous, restrictive international regulation.

In April 2015, legislative changes came into effect to help prevent threats to people's lives and collective safety caused by the recommissioning of

of firing. The Internal Security Service considers this to be a threat to national security, given that on the black market these weapons may end up in the hands of terrorists – as has happened in other countries. For Estonia, it is important that local conditions do not promote the acquisition of illegal weapons or explosives. However, a number of people still attempt this, as evidenced by the cases that reached judicial decision in 2015 and 2016.

## Investigations into smuggling reactivated weapons

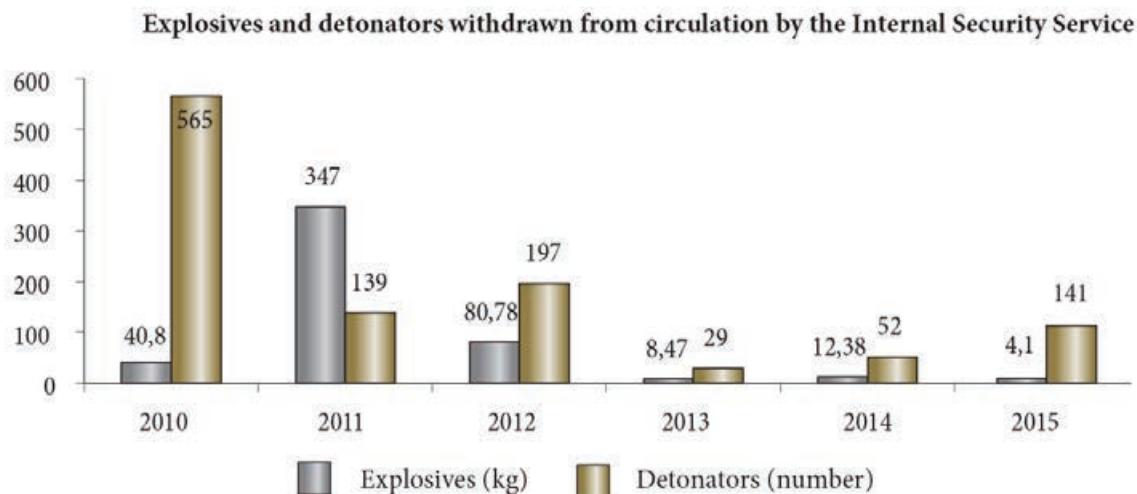
In 2014, the Internal Security Service began to investigate information that Sergey Olar, a 42-year-old Estonian citizen, was handling firearms and their silencers unlawfully, and transporting them across the border. Sergey Olar had previously been punished for the unlawful handling of firearms, pursuant to criminal procedure; hence there was



weapons rendered incapable of firing. The stricter and more precise requirements help to ensure that a weapon is not considered as rendered incapable of firing if a skilled craftsman could easily restore its firing capability.

As mentioned above, some groups of people have attempted to profit from the restoration and marketing of weapons previously rendered incapable

reason to believe that this was a repeat offence. The criminal proceedings included charges for failing to comply with § 392 of the Penal Code (illicit import and export of prohibited goods or goods requiring a special permit), with subsections 1 and 2 of § 418 (unlawful handling of firearms or essential components thereof or ammunition; the same act, if committed at least twice, involving a large quantity, or



committed by a group). The unlawful handling of a silencer of a firearm is dealt with in § 420 (1).

The first arrests were made on 30 January 2015, when Juri Krongauz and Sergey Stroiko were apprehended as suspects. Krongauz was stopped on the border crossing point on the Narva highway, en route from Estonia to Russia. Two pistols with loaded magazines were recovered from his vehicle.

A few days later, Vladimir Vahrushev and Sergey Stasevich were arrested. In mid-February, Internal Security Service officials also arrested Sergey Olar, Vladimir Fleishman, Aleksey Antson, Andrus Piir and Viktor Shpakauskas. At the end of the month, there were more suspects, as Viktor Ossep was interrogated and Jüri Mengel arrested. By the end of February, there were 11 suspects in total.

### Legislative changes

In order to handle firearms in restricted commerce, a person needs either an acquisition permit, a weapons permit or an activity licence, which are issued by the Police and Border Guard Board. According to § 32 (2) of the Weapons Act, an acquisition permit grants the holder the right to acquire a weapon of the type set out on the permit, and subsequently to store and convey the weapon until it is registered. Under § 34 (2) of the Act, a weapon permit held by a natural person grants the holder the right to handle a weapon entered on the permit and its ammunition as well as a silencer and a laser sight under the conditions of and pursuant to the procedure provided for in the Act and legislation issued on the basis thereof. Under § 66 (1)(5) of the Act, only a person with a relevant activity licence can store weapons and ammunition as a service.

Ammunition, propellants and primers intended for weapons in restricted commerce may be acquired on the basis of an acquisition permit or a weapons permit, as per § 19 (3) of the Weapons Act, except if the weapon is acquired in order to engage in the manufacture of weapons, components of firearms or ammunition, the sale of weapons,

components of firearms or ammunition, or the provision of services for the conversion and repair of weapons and components of firearms.

In April 2015, changes to the Weapons Act came into force, stipulating that a weapon is rendered incapable of firing by the mechanical processing of an essential component of a firearm. The requirements for declaring a weapon to be incapable of firing are set by regulation of the relevant minister. The Minister of the Interior's regulation "Requirements for declaring a weapon to be incapable of firing", which entered into force in April, also changed the previous requirements.

From April 2015, new provisions came into force regarding the establishment of compliance with requirements for incapability of firing. § 78<sup>1</sup> of the Weapons Act requires that a weapon rendered incapable of firing in another country shall meet the requirements for incapability of firing established on the basis of the Act, and the person shall inform the Police and Border Guard Board of a weapon rendered incapable of firing in another country and brought to Estonia in a format that can be reproduced in writing before the weapon is brought to Estonia. The declaration of a weapon incapable of firing is regulated by § 78<sup>2</sup> of the Act.

In essence, these were two organised crime gangs, both of which had the same goal: to acquire deactivated firearms, reactivate them, and then sell them on the black market. The weapons were obtained from Estonia and Finland, but some deactivated weapons were also ordered online from Germany and later reactivated in Estonia. Juri Krongauz illegally exported some of the firearms sold to him by Sergey Stroiko from Estonia to the Russian Federation.

For Estonia, it is important that local conditions do not promote the acquisition of illegal weapons or explosives.

In total, the following were found, identified and confiscated during this case: 11 firearms prohibited for civilian purposes (automatic firearms, machine guns and a semi-automatic pistol), 18 essential components of firearms prohibited for civilian purposes (barrel and/or breech-block), 26 firearms in restricted commerce (rifles, pistols and hunting guns), 16 essential components of firearms in restricted commerce (barrel and/or breech-block), 6,631 cartridges, five silencers, four bayonets, two hand grenades, ten projectiles, 34 primers, 141 detonators, 50 metres of blasting fuse, and 2.936 kg of explosives.

On 22 February 2016, in accordance with an agreement with the Office of the Prosecutor General, Harju County Court sentenced the men who had been trading in firearms to long prison sentences: Juri Krongauz (47) for eight years and two months, Sergey Stroiko (58) for seven years and two months, and Vladimir Vahrushev (52) for six years and eight months. Sergey Stasevich (53), who stood accused with the above-mentioned men, was sentenced to a conditional five-year sentence with a five-year probation period. The court also sentenced the men to pay thousands of euros for forensic and procedural expenses, and confiscated the firearms found on them. Sergey Olar, who had received a conditional sentence, renounced the agreement offered by the prosecutor in court on 26 January 2016, and the court will discuss his charges during a general procedure. Jüri Mengel was sentenced to imprisonment for four years and six months, nine months of which were to be served immediately. In a compromise procedure, the court sentenced the other accused with the following prison sentences: Andrus Piir for five years, Vladimir Fleishman for two years and seven months, Aleksey Antson for one year and ten months, Viktor Ossep for two years, and Viktor Shpakauskas for two years. The court also sentenced the men to pay procedural expenses and, according to the agreement, these sentences will not be enforced if the men do not commit any intentional criminal offences during probation.



Illegal and dangerous items confiscated from criminals

## International training exercise

### ATHOS 2015

In early October, ATHOS 2015, an international counterterrorism training exercise, was held in southern Estonia. In addition to Estonia, participants came from Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Finland, Germany, France and the USA, a total of some 150 people. The exercise involved the resolution of a hostage situation, which included demands, negotiation and information-gathering. At the end of the exercise, a coordinated attack took place, led by special units, during which the hostages were freed and the terrorists eliminated.



International training exercise ATHOS 2015

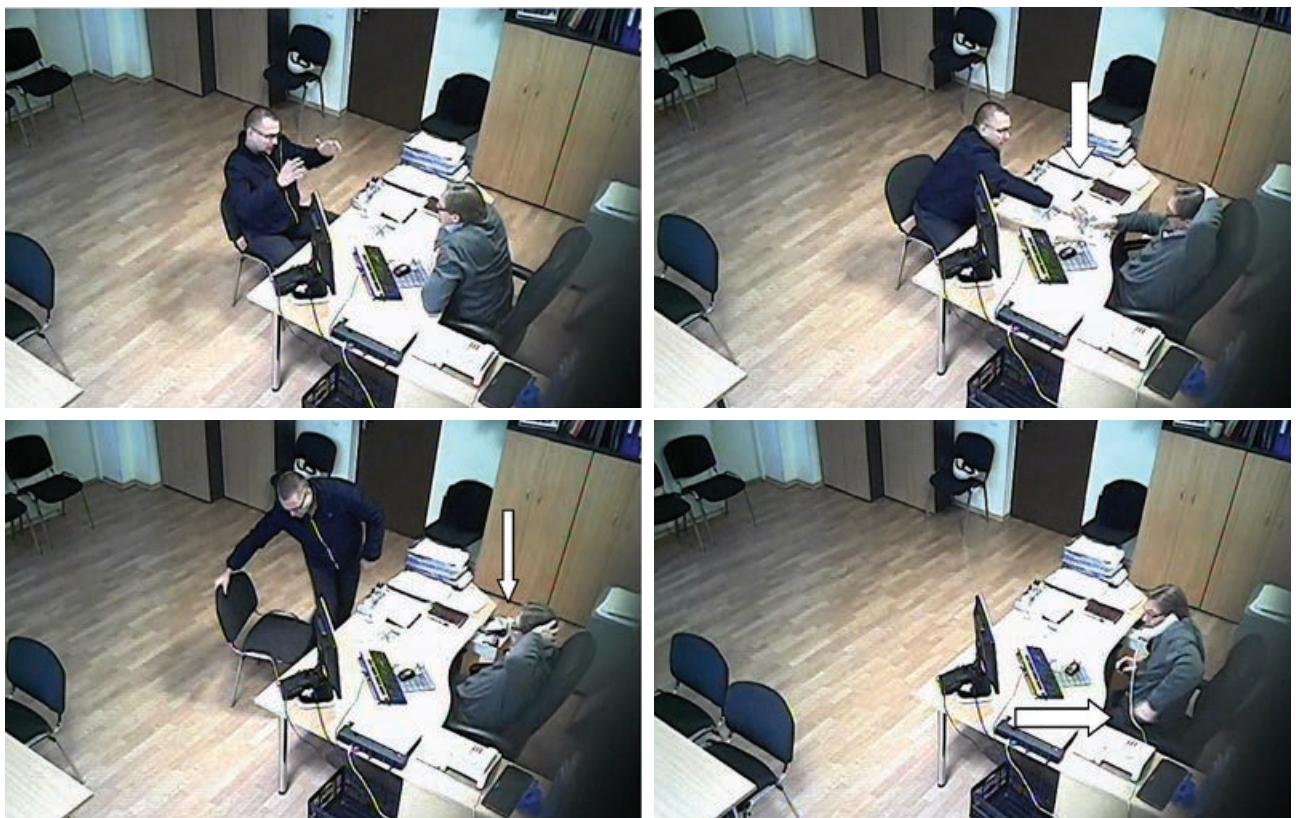
## Preventing the threat of use of weapons of mass destruction

The uncontrolled movement of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is prevented in order to help stop terrorism. WMD include chemical, biological, radioactive and nuclear (CBRN) weapons. The task of the Internal Security Service in relation to the control system is to prevent and be ready to react to a CBRN attack. The Service's focus is on the prevention of CBRN threats caused by malicious activities. Due to the various military conflicts around the world, the probability of terrorists being able to use chemical, biological, radioactive or even nuclear material for attacks has increased; and to a limited extent, terrorists also have the know-how and skills needed to carry out such an attack. In military conflicts, there is always the likelihood that WMD will end up in the hands of terrorist groups.

In December 2015, during work to prevent such threats, the Internal Security Service removed from unlawful use a shielded container of a highly active radiation source used for industrial purposes, which contained the radioactive isotope of caesium (Cs-137). The container was hidden in a surface cache near Tallinn's city limits.



Shielded container of a highly active radiation source



Juri Roop taking a bribe

## THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

In international reports assessing countries' national governance and development published in 2015, Estonia consistently retains relatively high ratings. The World Justice Project Rule of Law Index<sup>21</sup> places Estonia in a strong middle-ranking position in the European Union and North America, rating it 10th out of 24 states and 15th of 31 high-income states. Unfortunately, of the several factors affecting rule of law and taken into account, corruption is the reason Estonia's rating is not higher. While the level of corruption in the judicial system and the police was assessed as relatively low, corruption in the legislative branch was rated as higher than average. According to the Heritage Foundation's economic freedom rankings,<sup>22</sup> Estonia rose to eighth position – and second among European countries. In the narrower corruption rating, Estonia is ranked only 28th. According to this report, judicial power in Estonia is independent of executive power, and it is in the executive power that corruption is still an issue.

Estonia's reputation in the fight against corruption at the international and regional level still leaves room for improvement. Corruption affects the functioning and development of the whole of

society, both directly and indirectly. The Internal Security Service is responsible for preventing and combatting corruption that threatens national security, as well as obtaining and processing the necessary information. Corruption threatens national security in various spheres, within the country and in foreign policy, in the fields of the economy and defence. Our job is the prevention and, where necessary, investigation of corruption-related crimes of senior officials.

### Risk to economic security from corrupt executives

As far as economic security is concerned, the areas sensitive to corruption are the energy, transport (including transit) and information technology sectors, in which corrupt behaviour can result in a threat to national security without the employee knowing it. The highest risk is associated with corrupt officials in the management of strategic state-owned companies or foundations. In some state-owned companies occupying leading positions in the economic

<sup>21</sup> <http://worldjusticeproject.org/rule-of-law-index>

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.heritage.org/index/country/estonia>

sector, power may be abused for promoting one's personal interests or those of third parties. As a result, the competitive ability and performance of the country's companies suffers, which may hold back an entire sector of the economy.

A corrupt individual can also easily fall into the clutches of powers wishing to damage Estonian national security. Estonian companies operating in strategic economic and industrial sectors and their management are at the same time the objects of increased attention by unfriendly foreign states. They can be used as the means for affecting the Estonian economy and society as a whole. In any case, a corrupt person is easier prey for a hostile power due to greed or vulnerability to blackmail resulting from past actions, without realising how he or she could be exploited. When laws can be bought and developments directed for one's own benefit, this can be damaging to the country's economic security and jeopardise the workings of the democratic system of government.

The corruption of senior officials will not necessarily be as noticeable as corruption in everyday life. Insofar as the former does not create artificial obstacles to people's activities as opposed to lower-level corruption – for instance, bribes accepted for issuing permits and licences – it will generally remain distant and unknown for ordinary citizens. The old saying that a fish rots from the head is quite true: if senior officials set a negative example by their ethical values and actions, these are also spread in the organisation or sector. The most dangerous corruption scenario is the takeover of power in the state. In a corrupt system, state revenues largely find their way into the pockets of a limited circle of individuals. The extent of corruption in Estonia gives no reason to fear that this scenario could come about in the near future, but the Internal Security Service will not ignore the potential threat. Criminal proceedings involving people occupying politically significant positions are generally accompanied with accusations against law-enforcement agencies of political bias. We find it necessary to emphasise that we will continue to fulfil our tasks and obligations and proceed from the principle of lawfulness.

Corruption is often the main reason reforms in transitional societies come to a standstill and there are no improvements in state governance, economic development and, ultimately, people's welfare. Law-enforcement agencies' operations alone are not enough; society as a whole needs to condemn corruption.

For international cooperation to work, it is important to ensure that foreign officials can be punished for corruption offences. The international anti-corruption network has been growing stronger year by year. Cross-border corruption cases receive more and more coverage. The Internal Security Service cannot limit its operations to combating national corruption. We also focus on cross-border corruption when corrupt practice by Estonian senior officials reach other countries. We are ready to provide

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The most dangerous corruption scenario is the takeover of power in the state.

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active assistance to other countries when Estonian residents participate in corrupt practices in third countries.

The combined effect of security and police activities in the fight against corruption creates conditions for corruption being tracked down more often, and better detection of corruption cases results in reduced corruption. Corruption is a concealed crime, of which only the perpetrators are aware. However, the damage caused is incurred by the whole of society. The Internal Security Service calls for zero tolerance of corruption as well as meticulous implementation of anti-corruption measures in the public and private sectors until they have been instilled as a norm. Every public official must know and feel that commonly accepted ethical standards coexist with laws in society. Companies should be aware that building one's business on corruption is short-sighted as it hinders the development of entrepreneurship and free competition. The public and private sectors must work together, as the shortcomings of one sector will spread to the other.

## Court verdicts

1. On 20 November 2015, the Supreme Court found Priit Toobal, the chief secretary of MTÜ Eesti Keskerakond (Estonian Centre Party) and MTÜ Eesti Keskerakond as a legal person guilty of document forgery.<sup>23</sup> Toobal falsified three MTÜ Eesti Keskerakond cash income orders in 2010 and two in 2011. As the result of Toobal's actions, MTÜ Eesti Keskerakond was able to use 110,000 Estonian kroons of unknown origin in 2010 and 4,000 euros in 2011. The money that was deposited on the basis of the cash income orders specified in the charges was used to pay the party's debts.

The Supreme Court found that the party's cash income orders were documents that permitted rights to be acquired. Falsified cash income orders allowed the appearance of legality to be created, as if the cash received by the Centre Party had been obtained from donations of natural persons, which is why the party did not have to return it to the donor or pay to the state under § 12<sup>3</sup> (4) of the Political Parties Act and could use the cash for its operations. Toobal committed the act intentionally. Pursuant to Toobal's employment contract and job description, as well as the statute of the Estonian Centre Party, as chief secretary Toobal is regarded as an executive and public official of the party who committed a crime in the party's interests. MTÜ Eesti Keskerakond as a legal person was punished for Toobal's acts.

The Supreme Court also upheld Ivor Onksion's conviction for unauthorised surveillance as well as Priit Toobal's and Lauri Laasi's conviction for instigating unauthorised surveillance. The court found that Onksion, induced by Toobal and Laasi, had covertly accessed HR's e-mail inbox, obtained messages from it, printed them out and handed them over to Laasi. Onksion was fined. Laasi was sentenced to a nine-month conditional sentence with three years' probation. Toobal was sentenced to a one-year conditional sentence with three years' probation. MTÜ Eesti Keskerakond was fined 10,000 euros.

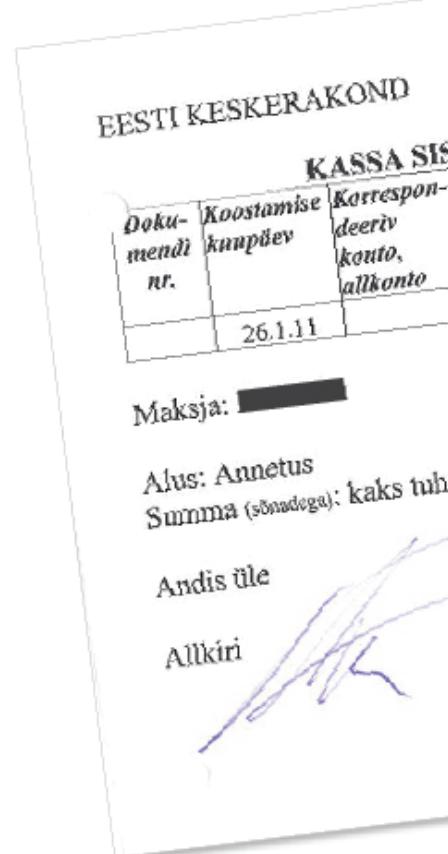
<sup>23</sup> [www.riigikohus.ee/?id=11&tekst=222579510](http://www.riigikohus.ee/?id=11&tekst=222579510)

<sup>24</sup> [www.riigiteataja.ee/kohtulahendid/detailid.html?id=162107326](http://www.riigiteataja.ee/kohtulahendid/detailid.html?id=162107326)

<sup>25</sup> [www.riigiteataja.ee/kohtulahendid/detailid.html?id=169649237](http://www.riigiteataja.ee/kohtulahendid/detailid.html?id=169649237)

2. Heigo Körge, a former employee of the logistics bureau of the Police and Border Guard Board, was found guilty of the misappropriation of funds,<sup>24</sup> taking bribes and forgery; Andrus Audova and Eldur Jõgi were found guilty of the misappropriation of funds. Körge, Audova and Jõgi used for their own benefit and that of third parties funds with which they were entrusted in the course of their professional duties and which were intended for the repair and maintenance of the Board's vehicles, in the total amount of 35,555.72 euros. The court gave them conditional sentences.

3. Juri Roop, who formerly worked as the head of the boiler and turbine equipment service of Eesti Energia Narva Elektrijaamad AS (Eesti Energia's Narva power plants), was found guilty of receiving bribes; Igor Gerasjov and Valery Novozhilov were found guilty of offering bribes.<sup>25</sup> In the court's verdict, a total of 13,000 euros was forfeited by Juri Roop and seized to guarantee the replacement of the forfeit. The court gave the three men conditional sentences.



## EESTI KESKERAKOND

## KASSA SISSETULEKU ORDER

Dokumenti nr.	Koostamise kuupäev	Korrespondeeriv konto, allkonto	Analüütilise arvestuse kood	Summa	Sihlstarbe kood
	8.2.11			2000,00 €	

2/110684

Maksja: [REDACTED]

Alus: Annetus

Summa (sõnadega): kaks tuhat eurot ja 00 senti

Andis üle

Võttis vastu

Allkiri

Allkiri

Eesti Keskerakond  
Eestlaste organisatsioon

## KASSA SISSETULEKU ORDER NR.

02-10-2010

Kor.nr.

Summa 30000,00

Klient

Astu

Hind

Kätevahemik

Summa

Reklaamitavat teistat

ja

varasutatud

sots vahend kassapidaja

2/110193

SETULEKU ORDER	Analüütilise arvestuse kood	Summa	Sihlstarbe kood
		2000,00 €	

at eurot ja 00 senti

Võttis vastu

Allkiri

Eesti Keskerakond  
Eestlaste organisatsioon

KASSA SISSETULEKU ORDER NR.	
Kor.nr.	01.11.2010
Klient	[REDACTED]
Astu	[REDACTED]
Hind	
Kätevahemik	
Summa	30000
Reklaamitavat teistat kasutat	
ja	
varasutatud	
sots vahend kassapidaja	

Eesti Keskerakond  
Eestlaste organisatsioon

KASSA SISSETULEKU ORDER NR.	
Kor.nr.	02.11.2010
Klient	[REDACTED]
Astu	[REDACTED]
Hind	
Kätevahemik	
Summa	40000,00
Reklaamitavat teistat kasutat	
ja	
varasutatud	
sots vahend kassapidaja	

Supreme Court found Priit Toobal, the chief secretary of Estonian Centre Party guilty of document forgery.  
 Toobal's falsified cash income orders



# 20 YEARS OF INVESTIGATING UNIVERSAL CRIMES

2015 marked 20 years of the Internal Security Service investigating crimes against humanity and war crimes. The first proceedings concerning crimes against humanity and war crimes took place after World War II, when the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials rendered justice to war criminals from Nazi Germany and Japan. During and after World War II, extensive crimes against humanity and war crimes were also committed in Estonia, but the occupying regime at the time was not in the least interested in bringing its own systematic repressive policy to light. In Nuremberg, the Allies provided a legal evaluation of the Nazis' racist policy that had lost them the war, and of its consequences. No legal evaluation was applied to the Soviet regime, which repressed both its own and foreign citizens with at least the same cruelty, until the Soviet Union collapsed.

After the Republic of Estonia had regained sovereignty, crimes against humanity could be investigated objectively, and the perpetrators brought to justice. The processing of these serious crimes became possible in 1995, when the Criminal Code was amended with a chapter addressing crimes against humanity and war crimes. Estonia had expressed willingness to investigate these crimes as early as 1991. Immediately after regaining independence, the country joined the international treaties regulating the sphere of time-unlimited international crimes, including the 1948 UN Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the 1968 Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity.

Since 1995, the Internal Security Service has been investigating crimes against humanity committed under the occupying regimes of both the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. This has been a difficult challenge. The passage of time since the events has been decisive. First, it meant that numerous people who might have been suspected of committing time-unlimited crimes were already deceased or, according to expert assessments, unable to be held accountable in court by the 1990s, when investigations started. In addition, many of the witnesses to the events have also died or gone missing. Finally, during the war, documents vital to an accurate reconstruction of the criminal acts were destroyed.

The criminal cases concerning war crimes and crimes against humanity being processed by the Internal Security Service can be roughly divided into four categories:

- 1 crimes committed during the Soviet occupation (1940–1)
- 2 crimes committed during the German occupation (1941–4)
- 3 crimes against civilians committed in Estonia for the purpose of oppressing the resistance to the occupying power during the Soviet occupation (1944–91)
- 4 the deportation of March 1949.

In July–August 1941 soldiers of the retreating USSR Red Army destroyer battalion killed local residents in an especially cruel and torturous manner. The relevant criminal case was finally initiated in 1989 by the ESSR Prosecutor's Office, following the article "The Time of Horror" by historian Mart Laar (*Vikerkaar* magazine, issue 11, 1988), when the author was suspected of deliberately disseminating fabrications denigrating the Soviet regime. In 1995, the Internal Security Service classified the criminal case as a crime against humanity. Unfortunately, more than 50 years after the crimes had been committed, none of the criminals of the so-called "summer war" of 1941 could be identified as being alive.

The most successful investigation of the crimes committed during the first period of Soviet occupation was that concerning the actions of Vassili Riis and Idel Jakobson. In 1941, Riis (1910–98), the chief of the Saaremaa department of the Estonian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), gave written consent to the arrest or deportation of 1,062 citizens of the Republic of Estonia. In 1996, the criminal case was transferred to the Saare County Court, but the trial was suspended due to the poor health of the defendant and terminated in 1998 due to his death.

The evidence collected on the activities of Idel Jakobson (1904–97), the leading official of the ESSR NKVD investigation department, showed that there was reason to suspect him of the repression of at least 1,800 people, while he had signed the confirmation of the proposal to impose extrajudicial punishment

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in the form of the death penalty on at least 621 people. Jakobson, the last surviving member of the senior personnel of the criminal repressive authority of the 1940s, and probably the one with the bloodiest history, died before a trial could start in 1997.

As for the investigation of crimes against humanity committed during the occupation by Nazi Germany (1941–4), the fact that they had already been initially investigated by the Soviet Union security service had to be taken into consideration. Having occupied Estonia in the autumn of 1944, the latter started to arrest individuals who had served in the German army or had even minimal contact with the occupation power of that period. During these mass arrests, thousands of people were sentenced to imprisonment. Many were punished without any legal basis, as was proved by numerous rehabilitations later during the Soviet era. However, there were also individuals who had committed crimes against humanity under international law.

Of the criminal cases investigated by the Internal Security Service, the investigation of Harry Männil's (1920–2010) acts during the German occupation are particularly worthy of mention. It was confirmed that Männil interrogated seven people in 1941–2 while he was working as an assistant in the political police, but there was no evidence that he had participated in their execution or torture, or any other acts of violence against them. For this reason, criminal proceedings were terminated in 2005.

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The myth of “deportations at the hands of your own people” put into circulation by the Cheka was entirely unfounded, and its sole purpose was to conceal the crimes of the Soviet authorities.

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One of the largest-scale crimes was the March deportation of 1949. On 25–29 March 1949, the USSR's occupying authorities deported and forcefully relocated over 20,000 civilians from Estonia to Siberia. The Internal Security Service seized the first opportunity, in January 1995, to initiate criminal proceedings for the investigation of the matter. Among other things, the investigation entailed processing thousands of archive files, as well as identifying perpetrators and victims and the course of their lives. Employees of the ESSR Ministry of State Security and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, aided by colleagues dispatched from other republics of the Sovi-

et Union, were responsible for carrying out the deportation. Those identified as having performed the deportation who are still alive and reside in Estonia have been recognised as suspects in a crime against humanity. Unfortunately, proceedings against many of these individuals had to be terminated before the court could reach a verdict due to their poor health.

The Estonian courts have found eight people guilty of the March deportation as a crime against humanity. In 2003, Arnold Meri (1919–2009) was charged with genocide. There were grounds for suspecting Meri – who was commissioner of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist (Bolshevik) Party and the Council of Ministers of the ESSR, and managed the deportation of “kulaks” and “anti-Soviet elements” from the republic, as well as planning and controlling the deportation operation at the highest level – in the deportation of 84 families (a total of 261 people) from Hiiumaa to Siberia. Meri's trial was repeatedly postponed due to the state of the defendant's health, and the last person known to have managed deportation in Estonia at a high level died in 2009.

The Internal Security Police has also thoroughly investigated the killing of “Forest Brothers”. Charges have been brought against officers of the Soviet security agencies, as well as their agents who murdered those involved in armed resistance to the occupying power or were hiding to avoid being drafted into the Red Army. An important issue in investigating the killing of “Forest Brothers” was to locate and identify the bodies of the victims. Soviet security agencies had tried to conceal their crimes and to bury or destroy the victims' bodies in great secrecy. Despite the difficulties, investigators have managed to locate hundreds of secret grave sites and provide victims' relatives with an opportunity for official burial.

In 2004, August Kolk and Pjotr Kislyiy, found guilty of deportation, and Vladimir Penart, convicted of killing “Forest Brothers,” lodged appeals with the European Court of Human Rights against the Republic of Estonia. The appeals emphasised that, pursuant to the principles of criminal law, a person is not punishable for an act that was not a crime under the law in force at the time of its commission. The appellants claimed that at the moment the crimes were committed, the 1946 Criminal Code of the RSSR – which did not establish a punishment for a crime against humanity – was effective in Estonia. As the deportation of Estonian nationals and the persecution of “Forest Brothers” had been car-

ried out under the law of the USSR, the appellants claimed they could not have known that their acts were criminal. The appeals also claimed that, as the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal had been developed in order to ensure the punishment of German war criminals for crimes committed during World War II, its principles did not apply to crimes committed by the Soviet authorities after the war.

In 2006, the European Court of Human Rights declared all the appellants' arguments unfounded and rejected the appeals. The court concluded that, even if the acts committed by Penart, Kolk and Kislyiy were regarded as "lawful" pursuant to Soviet law, they were, however, crimes against humanity pursuant to international law. In so doing, the court's decision equated the crimes of communism and Nazism, corroborating that the same international principles and legal sources applied to both. The court refuted the appellants' cynical claims that the principles of the Nuremberg trials – one of the sources of contemporary international law – did not apply to the USSR, which had won World War II, and that the crimes could be justified by the "specific nature" of the legal system of the criminal regime.

In addition, the European Court of Human Rights explicitly noted that, in violation of international law, Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union from 1940 to 1941 and from 1944 to 1991, and statements to the contrary could not be taken seriously by the international community. In fact, the long period of occupation was the reason the individuals having committed time-unlimited international crimes in Estonia while serving the communist regime could not be held criminally liable earlier.

The more time that passes since the crimes against humanity and war crimes committed on Estonian soil, the less likely it is that the perpetrators who have not yet been identified will be found. Unfortunately, crimes against humanity and war crimes take place daily in the various conflict zones of the world. Estonia is also a part of the world where the movement of people takes place, so the investigative authorities in Estonia should take into account the probability of having to investigate crimes committed elsewhere.

The Soviet authorities, and the KGB, which was in their service, did everything to conceal the crimes against humanity they had committed. For years, they had consistently striven to cultivate a myth that mass deportations and other acts of violence had taken place at the request of the local residents themselves and on the basis of their reports to the

authorities. It was through the theory of class struggle that history textbooks explained repressions, which contributed to intensifying the climate of fear and distrust among people. On the contrary, the KGB materials preserved in Estonia convincingly demonstrate that in occupied Estonia there was no local right of decision-making whatsoever concerning mass repressions, and all the major operations were carried out on the basis of top-secret instructions received from Moscow. The Kremlin set a quota for the number of families to be deported, meeting what later became a key criterion for assessing the performance of the operation. The names of the people to be deported were determined by the ESSR Ministry of State Security on the basis of operational data covertly gathered in previous years and lists of "kulaks" prepared in counties. The myth of "deportations at the hands of your own people" put into circulation by the Cheka was entirely unfounded, and its sole purpose was to conceal the crimes of the Soviet authorities.

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Attempts were also made to create and spread similar myths about the "Forest Brothers" who put up armed resistance to Soviet authorities as well as the people assisting the resistance. The propaganda created an illusion that it was mostly the relatives and acquaintances of the people in hiding who had given them up. In fact, "Forest Brothers" used to live almost openly in villages and forests, being given food and other necessities by local residents. It was the strong support and sympathy of the locals that helped "Forest Brothers" endure for many years. The last known Estonian "Forest Brother," August Sabbe, perished in 1978 in the Võhandu River when KGB operatives attempted to arrest him. The objective of the carefully devised propaganda was to sever the links between "Forest Brothers" and their supporters. At the same time, the relatives of "Forest Brothers" were the objects of the KGB's brutal mental and physical violence, intended to make them reveal where the men were hiding.

## Individuals found guilty of crimes against humanity in Estonia

Person	Crime	Punishment
<b>Johannes Klaassepp</b> (1921–2010) Operational commissioner of the Lääne County Department of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	The March deportation of 1949. Deporting 15 people and attempting to deport two others.	Eight years conditional imprisonment with a probation period of two years.
<b>Vassili Beskov</b> (b. 1918) Operational commissioner of the Pärnu County Department of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	The March deportation of 1949. Deporting 21 people.	Eight years conditional imprisonment with a probation period of three years.
<b>Mikhail Neverovski</b> (1920–2000) Operational commissioner of the Pärnu County Department of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	The March deportation of 1949. Deporting eight people and attempting to deport two others.	Four years conditional imprisonment with a probation period of three years.
<b>Vladimir Loginov</b> (1924–2001) Operational commissioner of the Lääne County Department of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	The March deportation of 1949. Deporting 14 people.	Placed in in-patient psychiatric hospital for coercive treatment until recovery.
<b>Juri Karpov</b> (1921–2012) Senior operational commissioner of the Harju County Department of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	The March deportation of 1949. Deporting 40 people and attempting to deport 20 others.	Eight years conditional imprisonment with a probation period of three years.
<b>August Kolk</b> (b. 1924) Operational commissioner of the Central Department of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	The March deportation of 1949. Deporting 38 people.	Eight years conditional imprisonment with a probation period of three years.
<b>Pjotr Kislyiy</b> (b. 1921) Militia commissioner of the Saare County Department of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	The March deportation of 1949. Deporting four people.	Eight years conditional imprisonment with a probation period of three years.
<b>Vladimir Kask</b> (1926–2013) Militia commissioner of the Saare County Department of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	The March deportation of 1949. Deporting four people.	Eight years conditional imprisonment with a probation period of three years.
<b>Karl-Leonhard Paulov</b> (1924–2002) Assassin agent of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	Murdering three civilians in the period 1945–6.	Eight years of imprisonment
<b>Vladimir Penart</b> (1925–2015) Chief of the Elva Regional Department of the ESSR Ministry of State Security	Murdering three civilians in the period 1953–4.	Eight years conditional imprisonment with a probation period of three years.
<b>Rudolf Tuvi</b> (1925–2008) Assassin agent of the ESSR Ministry of State Security		Eight years conditional imprisonment with a probation period of three years.



Memorial to the deported people of Pärnu

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