



# TIME FOR TRUTH

EVAN D'ALESSANDRO



**Time For Truth**

A Wargame of Grey Zone Operations in Estonia

Designed by Evan D'Alessandro

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## **Time For Truth**

### **Adjudicator's Note**

This game mixes decision case style learning and question shaped discussion with open wargame and committee game techniques. The time stamps and situation are likely, but not predetermined (more so a case of what will happen if the players do a competent job). Actions by the players (for better or worse) can make the situation worse, and re-adjustment of events, timing changes, and outcomes on the fly will become necessary and should be welcomed.

Several methods of questions can be used by the adjudicator. If the players are given clearly defined roles, asking each person for their expert option on what actions to take, followed by a free discussion is one option. With less clearly defined roles, a question of “what do you advise the Prime Minister?” followed by a free discussion is another option. In any scenarios clarifying questions by the adjudicator can push the players to think harder and more precisely about the situation.

This game was run over the Internet with video chat software. The board was displayed by screen sharing, and the map was in Photoshop (GIMP is a free, and just as good option). The map was taken from the Nations Online project (see briefing), and counters were cut from a variety of matrix games counter sheets, available at PAXSIMs, whose pages were loaded on top of the maps and then hidden until counters needed to be cut with Photoshop's ‘new layer from selection’ shortcut.

The game is intended to take around 2 hours  $\pm$  15 minutes not including the hot wash, hence the happy ending of a very weak protest at the end. However, the game can be extended by having the last protest become violent, or a further series of protests occur.

A review of Bronze Night by the adjudicator will be of use to understand the goings on that this game is loosely based on.

*Italics* note information or additional possible events for the adjudicator

### **A Little History of Bronze Night (In Game Player Briefing)**

Bronze Night was a series of riots in Estonia when the government decided to move a statue called the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn in 2007. The Bronze Soldier was so controversial because ethnic Estonians viewed the statue as representative of Soviet Occupation, whereas Estonia's ethnic Russians viewed it as a reminder of success over the fascists in the Great Patriotic War, but also the statue's removal as an attempt to delegitimize them as Russian-Estonians.

Large scale protests and riots ensued over the decision to move the statue over two nights. One Russian living permanently in Estonia died of a stab wound and over 1,000 individuals were arrested. In an emergency meeting the government decided to move the statue immediately due to the riots, and relocated it to the Defense Forces Cemetery of Tallinn.

The issue lead to the first state on state cyberattack by the Russians against the Estonians that shut down and impeded the country's cyber infrastructure for several days. The success of the Estonians in dealing with the cyberattack is a case study for cyber defense.

### **Opening Remarks (Current time 10:00, Day 1)**

A statue put in place by the Soviet Union in 1955 that commemorates the Red Army has been deemed inappropriate to have been placed so near to Toompea Castle (where Parliament

meets). The statue was removed at midnight from its location near Parliament to a park in the suburbs. Due to the controversy and violence in 2008 over the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn, the plans for movement were filed only a week in advance, and only a small public works crew has been briefed. Last night, the statue was moved without incident. However, someone, somewhere, got knowledge, and the knowledge quickly got around social media. A protest is being quickly organized (possibly with help from Russia).

The protest is going to be held in Tallinn at the new site of the statue, in a small park in the suburbs. The protest is planned to run from 15:00 to 18:00, and about 1,000 people are predicted to attend.

Given this information, what do you advise the Prime Minister to prevent and/or prepare for a 2008 level outbreak of violence?

### **Developments (Current time 19:00, Day 1)**

As the protesters go home and the protest winds down (sans a few diehards), social media begins to share several videos purporting to show Estonian officers beating protesters. The equipment and gear look accurate, as do the markings on the equipment. However, it is clear with a little digging that the images are not from Estonia (but instead from several years ago in another country), and that the Tallinn Police markings have been added on to the video after the fact.

### **Developments (Current time 08:00, Day 2)**

As the morning breaks it becomes clear that another protest is being planned, again to take place at the new site of the statue. This time however the attendance appears to be more muted, only about 750 people, but it is clear from social media that the Night Wolves, a pro-Putin/Putin controlled motorcycle club is coming to show (Russian) support for the protesters. The protest will run from 18:00-22:00.

### **Developments (Current time 21:00, Day 2)**

On the live broadcasts of the protest three shots can be heard, and international reporters quickly corroborate that they heard gunshots fired. Tallinn police confirm that a protester was shot and is in critical condition in the hospital.

The crowd quickly disperses in the aftermath, and the police move and secure the area. A handful of more aggressive protestors are chased off or arrested with little difficulty or media fanfare.

*The man is unconscious, and surgery to keep him alive will not finish until 04:00 tomorrow. He will remain unconscious in a medically induced coma for the rest of the game.*

### **Developments (Current time 01:00, Day 3)**

Early in the morning supposed footage of the shooting from a low-quality phone camera emerges from a Russian language account, purporting that the police shot a man after verbally provoking him to attack. The video shows a large man charging the police, then gunshots, and the crowd scattering. Your experts say that the video does not appear to be faked.

The account claims that person is a Russian citizen, and a member of the Night Wolves. The BBC further claims that the man, Alexander Lukyanov, is a lieutenant, and they contacted the Night Wolves who said that one of their lieutenants was shot.



**Developments (Current time 04:00, Day 3)**

The hospital removes the bullets from the man, and they are quickly confirmed as the same type of round as a Tallinn police force sidearm. Surgery is still ongoing, and the man is still in critical condition. Military intelligence also confirms that the man is a lieutenant in the Night Wolves. Additionally all major news agencies are also saying the same.

**Developments (Current time 09:00, Day 3)**

The Kremlin announces a snap press conference, in which the Foreign Minister does a slide show showing the man who has been shot with photos of his wife and dog, and working at a soup kitchen. The Foreign Minister also notes that “we support protestors calling for justice in Estonia.”

The Tallinn Police force also publicly confirms the shooting in a press release, stating that the shooter was a Police officer who is also a member of the Estonian Defense Force (Estonia’s national guard), though their name was not released to the public to protect him. They further say that an investigation is ongoing, and footage is being collected, and will be released as soon as possible.

The hospital also notifies you that the man is now in stable condition but is still severely injured and not conscious.

**Developments (Current time 12:00, Day 3)**

Estonian police release the footage from several CCTV cameras, and the officer's body camera, and a picture of a switchblade. The footage shows the lieutenant shouting angrily at several Tallinn policemen, as they attempt to back off and prevent a confrontation. The lieutenant continues to shout, then pulls out a switchblade, and rushes the officers, when he is then shot.

*If players wish to determine the lieutenant's blood alcohol content, the lieutenant was mildly drunk at the time of the confrontation.*

**Developments (Current time 15:00, Day 3)**

The Russian ambassador appears to speak with the Prime Minister. The Ambassador asks that the lieutenant be moved to Saint Petersburg for better medical treatment by a team of professionals, and so wife can see him.

*The doctors currently overseeing him, if asked, will object against this movement on medical grounds.*

*If Refused*

*The Ambassador objects to the refusal to let him be released to Saint Petersburg. He accuses you of wanting to let the man die, and protests that “we have assembled the best team of doctors” and “we don’t trust the Estonians who shot him to save him”.*

*If Refused a second time*

*The Ambassador, sensing that he can get no concessions, leaves in a huff and swirl of his expensive jacket.*

**Developments (Current time 16:00, Day 3)**

Claims are lighting up social media in Russia that “the Estonian government faked the shooting video”. There is now a third protest being planned over the shooting of the lieutenant.

The protesters are to meet by Alexander Nevsky cathedral (chosen due to distance, but also due to his anti-fascist connotation, as the Estonian government is being accused of being fascist by Internet trolls) and then march on Toompea Castle (Parliament). The protest will be well into the night, from 18:00-24:00. A very high amount of social media activity about this seems to be coming from Russia. It is currently unclear how many people will show up.

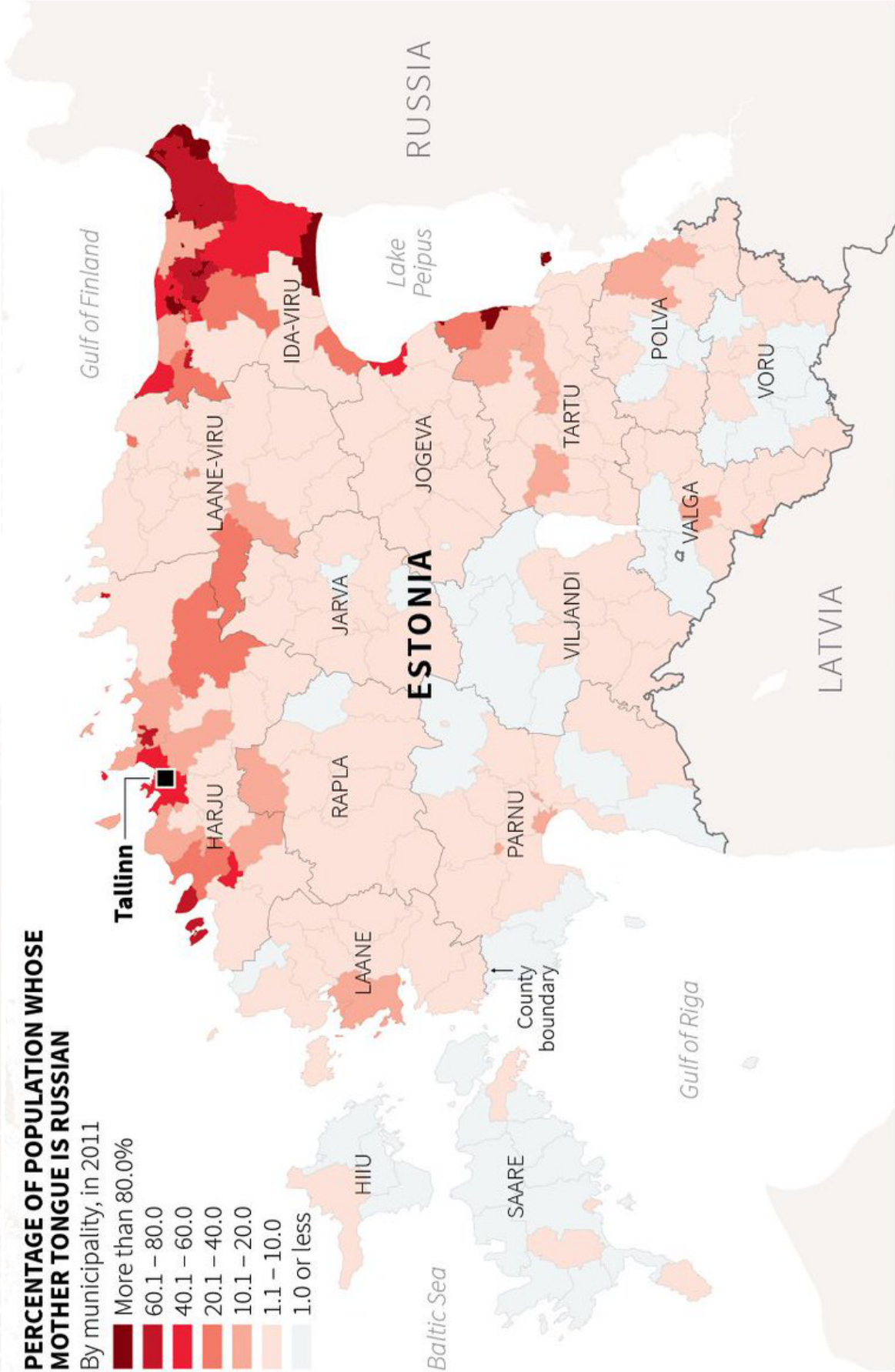
*In truth about 250 people will show, as the media narrative is rather ironclad against the lieutenant, however poor managing by the players may result in a larger protest. The marchers will march up to the Parliament, but dissipate by 23:00 as the protest is pitifully attended and enthused. A hot wash should follow the game.*

# Russians in Estonia

## PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION WHOSE MOTHER TONGUE IS RUSSIAN

By municipality, in 2011

- More than 80.0%
- 60.1 – 80.0
- 40.1 – 60.0
- 20.1 – 40.0
- 10.1 – 20.0
- 1.1 – 10.0
- 1.0 or less



## ESTONIA'S POPULATION BY ETHNIC NATIONALITY

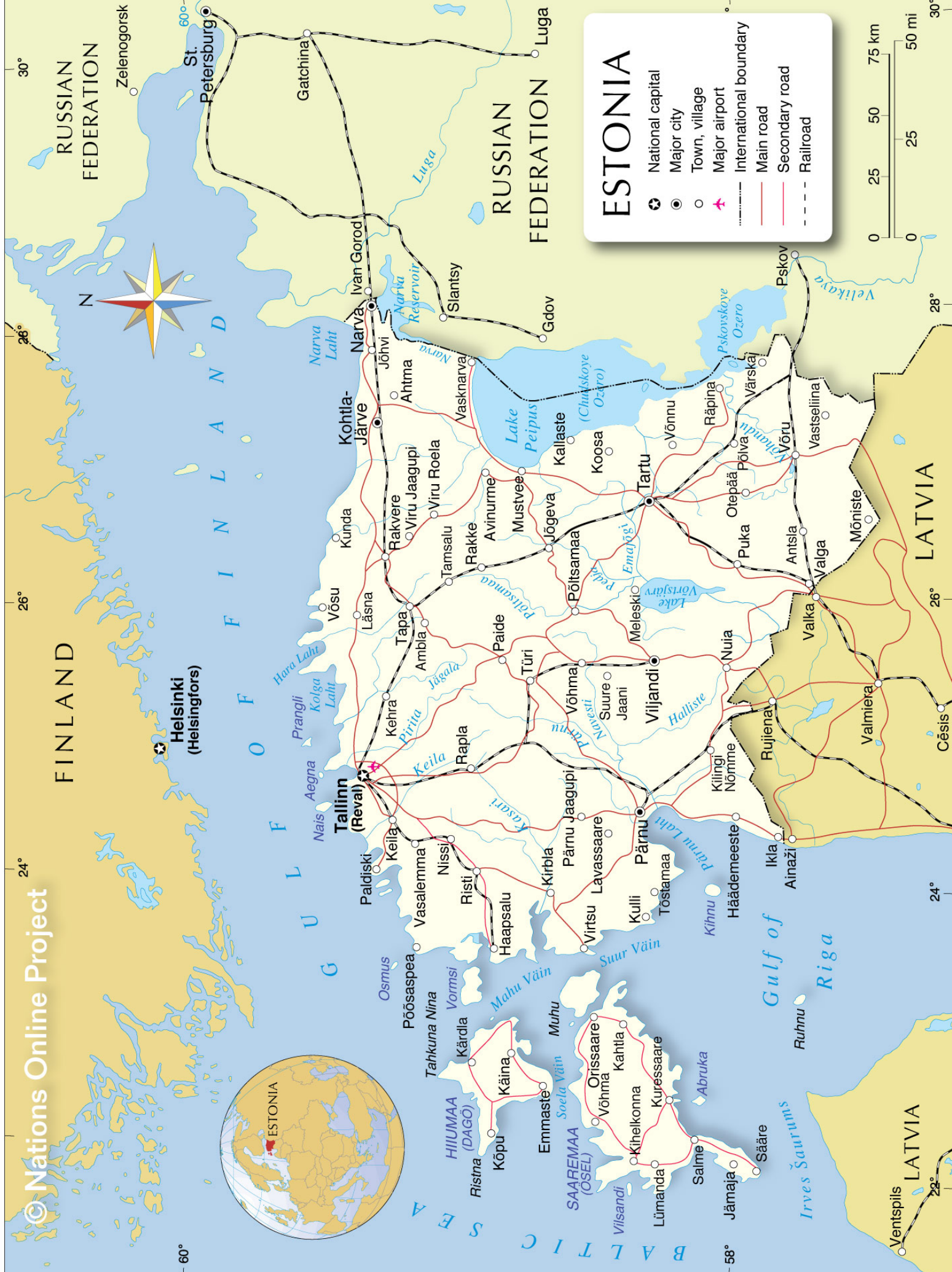
As of January 2016



Source: Statistics Estonia

\* Includes unknown.





## **General Briefing**

“I just want us to be ... a boring Nordic country” - Toomas Ilves, 4<sup>th</sup> President of Estonia

### **e-Estonia**

Estonia is a country with a highly developed Internet culture. Almost all government services (including voting, banking, and taxes) are available online to citizens. Such a move makes the citizen highly accustomed to such services and has also led to Estonia being a world leader in cybersecurity.

### **Bronze Night**

Bronze Night was a series of riots in Estonia when the government of Estonia decided to move a statue called the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn in 2007. The Bronze Soldier was so controversial because ethnic Estonians viewed the statue as representative of Soviet Occupation, where Estonia's ethnic Russians viewed it as a symbol of success over the fascists in the Great Patriotic War, viewing the statue's removal as an attempt to delegitimize Russian-Estonians.

Large scale protests and riots ensued over the decision to move the statue over two nights. One Russian living permanently in Estonia died of a stab wound and over 1,000 individuals were arrested. In an emergency meeting the government decided to move the statue immediately due to the riots and relocated it to the Defense Forces Cemetery of Tallinn. Nashi (the youth arm of Putin's political apparatus) laid siege to the Estonian Embassy in Moscow for days as police watched on.

The issue led to the first state on state cyberattack by the Russians against the Estonians that shut down and impeded the country's cyber infrastructure for several days, and lead to a series of running cyberattacks for more than a month. The Estonian response in dealing with the cyberattack has become a case study for cyber defense.

### **Political Situation**

The Prime Ministership of Jüri Ratas of the Isamma Party has been characterized by a series of scandals and issues, most of which are in relation to a far right party who is a ruling coalition member (EKRE). A recent corruption scandal has led to Ratas stepping down, and the formation of a new government, though for the time he heads the interim government. Coming into power is Kaja Kallas of the Reform Party, who will reshape the cabinet, outing the majority of the cabinet members and all members of the Isamma Party.

The Isamma Party is a center right to right wing party, which is Christian-Democratic and strongly nationalistic. Its coalition included the Estonian Centre Party (center-left) and the EKRE (far right). The Reform Party is less Christian-Democratic and less nationalist than Isamma, but is still considered to be center-right. The new cabinet will be composed of Centre Party and Reform Party members as well as a few independents. The next election to be held will occur in 2023. It is expected (due to the issues plaguing Isamma) that the Reform Party will pick up 1-2% more votes than last time, in direct trade off with Isamma.

## **Covid**

*Border Controls* – at this time EU and UK Citizens, their family members, vaccinated individuals, and individuals who undergo a testing regime may enter the country

*Public Outdoor Events* – Currently limited to 10 people, and must end by 10 p.m.

## **Available Assets in Tallinn**

*Tallinn Municipal Police Department (Tallinn City Government)* – 88 officers with 16 cars, legally authorized to protect government structures, and arrest individuals on misdemeanors. Officers spend most of their time conducting municipal traffic activities. They are not equipped with firearms or crowd control tools.

*State Police Northern District (Interior Ministry)* – 350 officers with cars and vans, legally authorized to pursue any sort of crime. Officers carry sidearms and have a variety of crowd control tools. Of the 350, 150 officers are trained for riot control with baton, shield, etc.

*K-Komando (Interior Ministry)* – 30 man SWAT team.

*Border Guards (Interior Ministry)* – 150 officers with cars, authorized to deal with customs and immigration.

*Military Units (Ministry of Defense)* – A company of MP's is sited in Tallin, along with another company of guards for various government buildings and ceremonial duties. The MP unit is legally allowed to be deployed to maintain public order.





**Urmas Reinsalu: Minister of Foreign Affairs**

You were born on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June in 1975 (currently 45 years old) in Tallinn. You studied law at the University of Tartu, graduating in 1997. You then served as advisor to the Estonian President from 1996 to 1998, in that year being appointed Director of the Office of the President of Estonia. From 2001 to 2002, you worked as the political secretary of the Res Publica Party, later from 2002 to 2003 working as a lecturer in the Estonian Academy of Security Sciences.

From 2007 to 2013 you served as a member of the Riigikogu (parliament). You were elected to chairman with an absolute majority in the first round of voting, to lead the Isamaa (“Fatherland”) Party (formerly the Pro Patria and Res Publica Union) a center-right to right-wing party from 2012 to 2015 (stepping down after a major election loss of 9 seats (there are 101 seats in the Riigikogu)).

Later you served as Minister of Defense between 2012 and 2014, a brief stint in 2015 as a member of the Riigikogu, and then as Minister of Justice from 2015 to 2019. You have served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs since April of 2019.

You are married with two children.

Foreign Languages Spoken:

- English
- Finnish
- German
- Russian

**Raivo Aeg: Minister of Justice**

You were born on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July in 1962 (currently 59 years old) in Kuressaare. You studied machine engineering at the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute graduating in 1985, then working as a workshop manager for two years before going back to school at the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR. You returned back to Saaremaa to work as a deputy chief of the militia focusing on political education.

In 1991, you were leading inspector and deputy prefect of the Saare police prefecture, working your way to Prefect of the Rapla police prefecture in 1996. From there, a quick one year stint in 1999 as head of the Public Safety Department of the Estonian Police, followed by a tenure as Deputy Director General until 2003, then becoming Director General of the Estonian Police in 2005. In 2008 you transferred to become Director General of the Estonian Internal Security Service. The same year you were granted the Order of the Cross of the Eagle (2nd class), awarded to recognize your service in the field of national defense.

By 2013 were an advisor at the Office of the Chancellor of Justice, before heading into politics. You became a member of the Isamaa (“Fatherland”) Party in 2014 (formerly the Pro Patria and Res Publica Union). In 2015 you became a member of the Riigikogu (parliament), serving as Chairman of the Security Authorities Surveillance Select Committee. You became Minister of Justice in 2019.

You are married with one son.

Foreign Languages Spoken:

- Estonian
- English
- Finnish
- Russian

**Jüri Luik: Minister of Defense**

You were born on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August in 1966 (currently 54 years old) in Tallinn. You graduated with a journalism degree from the University of Tartu in 1989. You joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at its inception in 1991, becoming Director General of the policy department until 1992. You were elected to the Riigikogu (Parliament), becoming a Minister without Portfolio, in charge of the delegation handling Estonian-Russian negotiations.

You have served as Minister of Defense twice: from 1993 to 1994 and from 1999 to 2002. You served as Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1994 to 1995. In addition, you were the ambassador to Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg (1996-1998), and the United States (2003-2007). You have also been a representative to NATO (2007-2012), then becoming Ambassador to Russia (2012-2015). After a brief stint out of politics, in late 2015 you headed the International Center for Defense Studies, giving it up to assume office as Minister of Defense in 2017.

You are a member of the Isamaa (“Fatherland”) Party (formerly the Pro Patria and Res Publica Union) a center-right to right-wing party which you helped found. You were considered as a candidate for president in 2016. You have chaired Defense meetings for the European People's Party.

You are married with one child.

Foreign Languages Spoken:

- English
- Russian
- Finnish





**Tonu Tammer: Head of Computer Emergency Response Team of the Republic of Estonia**

You graduated with a BS in computer networking from the University of Bedfordshire in 2009. From 2010 to 2013 you worked as Chief Quality Officer in the IT department at the Ministry of the Interior. You then moved to be a project manager at eu-LISA, working on maintaining the Schengen database from 2013-2015. Then, transferring back to Ministry of the Interior, you became Chief Strategy Officer in the IT department at the Ministry of the Interior from 2015-2016. You then moved to become Counsellor of IT systems in Home Affairs as part of the diplomatic group to the EU, before one final transfer back to the Ministry of the Interior's IT department, this time as the EU IT projects coordinator until 2018.

You became the head of CERT-EE in June of 2018. CERT-EE is a branch of the Interior Ministry fulfilling three functions. First, it monitors the information security situation within Estonia. Second, it aims to promote, whether in government or the private sector, the use of measures that enhance information security. Third, it helps the National Police Force to investigate cybercrime. The effective coordination of the response to Russian cyberattacks in 2007 has led to CERT-EE being a model of a cyber defense organization.

Foreign Languages Spoken:

- English



### **Aivar Toompere: Head of the Tallinn Police Force**

You were born on 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1958 (62 years old) in the western city of Pärnu, the fourth largest city in Estonia. In 1985 you graduated with honors from Tihemetsa State Farm Technical School as technician/mechanic. You later went back to school, graduating in 2005 with a law degree from the University of Tartu.

You joined the Ministry of Justice in 1981, working a low-level job in administration in Pärnu. In 1991 you joined the Estonian Foreign Intelligence Service, before transferring back to become the Assistant Commissioner of the Traffic Police Bureau in 1993. In 1994 you transferred to the town of Valga on the border with Latvia, and then in 1996 onto Tallinn. In 1997, you became a project manager at the Estonian Rescue Board. In 2000 you left to become the CEO of AS Reval Auto, a company that made a tidy profit selling high end Audis in Estonia.

You returned to government service in 2002 as an adviser in the Ministry of the Interior, then in 2003 became High Commissioner of the Northern Police Prefecture in Tallinn. In 2006, you became Director of the Police School and College, later becoming a Colonel in 2010. You resumed your advising roll to the Ministry of the Interior in 2015, before quickly returning that year to become Deputy Head of the Tallinn Municipal Police Board. You finally became Head of the Tallinn Municipal Police Board in 2016.

You enjoy cooking, wood working, mechanical repairs, and fishing.

#### **Foreign Languages Spoken:**

- English
- Russian
- Finnish