

Summaries in English

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S COLUMN

Ten issues already!

Aivar Jarne, editor-in-chief of Riigikogu Toimetised, Chancellery of the Riigikogu, head of the Press service

The editor's column casts a look back at the ten issues of RiTo so far. RiTo has successfully cleared its early hurdles and has proved its merits. It has become, as the title page overleaf states, a magazine that reflects on parliament's constitutional and social duties, RiTo's readers are a loyal contingent and the periodical's place on the shelf of academic journals is nicely assured... a solid green row of spines.

The future of our parliamentary periodical depends on one hand on what direction democracy and parliamentarism take in Estonia and elsewhere; also on trends in media in general. It is precisely the changes in the media, especially in the last few decades, that have caused problems for almost all newspaper and magazine offices. Will conventional newspapers and magazines have enough readers as the Internet and all sorts of digital media and mobile phones continue to make their inroads?

Still, the traditional press is capable of offering modern solutions and it is no wonder that most Estonian newspapers and magazines have their own websites. RiTo, too, has been in a fortunate position in this sense since its inception, and many are more familiar with the online RiTo at www.riigikogu.ee/rva/toimetised than the printed product. RiTo's readers still need their parliamentary journal. And there are plenty of topics and respected writers to go around.

ESSAY

Information-based society, information-based governance

Mati Heidmets, rector of the Tallinn Pedagogical University

Information-based societies and economies can be thought of in two different ways - according to sphere or according to decision-making mechanism. The first approach is based on the belief that social progress is ensured by prioritizing development of certain spheres of life and activity; according to the second understanding, the central characteristic of an information society is the way decisions take shape in society. Figuratively speaking, this could be the model of society that is able to harness a collective intelligence several times greater than what we have today. Even though sphere- and decision-making-mechanism-based approaches are not mutually exclusive, placing emphasis on a sphere or way of doing things have different outcomes. For a small state with limited resources similar to Estonia, it would definitely be beneficial to move in a more decision-based direction: even though the set of ideas behind such a model of society is for now still vague and in part contradictory, it does embody content, vision and a friendly approach that would befit a small state. In practice it would mean that not only predetermined areas should be prioritized and supported, but rather productive people and original ideas irrespective of the sphere they occupy. It should also help Estonia overcome its confusion regarding which direction it should develop in and steps supporting the development - a confusion reflected above all by the fact that each government has its own document envisioning the future, which is promptly forgotten by the subsequent government.

POLITICAL FORUM

Parliament / Pärnu conference

Estonia's first political conference

Rein Lang, first Vice-President of the Riigikogu, Estonian Reform Party

On 13 October the Riigikogu and Pärnu Konverentsid held for the first time a conference on politics entitled "Successes and failures in world politics." The conference, which preceded a symposium on leadership, met its

goals with content-rich presentations and open discussion. Estonia's new position in the world is opening new opportunities for businesses and setting new goals in Estonian foreign policy. It is in our interests that this policy represent the interests of entrepreneurs as well. For this to happen, there has to be connectedness, dialogue and mutual understanding between politicians, diplomats and entrepreneurs, all promoted by having them meet directly - in the same room if need be.

At the conference, appearances were made by Riigikogu speaker Ene Ergma, Georgia foreign minister Salome Zourabichvili and his Estonian colleague Kristiina Ojuland, Riigikogu member Mart Laar and former Swedish prime minister Carl Bildt, well-known foreign and security analyst Robert Cooper and security expert Paul Goble.

At the end of the conference, one of Finland's leading philosophers, Helsinki University of Technology philosophy professor, Nokia "media philosopher" and the author of numerous books, Esa Saarinen spoke, receiving a standing ovation at the end of his lecture. The lecture was a simple and heartfelt reminder that happiness is taking pleasure in having someone truly by your side, experiencing magical moments of inspiration, having respect for those beside you, and an injunction to remember the words "wonder" and "joy".

It is only to be hoped there are more such moments in politics and among politicians.

Successes and failures in world politics

Ene Ergma, President of the Riigikogu, Union for the Republic - Res Publica

The concept of "hard" and "soft" security are now part of the past, along with the last century. We are realizing that security is a whole and does not only involve ensuring defense forces readiness but also consists of a country's ability to come to grips with the consequences of a natural disaster or an epidemic. To stem violence and chaos, we must expend effort where the threat of failure is greater.

The more we talk of the world's divergences, or disparate threats and needs to counter them, the more clear it becomes that instead of concentrating on liquidating them, we need to focus on preventing them - there are too many failed states in the world that breed hopelessness and violence. Voluntary or forcible isolation is a major factor contributing to failure. Estonia has decisively turned its back on isolationism.

Economic policy

The information-based economy

Kaarel Kilvits, professor of economic policy at Tallinn University of Technology

To move in the direction of an information-based economic policy, we will need to act rapidly and decisively, or we will not be sustainable or competitive and Estonia will end up a poor border state of the European Union. What do we need to do and what can we do?

To this point, economic policy has been relatively successful from a macroeconomic standpoint, in creating an economic environment. It should continue to embody the same general principles. Development of a high-tech processing industry with great added value must be declared a state priority. We need to orient more forcefully toward international exchange of technologies and especially its model of capital. In order for high technology, market connections, a working culture, to come into the country. Along with foreign investments, there has to be more cooperation with big high-tech corporations and high-tech capital in general. In making international technology exchange a reality and adapting and improving adopted technologies, we need to draw on engineers, and the University of Technology that turns them out, more than we have in the past; to sharply increase applied scientific research and funding of research at the Tallinn University of Technology. We need to follow the principle that scientific studies are not only undertaken with the goal of discovering, inventing, and finding out something. Scientific research is essential for preserving and raising the level of higher education, and preparing engineers who are competitive on an international level.

If we are active in these ways, we will have a chance to move rapidly in the direction of an information-based economy, even with our small and poor state's limited resources, and thus ensure Estonia's sustainability, international competitiveness and the increased well-being of the populace.

Information-based Estonia 2010: context and political recommendations

Marek Tiits, University of Tartu doctoral program

Rainer Kattel, Tallinn University of Technology professor of administrative management, PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies analyst

Tarmo Kalvet, PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies innovation program director

In order to speed up, Estonia's development needs a cluster-based competition strategy founded on long-term strategic plans for technologies and economic clusters that takes into account the development of new high-tech and significant traditional areas such as energy and cultivation. It can only come about through cooperation between scholars, entrepreneurs and policy planners. Estonia's public sector is facing the question: how to ensure that the private sector's problems are systematically reflected in policy planning? A consistent monitoring system must be created for the economic sector; and developing it must be a primary component of the strategy "Information-based Estonia 2006-2010." In practice, it means forming working groups from private and public sector representatives whose job is to regularly put together overviews on future developments, current problems and possible solutions in their field. Under the current system, these working groups would be subordinate to the prime minister's council on science and development. Since Estonia's economy is closely integrated with the Baltic Sea economic space, the system to be created should include the owners of foreign firms operating in Estonia.

CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Local government

Legislative and executive power role patterns in local government

Georg Sootla, Tallinn Pedagogical University professor

This article, the empirical part of which draws on surveys conducted among members and local government officials in five Central and Eastern European countries, introduces role patterns in relations between the legislative and executive power on a local level, as well as particular implications for relations between authorities and citizens. The aim of the article is facilitated by its importance to the day's issues and its good theoretical foundation in developed, chiefly Anglo-American, countries. Drawing on the body of knowledge, it can be said that developing local governments does not just consist of giving local government units greater autonomy and raising the capacity of local government bodies. For example, in today's Estonia, local government reform is seen most often as reconstruction of the vertical hierarchy of power toward a predominantly more centralized model. In reality, the progress of local democracy depends chiefly on the horizontal (legislative vs. executive) and the vertical (authority vs. civic society) division of power.

The foundation of Estonia's success may start to totter

Georg Pelisaar, chairman of the Põlva city council, member of the 9th Riigikogu

Every year there are disputes between the government and local municipalities over money to be allocated from the state budget. Local governments have been given more and more responsibilities, but money to support these duties has always been slightly short. As a result, underfunding is now almost two billion kroons, according to experts. Thus there is fairly little left of the governing coalition's promise to make municipalities equal partners with the central authorities. That can set the foundation of Estonia's success tottering.

STUDIES AND OPINIONS

The courts

Dissenting opinions

Julia Laffranque, Supreme Court justice

In the general sense, dissenting opinions can differ from majority opinions in terms of justification, or justification and conclusions. Dissenting opinions and publication of such statements are a hallmark of countries such as England and the United States that are members of the common law family of nations. International courts (the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Court, the European Court of Human Rights) all generally allow a judge's dissenting opinion to be made public. Not so in the European Court of Justice. Estonia should support making the ECJ more democratic by allowing judges to issue public dissenting opinions and changing European law to reflect this. In Estonia, judges have the right to dissenting opinions when handing down verdicts, and Supreme Court justices also have the right to express their dissenting opinion. In current law, dissenting opinions are given legal basis by the Constitutionality Supervision Court Procedure Act adopted 13 March 2002. According to Article 57.5 of that law, judges who do not agree with a decision or its justification can write a dissenting opinion. Still, dissenting opinions have varying degrees of acceptance in different types of proceedings, though a beginning has been made to work out a standard model. In Riigikogu practice, dissenting opinions are fairly widespread in Estonia. In the Supreme Court, from the first decision, 22 June 1993, to the completion of this article on 1 November 2004, a total of 88 dissenting opinions had been written for 67 cases. The opportunity for a judge to write and express a dissenting opinion is a significant democratic principle and from the aspect of independence of the judiciary. In Estonian law, the state court justice's dissenting opinion can be placed between a Supreme Court case and jurisprudential doctrine. Its meaning is to seek justice, create justice and develop justice, thus exerting an influence on future judicial practice and new legislation.

Flow of doctors and patients

Forecast of demand and supply of health care workers in the context of the enlarged Europe

Epp Kallaste, analyst for PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies, University of Tartu economic school doctoral program

Andres Võrk, analyst for PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies, University of Tartu economic school doctoral program

This year, the 57th World Health Care Congress adopted a resolution on international migration calling on countries to ameliorate the negative impacts of migration of health care workers, especially in developing countries. Since losing health care workers to employers abroad reduces availability of health care services and quality, and at the same time is a waste of money the state has invested into their education, this trend has been accompanied by increased interest on the part of Estonia's health care bosses and politicians toward planning numbers of health care staff. This article provides an overview of a logic scheme that would better forecast demand and supply of health care workers and the extent of training. It also looks at how and to what extent migration should be taken into account in making forecasts. It concludes that if Estonia wants to achieve the numbers of health care workers set as an aim by the social ministry, migration will increase the necessary need for training by around 10%. It also concludes that increasing training is not a suitable way to compensate for migration-related consequences, since the active recruitment operations of other countries in regard to our doctors and nurses will make it difficult to predict the extent of migration. Besides, the effect of training will start to emerge only after many years due to the long training cycle, and by then the situation may already have changed. The article is based on a survey on health care worker migration conducted by the PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies and commissioned by the social ministry. Results were published in June 2004.

First doctors, then patients?

Maris Jesse, health care policy analyst for PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies

Ruta Kruuda, board member, PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies

Michael Couchier, University of Ghent scholar

With the enlargement of the European Union, immigration of doctors and other health care workers is under increased attention. But there has been less focus on the rights and opportunities of patients to receive medical care in other member states. The rights of health care workers are clearly defined, but the situation is more

complicated in the case of patients. In this article we get an overview of how the right of people to receive medical care in the EU is regulated, significant and recent European Union cases that have increased the right of patients to move, and we describe legal acts in Estonia in the question and experience to this date.

Attempts to regulate the rights of groups or people to get medical attention in other European Union member states under clearly defined and delineated conditions goes back to 1958. The rights became clearer with regulation 1408/71, which was conditioned by the need to support the free movement of employees between member states and ensure continuity of insurance coverage when working in another country. Today this simple regulation has overstepped its original intent of expanding rights and opportunities of movement from one member states to another. European Court cases have given a significant tone to European health and social policy.

Even though few who have received medical treatment outside Estonia, a study conducted in September 2004 shows that many people are ready to consider health care opportunities abroad, and that the readiness is directly linked to people's negative views of the availability and quality of physician's care. Thus it can be predicted that pressure for expanding the availability of medical care abroad will increase. That would be a monetary drain on the Estonian health care system and make the health care insurance budget tighter, decreasing the availability of medical care here and deepening dissatisfaction with the local health care system. It will also force us to look more closely at our country's health care expenditures, investment opportunities of health care institutions and measures, which would help restore and ensure trust in our health care system.

Quality of regulations

Peculiarities of drafting regulations according to type of public policy

Annika Velthut, Ministry of the Environment secretary general

The process of creating regulations or secondary legislation has not been analyzed extensively, even though a large part of our daily lives is regulated by such acts and the amount of secondary legislation is continually on the rise. In the given context, we are interested in regulations where the state intervenes in private interests through regulations. Analysis of the influences of interest groups is a very important issue in Estonia, where civic society has not advanced that much, compared to strong business interests. Thus this article addresses two aspects in analyzing Estonian regulations - interests that arise and participants in the process. An unjustifiably little-used analytical framework - James Q. Wilson's public policy typology - allows us to study these two aspects. It turns out that Wilson's typology works well when there are no agents in a society hindering it. In Estonia, these hindering factors are the uneven level of society's level of organization, the passivity of the state in making sure the weaker members are covered in the drafting of regulations, and the debut of the European Union as a new sovereign agent, which puts curbs on the activeness of local players.

Social law

The development of Estonian social law and cooperation with Finland

Matti Mikkola, University of Helsinki professor of labor law

Estonia's social policy was shaped in cooperation with the Nordic countries and the Phare project. In its beginnings it was appropriate to a transition society. To ensure minimum incomes, a system of guarantees was rapidly created in Estonia, which helped avoid extensive poverty. The particulars of such a social policy can be described as a pragmatic solidarity: people in need were given third class train tickets (they were at least not kicked off the train). The acceleration was gentle enough to allow a stable foundation to be created for the state's new social policy. At the same time, the transitional period left future governments facing several challenges, such as problems in employment policy, undervaluing the contribution of public sector employees and deficiencies in solidarity and rule of law. Now social policy requires corrections from the standpoint of social justice and solidarity as well as public sector employees. One of the main challenges for the years to come is getting private firms to pay their taxes more proactively, which could in turn help revitalize the residential economy and develop regional policy, which would allow investments in education to be increased, especially outside the Tallinn area.

Longevity of governments

Cabinet minister turnover and longevity of governments

Tarmo Seliste, University of Tartu master's program

Even though the stability of governments has been under the lens of political scientists for a long time, only in recent times have the changes occurring within a government received attention. Thus it was thought up to the present time that replacing ministers had a negative effect on government longevity. In analyzing how frequently ministers are replaced in Eastern Europe and the Baltic states, we become convinced there is a positive connection. Changes of ministers are a natural phenomenon accompanying government activity, and its effect on government need not be negative. On the contrary, an infusion of fresh blood can increase rather than reduce the durability of a government.

Party candidates in elections

Candidate selection in Estonian parties represented in parliament, 1999-2003

Riho Kangur, University of Tartu political science master's program

This article treats the selection of candidates in six Estonian parliamentary parties in two election periods from 1999-2003 in order to evaluate how democratic the selection was and the changes in the process. The basis of the evaluations is empirical material whose backbone is formed by the author's interviews with party members and officials, likewise by available internal party documents. It emerged that behind all of the changes in selection principles was party members' dissatisfaction with leadership style. At the same time, changes in selection principles do not themselves guarantee success in the next elections. Thus in the opinion of one Pro Patria Union member, thorough reforms in putting together the candidate list caused candidates who were well known to a wide base to be left out to be relegated to back bench positions.

Policy toward the elderly

Ensuring sustainability in Estonian policy toward the elderly

Janno Reiljan, University of Tartu professor extraordinary of macroeconomic studies, Riigikogu member

Liina Kulu, University of Tartu macroeconomic studies chair doctoral program, University of Tartu European College scholar

An analysis of Estonian elderly policy from the standpoint of sustainability shows that the Estonian pension system is not socially or financially sustainable, since it does not ensure pensioner well-being. The level of social protection expenditure is lower than the level of economic development would require, and both pension expenditure as a whole and expenditure on old age pensions have fallen in the last years of economic growth. Despite that, a major share of pension fund revenue is earmarked for reserve, the necessity of which has not been justified. Since the pension level already now is hovering at the minimum level set by the European social security code, Estonia's pensioner policy enters into conflict with the obligations taken in ratifying the code. Yet pensioners' problems in Estonian society are not related only to low purchasing power; they are more complicated. Considering the low priority given to the social sphere compared to economic growth, more attention should be paid to the treatment of social policy as productive factor, not as resource drain, the former being the foundation of modernization of the European social model.

Criminal deterrence in youth

Student crime prevention

Triin Edovald, MSc University of Oxford, graduate research student

Despite the high incidence of offenses and sentencing to secure units in Estonia, there has been very little research on youth offenders, of either the factors associated with offending or systematic study of how convicted young offenders may differ from other young people living in the community.

This article will explore factors associated with youth offenders in Estonia by introducing a study conducted in 2004 (Edovald, 2004). This is a study of 49 young people in secure units and a comparative 50 young people in community schools who have not been convicted of offenses. The study aimed to discover how the characteristics of juveniles in secure units differed from those who live at home and go to a community school, focusing on certain aspects such as demographic characteristics, levels of emotional and behavioral problems and parental involvement.

There are three key results from this research with implications for policy and future development of services for juvenile offenders as well as for services to prevent first offenses.

First, in common with studies in the UK and US, the young people in secure units came from non-traditional (reconstituted and single parent) families. Second, offenders exhibited high levels of behavioral difficulties and distress. Third, community students had several similar characteristics to young offenders suggesting that although they may not have offended, the risk of offenses may also be high in this group.

The findings strongly indicate that it is not enough to respond to juvenile offenders once they have offended. A wider preventive approach is necessary. Prevention is generally seen as having three levels. Primary prevention is usually of long-term nature and involves provision of services to families and children in environments such as high crime neighborhoods, with the aim of improving the overall opportunities in life. Secondary prevention is focused on known at-risk groups to prevent involvement in delinquency. Tertiary prevention is addressed to adjudicated offenders (those already convicted of crimes) to reduce recidivism. Prevention also has to be seen within ecological framework of the young people's lives; their families, their schools, and wider societal values.

Given the similarities between offenders in Estonia and the West, it is worth considering that by importing some of the well-validated preventive programmes from the UK and US (e.g. Head Start and Early Head Start, Sure Start, The Incredible Years, Multisystemic Therapy, Functional Family Therapy), the problem of offending will be tackled. However, it has to be kept in mind that despite the programmes, the proportion of young offenders in UK and US continues to rise.

Russian politicians in Estonia

Linguistic Russians in search of a new identity

Kristina Ehrenpreis, Ministry of Social Affairs analyst, Tallinn Pedagogical University administrative management master's program

An essential basis of identification has disappeared for many Russian-speakers of Estonia along the collapse of the Soviet Union. The local Russian-speaking community is ethnically very diverse, but highly russified. This group is also defined as non-traditional minorities of Estonia. Their numbers increased explosively during the Soviet era, at a time when Estonia had no control over migration flows. Emigrants identified themselves mostly in terms of Soviet people - identity with amorphous borders and ethnic neutrality. This logic seems to have an impact on the patterns of local Russians' identity transformation - process of reinventing meanings for this group's social position and the purpose of its actions. This article deals with two aspects of the meanings' potential sources, which apply conflicting conditions on to the rise of group consciousness. One of the aspects is a complex question of Russians' ethnicity. Estonian integration policy emphasizes ethnicity as the basis for genuine identity's formation that should contribute to minoritization goal. At the same moment the definition of Russian compatriots' identity given by Russia leaves Estonia's efforts without support. The dissonance between local Russians' psychological attachments to Estonia and the official status, which disconnects them from the national community, undermines group cohesion of the Russians as far as the members' geopolitical identification is different. Conflicting identities are recognized as constraining potential success of the national integration policy.

CIVIC SOCIETY AND STATE AUTHORITY

Financing civic associations

State financing of civic associations

Maris Puurmann, chief specialist of Ministry of Social Affairs local government and regional administration department, University of Tartu master's program

Discussion on topics related to civic society, developing civic society and creating an environment favorable to civic initiative has in the last few years focused on the need for intersector cooperation and the forms of cooperation. One of the most important topics in treating cooperation between the public and third sectors is the state budget financing of association activity - the possibility of allocating resources and the various choices in organizing financing. In the first half of 2004, as a continuation of a 2001 study, the Interior Ministry consolidated figures on aid allocated to civic associations by government institutions. Individual financing decisions were scrutinized as were procedural rules used to organize financing. The consolidated data showed that very many setups are used by public sector organizations in funding civic associations, which makes financing opaque. Lack of articulation in terminology and basic principles and the mechanisms for evaluating the efficacy of funding were also highlighted as problems. This article describes the nature of state funding of civic associations, models used in practice, and, based on the problems that were disclosed in the course of writing the overview, provides a rationale for putting funding schemes in better order.

HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Parliamentary anti-corruption activity

The role of incentive design and political capital in parliamentary anti-corruption programmes¹

Bryane Michael, Oxford University Linacre College
Aare Kasemets, University of Tartu

The "first wave" of donor-sponsored anti-corruption programmes usefully focused on elaborating recommendations for parliamentarians or tried to train them (develop human capital) in anti-corruption. Now it is time for these programmes to take into account parliamentary incentives to adopt these recommendations and/or use this "knowledge." This paper will discuss these incentives and the ways these programmes should and can help build political capital by managing voter demands, political competition, patronage, and enforcement. The paper also reviews some basic theories from formal political economy which may be of interest to practitioners interested in bridging the theory-practice gap.

LITERATURE AND DATABASES

Information society and libraries

Ene Loddess, National Library of Estonia service director

The article deals with the role of libraries in the information society, both theoretically and in the real-life politics of the European Union and Estonia. The conclusions present the results of a survey on correspondence of the current Estonian information politics to the needs of the society, the role of libraries in the information society and on the quality of Estonian research library services in particular. According to the respondents:

- The most important criteria for an information society are both technological development and information itself.
- An aim of the information politics of the government should be supporting the creation of technological and information infrastructure.
- Coordinating the creation and maintenance of the national information resource is an important task of the government
- The national information resource consists of all information carriers - digital, printed, audiovisual, and the rest.

Libraries remain in an important position in the information infrastructure of information society and the expectations of the respondents regarding libraries are very high. Despite the fast development of the Internet, libraries are seen as the most important information centres, with the ability to offer professional information services and free access points for everyone. Respondents indicate that services offered by the Estonian research

libraries do not fully correspond to their needs. The main deficiency lies in the collections, especially of periodicals and new literature, and in the limited selection of online databases.

The National Library of Estonia starts setting up a reliable digital repository

Krista Kiisa, National Library of Estonia, project manager

Many public sector institutions act as publishing bodies. They create, edit and distribute printed publications. All these publications are, in addition to the usual distribution process, collected, recorded, indexed, stored and made available to the public through national libraries. Though practically all of these publications are produced on computers, currently no institution is systematically preserving and making available the electronic master files which are the basis for the printed publications.

The basic idea of reUSE-project, uniting libraries from Austria, Estonia and Germany, is to set up the highly standardized trusted digital repositories which allow the long term preservation as well as the making available of digital content via digital libraries. The repositories will gather the digital master files which had been the basis for the printed publications. Digital content which would otherwise threaten to get lost, will be safeguarded. This is especially important for digital files which need - in contrast to printed material - much more attention to their integrity and availability. Libraries as professional specialists for long term preservation take care of life-cycle-management in order to keep the digital artifacts available for future generations.

European integration summer school in Alpbach

Aigi Kasvand, information specialist, National Library European Union information center

Since 1945, politicians, scientists, entrepreneurs and students meet annually each other in Alpbach, Austria's most beautiful village, where the European Forum and Summer School on European Integration take place.

The general theme of the forum in 2004 was "Boundaries and Beyond". The forum dealt with the enlarged borders of the European Union and the limits of the social state, of medical and technological research and of intellectual thought and culture.

This year the summer school took place for the twelfth time. The main objective of the summer school is to offer an intensive basic course on the law, economics and politics of European integration, the main emphasis being on the case-law of the European Court of Justice. The course is taught in two separate groups, one in the English and one in the German language.

More information is on the European Forum Alpbach web page <http://www.alpbach.org/>

1 This paper was presented in 6th Workshop of Parliamentary Scholars and Parliamentarians, 31.07-01.08.2004, Wroxton College, UK. Policy Paper:

<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat1663/Publications/Presentations/Parliamentary%20Policy%20Brief.pdf>