

## Summaries

### EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S COLUMN

#### Frightened Money

**Helle Ruusing**, Editor-in-Chief, Information Adviser of the Information Service of the Chancellery of the Riigikogu

Money is looking for a refuge. Government bonds that until now were reliable are not trusted any longer; the bonds of some European states have been declared trash by rating agencies. The investors have panicked and the measures meant for calming them down in some cases last only for twenty four hours. It is thought that Europe is going through one of the most difficult periods since the end of World War II. With the help of the media, the panic is even more intensified. It is said that the euro will disappear and the EU will disintegrate. General decline of Europe, decrease of competitiveness, new economic and political centres, growing markets are also spoken about. The fearful picture is somewhat exaggerated. European economy is still the second largest in the world; China's success story is connected with both the USA and Europe. World economy is global. In shorter perspective somebody somewhere may profit from Europe's problems, but crisis of trust tends to spread quickly. It is in everyone's interest to stop it. The failure of public sector to control the finances of states effectively is just one of the reasons of debt crisis. At a more human level, the reason was the greed of investors. If somebody somewhere promised an extremely favourable interest upon borrowed money, then why not give a loan. The fact that the lender also risks was forgotten. Unfortunately it is so that the problems of private sector in the situation of crisis very quickly become the problems of public sector, especially as the investor in today's Europe is an ordinary citizen. The same person who votes at elections.

The issue of the future of the European Union is being discussed. Once again the United States of Europe are spoken about as the most pragmatic solution. But it is not at all clear how to reach it. Fundamental agreements cannot be changed in months or even in a year. In the crisis situation the existing European institutions, like the Council, the Commission and the Parliament, have not achieved much. Decisions are made at the meetings of heads of states and governments. The economic government of Europe is led from Berlin. At the same time the democratic culture in Europe is based on nation states, the governments are responsible to national parliaments. The Europeans are warned about the reduction of democracy and the so-called coup of technocrats.

In Estonia we love to repeat how much our economy is in order, how right we were in making budget cuts. We are set as an example to other states. At the same time we forget to admit publicly that in our country we did not have to save banks or enliven economy during the economic crisis. Fortunately this was done by our richer neighbours who also solved for us the greatest social problem, the unemployment. The housewife's housekeeping notebook where all expenses and incomes are nicely in balance has not been used in our households for a long time. Probably there is no household in Estonia that does not have a loan. There is nothing essentially evil in borrowing as long as you are able to pay back the loan. Hoping that the world will return to natural economy would be useless. Considering the future of Europe, we should worry about democracy more than about money. Because the countries

where the economy grows faster than in Europe, the countries that are set as examples to us are far from democracy.

## **ESSAY**

### **Barataria, the Island of Wonders. Sancho Panza and the Art of Government**

**Michael Stolleis**, Professor Emeritus, Goethe University Frankfurt-am-Main

In the second part of Cervantes's famous novel about the adventures of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, the latter is appointed governor of the island Barataria. For one week he – as judge and grantor of police mandates – believes in his qualities as an administrator. In the 20s of the last century the German-Argentinean utopian Silvio Gesell, who was minister of finance during the Munich Revolution of 1919 for one week, revisits this picture of Barataria again, but without mentioning Cervantes to preach a financial industry without tax (demurrage currency) as well as the abolition of landed property. Since then there have always been experiments with demurrage currency and community currency. Gesell's son Carlos who lived in Argentina founded the bathing resort Villa Gesell after the Second World War and he tried to re-launch mandates in the manner of Sancho Panza (ban on playing and alcohol) – for vain in the end.

## **POLITICS**

### **European Debt Crisis**

#### **The European Union Debt Crisis – Economic or Political Crisis?**

##### **Riigikogu Toimetised conversation circle**

In Riigikogu Toimetised conversation circle on 21 November, three experts discussed the European debt crisis, and the future of the European Union and the common European currency. The experts participating in the conversation circle were the Minister of Finance Jürgen Ligi (Estonian Reform Party), Member of the Board of the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute Erkki Bahovski and lawyer Andres Tupits. RiTo Editor-in-Chief Helle Ruusing acted as the moderator and compiled a summary of the discussion.

In reply to the question on how to define the European debt crisis, the participants of the conversation circle expressed the opinion that the shortest way to define it was as distrust in the governments and their bonds. It is the lack of confidence in bonds that has caused first of all the increase of interest rates for states that are in trouble and the decrease in value of their bonds. All else, including the decline in investments and consumer security and cooling of economy, is an accompanying factor. All problems start from the fact that for a long time the expenditures of states have been larger than their revenues. The expenditures are very rigid, and when the revenues decreased, the expenditures could not be cut but rather there was a tendency to increase them. In the so-called welfare states, comfortable life is guaranteed to people in spite of the situation of economy, and they are very used to it. Also the fact that some states are not able to properly collect taxes from their citizens and therefore their revenues are to a large extent based on loans has a role here. The possible introduction of common European bonds, that has been much discussed lately, was considered a good idea in itself, but contradicting the principle enshrined in the fundamental agreements of the European Union that a Member State is not responsible for the obligations

of other Member States, and each state deals with its budget and economy by itself. The participants in the conversation circle did not doubt the future of the common European currency, but expressed the opinion that although the euro zone had a million things to think about at the moment, the euro would endure. By its exchange rate, euro continues to be a very strong currency and has not dropped anywhere, and is still the second largest currency in the world. Naturally there will be some changes in the euro zone and the EU, and no one can predict yet what they will be like, but the political will to keep up the euro is there. In the opinion of the participants in the conversation circle, the fact that some states have failed in performing their tasks does not mean that euro is a bad project. On the contrary, the euro is a project to invest in. If nobody invested in it, there would be many times more problems.

## **Refugee Policy**

### **Estonian Asylum Policy in the European Perspective**

**Kristina Kallas**, Member of the Board, Institute of Baltic Studies

The article analyses different aspects of the Estonian asylum policy, first of all focusing on the conditions of receiving the asylum seekers. The constantly increasing number of asylum seekers in Estonia has brought along the situation where the existing Reception Centre for Asylum Seekers can no longer receive all the people who need accommodation and provide them all necessary services, especially in regard to asylum seekers with special needs. Surveys prove that Estonia is at the moment not ready to receive additional refugees within the framework of the EU resettlement programme, which at present has been joined by only ten states. At the same time the pressure to join this solidarity measure to the states not participating in the programme is constantly increasing both from the European Commission and from the Southern European Member States that are always having problems with the great number of refugees. Due to these processes, Estonia has to reform its system of receiving asylum seekers in the coming years. It is necessary to establish a primary reception centre for refugees and to clarify either at legislative or a government regulation level the access of asylum seekers to free services, as well as define the services necessary for asylum seekers with special needs.

### **Integration of Refugees into the Estonian Society: Problems and Solutions**

**Kristjan Kaldur**, Analyst, Institute of Baltic Studies

Estonia has received refugees and implemented asylum policy only since 1997, when the first Refugees Act entered into force. In spring 2011 the Institute of Baltic Studies conducted a research commissioned by the Ministry of the Interior in order to analyse the current situation of the refugees living in Estonia. It was the first study where the refugees were taken into the focus of integration. In the framework of the study, 21 personal interviews with refugees and one focus group interview with the support persons of refugees were conducted. The study report is available at [www.ibs.ee](http://www.ibs.ee). The article and the study on which it was based show that the integration of persons who have been granted international

protection into the Estonian society has so far not been successful, because the procedure provided in the Act on Granting International Protection to Aliens for receiving persons who have been granted international protection does not work, and the assistance for settling down and integration into the Estonian society offered to the persons who have been granted international protection is not systematic and is based on single cases. Also there is no systematic forwarding of information to those who have been granted international protection, which results in their unawareness of their rights and obligations and the services offered to them, as well as of other assistance. The awareness of the Estonian officials (public servants and officials of local governments) of the persons who have been granted international protection is extremely low and their attitude is often rather repelling. The refugees' access to language courses is insufficient, therefore only one of the tens of refugees who took part in the study has had the opportunity to attend free language courses; there are also shortcomings in the integration of the persons who have been granted international protection into the labour market. After having been granted protection, the refugees have difficulties in finding registered place of residence, which in its turn is an obstacle for their participation in the employment training offered by the Unemployment Insurance Fund or the Estonian Language Courses organised by the Integration Foundation.

## **CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

### **State Fees**

#### **High Court Fee as an Impediment to Access to a Court in Civil Proceedings**

**Margit Vutt**, Private Law Analyst, Supreme Court of Estonia

The article is based on the court practice analysis entitled "High court fee as an impediment to access to justice", conducted by the Legal Information Department of the Supreme Court. According to the Constitution of Estonia everyone has the right to the protection of the state and of the law. The guarantee of rights and freedoms is the duty of the legislative, executive and judicial powers, and of local governments. Everyone whose rights and freedoms are violated has the right of recourse to the courts. Access to justice as a fundamental right is also protected by Article 6 of European Convention of Human Rights that foresees the right to a fair trial.

When evaluating whether the access to justice is guaranteed or not, one must take into account several aspects. One of those is the cost of justice and therefore excessive court fees can also block the right to apply to court. The article focuses on the essence and purpose of a court fee and its aim is to find out what have been the main principles of establishing the rates of court fees in Estonia and what should be taken into account when introducing similar rules in the future. At the moment Estonian legislation lacks calculations that would help to determine the appropriate level of state fees.

The analysis shows that the main idea in establishing court fees is the cost principle. But this principle is at the moment only declarative as our legislation is lacking relevant calculations. It is true that almost every country levies some charge for use of its courts, but the rates of Estonian court fees tend to be very high compared to most of the other European countries. Several norms of Estonian Code of Civil Procedure and State Fees Act have lately been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Estonia and more similar cases are pend-

ing. The legislator has yet not managed to react to the Supreme Court's implications to carefully analyse and correct the system of the court fees.

## **STUDIES AND OPINIONS**

### **Economy**

#### **Estonia's International Position in Different Areas of Innovation Policy\***

**Janno Reiljan**, Professor of International Economics, University of Tartu

**Ingra Paltser**, Assistant, Chair of Public and International Economy, University of Tartu

Innovation policy is essential for ensuring a country's development and continuous enhancement of innovation performance. The aim of this paper was to empirically analyse the position of Estonia in different innovation policy areas in comparison to other European countries. 17 different indicators that characterise the activities of the public sector in promoting innovation were used in principal component analysis to reveal the structure of the public sector activities in promoting innovation. The component analysis revealed that the activities of the public sector in promoting innovation could be characterised by six components: creating appropriate legal and educational environment; funding R&D in government sector and in higher education sector; mediating financial support from the European Union and by cooperating with companies; financing innovation activities in enterprises on the central government level and also on the local and regional level. Analysis of the position of Estonia in these policy areas revealed that in comparison to other European countries, the public sector in Estonia enhances the overall framework for innovation above the European average and R&D in higher education sector is carried out above the average level. But the position of R&D in government sector in Estonia is weak, only a small proportion of innovative enterprises in Estonia get financial support for innovation from the public sector (including the European Union); and universities and public sector agencies in Estonia cooperate with companies for innovation activities only to a small degree. The component analysis also showed that of the European countries, in Portugal, followed by Belgium, the United Kingdom and Malta, the activities of the public sector in promoting innovation are the most similar to Estonia. The most distinct innovation policy is implemented in Iceland, Finland and Austria. These findings are definitely surprising and in order to understand the essence and the implementation of different innovation policy areas, a deeper analysis is needed.

#### **Need for Labour Force in the Estonian Energy Sector and the Possibilities for Covering It in 2011–2020\***

**Jaanika Meriküll**, Researcher, Bank of Estonia (Eesti Pank)

**Katrin Pihor**, Evaluation Expert – Project Manager, Praxis Center for Policy Studies

**Katrin Humal**, Analyst, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Tartu

**Kerly Espenberg**, Acting Director, University of Tartu EuroCollege

**Raul Eamets**, PhD, Professor, Head, Institute of Economics, University of Tartu

The article focuses on the labour demand in the Estonian energy sector in a 10-year perspective. The energy sector is a key to every country's economic development, but so far the demand for labour in this sector has not been studied explicitly; in fact, earlier the sector had not even been defined. The combining of both quantitative and qualitative methods in

the analysis upgrades the value of results and enables to make suggestions regarding the cooperation of educational establishments and the enterprises of the sector, while also providing an elaborate methodology for conducting similar studies in other sectors when the sector comprises more than one single industry.

The quantitative part of the analysis uses microdata collected directly from enterprises, and covers altogether 55% of the labour force in the sector. It consists of three steps: charting the current structure of the labour force, forecasting growth demand (with a scenario-based approach), and forecasting replacement demand. The qualitative analysis is based on interviews with managers and personnel managers from the sector and focuses on the quality of the labour force.

The supplementary labour demand in the next 10 years varies from 4900 to 7400 employees, depending on the scenario. Most likely, the actual need for additional workforce will be between 6600 and 7000 employees. The scarcity of specialists with higher education and the excess of graduates of vocational schools can be expected in the fields of mining and beneficiation, mechanics and metal work, and electronics and automatics. As in the next 15 years the share of people reaching the age of retirement will be above average in the energy sector, more than 70% of the supplementary labour demand accrues from the need to replace current employees.

Therefore, it is important to increase the attractiveness of the curricula related to energetics and reduce the numbers of dropouts. Graduates of vocational schools should also be encouraged to continue their studies and get higher education. Continuous cooperation is required between educational establishments and the companies in the sector in order to increase the quality of traineeships, which are crucial for acquiring the necessary skills for working in the sector. Another opportunity would be introducing Industrial Master's programmes which would enable to associate work and studies. The existing curricula should incorporate more components related to entrepreneurship, marketing, management, planning and automation of production, IT, and quality management, all of which would need to consider the specifics of the sector.

It is crucial to develop curricula in cooperation with entrepreneurs, which could be done with the assistance of industry associations. The managers and top specialists of different fields should be involved in teaching, as their experience would help create a link between theoretical knowledge and its application in practice. At the same time, practice should be more valued in the career models of the teaching staff. Teachers and lecturers should regularly attend training days or internships in enterprises to keep their knowledge of new technologies and practices up-to-date.

### **Post-Sentence Detention**

#### **Post-Sentence Detention Unconstitutional – What Now?**

**Rauno Kiris**, Master's Candidate, Faculty of Law, University of Tartu

**Andres Parmas**, Adviser to the Criminal Chamber, Supreme Court of Estonia, Lecturer of Criminal Law, University of Tartu

On 21 June 2011, the general assembly of the Supreme Court of Estonia in Case No. 3-4-1-16-10 declared the institution of post-sentence detention, established for dealing with dangerous repeat offenders, to be unconstitutional. The purpose of the article is to draft

possible answers to the question “How will the problem of habitual criminals that are dangerous to the society be dealt with in the future?”

The existing system of sanctions is unable to offer solution to the problem of habitual criminals that are dangerous to the society because the existing model guilt-based punishment does not allow for adequate consideration of the dangerousness of a person in sentencing of punishment; the punishment based only on the guilt of a person is not always enough for ensuring the safety of society. The attempts to aggravate the punishments of repeat offenders within the framework of sanctions would result in the general increase of the repressiveness of punishments, and would therefore be undesirable. As possible further solutions, the Penal Code could be amended by adding special parts (in particular, the qualified necessary elements of a criminal offence for repeat offenders) or the General Part of the Penal Code could be modified (subsection 56(1) amended or special provisions on punishments added for qualified recidivism), in order to allow for implementing the possibilities offered by monistic approach. Unfortunately none of these solutions is without drawbacks. Monistic solution of adding a special part would require the imposing of extremely repressive consequences also to persons who have committed acts that would bring along much lighter sanctions if the judge were left more freedom for assessment. The solution involving the General Part – amending subsection 56(1) of the Penal Code as regards to habitual criminals – in its turn seems to be precluded by the structure of the argumentation of the general assembly in the Case the article is based on.

## **Constitution**

### **Fundamental Constitutional Principles**

**Madis Ernits**, Adviser, Research Department, Chancellery of the Riigikogu

This article discusses the fundamental principles of the Estonian Constitution from the viewpoint of the jurisprudence and legal literature of the Supreme Court of Estonia. The author identifies the principles of human dignity, democracy, rule of law and welfare statism as the fundamental constitutional principles in the practice of the Supreme Court. However, the catalogue is not necessarily final; its completeness is not claimed by the Supreme Court either. Several authors of legal literature have proposed their own catalogues of the fundamental principles of the Constitution – Rait Maruste, Heinrich Schneider, Kalle Merusk, Uno Lõhmus, Taavi Annus and Robert Alexy. In addition to the aforementioned, there was also an expertise by the Constitutional Law Workshop on the European Constitutional Treaty that attempted to review the subject matter. Each proposed catalogue differs from the catalogue of the Supreme Court and from each other. Further, the author examines the differences between them and concludes that the most appropriate starting point for future discussions is the catalogue of the Supreme Court, which includes human dignity, democracy, rule of law and welfare statism. The author recommends regarding the principle of Estonian identity as one of the fundamental constitutional principles. The Supreme Court recognizes the latter as a principle, but not as a fundamental principle. Thus, the catalogue of the fundamental constitutional principles remains open.

## **Counterfeit Medications**

### **International Cooperation in Preventing the Distribution of Counterfeit Medications**

**Tiina Titma**, Doctoral Candidate, Institute of Political Science and Governance, Tallinn University

The article is based on the master's thesis on the Council of Europe Convention on Counterfeiting of Medical Products and Similar Crimes involving Threats to Public Health and related legal aspects. The reader is introduced some results of this analysis, including results that are important for Estonia. As it is known, there is a widespread trend in the world to synthesise and market different substances having an effect on organisms, including psychotropic substances that have not been included in the lists of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. In order to maximise profit, the regulations on minimising threats to public health are not observed, and in several countries such regulations are insufficient. The profit gained in marketing such substances and the risk of punishment are not in correlation to the threat to public health. The European Court of Justice has taken the position that the responsibility of a state for protecting the rights of persons does not depend on whether or not the state has integrated European law into its law. In many states there is no definition of counterfeit medication. Production of counterfeit medications has become a remarkable source of profit for organised crime and terrorist groups. The author finds that in the interests of public health it is again necessary to pay closer attention to the sphere of medical products, which up to now has been one of the most regulated and reliable spheres, and on which the health of us all depends.

### **Public Broadcasting**

#### **Financing and Viewing Rate of the Estonian Public Broadcasting**

**Andres Jõesaar**, Doctor of Media and Communications

The European Parliament Resolution adopted in November 2010 emphasises that in order to provide modern technologies and services to the wider public, the Member States must allocate appropriate funding to public service media. It means that in the shaping of media policy, the national parliaments and the ministers responsible for media must create such conditions for financing public service broadcasting that the serving of public interests is guaranteed. Public media has a special role in the protection of smaller, unique national cultures and languages that are the most vulnerable to the effects of globalisation and commercialisation. This also applies to the three Baltic States Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Besides mainstream entertainment, the commercial channels of larger countries may find money also for attracting smaller interest groups, while the commercial organisations acting on a media landscape with very limited financial resources focus on maximising their profit with the support of mass production entertainment. The author emphasises that in such a situation, it is necessary to have a firm legal framework for the functioning of public broadcasting and an adequate financing system for guaranteeing its development. In Estonia, the first condition is met but as regards the second condition, we still have a long way to go to meet the European standards.

### **Education**

#### **Differentiation of Pupils and the Success of Education System**

**Imbi Henno**, Chief Expert, Ministry of Education and Research, coordinator of PISA 2006



Twice, in 2006 and in 2009, the Estonian education system has been assessed according to the comparative evaluation of the school pupils' scholastic performance PISA (Program for International Student Assessment), coordinated by the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In general, the Estonian educational system is considered successful by PISA study reports, because the pupils' achievements are above the OECD average and the effect of their social-economic background on their educational achievement is lower than the average of the OECD states. Without doubt, the principle of comprehensive school applied in Estonia and also the relatively large autonomy of schools have contributed to these important results. Now it is time to first of all increase the resources invested in education or to redistribute the existing resources more purposefully. At the same time, the schools should be guaranteed the right to make decisions regarding their curriculum and grading also in the future, while restricting the competition for pupils between schools. It is important that no changes were made in the Estonian education system that would weaken the existing effect of equal opportunities. Admission tests for pupils entering the first class, early specialisation or an extensive choice of schools could be examples of that.

### **Political Education in Estonian Schools 1920–2010**

**Kaarel Haav**, Lecturer, Tallinn University of Technology

In Estonia people have many possibilities to take part in the political processes but they must have thorough knowledge and much free time for that. The foundation for political literacy must be laid already at the general education school where it is possible to connect the theory and practice of political education. Education in democracy should establish a theoretical basis and give an overview of the main problems and concepts. There should also be relevant curricula and textbooks dealing with democratic processes and problems for the senior classes of basic schools and upper secondary schools. A curriculum that is based on social-scientific foundation and that can be used for interconnecting the pupil and the school, the citizen and the state and the theory and practice is actually also a theory for the development of a pupil. The curricula and textbooks currently used in Estonia have the same faults that can be noted in other countries and also in the concept of citizen education in Europe. The latter defines the main spheres, conceptions and values, but does not deal with the system of basic concepts. Therefore the mutual interconnections between an individual, the society and culture remain unopened. Acquiring the system of basic concepts helps a person use his or her possibilities and evaluate the activities and aspirations of politicians.

### **CIVIL SOCIETY AND STATE AUTHORITY**

#### **Charity**

#### **The Economic Value, Impact and Valuing of Charity**

**Risto Kaarna**, Analyst of Tax and Budget Policy, Praxis Center for Policy Studies

The article gives an overview of two recent studies on philanthropy in Estonia, one about volunteering and the other about charitable giving. It discusses the economic value of Estonian philanthropy, its broader impact on society and how it is valued by different groups. Depending on the methods used, volunteering added 0.3–0.9% to Estonian GDP in 2010

while charitable giving was up to 0.2% of GDP. For more advanced countries, the same figures were up to 4% and 2% respectively (latest data is more than ten years old). To better understand, promote and value philanthropical activities, a number of policy recommendations have been made. Firstly, more consistent and regular data should be collected which would allow for more comprehensive studies to be made. This way questions about the link between philanthropy and, for instance, social cohesion, social capital, trust, civic activism, etc. could be better answered. Secondly, development of programs and best practice examples for NGOs is needed which would promote philanthropy and make the processes better understood. Thirdly, more clarity should be brought into the matter of tax subsidies for philanthropic activities so that people would know their philanthropic contribution is welcome and considered. The list goes on, but philanthropy could be both an indicator of and a stimulus for the development of a society, so more knowledge about it and consideration for it is needed.

## **INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS**

### **Baltic Assembly**

#### **Twenty Years of Baltic Cooperation**

**Laine Randjärv**, Vice President of the Riigikogu, President of the Baltic Assembly

The parliamentary cooperation of the three Baltic States Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the foundations of which were laid by the establishing of the Baltic Assembly in 1991 in Tallinn, has in two decades undergone several changes. The economic crisis that started during the last decade has noticeably influenced the Baltic cooperation. On the background of the crisis, the mutual interdependence of states and regions became especially clear. As the resources of each Baltic state alone for ensuring sustainable development are limited, the Baltic Assembly at that time concentrated first of all on shaping common monetary and fiscal policy as well as common policy for supporting business, and also developing of common energy market and joint projects connected with the use of renewable energy. In autumn 2011 it was unanimously decided to amend the Statutes of the Assembly so that the new principle for forming national delegations would connect the membership in a delegation with the membership in parliamentary committees. Also the priorities for 2012 were established, where it was decided to focus on the projects of regional importance that include all Baltic States and involve applying for joint financing from the EU structural funds.

## **LITERATURE AND DATABASES**

### **Supreme Council of Estonia**

#### **The Supreme Council – in Light and in Shadow**

**Rein Ruutsoo**, Professor, Tallinn University

It may be said that the book “Mitme tule vahel” (“Between Many Fires”), Tartu, 2011), compiled by Lehte Hainsalu and Rein Järlik, is an undertaking that deserves extreme gratitude and has a permanent value that cannot yet be fully understood. Every deputy who has saved a bit of the history of the people of Estonia is worthy of the gratitude of historians. It is hard to classify those who contributed to the making of the book and those who did not by their identities in those times. It seems that the deputies who supported the views of the

Committee of Estonia were more reluctant to participate. It is understandable that the readers who belonged to different camps in the past may like some facts and assessments more in their recollections, and some less. From the viewpoint of a historian, putting them in a ranking list or listing them by correctness is a rather pointless activity. In the genre of memories there are no correct or wrong opinions if universally known facts are not distorted or ignored, there is no monopoly on the narrative of remembering correctly. New knowledge arises not only from shared factual information, but first of all from the individual interpretation of the facts/past. The historians give an assessment to the memories in the course of time by using or not using them in their research, that is, by shaping the value of memories, by giving them weight (historians may also put memories to doubt, i.e. annul their value). Thus measuring the value of this book on the scales of time is still ahead. It is impossible to write history without the sources. Some of the potential sources we inherit from the past as evidence (documents, letters, etc.), others are created only as a result of purposeful efforts. Collecting and organising of memories is one way of complementing the sources of history inherited from the past. This collection fills a serious vacuum, or even more, in many ways it is a protest against describing the activities of the Supreme Council in a questionable and sometimes clearly inadequate way. The authors are of the opinion that concrete acts were carried out by the institutions that fought for restoring the independence of Estonia. In spite of the will of the people, the future of Estonia might have been completely different if there had been other people in the Supreme Council or if no determination had been demonstrated on 20 August 1991. Despite the argumentation of assessments, their emotional tone and the use of vocabulary, the prevailing motives determine that this book should be a signal to historians. It seems that the time is ripe to give an adequate assessment to the work of the restorers of our statehood.

## **XI Riigikogu**

### **Looking Back on the Work and Activities of the XI Riigikogu**

**Marika Kirch**, Adviser, Research Department, Chancellery of the Riigikogu

The XI Riigikogu finished its work in spring 2011. Since the VII Riigikogu, the Chancellery of the Riigikogu in cooperation with the National Library of Estonia has recorded the most important activities of our parliament in a statistics collection. This publication ("Riigikogu XI koosseis: statistikat ja ülevaateid" ("The XI Riigikogu: Statistics and Surveys"), Edi-tor-in-Chief Aaro Mõttus. Tallinn, 2011) is the third.

The book is divided into an articles section and a statistics sections. The aim of the authors was the readily accessible presentation of data and the possibility to compare the statistics of different compositions of the Riigikogu in consolidated tables.

The authors hope the book will be of use to the political scientists, students, journalists or simply to people interested in the work of the Riigikogu. The analysis of the work of the Riigikogu helps to add colour to the discussions about the general values of parliamentary-ism and the activities of the Estonian parliament. The collection has a summary in English that enables to introduce Estonian parliamentarianism beyond Estonia.

\* Prereviewed research paper.

