

## Summaries in English

### Comments by the Editor-in-Chief Aare Kasemets

The Editor-in-Chief discusses some conceptual issues of the Riigikogu Toimetised (RiTo, for short) and some major topics covered in the RiTo 2. To start with, he characterizes Estonian *Parliamentary Democracy* as a nice human-faced creature with two dissimilar legs. The two legs of the *Parliamentary Democracy* are, first, the political goals arising from people's ideals and, second, the social-legal reality. The two legs can only step by turns, not both simultaneously. First, problems, interests and goals are discussed, and only then come decisions together with laws and state budgets. It couldn't be otherwise. It is just important to avoid stumbling.

There are many who try to assist and influence the Parliament in the collective work of guiding society by means of laws – among them the authors of the RiTo who proceed from the aims of the publication. The aims of the RiTo arise from the constitutional tasks of the Riigikogu. These tasks are listed in the Constitution and they can briefly be summarised as six parliamentary functions: *1) law-making and assessing the quality and effects of draft legislation; 2) representing the voters and the Parliament and the respective political parties in domestic and foreign policy debates; 3) monitoring the activities of the executive power and the use of the state budget for the conformity with law; 4) political dialogue, providing advice and decisions for the government; 5) informing the public about the objectives, reasons and possible effects of laws, as well as involving representatives of interest groups in law drafting; 6) alleviating conflicts of social interests through political means*<sup>1</sup>.

It is difficult to predict how different voters would react when the Parliament is unable to fulfil properly any of these six functions. The tasks of the Parliament could also be analysed from the point of view of communication management as a process characteristic of the Parliament and involving collecting, interpreting, processing and spreading of information. Which information and when do MPs need to pass decisions, and what do different social groups expect from the Parliament as a producer of laws, speeches and other information? Within the *information market*, in a competition for people's attention and recognition, the Parliament's reputation as the *core of shaping the legal system* and the quality of its public service that is mediated to the society mostly by government agencies, local authorities, courts and the media (including the RiTo), is important.

The central topics in the present RiTo relate to the trends in the Estonian parliamentary democracy, culture of political communication, civil society, administrative reform, drugs and youth policy, privatisation of Estonian energy production, and clarity of laws. The topics are discussed by both politicians and scholars.

The RiTo pays attention to the studying of the quality of law-making and expectations of the society because the Parliament's mission is to *pursue the rule of law*, and the preconditions for this are reliable institutions and political culture where all bearers of state power, including the Parliament, must observe laws in fulfilling their duties, and *the laws are equally applicable all to who fall under their jurisdiction*<sup>2</sup>. In order for the law to be effective, it must

be in conformity with social facts and values. Therefore, the purpose of the section *Research and Opinions* in the RiTo is to build an academic bridge (dialogue) between the political choices and the changing needs of the society. Under the section *Third Sector and the State Power*, the RiTo also provides a channel for NGOs to pursue such a dialogue.

As the printed version of the RiTo is published only twice a year, the Editor-in-Chief warmly recommends the Internet version of the RiTo, which now includes also the section *RiTo Forum*. You can send relevant commentaries or short articles in Estonian, English, German, French or Russian, equipped with references and links, via e-mail to the address [RiTo@riigikogu.ee](mailto:RiTo@riigikogu.ee). Preparation of the third issue of the RiTo has already begun – on the basis of the proposals that the editors have received until now, the topics to be covered in the RiTo 3 are relations between Estonia and the EU, instruments to guarantee separation of powers, law-making, economic policy, and civil society.

A civil society in a market economy is also a consumer society – the Editor-in-Chief hopes that the first parliamentary journal in Estonia will find readers and contributors in the information market.

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## **Parliamentary Democracy**

### **Thoughts on Parliamentarism, Democracy and the Trends of the Riigikogu**

**Siiri Oviir**, Deputy Speaker of the Riigikogu

The Deputy Speaker of the Riigikogu, Siiri Oviir, who is also a representative of the opposition parties in the three-member board of the Riigikogu<sup>3</sup>, focuses in her article on the role of the Parliament in law-making and on the issues of parliamentary control, supervision and autonomy. The article proceeds from the premise of the separation of powers stipulated in the Estonian Constitution and the rights of the political minority and the Universal Declaration on Democracy formulated at the Cairo session of the IPU Council in 1997, which recognises democracy as an ideal and a goal at the same time<sup>4</sup>.

The author sees law drafting as the major function of the Parliament, which is the main and primary means of governance in a state governed by rule of law. Through legislation, the Parliament participates in the management of the country, and in this activity the rights and possibilities of the political minority must be guaranteed. Oviir also emphasises the need for social-economic analyses in order to provide the MPs with adequate information on the possible effects of legislation. She believes that if in the '90s shortcomings in preparing draft

legislation and in assessing its legal, economic and social effects could be justified to a certain extent, today the situation has changed and quality standards for draft legislation should be maintained. Estonia can use the experience of OECD and EU countries in developing and implementing good law-making standards<sup>5</sup>. The Estonian legislator should ask itself even more often whether legal regulation in the form of laws is necessary at all to realise the adopted goals, or whether specifying of economic and administrative regulation would suffice. On the other hand, referring to Jürgen Habermas, the author poses a question how the legislator should try to diminish the monetarisation and bureaucratisation of day to day life in a civil society that could also be seen as “colonisation” of the people’s daily way of life by the state through various certification procedures, social pre-care programmes and other procedures established by laws.

The author believes that in order to answer this question it is necessary to reinforce the mechanisms of parliamentary supervision and control, including the work of parliamentary investigative committees, for which the Constitution provides a possibility.

*Siiri Oviir, born 1947, lawyer, graduated from the University of Tartu 1975, member of the VII, VIII and IX Riigikogu 1992–; Deputy Speaker of the Riigikogu 1999–, candidate for President 1996; Minister of Social Affairs 1990–92 and 1995, member of the Estonian Lawyers Union and Chairwoman of the Estonian Women’s Union 1996–.*

## **Political Forum**

### **Parliamentary Culture in Estonia**

#### **Parliamentary Culture as a Mirror of General Intercommunication Culture**

Prof. emeritus **Rein Taagepera**

This comment distinguishes between two ideal types of democratic thinking – majoritarian and consensus democracy – on the basis of Arend Lijphart *Patterns of Democracy* (1999). Estonia tends toward consensus, except for cabinet formation on the basis of minimal winning coalitions. The general intercommunication culture, however, includes some traits that occur in Estonia more frequently than in the West: a clear defeat is sometimes deemed preferable to compromise; the pleasure of doing the other guy in overrides one’s own enlightened self-interest; one looks for whom to blame instead of looking for causes; “Excuse me!” is hard to pronounce; and proposals are trivialized by harping on marginal flaws: “To make sense of the other person is easy, misunderstanding takes real skill!” The notions of positive, zero- and negative-sum games are introduced, warning that even inherently positive-sum games can degenerate and harm both sides, if too many players imagine the game to be zero-sum. Application to Estonian parliamentary culture is limited. The main thing to develop is self-awareness that, possibly for historical reasons, Estonian vocabulary and communication habits include more of a spiteful streak than one would really care to have and that this streak could pull the game toward a negative-sum pattern even where a positive-sum game would be feasible and more fruitful. Compared to neighbouring countries emerging from the same problematic background, though, Estonia in general and

its parliament in particular have managed to act rather reasonably, and the trend is toward improvement.

*Rein Taagepera, born 1933 finished the French lyceum in Marrakech and an English school in Canada, MA and DSc in physics (1961, 1965) University of Toronto; MA in international relations 1969, University of Delaware, USA. University of California lecturer in politology 1970–, professor 1978–94; Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Tartu 1992–94, professor of politology 1994–98; continues teaching at both universities as professor emeritus. Chairman of the Society for the Advancement of Baltic Research 1986–88, member of the Estonian Congress 1990–92, member of the Constitutional Assembly 1991–92, candidate for the President of the Republic of Estonia 1992.*

### **On Our Parliamentary Communication Culture, but from a Different Angle**

**Küllo Arjakas**, Member of the Riigikogu

The present article discusses the parliamentary culture in the Republic of Estonia in the 1920s–1930s as compared with the parliamentary culture of the 1990s after the regaining of independence. It deals primarily with relations between parliamentarians themselves, their use of language outside the Parliament and compares some commonly spread notions of the Parliament in the society. Compared with the time at the beginning of the Republic of Estonia, the MPs today are considerably more reserved in their speech than their predecessors. At the same time, already during the beginning of parliamentarism, MPs had an inherent feeling for their faction and permanent links to the list on which they ran at the elections. This provided the Parliament with an inner stability and created trust for political parties in society. In comparison, the first half of the 1990s was characterised by frequent switching between factions by MPs on the grounds of short-term political interests. This made the political power lines in the Parliament hazier, caused discontent among the voters and overall diminished trust in the Riigikogu as an institution.

*Küllo Arjakas, born 1941, historian, University of Tartu 1983. Work: 1985–87 educationalist at the Central Administration of Archives of the Estonian SSR, 1987–90 Responsible Secretary of the Estonian Heritage Society, 1990–92 member of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia, 1993–99 Secretary General of the Estonian Centre Party, since March 1999 member of the IX Riigikogu. Affiliation with NGOs: Estonian Academic Society of War Historians, Estonian Heritage Society, and other.*

### **The Apology of Estonian Political Culture**

**Prof. Igor Gräzin**, Adviser to the President of the Riigikogu

The article seconds the essay by Prof. Taagepera by stating that a high level of democracy and parliamentary culture is based upon the general political awareness and traditions of the whole nation. The reasons for political degradation and of the diminishing of the role of democratic institutions in several countries (for example, USA) are determined by mixing up political and non-political spheres (the US president is envisioned, for instance, as a role

model, not as just a top bureaucrat, who he actually is). The quality of Estonian political culture is proved by the fact that Estonia's main political orientation (economic libertarianism, behavioural liberalism and social conservatism) to the right-of-the-centre in the political spectrum reflects traditional Estonian national values and features. Modern Estonia is facing the danger to her political culture through close contact with the EU carrying less developed and less democratic political traditions and practices. This influence can be opposed by post-modernistic political philosophy (Lyotard, Habermas, etc.) re-evaluating the constant political discourse in and by the whole society.

*Igor Gräzin, born 1952, lawyer, University of Tartu, Doctor of Law 1986. Work: 1990–2000 professor of economics and law at the University of Notre Dame (USA), 1996– researcher at the Hudson Institute (USA); 1999– Dean of the Law Faculty of Academia Nord. 1989–90 member of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, 1995–99 member of the Estonian Riigikogu, 1999– adviser to the President of the Riigikogu.*

## **Public Administration Reform**

### **The Ideas and Practice of Public Administration Reform**

**Mart Laar**, Prime Minister

In order to raise administrative capacity and implement the principles of modern public administration, a “tiger leap” is needed that would be qualitatively different from the “natural” development that has occurred until now. Thus, the changes initiated by the coalition agreement<sup>6</sup> to improve the functioning of public administration, can be called an all-round comprehensive reform.

Estonian public administration must become more democratic and effective in the future in order to strengthen the competitiveness of the state and guarantee the existence of the civil society. The aim of administrative reform is to create a system that enables the state to carry out the public functions in an innovative, flexible, high-quality, effective and efficient manner (with optimum levels of expense), where the interests and rights of citizens are taken into account and where processes are open and transparent, and civil servants are accountable for their actions to the people and politicians. Consequently, strategic planning obtains special meaning – the need for quick solutions must be combined with the necessity to formulate longer-term goals and plans. Strategic working groups that were formed with the Government protocol decision on 4 July 2000 must find the balance between inert government machinery and a need for quick change. The task of the working groups is to find suitable solutions for Estonia to create “good public administration”<sup>7</sup>.

*The following strategies need to be worked out for implementing the administrative reform:*

- *the strategy for the development of local government and regional administration;*
- *budgetary reform and strengthening of financial management, strategy for*
- *strengthening internal control and audit;*
- *development of citizen-oriented public administration;*

- *clarification of institutional roles from the point of view of the core state and*
- *strengthening public policy-making capacity*
- *civil service development strategy.*

As international practice has demonstrated, reforms have been more successful when led by political and administrative leaders working together. When ministries are responsible for preparing and implementing the administrative reform in different fields, and the office of public administration has the role of co-ordinating, monitoring the process, motivating and assisting the Government, then the Government's own tasks in the context of the public administration reform can be summarised as follows: leader; catalyst; model for strategic thinking; coordinator; informant; evaluator; the Government must persuade and raise awareness of the need for changes.

*Mart Laar, born 1960, historian, University of Tartu 1983, MA in philosophy 1994. Work: teacher of history 1983–87, head of the department of historical monuments of the Ministry of Culture 1987–90; member of the Supreme Council 1990–92, member of the Estonian Congress and Estonian Committee 1990–92, member of the Constitutional Assembly 1992, elected to VII, VIII and IX Riigikogu; Prime Minister of Estonia 1992–94 and March 1999–. Affiliation: Pro Patria Party 1992–95 and Pro Patria Union 1998– chairman, Estonian Heritage Society, Estonian University Students Society, PEN Club, Council of Economic Reforms of the Carnegie Foundation.*

## **A Brief Opinion on the Administrative Reform of the Government**

**Harri Õunapuu**, Member of the Riigikogu

The author considers administrative reform in Estonia to be a necessity. Ten years of regained independence is sufficient to start improving the present administrative organisation where it is needed and retain what has proven useful in practice. But regardless of present experience, it has not been pointed out which shortcomings of the administrative organisation are causes for unemployment, corruption, bureaucracy and alienation of the people from the state. The drawback of the reform is that its aims do not proceed from the interests of the people or existing possibilities. It has been impossible to set the aims of the reform because there is no adequate analysis of the administrative organisation. As the analysis of the situation is lacking, the result is as the power-holders wanted it – and it is far from corresponding to the interests of the people and the principles of a democratically functioning administrative organisation as stipulated in the European Local Government Charter.

As aimless reorganisation of administration does not guarantee necessary changes, it is high time to begin anew with preparatory work – to analyse the situation, specify goals and assess resources in order to create a democratically functioning systematic administrative organisation in the interests of the people.

Harri Õunapuu, born 1947, agronomist, Estonian Agricultural Academy 1971. Work: 1989–91 governor of Rapla county; Minister of Agriculture 1991–92, director of the Estonian Savings

Bank 1993–96, director of the Estonian Insurance Company 1996–98, member of the Riigikogu 1999–. Affiliation: Estonian Centre Party, Estonian Hunters Union, other.

## **The Administrative Reform Presumes Conceptual Clarity**

**Jaan Pöör**, Member of the Riigikogu

Administrative reform affects every citizen and therefore it has to be accepted by the majority of the political parties represented in the Riigikogu. Bearing this in mind, the previous government drew up the concept “Fundamentals of the development of public administration” that considered balanced administrative reform on all three administrative levels. In the case of administrative reform, priority is given to the optimum distribution of public functions and money between the three administrative levels. Mart Laar’s coalition government withdrew the concept from the proceedings of the Riigikogu when he came to power. As a result, the ministries began a chaotic activity that could push society out of balance. The author is convinced that in order for administrative reform to be successful, first, the Riigikogu should be given a conception on the basis of which a legislative base will be drawn up for carrying out the administrative reform.

*Jaan Pöör, born 1950, electrical engineer, Tallinn Technical University 1977. Work: chief power engineering specialist at Alatskivi state farm 1977–90, Alatskivi rural municipality elder 1991–95; deputy chairman of the Union of Local Governments of Tartu County 1992–93, chairman 1993–95, chairman of the Estonian Association of Unions of Local Governments 1993–95, member of the VII and VIII Riigikogu 1995–, chairman of the Riigikogu Select Committee on Anti-Corruption Activities 1995–. Affiliation: People’s Union Party, delegate to the Rural People’s Congress 1994–97, co-chairman 1995–99.*

## **Drug-Abuse and Youth Policy**

### **Can’t Estonian Youth Live Without Drugs Any More?**

**Anti Liiv**, Member of the Riigikogu

The article recognises drug consumption as having become a serious social problem in Estonia. The author tries to present an alternative view to a slowly proliferating opinion that Estonian youth in the 21st century cannot any longer live without drugs as drugs are seen as having become an obligatory component in the search for enjoyment.

The author of the article believes that the spread of drugs in Estonia could be restrained, but only if enough attention is paid to preventive work, especially among young people. But in the author’s opinion, the preventive work among the youth today is still insufficient: its proof is the increasing use of drugs among the youth in their search for enjoyment.

The article raises a problem that today there is no sufficient basic scientific information to posit Estonia’s own youth-oriented drug policy and to formulate prerogatives and priorities.

The author wishes to start a debate that the youth drug problem is currently seen erroneously only as spreading of a purely medically defined disease and, consequently, it is hoped that the medicine is able to constrain considerably the spreading of drugs in Estonia.

The author states that as it is practically impossible to cure fully-developed drug-addicts, all attention and major investments should be given to the prevention of drug consumption.

The article formulates current tasks that have to be solved before it will be possible to define the part of the youth policy that deals with the increasing consumption of drugs among the youth. The article was written with the aim to start widespread discussion on drug policy among interested government agencies in Estonia.

*Anti Liiv, born 1946, medical doctor University of Tartu (UT) 1970, internship at the UT, psychiatrist 1971, Department of Psychology of the UT, psychologist 1975, post-graduate studies UT, psychiatrist 1979. Work: head-psychiatrist of the department of narcology of Tallinn Psychiatric Hospital 1980–85, member of the VIII and IX Riigikogu, member of Tallinn city council 1996–. Affiliation: Estonian Centre Party, Estonian Society of Naturalists, Ornithology Society, Estonian Psychiatrists Society, Society of People of Saaremaa Island in Tallinn, member of the editorial board of the Riigikogu Toimetised journal.*

## **The Fight Against Drugs is Complicated**

**Tarmo Loodus**, Minister of Internal Affairs

The current Estonian drug policy is based on the “Alcoholism and drug prevention programme for 1997–2007” approved by the Government in 1997. The prevention of drug-abuse and combating of drug-related crime is one of the priorities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs proceeds from the following principles in its drug policy: drugs will not be legalised, emphasis will be on effective detection and punishment of drug traffickers, illegal manufacturers and intermediaries, and on preventive work among the youth.

The Ministry considers it important to organise preventive work in local authorities, as well as treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts.

In recent years, registration of drug-related offences has risen significantly but at the same time little attention has been given to consumers of drugs. From the point of view of combating crime, minor offences should also not be overlooked, and in this respect the field police will have a more important role to fulfil in the future.

*Tarmo Loodus, born 1958, teacher, Tallinn Pedagogical University 1988, additional training: 1994– Tallinn Pedagogical University, qualification of development consultant. Work: 1986–89 director of Pärnajõe Basic School; 1989–96 director of C. R. Jakobson Gymnasium; 1996–*



*99 Viljandi Mayor; since November 1999 Minister of Internal Affairs. Affiliation: Pro Patria Union, Lions Club.*

## **The Fight Against Drugs Must Become a Mutual Goal**

**Eiki Nestor**, Minister of Social Affairs

The drug problem is a relatively new phenomenon in Estonia although already in 1930 the Republic of Estonia as a member of the League of Nations had acceded to the opium convention and passed a law on import, export and sale of opium and other narcotic substances and preparations.

After World War II, Estonia and the rest of the Soviet Union observed requirements arising from the UN conventions of 1961 and 1971.

After Estonia regained her independence (1992), the Minister of Social Affairs formed a drugs policy committee in 1994. It may be regarded a result of the work of the committee that Estonia acceded to the above UN convention (1996), that the Narcotic and Psychotropic Substances Act was passed and cooperation was started with the EU Phare programme and the UN drugs control programme. At that time, there was no political demand to deal with drug issues and none of the political parties had included the issue on their platform. The main "pressure" on the government to ratify the conventions, create a national control and coordination centre, and launch preventive work came from international organisations. Immediately before the president of the international drug control committee visited Estonia in June 1996, a ministerial committee advising the government in drug issues was created. In 1996, a draft law on narcotic and psychotropic substances was submitted to the government that was enacted in 1997. This is the basis of drug policy in Estonia today. The government at its meeting on 25 November 1997 approved the principles of drug policy submitted by the Minister of Social Affairs, as well as "Alcoholism and drug prevention programme for 1997–2007<sup>8</sup>". In 1998, one million kroons were appropriated from the government reserve fund to implement the programme. In 1999 and 2000, 7.4 million has been allocated from the state budget. The Minister of Social Affairs has appointed an advisory expert council to coordinate the programme. The programme covers research, training of teachers, health workers and police officers, primary prevention work among children and youth, prevention work in special schools and detention establishments, and treatment and rehabilitation.

In his article, Anti Liiv stresses the need to address the topic of drugs not as a health care centred problem, but on a larger scale – as a youth related and social problem affecting the whole society. With reason, he considers preventive work to be of primary importance. What kind of drug policy strategy would best suit Estonia and how to more effectively prevent drug problems – this is a question concerning politicians, the government, scientists and the whole community.

*Eiki Nestor, born 1953, car transport engineer, Tallinn Technical University 1976. Work: 1982–89 chief inspector of the Trade Union of Car Transport and Road Workers; 1988–92 deputy chairman of the Trade Union of Transport Workers; 1992–94 member of the VII*

*Riigikogu; 1994–95 Minister of Regional Affairs; 1995–99 member of the VIII Riigikogu; 1996–99 member of the Social, Health Care and Labour Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Minister of Social Affairs 1999–. Affiliation: deputy chairman of the People's Party – Moderates.*

## **Estonian Energy Policy**

### **The Privatisation Scheme of Narva Power Plants does not Conform to Estonia's National Interests**

**Dr Janno Reiljan**, Member of the Riigikogu

The present government is unable to understand the real significance of privatising the Narva Power Plants and the expected consequences for the Estonian economy. Allowing all strategic infrastructure enterprises in Estonia to fall under foreign control would in essence mean giving up Estonian independence and sovereignty. The present article explores the following problems in connection with the privatisation of 49% interest in the Narva Power Plants:

- determining the value of Narva Power Plants;
- profit margin of the monopolistic infrastructure enterprise;
- formation of the price of electric energy;
- choice of the source of investments;
- assessing the quality of privatisation bids.

Conclusions: According to the Riigikogu decision of 16 December 1998, the Riigikogu must assess the conditions of the privatisation deal and approve it<sup>9</sup>.

The Government advisers have used inappropriate methods for assessing the value of the assets of the Narva Power Plants (incl. power plants, oil shale oil extraction plant, oil shale energy related know-how that is unique in the world, participation in the Estonian Oil Shale PLC).

The profit margin of the monopolistic infrastructure enterprise is an important component in the price of the service that the enterprise offers. The profit margin asked by NRG Energy is unreasonably high.

The Government disregarded the factor that one of the main aims of an infrastructure enterprise should be to maintain the stability of the price of a product or service.

Proceeding from trivial neo-liberal theory, the state is always a bad manager. According to this simplified ideology, the foreign investor comes to help us. However, the practical experience of the world economy does not prove these ideological views.

*Janno Reiljan, born 1951, Education: Tartu State University, economist, speciality of mathematics and economic cybernetics 1975; Candidate's degree in economics 1980,*

*Doctor of Economics 1991. Work: practising researcher at Tartu State University 1975–1977; Moscow Lomonossov State University, post-graduate studies 1977–1980, lecturer of the department of economics of Tartu State University 1981–, including doctoral student 1989–1991, docent 1990–1991, dean 1993–96 professor 1991–1999; member of the IX Riigikogu 1999–. Affiliation: People's Union, Estonian Economic Society, Fraternity Fraternitas Livensis.*

## **Extracts from the Presentations by Prime Minister and Minister of Economic Affairs in the Riigikogu**

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE IX RIIGIKOGU. Monday, 14 August 2000 <sup>10</sup>

The Government of the Republic authorised Prime Minister Mart Laar and the Minister of Economic Affairs Mihkel Pärnoja to present to the Riigikogu the conditions and background of the contract with NRG Generating Holdings B.V., which is a hundred per cent affiliate of NRG Energy Inc., to acquire a 49 per cent interest in the Narva Power Plants PLC. The presentation was made at an extraordinary session convened by 21 members of the Riigikogu to discuss the conditions of the above contract as an issue of national importance.

Prime Minister Mart Laar begins rhetorically by resorting to an Estonian literary classic – *in order to describe honestly everything that happened, one must return to the beginning of the story*. The story of the NRG deal begins in summer 1995 when the Government of the Coalition Party, Rural Union and the Centre Party was in power, with Tiit Vähi as Prime Minister. Meeting in the USA with the representatives of the NRG both parties came to an idea to develop mutual cooperation with the aim to bring the first major investment from the US to Estonia. In autumn 1995, first official meetings of NRG and the representatives of the Estonian Government took place in the US to discuss the issue of creating a joint venture on the basis of a principle 50%–50%. In March 1996, the protocol of intentions between the Estonian Energy, Government of the Republic and the NRG was signed in Washington at the presence of the US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott. In December of the same year, NRG, the Government of the Republic and Estonian Energy signed an agreement for the development of cooperation. The Prime Minister admits that starting negotiations for privatising the energy system with only one partner was a questionable step, but second-guessing will not help us move forward. The decision was left unaltered also by the Riigikogu who showed regular interest in the respective activities of the Government at that time, and who on 30 June 1997 decided that the Estonian state will maintain at least 51% interest in the strategic energy production units. Negotiations to privatise the Narva Power Plants turned consequently into negotiations to involve a strategic investor. On the same day, the NRG submitted to the Government its first business plan for acquiring a 49% interest.

Considering the continuity of the activities of the Republic of Estonia, the new government made a logical decision to continue the negotiations – on 12 May 1999, the Minister of Economic Affairs Mihkel Pärnoja was appointed as the person responsible for the task. The negotiating period lasted until June 2000 when the delegations submitted to the government different development models of a uniform value chain of oil shale energy in connection with Narva Power Plants. After consideration, the government came to a decision on 27 June to

approve the main conditions of the NRG deal, and at the subsequent meetings advisers checked the financial model of the contract, and on 24 July the Estonian delegation submitted to the NRG its specifications and additional conditions to the deal. On 1 August, the NRG accepted the Estonian conditions.

After the historical background to the deal, the Prime Minister emphasised that energy production is not a closed system outside the global economy. Changes that are awaiting us in the coming decades must be compared with the changes taking place in the field of information technology and telecommunications – the increasing use of renewable sources of energy is a reality already now. Estonia's success so far has to a large extent to do with quickly adapting to the global developments and using them in the interests of Estonia's own development.

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE RIIGIKOGU. Monday, 28 August 2000 <sup>11</sup>.

On 28 August, the discussion of the issue of national importance continued that had been suspended after Prime Minister Mart Laar had made his speech and answered questions.

The Minister of Economic Affairs Mihkel Pärnoja focused in his co-presentation, discussing the transfer of a minority interest of Narva Power Plants, on the main conditions of the contract that had been signed three days ago, on 25 August, by Narva Power Plants, Estonian Energy and NRG. The Minister notes that the agreement of the main conditions of the contract shows how the parties intend to continue with the preparation of the contracts and eventually hand over a minority interest to the NRG. The contracts that accompany the agreement on the main conditions of the contracts are: a contract for the subscription of the shares, a shareholders agreement of Narva Power Plants, a surety contract with the surety of the NRG, and a contract for the purchase and sale of thermal energy, and a supplement that was signed separately and which sets forth certain amendments to some main conditions and procedures of the contracts, which serve as a basis for future steps.

The Minister stresses that the media has given unprecedented extensive attention to the different issues of the contract and presented opinions of various interest groups in a very late stage of negotiations. He notes that these are business negotiations and not all information is public – this was stipulated in the binding supplements to the government protocol decisions of 1998 establishing the main conditions of negotiations. However, an important aspect is that on the basis of this government decision, the Government of the Republic did not wish to guarantee the deal in any way and therefore the government decided to leave the resources that would have been needed to guarantee the deal, for fulfilling other functions of the state.

*Mart Laar – see a short CV before.*

*Mihkel Pärnoja, born 1946, chemist, University of Tartu 1977, candidate's degree in chemistry Moscow State University 1982. Work: 1977–92 University of Tartu, Faculty of Chemistry, assistant, lecturer; 1992–99 member of the VII and VIII Riigikogu, 1992–99 member of the Board of the Estonian Privatisation Agency, 1998–99 member of the Board of*

*the Bank of Estonia, 1999 chairman of the Council of the Estonian Privatisation Agency, March 1999– Minister of Economic Affairs. Affiliation: People's Party – Moderates, 1996– chairman of the council, chairman of the Board of the Assembly of Alumni of the University of Tartu 1997–, member of the Academic Chemical Society 1990–.*

## **The Sale of the Minority Interest in the Power Plants Reduces Economic and Social Risks**

**Maria Alajõe**, Adviser to the Minister of Economic Affairs

The present article explores the reasons, prerequisites, conditions and the expected results of the sale of minority interest in the Narva Power Plants PLC. The sale of the minority interest in the Narva Power Plants PLC will create preconditions for achieving the strategic goals set by the long-term national development plan for fuel and energy management in Estonia. The goals are as follows: to guarantee sufficient and stable supply of fuel and energy with the required quality and at optimum prices; to guarantee fulfilling of international environmental requirements and raising the efficiency of oil shale based energy production simultaneously with reducing the harmful effects to the environment by introducing new combustion technologies.

To make necessary investments for achieving these goals, the state has decided to involve a foreign investor. Involving of an investor and restructuring of the whole oil shale based energy production is based on concrete fundamental points that were described by an expert committee already in 1998.

In order to identify the potential strategic investors who would most correspond to the Estonian national interests, the Government together with the adviser J. Henry Schroder & Co. Limited and various experts of the field analysed 40 well-known energy enterprises worldwide that would be qualified to become a strategic investor in the restructuring of the Estonian and Baltic Power Plants. The joint conclusion was that NRG Generating International B.V. with the support of its parent companies NRG Energy Inc. and Northern States Power Company is one of the few realistic choices for serious potential investors who would be acceptable also from the financial, economic and security policy aspects, who have a serious interest in the Baltic region and who would guarantee the implementation of the national goals in connection with the restructuring of the oil shale based energy production and would consequently help to reduce social risks in Ida-Virumaa.

Supply security, non-dependence on the import of electric energy and involving of a strategic investor will help to make these goals a reality. We usually feel the value of security only when it is lacking. The author stresses that the Government may not allow insecurity in the field that affects the whole Estonian economy.

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## **Law-making**

### **On Intelligibility of Legislative Acts**

**Maret Maripuu**, Member of the Riigikogu

The question whether our laws are understandable was already raised by the VIII Riigikogu, and it still remains topical. Prof U. Mereste (MP) who initiated a special draft law on the intelligibility of legislative acts in order to start a discussion on the subject has made significant contribution to the debate. When analysing the issue, we discover the double nature of it: on the one hand, the problem is legal-philosophical, on the other hand – gnoseological. Philosophically, Lon L. Fuller has suggested that any law is intelligible by definition because the law that is not understood simply does not function or is not a law at all. Gnoseologically, the notion of “intelligibility” itself refers to the laws as object-textual phenomena, remaining itself at the meta-level of the “truth-grammar” (Russell-Whitehead paradox, Tarski, Gödel). Both theoretical prospects combined, we face the problem that the question of intelligibility of laws has to be observed by reference to the target group, i.e. to whom the law should be intelligible. The currently used reference criteria for target groups (e.g. “non-professional reader with high-school education”) are themselves questionable.

From the constitutional-legal point of view, the intelligibility of laws cannot be universal – there are always laws that somebody cannot (does not want to, is not motivated to, etc.) understand. On the other hand, any kind of professional group is not an adequate reference criterion either: the group's expertise is valuable but socially it represents a special interest (lobbying) group outside the routine parliamentary procedure.

Thus, the intelligibility of legal acts, which is an internally paradoxical theoretical and logico-philosophical problem, could be viewed rather as a social ideal than a practical goal of parliamentary activities. But approximation of this goal is definitely achievable by maximising public participation in the legislative drafting procedures, by widening of legal “discourse” in the society (Habermas) and by further improving the professional preparatory work carried out in the drafting stage of legislative acts.

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### **Commentary: On the Essence of Law and Possibilities of Legislative Acts**

Prof. Raul Narits and Prof. Kalle Merusk, University of Tartu

The authors agree with the view of Ms Maret Maripuu, Member of the Riigikogu, that in a democratic country laws cannot be written in a way that only professional lawyers would understand them. However, law should not be understood as a command. First, such an understanding will not make laws clearer and, second, law is not a command. The modern understanding of law contains three elements: law as objective law, law as subjective law, and law as a normative system of information and communication. Therefore, it is debatable whether intelligibility of the language of laws can be improved merely with the help of a legislative act. The language as a system of signs used for mutual understanding is a complicated phenomenon just like law. When language and law (with the help of legislative acts) as two complicated systems intertwine, we can apparently only expect additional problems. Fortunately, in the legal meto-discussion we meet a conception in which linguists and lawyers cooperate – it is a structured teaching of law<sup>12</sup>. Common sense and structured knowledge and actualisation of jurisprudence should help to reach the desired result – an intelligible law – whose legal or social meaning/sense can be understood if necessary with the help of the explanatory note written by the drafters of the law.

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## **Research and Opinions**

### **Political Activity and Society**

#### **Politics and Political Activity. Prof. Ülo Vooglaid, Estonian Institute of Law**

The article discusses the peculiarities, factors and impacts of politics as a regulatory mechanism in society. The author explores the preconditions, risks and possibilities of politics as a voluntary and scientifically founded systematic activity. He emphasises that politics obtains meaning and becomes understandable on the background of law, just like law becomes understandable only on the background of politics. Politics does not function alone and separately from the society, community, or family, i.e. the people who are simultaneously members of the society and representatives of the culture. Success in politics

presumes cooperation. The article looks at the factors of conflicts and cooperation on different levels of social regulation.

The relationship of politics as a construction of thought and social practice is viewed, stressing that politics in any case is subjective. The author notes that information is the source of the actual power of politicians and analyses the struggles in the communication field. Functions of politics are also viewed. The author concludes that in politics only compromises are satisfactory. Both the formal and moral right are needed to participate in politics and therefore one should take care of the both in order to be active in politics. Formal law depends on the results of elections, moral law depends on competence, moral values and previous practice. The article also examines other preconditions for political activity: experience, use of energy, time and space, and relationships. Important preconditions of political activity are objectives, means, principles of operation and assessment criteria, priorities and prerogatives, feed-on and feedback. The author emphasises the need for scientific research both for guaranteeing feed-on and feedback.

It is all too easy to criticise everything that seems to be wrong. But not much can be concluded from such criticism. Something should, instead, be said about the causes and associations of the actual state of affairs or a situation (the existing condition as a problem), about the direction and intensity of its change, etc. For this, one needs knowledge (a) about the society as an institutional system, (b) about the functioning of the culture as a holographic system and the regularity of its change. The author specifies the terminology needed to discuss politics and notes that the object of politics is the thing at which it is aimed – the consciousness and/or subconsciousness of the people as a system of dispositions. The author considers to be the subject matter of politics everything with the help of which results (changing or substantiating something) are sought in political activity. He also looks at the preconditions for the development of political accountability.

On the basis of his personal experience as a politician and the studies of the society, the author draws the reader's attention to numerous details that affect the possibility to behave morally, i.e. proceeding from idealistic principles, and to become remarkable or remain disgraceful. The author resigned from the Riigikogu on his own initiative because he did not think it possible to share responsibility with the people who, in his view, lacked moral right to participate in law-making. Analysing the virtues and reasons of unsatisfactory behaviour of Estonian politicians, the author stresses that within the framework of unacceptably obsolete paradigms it is impossible to achieve up-to-date results or results forerunning modernity. Concluding his article, the author recalls the Soviet time when deputies to the parliament were elected on the basis of quotas and a valid argument was a person's activity in a field outside politics and law.

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## **Members of the Riigikogu in Political Crossfire**

**Vello Pettai**, University of Tartu

In which areas of their activity do members of the Estonian Riigikogu focus most? How important do they rank the relations with their party as opposed to their voters, electoral district or private interest groups, and do these activities compete with or complement each other? Some light on these questions is shed by a survey of the members of the Riigikogu (as well as MPs in the other two Baltic states) carried out in January 2000<sup>13</sup>. As to its scope and subject matter, the survey was the first of its kind in Estonia. It was partly based on similar surveys conducted in the USA and Great Britain (Katz, 1980, Cain, Ferejohn and Fiorina, 1987) and it was part of a wider international project aimed at studying the development of political institutions and the stability of political parties in the Baltic states (Pettai and Kreuzer, 1999)<sup>14</sup>. The theoretical starting point of the survey is the theory of institutionalism according to which political behaviour, from a comparative point of view, depends first and foremost on the effective political institutions of a country and on the rational choices made by the people within the framework of those institutions. The results of the survey of 71 members of the Riigikogu show that on a comparative level, Estonian MPs are more party-centred in their activities than their Latvian and Lithuanian counterparts. Estonian MPs devote relatively less attention to the concerns of their voters, their constituencies or private interest groups. Across party lines, in Estonia, MPs of the opposition parties appear more inclined to pay attention to the interests of the voters and constituencies, although this result of the survey is less definitive.

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## **Administrative Reform**

### **Estonian State Conception, New Public Management and Administrative Reform**

**Ülle Madise**, Ministry of Justice

The author is convinced that diminishing the state's role and improving the exercise of the remaining functions should take place simultaneously by areas of government and various fields. Fulfilling of the "core functions" should be reformed on the basis of principles that are in particular suitable for Estonia. It would not be reasonable to attempt to take over, for example, the New Zealand's NPM (New Public Management) model because the fundamentally different state conception of Estonia precludes its success already in advance. Considering that changes in public administration are necessary, and money and time are scarce, we should avoid reforms without a clearly defined purpose, as well as long-term detailed plans. The author claims that the administrative reform(s) in Estonia has (have) so far got stuck at the level of a comprehensive plan. It is true that under a democratically governed administration such a plan will never be completed, and therefore it is pointless to wait for the plan. Therefore, it is time to recognise development by areas of government in all the ministries (for more details, Savoie 1998, 397)<sup>15</sup> and stop fighting with the "sneaking administrative reform".

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### **Myths of the Administrative Reform**

**Dr Tiina Randma and Taavi Annus, University of Tartu**

Many, if not most of the decision-makers, have developed certain understanding and beliefs in relation with the issues of the administrative reform. At the same time, their ideas have often developed without a deeper analysis. The suggested solutions need not solve the actual problems that public administration is facing. The article explores some views and solutions that, on a closer look, turn out to be problematic. These views and solutions may be called myths – standpoints that are out of step with the reality. The article examines different problems that may be encountered in the course of the administrative reform and with which those who spread the myths do not always reckon. The article first demonstrates how dangerous it is to simplify the problems of public administration and their solutions. It is further explained that the myths derive from seeing a solution in privatisation, the possibility of using the experience of the private sector, separation of political decision-making and implementation, centralisation, optimisation of functions and structures, and equating citizens with customers. Finally, it is shown that there are no universal solutions or solutions that can be adopted from other countries. The views of the authors are based on theoretical literature on administrative reform and on extensive and long-term experience with administrative reforms in other countries. The views expressed in the article have been widely debated in developed countries; it is not merely a theoretical opinion but one on which practical decisions have been founded.

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*Estonian representative of the Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPAcee). Head of the Department of Public Administration and Social Policy of the University of Tartu since its foundation in 1995. Affiliation: member of the council of the Centre for Political Research PRAXIS, deputy chairperson.*

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## **Fundamental Questions of Administrative Territorial Reform of Rural Municipalities in Estonia**

**Prof. Wolfgang Drechsler, University of Tartu**

The article aims to remind or inform the reader of the fact that there is no abstract ideal size of a local government unit and that even dwarf-size rural municipalities need not be ineffective. The central idea in determining the ideal size is rather the principle of suitability. The article shows, on the basis of relevant literature (mainly in German), that equating a larger unit with increased efficiency is abstract and is not in conformity with available knowledge and experience, both in general terms and speaking about the local government in particular.

The above argument is founded first by pointing out six fundamental factors relating to the relationship between efficiency and size: problems connected with the management of larger units; lack of economy in merging units; relativity of ideal size of a unit; connection between the tax base and discharge of functions; effect of scale and cooperation between units.

The following part, dealing with the state and democracy, discusses the definition of “efficiency”. It is a relative notion and is definitely not synonymous with “cheap”, and in the context of the state it depends rather on suitability. It is stressed that local government is a pillar of democracy and orientation to the citizen, and it is exactly for this reason that it is usually very quickly eliminated in totalitarian systems.

In the third part, the situation in Estonia is assessed. None of the previous or current reform proposals seem to have taken into account the above-mentioned vitally important issues. Ill-considered, large-scale and forceful merging of local government units would be especially harmful for Estonia as there is no effective (intermediary) institution between local interests and the central government. It may become a particularly serious problem considering Estonia’s future accession to the European Union, which is based to a large extent on a well-functioning local government. Finally, the author advises to consider very seriously whether the current reform plans would not result in more harm than benefit.

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## **Public Opinion and the Media**

### **On Euro–debate in the Estonian Media. Problems and Participants**

**Mait Talts**, The Institute for European Studies<sup>16</sup>

The article deals with the problems of Euro–debate in the Estonian media. In the context of EU negotiations and the possible accession, the Estonian means of mass communication have two different, but equally important tasks. First, the local media should be able to “sieve” the most relevant facts and events from the massive flow of EU related information and, secondly, the media and the journalists should participate in the discussion about the costs and benefits of the EU accession. The author believes that the Estonian press underestimates its possibilities to promote a discussion on the EU, because there is a common belief that the media should be neutral in order to maintain its credibility. The same applies in the case of local Euro–debate.

One of the major problems of Estonian Euro–debate is the relative weakness of the local Euro–sceptics. As a matter of fact, there is no significant political force that would clearly oppose Estonia’s accession to the EU. At the same time, there is also no social group that feels being seriously threatened by the accession. Yet, certain scepticism towards the EU is quite widespread among the ordinary citizens in Estonia. According to different public opinion polls, the number of people who have not yet decided whether to vote in favour or against the EU accession is as high as 30–40% of the total number of respondents. According to the results of the last public opinion polls (May 2000), only 34% of the voters would vote in favour of Estonia’s accession and 26% against it; 32% of the respondents had not yet decided whether to vote for or against. The “undecided” group is the major target group of the Estonian Euro–debate.

In a situation where a large number of people have slightly sceptical views towards the EU, some politicians from the different ends of the political scale use the situation to earn political profit by expressing their scepticism, with no serious intention to oppose the accession. At the same time, the convinced Euro–sceptics are almost unable to organize their ranks and gain respective political influence. This was one of the reasons why Prime Minister Mart Laar expressed the thought that the Estonian government should offer financial support to Euro–sceptics in order to enhance the level of local discussion on the costs and benefits of the accession.

Estonian Euro–optimists often use very general arguments, forgetting that different social groups have different agenda concerning the accession to the EU. At the same time, Euro–sceptics have used slightly different tactics, focusing on the agricultural sector and

pensioners, which have suffered most during the transition period. Inability (mostly on the Euro-optimists' side) to connect the discussion with everyday problems of the ordinary people is one of the reasons why the debate remains abstract and arouses accordingly little interest. This could be avoided if journalists expressed more boldly their own personal views and even considered the introduction of unconventional means of spreading the ideas. This would encourage and in some cases even force both specialists and high ranking civil servants to join the discussion, which would eventually enhance the level of the local Euro-debate.

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### **Political Support and Legitimacy of the Power Liina Kirsipuu, Citizenship and Migration Board**

The article mainly analyses the political attitudes of the Estonian population on the basis of assessments in public opinion polls, as well as concrete participation in political activity. The central theoretical notions discussed in the article are specific and general political support, trust, and legitimacy of the power.

The article also touches upon the importance of public opinion in today's Estonia and the objectives that the Riigikogu Chancellery has set for sociological surveys.

The empirical analysis presented here was made on the basis of the data deriving from the public opinion survey "The State and the People" carried out in October 1999 by the social and market polling company Saar Poll. The results showing the people's political attitudes have been presented as two-dimensional frequency divisions. Assessments expressing specific support or assessments directed at political institutions and power-holders display a clear tendency towards the negative end. However, the majority of the respondents have a positive attitude towards the state and its future, thereby displaying sufficient political trust.

With the help of logistical regression analysis, an attempt was made to confirm or reject the hypothesis that people's political activity is connected with their opinions and assessments of the political situation. Apart from a few exceptions, the hypothesis found no proof.

In conclusion, some perspectives and versions have been presented that might help to bring the citizens and the state closer to each other and promote participatory democracy in the future<sup>17</sup>.

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## Legal Consciousness of the Estonian People

Dr **Andrus Saar** and **Anu Rentel**, social and market research company Saar Poll

The social and market polling company Saar Poll has, since 1996, been carrying out a public opinion trend survey "The State and the People", dealing with the problems related to the work of the Riigikogu. The survey has been conducted at the request of the Riigikogu Chancellery.

On the basis of the survey, the present article takes a closer look on the topic of the legal consciousness of the Estonian people or, in other words, legal culture of the Estonian population.

The Estonian society has undergone very quick and fundamental changes in the past ten years – in principle, one social order is being replaced with another. How does the legal consciousness of the Estonian people look in such a complicated situation? The results of the survey revealed that looking from the angle of legal consciousness, there is rather anomia than "order" in Estonia. It is partly an inevitable situation caused by rapid changes in the society. On the other hand, the situation is a result of people's dissatisfaction with our legal system. People believe that too many laws are created and used to implement power, and too few to help organise the society and help people adjust in the social environment. Estonian people are badly informed about laws and they do not especially trust the Estonian legal system – dissatisfaction can be noted both regarding the "content" of laws as well as their functioning.

When laws are implemented, both positive and negative sanctions play an important role. It may be gathered from people's opinions that presently sanctions of negative character dominate over positive sanctions in Estonia. People sense very little the existence of positive sanctions. Rather often laws remind of their existence through penalties.

The legal system may be regarded as an institution of the Estonian state. Similarly with other institutions, the legal system is more trusted by young people and people with higher social status, and by those who are optimistic about Estonia's course of development.

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## Private Law

### The Principle of Freedom of Contracts in the Harmonising European Civil Law, and the Reform of Civil Law in Estonia

Irene Kull, University of Tartu

The aim of harmonising European civil law is to reduce differences between legal systems in order to guarantee a uniform European economic space and legal culture. In the course of reforming Estonian civil law, several important laws have been passed. The draft law on obligations and amendments to the General Principles of the Civil Code Act have been submitted to the Riigikogu. After their adoption, necessary changes for harmonising civil law in the most important fields have been made. An essential principle of civil law – the principle of private autonomy – expresses itself most directly through freedom of contract. An effective legal order, on the one hand, does not in itself guarantee the freedom of contract necessary for a society based on market economy; on the other hand, there are also no restrictions that are necessary to harmonise domestic law with European law.

Estonia in the development of its economy and market relations has reached a stage where the necessity of restrictions can be felt. The draft law on obligations foresees a number of restrictions on the freedom of the parties to conclude a contract, to determine its content and form. The freedom to enter into contracts can be restricted only with law or with self-restrictions. The freedom to enter into contracts includes also pre-contractual relations and pre-contractual negotiations, which is an important innovation for the Estonian legal system. Determining the content of a contract is limited with general requirements to the content of transactions, the main requirement being conformity with good practice and public order. Equally important are the restrictions set by law the interpretation of which depends to a large extent on the court practice. The current legal order does not guarantee actual freedom of form in contractual relations. But the draft law on obligations makes it possible to guarantee to the parties the freedom of form and reduce formality in settling contractual disputes. A tendency towards full contractual freedom recognised by classical contract law can be noted in the Estonian legal practice. In harmonising civil law in Europe it is considered necessary to restrict significantly the freedom of contract in the interests of certain groups of people. The legislator, when making decisions, should therefore assess to what extent and in which limits to establish restrictions on freedom of contract in order to guarantee free development of the members of society. The article explores different aspects of setting restrictions to freedom of contract on the basis of the changes planned in Estonian civil law.

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## Economy

## **On Some Problems of the Pension System**

Prof. **Alari Purju**, Tallinn Technical University

The necessity to reform the pension system becomes more pressing due to the ageing of the population. In relation with the pension system, one of the critical outputs of ageing is the decreasing of the workers–pensioners ratio, meaning the rise of the average number of people maintained by one worker.

An important factor in connection the impact of the ageing of the population is the retirement age. Although in Estonia the problem of ageing of the population is somewhat less serious than in several western European countries, raising the retirement age of both men and women to the age of 65 cannot be ruled out in the future. The precondition for it is the rise of the general life expectancy of the population.

There is no doubt that ageing of the population will indeed cause problems with the current financing of the pension systems, and some of the principal parameters of the system will have to be changed in order to accommodate these problems. For risk spreading, it is also necessary to diversify the possibilities for accumulating funds in order to guarantee the necessary income at the retirement. However, there is no one single correct recipe to solve this task. It is important to stress that pre-financing will not relieve the pension system of the difficulties caused by the ageing of the population; they will just appear in a different shape.

When dealing with the problem of the pension system, connections with the whole world have to be taken into account. It is essential to assess the opportunity cost of the intended measures, for example their effect on the housing market and employment.

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## **On Pension Reform through a Public Opinion Prism: Choices are Restricted by Lack of Information and Money**

**Marika Kirch**, The Chancellery of the Riigikogu

Following up the article by Prof. Alari Purju, the author discusses public opinion towards a compulsory collecting pension. The Riigikogu Chancellery ordered in May 2000 a survey from the polling company Saar Poll. The figures demonstrate people's knowledge of the current pension reform (see page 194) and their support to the idea of compulsory collecting of pension funds depending on income per one member of household.(see page 195) The



results of the survey indicate that the majority of the people, especially the young, are not informed of the nature of the intended reform. The young, who are the main target group of the pension reform, have a higher income but they are not informed of the reform to the extent that they would be prepared to save a part of their income for the future. Older people, on the other hand, are more informed but they do not have the money to save for their retirement. Moreover, for an older person the burden of saving would be significantly higher than for a young person. There is a situation where those who would like to save, are unable to do it, and the others who would be able to, are not prepared to support the idea of the compulsory collecting pension. But it is impossible to successfully implement social policy reforms if the people do not support them.

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## **Some Aspects of Combating Smuggling and Organised Crime in Estonia – Implications for the Tax Revenue**

**Toivo Mängel, The Chancellery of the Riigikogu**

The article provides a short overview of how the different phenomena treated under the notion of organised crime in Estonia could be classified, and to what extent indirect measures arising from more systematic economic legislation could help to combat smuggling and related organised crime. It is presumed that in order to gain a more coherent picture of the problem it is useful to first understand more clearly the causes of the different types of crime. As the topic is many-faceted, the article does not seek to provide final answers or all-inclusive recipes. However, an attempt is made to view more or less as one whole the standpoints of the institutions that are active in the field<sup>18</sup>. As from the point of view of tax revenue excise taxes are one of the key issues in drawing up the budget, the topic is also clearly related to the main dispute arising in the Riigikogu every year, namely, preparing of the draft state budget.

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## **Education**

### **On the Perspectives of Small Rural Schools and Education Policy**

**Marika Kirch and Hilma Naaber**, The Chancellery of the Riigikogu

The present article deals with the situation of rural schools, the forecast for the coming years and financing of schools from the state and local government budgets.

On the basis of the data provided, it can be claimed that financing of the system of education differs greatly in various counties. The level of financing is affected by different coefficients that are used to calculate the amount of funds coming from the state budget, as well as by the financing possibilities of local authorities. The calculations made by the authors display the following tendency: allocation of a larger proportion of funds by the state does not always guarantee proper financing of municipal schools. For example, in Ida-Virumaa the state's share in the financing of municipal schools is the highest (62.5%); at the same time, the actual expenses per one pupil are the smallest in Estonia (8470 kroons). Similarly, in Järvamaa the share of financing by the state is also one of the highest (52.2%) and the calculated average sum per one pupil is one of the smallest (9718 kroons). In a special situation are municipal schools on the Estonian islands, especially the schools on small islands. The authors' calculations show, accordingly, that on the small islands the average financing per pupil exceeds several times the respective indicators of schools on the mainland of Estonia.

An important conclusion is that the state is not to a significant extent responsible for the coping of small schools. Currently, the state has delegated the main responsibility for the functioning of the educational system to the lowest level (rural municipality), leaving at the same time the relevant tasks without financial cover. Rich local authorities are able to find necessary additional resources for educational expenses of local schools, poorer local authorities must, however, consider closing down schools. The financing of the national educational system and the level of teaching should not depend on whether the school is located in a rich or poor municipality. Important preconditions to be taken into account in financing should also be the educational policy priorities that have been decided both on the level of ministry and county (including regional goals, e.g. which areas definitely need a school, etc.). If decisions to open or close schools are made merely on the local authority level, it is impossible to treat the educational system as an integrated whole.

It is obvious that maintaining of a high-quality educational network in rural areas is much more expensive than in the city, and it is especially difficult to provide good education in a poor rural municipality. This, however, should not be a reason why poorer local authorities should eliminate the majority of smaller rural schools. Now there may arise a situation where rich local authorities can afford a well-functioning educational network while poor local authorities must use extreme measures to help schools survive or are forced to close down schools at all.

The possible reduction of the number of local authorities should also motivate restructuring of the educational system. Authorities at the county level should become more interested to decide what is the optimum school network and how many schools could expediently be maintained in a particular county, considering that the teachers have a sufficient work load, buildings can be maintained, school transport can be provided, etc.

The system of education is a national institution and the state should be responsible at all levels for its proper functioning and the provision of high-quality education.

*Marika Kirch – see a short CV before.*

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## **Education Reform is Part of the Administrative Reform**

Dr **Anu Toots**, Tallinn Pedagogical University

The short article explores the current problems of the Estonian education policy within a wider public policy context. As education policy is one of the areas of public policy, the state welfare model and the main features of the administrative set-up of the state determine also the organisation and principles of the system of education. Therefore, education reform must be in touch with the fundamentals of the state's overall public policy. For example, the organisation of schools cannot be effectively reformed without taking into account the ideology of the administrative reform as a process of administrative reorganisation.

Comparing the changes intended in the organisation of the Estonian school system with the models of organisation of education offered by Heidenheimer, Heclo and Adams (1995)<sup>19</sup>, the eclectic nature of our plans is revealed. The balanced model that has been used until now has not functioned effectively in Estonian administrative policy due to the vagueness of the county level. Therefore, a change of course may be seen as justified. However, doubts are raised by the wish of the coalition parties to merge into one system both the liberal decentralised model and the principles of the etatistic centralised model. Similar reforms and experiments carried out without considering the uniformity of the system have already brought along functional problems in the Estonian health care system.

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## **Social Problems**

### **Efforts on the National Level to Fight Drugs**

**Andres Siplane**, The Chancellery of the Riigikogu

The article pays attention to the need for cooperation between all areas of fight against drug addiction, and sets out to compare the efficiency of this cooperation.

On the basis of sources of the Estonian Forensic Expertise and Criminalistics Centre, the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Police Board, the author presents data on the preventive activity and elimination of consequences, and points at the need for preventive activity among young people and minors. The author finds that the methods used for this activity until now have been vague, and consequently their efficiency is hard to measure. The author also finds that the oft-criticised “Just say no!” solution offered by Nancy Reagan could actually be a considerable prevention model, but in order that a minor could say “No!” he or she must be able find own reasons to justify the decision for himself or herself<sup>20</sup>.

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## **International Relations**

### **Poland and Estonia in the 1990s**

**Ago Vilo**, political observer

Estonia and Poland are linked through centuries-long good relations, sympathies and numerous mutual interests, which with their rises and setbacks have by today created not only a very good basis for cooperation on a new level (European Union and NATO), but also, already during the less than ten years that have passed since the reestablishment of Estonia's independence Poland has become one of our most important partners. Poland is the closest friendly great power to Estonia and also one of the most important countries in the Baltic Sea region. This determines also its position in Estonia's foreign policy. The present status of our relations is characterised by the words of the Polish Foreign Minister Bartoszewski “Nothing separates us, but everything binds us!”

In the 19th century, the University of Tartu was one of the most important centres where Poles came to receive their education. In the final years of World War I, the two peoples were bound by a common fight to protect their independence (on two occasions their armies met in Latvia). Cooperation was also close between the two wars. The two peoples are also bound by the tragic fate dictated by the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact – both were victims of Stalin's and Hitler's policies that had disastrous consequences for the two nations. A binding factor is also the Estonians' recognition of the Poles as an important factor in breaking up the red empire. In 1991, Poland was one of the first to re-establish relations with Estonia already on 26 August. Agreements concluded between the two countries cover practically all the important areas needed for communication. Especially dynamic has been the development of

trade, growing 4.5 times in the last five years. With 1439 million kroons of turnover last year, Poland has become our biggest economic partner in the post-communist Central Europe. The biggest problems for Estonia are a high import surplus and also some export restrictions that Poland has retained after the concluding of the free trade agreement. Fortunately, they have started to quickly disappear. Transport links between the two countries are unfortunately rather modest, although Poland is Estonia's window to Europe on the European mainland. Good relations are also characterised by fairly frequent mutual visits, beginning from the national level with recurrent presidential meetings and ending with close cooperation between many state agencies. Yet, there is much room for development in the scientific, cultural and tourism cooperation.

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### **Third Sector and the State Power**

#### **Third Sector in Estonia and England**

**Rein Järvelill, Member of the Riigikogu**

Civil society has an increasingly important role to fulfil nowadays. Relations between the state and the third sector become increasingly more formal, different agreements and memorandums of cooperation are concluded. High domestic saving supports the development of the third sector. In England, where the third sector is well developed, saving by private people is twice higher than in Estonia when comparing the GDP. In Estonia, developing of civil society is often hindered by the weakness of non-profit associations and the lack of trust. On the way towards an increasingly more ideal civil society, we must learn from foreign experience but we will still have to choose the way that fits best our culture and economic space and our traditions<sup>21</sup>.

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### **Communication between the Civic Initiatives and the State: on the Way to Participatory Democracy**

**Andres Siplane**, The Chancellery of the Riigikogu

The article describes, on the basis of a survey carried out among members of non-profit associations and a similar public opinion poll, the current situation and development possibilities of cooperation between the state, local authorities and non-profit organisations in Estonia<sup>22</sup>. The survey, along with other similar surveys, helps to prepare the Riigikogu debate of the Conception for the Development of Civil Society in Estonia. On the basis of the results of this and earlier surveys, it may be stated that there is a lack of skills, resources and channels that civic initiatives use to express citizens' interests in a democratic country governed by rule of law. When asked about the role of non-profit organisations in the society, 63% of the respondents mentioned presentation of opinions, and 3% policy influence. Answering the question about what they would do when encountering a problem, 56% of the representatives of non-profit associations said they were prepared to exert pressure, and 51% expressed readiness to take recourse to court. In reality, the majority of the respondents, or 55%, have approached the media. Speaking about expectations towards the state, the majority of the representatives of non-profit associations expect public recognition (68%) and financial support (63%); the public opinion, on the other hand, expects the state first and foremost to provide financial support (68%).

The author believes that more attention should be paid to the dialogue between the representatives of the public and non-profit sectors even when resources to solve the problem are lacking at the moment.

*Andres Siplane – see a short CV before.*

### **The Roles of Civil Society in Today's Estonia**

**Prof. Mikko Lagerspetz**, the Estonian Institute of Humanities

A discussion on the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has been initiated in Estonia. On the one hand, they are expected to bring solutions to the problems of mass society and alienation from institutional democracy. On the other hand, it has been proposed that some of the services offered by public institutions be delegated to NGOs. This idea has dominated the Estonian discussion. Several different Estonian-language terms for Civil Society have been used. These terms are reflective of different expectations towards the sphere.

In offering services to the public, NGOs benefit from organizational flexibility and from the fact that their objectives are defined from the bottom up. Under ideal conditions, this makes them capable of more efficient and flexible use of resources than the public sector. For the same reason, however, the whole population does not benefit equally from their activities. If public sector hands service functions over to the NGOs, the objectives of the latter no more emerge from the grassroots. This rips the NGOs of the most important advantages that they have in comparison to public and for-profit sectors. NGOs and private enterprises may raise the quality of educational, social and health services through offering new alternatives, but are unable to substitute for public policies based on universalistic principles.

The principal role of NGOs in a society building up democracy is related to the creation of new channels for dialogue and political participation. In order to advance the legitimacy of the political system, more transparency in decision-making processes and support for the grassroots initiative is needed.

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### **Third Sector: for Whom and for What? Erle Rikmann, Estonian Institute of Humanities**

The author gives a short overview of this year's annual conference of the International Society for Third-Sector Research (ISTR) <sup>23</sup> held on 5–8 July in Dublin, Ireland, on the topic "Third Sector: for Whom and for What?" The proportion of the third sector, or, non-governmental and non-profit activity, increases constantly in the society. The number of organisations based on civic initiative, as well as their membership, is growing, cooperation network of associations is becoming closer, and also cooperation with the public sector and the economic community is catching up. Together with the expanding third sector, its problems become also more complex. This creates a need to share and compare experiences of different cultural, political and social backgrounds – and a conference with such a wide international scope provides an excellent opportunity for this. Approximately 600 people participated in the conference. The speakers emphasised constantly that as compared to earlier conferences this time the focus of theories and discussions has shifted from the provision of social services and the problems of so-called profiting vs non-profiting more to the area of political culture. In the terminology of presentations it was reflected, for example, in the preferred use of the notion "civil society" to "non-profit" or "third sector". Interesting discussions took place, for example, on topics like *the role of politics in civil society and the role of civil society in shaping local and international policy*, but also the *relationship of the state and civil society, different experiences in their regulation and possible forms of cooperation*. Several presentations dealt within different fields with the role of civic awareness and knowledge in developing activities based on civic initiative.

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### **Comments by Non-profit Associations on the Cooperation Memorandum of Estonian Political Parties and Third Sector Umbrella Organisations**

**Kristiina Mänd**, Network of Estonian Non-profit Associations and Foundations

The Memorandum of Cooperation between Estonian Political Parties and Third Sector Umbrella Organisations and the draft Conception for the Development of Civil Society that were moulded in cooperation of more than 40 different organisations have set up goals and principles on the basis of which people could more successfully participate in organising the public and social life. In parallel, an action plan for implementing the Conception and a possible development strategy for the third sector are being prepared. By helping to implement the guiding principles of the administrative reform, like providing better information to the population, encouraging participation in the life of the society and implementing the principles of public policy, the Conception for the Development of Civil Society is a good catalyst for promoting civil society in Estonia.

The work of drawing up the Cooperation Memorandum and drafts of the Conception for the Civil Society has been taking place from 1998 until today in the framework of the UNDP project managed by the Network of Estonian Non-profit Associations and Foundations<sup>24</sup>. NENO also manages the project of the Estonian Volunteer Centre with the support of the Open Estonia Foundation and offers information and training also through seven regional centres and two information points with the support of the Baltic-American Partnership Programme<sup>25</sup>. NENO was created in 1991 as an Estonian Foundations Centre by 26 Estonian private foundations. In the 1990s, it has functioned as a competence centre uniting the third sector, and by now it joins 126 non-profit associations and foundations from different fields. Its aim is to advance joint activity among non-profit associations operating in the public interest and to raise awareness of the importance of civil society in Estonia through legislation, training, research and information.

The future objective of the NENO is to strengthen the third sector as an inseparable part of the civil society in Estonia, increase participatory democracy, make legislation more favourable towards non-profit associations, promote cooperation with the public and business sector, expand possibilities of financing, speed up and strengthen the institutional development of non-profit associations, and raise public awareness of and respect for the third sector. To achieve this, NENO is prepared to cooperate with all institutions having similar goals and is ready to use all the main roles of non-governmental organisations if necessary, including being a professional partner for the public and private sector, a critic and watchdog over the use of public resources, promoter of awareness of the objectives of the third sector and the one sounding the alarm bell, and if necessary also the "antibody" curing the complex organism of the society.

In implementing the Cooperation Memorandum and the Conception for the Development of Civil Society we are prepared to share our experience and cooperation networks. Additional information: [info@ngo.ee](mailto:info@ngo.ee) or [kristina@ngo.ee](mailto:kristina@ngo.ee)

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*2000, managing director of the Network of Estonian Non-Profit Associations and Foundations 2000–.*

**Peep Mardiste**, Friends of the Earth – Estonia<sup>26</sup>

The draft conception for the development of civil society presented to the Riigikogu on the basis of the Cooperation Memorandum is a positive initiative, but yet it is only one important document among many others. Equally important is the constant exchange of information between political parties and non-profit associations and also the process itself. Cooperation with political parties has also stimulated exchange of information and cooperation between non-profit associations of different fields, and merely for this reason the initiative can be considered a success.

Officials take environmental NGOs increasingly more as equal partners. This is due to a constant increase of the professional level of the organisations, which, in turn, is often a result of close practical cooperation with experienced partners from abroad. The main problems, for example between the Ministry of the Environment and environmental organisations, arise primarily from the lack of information.

In order to involve the non-profit sector more effectively in decision-making processes, a concrete procedure should be laid down. The circle of potential participants should not be strictly limited; for example, the interest of environmental organisations is for some time already not limited to the environment protection only – increasingly more attention is given to energy production, transport, etc. For more effective public participation, civil servants could be trained about the nature and role of non-profit associations. It is important that all local or state institutions become aware of the existence and specific tasks of the third sector, and realise that cooperation is often mutually beneficial – both for raising the quality and efficiency of work, as well as for sharing responsibility.

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Prof. **Mait Arvisto**, Estonian Central Union of Sport

The author claims that although people usually understand under the third sector organisations fighting for social rights and charity organisations, the sport system that is mainly composed of non-profit associations is one of the best developed (clubs and unions) and most international (membership in international umbrella organisations) and it presently unites about 90 000 people in Estonia. The Estonian Central Union of Sport<sup>27</sup>, restored in 1990, includes 97 sport unions formed on the basis of 1200 clubs. Non-profit sports associations see their main task as cultivating voluntary, developing and recreational activities according to people's interests. Naturally, all this presumes implementation of

participatory democracy and equality and eventually it serves the interests of raising people's vitality and quality of life.

Transfer from the Soviet-time basically state-run sport system to a free club-based system was accepted already at the Estonian Sports Congress in 1989 and it was fixed in the Estonian Sport Charter (1994) and later also in the Estonian Sport Act. Principles arising from the European Charter on Sport and the so-called European sport model, like creating equal conditions for participation for all interest groups regardless of ethnic origin, social status, sex, etc., equal access to management, recognition of "fair play" principles, fight against negative tendencies (doping, hooliganism, etc.), social partnership, and other guiding principles are also observed in the Estonian sports movement. From the aspect of globalisation, sport is seen as an environment facilitating integration and preserving of national identity.

The author shows that the club-based sport system in Estonia has still significant room for quantitative growth, considering that in the Nordic countries, Austria and Germany 30–40% of the population of relevant age group belong to sports clubs, as compared to our 7–8%. As before, the narrow model of competitive sport is prevailing and there is little room and support for the ideology of fitness sport.

Today, certain division of tasks between the public and non-profit sector has been agreed in Estonian sport, both on the level of laws as well as through a special cooperation and partnership agreement concluded in 1998 between the Estonian Central Union of Sport and the Ministry of Culture. In daily life, there is no shortage of problems – in the mechanism of state support, the priorities, criteria and control measures need to be specified, especially as the activity of sport schools is transferring to sports clubs, which on the other hand is connected with the expanding role of the business sector in sport.

The cooperation memorandum between non-profit associations and political parties, the conception for the development of civil society and other initiatives on similar basis are only welcome, because besides everything else such activities also foster cooperation of sports associations with other non-profit associations and other institutions in general. We can only hope that the started process will not be just a game of democracy or a cover for the lack of democracy, but it will be an efficient step towards competent and real participatory democracy.

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**Prof. Jaan Leetsar**, Estonian Cooperative Union

On the global scale, cooperative activity has a firm place and sound internationally accepted principles of operation, on the basis of which about 900 million people on five continents

have joined into cooperative associations, which is about 20% of the population. The Estonian Cooperative Union (ECU) was founded in 1919 and was restored in 1992. By its statute, the ECU is an association of cooperative organisations whose main objectives are promoting principles of cooperative activity<sup>28</sup> and protecting the interests of cooperative organisations registered in Estonia.

The ECU is convinced that through economic, social and political cooperative activity the Estonian people can become actual masters in their own land. The ECU has two important roles to fulfil in this connection: first, to promote internationally recognised principles of cooperative activity in Estonia with the aim to stimulate people to more active self-help based cooperation both with the aim to receive business services as well as cheaper services; and second, to advise, defend and represent its members (as at 1 July 2000, the ECU had 58 legal members, with a total of about 40 000 individual members). The ECU wishes to develop mutually beneficial cooperation with the state structures and other umbrella organisations as equal partners. The Riigikogu and the Government could in the future delegate certain national functions for guaranteeing the development of cooperative activity to the ECU. The author notes that currently the ECU is not satisfied with the state's activities in promoting cooperative activity. Major problems were caused by nationalisation of the assets of cooperative associations in 1940 and retaining them in state ownership after the reestablishment of independence in 1992. Several laws concerning cooperatives have been written without consulting with the ECU and they do not take into account the international practice of cooperative activity. For example, it is paradoxical that in Estonia cooperative banks can only be established beginning from this year. But it is still impossible to establish cooperative insurance companies.

The ECU is prepared to participate more actively in supporting cooperative entrepreneurship and in regional development programmes. On the basis of the foregoing, the ECU decided to join the cooperation memorandum of nine other so-called non-profit organisations and ten political parties, signed on 14 December 1999. The ECU hopes that the draft conception for the development of civil society, drawn up on the basis of the cooperation memorandum, will become a document that also satisfies cooperative organisations, and that decisions made on its basis will guarantee effective protection to the members of Estonian cooperative organisations against foreign capital, civil servants and various activities that trouble cooperatives. The members of the ECU have given its Board the authority to defend their interests with any legal measures. Additional information by e-mail: [leetsar@etk.ee](mailto:leetsar@etk.ee)

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**Valter Haamer**, Estonian Cultural Societies

Over half a year has passed from the signing of the cooperation memorandum between Estonian political parties and umbrella organisations of citizens associations. During this time NGO centres in cooperation with the representatives of political parties have drawn up a blueprint of the conception for the development of civil society that the cooperation memorandum stipulated. Drawing up the blueprint was an intensive and developing activity as common interests had to be found that would promote cooperation with the central and local power and would stimulate a rise of citizens' activities in the society. The author hopes that the blueprint of the conception that is a result of joint work will meet a warm welcome of the society and the public and the Riigikogu will accept its main principles. After adopting of the conception, a new work-field is waiting for the NGO centres and government agencies – they will need to prepare the documents to implement the project. This activity is closely linked with the current administrative reform because it is high time to involve also citizens associations in the process of the reform.

Until summer this year, it was difficult for the government to communicate with citizens associations because the latter did not have their own central institution. Now it has been created. On 1 July 2000, umbrella organisations of citizens associations formed the Representative Assembly of the Unions of Estonian Citizens Associations that includes national central organisations, including the Union of Central Societies of Estonian National Culture. The author finds that with the establishment of the Representative Assembly, the state has received a partner representing the common interests of citizens associations.

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**Mikk Sarv**, Movement of Estonian Villages and Small Towns Kodukant

The Estonian village movement has already for eight years been operating under the name KODUKANT (home place, in Estonian). The Kodukant<sup>29</sup> programme was started in 1992 by the villages of Rapla county and it had three objectives: a) supporting local self-initiative, b) supporting local small businesses, c) supporting partnerships between villages, local authorities, counties and countries to develop rural life.

For the first four years, the programme operated in cooperation with the Swedish village movement with help of the funding by the SIDA development aid foundation, and there were participants from the villages of six counties and small towns. In 1996, the Estonian state took over supporting of the Kodukant programme as a regional policy programme, and in

2000 it was renamed a local initiative programme. Its management is decentralised to a working group comprised of the representatives of the counties.

Since 1996, there have been three Conventions (or Rural Parliaments) of the Estonian village movement. One of the central issues has been *what can be done with one's own efforts, and where assistance and cooperation is expected from local authorities and the state*. At the first Convention held in Ida-Virumaa, a common decision was made to create an organisation uniting associations of villages in counties, called the Kodukant Movement of Estonian Villages and Small Towns. The second Convention set as its goal to expand European partnership of the Estonian village movement, for which a good opportunity was offered by the travelling exhibition of the European Network of Experience in Sustainable Development that was opened in September 1998 in Tallinn and later spread information about the Estonian village movement on its way through Poland, Hungary, Austria, Italy, Germany, France, Belgium and Portugal<sup>30</sup>. The next step was in 1999 the Travelling Seminar for the Creation of Pre-Accession Partnership held in Estonia and Sweden where the representatives of governments and NGOs from ten Eastern European EU candidate countries gathered to learn about the Estonian village movement. The seminar report was published in the journal of the European Parliament. The last Convention in Hiiumaa in August 1999 assigned the village movement with the task to assist in the forming of a cooperation forum of political parties and non-profit associations, which peaked with the signing of the memorandum of cooperation.

During its eight years of activity, the Kodukant movement has stimulated civic initiative in Estonian rural areas, initiating new projects in cooperation with Estonian and foreign NGOs which unite the local community and raise people's trust in their abilities. Next year, the "Sädenoored Kodukanti" ('Spark Youth to Kodukant') joint project of the Kodukant movement in cooperation with the Junior Achievement Foundation will begin and also a programme for small food processors in cooperation with the Ministry of Social Affairs will be launched. Cooperation with eastern European countries within the PREPARE programme will continue, as well as Forum Synergies and ECOVAST<sup>31</sup> with trans-European associations.

The Kodukant movement considers the cooperation memorandum of political parties and non-profit associations and the conception for civil society to be an important basis that will enable us to continue implementing of the goals of the movement. We expect politicians and other non-profit associations to cooperate for the benefit of rural life. The situation of rural life both in Estonia and other European countries is so difficult that there is no time for complaining and blaming others. The only possibility is to look for solutions through mutual cooperation.

*Mikk Sarv, born 1951, biology studies 1969–71 University of Tartu and forestry 1971–75 the Estonian Agricultural Academy. Work: 1987–90 project engineer at Pirgu Development Centre, 1990–94 deputy county governor of Rapla county, 1994– adviser for development. Affiliation: Estonian-Samic Society, chairman of the Board of the Kodukant Movement, member of the Board of the Estonian Central Society of Local Heritage Studies and member of the Board of the Estonian Free Education Union.*

**Ivo Eesmaa, Estonian Free Education Union**

The activities of the Estonian Free Education Union<sup>32</sup> are carried by understanding that education cannot exist outside the social and cultural environment. On the one hand, the content of education is always connected with a concrete cultural environment. On the other hand, the structure of the society dictates its own expectations and conditions for necessary readiness to cope in the society. Education that fails to consider these expectations and conditions will become a “matter in itself”.

As we are in transition from a totalitarian into a civil society, the whole population of the state needs new skills and they must be acquired in a possibly short time.

Exactly this factor determines the importance of adult training in the Estonian society:

- The Estonian state needs citizens who are highly flexible, responsible and constantly learning.
- Constant self-development is necessary for everybody in Estonia, regardless of his or her formal status.
- Lifelong learning and self-development are possible if favourable mental and material environment has been created for this.

A huge role in creating such a favourable environment belongs to non-profit associations, which form the majority of the institutions in Estonia who are involved in the fields of democracy, society and life education among adults. And it is an important role because right to learn must be guaranteed to the whole population of the country.

A democratic country can base itself only on the informed choices of its citizens in the issues that are important for the future of the state.

Additional information by e-mail: [vhl@ngonet.ee](mailto:vhl@ngonet.ee)

*Ivo Eesmaa, born 1953, physicist, teacher of physics 1979, University of Tartu, additional courses in adult training in 1994 and 1996 at the Nordic People's Academy in Göteborg. Work: teacher at Kärdla Secondary School until 1988, head of the department of education and culture of Hiiumaa county government 1988-95, 1996, chief director of the National School Board 1995, mayor of Kärdla 1997-2000, director of Kärdla Secondary School 2000-. Affiliation: chairman of the Board of the Estonian Free Education Union, chairman of the Board of Hiiumaa Sports Union.*

**Parliamentary World**

**Foreign Delegations Of The Riigikogu**

**Reflections on Baltic Cooperation**

**Trivimi Velliste, Member of the Riigikogu**

In his article, the author looks at the cooperation between Baltic states from its very beginning – the end of World War I, pointing out the possibility of the emergence of even five Baltic states, who would have included also Poland and Finland. Yet, actual Baltic cooperation was not born at that time because the above countries sensed their interests and risks too differently. As a result, in World War II they all had to pay a very high price. The author asks whether this was an inevitable fact.

The article provides an overview of the birth of the Baltic Assembly<sup>33</sup> as a 60-member interparliamentary body of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. It is stressed that the Assembly was born in the process of liberation from the Soviet yoke – as a fruit of common suffering – at the time when the final result of the fight was far from being clear. Exactly for this reason the birth of the Baltic Assembly must be seen as an essentially important achievement of the three peoples and countries.

The author gives an overview of the main emphases of the sessions of the Assembly and its important documents. He highlights the fact that especially at the outset the central issues were related to security policy objectives – first and foremost to a quick withdrawal of Russian troops from these countries.

Yet, security policy has not lost its importance also in the present activities and statements of the Baltic Assembly. The author asks wherein exactly lies the deepest meaning of Baltic cooperation. And he answers himself: most important is undoubtedly existential cooperation – the common struggle for survival. Certainly, this is not merely a military or security policy related struggle, but also an economic, social and cultural one.

It is unimportant whether Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania see themselves as belonging to eastern, northern or central Europe. It is essential that they are able to face together the challenges of the future and find allies.

*Trivimi Velliste, born 1953, English philologist and psychologist, University of Tartu 1971. Work: journalist at the cultural paper Sirp ja Vasar 1976–87, one of the initiators of the heritage movement and first chairman of the Estonian Heritage Society 1987–91, deputy chairman of the Estonian Committee 1991–92, Minister of Foreign Affairs 1992–94, Estonian ambassador to the UN 1994–98, member of the Constitutional Assembly, member of the VII and IX Riigikogu, vice-chairman of the state defence committee and head of the Estonian delegation to the Baltic Assembly.*

## **In Other Parliaments**

### **Parliamentary News**

**Kadri Toompark**, Centre of Information Services for MPs of the National Library of Estonia

The aim of this subsection is to offer information and international news from the parliament's point of view. The selection is focused mainly on the countries connected with the European Union and NATO, but is not limited to it if there is any interesting news from

other regions of the world. Mostly the Internet sources of the current year are used: homepages of EU and NATO member states and of the parliaments of their candidate countries, as well as news agencies Baltic News Service<sup>34</sup> and Reuters and EBSCO and FirstSearch databases. The offered information is selective for the reason that homepages of many parliaments are only in the local language or contain only law-making activities. The selection represents news on legislative bodies of Bulgaria, Ireland, Kuwait, France, Sweden, Germany, Slovenia, Finland, Great Britain, Ukraine and Belarus. In the next issues of the Riigikogu Toimetised, also parliamentary news from additional international parliamentary organisations are welcome. The RiTo e-mail is: [rito@riigikogu.ee](mailto:rito@riigikogu.ee)

*Kadri Toomark, born 1974, University of Tartu scandinavistics (Norwegian) 1998; Hedmark Colledge (Norway) 2000-. Work: Centre of information services for MPs of the National Library of Estonia 1998-2000.*

### **Activities of the European Parliament in the First Half of 2000**

**Anu Nestor**, EU Information Centre of the National Library of Estonia

The overview of the activities of the European Parliament has been compiled mainly on the basis of the information obtained from <http://www.europarl.eu.int> As an introduction, the compiler also presents some facts on the elections to the European Parliament in June 1999 and gives a summary of the sessions of the EP from January until summer vacation. The overview provides the reader with a good possibility to compare the topics of discussions in the EP and national parliaments and keep an eye on the common global policy of the European Union.

*Anu Nestor, born 1951, information specialist and bibliographer, Tallinn Pedagogical University 1975; additional training in European Union law, institutions and documentation, 1998-2000. Work: 1982-98 Estonian Academic Library, head of section; 1998- head of the EU Information Centre of the National Library.*

### **History of the Riigikogu**

#### **Visit of the Riigikogu Foreign Affairs Committee to the Polish Sejm in 1925**

Prof. **Jüri Ant**, University of Tartu

In 1925, from 12-22 May, the parliamentary delegation of the Estonian Riigikogu, led by August Jürman, the deputy chairman of the board of the II Riigikogu, visited the Polish Sejm. The delegation met with high-level Polish state officials, marshals of the Sejm and Senate. The delegation was given a tour of Krakow, Lodz, Vilnos. The return visit of the Polish parliamentary delegation took place in February 1926. The Polish delegation was led by the vice marshal and chairman of the foreign committee of the Sejm, Jan Dembski. The exchange of parliamentary delegations, remaining the only one during the period between the world wars, had a positive impact on the cooperation and mutual understanding between the two countries. A concrete result was the creation of the Polish-Estonian Society<sup>35</sup>.



*Jüri Ant, born 1939, history 1964, Doctor of history 1983, University of Tartu. Work: lecturer at the University of Tartu 1966–, head of the department of history of the Soviet Union of the University of Tartu, professor 1984–91, regular professor of modern history 1991–, head of the chair. Affiliation: Estonian Learned Society.*

## **Toompea Castle becomes Parliament Building**

**Heiki Sibul**, Secretary General of the Riigikogu

*In the life of the Estonian Parliament, an important change has taken place in 2000 – the Government of the Republic moved out of the Toompea castle into a building at Rahukohtu 3 on Toompea Hill, and thus the separation of legislative and executive power has been effected also on the physical and geographical level.*

In the 13th century sources, Toompea castle is called *castrum minus*, meaning a small castle. The castle's function as a seat of the parliament begins at the birth of the Estonian state in 1918. The young republic needed quickly a place where the parliament could convene, and in 1920 the Board of Elders of the Constituent Assembly decided that the building of the Riigikogu must be founded on the ruins of the prison of Toompea castle. An interesting fact is that the first building of the Riigikogu, opened on 12 September 1922, was intended as temporary. Construction of a new building was planned for the time when the country's economic situation has improved. Since that time, extension of the Riigikogu working rooms has been frequently an issue for debate. The question came up especially sharply after the creation of the State Council, or the second chamber of the parliament, in 1938. During the Soviet time, the Supreme Council did not any more in essence fulfil the functions of the parliament (it convened only for a few days a year). Such an imaginary parliamentarism fit into the existing building together with the offices of the then Council of Ministers.

The factual reestablishment of the Estonian parliament began only after the referendum on the Constitution and elections of the VII Riigikogu. The Riigikogu Chancellery was formed on 5 October 1992. As the problem of space was persistent in the 1990s, and guaranteeing of proper working conditions to the Riigikogu was one of the functions of its Chancellery, search for solutions began. Information about the buildings of other parliaments and their use of rooms was collected for the Board of the Riigikogu. If the Estonian Riigikogu will have 10 927 m<sup>2</sup> of floor space in Toompea castle, the Finnish Etuskunta has for example 33 940 m<sup>2</sup> before their new building is completed, the Danish Folketing has 44 000 m<sup>2</sup> and the Australian parliament 250 000 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>36</sup>

The problem was also discussed in the development plan of the Riigikogu Chancellery (1997). We found that due to the lack of space, fulfilling of several functions of the Riigikogu was hindered, including its primary function – representing the people. Without their own working rooms, members of the Riigikogu could not satisfactorily arrange meetings with their voters, interest groups and specialists. Fulfilling of the legislative function also requires availability of a separate room for the MPs where they can process the huge amount of information needed for their work.

Analysing the different information, weighing the pros and cons, as well as possibilities, the Board of the Riigikogu and the Chancellery came to a conclusion that for a normal functioning of the Riigikogu the castle should belong to it. With its decision of 4 November 1999 on the transfer of state assets, the Riigikogu Economic Committee gave its approval for handing over the Toompea castle under the administration of the Riigikogu Chancellery. The Government of the Republic began moving out of the castle in July 2000. The leaving of the Government from the Toompea castle improves the working conditions of the Riigikogu and facilitates a better discharge of the control functions and representative functions by the legislative and executive power<sup>37</sup>.

*Heiki Sibul, born 1963, lawyer-psychologist 1991 University of Tartu, additional training at Oxford University and University of Helsinki (1990, 1991). Work: adviser of the scientific, educational and cultural committee and media committee of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia 1991-92, head of the legal department of the Riigikogu Chancellery 1992-95, Secretary General of the Riigikogu 1995, member of the secretariat of the national electoral committee 1992-95, vice-chairman of the electoral committee 1996-2000 and chairman 2000-; member of the World Association of Secretary Generals of Parliaments (ASGP) 1995-; member of the council of the Institute of Law 1994-; member of the council of the National Library 1995.*

## **Literature and Databases**

### **National Library of Estonia**

#### **Publications of the National Library and the Riigikogu**

**Rita Hillermaa**, Centre of Information Services for MPs of the National Library of Estonia

This is an introduction to publications compiled by the National Library, which reflect the activities of the Riigikogu or are necessary for parliamentary service, in comparison with similar publications in the Nordic countries.

The major publications are the "Riigikogu Directory" (1993-1999) introducing the members of the Riigikogu and its factions, the "Chronicle of the Riigikogu" (1992/1993-1998/1999) dealing with the structure and activities of the Riigikogu by its sessions, the album "Riigikogu" (1998) on the history of the parliament, its activities as a constitutional institution and the architecture of the building, "Elected and Governed" (1999) introducing the members of the Estonian parliamentary and other representative bodies and governments, the "Riigikogu Bibliography" (2000), annual lists "Bibliographia Iuridica Estonica" or Estonian legal bibliography, and the "Estonian National Bibliography: Official Publications".

Internet address of the Estonian National Library: <http://www.nlib.ee>.

*Rita Hillermaa, born 1957, library science and bibliography 1979, Tallinn Pedagogical University. Work: head of the service of publications of the centre of data and information*

*analysis of the National Library of Estonia 1993–98, chief specialist of the centre of information services for MPs 1998–; member of the editorial board of the Riigikogu Toimetised.*

## **A Selection of BA Theses from the University of Tartu in 1997–2000**

**Maia Ruttu**, Centre of Information Services for MPs of the National Library of Estonia

This year the Parliamentary Information Centre of the National Library began to collect data about the graduation theses defended on the topics of law in Estonian higher educational institutions and creating a relevant database<sup>38</sup>. The start was made with the Law Faculty of the University of Tartu and the first year reflected in the database is 1993. It is further intended to continue adding information to the database also on the graduation theses defended in other higher educational institutions and reflect them currently in the annual lists of legal bibliography (beginning from 2000). The overview offers as an introduction a selection of theses defended at the Chairs of the Public Law Institute of the Law Faculty at the University of Tartu (1997–2000) on the topics of relevance for the parliament, handling of the Constitution and other problems of state law, administrative law, public service and corruption. Additional information by e-mail: [maia@nlib.ee](mailto:maia@nlib.ee)

*Maia Ruttu, born 1967, historian 1990, University of Tartu, Estonian Law Centre additional training programme for lawyers 2000. Work: department of bibliography of the University of Tartu Library 1990–95, centre of information services for MPs of the National Library of Estonia 1995–, information specialist.*

## **Politics and Political Parties in the Internet Homepages of Political Parties Represented in the Parliament**

**Piret Juhani**, Centre of Information Services for MPs of the National Library of Estonia

The Internet, which is one of the most important sources of information today, is a quick and convenient means for political parties to introduce themselves. The portal of the Centre of the Estonian State Network <http://www.riik.ee/estno/> is a gate to most homepages of Estonian state agencies and organisations, including political parties. Most of the political parties represented in the Riigikogu use the means offered by the Internet to introduce themselves. Homepages of political parties offer general information about the party, its programme, structure, connections to the institutions of state power, and reflect the activities of the party. Information on the Riigikogu factions is available on the Riigikogu homepage at <http://www.riigikogu.ee/parliament.html> or on the homepage of the respective party under the relevant section.

*Piret Juhani, born 1976, BA in information sciences, Tallinn Pedagogical University 1999, BA in information sciences University of Jyväskylä 1999, Tallinn Pedagogical University, master studies in information sciences 1999–. Work: senior bibliographer at the centre of information services for MPs of the National Library of Estonia.*

## RiTo Recommends

The section *RiTo Recommends* seeks to provide a wider context for political choices by offering short reviews and abstracts of books and academic articles that could serve as sources of inspiration for people who analyse or manage the society. The present issue of the RiTo contains short reviews or abstracts of the following seven sources:

- Eesti uue aastatuhande lävel. Compiled by Ebba Rõigas-Rääts; Rahvusliku Arengu ja Koostöö Instituut, Akadeemia Nord. Tallinn: TEA, 2000. 342 pp.: ill. In Estonian
- Helemäe, Jelena; Saar, Ellu; Vöörmann, Rein. Kas haridusse tasus investeerida?: hariduse selekteerivast ja stratifitseerivast rollist kahe põlvkonna kogemuse alusel; (Was it worth investing in education?: on the selective and stratifying role of education on the basis of the experience of two generations). TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut. Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus, 2000. 302 pp. In Estonian
- Tanning, Lembo. Põhjamaade majandus = Nordisk ekonomi. I-II osa. Tallinn: Ten-Team, 2000. 348, 448 pp. Translation into Estonian
- European Principles For Public Administration. Translated and edited by Berit Aaviksoo, Juhani Lemmik. Tallinn, 2000. 28 pp. (Original: SIGMA<sup>39</sup> collection; no. 27, Paris, 1998)
- Bonnor, Peter G. The European Ombudsman: a novel source of soft law in the European Union. *European Law Review*. Vol. 25 (2000) no. 1, p. 39–56.
- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. *Toward a New Common Sense: Law, Science and Politics in the Paradigmatic Transition*. Routledge; N-Y; London, 1995.
- Latest book review, Katsh, Ethan M. *The Electronic Media and Transformation of Law*, Oxford University Press, 1989, describing the impact of new information technology and electronic media on the legal systems, the subject is topical in Estonia in connection with the proceedings of the draft Public Information Act in the Riigikogu and its anticipated entry into force in 2001.

## RiTo NOTICES

*The section of notices provides an overview of the most important seminars and conferences, legal and social-economic research, projects, etc, related to the activities of the Riigikogu. These are the topics on which readers can obtain additional information or make queries through websites. The section of notices in the RiTo is meant first and foremost for the users of the Internet version of the publication. As a rule, the links will lead to the full texts available on the Internet.*

*A channel that is oriented at our colleagues in other parliaments, is the English version of the homepage of the department economic and social information of the Riigikogu Chancellery ([http://www.riigikogu.ee/osakonnad/msi/research\\_home.html](http://www.riigikogu.ee/osakonnad/msi/research_home.html)). Its aim is to offer overviews in English and guide to Internet sources on Estonian institutions, politics, economy, social development, culture, etc, for experts working at information and research services of other parliaments. First and foremost, we have borne in mind our colleagues in the cooperation network of the European Centre for Parliamentary Research and*

*Documentation (ECPRD – <http://www.europarl.eu.int/dg4/cerdp/en/public>) and IFLA (<http://www.ifla.org/VII/s3/sparll.htm>) Section of Parliamentary Libraries and Research Services. In addition to the analyses and background information prepared in the Riigikogu and the Riigikogu Chancellery, we provide references on our homepage also to other databases available on the Internet, which are regularly updated. A homepage does not only mean one-way information – it can also offer many contacts. In addition, the new web site includes links to useful web sites and contacts in Russian.*

*The section of notices contains a separate subsection with information on how the first issue of the RiTo was received and what the plans for the following issues are. Concerning RiTo3, besides the main topics that the Editor-in-Chief mentioned in his comments, also President Lennart Meri and Chief Justice of the Estonian Supreme Court Uno Lõhmus have been asked to make a contribution under the section of Constitutional Institutions. The editorial board has also considered creating a separate subsection for the factions of the Riigikogu where they could introduce the programmatic views or activities of their respective factions and political parties. In order to select the best political speeches of the Riigikogu, we cooperate with the Estonian Debating Society and the Estonian Association of Political Scientists – arising from the concept of the RiTo, the selection should contain speeches by the best speakers of both the coalition and opposition. Fulfilling the promise made in the RiTo1, there is also going to be a selection of the best Estonian political caricatures in 2000.*

*Our partner for the issues of design of the publication is now the Estonian Artists Union. With their assistance also multimedia projects can be seen in the Internet version. There is also a notice that technical preparation of the printed version of the RiTo will be transferred from the Law Centre in Tartu to the National Library in Tallinn that fulfils also the functions of the parliamentary library, and the Law Centre will remain responsible for the work on the Internet version.*

*The editorial board of the RiTo considers as one of its tasks in the coming period to implement and familiarise the Internet forum – we expect topical short essays, commented reviews of professional literature, Internet links with interesting additional reading, and other material. NB! Unlike many other e-forums, the RiTo strives for transparency and will not publish anonymous texts in the forum.*

*Additional information and proposals: [RITO@riigikogu.ee](mailto:RITO@riigikogu.ee) or [Aare.Kasemets@riigikogu.ee](mailto:Aare.Kasemets@riigikogu.ee)*

## **Notes**

1 See also A. Kasemets “Implications of new public management theory in the parliamentary research services”. Discussion paper, IFLA 2000:

<http://www.riigikogu.ee/osakonnad/msi/tell51> or <http://www.ifla.org/IV/ifla66/papers>

2 SIGMA paper No 27: “European Principles For Public Administration”, OECD, Paris 1998 – <http://www.oecd.org/puma/sigmaweb>

3 The composition of the Board of the Riigikogu – see <http://www.riigikogu.ee/parliament.html>

4 See <http://www.ipu.org/cnl-e/161-dem.htm>

5 On 15–16 September this year, a Good Law–Making seminar was organised in cooperation between the Council of the Baltic Sea States and the Estonian Riigikogu. Mrs Oviir also participated in its first panel discussion dealing with international law, constitution and human rights. The programme of the seminar and its materials are available at <http://www.riigikogu.ee/conferences>

6 <http://www.gov.ee/government/agreement.html>

7 “Good public administration” may be identified by the principles of public administration that set standards to governance (see European Principles For Public Administration: Sigma paper no 27, OECD, Paris 1998: <http://www.oecd.org/puma/sigmaweb>).

8 <http://narko.sm.ee/programm/pohim4.asp> (in Estonian)

9 Discussion of an issue of national importance initiated by the factions of the Estonian People’s Union, Estonian Centre Party, Estonian Coalition Party and United People’s Party of Estonia, together with the draft of the Riigikogu decision concerning the privatisation plan of the Narva Power Plants; 14 June 2000; see the transcription [http://www.riigikogu.ee/ems/stenograms/2000/06/t00061418-19.html#P1254\\_252974](http://www.riigikogu.ee/ems/stenograms/2000/06/t00061418-19.html#P1254_252974) (in Estonian). On the same day, there was a rally in front of the Riigikogu building organised on the initiative of the opposition parties, and the campaign of collecting signatures against the privatisation was continued, which was also extensively covered by the media. The signatures were handed over to the President of the Riigikogu, Toomas Savi. Editor–in Chief.

10 [http://www.riigikogu.ee/ems/stenograms/2000/08/t00081406-03.htm#P103\\_22855](http://www.riigikogu.ee/ems/stenograms/2000/08/t00081406-03.htm#P103_22855) (in Estonian)

11 [http://www.riigikogu.ee/ems/stenograms/2000/08/t00082809-03.htm#P202\\_47073](http://www.riigikogu.ee/ems/stenograms/2000/08/t00082809-03.htm#P202_47073) (in Estonian)

12 See Fr. Müller. Strukturierende Rechtslehre. 2. Aufl. Berlin, 1994.

13 The survey could be carried out thanks to a grant from the Research Support Scheme of the Soros Foundation.

14 Pettai, V. and Kreuzer, M. (1999) “Party Politics in the Baltic States: Social Bases and Institutional Context”, East European Politics and Societies, 17, 148–189.

15 Savoie, D. J. (1998) Fifteen Years of Reform: What Have We Learned? –Taking Stock. Assessing Public Sector Reforms. Edited by B. Guy Peters and Donald J. Savoie. Montreal & Kingston. McGill–Queen’s University Press.

16 <http://gaia.gi.ee/ies/>

17 The article by Ms Liina Kirsipuu was written on the basis of the apprenticeship work done at the Riigikogu Chancellery and the BA thesis defended at the social faculty of the University of Tartu. A selection of the data of the survey "The State and the People" are available on the Riigikogu homepage: [http://www.riigikogu.ee/osakonnad/msi/over\\_soc\\_study.html](http://www.riigikogu.ee/osakonnad/msi/over_soc_study.html)

18 The article is based on a short survey of the Economic and Social Information Department (2000, 6–7/9), compiled by the author, conducted during preparations for the Baltic Assembly and the Nordic Council of Ministers joint meeting of working groups on the shadow economy held in May 2000.

19 A.Heidenheimer, H.Hecló, C.T.Adams (1995) Võrdlev halduspoliitika. Sotsiaalse valiku poliitika Ameerikas, Euroopas ja Jaapanis. Külim.

20 See also Health and Human Development On-Line Magazine "Drug Abuse Prevention: Beyond "Just Say No"" (<http://www.hhdev.psu.edu/research/norm.htm>).

21 MPs Rein Järvelill, Tõnu Kauba and Aimar Altosaar together with the representatives of the Estonian third sector made a study trip to the UK within the framework of the UNDP project "Strengthening Estonian NGOs' Sustainability" coordinated by the Union of Estonian Non-Profit Associations and Foundations. Additional information on the project: <http://www.ngo.ee> and <http://www.undp.ee>

22 See also [http://www.riigikogu.ee/osakonnad/msi/uurimused/mty\\_ra.html](http://www.riigikogu.ee/osakonnad/msi/uurimused/mty_ra.html) (in Estonian)

23 See <http://www.jhu.edu/~istr>

24 See <http://www.ngo.ee/> and <http://www.undp.ee>

25 See <http://www.bapp.ee/>

26 <http://www.foei.org/>

27 <http://www.sport.ee/eskl/yldinfo.html> (in Estonian)

28 see International Cooperative Alliance (ICA): <http://www.coop.org>

29 <http://www.kodukant.ee/>

30 see <http://www.forum-synergies.org>

31 see <http://www.ecovast.org>

32 <http://www.ngonet.ee/vhl/> (in Estonian)

33 See <http://www.saeima.lv./baltasam/> or <http://www.riigikogu.ee/international.html>

34 <http://bnsnews.bns.ee/>

35 At the meeting of the IFLA Section of Parliamentary Libraries and Research Services in Jerusalem this year (see <http://www.ifla.org/IV/ifla66>), informally also the cooperation between countries who remained in the socialist camp as a result of the war, was discussed. Director of the library of the Polish Sejm Mr Wojciech Kulisiewicz mentioned also that the archives of the Polish Sejm were destroyed in war and he would be interested in the documents concerning the Polish Sejm that can be found in the archives of other countries. His e-mail is: [kulis@bs.sejm.gov.pl](mailto:kulis@bs.sejm.gov.pl). Editor-in-Chief

36 This year, the Ukrainian parliament organised in the IFLA global cooperation network a survey on the size and functions of parliamentary buildings. Additional information from Dr. Eduard Afonin: [afonin@rada.gov.ua](mailto:afonin@rada.gov.ua)

37 You are welcome to a tour of the Riigikogu in the new gallery opened in 2000:  
[http://www.riigikogu.ee/panoraam/panod/toompea\\_loss.html](http://www.riigikogu.ee/panoraam/panod/toompea_loss.html) see also:  
<http://www.riigikogu.ee/history.html>

38 Documenting of graduation theses of Estonian higher educational institutions has to a certain extent grown out of the proposals for research topics that the Riigikogu Chancellery has suggested in 1996–2000. See also the Riigikogu homepage at  
[http://www.riigikogu.ee/osakonnad/msi/coop\\_home.html](http://www.riigikogu.ee/osakonnad/msi/coop_home.html)

39 SIGMA – see <http://www.oecd.org/puma/sigmaweb>