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## Summaries

### EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S COLUMN

#### *Choices within ourselves*

*Helle Ruusing, Editor-in-chief of the Riigikogu Toimetised; information adviser, Chancellery of the Riigikogu Press and Information Department*

For a time this autumn, a discussion broke out in the Estonian media over the dearth of ethical and moral values in society. It struck me that I, too, have become more inured with each passing year where my social instincts are concerned. I have started tolerating things and phenomena that should not be tolerated. Even worse, I have become more indifferent. This holds true for many of us. What else can explain the growing custom of pushing the boundaries of legal and moral norms? Unfortunately, such a practice is also widespread among the elite. It can be said that the only effective way to re-right law and justice is good laws and an effective enforcement mechanism. That said, it is not possible to use laws to regulate everything in society. Most choices are made by people guided by their consciences. The line between what is permissible and impermissible runs within ourselves. More dangerous than gaps in legislation is when that boundary within us starts shifting. That is why I believe that liberating ourselves from ethical numbness is an important task from the standpoint of society's development.

A month after the local elections, the Riigikogu Toimetised invited politicians and political scientists to share a table and discuss the electoral behavior of the Estonian population and positions of the parties in light of the election results. In addition to the main theme of this edition of this publication – the economy – the reader will find articles on topics such as ecological tax reform, the future of the Estonian legal system, cultural policy, and civic education.

### ESSAY

#### *Perspectives for the economic success of Estonia*

*Jaak Leimann, professor, Tallinn University of Technology*

The article discusses Estonia's economic success and future prospects. In order to assess today's results, recollections, assessments and hopes are presented dating from the early 1990s, when Estonia regained its independence. It all began with economic crisis, modest skills and knowledge about market economy, and a considerably poorer situation than in the Central European countries.

There are different opinions regarding the current economic situation. Estonia is mostly considered successful. A lot has been written about the factors contributing to its early economic success. In the 1990s, we were somewhat ahead of Latvia and Lithuania with our reforms. They have now followed our lead; however, several solutions in the sphere of economy vary in the Baltic states. The European Union is a powerful factor, and many of the vaunted factors

of success have fallen into the background. Despite its rapid economic development, Estonia is a relatively poor country. It is also a very small country. The convergence operating in a joint market situation should be influential and significant factor of economic success, at least for the next few years.

It is difficult to make long-term forecasts. It is not possible to reliably predict whether the Estonian economy will ever reach the level of Finland, for example. We do not know how the Estonia's development rate will change in the future. The economy continues to develop cyclically, which means that at least within a longer period, declines and maybe even crises are bound to happen. We have miles to go before the status of the European welfare state is achieved. The writer believes that Estonia's road to "happiness" will last at least as long as the Soviet occupation, i.e. 50 years. So far, one-third of the road has been travelled.

To ensure economic success, the Estonian economy needs structural changes. No doubt – both industry and services will be necessary in the future as well. Labour and material-intensive production will be replaced by more knowledge-intensive production, of products with greater added value. The government can promote structural changes indirectly, through developing of infrastructure, and ensuring that the required specialists are trained.

In the past few years, medium-term planning has become entrenched in Estonian business and governmental practice. Our activities are planned more and more from other centres. Planning has become more detailed. At times there is a feeling that the command economy is returning. Today's tens, even hundreds of development plans are mostly wish lists, being very similar, but not linked to each other, containing little creativity or new ideas. Planning is the key; however, strategic thinking, action, and bringing the plans to life are even more important.

There are many factors contributing to future success and they change over time. Great hopes are placed on the knowledge-based economy. The surest way of getting there is raising the level of education, especially ensuring a better specialized education for specialists. Specialists launch knowledge-based innovations. More material resources are also necessary, alongside more valuable human capital. Conservation is important. We should assign a higher value to productivity in the way we govern the state, and discuss administrative economics, legal economics, domestic and foreign policy economics. Family as an economic unit, supporter of the careers of its members, and bearer and developer of the morals and ethics that are important for success, should be appreciated.

In a certain sense, Estonia is in the same situation as in the days of regained independence, nearly 15 years ago. There are prerequisites for future success, but there are also problems. Today we need more creative discussion in the name of tomorrow's success, including economic success.

## POLITICAL FORUM

### Electing local government councils

*Winning local elections – ways to measure success*  
*RiTo conversation circle*

The Riigikogu Toimetised gathered politicians and political scientists for a round table discussion on electoral behaviour of the Estonian people and political parties' place in politics,

in light of the local government councils elections, held on 16 October. Meelis Atonen (Reform Party), Evelyn Sepp (Central party), Mart Nutt (Pro Patria) represented the politicians; Allan Sikk (Tartu University) and Anu Toots (Tallinn University) represented political scientists. The biggest problem in connection with the election results was that during the last local government elections the right to vote was exercised by only 47% of the electors, which is 5.5% less than in 2002. The electoral activity had the greatest decline in the large cities, which indicated that people were more satisfied with the way democracy operated in smaller local governments than in the cities. The part of the voters, which have not exercised their right to vote for some time already, should become a target group for politicians in the next elections. The other issue discussed was how to measure success in the local elections and how justified was to talk about national success during the elections, especially since power was gained in a concrete local government. In addition to these topics, the issues of electoral unions, E-voting, amending the Electoral Act and polarized party system were discussed.

## The legal system

### *The development of Estonia's legal order*

*Rein Lang, Minister of Justice, Estonian Reform Party*

Estonia's legal order no longer needs radical restructuring, since our legal fields are generally well regulated. We should now concentrate on the quality of legislation. We must however admit that in drafting certain laws, the internal logic of the field that the law regulates has been disregarded. Above all, these are laws that are very influential from the standpoint of civil law, such as the Family Law Act and the Law of Succession Act. Both of these date from the previous legal order and amending them is not only a case of formal updating of legal acts. On the other hand, in the case of the Commercial Code, just a boost is necessary for the most part, avoiding making business law excessively stringent. If certain activities are criminalized that are indeed to a certain extent harmful but do not meet with great condemnation in society's legal consciousness, then the value of punishment is devalued.

### *Notes on the future of Estonia's legal system*

*Urmas Reinsalu, chairman of the Riigikogu Constitutional Committee, Res Publica*

There has been little talk lately of the general development and problems of our justice system, which cannot be considered right, since the transition period in the formation of the national judicial system is far from over, but rather has passed into a new, more complicated phase. Just because we are a subject of the European Union's legal system it should not under any circumstance make us intellectually lazy in this area. After the end of the first phase of incorporating European justice, it is possible and also downright essential to assess, calmly and analytically, what our national justice system needs, and what society expects the justice system to resolve, contribute to, and to avoid hindering. It might be appropriate to conduct a broader parliamentary hearing, asking that legal scholars take part and put in their ideas alongside high-ranking justice officials. It is important that nothing come into being covertly, but rather in the course of a well-grounded scholarly discussion where participants have an obligation to discuss and the freedom to their opinion.

## Ecological tax reform

### *Reducing labour taxes will balance the rise in the rate of environmental fees and taxes*

*Aivar Sõerd, Minister of Finance, Estonian People's Union*

One of the main trends of Estonian tax policy in the years ahead is to reduce labour taxes in order to support increased total employment, instead putting more taxes on consumption, use of natural resources, and environmental pollution. If we want to be sustainable, market participants must be given a sign, through tax policy measures, that fair fees are to be paid for consumption, using natural resources and polluting the environment. Ecological tax reform will not result in a general increase in tax burden, since the income tax has already begun to be lowered. Ecological tax reform must be accompanied among other things by the abolition, or at least a significant reduction, of so-called environmentally unfriendly subsidies. One important step has already been taken: Estonia has received permission from the European Commission to exempt biofuels used for heating purposes from the excise tax.

### *Environmental protection and budget gaps*

*Taavi Veskimägi, Vice-President of the Riigikogu, Res Publica*

There has been much big talk in Estonia on the topic of ecological tax reform lately. Unfortunately a new draft of the environmental fees act introduced in the Riigikogu at the end of September shows that compensating workforce tax cuts through raising environmental fees has been empty talk. Even the explanatory memorandum to the draft emphasizes the need for making environmental investments of over several ten billion kroons into water and refuses management, and uses it as justification for a significant rise in many pollution fees. The writer of the article has no desire to impugn the noble goal of ecological tax reform – shifting tax burden from taxing the workforce on to taxing the use of natural resources. But we cannot call what is happening in Estonia ecological tax reform, but rather an environmental fee hike, plain and simple. Just as raising pensions by a couple hundred kroons does not a pension reform make, neither can raising environmental taxes be magnanimously termed tax reform. If it could be done, the term would be devalued.

## Culture policy

### *Estonian culture policy at a crossroads*

*Raivo Palmaru, Minister of Culture, Estonian Centre Party*

The Estonian government cannot be accused of lacking a cultural policy. The problem lies above all in the fact that the elitist-conservationist culture policy followed to date does not conform to the needs of a dynamically developing community, which is why the aim of cultural policy is changing. The dominance of the norms of high culture in assessing culture is weakening. They are being replaced by a democratic view of culture based on, for the purposes of shaping and assessing culture policy, the criteria of availability, diversity and satisfaction of people's needs for culture. Along with this, the defining role of the state (read: politicians and officials) in directing cultural activeness is receding. It is being replaced to an increasing extent by civil society and the market.



***Culture and culture policy****Signe Kivi, rector of the Estonian Academy of Arts*

As of the commissioning of this article, there was a sneaking movement afoot on the home cultural front to bring back commercials to state television and radio. Perhaps it was a clever ploy to mobilize politicians to increase broadcasting support by leaps and bounds—after all, a rise is necessary. Still, it seems that the talk of bringing back commercial content stemmed on this occasion from other interests. These interests would be a strong cultural policy, which I certainly do not support. I value a cultural policy where the creative individual can act freely and is not distracted by rapid changes in direction, a policy that takes him or her into consideration but does not interfere.

## CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

**The European Commission*****The European Commission seeking to make European administration transparent****Siim Kallas, Vice-President of the European Commission*

Discussions over the future of Europe have been in a central position in sessions of the European Commission this year. For its part, the Commission is satisfied with its proposals to reduce the amount of legislation and regulation of European life from Brussels. The Commission session also approved an initiative to make European administration more transparent. The idea for such an initiative developed about a year ago. It emerged that the identities of the individuals and firms who receive assistance—agricultural assistance, above all—from the European budget are a great secret in most states. The commission's work is itself undergoing modernization, in what is termed the e-commission project. Walking to a session, a giant paper-crammed collapsible folder resembling the bellows of an accordion under my arm, I remember Estonian government sessions where everything was on screen. I hope that we will be able to get by in the future at our Commission meetings without such large amounts of paper.

***The European Commission is not the government of the European Union****Indrek Treufeldt, Estonian TV correspondent in Brussels*

Estonia is only beginning to learn to sense the currents of power in the European institutions, which is quite complicated, as even the European Commission alone has many ostensibly contradictory dimensions. On one hand, this institution embodies the diversity of its member states, but on the other hand must represent the joint interests of the European Union. The current fiery debates over closed and open economies beg the question of what ideology the Commission represents. It is true that this question is based on the notion that the Commission operates as the government of the European Union, since it is governments that have some kind of political agenda. Yet the Commission is not the European Union government, but rather a center for tracking daily routine, above all for doing what the member states tell it to do. At the same time, the program speech delivered by European Commission president José Manuel Durrao Barroso at the end of September contained a phrase which appears especially significant,



considering inter-institutional power relationships. Barroso intimated that the Commission is now monitoring basic agreements more closely, which means that the Commission is like a watchdog that could even sue one or another member state for winking at treaties.

## STUDIES AND OPINIONS

### Putting in order the judicial system in Estonia

#### *Putting in order the objective justice in Estonia: from codification to restructuring of justice*

*Raul Narits, University of Tartu, professor of comparative jurisprudence*

Estonia has reached a stage of development in its legislative drafting where the laws for all the important walks of life appear to already have been adopted, several major legal acts being on the second time around. In the opinion of many legal scholars, this affords us a chance to take time off and take a look at the work that has been done and put it in order; for if we do not, the consequences may be serious. First of all, the difficulties may consist in finding the necessary regulation. Also rendered more complicated is realizing justice in its direct forms as well as intermediary forms—implementation of law. Systematization of legal norms creates and develops the system of concepts that serves as the setting for all legal thinking and explaining of the content of legal norms. Hence the writer's proposals to create an institution to put in order objective aspects of law, taking an example from France, where the chairman of the supreme codification commission is no lesser than the prime minister himself.

### Election results

#### *Gauging the volatility of the electorate: voting for the Riigikogu, 1999-2004*

*Iti Vanaküla, master's candidate, University of Tartu Department of Political Science*

Volatility indexes most often deal with the problems of democratic development and the stabilization of party systems. It is a proven fact that net volatility is much higher in Estonia than in other post-Soviet states, not to mention Western societies. The underlying motive of this paper is to examine and map movements on the individual level. The author of the paper will attempt to construct a new index consisting of four elements: the number of voters that have abandoned a certain party, the total result for all parties in the first election, the new supporters of the party, and the total result for all the parties in the second election. The inclusion of these elements guarantees that the new index is capable of taking into consideration all possible movements.

## Industry policy

### *National innovation policy requires fundamental changes*

*Rainer Kattel, senior analyst, Praxis Center for Policy Studies; professor of Tallinn University of Technology*

*Tarmo Kalvet, Praxis Center for Policy Studies, innovation policy program director*

*Anne Jürgenson, Praxis Center for Policy Studies, innovation policy analyst*

Estonian innovation policy has primarily been aimed at commercialization of science and knowledge at scientific institutions: high technology. Drawing on studies conducted in the field, it is clear that innovation policy must become much more entrepreneur-centered and not only support R&D but focus much more on improving the competitiveness of companies. This especially in the situation in which Estonia now finds itself: parallel to rapid growth in export-based and consumption-based growth, the economy's capacity for technology and skills is decreasing. The problem is not only too little R&D but, above all, the relative lack of products and process development not related to subcontracting. The goal of the study was to explain what might be the priorities and measures supporting the growth of commerce and their hierarchy in the national development program drafted for 2007-2013. On the basis of the findings, the authors make a proposal for planning an innovation and industry policy that would allow companies to move into activities and fields where rapid growth in productivity and cooperation between companies is possible. Many companies instead of a scattered few would benefit from this policy, thanks to the synergy that would be created and the spread of knowledge throughout the entire value chain.

## Labour market policy

### *Mass layoffs: international practice and Estonia's experience*

*Andres Võrk, Praxis Center for Policy Studies, analyst; University of Tartu doctoral candidate*

*Lauri Leppik, Praxis Center for Policy Studies, analyst*

*Reelika Leetmaa, Praxis Center for Policy Studies, program director*

Since mass layoffs are a fairly new concept in Estonia's regulation of working relations, we do not yet have practical experiences in this field. The role of the public sector in responding to mass layoffs has been fairly modest and focused on verifying the legality of the termination of employment contracts and payment of benefits. There is generally no early intervention with regard to finding new jobs for laid-off employees, and systematic cooperation between the institutions, employees and employers of the public sector is rare. As a rule, social plans have been drafted in the case of several large scale dismissals of employees. Also, measures are set forth in some collective agreements for training workers to be laid off. Thus, the first thing is to bring about closer cooperation between the various parties. Development of employment market services targeted at mass layoffs should begin.

## State funding

### *The essence and problems of the financial reform of the Estonian general education system*

*Janno Reiljan, member of the Riigikogu, Estonian People's Union, adjunct professor of foreign economics, University of Tartu*

*Ele Reiljan, PhD, senior researcher in marketing, University of Tartu Faculty of Economics and Business Administration*

Issues related to the funding of general education are very much the subject of debate not only in Estonia, but all over the world. Many scientists have proposed various ways for raising the efficiency of financing systems (e.g. Aaronson 1999, Nechyba 2003) and thereby enhancing the sustainability of financing schools (Downes 1992, Murray *et al.* 1998). However, in this connection, it is extremely relevant to bear in mind that by educating children, schools have considerable influence on the economic, social, cultural and regional development of society. The absence or existence of a school in a town or village, and its educational standards are crucially important for people's choices in finding a home or job, and thereby also determine regional differences in real estate prices. Because of the intricacy of the social relationships and effects, the alternative ways of financing education should not be viewed from the mere aspects of availability or standards of education, but from the aspect of usefulness of the school network as an aggregate whole.

The aim of the article is to evaluate the planned reform of general education funding in Estonia. The article relies on the information of the Ministry of Education and Research on the educational funds allocated by the number of pupils (per capita funding or the so-called capitation fee) from 2001 to 2005, and on the data about investment funds allocated to general education institutions by local governments from 1996 to 2004 in the framework of the State Investments Program.

The analysis indicates that in the implementation of the new general education funding system in Estonia, different development strategies need to be harmonized in order to ensure the application of the principle of equal treatment in the funding of schools. This assumes development of a methodology that would enable us to assess the sustainability of schools and implementation of a system that allows application of the resources provided by Riigi Kinnisvara AS (a state-owned company in charge of state property) by local governments with smaller financial capacity. All this requires profound analysis that takes into account the amount of investments made and the efficiency of schools. Unfortunately several aspects of the reform have been discarded in the preparation and implementation process of the new funding system, and this might have a substantial effect on regional development in Estonia.

### *Financing local governments in Estonia*

*Olev Raju, University of Tartu, adjunct professor of economic theory*

The opportunities of the system of local government financing currently used in Estonia have been exhausted. The large differences in local government revenue and growth of the tax-free minimum that are the inevitable result require rapid and full reform of the current system. The problem of the weakness of the revenue base of local governments will not be solved by leaving them an even bigger share of the individual income tax. Even raising that share to 100% would leave the revenue base for most local governments weak at the same

time that the gap between the revenues of richer and poorer local governments would grow significantly. A system based on real estate taxation and corporate income is used in Europe to provide stable funding for local governments. Neither of these can be used in Estonia. This again raises the issue of standardizing the principle of cost and revenue orientation in the funding of local governments. There is unfortunately no theoretical research in this field that is based on the situation of Eastern European countries.

## Youth political participation

### *How to compare the social political activeness of young Europeans?*

*Marti Taru, researcher with Tallinn University Institute of International and Social Studies*

The article provides an overview of one aspect of the project Political Participation of Young People in Europe (EUYOUPART) – the equivalency of data from international survey polls. Special attention was devoted in the project to the methods of international survey polls. The Institute of International and Social Studies took part in the project for Estonia. The main goal of the project was to develop a methodology – a questionnaire and survey method – for measuring and comparing how active young people between the ages of 15–25 were in social policy. Comparative measurement of theoretical concepts in several countries is significantly different from data gathering in one country. The types of problems associated with studies, carried out in many countries are summed up by the concept of equivalence. Drawing a parallel with studies conducted in one country, we can say that this is a continuation of the concept of validity to take in cases in several countries.

## Ecological tax reform

### *What is ecological tax reform and why do we need it?*

*Silja Lüpsik, Ministry of the Environment, environmental economics chief specialist; National University of Ireland, Galway*

*Urmas Koidu, Ministry of Finance, indirect taxes service head*

The role of environmental taxes and fees is small in Estonia compared to the member states of the European Union, and as a result, the influence on economic players is also small and does not motivate the latter to act in more conservationist fashion. According to forecasts, a total of 3.8 billion kroons or 2.5% of the GDP will be received by the state in 2005 in the form of environmental taxes and fees. Even though the main goal of ecological tax reform is protecting the environment, the other aspect of reform is reducing workforce taxation. As a result of lowering the income tax, the tax burden will fall in 2006 to 32.6% of the GDP, compared to 33.3% or 0.7% of the GDP in 2003. This means that in order to keep the general tax burden at the 2003 level, the government can adopt measures that would increase receipts of environmental taxes and fees or other taxes on consumption by 0.7% of GDP. Estimates of the rise in environmental fees show that this would not result in a significant rise in production costs and drop in competitiveness at Estonian companies. Nor will environmental conservation-associated costs for households outgrow capacity.

## The parliament in the European Union's decision-making process

### *A year and a half in the EU – the first accomplishments of the Riigikogu*

*Aili Ribulis, master's candidate, European politics and public administration*

The article focuses on the relations between the legislative and executive powers in Estonia against the background of EU membership. It first summarizes the theoretical discussion about the changing role of parliaments in contemporary national political systems. It further focuses on the position of the Estonian Riigikogu and its relations with the government in shaping the national positions in EU affairs and exercising scrutiny. Previous enlargements have shown that durable structural relationships between the actors of the domestic political system regarding the management of EU affairs are formed during the first years of membership. Therefore, it is important for the Riigikogu to establish itself as an active actor in EU affairs today. Contrary to the commonly used argument, the article argues that the position of the national parliament vis-à-vis the government can in fact be enhanced through EU membership. The article concludes on the basis of the activities of the Riigikogu that it has used its legal power well and is in the process of establishing itself as a strong actor in the shaping of national positions in EU affairs in Estonia.

### *Engagement in decision-making process of the countries, which acceded to the European Union in 2004*

*Olev Aarma, adviser and secretary general of the Riigikogu's European Affairs commission*

The aim of the article is to give a brief overview of the changes made by the CCEEs that joined the EU on 1 May 2004, in their parliamentary EU scrutiny mechanisms. Most of these countries have opted for the so-called "Nordic Model" which means a strong parliamentary involvement in EU decision-making process.

Four parameters are described, i.e. the form of mandate given to the Government, participation of the members of the Government in EU Affairs Committees' meetings, the types of received documents and ways of receiving as well as the involvement of specialized committees.

The conclusions include, inter alia:

- the legally binding/non-binding nature of the mandate given to the executive branch does not reflect the real power of the parliament in participating in the EU decision-making process;
- the biggest problem for the parliaments seems to be the time factor;
- the parliaments of the new member states have chosen a variety of different approaches to document selection, receiving and level of involvement of specialized committees.

## The Riigikogu as seen by Estonian media

### *Analysis of the media coverage of the Riigikogu (May – October 2005)*

*Tarmu Tammerk, Agence France-Presse's Estonia correspondent*

This May and June, the topics related to the Riigikogu's legislative activity that received the most media attention were e-voting, the ban on outdoor advertisements and ratification of the Estonian-Russian border treaty. There was 2/3 less material on the activity of the Riigikogu

in July and August than in the previous observation period, since the coverage of the work of committees and factions as well as of the Board of the Riigikogu decreased due to summer vacations. In September and October, election topics were predominant in the media picture. Appearances in the Riigikogu by three senior officials – the president, the auditor general and the chancellor of justice – met with fairly modest media coverage. The extracurricular activities of Riigikogu members and their trips to far-off places always meet with great interest from the media. Eesti Raadio provides the most systematic overview of the Riigikogu's everyday activities, with its news segments and summaries.

## Electronic mail

### *Electronic mail in the documentation of public sector institutions*

*Monika Saarmann, adviser, State Chancellery Department of Document Management*

The share of e-mail in conveying information for official use has increased from year to year. Estonia has numerous legal acts that contain regulations in the area of official administration, but there are in fact no legal acts on the level of legislation that cover the area of e-mail administration. There are standards that provide a general basis for organizing administration of e-mail and a great many guidelines for management of electronic records, but no compact set of guidelines on e-mail administration in Estonia.

E-mails sent or received during official activity (also including attachments), which document the organization's activity, and reflect the functions, actions and decisions of the institution, are records.

Records must be kept accessible, usable and protected from unauthorized changes until the defined term in the electronic records management system. An e-mail message is a document and record equivalent to all other records of the institution. As a record, the e-mail must preserve its initial content, structure and the context in which it was created.

The administration of e-mails that have value as records places additional requirements on updating of state regulations as well as intra-institution regulations and the knowledge, skills and training needs of public sector employees.

## CIVIC SOCIETY AND STATE AUTHORITY

### Civic education

#### *Models of democracy and citizenship education in Estonian formal education: searching for a missing link*

*Anu Toots, associated professor in public policy, Tallinn University*

Civics has been taught in Estonian general educational system since the very beginning of transition. Although a lot has been done, results are regarded mostly as dissatisfactory. According to the IEA CivEd Study Estonian students support neither conventional nor social movement citizenship model; they are below the international indicators almost at all attitudinal scales.

Author argues that there are two reasons for this situation. Firstly, citizenship curriculum is

not put into theoretical context of models of democracy; instead it is left at the very general, even fragmented level. Secondly, teaching and learning goals have been set based on highly idealistic model of a “good citizen”. Therefore, it is not surprising that such goals cannot be reached.

The article uses four models of democracy suggested by D. Held to elaborate different types of citizenship. This matrix is then applied to the contemporary Estonian political culture and educational policy. Adding also empirical data from IEA CivEd Study and from national surveys, author suggests that different models have different potential to be implemented in Estonia. Taking into account traditions of teaching civics, as well as established pattern of educational policy makes the liberal, representative and elitist models seem to have better perspectives. At the same time, the European Union and the Council of Europe advocate strongly the pluralist and community democracy models. Nevertheless, successful introduction of the latter models, based on social movement citizenship, is dependant on domestic institutional framework. These models presuppose active engagement of civil society actors both into curriculum development and its implementation, which today is still just an imaginary possibility.

In conclusion, every model of democracy needs to be adjusted to the relevant implementation framework; otherwise a link between democratic theory and citizenship practices will be missing.

*The key to success: citizens who have a love of learning, are enterprising and are ready for cooperation*

*Mare Räs, National Examination and Qualification Centre, chief civic education specialist; co-chairman of the Estonian Civic Society Development Concept Implementation Commission's Civics and Public Awareness Workgroup*

Disputes on whether the onus should be on civics class in school (in the field of civic education) have lost its point: civics has become everyone's common concern. It is especially important to adhere to the principle of engagement in defining the concept of a civic education. The Estonian civic society development concept implementation commission's civics and public awareness workgroup is made up of interest groups, which creates a forum where people can contribute their thoughts on how to modernize the civics studies curriculum. The workgroup makes sure that civics as taught in public schools would cover the various aspects of civics studies and support the formation of students' civic values. The topic of the curriculum has been discussed at various meetings, with a round table on the subject also planned. It is important that as many students as possible be involved in shaping youth policy in the schools, so that student government would not only be the province of the successful and those who take the initiative. Engagement does not only require active participation, but also the skill of arriving at and defending one's position. Classes in the subject will, it seems, not be sufficient for developing this ability.



## HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**History of legislation***Parliamentary legislation – the advantage of the free development of the Estonian state**Hulda Sauks, consultant, Legal Department of the Chancellery of the Riigikogu*

Part II of the article (part I was published in The Riigikogu Toimetised No. 11) provides an overview of the work of legislators of the 7th, 8th and 9th Riigikogu in regulating state revenue and expenditures, environmental protection and promoting market economy relations, also in developing enterprise and economic reforms, resolving social and cultural issues and managing the country's international relations. The development of some laws is shown briefly from their genesis as an unembroidered framework act to a set of regulations that thoroughly regulates the field. Examples of such laws are the Competition Act, the family benefits act and the pensions act. Other characteristic acts are chosen on the basis of their strategic importance or general interest (such as the Alcohol Act).

The article attempts to shed some light on the complexity of creating the Estonian justice system, as it required parliament to make decisions on rebuilding sovereignty and international relations as well as the provision of the conditions necessary for promoting the domestic market economy, the resolution of social problems related to the changes in societal organization, and above all protection of the Estonian people and promoting the development of its culture. In cooperation with various memberships of the Government, the Riigikogu was successful in meeting all of these difficult challenges.

**The Riigikogu's international relations***A trip from St. Petersburg to Petseri**Mati Hint, member of the 7th Riigikogu, Tallinn University professor emeritus*

The author, member of the 7th Riigikogu and Tallinn University professor emeritus recalls the at-large session of the non-member states committee of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (CEPA) held 23–27 October 1994 in St. Petersburg and Petseri. The “road trip” taken by the committee, which was chaired by David Atkinson, England, was intended to give more thorough consideration to Russia's application for membership of the organization, and one topic among other matters was that of the Estonian-Russian border treaty.

## LITERATURE AND DATABASES

*The European Parliament library in a new information environment**Iain Watt, Head of Unit for Library Operations, European Parliament**Giina Kaskla, information specialist, European Parliament Library*

Parliamentary libraries today operate in environments of information overload, multiplying information channels and rapidly changing information technology. Do parliamentary clients need a service which promises *more* information to add to their load? What place for libraries in the new technologies? Has a service model which added value in Babylon still got something to add?

One problem in analyzing the work of parliamentary libraries is the dearth of objective, academic, studies relating to this class of library. The literature is almost all by practitioners. In the absence of independent studies, it is difficult to be sure what constitutes a successful model for a parliamentary library, which are the 'best-practices' that should be adopted and what are the current strategic issues facing parliamentary libraries.

Parliamentary libraries have had various histories and operate in various contexts, but they face some common challenges. In 2003 the Secretary General of the European Parliament launched a reform to strengthen intellectual support to Members. This reform programme – entitled 'Raising the Game' – included significant changes to the parliament's library. Raising the Game of the European Parliament Library has been an attempt to develop a parliamentary library for the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century. It has also been an attempt to lay bare the value of the traditional library to an audience of sceptical decision-makers, themselves not direct users of the service. For libraries in general, and for the EP Library in particular in the midst of Raising the Game, the new world of information and knowledge management should be one enormous opportunity - but have libraries got the people, the guts and the managerial and political skills to take it?

