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International Foundation for Electoral Systems

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Republic of Estonia

An Assessment of the Election to the Riigikogu and the Presidency September 16-24, 1992

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems' (IFES) technical team present in Estonia for the September 20, 1992, elections determined that the elections in the areas visited by the team were credible and free from major irregularities.

Forty-eight polling sites were visited in Kloogaranna, Paldiski, Keila, Rummu, Arukula, Juri, Padise, Seljakula, Linnamae, Purski, Soderby, Hullo, Kersleti, Haapsalu, Palivere, Risti, Riisipere, Laagri, Raasiku, Kehra, Kuusalu, Haljala, Aseri, Kohtla-Järve, Kivioli, Rakvere and throughout Tallinn.

Minor infractions resulted from inexperience with multi-party elections and a new election system. Minor irregularities included instances of more than one person voting in a booth and failure of some voters to keep their vote secret.

Other items of note included a long "preliminary" voting period of two weeks before September 20 which may have led to concerns about ballot security among members of the electorate. There was also a lack of standardization of election materials and methods of vote counting.

There was some irritation on the part of the voters and embarrassment from polling site officials at incomplete voter lists and ensuing difficulties. However, arrangements were made at the vast majority of polling sites outside Tallinn for a representative of the citizenship authority to be present to make rulings on citizenship and place late registrants on the list. When making decisions on citizenship, officials appeared to be operating with limited information with regard to regulations, but to be fulfilling their duties in good faith.

In Tallinn, where staff and facilities were under more pressure, late registrants with questions regarding citizenship were required to visit district-level citizenship authorities and then return to the polls. Two of the district-level commissions observed in Tallinn were coping, but clearly operating under some strain.

Despite these minor difficulties, the elections were conducted in an atmosphere of calmness, openness and cooperation. The tension expected by many in the international community between Estonian citizens and the large number of Russian-speaking non-citizens before the election and on election day was not visible. Interviews with Estonian politicians and officials, representatives of the Russian-speaking community and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation demonstrated the desire to avoid confrontation and a willingness to explore possible solutions was widely held.

The September 20, 1992 parliamentary and presidential elections were an important step in the process of rebuilding democratic institutions in Estonia. A number of administrative hurdles, which are addressed in this report, still exist.

Though a fair and credible election process is of paramount importance to any true democracy, the process itself must be supported by the underpinnings of an informed and active electorate and civil society. Estonia, ahead of some of its neighbors, has already made progress in this arena. However, it would be well served by continuing emphasis on the development of civil society to encourage the participation in political life of youth, women and all residents and citizens of Estonia.

II. INTRODUCTION

The Historical Context

After the collapse of the Russian and German empires, Estonia became an independent and sovereign nation in 1918. In the Peace Treaty of Tartu in 1920, Soviet Russia renounced all claims to Estonian land.

The 1920s proved to be relatively stable times, allowing Estonia to establish itself as an independent state. However, the parliament seemed to be unable to pass beyond legislative gridlock and shifting alliances. While Estonia enjoyed relative prosperity during the 1920s, the world-wide depression in the 1930s led to a crisis in the economy.

In March of 1934, Konstantin Päts, head of the Agrarians, seized power and established a relatively benign dictatorship which has been called the "era of silence." Päts used the rise of the right-wing League of Veterans to justify the need to place strong executive power in his hands. By the late 1930s, the political grip of Päts loosened, giving liberalism more rein.

The secret Molotov-Ribbentrop pact placed Estonia under Soviet influence. By September of 1939, Estonia had signed a "mutual assistance" agreement with Russia, compelling Estonia to allow Soviet military bases within its borders. In June of 1940, the small number of indigenous communists, their numbers bolstered by the Soviet workers from Russian border regions and Soviet Army personnel, arranged what was termed by the Soviet government as a "spontaneous uprising of working people." Many claim that the protests, which occurred on the same day throughout the Baltic states, were coordinated by the three Soviet Legations.

On July 14 and 15, 1940, elections were held upon the order of Stalin's emissary, A.A. Zhdanov. Only candidates chosen by the Communist Party were allowed to run for office. On the day before the election, all other candidates were disqualified and their names left off the ballots. The Soviet Army supervised election day and local officials were mandated to encourage a high turnout of voters. The turnout was 84% with 93% of votes for the Communists. After post-election protests were put down by the Red Army, the new parliament set up a Soviet government in Estonia and petitioned the Soviet Union to incorporate Estonia. On August 6, 1940, Estonia became a republic of the USSR in the face of strong protests by the United States and other Western powers.

Over the next year, property was nationalized and thousands of people including a large part of Estonia's intelligentsia, were deported and sent to camps in the Soviet Union. By June of 1941, the German army had established control over the entire territory of Estonia and began a brutal policy of Germanization of the population to bring them into the Reich. The Jewish community was targeted by the Nazis and suffered greatly at their hands.

As the Germans were forced to flee Estonia, in September, 1944 a new Estonian government was declared. The new government was short-lived. By October, the Soviets had advanced into Estonia to reestablish control. An estimated 70,000 Estonians fled to the West before the Soviet advance but many more, surprised by the rapid collapse of the front, delayed departure and remained behind.

The Soviets, initially stated that no reprisals would be experienced by the Estonians. However, after a few weeks the pattern of occupation, soon to be familiar in other countries, became clear. Arrests and deportations of thousands were carried out in earnest.

Small partisan forces opposed the Soviets until the early 1950s, when continued Soviet domination seemed inevitable in the face of little support from the West. By 1949, during the process of collectivization, 60,000 farmers had been deported. Stalin brought in ethnic Estonians living elsewhere in the Soviet Union to strengthen Soviet control of the country. These "Russian Estonians" remained powerful members of the party apparatus until the late 1980s.

As the process of forced industrialization continued, outside labor from elsewhere in the Soviet Union was brought in to fill the demand. Most of the workers were Russians. Their presence, along with a program of Russification, led many Estonians to question their future as a people as they lost more and more share of the population. The issues surrounding the large non-ethnic Estonian population continue to trouble Estonia today.

A Leader among the former Soviet Republics

Estonia, even after the Soviet takeover at the end of World War II, never completely lost its Western orientation and civic culture. Following the death of Stalin in 1953, the Estonian intelligentsia began to reassert itself and from the late 1960s onward, sparked by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, dissident groups became increasingly vocal on civil rights issues. Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, Estonia served as a site for Moscow's experimentation with political reform and economic liberalization. The advent of openness following Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to power in March 1985 led to the spontaneous development of some grass-roots organizations.

Estonia, despite its small size, has demonstrated considerable dynamism in assuming a leadership role among former Soviet republics. It was the first republic to establish a Popular Front, the first to affirm its sovereignty, and the first to leave the "Ruble Zone" by establishing its own currency. A December 1991, report of an inter-agency U.S. Government assessment team on Baltic Assistance Priorities described Estonia as being "now as much as two years ahead of its neighbors in the psychological and economic adjustment process to a free market economy." This same report stressed the need for the adoption of a new constitution, followed by parliamentary elections to speed the pace of political reform and to provide the legal infrastructure necessary to consolidate economic reform.

The success of Estonia in implementing early political and economic reforms and its prosperity relative to other republics in the Soviet Union, has made it both a highly desirable place to settle and a beacon of prosperity to its eastern neighbors. Estonia's symbolic role as leader of the Baltics and former republics, makes its success particularly important to the transition process occurring with varying degrees of success throughout the former Soviet Union.

In order to assess the progress Estonia has made in implementing political and electoral

reform, an IFES team travelled to Tallinn for the September 20, 1992, elections. The three-member IFES technical team consisted of Dr. Peter Schramm, Professor of Political Science, John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs; Paul Wilder, Research and Information Officer, Electoral Reform Society, London; and Christopher S. Siddall, Program Officer, East-Central Europe and former Soviet Union, IFES.

Overview of Recent Events

The importance of the September 20, 1992, elections transcends the borders of Estonia. Many of the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union have been following closely the political transition in Estonia and its stormy negotiations with Moscow. These countries have been observing with particular interest Moscow's reactions to what it perceives as violation of the rights of ethnic Russians who have moved to Estonia since the Soviet occupation in 1940.

Tensions were heightened as the Russian Supreme Soviet chose the day of the Estonian elections, September 20, as the deadline to issue a decree on Estonia:

In connection with the unlawful actions of the Estonian authorities, official claims to Russian territory and acts of terror against Russian citizens the committees of the Supreme Soviet dealing with inter-republic relations and international affairs are instructed to prepare by September 20 a draft resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the State Treaty between Russia and Estonia.¹

The outspoken criticism of Moscow officialdom and some residents of Estonia has been noteworthy. According to his testimony to the Helsinki Commission on August 10, 1992, Paul A. Goble, Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, stated that some in Estonia have called for the creation of a "Narva Republic" within Estonian borders. In Goble's view, this independent enclave could be used to recreate the conditions of the Russian-speaking Dniester region in Moldova to provoke conflict and bring Russian military force to bear in the northeastern part of Estonia abutting Russia.

The IFES team, however, discovered little tension between Russian-speaking non-citizens and Estonian citizens during the election period. The team had occasion to talk to Estonian citizens and Russian speakers throughout the campaign and day of the vote. No animosities were visible.

Although the aforementioned is true, it must be said that one general concern and even fear continued to manifest itself: the uncertainty of Russia's future path. The Estonians do not know what changes will occur in Russia economically or politically. The reforms, newly found moderation, and anti-totalitarianism of Russia are fragile indeed, and many Estonians fear, transitory. Many seem to believe that although the Soviet empire may be dead, the Russian empire is only sleeping.

¹ From the CSCE/Washington translation of Section 6 of the "Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation: On Human Rights in Estonia."

Such concerns are not unfounded, especially in light of the history of Estonia. With the exception of the period between World War I and World War II, Estonians have been ruled by the Swedish, German, and Russian empires. So even though they are hopeful about the future, they are not simple optimists.

There are a number of concerns that were raised by Estonians about relations with the Russian Federation. There is concern about past Russian statements that there may be linkage between the rights on Russian-speaking non-citizens and former Soviet troop withdrawal. The recent agreement between Estonia's former government and Russia that allowed all KGB files to be returned to Moscow has turned out to be widely unpopular with Estonians due to the fact that much of Estonia's recent history is considered to have been lost with the transfer.

Another source of concern is what is perceived as the continued Russian interest in reestablishment of a type of "union" demonstrated by pointing to the agreement establishing the Commonwealth of Independent States; the agreement on coordination of Russia, Belarussian and Kazakh intelligence activities; and the recent Russian decision to transfer the Baltic nations affairs from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the government entity responsible for relations with former Soviet republics.

It was pointed out by more than one Estonian observer that the Russians are demanding two mutually contradictory things in pushing the Estonians to accept all current Russian speakers as citizens. While full citizenship for them is demanded immediately, the Russians also claim the right to defend all ethnic Russians not within their borders, and those who culturally ally themselves with Russia. In such a case, all those Russian speakers in Estonia who would be made citizens of Estonia would really be de facto subjects of Russia.

Although the Government of the Russian Federation has been unable to demonstrate a single example of a human rights violation, the general thrust of its information campaign was to make clear that somehow or another the Estonians were violating human rights. It is not that the Russian argument should not be heard. However, the consequences of jumping to conclusions with regard to relations between Estonians and non-citizens could lead to an explosive situation in Estonia. A recent example of this kind of extreme misrepresentation is the Russian delegation's accusations to the U.N. General Assembly on September 29 that the Estonians are pursuing a policy of "ethnic cleansing."

The implications of the experience in Estonia for the rest of the former Soviet Union cannot be discounted. As has been stated earlier, Estonia has been the site of political and economic experimentation since the 1970s and many have looked to it as one of the most advanced areas of the former Soviet Union. What then are the implications of this former republic successfully holding what it and international bodies term "democratic elections" when its large northern neighbor deems the very election law as allowing for "gross violations of human rights" of non-citizens?

Citizenship

To qualify as a citizen of Estonia, proof of Estonian citizenship of the applicant, parents

or grandparents before 1940 is required. Various documents have been used to establish citizenship such as pre-1940 Estonian passports of the citizen, birth certificates, old report cards, etc.

Non-citizen residents wishing to become naturalized must have lived in Estonia for two years, backdated to March 30, 1990, and then apply for citizenship. After an additional one-year waiting period and passing an exam in basic Estonian, the applicant may become a citizen of Estonia. This law applies to resident foreign nationals who are currently living in Estonia. It is anticipated that a somewhat less liberal law, more in concert with European norms, will be adopted to prevent a massive influx of additional people wishing to become citizens of Estonia.

It is beyond question that the most complicated aspect of the election, not only for observers, but for Estonian citizens and residents as well, pertains to citizenship. Although it is not surprising that after forty years of having been incorporated into the Soviet Union, this resurrected country may have some difficulty in trying to establish who really is, or was in 1940, a citizen. Though there are several kinds of documents which can be used to prove citizenship, the determination by the authorities is sometimes made in the absence of paperwork. The absence of paperwork, which is to be expected in some cases, has probably led to errors of inclusion on the citizenship lists.

Additional controversy over the question of citizenship was provoked by an August 10 appeal by the Estonian National Independence Party to other political groupings to demand that the names of people granted Estonian citizenship for "special merits" be made public. The party demanded that the section of the law on citizenship which allows for simplified procedures for granting citizenship to those with special merits be declared void (paragraph 2 of Article 7 of the Citizenship Law).

As previously stated, the chief complication on election day had to do with the question of who really is a citizen, or rather, how to get ones citizenship papers. Outside of Tallinn this seemed to be resolved with greater ease than in the capital because there tended to be a representative at each polling site dealing exclusively with questions of citizenship. The representative, after a positive ruling, would provide the necessary papers so that the person could then immediately vote. The whole process took no more than about 5 to 10 minutes per late registrant. But in Tallinn the process was more unwieldy because the person without papers would have to go to one of four Tallinn citizenship offices, fill out the necessary paperwork, and then return to the polling place to vote. This process turned out to be such an inconvenience that many of those who had to go to confirm their citizenship never returned to the polling site and did not vote. Further, at each polling place the team was told that at least a few people trying to vote, but unable to do so until they went through the citizenship paperwork, and became disgruntled. The local election commissioners were very embarrassed about this and expressed regret at the complicated process.

For this and future parliamentary elections, the franchise has been restricted to Estonian citizens. This requirement reduced the electorate from just over 1.1 million in 1990 to less than 700,000 in 1992. It is estimated that only some 10-12% of Russian-speakers (the so-called "historic" Russians) residing in Estonia could vote in recognition of their pre-war connections. The "Soviet" Russians who settled in Estonia after the Second

World War to work in the industrial plants were not allowed to vote in the general elections. However, many may soon qualify for citizenship and be allowed to vote in all future elections. In a liberal policy move, all resident foreign nationals have been allowed to vote in the upcoming local elections in Spring of 1993.

Such concessions to the large non-citizen population may serve to allay the fears of many Russian-speakers that they will be the victims of political and social discrimination in the years ahead if they do not qualify as citizens of Estonia and choose not to emigrate or claim the citizenship of another former republic such as Russia or Ukraine.

III. ELECTION PREPARATION

The Election Calendar

<u>Days From Election Day</u>	<u>Action Required</u>
2 Weeks after election declared	Polling station districts formed on the basis of the electoral register list.
Election minus 70 days	Deadline for distribution of seats by National Election Committee to electoral districts.
Election minus 45 days	Deadline for submission of candidate names and candidate lists.
Election minus 40 days	Deadline for registration of candidates and candidate lists by National Election Committee (including deposition of 10,000 signatures in support of presidential candidates).
Election minus 25 days	Deadline for formation of polling station district committees.
Election minus 20 days	Deadline for publication of notice of the boundaries of polling station districts and the location of polling station district committees and polling stations.
Election minus 16 days	Deadline for delivery of ballot papers to voting district committees.
Election minus 15 days	Commencement of advance voting period.
Election Day (September 20, 1992)	Election Day.
Election plus 10 days	Deadline for National Election Committee to register elected members of the Riigikogu and publish notice of the final election results with a complete list of elected members.

All of the deadlines established by the election calendar were met by the National Election Committee.

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY

Formation of the National Election Committee

The National Election Committee is a quasi-governmental body set up for the principal purpose of overseeing the administration of the electoral law and drawing up guidelines. The Committee's membership is renewed every four years, and only supporting staff have a role between elections. Its staff is small and mainly seconded from other government departments.

Changes to membership of the National Election Committee may be made by the parliament (Riigikogu). Proposals for its composition may be submitted by the councils (Volikogu) of the counties or cities. Parties may appoint representatives to the Committee who have the right to speak. The Committee receives organizational and technical support from the Riigikogu chancellery.

Responsibilities of the National Election Committee

The duties of the National Election Committee are rather wide ranging. The Committee has no role in election campaigns per se, although it can make its views known on their conduct. Between election periods National Election Committee staff keep in contact with representatives of political parties, electoral coalitions, the media and electoral experts through organized meetings, such as those sponsored by the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Administrators.

At election time, the National Election Committee's principal duty is to supervise the observance of the Electoral Law and guarantee uniformity of application by issuing guidelines and regulations to Territorial Election Committees. To this end, it may issue draft schedules for the preparation and holding of early elections and enact forms of documents, regulations for storage of documents and issue standards for ballot boxes and seals.

The Committee allocates seats to the electoral districts and determines the election deposit paid by the candidates in accordance with the law. It registers electoral coalitions and also registers and publicizes the candidates and the candidate lists as well as accepting withdrawal of candidates from the list. According to Article 16.4 of the Electoral Law:

Complaints regarding the decisions and activity of polling station district committees may be presented to territorial election committees; complaints regarding the decisions and activity of territorial election committees may be presented to the Republic of Estonia Election Committee. Decisions by the Republic of Estonia regarding the registration of candidates and

candidate lists and election results may be contested in the National Court.

The Committee confirms the form and text of ballot papers and organizes their printing and distribution to the Territorial Election Committees. The Territorial Committee Chairmen receive between three and four training sessions organized by the National Committee. The determination and publication of the results of the elections, including the registration and publication of the list of elected members, is the responsibility of the National Committee as well.

After the election, the National Committee appoints alternate candidates to substitute for vacating members. It may also propose the suspension or re-instatement of members to the Riigikogu. The National Election Committee is responsible for the ratification of the election budget, the allocation of funds for election expenses and matters regarding material and technical services. Complaints concerning the activities of the Territorial Election Committee are received and acted on by the National Committee. If serious irregularities are uncovered, the Committee has the power to invalidate votes cast at polling stations. In addition, part of the National Committee's function is the appointment of polling station election committees outside Estonia together with adoption of procedures regarding timing and the registration of Estonian citizens living abroad permanently.

After the election, the National Committee is in charge of keeping track of the election materials in the following way:

The electoral registers, ballots and protocols with the results calculated by each polling site committee from the polling sites are transferred to the Territorial Committee level where they remain and only the protocols are delivered to the National Election Committee. The electoral registers and actual ballots remain on the Territorial level.

It has not been decided how long the ballots would be kept on the Territorial level. It was suggested by a National Committee staffer that they would be kept for at least a year. In the event of a recount, the National Election Committee would be responsible for counting the ballots at the individual territorial level.

For the September 20, 1992 elections Eerik-Juhan Truuväli served as Chairman, Taavi Torgo as General Secretary, Anu Laido as Head of the Secretariat and Heiki Sibul as Deputy Head of Secretariat. Dr. Truuväli was recently nominated by President Meri for the important position of Chancellor of Justice.

Recommendation: In order to ensure institutional memory of the election process, the National Election Commission should become a permanent quasi-independent body, with a chief electoral commissioner appointed by, and responsible to, parliament for all aspects of electoral administration and practice, education and training. The chief electoral commissioner should have the right to advise parliament on electoral matters and submit regular reports.

Formation of the Territorial Election Committees

The Territorial Election Committees are formed by and changes made to the

composition by the Volikogu of the corresponding county or city. The Committees must have 10 to 20 members. All local government bodies may make proposals for the composition of the Territorial Committee and the territorial party organizations may appoint Committee representatives with the right to speak. Technical services for the Territorial Election Committees are provided by the chancelleries of the county or city authorities.

Responsibilities of the Territorial Election Committees

The Territorial Election Committees are also charged with the supervision and observance of the Election Law. They form the polling station District Election Committee and may alter their compositions. The Territorial Committees determine the election results in the counties and cities and implement the guidelines and regulations issued by the National Election Committee. Within the limits of funds allocated by the National Election Committee, the Territorial Election Committees decide matters relating to the provision of material and technical services. The Committees also receive and act on complaints against the polling station District Committees.

Formation of the Polling Station District Committees

The Polling Station District Committees are formed by the appropriate Territorial Election Committees not later than 25 days before the elections. Polling Station District Committees within diplomatic missions are formed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. District Committees must consist of 3 to 10 members.

Responsibilities of the Polling Station District Committees

The Polling Station District Committees are responsible for obtaining and allowing public access to the section of the electoral register that corresponds to their district. They must inform the electors of the location and office hours of their committees and the time and place of voting. District Committees receive ballot papers from voters not able to be present on election day and prepare the polling room and ballot boxes. They are responsible for organizing voting on polling day and counting the votes cast in the polling station district. District Committees may receive and act on complaints concerning the election preparations and organization of voting.

At the local level there are some 5,000 volunteers recruited to administer the election locally. Some of these people have local government experience, but generally they tend to be teachers, students, etc. who have had relatively little training and whose ranks are subject to turnover in membership. However, there is a fixed term of four years to which poll-workers are appointed.

Responsibilities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Legal Department

An unusual aspect of the Estonian electoral system is the need for the involvement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a capacity other than inviting international election

observers or handling diplomatic or military voting. Because many people living outside Estonia are considered citizens under the Citizenship Law and, therefore have the right to vote, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Legal Department is responsible for the transfer of all ballots and electoral forms to countries where there is a sizable Estonian population and where Estonia has diplomatic representation.

The district in which the Estonian citizen residing abroad votes is determined by last-known place of residence of the voter or his or her parents, grandparents, etc. Therefore, all twelve district ballots as well as the presidential ballots must be sent to each of the Estonian diplomatic missions. The elections are publicized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, working in cooperation with Estonian diplomatic missions, Estonian cultural societies and Estonian-language newspapers.

Thirteen different countries had polling sites for the September 20 elections. Countries with relatively large numbers of Estonians, such as Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, Australia and Canada kept the polls open intermittently from the start of preliminary voting on September 5 until September 20. In other countries, preliminary voting was not arranged and voting took place on election day only.

Polling site committees set up in polling sites abroad are responsible for administering the vote and tallying the results on the protocol at the close of voting on September 20. If there is more than one polling site in a particular country, such as the United States, which had more than thirty, the results are sent to the Estonian Embassy or Consulate by telefax to be consolidated on a country-wide protocol.

The protocols for the presidential and parliamentary races are then sent by telefax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Legal Department in Tallinn for transfer to the National Election Committee. The original protocols for the presidential and parliamentary races and all the original ballots are sent by express mail to the Legal Department which transfers them to the National Election Commission for verification of authenticity and inclusion in the final results. The day after the election, the original marked ballots had already arrived from Finland.

V. LAW ON ELECTIONS FOR THE RIIGIKOGU AND THE PRESIDENCY

Former Election Law

Competitive elections were held in the run-up to independence for local councils in December 1989 and for the Supreme Soviet, later renamed Supreme Council in March 1990. In both instances the Single Transferable Vote (STV) system of proportional representation was used. The system was proposed by Peet Kask, an electoral rules specialist within the Popular Front, as a compromise between a list system and the Japanese-style Single Non-transferable Vote system. According to Rein Taagepera, a comparative election expert and Popular Front candidate for the Presidency of Estonia, "by March 1990 this relatively complex method presented no difficulties for the public or the vote counters."²

² Electoral Studies Vol 9 No 4 December 1990.

For the Supreme Council election, Estonia was divided into 24 electoral districts each electing between 1 and 5 members, 3-member districts predominating, giving a total of 105 members, including 4 seats reserved for members of the Soviet military. Candidates had to be over 21 years old with 10 years' residence in Estonia. Initially, 536 candidates were nominated, but after withdrawals only 392 were left on the ballot.

The main organizations endorsing candidates in this election included the Popular Front, the anti-independence Joint Council of Work Collectives representing much of the Russian-speaking community, both reformist and conservative Communists and Greens. The most organized and disciplined Estonian party, the Estonian National Independence Party, boycotted the election. Candidate affiliations did not appear on the ballot papers, but this only reflected the fluid state of Estonian politics and that some candidates were endorsed by more than one organization. In fact the main cleavage in this election was not between the political groups at all, but rather between the pro-independence Estonian candidates and, in part, anti-independence Russian candidates.

Citizens and permanent residents of Estonia over the age of 18 could vote and the outcome of the 1990 election broadly reflected the balance between non-Estonians and the Russian-speaking population. After realignment by the MPs, three distinct groups emerged: the Popular Front with 43 MPs, the Association for Free Estonia (reform Communists) and other pro-independence groups with 35, and the anti-independence, Russian-oriented International Movement (InterMovement) with 27.

New Election Law

In September 1992, however, STV was not used to elect the new Parliament, or Riigikogu, which was to replace both the Supreme Council and the Congress of Estonia, the assembly directly elected by those who qualified as Estonian citizens. Instead the new electoral law adopted in April 1992, is one of party list proportional representation. The new law provides for a single-chamber parliament, the Riigikogu, of 101 elected from 12 multi-member electoral districts returning between 5 and 13 MPs.

All candidates within the district are listed on the ballot paper, by party or coalition, in priority order of election. Each candidate is assigned a unique code number against his or her name. In order to cast a valid vote, the elector must write the code number of the candidate he or she wishes to vote for in the space provided on the ballot paper. This procedure is also used by Estonia's next-door neighbor, Finland. The votes for candidates of the same party or coalition are aggregated to calculate the party vote total for each group. Independent candidates may also stand for election.

The reasoning behind the switch from STV to the party list system described is based on the desire to consolidate the party groupings at the expense of personalities. Indeed, only one party representative who was interviewed by the team described STV as 'too complicated'. Instead the general consensus was that while STV was felt to be suitable for electing individual candidates in "multi-candidate elections", experience based on the 1990 election showed that it was not an appropriate system for voting for organized parties - particularly when the party allegiances are so weak. When questioned, one of the authors of the new system explained that the difficulty for individual candidates in

getting elected on their personal votes was intentional. The constituency quota is relatively high so that in most cases a candidate's election success would be dependent on party performance rather than his or her own.

The Campaign

The Estonian political situation is progressing at a much faster pace than many expected six months ago. The fact that the Soviet Ruble is no longer a medium of exchange is an indication of the sincere desire for self-determination and may well be considered a sign of political prudence. It is generally thought that Estonia will fare better economically than either Latvia or Lithuania. The sobriety and general political moderation of political discourse during the campaign is a good sign for the future.

No doubt to some observers the Estonians seemed particularly calm and unexcited about the election; some would say even phlegmatic. The mood has more to do with Estonia's national culture than with not caring about the vote. They seem to be a reserved people, rather moderate in their behavior and habits. Several Estonians spoke of their newly found freedoms as a "miracle." Yet they were easy going about the whole process and showed little sign of outward excitement.

Preliminary Voting

An atypical aspect of the Estonian election system, is the extremely long period of "preliminary voting", which is carried out from September 5 to September 19. Preliminary voting is conducted at announced times at every polling station where elections are held on election day, September 20. In rural districts, arrangements may be made to have buses pick voters up and take them to the polling station. At least two polling site commissioners must be present during preliminary voting.

The stated reason for preliminary voting is simply to avoid lines on election day. However, it seems more likely to be a compromise between a system which allows absentee balloting and one in which voting is permitted only on election day.

Recommendation: If absentee balloting is not an option and there is a desire to avoid questions of ballot security and waste of manpower during the long preliminary voting period, one option would be to choose several "preliminary voting sites" throughout individual territories rather than to allow for voting at every polling site in advance of election day.

Allocation of Seats

Seats are filled in three stages. First, the minimum number of votes, the 'quota', to win a seat is calculated by dividing the total number of valid votes in the electoral district by the number of seats to be filled, i.e. in a 5-member constituency, the quota is 20% of the valid vote. Any candidate polling this amount or more of personal votes is elected automatically. If a given candidate is well known or conducts a strong personal campaign he or she may be elected by the voters regardless of how far down he or she

is on the party list.

Second, if there are seats remaining to be filled, which was the case in every district, then the total vote for each party or coalition is divided by the district electoral quota. A seat is awarded to the party or coalition for every whole quota of votes it receives. These seats are filled by the still un-elected candidates on its list in priority order on the district list.

Third, if any seats still remain to be allocated, they are transferred to a national pool for allocation in proportion to the national votes of those parties or coalitions polling at least 5% of the total vote. A modified form of d'Hondt divisor method (divided by 0.9, 1.8, 2.7, 3.6 etc.) is used for this calculation in order to give a small bonus in seats to the largest parties or coalitions. These seats are filled from the national list of candidates presented by each party or coalition.

In total, 604 candidates were nominated by 17 parties or electoral coalitions composed of several parties or groups. In addition there were 25 independent candidates giving a total of 629 candidates or 6.2 candidates per seat. The Popular Front, Pro Patria and the Estonian National Independence Party nominated 104, 101 and 97 candidates respectively; Secure Home nominated 73, the Moderates 49, the Independent Royalists 30, Estonian Citizen 26 and the Farmers' Union 25. The Estonian Entrepreneur's Party, Pensioner's Union, Left Alternative, and the Greens each nominated 14 candidates.

Given the multitude of parties, electoral coalitions and candidates, only the most well-known or effective candidates would be elected at the first stage on personal votes alone. It also meant that relatively few seats would be filled at the second stage on whole district quotas of votes for each list. This proved to be the case. According to provisional figures only 4 candidates were elected on personal votes (isikumandaate); 34 on constituency party list votes (nimekirjamandaate) and no fewer than 63 were elected from the national list as compensation seats (kompensatsioonomandaate).

In that sense, the framers of the electoral law achieved their aim. First, the 5% national threshold excluded from representation the minor parties or coalitions which, in total, polled approximately 20% of the vote. Second, this boosted the 7 biggest parties, i.e. those groups who won more than one seat. According to the provisional figures the largest coalition, Pro Patria, polled 20.8% of the vote and won 28 seats (27.7% of the total).

Third, the provisional distribution of the seats showed that only 4 MPs could claim a personal mandate for their election. The remaining elected candidates owed their election in great part to the performance of their parties and their positions on the party lists.

However, two candidates who were elected on their personal votes --a Pro Patria candidate in district 9, and Juri Toomepuu, a television personality, U.S. Army veteran and Estonian Citizen candidate in district 11 -- demonstrated that it is possible to 'buck the party machine' and still get elected. When the current MPs and candidates stand for election next time, they will have a better understanding of how their electoral system works. Those candidates who adopt a more personalized campaign should have an

advantage over their party colleagues who do not. Thus, the framers of electoral law who hoped that it would consolidate 'parties' over 'personalities', may well be disappointed to find that their intentions are somewhat frustrated by the combined actions of the candidates and voters.

Recommendation: There has been some criticism of the publication of the complete nationwide electoral party lists in the national media. Some candidates felt that the publication of the national list created the impression among voters that they could vote for any one of the candidates on the national list and not just the candidates running in their district (one of twelve). However, this problem of voter education could be prevented through a comprehensive voter education program conducted by the National Election Commission in cooperation with appropriate ministries and non-governmental organizations. It is also the responsibility of the parties to educate their own supporters. Pro Patria, for example, instructed voters to vote for the first candidate on their list if they did not know who to vote for. Individual candidates as well, should raise awareness of their candidacy within an individual district through poster campaigns and access to the local media.

Recommendation: If there is any obvious improvement to the electoral system, it could be the simplification of the ballot by abandoning the code number system for each candidate. It would be easier for the voters to place an 'X' against the name of the candidate they wish to support, rather than having to write in a number.

Recommendation: It would be helpful to the voters if the party affiliations of candidates were printed against their names where lists are composed of candidates of more than one party.

Recommendation: Should the desire arise to allow for greater ease in electing candidates on the district level, a smaller quota, e.g. votes divided by seats plus one, could be adopted. The smaller quota would reduce the number to be elected at the third stage from the national lists.

Recommendation: The publication of the final, detailed electoral statistics for the constituencies, by the National Election Commission, needs speeding-up to allay undue fears that the voting figures are being falsified at the center.

Recommendation: An area that should be examined before the next local elections is institutional voting. Because people must vote in the district where they live and there is no absentee ballot provision, people in institutions such as hospitals cannot vote unless the hospital in which they are staying, is in their electoral district. The team did hear of one instance where the mobile ballot box was used to allow a prisoner who had not yet been convicted to vote. The person had been imprisoned within her electoral district.

Election of the President

The office of the President of Estonia is essentially a symbolic one of head of state and supreme commander of national defense. However, three important powers are reserved to the presidency: the right to call elections to the parliament, (Art. 78.3 of the

Constitution); the right to issue edicts in matters of national importance (Art. 78.7); and the right to nominate the candidates for Prime Minister (Art. 78.9). The Constitution envisages that the President, who must be at least 40 years of age, will be nominated and indirectly elected by members of the parliament or, if they fail to agree, by an Electoral Body composed of members of parliament and the local councils (Volikogu) (Art. 79). The office of the president is limited to two consecutive terms of five years.

However, for the September 20, 1992 elections, the Law on the Application of the Constitution and the Presidential Electoral Law applied. The President was to be elected by direct ballot of the Estonian electorate, providing the candidate with the most votes polled over 50% of the votes cast. Failing this, the parliament would elect the President indirectly choosing between the two candidates with the highest percentages of the direct popular vote.

This arrangement for the first post-Soviet elections was a compromise between those who wanted a "strong" presidency based on a mandate stemming directly from the Estonian people and those who preferred a figure-head presidency. The President elected in these elections serves for only four years.

Direct elections to fill the office of Estonian President were held on the same day as those for the parliament. Each candidate had to be nominated by three Estonian citizens and supported by the signatures of 10,000 Estonian citizens. Four candidates stood for election: Lennart Meri, Pro Patria; Arnold Rüütel, Secure Home; Ms. Lagle Parek, Estonian National Independence Party; and Rein Taagepera of the Popular Front. The votes cast for each candidate were as follows:

	Votes	% of Vote
Lennart Meri	138,317	29.52
Arnold Rüütel	195,743	41.77
Lagle Parek	19,837	4.23
Rein Taagepera	109,631	23.40

As no candidate polled more than half of the votes cast, the names of the two candidates with the most votes, Rüütel and Meri, were submitted to the parliament for the vote. Meri's party, Pro Patria had done much better in the parliamentary elections than Rüütel's Secure Home and had already begun forming a coalition with other parties. Consequently, Lennart Meri was elected President of Estonia with a vote of 59 to 31 by the 101-member parliament. Ülo Nugis, of Pro Patria, was elected Speaker of Parliament. The first and second deputy speakers elected were Tunne Kelam, of the Estonian National Independence Party and former Chairman of the Congress of Estonia; and Edgar Savisaar of the Popular Front and former Prime Minister of Estonia. The 31-year old historian Mart Laar, of Pro Patria, was elected Prime Minister.

The Electoral Registry

Voter Registration is the weakest and most complicated feature of the electoral systems of most emerging democracies as well as that of Estonia. Essentially the list of voters was compiled from the 'money lists', the list of residents who received 150 Estonian

Kroons (about 15 USD) in new currency during monetary reform in June of 1992. The electoral register was supplemented by the lists of names of those who voted in the June 1992 constitutional referendum.

Governmental authorities were widely criticized for not putting sufficient effort into updating and correcting the registers in the three months between the referendum and the parliamentary elections. Problems were compounded by the eleventh-hour decision to extend the franchise to non-citizen wives of Estonian citizens.

However, working in parallel to the state authorities was the Congress of Estonia's citizenship committees. The brainchild of the Estonian National Independence Party, the Congress was an assembly of representatives of the Estonian independence movement, directly elected in February 1990 by 85% of the registered citizens of Estonia, as defined by the 1938 citizenship law.

In May 1991, the Congress decided to issue citizenship cards to those who could prove that they were bona fide Estonian citizens. In August 1991, the Congress' citizenship committees started to issue identity cards both in Estonia and abroad. These cards were recognized by the government as legal documents on election day, although only the newly elected government may grant citizenship definitively.

Not long before the election, the lists compiled by the Congress of Estonia citizenship committee were adopted by the Government of Estonia and deemed to be official registers as well. The resulting electoral register was then a combination of the "money lists", names of those who voted in the constitutional referendum, names of those registered by the Congress of Estonia, and names of those who registered with the Estonian Government as citizens.

On polling day and despite previous reminders an, as yet, unknown number of voters found that they were not on the electoral registers and were directed to the citizenship committees. Upon satisfactory completion of an identity card, the voters were issued citizenship certificates authorizing the poll clerks to issue a ballot paper to the holders of the certificates.

One of the team members observed the proceedings in the East and West Tallinn district citizens' committees at about lunchtime on polling day and was struck by the fact that the staff were under some pressure, although he was assured by the senior officials in both committees that they were coping with the situation. It was fairly clear that only the most cursory questions could be asked and that the details supplied had, therefore, to be taken on trust. For these reasons, it is quite likely that some people were issued with certificates and voted, although they were not entitled to do so.

Recommendation: A thorough scrutiny of the details of at least a representative percentage of the citizenship cards is strongly advised, especially and if at all possible, of those cards issued on polling day. Examination of a sample should reveal the scale of any errors or irregularities.

To an extent, these were teething problems which will not replicate themselves again in the same form. First, because the parallel structures of government and the Congress will have merged into one; second, because the electoral registers will reflect

information gathered on the voters from both the constitutional referendum and the general election; third, because the registers are to be updated annually by the local authorities and lastly because, by then, all the bona fide citizens of Estonia ought to have received their official identification cards.

Recommendation: With local elections due to be held, provisionally, in the spring of 1993, it is vital that adequate time and resources are given to the identification and registration of resident non-citizens in Estonia who will be able to vote. In particular, the registration of resident foreign nationals in areas of heavy concentration such as Tallinn and the Northeast may pose considerable administrative difficulties if sufficient time is not allowed.

VI. PROCEDURES AT THE POLLS

Polling Stations

Polls were reported to have opened and closed on schedule at most of the polling stations visited by the team.

The Chairmen at each polling station visited were questioned about the staffing at each polling station and their levels of training. There were no complaints about the number of staff. Several presiding officers indicated that their staff were fairly experienced, having served as poll clerks at least as recently as the constitutional referendum. Others specifically mentioned several courses in training. All seemed satisfied with the support they received and, indeed, no administrative problems were raised and, remarkably, no serious problems were encountered by the team members.

All the polling stations visited, both in Tallinn and the nearby villages, had enough space to cope with the influx of voters waiting to register their names and claim their ballot papers. Each polling station visited had between two and four polling booths, all adequately lighted. However, in Tallinn, two booths for a polling station seemed an inadequate number and led to the formation of small queues of voters waiting to mark their ballot papers.

One team member checked to see whether the lists of candidates were conspicuously displayed on notice boards. This was not always the case, although whether posted-up or not, the lists were always available for the voters to consult.

Checking to see whether voting instructions were displayed both outside and inside the polling booths, one team member found that instructions were not always posted-up inside the polling booths. Pens were provided in all the polling booths that were inspected, but were not always secured to prevent removal.

Voting Procedures

While there was no sign of any pattern of law or rule breaking during the election, it must be said that the most frequent appearance of impropriety was that more than one person used the voting booth at the same time. This irregularity occurred approximately

ten percent of the time. When questioned, poll workers would inevitably reply that it couldn't be helped, that most people (especially husbands and wives) thought it entirely appropriate to do this. It was explained by several poll workers that though they themselves understood that the voting process should be private, it would take some time before the population at large grasped this idea.

There were also additional concerns with regard to respect for privacy in voting. At two polling sites visited, over a dozen people were allowed into the relatively large room at the same time. The voters had been issued their ballots and were standing around waiting for the single voting booth to become empty. The result was that a number of people seemed to be talking about the ballots, and a few were actually marking their ballots in public with pens that they had brought with them. Clearly, a line should have formed outside of the room, with only two or three people, including the one voting, allowed into the room at the same time.

Additionally, on leaving the booth, it was noticed that many of the voters failed to fold their large parliamentary ballot papers and consequently were unable to push them into the ballot box slits without making them visible to others. As the ballot papers had to be stamped on the back with a validation mark by an official seated by the ballot box, it was possible that some officials observed how individuals voted. In the rural areas, in particular, it is possible that some voters may have felt intimidated by openness of the ballot and the presence of a potentially curious official so close to the box.

It was even suggested that an individual voter could be tracked by stamping his or her ballot in a way that was different from all the others. This problem could be avoided in the future if all of the ballots are stamped in advance.

Recommendation: It is strongly recommended that ballot papers should be stamped when first handed to the voters and that the ballot boxes should be placed in full view of the presiding officer, but not so close as to enable any official to see how the papers were marked or influence the voter. A list of all the candidates and instructions on how to vote be prominently posted in all the polling stations. The voting instructions should also be posted inside the polling booths. Finally, the specifications for and supply of polling booths, ballot boxes, pens, etc. should be made the responsibility of the National Election Commission.

Counting of the Ballots and Reporting of Returns

The close of poll and the counting of votes was closely monitored by one member of the team, in Tallinn, at the Mainor Training Center polling station. The polling station closed promptly at 8:00 pm. Apart from the 10 election committee members present, only a small television crew from Worldwide TV News, for a short while, and the team member were present.

First the ballot boxes for the advanced votes from "preliminary voting" and the votes cast outside the polling station by mobile box were opened and the votes verified. Then the main ballot boxes were opened and the ballot papers sorted into piles of presidential and parliamentary votes. The unused ballot papers were defaced by having their corners cut off.

The ballot papers were counted, face-up, to establish the number of votes cast—approximately 1,050. The ballot papers for the presidential and parliamentary elections were then sorted, simultaneously, according to candidate choice by 8 of the election committee members, while the secretary and an assistant checked the electoral register to ascertain the number of votes issued.

A first review of the votes for each presidential candidate was completed by 9:15 P.M., revealing a two-vote discrepancy between the number of votes counted and the number of ballot papers issued according to the register. A recount of the presidential votes lasting 15 minutes corrected the error and the reconciled figures were entered on the protocol. The first count of the votes for the parliamentary candidates was completed at 9:45 P.M. and again a small discrepancy required the votes to be recounted. The recount took about 15 minutes and the reconciled figures were entered on the protocol. The parliamentary count was completed at 10:15 P.M. All results were recorded on the protocols.

The ballot papers for each candidate were then wrapped in brown paper, tied with string, paper seals applied, stacked-up and transported under police escort to the Central Counting Center in Tallinn. The team member was impressed by the good-humored, but meticulous way in which all the election committee staff went about their business. The counters who were questioned had been recommended or had volunteered to serve on the committee primarily, it seemed, because they enjoyed working together at the center. The entire process was completed at 10:30 P.M.

The one criticism of the process was the failure by the Committee Members to check whether the ballot papers had been stamped with the official mark. Had the ballot papers initially been counted and placed face-down, then the presence of the official stamp on the back would have been apparent. By counting the papers face-up, it rendered stamping them redundant.

Another of the unsatisfactory minor aspects of the elections in Tallinn, although not in the surrounding villages, was the inconspicuous sign-posting of some of the off-street polling stations visited. Inside the polling stations, generally-speaking, signs directing the voters to the rooms or halls where voting was taking place were often inadequate. On several occasions, voters were momentarily lost. Moreover, several large institutes housed polling rooms on the second or third floors. Coupled with poor directions, these were clearly not placed with the welfare of elderly or disabled voters in mind.

Recommendation: The instructions issued to the polling site committees should require that the ballot papers are placed face-down while sorting the ballots for the presidential race from the legislative elections.

Recommendation: More visible signs in the streets would have been helpful. More consideration should be given to the placement of polling stations in the future to maximize accessibility.

VII. ELECTION OBSERVERS

The Foreign Ministry of Estonia was tasked with providing all information regarding the elections to foreign governments and observers and was quite effective and aggressive in fulfilling its duties to inform the observer teams through printed materials in English, Russian and Estonian. The National Election Committee also provided access to transportation on election day as well as a small stipend. Some election observers, citing a possible conflict of interest, did not accept access to government transportation or the stipend.

All foreign observers are registered by the National Election Committee and issued a letter of Power of Attorney to be allowed access to the polling sites. Observers are bound to not interfere with the work of the election committee but have the right to receive information and documents from all three levels of election committees (national, district and polling station) and to be present in the district and polling site committees from the start of the preliminary voting until the results are determined.

Observers are also allowed to inspect the basic polling and returning procedures and voting by mobile ballot box. They may request clarification of election procedures from the chairman of the polling site or district committee and make comments on the elections to the committees themselves. Observers are also encouraged to submit a report of their findings on the elections to Territorial committees and/or the National Election Committee.

On June 9, 1992 the CSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw, Poland issued a Note Verbale stating that it had been approached by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Estonia with regard to the June 28, 1992 referendum and legislative and presidential elections to be held no later than September 27, 1992. Copies were sent to all CSCE Participating States and interested non-governmental organizations. Several CSCE member states responded to the invitation to field observer teams in Estonia.

Several nations were represented in the various observer delegations. The largest of the observer delegations was fielded by the Council of Europe and led by Friedrich Probst, an Austrian parliamentarian.

The Council of Europe delegation held a press conference on the Friday before the Sunday elections. At the press conference, the Council of Europe delegation voiced concerns with regard to the long period of "preliminary" voting during which there were reports of only one election committee member present. The delegation chair also stated that during the preliminary voting there were reports of more than one person voting in a booth at one time and that some voters were showing their marked ballot to other voters in what amounted to propaganda in the polling station. The National Election Committee took particular notice of the criticism that the ballots themselves were of paper too thin to ensure secrecy of the vote and the Council of Europe delegation recommendation to the Estonian media that people should fold their ballots before putting them in the ballot box to ensure secrecy. However, the finding regarding the thickness of the ballot was rescinded at a later press conference after the election when the delegation had learned that the paper was of sufficient thickness.

The delegation adjourned what turned out to be a rather short press conference and announced that another would be held the Monday after the election. At the Monday press conference the elections were described as free and fair with some minor irregularities resulting from lack of experience with multi-party elections on the part of the voters.

VIII. VOTER AND CIVIC EDUCATION

Voter Education

Some Estonian officials and candidates stated that the process of voting was unclear to some voters and that many, particularly the elderly and those in rural areas, did not understand the new electoral or political system.

As has been stated earlier, appreciation for the secrecy of the vote needs to be stressed in a voter education program before the next elections. It was noticed that some voters studied and discussed the voting paper with their neighbors before going into the polling booths. Others took up to two minutes to complete their ballot papers and re-emerge from the voting booths.

It is clear also that the parties need training on how to organize themselves both before, and on election day. For example, only one polling station in Tallinn visited by one of the team had any representatives of the parties present. The party representative who was questioned did not seem to have a clear idea as to the importance of his role. Yet it is crucial for the parties to play a more active part in electoral activities both to safeguard the poll and to demonstrate confidence in the fairness of the result.

Recommendation: Advice and technical assistance from experienced party campaign organizers should be sought by the political parties.

Civic Education

The Estonian electoral system faces a number of administrative hurdles before it can function at its most effective. However, it has been realized by many observers of post-totalitarian societies that free and fair elections alone are insufficient as requirements for a healthy democracy. The damage done to groups, individuals and civil society at large must be taken into account. One means of approaching the development of civil society is an emphasis on voter and civic education. But, not civic education that could be confused with the indoctrination experienced in totalitarian societies.

Democratic civic education is a continuous process of understanding a country's political, social and economic environment and the manner in which this environment affects each member of society. As Estonia emerges from decades of communist control over all forms of information, it is crucial that citizens educate themselves regarding the fundamental values and principles needed to make free choices among a bewildering range of alternatives. Recent opinion polls conducted by the U.S. Information Agency throughout Central and Eastern Europe have shown that many citizens, in the face of continuing economic hardship, are beginning to doubt that democracy provides the best

framework for securing individual rights and promoting the general welfare of society. Civic education programs which seek to inform people of the rights and responsibilities inherent in a democratic society and the consequences of transition to the free market and democracy are therefore particularly timely and important.

In the 1970s, Estonia was allowed the opportunity by Moscow to serve as a site for experimentation in economic liberalization and limited self-rule. With Gorbachev's policies of the late 1980s Estonia moved even further away from Moscow's influence. The success of the reform in Estonia relative to that in the rest of the Soviet Union cemented its reputation as a model of "what could be." Estonia's widely acknowledged role as a leader of successful reform makes its current situation important well beyond its own borders.

However, despite its advanced status relative to its neighbors, Estonia could benefit from an emphasis on teaching its people about the rights and responsibilities inherent in democratic life. Such a training project would have to overcome certain characteristics present in Estonian society that impede civic development. There is a manifest temptation to let others do the "dirty work" of politics and public life as well as a feeling of ennui or helplessness that seems to have taken root among certain sectors of the population.

The IFES election team's observations on the occasion of the September 1992, elections made it clear that one unfortunate aspect of the otherwise encouraging voter turnout is that few young people seemed to have voted. Although the statistics on the voting population have not yet been released and while admittedly Estonia has an old citizenry demographically, it was clear that many young people stayed away from the polls and have shied away from politics in general. Their relative absence from the political life of Estonia is not a good sign for the development of democratic culture in Estonia. However, it is an issue that has been addressed through civic education projects in other countries.

IX. VOTER AND CIVIC EDUCATION TARGET GROUPS

Youth

Unlike the youth in many other post-totalitarian countries similarly situated, the Estonian young people seem uninvolved in public life. This lack of enthusiasm for politics among the youth has been apparent in Estonia since the beginning of the independence movement and may have their origins in the old political system of Communist Estonia.

After Soviet occupation of Estonia, youth organizations of all types were disbanded and reformed along the lines of the Soviet model with children encouraged to join the "All-Union Leninist-Communist Children's Organization" known as the Young Pioneers and teenagers and young adults steered toward membership in the "All-Union Leninist-Communist Youth Organization" better known as the Komsomol.

Membership in both organizations was strongly encouraged by the government as was Estonian Communist Party membership for those wishing to receive a good education or a good job. "Volunteer" brigades of workers were recruited from among the

Komsomol and compelled to engage in public works, bring in the harvest, pick up litter, or other state-sponsored activity. Often these activities defied any sense of fostering local community activity as they were often conducted far from the individuals' home.

It is this legacy of communist-dominated youth programming and strong-arm tactics to dampen dissent and compel the youth to "volunteer" that has so damaged the concept of volunteerism as well as the willingness of the youth to join social or political organizations. In place of willingness to participate in society as responsible members, there seems to be a tendency among the youth in Estonia today to look to Western-style development simply in its capacity to deliver high-quality goods. There is a concern in Estonia that many of the best young minds will seek emigration to the West unless they can find short-term satisfaction in their own country.

Women

Imperial Russia, which controlled Estonia at turn of the Twentieth Century, did not allow women admittance to institutions of higher learning. Some access for women was allowed to Estonia's premier institution, Tartu University, in the early 1900s as well as to private lessons in higher education. By the end of the inter-war period, over one-quarter of the graduates from Tartu University were women.

After World War I, women benefited directly as Estonia became an independent state. The 1920 Constitution of Estonia gave women the vote and declared equality under the law for all citizens. With the new found freedom of association, women were able to organize into groups such as the Estonian Women's League with almost forty branches operating locally throughout Estonia with several thousand active members.

However, in the political arena, women were under-represented over the years in parliament with only a few members in the 120-member body. There was also a disparity in the property rights held by women and men in the inter-war period.

After the Soviet takeover of Estonia, the position of women as well as almost all others in Estonia took a radical downturn. Women were drafted into the industrial work force in greater numbers, but as in all of the other republics of the Soviet Union, they were rarely considered for important political or managerial positions. Though women constituted between a quarter and a third of Communist Party membership, they were not considered for leadership posts within the party. Women were shunted into a monolithic women's group which claimed to represent all the interests of all women. Debate over what those interests were was seldom tolerated by party officials.

Women in Estonia have been faced with the lingering patriarchy of the inter-war period as well as elements of the communist system which destroyed or retarded all civic development including the relationship between men and women. The "women's issues" selected by the state women's organization have been rife with Marxist-Leninist ideology. Action on behalf of women from this pre-determined ideological point of departure has had little positive impact on Estonian women's lives.

There were also a number of other factors which have affected women in post-

communist societies that appear in Estonia, a willingness to accept the degradation that is sometimes inevitable in transitional periods as part of the natural course of things. As with the youth, many women see no escape or wish simply to leave Estonia for the West before examining the options for bettering their situation within their homeland.

Activists in the democracy movement, too, may continue to view groups focusing on women's issues with little sympathy and even distrust as remnants of the old Communist system. The development of new women's groups may very well be greeted by skepticism by both women and men as to their legitimacy in post-Communist Estonia.

Women have made some progress in the September election. Twelve of the members of parliament elected are women and three of the 14 Ministers are women, occupying such important ministerial posts responsible for internal affairs, social affairs, and non-portfolio position responsible for reforms. The level of inclusion of women in political life is respectable by western European standards and bodes well for the future of women in parliamentary politics.

However, there is a need for emphasis on issues facing women in Estonia today. As before under Communism, women continue to make up a relatively small part of the political and social power structure in Estonia. The shrinking of the social safety net in Estonia, as in many other post-communist countries, has hit women the hardest. Women in Estonia, whose lives were overburdened under Communism, must realize that the potential exists to improve their lives significantly through their involvement in the democratic process.

Russian-speaking Non-citizens

The demography of Estonia has experienced a sea change since the inter-war period. It suffered heavy losses of life during World War II and the Soviet occupation immediately afterward. It has also experienced a huge influx of Russian industrial workers since the late 1940s. These Russian-speaking workers were brought in to develop the oil-shale industry to supply the Leningrad area with fuel. The vast majority of these workers settled in what is now the industrial northeast of Estonia and Tallinn. Northeastern cities such as Kohtla-Järve, Narva and Sillamäe are almost completely populated by Russian-speaking workers, many of them transient. Russian-speaking workers also settled in parts of Tallinn to work in local industry. In Tallinn today, only 48% of the population is ethnic Estonian.

In the Soviet era there was no effort made to integrate these industrial workers into Estonian society. Consequently the workers, by and large made no effort to learn what they considered to be a difficult and largely unnecessary language, Estonian. With the political change in Estonia, many of the Russian-speakers feel abandoned by the legal successor to the Soviet Union, Russia. They are also greatly concerned that their political and civil rights will be curtailed if they do not learn basic Estonian and become citizens of Estonia. This apprehension is compounded by the collapse of Soviet military-industrial complex and the fact that many of the Russian-speaking workers have been employed by inefficient "all-union" factories which, without massive subsidies, can no longer afford to stay open.

Those Russian-speaking residents wishing to become loyal citizens of Estonia as well as those who intend to remain in Estonia as permanent residents should be exposed to discussion of the ramifications of Estonian independence and how the change in constitutional and legal structures will affect their lives in future. Discussion with representatives of the Government of Estonia and other Estonians of these issues is especially important as there is a rather heated treatment of the issue of Russian-speaking non-citizens in Estonia in both the Russian and Estonian Russian language press.

As all citizens and residents of Estonia will be allowed to vote in the local elections next spring, it is vital that open discussion of changes in Estonia be encouraged to allow residents as well as citizens to make informed choices from among the candidates in the elections.

Recommendation: A program in voter and civic education should be initiated in cooperation with both governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations experienced in conducting educational seminars. By encouraging the participation of sustainable non-governmental organizations in Estonia, the impact on key segments of the population such as women, youth and Russian-speaking non-citizens wishing to stay in Estonia could be maximized and the benefits of developing the non-governmental organizations' institutional memory and capacity for implementing future civic education initiatives could be ensured. Project affiliates, organizations which contribute either organizationally or by contributing expertise, could also play an important advisory role in this project.

Recommendation: A civic education project in Estonia should seek to accomplish the following:

- Cooperating with respected non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to identify important individuals among women, young people, Russian-speaking non-citizens wishing to stay in Estonia, and other key groups to provide members of these groups with the practical tools to better understand, and become more active in, Estonian civil society.
- Cooperating with NGOs to implement an effective, field-tested training methodology which is well-suited to the Estonian experience of learning in non-academic settings.

Recommendation: A one or multi-year project offering a series of training seminars would be complementary to a short-term pre-local election voter education project for several reasons. The pace of political, social and economic reform in Estonia is moving so quickly that a long-term project could be adjusted to react to changes in the daily life of Estonia. The economy, legal structure and governmental system are all under review and substantial reform can be expected in all these areas.

A series of civic education seminars as part of a long-term project could focus on the following topics:

- Current political, economic and cultural considerations of Estonian citizens and residents;

- The values and institutions of democratic society (reaching goals through democratic institutions; individual responsibilities inherent in a democratic system);
- Essential elements of democratic governments (free, fair and competitive elections; role of separation of powers; respect for rule of law);
- Role of political parties in the democratic process;
- Role of an independent press in the democratic process; and
- Economic consequences of democratic and free market transition.

Leadership seminars for members of key groups could also be held on the following skills in order to train them to disseminate the message they have learned to others for maximum impact:

- Personal skills: the personal qualities and patterns of behavior of an individual that build respect and trust among group members.
- Analytical Skills: the skills used in defining problems, gathering information, identifying trends, and comparing courses of action.
- Social skills: the skills of integration with other people that encourage productive functioning of a group.
- Organizational skills: the skills to articulate ideas and emotions accurately, to persuade others to work toward group goals, and to build group support for action.

X. CONCLUSION

The September 20, 1992 parliamentary and presidential elections were a crucial step in the process of rebuilding democratic institutions in Estonia. A number of administrative hurdles, which have been addressed in this report, still exist.

Though a fair and credible election process is of paramount importance to any true democracy, the process itself must be supported by the underpinnings of an informed and active electorate and civil society. Estonia, ahead of some of its neighbors, has already made progress in this arena. However, it would be well served by continuing emphasis on the development of a multi-ethnic, inclusive civil society which encourages the participation of youth, women and all residents and citizens of Estonia.

Appendix A
Presidential Electoral Law

REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORAL LAW

Chapter I

General Provisions

**Article 1. The Combination of the Elections to
the Riigikogu and the Election for
the President of the Republic**

On the basis of Articles 3 and 4 of the Law on the Application of the Constitution, the election for the President of the Republic shall be held simultaneously with the elections to the Riigikogu.

Article 2. The Basis of the Electoral System

(1) The President of the Republic shall be elected through a general, uniform and direct election by secret ballot. If the President of the Republic fails to be elected through the direct election, the President of the Republic shall be elected by the Riigikogu.

(2) The right to vote shall rest with Estonian citizens who have the right to vote in accordance with the Riigikogu Electoral Law.

(3) Any Estonian citizen by birth who is at least 40 years of age may be a candidate for President of the Republic.

Chapter II

Electoral Districts and Election Committees

Article 3. Formation of Electoral Districts

The electoral districts formed on the basis of the Riigikogu Electoral Law shall be common for the elections to the Riigikogu and the election of the President of the Republic.

Article 4. The System of Election Committees

(1) The election of the President of the Republic shall be carried out by the election committees formed for the elections to the Riigikogu.

(2) The election committees shall have the authority prescribed in Articles 11, 13 and 15 of the Riigikogu Electoral Law in the election of the President of the Republic.

Chapter III**Nomination of Candidates****Article 5. Procedures for Nominating Candidates**

(1) The nomination of candidates for President of the Republic shall commence after the announcement of the election and shall end 40 days prior to the election day.

(2) The right to present a President of the Republic candidate for nomination shall rest with at least three Estonian citizens with the right to vote. In order to present a candidate for nomination, a correct application together with the candidate's oath of conscience and correct notice of consent to be a candidate for President of the Republic must be submitted to the Republic of Estonia Election Committee.

(3) A correct petition bearing the signatures of a minimum of ten thousand Estonian citizens with the right to vote is required for the nomination of a candidate. Each page of the petition shall detail information regarding the candidate to be nominated, each Estonian citizen having given his or her signature and the person who has collected the signatures on the petition.

(4) Persons who collect signatures for the nomination of a candidate shall control the accuracy of the information regarding each person who gives their signature on the basis of a document of identification.

Article 6. Registration of Candidates

(1) The Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall register all correctly nominated candidates no less than 30 days prior to the election day.

(2) Candidates shall be registered according to the order they are presented. Each candidate shall be given a registration number during registration. Registration numbers shall begin with 21.

(3) If inaccuracies are discovered in the application for the nomination of a candidate, the Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall make a proposal to the presenter for their correction within three working days. If the inaccuracies cannot be corrected or they are not corrected on a timely basis, the candidate shall not be registered. Inaccuracies discovered after registration shall not provide grounds for changing or voiding the decision to register the candidate.

(4) If less than two candidates are nominated, the Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall extend the due date for nominating candidates by five working days. If no candidates are nominated, the President of the Republic shall be elected by the Riigikogu according to procedures prescribed in the present Law.

(5) A relevant certificate shall be issued to each registered candidate by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee.

(6) Consent to be a candidate for President of the Republic may not be revoked after the candidate has been registered.

(7) Persons nominated as a candidate who belong to an election committee shall be considered to be released from their duties as an election committee member as of the moment of their registration as a candidate.

Article 7. Ballot Papers

(1) Ballot papers shall be printed in Estonian.

(2) Ballot papers shall detail the names of all registered candidates in the order they are registered.

(3) The following text shall appear on the ballot paper: "I vote for candidate No.", where the voter shall enter the registration number of the preferred candidate. If the name of only one candidate appears on the ballot paper, voters shall indicate if they are for or against the candidate.

Chapter IV

Basic Guarantees for the Activity of Candidates

Article 8. Candidates' Rights

Candidates' rights shall be determined by Article 23 of the Riigikogu Electoral Law.

Article 9. Election-related Expenses

Election-related expenses shall be regulated by Article 24 of the Riigikogu Electoral Law.

Chapter V**Voting and Determination of Election Results****Article 10. Voting. The Counting of Votes in the Polling Stations**

Articles 25, 26 and 27 of the Riigikogu Electoral Law shall be applied for the voting and the counting of the votes in the polling stations.

Article 11. Determination of Election Results

(1) Paragraphs 1-3, 7 and 8 of Article 28 of the Riigikogu Electoral Law shall be applied for the determination of election results.

(2) A candidate who is supported by over one half of those who participated in the voting shall be considered to be elected. If no one candidate receives the required majority of votes, the Riigikogu shall elect the President of the Republic according to procedures prescribed by the present Law.

Chapter VI**Election of the President of the Republic in the Riigikogu****Article 12. Entry of the Election of the President of the Republic into the Agenda of the Riigikogu**

If the President of the Republic fails to be elected through the direct election, the election of the President of the Republic shall be entered into the agenda of the Riigikogu session as the first point after the election of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Riigikogu.

Article 13. Organization of the Election in the Riigikogu

The election of the President of the Republic in the Riigikogu shall be organized by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee.

Article 14. Nomination of Candidates in the Riigikogu

(1) If during the direct election of the President of the Republic no candidate was nominated or if only one candidate was nominated who failed to receive the required majority of votes, then the candidates for President of the Republic shall be nominated in the Riigikogu within 24 hours from the entry of the point into the agenda.

(2) A candidate shall be nominated on the application of at least 10 Riigikogu members, which shall be presented to the Republic of Estonia Election Committee together with the candidate's oath of conscience and correct notice of consent to be a candidate for President of the Republic.

Article 15. Election of the President of the Republic in the Riigikogu

(1) Members of the Riigikogu shall elect the President of the Republic by secret ballot.

(2) The names of the two candidates who received the most votes in the direct election shall appear on the ballot paper. If no candidate was nominated for the direct election or if only one candidate was nominated who was not elected, then the names of the candidates nominated according to requirements by members of the Riigikogu shall appear on the ballot paper in the order they were presented.

(3) Each member of the Riigikogu shall have one vote.

(4) Members of the Riigikogu shall make a mark in the box on the ballot paper beside the name of the candidate for whom they are voting.

(5) Ballot papers which are marked for more than one candidate or which have not been marked for any candidate shall be declared to be void.

(6) A candidate who receives over one half of the votes recognized as valid shall be considered to be elected. Should more than two candidates run for President of the Republic and should no one of them receive the required majority of votes, then a second round of voting shall be carried out on the same day between the two candidates who received the most votes.

(7) If the candidates receive an equal number of votes in the second round of voting, the elder candidate shall be elected as President of the Republic.

Chapter VII

Final Provisions

Article 16. Announcement of Election Results

The results of the election shall be announced by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee. The corresponding decision shall be published in the Riigi Teataja (State Herald) no later than 10 days after the determination of the election results.

Article 17. Responsibility for Violations of the Electoral Law.

(1) Complaints regarding the decisions and activity of election committees as well as regarding the results of the election shall be addressed in accordance with procedures prescribed in Paragraph 4 of Article 16 of the Riigikogu Electoral Law.

(2) Violation of the provisions of the Electoral Law shall be punishable as an administrative or criminal offence.

Chairman of the
Republic of Estonia Supreme Council

A. Rüütel

Tallinn, July 9, 1992

Appendix B
Riigikogu Electoral Law

Unofficial Translation

REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA
RIIGIKOGU ELECTORAL LAW

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. The basis of the Electoral System

Members to the Republic of Estonia Riigikogu shall be elected in free elections on the basis of general, uniform and direct franchise by secret ballot.

Article 2. General Franchise

(1) The right to vote rests with citizens of the Republic of Estonia who by the day of the election have reached the age of 18 years. A citizen of the Republic of Estonia who has acquired the citizenship of another country may participate in elections to the Riigikogu of the Republic of Estonia at the consent of that country.

(2) Any Republic of Estonia citizen who is entitled to vote and has attained 21 years of age on the election day may be a candidate for the Riigikogu.

(3) Citizens who have been declared incapable by a court of law shall not be entitled to vote.

(4) Citizens who at the time of the election are serving a sentence in a place of detention on the basis of court decision which has come into force shall not participate in the elections.

Article 3. Uniform Franchise

Each elector shall have one vote in electing the Riigikogu.

Article 4. Direct Franchise

Election results shall be determined on the basis of the expression of the will of those persons who directly participate in the elections.

Article 5. Secret Ballot

Voting in the Riigikogu elections shall be held by secret ballot.

Chapter II

Electoral Districts and Polling Stations

Article 6. Formation of Electoral Districts

(1) 12 multi-mandate electoral districts shall be formed for the Riigikogu elections:

- electoral district No. 1 - Southern-Tallinn;
- electoral district No. 2 - Northern-Tallinn;
- electoral district No. 3 - Western-Tallinn;
- electoral district No. 4 - Eastern-Tallinn;
- electoral district No. 5 - Harju- and Raplamaa;
- electoral district No. 6 - Hiiumaa, Lääne- and Saaremaa;
- electoral district No. 7 - Eastern-Virumaa with Narva, Sillamäe and Kohtla-Järve;
- electoral district No. 8 - Järva- and Lääne-Virumaa;
- electoral district No. 9 - Jõgeva- and Viljandimaa;
- electoral district No. 10 - Tartumaa with Tartu;
- electoral district No. 11 - Põlva-, Valga- and Võrumaa;
- electoral district No. 12 - Pärnumaa with Pärnu.

(2) Citizens of the Republic of Estonia residing in that part of the territory of the Republic of Estonia which is currently not under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Estonia shall vote accordingly in electoral districts No. 7 and No. 11. Citizens of the Republic of Estonia permanently residing abroad shall vote in the electoral district in which was located their, or their parent's (grandparent's) last permanent residence in Estonia.

(3) 101 members shall be elected to the Riigikogu. Mandates shall be distributed to the electoral districts on the principle of proportionality in accordance with the number of citizens entitled to vote.

(4) The distribution of mandates shall be calculated by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee no later than 70 days before the elections.

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Article 7. Formation of Polling Station Districts

(1) In order to organize voting and the counting of votes, the territory of counties and cities of republican subordination shall be divided into polling station districts.

(2) Polling station districts may also be formed in Republic of Estonia diplomatic missions. These polling station districts shall be part of electoral district No. 1. At the consent of foreign countries, polling stations may also be established at external missions of the Republic of Estonia.

Article 8. Procedures and Standards for the Formation of Polling Districts

(1) Polling districts shall be established by county governments and by the city governments of cities of republican subordination. Polling stations at external missions shall be established by the Government of the Republic of Estonia on proposal by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Estonia.

(2) Polling station districts shall be formed on the basis of the electoral register list within two weeks after the election is declared. Notice of the boundaries of polling station districts and the location of polling station district committees and polling stations shall be made public no later than 20 days before the elections.

Chapter III

Election Committees

Article 9. The System of Election Committees

(1) Elections for the Republic of Estonia Riigikogu shall be prepared and executed by the following election committees:

- 1) the Republic of Estonia Election Committee;
- 2) territorial election committees, which are the election committees of counties or cities of republican subordination;

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3) polling station district committees.

(2) The authority of election committees shall be in effect for four years.

(3) Only Republic of Estonia citizens who are eligible to vote may be members of election committees.

Article 10. Formation of the Republic of Estonia Election Committee

(1) The Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall be formed, and changes to its composition shall be made by the Riigikogu.

(2) Proposals for the composition of the Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall be presented by the Volikogus of counties and cities of republican subordination. Parties may appoint their representatives to the committee who shall participate in committee meetings with the right to speak.

(3) Organizational and technical services for the Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall be provided by the Riigikogu Chancellery.

(4) The composition of the Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall not be increased between the time elections are declared and ratification of the election results.

Article 11. The Authority of the Republic of Estonia Election Committee

The Republic of Estonia Election Committee:

1) shall supervise the observance of the Electoral Law and shall guarantee its uniform application throughout the territory of the Republic of Estonia by issuing guidelines and regulations;

2) shall draft a schedule for the preparation and holding of early Riigikogu elections;

3) shall enact the forms for election documents, regulations for their storage, and standards for ballot boxes and seals;

4) shall distribute mandates between the electoral districts;

5) shall determine the amount of the security payment to be paid upon nomination of a candidate in accordance with the law.

6) shall register electoral coalitions;

7) shall register all submitted candidates and candidate lists according to the electoral district and shall dispense this information;

8) shall accept the application of a registered candidate to forego nomination and shall delete his or her name from the list of candidates.

9) shall confirm the form and text of the ballot papers, shall organize their printing and shall deliver them to the territorial committees;

10) shall determine the results of the Riigikogu elections and shall publish bulletins on the results from the counting of votes;

11) shall register the elected members of the Riigikogu and shall publish the list of members;

12) shall appoint an alternate member to the Riigikogu to substitute a departing member;

13) shall make proposals to the Riigikogu for the termination of the authority of members of the Riigikogu or for the reinstatement of suspended authority;

14) shall ratify the election budget and allocation of funds for election expenses;

15) shall decide matters regarding material and technical services;

16) shall review reports and complaints regarding the decisions and activity of territorial election committees and shall make relevant decisions in these matters.

17) shall appoint election committees at polling stations at external missions of the Republic of Estonia, shall prescribe procedures and dates for preparing electoral registers of citizens of the Republic of Estonia permanently residing outside the Republic of Estonia, shall establish rules for registering of and participation in elections by mail of citizens of the Republic of Estonia permanently living abroad.

Article 12. Formation of Territorial Election Committees

(1) Territorial election committees shall be formed and changes in its composition shall be made by the corresponding Volikogu of a county or city of republican subordination. Committees shall consist of 10 to 20 members.

(2) Proposals for the composition of a territorial election committee may be made by all local government bodies. The territorial representative bodies of parties may appoint their representatives to a committee who shall participate in committee meetings with the right to speak.

(3) Technical services for territorial election committees shall be provided by the chancellery of the county government or of the city government of a city of republican subordination.

(4) The composition of a territorial election committee shall not be increased between the time elections are declared and the ratification of election results.

Article 13. The Authority of Territorial Election Committees

Territorial election committees:

1) shall supervise the observance of the Electoral Law and the legitimacy of the carrying out of elections;

2) shall form polling station district committees and shall make changes to their compositions;

3) shall determine the election results in counties or cities of republican subordination;

4) shall fulfil guidelines and regulations issued by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee;

5) shall decide matters related to providing material and technical services for the elections within the limits of funds allocated by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee;

6) shall review reports and complaints regarding the decisions and activity of the polling station district committees and shall make decisions in these matters.

Article 14. Formation of Polling Station District Committees

(1) Polling station district committees shall be formed by the corresponding territorial election committee no later than 25 days before the election day. Polling station district committees established at external missions shall be formed by the Election Committee of the Republic of Estonia on proposal by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Estonia. Committees shall consist of 3 to 10 members.

(2) Candidates for polling station district committees shall be nominated by the executive bodies of first level local governments.

Article 15. The Authority of Polling Station District Committees

Polling station district committees:

- 1) shall obtain and provide the public with access to the excerpt from the electoral register concerning its polling station district;
- 2) shall inform electors of the location and office hours of the polling station district committee and the time and location of voting;
- 3) prior to the election day, shall accept envelopes containing ballots from electors not present on the election day;
- 4) shall provide for the preparation of the polling room and ballot boxes;
- 5) shall organize voting on the election day;
- 6) shall count the votes cast in the polling station district;
- 7) shall review reports and complaints regarding the preparations of elections and organization of voting, and shall make decisions on these matters.
- 8) The election committees established at polling stations at external missions of the Republic of Estonia shall compile, in accordance with the procedures prescribed and by the date stipulated by the Election Committee of the Republic of Estonia, registers of citizens of the Republic of Estonia permanently residing abroad who wish to participate in the elections to the Riigikogu. Where needed, the election committee shall organize the registering and voting of citizens of the Republic of Estonia permanently residing abroad who vote by mail in accordance with the rules established by the Election Committee of the Republic of Estonia.

Article 16. Organisation of the Work of Election Committees

(1) The chairman, vice-chairman and secretary of an election committee shall be elected at a meeting of the committee. Committees consisting of less than 5 members shall elect a chairman and a secretary.

(2) Meetings of election committees shall be convened by the chairman or, in his/her absence, by the vice-chairman. The first meeting of an election committee shall be convened by its founding body. The committee shall have a quorum if no less than one half of the complement of the committee is present. Committee resolutions shall be adopted by a simple majority of votes. Members of a committee who do not agree with a resolution adopted by the committee shall have the right to add their dissenting opinion to the minutes of the meeting.

(3) Resolutions adopted within the limits of the committees' authority shall be obligatory for lower level election committees, local government bodies and state enterprises, institutions and organizations.

(4) Complaints regarding the decisions and activity of polling station district committees may be presented to territorial election committees; complaints regarding the decisions and activity of territorial election committees may be presented to the Republic of Estonia Election Committee. Decisions by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee regarding the registration of candidates and candidate lists and election results may be contested in the National Court.

(5) Members of election committees may be released from their work or official duties during the time of the organization of the elections, on the basis of a decision by the committee.

(6) Members of election committees shall be remunerated from funds allocated for the organization of elections according to procedures enacted by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee.

(7) Members of election committees shall not have the right to campaign for or against any candidate, party or coalition.

Article 17. Making Changes to the Composition of Election Committees

(1) A member of an election committee may be released from his or her official duties by the body which formed the committee. The decision for release may be based on the member's application or a justified decision of the election committee.

(2) The appointment of a new member shall occur according to procedures established for forming the committee.

Article 18. Informing the Public of the Work of Election Committees

Elections committees shall inform residents of their meetings, adopted resolutions and planned events. Committee meetings shall be public.

Article 19. Assistance to Election Committees

(1) Local government bodies, state institutions, enterprises and organizations and their officials are obligated to assist the elections committees in the exercise of their authority and to provide information and materials necessary for their work.

(2) Election committees shall have the right to appeal to local government bodies, state institutions, enterprises and organizations and to their officials on matters related to the organization of elections, who shall be obligated to respond to the election committee within three working days.

Chapter IV

Nomination of Candidates

Article 20. Nomination of Candidates

(1) The nomination of candidates shall be free. Candidates shall be nominated in lists or individually by electoral district and on national lists. Organizations or associations may present their candidates on a single list only and may belong to only one coalition. The nomination of candidates shall commence after the distribution of mandates has been announced by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee.

(2) Information regarding candidates and candidate lists shall be submitted to the Republic of Estonia Election Committee no later than 45 days before the election day in accordance with the form for the submittal presentation list. National lists may only include those candidates who have been presented in the territorial electoral districts on the list of the same name. Each candidate may only be nominated in one territorial electoral district. The order of candidates shall be determined by the nominator.

(3) In nominating candidates, the following

information must be provided: given and surname according to the identification card, date of birth and place of residence, consent of the candidate, confirmed by his or her signature to run as a candidate in the given territorial electoral district, and proof that the candidate is a Republic of Estonia citizen and has a sufficient command of the Estonian language to be able to participate in the work of the Riigikogu.

(4) Every list shall have a name. Should the name of a list coincide with the name of a registered party, it must be confirmed with the signatures of two authorized members of the party. The list of a coalition must be confirmed by the signatures of authorized representatives of all parties in the coalition. It is prohibited to use a name for a list which is likely to be confused with the name of a registered party or coalition.

(5) Persons submitting candidates or lists shall transfer a security payment equal to one half of the monthly salary of a member of the Riigikogu per nominee to the account of the Republic of Estonia Election Committee. The security shall be returned if the candidate is elected or obtains votes equalling at least one half of the simple quota in the electoral district or if the national list participates in the distribution of compensation mandates.

Unreturned security payments shall be transferred by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee as state income.

Article 21. Registration of Candidates

(1) The Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall register all correctly presented candidates and candidate lists no less than 40 days prior to the election day.

(2) Candidates and candidate lists shall be registered according to the order they are submitted. Each candidate shall be given a registration number during registration. Registration numbers shall begin with 101.

(3) If inaccuracies are discovered regarding a candidate or candidate list, the Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall make a proposal to the presenter for their correction within three working days.

(4) If the inaccuracies cannot be corrected, then the entire list shall be left unregistered. If the inaccuracies pertain to only one or some of the candidates, the Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall delete them from the list.

(5) Changes to presented lists may not be made after their registration, except on the basis of a personal application by a candidate to forego nomination or in the case of the death of a candidate.

(6) A relevant certificate shall be issued to each registered candidate by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee which shall include the candidate's name, registration number and electoral district number.

(7) Persons nominated as candidates who are members of an election committee shall be considered to be released from their duties as an election committee member as of the moment of their registration as a candidate.

Article 22. Ballot papers

(1) Ballot papers shall be printed in Estonian.

(2) The ballot papers shall detail all lists nominated in the electoral district together with the names of the lists and the registration numbers, given and surnames of all candidates on the lists. The lists shall appear on the ballot paper in the final order they are submitted. Candidates nominated as individuals in the voting district shall appear after the lists. In the case of electoral coalitions, the full name of all parties participating in the coalition shall appear in addition to the name of the coalition on the ballot.

(3) The following text shall appear on the ballot paper: " I vote for candidate No.....", where the voter shall enter the registration number of the preferred candidate.

(4) Ballots shall be delivered to the voting district committees no less than 16 days prior to the election day.

Chapter V

Basic Guarantees for the Activity of Candidates

Article 23. Candidates' Rights

(1) Registered candidates may, upon agreement with their employer, suspend their work related duties until the elections. His or her position shall be reserved during this time.

(2) Registered candidates may not be obstructed from appearing at pre-election meetings.

Article 24. Election-related Expenses

(1) Organizational expenses for elections shall be covered by the state budget. The campaigns of candidates, parties and electoral coalitions shall not be financed from the state budget or local government budgets.

(2) State institutions and local governments shall provide space and equipment necessary for the organization of elections to election committees free of charge.

Chapter VI

Voting and Determination of Election Results

Article 25. Time and Location of Voting

(1) Voting on the election day shall begin at 9:00 AM and conclude at 8:00 PM.

(2) Voting shall occur in locations determined by the polling station district committees.

(3) Voting may be declared to be concluded in any voting district if all registered electors have voted. The counting of votes may not begin before 8:00 PM.

(4) Voters who temporarily leave their place of residence and are elsewhere on the election day may submit their completed ballot in a sealed envelope to the polling station district committee within 15 days prior to the election day. Envelopes shall be opened on the election day during the counting of votes and the ballot paper contained in the envelope shall be included with the other ballot papers from the election. Voters shall confirm the receipt of ballot papers and envelopes with their signature on the electoral register.

Article 26. Voting

(1) Electors may only vote in the polling station district corresponding to their place of residence. Electors who are abroad may vote in polling station districts in Republic of Estonia diplomatic missions. A citizen of the Republic of Estonia permanently residing abroad may vote by mail in accordance with the rules established by the Election Committee of the Republic of Estonia.

(2) Each polling station must have booths for secret voting and ballot boxes.

(3) Information regarding the national electoral register must be available at every polling station.

(4) The polling station district committee shall maintain order in the voting room, whose instructions, within the limits of its authority, shall be obligatory for all persons present at the polling station.

(5) Prior to the commencement of voting, the chairman of the polling station district committee shall control and seal the ballot boxes in the presence of the members of the committee.

(6) The polling station district committee shall issue ballot papers to electors on the basis of the electoral register and upon presentation of an identity document. Electors shall confirm receipt of the ballot paper with their signature.

(7) In voting, electors shall enter the registration number of one candidate in the prescribed position on the ballot paper and shall place the ballot paper into the ballot box.

(8) Each elector shall vote in person. Electors who are unable to fill out the ballot paper themselves shall have the right to call the person of their choice into the voting booth.

(9) If the elector accidentally spoils the ballot paper, he or she shall have the right to obtain a new ballot paper upon returning the ballot paper to the polling station district committee.

(10) On application by electors who, due to their state of health or other valid reasons, are unable to come to the polling station, the polling station district committee shall assign at least two committee members the task of organizing voting at the location of the electors. A register of these electors shall be compiled where electors shall sign their signature.

Article 27. The Counting of Votes in the Polling Stations

(1) Prior to opening the ballot boxes, the polling station district committee must recount and cancel all remaining empty ballot papers. Thereafter, the number of spoiled ballot papers and the number of ballots cast outside of the polling station shall be determined and the number of envelopes containing ballot papers delivered to the polling station district committee prior to the election day shall be recounted.

(2) The polling station district committee shall open the ballot boxes once the time allotted for voting has passed.

(3) The polling station district committee shall determine the total number of electors in the polling station district on the basis of the electoral register, as well as the number of electors who received a ballot paper. The polling station district committee shall determine the total number of electors who participated in the election on the basis of the number of ballot papers in the ballot box.

(4) The polling station district committee shall count the votes for each candidate and each list separately.

(5) Ballots which have not been marked with the registration number of any candidate or have been marked with more than one number or which do not correspond to the form set by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall be voided. In disputable cases, the polling station district committee shall determine the validity of the ballot paper by a vote.

(6) The results of the vote count shall be entered in the minutes of the meeting of the polling station district committee. The minutes shall be signed by the committee chairman and secretary and shall be sent immediately to the respective territorial election committee together with the ballot papers and electoral registers. The dissenting opinions of committee members, reports and complaints of violations of the Electoral Law during the voting or in the counting of votes which have been received by the committee together with a legal statement on the condition of the seal on the ballot box, shall be included with the minutes.

(7) The counting of votes shall be public.

Article 28. Determination of Election Results in the Electoral Districts

(1) On the basis of the minutes submitted by the polling station district committees the territorial election committee shall determine the total number of electors, the number of electors who participated in the election, the number of votes cast for each candidate and each list. The results shall be controlled by a recount of the ballot papers.

(2) On the basis of data submitted by all the territorial election committees, the Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall determine the total number of electors, the number of electors who participated in the election, the total number of valid ballots and the number of votes cast for each candidate and list in the election by electoral district.

(3) If the Electoral Law is violated in any polling station district, the Republic of Estonia Election Committee may declare the election and all votes cast in that electoral district to be void.

(4) A simple quota shall be calculated for each electoral district which is obtained from dividing the number of valid votes cast by the number of mandates.

(5) Candidates who obtain a number of votes which exceeds or equals the simple quota shall be elected.

(6) Candidates shall be listed in order of votes obtained on lists which are included in the distribution of national compensation mandates. The number of votes cast for all candidates on one list shall be totalled. The list shall receive as many mandates as the number of times the number of votes obtained in the electoral district exceeds the simple quota. Those candidates at the top of the list shall be elected.

(7) Election results in counties and cities of republican subordination shall be entered into the minutes of the corresponding territorial election committee by polling station district. The final election results shall be entered into the minutes of the Republic of Estonia Election Committee. The minutes shall be signed by the respective election committee chairman and secretary. The dissenting opinions of committee members, reports and complaints of violations of the Electoral Law during the voting, the counting of votes or the determination of election results shall be included with the minutes.

(8) The determination of election results shall be public.

Article 29. Distribution of Compensation Mandates

(1) Mandates not distributed in electoral districts on the basis of simple quota shall be distributed as compensation mandates between the national lists of those parties and electoral coalitions whose candidates obtained at least 5% of the national vote or for which at least three were elected by simple quota, but not between less than two lists.

(2) In the distribution of compensation mandates, a modified d'Hondt distribution method shall be used with the distribution series of 2 to the 0.9, 3 to the 0.9, 4 to the 0.9, etc. In the calculation of the comparative figures of each list, as many first elements of the series as there are mandates distributed on the basis of simple quota to the same list in territorial electoral districts shall be disregarded.

(3) For national lists, those candidates who appear at the top of the list shall receive compensation mandates. For the purposes of distributing mandates, the names of candidates on the list who have been elected by a simple quota in the territorial electoral district shall be disregarded.

(4) No list shall receive more mandates than there are candidates on the list.

Chapter VII

Substitution of a Member of the Riigikogu

Article 30. Suspension and Premature Termination of the Authority of Members of the Riigikogu.

(1) The authority of a member of the Riigikogu shall be suspended on his or her appointment as a member of the Government of the Republic and shall be restored with their release from the duties as a member of the Government.

(2) The authority of a member of the Riigikogu shall be prematurely terminated:

- 1) on his or her assuming another public office;
- 2) on a guilty verdict of a court coming into force;
- 3) if he or she resigns in accordance with procedures prescribed by law;
- 4) if the National Court has pronounced him or her to be permanently incapable of fulfilling his or her duties;
- 5) on his or her death.

(3) When the authority of a member of the Riigikogu has been suspended or prematurely terminated, an alternate member shall assume his or her seat. The alternate member shall have all the rights and duties of a member of the Riigikogu.

(4) The authority of an alternate member shall cease when a member of the Riigikogu resumes his or her authority.

Article 31. Determination of Alternate Members

(1) The first not elected candidate from amongst candidates on the same national list on which the member of the Riigikogu to be substituted was a candidate shall be appointed as the alternate member.

(2) If the first not elected candidate for some reason cannot accept employment in the Riigikogu then the alternate member shall be appointed from amongst the not elected candidates on the same list according to their order on the national list.

(3) If the Riigikogu member to be substituted was an unlisted candidate or no other persons were on the list, then an additional mandate shall be distributed between the national lists.

(4) The alternate member shall be appointed by the Republic of Estonia Election Committee.

Chapter VIII

Final Provisions

Article 32. Registration of Members of the Riigikogu

The Republic of Estonia Election Committee shall register the elected members of the Riigikogu and shall publish a notice of the final election results in the "Riigi Teataja" (State Herald) together with a complete list of elected members no later than 10 days after the election.

Article 33. Responsibility for Violations to the Electoral Law

Violation of the provisions of the Electoral Law shall be punishable as an administrative or criminal offence.

Republic of Estonia Electoral Law was approved by the Supreme Council on April 6, 1992.

This text includes amendments and supplements approved by the Supreme Council on June 18, 1992.

Appendix C
Presidential Election Protocol
and Results by District

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
PROTOCOL

Vabariigi Presidendi
valimine
20. septembril 1992

EESTI VABARIIGI VALIMISKOMISJONI

PROTOKOLL

Hääletamistulemuse kohta
Vabariigi Presidendi valimisel

Valimiste territoriaalkomisjonide protokollide alusel tegi Eesti Vabariigi Valimiskomisjon kindlaks järgmised tulemused:

1. Valijate nimekirjadesse kantud valijate üldarv seisuga 1992. a. 20. septembril kell 20.00 – 689608
2. Valimisedeli saanud valijate üldarv 469191
3. Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijate üldarv 468605
4. Kehtetuks tunnistatud valimisedelite üldarv 5077
5. Presidendikandidaatide poolt antud hääle üldarv 463528

	NAME OF CANDIDATE	No. OF VOTES RECEIVED	% OF VOTE
Reg. nr.	Presidendikandidaat	Poolt antud hääle üldarv	
ProPatria Nr.21	LENNART MERI	138317	29.5167%
SecureHome Nr.22	ARNOLD RÜÜTEL	195743	41.7714
ENIP Nr.23	LAGLE PAREK	19837	4.2332
Pop.Front Nr.24	REIN TAAGEPERA	109631	23.3951

Seega ükski presidendikandidaat ei saanud üle poole hääletamisest osavõtnud valijate häälest ja ei osutunud valituks.

Vabariigi Presidendi valimise seaduse § 11 lõige 2 ja § 15 lõige 2 kohaselt kanda presidendi valimiseks Riigikogus hääletusedelitele presidendikandidaatide Arnold RÜÜTLi ja Lennart Meri nimed.

Esimees

E.-J. Truuväli

Sekretär

T. Torgo

Tallinnas, 24. septembril 1992

Presidential Results by
District
Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Harjumaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 46851

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 31927

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 68.146

Lennart Meri : 8319 häält e. 26.056 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 14331 häält e. 44.887 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 1144 häält e. 3.583 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 7882 häält e. 24.688 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 31676 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 251

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Hiiumaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 7715

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 5178

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 67.116

Lennart Meri : 899 häält e. 17.362 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 2793 häält e. 53.940 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 157 häält e. 3.032 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 1268 häält e. 24.488 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 5117 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 61

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Ida-Virumaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 15795

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 11434

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 72.390

Lennart Meri : 1917 häält e. 16.766 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 6276 häält e. 54.889 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 269 häält e. 2.353 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 2879 häält e. 25.179 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 11341 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 93

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Jõgevamaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 26318

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 16223

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 61.642

Lennart Meri : 4145 häält e. 25.550 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 7777 häält e. 47.938 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 574 häält e. 3.538 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 3539 häält e. 21.815 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 16035 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 188

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Järvamaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 27787

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 18072

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 65.038

Lennart Meri : 4613 häält e. 25.526 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 8518 häält e. 47.134 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 450 häält e. 2.490 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 4336 häält e. 23.993 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 17917 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 155

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Lääne-Virumaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 41741

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 26193

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 62.751

Lennart Meri : 4941 häält e. 18.864 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 13160 häält e. 50.242 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 639 häält e. 2.440 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 7278 häält e. 27.786 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 26018 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 175

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Läänemaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 17697

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 11491

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 64.932

Lennart Meri : 3213 häält e. 27.961 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 5646 häält e. 49.134 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 313 häält e. 2.724 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 2222 häält e. 19.337 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 11394 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 97

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Põlvamaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 21991

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 13766

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 62.598

Lennart Meri : 3790 häält e. 27.532 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 5157 häält e. 37.462 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 541 häält e. 3.930 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 4103 häält e. 29.805 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 13591 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 175

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Pärnumaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 28161

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 19448

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 69.060

Lennart Meri	:	3957 häält e.	20.347 protsenti
Arnold Rüütel	:	9274 häält e.	47.686 protsenti
Lagle Parek	:	765 häält e.	3.934 protseni
Rein Taagepera	:	5319 häält e.	27.350 protsenti
Hääli kokku	:	19315 Kehtetuid sedeleid	: 133

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Raplamaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 23249

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 14986

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 64.459

Lennart Meri	:	3467 häält e.	23.135 protsenti
Arnold Rüütel	:	7187 häält e.	47.958 protsenti
Lagle Parek	:	611 häält e.	4.077 protsenti
Rein Taagepera	:	3590 häält e.	23.956 protsenti
Hääli kokku	:	14855 Kehtetuid sedeleid	: 131

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Saaremaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 25855

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 16699

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 64.587

Lennart Meri	:	3412 häält e.	20.432 protsenti
Arnold Rüütel	:	9664 häält e.	57.872 protsenti
Lagle Parek	:	427 häält e.	2.557 protsenti
Rein Taagepera	:	3034 häält e.	18.169 protsenti
Hääli kokku	:	16537 Kehtetuid sedeleid	: 162

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Tartumaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 28886

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 19353

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 66.998

Lennart Meri	:	6849 häält e.	35.390 protsenti
Arnold Rüütel	:	7967 häält e.	41.167 protsenti
Lagle Parek	:	796 häält e.	4.113 protsenti
Rein Taagepera	:	3525 häält e.	18.214 protsenti
Hääli kokku	:	19137 Kehtetuid sedeleid	: 216

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Valgamaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 22949

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 15742

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 68.596

Lennart Meri : 4063 häält e. 25.810 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 7213 häält e. 45.820 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 754 häält e. 4.790 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 3533 häält e. 22.443 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 15563 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 179

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Viljandimaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 43157

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 27471

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 63.654

Lennart Meri : 6807 häält e. 24.779 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 12340 häält e. 44.920 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 824 häält e. 3.000 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 7230 häält e. 26.319 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 27201 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 270

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Võrumaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 27328

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 18538

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 67.835

Lennart Meri : 5001 häält e. 26.977 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 7097 häält e. 38.284 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 1134 häält e. 6.117 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 5045 häält e. 27.214 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 18277 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 261

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Välismaa

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 9837

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 9830

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 99.929

Lennart Meri : 6255 häält e. 63.632 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 1139 häält e. 11.587 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 1955 häält e. 19.888 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 435 häält e. 4.425 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 9764 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 46

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Kohtla-Järve

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 14311

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 10075

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 70.400

Lennart Meri	:	1428 häält e.	14.174 protsenti
Arnold Rüütel	:	5082 häält e.	50.442 protsenti
Lagle Parek	:	232 häält e.	2.303 protsenti
Rein Taagepera	:	3182 häält e.	31.583 protsenti
Hääli kokku	:	9924 Kehtetuid sedeleid	: 151

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Narva

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 7003

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 4731

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 67.557

Lennart Meri	:	504 häält e.	10.653 protsenti
Arnold Rüütel	:	1762 häält e.	37.244 protsenti
Lagle Parek	:	372 häält e.	7.863 protsenti
Rein Taagepera	:	1988 häält e.	42.021 protsenti
Hääli kokku	:	4626 Kehtetuid sedeleid	: 105

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Pärnu

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 30116

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 20699

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 68.731

Lennart Meri	:	5962 häält e.	28.803 protsenti
Arnold Rüütel	:	7757 häält e.	37.475 protsenti
Lagle Parek	:	682 häält e.	3.295 protsenti
Rein Taagepera	:	6098 häält e.	29.460 protsenti
Hääli kokku	:	20499 Kehtetuid sedeleid	: 200

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Sillamäe

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 555

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 463

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 83.423

Lennart Meri	:	50 häält e.	10.799 protsenti
Arnold Rüütel	:	232 häält e.	50.108 protsenti
Lagle Parek	:	26 häält e.	5.616 protsenti
Rein Taagepera	:	151 häält e.	32.613 protsenti
Hääli kokku	:	459 Kehtetuid sedeleid	: 4

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Tallinn

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 165904

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 119176

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 71.834

Lennart Meri : 40241 häält e. 33.766 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 45044 häält e. 37.796 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 5721 häält e. 4.800 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 26642 häält e. 22.355 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 117648 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 1528

Häälte jagunemine territoriaalide kaupa

Territoriaal: Tartu

Nimekirjadesse kantud valijaid : 56402

Hääletamisest osavõtnud valijaid : 37110

Valimistest osavõtt protsentides : 65.796

Lennart Meri : 18484 häält e. 49.809 protsenti

Arnold Rüütel : 10327 häält e. 27.828 protsenti

Lagle Parek : 1451 häält e. 3.910 protsenti

Rein Taagepera : 6352 häält e. 17.117 protsenti

Hääli kokku : 36614 Kehtetuid sedeleid : 496

Appendix D

Parliamentary Election Results and Lists of Members by Party/Coalition

E E S T I V A B A R I I G I R I I G I K O G U

District Territoriaal	Eligible Voters Valij.	Voted Häälet.	Turnout
Lõuna-Tallinn	43531	32100	73.7
Põhja-Tallinn	32086	23154	72.2
Lääne-Tallinn	48980	35758	73.0
Ida-Tallinn	44671	31427	70.4
Harju- ja Rapla	70734	47430	67.1
Hiiu-, Lääne- ja Saaremaa	52285	34237	65.5
Ida-Virumaa koos Narva, S	37980	27007	71.1
Järva- ja Lääne-Virumaa	70183	44832	63.9
Jõgeva- ja Viljandimaa	69998	44098	63.0
Tartumaa koos Tartuga	86783	57847	66.7
Põlva-, Valga- ja Võrumaa	72946	48701	66.8
Pärnumaa koos Pärnuga	59142	41038	69.4
KOKKU	689319	467629	67.8

Mandates

MANDAADID

每站按二公里計算

Votes		Party	Seats	1st stage	2nd stage	3rd stage
Hääli	%	Nimekirja	Mandaaat	(isiku-, nimekirja- ja kompensatsioonid)		
Pro Patria	100828	22.0	Isamaa	29	iiiiiiinnnnnnnnnnkkkkkkkkkkkkkk	
Secure Home	62329	13.6	KindKo	17	innnnnnkkkkkkkkkkkk	
Popular Front	56124	12.2	RR	15	innnnkkkkkkkkkkkk	
Moderates	44577	9.7	Mõõduk	12	innkkkkkkkkkk	
Est.Nat.Ind.	40260	8.7	ERSP	10	innkkkkkkkk	
Royalists	32638	7.1	SõlKun	8	iinnkkkkkk	
Est.Citizen	31553	6.8	EKodan	8	innkkkkkk	
Greens	12009	2.6	Rohel	1	i	
Entrepreneur	10946	2.3	EEE	1	i	
	17011	3.7	EPensL	0		
	13356	2.9	PõllKo	0		
	7374	1.6	Vasakv	0		
	4263	0.9	ÕRRE	0		
	2262	0.4	EInvaL	0		
	1852	0.4	Halast	0		
	744	0.1	Demokr	0		
	368	0.0	LoodPa	0		
	19753	4.3	-----	0		
458247	100.0	KOKKU	101			

SEATS BY PARTY/COALITION

KOOSSEIS

=====

Eesti Ettevõtjate Erakond (Entrepreneurs Party)

1) Tiit Made

Valimisliit "Mõõdukad" (Moderates)

- 1) Jaak Herodes
- 2) Liia Hänni
- 3) Vambo Kaal
- 4) Valve Kirsipuu
- 5) Jaan Kross
- 6) Ülo Laanoja
- 7) Marju Lauristin
- 8) Uno Mereste
- 9) Mihkel Pärnoja
- 10) Ivar Raig
- 11) Vello Saatpalu
- 12) Andres Tarand

Valimisliit "Isamaa" (Pro Patria)

- 1) Sulev Alajõe
- 2) Tiit Arge
- 3) Jaanus Betlem
- 4) Lauri Einer
- 5) Illar Hallaste
- 6) Andres Heinapuu
- 7) Karin Jaani
- 8) Tõnu Juul
- 9) Kalle Jürgenson
- 10) Toivo Jürgenson
- 11) Aivar Kala
- 12) Kaido Kama
- 13) Indrek Kannik
- 14) Heiki Kranich
- 15) Tiit Käbin
- 16) Mart Laar
- 17) Jüri Luik
- 18) Aap Neljas
- 19) Ülo Nugis
- 20) Mart Nutt
- 21) Jüri Põld
- 22) Matti Päts
- 23) Heiki Raudla
- 24) Paul-Eerik Rummo
- 25) Tiit Sinissaar
- 26) Enn Tarto
- 27) Lauri Vahtre
- 28) Arvo Vallikivi (Valton)
- 29) Trivimi Velliste

Valimisliit "Kindel Kodu" (Secure Home)

- 1) Juhan Aare
- 2) Toomas Alatalu
- 3) Lembit Arro
- 4) Rein Hanson

- 5) Tõnu-Reid Kukkk
- 6) Ants Käärma
- 7) Peeter Lorents
- 8) Ilmar Mändmets
- 9) Kalev Raave
- 10) Kuno Raude
- 11) Riivo Sinijärvi
- 12) Arvo Sirendi
- 13) Edgar Spriit
- 14) Tõnu Tepandi
- 15) Heido Vitsur
- 16) Ülo Vooglaid
- 17) Raoul Üksvärav

Valimisliit "Rahvarinne" (Popular Front)

- 1) Olav Anton
- 2) Ignar Fjuk
- 3) Mati Hint
- 4) Arvo Junti
- 5) Jaan Kaplinski
- 6) Krista Kilvet
- 7) Kalev Kukkk
- 8) Ants-Enno Lõhmus
- 9) Siiri Oviir
- 10) Jüri Rätsep
- 11) Edgar Savisaar
- 12) Olli Toomik
- 13) Liina Tõnisson
- 14) Andra Veidemann
- 15) Rein Veidemann

Valimisliit "Rohelised" (Greens)

- 1) Rein Järlik

Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei (Est. National
Independence Party)

- 1) Jüri Adams
- 2) Rein Arjukese
- 3) Ants Erm
- 4) Epp Haabsaar
- 5) Tunne Kelam
- 6) Avo Kiir
- 7) Viktor Niitsoo
- 8) Jaanus Raidal
- 9) K. Jaak Roosaare
- 10) Vardo Rumessen

Valimisliit "Eesti Kodanik" (Estonian Citizen)

- 1) Tiina Benno
- 2) Rein Helme
- 3) Katrin Linde
- 4) Paul-Olev Mõtsküla
- 5) Mart-Olav Niklus
- 6) Aime Sügis
- 7) Jüri Toomepuu
- 8) Toivo Uustalo

Valimisliit "Sõltumatus Kuningriiklased" (Independent
Royalists)

- 1) Priit Aimala
- 2) Rein Kikerpill

- 3) Kalle Kulbok
- 4) Tõnu Kõrda
- 5) Lembit Kүүts
- 6) Ralf Parve (Ralf R. Parve)
- 7) Vambola Põder
- 8) Kirill Teiter

Appendix E
Sample Ballot

EXAMPLE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION BALLOT

VALIMISSEDEI

Valimisi Presidentide
valimisel
20. septembril 1992

Valimisi Presidentide kandidaadid.

nr.21 - LENNART MERI

nr.22 - ARNOLD RÜÜTEL

nr.23 - LAGLE PAREK

nr.24 - REIN TAAGEPERA

Hääletan kandidaadi nr. ... poolt

TEXT ON THE INSTRUCTION
ON THE COMPLETION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION BALLOT

Honoured voter! Please write on the dotted line after "I cast my vote for candidate nr." only that number which the presidential candidate, for whom you cast your vote, has been assigned. Use only arabic numerals.

Election ballots will be declared void if the dotted line:

- 1) is left blank
- 2) is marked with two or more candidate numbers
- 3) is marked by a number other than the numbers assigned to the presidential candidates
- 4) is marked with a number that has been crossed out, written over, or altered in any way.

Republic of Estonia Election Commission

EXAMPLE OF THE RIIGIKOGU ELECTION BALLOT

VALIMISSEDEI

Eesti Vabariigi Riigikogu
valimisel

20. septembril 1992

VALIKOIRINGKOND NR. 1
(JÜRNA-TALLINN)

NIMENI "HALASTUS"

nr. 101 HARRI KINGO
nr. 102 ILMAR PAPPAL

ESTI ETTEVÕTJATE KRAKOND

nr. 103 SEVA TOMINGAS
nr. 104 JAAN THIRAN

VALIMISLIT "HÕRDEKAD"

nr. 105 KALJU KROSS

nr. 106 OLO LAANOJA
nr. 107 TRU MÄLA
nr. 108 IMRE SRI

VALIMISLIT "ISAMAA"

nr. 109 TET KÄRN
nr. 110 INDREK KANNIK

nr. 111 TET ARGE
nr. 112 LAURI EINER
nr. 113 AIN SAARMANN
nr. 114 JAAK ARRO

ESTI PENSIONÄRIKRAKOND

nr. 115 HARRY TAMMIST

NIMENI "VAJAKUTUMALUS"

nr. 116 HANNES AARMA

ESTI LÜVAÕHINGITE LIT

nr. 117 MIKKEL AITSAM

VALIMISLIT "DEMOKRAADID"

nr. 118 KALJU KROSS
nr. 119 TRU MÄLA
nr. 120 IMRE SRI

nr. 121 KALJU KROSS

ÕIGUSVASTASELT REPRESSERINTI
RAHVUSLIK KRAKOND

nr. 122 VAKUS JÖGISU

VALIMISLIT "KINDEL KORD"

nr. 123 SULEV MÄLTSENEES

nr. 124 TÕNU TEPAND
nr. 125 ENHO BELRAND
nr. 126 JOHANNES KAUBI

VALIMISLIT "RAHVANNEK"

nr. 127 LENA TÕNSSON

nr. 128 HEMAR LENK
nr. 129 JAAK OSTRAT
nr. 130 VÄRNER LOOTSMANN
nr. 131 ELAR VELMANN
nr. 132 RENE BRENNER
nr. 133 KOSTEL GERNDORF

VALIMISLIT "ROHELASED"

nr. 134 HARRY TAMMIST
nr. 135 ENHO BELRAND

nr. 136 ENHO BELRAND

ESTI RAHVUSLIK LÜVAÕHINGITE
LIT

nr. 137 TUNNE KELA
nr. 138 ANDRES MIKKEL
nr. 139 TOOMAS VARRAK
nr. 140 KALJU MÄTH
nr. 141 RHO-ROBERT MÄGRE
nr. 142 RUBERT POOLA

VALIMISLIT "ESTI KORANIK"

nr. 143 KATRIN LINDE

nr. 144 HANS MÄGI
nr. 145 OTT KÖSTNER

NIMENI "LOORUSSIAADUSE
TÄRNI"

nr. 146 VÄNO LEMANN

VALIMISLIT "RÕLUMATU
KUNINGRIKILASTE"

nr. 147 PEETER BRAMBAT
nr. 148 AAVO HENLO

ÕRIKANDIDAADID

nr. 149 OLO SENMAA
nr. 150 HARRY ROOP
nr. 151 HENRIK TANN

HÄÄLETAN KANDIDAADI

NR. ... POOLT

TEXT ON THE INSTRUCTION
ON THE COMPLETION OF THE RIIGIKOGU ELECTION BALLOT

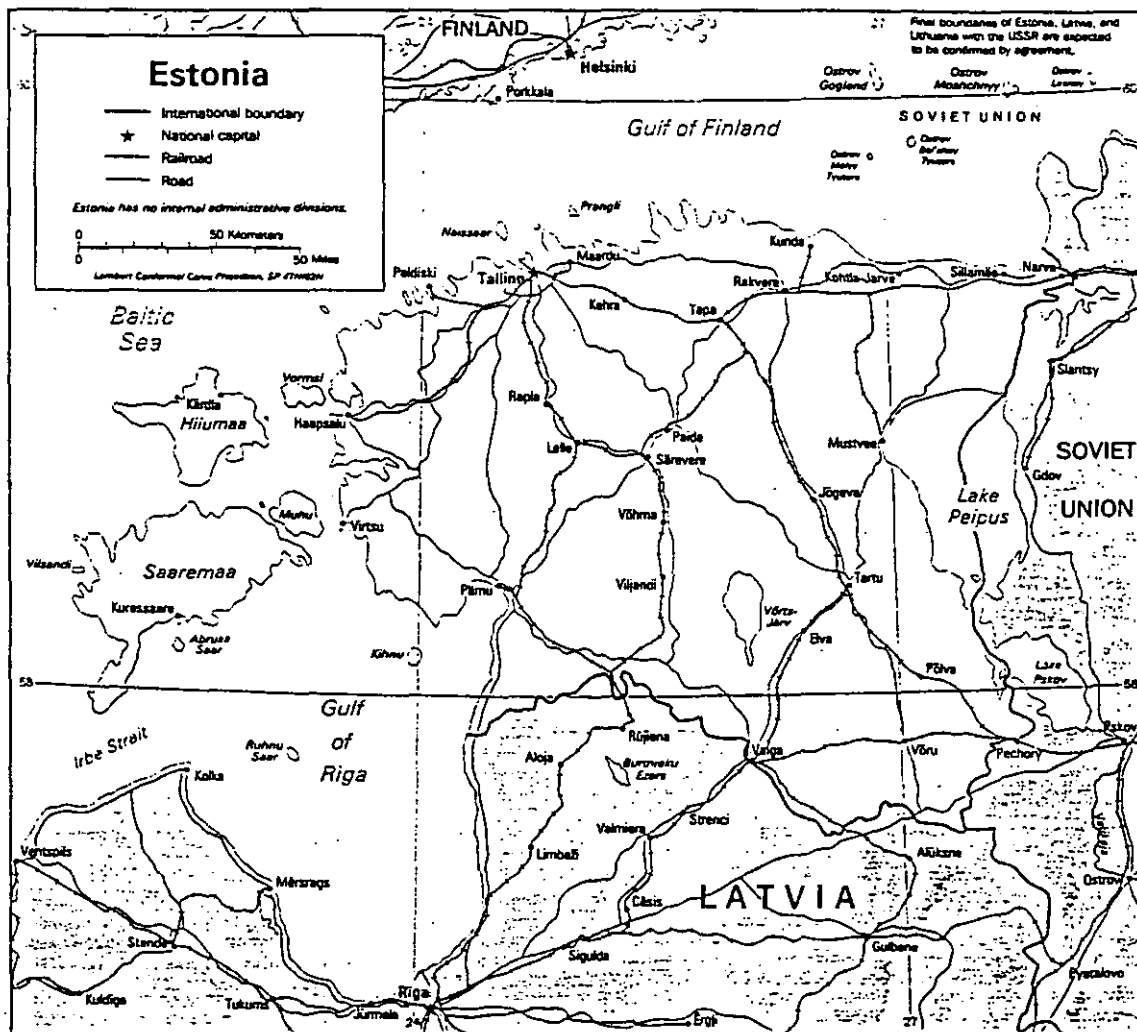
Honoured voter! In the box located on the ballot, please write on the dotted line after "I cast my vote for candidate nr." only that number which the Riigikogu candidate, for whom you cast your vote, has been assigned. You can vote for only one candidate as you have only one vote. Use only arabic numerals.

Election ballots will be declared void if the dotted line:

- 1) is left blank
- 2) is marked with two or more candidate numbers
- 3) is marked by a number other than the numbers assigned to the parliamentary candidates
- 4) is marked with a number that has been crossed out, written over, or altered in any way.

Republic of Estonia Election Commission

Appendix F
Map of Estonia



Base 801813 (801013) 9-91