

## КРЕАТИВНА ЕКОНОМІКА І ПУБЛІЧНА ІСТОРІЯ В ЕСТОНІЇ: ПРИКЛАД ДЛЯ УКРАЇНИ

**Т. В. Орлова**

*Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка*

*orlova.knu@gmail.com*

*ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4079-0049>*

**Ключові слова:** Естонія, креативність, креативна економіка, публічна історія, досвід для України.

З огляду на фактори, що зумовили найуспішніший серед всіх пострадянських держав розвиток Естонії, аналізується використання можливостей креативної економіки і місце в ній публічної історії. В свою чергу, креативні індустрії активно задіяні у публічній історії. Це є прикладом того, як за браком матеріальних ресурсів невелика балтійська держава зосередила увагу на нематеріальних, досягнувши звання «найбільш діджиталізованої країни світу». Це стало наслідком усього історичного розвитку, спрямованого до створення незалежної європейської держави, націленої на інновації. Історія Естонії у всіх відношеннях може розглядатися як публічна, оскільки широка громадськість брала у її творенні активну, проте ненасильницьку участь. Сучасна міжнародна, культурна, історична політика одним із своїх важелів вважає публічну історію, втілення якої демонструються у пропонуванні до уваги студії із закликом використовувати естонський досвід в Україні.

---

## CREATIVE ECONOMY AND PUBLIC HISTORY IN ESTONIA: AN EXAMPLE FOR UKRAINE

**T. V. Orlova**

*Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University*

**Key words:** Estonia, creativity, creative economy, public history, experience for Ukraine.

30 years upon the collapse of the USSR, the countries that had emerged at its terrain have been following the path of independent development with different results. The factors that have caused their differences are of scientific interest. Most success was gained by the smallest of the Baltic states, Estonia, which, since 2004, is a member of NATO and the European Union, and currently is proclaimed “the world’s most digitalized state”. Lacking significant material resources, Estonians have focused on the non-material ones and grasped the main tendencies of modern world’s development, where the main resource, ensuring competitiveness at all levels, is creativity. Many countries gain significant advantages from creative economy, which, in turn, provides broad opportunities for the development of public history. In fact, Estonian history is public in itself, as the broad public has been playing an active, yet non-forcible part in its formation. Despite the lasting foreign reign, especially from Russia, the Estonians never forgot their core goal – building their own independent state. Cultural activities provided the basis for political activities, thus providing the preservation of national identity. The goal of preserving national identity is also served by public history – made about the public, for the public and in cooperation with the public. The field of public history plays a great part in molding an attractive image of the country at the international arena. That’s why statesmen and civil activists consider it a powerful tool of exercising the so-called “soft power”, aimed exactly at creating an attractive international image for allies and investors. Examples of implementing public history measures in Estonia are given in the present study as a call for applying Estonian experience in Ukraine.

---

Almost 3 decades ago the Soviet Union ceased to exist, giving place to 15 new states. They stood in front of the prospects of independent development, fulfilled in different ways and with different results. Today’s most successful countries, in terms of political and socioeconomic progress, are those of the Baltic region, accepted to NATO and the European Union, and foremost

Estonia, the smallest of all by territory and population. During the years of restored sovereignty the country entered the circle of world leaders by many criteria. In her speech, dedicated to the centenary anniversary of independence, the President of the country K. Kaljulaid declared: “There are 192 countries in the

world and only one fifth of them is richer than us”<sup>1</sup>.

Naturally, the factors that have caused such a rapid transformation of an ex-Soviet republic into a globally respected European nation, are of scientific and pragmatic interest, especially for the countries also following the path of democratic transition, particularly, Ukraine. In domestic historiography this interest was shown in a chain of studies<sup>2</sup>. But they lacked consideration of the problems associated with the countries' response to the “fourth wave”, that is, the transition to creative economy as the leading trend of global development. Estonia presents an example of decent response to this complicated challenge despite shortage of resources – territorial, human, natural. The present study aims at analyzing the accomplishments of the Baltic state in creative economy, as well as in the field of public history, which can be regarded as one of its manifestations.

Today creativity in developed countries becomes a daily practice and the main source of competitive advantage. Also the scientific discourse was enriched by the notion of a “creative system”, which may imply both the society at large and its elements, an economy, an enterprise, a company, a team and even an individual. The creativity of the system is denoted as its capacity of creating new things by uniting two or more different elements in one context for giving added value to the result (product)<sup>3</sup>. That's how public history itself emerged: the historical science turned to approaching the broad public with the growing interest in history on the part of the latter. Meanwhile, public history became part of creative economy.

The concept of “creative economy” was elaborated in the early 2000-s by J. Howkins from Britain, a professor at Shanghai school of creativity<sup>4</sup>. This concept describes an economic system where the value of the product is for the first time dependent not on the traditional resources (labor, capital, land), but on the intellectual ones: new ideas and creativity. The

scientist claimed that it's imagination and invention, invested in the product, determine its successful future as an innovative good or innovative service<sup>5</sup>. He put software development in the first place and mentioned some more fields, particularly design, filmmaking, etc. Later the spheres of creative economy were outlined more distinctly: «The creative economy covers the knowledge-based economic activities upon which the “creative industries – advertising, architecture, arts and crafts, design, fashion, film, video, photography, music, performing arts, publishing, research and development, software, computer games, electronic publishing, and TV/radio – are based»<sup>6</sup>. The role and meaning of creative economy in the modern world are clarified in the preface to “Creative Economy Outlook. Trends in international trade in creative industries 2002 – 2015. Country profiles 2005-2014 /United Nations Conference on Trade and Development”: “The creative economy is recognized as a significant sector and a meaningful contributor to national gross domestic product. It has spurred innovation and knowledge transfer across all sectors of the economy and is a critical sector to foster inclusive development. The creative economy has both commercial and cultural value. Acknowledgement of this dual worth has led governments worldwide to expand and develop their creative economies as part of economic diversification strategies and efforts to stimulate economic growth, prosperity and well-being... Creative work promotes fundamental rights, such as respect for human dignity, equality and democracy, all of which are essential for humans to live together in peace. Its potential to make a significant contribution to the achievement of the sustainable development goals continues to gain international recognition and support. Whether it be arts and crafts, books, films, paintings, festivals, songs, designs, digital animator or video games, the creative industries are more than just sectors with good economic growth performance and potential. They are expressions of the human imagination spreading important social and cultural values”<sup>7</sup>. UNCTAD

<sup>1</sup> 100 років Естонії: лише п'ята частина країн сьогодні багатша. URL: <http://ukrinform.ua/rubric-world/2410996> (дата звернення: 10.06.2020).

<sup>2</sup> Циватий В. Інституціональний і політико-дипломатичний досвід європейської інтеграції Естонії (1991 – 2015 рр.) *Європейські історичні студії*. 2015. № 2. С. 137 – 160; Орлова Т. Історичні фактори успіхів сучасної Естонії. *Етнічна історія народів Європи*. 2019. Вип. 59. С. 93 – 99; Ії ж. Менталітет і економіка: естонський варіант з погляду історика. *Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету. Серія «Історія»*. 2020. Вип. 1 (42). С. 248 – 257.

<sup>3</sup> Журавлев В.А. Новая волна. Креативное общество – новая парадигма развития стран в XXI веке. *Креативная экономика*. 2008. № 11. С. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Howkins J. The Creative Economy. How People Make Money from Ideas. N.Y.: Allen Lane, Penguin Press. 2001. 288 p.

<sup>5</sup> Не просто модное слово: как креативность меняет экономическую картину мира URL: <https://informburo.kz/stati/ne-prosto-modnoe-slovo-kak-kreativnost-menyaet-ekonomicheskuyu-kartinu-mira.html> (дата звернення: 10.06.2020).

<sup>6</sup> European Creative Business Network. URL: <https://www.ecbnetwork.eu/2021-unctad-declares-international-year-of-creative-economy-for-sustainable-development/> (дата звернення 10.06.2020).

<sup>7</sup> “Creative Economy Outlook. Trends in international trade in creative industries 2002 – 2015. Country profiles 2005-2014 /United Nations Conference on Trade and Development” URL: [https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditcted2018d3\\_en.pdf](https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditcted2018d3_en.pdf) (дата звернення: 10.06.2020).

declared 2021 as International Year of Creative Economy for Sustainable Development.<sup>1</sup>

Presently the USA, Japan, China, South Korea, and a number of EU countries are at the stage of creative development. The EU has formed a program of innovative development "Creative Europe".<sup>2</sup> This program embraces Estonia as well, directing the total of 20 Mio. Euros into the development of its creative economy.<sup>3</sup> In 2015, the program of "Creative Europe" was joined by Ukraine.<sup>4</sup> In 2009, Enterprise Estonia launched an integrated program for raising awareness called Creative Estonia. The program aims to facilitate contact between creative professionals and business, policymakers, students and businesses from other sectors to promote creative entrepreneurship and creativity in society.<sup>5</sup> The website of Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs states: "Creativity is becoming the key component in several sectors and this has a focal role in achieving not only economic objectives, but also improving our environment, quality of life, innovation and competitiveness. As a result, creative industries play a considerable role in regional development, tourism and increasing the state's export capacity".<sup>6</sup> "The creative economy can make a significant contribution to resolving the bottlenecks in Estonia's international competitiveness. Providing added value to products and services through design, art and IT, by introducing Estonia abroad through culture, and by making the Estonian living environment more attractive – these are but some of the ways that the creative industries can contribute," said M. Josing, Director of the Estonian Institute of Economic Research.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2021: UNCTAD declares International Year of Creative Economy for Sustainable Development. URL: <https://www.ecbnetwork.eu/2021-unctad-declares-international-year-of-creative-economy-for-sustainable-development/> (дата звернення: 21. 08. 2020).

<sup>2</sup> Creative Europe program. URL: [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/node\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/node_en) (дата звернення: 10.06.2020).

<sup>3</sup> Republic of Estonia. Ministry of Culture. Creative industries. URL: <https://www.kul.ee/en/activities/creative-industries> (дата звернення: 10.08.2020).

<sup>4</sup> Ukraine joins the Creative Europe programme. URL: [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/node/58\\_fr](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/node/58_fr) (дата звернення: 12.07.2020).

<sup>5</sup> Creative industries policy in Estonia. URL: <https://vm.ee/en/node/9875> (дата звернення: 01.08.2020).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> A new study on Estonia's creative industries provides an overview of the developments and future prospects of the sector. URL: <https://www.kul.ee/en/news/new-study-estonias-creative-industries-provides-overview-developments-and-future-prospects> (дата звернення: 10.08. 2020).

The pivotal point of the whole human history is the issue of resources and the power distributing them. Estonia's main distinction in the context of world history and international policy is its "smallness" and related necessity of relying on other resources than those available to the "great powers". In the third millennium, Estonia, barren of natural resources, put the stakes on creativity and resorted to the symbiosis of the creative and the digital worlds. Shortly after the restoration of independence, the country witnessed the sway of e-revolution. T.X. Ilves, then the country's ambassador to the United States, then Estonia's president (2006 – 2016), takes some of the credit. Some time ago he read a book whose "Luddite, neo-Marxist" thesis, he says, was that computerisation would be the death of work. The book cited a Kentucky steel mill where several thousands of workers had been made redundant, because after automatisation, the new owners could produce the same amount of steel with only 100 employees. "This may be bad if you are an American," he says. – " But from an Estonian point of view, where you have this existential angst about your small size - we were at that time only 1.4 million people - I said this is exactly what we need. We need to really computerise, in every possible way, to massively increase our functional size".<sup>8</sup>

Today Estonia is considered the world's most digital state.<sup>9</sup> Tiger Leap project was launched, envisaging heavy investment into IT infrastructure. In 2000, the Baltic state was the first in the world to adding Internet access to the basic human rights, placing it at the same level with the right to food and refuge. The same year, the government issued a law equaling digital signatures to handwritten ones. This step brought about an entire paper-free system. In 2001, X-Road was launched as the groundwork of Estonia's digital infrastructure (since 2019, Ukraine started implementing Trembita, a counterpart of X-Road, uniting all registers in the country<sup>10</sup>). Thus the digital format had simplified an unprecedented number of state services for individuals and

<sup>8</sup> Mansel T. How Estonia became E-stonia. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-22317297>

<sup>9</sup> Уолт В. Эффект Skype: как Эстония стала самой цифровой страной в мире /Пер. с англ. В. Елкиной. URL: <https://rb.ru/story/effect-skype> (дата обращения: 15.08.2020); Estonia is a digital society. URL: <https://www.visitestonia.com/en/why-estonia/estonia-is-a-digital-society> (дата звернення: 15.08.2020); Воронков А. IT на службе у государства: опыт Эстонии. URL: <https://dou.ua/lenta/columns/estonia-technology/> (дата звернення: 15.08.2020).

<sup>10</sup> Кобылянский А. Украинская мечта. Как Эстония стала такой продвинутой страной. URL: <https://tech.liga.net/technology/article/ukraine---primer-kak-estoniya-sozdala-gosudarstvo-bez-byurokratov> (дата звернення: 15.08.2020).

businesses. Now 99% state services can be obtained electronically. Officials have long abandoned paper documentation, as it was decided to maximally optimize government regulation by digitalizing whatever possible. Such was the desire to overcome bureaucracy and accelerate the country's progress (it was estimated that X-Road had already saved 820 years of working hours.<sup>1</sup> The same year Estonians began to receive, instead of paper passport books, digital ID cards, combining a complex of documents and facilitating access to state ID services. In 2005, Estonians became the first nation that could exercise electoral vote through Internet. Still, in 2007, after a powerful cyber attack from Russia, particular attention was given to security, one of its aspects being creating cybertroops. Estonia's experience confirmed the conclusions of modern economy scientists that new knowledge, embodied in technology, equipment and organization of production, in industrially developed countries ensure over 75% of GDP increase.<sup>2</sup>

Instead of asking what the world can give them, Estonians ask what they can give the world. As one of the answers, one may quote the invention and broad implementation of Skype – a videoconnection service now used by hundreds of millions of people and organizations world over. In 2014, e-Residency program was launched. By becoming an e-resident of Estonia, a foreign entrepreneur gains right to remote opening of a company, a bank account, and managing the business without ever visiting Estonia (this being a solution to “increasing” the country's population and gaining more revenues). In 2017, Creative Estonia called for startups all over Europe to develop electronic services. According to the member of European parliament K.Kallas, “to Europe Estonia is a digital society, a flexible progressive little country, striving to innovation. Our electronic image makes us attractive, and it depends on us how we can convert the interest into investment, jobs and general prosperity.”<sup>3</sup>

Beside IT, Estonia's Ministry of Culture includes the following domains into creative economy: architecture (architecture, interior architecture, landscape architecture, planning); audiovisual field (film and video, broadcasting); design (product and unique design, design services); performing arts (theatre, dance,

festivals); publishing (publishing, printing); cultural heritage (handicraft, museums, libraries); arts (visual arts, retail sales of art supplies, framing, restoration, production of art works); entertainment software (smartphone, online, computer and console games; service providers, importers, localisers for game developers); music (composers and musicians; production and live performances; manufacture and sale of musical instruments; reproduction and sales of recordings; auxiliary activities related to concert organizing); advertising (advertising, media intermediation).<sup>4</sup> Understandably, the said domains enroll creative specialists, i.e. people occupied with creative tasks based on the high level of training, hence, the high level of human capital. These people make up the “creative class” – a broad social stratum that unites people whose economic functions include producing new ideas, new technologies or new content. These are not only creative professionals as such, but also all professionals characterized by bright individuality, talent, desire for creating new things, open mind. They are the avant-garde of every sphere, particularly, research and education.<sup>5</sup> And it's education, adequate to the requirements of modernity, that molds the creative society people.

If in Soviet times education and training at all levels were basically control-targeted, then in a creative society creative education and training are aimed at building the students' adaptability to the changing circumstances and facilitating the development of their creative and logical thinking. That's the way Estonia's system of education is working: in 2019, the country gained the first place in Europe according to PISA (Program for International Student Assessment). “Estonia's system of education occupies the leading positions in the world due to the fact of equal access to education, as we can rationally use technological solutions for enhancing teaching and instruction”, - said the Minister of Education and Research M.Reps.<sup>6</sup>

In 20 years the country had implemented a chain of reforms that made education more oriented at those who study, more modern and prospective. Key initiative had started in this sphere when Estonia undertook to place computers in every class. Before 2000, all the

<sup>1</sup> Воронков А. ИТ на службе у государства: опыт Эстонии.

<sup>2</sup> Степашин С. В. Образование вместо «образованщины». *Вестник РФО*. 2005. № 4. С. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Creative Estonia приглашает стартапы со всей Европы развивать электронные услуги. URL: <https://www.ndpculture.org/news/creative-estonia-invites-start-ups-from-all-over-europe-to-develop-e-services> (дата зверения 15.08.2020).

<sup>4</sup> Republic of Estonia. Ministry of Culture. Creative industries.

<sup>5</sup> Florida R. The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life. N.Y.: Basic Books, 2002. 404 p.

<sup>6</sup> How did Estonia become a role model in digital education. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/knowledge/how/did-estonia-become-a-role-model-in-digital-education> (дата зверения: 15.08.2020).

schools in the country had gone online.<sup>1</sup> In 2015, it was decreed to digitalize all educational materials. Beside providing digital knowledge and skills, Estonian education broadly uses a range of intellectual solutions: digital databases, electronic textbooks, electronic training materials, digital record books, digital marks, let alone various apps and programs. Education Nation brand is created for direct sales and intermediary activities in the basic components, such as digital solutions, consultations, training, training tours etc.

Particular importance in educating the younger generation is given to history and geography: «The education of geography and history is often regarded as a central medium in national education through which spatial socialization is channeled and shared spatio-temporal consciousness imposed in a society... Geography and history are the cornerstones of nation-building connecting profoundly to strategically planned policies and practices of socialization. Importantly, spatial socialization highlights the constitutive role of a space and time in building the national identity and framing political developments in society. Spatial socialization plays a vital role in securing the constitution and continuity of the state and legitimizing its policies. This process, by promoting shared spatio-temporal consciousness of society members, also helps to organize and implement control and surveillance over the state territory and its population”<sup>2</sup>.

In this quotation, it's important to pay attention to the key words: population, identity, policy. These words are quite meaningful for understanding the essence of public history, the sense of which is making history for the broad public and together with the broad public. Public history is of great importance for shaping identity, and this is what historical policy is aimed at. By Prof. G.Kasyanov: “Historical policy is a kind of policy, the destination and content of which is deliberate construction and practical political implementation of “historic memory” and other forms of collective understandings of the past, as well as of its representations – particularly, professional historiography”.<sup>3</sup> In this regard, the means provided by public history are also important. The memory of history is not just historian's own business. It is partaken by literature,

art, museums, school education. Digitalization also gives some opportunities. E.g. the podcast “The history of Estonia”, that catalogizes events and processes, starting from the population of the lands and moving on along the timescale toward the present days.<sup>4</sup>

The histories of Estonia and Ukraine have much in common, especially in terms of struggle for independence against more powerful states. Sensitive is the issue of national identity, having suffered attempts at weakening or even elimination throughout centuries. As history witnesses, there are nations building their identities around sufferings, defeats, tragedy. Ukraine is a vivid example of those. A tragic victim's mentality is present in Estonia, too. It feeds considerably on the memories of Russian colonialism and Soviet occupation. But Estonian historians and civil activists call for the international community, especially post-Communist countries, to never forget the crimes of Communism, to initiate broadest public discussions of those events, well-known to historians. The importance of creating a new public sphere is emphasized. A former foreign minister of Estonia, Minister of Defense, Ambassador in the USA and NATO J.Luik in his article “Our Responsibility”, that echoed internationally, underscored that post-Communist societies “will begin functioning normally only in case their pain is openly discussed and universally acknowledged”. Challenged nations are easier to be trapped in illusions about a perfect society; people in Che Guevara tees are living evidence that such illusions are still popular. And only the new international consensus, on the issue of the crimes of communism, will let avoid similar threats.<sup>5</sup> These words can be confidently applied to Ukraine, too, where decommunization is formally effected, but the longing for communism is overcome not by everyone. Generally speaking, the acknowledgement of communist crimes is not self-evident in modern world.

Measures are taken in the world, e.g. the activities of the international portal named Communist crimes, where historians, activists and victims speak frankly about the crimes and the anatomy of Communist regimes all over the planet. The portal is unique in a way that joins the experiences of 45 contemporary states in one database. It includes materials on Estonia in Estonian, English and Russian languages.<sup>6</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Veemaa J., Jauhiainen Geography and history education in Estonia: processes, policies and practices in an ethnically divided society from the late 1980s to the early 2000s. *Fennia*. 2016. № 2. P. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Касьянов Г. Past continuous: історична політика 1980-х – 2000-х. Україна і сусіди. К.: Laurus, Антропос – Логос – Фільм, 2018. С. 27.

<sup>4</sup> History of Estonia Podcast on Podimo. URL: [podimo.com/en/shows/3981f6a4\\_6d30\\_4104\\_9980\\_863702b8678c](https://podimo.com/en/shows/3981f6a4_6d30_4104_9980_863702b8678c) (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

<sup>5</sup> Астров А. Эстония: политическая борьба за место в истории. *Pro et Contra*. 2009. Май – август. С.116.

<sup>6</sup> Communist dictatorship in Estonia. The Soviet occupation (1940 – 1941; 1944 – 1991)/ URL:

2020, Estonian Institute of National Memory (having a counterpart in Ukraine) prepared an interactive exhibition "The liberator's arrival" – on the atrocities of Soviet Red Army occupying Estonia and other countries in 1944.<sup>1</sup> In 2018, Tallinn opened a memorial to the victims of Communism, dedicated to all people who had suffered from terror instilled by the Soviet Union. The names of more than 22 thousand people from Estonia, killed or dead by the inhuman living conditions in prison or forced exile, are written on the nameplates of the memorial. As early as in 1922, the Parliament of Estonia created a state committee for investigating the repressive policies of the occupant powers to issue "The White Book of losses, caused to the people of Estonia by the occupations of 1940 – 1991". The book was issued in 2005.<sup>2</sup> The peoples of Baltia never forget the sufferings undergone in the Soviet times. Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia annually commemorate the Day of Memory of the victims of Communist repressions, that have affected almost every family. Particularly massive were deportations to Novosibirsk oblast of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Komi ASSR. In June 2001, the government of Estonia decided on initiating negotiations with the Russian Federation on the compensation for the labor of Estonians, deported to Russia in 1940 – 1953. But Moscow ignores such claims. In May 2001, President Lennart Meri travelled throughout Estonia and awarded the memory sign "Broken Cornflower" to every deported person (the flower is accepted as the country's official national symbol). In 2005, during the festivities around the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the WWII, President Arnold Rüutel did not go to Moscow, as a gesture of mourning over the massively repressed Estonians. In 2009, the Europarlament introduced the European Memory Day of the victims of Stalinism and Nazism. This day is commemorated annually on the 23th of August – the date the pact of non-aggression was signed between Germany and the Soviet Union, with secret protocols on dividing Europe into the spheres of influence of the two states. According

to the latter, Estonia was seized by the USSR with all respective consequences.

In 2019, Estonia reacted acutely to Moscow's intent to effect fireworks on September 22 in memory of "the liberation of Tallinn", and to the tweet of Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The tweet read: "Thanks to the Soviet-German pact of non-aggression, the war began on the frontiers strategically more expedient to the USSR, the population of those territories faced the Nazi terror two years later, hundreds of thousands of lives were saved". On September 23, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia published a communiqué: "The Estonian Republic did not take part in the WWII and suffered both from the Nazi Germany and the Soviet occupation. The Soviet Union did not liberate Estonia, but occupied us for almost 50 years. We are profoundly resentful that Russia continues spreading historical injustice and diminishing the crimes of the Soviet regime".<sup>3</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs U. Reinsalu, known for his strict stance on historical policy, takes effort at opposing Russian propaganda, particularly on Estonian-Soviet relations during the WWII and subsequent occupation of Estonia by Moscow. 18 September 2019, at the session of the Parliament, he informed that the commission created by the Ministry of Justice had prepared a report on human losses in Estonia during Soviet occupation. It was declared that, according to international law, Estonia is entitled to the reimbursement of losses caused by the occupation. In turn, Moscow declares that the claim is groundless, for the Soviet Army "had liberated Estonia from seizure by the Fascists".<sup>4</sup> In February 2020, the Parliament of Estonia condemned Russia's attempts at laying shared blame on Poland for unleashing the WWII. In the resolution "Historical memory and the falsification of history" Russia is condemned for attempting at rewriting history, and support is voiced to Poland and other countries that Russia is blaming in unleashing the war. It is also declared that it is the Nazi Germany and the Soviet Russia that carry the responsibility for "the mass homicide at the scale unprecedented in the history of the humanity".<sup>5</sup> The Ministries of

---

[//communistcrimes.org/en/countries/estonia](http://communistcrimes.org/en/countries/estonia) (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

<sup>1</sup> A new online exhibition on the Red Army terror in Estonia launched. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/security/a-new-online-exhibition-on-the-red-army-terror-in-estonia-launched/> (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

<sup>2</sup> Бела́я кни́га: о потерях, причиненных народу Эстонии оккупациями 1940 – 1991 / Okupatsioonide Repressiivpoliitika Uurimise Riiklik Komisjon. Tallinn. 2005. URL: <https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/ru/%D0%BA%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B3%D0%B8/19931> (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

---

<sup>3</sup> Оккупация, а не освобождение: Россию уличили во лжи о преступлениях СССР. URL: <https://www.segodnya.ua/world/europe/okkupaciya-a-ne-osvobozhdenie-rossiyu-ulichili-vo-lzhi-o-prestupleniyah-sssr-1335068.html> (дата звернення: 18.08.2020).

<sup>4</sup> Россия искажает историю. Реакция эстонской дипломатии. URL: <https://warsawinstitute.org/Russia-distorts-history-reaction-estonian-diplomacy/> (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

<sup>5</sup> Estonia backs Poland in history dispute with Russia. URL: <https://www.thefirstnews.com/article/estonia-backs->

Foreign Affairs of the three Baltic states voiced resentment at the article by Vladimir Putin "75 Years of the Great Victory: the shared responsibility before history and the future",<sup>1</sup> called by the Polish government "part of the informational warfare against the West and the manipulation of history".<sup>2</sup> The statements of Vladimir Putin can be called an example of employing historical policy as a tool of hybrid warfare against the West, Europe, the Baltic states, and Ukraine.

Estonia, like Ukraine, had suffered a profound cultural trauma from the decades of the Soviet reign. Hence one of their first challenges became de-Sovietization, or, at a deeper level, emancipation from the Russian influence. This is extremely important for the self-preservation of a nation, for its future development. In 2005, the State strategy of the sustainable development of Estonia was accepted, "Stable Estonia 21" (enacted by Riigikogu on the 14<sup>th</sup> of September 2005). The beginning of the document emphasizes on «increasing appreciation of local identity. As a counter-reaction to globalisation, local and regional attempts to diverge from globally spreading trends, to value the local language and culture and to integrate the global and the local are strengthening worldwide. Regions and states that better succeed in cultivating their identity will gain an important competitive advantage». «The viability of the Estonian cultural space» is stated as the goal №1.<sup>3</sup> In this regard, extreme importance is placed on the development of the cultural sphere. Pragmatism, inherent in the Western mentality, understands that theaters, museums and philharmonics are not just entertainment but the nation's system-building structure. Estonians have always considered themselves Europeans, that is, people of the West. In 2012, the country launched Cultural Policy Strategy 2020.<sup>4</sup> The

activities for its implementation encompassed the factors conditioned by creative economy and public history, whereas the latter actively utilizes the opportunities provided by the former. The European Union effects considerable support of the development of Estonia's creative economy: only in 2014 – 2020 the European Foundation for Regional Development has allocated the total of 20 Mio. Euros.<sup>5</sup> The country is home to various regional and thematic development centres: Estonian Centre of Architecture, Estonian Design Centre, Estonian Film Institute, Creative Gate, Music Estonia, Estonian Contemporary Art Development Centre, ARS Art Factory, IGDA Estonia, Creative Estonia.<sup>6</sup> The mentioned and unmentioned centers are involved in making public history.

Since the late 1970s public history has gained worldwide spread. The USA have the American National Council for Public History, whose site notes: «public history describes the many and diverse ways in which history is put to work in the world. In this sense, it is history that is applied to real-world issues». <sup>7</sup> Baltimore University defines public history as «...the presentation of historical knowledge to a general public audience. Public history takes many forms – museum presentations, television documentaries, historic preservation projects, collection and recording projects, and the re-translation of traditional historical knowledge into modern, micro-computer-based formats, to give some examples. As an academic discipline it also focuses on the efficient and ethical management of our nation's historical heritage and collective memories». <sup>8</sup>

An important trait of public history is that professional historians try to keep closer to the broad public, to consider its interests and requests, and to cooperate with the community in the production of history. Looking at the historical development of Estonian cultural policies, it can be noticed that its roots, as well as the origins of cultural institutions lie in the bottom-up initiatives of civil society activities with civilizing aims in order to support cultural and national development. Estonian cultural aspirations were driven by 19<sup>th</sup> century economic,

---

poland-in-history-dispute-with-russia-10575 (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

<sup>1</sup> Путин В. В. 75 лет Великой Победы: общая ответственность перед историей и будущим URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/63527> (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

<sup>2</sup> Глава МИД Эстонии об исторических тезисах Путина: «Ложь от начала до конца». URL: <https://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2020/06/20/7256470/> (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

<sup>3</sup> Estonian National Strategy on Sustainable Development Sustainable Estonia 21/ Approved by Riigikogu (Parliament of Estonia) on September 14. 2005. URL: [https://www.riigikantselei.ee/sites/default/files/content-editors/Failid/estonia\\_sds\\_2005.pdf](https://www.riigikantselei.ee/sites/default/files/content-editors/Failid/estonia_sds_2005.pdf) (дата звернення: 18.08.2020).

<sup>4</sup> Cultural Policy Strategy 2020. URL: <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/policy-monitoring-platform/launching-cultural-policy> (дата звернення: 18.08.2020).

---

<sup>5</sup> Republic of Estonia. Ministry of Culture. Creative industries.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> What is Public History? / National Council on Public History. URL: <https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field> (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

<sup>8</sup> Savelieva I. "Public History" as a vocation. Basic research program. Working papers (June 14, 2013)/Higher School of Economic Research Paper № WP BPR 34/HUM/2013. P. 5-6. URL: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2279444> (дата звернення: 19.08.2020).

social and political modernization, which formed the preconditions for the emergence of civil society and cultural emancipation. As a result of Russian absolutist central power and the socio-economic situation dominated by the Baltic German nobility, the elite of the “awakened peasants” was highly motivated to build up their cultural and public sphere with the intention of improving the status of Estonians in society. Estonian national aspirations (which initially were connected with cultural goals) with time became more political, demanding “equal rights” compared to the ruling Baltic-German nobility with regard to participation in the running of local affairs. The formation of the public sphere manifested bottom-up cultural activities, particularly community houses which became the first cultural institutions and public for a civil society. Community houses had and now have their original functions of being the place for public meetings where local communities can discuss important matters and party places, offering space for cultural practices as well as for the festivities of the local people. These two parallel cultural movements (those of the elite and the grassroot communities) formed wider public sphere, and thus, contributed to the formation of a successful Estonian national building movement. The movement started with cultural practices and a shared feeling of togetherness, reinforcing the basis for national identity and thus supported the process of state building, resulted in political self-determination.<sup>1</sup>

For centuries, Estonians used their music as a political weapon. They have one of the world's largest repertoire of folk songs. Songs were used as protest against German invaders as early as in c. XIII and as opposition to the occupant army of the Russian Tzar Peter I in c. XVIII. Since 1869 Estonians take part in the annual song festival, known as *Laulupidu*, where choruses from all over the country gather for a several days-long chorus musical spree. Up to 25 000 people are singing on stage at the same time. These gatherings, uniting hundreds of thousands of people, have always been connected with the people's strife for national identity no less than with music. *Laulupidu* became a cornerstone of opposition to the Soviet occupation, when, beside performing prescribed songs, acclaiming the state and the Communist party, the hosts challenged the Soviet power through including prohibited nationalist songs and symbols. In September 1988, the mass

song festival in Tallinn gathered a record number of people – 300 000, that is, almost one third of all Estonians. Despite the prohibition, national banners were held, where blue means being true to the ideas of the nation, black symbolizes all hardships undergone by the people, and white is purity, a symbol of Estonia's strife for liberty, of hope for the better. The Soviet regime could not imprison thousands of performers. History remembers the Singing Revolution (1988 – 1991), that became a form of non-violent struggle for liberation. On August 23, 1989, on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the seizure of the three Baltic republics by the Soviet Union, about 70 000 Estonians joined half a million Latvians and one million Lithuanians, holding hands and making the Baltic chain, that crossed those countries as a sign of solidarity in their struggle for independence. It is likely that the Baltic chain served an example to the patriotic forces of Ukraine, that initiated the Ukrainian wave on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 1990 on the 71<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the Act of Junction of the Ukrainian People's Republic with the Western Ukrainian People's Republic. The revival of the tradition of “living chains” in Ukraine began in the late 2000s.

In August of 1991, upon the putsch in Moscow, Soviet tanks invaded Estonia to suppress the subsequent attempts at renewing complete sovereignty. In response, the government of Estonia proclaimed the country an independent state. Estonians encircled the radio and television broadcasting stations, including the Tallinn television tower, as a non-violent shield that prevented their seizure by Soviet troops. Next day the attempted coup in Moscow was defeated, and two weeks later the Russian government officially recognized the independence of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.

The aforesaid events can be seen as a display of public history: firstly, the public historical memory realized itself in struggle for restitution – the restoration of statehood; secondly, a broad community took part in making their history; thirdly, one of the notable strategic aspects of non-violent movement for the independence of Estonia was an emphasis on culture. Music, foremost the rich chorus tradition of the country, played the central role in forming the sensation of unity, non-submission and hope. For centuries, the foreign reign was threatening Estonian national and cultural identity, but Estonians had not resigned their unique culture.

The rune-song (“*regilaul*” in Estonian) is one of the manifestations of the nation's creative genius, taken from museums for a new life. This was done by a composer V. Tormis – one of the best-known authors of chorus music of the contemporary era, renowned worldwide. On his 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary, in 2020, the

<sup>1</sup> Kolbok-Lattik E. The historical formation and development of Estonian cultural policy: tracing development of Estonian community houses (*rahvamaja*). *Kulttuuripoliitikaan tutkimuksen vuosikirja*. 2006. P. 191 – 195.



Virtual Veljo Tormis Center was launched: an online database and informational channel provide access, preservation, spread and international recognition of the artist's creative heritage.<sup>1</sup>

Public history wise a great importance belongs to the museum sphere. Notable in this regard is Estonian National Museum, considered the biggest cultural project in Estonian history.<sup>2</sup> The museum stands apart from many others, as it does not feature kings, generals or events such as wars or heroic deeds. It's a museum of national culture, telling about daily life and practices of routine culture of Estonians throughout their history. The museum belongs to people, studies Estonians and attempts at bringing general aspects of daily life closer to people. The museum exhibits are placed at an area of over 6 000 square meters, and beside almost 10 000 artifacts it features various hi-tech creations and unique IT apps and installations. The museum also renders quite a range of other services, that can be viewed from the point of developing public history. It was determined from the very beginning that "the museum must become a multifaceted cultural and educational center, for it's the only way it can perform all tasks that a modern institution of enlightenment is bearing in a free world".<sup>3</sup>

Certainly, it's not the only museum functioning in Estonia – there is a lot of them, as well as of various historic sites and monuments. An attitude to them is largely shaped by public opinion. A vivid example is that of erecting a monument to the victims of Communism in Maarjamäe. The public participation in its construction is witnessed by the online memorial, where everyone can search and update information on the victims of the Soviet power. Estonians have a positive perception of this memorial. It also gained acclaim in the international community: the memorial received an International Architecture Award 2019 as one of the world's best works of architecture in the category of museums and cultural buildings.<sup>4</sup> The world also recognizes old architecture: the Old town of Tallinn is included into the list of UNESCO world cultural heritage and the national heritage of Estonia. The reserved

zone of the Old town, enacted in 1966 by Decree № 360 of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR and confirmed by the Ministry of Culture of the Estonian Republic in 1966, was the first natural reserve legitimized in the former USSR. A chain of contemporary legislative and municipal acts accomplish the conservation of its values, and the community sees to it that the interests of property developers don't take over the people's historical memory. Particularly, in 2008 the City council of Tallinn enacted a theme plan "Limits on high-rise buildings in Tallinn", protecting the skyline with related sectors of view and corridors of view<sup>5</sup> (so unlike the recent perturbations deforming the sectors of view along the Dnieper banks in Kiev, and not only there, and not only in Kiev).

Conserving historical and cultural heritage has purely pragmatic benefits as well. It is associated with recreational services, where tourism has a considerable share. It is well known that tourism brings billions-large income to countries. Notable is the example of the People's Republic of China, where during the "cultural revolution" many cultural and historic sites were destroyed. After Mao Zedong's death, massive reconstruction and restauration works began to make the country attractive to tourists. Estonia attempted to save its values by all measures. Say, the 1970s were remembered as the period of "phosphorite wars" – the time of opposition between the Estonian government and the broad public, on one hand, and Moscow, on the other, around the mining of phosphorites in the Eastern outskirts of Tallinn. The Estonian government managed to lobby the creation of the Soviet Union's first national park Lahemaa exactly at the phosphorite basin. It is then that the "green" movement in its modern understanding actually emerged in the USSR. This episode can be regarded as a manifestation of public history, made for the public and with the public. It is also a vivid example of active and efficient ecological policy in the Estonian Republic, quite instructional for Ukraine. Besides, Ukraine could use Estonia's example in employing all available resources, even those that seem not qualifying. Such is the striking specific of Estonian creativity – emerging even amidst a complete swamp: the Viru swamp became one of the tourist attractions. Estonian cuisine, too, became one of the popular themes of tourism, though not nearly as diverse as the Chinese or French one.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The late Estonian composer Veljo Tormis to be honoured with a virtual center. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/culture/the-late-estonian-composer-veljo-tormis-to-be-honoured-with-a-virtual-centre/> (дата звернення: 20.08.2020).

<sup>2</sup> The biggest cultural project in Estonian history. URL: <https://estonia.ee/the-biggest-cultural-project-in-estonian-history/> (дата звернення: 20.08.2020).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Bellentani F. Seven ways to deal with monuments in Estonia. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/opinion/seven-ways-to-deal-with-monuments-in-estonia/> (дата звернення: 20.08.2020).

---

<sup>5</sup> Historic Centre (Old Town) of Tallinn / UNESCO. Culture. World Heritage Center. World Heritage List/ URL: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/822/> (дата звернення: 20.08.2020).

<sup>6</sup> Estonian food, drinks and history tour. URL: <https://www.tripadvisor.com/AttractionProductReview->

Folk cuisine, folk costumes, museum farms, folk songs and dances, folk festivities make up the people's own history, that is of prime importance to asserting the national identity and self-preservation both in Estonia itself and at the international arena. In May 2020, the Foreign Ministry of the Estonian Republic, preparing the strategy of the country's foreign policies till 2030 for approval by the Parliament, declared: "The general foreign policy objectives comprise the preservation of the Estonian people, the Estonian language and the Estonian culture through the ages; reinforcing the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Estonia in international relations; increasing prosperity in Estonia and protecting the Estonian community abroad, and Estonia's increasing contribution to global sustainable development".<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, Estonian policymakers are well aware of the importance of the so-called "soft power" to their small country. Its essence lies in the capacity to make an influence at the international arena at the account of the attractiveness of its image. In this regard, external and internal factors can be noted. External are the foreign policy, the political and economic state development model, the strategy of development and the skills of its practical implementation, the country's information resources, its communicative mobility, etc. Internal are ideology, style, living standards, values, the mentality of the nation, the culture of the country, the creative potential of the state: the ability of generating ideas and technologies, including the nation's creative force. The complex of the said factors facilitates the creation of an attractive and efficient image of the country. The above facts are evidence of Estonia's successful use of creative economy for these objectives. Even in the conditions of coronacrisis that struck the world in 2020, the state supports the actors of creative industries – not only institutions and organizations, but also the so-called freelancers. Minister of Culture T.Lukas declared: «... the total volume of the support program for the cultural sphere is 25 million euros, of which 5.2 million is allocated as aid for individuals mainly through the system of creative activity support for freelancers». <sup>2</sup> Even before the crisis, Estonia proclaimed 2020 the year of

digital culture. The state of emergency became an impetus for its development. In just a few months Estonians have developed a lot of digital solutions to help overcome the crisis of COVID-19 pandemic, saving lives, time and money. An invitation to the "digital voyage" was accompanied with the url: <https://e-estonia.com>. "The world's most advanced digital society" offered its help to the world, reinforcing its "soft power".

During the official and informal visits of Estonians to Ukraine, our country was also offered help. It's not without the assistance of Estonian influence that the process of digitalizing Ukraine was activated, e.g. the Ministry of Digital Transformation launched a Ukrainian e-service of state services "Diya" (the abbreviation for "the State and I", composing the word for "action"). In July 2020, Ukrainian Ministry of Regional Development declared that the State strategy of regional development, elaborated by the Ministry, plans to develop creative economy in the regions [50].<sup>3</sup> This requires creating respective centers in order to raise the economy, to stop the drain of young people from the country, and to introduce new cultural and social initiatives according to the historical and cultural context in the different regions of Ukraine. The development of creative economy must become one of the most important vectors of the strategy of creating competitive advantage both for particular regions and for the country in general.

In summary, one can make the following conclusions. Estonia, like Ukraine, has been paving the way of independent development for three decades. It turned out more successful, which adds importance and value to its experience. This experience witnesses that a small country has found its way in the development tendencies of the modern world, where a lack of material resources can be compensated by non-material ones, creativity being the most important of them. Some countries of the world, including Estonia, are actively developing creative economy, this letting them take the first places in international competition. Creative economy is one of the main drivers of modernization in research and education, being the burning need of Ukraine. Beside purely economic benefits, creative economy produces non-material values and ensures human-oriented sustainable development. It creates an environment where people want to live, work, study, invent and create, that prevents mass escape of the youth from the country in pursuit of places where such

---

g274958-d18274805-  
Estonian\_food\_drinks\_and\_history\_tour-  
Tallinn\_Harju\_County.html (дата звернення: 20.08.2020).

<sup>1</sup> Hankewitz S. Estonia's foreign policy objectives: the preservation of the Estonian people, language and culture. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/culture/estonias-foreign-policy-objectives-the-preservation-of-the-estonian-people-language-and-culture/> (дата звернення: 20.08.2020).

<sup>2</sup> Estonia to support freelancers in creative industries during crisis 2020. URL: [https://www.baltictimes.com/estonia\\_to\\_support\\_freelancers\\_in\\_creative\\_industries\\_during\\_crisis/](https://www.baltictimes.com/estonia_to_support_freelancers_in_creative_industries_during_crisis/) (дата звернення: 20.08.2020).

---

<sup>3</sup> Кабмін планує створити центри розвитку креативної економіки в регіонах URL: [https://lb.ua/economics/2020/07/17/462034\\_uryad\\_planuie\\_stvoriti\\_tsentri\\_rozvitku.html](https://lb.ua/economics/2020/07/17/462034_uryad_planuie_stvoriti_tsentri_rozvitku.html) (дата звернення: 20.08.2020).

conditions can be found. At the same time, creative economy helps preserve local cultures in the era of globalization. An important part is played by public history – the history about the public, for the public, in cooperation with the

public. Modern Estonia presents an example of knowing its history, cherishing it, yet inscribing it skillfully into modernity, with various gains. The Baltic country is ready to share its experience, which can be very useful to Ukraine.

## References

- 100 rokiv Estoniyyi: lishe p'yata chastina krayin sogochni bagatsha. URL: <http://ukrinform.ua/rubric-world/2410996> (data zvernennya: 10.06.2020).
- Civatij V. Institucionalnij i politiko-diplomatichnij dosvid yevropejskoyi integraciyi Estoniyyi (1991 – 2015 rr.). Yevropejski istorichni studiyi. 2015. № 2. S. 137 – 160.
- Orlova T. Istorichni faktori uspihiv suchasnoyi Estoniyyi. Etnichna istoriya narodiv Yevropi. 2019. Vip. 59. S. 93 – 99.
- Orlova T. Mentalitet i ekonomika: estonskij variant z poglyadu istorika // Naukovij visnik Uzhgorodskogo universitetu. Seriya «Istoriya». 2020. Vip. 1 (42). – S. 248-257.
- Zhuravlev V. A. Novaya volna. Kreativnoe obshestvo – novaya paradigma razvitiya stran v HHI veke. Kreativnaya ekonomika. 2008. № 11. S. 42 – 49.
- Howkins J. The Creative Economy. How People Make Money from Ideas. N.Y.: Allen Lane, Penguin Press. 2001. 288 p.
- Ne prosto modnoe slovo: kak kreativnost menyaet ekonomicheskuyu kartinu mira URL: <https://informburo.kz/stati/ne-prosto-modnoe-slovo-kak-kreativnost-menyaet-ekonomicheskuyu-kartinu-mira.html> (data zvernennya: 10.06.2020).
- European Creative Business Network. URL: <https://www.ecbnetwork.eu/2021-unctad-declares-international-year-of-creative-economy-for-sustainable-development/> (data zvernennya 10.06.2020).
- “Creative Economy Outlook. Trends in international trade in creative industries 2002 – 2015. Country profiles 2005-2014 /United Nations Conference on Trade and Development” URL: [https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditcted2018d3\\_en.pdf](https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditcted2018d3_en.pdf) (data zvernennya: 10.06.2020).
- 2021: UNCTAD declares International Year of Creative Economy for Sustainable Development. URL: <https://www.ecbnetwork.eu/2021-unctad-declares-international-year-of-creative-economy-for-sustainable-development/> (data zvernennya: 21. 08. 2020)
- Creative Europe program. URL: [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/node\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/node_en) (data zvernennya: 10.06.2020).
- Republic of Estonia. Ministry of Culture. Creative industries. URL: <https://www.kul.ee/en/activities/creative-industries> (data zvernennya: 10.08.2020).
- Ukraine joins the Creative Europe programme. URL: [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/node/58\\_fr](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/node/58_fr) (data zvernennya: 12.07.2020).
- Creative industries policy in Estonia. URL: <https://vm.ee/en/node/9875> (data zvernennya: 01.08.2020).
- Creative Industries in Estonia. URL: <https://vm.ee/en/node/9875> (data zvernennya: 10.08.2020).
- A new study on Estonia's creative industries provides an overview of the developments and future prospects of the sector. URL: <https://www.kul.ee/en/news/new-study-estonias-creative-industries-provides-overview-developments-and-future-prospects> (data zvernennya: 10.08. 2020).
- Mansel T. How Estonia became E-stonia. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-22317297>
- Uolt V. Effekt Skype: kak Estoniya stala samoj cifrovoj stranoj v mire /Per. s angl. V. Elkinoy. URL: <https://rb.ru/story/effect-skype> (data obrasheniya: 15.08.2020).
- Estonia is a digital society. URL: <https://www.visitestonia.com/en/why-estonia/estonia-is-a-digital-society> (data zvernennya: 15.08.2020).
- Voronkov A. IT na sluzhbe u gosudarstva: opyt Estonii. URL: <https://dou.ua/lenta/columns/estonia-technology/> (data zvernennya: 15.08.2020).
- Kobylyanskij A. Ukrainskaya mechta. Kak Estoniya stala takoj prodvinutoj stranoj. URL: <https://tech.liga.net/technology/article/ukraine---primer-kak-estoniya-sozdala-gosudarstvo-bez-byurokratov> (data zvernennya: 15.08.2020).
- Stepashin S. V. Obrazovanie vmesto «obrazovanshiny». Vestnik RFO. 2005. № 4. S. 115 – 124.
- Creative Estonia priglashaet startapy so vsej Evropy razvivat elektronnye uslugi. URL: <https://www.ndpculture.org/news/creative-estonia-invites-start-ups-from-all-over-europe-to-develop-e-services> (data zvernennya 15.08.2020).
- Florida R. The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life. N.Y.: Basic Books, 2002. 404 p.
- How did Estonia become a role model in digital education. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/knowledge/how/did-estonia-become-a-role-model-in-digital-education> (data zvernennya: 15.08.2020).
- Veemaa J., Jauhiainen Geography and history education in Estonia: processes, policies and practices in an ethnically divided society from the late 1980s to the early 2000s. Fennia. 2016. № 2. P. 119 – 235.

- Kasyanov G. Past continuous: istorichna politika 1980-h – 2000-h. Ukrayina i susidi. K.: Laurus, Antropos – Logos – Film, 2018. 420 s.
- History of Estonia Podcast on Podimo. URL: [podimo.com/en/shows/3981f6a4\\_6d30\\_4104\\_9980\\_863702b8678c](https://podimo.com/en/shows/3981f6a4_6d30_4104_9980_863702b8678c) (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- Astrov A. Estoniya: politicheskaya borba za mesto v istorii. Pro et Contra. 2009. Maj – avgust. S. 109 – 124.
- Communist dictatorship in Estonia. The Soviet occupation (1940 – 1941; 1944 – 1991)/ URL: [//communistcrimes.org/en/countries/estonia](https://communistcrimes.org/en/countries/estonia) (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- A new online exhibition on the Red Army terror in Estonia launched. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/security/a-new-online-exhibition-on-the-red-army-terror-in-estonia-launched/> (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- Belaya kniga: o poteryah, prichinennyh narodu Estonii okkupatsiyami 1940 – 1991 / Okupatsioonide Repressiivpoliitika Uurimise Riiklik Komisjon. Tallinn. 2005. URL: <https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/ru/%D0%BA%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B3%D0%B8/19931> (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- Okkupaciya, a ne osvobozhdenie: Rossiya ulichili vo lzhi o prestupleniyah SSSR. URL: <https://www.segodnya.ua/world/europe/okkupaciya-a-ne-osvobozhdenie-rossiyu-ulichili-vo-lzhi-o-prestupleniyah-sssr-1335068.html> (data zvernennya: 18.08.2020).
- Rossiya iskazhaet istoriyu. Reakciya estonskoj diplomatii. URL: <https://warsawinstitute.org/Russia-distorts-history-reaction-estonian-diplomacy/> (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- Estonia backs Poland in history dispute with Russia. URL: <https://www.thefirstnews.com/article/estonia-backs-poland-in-history-dispute-with-russia-10575> (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- Putin V. V. 75 let Velikoj Pobedy: obshaya otvetstvennost pered istoriej i budushim URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/63527> (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- Glava MID Estonii ob istoricheskikh tezisah Putina: «Lozh ot nachala do konca». URL: <https://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2020/06/20/7256470/> (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- Estonian National Strategy on Sustainable Development Sustainable Estonia 21/ Approved by Riigikogu (Parliament of Estonia) on September 14. 2005. URL: [https://www.riigikantselei.ee/sites/default/files/content-editors/Failid/estonia\\_sds\\_2005.pdf](https://www.riigikantselei.ee/sites/default/files/content-editors/Failid/estonia_sds_2005.pdf) (data zvernennya: 18.08.2020).
- Cultural Policy Strategy 2020. URL: <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/policy-monitoring-platform/launching-cultural-policy> (data zvernennya: 18.08.2020).
- What is Public History? / National Council on Public History. URL: <https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field> (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- Savelieva I. “Public History” as a vocation. Basic research program. Working papers (June 14, 2013)//Higher School of Economic Research Paper № WP BPR 34/HUM/2013. URL: SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2279444> (data zvernennya: 19.08.2020).
- Kolbok-Lattik E. The historical formation and development of Estonian cultural policy: tracing development of Estonian community houses (rahvamaja). Kulttuuripoliitikan tutkimuksen vuosikirja. 2006. P. 188 – 196.
- The late Estonian composer Veljo Tormis to be honoured with a virtual center. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/culture/the-late-estonian-composer-veljo-tormis-to-be-honoured-with-a-virtual-centre/> (data zvernennya: 20.08.2020).
- The biggest cultural project in Estonian history. URL: <https://estonia.ee/the-biggest-cultural-project-in-estonian-history/> (data zvernennya: 20.08.2020).
- Bellentani F. Seven ways to deal with monuments in Estonia. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/opinion/seven-ways-to-deal-with-monuments-in-estonia/> (data zvernennya: 20.08.2020).
- Historic Centre (Old Town) of Tallinn / UNESCO. Culture. World Heritage Center. World Heritage List/ URL: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/822/> (data zvernennya: 20.08.2020).
- Estonian food, drinks and history tour. URL: [https://www.tripadvisor.com/AttractionProductReview-g274958-d18274805-Estonian\\_food\\_drinks\\_and\\_history\\_tour-Tallinn\\_Harju\\_County.html](https://www.tripadvisor.com/AttractionProductReview-g274958-d18274805-Estonian_food_drinks_and_history_tour-Tallinn_Harju_County.html) (data zvernennya: 20.08.2020).
- Hankewitz S. Estonia's foreign policy objectives: the preservation of the Estonian people, language and culture. URL: <https://estonianworld.com/culture/estonias-foreign-policy-objectives-the-preservation-of-the-estonian-people-language-and-culture/> (data zvernennya: 20.08.2020).
- Estonia to support freelancers in creative industries during crisis 2020. URL: <https://www.baltictimes.com/estonia-to-support-freelancers-in-creative-industries-during-crisis/> (data zvernennya: 20.08.2020).
- Kabmin planuye stvoriti centri rozvitku kreativnoyi ekonomiki v regionah URL: [https://lb.ua/economics/2020/07/17/462034\\_uryad\\_planuie\\_stvoriti\\_tsentri\\_rozvitku.html](https://lb.ua/economics/2020/07/17/462034_uryad_planuie_stvoriti_tsentri_rozvitku.html) (data zvernennya: 20.08.2020).

*Received 27 August 2020  
Accepted 15 September 2020*