

ESTONIA FOOD, RESOURCE, AND COMMODITY ASSURANCE ACT

Scarcity is a Policy Choice

RIIGIKOGU OF THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA, XV RIIGIKOGU, 2026 SESSION

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VERIFICATION NOTES:

ESTONIA FISCAL AND PROGRAMME FRAMEWORK (verified 2025-2026):

- Republic of Estonia (Eesti Vabariik): population approximately 1.37 million (Statistikaamet / Statistics Estonia, 2025); EU member since 1 May 2004; eurozone member since 1 January 2011; NATO member since 29 March 2004; 15 counties (maakonnad); 79 municipalities (kohaliku omavalitsuse üksused) under the 2017 administrative reform.
- Currency: Euro (eur).
- Riigikogu of the Republic of Estonia: unicameral parliament, 101 members. The XV Riigikogu was elected 5 March 2023.
- Constitution: Eesti Vabariigi põhiseadus (Constitution of the Republic of Estonia), adopted by referendum 28 June 1992.
- Prime Minister: Kristen Michal (Reformierakond / Reform Party), sworn in 23 July 2024 as 18th Prime Minister. Michal's third cabinet (centre-right coalition with Estonia 200 / Eesti 200, restructured) received a vote of confidence in the Riigikogu on 25 March 2025 (osw.waw.pl 26 March 2025; valitsus.ee).
- President: Alar Karis (sworn in 11 October 2021; re-elected 2026).
- Estonian Recovery and Resilience Plan (Eesti taastekava): EUR 953 million RRF allocation under the EU Recovery and Resilience Facility (updated plan; EUR 969.3 million originally approved); approximately EUR 1.42 billion total NextGenerationEU grants and approximately EUR 3.37 billion as grants from the EU 2021-2027 long-term budget (reforms-investments.ec.europa.eu Estonia country page; fin.ee/en/estonia-and-ngeu; news.err.ee/1609009817; welcomeurope.com).

ESTONIAN STATE FINANCING CHASSIS:

- SA KredEx (founded 2001): Estonian state foundation providing credit guarantees, housing-loan guarantees, export credit, and energy-efficiency financing. Operates jointly with EAS (Eesti Ettevotluse ja Innovatsiooni Agentuur / Estonian Business and Innovation Agency) since the 2022 reorganisation. KredEx's mandate is narrower than Latvia's Altum or Lithuania's ILTE; KredEx is not a full national development bank (kredex.ee; eis.ee 2022 EAS+KredEx joint-institution strategy).
- SmartCap: Estonian state-owned venture-capital arm under the KredEx umbrella; manages Estonian state VC and equity investments.
- EAS (Eesti Ettevotluse ja Innovatsiooni Agentuur): state-foundation business and innovation promotion agency, joint institution with KredEx.
- 2024 SDE (Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond / Social Democratic Party) proposal: SDE formally proposed creating a full national development bank in 2024 (news.err.ee/1609983480). As of 2025-2026, that institution has not been established; Estonia operates without a single-chassis national development bank. This Act constitutes the indigenous Estonian closure of that gap on the KredEx state-foundation model.
- Eesti Pank (Bank of Estonia): central bank within the Eurosystem; governed by the European Central Bank.

ESTONIAN ENERGY-SECTOR CHASSIS:

- Eesti Energia AS: state-owned Estonian energy holding, with commercial subsidiary Enefit. Oil-shale phase-out commitment: electricity generation by 2035, all energy use by 2040 (news.err.ee/1609517854 oil-shale phase-out; enefit.ee 2025 annual; briefglance.com 11 February 2026 Eesti Energia rating). The Narva oil-shale power complex is being wound down. The 2025 financial year was a turning point: strong operating result, net loss due to oil-shale asset write-downs.
- Elering AS: state-owned Estonian electricity transmission system operator (TSO). Led the Estonian side of the

9 February 2025 14:05 EET Baltic Synchro, joining the Continental Europe Synchronous Area (CESA) via ENTSO-E (entsoe.eu 9 February 2025 confirmation; elering.ee).

- Fermi Energia: Estonian nuclear developer. Two-unit GE Hitachi BWRX-300 small modular reactor plant planned, 600 MW combined capacity (world-nuclear-news.org May 2025). Estonia has formally begun the national planning process and environmental impact assessment in 2025. Aecon (Canada) teaming agreement signed 16 September 2025 establishing Aecon as exclusive provider for domestic nuclear-construction capability development during the SMR development phase (world-nuclear-news.org 16 September 2025; fermi.ee). Pre-feasibility study has been launched.
- VKG (Viru Keemia Grupp): the second-largest Estonian oil-shale company; exploring new oil-shale byproduct uses anticipating the post-2035 electricity phase-out.
- Latvia-Estonia ELWIND: joint offshore-wind project (named load-bearing future-capacity programme).

ESTONIAN DIGITAL-STATE AND DISTRIBUTION INFRASTRUCTURE:

- X-Road (X-tee): Estonia's data-exchange interoperability backbone, operational since 2001. Twenty-plus countries have adopted or adapted the X-Road open-source codebase. X-Road is Estonia's signature digital-state contribution to global digital governance and the load-bearing technical layer that makes Estonia the most digital society in the world (e-estonia.com; ria.ee).
- SA Sotsiaalkindlustusamet (SKA, Estonian Social Insurance Board): administers pensions, family benefits, disability benefits, social services. Estonian counterpart to the Latvian VSAA and the Lithuanian SODRA.
- Isikukood: Estonian 11-digit personal identification code. Counterpart to the Latvian personas kods and the Lithuanian asmens kodas.
- Eesti.ee: Estonian government services portal. Counterpart to the Latvian Latvija.lv and the Lithuanian epaslaugos.lt.
- Estonian Digital ID, Mobile-ID, and Smart-ID: universal

Estonian digital identity stack supporting authenticated state transactions.

- Eesti Toidupank (Estonian Food Bank): primary national food bank. 2025-2026 distribution of European Union donated food aid across all 15 Estonian counties, funded by the European Social Fund (toidupank.ee). Operates in coordination with Eesti Punase Risti Selts (Estonian Red Cross) and municipal social services.

ESTONIAN AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD CONTEXT:

- Estonia has Baltic agricultural capacity in dairy, grain (rye, oats, barley, wheat), pork, poultry, freshwater fish, and forestry products. PRIA (Pollumajanduse Registrate ja Informatsiooni Amet / Agricultural Registers and Information Board) administers EU agricultural payments and rural-development programmes including the European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF) and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD).

- The Estonian cooperative tradition: Eesti Tarbijate Ühistute Liit (Estonian Consumer Cooperative Union) historical pre-Soviet lineage; partial revival after 1991.

- Estonian inflation 2022-2024 spike: Estonian food prices rose during the European energy crisis following the Russian invasion of Ukraine; resolved through the 9 February 2025 Baltic Synchro elimination of Russian-grid dependency.

ESTONIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ANCHORS:

- Eesti Vabariigi põhiseadus (Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, adopted by referendum 28 June 1992):

Article 10: Estonia is an independent and sovereign democratic republic, in which the supreme power of state is vested in the people. The rights, freedoms, and duties listed are not exhaustive; they shall not preclude other rights and freedoms which arise from the principles of human dignity, social statehood, and the rule of law.

Article 28: Everyone shall have the right to the

protection of health, public services in the case of need, and social security. The State shall promote voluntary and local-government provision of welfare services. The family, in its traditional sense, shall be under the special protection of the State.

Article 29: Everyone shall have the right freely to choose an occupation, profession, and place of work.

Article 31: Estonian citizens shall have the right to engage in commercial activity and to form profit-seeking associations and federations. The law may provide for conditions and a procedure for the exercise of this right.

(KEY ANCHOR for the entrepreneurial-freedom framing.)

Article 53: Everyone shall have the duty to preserve the human and natural environment.

- 24 February 1918 - Estonian Declaration of Independence Day (Iseseisvuspäev): the founding declaration of the modern Republic of Estonia. Commemorated annually as the primary Estonian national holiday.
- 20 August 1991 - Restoration of Independence Day (Taasiseseisvumispäev): Estonia's formal restoration declaration after Soviet occupation.
- 2 February 1920 - Tartu Peace Treaty (Tartu rahuleping): signed between Estonia and Soviet Russia, recognising Estonian independence. The first treaty signed by the new Soviet state with a foreign power.
- Singing Revolution (Laulev revolutsioon, 1987-1991): Estonia's signature non-violent national-liberation movement, anchored in mass-singing of Estonian songs at the Tallinn Song Festival Grounds.
- Baltic Way (Balti kett, 23 August 1989): 675-kilometre human chain Vilnius-Riga-Tallinn, approximately 2 million Baltic citizens, organised on the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Inscribed on the UNESCO Memory of

the World register.

- Laulupidu (Estonian Song Festival): every 5 years since 1869; inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (jointly with the Latvian and Lithuanian song-festival traditions).
- Lennart Meri (1929-2006): first post-restoration President of the Republic (1992-2001); intellectual anchor of the restored Republic; author and filmmaker.
- Lydia Koidula (1843-1886): Estonian poet of the national awakening (arkamisaeg); founding voice of Estonian-language literature.
- Carl Robert Jakobson (1841-1882): leader of the Estonian national awakening; agricultural-improvement pioneer.
- Eduard Vilde (1865-1933): Estonian national writer; founder of Estonian critical realism; social-justice anchor.

UNIVERSAL FOUNDATIONAL CITATIONS FROM HISTORICAL APOPLEXY

(Cooper, Historical Apoplexy 2025-2026, Papers I and VI):

These citations are common to every adaptation in the Historical Apoplexy AD legislative compendium. They establish the diagnostic foundation that the per-jurisdiction operational provisions resolve.

(A) SELF-REPLICATION / REPLICATION THRESHOLD: Casey Handmer's replication-threshold canon (the 7-blog-post series at caseyhandmer.wordpress.com Q4 2024 through Q1 2025).

Self-replicating humanoid robotic manufacturing technology arrived at sub-USD-30,000 unit cost during the Q4 2025 through Q2 2026 inflection window: Unitree R1 at approximately USD 5,900, Unitree G1 at approximately USD 13,500-17,500, Aptronik Apollo at USD 5 billion valuation, Agility Robotics Digit at USD 20,000-25,000 per-year Robotics-as-a-Service contract. Foundation-model robotic intelligence (NVIDIA GR00T, Physical Intelligence pi-0, Boston Dynamics Atlas, Tesla Optimus, Figure 02). On the energy side, Commonwealth Fusion Systems' ARC plant filed Virginia grid-connection application for 400 MW in April 2026; CFS SPARC demo

target 2027; Helion 50 MW Microsoft power purchase agreement 2028. The replication threshold is the hinge in the math: once self-replicating robotics passes a threshold of cost and reliability, the arithmetic of abundance inverts (cost per factory collapses, build timelines collapse, overcapacity becomes the default condition).

(B) ABUNDANCE ARITHMETIC: USD 32 billion ends domestic hunger in the United States; USD 496 billion is the annual U.S. food-industry markup over production cost (a 15-times ratio per USDA Food Dollar Series). 293,000 U.S. manufacturing facilities at 77 percent utilization yielding 19.5-29.3-times overcapacity (Bureau of Labor Statistics; Federal Reserve G.17 industrial-capacity series). Albrecht Penck's 1925 calculation of Earth's carrying capacity at 16 billion people. The U.S. military commissary has operated at-cost since 1867 (10 USC Section 2484; Defense Commissary Agency 2024 annual report: 17-44 percent savings, 2.8 million authorised patrons, 236 stores). The arithmetic is not contested. The arithmetic is unread. For Estonia, the equivalent Estonian arithmetic translates the U.S. figures to Estonian-population scale (Estonia's 1.37 million population yields proportional fiscal magnitudes).

(C) STRESS HARM TO HUMANS: the Marmot quartet (Sir Michael Marmot's Whitehall I and II studies, University College London, 1967-present; Robert Sapolsky's Serengeti baboon cohort studies on social-hierarchy stress and glucocorticoid pathology, 1978-present; Carol Shively's cynomolgus-macaque social-stratification studies on cingulate-cortex serotonin pathology, Wake Forest University, 1980s-present; Elizabeth Blackburn's Nobel Prize-winning telomere research on chronic-stress cellular-damage mechanisms, 2009 Nobel Prize). The documented finding across four research programmes, six

decades, and three species: the gap is the gradient, not the deprivation. Treating sickness downstream of an untreated stratification gradient is documented to fail across that entire literature. Hierarchy itself kills.

The structural mechanism is in the stress physiology, not the deprivation. This Act addresses the gradient through universal at-cost commodity assurance, removing the stratification at the basic-needs layer at which it most aggressively harms population health.

(D) COMPETENCY COLLAPSE: PIAAC 2023 (OECD Survey of Adult Skills, December 2024 release): 28 percent of U.S. adults at the lowest literacy level (up from 19 percent in 2017); 34 percent at the lowest numeracy level; 32 percent at the lowest adaptive problem-solving level. Adult-skills outcomes declining or stagnating in 19 of 26 OECD countries between the 2017 and 2023 rounds. Estonia ranks well in PIAAC adult-skills internationally but the regional disparities (Tallinn metropolitan vs Ida-Viru rural) follow the same gradient pattern documented by the Marmot quartet.

(E) HISTORICAL PRECEDENT FOR AT-COST CIVIC ASSURANCE: the U.S. military commissary running at-cost since 1867 (158 years of operational evidence). The Roman *annona civica* under Augustus from 30 BC (Suetonius's record of Augustus's at-cost-grain operational discipline; "Even Augustus, who would have a man killed for taking notes in the wrong room, understood that hungry citizens are broken infrastructure."). Nerva's *alimenta* programme (98-117 AD) documented in the *Tabula Alimentaria Veleia* (CIL XI 1147), the bronze inscription still extant at the Parma Museum. Three-record convergence: 158 years of U.S. commissary operational evidence + 400 years of *annona* archaeological evidence + Penck's 1925 carrying-capacity calculation. The mechanism is operationally validated across cultures, scales, and

centuries.

(F) AUTOMATION-DISPLACEMENT CONTEXT: Aurora Innovation driverless freight is operational on the Dallas-Houston corridor as of 2024-2025. Retail-sector employment is contracting under e-commerce restructuring. This Act does not eliminate jobs; the autonomous-freight rollout and the retail restructuring eliminate jobs. This Act establishes the structural floor that catches workers when those job losses occur. The commissary precedent has truckers; at-cost distribution does not eliminate distribution labour, it eliminates the profit-markup on top of distribution labour.

(G) ECONOMIC CHARACTER OF THIS ACT: this Act is not state ownership of the means of production. The Act establishes a state-foundation Authority that contracts with private producers and distributors for Estonian-grown agricultural output and Estonian-manufactured commodity supply. Farms stay private. Estonian transport and logistics stay private. Estonian processing stays private. The Authority operates the retail point at production cost plus a reasonable distribution allowance. The existing commercial retail market continues to operate unaffected. The U.S. Defense Commissary Agency has operated this model since 1867 by contracting with private suppliers. The Estonian private market for premium, luxury, custom, and specialty goods continues without restriction.

EXPLICITLY NOT CITED: Latvian Altum, Lithuanian ILTE, Polish Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego, Indonesian Danantara, Norwegian Government Pension Fund Global, or any non-Estonian sovereign-asset or development-bank chassis as a chartering model for this Act. KredEx + SmartCap + EAS + the Estonian Recovery and Resilience Plan + the X-Road digital-state infrastructure are sufficient as the Estonian institutional stack per the per-jurisdiction-indigenous doctrine.

UNVERIFIED (flag for final-pass verification before public distribution):

- Final Estonian state budget 2026 total (refresh against Riigikogu budget Act)
- Eesti Energia oil-shale phase-out interim milestones (refresh against enefit.ee 2025 annual once published)
- Fermi Energia BWRX-300 EIA progression beyond Aecon teaming agreement of 16 September 2025
- Eesti taastekava (Estonian RRF) cumulative disbursement to date
- Eesti Toidupank annual tonnage distribution figures

RIIGIKOGU OF THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA

Eesti Vabariigi Riigikogu

XV Riigikogu / 2026 Session

SEADUSEELNOU / DRAFT ACT

ESITASID _____ (Riigikogu liikmed)

INTRODUCED BY _____ (Members of the Riigikogu)

EESTI TOIDU, RESSURSSIDE JA ESMATARBEKAUPADE KINDLUSTAMISE
PROGRAMMI KOHTA

CONCERNING THE ESTONIAN FOOD, RESOURCE, AND COMMODITY ASSURANCE
PROGRAMME

SEADUS / AN ACT

LONG TITLE / PIKK PEALKIRI

EESTI VABARIIGI SEADUS TOIDU, RESSURSSIDE JA ESMATARBEKAUPADE
KINDLUSTAMISE KOHTA

AN ACT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA concerning the establishment of the Estonian Food, Resource, and Commodity Assurance Programme; the establishment of Estonian Food Assurance Centres (Eesti toidu kindlustamise keskused, ETKK) in every Estonian county and major municipality; the conferral of an at-cost basic-needs commodity entitlement on every Estonian citizen ordinarily resident in the Republic, identified by isikukood (personal identification code), enrolled through the existing SA Sotsiaalkindlustusamet (Social Insurance Board, SKA), the Eesti.ee government services portal, and

the X-Road interoperability backbone; coordination with SA KredEx, SmartCap, and EAS (Estonian Business and Innovation Agency) for capital investment and credit guarantees; coordination with PRIA (Agricultural Registers and Information Board) for rural distribution and the Estonian agricultural cooperative sector; coordination with the Eesti taastekava (Estonian Recovery and Resilience Plan, EUR 953 million RRF allocation); coordination with Eesti Toidupank (Estonian Food Bank) and Eesti Punase Risti Selts (Estonian Red Cross) for delivery partnership; consistency with the Eesti Vabariigi põhiseadus (Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, 1992), particularly Article 10 (people's sovereignty), Article 28 (state's social-security duty), Article 29 (right to choose occupation), Article 31 (entrepreneurial freedom), and Article 53 (environmental duty); consistency with the philosophical heritage of Lennart Meri, Lydia Koidula, Eduard Vilde, the Singing Revolution (1987-1991), the Baltic Way of 23 August 1989, the Tartu Peace Treaty of 2 February 1920, and the Laulupidu cooperative-cultural tradition; explicit declination to establish any new Estonian personal income tax, corporate income tax, value added tax, excise duty, or other Estonian tax of any kind for the funding of the Programme; and provision for connected purposes.

LEGISLATIVE ROUTING NOTE

This Draft Act (Seaduseelnou) is for introduction in the Riigikogu of the Republic of Estonia during the XV Riigikogu, 2026 Session, under the legislative-initiative provisions of the Constitution.

Suggested committee referrals following First Reading:

- Sotsiaalkomisjon (Social Affairs Committee): for the welfare-related and SKA-coordination provisions
- Rahanduskomisjon (Finance Committee): for the fiscal provisions and KredEx-SmartCap-EAS coordination
- Maaelukomisjon (Rural Affairs Committee): for the agricultural-cooperative and PRIA-coordination provisions
- Majanduskomisjon (Economic Affairs Committee): for the productive-capacity and entrepreneurial-freedom provisions
- Euroopa Liidu asjade komisjon (European Affairs Committee): for the Eesti taastekava (RRF) coordination provisions
- Kultuurikomisjon (Cultural Affairs Committee): for the education-modernisation provisions

Following Riigikogu passage on Third Reading, the Act is submitted to the President of the Republic for proclamation under Article 105 of the Constitution and publication in the Riigi Teataja (State Gazette).

DIVISION I

FOOD ASSURANCE

ARTICLE 1. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ESTONIAN FOOD, RESOURCE, AND COMMODITY ASSURANCE PROGRAMME.

(1) There is hereby established the Estonian Food, Resource, and Commodity Assurance Programme (Eesti toidu, ressursside ja esmatarbekaupade kindlustamise programm, "the Programme"), administered by the Ministry of Social Affairs (Sotsiaalministeerium) in coordination with the Ministry of Regional Affairs and Agriculture (Regionaalministeerium and the agriculture portfolio), the Ministry of Finance (Rahandusministeerium), and the 79 Estonian municipalities (kohaliku omavalitsuse üksused).

(2) The Programme shall operate Estonian Food Assurance Centres (Eesti toidu kindlustamise keskused, "ETKK") in every Estonian county (maakond) and major municipality on the effective date of this Act, with priority deployment in the counties of Harju (capital region), Ida-Viru (Russian-frontier county, oil-shale just-transition priority), Tartu, Parnu, and Lääne-Viru, and in the island counties of Saaremaa and Hiiumaa.

ARTICLE 2. ENTITLEMENT TO PARTICIPATE.

(1) Every Estonian citizen ordinarily resident in the Republic of Estonia, identified by isikukood (personal identification code), is automatically entitled to participate in the Programme.

(2) Foreign nationals lawfully resident in Estonia who hold an isikukood (including holders of EU residence rights, Estonian e-Residency, and Estonian residence permits) are likewise entitled.

(3) Participation is voluntary. No citizen is required to obtain goods through the Programme; the existing commercial retail market continues to operate unaffected.

ARTICLE 3. PROGRAMME GOODS AND AT-COST PRICING.

(1) ETKK outlets shall offer for distribution at production cost plus reasonable distribution allowance:

(a) Staple foods (rye bread / leivapõhi, wheat bread, oats, barley, potatoes / kartulid, pulses, cooking oils, sugar, salt, tea, coffee);

(b) Protein sources (pork, chicken, eggs, freshwater fish from Estonian inland fisheries, Baltic herring / heeringas and other Baltic fish, dairy products including curd / kohupiim and sour cream / hapukoor consistent with Estonian dietary tradition);

(c) Vegetables and fruits sourced where possible from Estonian producers including beetroot, carrots, cabbage, cucumbers, apples, seasonal berries (including the cultivated lingonberries and bilberries of the Estonian forest tradition);

(d) Basic clothing including weather-appropriate outerwear suitable for the Estonian Baltic climate, school uniforms aligned with national-curriculum requirements, undergarments, and footwear;

(e) Hand tools, household goods, basic kitchen and cleaning supplies;

(f) Educational supplies for students through the developmental window extended to age 25;

(g) Basic baby and child supplies;

(h) Emergency-preparedness supplies (water, non-perishable food, basic lighting) given Estonia's strategic-security exposure on the NATO eastern frontier, including the Russian border at Narva and the Setomaa Russian-Latvian-Estonian tri-border.

(2) Pricing shall be calculated on the at-cost basis. The DeCA (Defense Commissary Agency) precedent has operated this model in the United States since 1867 by contracting with private suppliers under 10 USC Section 2484 (verified in Universal Foundational Citation E above).

ARTICLE 4. COORDINATION WITH AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES AND

PRIA.

(1) The Minister of Regional Affairs, in coordination with PRIA (Pollumajanduse Registrate ja Informatsiooni Amet, Agricultural Registers and Information Board), is directed to enter partnership agreements with Estonian agricultural cooperatives for the supply of Estonian-grown agricultural commodities to the Programme.

(2) The partnership shall preserve cooperative autonomy and membership governance and shall coordinate with the European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF) and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD).

(3) The historical Estonian cooperative tradition (Eesti Tarbijate Ühistute Liit and related pre-Soviet cooperative lineage) is recognised as an Estonian institutional resource and is expressly preserved by this Act.

ARTICLE 5. DELIVERY PARTNERSHIP WITH EESTI TOIDUPANK AND

EESTI PUNASE RISTI SELTS.

(1) The Programme is authorised to enter delivery-partnership agreements with Eesti Toidupank (Estonian Food Bank) and Eesti Punase Risti Selts (Estonian Red Cross) for last-mile distribution at the county and municipal level.

(2) Partnership agreements shall preserve the independent governance of those organisations and shall not transfer Programme commodities for any purpose other than the at-cost distribution mandate of this Act.

(3) Eesti Toidupank's existing 2025-2026 distribution of EU donated food aid across all 15 Estonian counties (funded by the European Social Fund) is preserved and may be coordinated with, but is not displaced by, this Act.

DIVISION II

PUBLIC HEALTH PROMOTION

(Marmot quartet structural rationale)

ARTICLE 6. STRUCTURAL RATIONALE - HIERARCHY ITSELF KILLS.

(1) The Riigikogu finds, on the basis of Universal Foundational Citation C (Marmot quartet), that the structural mechanism of hierarchy-related mortality and morbidity operates through the chronic-stress physiological pathway documented across the Whitehall studies, the Sapolsky Serengeti baboon cohort, the Shively cynomolgus-macaque cingulate-cortex serotonin work, and the Blackburn Nobel-Prize-winning telomere research. The gap is the gradient, not the deprivation. Treating sickness downstream of an untreated gradient is documented to fail across four research programmes, six decades, and three species. Hierarchy itself kills.

(2) This Act addresses the gradient through universal at-cost commodity assurance, removing the basic-needs stratification at the layer at which the Marmot quartet finds most aggressive health-pathway damage.

ARTICLE 7. PUBLIC HEALTH COORDINATION.

(1) The Programme operates in coordination with the Ministry of Social Affairs (Sotsiaalministeerium) and Terviseamet (Health Board) to monitor and to contribute to the reduction of basic-needs food insecurity and stress-mediated public-health conditions in Estonian counties, with particular attention to the Tallinn metropolitan vs Ida-Viru rural health gradient.

(2) The Ministry of Social Affairs shall report annually to the Riigikogu on the relationship between ETKK access in each county and Estonian population health indicators, consistent with Article 28 of the Constitution (state's social-security duty).

DIVISION III

EDUCATION MODERNISATION

ARTICLE 8. EDUCATION PIPELINE AND THE EXTENDED DEVELOPMENTAL WINDOW.

(1) The Estonian education system is acknowledged by this Act as a foundation for the developmental pipeline proposed by The Vitruvian Quotient framework (Cooper, 2026) - the existing nine-year basic education and three-year secondary education plus post-secondary vocational, applied-higher, and university education, with an extension of the developmental window to age 25 consistent with the Compendium's broader proposal.

(2) Universal Foundational Citation D (PIAAC 2023) documents the international competency-collapse pattern. Estonia has historically ranked well in PIAAC adult-skills assessment; however, the regional disparities between the Tallinn metropolitan area and the Ida-Viru rural region follow the same stratification gradient documented by the Marmot quartet in Universal Foundational Citation C. This Act addresses the gradient at the basic-needs layer; the educational gradient is the subject of a separate Estonian Education Modernisation Seadus.

(3) The Minister of Education and Research (Haridus- ja teadusminister) is directed to prepare a report to the Riigikogu within twenty-four months of the effective date of this Act on the operational steps required to extend developmental and competency-maintenance arrangements beyond the current post-secondary structure, in coordination with the University of Tartu (founded 1632, the oldest university in Estonia), Tallinn University of Technology (TalTech), Estonian University of Life Sciences, Tallinn University, and the Estonian Academy of Arts.

(4) The Vitruvian Quotient framework (Cooper, 2026) is recognised by this Act as the conceptual instrument for the developmental pipeline. Detailed implementation of an Estonian Education Modernisation Seadus is the subject of a separate Seaduseelnou.

DIVISION IV

FUNDING

ARTICLE 9. INITIAL APPROPRIATION.

(1) For the financial year 2027 there is appropriated from the Estonian state budget the sum of EUR 60 million for the establishment of the Programme and the initial operation of ETKK outlets, scaled to the Estonian population of approximately 1.37 million on a per-capita basis comparable to the Latvian and Lithuanian programme appropriations.

(2) Subsequent annual appropriations shall be made in the ordinary annual budget Act.

ARTICLE 10. COORDINATION WITH SA KREDEX AND SMARTCAP.

(1) ETKK infrastructure capital investment may, by agreement between the Programme and SA KredEx, be co-financed through KredEx credit guarantees, KredEx housing-loan-equivalent infrastructure financing, and SmartCap equity co-investment where consistent with the existing KredEx mandate under Estonian state-foundation law, up to a cumulative outstanding principal of EUR 200 million.

(2) KredEx's role as the established Estonian state-foundation credit-guarantee institution (since 2001), together with SmartCap as the Estonian state venture-capital arm, makes them the natural Estonian indigenous coordination partners for Programme capital investment. This Act does not direct, instruct, or constrain any KredEx or SmartCap financing decision; coordination under this Article is by agreement only.

(3) For Programme functions exceeding the existing KredEx mandate, the Programme may operate as a state-foundation Authority under the Ministry of Finance per the sibling Estonia Productive Capacity Authority and Energy Security Act.

ARTICLE 11. COORDINATION WITH THE EESTI TAASTEKAVA (ESTONIAN RECOVERY AND RESILIENCE PLAN).

(1) ETKK infrastructure capital investment may, by agreement between the Programme and the Ministry of Finance, be co-financed from the Eesti taastekava (Estonian Recovery and Resilience Plan) allocation (EUR 953 million total EU RRF allocation, plus broader EUR 1.42 billion NextGenerationEU and EUR 3.37 billion 2021-2027 EU long-term budget grants) where consistent with the approved Estonian investment and reform lines.

(2) The Programme does not displace any existing Eesti taastekava investment or reform line.

DIVISION V

GENERAL PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 12. NO NEW TAXATION.

(1) The Riigikogu declares that no new Estonian personal income tax (tulumaks), corporate income tax (ettevotte tulumaks), value added tax (kaibemaks), excise duty (aktsiis), land tax (maamaks), or other Estonian tax of any kind is established, extended, or increased by this Act for the funding of the Programme.

(2) The Programme is funded through existing Estonian fiscal infrastructure as enumerated in Division IV, consistent with Article 31 of the Constitution (entrepreneurial freedom).

ARTICLE 13. EXISTING ESTONIAN INSTITUTIONS UNAFFECTED.

This Act does not affect the establishment, functions, governance, or operation of:

- (a) Eesti Pank (Bank of Estonia, the central bank within the Eurosystem);
- (b) SA KredEx, SmartCap, and EAS (Estonian Business and Innovation Agency), beyond the coordination expressly authorised by Article 10;
- (c) Eesti Energia AS, Elering AS, Fermi Energia, and other state-owned or state-controlled enterprises;
- (d) SA Sotsiaalkindlustusamet (SKA), the Estonian Tax and Customs Board (Maksu- ja Tolliamet, MTA), PRIA, RIA (Riigi Infosüsteemi Amet, the State Information System Authority that operates X-Road), and other state agencies, beyond the coordination expressly authorised by this Act;
- (e) The Eesti taastekava Recovery and Resilience Plan, beyond the coordination expressly authorised by Article 11;
- (f) Estonian consumer and agricultural cooperatives, and the historical Estonian cooperative tradition generally;
- (g) Eesti Toidupank and Eesti Punase Risti Selts, beyond the delivery partnership expressly authorised by Article 5;
- (h) The Riigikogu, the Government of the Republic (Vabariigi Valitsus), the President of the Republic, the Supreme Court (Riigikohus), the Chancellor of Justice

(Oiguskantsler), and the Constitution.

ARTICLE 14. CONSTITUTIONAL CONSISTENCY.

(1) This Act is enacted consistent with the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia (1992), including Article 10 (the supreme power of state vested in the people), Article 28 (the right to social security), Article 29 (freedom of occupation), Article 31 (entrepreneurial freedom), and Article 53 (environmental duty).

ARTICLE 15. EFFECTIVE DATE.

(1) This Act takes effect on 1 January 2027, except that Article 9 (Initial Appropriation) takes effect on the date this Act is proclaimed in the Riigi Teataja, and Article 1 (Establishment) takes effect ninety days after proclamation.

(2) The Government shall issue implementing regulations (Vabariigi Valitsuse maarused) within 120 days of proclamation.

(3) Initial Programme distribution is targeted for 24 February 2027 (Iseseisvuspaev, Estonian Independence Day, commemorating the 1918 Declaration of Independence).

ARTICLE 16. INTERPRETATION.

In this Act -

"the Programme" means the Estonian Food, Resource, and Commodity Assurance Programme established under Article 1;

"an ETKK outlet" means an Estonian Food Assurance Centre established under Article 1;

"isikukood" means the Estonian Personal Identification Code;

"KredEx" means SA KredEx, the Estonian state foundation established 2001;

"SmartCap" means the Estonian state venture-capital arm under the KredEx umbrella;

"EAS" means Eesti Ettevotluse ja Innovatsiooni Agentuur, the Estonian Business and Innovation Agency;

"Eesti taastekava" means the Estonian Recovery and Resilience Plan under the EU Recovery and Resilience Facility;
"X-Road" means X-tee, the Estonian data-exchange interoperability backbone operational since 2001;
"the Marmot quartet" means the four research programmes identified in Universal Foundational Citation C above (Marmot Whitehall, Sapolsky Serengeti baboons, Shively cynomolgus macaques, Blackburn telomere research);
"the replication threshold" means the Casey Handmer formulation identified in Universal Foundational Citation A above;
"ordinarily resident" has the meaning given by Estonian residence law.

