

# **POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS:**

## **MODELS FOR THE CASE OF KOSOVO**



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## Shkurtesat

### AAK

*Alliance for Kosovo's Future*

### ACILS

*The American Centre for International Labor Solidarity*

### AfD

*Alternative for Germany*

### ALDE

*Federation of Liberal and Democrat parties*

### AFA

*Alliance for the Future of Austria*

### APP

*Austrian People's Party*

### AFA

*Austrian Future Academy*

### CC

*Constitutional Court*

### CDU

*Christian Democratic Party*

### CIPE

*The Centre for International Private Enterprise*

### CSO

*Civil Society Organization*

### CSU

*Christian Social Union*

### EC

*European Commission*

### ECPM

*European Christian Political Movement*

### EDP

*European Democratic Party*

### EI

*Education Institute*

### EFA

*European Free Alliance*

### EL

*European Left*

### ELF

*European Liberal Forum*

### ENoP

*European Network of Political Foundations*

### EP

*European Parliament*

### EPP

*European People's Party*

### EU

*European Union*

### FDP

*Free Democratic Party*

### FELD

*Foundation for a Europe of Liberties and Democracy*

### FER

*The Foundation for European Reform*

### FES

*Friedrich Ebert Foundation*

### FGS

*Fundación Galiza Sempre*

### FNS

*Friedrich Naumann Foundation*

### FGEW

*Foundation of the Green's Educational Workshop*

### FPS

*Foundation of Progressive Studies*

### FSPS

*Foundation for the Serbian People and State*

### FSRA

*Free State of Rijeka Association*

### GEF

*Green European Foundation*

### GRECO

*The Group of States Against Corruption*

### HBS

*Heinrich Böll Foundation*

### HNCT

*Hungarian National Council of Transylvania*

### IDP

*Identity and Democracy Party*

### IED

*Institute of European Democrats*

### IRI

*The International Republican Institute*

### ISA

*Institute for Studies and Analysis*

### KAS

*Konrad Adenauer Foundation*

### KIB

*Kurdish Institute of Brussels*

### KLA

*Kosovo Liberation Army*

### LDK

*Democratic League of Kosovo*

### MENF

*Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedom*

### NDI

*National Democratic Institute*

### NDI

*The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs*

### NED

*National Endowment for Democracy*

### NGO

*Non Governmental organisation*

### PES

*Party of European Socialists*

### PS

*Socialist Party*

### PSOE

*Spanish Socialist Workers' Party*

### RLS

*Rosa Luxemburg Foundation*

### S&D

*Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament*

### SDP

*Social Democratic Party*

### SPP

*Serbian Progressive Party*

### UNMIK

*United Nations Mission in Kosovo*

### USA

*United States of America*

### WFD

*Westminster Foundation for Democracy*

### WMCES

*Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies*

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# 1

## Introduction

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Due to the crucial significance of political parties in shaping the process of decision-making and policy-making, the role of political foundations may often be largely overlooked. Yet, such viewpoint may be subject to fallacy. Political foundations affiliated with political parties have become important actors in the post-World War II configuration, not only by cooperating with political parties, but also engaging globally in third countries through democratic assistance and support for sister parties. They have also been recognised as separate entities at the EU level. Most importantly, they have managed to create networks with a variety of actors, thus placing themselves in a favourable position to impact political culture. However, as noted, their role and importance is yet to be properly comprehended in some contexts, especially flawed democracies or countries that have undergone deep transformations in their political system. This statement is valid for the Western Balkans region, where the establishment of political foundations is still in its initial phase.

The following report seeks to offer a comprehensive discussion on political foundations, aiming to offer concrete recommendations on how they could be organised in the case of Kosovo. To achieve such aim, different models of political foundations will be described and compared, thus drawing special emphasis on elements such as their scope of work, legal regulations and financing sources. These discussions are afterwards used to build the suggested model for the case of Kosovo. In general, the objectives of this study are to: a) initiate a public discus-

sion in Kosovo, with a special focus on members of political parties, pertaining to the significance of political foundations for the well-functioning of political subjects and fostering democratic political culture; b) offer one or more viable models that could be implemented by political parties of Kosovo; c) identify potential legal amendments that could ease the formation and functioning of political foundations in the legal framework of Kosovo.

The study's primary audience are political parties in Kosovo. In addition, the findings may also be useful to scholars engaged in the field, think-tanks, civil society organisations and different interested parties. It relies largely on secondary data, such as documents, legal acts, reports and books, concerning the area of political foundations in different settings. Moreover, a portion of the data is primary, as it has been collected by conducting interviews with representatives of political parties in Kosovo<sup>1</sup>.

The study proceeds in the following order. It offers a comprehensive overview of the origin and development of political foundations. In the first chapters it discusses the paradigm of foundations in different regions, namely Germany, shedding light on how foundations were disseminated in Western European countries, Central and Eastern Europe, USA and at the EU level. It then offers a short discussion on political foundations in the Western Balkans, to inform the reader with the regional context, before turning to the case of Kosovo, thus discussing the current state of affairs and legal base and proposing the suggested model for the way forward.

<sup>1</sup> The questions revolved around the mechanisms within the political party, that are responsible for the tasks of research and political education.

## 2 Political foundations

Political foundations are entities that are affiliated to political parties. As such, each foundation is commonly linked to a political party by sharing a similar ideology, thus modelling its activities in cooperation with the party structures. In general, their goals relate to contributing to the political debate based on certain ideological models, conducting research, political and civic education for party members and citizens, but also assisting in building democratic political parties and institutions around the world. Today political foundations constitute an important element in the policy-making chain of the majority of democracies, utilizing their strong standing in political party structures to impact the political decisions, as well transform the political culture. Given that political foundations may offer political programs to citizens<sup>2</sup>, their work might not only be beneficial to political parties.

Political foundations were firstly established in Germany, where the term was firstly introduced. They are commonly known by the name *Stiftungen* and they comprise an essential part of the political culture in the pluralistic culture of the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>3</sup>. Taking on Germany's example, political foundations were spread in its neighbouring countries namely Austria or Netherlands. After the collapse of Communism, in the beginning of the 1990's political foundations were also formed in several Central and Eastern Europe countries. The functioning aspects of political foundations may dif-

fer based on the context they operate, as does their role within the respective political system. However, they also share some similar traits, for instance, an important specific is that the majority of funding of political foundations comes from public funds. While their affiliation to political parties is open and public, their funds come from their state budget, thus ensuring full financial independence from the affiliated party. This has been the case since their establishment in Germany and remains so in vast majority of the countries. In addition, to properly comprehend their role, it is of utmost importance to bear in mind that the relationship with political parties is not based on mutual dependence, but rather affiliation. Albeit political parties and political foundations may be strongly linked due to sharing a similar ideology, their purpose and scope of work tend to differ greatly.

Political parties could be defined as organizations that seek to gather like-minded individuals, in accordance to a certain ideology, for the purpose of directly engaging in decision-making duties in the institutions, typically pursuant to a process of party competition. For instance, according to the Code of Good Practice in the Field of Political Parties of the Venice Commission (Council of Europe) political parties play a crucial role in establishing public authorities, formulating and implementing policies, thus they are of the utmost importance for the legitimacy of the political system<sup>4</sup>.

On the other hand, political foundations are actors that give their contribution in the polity, without entering the electoral competition. They exert influence to the political system by focusing their efforts

<sup>2</sup> Dakowska, Dorota. 'Political Foundations' in: H  l  ne Michel,   lisabeth Lambert Abdelgawad (Eds.), *Dictionary of European actors*, Brussels, Larcier, 2015, p. 287-290.

<sup>3</sup> Mohr, Alexander. *The German political foundations as actors in democracy assistance.* Universal-Publishers, 2010.

<sup>4</sup> Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe. 'Report- The Code of Good Practice for Political Parties.', 2007. Available at: <http://www.assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/X2H-Xref-ViewHTML.asp?FileID=11496&lang=en>, (accessed on May 17 2020).

to democratise the political culture through civic education, facilitating debate and opening new ways of thinking political values. In a word, the purpose of political foundations is not to attain or exercise political power in public office, albeit they may extend support to affiliated parties for such aim.

By analysing the role of political foundations, one can notice that their mission has been transformed continuously during the decades. For instance, a few decades after their establishment, offices of German political foundations were opened abroad. With this event, the scope of work of political foundations exceeded their country of birth. Offices of German political foundations operating abroad in offering democratic assistance or support to sister parties and NGO's have now become common. Similar foundations, focused solely in operating abroad, were established in the USA in the 1980's and United Kingdom and Sweden in 1990's. In the recent decades, especially after the fall of Communism, the democracy assistance has become a core component in the essence of the political foundations.

The posture of the foundations has been gradually fostered in the last seven decades. Due to the potential to be affiliated with political parties, but also having the opportunity to cooperate with state Governments, civil society organizations, multilateral institutions and citizens, political foundations have managed to establish strong links with a variety of actors in different regions and continents. Indeed, this forges a unique position.



## 2.1

# Political foundations in Germany

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In the post-war period, political parties in (West) Germany started to rebuild themselves, adjusting their work to the new environment that was created. Their goal was to build a political system with a multiplicity of actors making joint efforts to create strong democratic structures.<sup>5</sup> In this line, they also established 'political foundations', as organizations to support the party structures with research and education. Moreover, the purpose of political foundations was multidimensional, as their mission entailed working on political education and public debate in Germany thus aiming to strengthen the progress of the society and also relations of Germany abroad. Special importance was paid to political education of the citizens, hence better understanding of concepts pertaining to the democratic governance system. They were to ensure that the citizens were not only part of the governance, but were well-prepared to participate actively in the democratic system. Therefore, in spite of their affiliation the work of the foundations was not exclusively focused on political parties, instead it targeted German society as a whole.<sup>6</sup>

More specifically the aims of the foundations that have been described by themselves could be defined as:

- "Stimulating citizens engagement with political issues while promoting and deepening their political commitment by providing a political education;
- Developing the foundation of political action as well as consolidating dialogue and knowledge transfer between science, politics, state and the

economy through the promotion of science, political research and consultancy;

- Researching the historical development of parties as well as the political and social movements;
- Promoting scientific education and training of talented young people with scholarships and extra-curricular programmes;
- Cultivating art and culture through events, scholarships as well as the care and preservation of cultural works;
- Supporting European unification efforts and contributing towards international understanding through information and international encounters;
- Providing development aid with programmes and projects and contributing towards the establishment of democratic, liberal and constitutional structures, which are committed to human and civil rights."<sup>7</sup>

As one can see, these fairly wide aims touch upon different political and societal actors. Moreover, the work of political foundations is not merely political. It may also concern education, science and art, or it may focus at the individual level, namely offering chance to prosperous youngsters through scholarships and offering trainings. As it may be deducted, political foundations became important actors in Germany, owing to their rather wide goals and aims.

Such wide goals have been shaped by their financing system, that is not based in an inter-party system, but relies on public funds. Political foundations in Germany are registered as non-governmental organizations. In fact, some do not even have the status of Stiftungen (foundations), being registered as Verein, that is a similar concept to 'association'. The financing from the federal state budget is essential to maintain their independence and achieve the aforementioned goals. It allows them to keep a strong posture in relation to the affiliated party, at

<sup>5</sup> Mohr, Alexander. *The German political foundations as actors in democracy assistance.* Universal-Publishers, 2010.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> German Political Foundations, 'Joint Declaration on the State Financing of Political Foundations,' 1998. Available at: <https://www.kas.de/en/gemeinsame-erklarung-zur-staatlichen-finanzierung-der-politischen-stiftungen>, (accessed May 17 2020).

the same time granting them freedom to cooperate with other actors. The legal and financial independence are essential factors, that have contributed to their ever-increasing role in Germany. Political foundations are not regulated within the Political Parties Act.<sup>8</sup> Being organised as independent entities they are free to organise their structure, choose their partners and appoint their staff.<sup>9</sup>

The system of funding political foundations is one of the points that makes them unique. Political foundations in Germany receive public funding from several institutions, including States (Laender), Federal Ministry for Education and Research, the Federal Foreign Office and Federal Ministry of Cooperation and Development.<sup>10</sup> However, the largest portion of the budget is granted through the Ministry of Interior through the so-called 'global subsidies', in lump-sum. This fund is allocated since 1967 and has been crucial for the daily functioning of the foundations.<sup>11</sup> The second category of the funds is allocated as project-related funds, being directed for shorter projects, in terms of the timeframe covered. Other fund sources, namely membership fees or private donations comprise a very small percentage of the total annual income of the political foundations in Germany.

Such complex funding system makes political foundations rather different from other NGO's in Germany, due to being almost entirely subsidised by the state budget. In addition, while the fact that political foundations function almost entirely from public funds draws a crucial specific, the manner in which these funds are allocated is of significant importance too. The fee to be granted to foundations the Federal Ministries is fixed by the Budget Committee of the

German Federal Diet, and becomes part of the Budget Act.<sup>12</sup> The funds, both global subsidies and project-related, are allocated based on a distribution key, that is calculated based on the seats of the affiliated parties in the German Bundestag.<sup>13</sup> The distribution key does not rely solely on the current composition of the seats that the parties have in the Bundestag. Instead, it is calculated as the average result from the last four elections held, in order to reflect the transformations in German politics over a dispersed timeframe.<sup>14</sup> Albeit the political foundations possess the freedom to spend the funds based in their own decisions, they are bound to clear and strict regulations.<sup>15</sup> The figure below illustrates the annual public funds the political foundations receive from different institutions.

Overall, there are six political foundations that are affiliated with political parties in Germany and receive public funding (in alphabetic order): Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) affiliated with Social Democratic Party (SDP), Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNS) affiliated with Free Democratic Party (FDP), Heinrich Böll Foundation (HBS) affiliated with Alliance '90/ The Greens, Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSS) affiliated with Christian Social Union (CSU), Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) affiliated with Christian Democratic Party (CDU) and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (RLS) affiliated with The Left. The Desiderius-Erasmus-Foundation that is affiliated with the Alternative for Germany (AfD) is not eligible to receive funding, due to the party sitting in Bundestag only since 2017. Below the basic information for each of these political foundations will be presented

<sup>8</sup> German Bundestag. *Political Parties Act, 1967 amended on 1994*. Available at: <https://germanlawarchive.iuscomp.org/?p=235> (accessed on May 17 2020).

<sup>9</sup> Development and Cooperation D+C, 'Promoting democratic values', 21 November 2017. Available at: <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/germanys-political-foundations-are-unique-world-over> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>10</sup> Development and Cooperation D+C, 'Promoting democratic values', 21 November 2017. Available at: <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/germanys-political-foundations-are-unique-world-over> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>11</sup> German Political Foundations, 'Joint Declaration on the State Financing of Political Foundations', 1998. Available at: <https://www.kas.de/en/gemeinsame-erklaerung-zur-staatlichen-finanzierung-der-politischen-stiftungen> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>12</sup> Mohr, Alexander. *The German political foundations as actors in democracy assistance*. Universal-Publishers, 2010

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. <sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Development and Cooperation D+C, 'Promoting democratic values', 21 November 2017. Available at: <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/germanys-political-foundations-are-unique-world-over> (accessed May 17 2020).

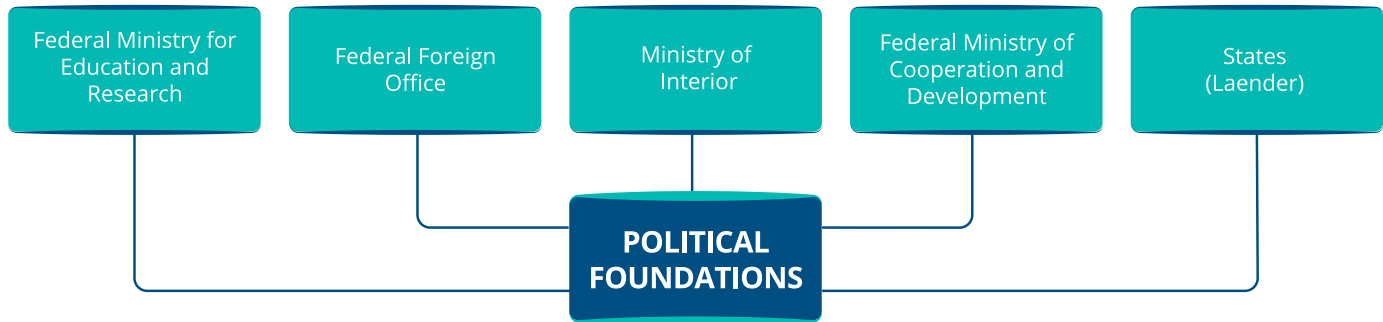


Figure 1. Sources of public funds for political foundations in Germany.

### **Fondacioni Friedrich Ebert (FES)**

Being established in 1925, Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) is affiliated with the Social Democratic Party (SDP). In 1947, Social Democratic politicians re-established the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Stiftung), after it had been banned by the Nazis in 1933.<sup>16</sup> The foundation owes its formation and its mission to the political legacy of its namesake Friedrich Ebert, the first democratically elected German President.<sup>17</sup> FES is committed to both socio-political and economic development, in the spirit of social-democracy.<sup>18</sup> FES has two headquarters: one in Bonn, one in Berlin. It also has a wide network operating in different countries and continents, guided by its core social-democratic ideas.<sup>20</sup>

### **Fondacioni Friedrich Naumann (FNS)**

Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNS) is affiliated with the Free Democratic Party (FDP). It was established in 1958 by Theodor Heuss and is known as the German foundation for liberal politics. It operates in around 60 countries form the core of the work of the regional offices in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Central America. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation is focused on supporting liberal parties and groups (organisations) in different countries.

### **Fondacioni Hanns Seidel (HSF)**

Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF) was founded in 1966. One of its central objectives is working for “democratic and civic education of the German people on a Christian basis”. Its affiliated party in the

Bundestag is the Christian Social Union (CSU). The foundation bourns the name of the former Bavarian prime minister and CSU chairman, Hanns Seidel. It is headquartered in Munich, in the Bavaria. Like other foundations, it operates abroad with different political parties and organizations.

### **Fondacioni Heinrich Böll (HBF)**

Heinrich Böll Foundation also known as the Green Political Foundation was founded in 1997 and is affiliated to the Alliance '90/The Greens in Bundestag. Apart from the political education and stimulus for citizen engagement in politics, it promotes an ever-present incorporation of green politics in the governance. The foundation operates with 16 state-level Böll Foundations in each of Germany's federal states and it also has partners in around 60 countries.

<sup>16</sup> Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael. “Foreign Political Aid: The German Political Foundations and Their US Counterparts.” *International Affairs, Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944*, vol. 67, no. 1, 1991, pp. 33–63. JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/2621218](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2621218) (accessed 17 May 2020).

<sup>17</sup> FES website, ‘About us’. Available at: <https://www.fesdc.org/about/friedrich-ebert-stiftung/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Naumann Foundation website, ‘About us’. Available at: <https://fnst.org/content/about-us> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>20</sup> Hanns Siedel Foundation website, ‘Our mission’. Available at: <https://www.hss.de/en/about-us/our-mission/> (accessed May 17 2020).

### Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) was founded in 1955. As noted earlier, it is affiliated with the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), thus naturally identifies itself with the centre right ideology and values. KAS has 16 regional offices in Germany that offer a wide variety of civic education conferences and events, on the other hand it also operates abroad in more than 120 countries.<sup>21</sup> When it was established in 1955 it was known as “Society for Christian-Democratic Civic Education”, while in 1964 it started bearing the name of Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Apart from education, research and scholarship programs, in accordance to its ideological values, KAS focuses on “consolidating democracy, the unification of Europe and the strengthening of transatlantic relations, as well as on development cooperation.”<sup>22</sup> KAS has two headquarters, one in Bonn and one in Berlin.

### Fondacioni Rosa Luxemburg (RLF)

Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (RLF) was established in 1990, while it started bearing the name of the Polish activist some years later. The foundation is affiliated with the German Left Party. The foundation seeks to “represent democratic socialism with an unwavering internationalist focus.”<sup>23</sup> In this light, it identifies itself in line with the tradition of marginalised groups, namely workers or women movements.

<sup>21</sup> KAS website, ‘About us’. Available at: <https://www.kas.de/en/about-us> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung website, ‘About us’. Available at: <https://www.rosalux.de/en/foundation/about-us> (accessed May 17 2020).

| Name                               | Affiliated party           | Founded |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------|
| Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES)   | Social Democratic Party    | 1925    |
| Fondacioni Friedrich Naumann (FNS) | Free Democratic Party      | 1958    |
| Fondacioni Hanns Seidel (HSF)      | Christian Social Union     | 1966    |
| Fondacioni Heinrich Böll (HBF)     | Alliance '90/The Greens    | 1997    |
| Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)     | Christian Democratic Union | 1955    |
| Fondacioni Rosa Luxemburg (RLF)    | The Left                   | 1990    |

Figure 2. Political Foundations in Germany

## 2.2

### Political foundations in different contexts

Taking as an example the model of Germany, political foundations began to spread in other European countries. The idea was found most receptive in the neighbouring countries at first, namely Austria and Netherlands, whilst in the 1980's it was transferred to the United States of America (USA). The dissolution of Soviet Union in the beginning of the 1990's, created an opening thus enabling political foundations to be established in the post-Communist European countries. It was in the 1990's too, that the United Kingdom opened a similar public body, as did Sweden. The recent decades saw a significant increase of interest on such idea, as political foundations have been established in a variety of countries, including in the Western Balkans. Even though the influence of the German model has been strong, different countries have adapted different legal regulations and practices. Some of the most important aspects of these differences will be described and discussed below.

#### **EU member states**

In Austria the framework for political foundations differs from Germany, in that it regulates the functioning of political foundations through a separate legal act. In 1972 the Austrian National Assembly passed the Federal Law on the Promotion of Civic Educational Activities in the Area of the Political Parties as well as Journalism. Under this law the Austrian Government dedicated to support and promote the NGO's working on the fields of political education and journalism.<sup>24</sup> To this end, the Austrian Parliament recognised that supporting the creation of political foundations is in public interest, therefore passing a separate legal act and establishing a channel for public subsidies from the state budget.

The political academies have enjoyed an ever-growing importance in the Austrian public debate ever since.

They grew to become important actors not only in Austria, but also in their engagement within the EU level. There are several important political foundations in Austria, namely: Political Academy of APP affiliated with the Austrian People's Party (APP), Dr. Karl Renner Institute affiliated with the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Education Institute (EI) affiliated with the Freedom Party (FP), the Foundation of the Green's Educational Workshop (FGEW) and the Austrian Future Academy (AFA) linked to the Alliance for the Future of Austria (AFA). In 1984 another law dealing with political foundations was passed in Austria. The Austrian model is rather unique, in that it was done by approving a separate law for political education and political foundations.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, the idea of political foundations was implemented in the Netherlands as well, again with a difference from the models adapted to Germany or Austria. In Netherlands from the 1970's state subsidy was given to political parties at the national level destined for specific purposes, such as research institutes, educational institutes and youth organizations. Ever since, all parties represented in Parliament are entitled to receive state subsidy, to be used only for the aforementioned purposes. In order to receive these goal-oriented subsidies, each party has to designate a think-tank or a similar institution to receive the funding. This practice started nearly half a century ago, and has been ongoing ever since. It became more concrete as part of the more recent Law on Party Finance that was passed in March 2013.<sup>26</sup> To illustrate, the law defines the process as below:

<sup>24</sup> Austrian Parliament. *Federal Law on the Promotion of Civic Educational Activities in the Area of the Political Parties as well as Journalism, 1972*. Available at: [https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblPdf/1972\\_272\\_0/1972\\_272\\_0.pdf](https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblPdf/1972_272_0/1972_272_0.pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>25</sup> Austrian Parliament. *Law for the Support of Journalism, 1984*. Available at: <https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=Bundesnormen&Gesetzesnummer=10000784> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>26</sup> Koole, Ruud. "Dilemmas of Regulating Political Finance, with special reference to the Dutch case." *Regulating Political Parties European Democracies in Comparative Perspective, 2014*, p 45.

The grant is awarded for expenditure directly related to the following activities: political education and training activities, provision of information, maintaining contacts with sister parties outside the Netherlands and supporting education and training activities for the benefit of those parties, political science activities, activities promoting the political participation of young people, recruiting members, involving non-members in political party activities; recruitment, selection and guidance of political office holders, activities in the context of election campaigns (art. 7.2).<sup>27</sup>

As it can be seen, in Netherlands the legal base draws a strong link between the public funds directed for political parties and the functioning of political foundations. In this light the relationship of political foundations to the political parties, at least in legal terms, is much closer, especially compared to Germany or Austria. Netherlands is one of the few countries where political foundations are regulated within the same legal act as political parties. Apart from Netherlands, other EU member countries that explicitly specify the use of public funds for research initiatives within the political parties' law are Greece, Ireland, Latvia, Poland.<sup>28</sup>

Albeit such differences, it could be said that the German model was very influential in political foundations throughout Europe. Mention can be made of the Fundación Pablo Iglesias in Spain for instance, which is close to the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE). It was established in 1977 and was supported by Friedrich Ebert Foundation.<sup>29</sup> In France, the Fondation Jean Jaurès that was formed in 1992 by the

Socialist Party (PS), was also heavily inspired by the German model.<sup>30</sup> In the same year the Swedish Olof Palme International Centre was opened by the by the Swedish Social Democratic Party, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation, and the Swedish Cooperative Union.

The same applies to the political foundations born after Communism fell in Central and Eastern Europe. As these countries installed their democratic systems in the beginning of the 1990's, several changes resulted, enabling engagement of Western political foundations, with the goal of democratic assistance and cooperating with sister parties.<sup>31</sup> In the case of Poland the foundations were able to establish contacts with political and academic circles, sometimes well before the fall of the Berlin Wall.

For instance, the Ostpolitik represented an opportunity for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation for exchanges of journalists and scholarship programs and the latter opened a dialogue with the reforming members of the Polish United Workers' Party (POUP).<sup>32</sup> In addition to this, the fall of Communism also created the conditions for establishment of the domestic civil society sector in these countries, as a result national political foundations were formed.

### **United States of America (USA)**

The idea of political foundations was exported in the United States of America (USA) in the 1980's. In 1983 the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) was created jointly by Democrats and Republicans, as a bipartisan political foundation. The idea was presented by President Reagan at the Westminster Palace. He

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Bértoa Casal Fernando and Teruel Rodríguez Juan. 'Discussion Paper- Political Party Funding Regulation in Europe, East and West: A Comparative Analysis', year unknown. Available at: <https://www.osce.org/odihr/410201?download=true> (Accessed May 17 2020)

<sup>29</sup> Dakowska, Dorota. 'Political Foundations' in: Hélène Michel, Élisabeth Lambert Abdelgawad (Eds.), *Dictionary of European actors*, Brussels, Larcier, 2015, p. 287-290.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Phillips, Ann L. "Exporting democracy: German political foundations in CentralEast Europe." *Democratization* 6, no. 2, 1999, p. 70-98.

<sup>32</sup> Dakowska, Dorota. 'Les fondations politiques allemandes : des courtiers de la politique étrangère'. *CERISCOPE Puissance*, 2013. Available at: <http://ceriscope.sciences-po.fr/puissance/content/part2/les-fondations-politiques-allemandes-des-courtiers-de-la-politique-etrangere> (accessed on May 17 2020).

declared that such entity would be created “to foster the infrastructure of democracy—the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities.”<sup>33</sup> Reagan saw the creation of political foundations as a significant instrument for the purpose of fostering democratic development throughout the world, especially developing countries. In fact, as the Cold War was still going on, the NED was assumed to provide an important aid to the USA (and the so-called Free World for that matter) in battling against spread of Communism in third countries.

Like the German model, the NED is financed by public funds. The NED receives an annual appropriation from the U.S. budget (it is included in the chapter of the Department of State budget), while it may also receive donations. In addition to this, NED has its own grantees, where around half of its annual funding is directed. It supports in a standard basis the American Centre for International Labour Solidarity (ACILS), the Centre for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), and the International Republican Institute (IRI), formerly known as the National Republican Institute for International Affairs. The NED also hosts a set of other fellowships and programs.

On the other hand, the other half of NED's funding is awarded annually to hundreds of non-governmental organizations based abroad which submit applications for support. This may include NGO's from all over the world that are working to support democratic structures and ideas in their countries. There are several differences in the functioning of NED compared to political foundations in European countries. Most importantly, in contrast to the majority of political foundations in Europe that are funded by public funds, the NED is solely focused on its work outside the USA. To this end, its engagement with the American political parties or voters is almost absent. This element forged a significant contrast to the European models that were existent at that time.

### **United Kingdom (UK)**

The Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) is United Kingdom's non-governmental public body set up to support democratic institutions overseas. It was established in March 1992 and registered as a company limited by guarantee. It receives funding from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Department for International Development. WFD seeks to “foster inclusive governance, accountability, representation and citizen participation in developing countries.”<sup>34</sup> Its partners around the globe are political parties, Parliaments, civil-society organizations. Similar to the USA, its operation within the UK is absent and its efforts are directed solely in the foreign soil.

A unique aspect of WFD stands in its close work with the UK political parties to supporting the development of sister parties, political movements and activists in developing countries. To this end, WFD works alongside the political parties to share experiences and advance the democratic efforts in different contexts. Each party works with its sister parties that are bound to similar ideological ideas. There are four dedicated programmes which are led by UK political parties:

- the Conservative Party;
- the Labour Party;
- the Scottish National Party;
- the Multi-Party Office, which covers the other UK political parties.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Lowe, David, 'Idea to Reality: NED at 30'. Available at: <https://www.ned.org/about/history/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>34</sup> EPD, 'Westminster Foundation for Democracy'. Available at: <http://epd.eu/communityofpractice/westminster-foundation-for-democracy/> (accessed May 17 2020)..

<sup>35</sup> WFD website, 'Political Parties'. Available at: <https://www.wfd.org/programmes/politicalparties/> (accessed May 17 2020).

### Western Balkans

In the region of Western Balkans national political foundations affiliated with political parties are still a recent idea. In contrast, the same is not valid about political foundations from other countries who have begun operating for several years, even decades, and have managed to implement myriad projects. Overall, in terms of national political foundations, the neighbouring countries of Kosovo (Albania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia) seem to be on different stages of development.

The most advanced seems to be Albania, as the two biggest parties in Albania, the Socialists and Democrats, have established their own political foundations. The Socialist Party of Albania has established the Qemajl Stafa Foundation in 2007 (but it was restarted in 2018 with a new leadership).<sup>36</sup> The Foundation is registered as an NGO and is funded mainly by different international organisations and foundations. It serves as a research base of the party and also organises its own Political Academy that offers political education trainings for participants. In addition, it publishes a political magazine "Politicus". Since 2018 the Qemajl Stafa Foundation is an observer of the Foundation of Progressive Studies (FPS), that is a political foundation at the EU level gathering foundations from different countries, bound together by their similar social-democratic values.

The Democratic Party of Albania, that is identified as a right-wing party and was born as an anti-Communist movement in the beginning of the 1990's, has established the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy.

<sup>37</sup> The foundation was created with the support of

<sup>36</sup> PS website, 'Fondacioni "Qemal Stafa", një start i ri për një stad të ri', 29 January 2018. Available at: <http://www.ps.al/te-reja/fondacioni-qemal-stafa-nje-start-i-ri-per-nje-stad-te-ri> (accessed 18 May 2020).

<sup>37</sup> PD website, 'Fondacioni për Liri dhe Demokraci.' Available at: <https://pd.al/flid/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>38</sup> Balkan Web, 'Forumi për Liri dhe Demokraci, Basha: Kemi nevojë për kultin e individit të lire.' Available at: <https://www.balkanweb.com/forumi-per-liri-dhe-demokraci-basha-kemi-nevoje-per-kultin-e-individit-te-lire/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>39</sup> PD website, 'Fondacioni për Liri dhe Demokraci.' Available at: <https://pd.al/flid/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>40</sup> Socialist Movement for Integration, 'Statute.' Available at: <http://www.isi.al/statuti/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>41</sup> Interview with CSO activist from Albania, realised by phone on 30th of April 2020.

<sup>42</sup> Transparency International, 'Lack of Public Trust in Political Parties undermining Democracy in the Balkans.' Available at: <https://www.transparency.org/en/press/lack-of-public-trust-in-political-parties-undermining-democracy-in-the-balk#> (accessed May 17 2020).

the German Hanns Seidel Foundation in 2015.<sup>38</sup> It is registered as a non-governmental organization and its general objectives are: to promote the liberal-democratic opinion in Albania; to raise awareness of PD members and its organisations in the conservator liberalism; and to develop and support initiatives on transparency, accountability and citizen participation.<sup>39</sup>

The third biggest party in Albania Socialist Movement for Integration (LSI) does not have an affiliated organization. In the article XVIII of its statute, it is stated that the party cooperates with different organisations, mainly those that regard the social-democratic model as the best for the country.<sup>40</sup> However, no individual organisation is mentioned, nor can be found online or on the party website.

Both Qemajl Stafa Foundation and Foundation for Freedom and Democracy function as NGO's and are funded by different donors, therefore no public funds are allocated to them. Notwithstanding the legal implications, one of the reasons that the 'no-public funds' model was applied is also linked to the corruption levels, more specifically fears that the foundations would be seen as suspicious to the citizens.<sup>41</sup> Previous reports have found the public trust of the citizens across the region in political parties is significantly low and they are often associated to corruption formations.<sup>42</sup> A potential attempt to finance the foundations through public funds could prompt backlash reactions by the civil society and citizens.

On the other hand, leaps forward have been made in Serbia recently. In 2019 the Foundation for the



Serbian People and State was created, as the affiliated institution of the Serbian Progressive Party (SPP), currently the biggest political party in Serbia. The Foundation for the Serbian People and State focuses on four main activities: work with young people, publishing, scientific research and international cooperation. Recently after its inauguration, the head of the institution, who is also part of the Main Board of the SPP, expressed her gratitude to Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) and noted that the foundation aimed at following similar principles in their cooperation in the future.<sup>43</sup> The other Serbian political parties have not established their own political foundations yet.

Differently from Albania and Serbia, no political foundations affiliated with political parties are functional in Montenegro, nor does the Law on Financing of Political Entities and Political Campaigns<sup>44</sup> or Law on Political Parties<sup>45</sup> assign the use of public funds for research or education. As it will be seen below, a similar situation can be found in the case of Kosovo. On the other hand, in North Macedonia the Law on Research Centres (Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, Law on Party Research Centres, 23/2013 with amendments and supplements, 15/2015)<sup>46</sup> regulates the financial support by the state for the four political parties with the largest number of representatives in the Assembly. This model clearly offers a hand of assistance to the political parties, especially

the bigger ones, however it also overlooks the parties with less seats in the Assembly. To this end, the model presents a disadvantage to the small and new parties, who are stripped of the right to earn the subsidy due to the low seats in the Assembly.

In general, the region of the Western Balkans is still far from having a consolidated functioning of national political foundations affiliated with political parties. Albania seems to be ahead, while steps forward have been made in Serbia in 2019. North Macedonia offers an interesting model of state subsidies for research centres of political parties, that is exclusive for the four biggest parties within the Assembly. In addition, foreign political foundations have been in the region since the 1990's and have established close cooperation with the political parties across the region. To this end, the foreign foundations have been instrumental in assisting the creation of the foundations in Albania and Serbia in the recent years.

<sup>43</sup> ISTINOMER, 'SNS osnovala fondaciju Za srpski narod i državu', 1 November 2019. Available at: [https://www.istinomer.rs/analize/sns-osnovala-fondaciju-za-srpski-narod-i-drzavu/?fbclid=IwAR1ACaH4YRM1s1ExJElRe7kf\\_2mrGR7qZkYdGJoBKWzjP3y161CH5hzCuO8](https://www.istinomer.rs/analize/sns-osnovala-fondaciju-za-srpski-narod-i-drzavu/?fbclid=IwAR1ACaH4YRM1s1ExJElRe7kf_2mrGR7qZkYdGJoBKWzjP3y161CH5hzCuO8) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>44</sup> Parliament of Montenegro. LAW ON FINANCING OF POLITICAL ENTITIES AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, 2014, amended in 2017. Available at: [https://www.legislationline.org/download/id/7856/file/Montenegro\\_law\\_financing\\_political\\_entities\\_election\\_campaigns\\_2014\\_am2017\\_en.pdf](https://www.legislationline.org/download/id/7856/file/Montenegro_law_financing_political_entities_election_campaigns_2014_am2017_en.pdf).

<sup>45</sup> Parliament of Montenegro. Law on Political Parties. Available at: [https://www.legislationline.org/download/id/7857/file/Montenegro\\_law\\_political\\_parties\\_2004\\_am2011\\_en.pdf](https://www.legislationline.org/download/id/7857/file/Montenegro_law_political_parties_2004_am2011_en.pdf), 2004, amended in 2011. Available at: <https://www.legislationline.org/topics/country/57/topic/16>.

<sup>46</sup> Parliament of North Macedonia. Law on Party Research Centres, 2013, amended in 2015.

## 2.3

### From national to transnational: Political Foundations at the European Level

The collapse of Communism in the beginning of the 1990's opened way to seismic changes in the political institutions throughout European countries. Among others, these changes were reflected in the work of political parties at the European level. European political parties were formed in the 1970's as confederations of national parties from across the European Union (EU), namely European People's Party (EPP), the Party of European Socialists (PES) and the Federation of Liberal and Democrat parties (renamed ALDE in 2012). But the idea of political foundations at the EU level was not institutionalised, hence they had no legal personality.

In this light, in the beginning of the 1990's the German foundations were able to start campaigning for the official recognition of the political foundation as an organizational form at the EU level.<sup>47</sup> This was a new idea that would expand the work of political foundations to new horizons and reconceptualise their *raison d'être*, by enabling their move from the national to the transnational level.

The lobbying process yielded results some years later, as political foundations at the European level were rec-

ognised under two different initiatives. The first structure which recognised the status was the European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP) in 2006, bringing together nearly 70 organizations from different European Countries. ENoP serves as a "platform of communication and dialogue instrument between political foundations in Europe and the EU institutions as well as civil society actors in the fields of democracy promotion, development cooperation and political dialogue".<sup>48</sup> The European Network of Political Foundations is financed by European Commission (EC).

A year later, in December 2007 the Regulation (EC) No 1524/2007 (amending Regulation 2004-2003) dealing with regulations for political parties was amended, thus marking the creation of political foundations at the European level.<sup>49</sup> In October 2014 Regulation (EU, EURATOM) No 1141/2014 of The European Parliament and of the Council on the statute and funding of European political parties and European political foundations was approved.<sup>50</sup> On September 2017, the European Commission adopted a proposal to amend the rules on the statute and funding of European political parties and European political foundations, to address existing loopholes.<sup>51</sup> Since 2016, both political parties and political foundations are monitored by the Authority for European Political Parties and European Political Foundations.<sup>52</sup> Political parties and political foundations at the European level are registered by this authority, that can also impose sanctions on them. The main takeaway is that political foundations at the European level have experienced a growing interest and importance within the EU in the recent years. This can be seen by the legal acts that

<sup>47</sup> Dakowska, Dorota. 'Political Foundations' in: Hélène Michel, Élisabeth Lambert Abdelgawad (Eds.), *Dictionary of European actors*, Brussels, Larcier, 2015, p. 287-290.

<sup>48</sup> ENoP website. 'History and Mission'. Available at: <http://www.enop.eu/home/about/history-and-mission/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>49</sup> European Commission. Regulation (EC) No 1524/2007 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2007 amending Regulation (EC) No 2004/2003 on the regulations governing political parties at European level and the rules regarding their funding. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32007R1524> (accessed May 17 2020); European Commission. Regulation (EC) No 1524/2007 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2007 amending Regulation (EC) No 2004/2003 on the regulations governing political parties at European level and the rules regarding their funding. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32007R1524> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>50</sup> European Commission. Regulation (EU, Euratom) No 1141/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 22 October 2014 on the statute and funding of European political parties and European political foundations. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:32014R1141> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>51</sup> European Parliament. 'European political parties and political foundations – Statute and funding'. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=EPRS\\_BRI%282018%29620198](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=EPRS_BRI%282018%29620198) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>52</sup> European Parliament Website - 'Political parties and political foundations at European level'. Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/faq/3/political-parties-and-political-foundations-at-the-european-level> (accessed May 17 2020).

have been approved to regulate their operation, but also the creation of a separate institution that deals exclusively with their work.

In addition, political foundations at the European level have been financed by the EU since their formation. In their initial phase, action grants were awarded by the European Commission under a pilot project, to enable the starting process. On the other hand, the European Parliament took over funding as of September 2008 and now awards annual operating grants. This grant may cover up to 90 % of a foundation's expenditure. Apart from this, the political foundations may generate their own resources too, from sources such as membership fees and donations.<sup>53</sup>

So, how should the concept of political foundations at the European level be comprehended? First and foremost, it must be taken into account these new entities have a separate legal status within the EU institutions and each is affiliated to a Europarty (political parties functioning at the European Parliament). They are assigned the task of assisting political parties at European level in their activities by working with the citizens to increase information on political and civic matters, and fostering the confidence in EU institutions. They may also bring together national political foundations from European countries, commonly from the same Europarty, to network and discuss contemporary issues in relations to the EU. In addition, they produce research findings that are directed to their affiliated party.

Based on similar ideology and values that they uphold, they have managed to create a strong cooperation network with foundations that operate at the domestic level, EU institutions, civil society organisations and citizens. To this end, their scope of work is very similar to political foundations at the national level, however their composition and the field of play differs completely. Below, the current European political foundations are described, along with their ideological profile and main orientations (in alphabetic order).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ideas for Europe, 'Presentation'. Available at: <https://ideasforeurope.eu/about-us/presentation/> (accessed May 17 2020).*

### **Coppieters Foundation (formerly Centre Maurits Coppieters)**

Coppieters Foundation was established and recognised by the EU in 2007. It is affiliated with the European Free Alliance (EFA). In terms of the scope covered, it has a rather specific list of topics, by putting at the forefront topics such as cultural and linguistic diversity, self-determination, state and constitutional reform, statehood processes etc. The foundation places a heavy emphasis on minority and fundamental human rights, as well as stateless nations. In fact, this can also be spotted in its member organizations, such as: Hungarian National Council of Transylvania (HNCT), Fundación Galiza Sempre (FGS), Kurdish Institute of Brussels, Free State of Rijeka Association (FSRA) etc.

Among others, the aims of the foundations are defined as the following: to observe, analyse, and raise awareness about issues such as the principle of subsidiarity, minority rights, the right to self-determination, democratic values, social justice, sustainability, and gender equality; to contribute to the debate on European public policy issues; to transform scientific knowledge in the fields of political science, economy, sociology, philosophy and history into politically relevant and usable concepts and ideas, both in the institutional sphere and outside European institutions; to gather and manage information on the functioning and the history of all cultural, regional and national movements in Europe.<sup>54</sup>

### **European Liberal Forum (ELF)**

The European Liberal Forum also belongs to the first wave of political foundations that were registered and established at the European level in 2007. It is affiliated to the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe

Party (ALDE). It has a network of 46 member organizations. Among others, the most important goals of the foundation are to: serve as a framework for national political foundations, think tanks, networks and academics and leading liberal personalities to work together at European level; develop close working relationships with and among its Members, their national parliamentary Group of the ALDE Party in the European Parliament, the liberal, democrat and reform groups and alliances in other international fora and Liberal International and the youth organization of the ALDE Party; observe, analyse and contribute to the debate on European public policy issues and the process of European integration, through education, training, research and the promotion of active citizenship within the EU, particularly with regards to young Europeans; inform the public and involve it in the construction of a united European democracy; support and cosponsor European seminars and conferences and studies on such issues between the aforementioned stakeholders.<sup>55</sup>

#### **Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS)**

Foundation for European Progressive Studies was created in 2008 as the European-level political foundation associated with the Party of European Socialists (PES) and the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament (S&D). Yet, it was officially registered as an European political foundation within the EU in 2017.<sup>56</sup> It is based in Brussels. Among others, it aims to: produce studies on specific political topics; organise conferences, seminars and workshops; publish and distribute publications promoting the work of the FEPS; and organise different trainings

#### **Green European Foundation (GEF)**

The Green European Foundation (GEF) was founded in 2008.<sup>57</sup> It is affiliated to the European Green Party and the Green Group in the European Parliament (EP). As it can be easily spotted, the foundation is committed to the spirit of Green political ideas. Among others, it seeks to promote citizen engagement in politics for a stronger participatory democracy, facilitate discussions not only within the Green Party, but also beyond, thus aiming “at bridging the gap between activism at the national level and the decisions that are being made at the European level by coordinating a lively network.”<sup>58</sup> It divides its work into the following pillars: study and debate; capacity-building and networking programmes.<sup>59</sup>

#### **Institute of European Democrats (IED)**

Institute of European Democrats (IED) is affiliated with the European Democratic Party (EDP). It was founded in 2007 and is based in Brussels. Apart from its affiliation to EDP, the foundation is focused on fostering the citizen trust toward European institutions and enable a better understanding of the citizens for the European politics for the purpose of strengthening the confidence of the citizens in the EU structures. In a nutshell, the foundation is committed to support the EDP based on the two following pillars: organising events, seminars and conferences; and working constantly as a research centre, thus delivering policy-papers and publishing studies.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> European Liberal Forum, 'Statute', Available at: [http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/d196a453-64b9-4b9b-b37a-56a401f8b94e/02\\_Statutes\\_in\\_English\\_ELF.pdf](http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/d196a453-64b9-4b9b-b37a-56a401f8b94e/02_Statutes_in_English_ELF.pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>56</sup> Authority for European Political Parties and European Political Foundations, 'Decision of the Authority for European political parties and European political foundations of 31 August 2017 to register Foundation for European Progressive Studies', at Official Journal of the European Union, December 2017. Available at: [http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/bb3c6bfb-1819-4929-9ce5-41edb1d28530/00\\_Decision\\_2017\\_08\\_31\\_FEPS\\_EN.pdf](http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/bb3c6bfb-1819-4929-9ce5-41edb1d28530/00_Decision_2017_08_31_FEPS_EN.pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>57</sup> Green European Foundation, 'Statute', 2010 (modified). Available at: [http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/1540b32c-42dc-4079-9490-1f0244971402/02\\_Statutes\\_as\\_of\\_16\\_June\\_2017\\_English\\_GEF.pdf](http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/1540b32c-42dc-4079-9490-1f0244971402/02_Statutes_as_of_16_June_2017_English_GEF.pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>58</sup> Green European Foundation website, 'What is GEF?'. Available at: <https://gef.eu/about-gef/who-we-are/what-is-gef/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>59</sup> Green European Foundation website, 'Work Programme'. Available at: <https://gef.eu/about-gef/what-we-do/work-programme/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>60</sup> Institute of European Democrats website, 'Presentation- General Objectives of the IED.' Available at: <https://www.iedonline.eu/about/> (accessed May 17 2020).

### ***L'Association Identité et Démocratie- Fondation (previously Fondation pour une Europe des Nations et des Libertés)***

Foundation for a Europe of Liberties and Democracy (FELD) was the political foundation of Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedom (MENF) from 2014 to 2019. However, in 2019, MENF got rebranded into Identity and Democracy Party (IDP) and recognised the L'Association Identité et Démocratie- Fondation as its official affiliated partner. Informations on the work and activities of L'Association Identité et Démocratie- Fondation are scarce. Yet, in terms of its ideological profile, it could be noted that since its formation MENF/Identity and Democracy Party, has become well-known for its anti-immigrant rhetorics, opposing the idea of an EU superstate, objecting EU enlargement, placing strong emphasis on concepts such as identity and sovereignty, while also being critical of EU functioning.<sup>61</sup>

### ***New Direction - The Foundation for European Reform (FER)***

New Direction- the Foundation for European Reform (FER) is formally affiliated with the Alliance of Conservatives and Reformists in Europe (ACRE). It is based in Brussels, Belgium and was founded in 2009 by Margaret Thatcher with the aim of serving as an intellectual hub of European Conservatorism.<sup>62</sup> Both the political party of the Alliance of Conservatives and Reformists in Europe and its affiliated think-tank have been framed as a necessity for reform within the EU. In fact, even the name of the foundation itself assumes that a new direction has to be taken. Some of the main tasks of FER mentioned in its statute are: providing decision-makers and opinion leaders with effective policy options; observing, analysing and contributing to the de-

bate on European public policy issues and on the process of European integration; developing cooperation in order to promote democracy, including in third countries; developing activities linked to European public policy issues, such as organising and supporting seminars, training, conferences and studies.<sup>63</sup>

### ***Sallux***

Sallux is the official think-tank of the European Christian Political Movement (ECPM). Given that it is related to the Christian political movement, the values that Sallux pursues tend to have a strong biblical background in its political discourse.<sup>64</sup> It was founded in 2010 but it started receiving European Parliament fund in 2011. Other concepts that Sallux is attached to are linked to economy, society, Freedom, Environment and Global problems.

### ***Transform! Europe***

Transform! Europe is a network of 38 European organisations and is affiliated with the Party of the European Left (EL). It is located in Vienna and it was founded in 2007.<sup>65</sup> The linchpin values of the foundation are social justice and equality amongst peoples. Transform Europe works to combat, as put by its description, “nationalist, fundamentalist, racist and misogynist ideologies which have arisen with the growth of far right parties and have managed to penetrate to the centre of our societies”.<sup>66</sup> In this light, through its activities and network, the foundation identifies itself as a reformatory force within the Europe, but also beyond.

<sup>61</sup> Identity and Democracy website, 'About us'. Available at: <https://identityanddemocracy.eu/about-us/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>62</sup> New Direction website, 'Home'. Available at: <https://www.newdirection.online> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>63</sup> New Direction, 'Statute', 2017. Available at: [http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/3c3158c3-a64a-448e-873d-1e632e8bfe2a/02\\_Statutes\\_ND.pdf](http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/3c3158c3-a64a-448e-873d-1e632e8bfe2a/02_Statutes_ND.pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>64</sup> Sallux website, 'Our Topics'. Available at: <https://sallux.eu/our-topics.html> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>65</sup> Transform Europe, 'Statute'. Available at: [http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/ec69fde2-21c0-4203-a83a-dc11d3834c16/07\\_Administrative\\_information\\_TE.pdf](http://www.epgencms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/ec69fde2-21c0-4203-a83a-dc11d3834c16/07_Administrative_information_TE.pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>66</sup> Transform Europe website, 'About us'. Available at: <https://www.transform-network.net/en/about-us/> (accessed May 17 2020).

### Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies (WMCES)

Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies (WMCES) was established in 2007 as the official think-tank of the European People's Party (EPP). Since 2014 the foundation bears the name of Belgian politician Wilfried Martens who was the founder of the foundation and served as President of the EPP until his death. It maintains partnership with over 40 political foundations or think-tanks from a variety of EU countries such as Germany, Greece, Spain, Sweden etc. The vast majority of these organizations are linked to EPP member parties. According to its statute the main objectives of the centre are: to contribute to the debate of the policy priorities of the EU; organize and support seminars, training, conferences and publications on important European themes; collaborate with academics, journalists, experts and opinion-makers, as well as with independent centres and institutes; use all possible means to disseminate the results of its activities.<sup>67</sup>

Albeit existing differences on the topics covered, it may be

easy to be spotted that the work of the political foundations at the European level is bound to some strong similarities. For instance, their activities are mainly centred around research, political or civic education for the citizens, different trainings, facilitating debate within (though not only) the EU. Overall, it has been mere 13 years that they have been recognised as entities with a separate legal personality, however, political foundations at the European level have managed to become important actors in the European political debate.

Another joint feature is the premise in which they operate, that is: citizen's political engagement is crucial for maintaining healthy democratic structures. In this light, their work on informing the citizens, or bridging their communication the political parties is regarded of utmost importance for all the foundations. On the other hand, their policy-recommendations now have a real impact not only in the positioning of their affiliated parties, but also in the decisions, regulations and policy-choices of the EU institutions.

| Political foundation  | Affiliated party                                       | Year founded |
|---|--|--------------|
| Fondacioni Coppieters<br>(formerly Centre Maurits Coppieters)                               | European Free Alliance                                 | 2007         |
| European Liberal Forum  | Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party    | 2007         |
| Foundation for European Progressive Studies   | Party of European Socialists                           | 2008         |
| Green European Foundation   | European Green Party                                   | 2008         |
| Institute of European Democrats   | European Democratic Party                              | 2007         |
| L'Association Identité et Démocratie/ Fondation pour une Europe des Nations et des Libertés | The Alliance of Conservatives and Reformists in Europe | 2019 / 2014  |
| Drejtimi i ri - Fondacioni për Reformën Evropiane   | Aleanca e Konservatorëve dhe Reformistëve në Evropë    | 2009         |
| Sallux  | European Christian Political Movement                  | 2010         |
| Transform Europe  | European Left  | 2007         |
| Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies  | European People's Party                                | 2007         |

<sup>67</sup> Wilfred Martens Centre for European Studies, 'Statute'. Available at: [http://www.epgncms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/089d19f5-4d08-488b-80f2-81bb1886cec4/02\\_Statutes\\_WMCES.pdf](http://www.epgncms.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/upload/089d19f5-4d08-488b-80f2-81bb1886cec4/02_Statutes_WMCES.pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

## 2.4 Challenges related to political foundations

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A persistent challenge pertaining to the functioning of political foundations relates to the financial regulations. Here two aspects can be mentioned, first the legitimacy of public funding for political foundations that are affiliated with a certain political party, and second the financial transparency in relation to the private donations. Although the benefits of political foundations have been ample on many levels, their affiliation to political parties has also been regarded as problematic, especially in relation to receiving public funds.

Linked to the latter, the issue of public funding for political foundations has been an important point of debate in Germany. As it was mentioned earlier, political foundations in Germany are funded almost entirely by the state. Opposing this practice, on 31 January 1983, in the name of the German Green Party, the Berlin law firm of Schily, Becker, Geulen filed a lawsuit with Germany's Constitutional Court objecting this practice.<sup>68</sup> The Green Party regarded the public funds to the foundations, as implicit funds dedicated for the needs of the political parties. In addition, they also argued that the funding was only available to established political parties, henceforth parties were not being treated equally.<sup>69</sup>

In 1986 the Constitutional Court ruled that the func-

tioning of the foundations was done in accordance to the constitution, given that they upheld the needed independence from the affiliated political parties. The ruling noted that practically the German political parties and foundations were fully separated. This marked an important moment in the history of political foundations, not only in Germany, but perhaps in other contexts too. It created an opportunity to better-understand political foundations from a legal standpoint, both at the conceptual and practical levels. It noted that public funds did not cause violation of the Constitution, as long as political foundations operated independently from the political parties in practice. This independence could be categorised in three levels: legal, financial and functional.

After this, the then Germany President Richard von Weizsäcker appointed a Commission of independent experts, for the purpose of monitoring the financing of political parties in Germany. Besides, the Commission also considered the public subsidies for the political foundations affiliated with the political parties.<sup>70</sup> The Commission noted that political foundations were an important element of Germany's political culture and that their financing is in public interest.<sup>71</sup> In this light, public subsidies for the foundations were seen as beneficial to the society as a whole. The Commission also provided some recommendations for modifications in the work of political foundations.

In response to this, in 1998 a signed joint letter was issued publicly by the political foundations. In this letter the foundations informed the public on their work within Germany and abroad, as well as expressed commitment to abide by the Commissions regulations.<sup>72</sup> Overall, the public funding aspect of political

<sup>68</sup> Heinrich Böll Foundation website, 'The History of Green Foundations.' Available at: <https://www.boell.de/en/navigation/history-3748.html> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> MMohr, Alexander. *The German political foundations as actors in democracy assistance.* Universal-Publishers, 2010

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> German Political Foundations, 'Joint Declaration on the State Financing of Political Foundations', 1998. Available at: <https://www.kas.de/en/gemeinsame-erklaerung-zur-staatlichen-finanzierung-der-politischen-stiftungen>, (accessed May 17, 2020).

foundations has been an important point of debate in Germany, but in many countries as well.

Another challenge pertaining to the functioning of political foundations relates to private donations. Commonly political foundations may receive a portion of their funds through private donations. However, maximum levels of transparency and control is mandatory, to ensure that the funding of the political foundations comprises no links with the activities of the affiliated political party. Issues in relation to financing of political parties have been evidenced in many countries, especially, even though not only, in flawed democracies, where political foundations may provide a mean to get around legal limitations on financing of political parties. To this end, debates on how to address legal loopholes for the purpose of transparent financing and spending are ongoing. For illustration, a GRECO's report on Spain in 2015 warns "corporate donations and unlimited donations from individuals, generally prohibited could be funnelled through these related entities and then used to fund political party activity."<sup>73</sup> Apart from detailed scrutinising, limiting private donations by law could serve as a way to impose strict control on the private donations for political foundations.

In general, both public and private funding of political foundations have produced legal debates, as was illustrated by the cases of Germany and Spain. Similar countries are likely to face such challenges as well. Accordingly, strict legal provisions are required to ensure that the political foundations are fully independent from the affiliated political parties, but also complete transparency on their revenue sources and expenditures figures is developed.

<sup>73</sup> GRECO, 'Transparency of Party Funding' Second Addendum to the Second Compliance Report on Spain', 2015, p. 13. Available at: <https://rm.coe.int/16806cac21/> (accessed May 17 2020).



### 3

## Political parties in Kosovo

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The Republic of Kosovo has a short history of a multi-party system that extends to a period of approximately 30 years. This begins with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia making a leap-forward and recognising political pluralism in 1989, thus permitting political parties to be established throughout the region. As in other neighbouring countries, political parties began to be formed in Kosovo as well, to this end during the 1990's around 15 political parties were established.<sup>74</sup> Albeit this is a relatively high number, the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) was by far the biggest party in terms of support and membership.

Moreover, the pluralism that was born, was far from common, as it was being organized under strict repression measures by the Serbian Government. Kosovo had a parallel Parliament and held national elections in 1992 and 1998, however the political life was developed under unusual circumstances, as the institutions of the Government of Serbia were fully functional. As a consequence, the law-making and policy-making in those years were seriously limited for the political parties, as was the implementation process by the parallel institutions on the ground.

While political parties formed their structures and membership, due to the context in which they operated, their daily functioning had conspicuous differences to political parties in the region and beyond. One of the key consequences that operating in the

parallel system produced is weakening, perhaps excluding, the ideological positioning from the picture. The narration of independence was omnipresent into the political discourse of all parties, in spite of the fact that disagreements over what instruments should be pursued for its achievement might have been present. In this light, the political and social situation allowed little room for developing healthy ideological inter-party and intra-party debates in Kosovo.

After 1999, the establishment of the UNMIK mission enabled the creation of a new institutional and legal system. Some parties, namely LDK, were consequent in the change of systems. On the other hand, several new political parties were established. Accordingly, Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) and Alliance for Kosovo's Future (AAK) were established from the legacy of Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Political parties from the minorities were also encouraged to enter the political system. After a turbulent decade in the 1990's, a new playing field had been born.

However, even though the elections were held, and Kosovo public officials were chosen to head the institutions, UNMIK was still the highest governing body in all branches of power, namely legislative, executive and judiciary. Accordingly, albeit the scope and role of political parties in Kosovo enjoyed a significant increase compared to the previous decade, the capacity of the political parties in shaping the policy-making outcome was again subject to legal and institutional limitations by a higher authority.

In fact, Tansey notes that to sustain peace between the political fractions in Kosovo, UNMIK had intervened in competition between political parties, at the same time it was also involved in post-election coalition forming.<sup>75</sup> Seen from a wider perspective,

<sup>74</sup> International Crisis Group. 'Unifying the Kosovar Factions: The Way Forward', 1999. ICG Balkan Report no 58, Brussels – Tirana, p. 3.

<sup>75</sup> Tansey, Oisín. 'Regime-building: Democratization and international administration.' Oxford University Press, 2009.

UNMIK's main focus in the post-conflict period as an international mission was peace-keeping and peace-building, rather than democratisation of political parties. In this light, the inter-party organization and reforms, were seen as secondary.<sup>76</sup> For the purpose of keeping peace and security, UNMIK followed a strategy of extensively interacting with the heads of political parties.<sup>77</sup> In the grand scheme of things, political parties in Kosovo were regarded as a mean to achieve the higher purpose: stability. These two aspects, namely the limited policy-making and decision-making responsibilities and UNMIK's main focus to interact with the political parties insofar peace is kept, have played a crucial important role in their profile, organisation and mindset.

The UNMIK period came to an end when Kosovo declared independence in 2008. This produced important transformations in Kosovo's political system, both in respect to legal and institutional framework. A key evolution was the decrease of the competences of UNMIK in Kosovo institutions, which in turn contributed to increasing the role of the political parties in the policy-making and decision-making process in the institutions. Overall, Kosovo political parties benefited from the new reality of independence, by expanding their influence, earning new political responsibilities and upgrading their status.

Yet, while the system had changed, the political parties had still conserved their core substance. In this respect, the periods of the parallel system in the

1990's and UNMIK years 1999-2008 imposed limited policy-making and decision-making demands for the political parties, even while being part of Kosovo institutions. Therefore, in order to comprehend the current functioning of the political parties it may be important to be aware on the historical factors that shaped their behaviour. This unusual trajectory may have also contributed to cause over-reliance on the international community or technical-assistance from outside, even in the post-independence period.<sup>78</sup> This is an important point, as by abstaining from the policy-making process, political parties in Kosovo (as it will be seen below) have neglected establishing cooperation with research centres that would guide their evidence-based policy decisions.

Apart from the historical aspect, to better understand the functioning of the political parties the legal base should be assessed. Currently, the functioning of political parties in Kosovo is regulated with the Law on Financing of Political Parties in Kosovo.<sup>79</sup> The amendment of this law was planned for 2019, however due to a protest campaign from civil society it was postponed. The objection of the CSO's was based on the grounds that the proposed draft-law was subject to a number of provisions violating EU standards that regulate the work of political parties.<sup>80</sup> Apart from this law, the UNMIK documents such as the Regulation 2000/16 On the Registering and Functioning of Political Parties in Kosovo (amended in 2002)<sup>82</sup> and administrative order for the implementation of this regulation, though in

<sup>76</sup> Beha, Adem. 'Mes Stabilitetit dhe Demokratizimit: Zgjedhjet, Partitë Politike dhe Demokracia Brendapartiake në Kosovë'. FES and CPC, 2017.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Interview with PDK Official, realised by phone on 29th of April 2020.

<sup>79</sup> Kosovo Assembly. LAW NO.04/L-058 ON AMENDING AND SUPPLEMENTING THE LAW NO. 03/L-174 ON FINANCING POLITICAL PARTIES. Available at: <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDocumentDetail.aspx?ActID=2795> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>80</sup> Kallxo, 'Shoqëria civile kundërshton me protestë projekt-ligjin për subjektet politike', June 2019. Available at: <https://kallxo.com/shkurt/shoqeria-civile-kundershton-me-proteste-projekt-ligjin-per-subjektet-politike/> (e vizituar më 17 maj 2020).

<sup>81</sup> UNMIK. RREGULLORE NR. 2000/16 PËR REGJISTRIMIN DHE VEPRIMIN E PARTIVE POLITIKE NË KOSOVË, March 2000. Available at: [https://unmik.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/regulations/03albanian/A2000regs/RA2000\\_16.htm](https://unmik.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/regulations/03albanian/A2000regs/RA2000_16.htm) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>82</sup> UNMIK. RREGULLORE NR. 2002/8 PER NDRYSHIMIN E RREGULLORES SE NDRYSHUAR TE UNMIK-ut MBI REGJISTRIMIN DHE VEPRIMIN E PARTIVE POLITIKE NË KOSOVË, prill 2000. Available at: [https://unmik.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/regulations/03albanian/A2002regs/RA2002\\_08.pdf](https://unmik.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/regulations/03albanian/A2002regs/RA2002_08.pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

dubiety, remain in force.<sup>83</sup> The UNMIK era legal base, albeit still in force, does not constitute the key legal framework in Kosovo. Instead, the post-independence legislation constitutes the legal framework to be abided by the citizens and institutions. Still and so, the legal limitations in regard to the work of the political parties in Kosovo are scarce, with the lacking of a specific law on political parties and a rather simple law on financing for political parties. Moreover, it is the authority for the registration of political parties, the Central Election Commission (CEE), that has issued a Regulation for the Registering and Functioning of Political Parties.<sup>84</sup> The content of the document regulates, what in fact should be regulated by a law passed on the Assembly, as in vast majority of countries. In this light, there is an overstepping of the role by the Commission, that should be fixed with improving the legal framework for the functioning of the political parties, thus addressing the existing loopholes.

<sup>83</sup> UNMIK. URDHËRESË ADMINISTRATIVE NR. 2000/11- ZBATIM I RREGULLORES SË UNMIK-UT NR. 2000/16 MBI REGJISTRIMIN DHE PUNËN E PARTIVE POLITIKE NË KOSOVË, MAY 2000. Available at: [https://unmik.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/regulations/03albanian/A2000ads/ADA2000\\_11.htm](https://unmik.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/regulations/03albanian/A2000ads/ADA2000_11.htm) (accessed May 17 2000).

<sup>84</sup> Komisioni Qendror Zgjedhor, 'Rregullën Nr. 01/2013 Për Regjistrimin dhe Veprimin e Partive Politike', 2013. Available at: <http://kqz-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/KQZ-Rregulla-01-2013.pdf> (accessed May 17 2020).

### 3.1

## Political foundations: Current state of affairs

No political party in Kosovo is affiliated with a domestic political foundation outside the party structures, for the purpose of policy-research and education. That being said, Kosovo has a rather diverse spectrum of civil society organizations, that also extend cooperation with political parties on different spheres, for instance in policy-recommendation or fostering public debate. In this light, the cooperation between political parties and civil society organizations is common, however, until now no political party has opted to establish cooperation with an affiliated political foundation.

On the other hand, the political parties in Kosovo have also established cooperation with foreign political foundations. Foundations such as Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), National Democratic Institute (NDI), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNS) are all present in Kosovo. These foundations have cooperated with the political parties in respect to research, competence-raising or shaping ideological profile. In this regard, the undertaken approach has restricted the political parties to either work with foreign foundations in separate project-related cooperation, or rely on their internal structures.

In absence of a law on political parties that would address their internal functioning, currently political parties in Kosovo enjoy substantial freedom in regard to organising their inter-party functioning. In sharp contrast, the internal functioning of political parties is regulated through a private law in vast majority of EU member states.<sup>85</sup> When it comes to the internal

aspect, the current legal base for financing of political parties does not encourage or mention directing public funds towards research or political education. Still and so, the majority of the political parties in Kosovo possess some organs responsible for the tasks of political research and education in their statute, that resembles the work of political foundations. Below these provisions of the internal statutes of the political parties in the Assembly are described and compared, before discussing their implementation in practice.

Alliance for the Future of Kosovo assigns the functioning of Centre for Research and Strategy in Article 35 of its internal statute. In 2019, AAK also established its own Political Academy with the support of Westminster Foundation for Democracy, but it is not part of the statute of the party. In the Article 35 it is noted: Alliance for the Future of Kosovo has the Centre for Research and Strategy which is an Institute aimed for research and political studies; the Centre conserves its independence in research and study; the centre is financed by AAK and Donors; the Steering Council of AAK elects the board with professional field experts and approves the founding acts of the Centre for Research and Strategy.<sup>86</sup> Both the Centre for Research and Strategy and the Political Academy are recent developments, that have been added to the statute in the last amendments.

The internal statute of the Democratic League of Kosovo also foresees the functioning of an internal institution for the purpose of research. As it notes the scope of work of the foundation is connected to conduct research for the party needs. Article 47 of the Statute notes: Foundation "Ibrahim Rugova" is a special institution of LDK; the Ibrahim Rugova Foundation has its own leader, who is elected by the LDK Presidency, on the proposal of the Head of Party; the foundation has professional staff, the number of which is determined by the Presidency.<sup>87</sup> In addition to this, the Article 48 holds: Ibrahim Rugova Foundation deals with:

<sup>85</sup> KDI. "Review of Practices of Law on Political Parties", 2017. Available at: [http://kdi-kosova.org/wp-content/uploads/publikime/113-miratimi-i-ligjit-per-partite-politike\\_eng\\_final.pdf](http://kdi-kosova.org/wp-content/uploads/publikime/113-miratimi-i-ligjit-per-partite-politike_eng_final.pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>86</sup> Alliance for the Future of Kosovo, "Statuti", 30 June 2019. Available at: <https://aak-ks.com/statuti/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>87</sup> LDK, "Statuti", May 2016. Available at: <https://www.ldk-ks.eu/statuti/> (accessed May 17 2020).

- Promoting Rugovian philosophy, defined as: Freedom, Independence and Democracy;
- Political, social and cultural research, in the interest of the Democratic League of Kosovo;
- Secures funding to support publications and research;
- Performs publishing activities;
- Collaborates with other center right-wing party foundations;
- Gives recognition to local and international personalities who have worked for the independence of Kosovo, who work for the democratization of Kosovo society and its economic, social and cultural development.<sup>88</sup>

However, based on the findings that can be found online, the profile of this foundation is more linked to producing works in regards to the cultural and historical aspects of the LDK.<sup>89</sup> To this end, it could be assumed that the policy-research component within this organ remains secondary, compared to publications concerning the history of the party.

The statute of the Democratic Party of Kosovo also fixes the establishment of Institute for Studies and Analysis (ISA), as an internal organ. Compared to the other parties, PDK foresees a wider, but also more duty-specific responsibilities for this organ. The statute designates that the functioning of Institute for Studies and Analysis should be regulated with a specific ruling from the party headship. At the same time, it is stated that ISA will include non-party members. In addition to this organ, the youth branch of PDK has also established the School of Activism, that is responsible for the political education component within the party for the young members. The School of Activism, that

is now named School of Politics, was established in late 2018 and started implementing activities in 2019. In 2019, National Democratic Institute (NDI) offered technical-assistance for drafting the curricula.<sup>90</sup> In the article 60 of the PDK statute it is noted:

1. ISA is a body within the PDK that deals with studies and political analysis for the needs of the PDK.
2. The scope and work of ISA is overseen and led by the Vice President for Development and Public Policy.
3. ISA is obliged to organize forums, roundtables, debates, trainings, conferences, present studies and conduct research on the political situation, governance and other aspects and put the same in the service of PDK.
3. ISA is led by its director who is appointed by the presidency by special decision.
4. PDK will also engage in ISA experts who are not members of PDK.
5. The administration's commitment to ISA, the way it works and other details are regulated by a special decision issued by the PDK leadership.
6. The director of ISA is responsible for the smooth running of work on a daily basis.<sup>91</sup>

On the other hand, Vetëvendosje designates in the article 78 (d) the functioning of Secretariat for Ideo-Political Formation.<sup>92</sup> The research needs are covered by Professional Committees that are regulated in the organogram.<sup>93</sup> Differently from the other subjects, the functioning of this organ is not fixed in the statute, but is entirely regulated within the party structures. The Political Committees are divided into professional sectors similar to the Government Ministries, accordingly ad-hoc committees may be created as well. In addition to this, Vetëvendosje has its own School of Politics, that offers political education programs in line with

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Gazeta Express, 'Rugova ishte nacionalist i kultivuar', 4 August 2019. Available at: <https://www.gazetaexpress.com/rugova-ishte-nacionalist-i-kultivuar/> (accessed May 17 2000). Kallxo, 'Fondacioni Ibrahim Rugova boton veprat e Xhemajl Mustafes' 24 December 2012. Available at: <https://kallxo.com/gjate/fondacioni-ibrahim-rugova-boton-veprat-e-xhemajl-mustafes/> (accessed May 17 2020).*

<sup>90</sup> *Interview with second representative of PDK, realised by phone on May 2nd of 2020.*

<sup>91</sup> *PDK, 'January 2013. Available at: <http://www.pdk.info/statuti/> (accessed May 17 2020).*

<sup>92</sup> *Vetëvendosje, 'Statuti.' Available at: <https://www.vetevendosje.org/statuti/> (accessed May 17 2020).*

<sup>93</sup> *A list of questions were submitted to Vetëvendosje. Answers were received by e-mail on 7th of May 2020.*

the ideological posture of Vetëvendosje. Since 2019 the School of Politics has held over 65 activities or lectures at the theoretical level, and over 260 lectures or discussions at the basic level including all centres of Vetëvendosje in Kosovo.<sup>94</sup>

New Kosovo Alliance also mentions the functioning of its Political Academy in the article 51 of its statute.<sup>95</sup> According to the statute, the Political Academy should both prepare documents and strategies for the party and organise the School of Politics twice a year. On the other hand, the Social Democratic Initiative (Nisma)<sup>96</sup> does not contain any sort of provisions for the functioning of organs related to research or political education.<sup>97</sup>

The provisions of the statutes of the subjects offer enough data to create the impression that there exists a structure in all political parties, that may fulfil the party needs in regards to research and political and civic education. As it can be seen four parties, AAK, LDK, PDK and AKR should have their research centres according to their statutes. But if analysed more thoroughly, the provisions tend to be rather foggy in terms of pinpointing the functioning of the research centres, also coupled with rather wide responsibilities.

Most importantly, there are conspicuous flaws when it comes to functioning in practice. The output these research centres is described as low, moreover some of them are not fully functional. They lack a public profile and only Institute for Studies and Analysis of PDK is part of the party website (with a brief description). Moreover, no research papers can be found online, except some sporadic news in the online media. In this light, albeit the research centres are mentioned in the statutes, they fail to fulfil their purpose in prac-

tice. Vetëvendosje is the only big party that does not designate a separate organ for research purposes, but it has its Secretariat for Ideo-Political formation and the regular Professional Committees, including the possibility to establish Ad-hoc Committees, as such its internal research organs are well organised and functional.<sup>98</sup> In terms of political education, AAK, PDK and Vetëvendosje have established their own schools of education. LDK and NISMA do not possess established internal political education programs.

Based on the data described above, it could be argued that in practice Vetëvendosje and PDK lead the way, as in the recent years they have established some active political education program for their membership. Yet, differently from Vetëvendosje, PDK lags behind in the functioning of its research centre Institution for Policy and Analysis, albeit such organ is regulated in the statute. LDK is the only big party that lacks an internal political education program. Further, LDK has its own research foundation Ibrahim Rugova, however data to estimate its work results are absent. Based on their online publications, it may be assumed that the foundation is more directed towards historical and cultural research, rather than sectorial policy-research. AAK has made steps forward in the recent year or so, by amending the statute to assign the functioning of its own Centre for Research and Strategy, although its functioning remains unclear. In mid-2019 AAK has also established its own Political Academy. On the other hand, NISMA is the only party that does not assign the functioning of a political foundation in its statute, nor does it have a political academy.

Overall, a similar feature is that in spite that the research organs are likely to have their own budget lines, they uphold a peripheral role within the party,

<sup>94</sup> Vetëvendosje, 'Statuti.' Available at: <https://www.vetevendosje.org/statuti/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>95</sup> AKR, 'Statuti', 2013. Available at: <https://pdfslide.net/download/link/statuti-i-partis-aleanca-kosova-e-re-akrkr-kscowmp-contentuploads201310statuti-finalpdfakr> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>96</sup> Nisma Socialdemokrate, 'Statuti', June 2016. Available at: <https://www.nisma.info/statuti/> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>97</sup> The statutes of Serbian List and 6+ Group parties could not be found online or obtained

<sup>98</sup> Interview with PDK Official, realised by phone on the 29th of April.

due to limited functioning and performance. The annual budget allocated to the research centres tends to be low.<sup>99</sup> In this vein, in spite being regulated in the statutes, their functioning tends to be hindered by the financial aspects. Due to different political engagements the respective political party is more likely to invest its resources on other areas, to this end the allocated budget does not suffice.<sup>100</sup> In general, based on what was said, it could be concluded that while no party is linked with a national political foundation, currently the majority of political parties in Kosovo lack fully functional internal structures and instruments to produce professional research that would guide their decisions.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*

## 3.2

### The importance of political foundations in Kosovo

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What are the practical consequences of the lack of research organs guiding the decisions of the political parties that was illustrated above? More importantly, what would the added value of political foundations be in the current scheme of things? There are a set of consequences produced, some of which were also admitted by the party officials in the process of interviews.

The absence of a consulting professional body may hinder the quality of policy-ideas within the political parties, and as policy-solutions of political parties translate in decision-making in state institutions, the consequences extend on many levels. For instance, the lack of professional policy-research within the political party carries great risk of adopting ad-hoc decisions, that could later translate in political program, and in the same vein Government Program. To this end, establishing functional research instruments would provide great advantage for political parties in Kosovo, by increasing evidence-based policy decisions.

In addition, stimulating sectorial-knowledge debates could open doors to an increased engagement from non-party party experts. Moving towards sectorial-knowledge debates would not only offer non-party members a platform to share their knowledge and experience, but also make the policy-making more inclusive. Due to not wishing to identify with a political faction in a fragmented political scene marked with political polarisation, experts may be hesitant to engage with political parties. Political foundations operating outside political party structures present one way to get around this obstacle.

Furthermore, the public debate in Kosovo would benefit greatly, by having an improved ideological public

debate between the political parties. As it was discussed, the historical context of the 1990's and UNMIK period, have created significant specifics for Kosovo political parties. One of them relates to weak ideological profiles, that are unable to base the political competition on coherent policy debates. Evidence shows the political debate in Kosovo tends to lean towards great themes. This could be confirmed by the fact that in the last five years or so, the most important conversations between political parties have been topics such as Kosovo-Montenegro demarcation agreement, establishment of the Association of Serbian Majority Municipalities or dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia. Notwithstanding the importance of these topics, such approach comes at the expense of weakening the ideological debates between the political parties, in relation to specific policy-areas. Henceforth, increased attention to policy-research from the political parties would also enrich the party competition in Kosovo, by creating a consolidated political spectrum in relation to political ideology. This could also entail working on political civic and education programs with citizens, thus targeting the Kosovo society as a whole.

Overall, among others political foundations could play a serious role in addressing the aforementioned issues, namely, increasing quality of policy-research for the political party, engage non-party members in policy-discussions and contribute to advancing ideological debates. Still and so, to say that there would be benefits from these recommendations is to state the obvious, therefore the questions that persists is: how can these instruments be organized in the case of Kosovo?



## 4

# Models of political foundations for the case of Kosovo

To respond the question of the previous section, two models will be proposed below. These models could serve as a platform to stimulate policy-research and civic education for the political parties in Kosovo.

### Model A- Political foundations as NGO's

Replicating the political foundations model from neighbouring Albania and Serbia seems to be the most viable method to organise political foundations in Kosovo. This model entails that political parties designate an existing NGO as their partner foundation, or support the establishment of a new organisation in accordance to Law No. 06/L-043 on Freedom of Association in Non-Governmental Organizations.<sup>101</sup> Benefiting from the fact that the procedures for the registration of NGO's are concise, moreover are largely electronic, the process would take a few weeks at the maximum. In case the political party recognises an existing NGO as its affiliated partner, the political parties would issue a document or declaration that recognises the foundation as its related organisation, pursuant to an internal decision.

Based on this model, the foundations would possess the crucial legal, financial and functional indepen-

dence from the affiliated political party, thus functioning as separate entities. The Model A entails the foundations would still be eligible for public funding, but only on the basis of project-based applications, that are based on competitiveness, in accordance to the existing legislation. In this vein, embracing this model would entail that the funding of the foundations would mostly have to be secured by outside donations. The foundations would have to engage in individual fund-raising activities in a consistent way to ensure their sustainability.

As shown, public funds are crucial for the functioning of the foundations in several countries. However, these models are rather hard to replicate in terms of the legal framework due to their context specific features. Taking as an example the German case, the public funds for the foundations were legitimised by the opinion of the Constitutional Court in 1986, which recognised that the public funding of the foundations was not anti-constitutional. In the case as Kosovo, legal limitations derive from the Regulation 04/2017 on Criteria, Standards and Procedures On Public Funding of NGOs.<sup>102</sup> The regulation stems from the Law No. 03/L-048 on Public Financial Management And Accountability.<sup>103</sup> The regulation notes that the public funds for NGO's are given on the basis of transparent open calls by the relevant institutions (Assembly, Prime minister office Ministries, Municipalities<sup>104</sup> etc.), in the basis of short-term projects or programs. Based on this, the model of global subsidies, namely funds from the national budget, distributed to political foundations seems impracticable for the case of Kosovo, or on another case it would require several legal amendments.

<sup>101</sup> Kosovo Assembly. LAW NO. 06/L-043 ON FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, 15 April 2019. Available at: <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDocumentDetail.aspx?ActID=19055> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>102</sup> Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Kosova. Regulation Mf- Nr- 04/2017 on Criteria, Standards and Procedures on Public Funding of NGOs, 2017. Available at: [https://mzheks.net/repository/docs/RREGULLORE\\_MF\\_-\\_NR\\_-\\_04\\_2017\\_MBI\\_KRITERET\\_STANDARDET\\_DHE\\_PROCEDURAT\\_E\\_....pdf](https://mzheks.net/repository/docs/RREGULLORE_MF_-_NR_-_04_2017_MBI_KRITERET_STANDARDET_DHE_PROCEDURAT_E_....pdf) (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>103</sup> Kosova Assembly. Law No. 03/L-048 on Public Financial Management and Accountability, 2008 (amended later). Available at: <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2524> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>104</sup> Government of Kosova- Primeminister Office. RAPORT VJETOR PËR MBËSHETJEN FINANCIARE PUBLIKE PËR ORGANIZATAT JO-QEVERITARE NË REPUBLIKËN E KOSOVËS PËR VITIN 2018. Available at: <http://kryeministri-ks.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Raporti-për-financim-të-OJQ-ve-2018-shqip.pdf> (accessed May 17 2020).

A point that also makes the aforementioned problematic relates to the public reaction that an attempt for such legal amendments would prompt. It is highly likely that the process would be perceived as an attempt of the political parties to use public funds for their own needs. In turn, this could likely spark strong objections by the civil society organisations and citizens as well, thus jeopardising the idea of the political foundations. Seen from a wider perspective, an important aspect that legitimises the public funding for political foundations in countries such as Germany, USA or UK is their engagement abroad. In contrast, as the international aspect for Kosovo would not be valid, the idea of foundations affiliated with political parties would entail that their scope of work concerns only the national level. In contrast, the operation of the foundations in small countries such as Kosovo tends to be exclusively concentrated on the cooperation with the affiliated political party. Therefore, Model A offers a way to get around and address these issues.

Overall, apart from the fact that this model could be implemented immediately as no legal amendments are required, it also upholds several advantages for the long-term functioning of the foundations. One of them relates to objectivity in research, due to not having to be actively involved in the electoral competition. As a result, the staff of the organisation would have the luxury to fully concentrate on research and political education activities, therefore being out of party competition and political developments. These preconditions are key for the objectivity and quality of the produced research, but also for the daily work in general. Further, the work of the political foundations outside the margins of the party, would also enable different streams of thought and ideas, thus challenging the predominant ideas discussed in the party. While politicians are bound to be highly preoccupied with electoral gains, researchers are driven by data and oriented towards the effective-

ness of the policy-decisions. As a result, the political foundations could have the bandwidth to feed the political party with innovative and non-conventional suggestions.

One of the greatest advantages of the Model A therefore is the independence of the political foundation (legal, financial and functional). What's more, such level of independence could also foster the legitimacy of the foundations, in relation to other actors, namely citizens and other non-party members, CSO's, academia etc. Not only would opportunities to engage with non-party experts in the activities emerge more easily, but also the standing of the foundations in the public opinion would improve. In short, the foundations would have their own public voice, thus having the opportunity to contribute to different conversations in the society as independent actors.

To recapitulate, the Model A upholds several attached advantages, that have been listed below:

- o Increased scientific and research objectivity, enabled by not having to engage in the electoral competition;
- o Opportunity to install a constructive debate with the official line of the party, thus challenging the predominant ideas;
- o Financial and legal independence, as well as functional independence in the daily functioning;
- o Stronger legitimacy in the public opinion, due to being regarded as independent entities;
- o Better possibilities to engage with non-party member individuals and greater opportunities to cooperate with a wide range of partners and CSO's.

Yet, in spite of these advantages the model is subject to challenges as well. As it was discussed above strict audit scrutiny is required to ensure that the funding of the foundations remains fully separate from the political parties. Here special attention should be

drawn to the private donations that could be collected. Private donations typically pose a challenge for the financing of political parties in many countries as well, including Kosovo, therefore, the same concern would apply to the political foundations.

There is also another aspect related to financing is linked to the availability of funds. The foundations would have to dedicate a serious part of their time for the purposes of fund-raising, writing projects-applications, as well as fulfilling duties such as reporting to the donors. This puts them in a rather insecure financial position, similar to the vast majorities of NGO's. On the other hand, failure to receive the needed funds may result in failure to achieve the objectives of the foundations, but also in dimming the support for the affiliated political party. In a hypothetical situation, a certain political party may find itself in disadvantage towards its rivals, due to the inability of the affiliated foundation to offer support in a similar scale. To this end, one can argue that the financing of the foundations could pose one of the most important challenges in the functioning of political foundations.

Further, some time may be needed to build the relationship between the political party and the foundation. This is because the political parties have been used to internal procedures and a certain way of functioning. In fact, the foundations could have a great impact both in the functioning of the party and the decisions taken, henceforth challenging long-existing practices. However, this influence could also be subject to a period of time in order to build the trust, as is commonly required when changing an existing system that has been moulded over a significant period of time.

Having said this, one may pose a legitimate question too: why has Model A not been implemented thus far? In a word, given that the necessary legislation is in place, why have political parties not opted to

affiliate with NGO's? The answer to this question relates predominantly to the lack of political will. To make the Model A possible a considerable amount of commitment, energy, and internal discussions are required, by the political parties. As noted above, the creation of the foundations would also change the practices between the party and require a *modus vivendi* to be found, in order to establish the coexistence and cooperation between the political parties and foundations. Until now, political parties in Kosovo have followed a conservative approach in changing their traditional way of functioning, therefore Model A seems to be feasible only after a campaign of raising-awareness to the leadership and structures of the political parties.

To recapitulate what has been discussed, in spite it has been regarded as the preferred option, the implementation of Model A would still comprise of several challenges that require serious attention:

- o The funding of the foundations and the parties should remain separate at all costs;
- o Special attention should be drawn to private donations, especially those unknown;
- o Large parts of physical time consumed in fund-raising tasks, could hinder the support of the foundations for the affiliated party;
- o Being able to influence the decision outcome of the affiliated political party may require a period of time.

## MODEL B- Legal amendments made to establish the 'ear mark model'

The Model B would be implemented only after amending the law on financing of political parties. That is far from an easy endeavour. As it was discussed above, there have been rampant struggles to approve the electoral reform and amend the law on financing of political parties in Kosovo; both these processes have been postponed. Furthermore, the current legal framework is handicapped by lacking a specific law on political parties. Therefore, the implementation of Model B is not only dependent on political will, but also on several legal amendments to address the legal loopholes surrounding the activity of political parties.

Having said this, the amended legal framework would be best organised around a specific law on political parties. One version could be to merge it with the amended law on financing of political parties, thus creating a comprehensive law. On the second version, law on political parties and law on financing of political parties remain separate. Most importantly, to implement Model B, the legal provisions that designate the public fund spending by the political parties is amended, by placing an ear mark provision. This entails that the law designates that the public funds allocated to the political party should be used for research and education as well. The current law that designates the expenditure of the public funds by the political parties, as follows: Funds may be used for the following purposes:

- 1.1. financing the regular activities of political entities;
- 1.2. financialization of branches of political entities;
- 1.3. finance of the respective units of organization of women and youth of the subjects policy;
- 1.4. financing of pre-election and election activities

of political entities;

- 1.5. financing the activities of parliamentary groups.<sup>105</sup>

In the amended law a new provision would state that the funds may be used for the aforementioned purposes. In order to ensure to further institutionalise the process, the law could also add a provision separately for the tasks of research and education, and replacing the word 'may be used' with 'should be used'. The law could therefore stipulate the following: "A x percentage of funds should be used for the purposes of research and education by each political party."

The difference between the models is that Model B does not foresee establishing political foundations as NGO's, but support the work of internal party organs, namely research centres and political education programs. Albeit, Model A is recommended as the first choice, Model B consists of several positive aspects too. An important affirmative aspect lies on the fact that possibility of the political parties to use the political foundations as channels for financial transactions is eradicated. In this light, the potential issue of the suspicious donations would be surpassed.

Further, another positive aspect would be the secured funds. Being exempt of the fund-raising duties would minimise the risk that the programs and the activity of the foundations, would risk reduction due to fund shortage. In the Model B, each party would have an equivalent amount of subsidies that would be secured through the law. Another positive aspect by the absence to engage in fund-raising activities, is more time at disposal for the project implementation. Overall, Model B could cause an internal shock in the functioning of the political parties in Kosovo, thus one may also assume that they would improve

<sup>105</sup> *Kosova Assembly. LAW NO.04/L-058 ON AMENDING AND SUPPLEMENTING THE LAW NO. 03/L-174 ON FINANCING POLITICAL PARTIES. Available at: <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDocumentDetail.aspx?ActID=2795> (accessed May 17 2020).*

the internal debate and operation. The positive aspect here would relate to making a change by impacting the party structures.

Based on what was said above, Model B consists of several benefits:

- o Lower possibilities for funds mismanagement by using the foundations as a funding channel for the parties;
- o Secured funds for the functioning of the foundation, therefore guarantees for its ongoing work;
- o Greater time to dedicate to policy-research and political education, due to being exempt of fund-raising tasks;
- o Changing the internal functioning of the political parties through new organs.

In the flipside, Model B is also subject to several drawbacks, that may hinder, perhaps even outweigh the benefits. First and foremost, its implementation depends on a series of important legal amendments. Based on the current political constellation and context in Kosovo, it would take a considerable period of time for these amendments to be implemented. Therefore, the challenges on arriving at the legal base to implement the model seem ample.

Further, if hypothetically Model B is implemented, dilemma remains on the extent to which the predominant ideas of the parties can be transformed by an internal organ. While the new organs could change the way of functioning of party structures, there is still evident risk that the ideas presented could be too similar to the predominant and traditional line of the party. This is also backed by the fact, that the staff of the research centres would mostly be party

members.

The stature of political foundations in many countries owns to engagement with a variety of actors, thus not only political parties. In fact, in the contrary, their engagement with citizens (but also overseas) has significantly contributed in fostering their legacy, widening their scope of work and defining their mission. Model B offers the opposite, by focusing on party-based internal organs for research and education, thus overlooking the joint work of the foundations with citizens, academia or other NGO's. Its sole target group and audience is the political party structures and membership. Again, Model A seems to have the upper hand, due to being organised as a separate entity, that can interact with a diverse variety of political and social actors, namely citizens, CSO's and academia.

Based on what was said, the drawbacks of the Model B are:

- o A series of legal amendments are required to enable the implementation;
- o There is risk that the research centres organised as party organs would produce ideas too similar to the conventional line of thought of the party;
- o Failure to have an impact in the society as a whole with the activities.

## 4.1 Organogram of political foundations

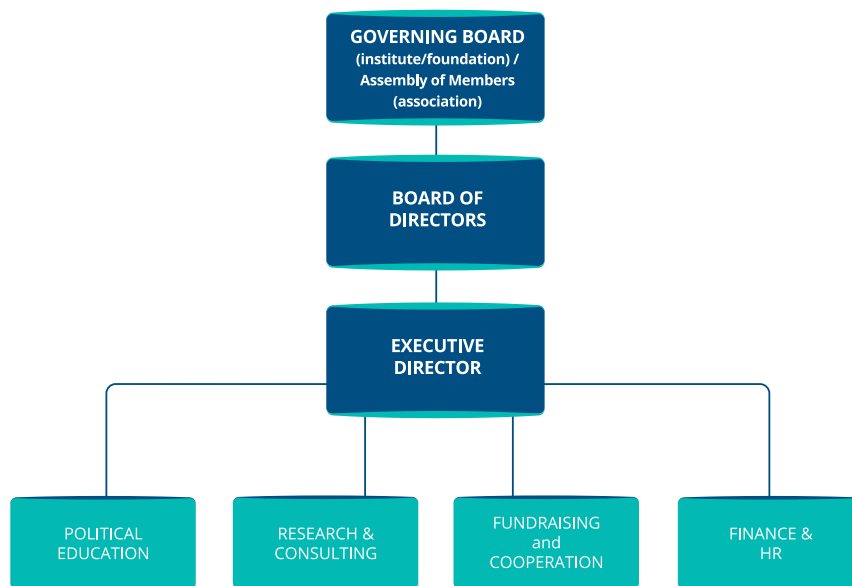
For the Model A, that patterns the functioning of political foundations as NGO's, dilemma remains on their legal status, or more specifically how to register them. As noted in Germany the majority of the organisations have the status of associations. In the case of Kosovo, the current law designates that NGO's may be registered as associations, foundations or institutes.<sup>106</sup> Based on this, political foundations may be registered in any of the mentioned categories.

Here an important difference is that the foundations, unlike associations or institutes, do not have membership. In fact, having a membership (consisting mainly of party membership) as the main governing body allows the party to actively be part of the decisions in the organisation. This may be an important factor why political foundations are registered as associations in many countries. That entails that all bodies of foundations consist of membership from the affiliated party. A distinction should be noted, as in the case of Germany

politicians in leading positions are still not allowed to have a similar position in the foundation.<sup>107</sup>

Based in the current legislation, the highest governing body of foundations and institutes is the Governing Board consisting of at least three members, while the highest governing body of associations is Assembly of Members consisting of all members.<sup>108</sup> In order to resemble the German model, but also comprise a membership with party members that would have a decision-making role, registering the foundations as associations seems more apt. The internal functioning of NGO's, apart from the head body, should be decided on the internal statute.

The proposed model entails that if political foundations are registered as associations the Assembly of Members would elect a board of directors. In the case of foundations or institutes the highest governing body would be the Governing Board, would elect the other bodies. The division of departments is done with the purpose of covering the pillars of research and education, but also to support the internal functioning of the NGO. The division of departments could remain the same, regardless of the legal status of the foundation.



<sup>106</sup> Assembly of Kosova. LAW NO. 06/L-043 ON FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, 15 April 2019. Available at: <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDocumentDetail.aspx?ActID=19055> (accessed May 17 2020).

<sup>107</sup> Mohr, Alexander. *The German political foundations as actors in democracy assistance.* Universal-Publishers, 2010.

<sup>108</sup> Assembly of Kosova. LAW NO. 06/L-043 ON FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, 15 April 2019. Available at: <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDocumentDetail.aspx?ActID=19055> (accessed May 17 2020).

# 5

## Conclusion

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Although Kosovo, as the other countries of Western Balkans, have made their transition to democracy in the recent decades, a set of challenges are still persistent, not least pertaining to the functioning of political parties. In relation to this, this study has offered a comprehensive discussion on political foundations. It has argued that political foundations can improve the functioning of political parties through research and political education in Kosovo. This would be achieved mostly by increasing evidence-based policy decisions, challenging the conventional opinions in political party structures, fostering the ideological debate across the political spectrum, increasing the citizen's information for the political system, enhancing the capacities of young leaders thus preparing them for public office and fostering the democratic elements of the political culture. In general, the study has argued that political foundations could refresh the internal functioning of political parties in Kosovo, by having a transformative positive effect.

Based on the discussions and arguments developed, two models have been presented. It has been argued that Model A would pose the most adequate format to organise the functioning of political foundations in Kosovo. Based on this model, the foundations would be regulated as NGO's, in accordance to the current legal framework. The foundations would rely for finance in their fund-raising capabilities. Differently from many countries in Europe, this would limit the public funds to the foundations. Apart from the legal limitations that ban financing foundations through global subsidies, this model is regarded as the best option, due to lowering the opportunity of eventual suspicious fund transactions between the

political parties and foundations, that would contribute to delegitimise the idea of the political foundations. This model has also been implemented in Kosovo's neighbouring countries Albania and Serbia.

Still, while the existing legal base is there and the benefits for the political system are ample, the implementation of the model and establishment of political foundations in Kosovo remains dependent on political will. To be able to put the model into practice, a joint discussion and consensus by the political parties would be favoured. This could enhance the legitimacy of the foundations in the eyes of the citizens and voters. In addition, even though the process relies largely on political will, more is required. In order to install political foundations successfully and allow them to unleash their full potential, it would be equally important to also develop a campaign raise-awareness of citizens, CSO's, and different groups, on the role that political foundations could play not only within the political system, but in society as a whole. Only a joint participatory endeavour led by political parties to establish political foundations, is likely to produce long-term positive impact in the political culture of Kosovo.



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