

An analysis on the activity of the Assembly of Kosovo in the period 2019-2020



Democracy for Development
Demokraci për zhvillim
Demokratija za razvoj

An analysis on the activity of the Assembly of Kosovo in the period 2019-2020

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Executive Summary

This report collects and analyzes the data in order to show how the Assembly of Kosovo has fulfilled its role in parliamentary oversight and review of the legislation. We aim to better inform Members of the Assembly, the public and the Government about what has worked well and what can be improved.

The report shows the activity of the Assembly from January 2019 through August 2020. During this period the legislature was changed from the sixth to the seventh, and for over three months the Assembly ceased its activities due to early elections.

Kosovo is a democratic republic in which the Assembly exercises the legislative power, while the Government implements laws and state policies and is subject to parliamentary scrutiny. In this regard, the main roles of the Assembly include:

- Citizen representation
- Legislation review
- Holding the government accountable
- Facilitating national debate
- Adoption of the government proposal for budget spending

When assessing the work of the Assembly, one should be very cautious about the terminology used and findings made. To say that the Assembly has failed to pass a law or to take a decision is a very subjective assessment. For example, the ratification of the agreement for border demarcation with Montenegro was a success for those political parties that supported it, but a failure for others which opposed the agreement.

This report can serve the citizens to understand how the Assembly works, Members of the Assembly to have an objective evaluation of their work, in order to undertake the necessary reforms to increase the performance of this institution. Main findings of this report are:

The Sixth Legislature of the Assembly, despite clear absence of a parliamentary majority, has been more efficient in reviewing laws, even in passing some of the laws that have long stood in the drawers of the Government and which required a broader consensus. The Seventh Legislature has had a significantly poorer performance in terms of passing laws, but this is related to factors outside the Assembly, such as the change of two governments, failure of the Government to comply with the deadlines to forward draft laws to the Assembly as per Government legislative plan, inability of the majority to secure the votes of all their members, as well as the situation with the COVID-19 pandemic.

There were differences between the two legislatures also in terms of management of affairs in the Assembly and sessions by the Speaker of the Assembly. Convening of plenary sessions by the Speaker of the Sixth Legislature was not done according to a regular calendar and sessions were loaded with many items of the agenda for which no decisions were taken. The works of the Seventh Legislature of the Assembly was much better organized, both in terms of compliance with the Rules of Procedure during sessions and in terms of convening sessions on a regular basis.

What characterized both legislatures were the lack of quorum in sessions and inability of ruling coalition to secure the votes of their members for government-sponsored draft laws and to reach the consensus with opposition on issues that required two-thirds of the votes of Members of the Assembly.

Introduction

The mission of Democracy for Development (D4D) is to influence public policy development processes in order to accelerate the socio-economic development of the country, improve governance and strengthen the democratic culture in Kosovo. This report has been drafted within the framework of analyses and research provided by the D4D to improve public policies and describes and analyzes the performance of the Assembly of Kosovo over the last two years. Drafting of this report was prompted after seeing frequent difficulties that the Assembly of Kosovo faced in carrying out its day-to-day work, ranging from the most essential ones, such as to ensure the necessary quorum for holding plenary sessions, to the lack of consensus among parliamentary parties on issues of national interest.

The report focuses on the period from January 2019 through August 2020, which includes two working sessions of two different legislatures. Respectively, the last session of the Sixth Legislature and the first session of the Seventh Legislature. D4D has monitored plenary sessions with physical participation whenever it was possible, and monitoring media broadcasts and transcript analysis when access to the Assembly was restricted due to the spread of COVID-19 pandemic. Special questionnaires were designed for our monitors to collect the required data for preparing this report. Regarding the activities of parliamentary committees, minutes of the committee meetings, media reports and physical participation in the meetings were mainly used. The data published on the website of the Assembly were also used for the purpose of analysis, which include the agenda of committee meetings and summaries of decisions taken, reports of local and international organizations that have addressed issues related to the work of the Assembly.

The purpose of this report is to reflect the work of the

Assembly in performing the duties and responsibilities set out in the Constitution, to outline the shortcomings in the performance of these responsibilities, and identify measures that should be taken to improve functioning of the Assembly as institution. The report is divided into two main parts, the first part which includes Chapters 2 and 3 which analyze the political context of the last two legislatures and presents the main challenges, and the second part which includes Chapters 4 to 6, which describe in detail the activities of the Assembly and provide recommendations for addressing identified obstacles. The report also makes comparisons between these two legislatures in sessions that have been monitored. Report focuses on parliamentary and legislative oversight activities. At the end of each assessed field is used a medical analogy model where issues are identified as “diagnoses” supported by clear “causes” that caused them, and followed by a “recipe” on how the identified problems should be resolved.

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The political context of the sixth legislature

The Sixth Legislature has passed a series of laws which had been in Government drawers for a long time, such as: Ratification of the border demarcation agreement with Montenegro, Law on the transformation of the KSF, Law on the Capital City. Members of the Assembly have had more legal initiatives, more committees of inquiry have been established, there has been an increased activity of committees in overseeing the implementation of laws, despite the fact that they were not voted in the Assembly as a result of its dissolution.

The Sixth Legislature of the Assembly of Kosovo established after the June 2017 elections was composed of 39 Members of the Assembly of the PAN coalition, 32 of the VV, 29 of the LDK, 9 of the LS, and 11 of other entities included in the ballot paper. PAN had emerged from the elections as the first entity, but did not have the necessary number of votes to form the new Government, despite the support of 20 Members of the Assembly from minority parties. After a two-month blockade, the Government was elected thanks to the support it received from the AKR deputies, who in turn took over four ministries. The government was formed with 61 votes, the minimum required for the election of the Government, while the members of opposition parties had left the hall at the moment the Government was voted.¹

The LDK and VV parliamentary groups have had better coordination of their activities with each other. This kind of cooperation did not occur with the PSD parliamentary group, which, despite being an opposition entity, supported the voting of the budget proposed by the Government, and participated in the negotiation team for the dialogue process with Serbia, establishment of which was opposed by the other

¹ Ramush Haradinaj elected Prime Minister of Kosovo. Gazeta Blic. Accessed on 18.06.2019 at: <https://gazetablic.com/votohet-qeveria-haradinaj/>

two opposition parties, LDK and VV² and which was later found by the Constitutional Court not to be in compliance with the Constitution. The PSD's support for the Government was crucial, as the Serbian List had left the ruling coalition.³

Throughout its work, the Sixth Legislature was characterized by a lack of a parliamentary majority, as the ruling parties ended up with fewer members than those in the opposition. The Assembly faced many difficulties, such as the frequent absences of Members of the Assembly from the works of Assembly, failure of political entities to manage their parliamentary groups, passivity of Members of the Assembly, government's disregard for the Assembly, and poor management of the Assembly by the Speaker and the Presidency. The discussions of Members of the Assembly were dominated by the agenda of "border correction" with Serbia and imposition of 100% tariff on goods imported from Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which shifted attention from other issues of public interest.

Citizens did not have a good perception for the Assembly, where in public opinion polls they stated that they are feeling increasingly detached from the Assembly and that they are dissatisfied with the work of the legislative. Satisfaction with the Assembly has been 36.1%, but in certain periods it dropped down to 16.1%.⁴ Citizens feel that elected Member of the Assembly are not accountable to voters, with 53.5% of respondents stating that Members of the Assembly are not accountable at all, while only 19.1% stated that they have had

² Kosovo: Parliament mandates the negotiating team for talks with Serbia. DW. Accessed on 18.06.2019: <https://www.dw.com/sq/kosov%C3%AB-parlamenti-mandat-on-ekip-in-negociator-p%C3%ABr-bisedime-me-serbin%C3%AB/a-46761622>

³ Rakic: Serbian List leaves the Government. Koha: Accessed on 18.06.2019: <https://www.koha.net/arberi/83523/rakiq-lista-serbe-del-nga-qeveria/>

⁴ Public Pulse XV, February 2019. UNDP. Accessed at: http://www.ks.undp.org/content/kosovo/en/home/library/democratic_governance/public-pulse-xv.html

contacts with Members of the Assembly after the elections.⁵

Opposition parties for more than a year repeated statements that they will initiate a motion of no confidence in the Prime Minister, but that was never followed by concrete actions for doing it. Some of the Members of the Assembly had collected signatures, but the motion was not formally filed. There were disagreements within the opposition camp⁶ regarding the timing of the motion. LDK insisted that the motion should be submitted only after securing the necessary votes to overthrow the Government (which should include at least majority of votes of all the members), while the VV requested to proceed with the motion of no confidence only based on the fact that the criteria of one third (1/3) was met, respectively 40 deputies of the Assembly, for putting this item on the agenda for voting. The third opposition party, PSD, declaratively supported the overthrow of the Government, but conditioned their vote with non-participation of Serbian List members in voting, that is, that their votes should not be decisive to overthrow the Government.⁷ Keeping the topic of the motion in the public discourse for a long time has had a negative impact on the work of the Assembly, creating an atmosphere of interim status, the motion has consumed a major part of parliamentary debates, thus affecting the image of the opposition itself, which was used by ruling parties to accuse them of incompetence.

Due to the lack of clear majority support in the Assembly, the

⁵ Public Opinion Survey in Kosovo. *KDI*, September 2018. Accessed on 18.06.2019 at: <http://kdi-kosova.org/publikimet/hulumtimi-per-matjen-e-opinionit-publik-ne-kosove-shtator-2018/>

⁶ VV and LDK do not agree on the timing of the motion against the Government. *Koha*: Accessed on 15.07.2019 at: <https://www.koha.net/arberi/173052/vv-ja-dhe-ldk-ja-nuk-pajtohen-per-kohen-e-mocionit-ndaj-qeverise/>

⁷ Overthrow of the Government with the votes of Serbian List? - PSD teases Vetëvendosje. *Gazeta Insajderi*. Accessed on 15.07.2019 at: <https://insajderi.com/rrezimi-i-qeverise-me-votat-e-listes-serbe-psd-thumbon-vetevendosjen/>

ruling coalition succumbed to demands for providing individual favours to Members of the Assembly in exchange of their support for the Government. Being aware that the loss of any vote could cause the overthrow of the Government, Prime Minister Haradinaj had shielded the minorities representing the non-Serb community. One of the members of the parliamentary group 6+ stated *"I cannot vote to overthrow this Government, when this Government has allocated 3.5 million Euro for construction of 300 houses for communities. I do not even think that my hand will go up for overthrowing this government"*.⁸

On July 19, 2019, Prime Minister Haradinaj announced to members of the Government Cabinet at a Government meeting that he was resigning irrevocably from his position. The reason for his resignation, as he had said, was related to the invitation he received from the Specialized Chambers in The Hague to testify in connection to the crimes that prosecution alleges to have been committed between 1998-99.

Immediately after Prime Minister's resignation, political parties demanded the dissolution of the Assembly and organization of early elections. The session for dissolution of the Assembly was held on August 22, where with 89 votes in favor, one against and one abstention, the Sixth Legislature of the Assembly was dissolved. Early elections were held on October 6, 2019.

The most debated issues

The country entered in 2019 without the adoption of the **Budget Law**. On December 21, the Draft law on State Budget for 2019 was adopted in the first reading in the

⁸ MP- Zeka offers his vote to the opposition for the motion to overthrow the government. Koha: Accessed on 15.07.2019 at: <https://www.koha.net/arberi/166809/deputeti-zeka-ia-ofron-opozites-voten-per-mocionin-e-rrezimit-te-qeverise/>

Assembly, but did not have the necessary votes for final adoption, thus risking the country to enter in a budget crisis. In early February, in a session that lasted for about 14 hours, the Government managed to secure the PSD votes for the budget, who conditioned their vote with the fulfillment of five requests it had made to the Government.

In the first quarter of 2019, Assembly was dominated by the debate on Kosovo platform in the dialogue process with Serbia Assembly, which culminated with the adoption of **the Law regulating the duties and responsibilities of the state delegation**, as well as the Platform for Dialogue on the Final Agreement. The draft law was challenged in the Constitutional Court by the members of LDK and VV, claiming that it contained a series of constitutional violations. Among other things, it was disputed on the following points: i) it changed the constitutional and decision-making institutional hierarchy in the dialogue with Serbia; ii) legal competencies of the State Delegation directly interfere with the constitutional competencies of the legislative and executive branches; and iii) the draft law has been given the character of *Lex Specialis*, so that in the event of conflict with other laws, provisions of this law will prevail. On June 27, the Constitutional Court issued a Judgment on this issue in which it found that since the core articles of the law are not in compliance with the Constitution, it will declare the law, in its entirety, to be incompatible with the Constitution.⁹

Law on salaries in the public sector adopted by the Assembly in February in a session that lasted for about six hours was a subject of heated debates in the Assembly and outside it. As sign of dissatisfaction with this Draft Law, for three weeks in a row, education workers at all levels of public education in Kosovo were on strike. Health workers, workers

⁹ Judgment in the case no. K043/19. *The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Kosovo*. Accessed at: http://gjk-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ko_43_19_agj_shq.pdf

in the administration and other public institutions also went on strike.¹⁰ LDK and VV members of the Assembly did not participate in the voting of this law. While the Chairperson of the functional committee stated that there had been extraordinary pressure in drafting this law.¹¹

Law on Freedom of Association in Non-Governmental Organizations, adopted by the Assembly in November 2018, was returned for reconsideration by the President, after assessing that some of the articles of this law were not in accordance with the Constitution and best international practices of freedom of association.¹² This law was opposed by a large number of NGOs, as it provided that once a non-governmental organisation is dissolved its remaining assets are to be donated to private businesses. The Assembly adopted the President's decision repealing the disputed articles.

Removal of the monopoly on vehicle homologation service was the topic of parliamentary debate at the end of June, which was addressed in an extraordinary session called by the Vetëvendosje Movement. The monopoly on homologation services was previously debated in the Committee for Economic Development of the Assembly of Kosovo, where the head of the EU Office in Kosovo, Nataliya Apostolova, was invited. She addressed a letter to the Assembly of Kosovo, in which she raised her concerns that the homologation contract apart from harming the citizens of Kosovo, was also in conflict with EU rules and the Stabilization and Association Agreement.¹³ Following the

¹⁰ Draft Law on Salaries in Public Sector is adopted. *Gazeta Insajderi*. Accessed on 27.06.2019 at: <https://insajderi.com/miratohet-projektligji-per-paga-ne-sektorin-publik/>

¹¹ Kosovo, Draft Law on Salaries in Public Sector is adopted. *AA Agency*. Accessed on 27.07.2019 at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/sq/balkan/kosove-miratohet-ligji-per-pagat-ne-sektorin-publik/1382123>

¹² The President returns the Law on NGOs to the Assembly. *Kallxo.com*. Accessed on 26.06.2019 at: <https://kallxo.com/presidenti-ia-kthen-kuvendit-ligjin-per-ojq/>

¹³ Apostolova: The monopoly on homologation should stop because it harms the

debate, Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the liberalization of the vehicle market. On July 17, a petition signed by more than 10 thousand people requesting the amendment of the Law on Vehicles was submitted to the Assembly in order to remove the homologation requirement.¹⁴

While previous governments were accused of adopting and **reviewing the state budget** mainly through fast-track procedures, not leaving much room for debate and consideration of public requests, the Haradinaj Government did not consider it necessary to request a budget review. Government officials have justified this with lack of need for a budget review as it was well planned.¹⁵ It should be noted that the budget review is not a legal requirement, but the Government had spent state reserves without taking into account legal requirements for such spending. These expenditures have mainly come as a result of poor budget planning, and due to lack of review they had to spend funds from state reserves.¹⁶ The main reason why the Government did not request a budget review was the lack of necessary votes in the Assembly.

citizens. *Kosova Press*. Accessed on 28.06.2018 at: <http://www.kosovapress.com/sq/lajme/apostolova-duhet-te-ndalohet-monopoli-per-homologim-sepse-kjo-demton-qytetaret-215297/>

¹⁴ The petition for removal of homologation monopoly submitted to the Assembly of Kosovo. *Telegrafi*. Accessed on 27.07.2019 at: <https://telegrafi.com/dorezohet-ne-kuvend-te-kosoves-peticioni-per-heqjen-e-monopolit-te-homologimit/>

¹⁵ There will be no Kosovo budget review this year either. *Koha.net*. Accessed on 27.07.2014 at: <https://www.koha.net/arberi/176282/as-kete-vit-nuk-do-te-keterishikim-te-buxhetit-te-kosoves/>

¹⁶ The spending of budget reserves, about 1.4 million Euro were spent in two months. *Ekonomia Sot*. Accessed on 27.07.2019 at: <http://ekonomiasot.com/fillon-shpenzimi-i-rezervave-buxhetore-rreth-1-4-milion-euro-u-shpenzuan-per-dy-muaj/>

Main challenges

Lack of parliamentary majority

- The coalition of 22 political parties that came up first in elections, after many attempts had barely managed to form the Government on the margins of parliamentary majority. Depending on each vote of members of the Assembly, main positions in the Government were taken by small parties that did not have qualified people for positions they held, and they also took more ministries than they had members in the Assembly.
- The departure of Serbian List from the ruling coalition and boycott of the work of the Assembly created a minority government. The Assembly had difficulties passing laws that required a simple parliamentary majority. Laws that were passed were more a result of the opposition's commitment.

Polarization in the Assembly

- This legislature has managed to ratify one of the agreements that has polarized the political scene the most in recent years, the one on demarcation of the border with Montenegro. While one issue was taken out of the agenda, others were added. Imposition of the tariff on goods imported from Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina continued polarization among political parties of the ruling coalition. PDK has requested a temporary suspension [of the tariff] to give a chance to the dialogue with Serbia (as requested by the US and EU), while AAK insisted for the tariff to remain until Serbia recognizes Kosovo.
- The dialogue on normalization of relations with Serbia, respectively, on reaching a final agreement and

representation of Kosovo in this process, were another topic that deepened polarization. The Assembly did not reach a consensus even on such important topics. Other topics inherited from past legislatures that have influenced polarization throughout the Sixth Legislature included the Special Court and War Veterans' Lists.

Poor management of the Assembly

- The Assembly did not manage to adopt the Work Plan during 2019. Furthermore, Rules of Procedure provided that the Presidency shall prepare a work calendar every two weeks and send it to the members of the Assembly at the time when the Assembly does not have sessions, which did not happen.
- The Speaker of the Assembly and the Presidency have not tabled plenary sessions at regular intervals, on Thursdays and twice a month, as recommended in the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly. Tabling of plenary sessions without a calendar and on ad-hoc basis caused conflict with meetings of assembly committees.
- Preparation of plenary sessions has been done incorrectly, as they were loaded with too many agenda items. Deputies were not able to exhaust all discussions within one session and make decisions on all issues that were on the agenda. The hearings were adjourned and did not resume the next working day.
- Many of the sessions held remained open as the Assembly failed to take decisions on issues that were on the agenda. As a result, the Assembly was burdened with many items which have accumulated as a result of the blockade in decision-making.

The inability to take decisions

- Members of the Assembly did not take part in a significant number of voting processes in the Assembly, though they were present at the session. Non-participation in voting was used as a tactic to prevent decision-making, in cases where one party did not have the majority of votes. Members of the Assembly from the ruling parties did not stay in sessions in which they did not manage to influence the vote of the Assembly.
- Members of the Assembly did not participate in sessions, failing to ensure the necessary quorum of members to hold a session. Also, Members of the Assembly did not stay until the end of sessions/ meetings despite being at their opening. As a result, committee sessions or meetings could not be held.

Lots of energy lost

- Members of the Assembly have spent a lot of time in discussions in parliamentary debates, interpellations, extraordinary sessions, monitoring implementation of laws, preparation of resolutions, which were not adopted by the Assembly.
- Members of the Assembly have called a large number of extraordinary sessions to discuss usual topics. Almost all the topics that have been addressed in extraordinary sessions had to do with problems that had been present for a long time, some even for more than ten years. By doing this, Members of the Assembly wanted to emphasize the importance of the problem which they discussed and reviewed in an extraordinary session. Extraordinary sessions were also a way that was used to

hold sessions to discuss different agenda items which failed to be discussed in plenary sessions.

- Parliamentary debates were used by the opposition to present to the citizens the failures of government, but at the end of such debates no measures were taken to remedy the situation, sanction those responsible or prevent the recurrence of irregularities.

Committees of inquiry with partial results

- The large number of committees of inquiry established by the Assembly, although seen as a high level of commitment to holding state institutions accountable for their actions, in practice, it did not yield the intended results. The work of committees of inquiry did not materialize with reports and bringing to political accountability holders of public institutions.

The political context of the seventh legislature

One of the achievements of the Seventh Legislature was restoration of order in the Assembly, namely better organization of plenary sessions, be that in convening them at more regular intervals, listing issues for consideration and not allowing the accumulation of many items in one session, and complying with Rules of Procedure of the Assembly by the Speaker of the Assembly.

The Seventh Legislature of the Assembly was established after the October 2019 elections. The election results were certified by the CEC at the end of November 2019, where VV came as the first party in the elections with 29 members in the Assembly, followed by LDK with 28, PDK with 24, AAK with 13, NISMA and AKR with 6, and 20 seats for political parties that have declared to represent non-majority

communities in elections.

According to the agreement for coalition government between VV and LDK, the LDK candidate, Vjosa Osmani-Sadriu, was elected Speaker of the Assembly, while Albin Kurti from VV was elected Prime Minister. The ruling coalition of these two political entities lasted until March 25, 2020, when the LDK, through a motion of no confidence in the Kurti Government, dismissed him thus ending the coalition with VV.

In early June, the Assembly elected a second Prime Minister within the Seventh Legislature. The Prime Minister of the country was elected Avdullah Hoti from LDK, a party which had a new agreement for coalition government with AAK and NISMA, as well as with non-majority communities. In addition to the political crises, since March 2020, the country was also faced with a state of health emergency due to the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic.

In the first months of the work of Seventh Legislature of the Assembly, COVID-19 virus was declared a global pandemic by the WHO, while first cases of infection began to be registered in Kosovo. Like many other institutions, the Assembly was affected by the pandemic, reducing its activities, especially after the first cases of infections among Members of the Assembly. In an effort to adapt to the "new normal" some parliamentary committees also organized virtual meetings through online platforms. The Assembly has not managed to complete the legal basis for the transition to work electronically. Decision making remained particularly problematic, as Article 80.1 of the Constitution of Kosovo specifies that: "Decisions and other acts are adopted by the Assembly by a majority vote of deputies present and voting, except when otherwise provided by the Constitution".

The new situation created by the pandemic also prompted the adoption of new laws, as the existing legislation was not

sufficient to manage the pandemic. The Speaker of the Assembly of Kosovo, supported by a group of members, took the legal initiative to draft the Law on Prevention and Combating the COVID-19 Pandemic in the territory of Kosovo, which defined the powers of the Government and limitations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, a necessary measure especially after the judgment of the Constitutional Court which found that during the previous Government, these fundamental rights and freedoms were arbitrarily limited and beyond the powers which the Assembly had given to the Government through laws. The Government gave a negative opinion on this law, considering its adoption to be unnecessary. Despite this, the Assembly continued with the legal initiative since Government opinion is not binding for them. At the time the Kurti Government was in office, Presidency of the Assembly did not support the proceeding of this draft law to the Government for opinion, considering that the Assembly cannot interact with the Government from which it has taken away the trust.

In order to keep the Assembly active during the pandemic and not to hinder its functioning, there was also a discussion to amend Rules of Procedure of the Assembly to provide for holding of virtual plenary sessions, but such a thing did not happen. Despite this, a meeting of the Presidency of the Assembly was held virtually.

In June 2020, the Assembly of Kosovo formed a parliamentary committee of inquiry on the management of the pandemic by the Government. The mandate of this committee of inquiry will be limited to investigating pandemic management only by the Kurti Government.

After three failures, the Assembly adopted five international financial agreements which aim to assist Kosovo in managing the pandemic and in addressing economic consequences caused by the pandemic. It was absurd that the members of opposition parties did not take part in voting in the sessions

in which voting for ratification of these international agreements was required, some of which were negotiated by representatives of these political parties while they were in the Government.¹⁷ Difficulties in ratifying these international agreements highlighted the failure of majority to negotiate with opposition, and an opposition which proved irresponsible.

Following the motion of no-confidence in the Kurti Government in March 2020, Vetëvendosje Movement claimed that President cannot mandate another candidate for Prime Minister, but that he should dissolve the Assembly to open the way for extraordinary elections. This political entity that emerged first in the 2019 elections also claimed that there is no deadline for the first party to propose the name of the candidate for Prime Minister. These claims of VV were also referred to the Constitutional Court in the form of a request for interpretation of the Presidential Decree to mandate Avdullah Hoti from the LDK to form the new government. Although the Constitutional Court upheld the Presidential Decree rejecting VV's allegations, the latter continued to challenge the Constitutional Court's ruling considering it political. VV continued to challenge the legitimacy of Hoti Government, not only because of the Court Judgment but also because of the participation in voting of member of the Assembly Etem Arifi, for whom the Supreme Court had previously confirmed a prison sentence which he had to serve. VV claimed that member of the Assembly Arifi had lost his mandate and his participation in voting was illegal. VV also considered that the statement of the member Haxhi Shala in the session where Hoti Government was voted that a night earlier he was visited by the President of AAK Ramush Haradinaj and President Hashim Thaçi, where he was asked to vote for the election of Government Hoti, as

¹⁷ "Ratification of international agreements in the Assembly fails again." Kallxo.com, accessed at: <https://kallxo.com/lajm/serish-deshton-miratimi-i-marveshjeve-nderkombetare-ne-kuvend/>

instigation, persuasion and coercion of President Thaçi towards Member of the Assembly Shala.¹⁸ Both cases were referred to the Constitutional Court by the VV, but there is still no decision from the latter.

Same as in the previous legislature, incidents between Members of the Assembly have continued in the latter as well. This time, such incidents also included the Speaker of the Assembly Vjosa Osmani. She has had frequent clashes with LDK members, which culminated with the assault of member Xhavit Ukaj against Speaker Osmani after a debate in the Assembly. This case was reported to the police by Osmani, which she considered a physical assault.¹⁹ This was not the only case when confrontations between Members of the Assembly exceed the scope of verbal confrontations. At the end of the meeting of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, where the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Meliza Haradinaj-Stublla was reporting, VV member of the Assembly Gazmend Gjyshinca was grabbed by the arm by LDK members of the Assembly Kujtim Shala and Arben Gashi.

In the public opinion polls related to the satisfaction with the central institutions in Kosovo during the Seventh Legislature, the Assembly has marked a significant increase compared to previous ratings. At UNDP Public Pulse, citizens' satisfaction with the legislature for April 2020 was at 33.40%, which is the second best rating since 2015. A higher satisfaction with the Assembly was only in November 2018, with 36.10%. What stands out most in this public opinion poll is the satisfaction of citizens with the Speaker of the Assembly, Vjosa Osmani-Sadriu, where 72.40% of respondents have stated that they

¹⁸ "VV sends Thaçi to the Constitutional Court for Haxhi Shala's vote for Hoti Government". Kallxo.com, accessed at: <https://kallxo.com/lajm/vv-e-dergon-ne-kushtetuese-thacin-per-voten-e-haxhi-shales-per-qeverine-hoti/>

¹⁹ "Vjosa Osmani reports the LDK member of the Assembly to the police: "He threatened me physically, used banal language." Gazeta Express, accessed at: <https://www.gazetaexpress.com/vjosa-osmani-e-lajmeron-ne-polici-deputetin-e-ldkse-me-kercenoi-fizikë-perdori-gjuhe-banale/>

are satisfied with her. The highest satisfaction with the Speaker of the Assembly was 36.30% again in November 2018. Meanwhile, in other public opinion polls published by NDI in Kosovo²⁰, 60% of the surveyed citizens think that the level of ethics in the Parliament is not good/ is poor.

The most debated issues

Law on the Protection of KLA Values was one of the issues that generated a widespread debate, which even involved representatives of diplomatic missions in Kosovo. This legal initiative was undertaken by PDK, and which dated back to April 2018, but due to changes in the country's executive, further processing of this draft law had stopped. In July 2020, Government of Kosovo supported this draft law re-initiated by the PDK, which provides for the definition of institutional and civic obligation to protect the values of the KLA war. Vetëvendosje Movement stated that they are not against the law, but that they have objections for its content. While AAK argued that it is better to have any law than not to have a law at all.²¹ The US Ambassador to Kosovo criticized this initiative stating that "this law criminalizes free speech and intimidates citizens."²² The draft law was not adopted by the Assembly as there was no quorum for voting. After several failures, PDK expressed readiness to make the necessary adjustments, but the draft law was not adopted.

Law on Prevention and Combating COVID-19 Pandemics in the Territory of the Republic of Kosovo, was adopted by the Assembly in August 2020, nearly six months

²⁰ NDI Kosovo, "What do Kosovars think about...", published on the official Facebook page on July 14, 2020. Accessible in: <https://bit.ly/2UcFkHD>

²¹ "Another attempt for the Law that protects the values of the KLA war." Gazeta Express, accessed at: <https://www.gazetaexpress.com/vjosa-osmani-e-lajmeron-ne-polici-deputetin-e-ldkse-me-kercenoi-fizike-perdori-gjuhe-banale/>
<https://www.evropaelire.org/a/ligji-per-mbrojtjen-e-vlerave-te-luftes-se-uck-/30734748.html>

²² Kosnett criticizes the proposed Law on the Protection of KLA Values. Radio Free Europe, accessed at: <https://www.evropaelire.org/a/30755434.html>

after the registration of first cases of pandemics in Kosovo. The law was followed by many objections between the Government and the Assembly, but also within parliamentary groups themselves. The initiative for this law was taken by the Speaker of the Assembly of Kosovo, Mrs. Osmani-Sadriu supported also by several other members. Initially, this draft law was refused by the Presidency of the Assembly to be sent to the Government for an opinion, as provided by procedures when legal initiatives are not government initiatives, on the grounds that the Kurti Government-in-office cannot interact with the Assembly as it has lost its confidence. After the election of the new Government led by Prime Minister Hoti, the Government stated to be against this initiative, considering that issues addressed by this legal initiative of the Assembly will be addressed within the framework of a new law on economic recovery.²³ Despite the opinion of the Government, the Assembly has continued to review this legal initiative, as the opinion of the Government is not binding.

If the Assembly would have waited for the adoption of the **Law on Economic Recovery** in order to address measures for preventing the spread of COVID-19 pandemics, it seems that pandemics would not be able to be fought with the legal remedies made available to the Government after the adoption of the law. The Draft Law on Economic Recovery was adopted in the meeting of the Government by the end of July 2020, when it was also forwarded to the Assembly for review.²⁴ This law aims to address the negative effects of COVID-19 in country's economy, among the measures envisaged is also the possibility for pension contributors to

²³ "The Government of Kosovo does not approve the legal initiative to fight the pandemics", Radio Free Europe, accessed: <https://www.evropaelire.org/a/30715643.html>

²⁴ "The Government of Kosovo adopts the Draft Law on Economic Recovery." Anadolu Agency, accessed at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/sq/balkani/qeveria-e-kosov%C3%ABs-miraton-projektligjin-p%C3%ABr-rim%C3%ABk%C3%ABmbje-ekonomike/1918891>

the Pension Savings Trust to withdraw part of the funds. The two opposition parties, VV and PDK, have stated to be against this law, arguing that this draft law does not address economic recovery caused by the pandemic, *while the ruling coalition parties*. In parallel with this initiative, PDK has announced a special initiative to amend and supplement the Law on Pension Funds, which enables the citizens of Kosovo to withdraw part of their savings from the trust.

The Hoti Government was elected with two key promises: fighting the spread of the COVID-19 pandemics, and economic recovery from the pandemics. After getting the mandate, the Hoti Government is more committed to the **dialogue for normalization of relations with Serbia** than with the main promises he had made. On the other hand, the country's legislature was also quite active on the issue of the dialogue during the spring session. Half of the parliamentary debates focused on issues related to dialogue, the only interpellation held addressed the lifting of reciprocity measures against Serbia, and there was reporting to parliamentary committees by ministers and by the Prime Minister himself.

Main challenges

Problems within governing coalitions

- Frequent disagreements within the governing coalitions have had a negative impact on the work of the Assembly, both in terms of political stability and failure to pass laws.

Lack of opposition coordination

- The opposition political parties, VV and PDK, lacked coordination and cooperation between them for supervising the work of the executive. Although opposition cooperation is not necessary to effectively use oversight mechanisms, it would increase the level of

parliamentary oversight such as interpellations, committees of inquiry, parliamentary debates, requests for ministerial reporting to committees, public hearings, etc.

Non-participation of members of the Assembly in voting

- The trend of Members of the Assembly not to participate in voting in the Assembly even if they were present continued in the Seventh Legislature. This method has been used as a tool to prevent the voting of laws, international agreements or resolutions. Non-participation of deputies in voting has caused accumulation of unfinished business in the Assembly and was considered as an escape from decision-making. Non-participation of opposition Members of the Assembly in voting has been used as a strategic way to expose the fragility of the ruling coalition.

Poor efficiency in the legislative process

- The political crises caused by frequent changes in the Government have had a negative impact on the number of draft laws that the Assembly has reviewed. The Kurti Government did not manage to adopt the Legislative Plan, while the Hoti Government had failed to send to the Assembly all the draft laws that it had foreseen to submit to the Assembly during the spring session of the Assembly.

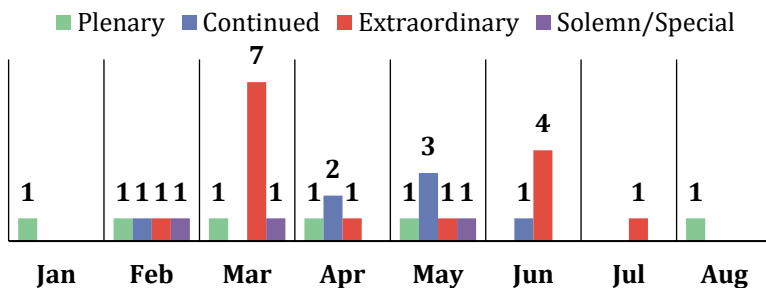
The activity of the Assembly

The Assembly performs its annual activities in two sessions, the spring session and autumn session. The Spring Session begins on the third Monday of January and the Autumn session begins on the second Monday of September. There is no set date for ending session works. Members of the Assembly are notified by the Speaker of the Assembly about the beginning and the end of Assembly sessions.

The Meetings of the Assembly

In the period January - August 2019, Members of the Assembly were engaged for 29 days in sessions of the Assembly. During this period were held 24 sessions, 6 of which were plenary sessions that continued the work for another 7 days, 15 times in extraordinary sessions, and 3 times in solemn or special sessions.

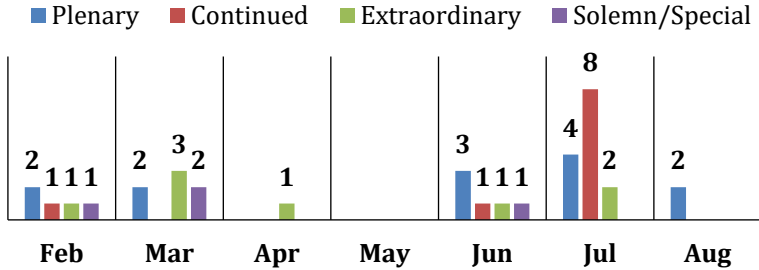
Graph 1. Number and type of sessions held by months in 2019



In the period January - August 2020, Members of the Assembly were engaged for 35 days in sessions of the Assembly. During this period were held 24 sessions, 13 of which were plenary sessions that continued the work for

another 10 days, 8 times in extraordinary sessions, and 4 times in solemn or special sessions.

Graph 2. Number and type of sessions held by months in the 2020 spring session

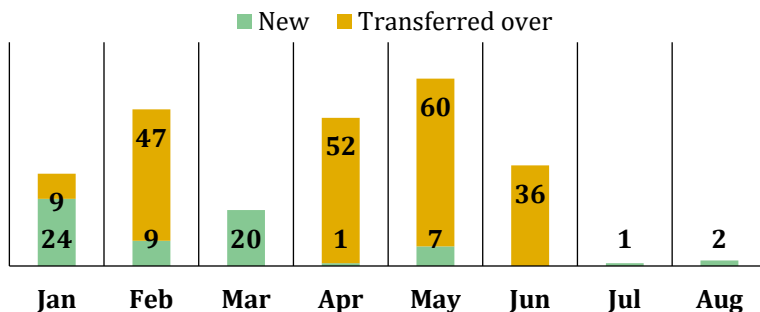


Plenary sessions

The first plenary session in 2019 was held on January 30, inheriting many issues which had remained unresolved in previous year's sessions. In the first half of the year, Assembly held 6 plenary sessions, whose work was continued for additional 7 days.

In this period, in its sessions the Assembly listed 81 issues for consideration (17 in extraordinary sessions), while 204 times items of the agenda were carried over through different sessions. Session continuations have been quite loaded with unfinished items. In the May 30 session alone, 62 items were on the agenda, which were extended from 10 unfinished sessions.

Graph 3. Number of agenda items according to sessions that were held in the spring session 2019



The inability to complete the review of all agenda items foreseen for a plenary session has undermined some aspects of parliamentary oversight. In sessions that were extended, members were deprived of the opportunity to make statements off the agenda and ask parliamentary questions to the members of the Government. This is because these first two items of the agenda are foreseen for statements off the agenda and for parliamentary questions. This rule only applies to new sessions.

The reasons which have led to accumulation of the works of Assembly are different, and we will list two most important:

- The Presidency of the Assembly in the Sixth Legislature has poorly planned the agenda of the Assembly. Sessions were not convened regularly and in line with the practice of the Assembly on Thursdays. With such a low rate of handling issues, plenary sessions had to be held on a weekly basis. Assembly committees have reviewed the issues they have been charged with, but the Assembly had not been able to make decisions on them.
- The ruling coalition has failed to mobilize its Members of the Assembly to make the necessary quorum, except

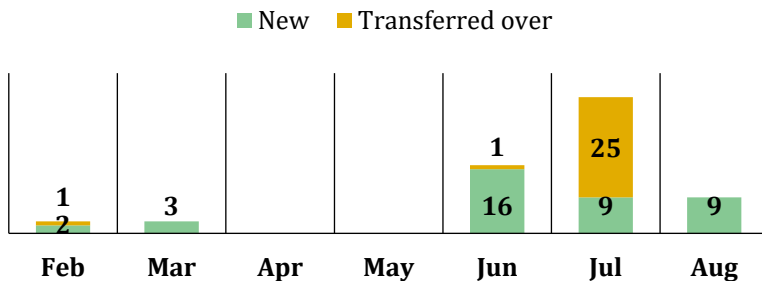
when the interests of the government were put at risk. Lack of parliamentary majority, lack of coordination of the ruling coalition partners, as well as the lack of commitment of members to work in the Assembly led to a lack of quorum and consequently to the failure of sessions or inability to make decisions.

The Assembly as institution that represents citizens and oversees the work of institutions as provided by the Constitution, is a reactive institution that tries to address issues that take place in the public debate and problems that citizens face. Decisions were often rendered impossible due to the fact that the ruling coalition did not manage to ensure parliamentary majority.

The inability to make decisions was mainly manifested with the non-participation of Members of Assembly in voting, despite the fact that there was a sufficient number of members in the Assembly hall. This strategy to obstruct decision-making has been used by both the ruling and opposition parties. Another method used to prevent decision making was abandoning the proceedings of the session.

The first plenary session in 2020 was held on February 3, 2020, which had the election of the government as item of the agenda. In the spring session, Assembly held 13 plenary sessions, whose work was extended for additional 10 days. In this period, in its sessions the Assembly listed 74 issues for consideration (8 in extraordinary sessions), and 27 items were carried over from unfinished sessions. Unlike the previous legislature, number of agenda items carried over to extended plenary sessions was significantly lower. Also, another progress of this legislature is better organization of sessions, which had smaller number of items on the agenda.

Graph 4. Number of agenda items in sessions held in the spring session 2020.



Extraordinary sessions

At the request of one or more parliamentary groups, representing at least 40 members of the Assembly, the Presidency may convene an extraordinary session to discuss an urgent matter. Among other things, a request for extraordinary session must be justified why the issue is considered pressing and important. Extraordinary sessions may also be convened by the President and the Prime Minister.

In the spring session of 2019, the Assembly held more extraordinary sessions than plenary sessions. A total of 15 extraordinary sessions were held during this year (48% of all sessions) which were mainly initiated by opposition parties. In two of the sessions, which were held on the same day, draft law on prohibition of gambling was reviewed with fast-track procedures. These sessions were convened at the request of Prime Minister Haradinaj. The Prime Minister justified his request for this session as a response to a Resolution adopted by the Assembly six days earlier, requesting the Government to initiate legal proceedings for suspending gambling activities. This was a sudden move by the Prime Minister and it may be freely said that it was a record in terms of speed with which the Government implements resolutions of the

Assembly, which are generally disregarded. The motives that prompted the Prime Minister to take such a step remain unclear.

Other sessions called by the opposition, 11 in total, mainly were of parliamentary oversight character to discuss issues such as the case of sexual harassment of a minor, Government financial expenditures in the category of unforeseen expenditure, youth migration and situation at Telekom of Kosovo. Four extraordinary sessions where voting of resolutions was foreseen, remained unfinished. These agenda items continued to be carried over from one session to another:

- Session of March 12 on the decision of the Government to allocate funds from unforeseen expenses;
- Session of March 13 on the blocking of Central Election Commission;
- Session of March 28 on the situation created in education after the decision of SBASHK to refuse compensation of classes lost during the three-week strike;
- Session of April 11 on the departure of young people from the country, as the biggest threat to the country since the end of the war;
- Session of July 1 on the current situation of Albanians in Presevo, Bujanovc and Medvedja - engagement of institutions of the Republic of Kosovo for their rights and difficulties.

Extraordinary sessions were one of the features of the Sixth Legislature, which was used as a tool by the opposition to exercise its oversight role over the Government. This has been made possible also thanks to the large number of Members of the Assembly that the opposition parties had, but it has also been used as a tactical way to emphasize to the

public the importance of issues that have been addressed. Generally, it can be said that the extraordinary sessions have been partially successful, as they were managed to be held and topics to be discussed. But they have not been completely successful as in five of them, Members of the Assembly did not adopt the proposed resolutions.

In the spring session of 2020, the Assembly held a total of 8 extraordinary sessions, which is almost half less than the same period of 2019. In two extraordinary sessions, the members had elected the Speaker of the Assembly and the Prime Minister. In three other extraordinary sessions was discussed the law on state budget.

Parliamentary oversight

Interpellations

A Parliamentary group or six or more Members of the Assembly may file a request for interpellation to debate an issue related to the work of the Government or a ministry. The work of the Assembly during an interpellation can take maximum three hours. Interpellation on the same issue may not be submitted more than twice in a calendar year.

The year 2019 was quite active for the Assembly in terms of holding interpellations, with holding 12 such sessions. Ten were addressed to the Prime Minister and two to ministries. All interpellations were held at the request of opposition parties while members of the Government have shown high readiness to respond to opposition requests for interpellation, which was not seen in previous mandates.

In the first six months of 2019, the Assembly attempted to hold three interpellations, all three at the request of PSD members:

- Interpellation with Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Mr. Skender Reçica, regarding the deaths and injuries of workers in the workplace;
- Interpellation with the Minister of Economic Development, Mr. Valdrin Lluka, regarding the establishment of the New Kosovo Energy Corporation SH. A/NKEC;
- Interpellation with the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo Mr. Ramush Haradinaj, regarding the non-definition and increase of the minimum wage in the Republic of Kosovo.

Interpellation with Minister Reçica was initiated back in 2018, but it failed to be held even during 2019. While the one

with Minister Lluka, initiated in January 2019 was held but the Assembly did not manage to vote on the draft resolution. Whereas interpellation with Ramush Haradinaj was closed with the voting of the Resolution related to non-definition and increase of the minimum wage in the Republic of Kosovo.

In the spring session of 2020, interpellations were used less by the opposition to hold cabinet members accountable. In the spring session of 2020, only one interpellation was held with the Prime Minister Hoti regarding the Kosovo-Serbia dialogue for normalization of relations. A resolution was also proposed to be adopted at this interpellation, but it was not voted by the Assembly. The interpellation was called at the request of LVV. Instead of interpellations, the Assembly was more involved in parliamentary debates, with six such debates held within this session. Parliamentary debates that were held are:

- Parliamentary debate on the announcement of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, Mr. Albin Kurti, to lift the tariff of 100%;
- Parliamentary debate on putting at risk the diplomatic relations of Republic of Kosovo with the United States of America, as a result of the negligent and not serious approach of the Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of Kosovo in relation to advice and instructions of the US representatives;
- Parliamentary debate on the resumption of the Kosovo-Serbia dialogue;
- Parliamentary debate on the management of COVID-19 pandemic;
- Parliamentary debate on the financial situation of Telekom of Kosovo;

→ Parliamentary debate on the rights of contribution-based pensioners.

Parliamentary questions

For each meeting of the Assembly, the agenda should foresee 60 minutes for parliamentary questions of Members of the Assembly. In a meeting a member can ask maximum two questions to ministers or the Prime Minister. Parliamentary questions must be submitted in advance in writing to the Assembly Table Office at least 48 hours before the session starts. If a question has not been answered within two sessions, the question will be published in the Bulletin of the Assembly and on the official website of the Assembly, while the Assembly Information Office is required to issue a Press Release within 24 hours after the second session. In addition to oral questions, Members of the Assembly may also submit written questions. The answer shall be given within two weeks from the date the question was submitted, and shall be included in the records of next plenary session of the Assembly. The list of unanswered questions within the required period of time shall be published in the Assembly bulletin and distributed to members of the Assembly.

In the first part of 2019, Members of the Assembly had the opportunity to ask oral questions in only three plenary sessions. Moreover, in one of the sessions (March 7) in which the time for parliamentary questions of the Members of the Assembly was foreseen, upon proposal of parliamentary groups of ruling parties and PSD, the agenda was amended by removing the item on parliamentary questions.

Parliamentary questions are one of the areas that was devalued in the Assembly during 2019. Members of the Government Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, were largely absent from sessions during the time Members of the Assembly were asking parliamentary questions. More than half of the Members of the Assembly questions remained

unanswered. The members of the Assembly have tried to get written answers from the Government, but even in this form they were ignored.

This behavior of the Government has greatly discouraged members of Assembly from exercising their oversight role and using parliamentary questioning mechanism. From the total number of members, only 1/4 have asked questions to the Government, while the rest did not even bother to try. In many cases, members of the Assembly have refused to read their questions at all, some of which were from previous sessions. But there were also cases when neither the member of Assembly nor the minister were present at the session.

In the Sixth Legislature it cannot be said that the Government cabinet has had a selective approach towards questions of members of the opposition parties, as the disregard happened without any exception. However, members of the Assembly who are from the ruling parties are more careful not to challenge their party ministers with questions. Mostly the questions were addressed to ministers of the coalition partner, although there are exceptions. In the past, parliamentary questions were used as a tool by members of the Assembly to give their party ministers opportunity to promote their work.

In the Seventh Legislature, under the parliamentary oversight framework, members of the Assembly submitted 71 parliamentary questions, 31 of which were from the parliamentary group of LVV, followed by PDK with 23 questions, AAK with 10 questions, LDK with 6 questions and 6+ with 1 question. Time for parliamentary questions is listed as an agenda item in only four plenary sessions.

Statements on issues that are not on the agenda

In the plenary sessions, Rules of Procedure of the Assembly have provided the time for statements of members out of the agenda. The time of discussions out of the Agenda shall be

limited to 30 minutes, the discussion on behalf of parliamentary group lasts up to five minutes, while the discussion of a member of Assembly lasts up to three minutes.

In the first part of 2019, the Assembly had three times on the agenda statements of members of Assembly. There were a total of 27 statements from 20 members, while another 100 members have not yet had statements off the agenda for this year. The members of Assembly from VV and LDK have had most statements. The first session was dominated by issues of salaries of public officials, the second by the Dukagjini highway, while the third by various infrastructural issues. The time for members' statements off the agenda was also used to make charges against members of Assembly who were followed by lawsuits in the courts, but members did not even refrain from offending their colleagues.

In the spring session 2020, the Assembly had six times on the agenda statements of the members of Assembly which is 50% more than in the same session of 2019. There were a total of 51 statements from 41 members, while another 79 members have not yet had statements off the agenda for this year. The members of Assembly from LVV and LDK had the most statements led by members of LVV (15), followed by LDK (12), PDK (11), AAK (7), and communities (3).

Supervision of the implementation of laws

Each committee, within its area of responsibility, is authorized to oversee the implementation of laws by the Government, and must report in writing and orally once a year to plenary sessions of the Assembly. Whereas, the relevant ministry shall report to the functional committee about the implementation of the law, without a request at least once every year. If ministries fail to report or if their reporting is deemed incomplete, upon the request of the committee, the issue shall be put on the agenda of the next

plenary session.

supervision of implementation of laws is one of the weakest segments of the Assembly. Although parliamentary committees foresee supervision of implementation of laws in their work plans, realization is lower. For the first part of the year, committees had a significantly better performance, as they managed to supervise implementation of six laws, reports of which were approved and forwarded for review in the Assembly session:

- Committee on Budget and Finance, to oversee the implementation of the Law on Banks, Microfinance Institutions and Non-Bank Financial Institutions;
- Committee on Human Rights, Gender Equality, Missing Persons and Petitions, to oversee the implementation of the Law on Protection against Discrimination;
- Committee for Internal Affairs, Security and Oversight of the KSF, to oversee the implementation of the Law on Police Inspectorate of Kosovo.
- Committee on Legislation, to oversee the implementation of the Law on Preventing Conflict of Interest in Exercising Public Functions.
- Committee for Supervision of Public Finances, to oversee the implementation of the Law on Internal Control of Public Finances;
- Committee for Economic Development, to oversee the implementation of the Law on Services.

There was no voting in the Assembly for the first two reports. These reports were submitted for review in the session of February 28, and since then, they have been on the agenda in four other sessions, but there has been no voting process. The other four reports, though approved by the relevant

committees, have not yet been tabled for review in the sessions of the Assembly.

The enhanced performance of committees in supervising implementation of laws has not been finalized, as reports have to be adopted by the session, which has not happened. Failure of the Assembly to hold plenary sessions has also affected the implementation of laws and has undermined the efforts of parliamentary committees.

In the spring session of 2020, the Seventh Legislature has not managed to supervise the implementation of any law.

Committees of inquiry

Committees of inquiry are used as a tool of parliamentary oversight to investigate possible abuses, mismanagement, inaction or misconduct directly involving government and state institutions. The purpose of inquiry committees is to ascertain, describe the course of events in order to clarify what happened and determine the responsibility of those involved.

In 2010, the Assembly of Kosovo adopted the Law on Parliamentary Inquiry, which aims to regulate the functioning of committees of inquiry established by the Assembly. This law stipulates that committees scope of action must not prevent the activity of other bodies.

Establishment of an inquiry committee may be initiated by six members of Assembly, a standing parliamentary committee and one third of Members of the Assembly. In case a request for establishment of a committee is submitted by one third of the members, the Assembly must establish the committee in the plenary session for the requested issue. If the request comes from a number of members that do not constitute one third of members of the Assembly, then establishment of the committee will be decided by a simple majority of votes of Members of the Assembly. The mandate

to investigate a case is six months within which the Committee must submit a final report.

In the past five legislatures, the Assembly established a total of three committees of inquiry:

- Committees of inquiry on the March riots, established in 2004. The committee failed to complete the investigation and prepare a report.
- Committee of inquiry on the findings of the Auditor General for 2005 for the Assembly, established in 2006. The Committee prepared a report which was approved by the Assembly in the session held on 22.02.2007.
- Committee of Inquiry to investigate the costs of electricity bills, established in 2013.

While in the sixth legislature alone, four committees of inquiry were established, three of which only in 2018. The large number of committees of inquiry in this legislature should be seen as a positive trend, since through them the Assembly has managed to strengthen its supervisory role, which despite internal obstructions and sabotage, produced findings about heads of institutions in cases for which parliamentary investigations were conducted. Although there were tendencies to degrade this role, with initiatives for establishing committees of inquiry on issues that were already being dealt with by justice institutions.

Committee of Inquiry to clarify the case of deportation of six Turkish nationals

The work of the committee on the case of deportation of Turkish citizens faced internal sabotage. Moreover, the chairperson and deputy chairperson of this committee filed a lawsuit against the Presidency of the Assembly accusing it for obstructing the committee in fulfilling its legal mandate, by not allowing the committee to extend the mandate as defined

by law.²⁵ After international reactions, the committee resumed work, where after many refusals, President Thaçi responded to the invitation from the committee to testify about his involvement in this case. Although he appeared physically, the President did not provide any information contesting the selection of the expert by the committee. In this meeting, members of the Assembly but also the President himself got involved in insults, threats and accusations.²⁶ The report of the committee was approved by the Assembly on June 24, 2019, which found that the deportation of Turkish nationals was unlawful, in contravention with laws, the Constitution and international conventions. The Committee found 31 violations in this case which were also deposited with the Special Prosecution.

Committee of inquiry into appointments of senior civil servants in the State Administration of the Republic of Kosovo

The purpose of the committee of inquiry on appointments of senior civil servants in the State Administration was to investigate whether the professional capacity of public institutions for appointments to senior positions in the civil service has improved, and to see if legal procedures were applied for the approved list of positions according to the memorandum agreed between the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and British Embassy in Kosovo. The committee did not hold any meeting failing without even starting the work.

Committee of inquiry into lobbying expenses made

²⁵ The committee of inquiry does not have to whom to present the report on deportation of Turkish nationals. *Koha.net*. Accessed on 25.06.2019 at: <https://www.koha.net/arberi/146017/komisioni-hetimor-ska-kujt-tia-paraqese-raportin-per-debimin-e-shtetasve-turq/>

²⁶ Thaçi's testimony to the Committee for deportation of Turkish citizens ends, the result is zero, *Koha.net*. Accessed on 25.06.2019 at: <https://www.koha.net/arberi/159351/thaci-kerkon-te-intervistohet-per-debimin-e-shtetasve-turq-pa-pranine-e-mediave/>

by the Office of the President and Government of the Republic of Kosovo

The Committee of inquiry into lobbying expenses made by the Office of the President and the Government completed the report in December 2018, but the report was not voted by the Assembly and ended up being transferred from one session to another. The Committee concluded that the two state institutions, the Office of the President and the Government, should be investigated by justice authorities due to the obstructions they encountered while investigating the lobbying contracts.²⁷

Committee of inquiry into the situation in PTK and Vala

The committee on the situation in PTK and Vala was the only committee that continued its work even after the resignation of the Prime Minister. A large number of witnesses, including former PTK managers, businessmen and experts, were called to testify. Despite this, the committee stated that only 30% of the planned witnesses were interviewed.²⁸ The committee agreed to produce a draft report on the work done so far, and forward it to the next legislature, as the investigation conducted so far is insufficient and the report with current data would be incomplete. The chairperson of this committee, inter alia, stated that the six-month mandate makes it impossible to investigate such a big issue and so spread out over time and in different institutions.²⁹

²⁷ The Office of the President and the Government hide lobbying contracts. *Koha.net*. Accessed on 26.06.2019 at: <https://www.koha.net/arberi/133422/presidenca-e-qeveria-fshehin-kontratet-per-lobim/>

²⁸ PTK parliamentary inquiry remains halfway. *Koha Ditore*, page 1. Published on: 08.08.2019.

²⁹ Ibid.

Since the establishment of committees of inquiry was not often practiced by the Assembly of Kosovo, with the exception of this legislature, many shortcomings were highlighted during this period, both in the legal framework and in the lack of experience of members of Assembly to conduct proper investigations. In many cases members of Assembly did not have the necessary experience and preparation to face witnesses. Another challenge encountered by committees of inquiry was internal sabotage by ruling parties. The effect of these committees remains to be seen in the future, which largely depends on actions of justice institutions to proceed further with investigations. And, there was no political sanctioning that can be manifested with dismissals or resignations of persons who are found guilty.

In the spring session 2020, the Assembly established two committees of inquiry:

- Parliamentary committee of inquiry into the management of COVID-19 pandemic by the Government of the Republic of Kosovo;
- Parliamentary committee of inquiry into privatization process in Kosovo.

Ad hoc committees

At the time of dissolution of the Sixth Legislature, the Assembly also had three ad-hoc committees, which failed to complete their mandate:

- Ad-hoc committee for drafting the Code on the regulation and management of pensions and social security benefits;
- Ad-hoc committee for improving and strengthening the electoral process;

→ Ad-hoc committee for preparing a draft resolution on genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes in Kosovo.

No ad hoc committee was established in spring working session of 2020 of the Seventh Legislature.

Public Hearings

For the purpose of obtaining information on a subject that is being debated, a committee may hold public hearings with experts, public organizations, representatives of interest groups and other persons.

In the spring session of 2019, parliamentary committees organized a total of 11 public hearings to review draft laws, of which four public hearings were under activities to supervise implementation of laws. Half of the 14 parliamentary committees have organized public hearings. The Committee on Legislation leads with three public hearings organized within the first seven months of 2019.

Table 1. Public hearings organized by parliamentary committees for 2019.

Committee on Legislation	Public discussion on the out-of-the country voting procedures
	Public hearing on the supervision of implementation of the Law No. 06/L-011 on Prevention of Conflict of Interest in Exercising Public Function.
	Public hearing on the Draft Code of Criminal Procedure No.06/L-151 and the Draft Law No. 06/L-140 on the Execution of Criminal Sanctions.
Committee on Foreign Affairs	Public hearing on the Draft Law No. 06/L-148 on Diaspora.

Committee on Education	Public hearing on the supervision of implementation of the Law on Cultural Heritage
Committee for Economic Development	Supervision of implementation of the Law on Services Public hearing on the supervision of implementation of the Law on Electricity
Committee on Health	Public hearing on the Draft Law on Labour Public Hearing on the Draft Law Amending and Supplementing the Law No. 04/L-008 on Economic and Social Council.
Committee on Public Administration	Public hearing on the amendment of the Draft Law on Kosovo Public Broadcaster/ RTK.
Committee on Human Rights	Public hearing on the supervision of implementation of the Law No.05/L-20 on Gender Equality

Only one public hearing was held in the spring session of 2020, organized by the Committee on Health and Social Welfare to discuss the Draft Law on Prevention and Combating the COVID-19 Pandemic.

Parliamentary oversight:

Identification of the issue	Causes	Solution
Absences of members in sessions	Poor session planning. Non-functioning of parliamentary groups	Heads of parliamentary groups of the ruling parties should commit to having members in sessions. While Presidency of the

		<p>Assembly should set and adhere to a plan of plenary sessions;</p> <p>The Presidency of the Assembly should provide financial sanctions for members who do not participate in the work of the Assembly.</p>
<p>Non-participation of Members of Assembly in the voting</p>	<p>The inability of the majority to secure the quorum</p> <p>Inability to foresee voting time</p>	<p>Increase the discipline within parliamentary groups</p> <p>Fixed voting time</p>
<p>Accumulation of many agenda items <i>(applies to Legislature VI)</i></p>	<p>Shortcomings in the Rules of Procedure</p>	<p>The Speaker and the Presidency of the Assembly should schedule regular sessions and follow the practice of holding sessions on Thursdays, and plan and publish a biweekly activity calendar.</p> <p>The Rules of Procedure of the Assembly should prohibit convening new sessions, without finishing the review of all</p>

		items that are opened.
Use of non-parliamentary language	Non-parliamentary language is tolerated by Chair of Assembly sessions.	The Rules of Procedure of the Assembly must be respected in terms of the conduct of sessions. Sanctioning measures should be taken against members who use non-parliamentary language. The new Rules of Procedure should also provide for measures of financial sanctions in cases of use of non-parliamentary, offensive or threatening language which is prohibited by the Rules of Procedure. This measure can be provided for in the Code of Ethics of Members of the Assembly, which should also be upgraded.
Low number of parliamentary questions	The government does not respond to parliamentary questions;	Members of the Assembly should use all legal mechanisms at their

Parliamentary questions are made by a small group of Members of the Assembly;

Members of the Assembly are not in session to ask the parliamentary question.

disposal to force members of the government cabinet to be responsive to parliamentary questions. In this regard, members of the Assembly can file a motion of no confidence in an individual member of the Government, as provided in Article 100.6 of the Constitution.

The Assembly may consider financial sanctioning or removing the right to ask questions for some sessions, for members who have submitted parliamentary questions and are not in the session to ask it.

Supervision of implementation of laws

In the sixth legislature, committees have conducted a considerable number of activities to supervise implementation of laws, but reports were not put to a

The Assembly should adopt the principles of supervision of implementation of laws; committees should harmonize formats and methodology, public relations office

	<p>vote in the session.</p> <p>Members of the Assembly are not motivated in activities to supervise implementation of laws as they require high commitment and there is little promotion.</p>	<p>should promote these activities of committees</p>
<p>Ineffective committees of inquiry</p>	<p>Ruling parties sabotage parliamentary investigations</p>	<p>Better preparation of Members of Assembly to conduct investigations, provide professional support to members of Assembly, upgrade the law on parliamentary inquiry.</p>
<p>Absences, delays, members do not stay to the end of committee meetings</p>	<p>Participation of members of the Assembly in more than one parliamentary committee, mainly from small parliamentary groups, lack of commitment to work in committees where visibility is</p>	<p>Parliamentary committees must coordinate the days when they hold their meetings. Members who are on more than one committee should plan better their agenda, requesting chairpersons not to table meetings at</p>

lower.

the same time.

The information office of the Assembly should present more activities of members in committees. This can also be done through social media pages of the Assembly.

Lawmaking

In exercising its legislative role, the Assembly of Kosovo reviews and adopts draft laws. In addition to the adoption of laws, the Assembly also adopts the Constitution, resolutions, declarations, other general acts and ratifies international treaties.

In the beginning of each calendar year, the Government submits to the Assembly the Legislative Program which provides for all draft laws that are planned to be submitted to the Assembly by all ministries and Office of the Prime Minister. The Assembly incorporates this program into its legislative plan, supplementing it with legal initiatives of the Assembly or other sponsors as provided by law.

Fulfilling the legislative agenda is more a responsibility of the majority. It would be attributed to the legislature as a failure if it could not review the draft laws submitted by the Government. Failure of the Government to send draft laws to the Assembly, in the foreseen number and time, is a failure that should be attributed to the Government and not the Assembly.

Laws

The Presidency of the Assembly has the obligation to prepare the Assembly Work Program, which is sent to the session for adoption. Until August when the Sixth Legislature was dissolved, the Assembly did not manage to adopt the Work Program for 2019, thus performing the work without a program. Whereas, Government Legislative Program for 2019 had foreseen the adoption of 75 draft laws, 54 (72%) of which were new draft laws, 21 (28%) were draft laws that were planned to be supplemented/ amended. In addition to these draft laws, ratification of three international agreements, two new ones and one amendment/supplement was planned. Ministry of Justice leads with the number of

draft laws with a total of 11, followed by Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning with 8 and Ministry of Finance with 7 draft laws. Out of the total number of draft laws, 37 are planned to be sent to the Assembly by the end of June, while the Government has submitted to the Assembly only 9 draft laws in this period.

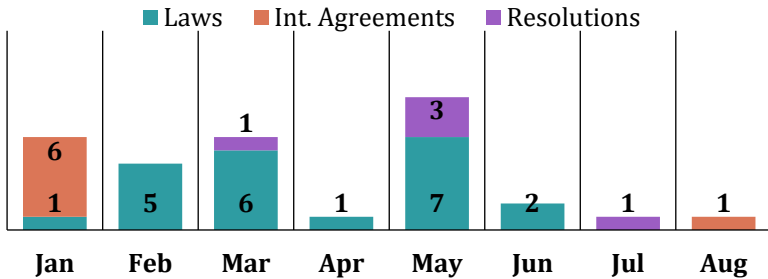
In the period between January and August 2019, Assembly adopted 29 laws, 14 of which were new laws and 8 amendments/ supplements to the existing laws. In this period, 7 international agreements have been ratified.

The Law on State Delegation in the Dialogue Process was declared incompatible with the Constitution, while the Law on Freedom of Association of NGOs was returned by the President for a third reading. Two of the adopted laws have been adopted through fast-track procedures.

On June 25, the Government withdrew the Draft Law on Financing of Political Entities, as its version submitted to the Assembly had undergone many changes which damaged the spirit of the law. This had caused numerous reactions from non-governmental organizations and foreign embassies represented in Kosovo, which demanded the withdrawal of the law.³⁰

³⁰ The Government withdraws the Draft Law on Financing of Political Entities. *Office of the Prime Minister*. Accessed on 25.06.2019 at: <http://kryeministri-ks.net/qeveria-terheq-projektligjin-per-financimin-e-subjekteve-politike-dhe-miraton-nismen-per-marreshjen-financiare-per-sigurimin-e-grantit-financiar-ne-shumen-prej-95-milione-euro-me-banken-gjermane-kf/>

Graph 5. Adoption of laws, international agreements and resolutions in 2019

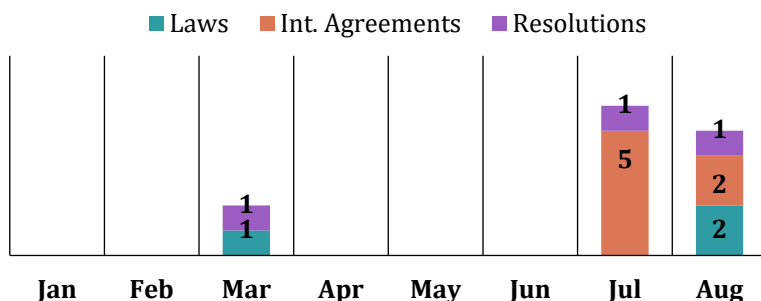


The Kurti Government did not manage to submit the Legislative Program for 2020 to the Assembly within its short mandate, as in March it faced a motion of no confidence. Whereas the Hoti Government adopted the Legislative Program on June 15, 2020, which envisages submission of 129 draft laws to the Assembly by the end of the year. There were 29 draft laws that were supposed to be submitted by the Government to the Assembly by August 14, when the works of the spring session were completed. Ministry of Finance has foreseen the biggest number of draft laws in the Government Legislative Program for 2020, 26 in total, followed by Ministry of Justice with 19 and Ministry of Economy and Environment with 17. In the spring session, the Assembly did not adopt its work plan, despite the fact that Rules of Procedure provide for such a thing.

In the 2020 spring session, the Assembly adopted ten laws, seven of which were for ratification of international agreements, two budget laws and a law on pandemic. Five of the ten adopted laws were processed in the Assembly through fact-track procedures. In the review procedure in the Assembly, at the time of closing the spring session on August 14, 2020, 13 other draft laws were submitted to the Assembly which failed to be reviewed. Most of these draft laws were initiated by the parliamentary groups themselves, more

precisely eight of them, whereas five were draft laws submitted by the government. The adoption of only three laws, excluding international agreements, is a significantly less effective period compared to the previous session of the previous year when 22 laws were adopted. However, one should take into consideration that in 2020 the Government was elected in March and for two more months functioned as caretaker government, and the country faced the COVID-19 pandemic.

Graph 6. Adoption of laws, international agreements and resolutions in 2020



Deadlines for reviewing draft laws

The entire procedure foreseen in the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly for reviewing draft laws from the date they are received to the second reading, should take about three to four months. Deadlines and procedures through which a draft law must pass in the Assembly before it becomes a law are as follows:

- Upon receiving the draft law, in the first regular meeting the Presidency of the Assembly is required to assign one of the Assembly committees as a functional-reporting committee for reviewing the draft law in principle.

- The functional-reporting committee reviews the draft law in principle and submits the report to the Assembly to approve or not approve the draft law in principle. First reading of draft law shall take place no earlier than two working weeks and no later than four working weeks, from the day of its distribution.
- Following the adoption in the first reading, members of the Assembly, parliamentary group, parliamentary committee, and the Government, within two working weeks from the adoption in principle may submit amendments.
- Standing committees shall present their reports to the functional committee within ten working days from the day of receiving amendments from the functional-reporting committee.
- Functional-reporting committee shall present to the Assembly the report with recommendations on the draft law within two months from the first reading.
- In special cases, committee may request from the Assembly an extension of the deadline for submitting the report of up to one month.

Draft laws in parliamentary procedure

At the time of dissolution of the Sixth Legislature, 45 draft laws out of 46 legal initiatives remained in the review procedure (for the Draft Law on Vehicles there are two different initiatives by the members), three of which are international agreements. Out of the total number of draft laws remaining in the procedure, 22 have already been adopted in the first reading, while seven others were not even distributed to Members of the Assembly.

The draft law on religious freedoms in Kosovo was

distributed to members of the Assembly since 2017, another 25 draft laws were distributed from 2018, and 13 draft laws were distributed in 2019. All unfinished work of the Assembly shall be considered completed.

Table 1. Draft laws that have been in the procedure in the Assembly for over a year

Draft law	Time elapsed from the date of distribution to Members of the Assembly
Draft Law on A/S of the Law on Religious Freedom in Kosovo	21 months
Draft Law on Mines and Minerals	17 months
Draft Law on Amnesty	15 months
Draft Law on Microfinance Institutions and Non-Bank Financial Institutions	14 months
Draft Law on A/S the Law on Vehicles	13 months

Five draft laws were in parliamentary procedure for more than a year, which has undermined the efficiency of the Assembly in dealing with laws. While on the one hand the Assembly has delayed the review of draft laws, on the other hand it approved draft laws in extraordinary sessions through fast-track procedures. The Law on Child Protection has been in procedure for more than a year, and it was adopted in an extraordinary session which was called to review a completely different draft law.

International agreements

Ratification of international agreements is a competence of the Assembly pursuant to the Constitution, and is regulated by the Law on International Agreements. Ratification of international agreements by the Assembly is challenging as it requires two thirds (2/3) of the votes of all members of the Assembly. The Assembly ratifies international agreements on the following issues:

- *territory, peace, alliances, political and military issues;*
- *fundamental rights and freedoms;*
- *membership of the Republic of Kosovo in international organizations;*
- *taking financial obligations by the Republic of Kosovo.*

In the first session of 2019, six international agreements were ratified:

- Law on Ratification of the Loan Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and Unicredit Bank Austria AG on the Wastewater Removal System Project for the Municipality of Podujeva;
- Law on ratification of the Agreement on co-financing of scholarships at the level of master studies between the French Embassy in Prishtina and Ministry of Education, Science and Technology;
- Law on Ratification of the Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and Raiffeisen Bank International AG on the Project for Construction of a Drinking Water Supply System for the Municipality of Ferizaj;
- Law on Ratification of the Loan Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and Unicredit Bank Austria AG on

funding a Project on the Construction of Sewerage System for the Municipality of Shtime;

- Law on ratification of the Loan Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and Unicredit Bank Austria AG as a lender about funding a Project on construction of water supply system for Municipality of Gracanica;
- Law on Ratification of the Loan Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and Unicredit Bank Austria AG on funding the Water Supply Construction Project for Istog Municipality.

The seventh international agreement in 2019 was ratified on the day of dissolution of the Assembly, which relates to the Financial Agreement for IPA 2018 between Kosovo and European Union. In fact, this is the only issue that all parliamentary groups have agreed to discuss in the plenary session after the resignation of Prime Minister Haradinaj, which is an indicator of cross-party support that generally exists for international agreements. Only one of the seven agreements ratified in 2019 got three abstaining votes and no vote was against. An international agreement was withdrawn by the Government in plenary session, while another has not been adopted. The review of international agreements has been more of a formality, as in these sessions Members of the Assembly have decided to go straight to voting without a need for a debate.

International agreements ratified by the Assembly **in the 2020 spring session** are:

- Financing Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and the International Development Association for the Financial Sector Strengthening Project

- Loan Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the Wastewater Development Project in Gjilan
- Agreement between the European Union and Republic of Kosovo on Kosovo's participation in the Union Program "Fiscalis 2020"
- Agreement for financing the Project for real estate cadastre and geospatial infrastructure between the Republic of Kosovo and International Development Association
- Agreement between the European Union and Republic of Kosovo on Kosovo's participation in the Union Program "Customs 2020"
- Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and International Development Association regarding the financing of the Emergency Project COVID -19 for Kosovo
- Loan agreement between the European Union and Kosovo for macro-financial assistance to Kosovo

The first five international agreements listed above ran into difficulties to be voted by the Assembly as members of opposition parties did not participate in voting, thus making it impossible to have the quorum of 80 votes required for ratification of international agreements. These agreements were mainly of a financial nature which would help Kosovo cope with the health and economic situation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. According to an assessment of Ministry of Finance, the value of these agreements is 253 million Eur.³¹ All five international agreements were ratified by the Assembly in the session held on July 23, 2020, in the fourth

³¹ "Assembly without quorum for ratification of international financial agreements". Radio Free Europe. Accessed at: <https://www.evropaelire.org/a/30715883.html>

attempt.

Resolutions

Among competencies provided to the Assembly pursuant to the Constitution is the adoption of resolutions along with laws and other general acts.³² Whereas, in the general principles of the Government, the Constitution sets obligations of the Government related to acts adopted by the Assembly, distinguishing legal acts in the form of law, and all other legal acts adopted by the Assembly.³³ In this context, apart from laws, Government is required to implement all other acts regardless of their legal form, including resolutions, and there is no room in authority for them to escape from such an obligation.

In 2019, the Assembly has managed to adopt five resolutions, which is a significantly smaller number compared to last year where the Assembly adopted 15 resolutions.

- Resolution on the suspension of gambling activities, at the request of all parliamentary groups;
- Resolution on the non-definition and increase of the minimum wage in the Republic of Kosovo, at the request of PSD
- Resolution on establishment of the Courage Corner, at the request of the AAK;
- Resolution on the genocide committed by Serbs in Kosovo, at the request of the ad-hoc commission; and
- Resolution on the abolition of monopoly on vehicle homologation services, at the request of LDK and VV.

The resolution on prohibition of gambling was implemented

³² The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 65.1

³³ Ibid, Article 92.3

by the Government by using fast-track procedures to initiate the draft law on prohibition of gambling activities. It remains to be seen whether the Government and the Assembly will take actions to implement the other resolutions.

Ten other resolutions proposed in parliamentary debates were not voted in the Assembly, mainly due to non-participation of Members of the Assembly in voting or the lack of quorum. These draft resolutions are:

- Draft resolution from the debate on failures and scandals in the foreign policy of the Republic of Kosovo;
- Draft resolution from the parliamentary debate on efforts of the President of Kosovo to include "exchange of territories" or "correction of borders" in the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia;
- Draft resolution from the parliamentary debate on the failures of the ruling coalition, which culminated with non-liberalization of visas;
- Draft resolution from the parliamentary debate on decisions of the Government Kosovo to allocate funds under unforeseen expenditures;
- Draft resolution from the parliamentary debate regarding the blocking of the Central Election Commission by the President;
- Draft resolution from the parliamentary debate on the situation created in education following the decision of SBASHK to refuse compensation of classes lost during the three-week strike;
- Draft resolution from the parliamentary debate on the departure of young people from the country, as the biggest threat to the country since the end of the war;

- Draft-resolution from the parliamentary debate regarding the rights of contribution-based pensioners;
- Draft resolution from the parliamentary debate regarding the failure to implement the judgment of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Kosovo;
- Draft resolution from parliamentary debate on the current situation of Albanians in Presheva, Bujanovc and Medvedja - engagement of institutions of the Republic of Kosovo for their rights and difficulties.

As it can be seen above, the Assembly has mainly adopted resolutions which were initiated or in which they had the support of parliamentary groups of the ruling parties, while those proposed by the parliamentary groups of opposition were not adopted. The large number of un-adopted resolutions, in addition of consuming the time of Members of the Assembly to draft resolutions, also parliamentary debates on these topics were held without an epilogue.

In the spring session 2020, the Assembly adopted three resolutions, including the Resolution on the Kosovo-Serbia dialogue, Resolution on the rights of contribution-based pensioners, and Resolution on political unity for the protection of values of the Kosovo people.

In addition to the adoption of these three resolutions, opposition parties also tried to vote on the other five resolutions, but they did not pass. The following resolutions were not voted in the Assembly:

- Draft-resolution on application of reciprocity in trade relations;
- Draft-resolution on establishing a platform for dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia;

- Draft resolution on the financial situation in Telekom of Kosovo;
- Draft-resolution on voting the law on the COVID-19 pandemic;
- Draft-resolution with recommendations regarding the management of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The first four resolutions listed above were proposed by LVV, and the last one by PDK.

Lawmaking:

Identification of the issue	Causes	Solution
Failure to fulfill the legislative agenda	Non-compliance with the deadlines by the Government for submission of draft laws; Lack of parliamentary majority to vote on Government draft laws;	The government needs to be more realistic in planning the legislative program; It must adhere to certain deadlines. The Assembly should draft monthly plans and coordinate with the Government regarding draft laws that are planned to be submitted to the Assembly for review; The heads of parliamentary groups should be engaged so that their members would participate in sessions.
Failure to implement resolutions	Resolutions passed by the Assembly are often vague and fall outside its mandate.	The Assembly should follow a clear format of drafting resolutions which clearly describes actions of institutions which are required to implement them, and measures that should be taken. European Parliament

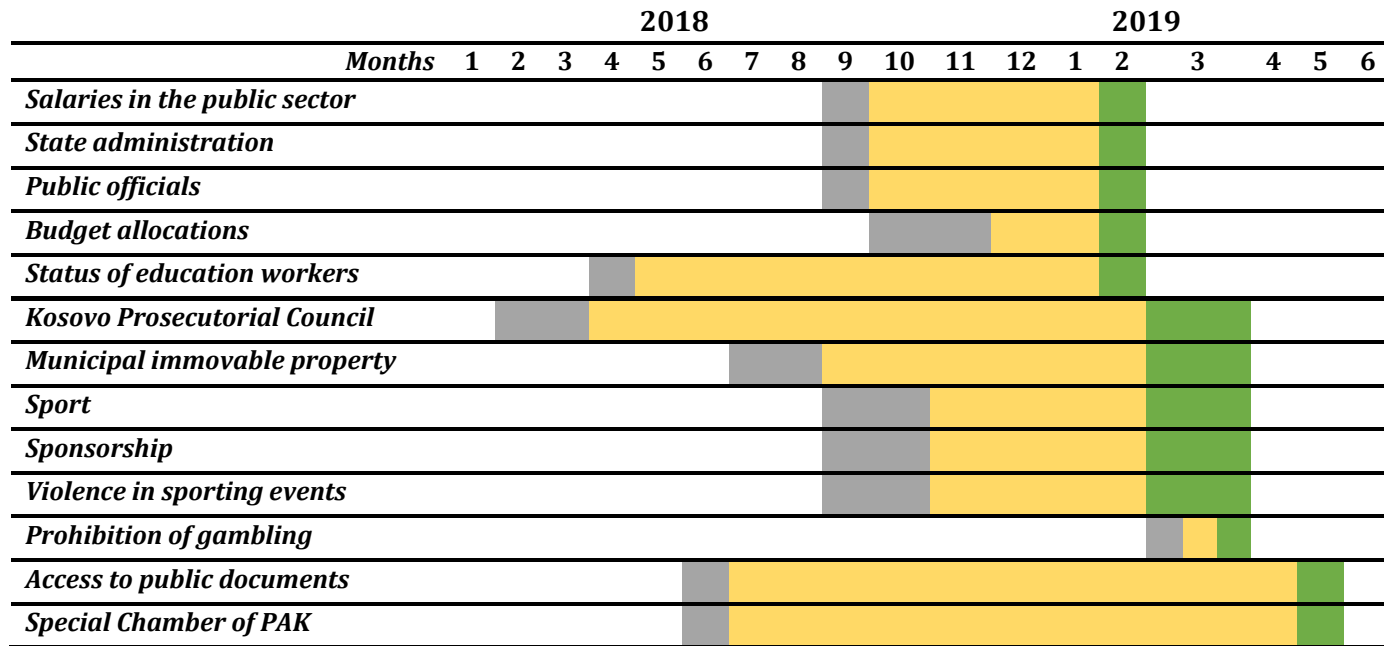
		resolutions could be taken as a good model.
Laws with conflicting provisions between them	Amendment of draft laws in the plenary session during the second reading.	The Speaker of the Assembly should uphold the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly and not allow amending of draft laws during the second reading in the session
Draft laws not adopted within legal deadlines	Negligence in the work of committees	Upholding deadlines for reviewing draft laws as provided in the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly; Heads of parliamentary groups should engage in reaching a political consensus among themselves; Presidency of the Assembly should list in the agenda draft laws for review; Rules of Procedure of the Assembly should not allow to move to new items on the agenda, without closing the previous ones.
Public	The outbreak of	The Assembly should

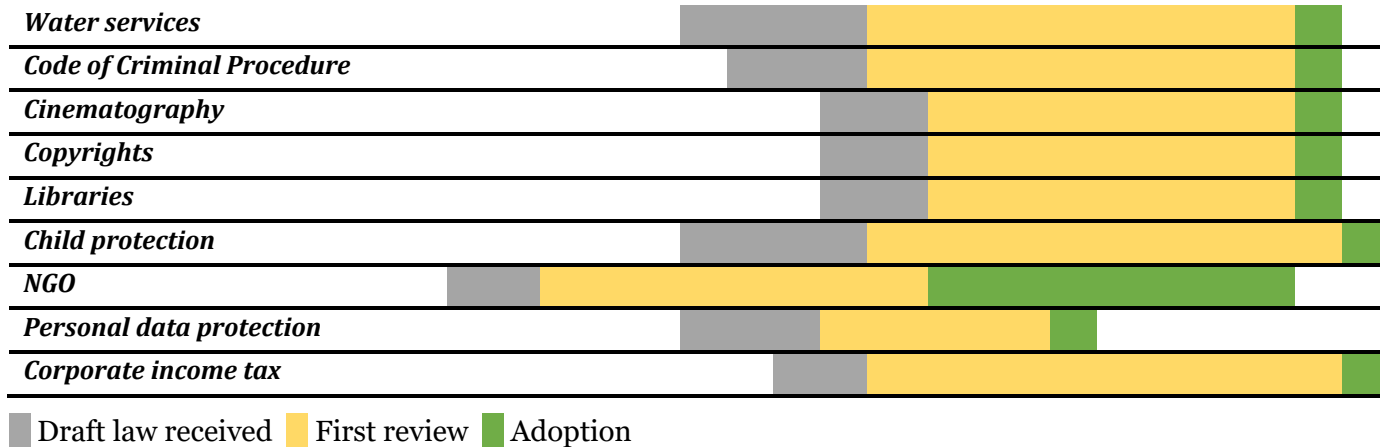
consultations

pandemic has made it difficult to organize public consultations on draft laws that were under review in Assembly.

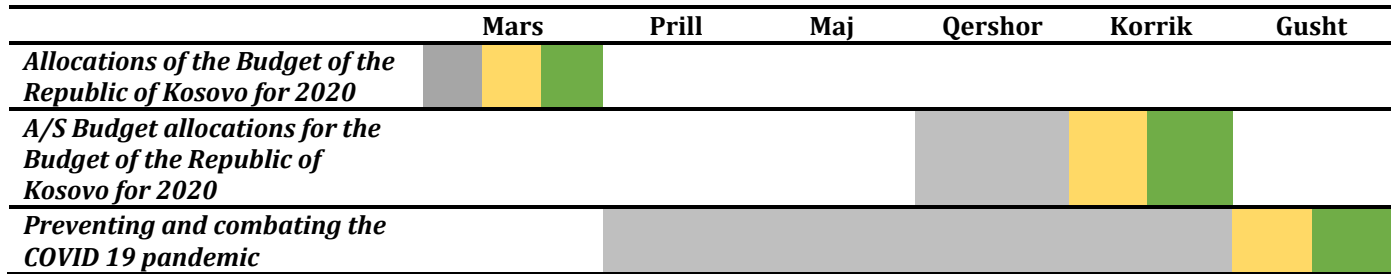
use online platforms to organize public consultations.

Annex 1: time period for review and adoption of laws in the spring session of 2019 (sixth legislature)





Annex 2: time period for review and adoption of laws in the spring session of 2020 (seventh legislature)



■ Draft law received ■ First review ■ Adoption

Annex 3. review of international agreements in the assembly in the spring session of 2020

	Prill	Maj	Qershor	Korrik	Gusht
<i>Financing Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and International Development Association for Financial Sector Strengthening Project</i>					
<i>Loan Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the Wastewater Development Project in Gjilan</i>					
<i>Agreement between the European Union and Republic of Kosovo on Kosovo's participation in the Union Program "Fiscalis 2020"</i>					
<i>Agreement for financing the Project for real estate cadastre and geospatial infrastructure between the Republic of Kosovo and International Development Association</i>					
<i>Agreement between the European Union and Republic of Kosovo on Kosovo's participation in the Union Program "Customs 2020"</i>					

Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and International Development Association regarding the financing of the Emergency Project COVID -19 for Kosovo

Loan agreement between the European Union and Kosovo for macro-financial assistance to Kosovo

■ Draft law received ■ Adoption



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