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The scientific journal is published since 2011 at the "Publishing House "Science Today". Translated (eng.) version of the journal is published since 2016. Since its inception, the journal was guided by high scientific and ethical standards and today it is one of the leading political science journals in Russia.

The purpose of the journal is to promote scientific exchange and cooperation between Russian and foreign political scientists.

The journal is intended for the publication of the results of fundamental and applied scientific research. Thematic focus of the journal is reflected in the following permanent headings: "History and philosophy of politics," "Political institutions, processes and technologies," "Political regionalism and ethno-politics," "Political culture and ideologies," "Political problems of international relations and globalization."

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SPECIFICS OF FOREIGN AND RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE IN FINANCING POLITICAL PARTIES

The purpose of this article is to examine the specifics of election campaign financing in Europe and Russia. The article considers legal basis of financing in the Russian legislation and analyses financing in a number of foreign countries.

Key words: *the electoral process, financing of parties, financing of the electoral process, Europe, EU.*

In the modern world, candidates running for parliaments or post of the president often face such a problem as campaign financing. This is because elections are very expensive, both for the state and for the candidates. High-quality campaigning by a candidate is impossible without campaign finance in the run-up to the election. Based on the above, it can be understood that the main component of the election campaign is fundraising.

The peculiarity of financing both political life and election campaigns abroad is that it is regulated by special legislation. To prove this, it is enough to recall the Austrian law “On the tasks of financing and election campaigning for political parties” (1975).

Based on a number of past elections, it can be concluded that the Russian Federation did not have a legal framework for election financing during the period when the Communist ideology was replaced by democratic values.

To date, with the adoption of a number of legislative acts establishing the constitutional rights of citizens to elect and be elected, election financing has become a special subject of legislative regulation at the federal and regional levels [2. P. 17-20]. These normative acts with chapters on election financing, include: Federal Law No. 138-FZ of 26.11.1996 (as amended on 09.11.2009) “On Ensuring the Constitutional Rights of Citizens of the Russian Federation to Elect and be Elected to Local Self-Government Bodies” [3]; Federal Law No. 67-FZ of 12.06.2002 (as amended on 03.12.2012) “On Basic Guarantees of Electoral Rights and the Right to Participate in a Referendum of Citizens of the Rus-

sian Federation” [6]; Law of the Stavropol Territory No. 68-KZ of 27.07.2006 (as amended on 20.10.2011) “On the Election of Deputies of the Duma of the Stavropol Territory”; Federal law No. 51-FZ of 18.05.2005 (as amended on 02.05.2012) “On the Election of Deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation” [4].

The main focus during elections in the Russian Federation is on “the Formation of the Electoral Fund of Candidates and its Expenditure.” In accordance with the Federal Law “On Presidential Elections of the Russian Federation,” the total spending from the candidate’s election fund may not exceed 400 million rubles and the maximum spending of a candidate running in the second round of voting may not exceed 500 million rubles.

The election fund of a candidate running for the post of the President of the Russian Federation is formed from the following monetary assets:

- the candidate’s own funds, the amount of which may not exceed 10 percent of the total spending of the said candidate’s election fund or 15 percent for the candidates taking part in the second round;
- the funds allocated to a candidate by the political party that nominated him/her, the amount of which may not exceed 50 percent of the total spending of the said candidate;
- voluntary donations from individuals and legal entities, the amount of which may not exceed 1.5 percent and 7 percent, respectively, of the total spending of the said candidate’s election fund.

In order to finance the election campaign to the State Duma, political parties must take into account the following requirements in accordance with the Federal Law “On the Elections of Deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation”:

- 1) electoral funds of political parties shall be created at the expense of:
 - a) internal funds of the political party owned by it, but such funds shall sum up to no more than fifty per cent of the maximum amount (in accordance with this Federal Law);
 - b) donations of citizens and legal entities (they may amount to respectively 0.07 and 3.5 per cent of the maximum spending);
- 2) the maximum amount of all spending from the electoral funds of political parties shall not exceed 700 million rubles;
- 3) electoral funds of regional chapters of political parties shall be created exclusively at the expense of [10]:
 - a) internal funds of the political party (but not the funds in the electoral fund of the political party) which shall sum up to no more than fifty per cent of:
 - b) voluntary donations of citizens and legal entities.

It should be noted that the maximum spending set in the electoral legislation may be small. This is due to the fact that for better party “advertising” using PR technologies and other tools to promote campaigning, more money is needed than

those provided for in the electoral legislation. Because of all this, candidates have to resort to “black financing” of elections, that is, candidates pay from election funds only for the expenses that are easily verified by the election commissions.

The so-called soft money plays a great role in the federal election campaigns. This is money spent outside the limits of restrictions and prohibitions provided for by the electoral law. This money is not intended for this purpose, but is used in this way. These funds are given to political parties established at the level of the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Control over the electoral process by the state is an urgent problem today (i.e., the manifestation of political extremism). The main example of this is financial assistance to Russian public organizations from abroad.

The greatest threat during the election process is to damage the integrity and sovereignty of Russia and incite racial, national or social hatred through the media.

Due to the growing public demand for information, the security services of some countries may misinform the public with false information to support candidates with extremist goals. An example of such interference is the interference in the 2000 Yugoslav Presidential election, as well as support for the opposition in the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential election.

Financing of political parties in foreign countries. In *France*, the system of state funding of political parties is in effect, but since 1995 donations from legal entities have been prohibited. The amount of donations from individuals has been cut down.

If we consider *the UK*, we can say that there is no state funding for parties. There is also a law providing that all subsidies to the party funds exceeding five thousand pounds must be made public.

In *Germany*, there is also a system of state funding for political parties – for every vote received by a party that overcame the half-percent barrier in the elections, the state pays 1 Euro once.

In *Italy*, the system of state funding for parties depends on the results of elections. Donations from the trade unions, corporations, and foreign organizations are also allowed.

In *Sweden*, government funding is allowed, but anonymous donations are prohibited.

In *Belgium*, the state also finances political parties. However, if parties demonstrate “hostility to human rights,” funding is stopped.

In *Spain*, political parties are funded from the state budget, as well as by the donations from their supporters. Foreign donations and contributions from Spanish businesses and companies are prohibited.

In the *Czech Republic*, the state can help parties financially. However, their financial statements should not be published.

Poland has a differentiated concept of public financing, depending on the results of the previous elections. Foreign donations are also prohibited.

Despite certain differences due to various socio-political concepts of foreign countries, the most pressing issues of the election financing can be identified as follows: what are the opportunities of participants in the electoral process to use them? how and in what way are election funds created? who controls the legality of all operations on the money collection and spending?

Fundraising is the most important and main issue without which it is impossible to hold elections. The system of financing the electoral process with public funds and private donations has undergone significant changes.

Depending on the answers to these and other questions, an assessment of the political institutions in various states is formed, in particular, in terms of their corruption.

In those countries where the concept of state subsidizing of the majority of political party expenditures has prevailed, the question of the optimal model of state participation remains on the agenda. Such participation in the election financing is carried out in two directions: support for candidates or political parties.

State involvement in the financing of elections. Legislation on elections, as well as on political parties, indicates a serious victory for the supporters of the state “involvement” in the process of formation of political institutions.

The electoral process in most foreign countries is funded by public funds and private donations. Data on the participation of the state in the electoral process indicate an increasing degree of the government “involvement” in the process of financing political institutions. Even countries with a high level of development of democratic institutions, where the state has traditionally “distanced itself” from the participation in the elections, have changed their attitude to this process [1].

The maximum amount of funding for the political parties is set in some foreign countries. For example, in Sweden, state support for the political parties is provided in the amount of SEK 360 million. Each party can expect to receive the amount of money that is determined by the number of seats it has won in the Riksdag (for each seat, the party currently receives 333,300 SEK). Political parties receive all the amounts listed under the article “party assistance.” In addition, they are entitled to “Chancellor’s aid” in the form of basic and additional payments.

By analyzing the world practice of state financing of political parties, we can distinguish four main methods of direct state financing of political parties:

- depending on the number of votes received by the party in the national (parliamentary or presidential) or municipal elections;
- equal shares for all registered political parties;
- a combination of two methods: the first part of public funding, which is distributed according to the number of votes received, and the second part is sent to political parties in equal shares;
- depending on the number of votes and the number of seats in the Parliament: part of the state funding is allocated in accordance with the number of votes received, and a part goes to finance political parties that are allowed to distribute parliamentary seats.

Parties that receive the required percentage of votes can expect quarterly payments in addition to compensation for election expenses. The fund from which these payments are made is formed by the state in such a way that the funds received by each party correspond to the level of its electoral “success” [7].

As rule, in many countries there are three groups of financial sources: private funding, own funds of political parties and public funding.

The party’s own funds are created from entrance and membership fees, contributions to the party’s cash register from the salaries of party members who hold positions in government structures (MPs, government members), income from the party events (exhibitions, lectures, festivals), income from property and business activities. In most cases, political parties’ own funds, especially membership fees, make up a small part of their resources. For example, in Italy, the membership fees of most parties do not exceed on average twenty percent of all their income.

Private financing remains predominant in most countries. This is understood as voluntary donations from individuals and legal entities (monetary contributions, gifts, waivers under wills). In most countries, it is prohibited to finance political parties from abroad (donations from international organizations, foreign states, organizations, citizens and their associations). Such financing is considered as interference in the internal affairs of the state. Donations from private legal entities to party funds especially increase during the election campaigns. They are used as a means of subordinating political parties to the interests of certain social groups of financial and industrial capital, and are one of the causes of the widespread political corruption.

The third source of funding for political parties is the state. State funding is made in the following forms: general, special and indirect.

It is also worth considering the development of state payments in *Germany*. Initially, German parties did not receive any funds from the state budget. Then the parties that were represented in the Bundestag were funded. However, this contradicted the constitutional principle of equal opportunities for all participants in the electoral process. Therefore, the state began to finance all parties receiving not less than 2.5 percent of the actual “second” for land lists or 10 percent of the “first” in one of the electoral bodies. At the moment the numbers have changed a lot. Parties must get at least 0.5 percent of the total number of votes at the European Parliament elections and at least one percent at the land elections for land lists.

Now let’s turn to specific data. On June 4, the Central Election Commission published the parties’ consolidated economic reports for 2017. RBC’s analysis of the party reports from 2005 onwards (the most recent information is not available on the CEC website) revealed that in 2017, for the first time, the parliamentary parties depended on the budget by at least 75 percent. In general, in 2017, the total funds of the main domestic socio-political parties – deposits, as well as state profits and deductions – decreased significantly compared to the previous years [8; 9].

The part of the state funds in the party budgets began to increase after 2011. The graph shows that by 2017, all the four parties depended on the public money by 75-97 percent.

In accordance with the law, the annual state subsidies are provided to the parties that have received more than 3% of the vote in the previous State Duma elections (Federal Law No. 95-FZ of 11.07.2001 (as amended on 26.07.2019) “On Political Parties,” Article 33. Federal budget funds allocated to political parties). Up until 2006, party subsidies ranged from 1 to 3.6 rubles per vote, depending on the year; since January 2006, they amounted to 5 rubles per vote, and this amount has also become fixed. Since 2009, it has become equal to 20 rubles per vote, and since 2012 – 50 rubles. In 2015, the amount has almost doubled to 110 rubles, and in 2016, it amounted to 152 rubles per vote. Parties whose candidate collected 3% or more of the vote in the presidential election also receive a one-time payment within a year from the date of the announcement of the results of the vote. Since 2009 (or since the 2012 election), this payment is 20 rubles per vote cast for the candidate.

Since 2014, elections to the State Duma have been held according to a mixed system. In 2016, in single-member districts, the opposition parties were mostly defeated by United Russia. In the State Duma of the 6th convocation, United Russia had 238 deputies out of 450, then, with the emergence of single – mandate members in the State Duma of the 7th convocation it had 342 deputies. The decline in faction led to an outflow of party sponsors. In 2016, only one non parliamentary group – Yabloko, that used to receive state funding, lost it, because it gained less than three percent of the vote at the federal election.

In addition to the state budget financing in election campaigns, the party budgets are formed from a certain number of sources [5].

Now let's turn to the *problems of financing election campaigns in the Russian Federation*.

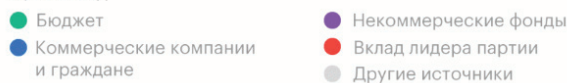
Today, one of the issues for the candidates running for the posts of deputies or president is financing of the election campaign, because significant spending is required both from the state and the candidate. If there is no campaign finance available in the run-up to the election, there can be no question of a high-quality campaigning by a candidate. For this reason, receiving money is considered to be the main component of an election campaign.

Abroad, the financing of social and political life is also subject to special legislation. For example, the Austrian Federal Law “On the tasks of financing and election campaigning for political parties” was used by many other countries as an example. The experience of general elections shows that Russia did not have a sufficient legal framework for election financing during the transition from the Communist ideology to the democratic values.

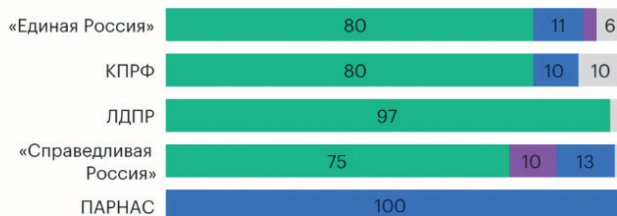
Special attention is paid to the formation of the candidates' electoral funds and their rational spending during the elections in Russia. For example, according to the Russian legislation, the total spending from the candidate's election fund may

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not exceed 400 million rubles and the maximum spending of a candidate running in the second round of voting may not exceed 500 million rubles. It's worth noting that the election fund of a candidate running for the post of the President of the Russian Federation is formed from the following monetary assets:

- the candidate's own funds, the amount of which may not exceed 10 percent of the total spending of the said candidate's election fund or 15 percent for the candidates taking part in the second round;
- the funds allocated to a candidate by the political party that nominated him/her, the amount of which may not exceed 50 percent of the total spending of the said candidate;
- voluntary donations from individuals and legal entities, the amount of which may not exceed 1.5 percent and 7 percent, respectively, of the total spending of the said candidate's election fund, established in accordance with the law, for each citizen or legal entity.

If we consider certain values for the maximum amount that can be taken from the electoral fund of a political party, the figures are as follows:

a) 15 million rubles in a subject of the Russian Federation where no more than 100 thousand registered voters reside;

b) 20 million rubles – in a subject of the Russian Federation where more than 100 thousand but fewer than 500 thousand registered voters reside;

c) 25 million rubles – in a subject of the Russian Federation where more than 500 thousand but fewer than 1 million registered voters reside;

d) 35 million rubles – if in the territory of such RF subject, to which a regional group(s) corresponds, more than 1 million but fewer than 2 million registered voters reside;

e) maximum sum of all expenses is 55 million rubles, it is paid in the territory where more than 2 million registered voters reside.

It should be noted that the maximum spending set in the electoral legislation may be not enough. This is due to the fact that for better party advertising using PR technologies and other tools to promote campaigning, more money is needed than those provided for in the electoral legislation.

It should be stressed that the legal regulation of elections by the state should ensure the legality of election campaigns. This is necessary due to the fact that money laundering often occurs during elections. Also, a well-known problem is the so-called lobbying, that is, the influence of “shadow parties” on the adoption of important political decisions. This is also very relevant in the modern world, although it was born in Soviet times. All these are channels of “black financing,” which, unfortunately, cannot be completely stopped in practice, even if severe sanctions are imposed.

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