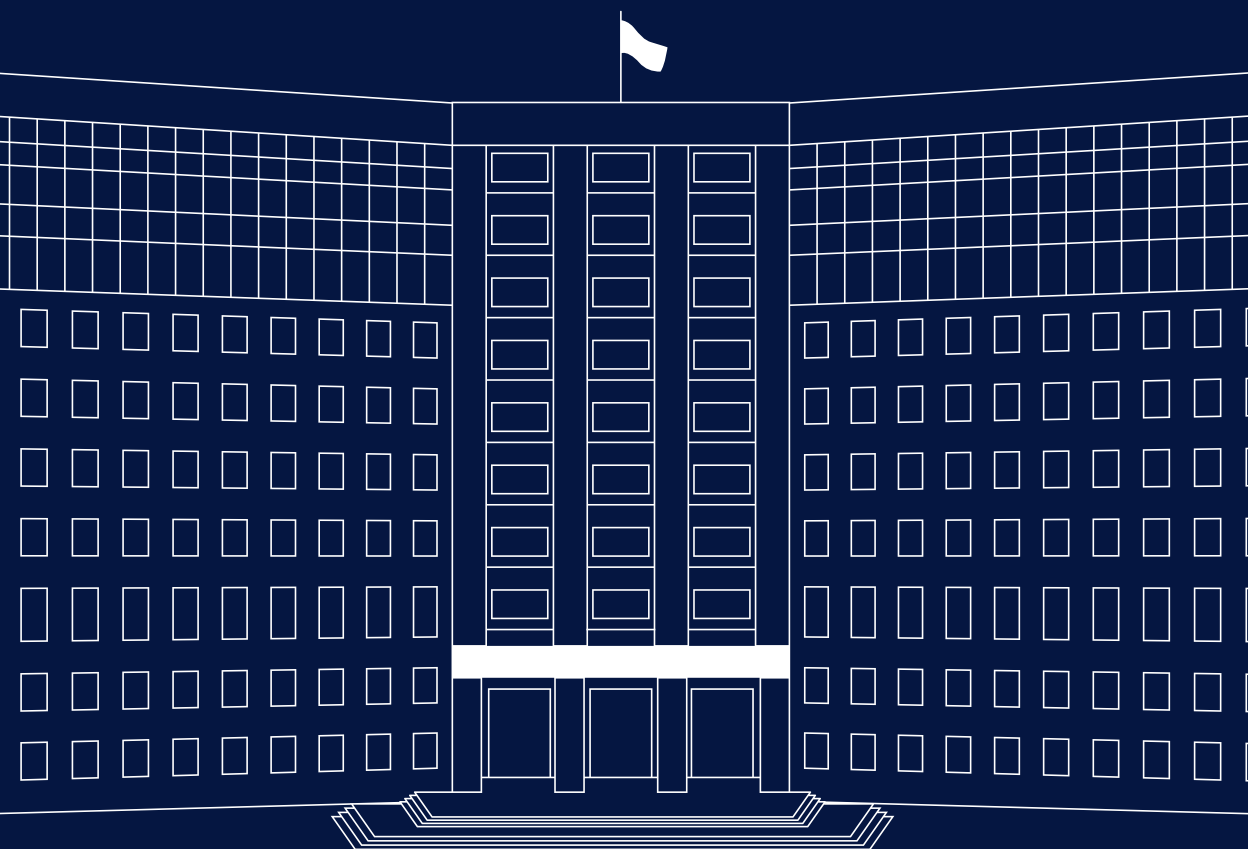


**ANALYTICAL
BRIEF**

SEPTEMBER
2025

ELECTORAL PROGRAMS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW

The parliamentary elections of September 28, 2025



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Electoral Programs from The Perspective of Human Rights and the Rule of Law



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Chişinău, 2025

INTRODUCTION

Context

The parliamentary elections of 28 September 2025 are taking place in a complex political and social climate, marked by systemic vulnerabilities such as disinformation, media manipulation, and propaganda based on distorted narratives. These phenomena risk undermining the electoral process, eroding public trust in democratic institutions, and compromising the quality of public debate. In this context, an independent, impartial, and objective assessment of the electoral programs of the competitors is essential.

This document, entitled Electoral Programs from the Perspective of Human Rights and the Rule of Law, has been elaborated within the project Resilient Civil Society and Critical Thinking for Free and Fair Elections, implemented by the Legal Resources Centre from Moldova with the financial support of the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives, during the period 1 August 2025 – 28 February 2026. The project aims to strengthen democratic resilience in the Republic of Moldova by promoting critical thinking, civic engagement, and resistance to electoral disinformation.

Objectives

The analysis seeks to provide an objective and comparative understanding of how political parties, electoral blocs, and independent candidates address, in their programs, issues related to fundamental rights and the functioning of the rule of law. The analysis focuses on three main objectives:

- Assessing the proportionality, visibility, coherence, and compliance of commitments on human rights and the rule of law, in relation to international standards and to the commitments undertaken by the Republic of Moldova.
- Examining the particularities of commitments in key areas such as judicial independence, anti-corruption, access to justice, equality and non-discrimination, freedom of expression and association, protection of vulnerable groups, with a focus on whether these are progressive or regressive and on their feasibility.
- Identifying common, feasible, and progressive priorities that are consistent with international standards and with the ongoing reforms in the field of human rights and the rule of law.

Methodology

The research was conducted during the period 19 August – 19 September 2025 and is based on a framework of descriptive quantitative and qualitative analysis. The main objective was to assess the electoral programs of all registered competitors through the lens of human rights and the rule of law. Electoral programs were requested from each competitor through repeated email submissions; however, not all responded. Where official documents were missing, the analysis relied on verifiable secondary sources such as thematic statements, promotional materials, interviews, posts on official channels of the competitors, or electoral spots.

In addition to the analysis of the programs, the research also included a separate evaluation of the candidates' lists of parties and electoral blocs, focusing on compliance with gender quotas, the inclusion of young people, and the placement of candidates on the lists. For each competitor, an analytical profile was prepared, including the general profile of the formation, the assessment of the electoral program, and the identification of the most relevant measures regarding human rights and the rule of law. Each selected measure was classified as progressive or regressive and evaluated for feasibility..

The qualitative analysis was limited to those competitors that presented a dedicated electoral program for the 2025 parliamentary elections, while for the others, a general analysis was conducted based on available online information. Moreover, the evaluation of human rights commitments focused strictly on issues of equality and non-discrimination, freedom of expression, and freedom of association, excluding socio-economic and cultural commitments, which were outside the scope of this research.

Disclaimer

This analysis does not constitute electoral campaigning. According to Article 6(3) of Law No. 86/2020 on Non-Commercial Organizations, non-commercial organizations may express opinions regarding the programs of political parties and socio-political organizations, as well as electoral competitors and their programs. This activity is impartial in nature and seeks exclusively to inform the public, promote transparency, and support an electoral process based on informed decision-making. The organization does not endorse or favor any political party or candidate and does not engage in electoral campaigning. The research has a civic and analytical purpose, carried out with respect for the principles of neutrality and impartiality.

SUMMARY

The analysis is structured around two main pillars: Rule of Law (judicial independence, anti-corruption measures, justice reform) and Human Rights (equality and non-discrimination, freedom of expression and the press, freedom of assembly and association). For each sub-domain, commitments contained in the programs were inventoried and assessed against national and international standards, as well as existing national policies and strategies. The evaluation was carried out using uniform criteria such as:

- Clarity of the measure (formulation and justification);
- Progressive character (Yes – aligned and forward-looking; No – regressive/stagnant);
- Feasibility (Yes – realistic/applicable; No – unfeasible).

These criteria were accompanied by explanatory comments. The result provides a comparative overview, synthesizing the dominant trends in each segment and highlighting the differences among competitors.

Out of all electoral competitors, 18 presented dedicated electoral programs for the September 2025 elections, while for the others the analysis relied on available online video materials and their public positions.

The analysis of candidate lists reveals that, from a gender equality perspective, the most inclusive competitors are:

- Political Party Liga Oraşelor şi Comunelor (LOC) – 53.7% women
- Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) – 51.9% women
- Political Party Noua Opţiune Istorică (NOI) – 45.5% women
- Political Party Democraţia Acasă – 45.5% women
- Political Party Moldova Mare (PMM) – 44.6% women

All other competitors fall below the 42% threshold, which indicates strict compliance with the legal minimum.

In terms of youth representation (18–35 years old), the most inclusive competitors are:

- Political Party Noua Opţiune Istorică (NOI) – 29.1% youth
- Political Party Moldova Mare (PMM) – 23.2% youth
- Political Party Democraţia Acasă – 22.7% youth
- Political Party Christian-Social Union of Moldova (UCSM) – 20.8% youth
- Electoral Bloc Unirea Naţiunii (BUN) – 19.5% youth

For the other competitors, young people account for less than 19% of candidates.

At the same time, based on available estimates and opinion polls, it is observed that formations which respect or exceed quotas do not have high chances of obtaining a significant number of votes. There is a confirmed negative correlation between compliance with quotas and electoral potential.

At most competitors, the issue of justice receives more attention than human rights. The general trend in this segment leans toward procedural and digital reforms in the justice sector, with variations in approach. Human rights are treated mainly in a “cross-cutting” manner and rarely as an autonomous chapter. This dimension remains peripheral or indirectly involved, lacking an operational framework for freedom of expression, association, or equality and non-discrimination, which points to a major gap in a key human rights area.

To systematize these findings, we grouped the measures identified from electoral programs into thematic clusters, which allowed us to highlight common trends, differences in approach, and whether the selected measures are progressive or regressive in nature.

Cluster 1: **Measures Requiring Constitutional Reform**

- Changing the status of prosecutors (status of magistrates, under the authority of the Public Ministry) (PL, AUR);
- Reorganizing the Superior Council of Magistracy (CSM) into two chambers (judges and prosecutors), with civil society involvement (PL);
- Merging the Superior Council of Magistracy and the Superior Council of Prosecutors (AUR);
- Reducing the number of Members of Parliament (ALDE, Partidul Nostru);
- Reforming the Constitutional Court by introducing an odd number of judges, clear voting rules, and shorter examination deadlines (AUR);
- Revising the role of the Constitutional Court by limiting its interpretative powers to avoid altering constitutional and legal texts; prohibiting the appointment of judges with dual citizenship to prevent conflicts of interest; improving the appointment mechanism of Constitutional Court judges (Moldovenii);
- Election of the Prosecutor General by popular vote (Andrei Năstase, Victoria Sanduța).

Cluster 2: **Measures Not Necessarily Requiring Parliament**

- Digitalization of courts and making public case files transparent (PL, PNM, CUB);
- Effective confiscation of assets of corrupt officials (AUR);
- Unifying law school curricula and that of the National Institute of Justice of the Republic of Moldova with the National Institute of Magistracy of Romania (AUR);

- Verification of properties of officials that do not correspond to their declared income (Blocul patriotic).

Cluster 3: **Redundant / Already Existing Measures**

- Development of judicial specialization (Blocul Alternativa);
- Creating a recourse mechanism to recover damages for cases lost at the ECtHR (AUR, Andrei Năstase);
- Ensuring free public access to court decisions (ALDE);
- Public broadcasting of court hearings (PNM);
- Creating a national network of community legal advice centers for vulnerable persons (Blocul Patriotic);
- Careful monitoring and preventing legislative interventions that undermine the independence of justice sector actors (Olesea Stamate).

Cluster 4: **Declarative Measures**

- Full accession to the anti-corruption instruments of the Council of Europe and the EU (PL);
- Promoting internal peace and dialogue with ethnic minorities, ensuring “identity security” (AUR);
- Protection against the introduction into legislation of “values” associated with a distorted understanding of “tolerance,” and against the threat of destroying traditions, the family institution, and the education system for the younger generation (Moldovenii);
- Bringing professional, objective, honest people into the system, with a heightened sense of justice, capable of empathy and compassion (Moldovenii);
- Recall, by popular vote, of individuals who have not lived up to expectations (Moldovenii);
- Depoliticization of the Superior Council of Magistracy and the Superior Council of Prosecutors (Respect Moldova);
- Liquidation of certain public institutions/control authorities, without specifying criteria, impact analysis, or where competences, resources, and staff would be transferred (Partidul Nostru, PNM);
- Combating institutional corruption and promoting good governance, as well as supporting the rule of law, supremacy of law, democracy, and constitutional order (PSDE);
- Returning to the “legal” procedure for appointing judges (Blocul Alternativa).

Cluster 5: Progressive Measures

- Prohibition of discrimination based on sexual orientation (ALDE);
- Reform of the Judicial Inspection – as an autonomous institution within the CSM; Reform of the Prosecutors' Inspection – as an autonomous institution within the CSP (Blocul Împreună);
- Considering the possibility of changing the pension system for prosecutors and judges to a general basis (Blocul Alternativa);
- Random allocation of cases through artificial intelligence (PNM);
- Electronic voting and electronic consultations (Partidul Nostru);
- Drafting and adopting a law on lobbying activities (Blocul Împreună);
- Eliminating the mandatory preliminary procedure in lawsuits against public authorities (Blocul Alternativa);
- Improving the external evaluation system; Continuing and completing the evaluation process of prosecutors; Continuing and completing the evaluation process of judges; External evaluation of criminal investigation officers specialized in combating corruption (Blocul Împreună, PAS);
- Full transparency – complete digitalization of case files and public access to judicial information (Respect Moldova, Blocul patriotic, Olesea Stamate);
- Protecting journalists and freedom of expression through legislative measures preventing intimidation, censorship, and any form of pressure on the press (Respect Moldova);
- Strengthening key institutions – CNA, ANI, and the Anticorruption Prosecutor's Office – by ensuring functional independence and providing necessary resources to prevent delays in judicial processes (Blocul patriotic);
- Legal education for citizens (Victoria Sanduța).

Cluster 6: Regressive Measures

- Reforming extraordinary evaluation (vetting) by eliminating the external factor (in Commissions and secretariats); changing the composition of evaluation Commissions, with re-examination of dubious cases (AUR);
- Establishing fixed mandatory deadlines for criminal investigation activities (PAS, CUB, PNM);
- Merging or liquidating the CNA and the Anticorruption Prosecutor's Office, following the DNA Romania model (PL, AUR, LOC);
- "We will not allow the imposition of foreign values that destroy our traditional morality. We will not allow the spread of anti-family ideology" (Blocul patriotic);
- Increasing the number of judicial assistants (Blocul Alternativa);
- Opposition to the LGBT community or a general ban on so-called "LGBT propaganda" in schools (Partidul Nostru, Moldova Mare, NOI).

ANALYSIS OF ELECTORAL PLATFORMS

/pas/
UE 2028

**Political
Party
“Partidul
Acțiune și
Solidaritate”**

**We are
moving in
the right
direction:
EU, peace,
development!**

**Electoral
program**

General profile of the electoral list

The candidate list shows a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 59.6% compared to 40.4% women – a ratio that is reflected in the top 10 positions as well (60% men and 40% women). The average age of candidates is 46, slightly lower in the top 10 at 45. Young candidates aged 18–35 are underrepresented at the top, accounting for only 10% among the first 10.

Candidates come from 30 out of the 36 administrative-territorial units, with a majority residing in Chișinău (52% of the full list and 100% of the top 10). The list includes 37 sitting MPs and 7 members of the Government, with 84 candidates being PAS members. The list is headed by Igor Grosu.

General overview of the program

Although positioned near the end of its “commitments” list, the PAS program places strong emphasis on the rule of law and on continuing the justice reform launched in 2021 (the vetting of judges and prosecutors). This is coupled with objectives aimed at expediting corruption investigations and trials, reforming the asset recovery framework, and modernizing access to legal professions (with an enhanced role for the NIJ).

The human rights dimension appears mainly indirectly (anti-bullying and anti-discrimination measures in schools, access to services for persons with disabilities, electoral facilities for the diaspora). However, the program does not contain a distinct chapter dedicated to equality and non-discrimination or to guarantee freedom of expression, the press, and association. Overall, the direction is pro-European, with a focus on institutional consolidation in the justice sector. Still, some objectives are formulated in broad terms and require clarification regarding tools and resources.

Positive aspects

Continuation and completion of justice vetting – a progressive measure consistent with existing commitments¹⁴, with strong potential to strengthen the integrity of the judiciary and prosecution service. The Justice Sector Strategy 2022–2025 requires external evaluation of judges and prosecutors, with at least 50% to be assessed by 2025. Feasibility has been demonstrated by post-evaluation appointments, but it remains crucial to ensure

¹⁴ European Commission: https://enlargement.ec.europa.eu/moldova-report-2024_en

procedural safeguards (the right to defense and effective remedies) for those assessed, as well as the operational capacity to maintain pace without sacrificing quality.

Strengthening the asset recovery framework – a welcome step in tackling grand corruption, aimed at modernizing the legal and institutional architecture for confiscations and enforcement of court decisions. Such a measure would help prevent repeated litigation and reduce risks related to constitutionality, proportionality, and full compliance with ECtHR standards on the presumption of innocence and legal certainty. The 2022–2025 Reform Strategy already envisages modernization of the institutional framework (enforcement, asset tracing, sale) and explicitly foresees the creation of an online platform for the auction of confiscated assets. By late 2024, the legislative package was underway, but the key instrument – the online platform – was still not operational.

Problematic aspects

Reforming access to legal professions and strengthening the NIJ – a timely proposal to align selection, training, and evaluation processes with European Commission recommendations, which could raise professional standards and reduce vulnerabilities to external influence. However, in 2023 PAS already promoted a new legislative package on judge selection and evaluation and supported major changes to strengthen the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), despite its status as an autonomous institution outside direct political control. The current measure is unclear: it does not specify what is new compared to the existing framework or what problems relate to poor implementation (resources, procedures, capacities, governance). Without a concrete diagnosis of bottlenecks, the promise risks being more of a populist message than a solution, given that the necessary instruments already exist and must simply be applied consistently.

Focus on the “speed” of criminal investigations – In 2023, Parliament amended legislation and removed fixed deadlines for criminal prosecution. However desirable “speed” may seem, the duration of investigations must be determined by evidence and quality of prosecution. Reintroducing rigid deadlines – as done in Law no. 100 on electoral corruption – would be a step backward. The high workload combined with limited resources will inevitably lead to missed deadlines and procedural breaches, resulting in annulled actions and overall reduced efficiency. Stressing celerity in corruption cases without clear procedural tools is risky. While the objective of “fair and speedy” trials is legitimate, in the absence of operational measures (case management, additional resources for specialized panels, standards for evidence handling and reasoning of judgments), pressure for speed may turn into quantitative targets that undermine the right to a fair trial and judicial independence.

Gaps in the human rights dimension – Although there are isolated measures (anti-bullying, educational inclusion, services for persons with disabilities), the program lacks explicit commitments regarding media ownership transparency, protection of journalists, transposition of EU anti-SLAPP legislation, guarantees for editorial independence, or mechanisms to safeguard freedom of association and assembly. Given European standards and the context of disinformation, the absence of these elements is a notable shortcoming that should be addressed through a dedicated package on freedom of expression and civil society.



**Electoral
Bloc**
**“Patriotic al
Socialiştilor,
Comuniştilor,
Inima şi
Viitorul
Moldovei”**

**We Believe
in Moldova!**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The list of candidates reflects a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men—58.2% compared to 41.8% women—a ratio that is also maintained in the top 10 positions (60% men and 40% women). The average age is 49 years, both for the entire list and for the top 10 candidates. Young people aged 18–35 account for 15.5% of the total and only 10% of the top 10. The dominant group is those aged 36–50 (39.1% of the list and 50% of the top 10). Candidates over 51 make up 45.5% of the total and 40% of the top 10.

From the perspective of residence, candidates come from 33 out of 36 administrative units, reflecting broad territorial coverage. Most come from municipalities and other towns (47.3% of the list, but only 10% of the top 10), followed by Chişinău Municipality (38.2% overall and 60% of the top 10). The smallest share is from villages and communes (14.5% of the list, but 30% of the top 10).

General presentation of the program

The electoral bloc’s program places a marked emphasis on social measures, while the human rights dimension is addressed narrowly, predominantly through the lens of traditional and religious values. Thus, although there are numerous commitments in the field of rule of law, modern equality and the protection of minorities are not explicitly addressed, tilting the balance toward a conservative agenda that is less aligned with international non-discrimination standards.

On the social side, however, the program dedicates substantial space to pensions, salaries, education, health, and support for youth and families, suggesting a clear focus on protection and social assistance policies. The central message is one of solidarity and “healing society,” with emphasis on citizens’ immediate well-being and national cohesion.

In justice, the platform highlights the fight against corruption, proposing measures to strengthen institutional independence and transparency. Overall, the measures are largely declarative and general, with some directions aligned with European objectives (digitalization, merit-based competitions, strengthening anti-corruption institutions), but without operational details or implementation guarantees. While some proposals are progressive and necessary, others are redundant (already regulated) or difficult to achieve, raising questions about the realism and feasibility of the package. In the absence of technical substantiation and clear prioritization, the measures risk remaining political promises rather than practical solutions.

Positive aspects

The commitment to digitalizing justice is progressive and potentially impactful. It responds to the need to modernize the judicial system and contributes to reducing bureaucracy, increasing transparency, and improving citizens' access to justice. Digitalization is the inevitable direction for the evolution of modern justice and aligns Moldova with European best practices.

The pledge to appoint key leadership positions through transparent, merit-based, and integrity-driven competitions is also progressive and necessary to eliminate corrupt influences in the system. It strengthens public confidence in judicial institutions and guarantees the selection of professional, independent leaders. However, it is unclear how this commitment will be implemented and through what concrete mechanisms such competitions will be organized to ensure transparency and meritocracy.

Problematic aspects

The traditional large family as a state priority – This measure would promote only one model of family (“traditional” and “large”), thereby marginalizing other existing forms in society—single-parent families, childless families, mixed families, or families formed through remarriage. All of these are protected by the Constitution and by international human rights standards. The experience of other countries shows that demographic policies based on “idealizing” a single-family model do not increase birth rates. The real factors that encourage families to have children are social support, access to healthcare and education, affordable housing, and a stable economic environment. From a human rights perspective, the measure is not progressive.

“Banning foreign values” and “combating anti-family ideology” – These phrases are vague and manipulative: “foreign values” and “anti-family ideology” have no legal definition, leaving room for abusive interpretations. In practice, they could be used to restrict freedom of expression, stigmatize minorities, or limit education on gender equality and human rights. International standards¹², including ECtHR¹³ case law, establish that states cannot invoke “tradition” or “morality” to justify discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation, religion, or other identities. Such measures do not protect the family but create social divisions by opposing “us” to “them.” They cultivate fear of diversity and hinder the development of an inclusive, democratic society.

As a member of the Council of Europe and an EU candidate country, Moldova has clear commitments to combat discrimination. Adopting such policies would run counter to these commitments and negatively affect its European integration path.

12 UN Human Rights Committee – *Toonen v. Australia* (1994): it found that invoking majority morality to criminalize homosexuality is contrary to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Articles 17 and 26).

13 *Alekseyev v. Russia* (2010) – The ban on LGBT marches in Moscow, justified on the grounds of protecting “traditional values” and morality, was found to constitute a violation of Articles 11 (freedom of assembly), 13, and 14 (non-discrimination).



Electoral Bloc

“Alternativa”

**There is an
Alternative!
From a land
of disaster
to a dream
fulfilled!**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The electoral competitor's list is characterized by a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 53.8% men and 46.2% women – a ratio that is maintained in the top 10 positions (60% men and 40% women). The average age of candidates is 42 (50 among the top 10). Young people aged 18–35 make up 31.1% of the full list but have no representation in the top 10. Candidates aged 36–50 account for 47.2% of the full list and 50% of the top 10, while those over 51 represent 21.7% of the full list and likewise 50% of the top 10.

From the perspective of residence, candidates come from 29 of the 36 administrative-territorial units, indicating broad territorial representation. 49.1% of candidates reside in Chişinău (100% of the top 10), followed by other cities (25.5% of the full list but 0% of the top 10), and villages/communes (25.5% of the full list but 0% of the top 10).

In terms of political composition, the list includes candidates from MAN – 56.7% (62.5% in the top 10), PDCM – 33.0% (25.0% in the top 10), and CC – 10.3% (12.5% in the top 10).

General overview of the program

The electoral program is presented as a plan for the systemic transformation of Moldova, structured around 15 popular reforms and crisis-response objectives. The focus is on overcoming social and economic crises, reviving demographic growth, and restoring trust in institutions.

On justice, the program probably puts forward the most extensive set of measures among the electoral competitors, proposing a package for accessible and independent justice. It seeks to accelerate case examination by setting an optimal caseload, redistributing judges by specialization and territory, increasing the number of judicial assistants, and delegating certain cases to administrative authorities. At the same time, emphasis is placed on strengthening legal professions, including the fortification of the bar, independence of the Prosecutor General and specialized prosecution offices, and protecting judges from corruption and political influence.

Positive aspects

Eliminating the mandatory preliminary procedure in litigation against public authorities is a welcome reform in the Moldovan context, as it removes a formalistic filter that rarely corrects administrative errors quickly but almost always prolongs the litigant's path to judicial action. The measure strengthens effective access to justice and the “reasonable time” guarantee under Article 6 of the ECHR and is consistent with European standards on effective judicial protection (the logic of Article 47 of the EU Charter, used as a benchmark in the alignment process). In practice, the obligation to exhaust the preliminary procedure can double the steps, create procedural delays, and encourage institutional “ping-pong,” without delivering substantive remedies. Turning it from an obligation into an option preserves the possibility of administrative review for simple cases or for claimants who prefer quick internal solutions but also allows affected parties to go directly to court where urgency, the stakes of rights, or a history of inefficiency require it.

Problematic aspects

References to an “institutional collapse” of the justice system, labeling it as politicized and autocratic, reflect more of a populist rhetoric than a diagnosis supported by data. Public trust in justice has not collapsed compared to four years ago, and international assessments (Rule of Law Index 2021–2024) portray a positive picture, with Moldova climbing in the rankings—not a scenario of authoritarian drift or systemic destruction. The categorical statements in the text are not supported by indicators or verifiable sources.

The proposal to “specialize judges (without the involvement of the SCM)” is redundant and problematic. Specialization already exists within the current legal framework (through regulations and judicial administration decisions), and removing the Superior Council of Magistracy from this process would undermine judicial self-governance and create risks of interference and conflict with the current institutional architecture.

RENATO USATÎI

Political Party “Partidul Nostru”

**It's time for
us to be
together!
Only for
Moldova!**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The electoral competitor's list is characterized by a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 55.3% men and 44.7% women – with a ratio of 60% men and 40% women in the top 10 positions. The average age of candidates is 45 (43 among the top 10). Young people aged 18–35 account for 20.1% of the full list but are not represented in the top 10. The 36–50 age group makes up 51.5% of the full list and 90% of the top 10, while candidates over 51 account for 28.2% of the full list and 10% of the top 10.

From a territorial perspective, candidates come from 26 out of 36 administrative units, indicating a degree of territorial representativeness. 20.4% of candidates reside in Chişinău (30% of the top 10), 43.7% in other cities (50% of the top 10), and 35.9% in villages/communes (20% of the top 10). Of the 102 candidates proposed, 74 are members of PN, with Renato Usatîi heading the list.

General overview of the program

The competitor's platform has a distinctly populist-social and statist character, with many “shock” measures (reducing the number of MPs, abolishing parliamentary immunity, introducing extremely harsh criminal penalties), mixed with massive social promises (minimum pensions, a birth allowance of 200,000 MDL) and grand infrastructure projects (the “Danube of Moldova” canal, a backup airport, a “Wine City”). In terms of identity, it is marked by conservative rhetoric (banning so-called “LGBT propaganda” in schools). On governance, it proposes a “government of professionals” drawn from multiple parties, electronic voting, and online consultations.

Positive aspects

Electronic voting and online consultations can increase participation, especially among the diaspora and citizens with reduced mobility, while lowering logistical costs. If properly implemented, these tools enhance inclusion (equal access, multiple channels of communication and consultation), transparency, and the quality of public deliberation (thematic consultations, traceability of proposals). For Moldova, digital solutions can help overcome practical barriers to effective consultation.

Problematic aspects

Total annulment of parliamentary immunity. Abolishing immunity without distinguishing between irresponsibility (non-liability for votes and opinions) and inviolability (procedural protection) contradicts the consistent positions of the Venice Commission and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Non-liability for votes and opinions must be absolute and permanent, while inviolability must be calibrated to prevent harassment of the opposition and to guarantee free debate. Wholesale elimination would intimidate the opposition, chill political speech, and clash with ECtHR jurisprudence on the heightened protection of political expression. In Moldova, such a change would require constitutional revision (provisions on the status of MPs), with a Constitutional Court opinion and a qualified majority, requiring broad political consensus and a serious impact assessment.

Reducing the number of MPs to 51 and the idea of a “new Constitution” are also major constitutional reforms. The Venice Commission’s Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters requires stability of rules, effective representation, equality of the vote, and avoidance of structural changes without justification, consensus, and impact studies. A drastic reduction of the legislature risks underrepresentation (including of women and minorities) effectively raises entry thresholds, and could concentrate power excessively, weakening parliamentary oversight of the executive. Any rewriting of the Constitution must be inclusive, transparent, involve the opposition and civil society, and aim to strengthen rather than erode institutional balances. In this regard, Moldova’s constitutional review procedures impose strict conditions precisely to safeguard these balances. From the perspective of current strategic frameworks (rule of law roadmaps, European integration priorities), such an intervention is not a reform priority and, without technical substantiation (institutional scenarios, budgetary impact, committee functioning, workload per mandate), risks diverting resources from urgent objectives (judicial integrity and efficiency, anti-corruption, justice digitalization) to a difficult constitutional revision with unclear benefits.

Dismantling the National Anti-Corruption Center and the Intelligence Service to create a single “special service” runs counter to Council of Europe standards on democratic oversight of intelligence services: separation of roles (intelligence/prevention vs. criminal investigation/prosecution), multiple checks (parliamentary, judicial, independent), and strong safeguards for human rights. Concentrating powers opaquely in a single structure increases the risk of political capture and weakens checks and balances. CoE/GRECO recommendations instead call

for clarifying cooperation and strengthening the independence of institutions, not merging them into a “mega-service.” In practice, such a re-architecture would affect constitutional guarantees (separation of powers, independence of prosecutors, procedural rights), requiring not only a full overhaul of organic laws but also constitutional revisions or, at minimum, very strict constitutional review.

A general ban on so-called “LGBT propaganda” in schools (an activity that does not currently exist) violates the rights to freedom of expression and non-discrimination (Articles 10 and 14 ECHR). Protecting minors does not justify vague, stigmatizing, and unnecessary restrictions in a democratic society. Such a ban would also breach Committee of Ministers Recommendation CM/Rec (2010)5 on combating discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, as well as ECRI positions requiring states to provide inclusive, anti-bullying education and access to information, not censorship. In Moldova, such a prohibition would directly collide with constitutional guarantees of equality (Art. 16), freedom of expression (Art. 32), and the right to education (Art. 35), and would very likely be declared unconstitutional. Substantively, it would also create a climate of exclusion and self-censorship in schools, discourage anti-bullying efforts, and harm students’ mental health, undermining European standards of non-discrimination and inclusive education.



Political Party “Democrația Acasă”

**It's time
to bring
democracy
home!**

Electoral
program not
identified

General profile of the electoral list

The list of candidates reflects a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men—54.5% compared to 45.5% women—a ratio that is also maintained in the top 10 positions (60% men and 40% women). The average age is 44 years for the entire list and 43 years for the top 10 candidates. Young people aged 18–35 make up 22.7% of the total, but only 10% of the top 10, while the dominant group consists of candidates aged 36–50 (48.9% of the list and 70% of the top 10). Candidates over 51 account for 28.4% of the list and 20% of the top 10.

In terms of residence, candidates come from 20 out of 36 administrative units, indicating a medium level of territorial representation. Most are from Chișinău Municipality (53.4% of the list but only 20% of the top 10), followed by those from villages and communes (31.8% overall and 60% of the top 10), while the smallest share is from other towns (14.8% of the list and 20% of the top 10).

General presentation of the program

A unified electoral program for 2025, structured by chapters and operational measures (with budgets, deadlines, and indicators), has not been identified nor submitted in response to CRJM's request. From the public communications of PPDA, a strong unionist discourse (unification with Romania) and anti-corruption stance emerge, accompanied by criticism of the government and the CEC, with calls for “order” and “justice.”

There are also messages and positions involving the fight against corruption and criticism of current institutions, but without detailed technical proposals, making it impossible to assess feasibility. Regarding human rights, the rhetoric is pro-citizen (pensioners, students, “social justice”), but it is not accompanied by a clear policy framework setting out costs, sources of funding, or impact.



Andrei Năstase - independent candidate

**Your Voice in
Parliament!**

Electoral
program

General overview

The candidate's program is structured around five pillars: administration and finance, justice and fairness, social equity, political and electoral order, and the diaspora. In the area of justice, the program promotes the election of the Prosecutor General by popular vote, the introduction of extremely harsh penalties (including life imprisonment¹) for grand corruption, treason, pedophilia, and drug trafficking involving minors, as well as holding magistrates accountable for losses incurred by the state before the ECtHR. These are "tough" measures, but they either contradict constitutional² and international³ standards or duplicate regulations already in force. On human rights, the program is weak—there are no initiatives addressing equality, non-discrimination, freedom of expression, or freedom of association. From a feasibility standpoint, most of the measures analyzed are difficult or impossible to implement without undermining constitutional balance or Moldova's international commitments.

Positive aspect

The proposal to hold prosecutors and judges liable for damages suffered by the state due to ECtHR judgments may appear appealing and aligned with public expectations. The Rule of Law Roadmap, approved by Government Decision no. 275/2025, expressly sets the objective of strengthening judicial and prosecutorial accountability through disciplinary procedures, showing that this measure aligns with reforms already undertaken by the state. In reality, it is not new. The mechanism is already regulated by several legal acts: Law no. 151/2015 on the Government Agent (arts. 27 and 271), the Civil Code (art. 2007), Law no. 544/1995 on the Status of Judges (art. 212), and related legislation. These provide that the state has a right of recourse against judges if, following an ECtHR judgment, intent or gross negligence is established, either through a final judgment or a disciplinary procedure.

- 1 The ECtHR has held that life imprisonment is not in itself contrary to the Convention, but it becomes incompatible with Article 3 of the ECHR (prohibition of inhuman and degrading treatment) if it is irreducible (i.e., without any prospect of release). *Vinter and Others v. the United Kingdom* (2013); *Murray v. the Netherlands* (2016); *Hutchinson v. the United Kingdom* (2017)
- 2 Article 125(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova provides that the Prosecutor General shall be appointed by the President of the Republic of Moldova, upon the proposal of the Superior Council of Prosecutors, for a term of seven years, without the possibility of reappointment
- 3 The Committee of Ministers, Recommendation Rec(2000)19, and the opinions of the Venice Commission recommend that the appointment of the Prosecutor General be carried out by authorities that ensure a balance between independence and democratic accountability.

Thus, on one hand, the proposal is legitimate and consistent with strategic documents and European policies on judicial accountability. On the other, it risks being perceived as populist, since the legal framework already exists but is applied only rarely. The real problem lies not in the absence of regulation but in the functionality of the mechanism, particularly the consistent initiation of recourse actions. In conclusion, while the measure is sound and aligned with justice reform objectives, it is not innovative. The priority should be to ensure the effective application of the existing mechanism, or to improve it substantially.

Problematic aspect

Electing the Prosecutor General by popular vote necessarily requires amending the Constitution, a complex process involving broad political consensus, public consultations, and the Constitutional Court's opinion, followed by adoption with a two-thirds majority in Parliament. If the initiative comes from a single MP, reaching this threshold would be even more difficult. The current appointment mechanism for the Prosecutor General is intended to balance the institutional independence of the Prosecutor's Office with democratic oversight.

If the Prosecutor General were elected by popular vote:

- there would be a risk of politicizing the role, since an electoral campaign implies financing, promises, and alliances with interest groups;
- the prosecutor would become a political actor, contradicting his or her role as guarantor of legality and impartiality;
- there would be a temptation to act for popularity and electoral gain rather than for the strict enforcement of the law.

According to Council of Europe recommendations (Rec (2000)19 on the Role of Public Prosecution) and Venice Commission standards, prosecutors must be independent and protected from external, including political, influence. In no consolidated European democracy is the Prosecutor General directly elected by the people, precisely to avoid populism and safeguard the impartiality of justice. GRECO reports⁴ have also consistently stressed that Moldova must strengthen the institutional independence of prosecutors, not introduce mechanisms of political competition.

The proposal to elect the Prosecutor General by popular vote is therefore not feasible. It requires a constitutional amendment that is difficult to achieve, risks politicizing the office, and contradicts European standards on prosecutorial independence. Moreover, this idea is absent from both the National Program for EU Accession and the EU integration roadmaps, underscoring that it is not viewed as a progressive reform.

4 <https://rm.coe.int/fourth-evaluation-round-corruption-prevention-in-respect-of-members-of/1680a5722f>



Olesea Stamate - independent candidate

**I believe in a
prosperous
Moldova!**

Electoral
Program
(submitted via
email)

General overview

His program is structured around five pillars: bringing institutions closer to citizens, good governance, justice, transparency in public finances, and European integration. It includes institutional and procedural measures such as digitalizing processes, strengthening transparency, establishing clear rules for public competitions, and stricter regulation of the legislative process. In the justice sector, two initiatives stand out. Both fall within the broader objective of strengthening the integrity and independence of the judiciary, with an emphasis on preventing abuses and creating a more transparent framework.

In the areas reviewed here concerning human rights protection (equality and non-discrimination, freedom of expression and the press, freedom of assembly and association), no specific measures are identified in the program. However, one initiative under the pillar aimed at bringing institutions closer to citizens has indirect relevance: legally restricting the practice of public officials/dignitaries forwarding petitions to the person concerned (when the complaint specifically targets that person). Although not explicitly framed in human rights language, this measure could contribute to protecting human rights by eliminating the risk that the petitioner might face reprisals or intimidation from the person being complained about.

Positive aspect

The promotion of a unified system, or the interconnection of existing ones, for electronic case management aligns with the objective of digitalizing the judiciary, as set out in the Rule of Law Roadmap—a key benchmark in Moldova's EU accession process. It aims to streamline judicial processes, increase transparency, and reduce corruption risks by limiting opportunities for unjustified interference in cases. However, the feasibility of this initiative depends fundamentally on the availability of financial resources and the institutional capacity to attract and manage external funding for the system's development and maintenance. The legislative component plays only a limited role, while the success of the measure will depend largely on whether institutions can effectively implement these systems and ensure their interoperability.

This initiative is consistent with Moldova's national European integration policies and represents a progressive measure for strengthening the rule of law. Nevertheless, its feasibility will crucially depend on the ability of institutions to attract and

manage the necessary resources, as well as on the effective implementation and interoperability of the systems.

Problematic aspect

“Careful monitoring and non-admittance of legislative interventions that undermine the independence of justice sector actors” is, in practice, a basic duty and core responsibility of every Member of Parliament. The fundamental role of MPs is to examine draft laws and ensure they meet the highest standards and do not produce negative consequences in practice. From this perspective, the provision does not introduce a new mechanism nor describe a concrete action; rather, it amounts to a general declaration of intent.

In the absence of clear implementation tools, the measure risks remaining a purely formal commitment, impossible to monitor or verify in practice. Moreover, preventing such legislative interventions does not depend on the will of a single MP, but on the vote of the parliamentary majority. Even a vigilant individual deputy lacks the levers to block a legislative initiative supported by a political majority.

Therefore, the formulation does not provide real guarantees or effective solutions for safeguarding judicial independence. It reiterates an already existing duty in day-to-day legislative work, which diminishes its practical value.



**For a
Moldova
governed
with
respect and
competence!**

**Electoral
program**

General profile of the electoral list

The candidate list is characterized by a balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men—57.4% compared to 42.6% women. Among the top 10 positions, the ratio remains relatively similar (60% men and 40% women). In terms of age, the overall average is 48 years, but it rises to 54 years in the top 10 positions. Young people aged 18–35 account for 14.9% of the total list but are not represented at all in the top 10. The dominant group consists of candidates aged 36–50 (46.5% of the list), while those over 51 are much more strongly represented at the top of the list (60% of the first 10). As for domicile, candidates come from 27 of the country's 36 administrative units, reflecting territorial diversity. However, the largest share comes from Chișinău municipality and its suburbs (34.7% of the total list and 70% of the top 10), followed by other towns (25.7%) and villages/communes (39.6%). The latter are poorly represented in the top 10 (10%).

General overview of the program

The program of the Respect Moldova party is structured around 19 pillars and integrates measures related to both dimensions under analysis. Justice reform is the first pillar, with an emphasis on creating an institutional framework that, in the candidate's view, would ensure the democratic functioning of the state. With respect to human rights, the program focuses on guaranteeing freedom of expression and independent media, but it does not include relevant measures for the other aspects examined.

The program also sets out an extensive package of social measures aimed at increasing protection and support for vulnerable groups. These include raising and annually indexing the minimum pension, creating a national fund for social housing, and increasing allowances for mothers, children, and persons with disabilities.

Positive aspects

The measure on continuous training for judges and prosecutors, adapted to EU *acquis* legislation, seeks to harmonize professional training with European standards and strengthen the judiciary's capacity in the context of European integration. The necessary institutional framework already exists through the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), which has integrated *acquis* elements into its training programs. Moreover, the NIJ's annual training plan is developed based on both the needs of judges and prosecutors

and proposals from the Superior Council of Magistracy (CSM), the Superior Council of Prosecutors (CSP), and the selection and evaluation boards.

Thus, the institutional infrastructure is already in place, but the effectiveness of implementation depends on the NIJ's capacity to systematically integrate new requirements and adapt training content to the evolving *acquis*. The measure is progressive and feasible, as it aligns with EU integration policies and benefits from an existing institutional framework. However, its success depends essentially on implementation and the institutional ability to continuously adapt training programs to European legislative developments.

The commitment to protecting journalists and freedom of expression through legislative measures to prevent intimidation, censorship, and pressure on the press is in principle correct and aligned with democratic values. However, the wording is general and lacks detail about concrete areas of intervention, raising uncertainty about the actual content of the proposed changes. Such a measure would require a complex legislative package addressing several areas: criminal law (criminalizing certain forms of harassment), civil and procedural law (limiting manifestly unfounded or abusive lawsuits—SLAPPs), as well as audiovisual and media regulation.

From a legal perspective, adjusting national legislation in this direction is necessary to transpose Directive (EU) 2024/1069 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 April 2024, which provides for the protection of journalists and human rights defenders against abusive lawsuits. This obligation is also included in the rule of law roadmaps, meaning that the measure is already a conditionality of Moldova's EU accession path.

Therefore, if this initiative is intended to transpose the European directive and strengthen protection mechanisms against abusive proceedings, it should be viewed positively and encouraged. At the same time, it requires careful monitoring to avoid the risk that, under the cover of a legitimate objective, legislative changes may be promoted that could undermine the balance between freedom of expression and other fundamental rights. The proposal thus has significant progressive potential, but it requires clarity, precise legal delineation, and transparency in implementation.

Problematic aspects

Amending the legislation governing the vetting process can be considered a regressive measure, since this process is already at an advanced stage of implementation and constitutes a conditionality agreed upon in Moldova's dialogue with the European Union. Completing the vetting exercise is explicitly provided for in the rule of law roadmaps and in the National Accession Program. Any major legislative intervention would risk blocking or considerably delaying the process.

If the measure is intended to halt vetting, it would directly contradict the objective of European integration⁵, which the candidate promotes elsewhere in the program. If the aim is to change how the mechanism functions, this would require additional time and effort, leading to delays and uncertainty, ultimately reducing the chances of achieving the intended outcome—an integrity-based judiciary capable of serving citizens and meeting European standards.

The proposed reform and depoliticization of the Supreme Council of Magistracy (SCM) and Supreme Council of Prosecutors (SCP), as worded, also raise serious questions regarding necessity and timing. Both institutions have recently undergone reform in line with Moldova's international commitments, and statistical data show a positive trend in perceptions of their independence: for the SCM, from 47% in 2023 to 58% in 2025, and for the SCP, from 37% in 2023 to 54% in 2025⁶. Internally, perceptions of strengthened independence have likewise been confirmed.

In these circumstances, it is unclear what precisely needs to be reformed and what deficiencies would justify another legislative or institutional intervention. Moreover, initiating a new reform could undermine the stability of members' mandates in these self-governing bodies and risk blockages in the functioning of the judiciary and the prosecutor's office. From a legal perspective, such measures could undermine the principle of legal certainty and be interpreted as unjustified interference in the functioning of institutions recently established and still in the process of consolidation. Therefore, commitment is vague in nature and may produce effects contrary to the declared goal of judicial independence.

5 Points 5.1.2 and 5.2.2 of the Rule of Law Roadmap, approved by Government Decision no. 275/2025

6 <https://crjm.org/perceptia-judecatorilor-procurorilor-si-avocatorilor-despre-justitie-si-fenomenul-coruptiei-editia-2025/26735/>



**Political
Party „
Partidul
Social
Democrat
European”**

**Building the
future at
home!**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The list of candidates is characterized by a balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men—53.5% compared to 46.5% women. Among the top 10 positions, the ratio remains relatively similar (60% men and 40% women). In terms of age, the overall average is 49 years, slightly increasing to 50 years for the top 10. Young people aged 18–35 represent 18.6% of the total but are not represented at all in the top 10. The dominant segment is made up of candidates aged 36–50 (38.4% of the list and 50% of the top 10), while those over 51 years hold the same share (43% of the total and 50% in the top 10).

As for residence, candidates come from 22 out of 36 administrative units, reflecting a certain degree of territorial diversity. The largest share belongs to those from villages and communes (51.2% of the total and 60% of the top 10), followed by candidates from other towns (25.6% overall and 20% of the top 10) and Chişinău Municipality (23.3% of the list and 20% of the top 10).

General presentation of the program

PSDE proposes a comprehensive electoral program structured around five major areas—economy, agriculture, education, social protection, and governance. The document includes both a detailed analysis of identified problems and technocratic solutions through which the party presents its vision for implementation.

Regarding human rights, the program does not set out specific measures in the classic reference areas, but it places substantial emphasis on social protection, including through the involvement of civil society. Equality and non-discrimination are mentioned in the context of social policies, with a focus on inclusion and equitable access to services. Still, the [party program](#) includes explicit commitments to promoting equality, cultural diversity, and democratic participation. It underscores the importance of respecting the right to cultural, linguistic, religious, and ethnic identity, as well as combating racism, chauvinism, extremism, and separatism. Special emphasis is placed on gender equality, interethnic harmony, and social cohesion—all linked to European and democratic values.

In the area of justice and the fight against corruption, the electoral program does not propose detailed legislative measures, but the party's overall orientation is clear: depoliticization, meritocracy, and transparency. The program nevertheless conveys a commitment to tackling institutional corruption and promoting good governance, as well as upholding the rule of law, the supremacy of law, democracy, and constitutional order. These objectives are presented in broad terms, as institutional framework principles, without being accompanied by concrete mechanisms for their achievement.

Overall, the PSDE program confirms its pro-European orientation and commitment to strengthening the rule of law and fundamental rights. Although many measures are framed in general terms without details on implementation, they align with existing national strategies and reflect a positive vision rooted in democratic and European values.



Electoral Bloc „Împreună”

**Moldova can
do more!**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The list of candidates features a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men—58.3% compared to 41.7% women—a ratio that is maintained in the top 10 positions (60% men and 40% women). In terms of age, the overall average is 51 years, though it drops to 47 years among the top 10. Young people aged 18–35 make up only 6.7% of the list and are not represented at all in the top 10. The dominant group consists of candidates aged 36–50 (43.3% of the total and 80% of the top 10), while those over 51 years account for half of the list (50%), but only 20% of the top 10.

As for residence, candidates come from 18 out of 36 administrative units, indicating an average level of territorial representation. Most candidates are from villages and communes (41.7% of the total but only 10% of the top 10), followed by Chișinău Municipality (33.3% of the list and 70% of the top 10) and other towns (25% overall and 20% of the top 10).

General presentation of the program

The electoral program of the “Together” Bloc is structured around 12 major areas, covering virtually all spheres of public interest—from the economy and justice to health, education, culture, and European integration. It is detailed, well-argued, and written in a professional, coherent style, giving consistency to the presentation of the political vision. The strongest emphasis is placed on the rule of law and the fight against corruption. These measures are presented in detail, with a focus on institutional tools such as integrity checks for judges, prosecutors, and criminal investigation officers; reform of specialized prosecutor’s offices; electronic performance registries; and strengthening the capacity of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). The proposed measures are ambitious and generally aligned with national strategies and European commitments (Justice Strategy 2022–2025, Rule of Law Roadmap).

The human rights dimension is less developed. References are made to freedom of expression and independent media, but there are no clear commitments regarding equality, non-discrimination, or freedom of assembly and association. This makes the human rights component more declarative and limited compared to other chapters. Overall, however, the direction is promising and consistent with European objectives.

Positive aspects

The improvement of the external evaluation system and the continuation of the vetting process for judges and prosecutors, with an extension to specialized criminal investigation officers, is a clearly positive and necessary step. These measures are fully consistent with national reform strategies and Moldova's European integration commitments, aiming to strengthen the integrity and professionalism of the entire justice sector. They send a strong signal of the state's commitment to building credible and resilient institutions capable of investigating and resolving cases impartially and transparently.

That said, beyond their progressive nature and alignment with European standards, some caution is warranted. The success of these measures depends not only on the legal framework or political will but also on practical factors: the availability of financial resources, the administrative capacity to manage such a complex process, and the maintenance of effective cooperation among all institutions involved. Without clear coordination or in the event of resource allocation delays, the process risks losing momentum and failing to deliver the expected results. Thus, while the overall direction is correct and beneficial, success will depend essentially on rigorous and sustainable implementation.

Transforming the Judicial Inspectorate and the Prosecutor's Inspectorate into autonomous institutions is a good and progressive measure that can genuinely ensure their independence. However, for the reform to be effective, these institutions must have their own budget, an independent secretariat, and separate premises. Success will hinge on adopting clear rules for organization, appointment, and functioning, as well as allocating adequate resources, so that declared autonomy is translated into practice and contributes to strengthening accountability and judicial independence.

The drafting and adoption of a law on lobbying activities, clearly regulating the interaction between public decision-makers and private interest representatives, is another ambitious and progressive measure. Such regulation would help combat corruption, ensure transparency, and strengthen institutional accountability. Lobbying transparency is an essential tool for reducing corruption risks and increasing public trust in decision-making. In this respect, GRECO⁷ has recommended that Moldova, alongside other member states, introduce clear rules for

⁷ <https://rm.coe.int/fifth-evaluation-round-preventing-corruption-and-promoting-integrity-i/1680aec9a7>

parliamentarians on interactions with third parties seeking to influence the legislative process, including establishing a lobby register and monitoring mechanisms.

Problematic aspects

The Bloc's vision of reform through the creation of PACCO, which would merge specialized prosecutor's offices, is seen as a necessary and long-overdue reform that could help eliminate compromised and ineffective prosecutors.

In this context, the "Together" Bloc proposes to:

- a) establish clear criteria for delegating and hiring prosecutors within the new office, based on professional performance, both for temporary appointees and for those hired with permanent status for the period set by law;
- b) ensure mandatory ethical and financial integrity checks following recruitment;
- c) guarantee the continuity of cases under the management of the Anticorruption Prosecutor's Office (PA) and the Prosecutor's Office for Combating Organized Crime and Special Cases (PCCOCS), as well as those pending in the courts, regardless of level or stage.

This measure is clear and has strong implementation potential. However, it is not reflected in any national policy strategy. The main objective should instead be to strengthen existing institutions so that they can perform their duties effectively, with a focus on cooperation and coordination among actors⁸. A reform of this magnitude inevitably involves complex administrative operations—prosecutor selection, redistribution and handover of cases, and reorganization of internal procedures. All of these may lead to significant delays in case resolution and a slowdown in workflow. Rather than bringing more efficiency, it risks creating bottlenecks and disrupting continuity.

Another major risk is the elimination of a specialized prosecutor's office capable of investigating cases involving prosecutors from the other structure. Without such an autonomous institution, the system's ability to respond impartially and effectively to corruption cases committed by prosecutors would be weakened. Instead of strengthening the rule of law, the measure could undermine mechanisms of control and accountability.

Although the program is substantial and well-structured, it lacks concrete measures in the field of human rights, particularly in promoting freedom of expression, freedom of association, and the principle of non-discrimination. The absence of such commitments shows that these issues are not a priority for this electoral competitor.

8 https://enlargement.ec.europa.eu/moldova-report-2024_en



**Alliance
„Moldovenii”**

**Moldova will
always be!**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The list of candidates reflects a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men—59.6% compared to 40.4% women—a ratio that is maintained in the top 10 positions (60% men and 40% women). The overall average age is 41 years, rising slightly to 42 years among the top 10. Young people aged 18–35 account for 29.8% of the list but are less represented among the top 10 (20%). The dominant group consists of candidates aged 36–50 (54.4% of the total and 80% of the top 10), while those over 51 represent a smaller share (15.8% of the list) and are absent from the top 10.

As for residence, candidates come from 11 out of 36 administrative units, indicating a limited level of territorial representation. Most candidates are from Chişinău and its suburbs (68.4% of the total and 60% of the top 10), followed by those from villages and communes (22.8% of the list and 30% of the top 10), with the lowest share belonging to candidates from other towns (8.8% overall and 10% of the top 10).

General presentation of the program

The party's electoral program is built around several objectives covering a wide range of areas: economy, justice, public administration, environment, culture, and foreign policy. The emphasis is on economic development through support for local businesses, reform of the financial system, strengthening agriculture and environmental protection, as well as modernizing infrastructure. In the justice sector, the program puts forward several measures such as raising salaries for justice system employees, attracting “honest and objective” professionals, enabling the recall by vote of those who fail to meet expectations, and revising the role of the Constitutional Court. However, these proposals are largely declarative or populist in nature, lacking details on feasibility or mechanisms for implementation. With respect to human rights, the program makes general commitments to uphold fundamental freedoms, while stressing the preservation of traditional, family, and religious values, and expressing reservations toward the introduction of “new values” associated with tolerance. Thus, the document places greater weight on measures in the field of justice and state consolidation, while its approach to human rights remains limited and predominantly focused on safeguarding a traditional value framework.

Positive aspects

The measure calling for the recruitment of professional, objective, honest individuals with a strong sense of justice, empathy, and compassion essentially falls under the broader framework of ensuring integrity and professionalism in the justice system. However, institutional mechanisms already exist for this purpose, such as external integrity assessments or professional performance evaluations. Without specifying concrete tools, selection criteria, transparent procedures, or legislative measures – the proposal remains vague and lacks practical grounding. For such a measure to be credible and applicable, it must be anchored in clear, verifiable mechanisms consistent with existing standards for strengthening the justice system.

Problematic aspects

The proposal to revise the role of the Constitutional Court raises several problematic issues. It is framed in broad, declarative terms, without specifying the legal mechanisms through which limiting interpretative competence or improving appointment procedures would be achieved. At the same time, the proposed ban on dual citizenship is not based on any real risk demonstrated and could be considered discriminatory. This was also noted by the European Court of Human Rights in *Tănase v. Moldova* (Grand Chamber, 27 April 2010), where it found that general and indiscriminate restrictions applied to dual citizens violate the principle of proportionality and the right to be elected. Limiting interpretative competence would contradict the constitutional role of the Court and European standards, where constitutional interpretation is essential to the functioning of the rule of law. Implementing such a measure would require extensive constitutional amendments, involving a complex and difficult process. Moreover, undermining the Court's fundamental role as guarantor of constitutional supremacy raises serious questions about the real applicability of such changes.

The measure aimed at shielding Moldovan legislation from so-called values associated with a “distorted understanding of tolerance” and the perceived danger of undermining traditions, the family institution, and the education system is drafted in vague language, laden with value judgments, and lacking legal clarity. Its wording suggests an intention to restrict certain rights and freedoms, particularly those related to equality, non-discrimination, and recognition of social and cultural diversity. The terms “so-called values” and “distorted tolerance” reflect a defensive stance toward European and international human rights standards and could be used to justify the exclusion or marginalization of certain social groups.

This approach is inconsistent with Moldova’s commitments under international instruments⁹, including the ECHR¹⁰, as well as its obligations in the European integration process, which require the promotion of equality and respect for diversity. Without precise definitions or concrete measures, the proposal remains declarative but carries the risk of legitimizing restrictive policies and curtailing fundamental rights under the pretext of protecting traditions.

9 Human Rights Council Resolution 16/3 “Promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms through a better understanding of the traditional values of humankind” emphasizes that “*traditions should not be invoked to justify harmful practices that violate universal human rights norms.*”

10 Bayev and Others v. Russia (Applications nos. 67667/09, 44092/12 and 56717/12) – The Court noted that reliance on “majority moral values” or on tradition cannot automatically legitimize a restriction that infringes freedom of expression and fundamental rights.



**“Alianța
pentru
Unirea
Românilor”**

**Unity is not a
dream, it is a
necessity!**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The list of candidates shows a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men—58.1% compared to 41.9% women—a ratio that is also reflected in the top 10 positions (60% men and 40% women). The overall average age is 45, rising significantly to 56 among the top 10 candidates. Young people aged 18–35 make up 30.6% of the list but are absent from the top 10. The dominant group consists of candidates over 51 years old (33.9% of the total and 60% of the top 10), followed by those aged 36–50 (35.5% of the total and 40% of the top 10).

In terms of residence, candidates come from 19 out of 36 administrative units, reflecting a moderate level of territorial diversity. Most candidates are from Chișinău and its suburbs (40.3% of the list and 60% of the top 10), followed by those from villages and communes (32.3% overall and 10% of the top 10), while the rest come from other towns (27.4% of the list and 30% of the top 10).

General presentation of the program

AUR has built its electoral program around a strongly unionist agenda, summarized in the platform “Ten Steps for Reunification,” with the central goal of uniting the Republic of Moldova with Romania. Among the priorities are the signing of a fraternity treaty between the two states and the creation of a special reunification fund. The entire platform is based on traditional values —family, faith, nation, and freedom—with reunification, presented as the party’s primary and defining objective.

On the rule of law, the central element is the chapter titled “European Justice”, supplemented by proposals from other sections. The emphasis is on institutional reconstruction and reducing political control, although some measures raise questions about their feasibility. At the same time, several chapters, such as “Healthy Nation”, “Demography” and “Security”, include measures that also touch upon human rights. These cover actions such as combating hate speech, promoting internal peace and dialogue with ethnic minorities, and ensuring so-called “identity security.”

Positive aspects

Granting magistrate status to prosecutors in the Republic of Moldova could provide stronger guarantees of irremovability and enhance prosecutorial independence, placing them on a similar level of protection as judges. However, such a reform would require major legislative changes, including at the constitutional level, to adapt the legal framework and ensure systemic coherence.

The focus on restorative justice emphasizes equality before the law and the concrete repair of harm caused to society. Measures such as confiscating illicitly acquired assets, requiring restitution of damages, and mandating community service contribute to restoring fairness and strengthening public trust in justice. This approach aligns with European standards¹¹ on proportional and effective accountability, with the potential to combine sanction with social reintegration and reduce perceptions of impunity.

Problematic aspects

The proposal to audit the extraordinary evaluation (vetting), by eliminating the external component (in commissions and secretariats), changing the composition of evaluation commissions, re-examining questionable or inconsistent cases, improving evaluation methods, and ensuring effective appeal mechanisms, has both advantages and drawbacks. On the one hand, these conditions could address criticisms of transparency and fairness, strengthening internal confidence and legitimacy. On the other hand, implementing them would halt the ongoing process and restart it under a new institutional design, making it impossible to meet the deadlines set in the Rule of Law Roadmap, particularly the completion target of December 2026. Thus, the measure to “reform” the vetting process is not feasible, as it would block timely completion. Strategically, such an approach could be interpreted as a setback in fulfilling European commitments, even if intended to correct internal deficiencies.

The merger of the Superior Council of Magistracy and the Superior Council of Prosecutors would represent a major structural change in Moldova’s constitutional and institutional framework. It is unclear, however, on what analyses or recommendations this proposal is based. Although prosecutors have sought magistrate status, this does not automatically justify unifying the two self-

11 Rec(2018)8 on Restorative Justice in Criminal Matters; Rec(2000)19 on the Role of Public Prosecution in the Criminal Justice System

administration bodies. At present, such a measure is not feasible and risks creating imbalances in the separation of powers.

The proposed reform of the Constitutional Court through structural and procedural adjustments—such as establishing an odd number of judges, preventing political affiliation, introducing staggered mandates, clarifying voting rules, and shortening examination deadlines—aims to strengthen the institution's independence and functionality. Still, it should be noted that important changes have already been made recently regarding the Court's composition, appointment procedures, and independence guarantees. Any further intervention would need to be carefully justified to avoid institutional instability and the perception of successive politically driven reforms.

Measures such as combating hate speech, promoting internal peace, engaging in dialogue with ethnic minorities, and ensuring so-called “identity security,” while seemingly positive at a declarative level, are too vaguely formulated to understand what is concretely intended. The concept of “identity security” has no clear equivalent in international standards and could be interpreted either as protecting the cultural, linguistic, and religious rights of minorities or as an instrument for asserting majority identity—raising serious concerns about compatibility with human rights. Similarly, regarding hate speech, it is unclear whether the intention is merely stricter application of existing laws or the introduction of harsher criminal and administrative sanctions.

Therefore, while these measures could be considered progressive if aimed at strengthening intercultural dialogue and protecting minorities, their vagueness makes them vulnerable to restrictive interpretations. The conclusion is that, although valuable in principle, such initiatives require clearer definition to be compatible with European standards and to generate real benefits in the field of human rights.



Political Party "Partidul Liberal"

**United for
the EU and
for our
Romania!**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The list of candidates is characterized by a balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 53.4% compared to 46.6% women, a ratio that is maintained in the top 10 positions as well (60% men and 40% women). The average age is relatively high: 56 years for the entire list and 62 years for the top 10 candidates. Young people aged 18–35 are very poorly represented (6.9% of the total and none in the top 10), while the dominant segment consists of candidates over 51 years old (67.2% of the list and 80% of the top 10). Candidates between 36–50 years represent only a quarter of the list (25.9%) and 20% of the top 10.

From the perspective of residence, candidates come from 19 administrative units out of 36, which indicates a moderate territorial diversity. Most candidates come from other towns (44.8% of the total and 60% of the top 10), followed by those from villages and communes (34.5% of the list but only 10% of the top 10), while Chişinău municipality is underrepresented (20.7% of the total and 30% of the top 10).

General overview of the program

PL defines itself as a pro-European and unionist party, considering European integration and unification with Romania as major strategic objectives. Its program is structured into 10 thematic chapters, each including specific measures. The emphasis is placed on a broad justice reform, inspired by the Romanian model. Among the proposals are progressive measures such as digitalization, greater transparency, and anti-corruption efforts, but also controversial elements – for instance, subordinating prosecutors to the Ministry of Justice, which could raise concerns about the real independence of the system.

On human rights, the program contains scattered references across several chapters – justice, social, education, diaspora – mainly targeting victim protection, inclusion of persons with disabilities, women's rights (including those in the diaspora), the right to education, and cultural protection. However, there is no distinct chapter dedicated exclusively to human rights.

Positive Aspects

The program mentions full accession to the anti-corruption instruments of the Council of Europe and the European Union. From a strategic perspective, adherence to international anti-corruption standards is always a progressive step: it aligns Moldova's legislation and practices with established models, increases external partners' trust, and strengthens prevention and sanctioning mechanisms. The problem is that the general wording lacks clarity and may be interpreted as merely symbolic, with no immediate or measurable effects. In the absence of a clear list and an implementation plan, the proposal remains declarative, without a way to assess its impact, costs, or necessary steps. While potentially positive, the measure requires detail and clarity to become a real operational commitment.

Problematic aspects

The reorganization of the Superior Council of Magistracy (SCM) into two chambers – one for judges and one for prosecutors – with the inclusion of a civil society representative is presented as a solution inspired by European practices (particularly the Romanian model). However, such a reform would require amending the Constitution, since the structure and competences of the SCM are regulated at the constitutional level. Any attempt at change would involve a difficult procedure, requiring qualified majority and could generate political deadlocks. In the current context, where immediate and practical measures required by the EU are a priority, such a constitutional debate risks consuming time and resources without guarantees of success. For these reasons, the measure cannot be considered either progressive or feasible: it does not directly contribute to urgent EU alignment objectives and risks slowing reforms through administrative and institutional blockages. Furthermore, there are no clear explanations or arguments justifying this proposal. Even if prosecutors aspire to obtain magistrate status, this does not automatically imply merging the self-administration bodies. Such a change would require major constitutional amendments and, in the absence of a genuine demand from within the system, would seem neither appropriate nor timely, and could affect the balance of powers in the state.

The proposal to merge the National Anti-Corruption Center (NACC) and the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office can be described as radical and structural, with potential for efficiency gains, but also carrying significant risks of politicization and institutional imbalance. In the absence of a detailed impact assessment and broad consultations with internal and external stakeholders, it risks being perceived as a populist measure, inspired by a foreign model but insufficiently adapted to Moldova's realities. A similar project exists, though it does not appear to be supported by the system, even if it aligns with previous reform initiatives.

The two institutions have distinct roles: NACC focuses on prevention and investigation, while the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office handles criminal prosecution and legality control. Merging them would concentrate these functions in a single body, which might reduce overlaps but would also create imbalances between investigative and prosecutorial functions, requiring broad legislative changes. The Romanian DNA model is often invoked as an example, but it operates in a different constitutional context. For Moldova, both the EU and GRECO recommend strengthening the existing institutions and clarifying competences, rather than merging them.

A single institution might increase efficiency but would also raise vulnerability to political pressures, in the absence of strong mechanisms for appointment, evaluation, and oversight. In addition, national anti-corruption strategies have so far focused on strengthening NACC, National Integrity Authority (NIA), and the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office separately, and a merger would reverse this policy direction, requiring an entirely new legal framework with significant impact on human resources, infrastructure, and inter-institutional cooperation.

Changing the status of prosecutors (granting them magistrate status, under the authority of the Public Ministry) is a sensitive proposal, requiring constitutional amendments and a clear definition of this status to ensure coherence and transparency in the judicial system. If the aim is to grant specific guarantees – independence, immunity, incompatibilities – these are essential to maintain public trust. However, unifying the status of judges and prosecutors would entail a broad and carefully designed reform, especially after the recent changes.

The French model is often cited, where prosecutors are considered magistrates and trained alongside judges at the same school of magistracy. The Public Ministry ("parquet") is responsible for defending the interests of society and applying criminal law, with prosecutors having the status of "magistrature debout" (standing magistracy), distinct from judges "du siège" (sitting magistracy). The parquet is indivisible (any prosecutor acts on behalf of the whole), but not fully independent, being coordinated by the Ministry of Justice. The French Constitution regulates the Superior Council of Magistracy with separate chambers for judges and prosecutors.

Thus, if the Republic of Moldova aims to follow this model, a broad debate, legislative and constitutional clarifications, and a careful assessment of the implications for prosecutorial independence and the balance of powers in the state are necessary.



Political Bloc “Blocul pentru Unirea Națiunii”

**BUN – the
best vote!**

Electoral
program not
identified

General profile of the electoral list

The list of candidates features a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 58.2% compared to 41.8% women, a ratio that is also reflected in the top 10 positions (60% men and 40% women). In terms of age, the overall average is very high, at 63 years, and reaches 70 years for the top 10 candidates. Young people aged 18–35 are almost absent (only 2.5% of the full list and none in the top 10), while candidates aged 36–50 make up 20.3% of the list but are not represented at all in the top 10. The dominant segment is that of candidates over 51 years old, accounting for 77.2% of the full list and 100% of the top 10.

From the perspective of residence, candidates come from 16 out of 36 administrative units, which indicates low territorial representativeness. The largest share belongs to those from Chișinău municipality (55.7% of the total and 90% of the top 10), followed by candidates from other towns (29.1% of the full list and 10% of the top 10), while candidates from villages and communes are underrepresented (15.2% of the full list and none in the top 10).

General Overview of the Program

The Electoral Bloc “Unirea Națiunii” (BUN), formed by the National Reunification Party “ACASĂ” and the National Liberal Party, was established in 2025 for the parliamentary elections of September 28. The bloc positions itself on a pro-Western and unionist geopolitical course. However, no detailed electoral program was identified from available online sources, and the CRJM’s request for such a program was not answered. Public communications indicate that the Bloc aims to declare the Republic of Moldova as the “second Romanian state” and to accelerate European integration, thereby advancing the objective of national reunification.

Upon reviewing available online sources – including press releases, interviews, and campaign launches – no concrete proposals or even references from the “Unirea Națiunii” (BUN) Electoral Bloc were found in the areas of justice and human rights. This lack of information makes it impossible to evaluate these segments.

CALIN

**Political
Party
“Uniunea
Creștin-
Socială din
Moldova”**

**Together
we will take
care of the
country!**

Electoral
program not
identified

General profile of the electoral list

The list of candidates is characterized by a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 56.6% compared to 43.4% women. This ratio is maintained in the top 10 positions, where men account for 60% and women 40%. In terms of age, the overall average is 48 years, while for the top 10 candidates it drops to 44 years. Young candidates (18–35 years old) represent 20.8% of the full list and 20% of the top 10. The 36–50 age group holds a share of 35.8% of the list and is dominant in the top 10 (60%). Candidates over 51 years old make up 43.4% of the total but only 20% of the top 10.

From the perspective of place of residence, candidates come from 9 administrative units out of a total of 36, which indicates limited territorial representativeness. The largest share belongs to candidates from Chișinău municipality – 71.7% of the list and 70% of the top 10. Candidates from other cities are very poorly represented – 3.8% of the total and 10% of the top 10. Those from villages and communes account for 24.5% of the list and 20% of the top 10.

General overview of the program

A unified electoral program for 2025, structured into chapters and clear operational measures (with budgets, deadlines, and performance indicators), has not been identified and was not provided in response to CRJM’s request. Consequently, there is a lack of a detailed programmatic offer, comparable to the standards of transparency and planning used in international practice.

From the [available online sources](#) the central theme of the Christian-Social Union’s campaign is the message “we dismantle the system”, complemented by the official slogan “Together we will take care of the country”. The public rhetoric of the list leader, Gabriel Călin, and of the party focuses predominantly on anti-system narratives, with strong overtones of challenging the current institutional order. The campaign is more centred on mobilizing critical messages rather than on a concrete set of public policy proposals. Thus, instead of well-defined sectoral measures (in areas such as the economy, justice, social protection, or education), UCSM’s discourse focuses on denouncing the existing political class and promising a radical “reset”, without being accompanied by an operational plan. This approach fails to provide predictability or mechanisms for implementing viable public policies.



**Political
Party
„Coaliția
pentru
Unitate și
Bunăstare”**

**Forward,
Moldova!**

**Electoral
program**

General profile of the electoral list

The electoral competitor's list is characterized by a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 59.3% men and 40.7% women – a ratio that is similar among the top 10 positions (60% men; 40% women). The average age of candidates is 49, identical for the top 10. Young candidates aged 18–35 make up 13.6% of the full list and 10% of the top 10. Those aged 36–50 represent 33.9% of the full list and 40% of the top 10, while candidates over 51 years old account for 52.5% of the full list and 50% of the top 10.

From the perspective of residence, candidates come from 15 of the 36 administrative-territorial units, indicating limited territorial representativeness. The majority reside in Chișinău (52.5% of the full list and 70% of the top 10), followed by candidates from other cities (25.4% of the list but 0% of the top 10), and those from villages/communes (22.0% of the list and 30% of the top 10).

General overview of the program

The electoral program is organized into nine major thematic areas: liberal economy, affordable energy for all, connectivity and rapid transport, education and research, culture and national identity, healthcare, fair and independent justice, national security, and the diaspora. A distinct chapter is devoted to justice, structured along four priorities: increasing transparency and access to justice, strengthening judicial independence, introducing legal education for citizens, and applying a zero-tolerance approach to corruption. By contrast, human rights do not appear as a standalone chapter but are reflected transversally—through emphasis on individual rights and freedoms, equality before the law, and equal opportunities for all. However, a dedicated operational framework is missing.

Positive aspects

The complete digitalization of justice, the unified electronic case file, remote hearings, automatic audio-video recording, and random case allocation—together with access measures (reduced court fees, inclusive justice guidelines) and the expansion of mediation—can enhance transparency, traceability, and predictability, while lowering barriers for litigants, including vulnerable groups.

In addition, the explicit prohibition of political interference in investigations and judgments, along with sanctions for exerting pressure on the judiciary, represents a positive signal for strengthening the independence of the judicial system and protecting fundamental rights.

Several of these measures are already envisaged in the 2022–2025 Strategy: digitalization through the Integrated Case Management Program with ongoing improvements, the e-Case system (in pilot phase with party access), videoconferencing and system interconnections, as well as the expansion of mediation (including the option of mandatory mediation for certain disputes), and access tools such as information centers, state-guaranteed legal aid, and the courts' web portal.

Problematic aspect

The proposal that most cases should be concluded within a maximum of six months is more of a populist promise than a realistic policy. The “six months” threshold appears arbitrary, disregarding the diversity of cases and the factors applied by the ECtHR in assessing a “reasonable time” (such as the complexity of the case, the conduct of the authorities and the parties, and what is at stake for the claimant). Without an impact assessment, resource guarantees, objective criteria on judges' caseloads, and exceptions for complex cases, this six-month ceiling risks pushing the system toward quantitative targets, with adverse effects on the quality of deliberations, the right to defense, and judicial independence.

See, in the same vein, the comment on the PAS competitor's measure and the recent experience with fixed deadlines (e.g., Law No. 100 on electoral corruption).



**Political
Party
“Alianța
Liberalilor și
Democraților
pentru
Europa
(ALDE)”**

**The courage
to deliver
justice. We
are clearing
the path to
Europe!**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The electoral competitor's list is characterized by a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of women – 51.9% women and 48.1% men. However, in the top 10 positions this ratio is reversed (60% men and 40% women). The average age of candidates on the list is 44, while among the top 10 it rises to 49. Young people aged 18–35 account for 29.6% of the full list but are not represented at all in the top 10. The category of those over 51 years of age is predominant (31.5% of the full list and 40% of the top 10).

From a residence perspective, candidates come from 10 out of the 36 administrative-territorial units, indicating limited territorial representation. 63% of candidates reside in Chișinău (50% of the top 10), followed by those from other cities (33.3% of the full list and 40% of the top 10), and those from villages/communes (3.7% of the full list and 10% of the top 10). All candidates are members of ALDE, with Arina Spătaru heading the list.

General overview of the program

The electoral program is structured into seven major chapters: “The Courage to Deliver Justice,” “An Economy for People, Not for Networks,” “A State that Works, Not Consumes,” “Responsible Healthcare,” “Respect for Tradition, Equal Rules for All,” “Respected Passenger, Modern Roads,” and “The Clean Path to Europe.” Each is supplemented by measurable commitments.

The program's central focus is on institutional reforms, anti-corruption, and the economy, which form the core of the document. A distinct chapter, “The Courage to Deliver Justice,” is dedicated to justice and the fight against corruption, including measures such as establishing a specialized anti-corruption body (“DNA across the Prut”), reducing the number of MPs and ministries, eliminating political privileges, and digitalizing the justice system.

In the field of human rights, the chapter “Respect for Tradition, Equal Rules for All” includes commitments to protect women and children from violence, ensure equal pay, prohibit discrimination, and provide support for persons with disabilities as well as for national and ethnic minorities. However, the program does not address key issues such as freedom of expression and freedom of association.

Positive aspects

Equality and non-discrimination. The program makes explicit commitments to prohibit discrimination (including on the grounds of sexual orientation), expand services for victims of violence, increase access for persons with disabilities, and introduce an annual report on human rights compliance. The proposed directions are aligned with the current national strategic framework – the National Human Rights Action Plan 2024–2027.

The introduction of an annual public report meets the monitoring and reporting requirements of national strategies and roadmaps, facilitating the assessment of progress against indicators. The ALDE program is among the few electoral platforms that formulate explicit and operational measures, particularly in the field of anti-discrimination.

Problematic aspects

Immediate confiscation of unjustified assets and “automatic dismissal.” The categorical framing of this measure risks violating the presumption of innocence and the principle of proportionality. Without a mechanism explaining exactly how such measures would be carried out, the promise remains largely populist.

Reducing the number of MPs. While not inherently problematic, this measure, absent an impact assessment on representativeness, leans more toward populism. Moreover, such a change would require amending the Constitution (as the current number of MPs is set at the constitutional level)—a particularly complex process involving the Constitutional Court’s opinion, procedural deadlines and restrictions, public consultations, multiple parliamentary readings, and a qualified 2/3 majority.

From the perspective of the current strategic framework (rule of law roadmaps, European integration priorities), this intervention is not listed as a reform priority. Without technical substantiation (institutional scenarios, budgetary impact, functioning of committees, workload per mandate), it risks diverting resources away from urgent objectives (judicial integrity and efficiency, anti-corruption, justice digitalization) toward a difficult constitutional revision with unclear benefits.



Political Party “Partidul Național Moldovenesc”

The
generation
that brings
us together!

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The electoral competitor’s list is characterized by a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 53.7% men and 46.3% women – a proportion that is maintained in the top positions as well (60% men and 40% women). The average age of this party’s candidates is 40 (43 among the top 10). Young people aged 18–35 represent 25.9% of the full list and 10% of the top 10. The 36–50 age group is the most strongly represented (64.8% of the full list and 70% of the top 10). Candidates over 51 account for 9.3% of the full list and 20% of the top 10.

From the perspective of residence, candidates come from 10 of the 36 administrative-territorial units, indicating limited territorial representation. Candidates residing in Chișinău make up 70.4% of the full list and 80% of the top 10, followed by those living in other cities – 11.1% of the full list and 10% of the top 10 – and candidates from villages/communes – 18.5% of the full list and 10% of the top 10. All candidates are members of PNM, with Dragoș Galbur heading the list.

General overview of the program

The electoral program is organized into fourteen major chapters: administrative-territorial reform, healthcare, education, justice, family and demographics, agriculture and rural development, economy and free market, culture and national identity, social protection and pensions, the diaspora, national security and defense, sport and active living, environment and climate change, and unification with Romania.

The chapter dedicated to justice is among the most detailed and includes measures such as: full digitalization of the judiciary and random case assignment using artificial intelligence, the introduction of mandatory deadlines for case resolution (six months at first instance, four months on appeal, three months on cassation), live online streaming of court hearings, creation of a youth and sports fund from assets confiscated by ARBI, and the merger of law faculties in Bălți.

Human rights are not addressed in a separate chapter but are reflected transversally in areas such as family and demographics, social protection, education, and culture, through commitments to equal pay, non-discrimination, and support for persons with disabilities (including the elimination of annual reconfirmation for irreversible disabilities). However, explicit measures on freedom of expression, freedom of association, and protection of ethnic minorities—beyond the cultural-identity framework—are missing.

Positive aspects

Digitalization of justice, random allocation (including via AI systems), and public streaming of court hearings. This direction is already anchored in the 2022–2025 National Justice Strategy: digitalization through the Integrated Case Management Program (PIGD) with ongoing improvements, the e-Case system, and videoconferencing. The fairness of random allocation is addressed through the revision of criteria and algorithms in the PIGD.

Within this framework, the introduction of AI-assisted allocation and public streaming of hearings could be implemented with clear safeguards: periodic audits of algorithms, audits of allocation processes, and robust standards for security and data protection. These measures would reduce manipulation risks, enhance transparency, and facilitate access to justice, while remaining aligned with European justice digitalization practices and CEPEJ recommendations.

Problematic aspects

“Mandatory” procedural deadlines for case resolution. This approach (also found in at least three other competitors’ programs) contradicts the line set out in the 2022–2025 Justice Strategy. The Strategy calls for reviewing and adjusting procedural deadlines with a focus on “reasonable time,” depending on case complexity and ECtHR standards. ECtHR standards require assessing “reasonable time” considering complexity, the conduct of the parties, and what is at stake in the case, making rigid ceilings incompatible with this framework.

Dissolution of key agencies (the National Energy Regulatory Agency, the National Integrity Authority, the National Food Safety Agency, and the Public Property Agency) on the generic ground of “corruption,” without objective criteria, external evaluation, or guarantees of independence for new structures, requires an impact assessment and phased transition to avoid institutional costs outweighing the benefits.



Political Party “Liga Orașelor și Comunelor”

**Oriented
toward the
People**

Electoral
program

General profile of the electoral list

The electoral competitor's list is characterized by a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of women – 53.7% women and 46.3% men – with a similar ratio in the top 10 positions (50% women and 50% men). The average age of candidates is 48 (50 among the top 10). Young people aged 18–35 account for 11.1% of the full list but are not represented in the top 10. The best represented age group is 36–50 years (53.7% of the full list and 60% of the top 10), followed by candidates over 51 (35.2% of the full list and 40% of the top 10).

From the perspective of residence, candidates come from 15 out of the 36 administrative-territorial units, indicating moderate territorial representativeness. 14.8% of candidates reside in Chișinău (30% of the top 10), 64.8% live in other cities (60% of the top 10), and 20.4% reside in villages/communes (10% of the top 10). The list is headed by Alexandru Bujorean.

General overview of the program

The electoral program is structured around 12 major objectives, grouped into action areas targeting local administration, community development, decentralization, infrastructure, social equity, and civic participation. In the field of justice, the program proposes measures focused on transparency and efficiency, digitalization with emphasis on combating local-level corruption, and holding public authorities accountable. Human rights are not presented in a separate chapter but are reflected transversally, through commitments to equal opportunities between urban and rural communities, equitable access to public services (education, healthcare, infrastructure), and support for vulnerable groups through local social policies. However, specific measures on freedom of expression, freedom of association, and the protection of ethnic minorities are missing, being addressed only indirectly through the lens of community cohesion.

Positive aspects

Measures on justice digitalization (electronic case files, public access to decisions, online broadcasting of hearings, shorter deadlines) are aligned with the EU acquis on justice digitalization and CEPEJ recommendations; they can enhance transparency, reduce access costs, and accelerate case resolution. Feasibility is high if IT governance, interoperability, and a multi-annual budget (including EU funds) are ensured.

Professionalization and meritocracy (genuine competitions, periodic evaluations with objective indicators, competitive salaries) are progressive measures that strengthen the functional independence of judges and prosecutors, reducing the risk of political capture. The institutional framework already exists (SCM, CSP, NIJ), and strengthening it through clear, monitorable rules is both feasible and necessary. At the same time, the measures are presented rather briefly, which makes them difficult to assess in detail.

Problematic aspects

The potential creation of a single anti-corruption institution modeled on the DNA carries risks of excessive concentration of powers and politicization, especially without an impact assessment, procedural safeguards, and solid mechanisms for appointing and evaluating leadership. Without a careful transition, merging institutions could stall cases, create jurisdictional conflicts, and weaken mutual oversight among institutions.

The DNA model from Romania is often cited as an example, but it functions within a different constitutional framework. In Moldova's case, both the EU and GRECO recommend strengthening the capacity of existing institutions and clarifying their competences, rather than merging them.

A single institution might increase efficiency but would also heighten vulnerability to political pressures in the absence of strong appointment, evaluation, and oversight mechanisms. Moreover, Moldova's national anti-corruption strategies have so far focused on separately strengthening the NAC, NIA, and Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office. A merger would change the direction of public policy and require an entirely new legal framework, with significant impact on human resources, infrastructure, and inter-institutional cooperation.



Victoria Sanduța – independent candidate

No Party. No Interests. Only Principles!

Electoral program not identified

General overview of the program

Victoria Sanduța is running as an independent candidate in the 2025 parliamentary elections. A former judge known for her outspoken criticism of corruption in the judiciary, Sanduța has centered her campaign on restoring integrity in justice and governance. She presents herself as a non-partisan reformer, representing citizens disillusioned with the system.

Victoria Sanduța's platform is explicitly built around urgent reforms for an independent judiciary. She has repeatedly stated that "a truly independent justice system" is a top priority. In her campaign materials, she outlined "Three Urgencies, Three Solutions" for the justice sector, which include: Legal education for all citizens; A truly independent justice system; Merit-based promotion of justice professionals.

Positive aspect

Legal education for citizens, ensuring freedom of expression for magistrates, and protecting whistleblowers – a measure consistent with the objectives of strengthening judicial independence and ensuring effective access to rights. The proposals also align with current objectives to reinforce the independence of the judiciary and guarantee effective access to rights (the 2022–2025 Strategy and the National Human Rights Action Plan). In the Moldovan context, these directions are consistent with European case law on freedom of expression in the public sector as well as with rule of law roadmaps.

Problematic aspect

The idea of appointing or directly electing the Prosecutor General risks politicizing the institution and would introduce campaign cycles that could undermine the independence of criminal prosecution.

See the comment on the similar proposal made by independent candidate Andrei Năstase.



**MOLDOVA
MARE**

**Political
Party
„Moldova
Mare”**

**For God! For
the land!
For the
Moldovans!**

Electoral
program not
identified

General profile of the electoral list

The electoral competitor's list is characterized by a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 55.4% men and 44.6% women – with a similar ratio among the top 10 positions (60% men, 40% women). The average age of candidates is 47, rising slightly to 49 among the top 10. Young people aged 18–35 account for 23.2% of the full list and 20% of the top 10. Candidates aged 36–50 make up 41.1% of the full list and 50% of the top 10. Candidates over 51 represent 35.7% of the full list and 30% of the top 10.

Territorially, candidates come from 20 out of 36 administrative-territorial units, which indicates good representativeness. 35.7% of candidates reside in Chişinău (50% of the top 10), 39.3% in other cities (50% of the top 10), and 25.0% in villages/communes, though none of the latter are represented in the top 10. The list is headed by Victoria Furtună.

General overview of the program

From the statements of party members during public campaign interventions, it appears that the Greater Moldova Party emphasizes traditional values, national sovereignty, and anti-corruption measures (its president being a former anti-corruption prosecutor).

Positive aspect

The insistence on equality before the law and on combating impunity for corruption could strengthen public trust if implemented with institutional safeguards (transparency, merit-integrity criteria, judicial oversight).

However, there is a fundamental inconsistency between the promise of “equality before the law” and the insistence on the “traditional family” accompanied by opposition to “LGBT promotion” (see below). The first presupposes equal treatment and non-discriminatory protection for all, while the second normatively privileges a single-family model and opens the way to exclusionary policies toward other types of families or identities. Without explicit guarantees that the principle of non-discrimination applies to all (including on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity), the pro-equality message remains contradictory to the “traditional family” agenda and risks colliding with European human rights standards.

Problematic aspects

The declared emphasis on the “traditional family” and opposition to “LGBT promotion” risks legitimizing discriminatory policies and clashing with ECtHR standards on equality and non-discrimination.

In the field of justice, promises of “cleansing” and “zero tolerance” are not backed by clear procedural mechanisms (selection, discipline, safeguards for independence), which could devolve into symbolic or selective justice under political pressure.



**Political
Party “Noua
Opțiune
Istorică”**

**The Power
of the
United!**

Electoral
program not
identified

General profile of the electoral list

The electoral competitor's list is characterized by a relatively balanced gender structure, with a slight predominance of men – 54.5% men and 45.5% women – with a ratio of 60% men and 40% women in the top 10 positions. The average age of candidates is 44 (49 among the top 10). Young people aged 18–35 make up 29.1% of the full list and 10% of the top 10. The 36–50 age group accounts for 36.4% of the full list and 40% of the top 10, while those over 51 represent 34.5% of the full list and 50% of the top 10.

From a territorial perspective, candidates come from 9 out of 36 administrative-territorial units, indicating limited representativeness. 61.8% of candidates reside in Chișinău (80% of the top 10), 16.4% in other cities (10% of the top 10), and 21.8% in villages/communes (10% of the top 10). The list is headed by Dmitri Torner.

Positive aspect

Measures on transparency (publication of all contracts), digitalization, and an independent anti-corruption agency move in the direction of a functional and predictable rule of law. Reducing bureaucracy and ensuring equitable access to services can lower the risk of discretionary treatment, thereby supporting equal opportunities and reducing the temptation of selective justice.

Problematic aspect

The proposal to “cleanse” the Criminal Code of “instruments of pressure” on the business environment is vaguely formulated. Such a measure could weaken accountability for economic and corruption-related offenses. In the field of human rights, the emphasis on “traditional values” and national identity, without explicit guarantees for minorities, leaves a gap in ensuring equal protection and inclusion.

See the comment regarding the similar proposal made by the “Moldova Mare” competitor.



Tatiana Crețu – independent candidate

**Moldova needs
leaders who listen
to the people!**

Electoral
program not
identified

General Overview of the program

The candidate's proposals focus on transparency, parliamentary oversight, and open governance, combined with ideas of social dialogue, the diaspora as a strategic partner, and territorial reform aimed at local autonomy and budgetary fairness.

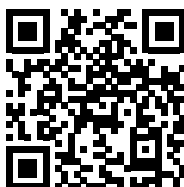
Positive aspects

Processes and institutions, diaspora as a strategic partner. Tatiana Crețu's proposed measures target full budget transparency, an open procurement register, meritocracy in the civil service, and mechanisms for social dialogue, all of which align with open governance standards and rule of law objectives. Integrating the diaspora beyond rhetoric (consultation, co-design of policies, and possibly dedicated channels for participation and investment) can enhance decision-making legitimacy and bring expertise or resources to critical areas such as education, healthcare, and digitalization.

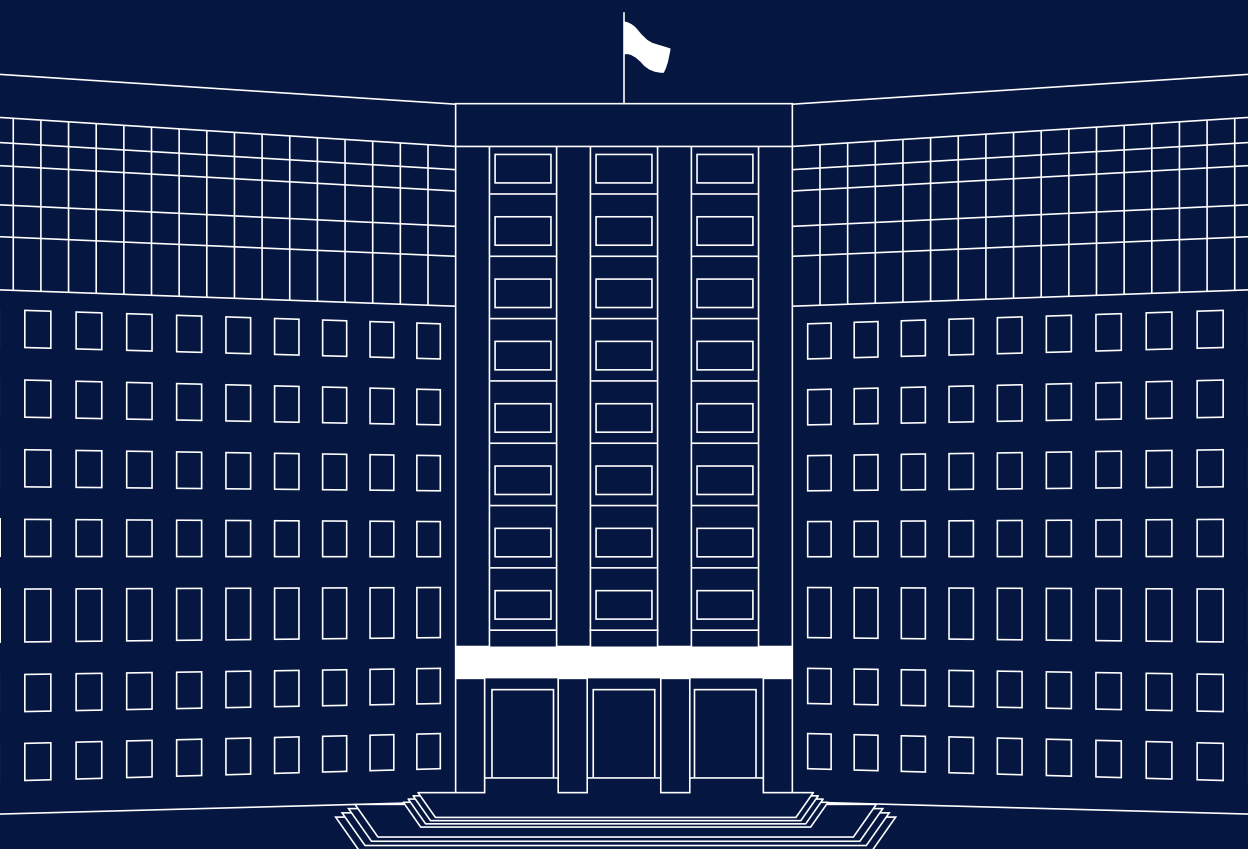
Local autonomy, correlated with the principle of "money follows the citizen," has the potential to correct territorial inequities and improve access to services. Meanwhile, periodic reporting (including on procurement) and parliamentary oversight in key areas (justice, EU acquis transposition) are consistent with current policy directions in these fields.

Problematic aspects

Judicial oversight. This measure is vaguely explained and should be clarified as policy and budgetary oversight, not interference in concrete cases; otherwise, it risks undermining the separation of powers. The reference to the Dutch consultation model remains aspirational without a legal basis. Finally, the absence of an explicit package targeting fundamental rights (anti-discrimination, protection of human rights defenders, guarantees for freedom of expression and assembly) leaves a gap in the candidate's commitments.



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