

SUMMARY REPORT

Financing of political parties in the Republic of Moldova

2024 Retrospective



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Between June 2024 and May 2025, two legislative initiatives were registered and adopted, which included significant amendments relevant to the activity and financing of political parties, as follows:

- regulation of the establishment of political blocs;
- amendment of the deadline for submitting audit reports;
- tightening of criminal sanctions for electoral bribery and for illegal political and electoral financing; establishment of sanctions for bribing participants in assemblies and for organizing assemblies in violation of legal provisions;
- prohibition of promoting political actors through philanthropic and sponsorship activities;
- prohibition of the registration and activity of successor parties of those declared unconstitutional;
- obligation for political parties to maintain and submit to the CEC and PSA permanently updated registers of party members, with noncompliance sanctioned by limiting the party's activity;
- establishment of new rules for drafting/updating the statutes and programs of political parties, especially regarding the presentation and updating of the list of party members who must annually submit declarations of assets and personal interests; noncompliance sanctioned by prohibiting the party from participating in elections;
- revision of the criteria and rules for limiting the activity of political parties; assignment of jurisdiction to the Chisinau Court of Appeal for examining requests to limit party activity;
- limitation of personal data that may be collected during various social campaigns by political entities.

The adopted amendments to the legal framework did not, however, address political and electoral financing by third parties, despite the recommendations of the Venice Commission, the European Commission, and OSCE/ODIHR.

As a result of exercising its supervisory and control attributions over the financing of political party activity, the CEC ordered: initiation of 33 contraventional proceedings in the case of 17 political parties that failed to submit financial reports within the timeframe and/or in the format provided by the legal framework; initiation of 12 contraventional proceedings against donors who made donations exceeding the limits or in violation of legal rules; notification of the Court of Accounts regarding the verification of expenditures from state budget allocations carried out by 4 political parties; notification of the Ministry of Justice in the case of 8 political parties for remedying violations committed in the political financing process and, as applicable, undertaking measures to limit their activity; and in the case of 5 political parties – requesting their dissolution under the law (P.Reg., POM, PMUEM, PC, CHANCE).

Based on actions taken by the CEC and at the request of the Ministry of Justice, by the time of the report's publication, the court had limited the activity of 6 political parties (4 for a period of 3 months, and 2 for a period of 6 months). The other cases are pending in court.

During the monitoring period, the Anticorruption Prosecutor's Office resolved two complaints and referred 12 criminal cases to court for violations in the management of financial resources and for illegal financing of political parties, initiative groups, electoral competitors, or referendum participants. Thus, as of May 31, 2025, at least one case on illegal political financing and 16 cases concerning the mismanagement of political party or electoral funds were under examination in court.

In two criminal cases brought to court at the end of 2023, judgments were pronounced in March 2025, targeting MPs Alexandr Nesterovschi and Irina Lozovan / Pavel Gîrleanu. MP Alexandr Nesterovschi, found guilty of illegal political financing (PR) and passive bribery, was sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in a closed-type penitentiary, a fine of 500,000 lei, and disqualification from holding public office for 12 years.

Irina Lozovan, found guilty of mismanagement of political party financial resources (PR) through knowingly accepting funding from an organized criminal group or organization, was sentenced to 6 years in a semi-closed penitentiary and a 5-year ban on holding public office. MP Lozovan's husband, Pavel Gîrleanu, was sentenced to 5 years in prison and a 5-year ban on holding public office.

The three convicts were declared internationally wanted for arrest and imprisonment; however, according to the SIS and IGP, they are believed to be in the Transnistrian region, including with the support and protection of the Russian Federation.

Regarding the submission of financial reports, 92% of registered parties submitted financial management reports for the first semester of 2024, 95% for the second semester of 2024, and likewise, 95% submitted annual reports. Compared to 2023, an improvement was noted in the share of reports submitted by political entities (from 75% in 2023 to 95% in 2024).

However, the increase in the reporting rate does not also imply an improvement in the quality of the reported information and/or an increase in the transparency of political party financing. Thus, in the case of many political entities that conducted numerous and costly activities throughout 2024—especially the Victory Bloc and its constituents (FASM, PR, VPP, and CHANCE)—they submitted reports with “zero” income and expenditures.

In this context, we note that the "Financial Control" ISS, which remains the main tool used by the electoral authority in the process of political party financing reporting, continued to operate with deficiencies, leading the CEC to extend the deadlines for report submission. According to the CEC, an acceptable solution to this situation would be a complete rewrite of the information system, which would allow for the configuration of a modern, more secure, and scalable architecture, thereby reducing long-term risks and operational costs.

According to reports submitted by political parties to the Central Electoral Commission, there was a continued and significant decrease in the number of declared party members. Thus, in 2024, when 4 more political parties were registered compared to 2023, the total number of reported party members was over 13,000 fewer (in 2024 – 173,948, compared to 187,424 in 2023).

In 2024, the highest number of party members was reported by PAS (14,325), PSRM (14,007), and PL (10,000). For 18 political parties (28% of registered parties), the number of reported members was below the minimum threshold for the registration of a political party (1,000 members).

Compared to 2023, the largest increases in party membership were reported by POM (+3,594), PAS (+1,723), and PN (+1,459), while the largest decreases were reported by PPDM (–8,700), PDMM (–5,315), and UCM (–4,370).

According to reports submitted to the CEC, 36 political parties reported total revenues of 70.2 million lei, of which 46% were reported by PAS, 18% by PSRM, and 10% by PN. Thus, 74% of total revenues were reported by 3 political parties, and only 26% by the remaining 33 parties.

As in previous periods, the main source of income was state budget allocations – 75%, followed by donations from individuals – 17%, donations from legal entities – 3%, economic activities – 3%, and membership fees – 2%. Therefore, the trend of political party financing and dependence on state budget allocations remains unchanged.

State budget allocations were reported by 29 political parties, totaling 51.8 million lei, of which 50% went to PAS, 17% to PSRM, and 7% to PN. Therefore, 74% of total allocations from the state budget were

transferred to 3 political parties (two of them parliamentary – PAS and PSRM), and 26% to the other 26 parties. For 15 political parties, 1.5 million lei in allocations were not received due to CEC suspending funding (sanctions, requirement to transfer unlawfully collected donations to the state budget, etc.).

Membership fee revenues were reported by 17 political parties totaling 1.6 million lei – 398.5 thousand lei less than in 2023. Most contributions were collected by PAS – 61%, MAN – 16%, and PSRM – 9%. Relative to the total number of declared members, the highest share of members who paid dues was in PAS – 61%, followed by PAM – 18%, and MAN – 14%. In 11 of the 17 political parties that collected dues, the party president – as the leader and, arguably, a role model – did not pay the membership fee.

Financial donations were reported by 19 parties, totaling 13.5 million lei (three times more than in 2023), of which 84% were from individuals and 16% from legal entities. Of the donations from individuals, 36% were in cash and 64% via bank transfer. Most donations were received by PAS – 35%, PN – 27%, and PSRM – 18%. Based on donors' income sources, 88% were from salaries, 5% from pensions, and 7% from other sources (scholarships, allowances, dividends, etc.).

According to the legal framework, the CEC only verified donations that exceeded three average monthly salaries per economy, i.e., 41,100 lei. During the reporting period, this threshold was exceeded by 44 donors who financially supported 6 political parties with 2.9 million lei – representing only 26% of all individual donations. Thus, 74% of financial donations from individuals were not verified by the CEC to confirm or refute the existence of officially declared income by donors.

Regarding party expenditures, these were reported by 39 parties totaling 71 million lei, of which 77% were from state budget allocations and 27% from other sources. In terms of expenditure purpose, 21% went to youth and women programs, 20% to salary payments, 18% to electoral campaigns, and 17% to office rent/maintenance and telecommunications. Most expenditures were reported by PAS – 47%, PSRM – 17%, and PN – 11%.

According to Promo-LEX monitors, in 2024, at least 1,874 promotion activities and events (political assemblies, political campaigning, social campaigns, protests and public demonstrations, statutory activities, domestic and international travel, etc.) were observed for 25 political entities and one unregistered entity (Victory Bloc). Most observed activities were by PAS – 45%, Victory Bloc – 20%, and PSRM – 16%.

Based on the observed activities, unreported expenditures were estimated for 20 political entities totaling at least 20 million lei – representing 28% of all reported expenditures. The highest unreported expenditures were estimated for Victory Bloc – 81%, PSRM – 8%, and for PN, PAS, PSDE, and PPVM – 2% each.

In terms of unreported spending categories, most were for social media advertising – 37%, political event organization – 21%, and office rent/maintenance and telecommunications – 12%.

Thank you for the clarification. Below is the **complete English translation of the RECOMMENDATIONS section**, following the same direct and faithful translation style as previously applied:

RECOMMENDATIONS

To the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova:

1. Inclusion, in addition to membership fees and donations, of revenues accumulated by political parties from other sources (state budget allocations and economic activity) within the overall revenue ceiling.

2. Identification and implementation of the necessary instruments for monitoring and controlling donations/contributions from donors with income obtained abroad (e.g., partnerships with other states regarding information exchange, etc.).
3. Identification and implementation of the necessary instruments to ensure a reasonable balance between public and private financing of political parties.
4. Regulation of political and electoral financing by third parties.
5. Regulation of the limit of membership fees that can be collected in cash by political parties from a party member, by establishing a cumulative ceiling of donations and membership fees that may be collected in cash (up to one average salary per economy).
6. Clear regulation of the conditions regarding revenues accumulated by parties from economic activity (especially those involving the purchase of tickets/seats at various events), so as to ensure the identification of the payer of the goods/services in order to ensure that the payments made by them are included within the legal limits for donations.
7. Regulation of certain limits concerning the accumulation by political parties of revenues from in-kind donations, which are to be used as a complementary source of political financing.
8. Ex-post legal/impact evaluation of the new legal framework relevant to the financing of political parties.

To the Central Electoral Commission:

9. Increasing the efforts of the CEC to engage all resources provided by the legal framework for the effective monitoring and control of political and electoral financing.
10. Ensuring the functionality of the "Financial Control" ISS. Feasibility analysis of the complete rewrite of the information system and, accordingly, the configuration of a modern, more secure and easily expandable architecture, ensuring the possibility of publishing political party financial reports according to open data principles.
11. Adoption of detailed working methodologies/instructions on preparing the financial report by political parties, initiative groups, electoral competitors, including the manner in which expenditures for youth and women programs are to be reported.
12. Expansion of the criteria that will form the basis for verifying donations in support of political parties (not only those exceeding three average salaries per economy).

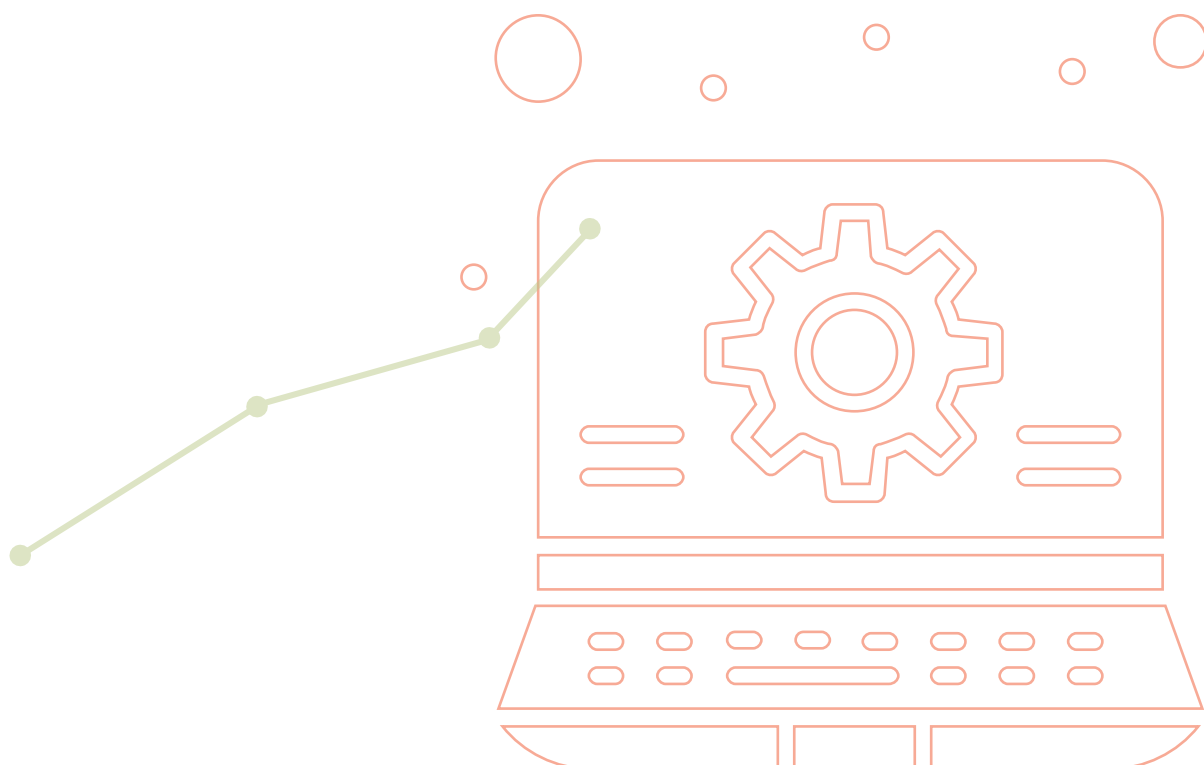
To Political Parties:

13. Increasing the involvement of party members in political party activities, including through the mandatory collection of membership fees.
14. Increasing efforts to diversify political party funding sources and, accordingly, reducing financial dependence on state budget allocations.

ABBREVIATIONS

PSA – Public Services Agency
STS – State Tax Service
Art. – article
para. – paragraph
CEC – Central Electoral Commission
NAC – National Anticorruption Center
CO – central organization of a political party
TO – territorial organization of a political party
ALDE – Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Political Party
AUR – Alliance for the Union of Romanians Political Party
CA – Common Action Political Party – Civil Congress
CUW – Coalition for Unity and Welfare Political Party
AFMS – Alternative Force for Moldova’s Salvation Political Party
LTC – League of Towns and Communes Political Party
NAM – National Alternative Movement Political Party
MPHN – Movement of Professionals “Hope – Nadezhda”
MRM – Respect Moldova Movement Political Party
SPMR – Social-Political Movement of the Roma from the Republic of Moldova
SRM – Social Reform Movement Political Party
NOI – Noua Opțiune Istorică (New Historical Option) Political Party
P. Reg. – Party of Regions of Moldova
PACE – Partidul Acasă Construim Europa (We Build Europe at Home Party) Political Party
APM – Agrarian Party of Moldova Political Party
PAS – Partidul Acțiune și Solidaritate (Action and Solidarity Party) Political Party
CP – Conservative Party
PCRM – Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova
PDCM – Party of Development and Consolidation of Moldova Political Party
MDPM – Modern Democratic Party of Moldova Political Party
EP – European Party
LP – Liberal Party
PLJ – Party of Law and Justice Political Party
LDPM – Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova
MUEMP – Moldova Unită – Единая Молдова (United Moldova) Party
OP – Partidul Nostru (Our Party) Political Party
NLP – National Liberal Party
NMP – National Moldavian Party Political Party
LPP – Partidul Oamenilor Muncii (Labor People’s Party) Political Party
FPNA – Pentru Oameni, Natură și Animale (For People, Nature, and Animals) Political Party
CDPP – Christian-Democratic People’s Party
DHPP – Democrația Acasă (Democracy at Home) Political Party
DPPM – Democratic Peoples’ Party of Moldova Political Party
DFPP – Forța Diasporei (Diaspora’s Force) Political Party
PMP – Patrioții Moldovei (Patriots of Moldova) Party
GMPP – Moldova Mare (Great Moldova) Political Party
NPP – Noi (We) Political Party
PPP – Patria (Motherland) Political Party
DTPPP – Platforma Demnitate și Adevăr (Dignity and Truth Platform) Political Party
PPPP – Puterea Oamenilor (People’s Power) Political Party
NPPPP – Partidul Progresului Național (National Progress Party) Political Party
PPRM – People’s Party of the Republic of Moldova Political Party
RUPP – Republica Unirii (Republic of the Union) Political Party

PSPM – People’s Socialist Party of Moldova
SPP – Sor Political Party
VPP – Victorie (Victory) Political Party
PFFM – Partidul pentru Viitorul Moldovei (Party for the Future of Moldova) Political Party
WPPP – Voința Poporului (Will of the People) Political Party
RP– Renaștere (Revival) Party Political Party
RPM – Republican Party of Moldova
RSPM – Russian-Slavic Party of Moldova Political Party
PC – Partidul Schimbării (Party of Change) Political Party
SDP – Social Democratic Party
ESDP – European Social Democratic Party
PEL – Party of the European Left Political Party
SPM – Socialist Party of Moldova
PSP – Progressive Society Party Political Party
PSRM – Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova Political Party
GEP – Ecologist Green Party Political Party
CHANCE – Șansă (Chance) Political Party
CUoM – Centrist Union of Moldova Political Party
CSUM – Christian Social Union of Moldova Political Party



www.promolex.md,
23/13 Petru Movila St.
MD-2004, Chisinau, Moldova
e-mail: info@promolex.md

