



The deputies gathered in the plenum of the new Parliament in Chisinau
 Photo: Parliament of the Republic of Moldova/Facebook
 October 2025

**Friedrich
Ebert
Stiftung**

The road to the EU and the historic mission of the new Parliament in Chisinau

P. 2 - Doina Gherman, Vice President of PAS: *We would need to have less populism as we will have to harmonise around 40 laws per week with EU legislation*

P. 4 - Igor Dodon, President of PSRM: *"We are astonished by the way EU bureaucrats apply double standards to Moldovan politics."*

P. 7 - Ion Chicu, Leader of the Alternative Bloc: *"Without the involvement of the opposition, the process of European integration cannot be successful."*

P. 9 - Vasile Costiuc, President of the Democracy at Home Party: *"Our strategic focus is to reinforce the Bucharest–Washington axis, while building strong and reliable partnerships in Brussels."*

The new legislature in Chişinău will undoubtedly have a historic mission — to bring the Republic of Moldova closer to, or even into, the ranks of the European Union member states. Unlike its predecessors, the 12th legislature will comprise six factions — one in power and five in opposition. This means that while the pro-European majority will be able to pass laws independently, ensuring that the legislative process is as representative as possible will require engaging and attracting the support of opposition MPs.

Members of Parliament will have to adopt around 40 laws each week in order to align national legislation with the European acquis. It will be a monumental task, demanding both intense focus and constructive cooperation among all pro-European forces. The ruling party will need to

demonstrate inclusiveness, while the opposition must act responsibly and contribute to the common goal enshrined in the Constitution — the European integration of the Republic of Moldova, endorsed by a majority of citizens in last year's referendum.

This edition of the Foreign Policy Bulletin presents the positions and priorities of the parliamentary parties in the Republic of Moldova regarding European integration. It highlights their main directions of action, areas of convergence and divergence, and the degree of political consensus surrounding the country's path toward EU accession — offering readers a comprehensive view of both the opportunities and challenges that lie ahead.

Madalin Necsutu

News in Brief:

- On 24 October, the President of the Republic of Moldova, Maia Sandu, signed a decree appointing Alexandru Munteanu as the candidate for the position of Prime Minister. Through the same presidential decree, Sandu authorised Munteanu to develop the government's activity programme and the list of cabinet members, and to submit them to Parliament for consideration. "I wish him success in forming a government that will earn the confidence of Parliament and fulfil the most important expectations of citizens: safeguarding peace, preparing the country for EU accession, strengthening the economy, and improving people's living standards," President Sandu stated.

- On 23 October, the Director of the Information and Security Service (SIS) of the Republic of Moldova, Alexandru Musteața, visited Comrat, the capital of the autonomous region of Gagauzia — an area dominated by pro-Russian leaders. Following the visit, the People's Assembly of Gagauzia (the region's legislative body) announced the creation of a working group to ensure the region's effective functionality. During his discussions with Dmitri Constantinov, the head of the local parliament, and Ilia Uzun, the deputy governor, Musteața addressed several sensitive topics, including the alleged links of certain Gagauz officials to Ilan Șor and their involvement in illegal financing, according to sources cited by the IPN news agency.

- On 24 October, the President of the Republic of Moldova, Maia Sandu, appointed Veronica Mihailov-Moraru, former Minister of Justice in the Recean Government, as Presidential Adviser on Justice. She will assume her new duties on 11 November 2025. Veronica Mihailov-Moraru served as Minister of Justice starting in February 2023, after previously holding the position of Secretary of State within the same ministry. Throughout her tenure, she was actively involved in advancing reforms within the justice sector.

We would need to have less populism as we will have to harmonise around 40 laws per week with EU legislation



Doina Gherman, Vice-President of the Action and Solidarity Party (PAS)
Photo: Facebook

Doina Gherman, Vice-President of the Action and Solidarity Party (PAS), gave an interview to the FES/APE Foreign Policy Newsletter, where we discussed the priorities of PAS and her personal goals in the new legislature — one that could go down in history as the parliamentary group that led the Republic of Moldova toward accession to the European Union. The conversation also touched on the reforms required, cooperation with other parliamentary parties, and the fast pace at which European legislation must be transposed into national law.

■ **What are the priorities of your faction at the beginning of this term, and what priorities have you set for your own agenda as a member of the new legislature?**

■ The number one priority is Moldova's accession to the European Union. This is our main goal — for the 12th Parliament to become the "Parliament of EU Accession." We want every decision we take to bring the country closer to the European Union. This means that by the end of the current legislature, the Republic of Moldova should be fully prepared to sign the EU Accession Treaty. It is a national objective and, beyond that, a national project supported by the majority of citizens. Building on this foundation, we will continue harmonising national legislation with the EU acquis and advancing reforms across various sectors.

There is a great deal of work ahead, and we are aware that it will not be easy. However, Moldova is being evaluated

on its own merits, and Brussels considers it an example among candidate countries. Naturally, economic development remains a key priority stemming from our governance agenda, and we, as Parliament, will undertake all necessary actions — including through parliamentary diplomacy — to attract as much investment as possible.

Following our victory in the parliamentary elections, the pro-European course has been firmly consolidated. We believe this momentum will strengthen the business environment and encourage investors to seize the opportunities of this moment. Parliamentary diplomacy, both within the EU and beyond, will play a crucial role in promoting investment and supporting Moldova's integration path.

Priorities and reforms

■ **What reforms will your party focus on during this legislative term and why? Which areas will be a priority in your view?**

■ One of the unfinished tasks from the previous term is the administrative-territorial reform. It is not only a priority but also an urgent necessity for the Republic of Moldova. In the final months of the election campaign, we saw clearly that everyone — from mayors to ordinary citizens — supports this reform.

Moreover, it will bring tangible added value, because this is not about a reform that looks good on paper, but one that brings public services closer to the people. This means greater investment in localities, whether small villages or large communes. Everyone must pull together, and in this way, I am confident we will succeed.

Continuing the vetting process

■ **What are the key points and stages that the justice reform must go through in order to be complete, and how do you see it from this perspective?**

■ We will continue this reform with determination. Justice reform remains a priority, as does the fight against corruption. Important steps have already been taken in this area, but we have all witnessed the resistance coming from within the system. We

are encouraged, however, by the progress made in implementing the extraordinary evaluation mechanism for prosecutors and judges.

We will continue advancing the reform of the justice system, fully aware that it is not an easy process. In fact, in no European Union Member State has judicial reform been completed in just one, two, or even four years. It is an extremely complex undertaking, but we are convinced that visible progress has been made.

We have already seen over one hundred judges leave the system — many of them among the most controversial and discredited. The process will continue with prosecutors. Things are moving forward, and we will not pause for a single moment in our commitment to pursuing genuine justice reform.

The need for political pluralism

■ **In this legislature, PAS aims to create a more inclusive Parliament, fostering closer collaboration with the opposition. Given your comfortable majority, will you proceed with your initiatives independently, or will you make an effort to secure the opposition's support for these projects?**

■ We need inclusion in a true democracy. Political pluralism is always welcome, and it will certainly be more pronounced in the new Parliament. There are now six parliamentary factions — a level of diversity we haven't seen in years. On one hand, this is encouraging; on the other, we hope that the opposition will be constructive. We will consider all proposals and initiatives that serve the interests of citizens. What we would like to see is less populism and rhetoric, and more concrete work.

We will have to harmonise around 40 laws each week. You can imagine what a huge workload that represents. Every week, Parliament will need to vote on at least 40 laws just to align Moldovan legislation with European standards. That is why we must focus on hard work — we don't have time for unnecessary disputes or empty talk. Therefore, we will call on the opposition to come forward with constructive proposals, avoiding excessive populism.

We are astonished by the way EU bureaucrats apply double standards to Moldovan politics

The leader of the Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (PSRM), Igor Dodon, gave an interview to the FES foreign policy newsletter in which he spoke about the PSRM's priorities in the new parliament and how the party intends to work with the majority in the interests of citizens. We also discussed the accession process, as well as the PSRM's and its leader's vision for judicial reform and other important reforms that need to be implemented in the near future. The full discussion can be read below:



Igor Dodon, the leader of the Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (PSRM)
Photo: Facebook

■ **What are the priorities for your faction at the beginning of this term, and what are the priorities you have set for your personal agenda in the new legislature of which you are a member?**

■ The agenda of the socialist faction will focus exclusively on promoting the national interests of the Republic of Moldova. I believe that we have the experience and skills necessary to come up with ideas and projects that are useful for the country. We have demonstrated this on more than one occasion. I would like to remind you that in 2015, it was us, the Socialists, who were the first to report fraud in the banking system, thereby speeding up the investigation of that crime against the state. In 2019, we, the Socialists, made a decisive contribution to freeing the state from oligarchic captivity. In 2020, we fought the first wave of the Covid pandemic and reduced its negative effects.

In 2021, under severe climatic conditions, we provided aid to farmers, maintained low tariffs, increased wages, had absolute independence in the media, and, unlike the current government, ensured democratic conditions that allowed for truly free and fair elections. We did not impose censorship, we did not subdue the judiciary, state

institutions, and law enforcement agencies. In this legislature, we will continue to fight for the welfare of the people, for the restoration of the rule of law, for freedom of expression, and for the preservation and protection of national values.

Over the next few years, our priorities are grouped into three categories: the social package, which refers to increased salaries and pensions, lowering the retirement age, preserving schools and hospitals in villages and districts across the country; the economic package, which involves supporting the real sector of the economy and removing pressures and obstacles for business people; and the security package, in which we advocate maintaining neutrality and friendly relations with all our external partners, both in the West and in the East.

The need for dialogue

■ **What are your plans regarding your position in the opposition? Will you vote for certain bills proposed by the majority or not? Will you be able to negotiate certain bills proposed by your party in exchange for supporting certain bills proposed by the ruling party? Are you considering such a strategy?**

■ In my speech at the opening of the 12th Legislature, I addressed the parliamentary majority, where I presented some arguments on the very subject you are asking me about now. Specifically, I told them that the PAS majority needs to understand that the opposition in Parliament also represents the voice of the people, because hundreds of thousands of citizens voted for us. I urged the PAS to change their aggressive attitude, to come down to earth and to take into account the opinion of another part of Moldovan society. It is in the country's interest for the ruling party to accept bills from the opposition, because only then is it possible to achieve a minimum political balance in the administration of the country and only then is there a chance to truly help citizens.

Incidentally, at the meeting I had that same week with President Maia Sandu, during her consultation with the parliamentary factions, I reproached her for the fact that the former Recean government and the PAS majority in Parliament had neglected the voice of the people represented by the opposition during the years 2021-2025. In our opinion, this means that a rigid regime has been established in the Republic of Moldova, a form of single-party dictatorship, and the Presidency either does not know about this, which is bad, or is happy with it, or is directly complicit in this undemocratic form of government, which is even worse.

Therefore, looking ahead, we hope to promote draft laws in the interests of citizens, but I do not rule out that the political deadlock created by PAS will continue.

Two-faced politics

■ **With regard to European integration, will you support this objective enshrined in the Constitution by the majority vote of citizens in October 2024, or do you perhaps have another agenda in this regard? If so, what is it?**

■ First of all, I would like to remind you of the result of that national referendum in the country: the majority of the population of the Republic of Moldova voted against the inclusion of the EU vector in the Constitution. And only through very suspicious methods, by exploiting the votes of the diaspora, did the PAS government force a narrow overall result on the night the votes were counted. So there was a lot of cheating in that supposedly democratic and representative

exercise. The final score is neither democratic nor representative.

As for our attitude, as socialists, towards the European Union, it is ambiguous. We understand that the Republic of Moldova is geographically located on the European continent and we do indeed inherit many of the classic European cultural, social and political landmarks. They are part of our national heritage. The European traditions of the 20th century have rightly served for a long time as a model to follow in economics, justice, and the organisation of democratic institutions. The Europe of yesteryear showed us what independent press, freedom of opinion, social harmony, decent work and wages, respect for the institution of the family and for the Christian religion mean.

On the other hand, however, we are stunned by the way EU bureaucrats apply double standards to Moldovan politics. Officials and ambassadors from EU member states have tolerated and encouraged numerous abuses, censorship and dictatorial abuses by the PAS government, while all previous governments were harshly and categorically criticised for deviations that were absolutely minor compared to what PAS allows itself. This two-faced and hypocritical policy does not befit EU officials.

Furthermore, we are repulsed by the fact that integration into the EU is increasingly associated with the promotion of LGBT propaganda, including in schools, we are asked to accept gender reassignment for children, aggressive militarisation is being imposed on us, and we are involved in geopolitical intrigues that are alien to our state identity. In the Republic of Moldova, with the active support of EU actors, Russophobia is spreading (we have a large percentage of Russian-speaking population), censorship of freedom of expression is being instituted, and the judiciary has been captured, becoming a system subordinate to the Presidency and the PAS party.

Moldovans are asking themselves: is it right for EU officials to intervene in the internal affairs of our state and campaign for a particular political force? Is it honest for European embassies to offer moral support to the abuses of oppressive regimes, such as the PAS regime? We believe that European integration based on such principles — where foreign officials treat us as subordinates lacking will and character — is harmful to our country's strategic interests and damaging to

the image of the EU. For these reasons, I remain Eurosceptic. I also believe that, in their relations with foreign dignitaries and with those in Brussels, the Moldovan authorities must act with dignity and conduct serious negotiations grounded in the national interest of the Republic of Moldova.

Protecting statehood

■ What reforms will your party focus on during this legislative term and why? Which areas will be a priority in your view?

■ As for the activity of the parliamentary faction I represent — the Socialist Faction — I can say that our work will focus on safeguarding the national interests of the country, expressed through the protection of sovereignty, statehood, neutrality, Moldovan identity, Christian values, the traditional family and demographics, economic development, pluralism, interethnic harmony, and constructive relations with all external partners. In these areas, our efforts will remain constant, unwavering, and principled. The draft laws we submit will also reflect this set of priorities.

Depoliticisation of the judiciary

■ What are the key points and stages that justice reform must go through in order to be complete, and how do you see it from this perspective?

■ I am not sure that we can use the term “complete” in relation to judicial reform. It would be more appropriate, however, to correctly define the progress indicators we aim to achieve, based on a genuine diagnosis of the current situation in the justice sector. As you may know, the vetting procedure for magistrates and prosecutors is currently underway. The objective of purging the system of corrupt and politically engaged judges and prosecutors was also supported by the PSRM. This objective has been accepted and endorsed by society as a whole.

However, the mechanism for implementing this objective, developed and applied by the ruling party, did not enjoy political consensus for the simple reason that the obvious risks were neither assessed nor anticipated. The manner in which this mechanism was enforced — the double standards, the constant pressure exerted by PAS officials on particular cases handled by judges

and prosecutors undergoing evaluation — has had the effect of keeping the actors in the justice sector permanently “knocked out” and loyal to the government. This is confirmed by the fact that the justice system appears to function only in political cases involving opponents of the current government.

No investigation or serious corruption case has been initiated or pursued against political figures who have been in power for the past five years. Moreover, there are growing suspicions that the European Union and the Council of Europe are seeking to protect their own political image and the contribution they made to the implementation of vetting. This may explain why European officials prefer to “turn a blind eye” to the abuses of the current government in Chişinău — abuses that are serious and evident, and that would be unacceptable in a democratic society.

As for the key priorities in judicial reform, I see them as follows: firstly, the depoliticisation of the SCM and the SPP by reducing the number of members delegated or controlled by politicians. It is also necessary to identify the adjustments required to ensure genuine vetting under the aegis of Council of Europe experts. In other words, I believe we must identify a real mechanism to guarantee the independence of the judiciary — both from the current government and from any future ones. Finally, it is essential to eliminate the phenomenon of “televised justice” and public lynching, while at the same time investing in the development of legal culture among journalists and citizens.

■ Are you confident that the current majority in Parliament could create the conditions for a more inclusive Parliament, now that the majority is no longer as comfortable for PAS as it was in 2021?

■ I have already partially answered this question above — we remain extremely cautious about the PAS government’s ability to abandon its rigidity. They have held absolute power in the country for four to five years, and we all know what absolute power does to many politicians: it changes their mindset, breeds corruption and cynicism, fosters dictatorial tendencies, and distances them from the people. Unfortunately, millions of citizens in the Republic of Moldova are living under such a regime today.

Without the involvement of the opposition, the process of European integration cannot be successful

Ion Chicu, MP and one of the leaders of the Alternative Bloc, gave an interview to the FES/APE Foreign Policy Newsletter, in which we discussed the priorities of the faction he represents in the future Parliament and the approach he intends to take from the opposition. Chicu stated that cooperation with the ruling party is necessary and reaffirmed that his party's declared goal remains European integration. At the same time, he outlined his vision for the reforms that must be implemented as a matter of priority. All these details can be found in the following lines.:



Ion Chicu, MP and one of the leaders of the Alternative Bloc
Photo: Facebook

■ **At the start of this parliamentary term, what are the key priorities for your faction, and what goals have you set for your own agenda as a member of the new legislature?**

■ All 101 MPs in Parliament share equal responsibility before the citizens for the results of this legislature's work. Therefore, our priority will be to place the interests of citizens above political or electoral considerations. This means that if PAS or any other faction comes forward with a bill that we consider beneficial for society, we will support it.

First and foremost, we want this Parliament to promote initiatives that serve the country's interests, regardless of who authors them or to which faction the legislative proposal belongs. This is how we view our role as a faction — and, in principle, this is our number one priority. Secondly, we have set ourselves the goal of ensuring that all projects related to economic development, European integration, and, in particular, those aimed at depoliticising public institutions, are supported regardless of who initiated them.

However, as I mentioned, a key precondition for this is the depoliticisation of state institutions. This primarily concerns independent bodies such as the Central Electoral Commission (CEC), Teleradio Moldova, the Court of Auditors, the Superior Council of Magistracy (CSM), and others.

In this regard, we have prepared a statement — a draft parliamentary declaration — which we will propose to our colleagues in Parliament for adoption immediately after all procedures for appointing and organising the Government are completed. These are the priorities of the Alternative Bloc. We will also seek to convince our colleagues in Parliament to support the commitments set out in our electoral programme.

Legislative cooperation

■ **What are your plans regarding your role in the opposition? Will you support certain bills proposed by the majority, or not? Do you foresee the possibility of negotiating support for some of your party's initiatives in exchange for backing specific proposals from the ruling party? Are you considering such a strategy?**

■ We can use the term “negotiation”, but in the sense that, as a faction, we are ready to support any initiative proposed by a Member of Parliament — whether from PAS or from the opposition — if we consider that the bill serves the interests of society.

In fact, what we are talking about is openness on our part. I would not call it negotiation, but rather a readiness to act based on reciprocity when it comes to this approach. It would be very positive, and we

encourage all Members of Parliament to adopt this attitude.

We should put aside political and electoral interests, because the country is facing a very complex economic situation. At the same time, Moldova is also facing enormous opportunities related to European integration. Therefore, it would be in everyone's interest to fully recognise this context and to embrace the approach I have outlined above.

Priority reforms

■ **What reforms will your parliamentary group focus on during this legislative term and why? Which areas will be prioritised in your view?**

■ As I have already mentioned, we will focus primarily on economic reforms, referring once again to our programme, which emphasizes the liberalisation of economic activities. Regardless of the perceptions that dominate in society or the media, economic actors are facing a very heavy administrative and fiscal burden. When we talk about taxation, I am not necessarily referring to tax rates themselves, but rather to the way taxes are administered. In this area, we intend to put forward proposals from our programme related to liberalisation, including the removal of barriers to the use of modern payment instruments.

With regard to VAT administration, we have discussed revising the mechanism for applying VAT on imports, along with several other measures aimed at improving the economic environment. These will be our key approaches on the economic front. On the social side, we are pleased to note that even the President has acknowledged that salaries in some public institutions are excessive, which demonstrates that the so-called fair distribution of the budget was unjust and that solidarity remained merely a campaign slogan.

Therefore, we must ensure that the limited resources available are used to achieve greater equity and fairness in salaries. I reiterate that European integration remains our top priority, and we will fully support the Government in advancing these processes. However, before doing so, we must make sure that the interests of citizens and economic agents are duly respected.

I would also like to highlight the very important territorial-administrative reform, which is absolutely necessary and scheduled for implementation in 2026. We will actively participate in promoting this reform

with our own vision and proposals. Of course, we hope that this time PAS will demonstrate the political courage required so that, by the 2027 local elections, the Republic of Moldova will have a new and more efficient administrative structure. Therefore, I firmly believe that territorial-administrative reform is essential.

■ **What are the key points and stages that the justice reform must go through in order to be complete, and how do you see it from this perspective?**

■ When it comes to justice reform, we can find countless models — such as the reform in Albania or others — but we must understand one essential thing: in our view, the main reason for the failure of justice reform over the past four years is that every effort has been made to maintain political control over the justice system.

No reform in this area can succeed if politicians are determined to retain control. This is our firm position. If there is enough political maturity and the ruling party truly gives up its grip on the justice system, I am confident that, with the involvement of our colleagues from the European Union, real reform can be achieved.

European integration, an inclusive process

■ **Are you confident that the current parliamentary majority can create the conditions for a more inclusive Parliament, now that PAS no longer enjoys the same comfortable majority it had in 2021?**

■ There is an expression in our country: if not willingly, then out of necessity. Those in power will act accordingly, because I hope that at least some of them understand that the process of European integration is not one that can be monopolised.

Let's admit that, at an earlier stage, it may have been possible to keep it under tight control. But now, as we move forward, this process involves complex reforms and demanding efforts. It requires the support — if not of the entire population, then at least of the majority of citizens and, naturally, of all political forces. Without the involvement of the opposition, the European integration process cannot be successful. I hope that those in PAS are aware of this — and if they are not, they will receive this advice from external partners.

Our strategic focus is to reinforce the Bucharest–Washington axis, while building strong and reliable partnerships in Brussels

Vasile Costiuc, the leader of the Democracy at Home Political Party and a first-time member of the Moldovan Parliament, gave an interview to the FES/APE Foreign Policy Newsletter, where we discussed his vision for the priorities of the new legislature. He stated that his party will pursue a pro-European course but will seek to negotiate various draft laws with the government. Costiuc emphasised that citizens' problems must be addressed from the bottom up and that his party will focus on strengthening the Bucharest–Washington axis, in close cooperation with Brussels. We invite you to read the full interview below:



Vasile Costiuc, the leader of the Democracy at Home
Photo: Facebook

■ What are the priorities of your faction at the beginning of this term, and what goals have you set for your own agenda in the new legislature of which you are a member?

■ This is a rather complex question, and I cannot answer it in just a few words. This is a new experience for us as a parliamentary faction. We are in Parliament for the first time and will need to familiarise ourselves very quickly with Law No. 100 on regulations, as well as with the Parliament's Rules of Procedure.

We need to clearly understand our rights and obligations as a faction. We want to act in accordance with democratic norms so that we can intervene, defend our positions, and put forward initiatives, interpellations, requests, and motions.

We have prepared several initiatives that will be submitted in the first days of the new Parliament. We have stated this publicly and will continue to do so: we are engaged in a long and very complex process of joining the European community. We sincerely want to play our part, despite the criticism directed at us in the public sphere and the labels that have been placed on us.

We are aware of the difficult situation in which we find ourselves as a society and as a state. We want to improve the legislative process and the quality of proposed laws, especially those related to the *acquis communautaire* and European standards. We aim to contribute through amendments and proposals to various bills. These initiatives will be supported by the Democracy at Home Party team. We are not, by definition, in categorical opposition to those in power.

Specific cooperation on legislative initiatives

■ As a member of the opposition, what is your strategy moving forward? Are you prepared to support certain bills proposed by the majority? Do you see room for negotiation — for instance, supporting government initiatives in exchange for backing your own legislative proposals?

■ Of course. Parliament, as democratic norms dictate, is a platform for discussion and dialogue. The people who voted for us sent us to Parliament to improve the lives of all citizens. For this reason, we will support any good bill that contributes to improving people's lives. Obviously, this involves amendments, proposals, requests, and public discussions, because one of the issues we raised regarding the work of the previous Parliament was the lack of transparency in adopting many normative acts and laws.

I would remind you that in the previous legislature, 72 laws were voted on in a single day, one after another. I find this completely undemocratic. There must be more transparency in the process — real discussions, public debates, and hearings on laws, not just formal consultations with representatives of a few non-governmental organisations.

For this reason, we will represent a different kind of opposition than what we have seen so far — not one leaning towards Russia and rejecting any law that benefits citizens, but one focused on constructive participation and genuine democratic principles.

■ With regard to European integration, will you support this objective, which was enshrined in the Constitution by the majority vote of citizens in October 2024?

■ We also have several draft laws that emerged from the discussions we held both during and long before the election campaign — drafts that address certain legislative loopholes. To give you an idea of our approach, priority will be given to bills aimed at supporting people with disabilities and elderly citizens insured by the state.

In some cases, the legislator has overlooked economically active people. For instance, those who sell fruit and vegetables in markets or operate as sole proprietors are required to pay double the insurance premium. I find this absolutely unacceptable, as many people were unaware of this provision and fell into a financial trap. As a result, they now owe between 17,000 and 21,000 lei. I mention this example because it reflects one of society's pressing concerns.

That is why we must not lose touch with society. This means continuing to visit local communities and listen to people's concerns. For example, we are preparing to hold a meeting in Coșnița with a group of citizens who are facing environmental issues caused by illegal quarries, among others. We will continue to bring the problems of society from the bottom up — to where they need to be discussed and resolved.

Priority reforms

■ What reforms will your party focus on during this legislative term, and why? Which areas do you consider to be priorities?

■ The question is interesting in the way it is phrased. At this stage, we can only come forward with certain proposals during the upcoming discussions in Parliament regarding the new government.

We believe — and the statistical data clearly support this — that Moldova faces major problems in the area of public finance: the budget deficit, and the trade balance. One of our key priorities must be to significantly reduce administrative expenditure.

These are indeed radical reforms, primarily concerning the state's bureaucratic apparatus. At present, around 28% of all employees in the Republic of Moldova work for the state, while the European average is about 14%. This means our state apparatus is roughly twice as large as the European norm. It must be reduced categorically and swiftly, without unnecessary debate or demagoguery.

We are referring first and foremost to the Government. In our view, the next government should be reduced to a maximum of seven or eight ministries. This is one of our expectations, and we will see what proposals the designated Prime Minister will present.

Secondly, a reform of local public administration is needed. This would require a constitutional amendment, and we

are ready to vote for it. I hope the ruling party will have sufficient arguments to convince another six or seven MPs — in addition to those from PAS and the Democracy at Home Party — to amend the law on local public administration.

We must understand that enormous funds are currently allocated to the 32 existing districts, yet the efficiency is close to zero. Some reforms have already been initiated — for example, many responsibilities previously held by district councils, such as social assistance and education, have been transferred to ministries. As a result, district councils have been left with very few actual duties, while their structures, employees, salaries, vice-presidents, secretaries, and even car fleets remain in place. All of this represents excessive spending.

The second major aspect is economic. We need to increase exports and better regulate imports. According to official statistics published on 30 September, Moldova recorded a 6% decline in exports and a 16% increase in imports. This is a very serious issue that must be openly discussed, not concealed. The elections are over — now the time has come to acknowledge problems and find real solutions.

Justice for ordinary people

■ From your perspective, what are the essential stages of justice reform that must be completed to ensure its success, particularly considering the importance the European Union attaches to this process?

■ Not only in the eyes of Brussels. Before Brussels, there are our own citizens — people who are seeking justice. Justice can and must be done even without large amounts of funding from Brussels. I understand that substantial sums have reportedly been spent on the so-called justice reform, yet its effects are not felt by the population. What people want is simple: justice.

I understand that there are matters at the top that take precedence — the major political battles, the high-profile cases involving significant political and geopolitical interests. But the ordinary person in the village faces everyday problems and cannot find justice in our courts. This ordinary citizen sees that someone can get five to seven years in prison for stealing a chicken, simply because the other party has more influence — while an innocent person cannot prove their case in court.

This is an extremely complicated and complex issue, and the government has become deeply entangled in it. Even Ms Veronica Dragalin, the well-known prosecutor brought in from abroad, could not make a difference. Such a complex reform cannot be entrusted to one person alone.

What is needed are real discussions. I have seen many people in the public sphere who seem to have ideas and solutions. That is why Parliament should initiate broad debates — bringing together those from outside Parliament, representatives of civil society, and, most importantly, judges themselves. We are reforming them

without asking them. Perhaps the solution lies within the system itself.

There are still people in the justice system who have preserved their integrity and dignity, but there are also elements that have damaged public trust. If honest judges had more freedom, many would probably put their own house in order. Solutions do exist — but they need to be discussed openly.

A more inclusive Parliament

■ **Are you confident that the current parliamentary majority can create the conditions for a more inclusive Parliament, now that PAS no longer enjoys the same comfortable majority it had in 2021?**

■ I don't know if PAS has learned its lesson. You truly learn your lesson when you are held accountable by society — when you are forced to sit down at the negotiating table with others to form a parliamentary majority and to take the opposition into account.

From what I have seen in the public sphere since 28 September, I have not noticed anything to confirm the idea of a more inclusive Parliament. Perhaps it will be more combative and more transparent, given that at least three parties that were not represented in the previous legislature have now entered Parliament. I am counting on these new colleagues from various parties to be more active and eager to prove that they did not receive their mandates in vain. However, I do not believe that the new Parliament will necessarily be more inclusive or more open on the part of the governing majority.

We hope that those from PAS have indeed learned their lesson — that they have understood the importance of opening up and engaging in real communication. Many of the mistakes made so far have stemmed from poor communication and arrogance. Such an attitude does not bring prosperity or strengthen democracy. Democracy is a very fragile construct, and maintaining its balance is difficult — once you lose it, you risk sliding into something far removed from democratic principles.

You have to fight for democracy every day. We are a pro-European party. Our strategic orientation — the axis we aim to reinforce through our actions — is Bucharest–Washington, supported by solid strategic partnerships in Brussels, within the political family of European conservatives.

Just a few days ago in Bucharest, we signed a cooperation and experience-sharing agreement with the AUR Party, led by George Simion. We are counting on their expertise and their connections within Europe to help us integrate more quickly into the European family and to learn democratic procedures from the European Parliament.

We want to connect — that is what European integration truly means: connecting with European political parties and leaders. We will learn and grow in this process step by step.

Imprint

Publisher

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung e. V. Moldova Office
111 Bucuresti St., Chisinau, MD-2012,
Republic of Moldova
Web: <http://moldova.fes.de> E-mail:
fes.moldova@fes.de Tel. +373 855830

Photo credits

Page 1: Parliament of the Republic of Moldova/
Facebook
Page 2: Doina Gherman/Facebook
Page 4: Igor Dodon/Arhiva personală
Page 7: Ion Chicu/Facebook
Page 9: Vasile Costiuc/Facebook

The views expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung e.V. (FES). Commercial use of the media published by the FES is not permitted without the written consent of the FES. FES publications may not be used for election campaign purposes.

October 2025

© Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung e.V.

Further publications of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung can be found here: www.fes.de/publikationen



Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) is a German social democratic political foundation, whose purpose is to promote the principles and foundations of democracy, peace, international understanding and cooperation. FES fulfils its mandate in the spirit of social democracy, dedicating itself to the public debate and finding in a transparent manner, social democratic solutions to current and future problems of the society. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been active in the Republic of Moldova since October 2002.



Foreign Policy Association (APE) is a non-governmental organization committed to supporting the integration of the Republic of Moldova into the European Union and facilitating the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict in the context of the country Europeanization. APE was established in fall 2003 by a group of well-known experts, public personalities and former senior officials and diplomats, all of them reunited by their commitment to contribute with their expertise and experience to formulating and promoting by the Republic of Moldova of a coherent, credible and efficient foreign policy.