

Briefing

Parliamentary elections in Moldova

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48,5%

Voter turnout in 2021

21

Competing political entities

13 political parties, 4 electoral blocs
and 4 independent candidates

101

Seats in the Parliament of the
Republic of Moldova

About the elections

Moldova is a unicameral parliamentary republic. Its Parliament (Parlamentul Republicii Moldova) is made up of 101 members elected by direct universal suffrage for a 4-year term under a proportional representation system. After early parliamentary elections in 2021, Moldovan citizens will head to the polls on 28 September 2025 to elect their new MPs, the 12th legislature. The election campaign, which began on 29 August 2025, is taking place against a tense political and geopolitical backdrop. The results of the upcoming parliamentary elections will therefore be crucial in determining Moldova's fate and could be decisive for its future foreign policy direction.

Background

Since 2021, Moldova's politics have been shaped by the pro-European Party of Action and Solidarity (PAS), which secured an absolute majority in the last parliamentary elections. The government has since focused on fighting corruption, strengthening democratic institutions, and advancing EU membership.

This path was formalized in July with the first EU-Moldova summit in Chişinău, where President Maia Sandu hosted Ursula von der Leyen and António Costa. To back reforms, the EU will provide up to €1.8 billion for 2025–2027 through the Growth Plan for Moldova.

Yet, challenges remain: Russian influence, economic fragility, and the war in Ukraine. Moldova is deeply polarized between pro-European and pro-Russian camps, as seen in the 2024 referendum and presidential election. On 20 October, the referendum to anchor EU membership in the constitution passed by a narrow 50.35% to 49.65%. Shortly after, Sandu won re-election on 3 November with 55.35% against pro-Russian rival Alexandr Stoianoglo. This polarization is reinforced by a political landscape offering only two stark alternatives, limiting dialogue and compromise.

Role of the diaspora

Predominantly pro-Western, the Moldovan diaspora may play a crucial role in the upcoming elections. During the 2024 presidential elections, voter turnout among Moldovans abroad was particularly high, with a record number of 327,000 voters in the second round. Of these, more than 82% voted for Sandu, enabling her to win the election. In fact, counting only the votes cast in Moldova, Alexandr Stoianoglo obtained 51.3% of the vote.

On 24 August 2025, the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) approved a decision allowing Moldovan citizens living abroad to cast their ballots in the parliamentary elections on 28 September. For this purpose, 301 polling stations have been set up around the world. Among the countries with the most voting sections are Italy (70), Germany (36), France (26), and Romania (23). The opposition has criticized the number of polling stations opened in the Russian Federation, being only two in total, arguing that the government is feigning the desire to provide citizens with the right to vote.

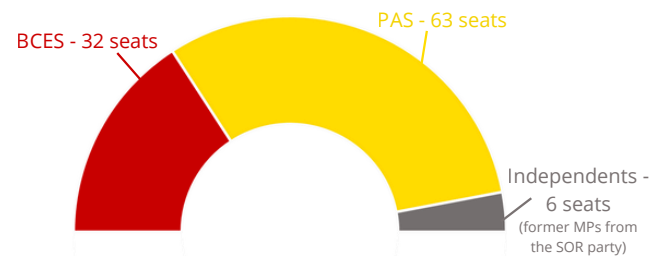
Actual distribution and government challenges

The 11 July 2021 parliamentary election brought a historic landslide for the Party of Action and Solidarity (PAS), which won 52.8% and 63 seats, enabling it to form a pro-European government. The Electoral Bloc of Communists and Socialists (BECS) followed with 27.2% and 32 seats, while the Șor Party (PȘ) gained 5.7% and six seats before being banned in 2023. Its MPs remain in parliament as independents.

Prime Minister Dorin Recean, officially independent but closely aligned with PAS (he served amongst others as Presidential Advisor on Defense and National Security since 2022), took office in February 2023 after Natalia Gavrilița resigned amid the energy crisis and pro-Russian protests sparked by Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. He has stated that he will not run again.

Since late 2024, Moldova has faced another energy crisis after Russia halted gas deliveries to Transnistria following the expiry of its transit deal with Ukraine. This caused heating and electricity shortages, soaring prices, and a state of emergency. Authorities accused Moscow of using energy to destabilize the government ahead of elections. The EU responded with emergency aid and support to diversify energy supplies.

At the same time, PAS has been hit by corruption scandals, minimal economic growth of just 0.1% in 2024, and rising poverty (31.6% to 33.6%). These factors have damaged its credibility and may affect its electoral prospects.



Current distribution in the parliament

Russian meddling in Moldovan politics

Although independent since 1991, Moldova still bears strong cultural, economic, and political ties to Russia. The Socialist Party (PSRM), long a major force, appeals to voters nostalgic for the Soviet era and retains strongholds in Gagauzia and Transnistria—regions where Moscow maintains influence through military and economic support. Other Russophile parties persist, and ahead of September's elections, four of them - including the PSRM and Communists - have united in a single bloc.

Despite his party being declared unconstitutional, the pro-Kremlin fugitive oligarch Ilan Shor is still trying to influence Moldovan politics from Russia – the country to which he fled after being convicted by a Moldovan court. For example, he proposed recently paying Moldovans to stage demonstrations against the current pro-Western government. He also created a party similar to ȘOR, called "Victory", which was finally restricted again by the Chisinau Court of Appeal.

Meanwhile, the former governor of the semi-autonomous Gagauzia region, Evgenia Guțul, was arrested in March and sentenced to seven years in prison for funnelling Russian money to finance the ȘOR party. She was also found guilty of using money from an "organized criminal group" to fund the party's activities in the region. Despite these various condemnations, Russian interference persists and remains a serious issue for the election campaign.

In recent weeks, several politicians have warned of the risk of Russian interference in Moldovan politics, which takes various forms, including disinformation campaigns, financial support for pro-Russian parties and other covert efforts to destabilise the democratic process in Moldova, similar to the presidential election as well as the referendum in 2024. On 27 August, the leaders of France, Germany, and Poland travelled to Chisinau to reaffirm their support for Moldova's independence and to denounce Russia's attempts at interference.

Running parties, coalitions, independents

Between 20 July and 19 August 2025, candidates filed applications for Moldova's parliamentary elections with the Central Electoral Commission (CEC). A record 50 requests were submitted, of which 32 were complete, but only 21 contestants were registered: 13 parties, four blocs, and four independents. Candidate placement on the ballot was decided by draw. The electoral threshold is 7% for blocs, 5% for parties, and 2% for independents, with turnout of at least one third of registered voters required for validity.

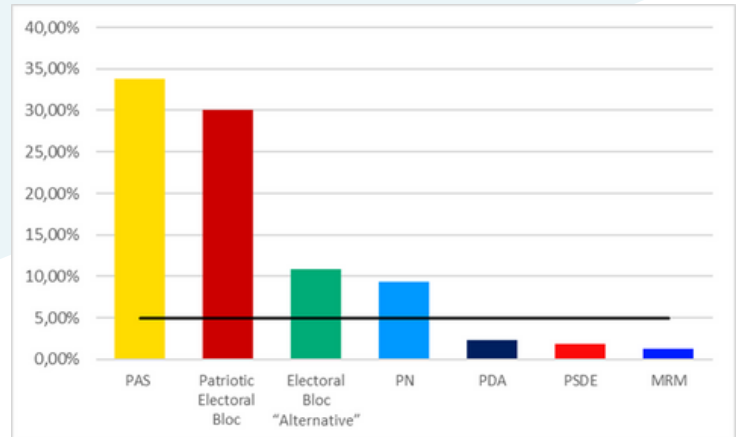
While the 40% gender quota was formally met - women make up 44.5% of candidates - men dominate leading positions on the lists, limiting women's real chances of winning seats.

The running political entities, their main candidates and political orientations:

Electoral contestant		Leader	Political orientation	European affiliation	Current seats
PAS: Party of Action and Solidarity	Political party	Igor Grosu	Centre-right, liberal, pro-European	EPP	63
PDA: Democracy at Home Party	Political party	Vasile Costiuc	Right-wing	-	-
PSDE: European Social Democratic Party	Political party	Tudor Ulianoschi	Centre-left, social democrat, pro-European	S&D	-
Patriotic electoral bloc of Socialists, Communists, Heart and Future of Moldova	Electoral bloc: - PSRM - PCRM - PRIM - PVM	Igor Dodon	Left-wing, social conservative, pro-Russian, anti-PAS, eurosceptic	The LEFT	26 seats Throughout the former electoral bloc of Communists and Socialists
Electoral Bloc "Alternative"	Electoral bloc: - MAN - PDCM - PAC-CC	Ion Ceban (Current mayor of Chișinău)	Centre-left, social democrat, Pro-European	S&D	-
MRM: Respect Moldova Movement	Political party	Marian Lupu	Centre-right, Pro-European	-	-
PN: Our Party	Political party	Renato Usatîi	Left-wing, populist, russophile, eurosceptic, social conservative	-	-

Opinion polls

An early August iData poll shows PAS leading in the upcoming elections but falling short of a majority. This would end its current dominance and make coalition-building unavoidable, forcing compromises between opposing visions. Only three other forces are projected to clear the threshold: the pro-Russian Patriotic Bloc, Ion Ceban's Alternativa bloc, and Renato Usatîi's Our Party, which have gained from shifting pro-Russian votes. The survey, however, does not factor in ballots from the diaspora or Transnistria, both of which could influence the outcome.

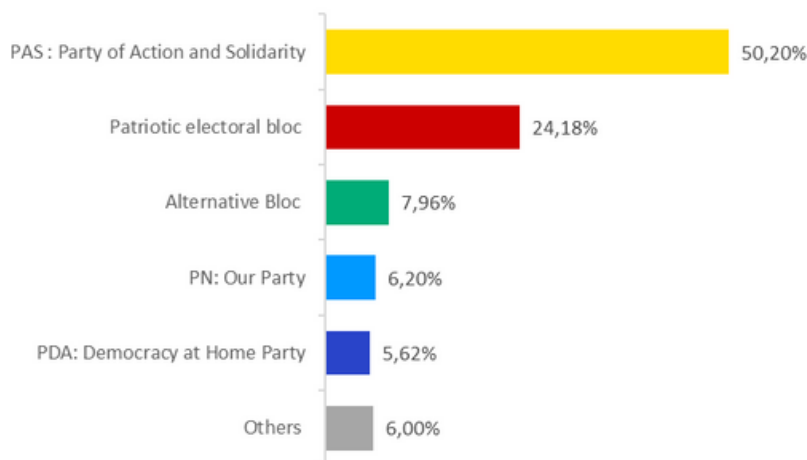


Opinion polls August 2025

After the elections

With a turnout of 52.17 %, higher than in recent years, Moldovans have given the Party of Action and Solidarity (PAS) another mandate to govern. This pro-European party received just over 50% of the vote, translating into 55 of the 101 parliamentary seats. The Patriotic Bloc, associated with Igor Dodon, secured 24% and 26 seats, reflecting the enduring strength of pro-Russian narratives. The Alternative Bloc gained 8.% (8 seats), Our Party entered with 6% (6 seats), and the Democracy at Home Party with 5.6% (6 seats). By securing an absolute majority, the PAS has gained a strong mandate to pursue the reforms

necessary for advancing Moldova's EU accession process. The outcome was welcomed by several European leaders, including Ursula von der Leyen, who described the elections as a clear choice for "Europe, democracy, and freedom." Nonetheless, this victory against Russian meddling should not be taken for granted, sustained efforts will be required to safeguard democracy and ensure that Moldova's European path remains tangible. Moldova's fate depends not only on the country itself, but also on the position of Member States, which must themselves be willing to welcome this potential new member into the EU.



Final outcomes of the parliamentary elections on 28 September 2025