

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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## Monitoring the activity of the Parliament of the XIth Legislature

#101 Is the Parliament working for you?!



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*This is an unofficial translation of the document into English language.*



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**Chapter I. Compliance with the legislative procedure.** This section analyzes *the degree of compliance with the legislation on decision-making transparency* throughout the initiation, consultation, debate, and adoption of legislative proposals. It also reflects the organization and conduct of plenary sittings, as well as the activism of MPs in the legislative process.

The conclusions regarding *compliance with legislation on decision-making transparency* are based on the analysis of 1,960 draft normative acts introduced into the legislative procedure during the XIth Legislature. Of the 1,960 registered drafts, 80% were adopted and 13.8% became null.

Given that the share of publicly consulted draft laws remained the same throughout the mandate, decision-making transparency continues to be insufficient and, at certain stages, even severely affected. For example, transparency was undermined by the omission to prepare/publish documents related to citizen consultation and by the low rate of public consultations (18.2% of total adopted laws; 29% of initiatives submitted by MPs and subsequently adopted).

Instances were also identified where normative acts were adopted without the opinion of the General Legal Directorate (18 cases), the Government (12 cases), or without anti-corruption expertise (36 cases). At the same time, for drafts adopted under expedited deadlines, a tendency to disregard the recommendations and objections of the General Legal Directorate, the Government, and anti-corruption experts was observed, as well as omissions in preparing and publishing the summaries of these recommendations. In the last years of the XIth Legislature, a considerable decrease in the number of opinions issued by standing committees was noted, underscoring their continued formal character.

The adoption of draft laws under shortened timeframes is another feature of the XIth Legislature, with 553 being adopted in two readings within fewer than 30 calendar days, even though far fewer drafts were officially marked as priority or urgent.

Regarding *MPs' activity as authors of legislative initiatives*, their share decreased each year of the mandate, and their number was lower than that of Government-proposed initiatives. Across factions, a considerable gap persisted throughout the legislature between the "promotion rate" of initiatives submitted by the majority versus those submitted by the opposition. Thus, most draft laws were registered by MPs from the majority faction - PAS - and it was primarily these projects that were adopted. On the other hand, only ten draft laws authored exclusively by opposition MPs were promoted and consolidated or adopted.

Concerning *the organization and conduct of plenary sittings*, Promo-LEX found that, on average, the agenda was modified by 60% per sitting. Some sittings experienced extremely high turnover in agenda changes, with a record high of 766%. Frequent modifications to the agenda undermine predictability and transparency of the legislative process. We also note the high incidence of refusals to include opposition-proposed subjects on the agenda and the omission of organizing sittings dedicated to opposition-submitted initiatives.

**Chapter II. Activity of some standing parliamentary committees.** This chapter examines the work of three committees closely aligned with the objectives/activities of Promo-LEX: Committee on Legal, Appointments and Immunities Committee (CJNI); the Committee on Human Rights and Inter-ethnic Relations (CDORI) and the Committee on Public Administration and Regional Development (CAPDR).

During the XIth Legislature, changes were made both to the numerical and nominal composition of standing committees, as well as to the name and scope of the Public Administration Committee, which was expanded to include regional development. Promo-LEX found that in the CJNI the majority's representation was disproportionate compared to that of the opposition - at the end of the mandate, 7 members were from PAS and only 2 from BCS.

Regarding *meeting convening and attendance*, agendas were generally published in advance. Exceptions were noted for the CJNI when 2 or 3 meetings were held on the same day and the agenda was not published beforehand. Throughout the legislature, in two of the three analyzed committees chaired by the parliamentary majority (CJNI and CAPDR), opposition MPs' attendance was insufficient.

Only CAPDR and CDORI approved and implemented action plans. All parliamentary committees should have institutional documents for operational/strategic planning. Their main activity remained examining and reporting on draft laws. We welcome the considerable increase in the number of live-streamed committee meetings in the last two years, indicating greater transparency.

**Chapter III. Parliamentary oversight.** This chapter presents findings regarding the degree to which MPs used parliamentary oversight tools. It also analyzes the procedures for appointing and dismissing officials.

During the XIth Legislature, a positive trend was observed in the hearing of authority reports in plenary, except for the last session (spring 2025). However, the Government's annual activity report was heard only once during the entire mandate, in the spring session of 2024.

Parliamentary inquiry was carried out through hearings with representatives of the executive and heads of institutions under parliamentary control, thematic reports, and the establishment and activity of one inquiry committee and four special committees, one of which operated throughout the legislature. In the spring 2025 session, interest in submitting simple motions increased, and motions of censure were registered in the last three years.

A positive trend and effective results were noted for ex-post legal evaluation, which reached a 95–100% implementation rate in the last two years. Ex-post impact evaluation, however, continues to show deficiencies, being implemented in 2024 at only 43% of the approved plan. Still, this rate reflects significant progress compared to previous years (7–33%).

A negative trend was noted in the use of parliamentary questions, despite increased interest at the beginning of the mandate. MPs did not use interpellations throughout the legislature.

Throughout its activity, the XIth Parliament appointed officials to almost all positions provided by special legislation. The parliamentary majority without support from the opposition made most appointments in the first year of the mandate, predominantly.

Open competition procedures organized by standing and special committees were generally transparent; however, early in the mandate, information about competition stages was often incomplete and published in an “unfriendly” manner on the old Parliament website. Selection procedures did not always create the impression of genuine competitions — in certain problematic cases, political considerations appeared decisive.

**Chapter IV. Communication between Parliament, citizens, and stakeholders.** This chapter reflects monitoring results regarding the Parliament’s website and the ways in which its subdivisions and MPs use institutionalized communication mechanisms — public hearings, meetings with citizens, petitions, and access-to-information requests.

Since December 2024, [www.parlament.md](http://www.parlament.md) has operated on a new platform, offering a stable structure and extensive content; however, for an average user, navigation may still feel relatively complex and not always intuitive.

Regarding public hearings, monitors noted a continued lack of transparency, especially concerning the schedule of hearings held by the parliamentary leadership, faction leaders, and MPs. The official website and the Parliament’s Facebook page do not provide information on the hearing schedule, MPs’ field visits, or the meetings they hold with citizens.

Petitions recorded annually during the XIth Legislature varied between approximately 4,000 and 5,300, with the fewest submitted from August 2023 to July 2024 (4,045). Citizens’ main concerns remain legislation, parliamentary activity, social protection, and the activity of local and central public authorities.

Regarding access-to-information requests, the number of requests received in the last two years remained the same - 63 - down by half compared to July 2022 – August 2023. Individuals (76%) submitted most requests, with 24% from legal entities. Only 52% of requests were resolved, compared to 87% and 89% during the first years of the legislature.

*Cooperation between Parliament and civil society* mostly consisted of stakeholder consultations on draft laws and the annual two-year consecutive Parliament - Civil Society Conference. Although the dialogue platform with civil society was relaunched, actual cooperation remains sporadic and limited. Civil society expertise continues to be undervalued, and some processes seem more formalistic than substantive. With reference to the *expert councils*, we note that the standing committees have approved their own regulations regarding the councils’ organization and functioning, and have carried out the procedure for selecting the members of these councils.

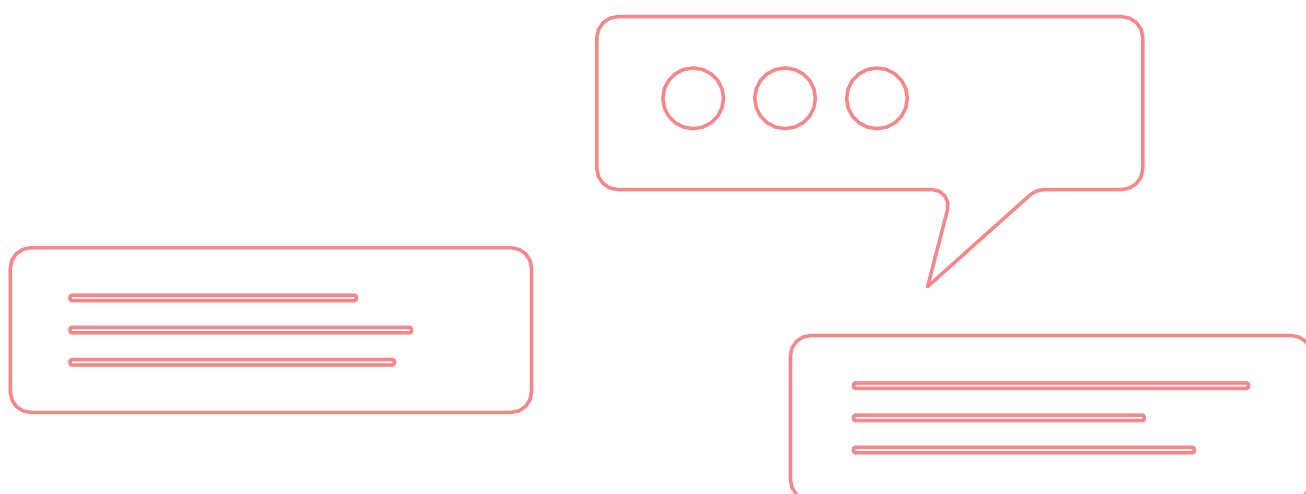
**Chapter V. Monitoring budgetary and administrative management.** This section analyzes public-interest information relating to the *approval and execution of Parliament’s budget* and other relevant aspects such as *MPs’ remuneration, costs of official travel, and procurement transparency*.

Regarding *budget approval and execution*, throughout the XIth Legislature, such information (approved budget, adjustments, execution level, etc.) began to be published on Parliament’s website according to open-data principles. Over the past five years, the Parliament’s budget shows a constant growth trend. Most funds were allocated annually to personnel expenses and social benefits.

Regarding *MP remuneration*, Promo-LEX notes that between July 2024 and June 2025, dignitaries received an average monthly salary of 19,000 lei, plus non-taxable compensatory payments: transport allowance (10,000 lei/month), for the rent of accommodation (3,300–6,600 lei/month), and compensation for expenses related to the performance of duties, protocol and promotion expenses (up to 13,000 lei/month), and annual medical treatment compensation (approx. 19,000 lei/year). Promo-LEX reiterates that public authorities should implement effective tools for monitoring supporting documents underpinning these non-taxable payments.

Information on official *foreign travel* conducted by MPs and Parliamentary Secretariat staff is regularly published. As in previous years, during July 2024 – June 2025, MPs from both parliamentary factions (PAS and BCS) participated in foreign missions, but the highest expenses were incurred by MPs from the majority faction. Although the number of trips decreased, spending increased compared to July 2023 – June 2024. The most frequent destinations were France (16), Romania (12), the USA and Belgium (8 each), and Poland (7). For *domestic travel*, it was noted that the Parliament does not keep records.

*The public procurement process* is transparent and accessible to qualified economic operators. As in previous years, the most valuable procurements were for public utilities (water, gas, electricity, etc.), representing 25% of total planned procurements for 2025, followed by procurement of IT equipment and software systems (22%).



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