



**CIVIC COALITION FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS
PROMO-LEX ASSOCIATION**

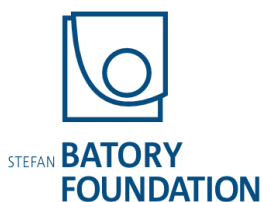
**REPORT
ON THE FINANCES OF ELECTORAL CANDIDATES
DURING THE CAMPAIGN FOR 2014 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

Monitoring Period: 10 October – 30 November 2014

Published on 18 December 2014

Chisinau 2014

All rights protected. The content of the Report may be used and copied for non-commercial purposes without the approval of Promo-LEX Association if the source is properly cited.



The Monitoring Effort for Parliamentary Elections of 30 November 2014 benefits from technical assistance from the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), and is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the Council of Europe and the Stefan Batory Foundation from the funds offered by the Solidarity Fund through the “Support for Democracy” Program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. Opinions expressed in this report belong to the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the funding parties.

CONTENTS

I. SUMMARY

II. CAMPAIGN-RELATED FINANCIAL ASPECTS BEFORE THE START OF THE CAMPAIGN

- a. State Budget for election year 2014
- b. Budget of the Central Electoral Commission for the campaign
- c. Legal framework of the funding of political parties and electoral candidates

III. FINANCIAL ASPECTS PERTAINING TO THE CAMPAIGN

- 1. Electoral Fund
- 2. Financial Reports
 - 2.1 Declared revenues of electoral candidates
 - 2.2 Candidates' expenses reflected in financial reports
 - 2.3 Candidates' expenses found by Promo-LEX observers and absent from preliminary financial reports

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

V. PROMO-LEX OBSERVATION METHODOLOGY

VI. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. SUMMARY

As part of the Civic Coalition for Free and Fair Elections, the Promo-LEX Association conducted a long term monitoring of the campaign for parliamentary elections on 30 November 2014. The current report covers the campaign period between 10 October 2014 and 30 November 2014, and reflects the electoral findings reported by Promo-LEX observers, in conjunction with the respective legal framework. The report also reflects the normative amendments pertaining to elections, which were carried out before the start of the campaign. A comparative analysis of campaign funds is based on the study of the financial reports submitted by the parties to the CEC and comparison with observers' findings.

We have found that the revenues accumulated by the candidates in their "Electoral Fund" accounts were comprised of: donations from 2,219 citizens who contributed a total of 88,055,552 lei; party membership fees from 118 citizens amounting to 13,249,999 lei; and contributions from 4 legal entities of 174,746 lei. Other contributions, manifested by transfers from 2 political parties, amounted to 15,266,423 lei. One electoral contender received an electoral credit from the Ministry of Finance. Total revenues declared by the candidates amounted to 116,721,720 lei. Candidates' revenues went up 3.55 times, compared with the campaign for 2010 parliamentary elections, or by 255.17%.

The ceiling of funds to be transferred into the electoral fund of a candidate (party, bloc, sociopolitical organization) for the 2014 parliamentary election campaign was established at 55 million, or 60.61% larger than in 2010, and for independent candidates – 2 million lei, or 7.68% less than in 2010. One candidate, who reached 67.24% of the ceiling, reported the highest rate of completion of the ceiling established by the CEC. Three candidates did not report any campaign-related revenues of expenses.

As regards reported campaign expenses, 90.5% were spent on advertising, 2.56% on public events and rallies, 1.28% for transport, and 1.01% for premises. Other expenses amount to 4.65%. None of the candidates declared travel expenses. Only one candidate reported expenses for compensating volunteers. Only four candidates reported expenses on retribution of work of the employees. Ninety-one local and international musicians/artists were involved in the campaign, and they were officially paid only by 2 candidates, who spent a total of 216,481 lei for that purpose, or 2,380 lei on average per musician, regardless of the number or duration of events they may have attended.

Promo-LEX observers noted that at least 14,916,866 lei in expenses remained undeclared in candidates' financial reports. According to our estimates, at least 2 candidates (PDM and PLDM) have exceeded the established ceiling by more than 5%, and ran the risk of having their registration in the race cancelled. Most of the undeclared expenses, as estimated by Promo-LEX, pertain to organizing public events – 11,160,545 lei, which represents 74.82 % of total estimated undeclared campaign expenses.

II. CAMPAIGN-RELATED FINANCIAL ASPECTS BEFORE THE START OF THE CAMPAIGN

a. State Budget for election year 2014

According to the Law on the State Budget for 2014 no. 339 of 23 December 2013, the approved amount of revenues was 27,570,005,100 lei, and that of expenses – 30,010,942,800 lei. The planned budget deficit was 2,440,937,700 lei.

The budget deficit went up by 29.36%, or with 553,967,800 lei, compared with 2013, not an election year, when it amounted to 1,886,969,900 lei. At the same time, budget revenues grew by 22.49%, or with 3,175,208,500 lei, and expenses – by 23.02%, or with 5,616,146,200 lei, compared with 2013.

b. Budget of the Central Electoral Commission for the 2014 Electoral Campaign

According to its Decision no. 2120 of 3 September 2013 on planned expenses for 2014, the CEC approved 52,001,130 lei in expenses for the conduct of parliamentary elections on 30 November 2014. At the same time, 5,709,300 lei were provided for the operation of District Election Councils, and another 30,855,660 lei for polling station electoral bureaus [PSEBs]. Another 4,665,080 lei were allocated for PSEBs abroad. For comparison, the planned CEC expenses for the 2010 parliamentary election amounted to 40,285,300 lei. Thus, a 29.10% increase was registered in that regard.

c. Legal framework of the funding of political parties and electoral candidates

1. Ceiling for financial means to be transferred to a candidate's electoral fund

On 7 October 2014, CEC established the ceiling of funds to be transferred to the electoral fund of a candidate in the 2014 parliamentary election. Thus, the ceiling for political parties, sociopolitical organizations and blocs was set at 55 million lei, and for independent candidates – at 2 million lei.

During the sitting to establish the respective ceiling, the rapporteur proposed the figure based on the value of annual for funding political parties from the state budget, which, under art.28, par.1 of the Law on political parties, represents 0.2% from the revenues to the state budget, provided for the given year. The CEC did not explain in any way the elimination of the formula for the calculation of the ceiling used in the 2010 poll, and which multiplied the number of voters (2,662,052) to 50 euro-cents for parties, political organizations and blocs, and to 5 euro-cents for independent candidates. Note that, under the new provisions, the ceiling for parties, sociopolitical organizations and blocs went up by 60.61% compared with the early parliamentary election of 28 November 2010, when the set ceiling was 21,664,445 lei. The ceiling for independent candidates in the 2010 parliamentary election was 2,166,444 lei, and that for the parliamentary election on 30 November 2014 was decreased by 7.68%.

We therefore state an absence of legal basis for establishing a ceiling for funds to be transferred to the candidates' electoral fund. The formula used in 2014, which *de jure* makes reference to the value of annual allocations from the state budget to funding political parties does not correlate in any way with a fundamental criterion for any election – the number of voters. On the other hand, the fact that a candidate is given the possibility to use party allocations designed for an entire year during the brief period of the campaign is worrisome.

By raising the funding ceiling, the CEC indirectly admitted an increase in the margin by which a candidate may be eliminated from the race should they fail to declare elector expenses or exceed allowed expenses by more than 5%, as established in art. 69 par. 4 lit. a) of the Election Code. Thus, if in 2010 the 5% margin amounted to 1,083,222 lei, in 2014, it increased to 2,750,000 lei.

2. Sources of campaign funds

Under art.25 of the Law no. 294-XVI of 21 December 2007 on political parties, party funds come from:

- a) Party members' fees;
- b) Donations, including ones collected during entertainment, cultural, sports or other public events organized by the party;
- c) Other legally obtained revenues;
- d) No-interest credits provided from the state budget.

3. Quantum of the credits provided to candidates

Under art.37 par.1 of the Election Code, the state may provide financial support to a candidate's campaign by granting them non-interest credits. Such credits may be received via a financial proxy designated for that purpose by the electoral candidate. The proxy may be an individual or a legal entity registered with the Ministry of Finance, and which acts in the interest of the respective candidate.

On 7 October 2014, the CEC established the amount of the non-interest credit to be provided to candidates. Thus, parties, sociopolitical organizations and electoral blocs may receive up to 25,000 lei, and independent candidates – up to 5,000 lei.

As with setting the ceiling for electoral funds, the CEC did not provide a clear formula for the calculation of the maximum amount of such credits.

4. Ceiling of donations from individuals and legal entities

Under art.26 of the Law on political parties, an individual may make donations to one or several political parties. Individual donations to one or more parties made during a single fiscal year cannot exceed the value of 500 average monthly salaries established for the respective year. If the individual is a member of a party, the respective amount shall include membership fees. For their part, donations from legal entities to one or several parties in a single fiscal year cannot exceed 1000 average monthly salaries established for the respective year.

III. FINANCIAL ASPECTS PERTAINING TO THE CAMPAIGN

1. Electoral Fund

Under art.38 par. 2, the candidates must open special bank accounts with the mention “Electoral Fund”, where they shall transfer their own means, funds received from individuals and local legal entities. During the campaign, 25 candidates opened “Electoral Fund” accounts. A single candidate did not do so, and sent a letter to the CEC informing them that he should not have financial expenses during the campaign.

At the same time, Promo-LEX observers found 41 cases when electoral activities were conducted before the opening of the respective candidates’ “Electoral Fund” accounts. The CEC also took note of this fact, and issued a warning against one candidate in regard to the respective violations.

2. Financial reporting

Under art.38 par. 8, during the campaign, candidates must present to the respective electoral bodies biweekly financial reports, which must contain information of electoral revenues and expenses, and their destination.

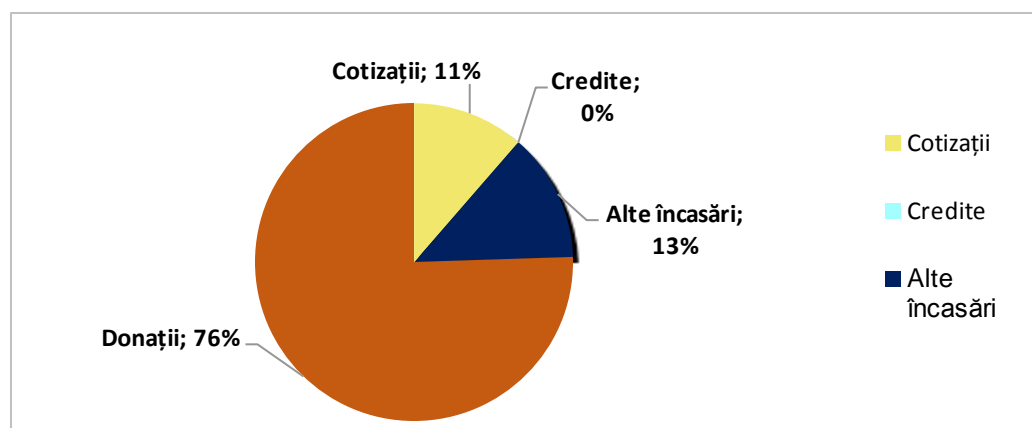
During the final reporting period, of the 26 candidates registered in the race, 24 submitted financial reports, and two candidates did not present any financial reports, including one who received a warning from the CEC and later withdrew from the race, and another one did not incur any expenses.

2.1 Revenues declared by candidates

According to the final report of electoral contributions received by candidates during the entire campaign, of the 26 candidates registered in the race, 23 presented information of transfers into their “Electoral Fund” accounts. The total amount of revenues declared by the candidates is 116,721,720 lei.

The revenues accumulated by the 23 candidates 2014 campaign for parliamentary election were composed of:

- 118 member fees (from a single candidate - PSRM) amounting to 13,249,999 lei;
- donations from 2,244 individuals (for 21 candidates) with the total amount of 88,055,552 lei, and donations from 4 legal entities totaling 174,746 lei for 4 candidates (PCRM, PLDM, PLR, and PPRM);
- Revenues from other sources totaled 15,266,423 lei, for 2 candidates (PDM, PP PNT), and came from transfers from the respective parties’ accounts (as legal entities);



- One candidate (PPCD) received one non-interest credit from the Ministry of Finance of Moldova of 25,000 lei. (fig.1.1)

Figure 1.1 Sources of funds used by candidates

According to the candidates' financial reports, revenues reported by PLDM amount to 36,980,700 lei, PDM – 35,020,956 lei, PSRM – 13,249,999 lei, PP “Patria” – 12,897,000 lei, PLR – 4,632,660 lei, PP “PNT” – 4,191,423 lei, PCRM – 3,773,158 lei, PL – 3,035,690 lei, PPRM – 1,169,286 lei, PP “UCM” – 317 747 lei, EB MCCU – 293,520.46 lei, PP “Renaissance” – 249,400 lei, MPA – 209,040 lei, PFP – 186,069 lei, IC Oleg Cernei – 183,200 lei, IC Plesca Valeriu – 179,341.50 lei, PP “PCR” – 36,430 lei, IC Doga Anatolie – 36,100 lei, PPCD – 35,600 lei, PAD – 22,000 lei, PNL – 17,134 lei, PVE – 10,700 lei, and PDA and PP PM - 0 lei. (fig. 1.2)

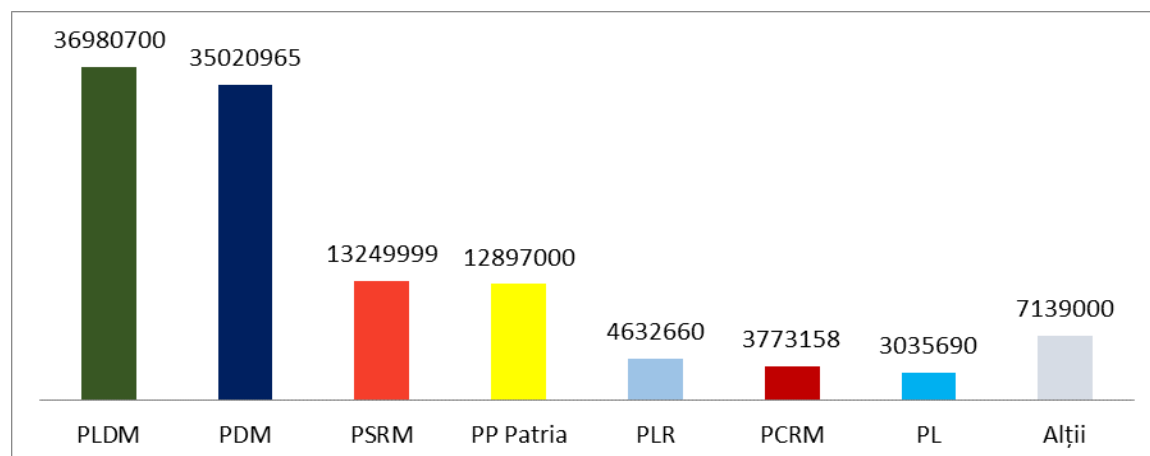


Figure 1.2 Revenues of electoral candidates

According to the final financial reports, during the entire campaign, PLDM used 67.24% of the ceiling set by the CEC, PDM – 63.68%, PSRM – 24.10%, PP “Patria” – 23.45%, PLR – 8.43%, PCRM – 6.86%, PL – 3.65%, others {(5.36 %) + PP “PNT” (7.62%,)} – 12.98% (fig. 1.3).

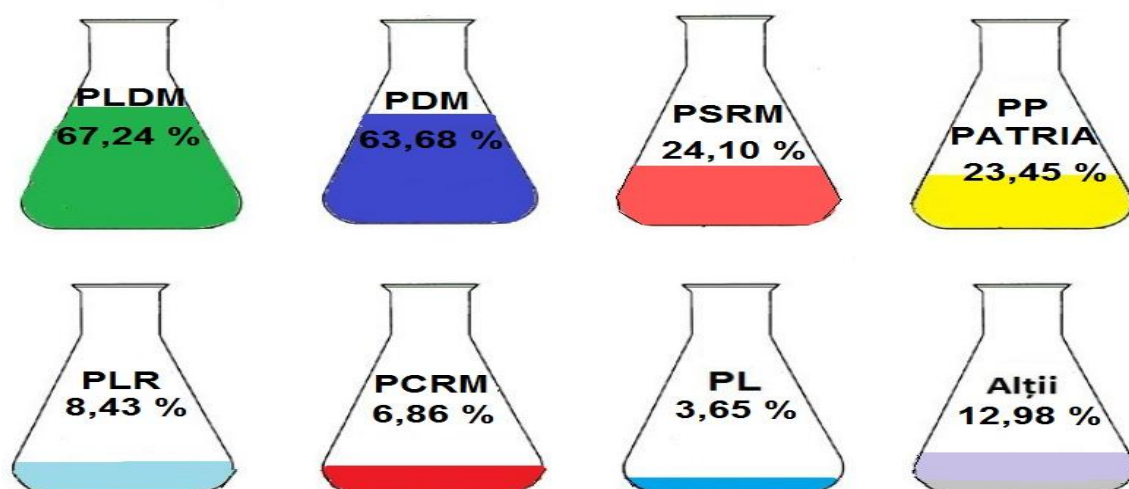


Figure 1.3 Total revenues v. established ceiling of 55 mln. lei

The Promo-LEX Monitoring Effort analysis established 4 categories of donations: “very large” – over 1 million lei, made by 14 individuals: (PLDM – 7, PP “Patria” – 5, PP “PNT” – 1, PDM – 1); “large” – 100 thousand to 1 mln lei, made by 172 individuals: (PLDM – 92, PSRM – 28, PLR – 24, PP “Patria” – 18, PDM – 4, PL – 2, PCRM, PPRM, EB MCCU, IC Pleșca Valeriu – one person for each); “medium” – 75 to 100 thousand lei, made by 132 individuals: (PSRM – 70, PDM – 36, PLDM – 12, PLR – 4, PP “Patria” – 4, PL – 2, PCRM – 2, PPRM – 1, PP “UCM” – 1); “other donations” – up to 75 thousand lei, made by 2049 persons: (PDM – 1186, PCRM – 370, PLDM – 207, PPRM – 86, PP “Renaissance” – 65, PLR – 21, PSRM – 20, PL – 20, IC Oleg Cernei – 20, PPCR – 10, MPA – 10, PP “Patria” – 9, PP “UCM” – 7, PNL – 6, EB MCCU and PVE – 3 persons each, PAD and PFP – 2 persons each, IC Doga Anatolie and PVE – one person each). (fig. 1.4)

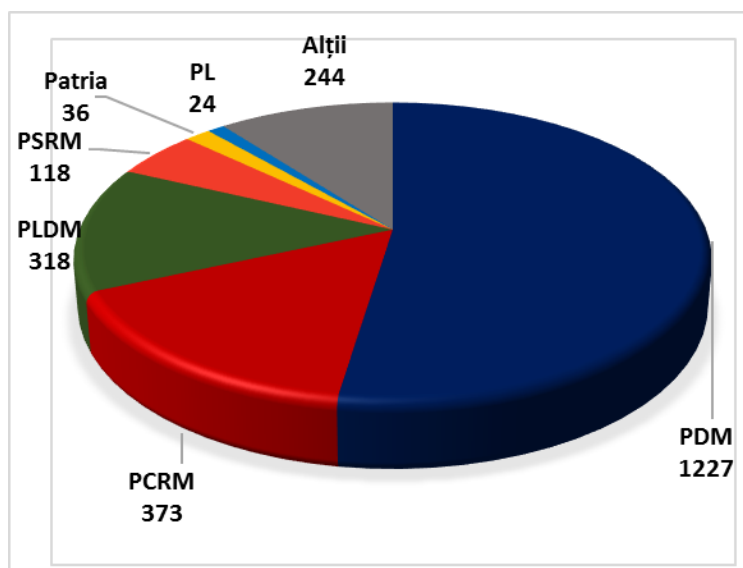


Figure 1.4 Number of individuals who made contributions

Compared with the campaign for the parliamentary election in 2010, the revenues of the candidates went up 3.55 times in the 2014 race. Total revenues in the 2010 parliamentary election campaign amounted to 32,863,389.65 lei.

2.2 Candidates' expenses reflected in financial reports

a. Renting premises

According to the financial reports, 13 candidates reported expenses for renting premises, and expenses amounted to 1,174,102 lei (1.01% of total expenses).

Of them, only 6 candidates reported expenses for renting permanent offices, which amount to 465,786 lei: (PP "Patria", PSRM, PP "UCM", PPRM, PNL, and PPCR).

Only 8 candidates reported expenses for renting temporary premises (halls/rooms), which amount to 701,898 lei: (PDM, PSRM, PCR, PP "Patria", PL, PAD, PLDM, and PLR).

Only 4 candidates reported other expenses connected to renting premises, which totaled at 6,479.7 lei: (PP "Patria", PP "UCM", PPRM, and IC Oleg Cernei).

b. Transportation expenses

According to the financial reports, only 7 candidates reported such expenses totaling 1,495,062.8 lei (1.28% of total expenses). Of them, 114,062 lei were spent on transportation by 3 candidates (PDM, PSRM, and PP "Patria"). Five candidates spent a total of 1.359,000 lei on fuel (PP "Patria", PLDM, PDM, PSRM, MPA and PP "Renaissance"), and a single candidate reported expenses for vehicle maintenance (PCR).

c. Renting fixed goods and svac

According to the financial reports, 2 candidates (PCR, PLR) reported 22,040 lei in expenses for renting fixed goods and svac (0.02 % of total expenses);

d. Retribution of work

According to the financial reports, 4 candidates (PSRM, PLR, MPA, and PP "Patria") reported 252,633 lei in expenses (0.22 % of total) for paying their staffs.

e. Compensations

According to the financial reports, a single electoral candidate reported expenses for compensating volunteers and agitators (PP "Patria"), in an amount of 950,125 lei (0.81% of total expenses).

f. Advertising expenses

According to the financial reports, 22 candidates reported advertising expenses amounting to 105,633,580 lei (90.50% of total expenses). (fig. 1.5)

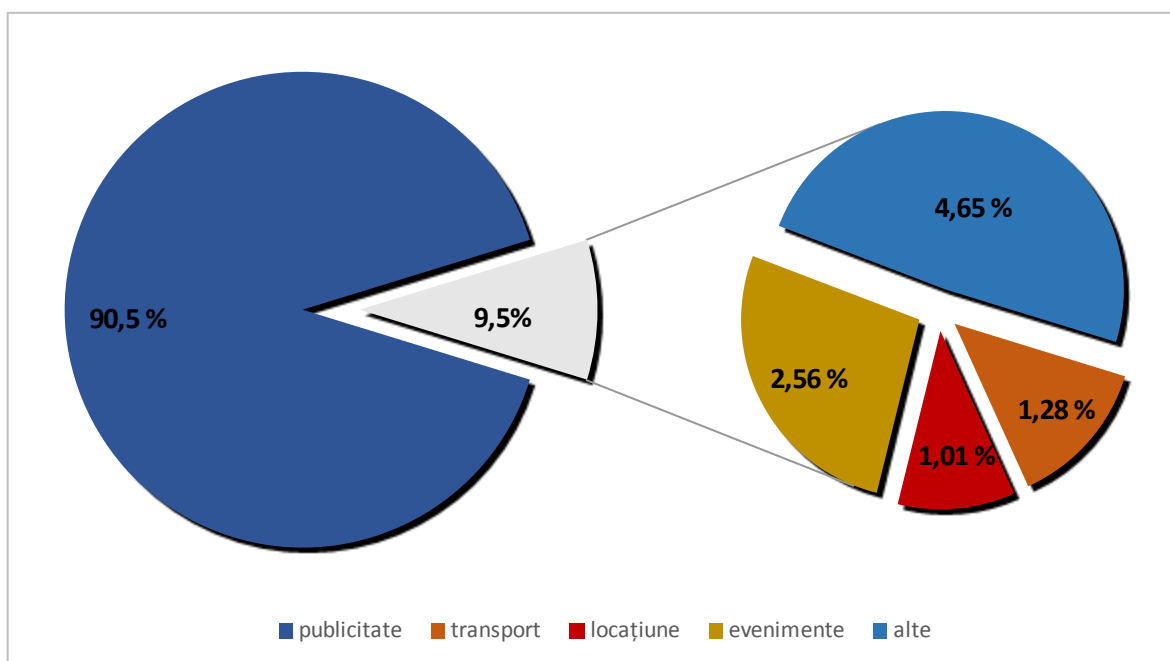


Figure 1.5 Share of reported expenses

g. Public events

According to the financial reports, 7 candidates spend money on public events to the amount of 2,982,898 lei (2.56% of total expenses). These candidates are PDM, PLR, PLDM, PP “Patria”, EB MCCU, PNL and PP “PNT”. Only 2 candidates (PLDM and PP “Patria”) reported expenses for artists’ honoraria of 216,481 lei.

h. Consultancy services

According to the financial reports, a single candidate (PLR) reported 10 thousand lei as expenses for consultancy (0.01% of total expenses).

i. Travel expenses

According to the financial reports, none of the candidates reported travel expenses.

j. Banking services

According to the financial reports, 20 candidates reported banking expenses to a total amount of 62,690 lei (0.05% of total expenses).

k. Maintenance of permanent premises (water, sanitation, gas, heating, etc.)

According to financial reports, only 2 candidates reported such expenses in the amount of 3,365 lei (0.003% of total expenses).

l. Communications

According to financial reports, 3 candidates reported communications expenses of 328,732 lei (0.28% of total expenses): PP “Patria”, PSRM, PP “Renaissance”, and PNL.

m. Materials (svac, office supplies)

According to financial reports, one candidate (PP “Patria”) reported such expenses in the amount of 7,618 lei (0.001% of total expenses).

Compared with the campaign for the parliamentary election in 2010, the revenues of the candidates went up 3.55 times in the 2014 race. Total revenues in the 2010 parliamentary election campaign amounted to 32,863,389.65 lei. See Fig. 1.6 to visualize electoral revenues and expenses in the 2010 and 2014 campaigns.

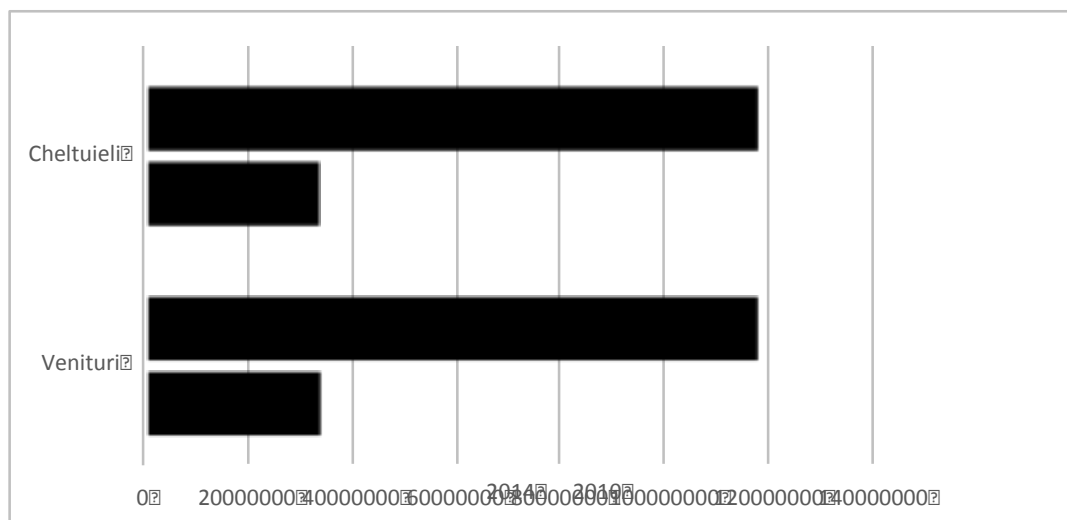


Figure 1.6

2.3 Candidates' expenses found by Promo-LEX observers and absent from preliminary financial reports

a. Renting premises

Promo-LEX observers found that only 15 candidates used their premises/offices during the campaign (PDM, PLDM, PCRM, PSRM, PL, PP "Patria", PPRM, PLR, PP "Renaissance", MPA, PNL, PPCD, EB MCCU, PFP, and PAD). According to the observers, the 15 candidates used at least 227 offices in 32 raion centers, municipalities Chisinau and Balti, and in Gagauzia. Of the 227 local offices noted by Promo-LEX observers, PDM used 36 offices (2537 m²), PLDM – 35 (1230 m²), PCRM – 34 (1662 m²), PSRM – 29 (1133 m²), PL – 27 (1301 m²), PP "Patria" – 17 (733 m²); PPRM – 14 (271 m²); PLR – 14 (445 m²); PP "Renaissance" – 9 (226 m²); MPA – 4 (158 m²); PNL – 3 (112 m²); PPCD – 2 (55 m²); EB MCCU – 1 (23 m²); PAD – 1 (14 m²); and PFP – 1 office (12 m²).

According to an analysis of the Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort, the minimum price of monthly rent for 1 square meter of space is: 50 lei (for cities and municipality suburbs), 80 lei (for mun. Bălți) and 100 lei (for mun. Chișinău).

PDM – estimated 344,900 lei, reported – 486,503 lei; PLDM – estimated 141,700 lei, reported – 1,500 lei, thus their financial statements fail to report at least 140,200 lei; PCRM – estimated 227,380 lei, reported – 59,494 lei, thus their financial statements fail to report at least 167,886 lei; PSRM – estimated 149,700 lei, reported – 254,200 lei; PL – 185,900 lei, reported – 43,350 lei, thus their financial statements fail to report at least 142,550 lei; PP "Patria" – estimated 81,700 lei, reported – 260,240 lei; PPRM – 27,070 lei, reported – 25,780 lei, thus their financial statements fail to report at least 1,290 lei; PLR – 61,900 lei, reported – 1,000 lei, thus their financial statements fail to report at least 60,900 lei; PP "Renaissance" – estimated 22,600 lei, reported – 0 lei; MPA – estimated 25,400 lei, reported – 0 lei; PNL – estimated 16,200 lei, reported – 3,617 lei, thus their financial statements fail to report at least 12,583 lei; PPCD – estimated 10,000 lei, reported – 0 lei; EB MCCU – estimated 4,600 lei, reported – 0 lei; PFP – estimated 1,200 lei, reported – 0 lei; PAD – estimated 700 lei, reported – 6,909 lei.

Thus the minimum real quantum of expenses for the 227 offices used by 15 candidates during the campaign, as established by Promo-LEX observers, as compared with the data in the financial statements of the candidates, is 592,209 lei.

b. Transportation expenses

Promo-LEX observers reported that at least 10 candidates used transportation for campaign purposes in Moldova. To calculate fuel expenses, the Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort took the distance in km travelled by candidates' representatives, as reported by the observers, and the minimum transportation tariff per 1 km, which is 4.40 lei.

As shown by Promo-LEX observations and calculations, PDM used at least 101 vehicles and travelled at least 35 465 km, estimated expenses – 156,046 lei, reported expenses – 3,000 lei, thus unreported expenses in their financial statements amount to no less than 153,046 lei. PLDM used at least 80 vehicles and travelled at least 33,240 km, estimated expenses – 146,256 lei, reported expenses – 40,000 lei, unreported expenses are at least 106,256 lei. PCRM used at least 34 vehicles and travelled at least 14,825 km, estimated expenses – 65,230 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei. PSRM used at least 35 vehicles and travelled at least 11,875 km, estimated expenses – 52,250 lei, reported expenses – 10,000 lei, unreported expenses in the financial statement are at least 42,250 lei; PP “Patria” used at least 15 vehicles and travelled at least 8,931 km, estimated expenses – 39,296 lei, reportage – 1,175,000 lei, unreported expenses - 0 lei. PL used at least 22 vehicles and travelled at least 5,167 km, estimated expenses – 22,735 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei. PP “Renaissance” used at least 1 vehicle and travelled at least 3,350 km, estimated expenses – 14,740 lei, reported expenses – 130,000 lei, unreported expenses - 0 lei. MPA used at least 3 vehicles and travelled at least 690 km, estimated expenses – 3,036 lei, reportage – 0 lei. PFP – 500 km, estimated expenses – 2,200 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei. EB MCCU used at least one vehicle and travelled at least 475 km, estimated expenses - 2 090 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei. PLR used at least one vehicle and travelled at least 200 km, incurred expenses - 880 lei.

For the total 114,718 km travelled, total estimated expenses amount to 397,723 lei.

c. Retribution of work

As found by Promo-LEX observers, 12 candidates had at least 379 staff members in their central and regional offices involved in the campaign: PDM – 57, PLDM - 67, PCRM - 69, PSRM - 50, PL - 41, PP “Patria” - 25, PPRM - 23, PLR – 19, PP “Renaissance” - 16, MPA and PNL –5 each, PPCD – 2.

According to Decision no. 165 of 9 March 2010 on the quantum of the minimum guaranteed salary in the real economy, the minimum salary is 1,650 lei per month, calculated for full time employment of approximately 169 work hours a month.

Thus, expenses calculated for wages for the PDM amount to 188,100 lei, while reported expenses are 0 lei. PLDM: estimated expenses – 221,100 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei. PCRM: estimated expenses – 227,700 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei. PSRM: estimated expenses – 165,000 lei, reported expenses – 189,592 lei; PL: estimated expenses – 135,300 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei; PLR: estimated expenses – 51,300 lei, reported expenses – 54,864 lei; PP “Patria”: estimated expenses – 82,500 lei, reported expenses – 4,000 lei, thus at least 78,500 lei were undeclared in their financial reports; PPRM: estimated expenses – 75,900 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei; PP “Renaissance”: estimated expenses – 52,800 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei; MPA: estimated expenses 16,500 lei, reported 4,377.4 lei, thus at least 12,122.6 lei were undeclared in their financial reports; PNL: estimated expenses – 16,500 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei; PPCD: estimated expenses – 6,600 lei, reported expenses – 0 lei.

The retribution of work of the 379 staff members of the candidates during the campaign amounts to an estimated 1,014,622 lei.

d. Compensations for volunteers/campaigners

Promo-LEX observers found that at least 10 candidates worked with a total of at least 4,032 volunteers during the campaign. PLDM – had at least 835 volunteers in 30 raions, PDM – had at least 1,028 volunteers in 25 raions, PCRM – 731 volunteers in 16 raions, PSRM – 463 volunteers in 30 raions, PL – 94 volunteers in 5 raions, PP “Patria” – no less than 357 volunteers in 26 raions, PPCD – at least 23 volunteers in 2 raions, PP “Renaissance” – at least 20 volunteers in 4 raions, MPA – 74 volunteers in one raion, and PPRM – 234 volunteers in 8 raions.

The Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort estimated, based on the findings of its observers, that the 10 candidates compensated with 42 to 200 lei their volunteers for one day of electioneering and/or campaigning. Based on these calculations PDM spent 205,600 lei, paying a daily allowance of 200 lei; PLDM spent 146,125 lei, paying a daily allowance of 175 lei; PCRM spent 91,375 lei, paying a daily allowance of 125 lei; PSRM spent 57,875 lei, paying a daily allowance of 125 lei; PL spent 11,750 lei, paying a daily allowance of 125 lei; “Patria” spent 39,270 lei, paying a daily allowance of 110 lei; PPRM spent 9,828 lei, paying a daily allowance of 42 lei; MPA spent 3,700 lei, paying a daily allowance of 50 lei; PPCD spent 1,725 lei, paying a daily allowance of 75 lei; and PP “Renaissance” spent 1,400 lei, paying a daily allowance of 70 lei.

Note that a single candidate reported expenses for this category in their financial statements (PP “Patria” – 950,125 lei). The volunteers disclosed the amounts of daily allowances indicated for each candidate to Promo-LEX observers.

According to the Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort calculations, the total unreported amount for the remuneration of volunteers is at least 529,378 lei.

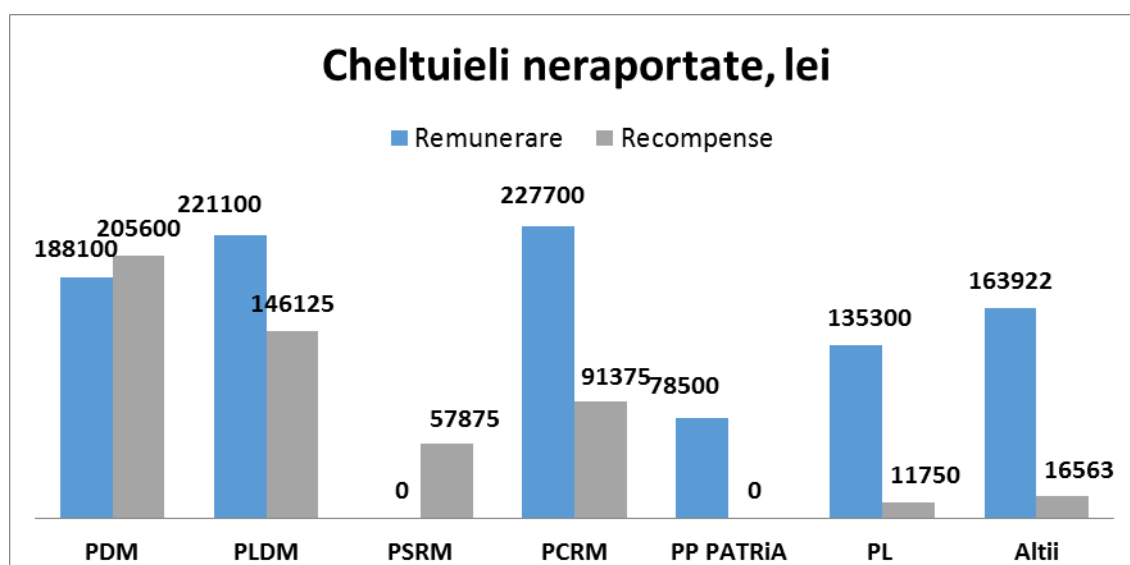


Figure 1.7

e. Advertising expenses

According to Promo-LEX observers, 9 candidates failed to reflect certain advertising expenses in their financial reports submitted to the CEC. Although Promo-LEX did not monitor TV and radio advertising for the purpose of this report, observers could not avoid this aspect, and estimated the expenses which were to be incurred by candidate PDM in connection with the expended coverage of its events in the media, and namely the 2 electoral concerts broadcast by TV channel Prime (details regarding the estimated cost of the coverage are included below, under Public events).

According to the verifications by Promo-LEX observers, the minimum monthly cost of displaying a 6x3m² billboard is 5,650 lei, a 6x2m² banner – no less than 2,000 lei; the printing cost of a A3 color

gloss paper poster is 2.5 lei for a circulation of 5,000 copies, one A3 poster on matte paper costs 1.5 lei for a circulation 15,000, a 66-page brochure costs 9.9 lei for a circulation of 5,000, and a newspaper costs 0.48 lei to print for a circulation of 100,000 copies. The price of an A4 size text/article published in the local media varies from 1,900 and 2,900 lei, and in Chisinau – as high as 5,000 lei. A publication in VIP Magazin costs at least 20 thousand lei.

With regard to PSRM, Promo-LEX observers found unreported electoral advertising in at least two national publications: “Экономическое обозрение [Economic Review]” – 1 p., “Kommersant” – 3 p. Party paper “Социалисты [Socialists]” – editions no. 29 of 25.10.14, no. 30 of 01.11.14 and no. 31 of 07.11.14, orders no. 1309, 1351, 1403 – total circulation 500,000 copies. Unreported estimated expenses are of at least 260 thousand lei.

With regard to candidate PLDM, Promo-LEX observers reported that at least two types of materials distributed to voters that are not found in the financial report presented to the CEC (A3 posters - TEU com. no. 5013, circulation 50,000; TEU com. no. 4930 circulation 50,000). Total unreported expenses amount to at least 150,000 lei.

As for candidate PDM, Promo-LEX observers reported electoral advertising in at least 6 nationwide publications: “Saptamana” – 3,5 p, “Timpul” – 2 p., “Ziarul de Garda” – 0.5 p., “Экономическое обозрение” – 2.5 p., “Kommersant” – 0.5 p., and “VIP Magazin” – 4 p. Unreported expenses amount to at least 125 thousand lei.

With regard to candidate PP “Renaissance”, Promo-LEX observers reported 4 standard billboards, 1 standard banner, and A3 posters with a circulation of 50,000. PP “Renaissance” did not report any expenses in that regard. According to Promo-LEX estimated, they amount to no less than 79,600 lei.

As for candidate PPCD, Promo-LEX observers found unreported electoral advertising in at least one national publication: “Flux” – 6 p., and found distributed brochures of the “Rosca Plan”. According to an analysis by the Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort, the “Rosca Plan” brochure, 66 pages, printing house “Prag-3” SRL, circulation 5,000 copies, as of 04.11.2014 is not included in PPCD’s financial reports. Total unreported expenses amount to at least 60 thousand lei.

With regard to PL, Promo-LEX observers found unreported electoral advertising in at least three national and three regional publications: “Timpul” – 1 p., “Vocea Poporului” – 0.5 p., “Ziarul de Grada” – 0.5 p., “Cuvantul” – 1 p., “Observatorul de Nord” – 1.5 p. and “Ziarul Nostru” – 1 p. Total unreported expenses amount to at least 16,650 lei.

With regard to PCRM, Promo-LEX observers found unreported electoral advertising in at least two national and one regional publication: “Экономическое обозрение” – 1 p., “Moldova Independenta” – 3 p., and “Actualitati Florestene” – 0.5 p. Total unreported expenses amount to at least 15,950 lei.

With regard to independent candidate Oleg Cernei, Promo-LEX observers found unreported electoral advertising in at least two national publications: “Saptamana” – 2 p., and “Ziarul de Garda” – 1 p. Total unreported expenses amount to at least 15 thousand lei.

Promo-LEX observers also found at least 3 unreported standard banners in favor of EB MCCU in one raion, and advertising materials in at least 5 raions. Unreported expenses amount to at least 6 thousand lei.

According to the calculation of the Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort, total unreported advertising expenses amount to no less than 728,200 lei.

f. Public events

According to Promo-LEX observers’ reports, at least 6 candidates incurred expenses for the organization of 181 concerts, 7 disco parties, 2 campaign launch events, and 2 concerts abroad. At least 91 artists/musicians performed at these events.

PLDM conducted at least 98 concerts in 30 raions, 3 disco parties in 2 raions, one campaign launch event and at least 2 concerts abroad. N less than 46 artists performed for PLDM: (“Akord” band, N.

Barbu, A. Puică, I. Palade, “3SudEst”, E. Doga, D. Sulac, Isidor, N. Glib, P. Parfenii, A. Moon, Z. Julea, A. Latîşev, Gh. Țopa, I. Suruceanu, I. Raiburg, actors G. Pîrlea, N. Godina, Eduard Cernat, Aliona Olenic, V. Țapu and I. Grosu; singer Fuego, M. Șura, Aura, D. Sulac, A. Barbu, A. Mîrzenco, “Drîmba” folk ensemble, “Catharsis” band, D. Gherman, folklore music orchestra “Lăutarii” – A. Dabija, L. Bejenaru, N. Cibotaru and I. Căpraru, G. Voinovanu, N. Crulicovschi, S. Grigore, actors of Theater I. L. Caragiale – I. Rusu, V. Cazacu, J. Cucuruzac, M. Curagău, “Mandinga” band, “Discoteka Avaria” band, V. Boghean). The costs of the artists’ honoraria are estimated at at least 2,261,870 lei, while reported expenses are 180,931 lei, thus expenses unreported in the financial statements amount to 2,080,939 lei. Renting costs for these events are estimated at 116,600 lei, while reported expenses were 46,880 lei, thus unreported expenses in for renting amount to 69,720 lei. Total expenses undeclared in the candidate’s financial report amount to at least 2,150,659 lei.

PDM organized at least 67 electoral concerts in 31 raions and 4 disco parties in 3 raions. At least 39 artists performed for PDM (I. Suruceanu, C. Prepeliță, I. Raiburg, V. Lungu, A. Ochișanu, Z. Julea, N. Ciobanu, V. Dani, M. Pavel, A. Lazariuc, A. Ursu, N. Gordienko, S. Latîşev, C. Burlacu, C. Țepeș, D. Gherman, M. Sarabaș, V. Cojocaru, I. Rusu, N. Stratan, folklore music orchestra from Fălești, I. Istrati, M. Ciobanu, Kapushon, one DJ and one MC, A. Vdovicenco, D. Arseni, Filip Kirkorov, Laima Vaikule, Nicolai Baskov, Maxim Galkin, celebrity TV host Andrei Malahov, Toto Cutugno, Ștefan Bănică Junior, Smiley, Holograf, Chris Norman, Francesco Napoli and Anastasia Lazariuc). The estimated honoraria of these artists amount to 7,995,990 lei, while 0 lei were reported in the financial statement.

The form for financial reporting contains a graph for indicating the expenses to ensure media coverage of the said public events. Thus, PDM conducted 2 concerts, each of 3 hours (180 min.). The concerts were broadcast for 6 hours (360 min.) in primetime on TV channel Prime. According to the channel’s editorial policy statement for the coverage of the electoral campaign for the 30 November 2014 parliamentary elections, their established price for political advertising was 4,800 Euros per minute, including VAT (89,760 lei/min. including VAT). Under the Election Code, during the campaign, candidates were entitled to no more than 2 minutes of advertising per day. Thus, to estimate the cost of the broadcast concerts, we calculated the price of 2 minutes of political advertising per day, during the two days, and came up with the figure of at least 359,040 lei. The remaining 356 minutes of the concerts were estimated based on the price of 72 Euros per minute, including VAT, (1,346 lei/min. including VAT), which is the price set by Prime for social advertising. Thus, according to Promo-LEZ calculations, the remaining 356 minutes incurred at least 479,176 lei in expenses. Thus, the respective 6 hours of broadcasting cost candidate PDM no less than 838,216 lei, which were to be included in the financial report, under graph 3.7.8.

Thus, the total amount of expenses incurred by PDM and undeclared in the financial reports is at least 8,834,206 lei.

PLR organized at least 2 concerts in one locality. PLR had at least 2 artists perform for them – “Direcția 5” band and I. Cuciuc. The cost of the artists’ services are estimated at 46,750 lei, while reported expenses were 0 lei. Thus total unreported expenses by the PLR amount to no less than 46,750 lei.

PL conducted one campaign launch event and 8 concerts. No less than 6 artists performed for PL – a group of lautari [fiddlers] from Chișinău, folclor ensemble “Opincuța”, Ricky Ardezeanu, folclor ensemble “Plăieșii”, traditional dance troupe “Moștenitorii”, Z. Julea, and A. Barbu. Artists’ honoraria amount to no less than 80,330 lei, while reported expenses were 0 lei. Total undeclared expenses in the financial statements amount to 80,330 lei.

PCRM held 6 concerts in 5 raions. At least 2 musicinas performed for PCRM - M. Șura and C. Moscovici. The estimated cost of the artists’ honoraria amount to no less than 48,600 lei, while reported expenses are 0 lei. Total undeclared expenses in the financial statements amount to 48,600 lei.

PP “Patria” organized at least 2 concerts in one raion. At least 2 artists sang for PP “Patria” – G. Țopa and Mc Gootsa. Artists’ fees are estimated at 20,600 lei, while reported expenses are 35,550 lei.

According to the Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort calculations, the total amount of unreported expenses for public events is no less than 11,160,545 lei.

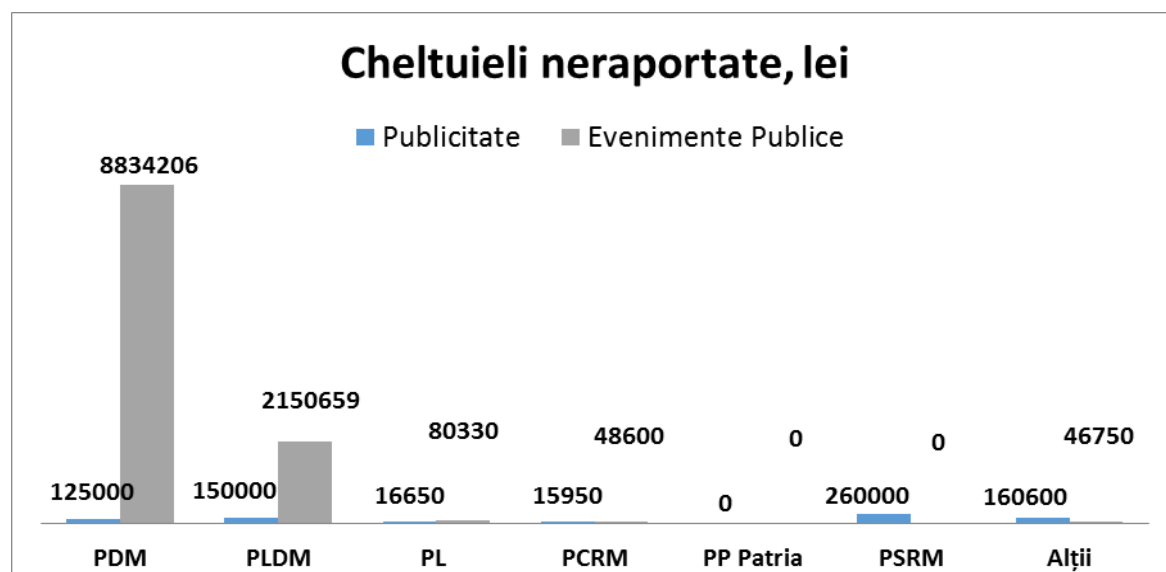


Figure 1.8

g. Travel expenses

Promo-LEX observers reported that, in the monitoring period, at least 4 candidates (PLDM, PSRM, PDM and PL) undertook trips for election purposes. The travels covered at least 18 cities in 6 countries.

The Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort estimated the minimum round trip flight costs for routes Chișinău – Moscow, at 2,431 lei; Chișinău – Sankt Petersburg, at 2,038 lei; Chișinău – Sochi, at 2,412 lei; Moscow – Tyumen, estimated at 3,983.1 lei; and Moscow – Surgut, estimated at 3,347 lei. The routes Chișinău - Torino, Verona, Bologna, Milano were each estimated at 1,870 lei; Chișinău – Atena, estimated at 3,702.6 lei; and Chișinău – Paris estimated at 4,076 lei. Return bus tickets for routes Chișinău – București cost 500 lei; Chișinău – Constanța 500 lei, and Chișinău – Galați: 400 lei.

PSRM held at least 7 meetings, of which 5 with voters: in Moscow, Sankt Petersburg, Sochi, Tyumen and Surgut (02-04.11.14). Estimated expenses amount to 14,212 lei. Travels to meet with Russian officials in attended by 2 candidates from PSRM are estimated at 9,724 lei. Total estimated expenses amount to no less than 23,936 lei. Travel expenses have not been covered in the PSRM financial reports.

PLDM conducted at least 11 voter rallies in Milan (08.11.14), Galati and Constanta (08.11.14), Padua, Bologna and Bucharest (09.11.14), Brescia (15.11), Mestre, Torino, Paris and Athens (16.11.14). Total estimated expenses amount to no less than 20,398.6 lei. Travel expenses have not been covered in the PLDM financial reports.

PDM held at least two voter rallies in Mestre and Verona (14.11.14). Total estimated expenses amount to no less than 3,740 lei. Travel expenses have not been covered in the PDM financial reports.

PL had at least one meeting with voters, in Verona (20.11.14). Total estimated expenses amount to no less than 1,870 lei. Travel expenses have not been covered in the PL financial reports.

The Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort calculations show that the total amount of unreported travel expenses amounts to no less than 49,944.6 lei.

h. Maintenance of permanent premises

According to the Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort estimates, the minimum monthly energy consumption for an office is of 100 lei, water – 54 lei, and gas – 25 lei.

Thus, Promo-LEX estimated the minimum expenses for servicing and maintaining candidates' offices multiplied by the number of offices found by Promo-LEX, for a duration of 8 weeks of the campaign. PDM had the most expenses, which amounted to 12,888 lei, and were not reflected in the financial report; PLDM – 12,530 lei, not reflected in the financial report; PCRM – 12,172 lei, not reflected in the financial report; PL – 9,666 lei, not reflected in the financial report; PSRM – 10,382 lei, including 244.8 lei reflected and 10,137 lei not reflected in the financial report; PP "Patria" – 6,086 lei, not reflected in the financial report; PPRM – 5,012 lei, not reflected in the financial report; PLR – 5,012 lei, including 3,120.64 reflected and 1,891.36 lei not reflected in the financial report; PP "Renaissance" – 3,222 lei not reflected in the financial report; MPA – 1,432 lei not reflected in the financial report; PNL – 1,074 lei not reflected in the financial report; PPCD – 716 lei not reflected in the financial report; PAD – 358 lei not reflected in the financial report; PFP – 358 lei not reflected in the financial report; EB MCCU – 358 lei not reflected in the financial report.

According to the Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort estimates, the total amount of unreported expenses for utilities and maintenance services for permanent premises was at least 77,900 lei.

i. Communications expenses

According to the information presented on the official website of the CEC, the 26 candidates had an official number of persons involved in the electoral campaign, which include candidates on electoral lists, trusted persons, observers, a representative with consultative vote, and a treasurer.

Thus PDM had 97 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, a treasurer and 508 trusted persons involved in the campaign; PP "Patria" – 100 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, a treasurer, and 540 trusted persons; PCRM – 101 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, a treasurer and 555 trusted persons; PPRM – 103 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, one treasurer and 309 trusted persons; PL – 102 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, a treasurer, and 61 trusted persons; PSRM – 103 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, and one treasurer; EB MCCU – 100 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, and a treasurer; PP "Renaissance" – 101 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, a treasurer and 10 trusted persons; PNL – 103 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; PP "PFP" – 103 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; MPA – 102 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; PLDM – 101 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; PLR – 93 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, and a treasurer; PDA – 88 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; PAD – 87 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; PPCD – 85 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; PP "PVE" – 80 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; PPCR – 61 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; PP "Ravnopravie" – 57 candidates on electoral lists and a representative with consultative vote with the CEC; PP "PNT" – 53 candidates on electoral lists and a representative with consultative vote with the CEC; PP "UCM" – 51 candidates on electoral lists, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC and a treasurer; PP "Patriots of Moldova" – 51 candidates on electoral lists and a representative with consultative vote with the CEC; IC Doga Anatolie – 20 trusted persons (including Doga Anatolie); IC Oleg Cernei – treasurer Oleg Cernei.

With regard to mobile phone services, expenses for the 8 weeks of the campaign for a candidate on the electoral list, a representative with consultative vote with the CEC, a treasurer or a trusted person have been estimated at 102 lei. The Promo-LEX observers estimated the costs for fixed phone lines

and access to Internet as per the total number offices for 8 weeks (landline phones – at least 6 lei, Internet per office – 110 lei on average).

Thus PDM spent at least 70,266 lei on communications, expenses which are not covered in their financial report; PP “Patria” – 69,428 lei covered in their financial report; PCRM – 75,004 lei not covered in their financial report; PPRM – 45,476 lei, expenses which are not covered in their report; PL – 23,102 lei not covered in their report; PLDM – 18,626 lei in undeclared expenses; PLR – 12,938 lei in undeclared expenses; PSRM – 17,438 lei not covered in their report; MPA – 11,536 lei in undeclared expenses; PP “Renaissance” – 13,614 lei in expenses, of which 2,827.54 lei were declared, and at least 10,786.46 lei were not covered in their report; EB MCCU – 10,636 lei in undeclared expenses; PNL – 11,406 lei in expenses, of which 1,370.3 lei were reported, and 10,035.7 lei were not covered in their report; PFP – 10,942 lei in undeclared expenses; PDA – 9,180 lei in undeclared expenses; PAD – 9,310 lei in undeclared expenses; PPCD – 9,338 lei in undeclared expenses; PP “PVE” – 8,364 lei in undeclared expenses; PPCR – 6,426 lei in undeclared expenses; PP “Ravnopravie” – 5,916 lei in undeclared expenses; PP “PNT” – 5,508 lei in undeclared expenses; PP “UCM” – 5,406 lei in undeclared expenses; PP “Patriots of Moldova” – 5,304 lei in undeclared expenses; IC Doga Anatolie – 2,040 lei in undeclared expenses; and IC Oleg Cernei – 204 lei in undeclared expenses.

According to the Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort estimates, the total amount of unreported expenses for communications was at least 366,344 lei.

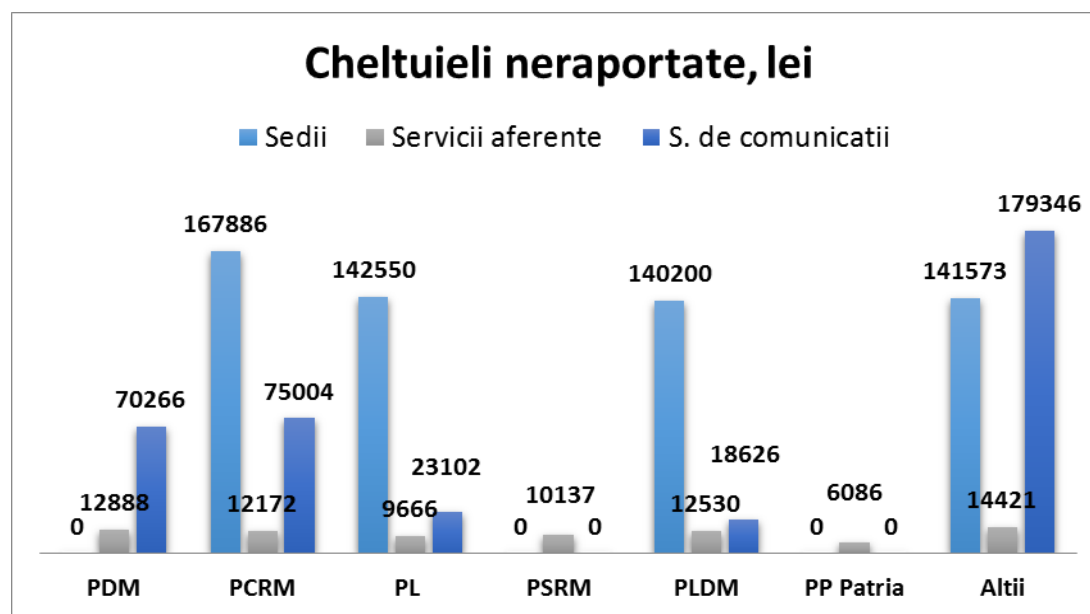


Figure 1.9

Following Promo-LEX Election Monitoring Effort calculations, the total quantum of unreported expenses amounts to 14,916,866 lei. All the expenses absent from the financial reports of the candidates were calculated based on minimum estimates. Thus, PDM failed to report 9,592,846 lei in expenses, PLDM – 2,965,895 lei, PCRM – 703,917 lei, PL – 446,953 lei, PSRM – 411,636 lei, and others – 795,619 lei. (see fig.1.10 and 1.11)

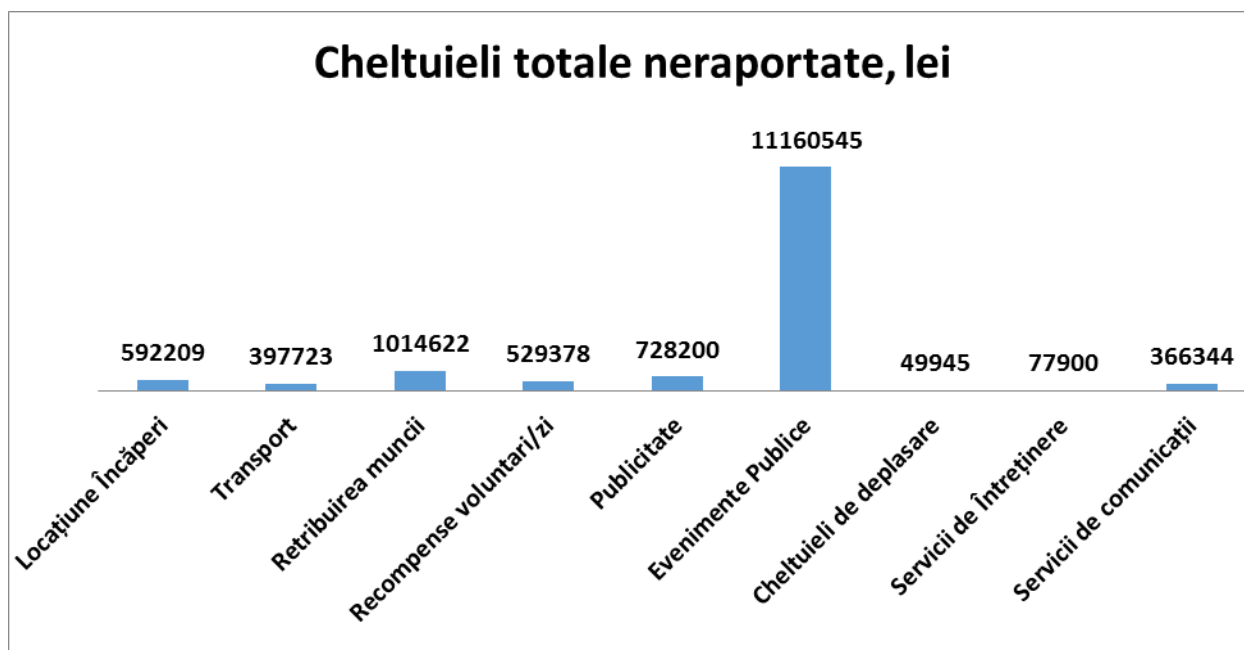


Figure 1.10 Unreported expenses by category (estimation)

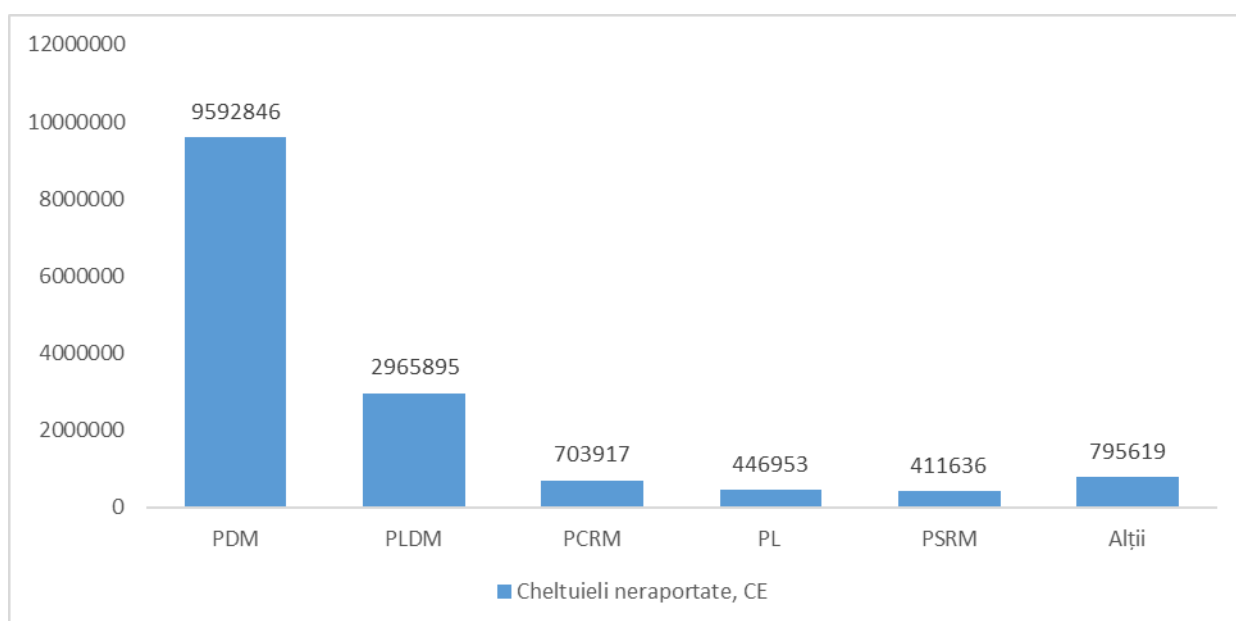


Figure 1.11 Total unreported expenses by candidates (estimation)

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

To the Central Electoral Commission:

- Revise the mechanism of establishing a ceiling of financial means for campaign funding in order to unify it;
- Streamline the control mechanism of campaign funding and establish a single unified mechanism for checking/estimating undeclared expenses;
- Penalize candidates who fail to observe the obligation to publish weekly stats of the sources of their campaign revenues and support in publications of national circulation;
- In accordance with art.38 par.9 of the Election Code, initiate control procedures for sources of revenue from medium size donations between 75,000 and 100,000 lei;
- Thorough examination of financial reports submitted by the candidates and exact calculation of amounts assessed as undeclared by the candidates and/or unreported in their financial statements;
- Thorough examination of the expenses incurred by the candidates abroad, and notification of law enforcement bodies, as provided by the Election Code, in order to establish the source of coverage for these expenses;
- Start discussions on the need to establish a ceiling of campaign donations, including the possibility to limit contributions from the party accounts to the *de facto* amounts of funds present in the respective accounts at the beginning of the campaign;
- Explain the procedure of transferring funds from the account of the party (as a legal entity) into the electoral fund, and how such transfers should be reflected in the financial reports;
- Establish a mechanism to avoid the possibility of covering up the *de facto* donors of the candidate (*by transferring funds into the party account, and later making single transfers from that account into the electoral fund*);
- Ensure a fair and unified treatment of all candidates in cases of allegations of use of undeclared financial means which exceed the established ceiling by more than 5% or come from abroad in order to avoid suspicions of political bias;

To the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova:

- Pass in a second (and final) reading the bill on political party and campaign funding. Establish the date of publication in the Official Monitor as the date of entry in force of the new law;
- Amend the Election Code to establish a unified and consistent formula for setting a ceiling of funds to be transferred into a candidate' electoral fund, and establish gradual legal liability sanctions for failure to declare campaign related revenues of exceeding the respective ceiling;

- Revisit the mechanism of funding for independent candidates in order to facilitate their access to the campaign and ensure a level playing field with other candidates (political parties);

To Electoral Candidates:

- Ensure transparency of revenues and use of funds during the campaign;
- Apply internal sanctions to members and supporters who failed to report financial means used by the candidate;
- Ensure transparency of campaign funding to avoid conflict situations which could generate discussion on the need to eliminate the respective candidate from the race;

To Law Enforcement Bodies:

- Investigate, in accordance with contraventions and criminal procedure legislation, all cases mentioned in this report that contain elements of alleged violations of legal provisions.

V. PROMO-LEX OBSERVATION METHODOLOGY

The Promo-LEX Association monitors the 30 November 2014 parliamentary election throughout the Republic of Moldova, including the left bank of the Nistru River. This effort involves 41 long-term observers and 32 medium-term observers. On Election Day, Promo-LEX will delegate short-term observers for each polling station, raising the total number of observers to 2,000. The activity of all long-term and short-term observers is coordinated by a central team, which monitors both the pre-electoral and post-electoral periods.

Monitoring activities are neutral and unbiased in regard to all electoral candidates. Promo-LEX is not an investigative body; therefore, it is not obliged to provide evidence for the findings of their observers. Before participating in the Monitoring Effort, Promo-LEX observers were trained in election observation, and in demonstrating an unbiased, a-political attitude and maintaining objectivity in the framework of the Monitoring Effort. Each Promo-LEX observer signs a Code of Conduct developed and approved by the Global Network of National Electoral Observers (GNDEM). A copy of the Code of Conduct is available on the web-page www.promolex.md.

The Monitoring Effort includes observation of activities conducted by electoral candidates, electoral bodies, authorities of central and local public administration, and local and regional mass media. Another priority field for analysis is the monitoring of the use of finances by the electoral candidates, their revenues and expenses, and their reporting in accordance with the law. Particular attention will be paid to the implementation of the State Register of Voters.

The public reports of the Monitoring Effort are developed based on official information, observers' direct observation and reports, interviews with electoral actors, and analysis of official documents.

International standards used as a basis for the monitoring reports are those elaborated by the Organization of United Nations (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948); the Council of Europe (European Convention on Human Rights), the European Commission for Democracy Through Law – the Venice Commission (Code of Good Electoral Practices, Guidelines for Political Parties' Finances), the European Union (Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union), and the OSCE. Basic principles of the international electoral standards are: universal, equal, free, secret, periodic, correct and direct suffrage (right to elect and be elected).

The Promo-LEX Association conducts the monitoring of parliamentary elections on 30 November 2014 within its Program of Monitoring Democratic Processes. The Monitoring Effort falls under activities conducted by the civil society within the framework of the Civic Coalition for Free and Fair Elections. The monitoring of parliamentary elections of 30 November 2014 benefits from technical assistance provided by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the Council of Europe, and the Stefan Batory Foundation from the funds provided by the Solidarity Fund "Support for Democracy" Program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. Opinions expressed in this report belong to the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the funders.

VI. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Art. – Article

ATU Gagauzia – Autonomous Territorial Unit Gagauzia

CEC – Central Electoral Commission

com. – order

d. – District

DEC – District Electoral Council

DJ – Disc Jockey

EB MCCU – Electoral Bloc Moldova's Choice Customs Union

EC – electoral candidate

ex. – copies

fig. – figure

GNDEM – Global Network of Domestic Elections Observers

J.S.C. – Joint Stock Company

LPA – Local Public Administration

m² – square meters

MC – concert moderator

mln – million

MPA – Political party “Anti-MAFIA Popular Movement”

mun. – municipality

NDI – National Democratic Institute

NED – National Endowment for Democracy

NGO – Nongovernmental Organization

no. - number

ODIHR – Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

OSCE – Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

p. – page

par. – paragraph

PCR – Political Party “Party of the Communists Reformists of Moldova”

PCRM – Party of the Communists of the Republic of Moldova

PDA – Political Party “Democracy at Home”

PDM – Democratic Party of Moldova

PL – Liberal Party

PLDM – Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova
PLR – Political Party “Liberal Reformists Party”
PNL – National Liberal Party
PP Patria – Political Party “PATRIA”
PP PFP – Political Party “People’s Force Party”
PP Renaissance – Political Party “RENAȘTERE”
PPCD – People’s Christian Democratic Party
PPRM - Political Party “People’s Party of the Republic of Moldova”
PS – Polling Station
PSRM – Political Party “Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova”
PVE – Political Party “Green Ecologists Party”
RM – Republic of Moldova
svac – Small value assets and consumables
TV – Television
UN – United Nations
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
Unit. – Unit
USAID – United States Agency for International Development

Registration plates of the vehicles used by PLDM:

Dacia Logan CMZ975, Dacia Logan FRAQ336, Mercedes RMG001, Volkswagen SP008, Skoda Octavia CUN014, Dacia Logan CMZ9811, registration SQW676, CNF298, CQU120, CQW212, RMG028, SDAE066, SDIS777, CNG452, Dacia Logan CNG453, Dacia Logan CMZ504, Dacia Logan CLAO866, Volkswagen FRAO176, Mercedes SGAO144, Skoda CRX656, KIA CRY305, Chevrolet Tacuma SDAH245, Dacia Logan CNG452, Honda SDVM888, Dacia Logan CSF890, Niva SDWW200, Fiat Punto SDAG970, Toyota Carina CMV072, Mitsubishi Pagero NAX011, Mercedes208 CLAR681, Ford Transit CLAN298, Mercedes Sprinter CLAH202, Mercedes Sprinter CLAR373, Mercedes Sprinter CLAK685, Skoda Yeti BLDR303, Skoda CSB371, Mercedes RMG, Dacia Logan SP032, MAI 0320, CVV074, ACRZ340, Dacia Logan CRN686, Dacia Logan GAQ358, WV Tuareg, Toyota Land Cruiser, Dacia Logan CQU852; Dacia Logan CPH450; Dacia Logan CMZ506, Dacia Logan CMZ509, Dacia Logan CMZ976, maxi-taxi SG AD 435, RSAR 025, COS 825, COS825, RSAR 025, RMP004, maxi-taxi TLAM606, maxi-taxi Mercedes COW799, Vaz 2110, CRSF 001, Dacia Logan SGAQ358, Skoda Yeti BLDR303, Skoda Superb CPF712, Dacia Logan FLAR016, Skoda RMG017, RZAD888, Toyota Land CMZ509, Toyota maxi-taxi Mercedes UNAX297, Dacia Logan CRZ094, Dacia ILBH264, Dacia Logan CPB409, Dacia Logan SGAQ358, Skoda Yeti BLDR303, Dacia Logan CMY857, KIP11, CQU120, CQO112, CQO111, KBI01, Dacia Logan CMY 536, Toyota CGO212, SGAD435, BR AU 584, CRY700, Mercedes Vito COW799, Dacia CRN686, Dacia Logan SGAQ358, Skoda Yeti BLDR303, CLAQ866, CRG719, CCW212, Dacia CRN686, VW Phaeton BLDL070, Dacia Logan SGAQ358, CKI145, KAT765, COH915, CHU799, RZAH958, RZAJ957, RZAI570, RZAG512, RZAG786, RZAI 112.

Registration plates of the vehicles used by PDM:

Buses:

CQG518, MAN COW696, KAU925, MAN COW630, MAN COW698, MAN COW639, CHAR311.

Cars:

Vaz 2115 KPD021, Dacia Logan CQG012, Lada CPD028, Mercedes E-class CQA756, Skoda Octavia RMP009, Vaz 2109 KPD041, maxi-taxi CPX260, Niva CLAK012, BMW X5 KOK202, Skoda COC163, Mercedes ML KVD999, Mercedes CQA756, CRZ369, Mercedes Sprinter CSY288, Mercedes Sprinter CLAQ038, Skoda Octavia RMP009, Range Rover KVL299, Mercedes Sprinter CSQ999, Lada KPD039, Mercedes Sprinter ISUZU ORBC492, ORAR807, Mercedes Sprinter CRS555, Vaz 2109 KPD041, Mercedes Sprinter CSQ999, Lada KPD028, Dacia Logan CQG 012, VAZ 21015 KPD021, Lada Kalina KPO049, Mercedes CPX259, CPX257, COY247, KAU716, Vay21015, Mercedes CPT034, Vaz2109 KPD041, Lada 09 KPD039, Dacia Logan COS810, Scandia CQG518, Vaz 2109 CPD038, Skoda Octavia RMA263, Mercedes Sprinter CRO467, Lada KPD028, Vaz 21009, KPD022, Lada CPD 038, Mercedes-Benz Sprinter CRO467, Maxi-taxi CPT034, Lada Kalina KPO049, VAZ 21009, KPD 022, Vaz 2109 KPD 041, Mercedes 208 CPS782, CQV 180, Lada KPD029, Maxi-taxi CPX299, Vaz 21009, KPD022, Lada KPD 028, Vaz 2109 KPD041, Mercedes KAU746, CQV-180, maxi-taxi CPX260, Lada KPD028, Vaz 2109 KPD041, BMW CCU127, Mitsubishi CMC070, Volkswagen KPD641, Lada KPD030, Vaz 2109 KPD041, RZ AE 475, Lada KPD028, Skoda COL182, AUDI CRL632, Dacia Logan COS810, COL182, CSO999, COC163, RMP009, maxi-taxi ARGUS-S CPA033, Volkswagen KAF446, RZAJ686, Mercedes CHAZ886, Mercedes Sprinter ORBM730, Mercedes Sprinter ORBE139, CHAR311, Mercedes CHBB206, maxi-taxi CPS782, ORBA700, CHBE384, RZAG653, RZAV333, RZAG685, RZAG663, Mercedes KAU965.

Registration plates of the vehicles used by PSRM:

Volkswagen FRAQ411, Suzuki TRAK914, MTZORC9, Dacia Logan CPN015, Mercedes E-class BLSU777, Daewoo Matiz RZAJ 903, Vaz 21099 TG00009, Mercedes E-Class BLSU777,

RZAH437, Mercedes sprinter CLAH212, Mercedes sprinter UNAW992, Skoda Superb KPS 526, Lada 21099 TGAH099, Hyundai CHBC096, Mercedes CPB999, NSAM395, CLAP520, CIY940, UNBS018, TLAM216, DBAI031, COH14, CPS782, UNAT649, Mercedes CMAM 950, Mercedes COB575, CNT318, Skoda Octavia CRS34, BMW STAZ781, KAF075, Mercedes sprinter CLAH212, CLAL898, CRJ996, CQK025, Toyota KAF075.

Registration plates of the vehicles used by PCRM:

Bus TLAM216, Icarus SVAI492, ICARUS FRAL492

Skoda Superb KPC077, Mitsubishi Jeep CMR88, Chevrolet Aveo KAA037, Ford TranzitT CTX400, BMW KAV080, Lada KAA037, Mercedes SDAE191, Mercedes SDIP100, Mercedes FEAN523, Mercedes FRAP559, KAVZ FRAQ812, KAVZ SRAR446, Mercedes 208 UNAT645, Mercedes P180AH, Chevrolet Aveo KAA037, Skoda Superb BLAC001, Mercedes P180AH, Hyundai CMW464, Skoda superb RMP021, SDAG973, SDAE191, Mercedes CHBE945, Mercedes CJC035, ILBJ439, ILNZ444, CPJ887, IIAO900, C075AE, GRAB070, KAI255, HNAO219.

Registration plates of the vehicles used by PP “Patria”:

Volkswagen COK493, CRF169, CPY769, Dacia Logan KRU012, Skoda Octavia UNAS 774, Range Rover KRU04, Landcruiser200 KRU01, Dacia Duster RMA164, BMV GZT387, Volkswagen CPJ851, OCAL122, Dacia Logan KRU177, Mercedes CMZ005, Audi A8 BLDV 880.

Registration plates of the vehicles used by PL:

Skoda RMP034, maxi-taxi ORBM874, Mercedes CPL001, Mercedes Sprinter CMW054, Opel Astra CMS777, CMZ 444, BMV CKS857, Volvo XC90 ANBB510, BRAX841, CHAV295, Mercedes CHAY171, Toyota Highlander CLW565, Toyota Auris KVL418, BEAE238, Mercedes Benz C200 ANAS866, Mitsubishi Lancer CSAP075, Mercedes Benz TGVO777, Suzuki Vitara ANAY696, Volvo XC90 ANBB510, Mercedes Sprinter CMW054, ILVC777, KAE004.

Registration plates of the vehicles used by PP “Renaissance”:

Mercedes Bens TRTW001

Registration plates of the vehicles used by PLR:

VW Phaeton BLDL070

Registration plates of the vehicles used by MPA:

Van CMR351, Skoda CHAZ625, Volkswagen CMR351

Registration plates of the vehicles used by EB MCCU:

Mercedes CHAT412