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**THE PROGRAM OF THE POLITICAL PARTY
“ACTION AND SOLIDARITY PARTY”
(PAS)**

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Preamble

For a long time, we have lived in a system built by the current political class that does not reward those who are honest, those who work, and does not help those who need help. This system was designed to serve the interests of certain people to the detriment of the common good.

Our society has come to suffer because of the huge gap between the state and the citizen, because of an acute lack of confidence originating in the corruption ingrained at all levels, because of bureaucracy which, instead of solving citizens' problems, creates more obstacles, because of favouritism that destroyed every trace of meritocracy and adequate assessment of competence. Promoted are not the best people, but the closest and the most obedient.

The effects of these practices are visible: we suffer from increasing poverty and inequality, lack of jobs, uncertain business environment, a monopolized and controlled economy, an outdated education system, weak health care, and almost non-existent social protection. At the same time, those loyal to the system feel certain to be exempt from punishment when they do not abide by the law.

Although the causes of the situation we found ourselves in are various, it is obvious that certain politicians that stayed in power all these years have fundamentally undermined the development of this country. Leftist and rightist governments have been equally plagued by incompetence, demagoguery, cowardice and of course by colossal corruption and theft of public money. This political class has had no vision, no courage and-primarily-no interest in building a united society.

Moldovan society has become extremely divided and polarized, ethnically and politically, which generated distrust and anxiety among citizens. We must acknowledge that this mistrust was deepened by an aggressive and insidious political discourse, often far beyond the limits of common sense and respect.

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Thus, social harmony that is critical for a prosperous society has been severely affected, generating difficulties for collective action, for citizens' association for economic or social purposes, thus unsettling the country's economic progress.

The current government is, perhaps, more guilty than the others who took turns in power, of the most odious crime: undermining the progress of this society and stealing the chance for a better life for millions of people.

PAS is a party of centre-right orientation, embracing the concept of new liberalism, which proclaims individual rights and freedoms as supreme values. We share the belief in the regulatory capacities of the free market and in private initiative as a foundation of welfare and social harmony, but we consider that equal opportunities cannot be ensured from the start without a dynamic collective effort, especially from the state. It must take upon itself the task of supporting the socially vulnerable strata, in order to foster social harmony. Excessive wealth and excessive poverty threaten freedom, leading to abuses of power and to the proliferation of oligarchic regimes. New liberalism believes that political freedom can be achieved only through an active participation and direct involvement of citizens in public life.

Action and Solidarity Party's vision is that the current system can be changed in a relatively short time, through genuine reforms in every sector, promoted and implemented by competent and honest people.

This change cannot be made without the supremacy of the rule of law and fair justice, which will ensure the protection and safety of citizens and will dismantle obscure interests, oligarchy and kleptocrats. This premise serves as a starting point for realizing our vision.

We will fight corruption affecting all aspects of the citizens' life, while promoting competent people in key positions and eliminating political interference in strategic institutions whose task is to combat corruption, not to protect and preserve it. We will ensure a fair justice system, stopping it from being used as a tool for settling accounts.

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We will restore people's trust in state institutions, showing that positive change is possible, step by step and through sustained efforts. The time for these steps has come, it is today, here and now, and not after decades. Through concrete actions we will work together and solve problems ranging from the simplest ones around us, from the grassroots, from each community where we live to the most complex ones, nationwide. Only then will we give people the confidence that tomorrow can be better than today. Only then will we become a united and prosperous society. Only then we, all citizens of this country, will get to live a decent life, in all dignity. A life that we truly deserve.

HONEST AND BALANCED POLITICAL SYSTEM

Since the national political system is almost entirely under the control of the oligarchic elements, the greatest danger for Moldova is the discreditation of the very idea of democracy, of democratic institutions and economic development based on a democratic political regime.

For long-term development, the country needs a new political system, controlled by the people through free and fair elections—a balanced system that would ensure a transparent and effective governance of public affairs and would harness the benefits of checks and balances between the branches of power. A very important aspect: the political system needs to be immune to economic interests.

- We will ensure genuine transparency in the public financial system and procurement contracts. We will require publication of all tenders in public procurement, including retroactively.
- We will prohibit companies that reside in dubious jurisdictions (offshore companies) or which do not disclose their real owners to participate in public procurement and privatizations, to take possession of shares of financial institutions or to manage media institutions.
- We will ensure the election and appointment of public servants and managers of public offices, public institutions and state enterprises based on open and fair competitions.
- We will remove legal impediments for registration of political parties.

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- We will introduce electronic voting and by mail for all citizens.
- We will closely scrutinise the application of the legal provisions regarding the funding of political parties and electoral campaigns.
- We will reduce the cap on expenses allowed by law to fund electoral campaigns.
- We will depoliticize the Central Electoral Commission.

FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

Corruption is like a cancer that destroys all healthy things in our society, with dangerous implications at political, economic, social and national security level. Grand corruption has brought enormous harm to the democratic system, affecting particularly the justice and even the bodies meant to fight corruption.

In the economic sector, corruption results in unfair competition, high prices, and poor quality of goods and services. It reduces budget contributions and stimulates tax evasion. From a social point of view, corruption is the main cause of poverty and it is the one that deepens the gap between the rich and the poor through unequal access to goods.

Corruption makes state institutions vulnerable, since they no longer work for the public benefit, but to satisfy the interests of small groups of people. Corruption is also a problem of regional and international security, as it reduces drastically the state's capability to mitigate the threat of terrorism and extremism. Billion-dollar thefts, money laundering and forceful takeovers coming from occult international sectors of the shadow economy are a danger to regional security. However, awareness of the dangers of corruption makes society mobilize and strongly demand to combat it.

- We will elucidate fraudulent schemes and will identify the groups and individuals involved in the billion-dollar theft. We will recover the stolen money, seeking international assistance for this, and will punish all those who participated in the fraud.
- We will amend the legislation by significantly tightening sanctions against those who perpetrated or facilitated the perpetration of acts of corruption.

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- We will prohibit employing or rehiring in public service people involved in acts of corruption and / or those having concealed information about such acts.
- We will ask for the lustration of prosecutors with the subsequent removal from the system of all those who were involved in or have overlooked corruption. The vetting will be based on assessments involving international experts.
- We will amend the legislative framework to ensure an efficient and transparent process of selection, training, appointment, promotion, evaluation and disciplinary accountability of prosecutors.
- We will ensure independence and will help strengthen the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor, for it to become an effective body for combating high-level corruption. We will encourage the exchange of experience with similar institutions in other countries (for example, DNA from Romania) and will support equipping the institution with sufficient and modern means for activity.
- We will close the National Anti-Corruption Centre, creating on its basis an agency for the recovery of funds / misappropriated public assets, and will subordinate this institution to the Ministry of Finance. The investigation of small corruption acts will be delegated to the district or regional prosecutor offices.
- We will remove political interference in the work of the National Integrity Commission, including by establishing an employment procedure based on merit and open competition to ensure the Commission's members' independence.
- We will promote a system of declaration of income and assets that will make it impossible for public sector employees to hide their wealth through relatives.
- We will introduce and enforce functional civil confiscation of assets of officials, which cannot be justified by the revenue obtained legally, and will prohibit by law the further employment of such persons in the public sector.

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- We will promote financial check up of all prosecutors and judges by the National Commission for Integrity and insist on eliminating from the system those who cannot justify their properties.

INDEPENDENT JUSTICE SYSTEM

A fair justice system is essential for the rehabilitation and proper functioning of all state institutions, for encouraging economic activities, but especially for ensuring the rights of citizens and to protect them from abuse and deception. The lack of a fair justice system is considered—and rightly so—the main impediment to the development of Moldova. The few reform efforts in one area or another are undermined by the actions of judges enforcing the law randomly or at their will, in the interest of some individuals but to the detriment of public good. The most shocking corruption schemes, whether in the banking system or not, were possible because of the involvement of courts. At the same time, politicians have managed to promote to leadership positions persons suspected of lack of integrity, linked with dubious people, using them later to subordinate law authorities to their own and their party's interests. "Cosmetic" changes in recent years represented just a simulation of reforms and were not able to change any perception of citizens concerning justice or, moreover, the factual situation. Judicial reform must be carried out genuinely, not declaratively and its independence must be guaranteed as such. The fight against corruption is practically impossible without a professional and independent from the influence of politics judiciary system, and the rehabilitation of justice will not be possible without actual measures to combat corruption.

- We will promote the lustration of judges through definitive exclusion from the system of those who participated in frauds, rider takeovers in the banking sector, money laundering, embezzlement schemes through bad loans, and of those who adopted illegal acts.
- We will exclude political influence on the Superior Council of Magistracy (SCM) by increasing the role of the judiciary delegates. We will promote the appointment to SCM of civil society representatives from different institutions through fair and open competitions.

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- We will ensure a credible system of candidate verification prior to the appointment and promotion of judges to ensure the appointment of the best candidates without any problems regarding their integrity.
- We will simplify the accountability system of judicial misconduct. We will increase the role and will ensure the autonomy of the Judicial Inspection of the SCM.
- We will change the system of performance evaluation of judges by increasing its degree of objectivity, including by involving international experts.
- We will review the role of the Supreme Court of Justice (SCJ) by transforming it into an institution which ensures, first of all, the consistency of jurisprudence and limiting the power of SCJ judges to examine the matters pertaining to the facts of the case.
- We will promote the establishment of a long-term assistance mission of foreign judges within the SCJ, to increase the level of professionalism.
- We will review the training programs of the National Institute of Justice to ensure a higher level of professional training of candidates for positions of judge, prosecutor and investigator.
- We will create tools for regular evaluation of the results of independent justice sector like the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism of the European Union, established in Romania and Bulgaria in 2007.

STRONGER ECONOMY BASED ON PRIVATE INITIATIVE

Conditions for business development

For Moldovan citizens, economic wellbeing means primarily having jobs at home. An economy can provide well-paid jobs only if healthy private initiatives are supported, not hindered, by state institutions. Currently, an entrepreneur who

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launches a business meets barriers on every step, with little to no support and opportunities. The current system of "state control institutions" is out-dated, inappropriate and often opposed to fundamental public interests. Besides the fact that it relies on elements of oppression, it is also vulnerable to political pressure. We will reform these institutions to enable them to enforce universal and equitable trade and tax legislation and to change the entrepreneurs' perception of the state as a predator that they must avoid at all costs.

- We will transform control bodies into impartial, efficient and transparent authorities, free from conflicts of interest and open to public sight.
- We will change the philosophy of fiscal management to ensure full collection of taxes, as well as an improvement of the investment climate. Following the example of other countries, we will merge fiscal service with the customs, where tax inspectors will be hired entirely through open competition.
- We will close the economic police and other institutions providing unnecessary and redundant control. We will reduce the number of controls by implementing a transparent and predictable system based on risk factors.
- We will ensure better predictability of budgetary, tax and customs policies by instituting maximum transparency and consultations with business.
- Increasingly high prices are another serious concern for citizens. The high prices that are in many cases accompanied by poor quality of products and services are due to lack of effective competition between economic operators. Excessive state involvement in the economy, as well as unregulated monopolies generate major inefficiencies and corruption, also stifling free competition. High prices of energy and telecommunication services are just a few examples. Transaction costs, for example, constitute 21 % of the customs value of imported goods, which shows an enormous market concentration (in the transportation segment and not only). We will impose strict and fair economic rules for citizens and will ensure compliance. Due to that, more economic agents with an honest activity will appear on the market.

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Encouraging fair competition will stabilize prices and increase the quality of all products and services, thereby contributing to the welfare of all citizens.

- We will eliminate state and private monopolies in strategic sectors of the economy.
- We will reform the Competition Council and introduce external evaluation of its members.
- We will ensure clear separation of public and private economic activities.
- We will identify mechanisms for external evaluation of agencies with regulatory role (energy, telecommunications, transport etc).
- We will require strict compliance with quality and safety standards.
- We will drastically reduce bureaucracy in all stages of business, from launching and authorization to administration, development, expansion and liquidation. Special attention will be given to business finance and marketing procedures related to products and services, both domestic and foreign.

Reconstruction of Moldova's banking system

Our banking system has reached a deplorable state due to corruption and government inaction. The crisis in the banking system caused by the billion-dollar theft destabilized the entire economy, created enormous budget pressures for many years ahead and dramatically decreased public confidence not only in banking system, but also in the state in general. The banking system does not fulfil its basic function of financing business development and consumption. Instead, a number of commercial banks have been transformed, under the indifferent gaze of state institutions, into instruments of money laundering. Foreign investments are discouraged by a number of impediments, as well as the increasingly frequent cases of illegal takeover of shares. Lack of transparency of ownership, distortion of information about the real state of affairs of banks, absence of drastic sanctions and examples of abusive penalties, as well as past frauds in the banking system are some of the key elements that brought us here.

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This critical situation is largely due to regulatory deficiencies, actions of sabotage by courts, and utter disinterest of investigative bodies to intervene in order to stop the illegalities in the system.

- We will ensure thorough and credible investigation of all iniquities allowed to happen over the years in the sector and will punish those who are responsible—either out of incompetence or malevolence—for them.
- We will require full transparency (to the last share) of owners in the banking system, and the elimination through legal methods of shareholders who own capital of dubious provenance.
- We will attract world-renowned institutions in the banking and insurance system to foster domestic competitive environment through modern products and services.
- We will promote the consolidation of a credible system of deposit insurance.
- We will promote the adjustment of the legislative, regulatory and institutional framework to the international best practices, so as to ensure strong regulatory institutions on the banking and financial market.

EFFICIENT PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Subordinating the interests of public institutions to a group of people was possible because public service in Moldova is weak. Political interference in personnel policy, low wages, and lack of a coherent vision of strengthening the public service are the main causes. Such public administration system is very inefficient, expensive, vulnerable to corruption and unable to generate suitable solutions to the complex problems the country is facing. Promoting meritocracy at all levels of government is one of the basic pillars of this program. Hiring, promoting and motivating people based on performance constitute the only way to a modern administration. Public service efficiency can be improved by reducing the number of institutions and functions, allowing the issuance of the necessary resources for better motivation of civil servants and for their continuous training.

Wasting public money has become a norm, and is the main reason why citizens do not benefit from qualitative public goods and services. Public money is treated as anyone's money, and decisions on allocation of financial resources are, in

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many cases, the result of incompetence or corruption. Simple increase of budget revenues, without accountability of decision makers and optimization of expenses, will not solve the problem of chronic wasting of money.

- We will achieve a genuine reform of the central government, which will allow bringing and maintaining in the system qualified specialists without any integrity issues in the past.
- At central level, we will reduce bureaucracy and increase efficiency by reducing where possible the number of institutions, the number of management positions and the number of officials, primarily of those employed on political criteria.
- At local level, we will implement the administrative territorial reform with real decentralization of power. The implementation of this reform will result in savings of hundreds of millions of lei, which will be used to increase the quality of services provided by state to local citizens and easier access to them (investment in infrastructure).
- We will promote transparency in the work of public administration at all levels and e-Governance in State-citizen and State-entrepreneur relations as measures to remove the pervading corruption and to eliminate, one by one, all schemes of defrauding public money.
- We will reform the public procurement system in order to eliminate corruption, to efficiently use financial resources and to ensure wider competition for resources channelled through the public procurement system.
- We will make an analysis of public expenditure in each sector and will require measures to increase efficiency by impact indicators.
- We will restructure publicly financed development funds (Environmental Fund, Road Fund, Regional Development, Subsidies in Agriculture, Energy Efficiency Fund, and so on) and will ensure transparency and fairness in the distribution of these sources.

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HIGH QUALITY EDUCATION

In education, we have strongly promoted and will continue to promote our vision for the system: accessibility for all citizens, relevance for life, society and economy, and high quality. Today, basic skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic are no longer sufficient. Skills necessary for life become increasingly important. We are convinced that the school should be an inclusive environment, offering safe and friendly space for creativity and stimulating critical thinking. A good school should take care of fostering the interests of children, to discover and support their passions for culture, music, visual arts, theatre, sports or other fields. We believe that together we can create the conditions necessary to ensure such schools for all children, where parents and the entire community join the collaborative efforts to raise people of character, who cannot be deceived nor manipulated, who are upright, responsible, brave, tolerant, ambitious and self-confident.

The quality of an education system cannot be greater than the quality of teachers employed in this system. Therefore, we believe that investment in human resources in education is a priority. In our society, schools and teachers are held in low regard and have poor socioeconomic status. The studies and the teaching profession are not attractive to young people. Teachers and education managers are neither motivated, nor supported to achieve professional performance. We need to identify and attract young people with teaching vocation in education and to provide optimal conditions for maintaining and stimulating the professional performance of teachers and managers.

- We will provide a content, an educational process and a system of evaluation of maximum relevance for the educational needs of learners and the labour market.
- We will implement a comprehensive program of attracting, training and retention of performing teachers in system, including through a new remuneration system and incentives, depending on job performance.
- We will support and promote the professional management staff with leadership skills, who able to effectively manage educational institutions.

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- We will develop a network of educational institutions efficiently dimensioned according to demographic and social trends, with a modernized infrastructure to ensure appropriate work and learning conditions.
- We will support initiatives and projects focused on: improving Romanian-language communication skills of children and students studying in minority languages; supporting the development of communication skills in the mother tongue of children and pupils studying in minority languages; intercultural education within national, European and international context.
- We will create opportunities for lifelong learning for all citizens, regardless of age, to encourage them to fully participate in the economic, social and civic life, as well as help them capitalize their personal potential.
- In early childhood education, we will support policies and development strategies aiming at ensuring conditions and an environment conducive to child development, respecting the freedom and uniqueness of each child and fundamental rights. We consider it particularly important to stimulate children's curiosity to discover the world in all its complexity.
- We will support the modernization of technical vocational education by aligning to advanced European experiences, by infrastructure development, by upgrading the curricula, by efficient initial and continuous training of teachers and by providing direct connection with the labour market and employers.
- We believe that higher education institutions should become competitive both on the educational offer part, as well as on the research and innovation part. This means that we need objective mechanisms and processes of accreditation and evaluation of higher education institutions and programs. We insist on the independence of national institutions to ensure their quality, but also on extensive collaboration with international institutions in the field.
- We have strongly promoted and will further promote the realization of the concept of real university autonomy: enhancing decision-making power, increasing institutional administrative and financial accountability, as well as ensuring the quality of education. The democratization of internal processes, transparency and visibility of the work are necessary conditions for all education institutions aspiring to European quality standards.

CONSOLIDATED CULTURAL VALUES

Culture is a common set of material and spiritual values, community specific norms or institutions, which define the identity of the respective community. For the Republic of Moldova, culture has a special significance because it may be the

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glue to weld various communities, grouped by ethno-linguistic criteria, into a society with shared values and aspirations. In the area of culture, we consider important the following points:

- Developing and supporting cultural projects of local and national interest, giving priority to those that will focus on heritage, traditions and culture of all ethnic groups inhabiting the Republic of Moldova.
- Developing cultural competence as defined by European documents on key competences, promoting the projects and programs of educational institutions focused on familiarization with the value of national and international cultural heritage.
- Promoting initiatives focused on the exploration, promotion and nurture of European cultural traditions.
- Supporting partnerships in tourism development and cultural entrepreneurship at local, national, regional and international levels.
- Promoting the development of innovative projects for public and school libraries, to strengthen their capacity as institutions delivering information, education and human capital development.

TERRITORIAL REINTEGRATION OF THE STATE

We are aware of the complexity of the Transnistrian conflict and the many obstacles to solving it. We must build on the right shore of Nistru river a role model that could be attractive for all our citizens in the Transnistrian region. Actions and concrete cooperation projects between various professional communities (in health care, education, business, agriculture and so on) of villages from both sides can contribute to greater involvement of Transnistrian residents in Moldova's social life. Participation of experts from both sides in drawing up development and modernization projects in various areas will generate greater openness and mutual understanding between people. Supporting Romanian-language institutions for developing educational services attractive to young people in the region will be a priority. We insist on evaluation by international organizations of the state of human rights protection concerning the way the right to education is ensured in the Transnistrian region.

COMPETITIVE AGRICULTURE AND CONSTANT RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Agricultural and food products constitute more than half of total exports of Moldovan products. However, to unlock a much higher potential in this sector, we need to increase the volume and effectiveness of investments both from budgetary resources and from external money, eliminating bureaucracy and corruption in the sector as rewards for the intermediaries, not the farmers. We also need measures to transfer international best practices worthy of modern agriculture. People employed in agriculture have the most modest incomes: their families are severely affected by poverty. On the one hand, traditional farming uncompetitive agriculture existing in the Republic of Moldova at the moment cannot provide high enough incomes; on the other hand, Moldovan villages offer little employment opportunities, since non-farm employment is almost inexistent.

- We will create conditions for increasing competitiveness of the agriculture through liberalization of farm inputs market (from fuels to pesticides, seed and plant material).
- We will eliminate corruption in the sector and will ensure the functionality of the National Agency for Food Safety. This institution must play a crucial role in ensuring the competitiveness of agricultural and food products sold both on our internal and external market.
- We will support the modernization and industrialization of agriculture through increasing access to agricultural subsidies and by attracting European funds for agriculture. The allocation will be done on the basis of clear and common criteria.
- We will stimulate exports to the EU of products with high added value.
- We will promote mechanisms for attracting investments into non-agricultural activities in villages to create alternative sources of employment. We will encourage entrepreneurship among rural residents by removing all

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barriers to businesses, by increasing access to finance with affordable interest, and through proactive activities to increase capacities and level of information.

MODERN AND SAFE INFRASTRUCTURE

Investments in infrastructure are effective only when they result in a potential increase in the economy, new investment and jobs, higher quality services or lower costs of utilities for entrepreneurs and citizens. This approach is rarely present in investment decisions taken by the government. Investments are made randomly based on unclear criteria, often in the interest of political parties, with little positive impact on economic and social development. Moreover, a modern infrastructure that would provide a competitive and attractive economy to investors, but also higher living standards to citizens requires large investments, but public procurement processes and monitoring of the fulfilment of contractual obligations are currently opaque and raise corruption allegations. Adopting clear criteria for selecting projects, enhancing the accountability of decision makers as to the impact of their decisions, involving beneficiaries in decision-making, outsourcing supervision activities for large infrastructure projects and publication of all tenders, not only the winning—these are important elements in increasing the relevance, efficiency and quality of infrastructure projects made with public money.

- We will promote energy interconnection of European networks (both for electricity and for gas) as an absolute priority and we will ensure the successful completion of this project, which will lead to lower prices and increased security of supplies.
- We will ensure transparent and fair mechanisms for making decisions on projects of national importance, putting emphasis solely on economic and social issues, so as to integrate economic regions, maximize potential growth and attract investments.
- Local infrastructure in the XXI century is not a luxury but a basic right of every citizen. By reforming public procurement system, increasing transparency and eliminating intermediaries, we will increase efficiency and

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external budgetary resources so that each locality will have access to drinking water and sanitation, qualitative and sustainable roads, and street lighting.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The state of the environment in Moldova is critical and affects both human health and the health of natural ecosystems. Environmental protection and sustainable development is for us, first of all, a major investment in tomorrow, in the quality of present and future life – an investment that will provide ecological security of the country and economic growth based on sustainable development principles. Protecting the environment requires a set of policies and actions on the medium term, as well as conducting a national program of environmental education and sustainable development.

- We will promote institutional reform and the organization of a European system of environmental management to ensure the functionality of natural ecosystems, to improve the quality of all environmental factors and also to guarantee citizens the right to economic prosperity and a healthy natural environment.
- We will integrate principles of environmental protection, sustainable development, green economy, clean technologies, energy efficiency, waste recycling and adapting to climate change in all socio-economic sectors.
- We will initiate environmental rehabilitation of small rivers, wetlands expansion and implementation of watershed management system that will improve the quality of surface water by 70-80 percentages.
- We will support sustainable land management, stimulating organic farming, providing ecological restoration of degraded lands and restoration of farmland that needs protection.
- We will work to expand national forest and natural areas protected by state.
- We will strengthen regional cooperation and will ensure the integration of Moldova into the European ecological security system.

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ACCESSIBLE AND QUALITY HEALTH SERVICES

Significant inefficiencies in the sector on the one hand, inadequate funding and informal payments, on the other hand, as well as a lack of well-trained health professionals represent major impediments to accessing quality health services. According to the latest polls, the perception of corruption in health care is very high. Despite the increase in contribution rate to the health insurance fund, the share of paid services has not been reduced. Even if the state social insurance budget has made large investments in procurement of equipment, the patient continues to pay extra for these services. Regulation of drug market is deficient. Low salaries and poor working conditions have resulted in qualified specialists leaving the system. We call for universal access to basic care and treatment by improving the health system and strengthening the essential public health functions. Medical services received by citizens must be of good quality, affordable, cost-effective and sustainable. We will fight the phenomenon of informal payments for health services and corruption in health by modernizing governance and management of medical institutions in the country.

- We will improve the organizational and administrative structure of the health system, so as to provide integrated health care based on support levels, degrees of specialization, expansion and diversification of services.
- We will promote improved financing, resource allocation and efficiency of payment systems for providers based on the performance achieved.
- We will improve the level of wages in the sector and widely implement mechanisms to motivate health workers based on quality indicators.
- We will improve human resource management by developing mechanisms for medical staff planning, strategies for maintaining the required level of proficiency, reorganization of graduate training schemes and continuous practical training to meet present and future needs of the health system.
- We will modernize the rules for the provision of health care in terms of focusing on quality, continuity, multi-disciplinary and efficiency requirements, applicable to all types of health care, as defined in the new organizational

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structure of the health system. The need for flexible medical insurance system is imminent, in order to ensure patient's access to medical services in the private sector too, based on the mandatory health insurance paid by the employers and employees.

- We will ensure pharmaceutical safety by implementing best international practices and rules of the physical and economic accessibility of the product, including widening the range of subsidized drugs from the mandatory health insurance funds.

SUSTAINABLE SOCIAL PROTECTION

Social care must promote social inclusion and contribute to poverty reduction. In Moldova, social payments are fragmented, inefficient and inadequate due to poor management of funds allocated for the sector and also due to the acute shortage of such allocations. In 2014, the allowance for a child with severe disability constituted 448 lei per month, and for a child who had lost both parents it constituted 204.60 lei. Meanwhile, the subsistence minimum in 2014 was at 1627 lei per month. It is certain that these payments do not reach their objective, namely to ensure an adequate income for the disadvantaged so that they can live by these allowances. Meanwhile, social services created in recent years have proved expensive, and the central government has placed the responsibility on the Local Public Authorities, understanding very well that it would not be able to support them and correspondingly, tacitly agreeing to their abolition.

The situation in the pension system is indeed critical: only 30 percentages of the active population contributes to the pension fund. Since 2002, the number of taxpayers was reduced by 40 percentages and continues to diminish. This proves a high level of distrust in the public system of social insurance. About 90 percentages of retirees receive a pension lower than the subsistence minimum. The low level of pensions is the result of a formula for calculating impairments, not adjusting past income to inflation. Lost income replacement rate is only 28 percentages on average, compared with 40 percentages in 1999. The dependency ratio (the ratio of those who pay contributions and the number of those receiving pensions) is 1.2, and, until 2040, taxpayer will reach 1 to 1 retiree. The parties

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that succeeded in the government preferred to avoid tackling these complicated issues, maintaining conversely undue preference (for example, for prosecutors and judges the size of pension is equal to 75% of current salary; in other categories of taxpayers it is only 18%). In addition, they altered the formula for calculating the pension, de-motivating more and more people to contribute to the pension fund.

- We will analyze all social payments in terms of the impact on poverty and will redirect resources to increase this impact.
- We will cancel preferential treatment on pensions for certain categories (MPs, government members, elected officials, prosecutors, judges).
- We will correct formula for calculating pensions by indexing the income taken into consideration in calculating the amount of the pension (the so-called valorisation).
- We will apply the measures and offer incentives for reducing the informal economy.

CONSISTENT FOREIGN POLICY

For over two decades, Moldovan citizens are victims of geopolitical speculation of corrupt and incompetent politicians who switch allegiances from Europe to Russia, in order to secure votes and political cover for their own incompetence and corruptibility. Party leaders have not noticed a simple regularity: people's preferences migrate away from that geopolitical option which is supported by the governing parties. Without realizing the elementary fact that people's preferences are just a reaction to politicians, the governing parties only switch geopolitical changes every few years with one goal: to stay in power.

Our goal is to end this abuse of foreign policy by obscure groups of interests and to subordinate foreign policy to the needs of Moldovan citizens. Geopolitics can be transformed into an instrument for improving the welfare of citizens, primarily through economic diplomacy geared towards increasing investment and promote foreign trade, which will help create jobs and enhance people's

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lives. Our main objective is to build a European Republic of Moldova, not by statements but by real change.

- We will ensure quality implementation of the Association Agreement to build institutions on par with European countries, which operate in the interest of citizens, in the implementation of high standards in all segments.
- We will strengthen our relationship with Romania based on cultural affinity and historical and economic interests of both countries. We count on the support of Romania, as an EU member country in the European integration process. We will carry out joint projects in various fields, geared specifically towards: stimulating trade and investment, energy security by interconnecting gas pipelines and electricity grids in the EU, harmonization of national legislation with the *acquis communautaire*, solving a number of problems of protecting the environment, promoting tourism, promoting renewable energy, and developing joint projects in education and culture.
- We will strengthen good neighbourly relations with Ukraine through cross-border cooperation, trade and investment, acquisition of best practices and effective collaboration to dismantle networks of corruption in the region, Moldova being just one link in the chain of organized crime in the region. Expanding relations is important to identify solutions to the Transnistrian conflict.
- We will develop the Moldovan-US strategic dialogue in order to achieve a strategic partnership with the US.
- We will ensure normal relations with the Russian Federation in a non-confrontational basis of common interests in trade, investment, freedom of movement and cultural ties.

DIASPORA INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

The involvement of diaspora in Moldova's development should become a priority. Moldovan citizens living abroad should be encouraged and supported by concrete measures to invest and start social projects at home, to return temporarily or permanently to the country and to use their professional expertise to develop Moldova.

- We will develop a unique online platform to facilitate the participation of professionals from the diaspora in public or private projects in the country.
- We will facilitate mutual recognition of qualifications / experience obtained abroad, either formal or informal.
- We will develop necessary financial instruments so that members of diaspora could support the implementation of local development projects by indigenous associations.
- We will contribute to the development of educational programs for children in the diaspora.
- We will promote the signing of the bilateral dialogues in the area of social protection.
- We will support capacity consolidation of diaspora associations and will simplify administrative procedures for carrying out social projects in Moldova.