

FROM PROMISES TO GOVERNANCE:

an analysis of the PAS Government Program
in relation to its electoral commitments



January 20, 2026

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Overall degree of integration of the commitment into the Government Program: 2.5 out of 5.00

The Government Programme sets out a realistic, technical, and cautious framework for advancing European integration, firmly anchored in areas that can be controlled at the national level. However, this approach represents a significant reduction in ambition compared to the initial electoral promises, through the tacit abandonment of explicit commitments regarding the accession treaty and full EU membership status, which constituted a central element of the political mandate obtained by PAS.

Electoral promise	Degree of integration	Score description
1. Signing the EU accession treaty by 2028, before the end of President Maia Sandu's second term.	3	The promise is moderately reflected, as the Government Programme retains the 2028 deadline but links it to the completion of accession negotiations rather than to the signing of the treaty, while the operational connection between these stages is not clearly defined.
2. Within the next four years, the Republic of Moldova will complete the EU accession process and become a full member state of the European family.	2	The promise is reflected to a limited extent, as the Government Programme confirms the European trajectory and the completion of accession negotiations by 2028, but does not explicitly commit to the objective of actual accession and the attainment of EU member state status within the next four years.

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HUMAN RIGHTS

1

Overall degree of integration of the promises into the Government Programme: 3.00 out of 5.00

The Government Programme largely maintains the pro-European and modernising direction set out in PAS's electoral platform but translates it with uneven intensity: some promises are turned into objective commitments with quantifiable targets and explicit investments, while others are diluted, conceptually reframed, or even omitted. The result is a mixed picture, in which social rights and access to public services are addressed in relatively detailed terms, while politically or culturally sensitive issues—such as gender-based violence, media freedom (from the perspective of economic sustainability), and the political rights of the diaspora—are approached with excessive caution or disappear from the list of verifiable priorities.

Electoral promise	Degree of integration	Score description
1. Increasing the minimum pension and social assistance benefits	3	The promise is moderately reflected, as the Government Programme provides for the continued increase of pensions and the expansion of social support, but avoids committing to a clear numerical target for the minimum pension, indicating a cautious approach focused more on processes and services than on a guaranteed outcome.
2. Support services for persons with disabilities and their social and professional inclusion	2	The promise is reflected to a limited extent, as the Government Programme addresses domestic violence primarily from a public order perspective, without explicit commitments to the development of shelters and specialised counselling services envisaged in the electoral promise.
3. Support services for persons with disabilities and their social and professional inclusion	4	The promise is reflected to a high degree, as the Government Programme translates it into quantifiable targets, cross-cutting measures for social and professional inclusion, and new support instruments, going beyond a strictly assistance-based approach.

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HUMAN RIGHTS

2

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Electoral promise	Degree of integration	Score description
4. Ensuring equitable access to quality education for all children, regardless of place of residence	5	The promise is reflected to a very high degree, as the Government Programme fully translates it through major investments, the expansion of educational infrastructure, clear performance targets, and concrete measures to reduce disparities between rural and urban areas.
5. Guaranteeing universal access to essential healthcare services, with a focus on rural areas	4	The promise is reflected to a high degree, as the Government Programme translates it through structural investments in regional healthcare infrastructure, full system digitalisation, and the expansion of preventive medicine, addressing rural access indirectly but consistently.
6. Protecting media freedom and combating disinformation by supporting independent media	3	The promise is moderately reflected, as the Government Programme emphasises media literacy, regulation, and information security, but does not provide for direct financial mechanisms to support independent media, as committed during the electoral campaign.
7. Ensuring the unrestricted right to vote for the diaspora through the implementation of electronic or postal voting	0	The promise is not reflected in the Government Programme.

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SECURITY AND DEFENCE

1

Overall degree of integration of the promises into the Government Programme: 3.83 out of 5.00

The Government Programme largely reflects PAS's electoral commitments on security through diplomacy and peaceful reintegration, but reformulates them in a more cautious manner. The main novelty is the introduction of a distinct pillar on military defence, which was absent from the electoral campaign; while strategically justified, it has been insufficiently explained to the public and remains weakly operationalised.

Electoral promise	Degree of integration	Score description
1. Strengthening security through diplomacy and European integration	4	The promise is reflected to a high degree, being clearly integrated at the strategic and conceptual level in the Government Programme; however, it lacks operational priorities, concrete instruments, and measurable indicators linking diplomacy to tangible security outcomes.
2. Strengthening bilateral strategic partnerships (Romania, Ukraine, the EU, the Euro-Atlantic space, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East) for economic development and security	4	The promise is reflected to a high degree, having been almost fully taken over as a geographical orientation and objective in the Government Programme; however, it lacks concrete measures, cooperation formats, sectoral priorities, and expected results necessary for full operationalisation.
3. Enhancing multilateral cooperation (the UN, the Council of Europe, the OSCE) in support of national interests, reintegration, investment, and democratic consolidation	4	The promise is reflected to a high degree and is explicitly included in the Government Programme; however, it lacks measurable objectives, concrete positioning, and targeted outcomes to ensure operational integration.

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SECURITY AND DEFENCE

2

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Electoral promise	Degree of integration	Score description
4. Identifying measures for the gradual and irreversible integration of the Transnistrian region into unified national spaces (economic, fiscal, customs, legal, etc.), leveraging opportunities provided by European integration	4	The promise is reflected to a high degree, being almost fully incorporated and clearly linked to European integration; however, it lacks defined stages, concrete instruments, and implementation mechanisms necessary for full operationalisation.
5. Increasing the attractiveness of peaceful reintegration for the population of the Transnistrian region through educational programmes, public services, and information	4	The promise is reflected to a high degree, being clearly integrated as a direction and logic in the Government Programme; however, it lacks distinct programmes, dedicated budgets, and indicators to measure the attractiveness of reintegration for the population.
6. Engaging international partners in supporting a phased and sustainable reintegration plan (the EU, the United States, Ukraine, Romania, the OSCE, the UN)	3	The promise is moderately reflected, as the Government Programme primarily emphasises the role of the EU and does not fully incorporate the involvement of all the international partners mentioned, nor the concept of a clearly defined phased reintegration plan.

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JUSTICE

1

Overall degree of integration of the promises into the Government Programme: 3.00 out of 5.00

The Government Programme is consistent with the electoral promises in the field of justice in terms of overall direction and thematic scope, and in the case of vetting it even increases the level of concreteness by introducing timelines and support measures for reform. The main vulnerability, however, remains delivery: with regard to anti-corruption efforts, asset recovery, and reform of the “entry gate” into the judicial system, the Programme provides insufficient operationalisation, which may lead to uneven implementation and make it difficult for the public to assess real progress.

Electoral promise	Degree of integration	Score description
1. Continuarea și finalizarea vettingului judecătorilor și procurorilor, astfel încât nicio persoană cu probleme de integritate să nu mai dețină aceste funcții.	4	Promisiunea este reflectată la un nivel ridicat, fiind preluată explicit și detaliată cu termen-limită și măsuri de implementare, însă fără garanții complete și mecanisme permanente care să asigure excluderea pe termen lung a persoanelor cu probleme de integritate.
2. Îmbunătățirea investigării și judecării cauzelor de corupție pentru examinare rapidă și echitabilă.	2	Promisiunea este reflectată la un nivel redus, fiind preluată aproape identic în Programul de Guvernare, dar fără măsuri concrete, resurse, reguli de selecție sau modificări procedurale care să explice cum va fi asigurată investigarea și judecarea rapidă și echitabilă a cauzelor de corupție.

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JUSTICE

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Electoral promise	Degree of integration	Score description
3. Undertaking a comprehensive reform of the legal and institutional framework for the recovery of criminal assets, in order to accelerate the recovery of stolen funds	3	The promise is moderately reflected, as the Government Programme refers to accelerating asset recovery and the reuse of criminal assets, but does not detail the legislative and institutional changes that would amount to a comprehensive reform of this area.
4. Reforming access to the profession of judge/ prosecutor in line with European Commission recommendations; ensuring stability and predictability; improving training at the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to EU standards	3	The promise is moderately reflected, as the Government Programme largely adopts it as a general direction, but does not specify concrete measures, actions, responsible institutions, or the manner in which European Commission recommendations will be implemented.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1
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Overall degree of integration of the commitment into the Government Program: 2.42 out of 5.00

The Government Program reflects, to some extent, PAS's electoral commitments in the economic and social sphere. It sets more ambitious targets for measures such as stimulating exports or rehabilitating roads. By contrast, increasing access to housing and the adoption of a new EU-compliant fiscal code were not included. The lack of a clear description of the problems, priority actions, timelines, and responsible actors will hinder effective monitoring and implementation of the Program.

Electoral promise	Degree of integration	Score description
1. Doubling the incomes of the active population. Increasing the minimum wage from 5,500 lei to 10,000 lei. Raising the average wage to at least 25,000 lei by 2030. Minimum and average pensions will increase steadily.	2	The promise is only partially reflected, through references to wage and pension increases, but without an explicit commitment to doubling incomes, without clear targets adjusted for inflation, and without concrete measures for the targeted professional categories.
2. Doubling the value of domestically produced goods and services exported worldwide by 2030.	3	The promise is moderately reflected, as the Program sets an export target even higher than the announced doubling; however, it does not explain how the proposed measures will ensure its achievement and does not include intermediate time-bound milestones.
3. Up to 3,000 km of additional roads built or rehabilitated by 2029, so that the entire national and regional road network is in good condition.	3	The promise is moderately reflected. The current pace of road rehabilitation and the planned resources do not clearly indicate how the 3,000 km target by 2029 could be achieved.
4. Increasing access to affordable housing by stimulating the construction of at least 25,000 housing units in the peri-urban areas of Chișinău. Drafting a National Housing Strategy.	0	The promise is not reflected in the Government Program.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

2

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Electoral promise	Degree of integration	Score description
5. Greater fiscal stability and simplicity by adopting fiscal changes no more frequently than once every two years; simplifying payments to the budget; unifying VAT in the agricultural sector; full digitalization of fiscal control processes.	2	The promise is reflected at a low level, as the Government Program is limited to general statements on fiscal predictability, without concrete measures, clear deadlines, or an explicit commitment to adopting a new Fiscal Code aligned with EU legislation.
6. Leveraging the EU Growth Plan of €1.9 billion and the opportunities offered by accession to the European Union.	3	The promise is moderately reflected, as the Government Program mentions leveraging the EU Growth Plan but does not detail the actions required to meet the conditionalities for the disbursement of funds.
7. Supporting local producers through measures to balance commercial relations between producers and retailers.	4	The promise is reflected at a high level, supported by clear measures and actions in the Government Program, though without setting explicit targets or timelines.

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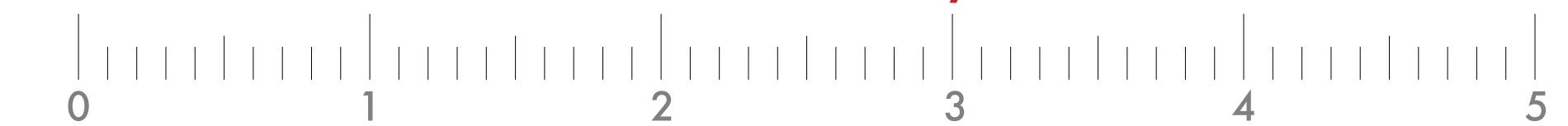
FROM ELECTORAL PROMISES TO GOVERNANCE

HOW WELL ARE COMMITMENTS REFLECTED IN THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM?

OVERALL INTEGRATION SCORE:

The Government Programme incorporates most electoral themes, but only a portion of the promises are translated into clear, measurable, and easily monitorable commitments.

Average overall score: **≈ 3,0**



Comparison by Public Policy Areas

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

2,4



Partial integration; key promises remain unassumed or poorly detailed.

The program sets out some ambitious targets (exports, roads), but omits or dilutes core promises such as affordable housing and euro-compliant tax reform, limiting clarity of implementation.

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

2,5



The direction is maintained, but ambition is reduced compared to the campaign.

Governance focuses on controlled technical steps (negotiations, alignment), implicitly abandoning electoral commitments to sign the accession treaty and obtain EU member state status by 2028.

SECURITY AND DEFENCE

3,8



The best-reflected policy area, with strategic coherence.

Commitments on security through diplomacy, strategic partnerships, and peaceful reintegration are taken over almost in full, but remain insufficiently translated into concrete instruments and measurable outcomes.

JUSTICE

3,0



Thematic consistency, but uneven operationalization.

The reform direction is maintained and vetting is even strengthened; however, the lack of detail on anti-corruption measures and asset recovery limits the assessment of real progress.

HUMAN RIGHTS

3,0



Progress on social rights, caution on politically sensitive issues.

Some commitments are exemplary implemented (education, disability rights), while others are diluted or omitted altogether (gender-based violence, press freedom—economic dimension, diaspora voting).

Independent assessment of the degree to which electoral promises are integrated into the Government Programme (score 0–5).

The analysis compares the commitments made during the electoral campaign with the measures, targets, and actions included in the Government Programme.

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FROM ELECTORAL PROMISES TO GOVERNANCE

HOW WELL ARE COMMITMENTS REFLECTED IN THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM?

BEST-INTEGRATED PROMISES

Promise	Score
Equal access to quality education	5/5 
Inclusion of persons with disabilities	4/5 
Security through diplomacy and European integration	4/5 

WEAKLY OR NOT AT ALL INTEGRATED PROMISES

Promise	Score
Affordable housing	0/5 
Diaspora voting rights	0/5 
Combating domestic violence	2/5 
Doubling the incomes of the active population	2/5 

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