

# What has PAS achieved and what has it failed to achieve in four years of government?

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## **Executive summary**

After four years in government, the Action and Solidarity Party (PAS) has fulfilled **56% of the electoral promises** with which it won the 2021 elections. This conclusion comes from a detailed study coordinated by Stefan Bejan and conducted by <u>Watchdog.MD</u> experts in cooperation with other specialists in the fields related to the various chapters of promises.

In 2023, <u>WatchDog.MD</u> piloted a similar methodology to evaluate the work of the Mayor of Chisinau, Ion Ceban. We found that the mayor had fulfilled only 13% of his 2019 election program, while 59% had not been fulfilled at all and 28% had been partially fulfilled. If we had evaluated the mayor at that time using the methodology we applied today in relation to the PAS program, the mayor would have had a result of ~27%.

Among the areas with a high degree of achievement are youth policies (1,000 MDL cultural voucher, paid internships), the diaspora (eConsulat platform, halving of consular fees), social protection (minimum pension of 3,300 MDL, one-time childbirth allowance of 21,350 MDL), energy (new wind and solar farms, Vulcanesti-Chisinau line), and foreign policy (opening of EU accession negotiations).

The lowest level of fulfillment of promises is in the areas of combating corruption, monopolies, and poor management in state-owned enterprises, the environment (rehabilitation of reservoirs, afforestation of 25% of the country), transport (repair of 2,800 km of roads, European gauge railway to Chisinau), culture (restoration of the Philharmonic or the National Library), justice and the fight against corruption.

The performance is high where objectives have been clear and measurable. On the other hand, vague or extravagant promises (about airports, modern railways, "reconstruction of major historical complexes," for which there were no technical designs or cost estimates) have mostly remained on paper.

For a more detailed analysis by chapter and specific promises, please refer to the attached table.

Considering that such an analysis requires enormous work and specialists from various fields, we would like to thank the Congress of Local Authorities of Moldova, the European Business Association Moldova, the experts from the WatchDog community, as well as other independent experts who contributed to the completion of this report.



### Context

July 11, 2021. The Action and Solidarity Party (PAS) emerged as the big winner of the parliamentary elections, obtaining a majority that gave it, for the first time, the chance to form a pro-European government on its own.

People's expectations were huge – not least because, during the election campaign, PAS presented an ambitious program, promising to bring "good times" for everyone. Among the most resounding commitments were: a minimum pension of 2,000 MDL, massive investments in hospitals, schools, and infrastructure, job creation, but also the most important and difficult promise – reforming the Moldovan justice system.

It should be noted that the PAS electoral program was designed without taking into account several aspects that were difficult to predict at that time. First of all, the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which brought war to the border of the Republic of Moldova. The war has severely affected our economy, destabilized energy markets, disrupted exports and imports, and amplified insecurity throughout society.

In addition, the energy crisis that has hit the whole of Europe has caused inflation over the last four years to reach almost 70%. This means that although the minimum pension, allowances, and other social payments have increased significantly on paper, in reality their purchasing power is much lower than it would have appeared in 2021. What seemed like a big leap forward at the time of the election promises is now being eroded by high food, energy, and service prices.

# Methodology

We took the PAS's 2021 election program and analyzed all 45 pages with objectivity. This report was produced with the contribution of several experts and specialists from various fields – economics, agriculture, entrepreneurship, justice, transport, IT, and reintegration. The scores for each promise were given by consensus by the experts at <u>Watchdog.MD</u>.

Using the same method, <u>Watchdog.MD</u> analyzed the fulfillment of promises made by the mayor of Chisinau, Ion Ceban, in 2023. That study showed that the mayor had fulfilled *only 13%* of his 2019 election program.



The purpose of this study is exclusively to assess the degree of implementation of the electoral promises made by the Action and Solidarity Party in 2021. This *is not an assessment of the quality of PAS governance as a whole*, because some priorities have changed for objective reasons and there are also welcome achievements that were not in the 2021 campaign program.

The methodology used is based on a scoring system from 0 to 1, with an interval of 0.25:

0 - nothing has been achieved

0.25 - something has been achieved, but only a little

0.5 - about half of what was promised has been achieved

0.75 - a lot has been achieved, but not everything

1 - fully achieved.

In cases where the promises were exceeded, a score higher than 1 was given. Notable examples: the one-time childbirth allowance (promised 10,000 MDL, reached 21,350 MDL) and the minimum pension (promised 2,000 MDL, reached 3,300 MDL).

The assessment also took into account the degree of effective implementation. In other words, if a promise was fulfilled 100% on paper but less so in practice, then it would not receive the maximum score. Not all promises are quantifiable, and some are completely vague, so there is a degree of subjectivity on the part of the experts in our assessment. However, this subjective component is mitigated by the fact that the scores were awarded by consensus, after discussions between several experts.

It should be noted that the evaluation also encountered difficulties due to the lack of centralized or publicly available data. For example, investments in villages are difficult to quantify because, in addition to the "European Village" program, there was also funding from other sources, such as the ecological fund or LAGs.



### What are PAS's achievements?

The most progress that the PAS government has made is in *foreign policy*. The Republic of Moldova has obtained EU candidate status and soon the negotiation clusters are going to be opened. The relations with Romania have reached a historical level, with joint energy and infrastructure projects. The relations with Ukraine are also very good, however the ones with Georgia have cooled down, and with the Russian Federation are pretty much blocked because of the war.

Another of the most visible areas where PAS has delivered results is the *social field*. The one-time childbirth allowance has been doubled to 21,350 MDL, and tax exemptions for children and dependents have been significantly increased. At the same time, flexible maternity and paternity leave, the possibility of remote work, and incentives for fathers to get involved have been introduced. In addition, middle school students receive free meals – a bonus that was not even in the program. More nurseries have been opened, and school bathrooms and cafeterias have been modernized.

*Pensioners* have also felt the change. The minimum pension has increased from 1,188 MDL to 3,300 MDL – although 2,000 MDL have been promised. A mechanism for recalculating pensions for those who work after retirement has also been introduced. In addition, hundreds of thousands of elderly people have benefited from subsidized medicines. The "third age university" project has also been implemented, helping hundreds of elderly people to enjoy an active elderliness every year.

In the field *of youth*, the PAS government introduced a cultural voucher worth 1,000 MDL for all 18-year-olds, a single portal for university admissions, paid internships worth 3,000 MDL, and even an allowance for first-time jobs. Grants for start-ups and funding through European programs were launched. Here, the government can tick off progress beyond expectations – even if not all promises are covered exactly as they were written in the program.

The *diaspora* has also enjoyed significant attention from the government. The repatriation law was passed, consular fees were reduced by 50%, the eConsulat platform was launched, and Moldovans' driving licenses and pensions were recognized in several countries. The PARE 1+2 programme has enabled many Moldovans to return home and start their own businesses.

In *the medical sector*, the salaries of professors and doctors have risen steadily, and young specialists receive increased allowances and one-off compensation, as well as payments to cover their rent and transport costs. Several district hospitals have been modernized, and construction of a regional hospital has begun in Cahul.



PAS has taken steps towards *deregulation and digitization* of the business environment: eliminating more than 20 permissive acts, introducing electronic invoices and receipts, and simplifying customs procedures for small exporters. The creation of the Fund for Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth (FACEM) was an important step in supporting SMEs, with attractive financing products and mobilized European resources.

Programs for freelancers and digital start-ups were also launched, and the special tax regime for Moldova IT Park was extended until 2035. Measures were adopted to regulate consumer credit and combat excessive interest rates. Progress was made in the digital economy, with easier access to online payments and integration into the European roaming area.

### What has been done... so-so?

In the agricultural field, the PAS government increased the Agricultural Subsidy Fund to over 1.6 billion MDL, and export quotas to the EU were extended for several agri-food products. However, post-harvest infrastructure, logistics centers, and mechanisms to protect against monopolies have not been implemented. At the same time, the drought from the past four years has severely affected farmers, especially those in the south. Although the government has provided subsidies to farmers, many agricultural households are experiencing great difficulties in repaying their bank loans.

The "European Village" I and II programs have brought billions of MDL into local development projects, but the lack of consolidated data makes it difficult to evaluate their real impact. In the environmental field, reforestation campaigns have made progress, but the target of 25% forest cover is far from being achieved.

In the field of infrastructure, PAS came up with a fairly ambitious plan, but only some of the promises have been fulfilled. For example, the Iasi—Chisinau gas pipeline now provides almost all of the gas supply, and the Vulcanesti—Chisinau power line is almost complete.

Out of the 2,800 km of roads promised, only about 800 km have been rehabilitated. Bridge construction has progressed partially (Ungheni and Leova), and Giurgiulesti-Galati has been repaired, however the Cosauti-Iampol project has been halted due to the war in Ukraine.

The European gauge railway to Chisinau is in its early stages, and the regional airports in Balti and Marculesti have not been modernized. On the other hand, the rehabilitation of the Basarabeasca–Berezino section has provided Moldova with an important rail connection to Ukraine.



Progress has also been moderate in educational infrastructure: only 200 kindergartens have been repaired, compared to the 500 promised.

Promised reforms on state controls and protection for small entrepreneurs were also only partially implemented – the abuses were reduced but not eliminated. Entrepreneurs benefited from some real facilities, but structural market distortions and limited access to finance remain significant challenges.

### What has PAS failed to do?

The biggest failure of the PAS government is, of course, the judicial reform. PAS promised an Anti-Corruption Tribunal and Court of Appeal, the confiscation of unjustified assets, and the extraordinary evaluation of judges and prosecutors.

Although reforms were initiated – restructuring the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office, reducing the number of judges at the Supreme Court of Justice, pre-vetting and vetting – implementation was partial and slow.

The promised Anti-Corruption Court was not created, but replaced by specialized panels. The extensive confiscation of unjustified wealth remains at the conceptual stage, and the elimination of immunity for acts of corruption has not been advanced.

The ANI and the SCM have benefited from international support, but a lack of resources and legislative ambiguities have reduced the effectiveness of the process. Systemic corruption and the lack of visible results continue to affect public confidence. In practice, corruption in the judicial system has not been eradicated, and this has become a millstone around the neck of the government.

In terms of reintegration, the government has still failed to make significant progress. Promises related to political consensus, joint projects for both sides of the Dniester River, and combating smuggling have not materialized. The complicated regional context has limited room for maneuver, but the lack of visible initiatives remains a weakness.

In the social sphere, not all commitments have been fulfilled: *the Silver Fund*, designed to provide special support for the elderly, has not been created, and there are no special wards for the elderly in hospitals.



The regional hospital in Balti and the Fund for Innovation in Education have remained only promises after four years. Likewise, the shortage of medical staff and teachers remains a major problem in our society, which strongly affects the effectiveness of other reforms in education and health.

### Conclusion

Given the regional context, the achievement rate of 56% is not the worst result, but it is not ideal either. Some promises were so vague or abstract, and therefore impossible to quantify, that they were excluded from the assessment.

Per general, we can see that those chapters that were written with clear, realistic indicators by specialists rather than politicians have a much higher degree of achievement. On the other hand, vague or extravagant promises about airports, modern railways, bridges built in four years without even feasibility studies at that stage, the reconstruction of major historical complexes, for which there were neither technical projects nor cost estimates—most of these things remained only on paper. At best, for some of them, feasibility studies are just being carried out or contracts for works are being signed at the end of four years of PAS government.

In other words, the more realistic and professional an electoral program is, the easier it can become a government program in every sense of the word.



# ANNEX 1. Election promises in the PAS 2021 program and their degree of fulfillment.

No.	Promise	Achieved	Link	Score
1.	Good Times for Families With C	Children		4.75
	We will increase the childbirth allowance to 10,000 MDL and increase tax exemptions for children by 50%.	The one-time childbirth allowance has increased from 9,459 to 21,350 MDL	https://social.gov.md/comunicare/indemnizat ia-unica-la-nasterea-copilului-va-fi-majorata- la-21-350-lei-incepand-cu-1-ianuarie-2025/	
		the exemption to 29,700/year in 2021 25,200 additional exemption: 2021- 3,000 MDL for each dependent, 2025 - 9,900 MDL. Real increase of about 30% disabilities - 21,780/year, in 2021 - 18,900	https://contabilsef.md/politica-fiscala-si- vamala-202-majorarea-scutirilor-acordate- persoanelor-fizic	
		Bonus: Free meals for middle school students	https://mec.gov.md/ro/content/decizie-de- guvern-alimentare-gratuita-pentru-elevii-din- clasele-v-ix	
	We will renovate at least 500 kindergartens, including with the support of Romania and international partners, and we will expand nursery-kindergarten	It is difficult to determine the exact number. Ministry data shows that 200 kindergartens and schools have been repaired.	https://mec.gov.md/ro/content/gradinitele- din-15-localitati-vor-fi-deschise-grupe-de- cresa	0.25
	services.	The government has launched a comprehensive program to expand and increase access to childcare services, allocating nearly 30 million MDL for the opening and modernization of nurseries. The "Nurseries I" program has been allocated 8 million MDL, and "Nurseries II" has an	https://social.gov.md/comunicare/mai-multe-crese-pentru-copiii-din-republica-moldova-un-nou-apel-lansat-astazi/	



	estimated budget of 21 million MDL.  The aim of these programs is to ensure that families have access to early childhood care services, to facilitate the return of parents (especially mothers) to the labor market, and to reduce the logistical and financial burden of caring for children under the age of 3.	https://radiomoldova.md/p/48981/plan-de- crestere-pentru-moldova-aproape-5000-de- locuri-de-cresa-vor-fi-deschise-in-urmatorii- ani	
We will ensure adequate conditions for the hygiene and health of children and students by building and repairing modern sanitary facilities and canteens in all schools and kindergartens.	In 2025, the Government of the Republic of Moldova is allocating 23.5 million MDL for the renovation and modernization of sanitary facilities in educational institutions in Chisinau, Orhei, Soroca, Hincesti, Straseni, Stefan Voda, Ialoveni, Riscani, and Floresti.	https://mecc.gov.md/ro/content/235-milioane-de-lei-pentru-renovarea-si-modernizarea-blocurilor-sanitare-din-scoli-anul-2025	1
	In 2023, through a national program, the sanitary facilities in 100 educational institutions were modernized. In addition, a much larger investment of 200 million MDL is planned for 2025, intended for the modernization of school canteens.	https://mec.gov.md/ro/content/program-de-reabilitate-si-constructie-blocurilor-sanitare-scoli-lansat-de-ministerul https://mecc.gov.md/en/node/15449	
We will increase financial aid for children from socially vulnerable families to at least 1,000 MDL per month.	All children under the age of 2 receive 1,000 MDL per month	https://social.gov.md/comunicare/comunicate/copiii-cu-varsta-pana-la-doi-ani-vor-beneficia-de-indemnizatii-lunare-mai-mari/https://social.gov.md/comunicare/toate-	1
	More one-time payments for families with children: Easter aid, September 1 aid, and aid for children with disabilities	familiile-cu-copii-cu-dizabilitati-severe-vor-beneficia-de-o-plata-unica-de-3000-lei%EF%BF%BC/  https://mec.gov.md/ro/content/ajutor-financiar-valoare-de-1000-de-lei-pentru-fiecare-elev-din-clasele-i-ix	



			https://social.gov.md/comunicare/ajutorul-financiar-unic-de-paste-oferit-de-guvern-este-disponibil-de-astazi-pentru-familiile-eligibile/	
	We will regulate flexible working hours in the Labor Code so that parents can cope with their work and family responsibilities.	From March 2023, mothers are able to work during maternity leave without losing their allowance.  Maternity benefits will be automatically calculated based on the income of the parent with the higher salary.  Fathers can take extended paternity leave – up to 1 year,	https://cnas.gov.md/tabview.php?idc=559&1 =ro&t=%2FAlte-prestatii- sociale%2FIndemnizatii%2FIndemnizatie- de-maternitate&	1
	We will ensure greater flexibility in childcare leave for both parents.	and parents can share childcare leave as whatever is more convenient for them. From May 2023, remote working was introduced.	https://cnas.gov.md/tabview.php?l=ro& idc=620	
2.	Good Times for People from Mo	oldovan Villages and Cities		2/2
	We will direct 50% of the natural resources tax and 100% of the road use tax directly into local budgets. We will allocate part of the	From January 1, 50% of the natural resources tax goes into the local budget (it was zero)	mold-street.com/noutate/ce-modificari- efectuate-in-codul-fiscal-privind-impozitele- si-taxele-locale-au-intrat-in-vigoare	1
	corporate income tax directly into local budgets.	From January 1, 2023, 100% of the road use tax will go directly into local budgets (for general purposes).	https://newsmaker.md/ro/toate-incasarile-din-taxa-pentru-drum-va-ajunge-in-bugetele-locale-guvernul-a-aprobat-politica-fiscala-si-vamala-pentru-2022	
	We will allocate 2 billion MDL annually for the development of villages: for job creation in villages, for water supply and sewerage	It is difficult to determine exactly, as there have been several programs targeting Moldovan villages. However:  European Village 1 - 1.8 billion MDL		1



	systems, for the repair of schools and kindergartens, and for waste management.	European Village Express - 142 million European Village II - 2.8 billion Europe Close - 2.6 billion (to be continued)		
		Other projects were carried out through AIPA and LAGs		
3	Good times for Retirees			3.25/6
	We will increase the minimum pension to at least 2,000 MDL per month.	In 2021, the minimum pension was 1,188 MDL, and now it is 3,300 (full term).	https://social.gov.md/comunicare/pensie-minima-de-3-300-lei-pentru-cei-cu-un-stagiu-de-cotizare-de-cel-putin-40-de-ani-decizie-aprobata-de-guvern/	1.25
		More one-time payments	https://social.gov.md/comunicare/31-mii-depensionari-vor-beneficia-de-o-plata-unicade-2300-lei/	
	We will provide annual recalculation of the pension for all of those who continue to work after retirement.	A mechanism for pension review has been established	https://cnas.gov.md/libview.php?l=ro&idc=3 60&id=6631&t=/Mass- media/Noutati/CNAS-informeaza-despre- reexaminarea-pensiilor-incepand-cu- 01012024	1
	We will compensate 100% of the cost of medicines for low-income elderly people.	In 2024, nearly 740,000 people benefited from medicines and medical devices reimbursed from compulsory health insurance funds.  Over one billion MDL were spent from the state budget	http://cnam.md/6228/fiecare-a-treia- persoana-din-republica-moldova-a- beneficiat-de-medicamente-si-dispozitive- medicale-compensate-in-anul-2024/	0.75
	We will open more wards for the elderly in hospitals, including wards	There is no exact data on the opening of special wards for the elderly. What is certain is that several hospitals in the		0.25



	for the care of the elderly, so that chronic diseases can be treated not only in Chisinau, but also in the districts	country have been repaired and equipped with modern equipment.		
	We will create the "Silver Fund" - an assistance program for the elderly to ensure them a comfortable and dignified elderliness.	Not achieved. The Third Age University initiative was launched.	https://moldova.unfpa.org/ro/publications/un iversitatea-v%C3%A2rstei-treia https://moldova1.md/p/52862	0
	We will bring fairness to the pension system by reducing the very high pensions paid to civil servants.	Not achieved		0
4.	<b>Good Times for Youth</b>			6.5
	We will offer gift certificates (vouchers) for recreational and non-formal education programs to young people with disabilities from	The 1,000 MDL Cultural Voucher offered to young people turning 18 can be used to attend exhibitions, shows, concerts, and purchase books.	https://vouchercultural.md/	1
	socially vulnerable families and marginalized groups.	In 2023 and 2024, nearly 8,000 young people benefited from this voucher.	https://mc.gov.md/sites/default/files/file-cloud/rap-pn-vc-2024.pdf	
	We will allocate at least 10 million MDL annually for grants for young people, including young artists, researchers, activists, creative people, athletes, and journalists.	14 million MDL were allocated for the implementation of 33 projects for young people in 2025 The budget allocated to funding projects for young people was 10 million in 2023, 12 million MDL in 2024, and 14 million in 2025.	https://moldova1.md/p/48295/bani-pentru-proiecte-dedicate-tinerilor-33-de-organizatii-au-obtinut-finantare-in-cadrul-unui-program-de-granturi	1.5



We will introduce a common online document submission portal for all universities in the country.	The website has been launched.	https://eadmitere.sime.md/	1
We will implement a 6-12 month internship program for young graduates in public institutions and state-owned companies.	In 2023, the Paid Internship Program in Public Service (according to Law No. 123/2023) was adopted, which provides students and graduates with a 160-hour monthly internship and a monthly scholarship of <b>3,000 MDL</b> (taxfree in 2023) for work performed in state institutions.  Bonus: 3,000 MDL per month for young people in their first job (only 7 strategic areas)	https://gov.md/ro/programul-de-stagii  https://mec.gov.md/ro/content/aprobat- sedinta-de-guvern-indemnizatie-de-3000-de- lei-lunar-pentru-tinerii-aflati-la-prima	1.5
We will allocate at least 5 million MDL per year to support start-up business launch organizations and financial education.	In 2025, 14 companies were approved for funding, with grants totaling 2.35 million MDL from the state budget and European Union resources.	https://www.oda.md/ro/granturi/start-pentru- tineri	1.5
imancial education.	Through the digital innovation support program, renewed by the Organization for Entrepreneurship Development, 31 start-ups received grants totaling 13.2 million MDL in 2023 and 2024  The budget allocated for 2025 is 27.1 million MDL.	https://logos-pres.md/noutati/o-noua-runda-de-sprijin-pentru-startup-uri/	
	The Fund for Digital Innovation and Tech Start-ups (on the Moldova IT Park platform) has been created, which will leverage European funds, annual contributions from the government, and other private investors. For 2026, the government has planned to allocate 5 million EUR through ODA, MITP, and other platforms that support digital innovation and tech start-ups.	https://radiomoldova.md/p/51619/granturi-de-3000-de-euro-pentru-tineri-antreprenori-autoritatile-vor-ca-educatia-antreprenoriala-sa-fie-disciplina-obligatorie	
	At the same time, a number of public and private		



		platforms have been activated to support technological innovation for young people, such as Start Up Moldova, similar academic and private initiatives.	https://gov.md/sites/default/files/media/docu ments/sedinte-de-guvern/2025-08/30- Actele%20adoptate%20%C8%99i%20decizi ile%20luate%20%C3%AEn%20%C8%98G %20din%2026.08.2025.pdf	
5.	Good Times for Women			2/3
	We will reduce the gap between the average salary of women and men to below 10% through pay transparency	The law has been passed, however the pay gap increased under the PAS government. 16.6% less in 2024.	https://moldova.europalibera.org/a/femeiledin-moldova-au-salarii-cu-15-mai-micidecat-barbatii-arata-unstudiu/33330177.html	0
	We will strengthen the mechanisms to combat domestic violence and sexual harassment and we will develop support services for victims of domestic violence.	The first Police Family Justice Center for victims of domestic violence and sexual violence has been opened.	https://social.gov.md/comunicare/comunicate/e/in-republica-moldova-a-fost-inaugurat-centrul-de-justitie-familiala-al-politiei-un-serviciu-integrat-pentru-victimele-violentei-in-familie-si-violentei-sexuale/	1
	of domestic violence.	The first specialized service in the Republic of Moldova for victims of sexual violence was inaugurated in Ungheni. Victims of sexual violence can receive medical, legal, psychological, and social assistance in one location.  The National Agency for Preventing and Combating Violence Against Girls and Women (Istanbul Convention) was created.	https://ms.gov.md/comunicare/comunicate/a-fost-inaugurat-primul-serviciu-specializat-din-republica-moldova-pentru-victimele-violentei-sexuale/  https://anpcv.gov.md/ro	
		The creation of the ViData registry was initiated to prevent gender-based violence, re-victimization of abused persons, and to keep track of abusers.	https://gov.md/ro/comunicate-de- presa/viodata-primul-sistem-informational-	



	We will continue programs to support women in business, including through grants and	The national legal framework was completed in July 2025 with legal provisions that clearly define online violence against women. Violence in the online space is equated with that in real life, and legal mechanisms to prevent abuse are being introduced.  Program to integrate women victims of domestic violence into the social and economic life of the country  Government legislative initiatives must undergo a gender impact analysis to reduce inequalities and inequities between women and men  Amendments to the Labor Code, 194/10 July 2025  Employers with at least 50 employees are required to fight violence, harassment, etc.  The Women's Entrepreneurship Support Program has been launched	https://www.legis.md/cautare/getResults?doc_id=150193⟨=ro https://www.oda.md/ro/granturi/program-antreprenoriat-feminin	1
6	Good Times for Moldovans in the	ne Diaspora		4.75/5
	We will adopt a repatriation law so that Moldovans who have worked abroad for many years can repatriate their assets, including their cars and personal belongings, without paying additional taxes.	The repatriation law has been passed: Moldovans who return to live in the country can repatriate their assets, including their cars and personal belongings, without paying additional taxes.  Please note that you must prove that you have lived and had official income.	https://moldova.europalibera.org/a/scutiri-de-taxe-pentru-bunurile-aduse-de-moldovenii-din-diaspora-care-revin-definitiv-acas%C4%83/31965322.html	1



We will expand consular services by increasing the number of documents that can be issued by consulates, in particular income statements, real estate certificates, and family composition certificates.	On August 28, 2025, the government (including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Agency for Electronic Governance) launched the eConsulat platform, which provides access to 26 consular services, some of them completely online (with electronic signature and MPass authentication), including criminal records, travel documents, various certificates, and attestations.  The legislation has been amended and the e-Notariat information system is being implemented, which will provide the diaspora and entrepreneurs with access to remote notarial services, saving both citizens and entrepreneurs money and time.  The European digital signature has been unilaterally recognized, which will ensure access for citizens of the	https://www.egov.md/ro/node/40955	1
We will reduce consular fees for basic consular services, which are much higher than in the Republic of Moldova, including fees for obtaining a passport and identity card and for registering a divorce.	diaspora to digital public services.  Starting January 1, 2023, the Republic of Moldova has reduced consular fees by 50% and completely eliminated fees for issuing passports to minors.	https://mfa.gov.md/ro/content/cabinetul-de- ministri-aprobat-avizul-pentru-modificarea- legii-cu-privire-la-taxele-consulare	1
We will support and continue President Maia Sandu's efforts to negotiate with countries around the world for the recognition of driving licenses, the possibility of receiving pensions at home, the facilitation of passenger and parcel transport, and	Several countries have recognized Moldovan licenses, including France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and others.	<ul> <li>hhttps://mfa.gov.md/ro/content/republic a-moldova-si-marea-britanie-au-semnat- un-memorandum-privind-recunoasterea- reciproca</li> <li>https://mai.gov.md/ro/node/8972</li> <li>https://newsmaker.md/ro/permisele-de- conducere-moldovenesti-vor-fi-</li> </ul>	0.75



	the improvement of living conditions for Moldovans abroad.	Several agreements have been signed regarding pensions for Moldovans in the diaspora. These include France, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, the United Kingdom, and Latvia.	<ul> <li>https://mai.gov.md/ro/node/9714</li> <li>https://www.cnas.gov.md/libview.php?id=7176&amp;idc=360&amp;l=ro&amp;t=%2FMass-media%2FNoutati%2FAstazi-la-data-de-02-iunie-2025-a-fost-semnat-Acordul-in-domeniul-securitatii-sociale-intre-Republica-Moldova-si-Confederatia-Elvetiana&amp;utm</li> <li>https://moldova1.md/p/54255</li> <li>https://social.gov.md/comunicare/guvernul-a-aprobat-semnarea-aranjamentului-administrativ-pentru-aplicarea-acordului-in-domeniul-securitatii-sociale-dintre-republica-moldova-si-republica-franceza/</li> <li>https://www.bizlaw.md/din-1-iunie-intra-in-vigoare-acordul-in-domeniul-securitatii-sociale-dintre-republica-moldova-si-regatul-spaniei</li> <li>https://letonia.mfa.gov.md/ro/content/rela%C5%A3ii-comercial-economice</li> </ul>	
	We will support Moldovans returning from abroad who intend to start a business, including by expanding state participation in the PARE programme under the 1+2 formula.	The PARE 1+2 program has been launched. In 2025, 13.5 million MDL were allocated  The DOR program has been improved with the aim of strengthening the emotional and identity ties of young people in the diaspora with Moldova.	https://www.oda.md/ro/pare1	1
7.	Good Times for Entrepreneurs	•		4.5/6



We will clean up the justice system and state institutions so that they work for the people and the public interest, not against them. We will insist on fewer, predictable rules and taxes, consulted with the business community and respected equally by all, under conditions of true competition.	Legislative packages for deregulation and digitalization (simplification and debureaucratization) of entrepreneurial activity have been promoted. Experts have calculated that entrepreneurs could save one billion MDL annually. Over 80 permits have been simplified, of which over 20 have been eliminated.	0.5
We will stop abusive controls that harass entrepreneurs. We will order comprehensive controls no more than once every three years and adopt clear and comprehensive rules for repeated controls. Most controls will be consultative, and fines will only be imposed after prior warning.	A reform has been implemented in the area of state inspections, which included, among other things: The elimination of abusive inspections by establishing clearer rules and a comprehensive review of field instructions  Inspectors who commit abuses are fined The possibility of abusive stoppages of businesses was reduced  Improving the state register of controls, where controls are recorded in a transparent manner	0.5
We will completely change the invoicing system by accepting cash and control checks, tax receipts as documents confirming expenses, and scanned and electronically sent invoices as accounting evidence.	Electronic invoices and receipts have been introduced.  The requirement for tax invoices for purchases up to 2,000 MDL has been eliminated.	1



We will ensure access to diversified sources of financing by expanding the rights and protecting debtors in the banking and microfinance system. We will mobilize European resources for the Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth Fund, a local investment fund that will provide various types of financing for the growth of small and medium-sized enterprises, especially new businesses.	In 2022, the Moldovan Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth Fund was created – a government support mechanism for SMEs, designed to provide financing at more advantageous costs, with the involvement of European resources, grants, guarantees, etc. It offers loans of up to 6 years, fixed/floating rates, and financing for investments related to energy efficiency, energy transition, and climate change adaptation.  The "FACEM IMPACT" project was also launched, dedicated to SMEs, with a focus on access to long-term financing with fixed interest rates and interest compensation for job creation.	https://mded.gov.md/fondul-pentru-antreprenoriat-si-crestere-a-economiei-moldovei-un-nou-mecanism-guvernamental-de-finantare-a-mediului-de-afaceri/	1
We will review the entire system of tax and customs incentives and develop a mechanism that prioritizes the growth of small businesses and job creation. For example, we will introduce a 0% tax rate on reinvested income for companies with up to 10 employees, offer incentives for electronic transactions, and direct state support towards high value-added sectors.	Interaction with customs for the export and import of goods, including e-commerce, has been fully digitized.  For small exporters exporting up to 1,000 EUR, procedures have been simplified and all customs procedures can be completed online without the need for customs brokers.  Legislation on online commerce has been completely revised and simplified.  It introduces a 0% tax rate on reinvested income for companies with up to 10 employees.  The Freelancer Law has been passed, offering small entrepreneurs the opportunity to operate by paying a single tax of 15%, which includes health insurance, social security, and income tax, and gives them access to all		1



		social benefits, with a dedicated account for transactions without accounting records, financial reporting, and the issuance of tax receipts. The law covers only 40 activities, with possible future expansion		
	We will implement reforms in education, particularly in technical and higher vocational education, to raise the skill level of the workforce.	Dual education will be introduced in universities for the first time.  Economic agents implementing dual education programs can benefit from compensation of at least 50% of the expenses incurred.  The number of pupils and students enrolled in dual education has increased (figures to be verified).		0.5
8.	<b>Good Times for Agricultors</b>	education has increased (figures to be verified).		2.75
	We will increase the subsidy fund to 1.5 billion annually and direct state support to producers who invest in high-value agriculture and production technologies and in the procurement of natural disaster protection systems.	Budget of the National Fund for Agricultural and Rural Development (FNADMR) 1.61 billion MDL in 2024, 1.7 billion MDL in 2025  However, we must take into account the high level of inflation	https://agromedia.md/noutati/agricultura-in-moldova/guvernul-propune-un-buget-extins-pentru-fermieri-de-3-ori-mai-mare-pana-in-2030	0.5
	We will suspend tax obligations and enforcement procedures for inactive farming households.	Law No. 51/2022 provides for the removal of inactive peasant (farmer) households from the State Tax Register without the need for a tax audit.	https://www.legis.md/cautare/getResults?doc_id=130581⟨=ro	1
		Thus, the removal procedure formally eliminates the	https://sfs.md/ro/stiri/statutul-radierii-	



	current tax obligations for inactive households, and implicitly, they can no longer be subject to enforcement.	gospodariilor-taranesti-inactive-conform- prevederilor-legii-nr-512022	
We will negotiate support for agriculture and rural development provided under the EU's Eastern Partnership. We will negotiate higher export quotas on the EU market for more types of agri-food products.	Export quotas for cherries, apples, plums, table grapes, grape juice, tomatoes, and garlic have been increased.		0.75
We will create a Modern Agri-Food Center and develop post-harvest infrastructure (including logistics and storage centers) at the regional level, which will be accessible to small agricultural producers and will provide support to facilitate exports.	Not built		0
We will stop the abuses of large intermediaries and monopolists who buy goods from small producers at rock-bottom prices, and we will create a mechanism for setting fair prices. We will fight corruption in the oil industry so that we can have lower diesel prices.	The sale of small producers' products has been simplified, without the need to present a series of certificates.  The state provides support for participation in exhibitions  Every day, the National Agency for Energy Regulation of the Republic of Moldova (ANRE) sets the ceiling price based on international quotations, the average exchange rate over the last 14 days, and the value of the excise duty		0.5



9 Good Times for Public Sector Er	Good Times for Public Sector Employees		2/3
We will build two modern regional hospitals - in Balti and Cahul. We will implement a national program to modernize medical institutions	The financing contracts for the Cahul hospital were signed on July 8	https://radiomoldova.md/p/54875/spital- modern-la-cahul-si-retele-termice-reabilitate- in-chisinau-cu-fonduri-europene-investitii- de-peste-244-de-milioane-de-euro	0.75
	Several hospitals in the country were modernized and equipped with modern equipment	https://www.ziarulnational.md/foto-12-spitale-perinatale-din-r-moldova-in-care-se-nasc-circa-18-000-de-copii-anual-dotate-cu-echipamente-medicale-de-ultima-ora-investitii-de-circa-4-milioane-de-dolari-facute-de-unfpa/https://radiochisinau.md/zeci-de-spitale-raionale-si-camine-studentesti-din-republica-moldova-vor-fi-eficientizate-energetic-cu-ajutorul-partenerilor-de-dezvoltare213458.html https://ipn.md/spitalul-sfanta-treime-din-chisinau-trece-printr-un-amplu-proces-de-modernizare/	
We will ensure that medical institutions have sufficient and competent medical staff by increasing salaries, improving working conditions, and providing high-quality continuing education. We will increase allowances for	January 2023 a 10% increase for medical staff January 2024 by 15% January 2025: 15%	https://moldova.europalibera.org/a/ce-salarii-vor-primi-cadrele-medicale-dup%C4%83-major%C4%83rile-de-10-/32091399.html https://ms.gov.md/comunicare/comunicate/salarii-majorate-pentru-personalul-din-institutiile-medico-sanitare-publice/	0.75
young specialists, including by compensating for housing and	Allowance for rural doctors increased from 120,000 MDL to 250,000 MDL	https://gov.md/index.php/ro/comunicate-de- presa/salariile-cadrelor-medicale-majorate-	



	transportation expenses.		<u>cu-15</u>	
		Medical workers who commute will have their transportation expenses covered	https://ms.gov.md/comunicare/guvernul-a-stabilit-indemnizatii-mai-mari-pentru-tinerii-medici-care-se-vor-angaja-in-mediul-rural/	
		However, a persistent structural problem is the lack of sufficient staff – in many rural areas or line hospitals, vacancies remain unfilled, which increases the workload on existing staff and delays the expansion of access to quality medical services.	https://ms.gov.md/comunicare/aproximativ-3000-de-lucratori-medicali-vor-beneficia-de-compensatii-pentru-cheltuielile-de-transport/	
	We will encourage the use of innovations in medicine, including testing telemedicine solutions based on the French model	Moldova has made a huge leap forward in medical tourism, especially in the field of dentistry Electronic prescriptions and medical appointments have been introduced Telemedicine has begun to be implemented	https://ms.gov.md/comunicare/lansarea- sistemului-electronic-de-prescriere-si- eliberare-a-medicamentelor-si- dispozitivelor-medicale-compensate/	0.5
		Despite investments of tens of millions of MDL, the electronic services developed by the state are not very popular. Some public institutions, leaders in digitization, did not provide any online services last year. People still prefer to wait in line at the counter, largely because they do not have an electronic signature.	https://tv8.md/2024/12/20/video-milioane-in-vant-cum-ignoram-sansa-de-a-avea-o-moldova-digitala/272062	
10.	For Management and Teaching	Staff	•	3.5/5
	We will invest in a National Center for Education and Leadership to ensure the modernization of initial	INEL (National Institute for Education and Leadership) was established by Government Decision in October 2023.	https://inel.md/ro	1



and continuing training processes for teachers and managers.			
We will ensure that educational institutions have sufficient and competent staff by increasing salaries, improving working conditions, and providing high-quality continuing education. We will increase allowances for young professionals, including by compensating for housing and transportation expenses.	Teachers' salaries have increased several times. The last increase was on January 1, by 15%.  Student graduates of pedagogy faculties receive a one-time allowance of 200,000 MDL during their first five years of teaching (in 2021, it was 120,000 MDL).  Young specialists employed in teaching positions also receive compensation for expenses during their first five years of work for renting accommodation, in the amount of 1,000 MDL per month, and for electricity and heating consumption, in the amount of 3,000 MDL per year, if they work in public general education institutions in rural areas, district centers, and the Gagauzia Autonomous Territorial Unit.  Scholarships for education students have doubled However, there are still many retirees in the system and many unfilled positions	https://moldova.europalibera.org/a/salariile-profesorilor-vor-fi-majorate-cele-mai-mari-cresteri-le-vor-avea-cei-cu-grade-didactice/33244574.html  https://mec.gov.md/ro/content/tinerii-pedagogi-care-se-vor-angaja-conform-specialitatii-vor-primi-indemnizatii-unice-de	0.5
We will increase the annual financial compensation granted for the purchase of goods for the professional development of teaching and managerial staff from 2,000 to 4,000 MDL.	Achieved	https://mecc.gov.md/ro/content/au-fost-majorate-compensatiile-banesti-anuale-pentru-profesorii-si-directorii-institutiilor	1



	We will eliminate the burden of the dual evaluation process for teachers and managers by unifying and simplifying the external evaluation and certification process.	The procedure for retraining teachers has been simplified.	https://mecc.gov.md/ro/content/mec- continua-masurile-de-debirocratizare-fost- simplificata-procedura-de-recalificare	1
	We will create an Education Innovation Fund, through which educational institutions can obtain funding for creative projects.	Not achieved		0
11.	For Policemen			1.75
	We will reform "Stefan cel Mare" Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.	In April 2025, with the support of the UNDP and the US Government, a multifunctional forensic laboratory was inaugurated.  The training room for defensive tactics was modernized	https://www.undp.org/ro/moldova/press-releases/academia-stefan-cel-mare-modernizeaza-procesul-de-instruire-criminalistica-pentru-viitorii-si-actualii-politisti-cu-sprijinul	0.75
		International partnerships and agreements are underway to facilitate academic mobility and the exchange of best practices, contributing to the improvement of training quality.	https://mai.gov.md/ro/node/9808	
	We will remove corrupt and compromised individuals from the system and ensure career advancement based solely on criteria of professionalism, professional training, and integrity,	Difficult to assess, but based on practice in other areas, PAS has preferred loyal people for positions and has placed people without training in the field at the head of state institutions.		0.5



excluding any political interference.			
We will ensure better professional training and equipment for police officers to help them detect crimes, maintain public order, manage borders, and ensure road safety.	The Academy has implemented a project (with the support of UNDP and the US Government) to strengthen police training capacities, which includes the modernization of forensic laboratories (graphoscopy, traceology, dactyloscopy, chemistry, etc.) for students and active staff.	https://www.undp.org/ro/moldova/press-releases/academia-stefan-cel-mare-modernizeaza-procesul-de-instruire-criminalistica-pentru-viitorii-si-actualii-politisti-cu-sprijinul	0.5
	The Academy's defensive tactics training room has been modernized.		
	The Academy's shooting range has been rehabilitated and equipped with modern equipment (shooting range, virtual system, improved infrastructure) as part of a project called "Strengthening the skills-based training of law enforcement professionals in Moldova."		
	In 2025, a project to modernize the Border Police was launched, aimed at both equipping border crossing points with modern technologies (biometric identification, infrastructure for advanced controls) and providing continuous training for staff in accordance with FRONTEX standards.	https://www.border.gov.md/index.php/lansar ea-unui-proiect-strategic-pentru- modernizarea-politiei-de-frontiera-cu- asistenta	
We will develop a special social and legal protection mechanism for young police officers, including women employed by the police.	We found no clear evidence that a special social and legal protection mechanism dedicated to young police officers (including women employed in the police force) had been explicitly adopted or implemented at the time of our research.		0



12.	Energy			2.75/3
	We will complete the construction of the back-to-back power station in Vulcanesti and the transmission line between Vulcanesti and Chisinau.	Over 80% complete	https://moldova1.md/p/55671/peste-80-din-pilonii-liniei-electrice-vulcanestichisinau-asamblati-o-delegatie-a-bancii-mondiale-a-apreciat-progresul-inregistrat-pe-santierul-d	0.75
	We will ensure the functionality of the Iasi-Ungheni gas pipeline and the integration of the Iasi-Chisinau gas pipeline into the gas supply	From January 2023, Moldova will import gas almost exclusively through this pipeline	https://radiomoldova.md/p/3594/din-17- ianuarie-gazoductul-iasi-ungheni-va-fi- repus-in-functiune	1
	system of the Republic of Moldova.	Moldova has launched the first tenders for wind/photovoltaic capacities and introduced net billing	https://noi.md/md/societate/moldova-pentru-prima-data-100-energie-din-surse-	
	Ensuring an attractive regulatory framework to create conditions conducive to the development of	from January 1, 2024; from 2025, refundable guarantees will be required for connection requests - measures that professionalize the market.	regenerabile?prev=1&%3Bysclid=19cyatf0u h764769412	1
	competitive energy markets (with results in energy efficiency, energy performance of buildings, renewable energy, and clean energy).	A draft new Electricity Law (April 2025) fully harmonises with the EU acquis and opens the system to competition/regional balancing; for gas, full liberalisation is planned from 1 April 2026.	https://energie.gov.md/en/content/draft-new-electricity-law-fully-harmonizing-national-legal-framework-eu-framework-approved	
		On August 24, at 12 noon, 100% of the electricity consumed came from renewable sources		
		The authorities estimate that in 2025, around 25% of the electricity consumed will come from renewable sources.		
13.	Transport	•	•	0.5/4



	We will rehabilitate and repair all national roads that are in poor and very poor condition - 2,800 km. We will rehabilitate and repair 3,000 km of rural roads and streets.	766 km were rehabilitated  Several roads in villages have been paved, but there are no exact figures.	https://www.moldpres.md/eng/economy/over -3-billion-lei-allocated-for-roads- rehabilitation-in-2025-moldovan-pm-says- government-to-continue-investments-in- roads-infrastructure	0.25
	We will build two bridges over the Prut River (Ungheni and Leova) and one over the Dniester River (Iampol-Cosauti). We will rehabilitate the Giurgiulesti-Galati bridge.	A pontoon bridge has been built in Leova, and work is underway in Ungheni.  The Giurgiulesti-Galati bridge has been repaired	https://moldova1.md/p/10062 https://news.ungheni.org/stadiul-lucrarile-la- ansamblul-de-poduri-peste-prut-de-la- ungheni-la-22-iulie-2025/ https://newsmaker.md/ro/andrei-spinu- podul-transfrontalier-giurgiulesti-galati-este- functional-si-sigur-100	0.25
		Work on the Iampol-Cosauti bridge has been halted. The reason: Ukraine needs money for the war	https://moldova1.md/p/48976/vladimir- bolea-constructia-podului-cosauti-iampol-a- fost-suspendata-care-sunt-motivele	
	We will build a European gauge railway to Chisinau.	They have won a project to build the Iasi-Ungheni railway. In the future, they plan to extend it to Chisinau.	https://moldova.europalibera.org/a/cum-o-cale-ferata-electrica-va-uni-r-moldova-cu-romania/33474693.html	0
	We will examine the feasibility of rehabilitating the regional airports of Balti-Leadoveni and Marculesti, including the technical modernization and rehabilitation of terminal infrastructure and runways.	The modernization work has not yet begun. Recently, Parliament passed a law stipulating that Chisinau International Airport will invest in the modernization of Marculesti Airport	https://moldova1.md/p/54241/maia-sandu-modernizarea-aeroportului-din-marculestiva-crea-noi-locuri-de-munca-	0
14.	Villages and Cities Development	Projects		0.5



We will build or rehabilitate 3,000 km of centralized water and sewerage networks. We will connect the central districts to the Chisinau aqueduct and the northern districts to the Balti-Soroca aqueduct.	Almost 1,000 km of water supply networks and over 200 km of sewerage networks have been built throughout the country.  Some major components are still in progress, such as the Chisinau–Straseni–Calarasi project and the one for the Cahul district.	https://www.facebook.com/share/v/1BxLcWAuci/ https://midr.gov.md/noutati/proiectele-majore-de-modernizare-a-infrastructurii-de-apa-si-canalizare-in-moldova-discutate-la-midr-cu-reprezentantii-kfw	0.25
	The northern part (Balti–Soroca), which was supposed to connect the northern districts, has not been completed and has been halted.	https://acc.md/news/3220-zeci-de-kilometri-de-re-ele-de-apeduct-i-canalizare-au-fost-construite-in-suburbiile-mun-chi-in-u	
We will install or rehabilitate modern lighting systems on 10,000 km of municipal streets and roads.	The rehabilitation or installation of modern lighting on 10,000 km of municipal streets and roads between 2021 and 2025 has not been fully completed. However, almost every municipality has benefited from street lighting projects.		0.25
We will build modern waste storage sites in all regions of the country: north, center, and south. We will implement waste sorting and recycling to reduce the volume of waste stored.	The "Solid Waste in the Republic of Moldova" project, financed by the EBRD and the EIB, has been approved and provides for the construction of modern landfills, sorting, transfer, and composting stations in several regions.  In September 2024, a 4.3 million EUR grant was approved for the design and construction of a modern landfill, sorting and composting stations in the Cahul–Cantemir–Taraclia–Gagauzia (South) area — work planned between 2027 and 2031.  There is no information that the works have started or	https://www.mediu.gov.md/ro/content/4033  https://moldova.europalibera.org/a/inca-un-grant-de-4-3-milioane-de-euro-pentru-gestionarea-deseurilor-din-r-moldova/33105279.html	0
	been completed to date. All these initiatives appear to be		



		in the initial phase — documentation, design, preparation — with no concrete evidence of actual construction.		
	We will ensure the thermal rehabilitation and repair of the facades of 20% of the apartment buildings in the country.	Few projects have been completed, targeting a few dozen apartment buildings, in the context of a national fund launched in 2024, but which does not yet have widespread coverage.	https://www.energie.gov.md/ro/content/primele-randunele-reabilitarea-ceMDL-mainalte-cladiri-din-Balti-un-model-deeficienta	0
		There have only been a few pilot projects. The rest are only on paper.	https://cned.gov.md/ro/content/economii- semnificative-si-confort-termic-sporit- pentru-locatarii-450-de-apartamente-din	
	We will facilitate the development of modern transport in the country's main cities – Chisinau, Balti, Cahul, Soroca, Orhei, Edinet – by expanding the electric network for urban transport and purchasing modern transport units.	Not achieved		0
15	Environment			0.25/3
	We will implement a comprehensive program to increase the area of forested land to 25%.	Several reforestation campaigns have been carried out and there is visible progress, but the 25% target is for the period 2023–2032; in 2025 we are still well below target.	https://agroexpert.md/rom/novosti/proiecte- si-finantari-noi-pentru-extinderea-padurilor- din-moldova	0.25
	We will repair the Costesti-Stinca hydrotechnical node.	Not achieved		0
	We will rehabilitate the system of reservoirs, including the desilting of	In July 2025, the government approved a draft decision defining 56 ponds and reservoirs of national importance,	https://www.mediu.gov.md/ro/content/5437	0



	lakes (extraction and removal of silt).	with the clear aim of prioritizing works such as desilting, dam rehabilitation, development of adjacent areas, and proper water resource management.		
		There is no information that actual desilting or rehabilitation work has been launched to date.		
16.	Culture			0.75/3
	We will restore the building of the "Serghei Lunchevici" National Philharmonic.	Culture Minister Sergiu Prodan said that the old philharmonic hall is not worth rebuilding and that a new philharmonic hall is needed.	https://newsmaker.md/ro/nu-are-sens-sa- restauram-vechea-filarmonica-de-unde-va- lua-bani-guvernul-pentru-constructia-unei- noi-filarmonici	0
	We will restore the complex of buildings of the National Museum of Ethnography and Natural History.	The contract for the renovation of the building was signed in August 2025.		0.25
	We will restore the National Library building.	We have not identified any information confirming the existence of a project to restore or renovate the National Library building.		0
	We will restore the Chisinau Circus.	The first phase of conservation work has been completed  The dome, roof, and drainage system have been repaired.  The curtain walls have been reinforced, the glazed facade has been replaced, and windows and doors have been installed.	https://www.undp.org/ro/moldova/press- releases/prima-etapa-lucrarilor-de- conservare-si-restaurare-circului-de-stat-din- chisinau-s-incheiat	0.5
17.	Justice and Anticorruption	1	1	5.75/1



			5
Reform of the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office (PA) based on the model of Romania's DNA, limiting its powers exclusively to high-level corruption and restructuring the National Anti- Corruption Center.	Yes – PAS has initiated a reform to bring the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office more in line with the DNA model – i.e., to deal with cases of "major"/high-level corruption, to be specialized, with clear criteria for competence, separation of minor and systemic corruption, etc.  But it has not yet been fully implemented – there are differences between what was promised and what is in the law/actually applied, which has led to efficiency problems, as the PA has limited human resources to properly carry out its criminal prosecution tasks.	https://justice.gov.md/sites/default/files/document/nota_informativa_competenta_oup.pdf	0.2
Establishment of the Anti-Corruption Tribunal and Court of Appeal. Participation of an independent commission of experts, including international experts, in the selection process for judges. The Anti-Corruption Tribunal and Court of Appeal will examine, on the merits and on appeal, respectively, cases of high-level corruption investigated by the PA	Not achieved. All that happened was that Parliament passed a law stipulating that corruption cases should be examined by an anti-corruption panel in the Chisinau District Court and by specialized anti-corruption panels in the Central Court of Appeal, rather than by a separate court.	https://www.legis.md/cautare/getResults?doc_id=149827⟨=ro	0
Drafting and promoting a bill to amend the Constitution that would allow the confiscation of assets that officials and dignitaries cannot	The drafting and promotion of a constitutional bill for the confiscation of unjustified assets is at the concept/formal proposal stage (advanced since 2021), but no visible progress has been made in its adoption or approval.	https://csp.md/sites/default/files/2022- 03/249c_2021.11.11.pdf	0



justify			
Drafting and promoting a bill to amend the Constitution in order to remove the immunity of the President of the Republic of Moldova and members of Parliament for acts of corruption	We have not identified any official information or recent legislative proposals aimed at removing the immunity of the President of the Republic of Moldova for acts of corruption		0
Amending and implementing legislation on the declaration of assets by public officials and dignitaries to exclude the declaration of assets at reduced prices or the evasion of declaring certain assets.	It can be said that, in practice, what PAS has promised in terms of asset declarations has so far been limited to predominantly declarative and strategic measures, without substantial changes to the legal framework or effective enforcement mechanisms.  In practice:  • Strategies and plans: documents such as the 2023–2030 Public Administration Reform Strategy have been developed, which mention transparency and asset declaration as objectives.  • Recommendations and intentions: there is talk of electronic systems, tougher sanctions, and training for officials, but these remain at the declarative level, without concrete implementation or immediately applicable legislative changes.  Lack of practical results: to date, there is no clear evidence that non-declaration or undervaluation of assets has been prevented by new mechanisms or that legislation has been effectively amended to cover all the gaps identified.	https://www.legis.md/cautare/getResults?doc_id=140474⟨=ro	0.2



	Thus, the promise has materialized more in declarative plans and strategies than in functional legislative reforms.		
Ensuring effective verification of the assets of public officials/dignitaries by the ANI, including by inviting an international mission of specialists to work alongside integrity inspectors. Priority verification of the assets of deputies, ministers, judges, prosecutors, and other high-ranking officials and dignitaries or those who hold positions sensitive to corruption.	Overall, PAS has made progress in implementing its promise to ensure effective verification of the assets of public officials and dignitaries, including through collaboration with international missions. However, challenges remain in terms of resources, institutional capacity, and uniformity of verification practices.	https://www.ani.md/sites/default/files/2024-12/raportul-de-activitate-al-ani-2024.pdf  https://ipn.md/moldova-va-face-schimb-de-date-cu-alte-tari-pentru-verificarea-averilor-si-intereselor/	0.5
Reform of the Supreme Court of Justice. Reduction of the number of judges and transformation of the court into a court of cassation to ensure uniformity of judicial practice. Participation of independent experts, including international experts, in the selection process for new SCJ judges.	In March 2023, PAS adopted a draft law providing for a reduction in the number of SCJ judges from 31 to 20. A Vetting Commission was established to assess the financial and ethical integrity of candidates for SCJ judgeships. The reforms promised by PAS in the area of the SCJ have been partially implemented, including structural changes and integrity assessments. However, the insufficient number of judges and persistent legal challenges remain significant obstacles to ensuring an efficient and independent judiciary.	https://www.legis.md/cautare/getResults?doc_id=150416⟨=ro#	0.7
Introduce transparent and fair mechanisms for selecting and appointing members of the SCM and the SJC to ensure their effective functioning. Ensure the	The pre-vetting process has proven to be uncertain and problematic.  There was a lack of a clear legislative framework for criteria and procedures.	https://www.legis.md/cautare/getResults?doc_id=138676⟨=en	0.2



	appointment and promotion of judges and prosecutors by the SCM and the SJC according to objective criteria based on merit, taking into account the professional training, integrity, competence, and efficiency of candidates, through a transparent procedure, excluding political interference or favoritism. Review the initial and continuing training system for judges and prosecutors and reorganize the National Institute of Justice.	There were ambiguities in the assessment of integrity and competence, perceived as arbitrary.  There was lack of transparency in the reasons for exclusions and evaluations.  Need for robust legal and institutional mechanisms with clear criteria, documented procedures, and maximum transparency.		
	Drafting, adoption, and implementation of the law on extraordinary evaluation of judges and prosecutors in terms of issuing illegal acts and matching assets with official income in accordance with the recommendations of the Venice Commission and the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court.	The PAS promise has been fulfilled in terms of drafting and adoption, and implementation is already underway with visible results (reports evaluated by the SCM/CSP, first disciplinary and functional effects), adjusted in line with the recommendations of the Venice Commission and broadly validated by the Constitutional Court in Decision No. 2/16.01.2025. All that remains is to complete the evaluation cycle for all categories targeted by Law 252/2023. However, it should be noted that the evaluation was limited to the correspondence of assets with official income, and the issuance of illegal documents was not subject to evaluation.	https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL-AD%282023%29005-e	0.5
	Drafting and adoption of legislation to strengthen the powers and capacities of the SIS in the fight against corruption.	The PAS promise has been largely fulfilled at the legislative level and partially documented publicly at the implementation/capacity level.  What has been done (legislation adopted)	https://www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/public ations/documents/Independent_Report_SSG _Moldova_ROM.pdf	0.5



	<ul> <li>Law No. 136/2023 on the SIS – the new operating framework for the SIS, which revises the mandate of the leadership and clarifies the institution's powers. It was adopted by Parliament on June 8, 2023 (SIS announcement) and is included in the list of official SIS legislative acts.</li> <li>Law No. 179/2023 on counterintelligence and foreign intelligence activities – regulates the principles and instruments of SIS counterintelligence activities (including interinstitutional cooperation), strengthening the operational framework. It is listed by SIS as a basic act and the text indicates the structure and principles of the activity.</li> <li>Independent analyses note that the 2023 laws have significantly revised the powers of the SIS; however, civil society assessments call for caution and increased transparency in expanding powers.</li> </ul>		
Conduct an external assessment of the work of the Courts of Appeal and the Prosecutor General's Office to identify possible abuses and opportunities for reform.	The promise appears to be in progress but not yet fully implemented. To date, the external evaluation/vetting process (judges + prosecutors, including from key institutions) has begun, so the procedural and institutional part is underway.	https://soros.md/wp- content/uploads/2025/02/RO_Analiza- Functionala-a- PG_final_18.02.2025_final_print.pdf  https://www.vettingmd.eu/ro/comunicate-de- presa/evaluarea-externa-a-curtii-de-apel- centru-finalizata-ultimul-raport-transmis-la- csm-pentru-examinare	0.5
Improvement of the single public system for registering and recording	Overall, it can be said that a significant part of the promise has been fulfilled:		0.75



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criminal and misdemeanor cases, in order to prevent manipulation of cases. Effective enforcement of random case distribution in courts.	<ul> <li>The random distribution of cases in courts through PIGD seems to be working effectively.</li> <li>IT systems (PIGD version 6.0, e-Dosar, etc.), the court portal, and audio recording have been implemented and expanded.</li> <li>However, the promise does not yet seem to have been fully realized:         <ul> <li>There are still phases (especially the criminal investigation/misdemeanor record phase) where manual distribution, lack of total transparency, or possibilities for manipulation remain.</li> <li>We have complained that the random distribution</li> </ul> </li> </ul>		
	of cases to investigating judges does not work, given the internal regulations of the SCM, adopted in 2018, which have not yet been abandoned.		
Elimination of unjustified arrests and illegal wiretapping. Prevention and investigation of torture and ill-treatment and improvement of detention conditions in detention facilities, including psychiatric and social institutions. Completion of the construction of a new prison to	What has been achieved so far:  New prison to replace Prison No. 13: Project agreement between the Ministry of Justice and UNOPS on the construction of a new prison in Chisinau was signed on January 15, 2025. Prevention and investigation of torture and ill-treatment and improvement of detention conditions in detention facilities, including psychiatric and social	https://gov.md/sites/default/files/media/documents/sedinte-de-guvern/2025-07/nu-46-mj-2025.pdf  https://www.justice.gov.md/sites/default/files/document/attachments/7_hcc_nr19_din_25.05.2022.docx	0.25
replace Prison No. 13.	institutions.  Prevention and investigation of torture, improvement of detention conditions:	https://ombudsman.md/wp- content/uploads/2025/01/raport-tematic- siguranta-si-securitatea-detinutilor-in- sistemul-penitenciar-al-republicii-moldova-	
	The Ombudsman's thematic report: "Safety and security of prisoners in the prison system" recent	realitati-si-perspective.pdf  https://anp.gov.md/sites/default/files/DPAM/	



	analysis (January 2025) highlights serious problems regarding detention conditions.  • The ANP (National Penitentiary Administration) report for 2024 notes that Penitentiary No. 13 — as well as No. 11 — are overcrowded (with 258 and 76 inmates above capacity, respectively). Order No. 48d of June 24, 2024, was issued with the aim of depopulating Penitentiaries No. 13, No. 11, and No. 5-Cahul, in response to the recommendations of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture.  • Conditions in Penitentiary No. 13 were reported to be "the worst in the country." Report of Country Reports, etc.  So, steps have been taken towards improvement: reducing overcrowding, depopulation measures, discussions and reports, monitoring, etc. However, the problem persists and has not been completely resolved.  Exclusion of unjustified application of arrest and illegal interceptions  This objective does not yet seem to have been largely achieved: significant problems remain in terms of implementation, guarantees, transparency, and control.	BILAN%C8%9A%202024.pdf  https://anp.gov.md/sites/default/files/DPAM/BILAN%C8%9A%202024.pdf  https://md.usembassy.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/210/2020-HHR-MOLDOVA-RO.pdf	
Strengthening the work of the Ombudsman's Office by ensuring the institution's independence and developing its capacity to promote	The Office of the Ombudsman (OAP) was reaccredited in 2023 with "A" status. This status is important — it means international recognition, especially within national human rights institutions, and implies that the institution	https://ombudsman.md/statul-de-drept-in-regiunea-consiliului-europei-si-in-republica-moldova-provocari-persistente-si-necesitatea-unor-actiuni-consolidate/	0.75



	and ensure human rights	meets standards of independence, impartiality, pluralism, etc.		
	Agreement with the European Union on the establishment of a mechanism for diagnosis, monitoring, and support for the rule of law in the Republic of Moldova. This system (similar to the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism (CVM) implemented in Romania and Bulgaria in 2007) will ensure a periodic and objective assessment of the results of the reform of the justice sector and the fight against corruption.	The promise to agree on the establishment of a mechanism exists and is reflected in official documents, but the full implementation of a mechanism <i>exactly</i> like the CVM has not yet been achieved.  It could be said that much has been done—EU reports, independent monitoring, vetting procedures, recommendations, dialogue. But what is missing is the complete formalization of a stable mechanism with clear responsibilities and sanction or conditionality systems, such as those in the CVM (for Romania/Bulgaria).	https://enlargement.ec.europa.eu/moldova-report-2024_en	0.5
18.	<b>Economy and Entrepreneurship</b>			3/5
	Promoting initiatives to de-offshore the economy: prohibiting offshore companies from participating in public procurement and not allowing them to become shareholders in areas of national security such as insurance, media, energy, transport, etc.	Law 174/2021 was approved	https://www.legis.md/cautare/getResults?doc_id=128620⟨=ro	1
	Regulation of consumer credit and elimination of aggressive lending practices with excessive interest	The National Bank of Moldova approved, by Decision No. 101 of 19.05.2022, the Regulation on responsible consumer lending by banks, which came into force on	https://bnm.md/ro/content/comunicat-cu- privire-la-aprobarea-regulamentului-privind- creditarea-responsabila	1



	rates, which affect vulnerable people. Regulation and transparency of bank fees.	July 1, 2022. It requires the assessment of consumer creditworthiness, limits excessive indebtedness, and sets maximum terms for loans.  Excessive fees and penalties (e.g., high daily penalties, multiple notification penalties, high early termination penalties) have been declared unfair and void. The maximum annual interest rate has been set at 50%.	https://www.bnm.md/ru/node/67474	
-	Implementation of EU standards relating to VAT records on imports of services. Implementation of the reverse VAT taxation regime, which would result in the elimination of VAT payments on imports of services (VAT to be deducted) and would unjustifiably affect companies' liquidity.	The promise to implement the reverse VAT taxation regime on imports of services has been <b>partially fulfilled</b> . The legislative changes already adopted (starting in 2023) are close to what was desired, eliminating the actual payment and introducing the simultaneous inclusion and deduction of imported VAT. However, it does not appear to have been fully or universally implemented for all imported services, and the ideal mechanism (with minimal impact on companies' liquidity) does not seem to be fully operational.	https://monitorul.fisc.md/ru/tva-modificari-efectuate-in-codul-fiscal-pentru-anul-2023/  https://mf.gov.md/ro/content/guvernul-aprobat-modific%C4%83ri-la-codul-fiscal-pentru-armonizarea-regimului-tva-aplicabil	0.5
<b>-</b>	Strengthening the regulatory and institutional framework and support for the development of FEZs, Multifunctional Industrial Platforms, Industrial Parks, Business Incubators, and the Giurgiulesti International Port.	The term of operation of Moldova IT Park has been extended by 10 years, until 2035, by amending Law 77/2016	https://www.legis.md/cautare/getResults?doc_id=143443⟨=ro#	0.5
Ī	Radical simplification of the mechanism for closing/bankrupting companies.	There is no comprehensive reform to eliminate all systemic barriers, reduce time and costs, and ensure legal certainty and balanced protection for creditors and debtors.		0



19.	Digital Economy, IT, and Comn	nunications		2/3
	Connecting the economy to international online payment systems such as PayPal, Skrill, etc. to facilitate online trade (especially exports) for local companies; Stimulating and facilitating online payments by leveraging the MPay government payment service.	Law No. 144/2025 simplified the process for Moldovan entrepreneurs engaged in e-commerce to open payment accounts on international e-commerce platforms. It also raised the currency repatriation threshold for e-commerce from 1,000 MDL to 100,000 MDL.	https://www.legis.md/cautare/getResults?doc_id=149085⟨=ro	1
	Ensuring the regulatory framework for reducing roaming charges for citizens traveling/visiting for short periods in the Eastern Partnership countries.	From January 1, 2026, Moldova will be part of the common roaming area with the EU, with the legislation in the field of electronic communications being fully adjusted and the necessary agreements with the EU being concluded.		1
	Promoting and attracting national and international e-commerce platforms to the country.	There are no successful domestic e-commerce platforms.  Major Western e-commerce platforms do not deliver to Moldova.		0
		The tax-free threshold for online parcels has been reduced to 150 EUR		
20.	Infrastructure, Transport, and	Construction		3.25
	Alignment with European Directives in the field of international freight transport,	There has been notable progress on the CEMT authorizations and their digitization, but there is no evidence that all the promised components (full alignment		0.75



establishment of clear and transparent rules for the allocation of ECMT authorizations and authorizations for international transport, including through the digitization of services, and ensuring competitive prices on the regional market.	with EU directives, fully transparent rules, and competitive regional prices) have already been completed.  The CEMT Digital System has been open for testing since June 17, 2024, through a web portal and mobile app, as part of the transition from paper to digital documents. National Motor Transport Agency (ANTA) has announced that from January 1, 2026, CEMT authorizations and paper road books will be phased out in favor of digital versions.  The Republic of Moldova has obtained a special quota of 50 CEMT authorizations for 2024, thus increasing the total for that year.	https://www.zdg.md/stiri/stiri- economice/autorizatiile-cemt-pentru- transportul-international-de-marfuri- digitalizate-conducatorii-auto-se-pot- conecta-la-o-sesiune-de-informare/	
Rehabilitation, in agreement with the Ukrainian authorities, of the Basarabeasca-Berezino railway section to ensure a secure rail connection with Ukraine.	The Basarabeasca-Berezina (Ukraine) railway section was rehabilitated and reopened in 2022.	https://midr.gov.md/noutati/tronsonul-de- cale-ferata-basarabeasca-berezino-a-fost-dat- in-exploatare	1
Increase the budget for ensuring safe road infrastructure — rehabilitation of road signs and markings and making institutions accountable for the use of these resources.	In 2025, 3.2 billion MDL were allocated for the rehabilitation, reconstruction, and maintenance of roads in the Republic of Moldova.  Inflation rose sharply, making this budget insufficient for the rehabilitation and construction of all roads.	https://ondrl.gov.md/3-2-miliarde-de-lei-vor-fi-alocate-in-acest-an-pentru-reabilitarea-reconstructia-si-intretinerea-drumurilor-din-republica-moldova-anuntul-a-fost-facut-de-prim-miDniesterl-dorin-recean-la-conferinta-de/	0.5
Exclusion of the ban on the import of used car parts.	As of March 25, 2022, Law No. 49/2022 amended certain provisions, so that the basic prohibition on the import of used parts and accessories for motor vehicles was lifted, with the exception of components of braking and steering	https://customs.gov.md/ro/articles/in-atentia- persoanelor-fizice-care-introduc-sau- intentioneaza-sa-introduca-in-republica- moldova-parti-si-accesorii-uzate-pentru-	1



		systems.	autovehicule-993-ro	
21.	Fight against Corruption, Mono	polies, and Poor Management in State-Owned Enter	prises	0.25/3
	Reforming and increasing the accountability of the following subordinate administrative authorities: National Road Transport Agency (ANTA), Technical Supervision Agency (AST), Civil Aviation Authority (AAC), Naval Agency (AN), Energy Efficiency Agency (AEE).	The Energy Efficiency Agency is the only one where we can see visible progress. In the case of ANTA or AST, we can even talk about some regression.  Overall, we do not see any progress in this area.	https://www.anta.gov.md/content/anta-prima-autoritate-emitent%C4%83-de-acte-permisive-certificat%C4%83-interna%C8%9Bional-conform	0
	Reforming and empowering the Competition Council and ANRE. We will fight the main monopolies created in the agri-food, energy, and transport sectors.	The effective implementation of these reforms is still partial, and the ability to sanction and dismantle monopolies remains limited. The agri-food, energy, and transport sectors continue to be vulnerable to market concentration and political influence. The conclusion is that important steps have been taken towards accountability, but the objective of combating monopolies has not yet been fully achieved.		0.25
	Investigate dubious transactions that took place through transfer or privatization and make efforts to return state property that was illegally alienated and hold accountable officials who made abusive decisions (Air Moldova,	All criminal cases are stalled, with only a few convictions in the BEM case. The airport has been returned but is under dispute. Bus stations are under dispute but under the control of the Public Property Agency (APP). No damages have been recovered in any of the fraudulent privatization cases.		0



	Chisinau International Airport, Banca de Economii [BEM], railway and bus stations, Tutun-CTC).	Overall, we see no progress worthy of positive assessment.		
22.	Foreign Policy			3.75/4
	Bringing the Republic of Moldova closer to the prospect of joining the European Union by accelerating the implementation of the Association Agreement and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area with the European Union	The European Council announced on June 25, 2024, that the first Intergovernmental Conference at ministerial level had taken place, marking the formal opening of accession negotiations with the Republic of Moldova.	https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2024/06/25/eu-opens-accession-negotiations-with-moldova/?utm_source=chatgpt.com	1.5
	Capitalizing on the Strategic Partnership with Romania for the European integration of the Republic of Moldova and deepening this special bilateral relationship, based on common values, by strengthening the bridges between the two banks of the Prut	Relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova are at their highest level  The Iasi–Ungheni–Chisinau gas pipeline Inaugurated in 2014 (to Ungheni), extended to Chisinau in 2019, with compression stations operational since 2021. It became vital in managing the 2022 energy crisis, enabling the security of gas supplies from European sources	https://romania.europalibera.org/a/memorand um-interconectare-retele-gaze-naturale- energie-electrica-romania-republica- moldova/32416077.html	1.25
	River, implementing strategic energy interconnection and transport infrastructure projects, liberalizing the economic space, and strengthening political, security, cultural, and educational dialogue.	In June 2025, scientific cooperation was reconfirmed with jointly funded research projects (involving researchers and institutions from both countries)  On April 4, 2025, the start of construction work on the new road bridge between Golaiesti (Iasi, Romania) and Zagarancea (Ungheni, Moldova) was announced. The	https://www.research.gov.ro/romania-si-republica-moldova-un-parteneriat-strategic-in-cercetare-reconfirmat-la-chisinau-24285  https://ipn.md/cinci-noi-poduri-vor-lega-romania-si-moldova-primul-va-fi-podul-de-flori-de-la-ungheni/	



	project is part of a larger program of five bridges planned over the Prut River.	
We will develop regional partnerships for European integration together with Ukraine and Georgia and expand economic, inter-human, and cultural cooperation with other countries	Moldovan-Ukrainian relations are at their highest level in history Moldovan-Georgian relations have deteriorated because Georgia has chosen a different path	0.75
Promoting a positive, respectful, and pragmatic political dialogue with the Russian Federation, respecting the national interests of the Republic of Moldova, the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, and the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova, with the aim of restoring trade and economic relations in accordance with CIS agreements by removing discriminatory tariff and non-tariff barriers on Moldovan products and protecting the rights of Moldovan citizens	Moldovan-Russian relations are tense. This is because Russia has attacked Ukraine and is waging a hybrid war against the Republic of Moldova. This is despite the fact that the Republic of Moldova has shown openness through visits to Moscow and meetings with Russian officials in Chisinau in 2021.	0.25
Relaunching the Republic of Moldova's strategic dialogue with the US. Developing and implementing a roadmap detailing the main expectations and priority	There's been some real progress in restarting the strategic dialogue with the US—they've signed joint statements, made headway on specific projects (especially in energy), and put security and reform cooperation on the bilateral agenda.	



	areas for cooperation with the US, focusing in particular on strengthening democracy and good governance, including the fight against corruption, energy independence, economic and financial development, and security cooperation			
23.	Reintegration of the Country			2.25/7
	The 5+2 negotiations format must cover socio-economic issues, human rights, free movement, and political settlement of the conflict.	The format is not functional, mainly due to the war in Ukraine.		0.25
	Building consensus among the main political forces on the basic principles of political settlement of the conflict.	No		0
	Building a national consensus on conflict resolution.	No		0
	Closer cooperation with neighbouring countries, including Ukraine, to ensure joint border management.	There are cooperation initiatives and agreements covering the Transnistrian segment of the border, including proposals for joint checkpoints and customs harmonization between Moldova and Ukraine, mediated by The European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM) and other structures.	https://zonadesecuritate.md/control-comun- pe-segmentul-transnistrean-de-frontiera- autoritatile-de-la-chisinau-si-cele-de-la-kiev- au-facut-anuntul/	1



However, these initiatives are not fully implemented and re subject to political and security constraints.  The government has approved a program for 2025 that provides for 30 community development and institutional apacity-building projects to be implemented in localities in the security zone.  This program also mentions the provision of partial compensation to farmers in the Dubasari district who work land along the Rabnita-Tiraspol route, and funding for Romanian-language educational institutions in the Transnistrian region (but within the security zone).	https://www.infotag.md/rebelion-ro/324393/
rovides for 30 community development and institutional apacity-building projects to be implemented in localities in the security zone.  This program also mentions the provision of partial ompensation to farmers in the Dubasari district who work land along the Rabnita-Tiraspol route, and funding for Romanian-language educational institutions in the Transnistrian region (but within the security zone).	https://www.infotag.md/rebelion-ro/324393/
ompensation to farmers in the Dubasari district who work land along the Rabnita-Tiraspol route, and funding or Romanian-language educational institutions in the Transnistrian region (but within the security zone).	
At the same time, in 2025, 25 million MDL were llocated for reintegration measures, financing these projects in the security zone.	
Fillages were connected to the national gas and electricity etwork.	
Residents on the left bank of the Dniester can obtain dentity documents and civil status services at Public Services Agency (ASP) offices on the right bank.	https://zonadesecuritate.md/modificari- privind-obtinerea-permiselor-de-conducere- si-accesul-la-servicii-civile-pentru-locuitorii- din-stanga-Dniesterlui/
Romanian-language schools on the left bank of the	
er	



		Residents on the left bank of the Dniester River can use hospitals and clinics on the right bank, including through national health programs.	presa/guvernul-extins-lista-proiectelor-de- dezvoltare-infrastructurii-localitatile	
		Some of the economic agents in the region have been provisionally included in the legal field of the Republic of Moldova to facilitate trade and exports.		
		However, services are not available directly in the towns controlled by Tiraspol, but mainly through points on the right bank or the security zone.  The Transnistrian administration raises obstacles, so that the real integration of services for all residents is incomplete.		
	The fight against smuggling and corruption as an important goal in the peaceful, political-diplomatic settlement of the conflict.	The Transnistrian region is a traditional hub for cigarette, alcohol, and energy product networks, and Chisinau's effective control in the area is weak.  Corruption linked to these flows has not been eradicated, and the press has reported on the involvement of individuals from state structures in these schemes.		0.25
		PAS measures have been mostly declarative and focused on the political/diplomatic side, with occasional successes but no visible reduction of the phenomenon on a large scale.		
24.	Free Mass Media	<b>'</b>		3/5



Real demonopolisation of the media, including through the liberalisation of the advertising market to ensure conditions for the sustainable development of the independent press, but also by prohibiting companies resident in dubious jurisdictions (offshore) that do not disclose their owners, including those owned by politicians, from de facto managing media institutions.	The influence of the oligarchic press and that of the Russian Federation has been reduced, but the instruments that affect free competition in the media market have not been completely eliminated.	0.75
Ensuring the efficiency and independence of the Audiovisual Council, including by amending legislation to hold the institution and its management accountable for poor performance or ineffective activity in protecting the public interest.	Achieved	1
Ensure the complete independence of the public company "Teleradio-Moldova" from the government and take measures to prevent its political subordination.	Partially achieved. We do not see any restriction of access for the opposition.  At the same time, we do not see a sufficiently critical approach to the government when the public interest requires it.	0.5



	Strengthening the independence of the media and the professionalism of journalists, in accordance with the requirements set out in the Association Agreement between the Republic of Moldova and the European Union.	We have not identified any concrete state policies in this regard. At the same time, we note an increase in the level of media independence from the state.		0.5
	Ensuring that all authorities, institutions, state-owned enterprises, or joint-stock companies with state capital provide journalists with free access to information of public interest.	Communication with the press remains a problem. State institutions often do not communicate proactively. Public communication by most institutions remains formalistic and often deficient.		0.25
25	Good Governance and Reforming of the Political Class			
	Promoting measures, including legislative ones, to combat political defections.	Political defections continue. The current government itself practices this.		0
	Creation of an official online petition mechanism for citizens. Any petition that exceeds 10,000 signatures will be discussed in the Plenary of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova.	Not achieved		0



Ensuring rigorous control over the enforcement of legislation on the financing of political parties and election campaigns. We will severely tighten penalties for illegal party financing.	There is a transparent and predictable mechanism rigorously applied by the Central Election Commission and other relevant institutions.	1
Collect and make transparent statistical and administrative data for monitoring the implementation of policies, public services, and projects, including the presentation of data in a graphically understandable form for the public.	No significant progress has been made. There is no single framework for ensuring transparency.	0
Restructuring/reengineering of processes for citizens and economic agents to access public services (e.g., accessing unemployment benefits, recalculating pensions, issuing documents and certificates) from the user's perspective, so that the rules are simple, clear, and accessible to all.	Significant progress has been made, particularly in the digitization of these processes.	1
Consultation on draft decisions and laws in a timely manner and accompanied by regulatory impact analysis.	Reports from independent organizations note significant shortcomings in this area.  There have been numerous cases where draft laws have been voted on without adequate public consultation.	0.25



Consultation with business people, experts, and external partners on the Economic Council platform to identify barriers to development in value chains in specific sectors of the economy.	The Economic Council has been used as a platform for consultation with the business community and experts, including on the challenges they face. Working groups, surveys, meetings, etc. have been organized.  However, not all barriers in value chains in all sectors have been removed. Consultations have not always been followed by concrete measures and successful implementation.		0.5
Accessing international expertise for the strategic and effective promotion of quality exports and investments that would create jobs and include Moldova in international value chains.	We have not noticed the presence of renowned international companies in the process of promoting investment in the Republic of Moldova. At the same time, Moldova is present at various international exhibitions, and economic diplomacy is much more active than it was before 2021.	0	0.25
Ensuring genuine dialogue with local public authorities to support local development and the effective implementation of announced policies for the benefit of every citizen.	The government is in constant dialogue with local public authorities, although there is a lack of dialogue between the government and the capital's city hall. There is also a lack of dialogue with the authorities in Gagauzia, but the blame lies largely with the authorities in Comrat.	0	0.5
Creation of a foresight institute to inform and advise the government on long-term opportunities and risks	Not achieved	0	)



in all key areas: economy,
education, science, health, defense,
etc. This institute will enable the
government to make informed
decisions in the context of rapid
changes taking place at the local
and global levels.

## ANNEX 2. Fulfillment/non-fulfillment of election promises by chapter/area

No	Chapter/category of election promises		Total possible score	Fulfillment %
1.	Good Times for Families with Children	4.75	5	95%
2.	Good Times for People from Moldovan Villages and Cities	2	2	100%
3.	Good Times for Retirees	3.25	6	54%
4.	Good Times for Youth	6.5	5	130%
5.	Good Times for Women	2	3	67%



6.	Good Times for Moldovans from the Diaspora	4.75	5	95%
7.	Good Times for Entrepreneurs	4.5	6	75%
8.	Good Times for Agricultors	2.75	5	55%
9.	Good Times for Public Sector Employees	2	3	67%
10.	For Management and Teaching Staff	3.5	5	70%
11	For Policemen	1.75	4	44%
12.	Energy	2.75	3	92%
13.	Transport	0.5	4	13%
14	Villages and Cities Development Projects	0.5	5	10%
15.	Environment	0.25	3	8%
16.	Culture	0.75	3	25%
17.	Justice and Anticorruption	5.75	15	38%
18.	Economy and Entrepreneurship	3	5	60%
19.	Digital Economy, IT, and Communications	2	3	67%
20.	Infrastructure, Transport and Construction	3.25	4	81%



21.	Fight against Corruption, Monopolies, and Poor Management in State-Owned Enterprises	0.25	3	8%
22.	Foreign Policy	3.75	4	94%
23.	State Reintegration	2.25	7	32%
24.	Free Mass Media	3	5	60%
25.	Good Governance and Reforming of the Political Class	3.5	10	35%
	Total	69.25	123	56%