ROMANIA 2035

STRATEGIC REASSESSMENT

Impact, public alignment and implementation risks

Cheaper to live. Cheaper to do business. Cheaper to govern - without making Romania poorer.

September 2026

Executive conclusion

The current architecture is significantly more coherent than a conventional list of promises because most initiatives produce outputs consumed by other initiatives. The programme's greatest competitive advantage is resource multiplication: data, infrastructure, EU/private capital, administrative capacity and research are reused across missions.

Public alignment remains strongest when the programme is communicated in the order of needs: cost of living and fair burden-sharing; a government that works; health and safe schools; jobs/SMEs/regional opportunity; security under democratic control. The September 2026 sentiment assessment showed that the programme must preserve durable principles while explaining technical instruments through household protection and visible outcomes.

The dominant risk is no longer missing policy, but orchestration. That is why the 60 handoffs, SLAs, owners and conversion KPIs are as important as sectoral measures. If these interfaces become bureaucratic reporting, the multipliers disappear; if they are automated and audited, the programme can increase state capacity without proportionate expansion of the apparatus.

Fit with public priorities

Priority	Fit	Rationale
Cost of living and burden-sharing	Very strong	Household Security, Transparent Supply Chain, fiscally conditional essential basket, medicines, energy, housing and commuting. Waste and fraud precede broad taxation.
Government that works	Very strong	Government as a Platform + PM Delivery + handoff architecture directly address fragmentation and lack of execution.
Health and safe schools	Strong	Prevention/rural/mental health, Safe School, childcare/elder care; visible impact, but requires workforce and implementation discipline.
Jobs/SMEs/regional opportunity	Very strong	Opportunity Engine, energy-ready industry, skills demand, complete communities, agricultural value chains and diaspora matching.
Security under democratic control	Strong	Defence/dual-use, cyber and civil protection have gates, export controls and oversight; excessively militarised language should be avoided.
Fiscal credibility	Necessary, politically difficult	The architecture is sound if savings are certified and high-return/EU investment remains protected.
R&D and universities	Transformational over the long term	Leadership + interdisciplinary work + commercialisation + 60/40 reinvestment can change the quality of management and innovation over 8-15+ years.

Impact across horizons

Horizon	Likely impact	What should not be over-promised
0-18 months	Simplification, transparency, inventories, data quality, funding screens, first pilots, asset recovery, care/skills mapping.	Structural changes in GDP or costs cannot be promised within a few months.
2-5 years	More investment, housing/mobility supply, processing, energy/grid projects, shared services, R&D pilots/commercialisation, labour capacity.	The effect depends on conversion rates and construction capacity, not just laws.

Horizon	Likely impact	What should not be over-promised
5-10 years	Productivity, better management, industrial/R&D clusters, regional convergence, fiscal resilience.	There is no single GDP coefficient; macro modelling must be updated using real data.
10-20 years	Change in managerial/professional culture through universities and leadership, mature R&D flywheels.	The benefit is generational and cannot be attributed exclusively to one term of office.

System risks

Risk	Severity	Control
Checkbox compliance	High	Outcome gates, peer review, conversion KPIs, audit.
Over-centralisation	High	Central visibility, distributed accountability; federated shared services.
Fiscal optimism	Critical	Certified savings, Confidence Ladder, Fiscal Council, scenario framework.
Chasing EU funding	Medium-high	Worthwhile project first; funding second; post-EU sustainability test.
Corruption/asset undervaluation	Critical	Independent valuation, open process, Public Value Ledger, beneficial ownership.
Grid/energy overstatement	High	Firm-capacity layers, demand model, use-it-or-lose-it, Value-per-MW.
R&D without adoption	High	TTO network, stage gates, pilot procurement, IP/value sharing.
Sprawl	High	Corridor/node, readiness, Infrastructure-Before-Volume, stage gates.
Cyber concentration	High	Federated architecture, segmentation, DR, testing.

Assessment of potential

Dimension	Assessment
Internal coherence	Very high - outputs and handoffs are defined between systems.
EU/private-capital leverage	Very high - funding screens, portfolios, investment-ready data.
Human capital	Very high over the long term - education + leadership + labour capacity.
R&D/commercialisation	High if TTO/stage gates and market-value transfer are executed.
Fiscal sustainability	Conditional: the fiscal architecture requires full costing, recurring funding and a net-expenditure test before implementation.
Execution complexity	Very high - justifies the Handoff Register and PM Delivery.
Transformational potential	Very high if the first 2-4 years demonstrate real conversion rates.

Main strategic recommendation: in public communication, present outcomes for households and the economy; in administration, track handoffs, conversion and real cost. Do not confuse activity with impact.

Reassessment after the European and legal audit

The programme integrates EU duties into existing reforms, with a public register, owner, deadline and evidence. Binding law, funding conditions, recommendations and proposals are separate. Overdue duties receive immediate remedies; the 100-day programme does not extend statutory deadlines.

Lower bills connect to renovation, clean heating and accessible mobility; water, forests and nature protect agriculture and health. Existing services track access for vulnerable children, people with disabilities and rural communities. Migration and asylum have a lawful pathway distinct from diaspora return.

Fiscal Lock respects the EU net-expenditure path. The RRF is tracked for closure and continuity of existing commitments, with no assumption of new grants beyond its deadline. Finance verifies funding and recurring cost; the Fiscal Council provides independent assessment.

Implementation preserves university and local autonomy, property, judicial independence, data protection and competition. The 60/40 rule applies to eligible revenue from future programmes under lawful terms established before funding. Accelerated deadlines do not suspend environmental assessment or public rights. Statutory inventor remuneration precedes the 60/40 distribution of eligible residual proceeds.

Programme coherence is retained, while fiscal feasibility remains conditional on validated costs and sources. There is no finding that all EU obligations are already fulfilled. The register, remedies and final-act review are part of execution. Recommendations are integrated where they support household needs and productivity; EU proposals are not assumed to be law or available funding.