

antos

Concept and Justification
for the Need of a Public
Manifesto

‘Guidelines of Ukraine’s Public Policy: From Citizens’ Resilience to a State of Gratitude’



Prerequisites

Distrust within society hinders the implementation of systemic change and leads to fragmentation, which—under conditions of ongoing war—can ultimately result in defeat. Historically, civil society in Ukraine has always played the role of a powerful catalyst and driver of change. In times of upheaval, responsible citizens unite, influencing both national policy and Ukraine’s international partners.

This is exactly how the Public Manifesto “**Guidelines of Ukraine’s Public Policy: From Citizens’ Resilience to a State of Gratitude**” begins its journey. The understanding of the need for such a manifesto emerged as a result of numerous regional visits by the ANTS NGO team across Ukraine and the forum “From Citizens’ Resilience to a State of Gratitude”, which brought together stakeholders from various levels around the idea of building a strong and independent state based on respect and gratitude.

The moral compass and inspiration for this idea is the late Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, whose teachings and guidance emphasized the building of an effective society grounded in gratitude, dignity, and respect. Two of his quotes are particularly central to this context:

“Significant and noticeable change did not occur because, during the collapse of the Soviet Union, we had a fantastic opportunity to create not only an independent state but a good state. No one took advantage of that opportunity.”

“Giving is much greater than taking. I have lived my whole life with this idea.”

Today, Ukraine stands at the epicenter of the existential challenges of our time—challenges rooted in the long-standing historical genocide of the Ukrainian people by the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and now the Russian Federation. These events will impact not only the fate of Ukraine but the future of democracy worldwide. Under such circumstances, Ukrainian society must be as united as possible and prepared for any scenario that may unfold.



List of Challenges That Require Effective Policies, Tentatively Outlined in the Manifesto:

- Security threats from the Russian Federation.
- Dysfunction of state institutions.
- Low level of public trust in the government and state institutions.
- Attempts to usurp power by certain influence groups. Manual control over specific law enforcement and judicial bodies by the Office of the President.
- Decline in population well-being and living standards. Shrinking middle class and intellectuals (the core of civil society), who serve as the driving force behind necessary reforms. Rise of populism.
- Demographic crisis.
- Corruption risks.

What can unite Ukrainians around the idea of building a thriving Ukraine – one that can defend itself, where citizens’ rights are respected, and where dignity and human-centeredness are embedded in all public policy documents?

On one hand, Ukrainian society remains united in its commitment to defending the country’s territorial integrity and independence from the aggressor. However, ten years into the war, this unity alone is no longer enough. We must now think about the next steps to consolidate society around the national interests of the state.

This is precisely how we arrived at the concept of the "**State of Gratitude**" – a vision of a country where Ukrainians are ready to give more than they take, and to express respect and gratitude to the military, veterans, volunteers, international partners, and to one another.

Gratitude as a value, a civic stance, and a behavioral pattern toward others, society, and the country is a key to overcoming the current challenges that Ukraine is facing.

Without gratitude toward veterans and military personnel, we will not

be able to ensure an adequate level of mobilization to defend Ukraine's territorial integrity and independence. Without gratitude toward "state-builders," we will not be able to advance complex, critically important reforms – including those related to European integration – essential for Ukraine's successful development.

The presumption of gratitude can provide a necessary level of trust within society, including trust in state institutions, civil servants, politicians, and fellow citizens. Trust and mutual acceptance must exist between different members of society: between those who left and those who stayed or returned; between those who fought and those who supported the home front; between veterans and their families, internally displaced persons, and people with disabilities.

At the same time, **the level of tolerance in both government and society toward anti-Ukrainian views and corruption must decrease** to allow for self-purification from destructive elements.

The development and implementation of the **public policy program "From Citizens' Resilience to a State of Gratitude"** requires broad support from society. That is why the Manifesto – which will lay out the key guidelines for this program – will remain flexible and open to incorporating recommendations from stakeholders representing Ukraine's civil society.

ANTS NGO is ready, if needed, to serve as a platform (Secretariat) for drafting this document, but under no circumstances will it assume sole leadership. This document must become a **public good**, as that is the only way to formulate and implement approaches and proposals that society will trust.

Despite its flexibility, the document must be built on a solid foundation in order to attract new partners and ultimately serve as a **value-based framework** for shaping all future proposals. This foundation should be based on principles such as **dignity, respect, integrity, mutual support, institutional resilience, the rule of law, and the prestige of military and public service.**

An editorial board will ensure a balance of input from various stakeholders while upholding these core principles. To achieve this, leading intellectuals, international partners, civil society leaders (including veteran community representatives), and local self-government officials will be engaged through consensus-building efforts. This will help to **ensure that the needs of Ukraine's citizens are adequately represented** on the path toward building a resilient **State of Gratitude.**

In the long term, this document could evolve into a **new social contract** for the people of Ukraine.

Below is a preliminary vision of the document's purpose, structure, and goals, which may be adjusted as a result of collaborative work among all stakeholders.



Purpose



To develop a comprehensive vision of the state that will enable society to unite during wartime and in the post-war period, as well as to ensure a shared understanding of national interests through the cultivation of mutual gratitude and trust within society.

As Bohdan Hawrylyshyn emphasized, there are four key characteristics of an effective country, which we aim to foster through the implementation of the “State of Gratitude”:

1. Full political freedom;
2. A certain level of economic well-being for the entire population – meaning there are wealthy individuals, but no one lives in poverty;
3. Social justice;
4. A symbiotic relationship with the biosphere – not its destruction or pollution.

Goals



- To reach expert consensus on a vision of current societal needs and the corresponding transformation of state institutions – without resorting to populist or paternalistic approaches.
- To formulate the provisions of the Manifesto based on already developed expert documents, and to identify areas and directions that still require such work.
- To support the state in overcoming the crisis of institutional capacity and to establish a societal reference point based on realistic goals and objectives.
- To apply the policies developed by leading and reputable experts (and institutions), which have long awaited the right window of opportunity for implementation.



Provisional Structure of the Manifesto

"Guidelines of Ukraine's Public Policy: From Citizens' Resilience to a State of Gratitude"

(The list of guidelines below is provisional and will be revised throughout the collaborative process)

INTRODUCTION

SECTORAL ISSUES:

1. Security and Defense

Strengthening the country's defense capability to ensure the safety of citizens through:

- Integration into Euro-Atlantic structures
- Reforms in the defense sector
- Application of advanced defense industry technologies in Ukraine
- Support for the personnel potential of the Armed Forces (fair mobilization, attractive contract service, etc.)

2. Democratic Development and Regional Policy

- The path to EU and NATO membership
- Effective, human-centered state institutions
- Free and fair elections – during and after the war
- Rule of law
- Strengthening the role of local government associations, professional communities, and businesses in decision-making and resource allocation
- Freedom of speech and media independence
- Effective public administration

- I. Decisions are made based on data.
- II. Policy development goes through the necessary cycles.

3. Economic Development

- • Increasing the overall well-being of the population and building a strong middle class in society
- • Minimum support at the survival level / maximum support at the level of entrepreneurship
- • Support for the creation of veteran-owned social enterprises
- • Tax reform:
 - I. Tax policy = fairness. Reducing corruption.
 - II. Higher taxes encourage oversight of their use.
 - III. Development and implementation of fiscal philanthropy (at the local level), encouraging tax activity.

4. State Social Policy

- Addressing demographic challenges
- Deinstitutionalization
- Inclusion and social integration
- A system for physical and psychological trauma rehabilitation; psychosocial support
- Social justice
- Community-based social services
- Pension reform

5. A Healthy Nations

- Increased life expectancy and improved quality of life
- • Birth rate exceeds mortality rate
- • Health insurance / access to health recovery programs
- • Prevention and rehabilitation.

6. Effective Education – The Path to a Mature Society

- An education system that meets the challenges of the modern world
- Lifelong learning

- Patriotic education of youth, honoring heroes, defenders, and veterans
- Fostering national elites and the intellectual class as a key social stratum.

7. Cultural Identity and the Role of Ukraine and Ukrainians in the World.

- Freedom = Responsibility
- Issues of social culture: coexistence, acceptance, trust, and tolerance through unity, reconciliation, dialogue, and a culture of mediation
- Culture as a factor of national security
- Identity: “I am Ukrainian” – pride in the state, history, heroes, and veterans; decolonization of the perception of the state as “ours, not foreign”
- Comprehending the “State of Gratitude” through cultural and artistic events
- Cultural dialogue on the international level; defining Ukraine’s place in the world.

8. Environment

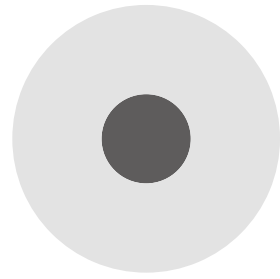
- Assessment of environmental damage caused by war; demand for reparations from the aggressor
- Green recovery
- European integration and adaptation of environmental legislation
- Reform of state environmental oversight
- Integrated waste management
- Ukraine as a strategic partner in the extraction and processing of critical minerals.

9. Ukraine on the International Stage

- Establishing Ukraine as a subject of international law
- Developing strategic partnerships with democratic countries
- Integration into the European Union
- Ensuring Ukraine's protection within the international security system.



Expected Outcomes

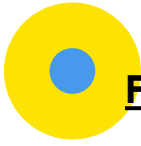


1. Implementation of the public policy program of Ukraine “From Citizens’ Resilience to a State of Gratitude”, based on the guidelines set forth in the Manifesto and the corresponding policies developed by various public institutions. This includes both existing policies and those to be developed in alignment with the guidelines for which there is public consensus.
2. Societal transformation reflected in the recognition of each individual’s role, increased trust and motivation among members of society, coordinated action, and unity – as an alternative to division.

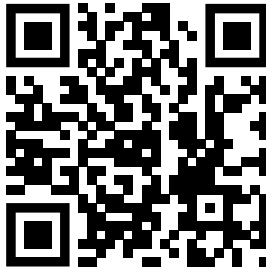


Manifesto Development Algorithm:

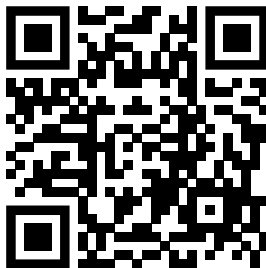
1. **Inviting stakeholders to join the editorial board** and organizing collaborative work on the Manifesto through an online editing platform, where the value framework and preliminary structure of the document will be established.
2. **Launching a public communication campaign** to engage society in the process of creating and supporting the Manifesto.
3. **Presentation at a public event in Kyiv (in October)**, as well as in the regions, followed by the work of sectoral working groups to finalize the document.
4. **Next stage:** advocacy for the implementation of proposals, planning, and execution of the recommendations after the Manifesto is completed.



**Familiarize yourself with
the Manifesto**



**You can contribute by filling
out the Registration Form**





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