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Manifesto

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

Content

Introduction

Ukraine, which has already entered a new phase of its existence, has to confront a variety of challenges that threaten both its citizens and its statehood. The military aggression of the russian federation, the low level of trust in government institutions (except for the defence forces), the demographic crisis, the lack of the rule of law and widespread corruption are just a few of the major issues that need to be addressed immediately. We must be aware of the complexity of the situation in which the country finds itself. The scale of the challenges requires comprehensive and systemic responses.

Today the society needs unity and a clear vision of the future more than ever before. It must be specific, achievable and implementable. It should also become the common denominator of the achievements of experts, scientists, entrepreneurs, and civil society that resonate with people.

This Manifesto outlines the ideas, foundations and principles that should be implemented in the form of specific programmes and action plans in various areas – from security and defence to culture and national identity, from economy to social policy, from education and healthcare to foreign policy – in the near future and in the long term.

This Manifesto is an agreement to move into the future, an agreement to join this movement.

We are convinced that only together, in solidarity and unity, will we be able to overcome all challenges and build a strong, efficient and fair state. A state of gratitude. A state where every citizen feels involved in its achievements and responsible for its development, where respect for human dignity prevails and where everyone can fulfil their potential.

Only in unity we can overcome external threats and internal challenges. Therefore, it is necessary to restore broad communication between citizens and the state, to establish trust between them, to create conditions for dialogue and cooperation in the form of communities, forums and other platforms where intellectuals, experts and representatives of civil society can exchange ideas, experience and develop joint initiatives.

Considering the foregoing, we, the signatories of the Manifesto, have consensually identified the main policies that should be implemented, and in the absence of such policies, developed to overcome the greatest threats and challenges:

Sectoral issues:

What Can Unite Ukrainians Around the Idea of Building a State That Can Defend Itself and Respects Human Dignity?

On the eleventh year of the war, Ukrainian society remains united in defending territorial integrity and independence from the aggressor. However, this unity alone is no longer enough. It is time to take the next step–to consolidate society around the national interests of the state. This is how we arrived at the concept of a "State of Gratitude"–a vision in which Ukrainians are ready to give more than they take, and express appreciation and respect toward military personnel, veterans, volunteers, international partners, and one another.

Gratitude as a value, a position, and a behavioral pattern toward others, society, and the country is a prerequisite for overcoming the current challenges facing Ukraine.

Without gratitude toward veterans and soldiers, we will not be able to ensure sufficient mobilization to protect Ukraine's territorial integrity and independence. Without gratitude toward public servants and reformers, we cannot advance the critically needed reforms–especially those related to EU integration–that are essential for Ukraine's successful development.

A presumption of gratitude can foster a much-needed level of trust in society, including trust in institutions, civil servants, politicians, and fellow citizens. It can bridge divides between those who left, those who stayed, and those who returned; between those who fought and those who supported the rear; between veterans and their families, internally displaced persons, and people with disabilities.

At the same time, tolerance for anti-Ukrainian views and corruption must decline–in both the government and society–as part of a process of internal cleansing from destructive elements.

The development and implementation of the national policy program "From Civic Resilience to the State of Gratitude" requires broad societal support. That is why the Manifesto–which will lay out the core framework of the program–will be designed with maximum flexibility to incorporate stakeholder feedback from across Ukrainian civil society.
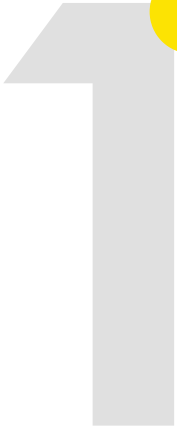
The NGO ANTS is ready to act as a platform (Secretariat) to help coordinate the drafting of such a document, but will not claim exclusive leadership. The document must be a collective societal achievement, as this is the only way it can be trusted and implemented effectively.

While remaining open and flexible, the document must also rest on a strong foundation to attract new partners. This foundation will be built on core values such as: dignity, respect, honesty, mutual support, institutional resilience, rule of law, and the prestige of military and civil service.

An editorial board will ensure that contributions from all stakeholders are balanced and aligned with these foundational principles. This will be done by building consensus among leading Ukrainian intellectuals, international partners, civic leaders (including representatives of the veteran community), and local self-government officials, in order to reflect the real needs of citizens across Ukraine.

In the long run, this document may serve as a new social contract for all Ukrainians.

Below is a preliminary vision of the document's purpose, structure, and objectives, which may evolve through inclusive collaboration with all interested stakeholders.

1

Security and defence

Finding itself at the epicentre of russian aggression, Ukraine needs to take urgent action to strengthen its defence capabilities and create the potential for asymmetric destruction of the enemy in order to immobilise it. Priority tasks should include the dynamic development of the national defence industry, the qualitative transformation of the Ukrainian Defence Forces and further enhancement of military and military-technical cooperation with partner countries. This involves not only increasing the amount of military assistance, but also achieving compatibility of the Armed Forces of Ukraine with the European ones. The development of Ukraine's own defence industry should focus on breakthrough areas and the production of modern weapons, military equipment and ammunition for the needs of the Armed Forces. The three-pronged cooperative chain 'science – production – front' with feedback is the foundation of military innovations and breakthrough solutions that should ensure continuous supply of the Armed Forces.

Ensuring Ukraine's defence capability requires a comprehensive approach that covers both foreign and defence policy and internal reforms. In particular, it is necessary to continue reforming the security and defence sector, improve the level of professional training of military personnel, and introduce new technologies into military affairs. The development of the territorial defence system is also important, as it should be aimed at creating an internal framework for the Union of Officers of Ukraine resilience.

1.1 Ukraine is a maritime power.

The development of the economy and foreign trade depends on the sea. The development of the Navy should be a priority in order to prevent any further encroachment on Ukraine's maritime spaces and coasts, port and sea energy infrastructure.

1.2 Ukraine is a leader in developing the military forces of the future.

Unmanned systems forces, naval attack drones are innovations where Ukraine has become a leader in wartime. Innovations in equipment and management are needed in all branches and types of troops.

1.3 Personnel policy

Ukraine's intelligence organisations should be cleansed of enemy agents, and the personnel should consist exclusively of patriotic and professional personnel without a Soviet past and problematic family ties. They should be equipped with modern technical means. The Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine should become a reliable support for the military and political leadership in obtaining and analysing information and forecasting future challenges and creating opportunities for the state globally.

1.4 Intelligence

Proactive intelligence activities should be aimed at strengthening the security perimeter of our state and the effectiveness of the use of asymmetric response potential. War criminals who have committed atrocities against Ukraine will face death anywhere in the world.

1.5 Cybersecurity

Ukraine's current security challenges require not only military readiness but also effective counteraction to hybrid threats. Therefore, it is important to strengthen cybersecurity and counter disinformation and propaganda. Counterintelligence protection of the state has become especially important in the context of russian aggression and russia's constant attempts to undermine Ukraine by creating agent networks and acting from within. The SSU needs to strengthen its analytical and

counterintelligence capabilities, build up its professional and technical capacity to conduct special operations, and eliminate non-core tasks.

1.6 International cooperation

Besides, international cooperation in countering the aggressive actions of russia and its allies, particularly within the framework of international organisations, needs to be intensified.

1.7 Economic front, social protection and recruitment

Reinforcing the economy is important, as it is the basis for financing defence spending. In addition, social protection for servicemen and their families must be ensured, and the conditions must be created to attract young people and talented people to the Armed Forces by developing a recruitment system.

2 Culture, identity and national heritage in the context of Ukraine's national interests

Russian aggression against Ukraine has not only a military but also a cultural dimension. Therefore, the development of Ukrainian culture is becoming an integral part of the fight for independence. Through culture, we form our own narrative, oppose it to russian propaganda, and demonstrate to the world the rich and diverse Ukrainian history and traditions. Culture is a powerful weapon in the war for identity, helping to preserve national consciousness and strengthen the unity of society. It is also an instrument of soft power to strengthen Ukraine's international image. Cultural policy should reflect its contribution to the formation of civil society, as well as the importance of cultural diplomacy for strengthening international relations.

The restoration of Ukraine's independence in 1991 gave Ukrainian culture a chance to free itself from the grip of russia's destructive colonisation policy, which it had suffered from for centuries. However, neither the development of Ukrainian culture nor the preservation of cultural heritage de facto became priorities of state policy, nor were they considered in the context of the national security of the newly restored Ukrainian state, despite the experience of losses and genocides of the twentieth century.

This has led to the deterioration of the cultural heritage protection system, mismanagement of the network of cultural institutions inherited from the USSR, marginalisation of work in the field of culture and heritage protection, corruption pressure on public officials by individuals interested in securing private interests at the expense of cultural property, budgets or property of institutions, weak authority and secrecy of publicly funded cultural institutions, massive loss of cultural heritage sites, looting of archaeological sites, the lack of understanding of the significance of the cultural heritage of Ukraine.

This undermining of the 'foundation' of Ukraine's culture had catastrophic consequences, in particular, in the form of the widespread filling of the Ukrainian cultural space with russian 'cultural product', devaluation and manipulation of Ukrainian identity, language and national memory, and created favourable conditions for Russia's political and economic interference in Ukrainian affairs, and soon – for Russia's armed invasion of Ukraine.

Ukraine's state authorities reacted weakly to the consequences of the russian invasion in 2014, which led, in particular, to another appropriation of Ukraine's cultural heritage in the temporarily occupied Crimea and parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, resulting in a repeat of the situation in 2022. Today, russia's full-scale aggression causes unprecedented losses for Ukrainian culture and cultural heritage, and thus again creates the preconditions for the destruction of Ukrainian identity and undermining the foundations of Ukrainian statehood.

The determination of the guidelines for state policies in the field of culture during the war and post-war reconstruction is based primarily on the following principles:

- Culture is at the heart of the social contract and defines it through values, memory and identities;

- The national heritage – natural, cultural and scientific – is a holistic, fundamental, integral part of the identity of the people of Ukraine and the national memory inextricably linked to it;

- Ukraine's culture, its carriers, and national heritage – cultural (material and living), natural and scientific – are strategic military and political goals of russia in the war against Ukraine, which russia started in 2014.

- The visionary framework and guidelines of the state policy for culture and national heritage should take into account both the national and global context.

- The culture of Ukraine is a culture of free people, a culture of dignity

and mutual respect, a culture of a democratic, open society, a society that recognises the value of knowledge and cherishes cultural and natural diversity.

Guidelines for the state cultural policy on national heritage in wartime and the period of post-war reconstruction:

- Change of paradigm of 'cultural management' and national heritage, move away from outdated practices of limiting and instrumentalising culture in favour of maximising the potential of culture and heritage for human and social development and environmental protection. Wartime with its challenges and the process of Ukraine's European integration push for such a change, otherwise the risk of losses increases.

- Good governance in the field of culture and national heritage, transparency and accountability of relevant and related authorities at various levels are crucial for any further steps of the state in both wartime and peacetime.

- The preservation of Ukraine's national heritage – natural, cultural and scientific – as a holistic, fundamental, integral part of the identity of the Ukrainian people, and the national memory inextricably linked to it, should be recognised as a fundamental national interest of Ukraine (within the meaning of the Law of Ukraine 'On National Security'). The protection and preservation of national heritage in wartime is one of the strategic goals for both the authorities and civil society.

- The management of Ukraine's national heritage at any time should be based on the principles of sustainable development, which includes, in particular, taking into account the interests of future generations of Ukrainians and preserving Ukrainian heritage as an integral part of the world's.

- Creating conditions for the realisation of the cultural institutions' missions, supporting the contribution of cultural institutions and initiatives (at the state and local levels) to the development of Ukrainian subjectivity, Ukrainian civic identity, decolonisation processes, support for the culture of indigenous peoples and national communities (minorities), the resilience and cohesion of Ukrainian society within the country and strengthening international support for Ukraine are critical in wartime.

- Ensuring primary conditions for the functioning and maximum

accessibility of public sector cultural institutions in wartime, taking into account their specifics (analysis of the state and network, deregulation, meeting priority needs), including those relocated from the frontline and those whose collections have been evacuated; proper attention to social issues of employees in the relevant sectors.

- Culture, national heritage and national memory should be duly represented in the national strategy for post-war reconstruction of Ukraine and in the strategy for reintegration of the territories liberated from occupation.

- Research and take into account international standards and good practices, in particular those of the EU, in the development and implementation of relevant policies. European approaches define a broad context for culture that includes social, economic and external dimensions. Social dimension: the power of culture and cultural diversity for social cohesion and well-being. Economic dimension: support for cultural creativity in education and innovation, job opportunities and economic growth through creative industries. External (international) dimension: strengthening international cultural relations.

- Encouraging cross-sectoral cooperation: culture works effectively for society at the intersection of the economy, education, science and innovation, environmental protection, public health, regional development, foreign affairs, etc. The linkage of culture with other sectors strengthens its role and provides significant benefits.

- To be fully represented at the level of the Government and Parliament, the sphere of culture, national heritage and national memory should have a separate profile Ministry that does not combine this role with others, and a corresponding full-fledged management network to ensure that the state fully fulfils its obligations under the Constitution of Ukraine.

3

Democratic development and regional policy

We must ensure the balance of powers, the rule of law and the independence of the judicial system, restore trust in public servants and the prestige of service for the benefit of the country. This way, we can restore the capacity of state institutions and public trust towards them. Ukrainians have proved that we can defend ourselves, our state and our democratic achievements. The whole world has been watching with amazement and respect the heroic fight of our brave defenders to repel the enemy invasion. Now it is our common responsibility, both military and civilian, volunteers and ordinary citizens, to strengthen the process of implementing high standards of democracy, the rule of law, and respect for the individual in everyday life. This reform movement must become powerful and irreversible. The challenges we face on this path:

3.1 The road to the EU and NATO

Ukraine has a de facto roadmap to EU and NATO membership. Everything goes as follows: our partners expect us to implement reforms, not to talk about the difficulties and problems with their implementation. We need to focus on implementing important reforms in the judiciary, the rule of law, the fight against corruption, etc., despite the sabotage of their implementation.

3.2 Effective human-centred state institutions

The main approach to addressing the issues and concerns of a person seeking assistance should be a complete and final solution to the problem or a roadmap for its resolution. Importantly, we need to intensify efforts to implement the European Social Charter, the social constitution of Europe, which will allow us to move closer to the standards of the welfare state and accelerate our accession to the EU, improve the standard of living and quality of life of our most vulnerable citizens, protect the rights of workers, etc. To change the approach to assessing social needs from the methodology of taking applications into account to conducting targeted research. The protection of social human rights should go from a declaration to a reality

3.3 Free and fair elections – wartime and post-war period.

On the way to free and fair elections, one of the tasks should be to move from a system where a person acquires the right to vote on the basis of registration (even if it is possible to change the electoral address) to a system where a person acquires the right to vote on the basis of the place where he or she actually pays taxes, receives social benefits or pensions, where children study, etc. This will allow numerous categories of the population, such as IDPs and labour migrants, to exercise their right to vote in the place of residence in the community. This will improve the quality of decision-making by authorities at all levels, reduce tension in society and promote social cohesion. To do this, it is necessary to analyse the relevance of the Law on the Register of Territorial Communities and make it effective.

3.4 Rule of law

One of the main tasks should be the harmonisation of existing legislation,

as well as the adoption of new modern versions of old laws, especially such as the Housing Code, etc. The presence of gaps in legislation becomes a growing source of corruption and creates distrust in the ability of the state to seek justice. Effective judicial reform is urgently needed. The executive system needs to be reformed. The reform of law enforcement agencies needs to continue, and the public needs to be more involved in its activities. Legal education of the population should be developed.

3.5 Increase the role of local self-government bodies, representatives of professional communities, and businesses in decision-making and allocation of common resources.

Strengthening the role of local governments, professional communities and businesses in Ukraine is an integral part of the decentralisation process. The involvement of these actors in decision-making and resource allocation contributes to more effective local governance, given their knowledge and experience of the needs of their communities. Such participation allows for inclusiveness and transparency in decision-making, which in turn increases public trust in the government and stimulates the development of civil society.

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3.6 Freedom of speech and media independence

Freedom of speech and independence of the media are fundamental to a democratic society. They ensure the free exchange of information, the formation of public opinion and control over the activities of the authorities. Independent media is the so-called 'fourth estate' that plays an integral role in protecting the rights and freedoms of citizens, exposing corruption and promoting the development of civil society.

Today, freedom of speech and media independence face a number of challenges. The development of digital technologies opens up new opportunities for the dissemination of information, but at the same

time creates conditions for manipulation and disinformation. Political pressure, economic dependence, and concentration of media market ownership also limit freedom of speech. Therefore, ensuring genuine media independence is crucial. Clear and transparent laws regulating media activities, but not restricting their freedom, should be developed and implemented, and journalists should be protected from harassment, threats and physical violence.

3.7 Effective public administration through:

1. Professionalism of civil servants:

High standards of recruitment are ensured through competitive selection for public positions based on professional knowledge, experience and competences. Continuous training and professional development means the creation of a system of regular training that allows civil servants to keep up with current trends and challenges. Fair remuneration of employees is ensured. Civil servants receive decent salaries, which motivates employees to work effectively and prevents corruption.

2. Transparency and accountability:

Transparency of the government is achieved by ensuring broad public access to information on the activities of state bodies. The introduction of e-government simplifies the interaction of citizens with the state and increases the level of convenience. In particular, public involvement in decision-making and evaluation of the work of public authorities is an integral part of effective public control.

3. Government decentralisation:

To address local problems more effectively, powers need to be devolved to local governments. This process, known as decentralisation, involves the delegation of powers from the central to the local level. An important component of decentralisation is the financial independence of local communities, which allows them to manage resources and solve their priority issues.

4. Policy development goes through the necessary cycles, and strategic planning is carried out:

Effective governance requires a clear definition of development goals, the development of long-term strategic plans that take into account all relevant factors, and constant monitoring of their implementation for timely adjustments.

5. Innovation and use of technology:

The efficiency of public administration directly depends on the use of modern technologies. Big data analysis allows for informed decision-making and forecasting of the situation. Cooperation with the private sector and academic institutions is an important source of innovations and new ideas that allow the state to perform its functions more effectively.

6. Anti-corruption:

Transparency of procedures, independent anti-corruption bodies and the inevitability of punishment are the three pillars of an effective fight against corruption. Implementation of these measures will reduce corruption, increase public trust in government agencies, and create a level playing field for all participants in economic relations.

7. Cooperation with civil society:

Dialogue with the public and partnership with business are integral components of modern governance. Involving civil society organisations in discussing important issues and cooperating with businesses to implement joint projects can create a more open, transparent and efficient society.

8. Adoption of international experience:

Studying best international practices and international cooperation are important tools for the development of any country. Through these processes, you can borrow the best ideas and solutions, avoid mistakes and accelerate your own development.

4 Economic development

Since Ukraine became independent, many mistakes have been made in managing the national economy:

- closed privatisation, that became not a way to attract foreign investment and modernise Soviet enterprises, but a way to seize state property by criminal groups, creating an oligarchy that actively integrated into government institutions to expand opportunities to seize assets that have not yet been privatised and protect against the loss of assets already acquired;

- aggressive social populism in the form of numerous budget programmes without adequate revenues and maintaining non-market tariffs for utilities, the cost of which was compensated from the budget. The goal was to maintain the electoral support of citizens for the continued seizure of state assets, as well as judicial, law enforcement, regulatory, tax, customs and other state institutions for their own enrichment and protection of the seized assets;

- inefficient state support of economic sectors, in particular, instead of state investments and state orders in the field of aircraft construction, machine building, scientific innovations, and other high-tech areas, billions of dollars were allocated to raw materials industries that were lobbied by the relevant oligarchic groups: coal, agriculture, and the

energy sector, which was subsidised through budget subsidies for housing and communal services;

- inefficient tax policy, in particular, the dominance of the repressive function of tax administrations, which, in the context of 'creating a cover' for large oligarchic groups that had tax preferences and tax indulgences for non-payment of taxes, actively filled the budget at the expense of small and medium-sized businesses, raising taxes and penalties for minor mistakes that do not lead to a decrease in budget revenues but imitate active work in the absence of economic benefit;

- corrupt customs policy whose priority was to create an environment for the importation of foreign goods with illegal undercutting of customs payments, resulting in the closure of Ukrainian production facilities, low wages and thus mass labour migration;

- inefficient monetary policy, causing high cost of credit resources and very low level of lending, which hinders economic growth, while creating instruments for extremely profitable enrichment of the banking system.

- In addition to economic policies, a corrupt law enforcement and judicial system is in place, destroying the legal basis for economic development, namely the system of inviolability of private property in Ukraine.

The concept of a gratitude state envisages the establishment of justice and the levelling of imbalances in all areas of public policies for economic growth, including:

4.1 Open privatisation with wide involvement of international investors and creation of conditions for international corporations to enter Ukraine, in particular in the areas of high technology, military-industrial complex, machine building, aircraft construction, including unmanned aerial vehicles, electronic warfare, rocketry, processing of agricultural raw materials, etc;

4.2. State orders and state support for high-tech enterprises that create high added value, financing of scientific research, creation of effective mechanisms for the protection of intellectual property; in particular, through open and transparent tenders, a decent system of remuneration, creation of a mechanism for independent audit of their activities, etc;

4.3. Changes in tax policy, in particular, elimination of the tax 'roof' and tax preferences for oligarchic groups, increasing their tax burden and

reducing the tax load and repressions against small and medium-sized businesses;

4.4. Changing customs policy, in particular, eliminating corruption schemes at customs, closing gaps for the import of tax-free imports by law, and levelling the playing field between imports and Ukrainian products;

4.5. Changes in monetary policy in order to increase lending to the economy several times and ensure an appropriate level of interest rates;

4.6. Support for the creation of social enterprises, including financial assistance (grants, loans), entrepreneurship training programmes, networking and partnerships, access to markets, legal and administrative services, infrastructure (coworking spaces), policy support at the state level, and information support through publications and campaigns that raise awareness of social enterprises.

5

State social policy

Even before the full-scale invasion, social policy in Ukraine had all the traits of the Soviet system: paternalistic, inefficient (billions of dollars in social spending did not help solve social problems), and focused on making people dependent on the state rather than overcoming their difficult life circumstances and gaining their capacities. Following the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war in 2014 and even more so after February 2022, the existing shortcomings of the existing social policy were not only exacerbated, but new challenges were added: the emergence of new categories (war veterans, internally displaced persons, persons with disabilities due to injuries, etc.) and a multiple increase in the number of people in need of social support; the deepening of negative social phenomena (such as unemployment, institutionalisation, population decline and mortality); loss of housing (physically due to bombing and abandonment in the temporarily occupied territories) and many others. The European Commission has laid down progressive guidelines for Ukraine in the social sphere that can bring the quality of life of Ukrainians closer to European standards, but this impetus must be accompanied by a complete revision of the goals and objectives of social policy, which should focus on human centeredness, individual approach, self-realisation and inclusiveness.

5.1 Overcoming demographic challenges

Ukraine must employ all 3 pillars to overcome the catastrophic demographic crisis that Ukraine has faced since the full-scale invasion: (1) increasing birth rates, (2) reducing mortality rates, and (3) immigration (including creating conditions for the return of Ukrainians who left because of the war).

5.2 Deinstitutionalisation

Ukraine has the highest level of institutionalisation of children and people with disabilities among European countries, incompatible with respect for human rights and European values. Support for biological families, creation and development of alternative (foster, patronage, etc.) forms, development of quality and accessible services in each community, transformation of institutions – should be accompanied by a redistribution of financial resources from institutions to the needs of families and children and development of the human resources of the new system.

5.3 Inclusion and socialisation

The war has led to a rapid increase in the number of people with congenital or acquired developmental disabilities, including war veterans. Due to barriers, including in the social sphere ('outdated' legislation, inaccessibility of social infrastructure, low quality and quantity of professional staff, lack of social services in the place of residence, etc.), people with disabilities cannot participate fully and effectively in society, which should be ensured through the creation of an inclusive and barrier-free environment at all levels and in all dimensions

5.4 The system of rehabilitation of physical and psychological trauma

In Ukraine, the medical model of disability still prevails, which provides support to people with congenital or acquired developmental disabilities only in the field of medicine (inpatient treatment, medicines) and social benefits, the amount of which is not able to meet even basic needs. Therefore, the model of disability should evolve to a bio-psycho-social model based on rights, which requires an immediate transition to the use of the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health in all areas, as well as the development of a rehabilitation system that

meets the current needs and challenges of Ukrainians, including those following injuries and amputations.

5.5 Social justice

Ukraine's social policy is discriminatory, based on a universal approach that provides social support depending on belonging to a certain category of people (or rather, having a relevant certificate), which, on the one hand, creates incentives for abuse of social status (buying certificates of disability, UBD certificates, Chernobyl liquidators, etc. Therefore, justice in the social sphere requires a shift to meeting individual needs based on a thorough assessment.

5.6 Social services and psychosocial support in communities

More than 95% of social spending in Ukraine is allocated to payments, benefits, and privileges, while in European countries with the best social practices, spending on social services prevails, as they are intended not only to compensate for losses from the restriction of a certain ability to participate fully and effectively in society, but also to help people overcome difficult life circumstances, become capable and self-sufficient, and, eventually, no longer depend on state social support. The most demanded social services today are those that provide psychosocial support, social support for vulnerable families with children, day care and employment for people with disabilities.

5.7 Pension reform

Ukraine's pension system is bankrupt, having failed even before the full-scale invasion to ensure social justice, decent living standards for older people and motivation to work in the formal labour market and contribute to the solidarity system, while remaining the most costly item in the state budget in the area of social protection. That is why it is necessary to switch to a conditional funded pension system, which will help solve existing problems and prevent new ones.

A healthy nation

The health of the nation is a fundamental value in building a 'State of Gratitude'. At a time when Ukraine is fighting for its existence in the face of military aggression, the issue of healthcare is of utmost importance. A healthy nation is a guarantee of resilience, the ability to recover from the crisis and actively participate in the reconstruction of the state.

The loss of population due to hostilities, migration, rising mortality and declining birth rates threaten the future of Ukraine. The healthcare system should become not only a tool for treatment, but also a means of strengthening the country's demographic resilience.

The healthcare system is one of the key areas through which the state shows its gratitude to its citizens by ensuring their physical, mental and social well-being. Access to quality medical care, rehabilitation and psychological support for all segments of the population, especially those affected by the war, is a prerequisite for Ukraine's recovery.

6.1 Increasing life expectancy and improving its quality.

One of the main objectives of the state healthcare policy should be to extend life expectancy and improve its quality. This can be achieved through the implementation of preventive programmes, promotion of healthy lifestyles, regular medical check-ups, access to modern medicine and the development of public health.

6.2 The birth rate exceeds the death rate.

In order to overcome the demographic crisis, the state must provide conditions for an increase in the birth rate. This includes support programmes for young families, access to quality healthcare services for pregnant women, development of the reproductive health system, and creation of social and economic conditions that will stimulate fertility.

6.3 Health insurance/access to health recovery programmes.

A system of compulsory health insurance should be introduced to ensure financial protection of the population and access to quality healthcare services. Particular attention should be paid to rehabilitation programmes for war veterans and civilians affected by hostilities, as well as chronically ill and disabled people.

6.4 Prevention and rehabilitation.

The basis of a healthy nation is active disease prevention and prompt rehabilitation of patients. Preventive measures should cover all age groups and include regular medical examinations, vaccinations, promotion of healthy lifestyles and the fight against infectious diseases. Rehabilitation assistance should be available to all those affected by war or other life circumstances, including physical and psychological support.

6.5 Mental health and support for people with war-related trauma.

Ensuring mental health is an integral part of healthcare policy in times of war. The state should ensure access to psychological rehabilitation programmes, psychosocial support and PTSD prevention. Establishing

a network of psychological assistance centres for the military, veterans, internally displaced persons and all victims is a step towards preserving the nation's mental health.

6.6 Innovations in medicine and use of modern technologies.

The state should actively introduce innovative technologies in the healthcare system. Particular attention should be paid to patient health monitoring systems, as well as support for medical research, including military medicine and rehabilitation.

6.7 Social equity and accessibility of healthcare services.

Medical care should be accessible to every citizen, regardless of social status, place of residence or other circumstances. This applies to both basic medical care and specialised treatment, rehabilitation and psychological support. State policy should promote equal access to healthcare services for all segments of the population.

7

Effective education is the path to a mature and prosperous society

Education in the 'State of Gratitude' is the path to the development of a mature society, where every citizen not only receives knowledge but also develops skills that allow them to act effectively for the benefit of the country. Education is the basis for building a mature and responsible society that is able to address the complex challenges of today. It should foster citizens who not only have in-depth knowledge and professional skills, but also recognise their responsibility to the state and society. In the time of war and social transformation, Ukraine's educational system should become a pillar for the development of innovation, critical thinking, creativity and civic awareness.

Effective education is characterised by its modernity, thoroughness, comprehensiveness, inclusiveness and applicability. Education should be adapted to current challenges, needs and processes, including global ones. Thoroughness of education means possession of deep knowledge as opposed to its fragmentation, distortion, spread of unscientific approaches and pseudo-scientific practices.

Comprehensiveness of education implies a balance between different fields of knowledge (primarily the hard sciences, natural sciences, and humanities) and types of research (basic and applied). Education, among other things, should provide an understanding of the possibilities of practical application of the acquired knowledge and skills, and be accessible to all groups and segments of the population.

7.1 Focus on the development of critical thinking, problem-solving and creativity.

The educational system should develop students' ability to think critically, analyse information and solve problems in a rapidly changing world. These skills are becoming key to adapting to technological changes, socio-political processes and future challenges. The content of education needs to be regularly reviewed to ensure that it is in line with current realities and forecasts of society's development. Implementation of an education system that meets modern challenges. The content of education should be regularly reviewed to ensure that it is relevant to current challenges, technological changes, socio-political processes, conditions and forecasts of future social development. The education system should be able to flexibly adapt to these changes not only in terms of content, but also in terms of structure and resources.

7.2. An education system that meets the challenges of our time.

Strengthening practical and applied aspects of education. Formation of students' understanding of the professional and practical need to acquire knowledge and skills; development of critical thinking, ability to solve problems, and the desire for creative activity. An important component of this process should be the cooperation of educational institutions with enterprises, research centres and NGOs.

7.3 Inclusiveness of education.

Education should be accessible to all, regardless of age, social status or place of residence. Education should cover all fields of knowledge, with a particular emphasis on developing access to lifelong learning. Education beyond the formal educational process (i.e. lifelong learning) requires the formation of an appropriate social demand for the acquisition of up-to-date knowledge and skills, and the creation of educational institutions and information platforms.

7.4 Increase the importance of education and science in Ukrainian society.

 Education and science should become priority areas for the state. he value of education and science for society is formed on the basis of their proper value for the state. This implies increased funding of the

sector, social protection of its employees, development of research and production clusters, and stimulation of innovations.

7.5. Patriotic education of youth, honouring heroes, defenders and defenders.

Patriotic education should become an integral part of the educational process. Patriotic education of youth. Educational processes should include a system of activities of various forms and content aimed at honouring heroes and defenders of the Motherland, familiarising with historical figures who fought for the independence of the state (lectures and seminars, excursions to museums and places of interest, meetings with veterans, military-patriotic education camps).

7.6 Nurturing Ukraine's elites, intellectuals, as a social stratum.

To strengthen the state, it is necessary to actively nurture Ukraine's intellectual elites. The educational system should create a new generation of leaders capable of taking responsibility for the country's development and making a significant contribution to science, culture, politics and the economy. The country's intellectual potential is its strategic resource that will help it overcome current challenges and ensure long-term development.

8 Environment

A healthy environment is the only possible way to ensure the survival of humanity overall, as well as the survival of the Ukrainian nation and its prosperity. To stop climate change, to adapt to the changes that have already occurred, to preserve the nature that Ukraine is so rich in despite years of reckless and thoughtless destruction, to restore everything that can be restored, following the example of Europe. For this purpose, the most modern approaches should be applied in combination with ancient traditions and knowledge.

8.1 Assessment of environmental damage from the war, demanding reparations from the aggressor.

The war launched by russia against Ukraine is about burned forests, steppes, and plains; smoky skies, poisoned water and soil. Fertile black soil destroyed by explosions, stunned fish, and birds torn from their nests. Russia has to pay for the losses incurred, for the restoration of ecosystems, for the purification of water and soil. Damages should be calculated using the most modern methods and recovered from the aggressor with the support of the international community. Those responsible for environmental destruction must be prosecuted in accordance with Ukrainian and international law.

8.2 Green recovery.

In more than a decade of aggression, russia has destroyed a third of Ukraine's economic potential, hundreds of settlements, including infrastructure and housing, and destroyed nature on millions of hectares.

The losses must be restored using the principle of 'Better, safer, with the latest technology'. Recovery plans should also include ecosystem restoration, not just industry and infrastructure.

8.3 European integration, adaptation of environmental legislation.

Moving towards EU membership opens up opportunities for active alignment with European environmental legislation. At the same time, an analysis of the mistakes made by countries that have gone this way allows us to avoid them.

8.4 Reform of state environmental control.

Successful environmental protection is only possible if there is effective state control. This requires the adoption of draft law No. 3091 in the second reading and the implementation of the reform, the main elements of which have been repeatedly stated from various high places.

8.5 Integrated waste treatment.

The area of landfills where various types of waste are stored is equal to,

or even larger than, the area of nature reserves in Ukraine. The way out of this situation is to introduce integrated waste management, implement the already adopted Waste Treatment Strategy and the Waste Framework Law. It is also necessary to adopt specialised laws on certain types of waste, in particular, the Law on MSW (municipal solid waste) with the principle of Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR) included in it.

8.6 Ukraine as a strategic partner in the extraction and processing of critical minerals.

Ukraine is one of the richest European countries in terms of rare earth elements, as well as titanium and lithium. The development of civilisation makes it necessary to develop the extraction of these elements. We must do everything to minimise the environmental impact of this. This requires better regulation of foreign investment and transactions related to the critical minerals sector, successful completion of judicial, anti-corruption and environmental control reforms. The extraction and processing of critical minerals should not harm climate stability, water availability, or the integrity of ecosystems. The creation of a base in Ukraine to provide new technologies through the development of critical minerals and the creation of industries based on them should take into account Ukraine's existing role as a guarantor of food security and climate stability

8.7. Preservation of wildlife and ecosystems.

Despite large-scale industrialisation, aggressive agriculture, urbanisation, and decades of aggression by russia, Ukraine is still rich in wildlife, valuable and important ecosystems, and serves as an ecological stabiliser for the region, Europe, and the entire planet.

We must not only preserve this nature and these ecosystems, but also restore what is still possible to restore. In particular, we should be guided by the EU Nature Restoration Act adopted by the European Parliament on 27 February 2024. It aims to restore at least 20% of the EU's land and marine areas by 2030, and all ecosystems in need of restoration by 2050.

Україна
на міжнародній
арені

International politics is a broadcast of the strength of our state, country, economy, army, and people to the outside world. The stronger we are internally, the stronger the international dimension can be. Conversely, internal weakness invites enemies to take advantage of our weakness.

For thousands of years, the territory of Ukraine has been a place that has shaped the future of Europe – from Trypillian civilisation to the exhaustion of the Mongol Empire's forces, the stopping of the Ottoman Empire's advance, and the battlefields of World War I and World War II. Every time our land became part of the forces of evil, Europe was in mortal danger.

From the very beginning of Ukraine's independence in 1991, we have been at the crossroads of the world's power flows. Our renunciation of nuclear weapons laid both the foundation of goodwill for a future secure world and the basis for russian aggression – and the threat of nuclear war for the entire world through the deliberately weak Budapest Memorandum. Illegal weapons sold after the collapse of the USSR, including by representatives

of the Ukrainian government, have caused destabilisation in Africa. Capabilities purchased from Ukraine (often through corruption) have become the basis of China's aircraft carrier, Arctic and space (including lunar) capabilities.

This interdependence has become even more pronounced since russia's hybrid and energy aggression against Ukraine in the 1990s and 2000s, its armed attack on Ukraine in 2014, and especially since the second phase of this war began in 2022. Our country has become a laboratory of 21st century warfare and is more than 80% dependent on international assistance.

Today, the fate of Ukraine will determine the fate of russia, and with it, the fate of China, the whole of Asia and the whole world. Ukraine's victory is the basis for the further victory of the free world, from Taiwan to Myanmar, Venezuela, Georgia and Belarus.

9.1 Establishing Ukraine as an entity

International law:

- Reforms of multilateral formats (UN, OSCE, ICRC, etc.) on issues of aggression of one state against another

- Issues of military aggression by one state against another, as well as hybrid and energy aggression.

- food security

- Describing and countering new types of genocide and countering them,

- prosecution and punishment of war criminals

- deep social transformations, similar to denazification, with awareness, responsibility, repentance and reconciliation

The international economy:

- Food security of the world

- MIC

- Cybersecurity and digital solutions

- Nuclear energy and nuclear safety

International security:

- Latest military experience and technologies
- Peacekeeping
- NATO Expeditionary Force

9.2 Developing strategic partnerships with democratic countries. Regional leadership

- Participation in creating security in the Black Sea and Baltic regions
- projection of Ukrainian leadership to the Caucasus and the Balkans, and the Danube region
- Formation of the Baltic-Black Sea axis with the key participation of Ukraine, Poland and Lithuania

9.3 Integration into the European Union and NATO.

- Synchronisation of external (compliance with norms) and internal (culture change, implementation of strategies and practices) changes
- Establishing clear conditions, terms and procedures for Ukraine's accession to the EU and NATO
- Preventing abuse and pressure in the integration process by EU and NATO member states in the framework of negotiations: Ukraine has been destroyed as a result of aggression, so pressure on the victim is an opportunistic use of russia's aggressive actions

9.4 Ukraine is protected within the international security system.

- NATO nuclear shield over Ukraine and denuclearisation of the aggressor
- A buffer zone to prevent unexpected and direct aggression
- disarmament of the aggressor and arming Ukraine for deterrence
- peacekeeping, humanitarian and stabilisation military missions on the territory of the aggressor country to maintain order and prevent the recurrence of aggression

9.5. Diaspora as a factor in international politics

- Constant circulation between the motherland and places of settlement: to leave to return

- Global Ukraine as dialogue, trade, security alliances and cultural expansion

- Building and maintaining partnerships and international alliances with the help of diaspora representatives in political and economic elites
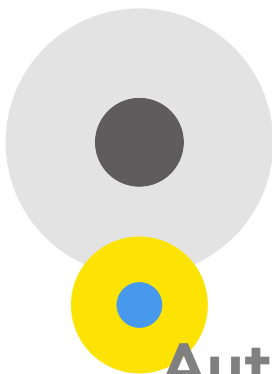
9.6. New frontiers

- Ukraine as a leading Arctic, Antarctic and oceanic state: from research to resource extraction

- Space capabilities: partnerships to gain a share in outer space

Expected achievements

Implementation of the public Programme of State Policy of Ukraine: 'From Citizen Resilience to the State of Gratitude' based on the guidelines set by the Manifesto and relevant policies developed by various public institutions. It includes both existing policies and those that will be developed based on the guidelines on which there is public consensus.

Social change, embodied in the recognition of the role of everyone, increased trust and motivation of society members, joint action and unity as opposed to discord.

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