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for comments and remark

Ukraine After The Victory

Imagining Ukraine in 2030

When in late March 2022 the Ukrainians finally formed the belief in the possibility and inevitability of our victory over the Moscow aggressor, the Ukraine After The Victory public coalition emerged. We, all those who helped create this document, are convinced that Ukraine's success requires not only the strength and courage of the Armed Forces, not only the support and assistance of the world community, but also the unanimity of Ukrainian society in the ways they imagine Ukraine after the victory. After all, victory is not only about liberating the occupied territories, but also creating conditions and standards that will allow us to live comfortably and safely in our country.

Therefore, we decided to start with a rather concise formulation of our achievement dreams in each public policy sector by 2030 (40 years after regaining Ukraine's independence), as well as a brief description of what needs to be done and what can not be done at all. Accordingly, we created the document named Imagining Ukraine in 2030 that was worked over by several dozen well-known scientists and public experts.

After holding a broad public discussion of this document and coordinating the comments and suggestions, we will take the next step. Based on this publicly agreed vision, we will all together write policy documents, involving a wider range of independent experts and public members. They will contain clear proposals on how to make our common dreams come true, which will be offered to the authorities of Ukraine and our country's partners in its reconstruction after the victory.

Kyiv Lviv * June 2022

Introduction

For Ukraine's military victory over Russia to be final, Ukraine must become a capable, highly competitive, and integral, integrated part of the developed world. Whatever the future of today's Russian Federation territory, Ukraine must be sufficiently protected and strong enough to plan its future without looking back at yesterday's metropolitan country. The following historical circumstances place substantial requirements on the Ukrainian society and the Ukrainian state: the society should take on more responsibility and delegate the authorities to the state more confidently; the latter should become more capable to serve the country's needs.

This, in turn, means the need to adopt as inviolable several framework conditions Ukraine must meet after the victory:

- a representative democracy with a competitive political process and the variability of ruling coalitions as a result of free elections;
- a free market economy where the state regulation is applied only if and when the markets cannot manage the situation;
- the principles of the rule of law are observed, first and foremost in the legislative and judicial authorities, as well as the principles of proper governance in the executive authorities;
- a country of legally capable and responsible citizens with protected fundamental rights, regardless of their belonging to groups or strata, majorities or minorities according to any relevant criteria;
- space for strengthening, development, and dissemination of Ukrainian, Crimean Tatar and other autochthonous cultures, as well as the present diversity of various cultures and identities.

The new social compact provides for the citizens' acceptance of full responsibility for their state and the construction of their own well-being, the citizens' recognition of the state as their own service tool of the society, deconstruction of the authoritarian and totalitarian capacities of the state and acceptance of the citizens' legal subjectivity and capacity by the political sector. This is the end of the Soviet paternalistic social compact where a passive society looks warily at the state from which it expects social care according to low standards.

Such Ukraine is a reliable guarantee of security and freedom for any future generation of Ukrainians, a source of confidence that the terrible pages of history with genocides, famine, deportations, oppression of culture and identities, violations of rights and systemic discrimination have been turned forever.

This document outlines the vision of Ukraine's development on the horizon of one generation. It has been designed to become a guide for the Ukrainian society itself, as well as any Ukrainian government and international partners Ukraine will cooperate with.

Section 1.
Society and Humanitarian Policy

1. Society and Humanitarian Policy: Values

Our vision of the post-war development of the society and the humanitarian policy formation and implementation derives from our understanding of the Ukrainian citizen's fundamental values. These are the values that have become the basic guidelines for us amidst the epic events of the years of independence, on the revolutionary maidans and in the crucible of the Patriotic War with the Russian Federation, in defending our national identity in view of the future membership in the multinational EU. These are the values that should guide the implementation of humanitarian policy in Ukraine in all its ramified areas, in which the state and government are capable of creating the best social conditions and the necessary institutions for the formation and development of a person and a citizen.

We proceed from the fact that the consequences of the war ultimately confirm the fundamental role of civil society in Ukraine, which has demonstrated the ability to self-organise in the most convincing and effective forms. From now on, no political power will be able to ignore the self-organised civil society which creates a living framework of Ukraine, connecting the formal state institutions with the citizens' dedicated energy.

Today, there opens a unique way to overcoming the historical problem of Ukraine and other democratic societies — the gap between "we" (society) and "they" (state, politicians, elites). The role of the connecting link, which creates a sense of belonging to the common cause (*res publica*) in the society, is performed by self-organised civil society.

Our vision identifies two groups of core values on which the reconstruction of the new post-war Ukraine will be based.

First, these are universal democratic values: the values of fundamental human rights, human dignity, recognition of the inviolability of property rights and market freedoms, together with fostering civic equality, social justice, interethnic, religious, and gender tolerance. Ukraine's final determination to belong to the European world is our existential choice of general values coinciding with those that are the common basis of the socio-political organisation of modern democracies. The liberation war of Ukraine against the aggression of the authoritarian dictatorial Russian Federation is a struggle for the right of the Ukrainian nation to live by its own choice in accordance with these democratic values.

Second, these are the values of collective, national identity. Our struggle is not for life, but for death for the preservation of the values of collective, national identity — our common history and culture, our common form of life — against the forcible destruction under the imperial "spiritual staples" of the RF, as claimed by Putin. Our unconditional belief in victory over the aggressor and today's military successes are based, above all, **on the values of identity — patriotism, great heroism of military and civilian population, and social solidarity.**

The interaction and clash of these two groups of values are at the heart of political life in the organisation of modern societies. The nature of the society's political organisation depends on the predominance or dominance of one of these two value orientations — from liberal democratic to authoritarian type of government, from a form of national democracy to countries of radical nationalism transformed into aggressive Nazism, which we see in a clear example of the recent history of Putin's Russia.

The dilemma of finding an adequate approach in targeting both value groups should be decisive in the social and humanitarian policy of the new Ukraine.

Due to the geopolitical location of Ukraine, the military threat of imperial interference in our domestic politics and life remains for a historically indefinite period even if the war ends successfully in our favour. As the whole democratic world clearly understands today (and this is the basis of its partnership assistance with armaments and the deployment of economic sanctions against Russia), this is the national war of Ukraine for the global (supranational) values of democracy in general. Today and for a long time, Ukraine's struggle for its national survival is becoming the frontier of the struggle of the global democracy against autocratic and dictatorial regimes.

As a frontier of democracy, Ukraine will need to simultaneously combine liberal and democratic policy with centralised administration, which determines the constant readiness to ensure military repulse and prevent aggressive actions of the potential external aggressor — Russia. To guarantee its own and international security, Ukraine must persistently strengthen the worldview principles of its own national and cultural identity, on which the socio-political, legal unity of the nation as a necessary humanitarian precondition for the state of defence depends.

Methodological guidelines: At the level of formation and implementation of the government policy, this means the creation based on the application of universal values of the most democratic — transparent, open and accountable to the public — state institutions, agencies and establishments together with giving preference to and promotion in the humanitarian sphere of the national value orientations.

That is, in each of the areas below, we must follow the guidelines for combining democratic norms and principles with some preference for the national value orientations — from the vision of the development of demographic and migration policy to policies in the fields of education, health, environment.

2. National Identity

2.1. National memory policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

The national memory has become a platform that unites the Ukrainian society. The memory policy is built on the principles of interethnic, religious, gender tolerance, etc.

The process of decommunisation of public and state life has been completed, the course towards the "sovereignisation of the national memory" has been implemented. The strategies of deep de-Russification and decolonisation are being implemented not in a negative form ("Get away from Moscow!"), but in a positive form ("Return everything Ukrainian to Ukraine").

The backbone of the policy of national memory is the struggle against the armed aggression of the RF as well as the attempted genocide of the Ukrainian people. Reinterpretation of other historical events organically builds around this topic.

The policy of memory is implemented in the educational process (historical education), museum and memorial practice. The corresponding commemoration locations are arranged in each regional territorial community. Preference is given not to gigantomania, but to creative, laconic and deeply psychological formats of embodiment, with an emphasis on humanistic values.

A broad public consensus has been formed on the basic principles of the common past. The themes of the national memory are not the subject of political discussions and policy documents of political forces.

Sociological surveys on ideological markers of Ukrainian citizens conducted in the spring of 2022 serve as benchmarks for quantitative indicators[1].

The Ukrainian Institute of National Memory plays not so much a program, but a coordinating role between the state, the civil society, and scientific and educational institutions. The UINM is "the first among equals" in defining the strategy and ways to implement it, drawing on alliances of civil society institutions that represent the existential experience of the war of millions of Ukrainian citizens.

Problematic, controversial issues in the field of historical memory with the neighbouring countries, at least those located in the west and south of Ukraine, have been resolved. New concepts of common historical memory have been formed, in particular, the Ukrainian-British, Ukrainian-American ones, etc.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Legislative support. The national memory of the war of 2012–2022 becomes an organic and obligatory element of Ukraine's post-war reconstruction program, a kind of "Marshall Plan" for the humanitarian sphere. A set of legal acts on the "sovereignisation" of the national memory has been adopted. The Strategy of Humanitarian Development of Ukraine has been developed and is being implemented as state target programs.

Institutional support. A special Fund for the Support of National Memory has been set up to finance the relevant public sector initiatives. A research infrastructure has been created to document and comprehensively study the events of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the genocide of the Ukrainian people in 2014–2022.

International activity. Consolidation of the image of the new Ukraine, modernised to the necessary extent in the hearth of the war. The informational and intellectual presence of Ukrainian topics in the international information space is provided.

[1] For example (based on the tenth nationwide survey of the Rating sociological group of 27 April 2022): 87% of respondents do not regret the collapse of the USSR, 77% believe that Ukrainian soldiers defend the people of Ukraine and the peoples of Europe, 89% consider the actions of Russian troops in Ukraine genocide of the Ukrainian people, etc.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- The destructive discussions about which political forces, social, ethnolinguistic or regional strata have contributed the most to the fight against the Russian aggression are unacceptable. There is only one winner, and it's the people of Ukraine.
- We cannot tolerate any forms of specific "sovstalgia" or "rustalgia", and, most importantly, any erosion in the public consciousness and the political elites of key and fundamental markers: "Russia is an aggressor", "Russia's actions in Ukraine are genocide", etc.
- The area of national memory should not be funded on a residual basis, even under the difficult conditions of post-war reconstruction.

2.2. Language Policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Competent fluency in Ukrainian (use of the language in accordance with the requirements of Ukrainian spelling and other standards) is perceived by most citizens as an integral feature of education and civic consciousness of a person, regardless of their origin and position.

95% of information broadcasting (television, radio, Internet) is in Ukrainian. 95% of publishing products are published in the state language. The state language policy is aimed at achieving three goals:

- 95% of the country's adult population speak Ukrainian at a high level of competence (C1/C2).
- 75% of the country's adult population speak English at levels (B2/C1).
- 25% of the country's adult population speak two or more foreign languages at least at B2 level.

Apart from that, the Government deals with overcoming the consequences of the Russian occupation in separate districts of Donetsk, Luhansk regions and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. On these territories, after the release, the terms and conditions of the transition period are determined, for the citizens to gradually and voluntarily switch to the Ukrainian language of communication in the public sphere, as well as get the opportunities for free use/study of the Russian language in the private sphere. The government pays special attention to:

- preparation of measures to ensure the inclusion of Ukrainian in the list of official languages of the European Union;
- supporting Ukrainian dialects and subdialects, preserving the memory of outdated vocabulary and lost dialects and subdialects;
- development and support of the Ukrainian language among vulnerable groups and people with special needs; in particular, the adopted decisions have ensured the free use of the Ukrainian sign language in the community of sign language speakers, as well as convenience and accessibility to the use of Ukrainian for people with visual impairments;
- support for the languages of the peoples defined by the law as the indigenous peoples of Ukraine.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

The language policy planning and language situation assessment should be based on all-Ukrainian census data. A separate section of the census should be devoted to the citizens' language identification and language needs.

The language situation will largely depend on the effectiveness of the reform of the education system and the retention of researchers working on the development of methods of teaching Ukrainian, foreign languages, and engaged in research in the field of linguistics, including in collaboration with foreign universities.

Amendments to the law on ensuring the functioning of Ukrainian as the state language and the law on television and radio broadcasting should provide for the following:

- Setting the daily and weekly volume of television and radio broadcasting in Ukrainian at the level of 95%. For TV and radio organisations broadcasting in the languages of indigenous peoples, this volume should be at the level of 50%.
- Establishing a mandatory level of state and local budget costs to support the Ukrainian language.
- Introduction of mandatory increase of language competence for the citizens of Ukraine employed in the public sector (public authorities and local governments, institutions, organisations and enterprises funded by state and local budgets), senior and middle management positions in the private sector.
- Introduction of mandatory language exams for candidates for leadership positions in public authorities and local governments, candidates for elected positions.

Adopting a law on overcoming the consequences of Russia's colonial policy (Russification) on the territory of Ukraine, which would provide for:

- Identification of social (ethnic, confessional) groups that have been oppressed, persecuted and threatened with the loss or erosion of collective identity as a result of state policy (Russification) by Russia from the end of the 18th century to 1991.
- Establishing proportional quotas of state support for the cultural and linguistic needs of different groups to overcome the consequences of Russia's colonial policy.
- Determining the sources to cover the costs for overcoming the consequences of Russification, in particular, at the expense of the RF, as well as legal entities and individuals related to the RF who were arrested after 24 February 2022.

The government shall ensure:

- Adoption, implementation and periodic content updating of the state program to promote the acquisition of the state language in compliance with all the statutory requirements to the program.
- Adequate support for the work of the National Commission on State Language Standards and conducting state language proficiency exams.
- Planning, implementation and control over the effectiveness of the costs use for the organisation of free Ukrainian language courses for adults.
- Creating conditions for transparent, independent and effective work of the Commissioner for the Protection of the State Language, in particular for monitoring compliance with language legislation, especially in the work of the media, educational institutions, and the service sector.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Revising or abolishing the law on the functioning of Ukrainian as the state language, including by amending or adopting other laws.
- Promoting the resumption of any public or international initiatives aimed at preserving the aftermath of Russia's colonial policy.
- Ignoring the exclusion of the entire population groups, communities or territories from the language environment of the country, including as a result of the actions of foreign states uncoordinated with the Ukrainian government.

2.3. Policy in the area of state-church relations

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

State-church relations:

- arm's-length relations and minimisation of the interference of officials, deputies of all levels and political lobbyists in resolving church issues (levelling lobbying in the allocation of funds or land plots, transfer/lease of real estate, etc.);
- a moratorium on the establishment of new religious holidays by the state;
- full transfer of disputes between state/communal and religious institutions, as well as between different churches or religious denominations, to the courts;
- unification and regulation of agreements on cooperation between state/communal and religious institutions; abolition of the practice of giving state awards to clergymen;
- cooperation (co-financing) and maximum tolerating of the religious institutions' social projects (care for the sick; rehabilitation of alcohol and drug addicts; assistance to orphanages, etc.) by the state structures.

Settlement of financial activities of churches and religious organisations:

- anti-money laundering safeguards;
- control over the receipt of material means of non-religious purpose;
- responsibility (deprivation of the "religious" status) for the dissemination of political narratives in the press, sermons, church media, for the political activity and lobbying of political structures.

Establishing effective protection of the Ukrainian believers' interests abroad.

Inter-church relations: maximum self-organisation at the level of inter-church and inter-confessional councils; implementation of inter-confessional social or humanitarian projects.

State protection of religious education and enlightenment in educational institutions of all forms of ownership: teaching religious studies courses in higher education institutions; electives in high school.

Minimisation of the activity and influence of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine, its reduction to an exarchate or a foreign metropolia.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Elimination of the rudiment of totalitarianism — a state body for religious issues and its reformatting into an apparatus of ombudsman for freedom of conscience (the functionality resource of a separate state body has been exhausted, the public demand for its existence and trust in it are lost).

Transfer of functions of the development/implementation of the global issues of the state-church relations strategy to the profile department within the structure of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

Transfer of functions of religious institution registration to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine.

Regulation on the legislative level of: chaplaincy (military, medical and other types); ensuring the right of healthcare professionals to refuse to participate in abortion for reasons of conscience; strengthening the responsibility of clergy for the preservation of cultural monuments and cult objects provided for use.

Continuous monitoring of possible lobbying by government officials or utility service providers of the interests of individual religious organisations and counteraction to these attempts.

Preventing the representatives of churches or religious organisations from avoiding punishment for violating the current legislation due to their belonging to a church.

Depoliticisation of the structures of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine, a ban on the proclamation of the stavropegias of Ukrainian laurels/monasteries, providing the population with objective information about this church.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Neglecting the issues of national security and anti-state activities of clergy and activists of near-church public organisations. The use of religion as a hybrid weapon.
- Threat to the physical or mental health of Ukrainian citizens from the religious institutions
- Use of religious organisations by government agencies or political structures for political purposes.
- Use of Ukrainian religious institutions by foreign religious (political, economic) centres in achieving their geopolitical or economic goals.

2.4. Cultural Policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Culture is seen by the authorities, government agencies, and the citizens as an important factor in social development. The cultural sector receives sustainable funding (1–2% of GDP) to provide key areas. Cultural product is available: the residents of all regions of Ukraine have sufficient access to various forms of cultural life: from purely amateur to experimental art scene.

More powers have been given to the State Agency of Ukraine for Arts and Art Education as an agency engaged in the implementation of policies, in particular in terms of elaboration of efficiency parameters of the activity of state cultural institutions and state enterprises in the cultural field. A flexible model of financing state establishments and cultural institutions has been created

and tested, in particular through own business activities, private and international charity. Favourable conditions have been created for the development of creative industries, in particular the introduction of tax benefits.

There are specialised institutions with grant-making functions in the cultural field under the Ministry of Culture (Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, Ukrainian Book Institute, Ukrainian State Film Agency), national museums and theatres. The activities of institutions responsible for promoting Ukraine's image abroad (Ukrainian Institute under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) have been strengthened, and branches of the Ukrainian Institute have been opened in several countries.

Cultural life is based on the principle of freedom of speech and self-expression, so all institutions and individual actors are free to choose topics and ways of expression for their activities. Restrictions on freedom of expression are debated in professional communities and enshrined through professional consensus on a bottom-up basis, rather than established as government regulations.

Ukrainian culture is integrated into international cultural life, its voice is noticeable, its proposals are ambitious, and its actors are capable of international leadership, thus occupying important positions in UNESCO, ICOM, CIMAM, PEN, etc.

The first stage of the art education reform has been carried out, its essence has been brought in line with the needs of the market; art education is an important component in primary and secondary education.

Ukrainian cultural heritage is properly preserved and protected; it is an important basis for debate on the current issues. The restoration of heritage sites damaged by the war has been carried out, a register and a monitoring system for heritage sites have been established. The Great Restoration program has been relaunched, with a comprehensive approach taking into account the development needs of local communities, the potential of creative industries.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

- Freedom of functioning of the state and non-state cultural institutions. Administrative freedom at the level of the institutions themselves is balanced by supervisory boards with broad powers, with the formation open to the public space.
- Public sector institutions have the right to independently form personnel and salary policies, repertoire policy, program policy, training policy, etc. Accordingly, amendments have been made to the Budget Code, statutes and regulations of public administration; the list of legal forms of institutions has been expanded; the approach to qualification requirements and the principle of remuneration based on wage scale has been revised, and so on. Commercial activity is allowed, for which amendments have been introduced to the Tax and Commercial Codes of Ukraine.
- Virtuous functioning of national and local cultural institutions as donors. Non-governmental institutions have been strengthened by providing them with access to public funding for institutional rather than just project activities. Access is provided on a competitive basis via the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, local cultural foundations and other similar national and local grant-making institutions. Sufficient and sustainable funding for cultural institutions of various forms of ownership has been introduced, with a focus on the medium-term funding cycle (minimum 3 years).

- Elimination of identified errors and distortions in the activities, further institutional strengthening and, if necessary, reboot of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, the Ukrainian Book Institute, the Ukrainian Institute, the Ukrainian State Film Agency on the principles of transparency and political non-interference through the adoption of the relevant law. A political mechanism for recalling supervisory bodies in case of compromising such bodies has been formed (petitions, general assemblies, etc.).
- State programs for creative business development (book publishing, design, architecture, video games, etc.). The program of library purchases of books continues; the program of small and medium crediting of creative business has been developed; the national forums promoting the industry development are supported (Book Arsenal, Book Forum, Ukrainian Fashion Week, etc.); facilitating and financial support for the promotion of Ukrainian creative business abroad is provided; tax pressure on the employer in this area has been reduced, etc.
- Social guarantees for self-employed actors in the cultural field: artists, writers, musicians, etc. Norms on guaranteed remuneration (fees) have been introduced, with the involvement of institutions of all forms of ownership in program activities. The issue of copyright and royalty payments has been settled. The principles of pension provision formation have been revised taking into account the peculiarities of self-employed non-entrepreneurial activity.
- Reconstruction/restoration of destroyed infrastructure and heritage, as well as outdated or hazardous cultural infrastructure (buildings, parks, urban environments, etc.). The existing and damaged infrastructure has been analysed; it has been determined which elements are subject to restoration and require development, and which have become obsolete and lost their relevance. In cooperation with the Ministry for Communities and Territories Development of Ukraine, the Ministry of Infrastructure and local communities, a permanent program for the reconstruction, restoration and development of cultural infrastructure has been introduced.
- Creation of a performance indicator system of state cultural institutions and enterprises, refusal to finance "unions of cultural figures".
- Development and adoption of a law on patronage.
- Reform of cultural services provision in the regions: launch of pilot projects of complex centres for the provision of cultural services.
- Resumption of the art education reform as the one that meets the needs of the market of cultural services and creative industries.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

It is prohibited to:

- Deny humanistic values in the society traumatised by the war.
- Strengthen the state regulation of the cultural sphere, in particular the work of its institutions.
- Reduce the amount of government funding.
- Weaken the participation of civil society in governance or dialogue on the issues addressed by the cultural sphere.
- Upset the balance between the need to mobilise culture to oppose the Russian propaganda and the assertion of national identity, and, on the other hand, the non-interference in the artistic expression of cultural actors.
- Support actors and organisations that have advocated aggression.

- Establish censorship restrictions or requirements on the narratives or repertoire of issues that may or may not be raised (instead, it is required to rely on the ability of the intellectual community to respond independently to the trends threatening Ukrainian sovereignty).
- Allow political interference in the activities of grant organisations — primarily, the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation and the Ukrainian State Film Agency.
- Destroy the active dialogue with the civil society and the artistic community as well as the mechanisms of grant support for culture.

2.5. Gender Policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Ukraine has acceded to the major international instruments on ensuring equal rights and opportunities for women and men: the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; the Beijing Declaration on the Status of Women and the Platform for Action (1995); UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and nine additional UN Security Council resolutions on "Women, Peace and Security"; Sustainable Development Goals and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Gender equality is guaranteed by the Constitution of Ukraine and the legislation which is the basis for building sustainable institutional support for gender equality; parity involvement of women and men in various spheres of public life — family, politics, security and defence, etc.; considering the needs of various categories of the population (women and men of different ages, marital status, regions of origin, health status, sexual orientation and gender identity, religious beliefs, etc.); combating gender stereotypes and gender-based violence; dissemination of educational activities and culture of gender equality.

The international community is constantly monitoring the status of equal rights and opportunities. The Global Gender Gap Report, prepared by the World Economic Forum, measures the gender gap in four important areas of inequality between men and women: economic participation, education level, political representation and health. For the determination of the measurement of Ukraine's progress in 2030, the basic quantitative indicator of the state of gender policy implementation is the 2021 indicators: Ukraine ranked 74th out of 156 countries under research. In Ukraine, the worst situation is with the political component (especially women's participation in the decision-making process) — 97th place.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

To affirm the values of gender equality in the society as a whole and in various institutions through the implementation of a gender approach in all spheres of public life. Gender policy takes into account the specific needs of people with disabilities, young people, the elderly, the LGBT community, ethnic minorities, i.e. different categories of the population that may be vulnerable or unprotected on various grounds.

Priority areas of work:

Legislation. Improving the legal framework for gender equality and combating gender-based violence, in particular by bringing it into line with the provisions of the Council of Europe

Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) ratified by Ukraine.

Security and defence. The security and defence sphere must take into account the potential of women both in ensuring the country's defence capabilities and in the post-war reconstruction processes. Creating opportunities (at the level of education and the labour market) for greater involvement of women, combating gender discrimination and sexual harassment in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Political participation. Reducing the gender gap in the political participation of women and men. Introduction of an effective mechanism of gender quotas in political parties. Countering sexism in politics.

Enlightenment through educational institutions and the media aimed at changing the stereotypes about the distribution of roles of men and women in the society and the family, in particular the dissemination of legal awareness of citizens on gender discrimination for the ability to diagnose the manifestations of gender discrimination in family life (including cases of violence), at work and in the society.

Support and involvement of public organisations: NGOs, think tanks, and the expert community working on the issues of gender equality and women's empowerment.

The policy of gender-sensitive language, in particular feminine word forms, in accordance with modern Ukrainian spelling.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Returning to neo-traditionalism and supporting the instances of "moral panic" about the demographic crisis, "extinction of the nation", etc.
- Involvement in the gender policy formation of organisations and initiatives that are part of the so-called anti-gender movement, which uses the rhetoric of the struggle for "traditional values", against "homo-gay-dictatorship" and other ideas that are close to the "Russian world".
- Support for the initiatives aimed at restricting women's rights, such as the prohibition/criminalisation of abortions, etc.

3. Demographic and Migration Policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

In 2030, the population of Ukraine not only remains one of the oldest in Europe, but also continues to decrease due to the exhaustion of the demographic growth potential. In case of the "soft" development of events, the permanent population is about 35 million people, the "hard" option foresees 30 million people.

The average Ukrainian woman gives birth to 1.5–1.6 children in her lifetime (1.2 in 2020), which is obviously not enough even for simple reproduction. Rejuvenation of the age structure and, accordingly, the formation of preconditions for population growth is provided at a total fertility rate of 2.3. However, given, on the one hand, the European processes, in particular the fact that in no European country the total birth rate does not reach even 2.0, and, on the other hand, the high level of education and employment of Ukrainian women, there is no good reason to expect high fertility

rates. This, of course, does not mean ignoring pro-natalist policies, as appropriate measures are implemented in management practice, mainly in order to prevent poverty of families with children.

An increase in life expectancy has been achieved due to the reduction of mortality, especially premature mortality caused by the reasons that can be eliminated, and, in fact, this is the goal of both the society and the government. The reserves for reducing premature mortality of men are higher; due to their implementation, an increase in life expectancy from the current 66.4 to 72.6 years has been achieved (2022 indicator of Poland). Similarly, the average life expectancy at birth of women has increased from 76.2 to 80.8 years. However, the decrease in mortality causes deepening of the demographic ageing process and an increase in the share of the elderly in the total population, which, in turn, increases depopulation. In addition, the increase in life expectancy is a very inertial process, and it is unlikely that significant results could be achieved in the short term.

The natural decline of the country's population is offset — as is the case in developed countries — by migratory inflows, in part or in full. Migration processes are subject to regulation to the greatest extent, and they are most strongly reflected in the age structure and the population numbers. The maximum return of 3.2 million Ukrainian "refugees from the war" from abroad has become a critical component of Ukraine's post-war development strategy. Irreversible migration losses amounted to 600–700 thousand people.

Population growth, linked solely to the large-scale immigration, has inevitably created certain social problems, including the erosion of the ethnic and cultural composition of the society, which is particularly dangerous for the young political nation. That is why the state has developed clear priorities for the immigration policy, as the Ukrainian labour market needs to attract foreign workforce.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

The main conditions for reaching these indicators are the following:

- raising the living standards, including income, to 65–70% of Poland's level;
- formation and dissemination of the standards of the healthy way of life in the society;
- reduction of absolute poverty to 22–23%;
- overcoming socially unacceptable inequality in the society.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Unregulated migration processes, in particular unlimited attraction of immigrants from aggressor countries.
- Neglecting the standards of the healthy way of life, including proper labour protection, road safety, restrictions on bad habits.
- Lack of expansion of the developed infrastructure of preschool and out-of-school education, which will ensure the availability of appropriate services for all families, regardless of their place of residence.
- Conservation of too high (according to European standards) inequality and absolute poverty in the society, in particular among families with children.

4. Civil Society, Self-Organisation of Citizens, Interaction with the Authorities

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Civil society organisations (hereinafter referred to as CSOs) together with business associations, trade unions and associations of local self-government bodies are the main partners of public authorities in the development of state and municipal policy.

CSOs provide, at the request of the government and local governments, at least a third of the social services the citizens need.

Ukrainian civil society is open to the world and actively integrated into global humanitarian and civic networks and initiatives. Ukrainian public and charitable organisations are actively importing social technologies, financial resources, humanitarian aid, and personnel for social and humanitarian progress to Ukraine. Ukrainian CSOs are actively exporting Ukrainian practices for the development of democracy, civil society, anti-corruption, and overcoming humanitarian crises.

Most social groups and interest groups have formed their organisations, networks, representative offices and are actively promoting the interests of their groups in state and municipal policy.

Various sectors of civil society (human rights, volunteering, monitoring, think tanks, people with disabilities, cultural and artistic area, etc.) coordinate their efforts to maintain the overall framework of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

CSOs are the main business partner to address the social and humanitarian needs of the citizens. There are joint initiatives in the fields of education, health, environment protection, etc.

CSOs, together with schools and universities, have become the main carriers of civic education. Schoolchildren and students join the volunteering, activism, charity practices.

Civil society and the media continue to be the main public controllers of the government.

Civil society is a driver in the formation and implementation of the human rights agenda. CSOs together with the lawyers' community are the main providers of human rights services for the citizens.

CSOs and the human rights community exercise the function of civilian control over the security and intelligence agencies and the army.

CSOs are the main promoters of the introduction of culture and various practices of self-organisation of the citizens as well as public participation practices.

The organised civil society draws most of the resources for its development from local sources. The citizens of Ukraine have become the main donors to CSOs by deducting part of their income tax in favour of the specific public or charitable organisations.

A network of think tanks consisting of researchers and educators who analyse the policy and provide recommendations for addressing pressing local development issues has been established in the regions.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Introduce an opportunity for every citizen of Ukraine to use 2% of their income tax for supporting public or charitable organisations (interest rate mechanism).

Simplify the legal regulation of CSOs' economic activity abroad, simplify the operating procedures of foreign CSOs and volunteers in Ukraine.

Adopt the Law "On Public Consultations" and introduce clear procedures for involving stakeholders in government decisions, including open electronic consultations. Launch Vzaiemodiia ("Interaction") government portal containing a set of key electronic tools for interaction with citizens (citizens' appeals, requests for information, public consultations, electronic project contests for CSOs, electronic petitions, etc.).

Recommend local governments to adopt community charters and actively implement the tools for public participation of community residents.

Introduce the possibility of electronic registration of public and charitable organisations through Diia portal.

Adopt a new law "On Humanitarian Aid", which will implement the European model of automatic recognition of a defined list of goods as humanitarian aid.

Promote the development of social entrepreneurship, especially based on CSOs, through the tools of concessional lending, preferential rent of premises for CSOs, educational programs for social entrepreneurs, etc.

Publish the annual report of human rights organisations on the results of human rights observance monitoring in Ukraine, which is heard at the annual parliamentary hearings.

Introduce, at the level of the Tax Code, the taxation reduction for people receiving aid, the creation of tax incentives for businesses to donate more to charity.

Introduce a government grant for local governments for the purchase of compulsory social services, including from CSOs.

Distribute state financial support and funding from local budgets to CSOs exclusively through electronic project contest.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Authorities shall not use the tools of administrative and criminal prosecution of activists, public figures, human rights defenders, and journalists for political reasons.
- Authorities shall not ignore or delay investigations into criminal attacks on activists and public figures.
- Authorities shall refrain from using artificial intelligence technologies to introduce a system of total surveillance of citizens.
- Authorities shall refrain from unreasonably refusing public consultations and involving the society in government decision-making.
- Authorities shall refrain from unjustified restrictions on civil liberties (right to assembly, right to privacy, right to information, right to association, etc.) in wartime.

5. Media and Information Policy

How do you see Ukraine in 2030?

There are free, independent media of all types in Ukraine: television, radio stations, Internet, press. The Ukrainian media landscape is diverse: there are national, regional, and local media. These media meet the information needs of the country's residents of various ages, incomes, education, etc.

The level of trust of Ukrainians in the media in general is not lower than the average level of trust in important state and public institutions (the army, the church, volunteers, etc.).

Ukrainians consciously and responsibly treat the information consumption: the level of media literacy of the population is not less than 65%.

The public broadcaster is an important participant in the media market. According to the indicators of consumption of its content (TV viewing, radio listening, Internet views), it is included in the top 10 most popular media in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian media space is reliably protected from the excessive influence of Russia — both disinformation and cultural "soft power".

Ukraine is a full-fledged participant in the international media market: there is a system of international broadcasting in the five most common languages of the world, Ukrainian private media have bureau networks abroad, Ukrainian producers of audiovisual products are actively engaged in joint production with colleagues from the EU, USA, and Canada.

Ukrainian media legislation is harmonised with the EU media legislation.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

- Increase funding guarantees for the Public Broadcaster in full.
- Ensure the arrival of Western investors with an impeccable reputation in the Ukrainian media sphere.
- Ensure the effective operation of antitrust law in the media sphere.
- Prevent the impact of Russian funding on the media as well as individual journalists and bloggers.
- Develop media literacy programs for the population of all ages and levels of education, with special attention to the most vulnerable groups (those who live in small towns, have low incomes, etc.).
- Develop professional education of journalists and a wider range of employees involved in the media sphere. Integrate this education into the Western education, with affordable exchange programs and the opportunity for Ukrainian media people to develop their careers in the most successful and innovative media in the world.
- Develop and adhere to the systemic development of a sustainable international broadcasting system.
- Adapt Ukrainian media legislation to relevant European regulatory documents, such as the Audiovisual Media Services Directive, the Digital Services Act, etc.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- When drafting media legislation, it is inadmissible to create conditions for restricting the freedom of speech under the pretext of ensuring the national security interests.
- The state must not engage in propaganda within the country and/or concentrate it on its citizens.

6. Education

6.1. Secondary Education Policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

The Ukrainian society considers high-quality education to be one of the key elements of the successful development of the society as a whole and of each individual.

Ukrainian schoolchildren possess modern (relevant to the challenges of the time) knowledge, skills and competencies, are responsible citizens and members of the society, creative individuals, open to the world and competitive in the global dimension. Ukrainian schoolchildren have a solid value foundation allowing them to preserve and develop Ukrainian statehood. The task of the school is to help schoolchildren realise their potential properly, and not just to pass an exam or enter a university.

Schoolboys and schoolgirls are full-fledged subjects of the educational process. Teachers and the teaching profession are respected in the society. Development of trusting relations and partnerships between all participants in the educational process.

Policy in school education is based on the following principles:

Changes in the field are systemic, consistent, and well-structured. The longevity of reforms is ensured given the conservatism and inertia of the sphere.

School education is funded at the level sufficient to achieve a higher quality of education than the OECD average.

With the coordinating role of the Government in relation to the general education standards, the power decentralisation policy continues. School education is managed by affluent communities with the capacity, resources, and clear authority to ensure a quality educational process.

Early development and preschool education are the key to successful further education. The state systematically invests in the preschool development of children.

Access to quality education does not differ dramatically between regions and socio-economic levels.

Wide autonomy of educational institutions in the organisation of the educational process, based on the capacity and responsibility of institutions for the results of educational achievements. Educational innovations are created in schools, not in the Ministry of Education and Science.

The content of education and expected learning outcomes are systematically reviewed to meet the demands of the times. Civic competences, in particular, are a cross-cutting line of education.

School principals and teachers are high-quality professionals who have received appropriate demanding training and are systematically working on their skills and qualifications.

School education provides an opportunity to make informed choices about further study and career.

The educational process and educational environment at school are as inclusive as possible and allow students with different educational needs to learn and develop successfully.

Ukraine participates in all key international studies of the quality of various school education elements (PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, etc.).

The following is fully excluded from the educational process:

- all forms of lack of integrity,

- bullying, discrimination, gender inequality,
- use of the Russian language,
- manifestations of disrespect for Ukrainian national and historical memory.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Stimulation of various forms of obtaining preschool education, raising the preschool education quality standards; changing the approach to preschool funding on a residual basis at the community level. Adoption of the new Law of Ukraine "On Preschool Education".

Continuation of the systematic implementation of the policy in the field of general secondary education "New Ukrainian School" (with the appropriate and adequate analysis and revision of policies over time):

- updating the educational standards at each school level, further demonopolisation of the teacher professional development system; fundamental change of the teacher certification system;
- development of a network of academic lyceums where students are provided with the opportunity to form an individual educational trajectory, to choose learning profiles.

Development of a network of scientific lyceums, in particular those with specialisation in natural sciences, physics and mathematics, including for the formation of the intellectual capacity of the state to develop its military-industrial complex.

Post-war reconstruction of institutions exclusively based on the perspective maps for each region, taking into account the demographic situation. Applying the "build back better" principle.

Moving away from the medical understanding of inclusive education. Increasing funding for education and support of children with special educational needs in comprehensive schools; training of a sufficient number of teachers.

Development of a system of educational measurements and assessment: investing in the modernisation of External Independent Testing and the extension of EIT to middle school; creation of monitoring tools for the education quality at the level of primary, middle, and senior schools. Maximum digitisation of each of these processes.

Decentralisation of the process of ordering and printing textbooks, elimination of annual corruption risks at the level of the Ministry of Education and Science. The simultaneous approval of a strict quality framework for textbooks, including taking into account the anti-discrimination examination.

Creating comprehensive systems for collecting and analysing the accurate data from the education system to make the appropriate decisions. Conducting a census.

Strengthening the institutional capacity of the Ministry of Education and Science and its subordinate institutions:

- further development of Ukrainian Centre for Education Quality Assessment as a reputable institution; increasing funding for the development of further tools for education quality monitoring,
- liquidation of the Institute of Education Content Modernisation as an institution that has completely discredited itself; development and strengthening of the Institute for Education Development,
- development of the State Service of Education Quality through its introduction of external and internal tools for ensuring the education quality locally: not inspections and checks, but assistance to schools in identifying and resolving their problems, as well as their development.

Stimulation of educational innovations, motivation of teachers and students through the creation of UCF in Education.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Fear of change due to the unpopular character of many solutions.
- Discrediting the reform due to the lack of further changes within NUS (after all, new classes should "enter" the reform every year, and those who are already studying at NUS should go further).
- Post-war cuts in school education funding.
- Strengthening state regulation through new forms of inspections, supervision, and control.
- Tolerating the Soviet-style worship of officials and superiors in the education system, regardless of their level of professionalism.
- Attempts to review the language policy in the educational process towards reducing teaching of Ukrainian and in Ukrainian.

6.2. Higher Education Policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Higher education institutions are an environment for the individual intellectual development, the study and explanation of the world around us, as well as drivers of innovation and the basis of economic growth in Ukraine and Eastern Europe in general.

Higher education institutions have clearly defined missions shared both by the communities within the institutions themselves and their external partners and communities. These missions actually determine the activities of the institutions, and the success of their achievement affects each institution's level of resource provision.

The academic community is dominated by the desire to achieve a quality result rather than formal compliance with the criteria; the principles of academic freedom, university autonomy, integrity and inclusiveness are decisive.

Higher education institutions are important platforms for professional dispute on important social issues, development of decisions and support for democratic processes in Ukraine.

Higher education institutions enjoy a high level of trust, which is confirmed by the results of public opinion polls, the level of funding from business and international partners, which is at least 15% of total funding for higher education in the country, and the number of foreign students, who make up at least 10% of the total number of students, out of which 5% are EU citizens.

Ukrainian higher education institutions are integrated into the European educational and research space. Every tenth institution ranks in the top 200 recognised world rankings. Most Master's and PhD degree programs are in English, many of them have been created in partnership with higher education institutions in the EU, USA, and Canada.

In the first years after graduation, graduates of higher education institutions receive on average at least one and a half times more income than persons of their age without higher education.

Military institutions of higher education in Ukraine have a special prestige and produce highly qualified elite officers for the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the armies of allied countries.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Introduce mandatory external testing of educational competencies (readiness and ability to obtain higher education of the appropriate level) when entering a higher education program.

Launch early vocational guidance before high school, in particular, identification of talents, clarification of the connection of certain disciplines with their actual application in professional life, levelling stereotypes, including gender, popularisation of STEM.

Cancel the admission benefits by replacing them with free correctional training and the subsequent participation in the general competition.

Increase the publicity and availability of data on the state of higher education in general and each higher education institution in particular, as well as ensure that entrants and their parents are informed about their prospects after graduation.

Increase the availability of soft loans for higher education, introduce income share agreements, increase the amount of social scholarships and their targeting according to the level of income. Introduce grants for free education and separate them from the system of state (regional) order.

Increase the flexibility of educational trajectories in higher education, facilitate the choice of speciality after admission during study, remove restrictions on the number of years of study, financially stimulate credit and degree academic mobility both in Ukraine and with Western higher education institutions, promote short cycle programs, promote mechanisms for recognising learning outcomes obtained through non-formal, informal education, professional experience.

Provide broad financial and administrative autonomy to state and municipal higher education institutions, including the ability to independently manage their own funds, property and form their own remuneration system with allowances and surcharges.

Open equal access to various sources of funding regardless of the type and form of ownership of higher education institutions, with the exception of military higher education.

Reduce the impact of student numbers on the amount of funding for higher education institutions; instead, increase the impact of educational and research activity results, fulfilment of the institution's mission, international activity (including mobility and involvement of Western teachers and researchers), and educational process digitalisation.

Increase the analytical and communication capacity of the Ministry of Education and Science and other bodies in the field of higher education; at the same time, reduce the scope of their control and licensing functions. Intensify public communication and clarification of changes in the system, development and dissemination of recommendations, and introduce training for managers of various levels. Leave strong control functions only in certain areas, in particular in the so-called "regulated specialities", where the main emphasis is to be placed on external final certification.

Attract long-term preferential (preferably non-refundable) international funding for infrastructure projects and financial incentives for the association of higher education institutions.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Procrastination in making unpopular decisions.
- Combination of incompatible tools (e.g. declarative autonomisation and simultaneous strengthening of regulatory requirements).

- Appointment of loyal protégés as heads of higher education institutions and employees of government apparatus.
- Any manifestations of tolerating lack of academic integrity.
- Reducing the requirements for entrants, students, and graduates.
- Excessive reducing of tuition fees compared to the cost of quality education.

6.3. State and regional policies in the area of secondary and higher education

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Regional self-government bodies establish and maintain educational institutions for the training on the basis of secondary education of specialists needed in public life — these are colleges and technical secondary schools.

Local self-government bodies of the communities establish and maintain primary and secondary schools, lyceums and vocational schools (the last three years of study), as well as gymnasiums, where students study from the first to the 12th grade. Secondary education generally has fewer permanent subjects (approximately 15), but due to the active work of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and pedagogical institutes, the methodology of teaching these subjects is changing very dynamically, adapting to the social changes we are experiencing. Teachers are actively updating the methodology, as this involves a regular increase in their salaries.

Secondary education finishes with the state final certification in the form of External Independent Testing in four compulsory subjects for all (Ukrainian, English, History and Geography, Mathematics and Mechanics) and one elective subject (Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Economics, Law, other foreign language). Based on the combination of these grades, higher education institutions conduct admission campaigns, and entrants with the highest scores receive vouchers for state funding of higher education.

There are fewer universities — 12 national universities and 8 technical (polytechnic) universities. But they have become larger, autonomous, and self-governing. Their maintenance and development are financed for each by a separate line in the State budget. In addition, they receive funding for student education and research, as well as charitable contributions and grants. They offer bachelor's, master's, and doctoral programs, and their academic councils confer the academic title of Doctor of Philosophy. Universities do not have a part-time form of education, an opportunity to obtain a second higher education under the shortened procedure, and other surrogate forms of education.

In addition to universities, about 100 state institutes train staff with higher education. These institutes are directed and coordinated by the relevant ministries in accordance with the law, as ministers are liable not only for the policy formation within their areas of responsibility, but also for the provision of personnel able to implement it. Accordingly, there are pedagogical, medical, legal, financial, military, environmental, agricultural, various technical, sports institutes, institutes of internal affairs, public administration, culture. They offer bachelor's and master's programs. Institutes do not confer academic degrees, but are engaged in retraining and advanced training of employees in their fields or specialities.

In general, the entire higher education system and each higher education institution in particular ensure the achievement of the following goals: development of an adult personality and a responsible citizen; training of specialists with deep knowledge and skills in their specialities; desire

and ability to conduct research and scientific activity; as well as education of the future elite of the nation.

In general, various forms of secondary education institutions provide:

- education of integrity, patriotism, civic responsibility;
- teaching the ability to learn, education of logical thinking and love for knowledge;
- gaining strong and deep knowledge of subjects that are necessary for everyone (for example, Ukrainian and English, history);
- introduction to the basics of various fields of knowledge, primarily in terms of professional orientation;
- aesthetic education, teaching understanding of beauty and love for various manifestations of culture, folk traditions, identification of talents and promotion of their development;
- gaining knowledge about a healthy lifestyle and cultivating love for physical culture and sports.

Communities are also responsible for providing the citizens with preschool children's institutions.

Teachers, lecturers and academicians in state and municipal educational and scientific institutions receive the salaries corresponding to the importance of their social roles (in the prices as of the beginning of 2022, their salaries average about UAH 30 to 75 thousand; of course, special individual achievements should make it possible to earn much more than the average).

In addition to state higher education institutions, regional and municipal educational institutions, there are numerous private ones created by individuals or corporations in accordance with the requirements of licensing legislation. All of them have the same rights and responsibilities, except for budget funding for maintenance and development.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

First of all, it is necessary to update the education legislation in accordance with the objectives set out herein.

The government shall identify 12 national universities and 8 technical (polytechnic) universities and strengthen their base by joining them with other state higher education institutions located in the same cities.

Ministries shall determine their needs to have institutes for training personnel for their areas of responsibility, decide on the state higher education institutions that could be the best choice as the basis for the establishment of such institutes, and the Cabinet of Ministers should make a decision on such a reorganisation.

The Ministry of Education and Science shall update the concept of the New Ukrainian School and actively implement it. Introduce the practice of raising teachers' salaries after they have defended the curricula and other documents in accordance with the updated methodology.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Unifying hundreds of higher education institutions under one status, declaring the autonomy of all of them, but in fact limiting their autonomy and managing them.
- Establishing university branches in other regions with their own universities.
- Making frequent changes in the list of school subjects.

- Introducing school exams in the subjects aimed at cultivating love for culture, and allowing some students not to take final exams in history or mathematics.
- Keeping the salaries of educators and researchers low/extremely low, forcing the best of them to emigrate to other areas of activity.

7. Healthcare policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

The post-war period until 2030 was not the time of rebuilding, but of building a European-style healthcare system (HS). The mainstay of the HS is the autonomous and professional National Health Service of Ukraine (NHSU).

Physicians and nurses enjoy economic and career freedom. The government does not perceive them as dependents, but as professionals who are free to exchange their qualifications and work for decent pay. Physicians have subjectivity, which means equal access to participation in various forms of economic relations between the HS participants: between the physician and the institution, between the physician and the patient, between the physician and the insurance company. Physicians, starting from the primary level of medical care, have the right to choose: to work under an employment contract, under a civil law contract or as self-employed persons, or to combine these options. At the same time, the physicians' rights, duties and capacity to be held liable in tort are made equal and reduced to one status, with the same clinical powers and responsibilities, regardless of their position. Equality of rights provides for an opportunity for professional realisation and competition, thus increasing the quality of medical industry.

The network of main hospitals has been radically modernised. The hospitals are compact, better equipped and ready to provide care around the clock according to the competitive standards in Europe. There are fewer hospitals in Ukraine, but the number of modern ones has grown.

Healthcare is equally accessible to the population to the maximum extent possible, regardless of the social capabilities of a particular individual, without the expenses catastrophic for his/her wealth. NHSU guarantees payment for basic medical services and medicines of proper quality in a modern network of primary care centres, hospitals, and pharmacies. At the primary level of HS, funding is in a mixed form, mainly on a capitated basis. At the level of hospital medicine, funding is based on the medical care provided. The citizens who would like to receive additional services and medicines or get more comfort in obtaining them can purchase certificates of voluntary health insurance in addition to the coverage provided by the NHSU. Patients have the opportunity and the right to formal economic relations with physicians, private medical institutions and insurance companies and can use them at their own discretion. Anyone who needs basic essential medicines can get them for free or for a small additional payment at pharmacies or while in hospital.

Every Ukrainian has the opportunity to solve 9 out of 10 health issues with their family physician near their home. At the nearest primary care centre, one can also get additional diagnostic services and consultations of particular specialists, referral to a narrow specialist or a prescription for medication.

Medical education has approached the international level. Studying in Ukraine has become attractive to students from other countries, and this is helping Ukraine to replenish the outflow of medical personnel.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

- Increase the autonomy of the NHSU, the Public Health Centre, the State Expert Centre and other technical agencies. Withdraw from the Ministry of Health the functions of direct operational management of the sphere and focus it on policy development in the field.
- Grant the physicians the right to practice medicine according to their specialisation indicated in the obtained certificate, which means the choice of civil law agreements with health care institutions, governmental and non-governmental organisations, patients.
- Grant the physicians the right to self-government (subjectivity) — the right that creates a system of self-government for physicians and nurses, transfers to it the relevant functions and powers that are currently performed by the Ministry of Health, in particular licensing, development of treatment standards, etc.; introduces individual licences for physicians and nurses; provides for changes in labour and sectoral legislation to create more opportunities for physician entrepreneurship and their work as freelancers.
- Create a unified register of healthcare professionals and a transparent continuous education system for healthcare professionals.
- Remove all structural and legal restrictions on the voluntary insurance market development.
- Gradually increase the budget of the health guarantee program (the package of medical services and medicines provided by the state) to 5% of GDP.
- As the first priority, provide full funding for basic essential medicines in pharmacies and during inpatient treatment.
- Direct foreign and domestic investment in approximately 150 main healthcare facilities of general profile and approximately 20 interregional and national hospitals. These facilities shall remain modern for the next 20–30 years.
- Actively involve the private sector in investments and the provision of services guaranteed by the NHSU. Eliminate legal inequality between public and private facilities.
- Establish hospital supervisory boards through which the public owner will be able to manage without excessive micromanagement.
- Integrate national and departmental hospitals, institutions of the National Academy of Medical Sciences into the network of guaranteed services provision under the auspices of the National Health Service.
- Switch to maintaining 100% of medical information in electronic form.
- Introduce individual licences for physicians and nurses. Amend the labour and industry legislation to create more opportunities for physician entrepreneurship and their work as freelancers.
- Transfer medical universities from the leadership of the Ministry of Health to the general system of higher education.
- Introduce international exams for healthcare professionals and, as a result, conduct a radical overhaul of curricula. Make English a second working language in medical universities.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Rebuilding the old hospital network under the slogans of post-war reconstruction.
- Limiting the autonomy of the National Health Service (as well as other technical agencies), increasing its dependence on political leadership.
- Limiting the autonomy of hospitals, strengthening control over their finances (returning to treasury accounts) and operations.
- Introducing centralisation and manual control in the system of medical services provision. Limiting the principle "money follow the patient/service".
- The right of a citizen to use a resource guaranteed by the state at his/her own discretion cannot be taken away. A citizen has the right to choose a healthcare provider.
- There should be no lobbying for preferential funding for medical services provided under the medical guarantees program in favour of any beneficiary, public or private.

8. Sports and Youth Policy

8.1. Sports Policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Ukrainians are a sporty and healthy nation; the country is dominated by "fashion" for a healthy lifestyle. 35% of our compatriots (now, 19%) are engaged in mass sports and physical culture.

In Ukraine of 2030, the sports infrastructure is well-developed: each regional centre has a 50-metre swimming pool, a stadium and a multi-sports palace. There are opportunities for sports in district centres, villages, near the house — for young people, the elderly and active people: many functional sports grounds, mini-stadiums, sports halls, complexes for physical exercises have been built.

The network of children and youth sports schools has been preserved and modernised; they are in every settlement with more than 20 thousand residents. A network of private clubs where one can do sports, including at the expense of the state (local self-government), has been built.

The European model of relations between the state and sports has been introduced, under which the autonomy of national sports federations has been increased, and the Ministry of Sports acts as a coordinator and formulates the sports policy; the "manual" budget allocation has been abolished.

The system of high performance sport has been improved. An effective anti-doping campaign is being implemented; within the country, the punishment for the use of doping is inevitable.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

- Adopt a new version of the Law of Ukraine "On Physical Culture and Sports".
- Adopt amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On Anti-Doping Control in Sports", agreed with the World Anti-Doping Agency.

- Adopt amendments to the legislation that would provide tax benefits to entrepreneurs for the construction of sports infrastructure, the activities of purely sports facilities and the financing of grassroots sports.
- Allow local self-governments to fund private sports clubs in order to reduce the prices for their services for community residents.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Sports must remain "clean", with no doping.
- The state cannot use sports in its domestic politics or elections.
- We must prevent Russia as an aggressor country from emerging from international sports isolation.

8.2. Youth Policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

In Ukraine of 2030, young people take an active civic position, the level of their involvement in active social life reaches the European average, 25%. Ukrainian youth is mobile, half of its representatives visit other regions of the country and the EU countries.

Young people establish and actively participate in the national and local initiatives. The country has an extensive network of youth centres as informal centres of activity, civic education, and national-patriotic upbringing.

Ukrainian young people have access to quality education, the opportunity to get a soft loan for housing; they play sports and they are guaranteed their first jobs. The state supports vulnerable groups of young people.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Introduce European norms and standards of youth policy, in particular, implement the European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life, the norms of the Law of Ukraine "On Basic Principles of Youth Policy".

Establish the National Council for Youth under the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. Create a network of youth councils as consultative and advisory bodies at local self-government bodies and local executive bodies.

Create a network of youth centres, continue the operation of the All-Ukrainian Youth Centre. Establish a National Quality Label for youth centres, such as, for instance, the European Quality Label.

Establish a Ukrainian Foundation for Youth Initiatives to support youth projects through state grants.

Adopt a Decree of the President of Ukraine establishing institutional grants to support the activities of youth NGOs.

Introduce a system of camps and trainings for young people, including for the organisation of their national and patriotic education.

Create a new system of awards of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for youth.

Actually implement the benefits for obtaining a youth loan for the purchase of housing, to restore the effective operation of the State Fund for the Promotion of Youth Housing Construction.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- No decisions about youth shall be made without participation of the youth.
- Changes in state policy and funding of youth issues on a residual basis must not be allowed.

9. Nature and environmental policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Post-war Ukraine is the Ukraine that adheres to modern standards of environmental justice, nature conservation and environmental quality as basic human rights to a safe environment for a long and meaningful life on the basis of sustainable (balanced) development:

- An adequate model of environmental policy in accordance with European standards and harmonisation of Ukrainian and European environmental legislation is followed.
- The program of recording, estimation and compensation of damage to the environment caused by war (including cross-border) is being implemented.
- The program of demining and safe disposal of products of military action and destruction is coming to an end; these include: ammunition; military equipment; construction waste, etc. (sector of "grey" environmental policy).
- The nature reserve fund of Ukraine and the national ecological network (sector of "green" environmental policy) are being restored.
- The economy is being modernised and developed taking into account environmental standards (environmentally balanced economic strategies and programs).
- Greening of education, academia, upbringing; communication and information is being carried out.
- Ukraine's ability to comply with its international obligations under the signed agreements and conventions and to implement a number of EU environmental strategies and programs is being restored (for example, meeting commitments under the Paris Agreement and achieving climate/carbon neutrality by 2050).
- Funds have been allocated and a program for the implementation of nature-protection and environmental programs (for the restoration and rehabilitation of the environment of Ukraine) is being put into practice.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

- Develop a methodology, criteria, and indicators for environmental restoration, (conditionally) dividing the "green" and "grey" environmental policies.
- Establish environmental criteria and indicators of economic recovery and growth, criteria for environmentally and socially responsible business, taking into account the structure and priorities of the postwar economy.

- Prepare requests for grant programs from international and European institutions and funds for the implementation of “green” and “grey” environmental policies.
- Develop and implement international programs and projects on a bilateral and multilateral basis (small alliance model) for particular regions (e.g. Black Sea region).
- Develop and implement programs for environmental management of cities and other settlements with consideration to the European experience, including solid domestic waste management (rule 4R, focus on reducing waste generation), priority development of public transport; maintaining the appropriate share of green areas, their naturalness, recreational potential, etc.
- Implement programs of lifelong environmental education, enlightenment, upbringing and communication at all levels.
- Monitoring and audit, prevention of corruption, effectiveness evaluation.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Opaque distribution of natural resources and lands, construction of coastal zones.
- Violation of nature protection/environmental legislation.
- Prevention of corruption and misuse of funds (national and international) for the implementation of environmental policies, programs, and projects.

Section 2.
Institutional Organisation of Public Authorities

1. Constitution, Form of Government, Referendums, Constitutional Court

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Ukraine continues to live by the 1996 Constitution, but numerous amendments have been introduced to it:

- the post-Soviet myths about human rights have been cleared, it has been supplemented with new recognised international acts in the field of human rights on equality, ecology, digital technologies, etc.,
- the mistakes and contradictions in the state power regulation have been corrected, the independence of the Government and its responsibility for shaping the country's development policy have been strengthened,
- the administrative-territorial system has been changed, the regulation of local self-government and the Crimean autonomy have been improved, the regional self-government has been introduced,
- selective clarifying improvements have been made in Sections I, III, XIII.

The form of government remains a mixed republic, but after the war of 2022, all the presidents strictly adhere to the constitutional limits of their powers as the head of state, reduced to the issues of external representation of the state, defence and security, awards, citizenship, and pardons. This is guaranteed, in addition to constitutional norms, by the legislative limitation of the number of the presidential staff to 100 people and the functioning of an independent Constitutional Court.

Citizens of Ukraine know and understand the basic principles of democracy and the rule of law, and demand from politicians their strict observance. The internationally recognised human rights are not only declared by law, but are strictly adhered to at all levels of social organisation.

Local referendums in the communities function reliably as an instrument of democracy. And an all-Ukrainian referendum can be held only in one of three cases:

- the cases determined by the Constitution — approval of amendments to the Constitution and approval of changes in the territory of Ukraine,
- on the people's initiative with a complicated procedure on the only one issue — the abolition of the adopted Law or part thereof,
- by a decision of the Parliament adopted on the proposal of the Government and with the consent of the President — a consultative referendum on the most important issues of social development *(Proposal: to keep the possibility to hold such referendums also on the people's initiative).*

The Constitutional Court consists of 15 judges appointed by the Parliament and the President on the proposal of a qualification commission, which independently develops the criteria for the formation of a fair and professional composition of judges. Being completely independent, the Constitutional Court acts as an actual guarantor of the Constitution and an arbiter between the highest bodies of state power.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Immediately after the victory, a political-scientific-public constitutional commission is formed; it prepares 4 bills on amendments to the Constitution. *(Proposal: prepares a new version of the Constitution).* They are widely discussed, finalised, approved by the Parliament and ratified by referendum, when provided by the Constitution.

The laws on the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (CMU) and central executive bodies (CEBs), on the all-Ukrainian referendum, on the Constitutional Court of Ukraine and all others are brought into line with the new provisions of the Constitution.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- The collapse of democracy and the attempt to establish an authoritarian regime of power, while anti-state activities must be defined by law and stopped legitimately, not by voluntaristic decisions.
- Transition to a presidential form of government (a parliamentary one is also not desirable, but if presidents do not learn to refrain from authoritarianism, then, in the long run, there will be no alternative to a parliamentary republic).
- Organising and carrying out constitutional changes "behind closed doors", under external pressure, contrary to the procedure defined by the Constitution itself.
- Use of all-Ukrainian referendums for manipulative adoption of illegitimate decisions.
- Narrowing the guarantees of observance of constitutional human rights.
- Liquidation or restriction of the powers of the Constitutional Court, appointing dishonest and unprofessional judges to it.

2. Legislative authorities – parties, elections, parliamentarism

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

There are all-national political parties in Ukraine, which differ from each other not only in the name of the leader or oligarch financing it, but first of all in the vision and principles of the country's development strategy; they actively discuss them with the society and consistently fight for their implementation, being represented in the Parliament and the Government. Each party has an authoritative, professional, and active shadow government, whose members become members of the Cabinet of Ministers when the party enters the parliamentary majority. In their activities, the parties rely on an extensive network of public organisations, institutions, and foundations. Citizens understand the importance of political parties for the life of the society, participate in them, actively support them, including by monetary contributions, in particular, due to the right to independently

determine the percentage of the tax amount which is sent to support a particular political party. The legislation guarantees intra-party democracy, transparency and state funding of the activity of parliamentary factions of political parties, as well as actual accountability of party finances.

In Ukraine, fair and democratic all-national, regional, and local elections take place. The legislation governing election administration meets international standards, is high quality and stable. Elections to the Parliament are held according to the proportional system in regional constituencies with preferences, and to community councils, according to the majority system in multi-mandate constituencies *(Proposal: the proportional system in large cities)*. In the elections of councils of regional level, these electoral systems are combined in a 50:50 ratio.

The Verkhovna Rada remains a unicameral parliament, which forms the Government and interacts effectively with it and the ministries in the legislative process, generating high-quality and far-sighted laws. The Government is responsible before, accountable to and controlled by the Parliament. Parliamentary control over the activities of executive bodies is exercised, first of all, by law enforcement agencies, the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and security and intelligence agencies. The parliamentary majority and the opposition mutually respect each other and interact when the issue of national interest is resolved.

The deputy mandate is free. Members of Parliament have a limited level of functional immunity, which makes them independent and protects them from arbitrary political persecution. Due to their selfless service to the interests of Ukraine and the triumph of justice, the people's deputies are ahead of the representatives of the Armed Forces, churches, and public organisations in the ratings of trust.

The right of legislative initiative belongs only to the Government, the President and factions or groups in Parliament.

The powerful analytical capacity of the parliamentary apparatus guarantees high-quality expertise at all stages of preparation, consideration and adoption of laws and other parliamentary decisions. At the same time, there is no Institute of the legislation within its structure or with it.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Following the constitutional reform described in the previous section, the Electoral Code has been improved, with the increased codification and democratic character of electoral procedures.

Parliamentary reform is being implemented based on the recommendations of the Pete Cox Commission. The main attention is paid to establishing effective interaction of parliamentary committees with the directorates of ministries, people's deputies with the members of the Government in the process of forming state policy and passing the laws (the legislative process "from beginning to end").

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Formation and activity of anti-Ukrainian political parties, whose program goals are aimed at violating the sovereignty or territorial integrity of Ukraine, undermining the national security.
- Return to the majority electoral system in the parliamentary elections, amending the electoral legislation for each election.
- Violation of the constitutional terms and conditions of parliamentary elections, arbitrary dissolution of Parliament.

- Weakening the role and place of the Parliament in the mechanism of checks and balances in favour of the President of Ukraine or executive bodies.
- Strengthening the imperative mandate, including the control of parliamentary faction leaders over people's deputies.
- Restriction of the rights of opposition factions in the Parliament.

3. Executive authorities — policy making, accountability, civil service

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

The government, politically derived from the parliamentary majority and formed by the Prime Minister, has full constitutional powers to formulate the country's development policy and ensure its implementation; it consistently adheres to the agreed strategy, but prevents new challenges and threats.

14–16 ministries, among which the responsibility for all state policy is distributed, without exception, are headed by ministers who have 1–3 deputies each — only all of them are political officials. The apparatuses of the ministries, headed by politically neutral state secretaries, by means of their directorates (4–6 in each) systematically analyse the state of affairs, potential threats and challenges in their areas of responsibility, communicate with stakeholders, scientists, public structures, parliamentary committees, and prepare policy documents regarding the development of these areas or their elements. After consultations with people's deputies-members of the relevant committee of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the ministers determine priorities, choose the best options and, after public consultations, submit policy documents for consideration by the Government, and after their approval, organise the work on their implementation.

The system of central executive bodies (CEBs, i.e. government bodies) is accountable to the Government, and each specific body is accountable to a particular minister. Government bodies enforce legislation (implement policies), namely: organise the provision of administrative services, exercise inspection powers, manage state property, etc. At the same time, they do not interfere in policy-making, do not prepare regulations — this is the task of ministries. CEBs do only what cannot be decentralised to the local or regional level.

In the regions and counties of Ukraine, the Government is represented by officials (prefects) who supervise on its behalf the legality of acts of local self-government bodies and coordinate local executive bodies. Officials are civil servants appointed by the Government.

The civil service, numbering about 150,000 people, is a single corps of integral, patriotic, qualified, politically neutral officials who are selected for positions on a competitive basis. Civil servants have a decent salary at the middle class level. The Civil Service Agency, subordinate to the State Secretary of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, manages all recruitment and career development processes. The Academy for Public Administration under the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine is responsible for preparing civil servants for higher positions and their advanced training. The level of public trust in civil servants exceeds 70%.

Internal document management in the executive branch is carried out in digital format; and all administrative services are available and securely protected in this format.

The budget system is organised in such a way that public finances serve the state policy, and not vice versa.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

In order to implement such plans, it is necessary to have the political will and leadership of the Prime Minister, to adopt the Law on the CMU and CEBs in a new version, and, if possible, improve the constitutional regulation, amend the Law "On Civil Service" and the Budget Code, implement the Public Administration Reform Strategy in accordance with SIGMA recommendations, systematically improve the organisation of public administration and enhance its culture.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Management of the Government from the outside.
- Transformation of ministries into executive agencies.
- Transformation of other CEBs (government bodies) into policy-making structures.
- Politicisation and erosion of the civil service.
- Adjusting the policy to last year's public finances.

4. Executive authorities — services, digital transformation

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Services are as simple as possible for consumers, available through digital and physical channels. Integrated offices (Centres for the Delivery of Administrative Services with their territorial access points — remote workplaces, territorial subdivisions) operate in all territorial communities. The vast majority of services can be obtained online. In the CDAS, one can get all the basic administrative services: registration of civil status acts; passport services; registration of real estate, business, land, transport; driving licence; social, pension services, etc. Most of these services are delegated as much as possible for their direct implementation to local governments.

Digital copies and online documents are legally valid in all legal relations along with paper documents. The number of independent users of digital services is more than 85% of Ukrainians. For other users, the state provides opportunities to use digital intermediaries (such as CDAS). The number of services provided online is 80% of the total number of services provided.

Along with the service-digital approaches, due attention is paid to the legal standards of the "state-individual" relations. A fair administrative procedure is applied in all bodies, the balanced and non-conflicting decisions are ensured. The number of administrative acts appealed administratively is less than 5%, and those appealed in court, less than 1%. Special administrative legislation in all sectors is clear to the citizens and investors; it meets the requirements of the general administrative procedure according to EU standards, the exceptions are minimal and justified.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Delegate as much as possible the authority to provide administrative services to local self-government bodies (LSGB). The state retains the functions of administration of unified and state registers, professional administrative control over the powers delegated to LSGB.

Regularly review administrative services for possible deregulation (up to cancellation) or simplification. Before digitisation, first develop the optimal "architecture" (organisation and methodology of provision) of the service, its accessibility for all categories of citizens.

Create operational institutions for personal data protection.

Review special administrative and procedural legislation re. its compliance with the general administrative procedure (GAP). Organise effective training of all public servants in GAP standards.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Violation of a person's right to privacy for the sake of a high level of digitalisation of the country.
- Insufficient protection of personal data, state registers, lag in the development of security from the digital services provision.
- Use of digital technologies for illegal collection of information about citizens and their application against citizens and businesses.
- Digital discrimination of separate categories of citizens.

5. Executive authorities — law and order

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

In 2030, people feel safe, whether they are at home, in another part of the city or just in another city. After all, they know that the law and order system operates, and although occasional crimes occur (because crime as a social phenomenon cannot be eradicated), the punishment for those who commit crimes is inevitable anyway. Therefore, they will not be afraid to turn to the police and will not resort to illegal methods of solving problems, because they believe that their case is important and it will be considered and investigated. Everyone has access to objective data on crime situation visualised in the form of a map that can be used when planning travel, buying a house, choosing a job, etc.

If a person becomes a victim of a crime, he or she can defend his or her rights in court and receive assistance from the state, as the investigation system focuses on the victim's needs, not just on finding the perpetrator and punishing him or her at any cost. "Sense of security" is a central indicator of the activity of the law enforcement system — accordingly, Ukraine is safer than before the war. Victims of violent and sometimes property crimes receive instant compensation from the state.

Citizens' attitudes to the law and order system are rather positive, especially among people who used to have personal contact with it — sought services, participated in the proceedings as witnesses, victims, or even committed offences. Regardless of the role in which a person has been

in contact with the police, he or she should be aware of the clear procedures and anticipate the actions taken by the police towards him or her. At the same time, people realise that a police officer or other law enforcement officer has his/her own superior and the quality of work standards, and will have negative consequences for himself/herself in case of any arbitrary actions, because the system of evaluation and complaints is operational. The level of "abstract" trust in the police is at least 80%; at the same time, the level of "personal" trust is not lower than 30% (applies to persons who had individual contact with the police, primarily the criminal unit).

The law and order system is also effective due to the help of responsible citizens. This does not mean that everyone will be a whistle-blower, but it does mean that when a community wants guaranteed security, things like neighbourhood guarding, reporting danger or reporting security threats directly to a community police officer are a common practice. The safety of everyone and the safety of the community is a common cause of law enforcement agencies and responsible citizens.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

After the victory, the most important thing will be to investigate and bring to justice those who committed war crimes, crimes against humanity, the crime of genocide and the crime of aggression.

At the same time, it is necessary to complete the reform of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, first of all, the National Police, as well as to adopt the Concept of reform of the criminal justice system for 2022–2030, which will be a roadmap to all further reforms.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Ad hoc reforms depending on the political situation.
- Preservation of military justice in peacetime: it must remain extraordinary, and the powers and procedures of law enforcement officers of this nature must be applied only during martial law.
- Political influence on law enforcement agencies — it is possible only through the implementation of the functions of the Cabinet of Ministers, and can be related to the issues of state policy.
- Selective prosecution by law enforcement agencies for any crimes: war, corruption, etc.; it is necessary to investigate them qualitatively, regardless of the political situation and preferences.
- Use of the Office of the President as a "driver" of reforms, as this is the authority of the Parliament and the Government.

6. Judiciary: Courts, Prosecutors, Lawyers

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Everyone has access to a fair, efficient, convenient, and timely justice system functioning based on world best practices. The court effectively protects property rights and other rights of citizens and investors.

The judiciary in Ukraine is based on the principles of

- specialisation (three judicial jurisdictions: civil, administrative, criminal, within which, in addition to general, there are specialised courts),
- instance character (local courts, courts of appeal, and cassational courts),
- territoriality (courts are equally accessible throughout Ukraine).

The Prosecutor's Office (Public Prosecutor's Office) is an independent body in the justice system that oversees the pre-trial investigation and the state prosecution in court. The position of the Prosecutor General has been depoliticised.

Judges and prosecutors are integral, professional, and independent, including from political influence. The issues of their appointment, dismissal, disciplinary action are decided by the bodies of judicial and prosecutorial government with the participation of representatives of the professional community and international experts. Career issues for judges and prosecutors are decided on a meritocratic basis in open competitions.

Citizens are directly involved in the administration of justice as jurors, deciding the guilt of the defendant. Everyone is safe from excessive and unjust punishment.

Attorneyship as an independent free profession provides professional legal assistance and operates based on professional self-government.

The state provides training for legal professionals, and provides judges and prosecutors with adequate remuneration and comfortable working conditions.

Alternative dispute resolution mechanisms are in place. There are elected justices of the peace in the territorial communities, who hear simple cases in all three jurisdictions. Arbitration and international arbitration operate in commercial activities. Forms of pre-trial conciliation are widely practised in all courts and jurisdictions. Automated conflict resolution systems with artificial intelligence are in place.

The judicial system is accountable to the society. The judicial authorities have a stable positive balance of trust in the society. Ukraine ranks high among developed world countries in international rankings (Rule of Law Index, Freedom in the World, Corruptions Perceptions Index). The number of appeals to the European Court of Human Rights with claims against Ukraine is equal to the European average.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

- Amend the laws governing the activities of courts, prosecutors, lawyers, the procedure for arbitration and international arbitration.
- Complete the qualification assessment of judges. Carry out a complete reset of key bodies of judicial regulation, ensuring that they are represented by the professional community and independent international experts.
- Reform legal (law) education.
- Reintroduce the criminal penalty for a knowingly unjust decision.
- Introduce an effective independent jury trial and magistrates' courts in territorial communities.
- Widely implement digital technologies (including blockchain and artificial intelligence) in the judiciary.
- With the help of specially designed rules, restore justice in the territories that used to be under temporary occupation.
- Ensure enforcement of court decisions, including through private enforcement agents.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Expanding the powers of political bodies in the field of justice.
- Commissioning judicial reform exclusively to the judiciary.
- Interference in the institutional and individual independence of the judiciary.
- The presence in the judiciary of any judge, official or institution that support the aggressor country or have clearly acted in its interests.

7. Territorial System, Local Self-Government and Regional Policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

The territory of Ukraine consists of 12–15 regions based on historical parts of the country, taking into account geographical, economic, security and other factors in determining their borders: 10–13 *krais* (territories), Crimean Tatar Autonomy, Kyiv Capital District. (*Proposal: do not specify the number of regions and their special types*.) There is a regional self-government with representative and executive bodies, as well as a state prefecture or administration, which exercises administrative supervision over the legality of acts of self-government bodies and coordinates the implementation of state policy at the regional level.

Regional development aims at harmonious and sustainable development of all territories of the country, reduction of uneven development between regions and between parts of regions. Regional strategies are determined based on the specifics of the regions and relative competitiveness. The main development tool is regional projects, which, in addition to funds from the regional budget, can attract contributions from local communities and funds from the State Fund for Regional Development and European structural funds, received on a competitive basis.

At the subregional level, Ukraine is divided into 120–125 counties, each of which has an official appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, and his/her office. The main tasks of the official are to supervise the legality of LSGB acts and to coordinate state structures at the county level. The Constitution provides for the possibility of electing county councils if their powers are determined by law. *(Proposal: The representative body of the county is not elected, but there are coordinating bodies of inter-municipal cooperation formed by the councils of the county communities).*

At the basic level in Ukraine, there are 1000–1400 self-governing communities, which have the maximum level of administrative and financial decentralisation based on the subsidiarity principle. Nearby settlements are united into a single community or agglomeration with a single government. Local self-government bodies in communities are councils and elected chairmen who head the executive bodies. *(Proposal: local self-government bodies in communities are councils and executive bodies).* Wide involvement of citizens in solving local issues through various instruments of local democracy ensures a high level of public trust in LSGB and the community cohesion. This includes the use of local referendums in communities to adopt the most important and complex decisions.

The law distinguishes between own and delegated (transferred) powers of local and regional self-government bodies, establishes clear algorithms for calculating the value of the latter, determines the sources of revenue of local and regional budgets.

Service in local self-government bodies is similar to civil service, with a clear distinction between political and administrative positions.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Correction of errors of the administrative-territorial system at the basic and subregional levels, introducing amendments to the Constitution regarding the three-level administrative-territorial system, adoption of the Law "On Administrative and Territorial System" and the Municipal Code. Clear legislative separation of powers between the state and self-government and between the levels of self-government, formation of a balanced system of representative and executive bodies of local self-government, reforming the regional level of the administrative-territorial system and amending the legislation on the decentralisation of powers and finances.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Abandonment of the decentralisation policy and the principle of subsidiarity.
- Providing the regions with powers carrying separatist threats, including political powers, especially foreign policy powers, the right to regional referendums,
- unification in one person of the chairmanship in the regional council and in its executive body or introduction of direct elections of heads of regions ("regional princes"),
- excessive restriction of local democracy,
- lack of a state mechanism to ensure legality in the activities of local and regional self-government bodies, local executive bodies.

8. Prevention of Corruption

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

It has become unprofitable, shameful and scary to resort to corruption in Ukraine. There is a gradual and steady improvement in the comparative indicators of the corruption level in Ukraine. According to Transparency International, in the period from 2020 to 2030, the Corruption Perceptions Index in Ukraine increased from 33 to 60 points. The share of citizens with direct experience of corruption has decreased significantly (from 40% of citizens in 2020 to 5% in 2030). Corruption, according to opinion polls, is no longer considered one of the most important problems of the society.

The Anti-Corruption Strategy is being steadily implemented in Ukraine; every year, at least 90% of the anti-corruption measures stipulated by the State Program for the Implementation of the Anti-Corruption Strategy are implemented in full, and at least 10% partially.

All, without exception, the recommendations of the GRECO monitoring mechanisms, the Istanbul Anti-Corruption Action Plan of the Anti-Corruption Network for Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and the OECD given to Ukraine have been implemented. A high level of compliance

with the standards of international initiatives (initiatives on the transparency of extractive industries, the construction sector, the Open Budget Index, etc.) has been achieved.

All specialised anti-corruption bodies operate effectively: the National Agency on Corruption Prevention, the National Agency of Ukraine for Finding, Tracing and Management of Assets Derived from Corruption and Other Crimes, the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, the Specialised Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office and the High Anti-Corruption Court of Ukraine.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

First of all, it is necessary to adopt the Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of State Anti-Corruption Policy for 2021–2025", and then, to implement it, the amendments to the State Budget of Ukraine for the corresponding year. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine must approve the State Program for the Implementation of the Anti-Corruption Strategy. Prepare in advance and adopt in due time the Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of State Anti-Corruption Policy for 2026–2030", modernise and improve the mechanisms for its implementation.

Establish a Coordinating Working Group on Anti-Corruption Policy, as well as an information system for monitoring the implementation of state anti-corruption policy.

Ensure that the executors of the State Program for the Implementation of the Anti-Corruption Strategy submit to the National Agency on Corruption Prevention the information on the status of implementation of the measures envisaged by 15 February and 15 July each year, and that the heads of relevant state bodies and local self-government bodies bear personal responsibility for their implementation.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Ignoring the recommendations of monitoring mechanisms on the implementation of Ukraine's international obligations in this area.
- Replacement of precautionary anti-corruption measures with the repressive ones.
- Destruction of anti-corruption legislation and anti-corruption infrastructure created in 2014–2020.
- Ignoring the need to adopt and implement anti-corruption strategies and government programs to execute them.

9. Education for Public Authorities

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

For the effective functioning of the entire system of public power, the state provides personnel training in legal, economic, historical and political, philological and communication specialities, as well as public governance (administration). Graduates of bachelor's and especially master's programs in these specialities not only are fluent in Ukrainian and English, know the history of their subject and its modern theories, European standards and practices, but also have practical skills of

their application in legal or managerial positions in state authorities, local or regional self-government bodies.

Approximately 15 universities and other higher education institutions of Ukraine (*Proposal: 12 universities and 4 higher education institutions specialised in law at the Ministry of Justice in Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv, and Odesa*) annually produce at least 5,000 masters specialising in civil, administrative or criminal law. All graduates of law master's programs pass an independent final exam at the Law Academy at the Ministry of Justice, which provides the right to internships and competitions for legal positions.

Special training for taking up the positions of judges, prosecutors, rulemakers, representatives of Ukraine in international legal institutions and other positions that require special knowledge and skills is provided by the Law Academy at the Ministry of Justice on the basis of master's education and at least 2–3 years of practice.

Most universities and other higher education institutions in Ukraine, as well as at least three specialised higher education institutions under the Ministry of Regional Development (in Kyiv, Dnipro, Lviv) run two-year master's programs to prepare masters of public administration for public service and work in local and regional self-government bodies. Master's programs in public administration are available for various bachelors graduating from Ukrainian and foreign higher education institutions. Special training for senior civil service positions (category A), as well as advanced training of civil servants is provided by the Academy for Public Administration under the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

Masters in economics, finance, political science, mathematics and other specialities, as well as graduates of foreign universities are also widely involved in analytical and managerial positions in executive bodies, local and regional self-government bodies.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Reform the higher education system and create educational institutions that Ukraine lacks, while not forgetting to eliminate those that have proved to be inefficient or are subject to reorganisation.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Devaluation of legal education through further reproduction of higher education institutions issuing the diplomas of lawyers.
- Equating the conditions and rules for obtaining legal education to any other higher education.
- Creation of an exclusive position of particular higher education institutions in the higher education market with the right to impose their standards and rules on competitors (as was the case with the National Academy for Public Administration).

Section 3.
Economic Policy

1. Basic principles of economic policy, business climate

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Basic economic values – will, humanness, responsibility.

- **Freedom.** The most attractive country for economic opportunities in terms of investment, innovations and business. The space of creating the new world values – from politics and society to innovation and economy.
- **Humanity.** The state cares about the development of human capital as the basis of economic growth. The economy relies on the capacity of a human-centred service digital state. Ukraine provides opportunities for self-realisation of people. Attractive conditions have been created for talented people, inventors, entrepreneurs, innovators and creative industries.
- **Responsibility.** Ukrainians are reviving the country so as to make it even better for future generations. Ukrainians take responsibility for their own communities and their development, for the environment and for those in need. Ukrainians take responsibility for the economic independence of their families, while the state provides opportunities for this, medical care and education of children. The state takes responsibility for those who cannot take care of themselves.

Ukraine is a country with a free market economy, one of the most attractive places in Europe for doing business and investing, human development and innovation. Ukraine ranks in the top 50 economic freedom index (in 2021 ranked 130th).

2030: Ukraine has a GDP of $ 500 billion, or $ 12,500 per capita.

The Ukrainian economy is antifragile, meaning it is ready for military related and other challenges.

The state's share in the economy is limited by deregulation, total privatisation, and by reducing the ratio of public expenditures to GDP down to 35%. The role of the state in the economy focuses on creating equal “rules of the game”, protection of property rights, fair competition and consumer rights. No more than 30 state-owned enterprises with effective corporate governance remain in state ownership, In relations with economic entities, the state acts as an efficient, service-oriented, digital (paperless) country. The state actively involves entrepreneurs in public and private partnership projects.

Private property in Ukraine is inviolable, and fair courts ensure its protection. Entrepreneurs, consumers, and civil servants show zero tolerance for corruption.

Labour, tax, customs and regulatory laws ensure business development and economic growth. Tax and customs systems are liberal, transparent, simple and innovative. Labour law facilitates jobs creation through the eased rules for employers, providing adequate protection for employees.

The Antimonopoly Committee of Ukraine, the State Property Fund of Ukraine, the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, the Bureau of Economic Security, the National Agency for Prevention of Corruption are independent, effective and free from political influence, they focus on antitrust, anti-oligarchic and anti-corruption policies, protection of fair business practices and fair competition. Other law enforcement agencies do not interfere in economic activities.

There are no preferences in the Ukrainian economy, except for the defence and industrial complex. Companies of different scales and forms of business ownership, as well as industries, areas, sectors of the economy, regions are provided equal opportunities. The entire country is a "free economic zone", where business is provided decent conditions for development.

Ukraine pursues a balanced and responsible monetary, fiscal, budgetary and debt policy. Ukraine has a high credit rating.

Economic growth has been achieved through innovation, business development, attracting foreign and domestic investments, human capital development and exports of high value-added products.

Ukraine has a developed capital market, which is a source of long-term financing in the country. The stock market is deregulated. There are conditions in place for financing small businesses and startups, in particular through the development of mutual investment institutions, hedge and venture funds.

Ukraine is a world leader in creating opportunities for launching and implementing any business or creative ideas. Ukraine, as an innovative country that has challenged traditional economic systems, has managed to rapidly modernise its economy and infrastructure. It is a space for launching disruptive ideas, innovations, technological integration and introduction of new technologies, creation of high-tech and future-tech products. A world innovations coworking. The best area to relocate business from Asia and Europe, orienting towards the European market. Regional offices of companies and organisations from Russia have been moved to Ukraine.

Ukraine provides barrier-free flow of capital and advanced development of virtual assets. It is a country of advanced digital economy development. The virtual economy operates as fully as the traditional one, and then there is virtually no line between them. Virtual assets are acknowledged on a par with traditional ones. Over 50% of the country's GDP is generated by the digital economy.

Ukraine is part of a global value chain and global free trade with fair competition based on equal rules. The country independently determines the economic development directions and key markets. Ukrainian exports have mostly high added value, which means that the economy allows for complex production, intellectual products and deep processing. Ukraine makes full use of free trade areas, primarily with the European Union, and also actively exports to countries in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, etc.

Ukrainian media and cultural products are in demand all over the world. Ukrainian fashion is growing.

In Ukraine, there are state-of-the-art weapons production clusters working in cooperation with partners from security alliances.

Businessmen and leading companies from all over the world are involved in the development of the Ukrainian economy, they have created production and R&D centres in Ukrainian cities.

After the war, not just obsolete destroyed facilities were restored, but the whole infrastructure was completely modernised. Ukraine is the world model of infrastructure modernisation, where it is usually possible to travel between regional centres in no more than 3 hours. Goods from Ukraine are delivered to any destination in Europe in 72 hours.

Ukraine is energy independent and efficient. The principles of sustainable development are being implemented in Ukraine. Ukraine adheres to the highest environmental standards, has developed renewable energy technologies, organic farming.

The country has become an exporter of energy resources: It has implemented programs to radically increase the production of gas, oil, motor fuel, nuclear fuel and hydrogen. A new mining and processing industry (lithium, titanium, rare earth metals, etc.) has also been developed.

Ukrainian companies have close ties with the communities they operate in and form clusters that are competitive in the international market.

Ukraine has ensured the development of human potential and a winning position in the competition for talents, including migrants. Public investment in human capital development leads to its growth. Life in Ukraine is attractive both for talented people from all over the world and for European retirees who prefer to spend their "second youth" in Ukraine. Ukrainians, both those who left the country during the war and the descendants of migrants, return to Ukraine, operate in Ukraine or cooperate with Ukrainian enterprises and institutions and promote Ukraine worldwide.

Ukrainians have the opportunity to take care of their family's well-being on their own, and the state takes responsibility only for those who cannot take care of themselves and does not prevent others from doing the same on their own.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Regulatory reforms:

- Deregulation based on the principle of the regulatory guillotine: Repealing all previously adopted regulatory documents, except for those that are proven necessary. In the future, the "one instead of two" principle works in the regulatory policy, which means that in order to introduce one new regulatory documents it is necessary to abolish the two old ones. Improving the permitting and licensing system, optimising and digitising permitting and licensing procedures. Simplifying procedures for land allotment, construction and connection to engineering networks. Eliminating excessive requirements for doing business, acknowledging electronic documents signed with foreign businesses.
- Tax reform: Basic principle: High taxes on natural resources and excises on tobacco and alcoholic products, medium taxes on assets, low taxes on labour. Replacing income taxes with taxes on withdrawn capital. Unifying VAT rates for all industries. Reducing the tax burden on salaries. Simplifying tax administration and reducing radically the number of inspections, as well as permanent moratoriums on small business tax inspections. Introducing the principle of household sector as a tax agent, which will increase the self-awareness of citizens as taxpayers. (Proposal: a 10% VAT, PIT reduction down to 10%, a 10% tax on withdrawn capital instead of income tax).
- Customs reform: Creating the unified Ukraine-EU customs electronic system, simplifying procedures for import / export of goods. Introducing joint customs checkpoints at the borders with EU countries to speed up border crossing and reduce corruption risks. Customs plays an important security function.
- Privatisation: No more than 30 strategic enterprises with effective corporate governance should remain in state ownership. Small-scale privatisation should be implemented via Prozorro.Sale system.

- Opening the agricultural land market for foreigners (except for individuals and legal entities from Russia and Belarus, as well as countries and people related to the aggressor or those violating international sanctions).
- Labour law reform: Deregulation, various forms of employment (partial, temporary, remote, etc.), minimum requirements for document circulation, freedom of employment contracts. Implementing the labour mobility program – providing support in getting a job in another region. Expanding the contract base with EU member states on mutual acknowledgement of expertise, as well as on social security for mutual inclusion of pensionable service. Opening the national labour market for foreign highly qualified experts.
- Transparent public procurement: All public procurement takes place only at open auctions (ProZorro system).
- Changing approaches to state supervision (control) and inspections of business: Reducing the number of control bodies, introducing a risk-based approach (inspections take place only if there is a significant threat to national security, safety and citizens' rights or large-scale tax evasion), strengthening the responsibility of control officials for wrongdoing and causing damages to business entities, ensuring an adequate appeal procedure, introducing insurance and auditing procedures as an alternative to inspections.

Institutional reforms:

- Rebooting the judicial system (see more details in section 2.6).
- Reform of the Antimonopoly Committee in line with EU rules and regulations: Ensuring its independence and efficiency. Creating a class action institution, introducing a law provision related to the assessment of regulations about the impact on competition.
- Rebooting the State Tax Service and the State Customs Service with a focus on full digitalisation of business services. Changing the ideology of the authorities – from control to counselling.
- Rebooting the Bureau of Economic Security – turning it into an analytical service to combat large-scale tax evasion, depriving it of its security wing.
- Reforming the Security Service of Ukraine – relieving the Security Service of Ukraine of its responsibility to investigate economic crimes (according to the SIB, NABU, BES).
- Budget reform: Introducing medium-term budget planning and using the program-target method both at the state level and locally. Managing Spending.gov.ua, Openbudget.gov.ua, ProIFIs.gov.ua portals for fiscal transparency and accountability. Reducing the ratio of public spending to GDP to no more than 35% to ensure economic growth through combination of various reforms.

International economic development:

- Economic integration with the European Union in the context of candidacy and future membership, consolidation in the EU market.
- Facilitating integration into value chains: Locating production facilities in Ukraine, concluding new mutually beneficial trade agreements and promoting Ukrainian products on global markets.
- Facilitating the development of exports to African countries, the Middle East, South Asia (India, Pakistan).
- Introducing effective systems of exporters insurance through the programs of the Export Credit Agency, financing the Export Promotion Office in full, strengthening the competence of

economic attachés of embassies. Creating export consolidators to priority countries in an inclusive way, involving business.
- Providing financial, consulting, organisational and informational support to export businesses to increase the complexity of Ukrainian exports (the share of high value-added products).
- Introducing e-residency for talented people and entrepreneurs from around the world, including limited e-citizenship, low (as in the whole country) taxes, protection of intellectual property rights.

Government projects. The state focuses on the following areas of economic development:
- Ensuring access of Ukrainian enterprises to financing.
- Developing stock market to ensure the inflow of long-term development financing.
- Public investment in basic and applied science.
- Providing basic civic economic education and ensuring financial literacy, facilitating the development of entrepreneurial culture.
- Developing the system of voluntary health insurance and non-state pension insurance.
- Developing digital services for business entities.
- Developing the defence and industrial complex.
- Developing transport and logistics infrastructure, ensuring the rapid movement of people and goods to Europe (in particular, implementing projects on high-speed narrow gauge railways).
- Eliminating technical barriers for the export of Ukrainian products to the EU.
- Program to stimulate deep processing of agricultural products.
- Program to encourage citizens to return and attract highly qualified personnel.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Ending structural reforms and getting back to the practice of state planning and economic management.
- No development strategy or its creation in a non-inclusive way.
- Excessive regulation of doing business.
- Increasing the tax burden compared to the beginning of 2022.
- Non-implementation of the Association Agreement with the European Union (although the agreement itself needs to be updated in the process of further European integration).
- Loss of independence by the National Bank of Ukraine, the Antimonopoly Committee of Ukraine, the Accounting Chamber of Ukraine, the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, the National Agency for the Prevention of Corruption and other institutions.
- Monopolising industries, creating privileges (oligarchization) for certain economic entities or industries.
- Unfair use of economic incentives.
- Decreasing creditworthiness and credit rating.
- Reducing transparency of state property management.
- Increasing share of state ownership.
- Adopting economic policies without considering the position of Ukrainian business.

2. Budget policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

In 2030, fiscal policy is based on the principles of decentralisation, transparency, accountability and medium-term targeted budgeting. Before the war, Ukraine started switching to medium-term budgeting, and by 2030 it had become a well-established and effective practice.

The budget forecast on incomes is made on the basis of the macroeconomic forecast that is professional and independent from any political influences. The budget deficit does not exceed 3% of GDP, while public and state-guaranteed debt does not exceed 60% of GDP. Each budget program at the state and local levels has clear and measurable goals, they are also set out in strategic programs at the level of budget managers, while clearly defined program resources are directed to achieve these goals. Evaluation of the budget programs effectiveness allows assessing the impact of funds spent on achieving goals and performance indicators.

The system of state control over the use of public funds is effective and unburdensome for managers. Reporting on the implementation of budget programs and the achievement of their goals is public and transparent and includes political accountability. All open data portals of the E-date platform continue to be managed and developed.

In addition to budget programs in state and local budgets, the system of "broad" public finances covers the pension and social funds expenditures as well as expenditures to support state-owned banks and state-owned enterprises, including public loan guarantees and increased statutory funds. These expenditures are subject to the same principles as state and local budget ones: Medium-term planning, target method, transparency.

The Accounting Chamber and the reformed State Audit Office of Ukraine perform an effective budget auditing process.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Reform of decentralisation and the introduction of medium-term budget planning at the state and local levels need to be continued. Approved strategic and program documents must be included in budget programs. Each year, the government must adopt a medium-term budget announcement, and local governments must adopt medium-term budget forecasts. Expenditure budget programs reviews should become an integral part of the budget process in Ukraine.

The reporting of budget managers on the implementation of budget programs, achievement of their goals and submission of budget requests for the coming years should be made public and transparent, with political leaders being responsible for moving towards the implementation of strategic plans.

All public procurement further takes place via ProZorro electronic system .

Macro-forecasting and, consequently, budget forecasting need to be made more flexible, and the budget forecast needs to be adjusted on the basis of realistic economic expectations. It is necessary to create a group of independent experts who will analyse and later, possibly, develop a macroeconomic forecast that the State Budget will be based on.

The government is implementing a balanced public debt management strategy. As a result, rates are falling, the share of UAH denominated debt is growing. International financial organisations provide UAH soft loans as a result of the introduced currency swap mechanism.

There is a need to increase the level of trust between the budget process subjects as part of the medium-term budget planning (including regular and reliable allocation of funds), which will help eliminate the practice of spending large amounts of funds in December.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- After the post-war transition phase, the budget should become surplus so that Ukraine can create a "safety cushion" and comfortably pay off its debts accumulated during the war.
- Any budget policy should not contradict the roadmap for Ukraine's integration into the EU.
- All public procurement should become transparent immediately after the war, while ProZorro and Spending.gov.ua tools should be used again.

3. Monetary policy, financial sector

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

In 2030, the National Bank of Ukraine remains a strong independent institution that pursues a responsible and prudent monetary policy based on inflation targeting and effectively supervises the banking sector and the non-banking financial system. The NSSMC effectively regulates the capital market, in particular investment funds. The banking sector is stable, and bank lending is available to both individuals and the private sector. The rights of creditors and financial services consumers are protected. The financial sector is becoming a source of long-term financing. Ukrainians are actively investing in life insurance, putting money into investment and private pension funds. Classic mutual funds, venture and hedge funds are beginning to play an important role in financing Ukrainian startups. "Green" bonds and other instruments of "green" postwar period reconstruction and development financing have been successfully introduced.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

The full-scale Russia-Ukraine war forced the NBU to resort to a number of measures: Direct budget financing through direct redemption of war government bonds, fixed exchange rates, tightened currency restrictions, weakened regulations compliance for banks due to the deterioration of the loan portfolio as a result of the war, etc. In peacetime, these regulations should be repealed and the NBU should get back to inflation targeting and step up its supervision over the banking and non-banking sectors.

Ukraine must fulfil its obligations to bring its national laws in line with the EU requirements as a precondition for the European integration of the country's financial sector. It is important to further develop the system of effective regulation of the non-banking financial segment and improve the system of supervision over market participants, which was initiated by the NBU and the NSSMC on the eve of the war. The market must be competitive and comply with the principles of transparency and efficiency both in terms of ownership structure and business model. The government needs to update the terms to implement the strategy for reforming the public banking sector, in particular with regard to the state-owned banks privatisation.

The government should introduce a policy aimed at encouraging employers to implement pension and insurance programs for their employees (life insurance, health insurance, fees paid to private pension funds). At the same time, the development of financial literacy among the population as a factor in ensuring financial inclusion, improving consumer protection and the availability of financial resources should become an integral part of the educational process in all its forms.

The National Bank along with the government should actively develop tools for hedging currency and financial risks, which can be used not only by private economic agents, but also by local authorities and other beneficiaries who get soft loans from international financial institutions.

Ukraine needs a well-thought-out policy to facilitate the development of mutual and venture funds. Simplified regulation based on EU rules and regulations can be introduced in this area. The strategic task is the widespread use of innovations and information technologies in Ukraine, which will increase the efficiency and reliability of financial companies, expand the range of financial services, improve their quality and availability.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- The “red line” in monetary policy is always the loss of independence of the National Bank of Ukraine. The attack on the NBU's independence threatens Ukraine's macroeconomic stability with all its consequences.
- In the post-war period, the “red line” is the direct budget monetization, which is unacceptable in peacetime.
- An unconditional imperative is to ensure the transparency of the financial market both in terms of the ownership structure of its participants and regular adequate reporting on the results of their activities.

4. Infrastructure development

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

The strategic goal is to build a modern transport system as an integral part of the Single European Transport Area, which is being formed now. It means that Ukraine will be fully integrated into the EU transport system, establish contacts with infrastructure operators of neighbouring countries, and form routes for fast transportation of goods and passengers to and from Ukraine. To do this, by 2030, Ukraine will have determined specific time, technical and financial parameters of infrastructure development, developed appropriate projects and started their implementation. This process will include the development of the TEN-T network, river transport on the Dnipro and Danube rivers, construction of 1435 mm wide railway tracks to major transport hubs, infrastructure development at key airports in the country (Kyiv, Lviv, Odesa, Zaporizhzhia) and seaports (Odesa, Mykolaiv, Kherson) taking into account the requirements of energy efficiency and climate neutrality.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

The war with Russia revealed the main problems of Ukraine's transport system: Development of railway freight transport only in the southern direction to seaports, low capacity of border road and railway crossings, significant time loss that occurs when crossing the Ukrainian wide and European narrow railway gauge. At the same time, it showed that the Ukrainian transport network is quite developed, stable and flexible, which allowed to quickly reorient the relevant flows if damaged to individual transport hubs and facilities.

The transport infrastructure rehabilitation should be aimed at modernizing it, increasing energy efficiency, reducing emissions and strengthening safety. Restoration projects in various areas must also be a part of the country's transport system modernisation process. On the other hand, the transport infrastructure facilities in cities and towns must meet the requirements of the community and urban planning.

Ukraine's inclusion in the EU transport network will require also ensuring compliance of railways, locomotives, wagons, cars, education of drivers and engine men with the relevant European standards in Ukraine, and not only in international traffic network. All processes in transport (design of Ukrzaliznytsia railway cars, bus routes, concession tenders, PPP agreements, issuance of seafarers' identity documents, certification, etc.) should be transparent and involve modern technologies to avoid corruption and strengthen trust in Ukrainian institutions.

The government must complete the Ukrzaliznytsia railway reform and divide it into separate companies that operate stations, tracks, repair facilities, transport passengers and cargo. It is also necessary to allow using private traction on the railway, which will ensure competition in the freight and passenger transport market.

We also need to widely use the public and private partnership format, continue implementing the initiated PPP projects in road construction and concession projects in ports, share this experience for the river and air infrastructure development.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- When formulating a rate policy, cross subsidization of passenger transport services through freight transport services and monopolization of certain transport markets by state companies should be avoided. Therefore, when building infrastructure, we should carefully consider the cost of using infrastructure facilities, freight and passenger transport services and set economically justified rates.
- We should avoid creating new public carriers (for example, in air transport area) and strengthen competition by improving the business climate and simplifying our regulation system.
- Infrastructure should be developed as a “normal” sector of the economy, not as a tool for solving local economic problems.

5. Energy sector

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

By 2030, the time, technical and financial parameters of the energy system should be clearly defined, practical projects should be developed and gradually implemented. This includes the coal mines closure, certainty about the shunting generation method, the volume of renewable sources, the use of gas and nuclear energy as transitional relatively clean energy sources. The concept of the new energy will be based on the European goals of transition to climate neutrality with dispersed small generation sources, involving priority use of renewable energy sources, hydrogen technologies and local biomass, which will make it more sustainable at the consumer level.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

The energy problems caused by the war with Russia can be turned into opportunities wherever possible. Maintenance of the energy systems efficiency in endangered areas should take place along with their modernisation wherever higher safety performance is achieved. Destroyed energy infrastructure must change with the use of modern clean technologies. It is advisable to invest in projects that will be part of the renewed modern energy complex of the country.

To achieve this result, the government should "deploy" its strategic plans, focusing not on generation but on quality of life, consumption and consumers. If Ukrainian consumers want to get "clean" energy generated by renewable energy sources (according to surveys, over 80% of consumers want this), we must create a balance between the cost of energy that should be acceptable to citizens, security of supply and attractiveness to investors.

If we make the quality of consumers life the centre point of energy policy, the main elements of future energy policy will be:

- Increased use of electricity generated from clean sources instead of fossil fuels. Power generation will be as close as possible to consumption, and consumers will be able to participate in the small generation market. Definite abandonment of fossil fuels.
- Energy efficiency will be an end-to-end tool to help all consumers reduce the cost of their bills in the face of rising energy prices, lower energy demand and achieve climate goals.
- Large-scale infrastructure modernisation: Both for uninterrupted energy supply and fair payment of the consumed resource only, we need modern meters, a developed and powerful network of energy distribution between consumers.

With regard to the abandonment of fossil fuels, it is important to start closing the mines that were damaged during the war and are loss-making in cooperation with donors and local communities, to have a program for further closure of mines and, most importantly, adhere to it. Gas may remain a transitional fuel for Ukraine, as the country has its own resources, but in order to increase its production, we need stronger support of investors, especially those who are able to bring new technologies and standards to the extractive industry. Both the government and local authorities can develop and implement programs for the local generation development, electric transport, as well as set deadlines for the complete abandonment of internal combustion engines in cities. Electricity generation must stop being a participant in cross-subsidisation and start earning money for its own development, modernisation and safe operation.

In terms of energy efficiency, Ukrainians (both citizens and small, medium and large businesses) should have access to quick and easy programs with long inexpensive loans to reduce energy consumption. The Energy Efficiency Fund can be one of the tools, but it should significantly expand the range of customers and simplify its procedures for them. Energy efficiency programs should be available at the level of cities and communities, decentralised to allow implementing a number of regional projects at the same time.

In terms of infrastructure modernisation, it is important to introduce new metering technologies together with donors and investors – at the level of ordinary consumers, industrial consumers, etc., as well as stimulate the electricity system decentralisation. The Ukrainian electrical supply network has great potential not only for high-quality electricity supply to its citizens, but also for energy exports abroad to EU countries, and state-owned companies that can start this business should be enabled to develop it.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

Hostilities have once again demonstrated the importance of full energy independence in the country and energy sustainability in communities.

The “red lines” in the energy sector have always been rates cross-subsidisation, monopoly in certain sectors, which should be addressed not by destroying some businesses, but by reducing their market share by regulating and stimulating transparent and fair competition in energy markets. The licensing procedure at all levels – from extraction / generation to supply – should be as transparent, reasonable and accessible for monitoring as possible. Access to data that is blocked in the energy sector due to the war should be enabled immediately after the war, with subsequent data opening and transition to the use of digital technologies, machine-readable formats. It is also inadmissible for the government to take decisions that contradict the energy law of the European Union, given Ukraine's announcement of its intentions to become a member of the EU in the future.

6. Land policy

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Land reform has become the driving force behind the development of Ukraine's agricultural sector and economy. The land relations have been liberalised. Restrictions on the maximum concentration of agricultural land per capita significantly increased (10,000 hectares for an individual, 100,000 hectares for a legal entity). Restrictions for foreigners have been lifted – they can also own agricultural land in Ukraine (further resale is possible only through the State Land Bank).

As a result, investment inflows to Ukraine increased. In addition, over 10 years, Ukraine's GDP has increased (cumulatively) by 25%.

Ukraine has become a food security zone in the Middle East through joint projects and significant investments, including investments in Ukrainian land.

Landowners began to use it responsibly, apply fertilizers, select and replace crops, choose tenants in an appropriate way.

Decentralisation of land relations has helped to improve community control over land relations, as well as increased local budget revenues. This has become possible, in particular, through the digitisation of all lands and publication of relevant information in the public domain.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

The first and most important task is the land market liberalisation. Global access shows that the greatest effect from the market operation can be achieved under its maximum liberalisation. With this in mind, the following steps in this direction are the most important:

- Liberalisation of restrictions on the maximum concentration of agricultural land per capita: To prevent monopolization at the local level, restrictions may be set on the maximum concentration of land per one owner within the country, region and community, but the current restrictions of 100 (and even 10,000) hectares per capita will hinder the development of the sector.
- Removal of restrictions for legal entities and foreigners. Removing restrictions on the land purchase for agricultural companies (even before 2024) will increase the efficiency of the agricultural sector at a faster pace. At the same time, enabling foreigners to access the market will be an important tool for increasing foreign direct investment in Ukraine (given that after the war there will be few foreign investors willing to enter Ukraine).

The second most important task is decentralisation and deregulation of land relations. As part of the land reform after the adoption of the Law of Ukraine "On Amendments to Certain Legislative Instruments of Ukraine to Improve the System of Management and Deregulation in the Area of Land Relations" almost all lands outside the populated area were handed over to territorial communities. The land relations decentralisation aims to improve control over land relations, as well as increase local budget revenues. Important next steps in this direction should be:

- Assistance with land decentralisation for communities. In order for communities to reap all the benefits of the reform, they must be informed of all the opportunities they've been given, have up-to-date information on the land granted, and be able to manage it effectively. Communities must collect and publish all information about their land, get land rights registered and effectively plan community development. All this will be possible, including through the digitalisation of land relations.
- Addressing the issue with the lands of state-owned enterprises. According to 2021, about 750,000 hectares of agricultural land remain on the balance sheets of state-owned enterprises, which often tend to demonstrate inefficient governance and have corruption schemes. These lands can be distributed and handed over to villagers for their own use, or privatised through transparent auctions.

The third most important task is the digitalisation of land relations. In order for the land market to work effectively, we need to ensure its absolute transparency and access to information for all players. Based on this, it is important to digitise all lands and disclose relevant information in the public domain. This will increase the efficiency of land management in communities, have a positive effect on the protection of soils from depletion, etc. Moreover, the availability of all information about the characteristics of lands will allow market players to make more rational decisions about purchasing / selling land.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Maintaining restrictions or introducing new restrictions on the circulation of agricultural land.
- Decentralisation curtailment, community rights restriction.

7. State property

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

Privatisation and liquidation of enterprises not needed by the state have been completed. There are 30 operating state-owned companies left in Ukraine with high-quality corporate governance and sound finances. Following the government's lead, large cities and regions are implementing corporate governance at their own utility companies. State and utility companies get fair compensation for performing social functions. In competitive markets, they compete successfully with private ones. Both public and private strategic infrastructure companies have algorithms of actions and obligations with regard to customers in case of force majeure events (war, natural disasters, etc.).

The key indicators of the state property management system efficiency are:

- Indicators of return on assets, equity, average salaries compared to private enterprises.
- The share of state-owned enterprises in the relevant industry in employment, sales, assets, etc.
- Number of privatised enterprises under small and large privatisation procedures for the relevant period.
- Percentage of compensation paid by the state to certain socially important enterprises for performing social functions (Ukrzaliznytsia, Ukrposhta).

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

It is important for Ukraine to bring its own practices of state property management as close as possible in line with the guiding principles of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. To do this, the government must approve the division procedure of state-owned enterprises – triage (those remaining in ownership, subject to liquidation, privatisation), taking into account the experience of state-owned enterprises in wartime. Based on the triage, 30 enterprises must continue to be managed by the government and ministries, with corporate governance reform being implemented, while the rest must be liquidated or privatised.

In general, it is important to change the philosophy of state property management – state-owned companies must be owned for strategic purposes. It is important not to treat state-owned companies as a source of dividends to the budget – or, conversely, as a scapegoat that can be forced to implement certain populist government decisions, harming their own interests.

A well-thought-out liberalisation should take place in certain markets, where state-owned companies (providing rail freight, transport services, producing armaments, etc.) dominate. However, the state and customers of private strategically important companies should not be afraid that in case of any force majeure events they will be left without service. Companies should develop algorithms and mechanisms of actions in case such circumstances occur.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- It is impossible to deviate from the steps already taken in the corporate governance reform (elimination of the supervisory boards institution, transfer of companies to line ministries, etc.).
- There is no need to create new state-owned enterprises in those markets that are competitive or where it is possible to attract private investment.
- There is no need to provide state-owned companies inadmissible state aid that would give them a non-competitive advantage over similar private ones.

8. Human capital

8.1. Demography

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

In 2030, the most active childbearing age will be reached by people born after 2003. In the early 2000s, generous state allowance paid for born children contributed to the increase in the number of births. It means that the country will have a good physical base for rising birth rates, and the opportunity to improve demographics must be seized.

At this point, the country's population structure will be the way that people born during the baby boom of the 1980s will still be making the greatest contribution to economic development. Increasing life expectancy (along with increasing active and productive life expectancy) will help them stay in the labour market as long as possible, gradually reduce their involvement in it, thus minimising the negative consequences for their own well-being and the country's economy.

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

We need to comprehensively use all tools to stimulate the birth rate, which have proven to be effective in other countries: Childbirth allowance, special purpose periodic payments for children, tax benefits for families with children, the extrafamilial child care system, gender equality policies in the labour market.

The extrafamilial child care should be so accessible and high-quality as to allow not only mothers but also grandmothers of children to continue working.

There should be an effective and flexible system of continuing adult education for the oldest, most numerous cohort of workers (born after 1980). Being involved in it will allow them to maintain high productivity through constant upgrading of skills and abilities.

It is necessary to develop an active longevity trend, promote the benefits of moderate workload and physical activity for the health and long life of the elderly.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Losing the opportunity of improving birth rates during this period, even the limited one. Even if the birth rate is lower than the death one and depopulation continues, it is important to slow it down and deal with the population ageing issue by increasing the birth rate.
- Only positive incentives and no "childlessness taxes" should be used to increase the birth rate.
- Similarly, only positive incentives should be used to attract workers to the labour market, increase economic activity and life expectancy, including part-time employment.
- The retirement age rising should take place along with the creation of employment opportunities for older people in the workplace that meet the characteristics of decent work.

8.2. Migration policy and human capital

How do we imagine Ukraine in 2030?

The country's economy will go through a recovery phase and will reach high rates of stable development. This will require a significant supply of labour by skilled workers mainly, as the reconstruction phase will be completed. Both as a result of domestic demand for labour and the integration of Ukrainians into the labour markets of European countries, the cost of labour in Ukraine will increase at least up to the indicators of neighbouring countries. There will be an incentive for both refugees and people that had been migrant workers long before the war to return. At this point, the process of active involvement of immigrants, the most skilled and unskilled (low-skilled) workforce, in the domestic economy will begin – at first, in the traditional "migrant niches".

What key changes need to be made to achieve this goal?

Salary growth should be a priority of labour market policy. In the European market that provides free movement of goods, services, capital and people, a country with no competitive level of salaries cannot even enter the struggle for human resources, much less win it.

Gradually, the English language should become official, the level of teaching in schools should be significantly improved. We should develop a special network of state language courses, where everyone will be able to study for free or for a nominal fee. This will not only facilitate the development of domestic human capital, but also help integrate immigrants, since language adaptation is one of the most important factors in deciding to move to another country.

It is necessary to strengthen the capacity of the domestic educational system, involving talented and educated people. The negative selection in the education system, which has been observed for the last two decades, can be addressed by a drastic rise in salaries and by removing the main barriers on the way to transition to this profession from other areas – the dependence of salaries on length of service and the requirements for the pedagogical expertise availability for educators working in the secondary education institutions.

We need to increase the country's life attractiveness, improving its environmental performance indicators, increasing the efficiency of law enforcement and judicial systems, working on the quality of medical care services.

What red lines cannot be crossed in this area?

- Salary increases should not occur at a higher rate than labour productivity growth, although it should not lag significantly behind it, otherwise the outflow of human capital will reduce the resource of economic development.
- Only positive incentives should be used to get Ukrainian workers back from the European to the domestic labour market.
- The use of human resources for economic development should be improved by helping all employees gain the highest possible expertise and ensuring their work at the appropriate training level.
- Attracting foreign workers to the labour market should take place only along with their effective integration into Ukrainian society.
- The costs of developing the education system (including adult education, language courses as well) should be seen as a major public investment. In an uneducated society there can be no high productivity level, the practice of financing education by a leftover principle should be a thing of the past.

Experts that worked over the document

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Yevhen Hlibovytskyi

Section 1. Society and humanitarian policy

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1.1. Society and humanitarian policy

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1.2. National identity

1.2.1. National memory policy

Volodymyr Holovko, Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

1.2.2. Language policy

Petro Burkovskyi, Democratic Initiatives Foundation named after Ilko Kucheriv

1.2.3. Policy in the area of state-church relations

Oleksandr Sahan, Chairman of the State Committee of Ukraine for Nationalities and Religions (2007-2010), Yurii Chornomorets, Professor of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies of the Drahomanov National Pedagogical University, sniper

1.2.4. Cultural policy

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1.2.5. Gender policy

Tamara Martseniuk, Department of Sociology, NAUKMA (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy)

1.3. Demographic and migration policy

Ella Libanova, Director of the M.V. Ptukha Institute of Demography and Social Research, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

1.4. Civil society, self-organisation of citizens, interaction with the authorities

Maksym Latsyba, UCIPR (Ukrainian Centre for Independent Political Research)

1.5. Mass media, information policy

Nataliia Lyhachova, Halyna Petrenko, Vadym Miskyi, Media Detector NGO

1.6. Education

1.6.1. Secondary education policy

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1.6.2. Higher education policy

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1.8. Sports and youth policy

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