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[All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" program - "Program for the Protection of Ukrainians"](#)

The main purpose of the All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" is to build a powerful Ukrainian State based on the principles of social and national justice. A state, which takes its rightful place among the leading countries and provides a continuous development of the Ukrainian nation.

In order to achieve this objective, The All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" proposes a clear plan of immediate priority steps.

I. Power and Society: Radical Clean-up and Fair System

1. Conduct lustration of the authorities. Depose from power the agents of KGB and government officials who held executive positions in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
2. Promulgate lists of the agents of the USSR KGB, who were or are in the state service of Ukraine and in other socially important positions.
3. Appoint released after the lustration vacancies to young professionals, graduates of Ukrainian universities, who are **selected on the base of principles of patriotism and professionalism** and special government administrative courses.
4. Establish mandatory policy for polygraph testing of government employees and candidates for elective office regarding their involvement in corruption, cooperation with foreign intelligence services and **having dual citizenship**.
5. Adopt a special anti-corruption law to control not only income, but also expenditures of public officials and their family members.
6. Implement as a **principle in criminal law that "the greater the position, the higher the responsibility for the crime committed"**.
7. **Set the graph "nationality" in the passport and birth certificate. Determine the nationality by birth certificate or birth certificate of the parents**, considering the requests of the citizen.
8. Implement a **criminal penalty for any displays of Ukrainophobia**.
9. Submit to public discussion the draft law on proportional representation in the executive branch of Ukrainians and representatives of national minorities.
10. Submit to public discussion the draft of the Constitution, according to which the Ukrainian state is a presidential republic, the President of Ukraine is the head of the state, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the direct head of the Government of Ukraine.
11. Reduce the term in office of the President of Ukraine to four years. (One and the same person can hold the office of President for no more than twice). To be elected as the President, one must be a citizen of Ukraine by birth, **has lived in Ukraine for the last 20 years**, has reached **35 years of age, who speaks and is fluent in the official language**, has no criminal record and has **not been brought to responsibility for anti-Ukrainian offenses**. (*gegen Klitschko gerichtet?*)

12. Implement a proportional system of elections to the parliament with open lists. To be elected as a deputy, one must have been living in Ukraine for the last 10 years, reached 18 years of age, **who speaks and is fluent in the official language, who is competent** and has no criminal record.
13. Provide equal access for all electoral stakeholders to the media for their coverage of program provisions, debates and so on. Prohibit paid political advertising in the mass media three months before and throughout the campaign.
14. Oblige candidates for all elective offices **to specify in their official biographies the nationality, all previous (from the Soviet era) party and government positions and convictions - repaid and unrepaid.** Withdraw the registration of the candidates who concealed biographical facts or deprive deputies of their mandate, if the concealment was found after the election.
15. Provide equal participation of representatives of all political parties participating in elections in the electoral committees.
16. Cancel parliamentary immunity from criminal and economic crimes. Prohibit bringing to responsibility deputies of all levels for their political positions, statements and voting nature **(except for anti-Ukrainian, anti-state, and Ukrainophobic activity).**
17. Limit the duration of the parliament and local councils from five to three years. Reduce the number of national deputies of Ukraine in the parliament to 300.
18. Implement fingerprint voting in order to ensure exclusively personal involvement of the deputies in the Parliament.
19. Restrict the increase of wages and other material rewards for deputies within the period of validity of their mandate.
20. Implement the election of local judges by the community for 5 years, appellate judges by the Congress of local judges for a period of 7 years, the Supreme Court by the Congress of Judges of Ukraine for 10 years.
21. Raise the age limit of judges to 30 years. A judge may be elected if he is a citizen of Ukraine who has experience in the field of law for at least 5 years, who is competent, has no criminal record, **has been living in Ukraine for the last 10 years and who speaks and is fluent in the official language.**
22. Provide transparent and publicly accessible functioning of the unified register of court decisions in order to ensure uniform application of the law by all courts of the state.
23. Provide compensation for moral and material damage incurred by a person through unlawful decisions and actions of state authorities and local government officials, at the expense of the perpetrators. **The losses for a wrongful judgment must be compensated at the expense of the judge who approved it.**
24. Submit to public discussion the draft law on a new three-tiered system of administrative-territorial structure of Ukraine, which consists of 300 counties and also cities, towns and villages.
25. Implement a majoritarian system of elections for deputies of village, town and city councils, a mixed proportional and majoritarian system for deputies of county councils. To be elected as a deputy of the local council, one must be a citizen of Ukraine, who reached 18 years of age on the election day, **who is competent**, has no criminal record and has been living in the community for at least 5 years.

26. Provide local communities with the right to elect every 3 years the village, town, city and district chairmen who heads the Executive Committee through secret, equal and direct voting. Elect village, town and district headmen in two rounds.
27. Provide the local communities with the right to withdraw deputies of local councils and local judges, to impeach the head of the executive committee, surveyor and the head of of Internal Affairs by referendum.
28. Ensure the increase of the role of local government by reallocating powers and financial resources between the central government and local governments on the basis of budgeting "from the bottom up".
29. Introduce the practice of the widest direct democracy in local communities - referendums, plebiscites, general meetings and so on. Introduce the practice of the widest direct democracy in local communities - referendums, plebiscites, general meetings and so on. Conduct local referendums on vital issues. Introduce a mechanism for community veto on decisions of local governments.
30. Deepen the impact on the livelihood of the local government communities by **creating house, street and block committees**. Allow the division of land and new construction in populated areas only with the consent of the authorities, except in cases of national needs. Resolve disputed land and construction issues through local referenda.
31. **Allow all mentally healthy citizens of Ukraine that have never been convicted of a crime to freely acquire and possess firearms and cold weaponry.**

II. Economy: Economic Independence and Social Justice

1. Conduct "energy audits" - carry out a complete inventory of mining sites and energy production of all types in Ukraine.
2. Adopt a national program of energy independence of Ukraine on the principle of "consumption reduction, production increase, source diversification."
3. Diversify the import sources of energy resources: no more than 30% per provider (country). Implement and develop special trade programs (for example, **the project "carbamide in exchange for liquefied gas"**). Eliminate the monopoly of foreign energy companies on the Ukrainian market.
4. Establish strict proportional dependence of prices for Russian gas transit through Ukraine and the rent of underground gas storage facilities in accordance with the selling price of gas for Ukraine.
5. **Achieve sales of Russian gas to European consumers in the east and not the west border of Ukraine.**
6. Destroy corruption schemes in the energy sector. Establish transparent tenders for equipment for state-owned energy companies. Implement strict state control over the pricing in the oil and gas sector.
7. Adopt a national program to develop energy fields. Increase own gas and oil production, in particular **by developing the sea shelf**, including deposits abroad. Develop the coal industry as a priority area.
8. **Create own closed nuclear cycle based on domestic raw materials**. Construct public infrastructure necessary for the storage and disposal of spent nuclear fuel.
9. Adopt a national program of development and implementation of alternative energy: diesel fuel from coal, biofuel, wind, solar, hydropower (including recovery of small HPP networks) etc.

10. Develop and implement a national program to encourage energy-saving technologies. Switch to control heat measuring equipment of end users. Invest in heat supply technology. As a result, reduce the energy needs of the state and lower prices for utilities.

11. **Adopt a law on strategic companies and strategic industries.** Disallow the privatization of strategic enterprises and return to state ownership ones that were privatized earlier. Ensure state control over natural monopolies.

12. Check the legality of the privatization of all large enterprises (in which the average number of employees exceeds one thousand persons annually or the gross revenue from sales of the product in a year exceeds fifty million hryvnias). Return illegally privatized facilities to state and workers ownership.

13. Provide an opportunity to employees to acquire right of ownership of state and communal companies, participate in their management and fair distribution of profits. Allow employees to sell their share in the company exclusively to the appropriate company. Require employees who have stopped the employment relationship with the enterprise to sell their share to the enterprise.

14. Ensure the benefits of domestic investors over foreign ones in the privatization of state enterprises.

15. Return to state ownership privatized enterprises whose owners do not fulfill their social, investment and other commitments.

16. **Allow transfer of long-term use of historical and cultural heritage objects for the purpose of restoring, preserving and efficient functionality,** subject to the investor protection requirements of restoration and investment commitments. Suspend the use in case of non-compliance or liabilities.

17. Increase criminal penalties for crimes related to the seizure of enterprises, land and so on. Create a legal framework for combating illegal construction.

18. Adopt a new land code and approve it in national referendum. Conduct a complete inventory of land, buildings, and premises in Ukraine. Create a "Unified State Register of rights to immovable property and land" and to ensure its openness and transparency.

19. Prohibit agriculture land trade in Ukraine. Give it to long-term possession of Ukrainian citizens with the right of family inheritance. Determine legal grounds for termination of such possession in case of using the agricultural land for inappropriate purposes or in case of deterioration of the soil (fertility).

20. Establish criminal liability for soil erosion as a result of human actions. Strengthen criminal liability for illegitimate acquisition of soils.

21. Allow persons who acquired ownership of agricultural land by lawful means (when shared, or obtained by an inheritance by law) to sell these plots of land exclusively to the state. Disallow any other means of transfer of such sites. Disclaim the ownership of agricultural land acquired by debt receipts.

22. Obligate the citizens who wish to acquire land for agricultural purposes in an amount greater than 30 acres, to take a qualifying exam in the subject of the land's activity.

23. Allow land ownership only of homestead land parcels and those under apartment buildings and other real estate. **Do not allow ownership of land by foreigners and persons without citizenship.**

24. Ensure the rent for the use of agricultural land to be in accordance with the regulatory assessment of the land.

25. Disallow change of use of agricultural land designation, except for state and public needs. Turn to the state ownership land that is not used for the purposes intended or used contrary to the comprehensive plans for sustainable rural development.
26. Adopt a law on increased land value to regulate its use and ensure public control over it.
27. Adopt a new tax code with socially fair simplified system of taxation. Simplify and improve tax administration and accounting.
28. Reduce the fiscal pressure on all sectors of the state, which produce national product, particularly small and medium enterprises. Establish progressive tax rate on the principle of "small business - low taxes, big business - big taxes."
29. Cancel criminalized value added tax. Establish a single social tax on personal income taxation on a progressive scale and base rate of 20%. Do not tax the income of minimum wage. Set progressive luxury tax (real estate, luxury goods, etc.). Forward a minimum 30% of revenues from taxes on luxury to lower consumer prices of essential commodities.
30. Establish comprehensive tax incentive investments in science, education and innovation. Reduce income tax to 5% on the portion of profits that redirect to technological renovation of production means in accordance with advanced technology.
31. Provide maximal punishment for economic crimes, corruption and state job damages in especially large amounts. Fight for capital export in the offshore, including through the revision agreements on avoidance of double taxation of income and property.
32. Ensure state control over the banking sector (state-owned banks must have at least 30% of the banking capital of the country). Legally restrict usurious extortionate interest on bank loans for households and enterprises in Ukraine. **Do not allow foreign persons to own controlling stakes of any private banks in Ukraine.**
33. Ensure complete transparency and accessibility of the National Bank for law enforcement agencies. Restrict the independence of the National Bank during economical emergency situations, such as the economic crises, wars. Introduce criminal liability for antisocial monetary and other policies of the National Bank, which lead to the impoverishment of the general population. Adopt a law on state gold and currency reserves.
34. Prohibit the issuance of foreign currency loans (exception - business entities that carry out foreign trade activities). Transfer debt on loans issued to individuals in foreign currency into national currency at the exchange rate that was at the time the loan. Compensate for the difference at the expense of gross expenses of banks and foreign exchange reserves of the National Bank of Ukraine.
35. Eliminate the social gap between rich and poor by encouraging development of the middle class (small and middle businessmen, high-paying professionals, including public sector workers - doctors, teachers, etc.), which will amount to not less than 60% of the working population. Provide targeted public interest-free loans to start a business (SME) and to simplify the permitting system. Implement state program of economic education of citizens.
36. Adopt a new Law of Ukraine "On government procurements and state orders", considering the benefits for the national manufacturers. Trade with state funds. Create a unified state Internet resource for the effective conduct of online-trading in the area of procurement.
37. Ensure revenues from the transit potential of Ukraine to the state budget and send them to construction of transport infrastructure.
38. Require to conduct construction of state and municipal facilities **solely by national experts, thus creating working places for the citizens of Ukraine.**

39. Implement targeted preferential government loans to small and medium agriculture, particularly to provide for agricultural manufacturers with means of production. Implement large-scale sectoral programs of direct grants. Provide government support for innovation in agriculture.
40. Adopt a national program for the development of agricultural equipment. **Impose prohibitive import duties on agricultural machinery 5 years after its announcement, the equivalent of which is produced in Ukraine.**
41. Develop the cooperative movement in rural areas in accordance with a separate comprehensive state program.
42. Create networks for sales of Ukrainian agricultural products.
43. Establish the parity of purchasing and selling prices for agricultural products. Provide food needs of the state exclusively through domestic agricultural products (except products that are not cultivated in the Ukraine).
44. Carry out an effective and transparent activity of the State Reserve and its activity on all agricultural markets. Provide agricultural manufacturers with government contracts for agricultural products. Rebuild the state system of storing agricultural products.
45. Adopt national development programs of breeding, seed production, plant protection, livestock breeding, horticulture, fish culture and so on. Conduct a complete inventory of appropriate production facilities.
46. Develop the social sector in rural areas. Ensure easily accessible preferential loans for the purchase and construction of housing in rural areas if the borrower participates in agricultural production and for budget employees.
47. Develop competitive sectors for Ukrainian industrial and innovation activities: food-processing (including recycling of foreign material), aircraft, shipbuilding, machine tools and machinery (energy, agriculture, etc.), military-industrial complexes and space industry. **Direct government support for high-tech, knowledge-intensive, innovative, import substitution and vertically integrated industry.**
48. Encourage gradual replacement of imported products with domestic ones (especially big and small agricultural machinery, light industry, food products).
49. Eliminate private monopolies and oligopolies in the Ukrainian economy.
50. Allow export of non-recoverable raw materials and derivative products only by corresponding licenses.
51. Adopt a law on **privatization of housing in apartment blocks** including land plots for houses, adjacent areas and joint ownership of citizens.
52. Reform housing and communal services. Stimulate the creation of condominiums. **Ensure maintenance and exploitation of apartment buildings on competitive basis.** Disallow foreign companies to serve condominiums. Introduce institute of certified managers of apartment buildings.
53. Return companies-monopolists of electricity, gas, heat, water supply and sanitation to communal ownership of territorial communities.
54. Implement a comprehensive state program for full utilization of solid domestic and biological waste.
55. Require building companies to build social housing at affordable prices in accordance with the government program. Create a state special fund for development of social housing.

Implement a comprehensive program of reconstruction and gradual replacement of buildings built in the 1960-ies ("khrushchevskas").

56. Adopt a new, socially just, Labor Code - Labor Code of Ukraine. Develop a **tariffication scale of hourly wages in line with European standards. Set five-fold ratio between the maximum and minimum hourly wage in the public sector employees.**

57. Support the development of effective independent trade unions. Ensure the right to strike.

58. Abolish the unjust pension reform, legitimize retirement age from life expectancy. Establish direct dependence of the amount of pension from work experience and the permissible five-fold ratio between the maximum and minimum pension for solidarity pension system.

59. Bring the living wage in line with the actual needs. Regularly review the living wage standards to maintain their relevance.

60. Provide disabled citizens and orphans government with targeted assistance in an amount not less than the subsistence minimum.

III. National Health: Overcoming the Demographic Crisis and Raising the Quality of Life

1. Implement long-term state program to promote healthy social life, including the promotion of mental and physical health, fighting drug addiction, alcoholism and smoking.

2. Implement obligatory state social health insurance that will provide a guaranteed basic package of urgent primary medical aid, provided free of charge at the expense of public health fund.

3. Implement a "Reproductive Health of the Nation" program. **Disallow abortion except due to medical issues, and/or rape, which were proved in court. Align the implementation of illegal abortion to attempted murder in the criminal law.**

4. Implement a policy of economic protectionism against domestic pharmaceutical industry and medical engineering. Ensure strict state control over the quality and price of medical products, especially imported.

5. Recover and return to state ownership Sanatorium and resort facilities. Prohibit realigning of sanatoriums. Prevent the privatization of the resort and sanatorium lands throughout Ukraine.

6. Adopt national housing program under which a family with three children receives state free loan, a family of four children - state free loan, 50% of which is refundable, a family with five children or more - free housing from state. Establish accessible government soft loans for housing for young families.

7. **Increase the amount of payments to Ukrainian families for the birth of each additional child in accordance with inflation rates in the country and the growth of prices for baby products.**

8. Ban advertising of tobacco products and alcoholic beverages in any form throughout Ukraine. **Criminalize promotion of drug use (including so-called 'soft drugs') and sexual perversions.**

9. Provide local communities the right to limit the sale of alcoholic beverages.

10. Set a special tax on alcoholic beverages, tobacco products, genetically modified food. Direct the funds received to programs addressing social diseases (tuberculosis, oncological

and cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, HIV / AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, drug addiction).

11. Create a network of modern laboratories for the analysis of food products for the presence of genetically modified organisms.
12. Allow sale of genetically modified food products only with special labeling that is clearly visible and only in specialized departments of retail establishments. Strengthen criminal penalties for non-compliance during labeling and trade of genetically modified foods.
13. Organize adequate state control over healthcare workers, sanitary working conditions and public safety in manufacturing.
14. Provide residents of regions of Ukraine, who were affected by anthropogenic pollution, with a status equal to that of Chernobyl residents.
15. Keep the existing reserve areas and parks intact and create new recreational areas.
16. Require raw material-intensive branches of large companies to conduct ecological modernization of production facilities.
17. Encourage the transfer beyond the settlements to a safe distance of all enterprises engaged in pollutant emissions into the environment.
18. Oblige physical and legal persons to compensate double the amount of damage caused to the environment.

IV. Citizenship and Migration: Right to a Homeland and Protection of the Living Space

1. Adopt a new Citizenship Act, under which **citizenship will be given only to those persons who were born in Ukraine or are ethnically Ukrainian, who returned from abroad for permanent living and working in Ukraine. Allow people born in Ukraine from foreigners or stateless persons to acquire Ukrainian citizenship upon reaching age of majority only under the conditions of Ukrainian language fluency, knowledge of Ukrainian history and content of the Constitution of Ukraine.**
2. Allow to acquire citizenship of Ukraine in exceptional cases, to persons who are legally residing in Ukraine for at least 15 years and are fluent in Ukrainian, have knowledge of Ukrainian history and content of the Constitution of Ukraine, took the oath of allegiance to Ukraine **and abandoned all other nationalities**. Disallow these persons' right to acquire the citizenship of Ukraine, if they have criminal records.
3. Provide strict criminal liability for unlawful provision and obtaining of citizenship.
4. **Eliminate the illegal practice of dual citizenship.** Deprive of Ukrainian citizenship persons who hide that they are citizens of another state.
5. Confiscate property and capital goods acquired in Ukraine from offenders of the Citizenship Act to the state.
6. **Facilitate the mass returning to Ukraine of ethnic Ukrainians.** Ensure preferential terms for returning home of Ukrainians and their descendants born abroad.
7. Conclude bilateral agreements on the legalization of Ukrainian workers. Provide state protection of Ukrainians abroad by all possible means.
8. Create conditions for Ukrainian migrant workers to return home. **Consider their earned money and property, provided that they invest in Ukrainian business, to be investments that are not taxed.**

9. **Eliminate the root cause of migration and demographic crisis** - ensure the constitutional right to housing for every Ukrainian family.

10. Ban the adoption of Ukrainian children by foreigners.

11. Introduce symmetrical visa regime with other countries. Let visa-free entry to Ukraine to citizens of only those countries which have abolished visa requirements for citizens of Ukraine.

12. **Establish stricter anti-immigration measures and improve the system of detention and deportation of illegal immigrants.**

13. Strengthen state border protection and cut off channels of illegal migration.

14. **Establish mandatory registration of foreign citizens** who arrive on the territory of Ukraine, in the local bodies of Ministry of Internal Affairs. **Establish, due to the threat of international terrorism and crime, a uniform biometric control system for everyone who enters Ukraine (database of fingerprints, eye retina, etc.).**

15. Terminate agreement with the EU on readmission. Conclude with other states, from territories where illegal immigrants come to Ukraine, **readmission agreements (return of illegal immigrants) on favorable conditions for Ukraine.**

16. **Provide place in higher educational institutions' dormitories primarily for Ukrainian, not foreign students.**

17. Carry out regular inspections of Foreigners Registration materials coming from schools with lists of students who actually enrolled in them. Ensure timely exit from the territory of Ukraine of foreign students who are expelled from schools.

V. Information Space and Education: Preserving National Identity and Cultural Development

1. Adopt the Law "On Protection of the Ukrainian language" instead of the current "On Languages in the Ukrainian SSR". New State Language Policy Committee, responsible for the protection and distribution of Ukrainian language. **Create a State Language Policy Committee, responsible for the protection and propagation of the Ukrainian language.**

2. Regulate the use of the Ukrainian language in the media according to the number of Ukrainians - **no less than 78% of their space and airtime.**

3. Provide simultaneous official language audio translation of foreign performances, broadcasts and films on television and radio. **Provide translation at the expense of the media owners.**

4. Abolish tax on the **Ukrainian book publishing**, audio, video production and software.

5. Implement a mandatory Ukrainian language exam for civil servants and candidates for elected office. **Require all state employees to use Ukrainian language at work and during public appearances.**

6. Include in the programs of all universities in Ukraine **a compulsory "Culture of Ukrainian language" course of not less than 72 hours.**

7. Verify the language of instruction in all without exception training and educational institutions to be in accordance with the official status of the learning facilities. **Revoke licenses of educational institutions if they have carried out teaching in foreign languages without proper registration status of the establishment of foreign language teaching. Cease the supply of textbooks and teaching materials in foreign languages at the expense**

of the State Budget of Ukraine in institutions that do not have official status of institutions with foreign language teaching.

8. **Cultivate the best traditions of Ukrainian pedagogy.** Discontinue the practice of mechanical copying of foreign models, including the Bologna Process.
9. Expand the network of preschool educational institutions. Provide each child access to Ukrainian preschool.
10. Restore and maintain the system of after-school facilities and children's sports schools.
11. Implement a state program of soft loans for education. Provide graduates of secondary and higher education with first working place.
12. **Adopt a state program of patriotic education and hardening the nature of the young generation.** Provide active leisure and recreation for children and youth. Promote youth networks and patriotic organizations, sports groups, clubs, summer camps for children and youth.
13. Change the principles for candidate of science titles and PhDs and for structure of the Supreme Attestation Commission of Ukraine for ensuring real, not formal control over the quality of dissertations.
14. Encourage the return of Ukrainian scientists who moved abroad.
15. Establish incentive programs of cooperation between Ukrainian and leading foreign academic institutions.
16. Bring patent law of Ukraine in line with the leading international practice of patent law. Ensure that the researchers and developers receive no less than 25% of the amount from the sale of rights to a patent for their invention.
17. **Remove soviet propagandistic literature from youth and public library funds.** Purchase at the expense of the national budget works of literature, art, music, film to replenish libraries, museums, record libraries, video libraries, repertoire of theaters, music collectives and more.
18. **Provide state scholarships and grants on competitive basis to carry out art projects, creations of national works of literature, art, music, movies, plays, concerts, TV programs and more.**
19. Develop networks of concert halls, cinemas, bookshops, galleries and exhibition halls, providing favorable conditions for them to rent.
20. **Introduce the protection issue of national information space within the competence of NSDC to deal with informational occupation of Ukraine.** Create public radio and television, competitive Ukrainian film industry.
21. **Deprive of licenses the media that violates language legislation, humiliates national dignity of Ukrainians, spreads misinformation or carries out anti-Ukrainian propaganda.**
22. Require all media to inform the public about all of their owners (the press - in every issue, TV and radio - daily, during broadcast).
23. **Increase import duty on foreign polygraphic, audio and video products.** Implement a tax on foreign rebroadcasting of radio and television program products, copying and rental of music and film. Redirect the funds for the development to the national information space.

24. Direct every sixth hryvnia from profits from rental of foreign films to the development of the domestic film industry. **Set tax on advertising, during the broadcast of foreign films, in favor of national cinema.**

25. Increase mandatory quotas of airtime on radio and TV and screen time in cinemas for **Ukrainian language audio-visual products produced in Ukraine and ensure its uniform presence on the air throughout the day. Implement strict criminal liability for failure to comply with the quota.**

26. Establish tax relief on the development of advanced information technology and modern electronic networks. Eliminate oligopoly market of information technologies on the territory of Ukraine.

27. Create competitive Ukrainian operating system for computers based on current available systems with high-quality translation, reasonable amount of Ukrainian fonts, implement customer support and security services. Establish a Ukrainian operating system in all government bodies and institutions.

28. Establish domestic production of Ukrainian-language software (especially specialized: for accounting, storing, school, office, etc.) for government agencies, educational institutions and for free sale. **Require public institutions to use exclusively Ukrainian software.**

29. Promote the establishment of a unified Ukrainian Local Church centered in Kiev.

VI. Historical Justice: State Building and Overcoming the Consequences of Occupation

1. **Specify in the Constitution of Ukraine that the succession of modern Ukrainian state was established in Kievan Rus', continued by Galicia-Volhynia, Cossack Hetman Republic period, Ukrainian People's Republic, West Ukrainian People's Republic, Carpathian Ukraine and the Ukrainian state, which was restored by the Act of June 30 1941, and that independent Ukraine emerged as a result of over three centuries of national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.**

2. **Recognize the fact of occupation of Ukraine by Bolshevik Russia during 1918-91, which resulted in an unprecedented genocide of Ukrainians.**

3. **Achieve Ukrainian genocide recognition during the twentieth century from the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the United Nations, the European Parliament, the parliaments of the world, in which 20.5 million Ukrainians were killed, to be considered a crime against humanity** (terror and looting of civilians during the war of UPR against Bolshevik Russia in 1918-1921; dekulakization and forced collectivization; artificial famine of 1921, 1932-33, 1947; several waves of Ukrainian elite killings in 1920-30-40's and 1970's; killing of civilians during the war, forced labor export of Ukrainians to foreign lands; "Operation Vistula"; torture in prisons and humiliation using punitive psychiatry on Ukrainian patriots until the collapse of the Soviet empire; robbing the national economy, historical and cultural values; robbery and destruction of Ukrainian churches; persecution on ethnic and religious grounds; the systematic destruction of Ukrainian culture and language; total Russification).

4. Open all the archives of Cheka-SPD-NKVD-MGB-KGB that are stored in the central archive and regional archives of the Security Service of Ukraine.

5. Renew criminal investigation into the Holodomor of 1932-33, which was recognized by the state as genocide of the Ukrainian people, a crime, to which the statute of limitations is not applicable. **Carry out a public trial of communism. Obtain a court order to ban the**

communist ideology as misanthropic and one that has caused irreparable damage to the Ukrainian people.

6. Establish strict criminal liability for public denial of the Holodomor as genocide against the Ukrainian nation.

7. Abolish and prevent the use of imperial-Bolshevik symbols, commemorations of dates, monuments and names in honor of butchers of Ukraine. Prohibit the establishment of any imperial monuments and symbols in Ukraine that glorify the history of the occupants.

8. Set up a special investigative structure for tracing criminals who were destroying the Ukrainian nation, and after finding them bring them to justice.

9. Demand from Moscow official recognition, apology and compensation for the genocide of the Ukrainian people. Achieve from Russia the return of savings of the citizens of Ukraine (83 billion karbovanetses as of 1991). Insist on the transfer to Ukraine the rightful share of the Diamond fund, gold and foreign exchange reserves, foreign assets of the former USSR.

10. Pay compensation to repressed Ukrainians and their descendants in amounts corresponding to their suffering.

11. Provide Ukrainians from Kuban, Chelm Land, Nadsyannya, Podlasie, Lemko regions, which were forcibly evicted from their land, with status of deported peoples with all social guarantees.

12. Develop and implement a public education program "The Truth about the Ukrainian genocide." Provide separate educational discipline "History of Ukrainian genocide in the twentieth century" in all schools.

13. Acknowledge that the struggle, which was taking place until the end of the 1950-ies by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), was a national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. **Acknowledge UPA soldiers and OUN underground fighters to be members of the national liberation struggle for independence of Ukraine.**

14. Provide the veterans of UPA with proper privileges and compensate for the not added ones since the independence.

15. Abolish special pensions for servants of the Soviet regime, the executives of the Communist party, Komsomol and punitive authorities of the USSR.

16. Disseminate the truth about the Ukrainian liberation struggle in the twentieth century by means of social advertising, public parliamentary hearings, documentary and feature films, book publishing and more. Implement a course of studying the history of the Ukrainian liberation struggle in the twentieth century in all schools.

17. Establish a National Memorial Museum dedicated to the Ukrainian valour (the armed struggle for independence of the Ukrainian Nation).

18. Revive traditional Ukrainian holidays. Introduce state-level celebration on the second Sunday in May of traditional for the Ukrainians Mother's Day.

19. Announce October 14 (St. Pokrova - patron saint of Ukrainian Cossacks, the day of the creation of UPA) to be a national holiday - the Day of Ukrainian Weaponry. Cancel celebration of 23th February - the so-called "Fatherland Defender Day" (of the Soviet army).

20. Facilitate the return of national, cultural, historical and other values to Ukraine exported abroad during periods of occupation.

VII. Foreign Policy and Defence: the European-Ukrainian Centrism and a Strong State

1. Determine the European Ukrainocentrism state strategic course **according to which Ukraine aims to become not only the geographical, but also the geopolitical center of Europe.**
2. **Cease all participation of Ukraine in supranational formations launched by Moscow:** Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Common Economic Space (CES), the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) and others.
3. Pay special attention to the only true geopolitical project, in which the main role is played by Ukraine – GUAM (= *Organization for Democracy and Economic Development, Partnerstaaten: Aserbajdschan, Georgien, Moldavien und Ukraine - UK*). Involve other countries in the Commonwealth from the Black Sea and Caspian Basin.
4. Direct foreign efforts to build closer political and economic cooperation with **natural allies** - the countries of Baltic-Black Sea geopolitical axis (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Bulgaria, in the long term - Belarus et al.). Initiate mutually beneficial agreements between these countries and Ukraine in all strategic areas: trade and customs policy, energy security and transit, **defense**, etc.
5. Develop and implement an **effective state program's for positive image of Ukraine in the world.** Involve through special government programs the numerous Ukrainian diasporas to lobby Ukrainian interests in other countries.
6. Complete delimitation (establish agreement) and demarcation (marking of border signs) of Ukraine national borders, including the sea. **Set borders unilaterally in case of further delays by neighbors countries, including Russia.** Ensure proper border security. **Introduce a visa regime with Russia.**
7. **Demand from countries which declared the safety and security of the borders of Ukraine** in exchange for giving up nuclear weapons (Budapest Memorandum, 1994), **effective rather than paper guarantees. Conclude bilateral agreements with the U. S. and the UK for immediate full-scale military assistance to Ukraine in case of armed aggression against Ukraine.**
8. Appeal to the General Assembly and the UN Security Council demanding statements to evaluate the possibility of pre-emptive nuclear strikes without declaring war.
9. **Restore the nuclear status of Ukraine** due to violations of the Budapest Memorandum by Russia (one of the guarantors of security of Ukraine): conflicts around Tuzla island and the Kerch Strait, direct threats, brutal political and economic pressure, regular attempts of officials to question the territorial integrity of Ukraine. **Restore tactical missile and nuclear arsenal state. Appeal to the U. S. and the UK to promote and support the nuclear program in Ukraine.**
10. **Start real, not declarative actions that enable the integration of Ukraine into the European security structures: clean authority and power structures from the agents of Moscow; neutralize subversive organizations funded by Russia; delimit and demarcate the borders; destroy the pockets of separatism; neutralize all territorial claims to Ukraine; ensure the withdrawal of Russian military bases on Ukrainian territory; immediately reform and rebuild the Armed Forces and Naval Forces of Ukraine.**
11. **Demand from NATO member countries favorable conditions for Ukraine, clear guarantees and specific terms of possible entry of Ukraine into NATO. Develop and implement a parallel plan for Security and Defense of Ukraine.**

12. Develop own system of missile attack warning and means of action in response to the independent or joint basis with other countries. Recover in its entirety the air defense system to protect the country's entire airspace. Strengthen Air Defence to protect strategic facilities and populous cities. **Appeal to Western countries to provide Ukraine for rent with mobile air defense system to deploy missile and air shields in exchange for intelligence of Ukrainian radar stations in Sevastopol and Mukachevo. This way, verify the real willingness of NATO to cooperate with Ukraine in the field of defense and security.**

13. **Set funding of the Armed Forces of Ukraine at 5% of GDP** (to overcome technological backwardness of the Armed Forces from neighboring countries), given the urgent need for reforming and upgrading the troops (*Anmerkung: dieser Wert ist höher als der von USA und Russland (je 4,4%) GB (2,5%), Frankreich (2,3%), China (2,0) und Deutschland (1,4%) – Angaben nach SIPRI 2012 - UK*). Reform the Armed Forces of Ukraine, including the navy and the aircraft, equip them with ships, aircraft, missile strike systems and air defense systems of the 4th and 5th generations, re-equip existing equipment (aircraft, ships) with modern weapons.

14. **Restore the prestige of service in the Armed Forces and other military formations.** Increase salaries of military personnel. Solve the problem of providing them with housing by providing soft loans for the state of its acquisition.

15. Rebuild own military-industrial complex for providing the Armed Forces of Ukraine with national modern weapons and effective participation of Ukraine in the global arms market. Integrate research institutions of the Armed Forces into the military-industrial complex of Ukraine. Provide priority studies on the establishment of the modern samples of high precision weapons and weapons that act on new physical principles. **Establish favorable military-technical cooperation with other countries.**

16. Ensure strict control over pricing and receiving the proceeds from arms sales to the state budget of Ukraine. Direct all proceeds from arms sales solely for defense. **End the practice of mindless destruction of modern effective samples of armament at the request of other countries or their sale at the expense of Ukraine.**

17. Develop and systematically implement by 2017 a new program of reform and construction of Ukrainian army that will provide real national defense. Create high-tech and professional contract army - the regular troops. Establish a national reserve of the Armed Forces.

18. Create a unified system of training and mobilization of reservists (on the Swiss model). **Restore in its entirety the system of initial military training and civil defense in the secondary school and a network of military faculties in universities.**

19. **Create an effective counter-intelligence service to ensure the safety of the Ukrainian rear against saboteurs of the likely opponent.**

20. Reorganize and strengthen the coast guard of the Black Sea. Set in the strategically important areas on the Black Sea-Azov coast of Ukraine anti-ship and anti-submarine missiles to protect the body of water, place modern air defense missile systems to cover military coast guard and Marine Corps's naval forces. **Increase the number of troops in the Crimea, re-equip them with modern rocket artillery and armored vehicles for rapid deployment and countering possible aggression.**

VIII. Crimea and Sevastopol: Establishing a Constitutional Order and Ensuring Stable Development

- 1. Submit to nationwide referendum the change of status of the Crimea from autonomous to regional and abolish the special status of Sevastopol.**
2. Provide Sevastopol with the right of free port. Implement preferential tax treatment for resort and recreational economic activity in the Southern and Western coast of Crimea.
- 3. Terminate "Kharkiv agreements" (*zu Gaslieferungen aus Russland an Ukraine - UK*) between Yanukovich and Medvedev of April 21, 2010.**
- 4. Develop a program at the level of National Security Council on unilateral actions of Ukraine in case of failure of obligations on the withdrawal of the Black Sea Fleet from the territory of Ukraine until 2017. Demand the immediate withdrawal of the Black Sea Fleet from Crimea, if the Russian Federation further violates the laws of Ukraine and the signed international agreements.**
- 5. Create Ukrainian checkpoints at all sites, leased by the Russian Black Sea Fleet.** Disallow foreign military personnel in military uniform to move outside of leased military bases of foreign countries on the territory of Ukraine (except for official delegations).
- 6. Raise the flag of Ukraine over all the objects rented by the Black Sea Fleet and set the procedures for the use of foreign state symbols on the territory of Ukraine in accordance with the legislation of Ukraine and international standards.**
7. Ensure immediate enforcement of all decisions of the Ukrainian courts regarding the removal of Ukrainian property from illegal use by the Black Sea Fleet. Appeal to judicial instances with claims for compensation related to these losses. Conduct a thorough inventory of the property, buildings and territories used by the Black Sea Fleet.
- 8. Implement unilaterally and in accordance with international standards the recalculation of rental rates for the Black Sea Fleet in Ukraine.**
9. Strengthen the protection of the state border in the Azov and Black Seas. **Ensure strict customs controls for all cargoes that enter the territory of Ukraine through Black Sea Fleet.**
- 10. Implement continuous unimpeded professional inspections of military facilities the Black Sea Fleet in Ukraine** for compliance with the laws of their operation and Ukraine signed international agreements. **Demand from the Russian Federation detailed quarterly reports on their residence in Ukraine (including the territorial waters and the continental shelf) weapons and ammunition.**
11. Make a complete revision of property rights and land use rights and property of objects in the Crimea.
12. Restore the right for unrestricted use of land areas in accordance with applicable law - beaches and coastal zones in the hundred-meter zone from the flow line.
- 13. Adopt a state program of integration into Ukrainian society of the Crimean part that would foresee economic, transport, cultural, informational and educational integration.**
- 14. Implement state programs representing Ukrainian culture and art in the Crimea.** Provide on competitive basis centers of Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian media in Crimea, supported by the state.
15. Ensure that the Ukrainians of the Crimea have free access to Ukrainian media and bookstores through targeted subsidies from the state budget.

16. Ensure that the Ukrainians of the Crimea have the opportunity to freely receive education in their mother tongue in secondary, vocational and higher education establishments (*besonders ironisch, wenn man den inzwischen rückgängig gemachten Plan zur Abschaffung der russischen Zweit-Sprache in der übrigen Ukraine bedenkt – UK*).

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The twentieth Congress of the All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" on May 24th, 2009,

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