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## **MAJOR CHALLENGES FOR POST-WAR UKRAINE<sup>1</sup>**

### **GŁÓWNE WYZWANIA DLA UKRAINY PO WOJNIE**

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**Abstract:**

The study systematizes a number of real and potential political, economic and social challenges and threats to the post-war development and reconstruction processes in Ukraine which should be taken into account when developing the country's reconstruction plans. These threats and challenges have been divided into four main groups: finances, people, political institutions, and global space.

The following threats have been characterized: a huge level of financial resources needed for reconstruction; poorly recognized current state of the economy; a low level of economic freedom and related lack of investment attractiveness; the demographic crisis; post-traumatic society syndrome; low professional competence of officials; a tendency of the government and local authorities to opacity and authoritarian management methods; reluctance of the country's political elites to introduce the rule of law in Ukraine and endemic corruption of the entire public power system; the military threat; a possibility of dependence on transnational corporations; large ecological and technogenic pollution.

It has been concluded that timely identification, prevention and neutralization of these threats will help to rebuild and raise post-war Ukraine faster and with less losses, and it will create preconditions for successful integration with the European community. Current statistical data, reports of domestic and international institutions, as well as publications (mainly online) of centers monitoring the situation in Ukraine were used in the analyses conducted.

**Keywords:** Ukraine, post-war reconstruction, challenges and threats.

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<sup>1</sup> The content of the article was presented and discussed during the Polish-Ukrainian Scientific Seminar entitled: *Ukraine in the face of Russian aggression. Problems of security of the state, society and the region*. The seminar, under the patronage of the Consul of Ukraine, was held on January 19 this year at the Jagiellonian University on the initiative of the Polish Geopolitical Society. In its organization also participated University of Gdansk and Warsaw University.

## Introduction

The war in Ukraine, one of the greatest challenges for humanity in the first quarter of the 21st century, is not only devastating the country on a daily basis, but has already caused serious economic and socio-political problems in the European Union and many other countries. It is quite obvious to everyone that both Ukraine's victory in the war with Russia and the post-war reconstruction of the country are impossible without the participation and help of Europe and the United States of America. We feel this help every day and are sincerely grateful to our partners in Poland, France, Germany, the USA, Canada, Great Britain and many other countries who strengthen our defensive capabilities and faith in the inevitable victory over the enemy.

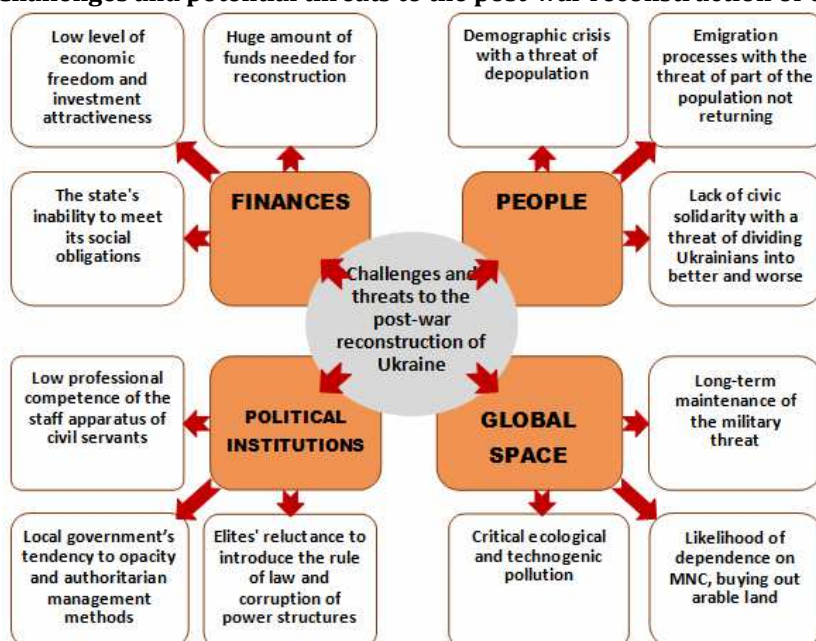
It is also clear that even if Russian troops leave the territory of Ukraine tomorrow, Ukraine will not be able to recover from the effects of the war quickly. *“Rebuilding the country, among Europe’s biggest by population and area, will be a generational undertaking. For Ukraine to succeed, it must also be reformed and broadly reinvented as a viable candidate for admission into the European Union, which can wield the leverage to effect those reforms. That means the reconstruction of Ukraine will depend on more than cash and concrete, although heroic quantities of both are needed. Ultimately, its fate will turn on a transformation of mind-set and governance in a nation notorious for oligarchs and endemic corruption”* (The Washington Post 2022).

Therefore, already now, together with European partners, Ukraine has begun to develop plans and projects for the post-war reconstruction of the country. This task will be extremely difficult, because it is currently impossible to estimate the actual damage caused by the Russian military aggression in Ukraine. Leading European experts have already undertaken to develop plans for the reconstruction of Ukraine in the post-war period and have presented them, e.g. "Blueprint for the Reconstruction of Ukraine" (The Centre for Economic Policy Research 2022). International conferences on the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine were held in the Netherlands, Germany, France and Switzerland. It was at a conference in the Swiss city of Lugano on July 4–5, 2022, that the Ukrainian government presented its own National Recovery Plan for Ukraine – the Fast Recovery plan (The Village 2022). Strengths and weaknesses of this plan were analyzed in detail by Tetyana Bohdan, Research Director at the Growford Institute (Bogdan 2022). She described all 15 programs of this plan, but did not pay attention to one important point; namely, the plan developed in the

Chancellery of the President of Ukraine is modelled on the relevant programs of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1997 (The Worldbank 2017). After all, as the history of post-war reconstruction shows, the post-war reconstruction of states can be of the so-called "post-traumatic growth" character (characteristic of Poland, Germany and the Netherlands), as well as a failure to achieve the set goals. As Megan Green wrote in the Financial Times, *"Reconstruction programs are never guaranteed to succeed, as evidenced by Afghanistan and Iraq. However, the cost of failure in this case may be huge, both for Ukraine, Europe and the world. A failed state in Europe bordering Russia would be a security nightmare. It would guarantee a protracted refugee crisis as millions of displaced Ukrainians would have no reason to return home"* (Green 2022).

The very failure to achieve the goals is characteristic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where after the end of the war (1992–1995) there was no significant economic growth, despite substantial financial assistance from the EU and various types of funds from other countries that tried to help the country integrate into Europe. Among the mistakes of Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time, experts mention the lack of an overall development strategy, the lack of a single center coordinating reconstruction programs, the misuse of funds, the low potential of the authorities' competences, etc. (Ukrainer 2022).

Fig. 1. Challenges and potential threats to the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine



Taking into account the aforementioned, but also other possible threats, errors and mistakes, a number of political, economic and social challenges to the post-war development and reconstruction processes of Ukraine have been identified in the further part of the article which should be taken into account when developing the country's reconstruction plans. Such threats and challenges can be broadly divided into four main spheres or sectors: finances, people, political institutions and global space (Fig. 1.).

### **Finances**

The first item in the financial sector is both clear and completely unknown – how much money will be needed to rebuild the country will be known only after the end of the war, and in the present world no one knows this coveted date. The world's leading economists estimate the current demand for a trillion dollars, but even with respect to that amount, the Washington Post editorial board has one very simple question: who is willing to pay for it? (The Washington Post 2022). It is obvious that this number will significantly increase by the end of the war, just as it is also obvious that it will be extremely difficult to collect the required amount, especially that the longer the Ukrainian–Russian war lasts, the greater the fatigue of the citizens of Europe with its negative consequences. The public is increasingly convinced of the need for a peaceful end to this war at all costs. According to a recent survey conducted by Euroskopia, in 9 large countries of the European Union, a total of 48% of citizens are in favor of a quick end to the conflict, even at the expense of Ukraine's resignation from the occupied territories. Only 32% of Europeans were opposed to sacrifices for the sake of peace. 64% of Austrian citizens and 60% of German citizens voted for the rapid end of hostilities along with the loss of part of the territory of Ukraine. This option is also supported by a large proportion of Greeks (54%), Italians (50%), Spaniards (50%) and Portuguese (41%). On the other side are the Netherlands and Poland, where only 27% and 28% of citizens support this idea (Euroskopia network 2023).

The expected state of the national economy will significantly affect the future demand for money for the reconstruction of Ukraine. This is directly related to the destruction of a significant number of industrial enterprises and energy infrastructure facilities as a result of the aggressor's missile and artillery strikes. According to official estimates, the total losses of Ukraine as a result of the destruction of infrastructure and the loss of economic potential amount to as much as

\$4 billion per day (Ukrainer 2022). The collapse of the economy increases public debt. Currently, it is impossible to determine the actual amount of the state debt of Ukraine, but it is known that in 2023 the country will have to repay more than \$3 billion in foreign debt and more than \$13 billion in domestic debt for interest on pre-war loan liabilities (Слово і діло 2023).<sup>2</sup>

Let us point out that the plan for the reconstruction of Western Europe after World War II, commonly known as the "Marshall Plan", provided for direct US financial injections amounting to about 10% of the total needs – all other funds came in the form of various types of investments. The role of investments and investors in reviving the economy is widely known, and it is no coincidence that President Volodymyr Zelensky, at the beginning of his term of office, promised to create so-called "investment nannies" in Ukraine in order to ensure an attractive investment climate. An office was opened, but there were no results – the extremely low level of investment attractiveness of Ukraine remained at a low level.

Thus, according to the latest measure of investment attractiveness of such a well-known organization as BDO International Business Compass, Ukraine ranks 131st out of 174 countries (BDO International 2023), next to such countries as Malawi, Benin, Myanmar or Djibouti. This is a synthetic indicator, calculated on the basis of economic, political, legal and social factors, which determines the attractiveness of the country from the point of view of potential investment decisions, and this is a clear indicator of economic prospects.

Also the Index of Economic Freedom, calculated annually by the Wall Street Journal and the Heritage Foundation, in 2022, ranked Ukraine 130th among a group of countries with "predominantly nonfree economies" (Heritage Foundation 2023).

Which investor will go to the country in such conditions? Only a supranational giant which does not adapt to the existing conditions but is able to dictate its own conditions to the state itself! And such a giant is already entering Ukraine. On December 28, 2022, the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky held a video conference with Larry Fink, the president of BlackRock, the world's largest investment company (Офіційне інтернет-представництво Президента України 2022),

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<sup>2</sup> As the 2018 analysis showed, the strength of Ukraine's economy is its great agricultural and industrial potential, while the major cause of financial difficulties is the predatory privatization and seizure of assets by oligarchs, whose main goal has become to take capital abroad (Wilczyński, 2018).

which has been working for several months on a project to structure funds for the reconstruction of Ukraine.

The next threat is both economic and social. For a country where retirees constitute around one-third of the population, the collapse of the solidarity pension system, which includes the vast majority of Ukrainian pensioners, is a major risk which may result in serious social protests. It should be noted that even before the war, the Chairwoman of the Commission for Social Policy of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Galina Trietiakova, one of the most influential members of the party "Servant of the Nation", who is widely known for her anti-humanist statements (among others, "*low-quality children*" (Главред 2020), or pensioners who "*live too long after retirement*" (Експрес-вісник новин онлайн 2022), spoke about plans to liquidate the Pension Fund of Ukraine.

Not long before the war, pensioners who had previously worked in law enforcement agencies in Ukraine were already protesting because of the low level of their retirement benefits, and their pensions are still higher than those of most fellow citizens. How will Ukrainian pensioners survive after the war, when even today a large number of them receive less than the UN's officially recognized global poverty line of \$2 a day? Typical and widespread in the country are such examples when a pensioner who used to be a nurse with a second-group disability associated with many years of work in the infectious ward of the hospital today receives 2300 hryvnia, which is equivalent to \$54 dollars, or \$1.80 a day.

Another potentially threatening situation is the state's inability to implement legally established benefits for soldiers of the Armed Forces. Even after the first wave of Russia's invasion of the Donbass in 2014, to encourage participants in the anti-terrorist operation and to reward them for the fight in defense of the country, Ukraine has established large benefits, which also apply to current participants in the war with Russia (Урядовий кур'єр 2023). A significant amount of these salaries is of a purely financial nature: free treatment, dental prosthetics, free public transport, a 75% discount in apartment rental, the same amount of discount for the use of utilities (gas, electricity and other services) and the cost of fuel for heating one's own home. In addition, fighters who have been injured or maimed in combat or military service shall be provided with accommodation.

In addition, soldiers have the right to receive agricultural plots up to 2 ha, 0.12 ha for gardening, 0.25 ha for building a house, etc. But even before the start of the full-scale war on February 24, 2022, it turned out

that such an amount of free land for soldiers simply does not exist! Therefore, Marek Budzisz points out: *"Even before the war, there was a special department in Ukraine dealing with 400,000 veterans, people who took part in the war in the Donbass. Now this number, given that there are a million people under arms in different formations, has significantly increased. These will be traumatized people, with many problems, for whom it will not be easy to adapt to civilian life. The experience of European countries, especially after the First World War, signals the risks, including political ones, associated with a large community of veterans who believe that they have defended their homeland and that it has the duty, in a manner adequate to the sacrifice, to repay them"* (Budzisz 2023).

Under market conditions, ensuring the above-mentioned large benefits will require an extremely large amount of budgetary resources. Will our foreign investors want to give money for this? All this means that Ukraine will need money not only to rebuild the destroyed infrastructure, but also to prevent social protests and riots due to the state's inability to meet its minimum social obligations.

As can be seen, the last two challenges/threats concern the economy and money directly, but to the same extent – people. Hence, we are moving to the second sector.

## People

In this analysis, we make a simple assumption – the reconstruction of Ukraine will require not only large financial outlays, but also an adequate number of physically fit people. And with this, even without the war, Ukraine had huge problems, because according to the data of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, it took the last place in the world ranking in terms of population growth/depopulation in early 2022, when the population decrease was 20.14%.<sup>3</sup> For comparison, the penultimate country on this list, Lebanon, saw its population decline by 2.37%. If one looks at the pyramid of gender and age of Ukraine, it becomes even more obvious that already since 2021 there has been a deep demographic crisis that poses a threat of further rapid depopulation. It follows from the sex and age pyramid presented in Fig. 2, that in Ukraine there are not only disproportionately

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<sup>3</sup> Few years before the start of the full-scale war, the process of depopulation of Ukraine was analyzed, among others, by well-known Russian expert B. Nigmatulin (2014) and W. Wilczyński (2018), seeing its causes (so called *сверхсмертность* or overmortality) also in the political and economic situation.

few people of working age, but also a very small number of underage children, which means that future generations will be much smaller in number than older people.

**Fig. 2. Sex and age of the Ukraine population (early 2023)**



Source: <https://population-pyramid.net/en/pp/ukraine>

It should also be noted that another very important demographic factor is not taken into account here. Even before Russia's full-scale aggression against Ukraine, more than 3 million Ukrainians lived abroad, 40% of whom declared a wish to move permanently to another country. A. Zapałowski notes that *"practically all programs of bringing them back to the country have failed... If the demographic indicators do not improve, and they do not promise to do so, Ukraine will be permanently deprived of*



*the population potential which even could rebuild the economy with a good economic situation"* (Zapałowski 2021). According to the United Nations, there are currently more than 5,650,000 Ukrainian refugees living in Europe (8.8 million people have left Ukraine since the beginning of the war, but almost 3.3 million have since returned). Most of the refugees are women and children because men of conscription age are not allowed to leave the country. More than 1.8 million Ukrainian children have been living and studying in foreign schools for almost a year, another 2.5 million are internally displaced from eastern Ukraine (Лукашов 2022), and not all of them will have anywhere to go back (for example, in Mariupol itself most apartment blocks have been destroyed). How many of these young women and their children will return to Ukraine to build it now and in the lifetime of future generations?

In an interview with Radio Liberty, the director of the Institute of Demography and Social Research of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Ella Libanova says that after the end of the war, only more than a third of people who have gone abroad as a result of hostilities may return to Ukraine, and the rest will remain in countries of temporary shelter. The expert added that *"everything depends on the economic situation – if there are jobs here, if there are positive economic dynamics as well as when it comes to rebuilding houses, many people will return. And if there is nothing we can do, then unfortunately even those who would like to return will not be able to do so"* (Радіо Свобода 2022). Thus, the demographic gap at the level of 15–30-year-olds and 0–7-year-olds will increase at least twofold! Yes, there could potentially be a situation where there will be money for reconstruction, but there will be an actual shortage of workers, which will result in mass migration to Ukraine of workers from poorer Asian countries, which will result in the erosion of Ukrainian identity.

Another, not potential but real threat in this sector is the post-traumatic syndrome of society – a need for mental rehabilitation of both those who have returned from the frontlines and those who have been home under daily missile attacks. War veterans with a heightened sense of justice will inevitably encounter bureaucratic officials who will not be able to provide them with legitimate privileges. Not everyone will be able to find peace in life. Already in 2014, based on the experience of other countries, the *Voice of Ukraine* newspaper, the official body of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, predicted the emergence of numerous marginal groups with weapons, as a result of which *"the most possible development option for this social class of the population will be to create*

*organized criminal groups. And then the authorities will see an even greater boom in crime than in the 1990s. Therefore, the new influx of criminal wars in the East is one hundred percent and quite possibly not only in the East”* (Міронова 2014).

The aforementioned Ella Libanova also speaks of the lack of civic solidarity in Ukraine and warns of the danger of dividing Ukrainians into “good” (those who defended the country), “worse” (those who stayed at home in Ukraine) and “bad” (those who fled or remained under occupation). Libanova suggests that in the future there may arise “*a social divide. We can't avoid it here. Rather, I expect such a sense of superiority from those who have been here all along*” (Радіо Свобода 2022).

In the context of gathering of all Ukrainians, without exception, around their President in opposition to the Russian aggression, there is also a risk of another social and mental confrontation between the inhabitants of eastern and western Ukraine. This would be the fact that currently the majority of internally displaced persons in Western Ukraine are Russian-speaking inhabitants of the eastern oblasts. They are often resented by local residents asking why they did not stay to fight the enemy for their homes, why they still speak the language of the occupiers, why they have always supported pro-Russian political parties. On the other hand, the displaced persons believe that during the war it is a sin to profit from the misfortunes of the same Ukrainians. After all, the inhabitants of the East have already lost their houses, jobs, money, and here they are forced to pay three or four times more for rent than in the pre-war period. Citizens from the eastern regions say that officially there is full solidarity, but in fact solidarity during the war should be manifested in providing, if not free, then subsidized housing for forced migrants. They say that true solidarity with them is manifested in Poland, Germany, England, Canada and many other countries, but not in Ukraine!

### **Political institutions**

The main challenges of the third sector – political institutions – are the low professional competence of civil servants to act within the framework of European models and standards of public management – transparent, accountable and professional. This is due to the inclination of the government and regional and local authorities to opacity and authoritarian methods of management. It is with professional preparation and the necessary qualifications that the biggest problems

arise in Ukraine. Every wave of Ukrainian revolutions was marked by the expulsion of experienced specialists from the state apparatus and replacing them with so-called "new faces", most often without special training.

Recruitment for civil service under the last 4 presidents was not based on professional qualifications, but on personal devotion or loyalty, and the tendency to opacity and authoritarian management methods grew on public institutions. Closing the only specialized educational institution for the training of state officials, the National Academy for Public Administration by a Presidential Decree in 2021 was the culmination of the de-professionalization of public service personnel potential in Ukraine. Formally, this university was not closed, but transferred to the National Aviation University, but within a few months of the thirty institutes and departments of the former academy, only three remained, as did several dozen of several hundred highly qualified scientists. At the same time, practically none of the newly elected "servants of the nation" studied at the presidential academy; a week-long training seminar at the sanatorium in Truskavets was enough for them. De-professionalization has reached its peak; most of the HR contests for such positions are actually a farce with a predetermined result. In Ukraine, since the time of Poroshenko, it has been popular to appoint young, slim girls as deputy ministers and ambassadors. The behavior of such individuals during their stays in Western resorts and capitals, images of luxurious life, are widely reported in the media and are met with outrage by Ukrainian society (Михайлова 2023).

In this way, we create a bridge to another threat to the successful post-war reconstruction of Ukraine – the endemic corruption of the entire system of public management. It is personified by the figure of Serhiy Mul, a border guard commander in Odessa, and in whose apartment investigators from the National Anti-Corruption Bureau and the State Bureau of Investigation found \$587,000, 380,000 euros, property ownership documents in Italy and Spain, accounts for \$16 million in foreign banks (Парламент.ua 2021). Even during the war in Ukraine, here and there, there have been various unpleasant stories about corruption in the institutions of power, corruption that the Washington Post openly calls endemic. Vitaly Shabunin, a well-known Ukrainian public figure and chairman of the board of the Anti-Corruption Center, honestly writes that *"officials who steal during the war are internal enemies, because they threaten the support of the West, which the country needs... there are more and more signs of preparations to*

*introduce such schemes for the post-war period. Part of the political environment is already preparing to 'slander' the money that the West will allocate for the reconstruction of Ukraine" (Шабунін 2023).*

Another proof of the reluctance of the country's political elites to introduce the rule of law in Ukraine was the appointment of 8 judges of the Supreme Council of the Judiciary, which has not worked for the last year due to the lack of a quorum. This was demanded by the West, and on January 12, 2023, these judges were elected, but the public, speaking through the same Shabunin, claims that *"they chose the worst of the possible, because of the 8 elected judges 7 are involved in corruption"* (Радіо NV 2023).

It seems that Ukrainian civil society has begun a decisive fight against corruption in the country. On January 21, the Ukrainian authoritative newspaper *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia* published a contract for the provision of meals for military personnel, which the Ministry of Defense concluded with the LLC "Activ Company". This company has a share capital of only one thousand hryvnia, and a year earlier it was subject to criminal proceedings by the national police. The value of the transaction is over 13 billion hryvnia, and the prices of the products contained in it are several times overpriced. Corrupt officials tried to steal up to 4 billion hryvnia in this scheme (Ніколов 2023). Following the disclosure of this affair, Deputy Defense Minister Shapovalov resigned, and President Zelensky carried out a series of staff purges and layoffs of officials, which was well received both by the Ukrainian society and in the United States of America.

It is the United States that not only is constantly calling on Ukrainian government officials to take a real fight against corruption, but it has also created a powerful institute to monitor and investigate the illegal actions of corrupt officials who have illegally used, are using, or will use the aid of the American people to Ukraine. As part of the American monitoring of corruption in Ukraine, on January 18, 2023, the Joint Strategic Oversight Plan for Ukraine Response was published on the website of the Office of Inspector General U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) (Office of Inspector General 2023). Serhiy Kozyakov emphasizes that *"this work is carried out with the help of investigators, both our own and the engaged specialists of the law enforcement authorities of the USA and Europe. The obligation to collect the necessary information also rests on the 17 organizations that make up the United States intelligence community"* (Козьяков 2023).

## Global space

Finally, the threats to the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine in the last sector – global space - are somewhat obvious. After all, we all understand that the Russian Federation will not disappear from the world map, and the new Russian governments will not be democratic and peace-loving. Therefore, for many years, a military threat from the north and east will be crucial for Ukraine, which will require maintaining a strong, combat-ready army and appropriate expenditures from the state budget.

If we pay attention to the experience of Argentina, Ukraine is also not deprived of the possibility of paying public debts with its black earth, best in the world, which is bought out by global agricultural holdings or transnational corporations such as BlackRock, which will put the country in a situation of external dependence and inability to use the wealth of its own lands.

I define significant pollution on the territory of Ukraine, which may turn into an environmental disaster, as another real threat in this sector. I will mention only two factors. The first one is that since September last year about 200,000 square kilometers of the territory of the country requires demining (Дзеркало тижня, 2022). It is unknown what area will require demining after the victory, but it is known that demining on such a scale will take years!

The second factor: to prevent man-made disasters, even closed coal mines must have constant care and maintenance. Meanwhile, since 2014, most of the more than 200 mines in Donbass have not been operated by anyone. They are gradually being flooded, with contaminated mine water leaking out of underground pits and corridors and poisoning clean groundwater.<sup>4</sup> Experts say that the inevitable consequences of flooding the mines in 10–50 years will be:

- settling and flooding of soils, which makes the land unsuitable for cultivation;
- contamination of drinking water in wells and water reservoirs with heavy metals and minerals;
- formation of depressions above the places of settling rocks in excavations;
- earthquakes caused by human activity;

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<sup>4</sup> Kitowski and Oskierko (2018) wrote about the dangers of deliberately sinking mines and eliminating mine gases through small nuclear explosions.

– methane escapes to the surface, in particular to the underground. This gas has no odor, so it is difficult to detect, and it can light up easily and explode (Безп'ятчук, Карп'як 2021).

## **Conclusions**

The challenges facing modern Ukraine are almost the greatest in its history. The country is trying to defeat a nuclear power that dominates in terms of army size and overall military potential. Equally difficult is the reconstruction of an almost completely destroyed economy, power industry, infrastructure, housing. Even with the extensive help of the European Union and the United States of America, it will be very difficult, because the losses of Ukrainian soldiers in the field of warfare are already in the tens and hundreds of thousands, and millions of refugees are displaced around the world. Hence, it is even difficult to imagine whether there will be the necessary human potential for reconstruction. It will be necessary to overcome deep-rooted corruption, to establish a real rule of law and to carry out important political and economic reforms that will create a favorable investment microclimate conducive to foreign investors and the development of local small and medium-sized enterprises.

Therefore, Ukraine will have to win not one, but two victories in a row. First of all, in the fight against the Russian occupier, we must liberate our territories and restore sovereignty. And then – win the war with devastation and rebuild the country of our dreams. And in this second war, there will be enemies, there will be threats that will prevent us from achieving what we want. Therefore, in this study, we have tried to distinguish and characterize the main potential threats and risks that will hinder the successful post-war reconstruction of Ukraine. Considering them and neutralizing them in a timely manner, or at least minimizing them, will help lift our country faster and with fewer losses; it will create all the preconditions for successful integration into the European community, an integration for which Ukraine is paying with the blood of soldiers on the battlefield against the Russian aggressor.

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#### **Streszczenie:**

W opracowaniu usystematyzowano szereg realnych i potencjalnych politycznych, gospodarczych i społecznych wyzwań i zagrożeń dla powojennych procesów rozwoju i odbudowy Ukrainy, które powinny być brane pod uwagę przy opracowywaniu planów odbudowy kraju. Te zagrożenia i wyzwania zostały podzielone na cztery główne grupy: finanse, ludzie, instytucje polityczne i przestrzeń globalna. Scharakteryzowano następujące zagrożenia: ogromna ilość środków finansowych potrzebnych na odbudowę; słabo rozpoznany obecny stan gospodarki; niski poziom wolności gospodarczej i związany z tym brak atrakcyjności inwestycyjnej; kryzys demograficzny; syndrom społeczeństwa posttraumatycznego; niskie kompetencje zawodowe urzędników; skłonność rządu i władz lokalnych do nieprzejrzystości i autorytarnych metod zarządzania; niechęć elit politycznych kraju do wprowadzenia rządów prawa i endemiczna korupcja całego systemu władzy publicznej; zagrożenie militarne; możliwość uzależnienia od korporacji transnarodowych; duże zanieczyszczenie ekologiczne i technogenne.

Stwierdzono, że terminowa identyfikacja, zapobieganie i neutralizacja tych zagrożeń pomoże odbudować i podnieść powojenną Ukrainę szybciej i przy mniejszych stratach, a także stworzy warunki wstępne do udanej integracji ze społecznością europejską. W przeprowadzonych analizach wykorzystano aktualne dane statystyczne, raporty instytucji krajowych i międzynarodowych, a także publikacje (głównie internetowe) ośrodków monitorujących sytuację na Ukrainie.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Ukraina, powojenna odbudowa, zagrożenia.