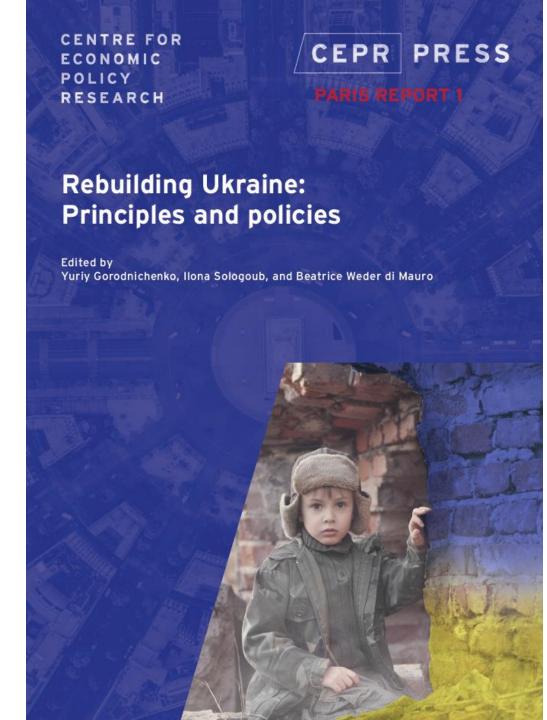
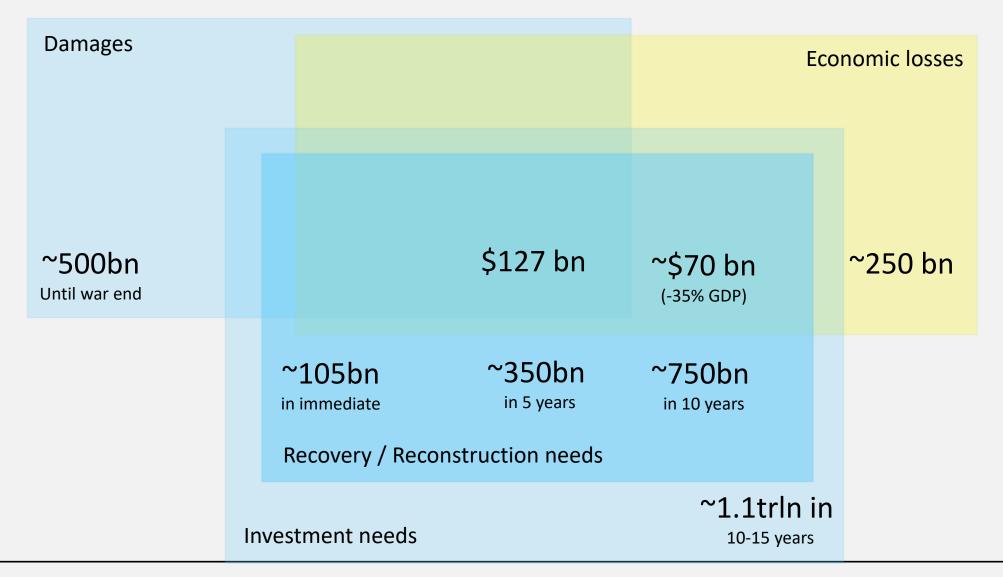
How to organize aid



Vladyslav Rashkovan

Brookings Institution – December 15, 2022

The Russian invasion brings enormous infrastructure damages, human capital and economic losses. Still proper estimation of the reconstruction needs required, but most probably it will be in the range of \$500-1100 billion



Post-war reconstruction will be a herculean task with many potential crossroads on a way... (1/2)

Russian narrative of external governance of Ukraine by the consolidated West (neocolonialism):

«Ukraine is a corrupted country, with poor non-reliable institutions; no money to be given to the authorities; that is why the West to control everything and impose its view on the policies and reconstruction»

VS

Ukrainian sovereignty / ownership

We know everything ourselves; don't teach us how to manage our country, give us money and don't ask how we spend them

Potential element of the recovery architecture

- Ukrainian ownership +
 Cooperation between the
 Ukrainian authorities and foreign
 partners is a key. Platform to be
 created
- Proper decision-making governance model to be put in place

Short-term needs to prevail

Cheap and fast recovery / reconstruction is needed to allow people to return to their houses (this assumes modular housing, temporary roads etc)

VS

Longer-term vision to prevail

Reconstruction is an opportunity to leapfrog a generation of technologies and a unique chance for the sustainable modernization of the country against post-soviet legacy – build back better concept!

 Modernization as a key target but not forgetting about immediate needs –fast recovery

National support

EU accession is a strong anchor, but there should be a room for support for non-EU countries (US, Canada, UK, Turkey etc)

VS

Institutional support

We need to overcome potential disagreements/competition between the key institutions which have their own ambitions (EBRD - EIB, IMF - WB, OECD etc)

- Coordination among partners is a key to make the process inclusive and effective
- Reconstruction is interconnected with the EU accession process

... and challenges - Existing institutions and funding instruments are inadequate to meet the scale and complexity of this endeavor (2/2)

Loans and guarantees

Bilateral loans or loans from the IFIs are understandable resource for Ukraine, but costly (even on the concessional conditions) and to be returned; loans and guarantees are also limited in size.

Grants, reparations and private investments

VS

- Availability of grants depends on the limits in the country budgets;
- The legal frame for reparations is not clear
- The reconstruction should become a magnet for the private investments — major source for modernization

Potential element of the recovery architecture

- Grants to prevail in the beginning
- Work on **reparations** to be intensified
- Conditions for private capital involvement to be created and preserved

Strong hand

Rebuilding is faster under authoritarian rule, but such an approach makes European integration and modernization impossible

Democracy and freedom

VS

Ukraine is a democratic state, but emerging democracy may make reconstruction a "never ending story" risking

to leave Ukraine on the "back yard" of the European Union

 Democracy and involvement of civil society and business into the reconstruction / modernization

State Economy

When the markets don't function properly, there is a crucial role of the state during a war, but it is too risky to extrapolate the increasing role of the state post-war

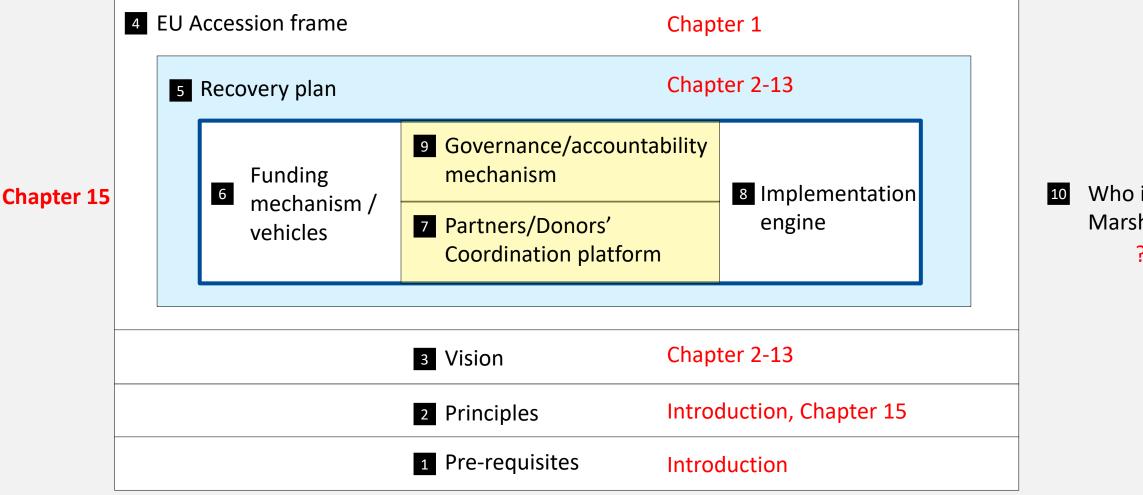
VS E

Economic freedom (not the state) attracts foreign investment, which is key to increasing productivity, another aspect of modernization

Liberal idea and economic freedoms

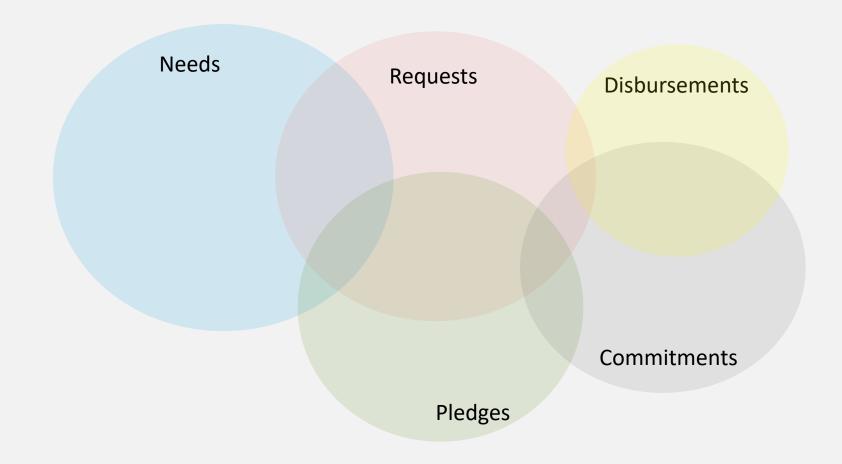
 Liberal economic policies to be implemented – the role/size of the state involvement should decrease post-war

To go through crossroads of the recovery a 10-element recovery architecture framework has been developed



Who is Mr/Ms Marshall?

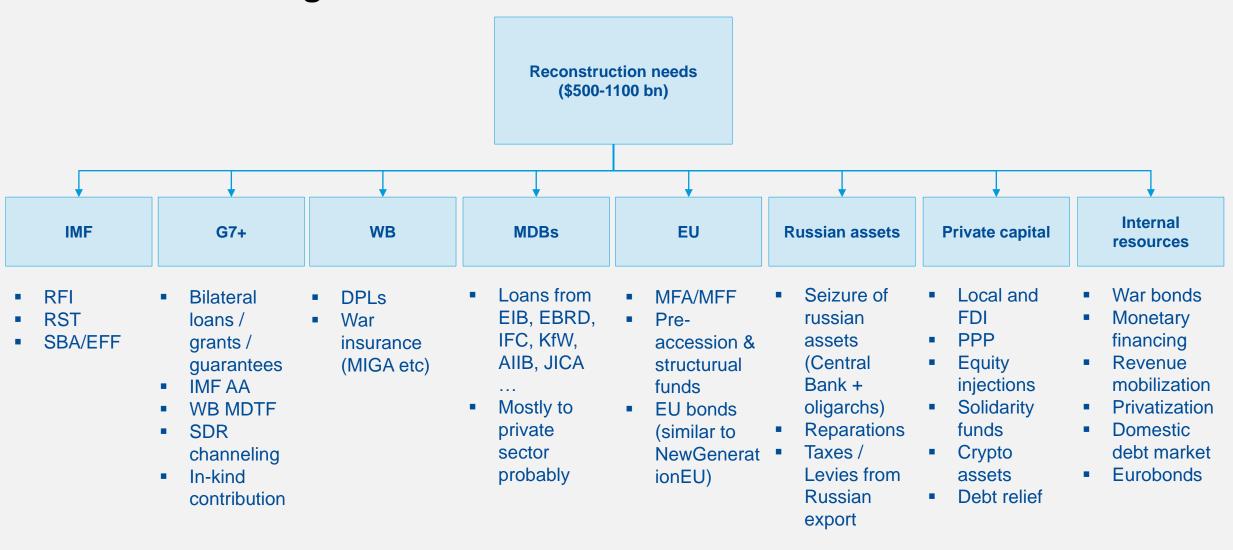
Needs, requests, pledges, commitments and disbursements are completely different figures – lets hope that they at least overlap



There are huge running costs of the country during a war. In no single month foreign partners managed to support Ukraine with \$5 bln needed to close the current financing gap...

		Foreign aid of the budget needs - actual, USD equivalent											
	Country / IFI	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	total
	Multilateral organizations	40	3,263	274	624	201	0	1,103	482	3,238	2,588	105	11,917
1	EU		667	131	612			1,016	482	1,955	2,534		7,397
_2	IMF		1,411							1,283			2,694
3	World Bank	40	466	143	11	201		87			54	105	1,106
4	EIB		720										720
	Bilateral arrangements	0	125	1,410	870	4,216	1,700	3,588	1,500	499	15	1,847	15,769
1	USA			500	500	1,300	1,700	3,000	1,500			1,500	10,000
2	Canada			237	156	779		349					1,521
3	Germany			163		1,209						211	1,583
4	UK			62	30	449				499			1,039
5	Japan				100	479							579
6	France			332								106	437
7	Italy		125					207					331
8	Netherlands				85			21					106
10	Denmark			23								30	54
9	Sweden			49									49
12	Lithuania			5				10			10		26
11	Norway			22									22
13	Austria			11									11
14	Latvia			5									5
15	Belgium										5		5
16	Albania							1					1
17	Island			1									1
	Totals	40	3,388	1,683	1,494	4,416	1,700	4,691	1,982	3,736	2,603	1,952	27,686

No single institutional balance sheet can absorb Ukraine's financing needs - Reconstruction to be supported by bilateral and multilateral donors and international organizations



... but financing of the reconstruction to be seen as a multidimensional task

still to be solved

Who and how to pay for reconstruction?

Sources

5 "horizontal" questions for post-war financing:

- How to change perceptions of the country as corrupt
- How to achieve efficiency & cost effectiveness in the reconstruction/rebuilding process
- How to ensure inclusiveness in the reconstruction process
- How to build trust between country authorities and partners/ donors/civil society and make each party accountable?
- How to ensure timeliness of financing and other necessary steps in course of the reconstruction/rebuilding process
- Grants
- Direct transfers (of reparations/Russian money) Instruments
- Guarantees
- Loans
- FDI
- Solidarity funds from foreign business
- Liberty/freedom diaspora bonds

- IMF
- World Bank
- G7+ bilateral funding
- EU (pre-Accession funds + Rebuild facility)
- Development banks (EBRD, IFC, EIB, KfW)
- Seized Russian assets
- Donations/philanthropy
- Remittances
- Government revenue mobilization
- Government borrowing
- Debt relief

Vehicles / Institutional arrangements

- One or multiple donor pools?
 - What kind of coordination of multiple pools?
- Headquartered and administered where?
 - Inside or outside the country?
- New arrangements or existing ones?
- Organized and administered how?
- Bank or fund/funds?

G7 leaders supported the idea to set up the multi-agency Donor Coordination Platform for Ukraine recovery – the first meeting is scheduled for January



- Together with Ukraine and G7 international partners and in close coordination with relevant International Organizations and International Financial Institutions, G7 establishes a multi-agency Donor Coordination Platform.
- Through this platform, G7 will coordinate existing mechanisms to provide ongoing short- and long-term support – with particular responsibility of the Finance Track for short-term financial support –, coordinate further international funding and expertise, and encourage Ukraine's reform agenda as well as private sector led growth.
- G7 will also set up a Secretariat for the Platform.
- A senior government representative from each G7 country will be designated to the platform + representatives of the key IFIs
- The operation layer of the Platform is already working meeting bi-weekly
- G7 Finance Ministers to convene shortly to discuss a joint approach for coordinated budget support in 2023.
- G7 re-affirmed that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) should be central to this effort.

Who will be a new Mr/Ms Marshall?















Implementation engine to be properly designed to "make reconstruction happen" in a most efficient and timely way

Implementation engine

Institutional options

Separate national reconstruction agency

National entity, Integrated into existing ministerial system

(centralized coordination board

National entity/agency, Integrated into existing regional structures (decentralized

coordination board

Trust and access to the international community of

donors

International

Implementation

support

agency

Hybrid solution

Advantages

- Independent and fully focused on reconstruction – task can be effectively addressed
- Effective establishment of the mechanisms for resource allocation, procurement, staffing
- Planning, budgeting and oversight system in place
- Established links with the intl community, donor and partners
- Sufficient implementation capacity
- Full local/regional ownership
- Recovery usually linked with the regional distribution – therefore capacity will be there is most needed

 Leveraging both – having a local knowledge and national level support

Disadvantages

- Takes time to establish and clarify its role and responsibilities
- Possible disconnect from other government activities
- May lack of local ownership
- Difficult to phase out

- The task may be not effectively addressed
- Risk of lacking independence / leadership
- Civil service rules impede recruitment of professional staff from outside
- Potential inadequate / unequal capacity to manage a large reconstruction program –
- May not adequately address the reconstruction challenges
- Civil service rules impede recruitment of professional staff from outside

- Optically may look like external governance of the country
- May lack domestic support
- May lack understanding of the real local needs
- Complexity in managing the process

A dedicated Public financial and investment accountability mechanism (PFM/PIM) to be built to ensure resilient and transparent recovery

