

Presidential Election Program

MIKHAIL PROKHOROV: A REAL FUTURE

A REAL PAST

A REAL SOCIETY

REAL POLICIES

A REAL ECONOMY

REAL GOVERNMENT

A REAL SOCIAL STATE

A REAL FEDERATION

A REAL RUSSIA

A REAL WORLD

Fellow citizens of Russia,

I, Mikhail Prokhorov, citizen of the Russian Federation, am putting forward my candidacy for President of Russia, and I am calling upon all Russian citizens to support our country's new course of development.

I firmly believe in the founding principle of democracy: that the state is meant to serve the people, not the people the state. State policy in all areas should be based on this principle. There should be real policies serving a real society.

I have a message for those in power: Ladies and gentlemen, times have changed! And they have changed forever. The time for doing as you like is over! Now you have to give us, the citizens of this country, what we want, and stop labeling us *subjects, masses, a nation, population, voters* or anything else, and start seeing us as real, live individuals. We need to recognize that the successful development of our country is not measured by the amount of coal, oil or wood we produce, but by a system of human values supported by the majority, by quality education, by a culture which appeals to the best in humanity, by world-class medical care, and by independent and free people protected by law.

Over the last few years we have lived in what one might call a surreal reality. What do I mean by surreal reality? I mean that while Russia continues to be a great country, our society is fractured along geographic, ethnic and religious lines, divided by income bracket, purchasing power and influence over the legal machinery. We live in a country governed by an authoritarian political regime. We live in an unreal world, with unreal politics and economy. Without a choice, we have no means of taking responsibility for our country. Behind the façade of promoting stability and fighting unemployment we find lost competitiveness in both industry and agriculture. Beyond the fine words about modernization and innovation we see the desire to justify ever-larger state budgets. Despite the thunderous appeals to fight corruption we see an exponential growth in the number of bureaucrats and their privileges. The very corruption against which the government has supposedly been battling so

valiantly has, in recent years, reached an unprecedented and appalling level, and is now systemic. The government told us that it would support entrepreneurship, small- and medium-sized businesses, but what we have witnessed is a turning of the screws with increasing state control in all economic sectors and a growing administrative burden. Culture, science, education, healthcare – the cornerstone and guarantee of the successful development of any society – have been left to subsist on budget leftovers by the government. We need to change all of this.

What is a real future? Our future is not some abstract thing. Our future is right here, right now. It is what we decide to choose. And we choose a great, fashionable, modern country where each person takes personal responsibility for his or her actions, learning, working, growing and constantly striving to improve things. We choose a country where everyone is equal before the law regardless of position or privilege, where arbitrary decisions by the authorities are not unacceptable, and a country with an independent judiciary. We choose this future because we want to lead happy lives in our own country, working, building, and making scientific and artistic breakthroughs for the benefit of all. I am convinced that Russia's main asset is the potential of its people and that the most profitable strategic investment we can make is in our people. We are heirs to one of the greatest cultures the world has ever seen – an inseparable part of European civilization – and such an inheritance brings with it great responsibility. Russia must stop standing on the sidelines of change in the world but, rather, take the lead and move things forward in the civilized world as the most educated, cultured, free and prosperous country of the third millennium. Only a free person living in a free country is able to create and build for the good of all! I believe that together we can make a difference and change things for the better, and I want us to build a real future for Russia together.

1. A Real Past

If there is no past, there is no future. The tragic events that our country witnessed in the 20th century, with its wars, purges, and personality cults, must be subjected to the harshest scrutiny and fullest and most honest evaluation. But while we must be aware of our history, we should not let its tragic pages impede our progress.

Contrary to popular opinion, Russia is not destined for tragedy. We belong to a great country and have a great future. However, to become a healthy and prosperous nation, we need to be fully aware of our past, and not ignore or distort it. The first steps in this direction, I suggest, are to:

- Open the communist-era archives;
- Commemorate the victims of the Leninist-Stalinist purges;
- Identify the remains and commit to the ground all WWII dead;
- Declare November 7th Remembrance Day for all Russian victims of war and revolution in the 20th century.

2. A Real Society

I see the Russia of the future as a society of equal opportunities, where the individual is the core value, where the principles of mutual respect and support are in effect across all spheres of society. For this to be achieved, we need to:

- Recognize freedom and individual dignity as society's core values; restore confidence in the relationship between the citizen and the state;
- Ensure the consistent protection of individual rights and personal safety, and guarantee property rights as set out in the Russian Constitution;
- Form a unified civil society in Russia where the rights of the individual come before those of social, ethnic or religious groups;
- Make all denominations, atheists and people who do not wish to disclose their beliefs equal in terms of political and social rights;
- Make the development of culture an important factor in modernizing the country and in the harmonious development of its constituent territories.

The first actions that I propose to implement as President of the Russian Federation are to:

- Repeal all laws and regulations which are contrary to either the spirit or letter of the Constitution of the Russian Federation;
- Ensure freedom of the press by the compulsory sale of state and state-owned companies with blocking and controlling shares in television and radio stations;
- Put an end to the tinkering with the country's time zones; to return the country to standard astronomical time;
- Prohibit the dissemination of pro-authoritarian or personality-cult propaganda by public servants or similar activities in educational institutions.

3. Real Policies

I see the Russia of the future as a country to which true policies have returned. We need to become a state in which the individual is more important than the government, and where citizens freely and fairly elect their leaders, a state where each vote is taken into account in determining the basic direction the country takes, and where the government is ultimately responsible to its citizens. To this end, I intend to:

- Restrict election to the office of President of the Russian Federation, or the head of any republic within the Russian Federation, to two terms for any citizen;
- Voluntarily limit my own tenure as President of Russia to four years, then resign and hold the next presidential election on Russia Day, June 12, 2016;
- Allow political parties to be registered by simply notifying the government, and develop new electoral law which reflects the interests of all political parties;
- Reinstitute elections of heads of local government, mayors, heads of the Russian Federation, and the Federation Council;
- Allow electoral blocs and reduce the entrance requirement for election to the State Duma and regional legislatures to 3%;
- Ensure the smooth nomination of candidates by parties and blocs to the State Duma, to regional and local authorities, as well as to the posts of head of the Russian Federation and President of Russia;
- Move to a combined-election format of deputies to the State Duma with 50% of its membership to come from single-seat electoral districts, and allow the nomination of candidates to political parties, blocks and other citizen groups by no less than 500 people;
- Prohibit candidates elected on a party ticket from transferring the mandate of a State Duma deputy or regional legislative assembly; require candidates to take leave from public office during election campaign periods;

- Remove the organs of executive power from electoral commissions and limit them to representatives nominated by political parties or electoral blocs;
- Ensure fair and transparent elections, prohibiting the removal of observers during the electoral process and vote count;
- Extend the State Duma's power, giving it a veto over the choice of members of the government restricted to a maximum of two consecutive, substantiated objections to candidates for any one post;
- Simplify the rules governing national referendums which would be required by law by either the submission of 500,000 signatures, or requests by the President of Russia, or 50% +1 deputy of the State Duma, or 33% +1 member of the Federation Council or legislative assemblies of at least 15 regions of the Russian Federation.

Given what happened after the elections on December 4, 2011, if elected President of the Russian Federation, I intend in the short term to:

- Submit a package of laws on political parties and electoral-law reform to the State Duma, including limiting early voting and abolishing absentee ballots, and return the option to vote for "none of the above" to ballot sheets, and have all polling stations equipped with electronic voting machines;
- Create an independent commission to investigate abuses during the December 4, 2011, elections, the results of which would be forwarded to the courts for the prosecution of those involved in distorting the election results or destroying evidence of fraud;
- Establish two dates – June 12, Russia Day, and December 12, Constitution Day – as set days for elections within the Russian Federation and make them non-working days;
- Dissolve the current session of the State Duma and call early parliamentary elections.

4. A Real Economy

I see the Russia of the future re-building its economy to exploit the creative potential of its people and, in the process, creating demand for an educated and skilled workforce. Russia's economy must be truly developed for the country to escape the humiliating status of a mere raw-materials provider to the global economy. Competition in Russia should become a fundamental principle applicable in all areas of economic life. I believe that the main task of the government is to create conditions for strong economic growth and to reduce costs. Challenges faced by the domestic economy today require us to:

Competition

- Increase the role of competition in economic life and drastically reduce the government's managerial involvement in the economy, and dismantle our system of state corporations;
- Make the fight against monopolies, cartels and price-fixing a main focus of government economic policy; stabilize tariffs on raw materials, energy and electricity on the domestic market;
- Make the creation of jobs for highly-qualified personnel a priority of economic development;
- Dramatically reduce the number of articles in the Criminal Code which prescribe incarceration for economic crimes;
- Abolish the concept of strategic sectors and allow private capital access to the construction and ownership of infrastructure projects, including railways, roads, pipelines, and airports;
- Overhaul labor-relations law, making fixed-term contracts the basis for relations between employee, employer, industry and professional unions; abolish the system of mandatory employment records;
- Strive to increase labor mobility and encourage flexible working hours and online working from home;

- Abolish the compulsory registration of citizens at their place of residence in favor of increased control over illegal immigration;
- Reduce the administrative and tax burden on small business, and simplify tax and accounting requirements;
- Encourage the development of small- and medium-sized businesses with government procurements obliged to source at least 50% of goods and services from domestic providers.

Concerning reform of the tax and budget systems, I propose the following measures:

- Fundamentally reform the country's tax system, moving the tax system away from the center and towards the regions, and bringing the regions' share up to two-thirds of Russia's consolidated budget revenues;
- Move from payment of employees' tax by employers to the full payment of salary (including that part currently held back by the employer for taxation and insurance) making the citizen personally responsible for payment of taxes to the state as of January 1, 2015;
- Stimulate business by tax holidays for new industries and development of new mineral deposits;
- Replace VAT with a sales tax;
- Increase the tax on dividends from 9% to 13% for Russian residents and from 5% to 26% for non-residents;
- Reduce taxes on the competitive sector of the economy and limit social welfare payments to 25% of wages;
- Eliminate all federal targeted programs and transfer their costs to current budget expenditures;
- Increase taxes on tobacco, alcohol and luxury goods while reducing taxes on gasoline and other motor fuels;
- Abolish motor vehicle tax.

Development of Infrastructure and Industry

- Dramatically increase investment in infrastructure with at least 50% coming from private capital on the condition of the site's later use by investors;
- Establish a system of indicative planning and development in the country, and rigidly adhere to approved plans and development guidelines;
- Initiate a program of building roads, railways and airport facilities to European standards by attracting foreign investment; lay no less than 5,000 km of new high-speed railroad by 2016, 40,000 km of new road, and build at least 10 new airports;
- Achieve an increase in the average speed of movement of goods and passengers within the Russian Federation of no less than 50% by 2020;
- Provide direct transport links between the Russian Federation's regional centers so that by the end of 2016 up to 60% of domestic air travel and at least 50% of rail travel are not made via Moscow;
- Create, together with investors from OECD countries, powerful industrial regions in Siberia and the Far East close to the border with China to prevent excessive expansion by Chinese capital and labor resources;
- Limit state support of enterprises to stimulating demand for goods produced (decisions on this matter should be approved by the legislative and not executive branch);
- Cancel all additional certification requirements for industrial machinery arriving in the Russian Federation from OECD countries.

I intend, as matters of priority, on becoming President of the Russian Federation, to:

- Submit a draft resolution to the State Duma providing an amnesty to those convicted of financially-motivated crimes and who have served at least a third of their sentences;

- Abolish, from July 1, 2012, Federal Law FZ-94 on public procurement;
- Give all gas producers equal access to both transportation and export infrastructure transferring control of the main gas networks directly to the state;
- Split Gazprom – with due care for its employees, shareholders, customers, creditors and investors – into competing companies;
- Sell, on a market basis, by the end of 2013, all non-core assets of state corporations, as well as their shares in non-core businesses in Russia and abroad; ban them from sponsorship activities;
- Privatize public corporations to cover the current deficit of the Pension Fund of Russia;
- Implement nationwide from January 1, 2015, the safety certifications and technical production regulations current in the European Union;
- Initiate, from January 1, 2014, after the implementation of immediate tax reforms, a 10-year moratorium on any further changes to tax law.

5. Real Government

I see the Russia of the future as a place which serves the will of the people. Those in power in Russia must cease regarding the advancement of their own interests as their primary purpose once and for all. The authorities should serve the people. Government and business should be strictly separate, bureaucratic procedures minimized, and the executive held accountable to the legislature. We need to develop and implement a national program to combat corruption, actively encouraging all citizens to assist on this front. The authorities should, first and foremost, keep citizens safe, and safeguard their rights and freedoms and the independence and integrity of the judicial system. To achieve these objectives, I consider it necessary to:

Civil Service Reform and the War on Corruption

- Declare public service and private business to be mutually exclusive; require all persons holding public office in the legislative and executive branches of government (excluding local government), to sell their businesses or majority stakes in them;
- Establish strict controls over the earnings and outgoings of persons occupying positions of power as well as those of their family members, and require the Public Prosecutor's office to immediately initiate verification procedures in the event of documented discrepancies between declared earnings and outgoings;
- Seize property of citizens with court convictions for corruption, as well that of those citizens' families if the prosecution demonstrated the property to be the result of relatives' corrupt activities;
- Give citizens the right to private prosecution in all cases where there is suspicion of corruption; provide immunity to any giver of a bribe who agrees to cooperate with an investigation;
- Reduce the privileges of civil servants; monetize benefits, and repeal as of July 1, 2012, the practice of allocating flats and dachas to officials at all levels

service, stop the practice of government officials using police sirens and the blocking of roads to make way for government motorcades;

- Move Russian companies to the EU-wide uniform accounting standards from January 1, 2013; give electronic documents equivalent legal status to those on paper;
- Reduce the purview of bureaucratic administration and prohibit government agencies from requiring citizens to give personal information or other details, the disclosure of which is the responsibility of other government agencies;
- Make all government services relating to the registration of documents and certificates free of charge; abolish government fees and stamp duties on the processing of official documents;
- Establish a system of independent administrative courts to resolve disputes between citizens and public authorities;
- Make mandatory the publication online of all acts and decisions by all government agencies including in regard to Russia's international obligations (except information covered by the Official Secrets Act);
- Improve the state secrecy laws by reducing the amount of information under their purview in order to strengthen the public's leverage over the actions of state authorities;
- Reduce, by 1 January, 2014, the number of civil servants by up to 30% and provide them with subsequent retraining, at state expense, for work in the real economy.

Law-enforcement Reforms

- Abolish the law-enforcement agencies' system of targets and make citizens' trust in them the basic criterion for the effectiveness of their activities;
- Hold elections for the heads of the regional offices of Interior Affairs (excepting the North Caucasus republics);
- Clarify the jurisdiction in criminal cases in relation to the severity of a crime;

- Create a special agency to fight corruption in the security forces directly subordinate to the head of the government;
- Prohibit the prosecution of financially-motivated crimes absent a victim's statement;
- Fix in law the mandatory use of video equipment during criminal investigations; make video evidence admissible in court;
- Develop a new system of remuneration for law-enforcement personnel allowing for a salary increase through streamlining.

Judicial Reform

- Humanize the criminal justice system and penal system across the board; reduce criminal liability for financially-motivated crimes, cease use of detention as a preventive measure for those accused of financially-motivated crimes; categorize as serious crimes only crimes of a violent or non-violent nature committed against the person; extend the use of fines, seizure, corrective work, prohibition on engaging in certain activities and holding certain positions, as well as restrictions on freedom of movement as alternatives to incarceration;
- Give the Federation Council the right to appoint federal judges; revoke the President's right to appoint members of the Constitutional, Supreme and Supreme Arbitration Courts and the chairmen and deputy chairmen of the federal courts;
- Strengthen the independence of the judiciary, eliminate the institution of qualifying boards and the practice of regional parliaments and the State Duma overturning judges' decisions;
- Ensure that newly-appointed judges are not in the civil service, law-enforcement agencies or Ministry of Internal Affairs, or have left such service less than 5 years prior to appointment or election as a judge;

- Make the election of court chairmen subject to a general vote of judges of the appropriate courts, for a period of 4 years only, and with no possibility of a second term;
- Deprive court chairmen of administrative powers over judges;
- Extend the use of jury service; limit the scope for higher courts to overturn jury-trial decisions to those cases where substantive new information has come to light.

My priority actions as President of the Russian Federation will be to:

- Establish, as of January 1, 2013, a minimum rate of compensation for loss of relatives or loved ones resulting from actions by government or businesses of amounting to 40 million rubles (around 1 million euros) to be linked to inflation; make proportional compensations binding for injury or disability – including due to military action; guarantee such payments from either the state budget or insurance companies;
- Immediately submit Article 20 of the UN Convention "On Combating Corruption" to the State Duma for ratification and supplement the Criminal Code with an article on "Illicit Enrichment";
- Declare an amnesty to be operative until December 31, 2012, under which all citizens may legalize any previous income or property which is currently of unclear legal status by a payment to the government of 13% of its current value;
- Establish a law by July 1, 2012, whereby anyone convicted of a crime while in public service be barred from further public office for life.

6. A Real Social State

I see the Russia of the future as a country with modern people who value education and culture highly, are health-conscious, tolerant toward people of other traditions and nationalities, open to the modern world and want to integrate with it. A real citizen of Russia is a responsible person, willing to work long and hard to achieve his goals, and who wishes to develop as a person and enhance his skills and professionalism. This is a person ready to stand up for what he believes in, who wants to make his country an attractive and comfortable place to be, rather than a constant source of concern to other countries. To achieve these goals, I intend to:

Culture

- Liberalize culture as much as possible, and clear the way for domestic and foreign charitable foundations that support culture and cultural initiatives; create tax incentives for philanthropy in the field of culture;
- Make the study of history and cultures of peoples living in Russia an element in the formation of a trans-Russia culture, thereby creating a unified field of culture in the country;
- Create a network of foreign schools inside Russia and Russian cultural centers abroad, and simplify student-exchange programs; make foreign-language learning a priority of pre-school and school education; ensure that at least half of teachers can speak appropriate foreign languages;
- Achieve recognition of the Russian language as an official language of the European Union;
- Revive the culture of the printed word, promote book publishing and the distribution of print media; create a system of state grants and awards for writers, journalists and publishers.

Education

- Raise the standing of the teaching profession across the board; invest in upgrading teachers' qualifications, and make quality of life among teachers a yardstick of national education reform;
- Institute stringent qualification requirements for teachers and require them to be recertified at least every three years;
- Ensure that political parties, as well as ethnic and religious groups are not allowed to influence public educational institutions; prohibit school principals and senior university staff from belonging to political parties;
- Limit to 10 years, tenure of executive positions in state education institutions, thereby allowing an inflow of talented and highly-skilled professionals to occupy the higher positions;
- Abolish the Single State Exam and develop, in cooperation with the teaching community, a more acceptable form of testing which can impartially and objectively assess the degree to which students have assimilated the school program; institute such an examination regardless of a particular region's educational authorities' financial, organizational or human-resource management affiliation.
- Promote an aesthetic education and make engagement by students with the values of humanism and tolerance a high priority in elementary and secondary education;
- Abolish restrictions on the commercial use of school premises outside school hours provided that such use is limited to educational or sports activities;
- Increase the number of subjects students can opt to take and encourage both the ability and the desire for life-long learning in young people as well as the habit of studying independently;
- Develop a system of targeted support for outstanding teachers and talented students as well as for students with physical or material disadvantages;
- Create legal incentives for charitable activities in the fields of education and science;

- Ensure equal academic opportunities in both public and private higher education institutions with a rigid system of educational quality control in both;
- Match the structure of our higher education system with the employment landscape of the economy by providing targeted, contract-based training of personnel for potential employers who have given a guarantee of subsequent employment;
- Ensure uniformity across the national educational system with training programs for regional teachers conducted at leading universities, teacher and student exchanges programs, and other methods which support academic mobility.

Science

- Guarantee scientists and researchers ownership of the results of their research activities, even if funded by the state, and the option to use them for commercial purposes;
- Combine academic and university sciences, and extend Skolkovo-type preferences for all science-oriented towns;
- Ensure protection of commercial intellectual property; make Russia's Patent Office work in the interests of inventors rather than the state;
- Recognize diplomas and qualifications issued in OECD countries throughout the Russian Federation while achieving reciprocal recognition with national universities in OECD countries for diplomas and qualifications issued in Russia.

Healthcare

- Commit to striving after human health and make investment in maintaining and strengthening the health of people of working age a priority for state funds;

- Ensure that all citizens have access to free emergency medical care and assistance in the event of large-scale emergencies or terrorist attack, and free access to women's clinics and maternity hospitals; increase the number of free medical services available to children under 18, people over 65, and the disabled;
- Fix in law the practice whereby only those with at least 15 years' experience in a particular area of specialty may head regional education or health management structures or the relevant ministries.
- Give medicine back its preventive nature through free, regular, annual medical check-ups at state public health institutions, as well as through the early detection and prevention of dangerous and contagious diseases;
- Stimulate and promote individual commitment to health by allocating payments to citizens who buy medical policies in the amount formerly contributed to the Compulsory Medical Insurance Fund by their employers.
- Make money spent on health facilities and fitness centers tax-deductable;
- Create a favorable environment for private medical practices and allow private doctors tax holidays of up to 3 years;
- Implement a system of medical insurance, and improve access to remedial and preventative medicines for the whole population;
- Establish inter-regional, high-tech medical centers with the latest equipment and hire on fixed contracts leading specialists from Russia and abroad;
- Reduce the administrative burden on medical staff and establish a unified national system of electronic document management right across the healthcare system;
- Separate the Ministry of Health from the Ministry of Health and Social Development;
- Pass laws to prevent pharmaceutical manufacturers and sellers influencing physicians and medical personnel; fully develop the domestic pharmaceutical industry;

- Remove pharmaceutical production and the purchasing of medical equipment from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health;
- Actively fight the spread of drug addiction, alcoholism and similar socially dangerous phenomena in society by promoting cooperation between law-enforcement agencies and community organizations;
- Put in place, no later than January 1, 2014, effective healthcare for people over 65, providing the opportunity for more home-based care, and a wide range of free medicines and other related medical items.

Social Security

- Pursue a policy that improves Russia's demographics by adding new benefits to existing family allowances: abolishing income tax on income of up to 1 million rubles a year per family member for families with three or more children, adopted children included, to help with costs related to kindergarten, schools and colleges for the children of such families;
- Reform the pension system to link pension benefits to past wage and labor contribution;
- Relate retirement age and pension size to the number of children raised, including adopted children;
- Implement a new national policy of social inclusion for people with disabilities; guarantee children with disabilities the right to education in schools alongside other children, and ensure that disabled workers retain all social payments;
- Create financial incentives for voluntary work among people of retirement age, mothers with children, and the disabled; encourage the creation of opportunities for working from home;
- Implement the accepted EU standards on disabled access to public transport and public places in the Russian Federation from January 1, 2015;
- Create conditions favorable for non-profit organizations and foundations focused on material support and medical services for the needy.

Construction and Housing

- Initiate a building program of public-rental housing in all cities with populations of more than half-a-million; put construction contracts out to private construction companies only;
- Finance the program with up to 15% of reserves from the Pension Fund of Russia, and create the conditions necessary to attract funds from non-governmental pension funds; all income from the same to go to the corresponding funds;
- Provide 3 million square meters of housing under this program in 2013, 10 million in 2014, and 15 million in 2015; establish fixed rental rates for such housing to help reduce pressure on private rents and lower speculation on the housing market;
- Abolish from 1 January, 2015, all duties on imported construction materials and technologies to expedite the development of the construction industry and reduce costs; fight the monopoly of regional manufacturers of building materials;
- Ensure that people get a guaranteed minimum of domestic utility services at fixed prices;
- Reduce the cost of utility services by creating a transparent energy and water expenditure payment system focused on increasing energy efficiency;
- Reform housing and utility services, eliminating monopolies on water, heat, and electricity and severing their links to local authorities;
- Reform housing and utility services by ending the monopoly of utility suppliers and providing long-term rates for heat and electricity.

7. A Real Federation

I see the Russia of the future as a country which systematically rejects the notorious top-down structure of authority, as a truly federal state with federal entities with broad rights cooperating in the area of economic development while preserving their historical and cultural identities. I consider it vital to create a budgetary system to stimulate the development of the provincial regions and make optimum use of regional business initiatives. In pursuit of these goals I suggest we:

- Abolish the existing division of Russia's federal districts and, after a referendum, implement a program of consolidation of the Russian Federation to create between 25-30 units, each with its own strong economic and historical identity;
- Protect the rights of minority and indigenous peoples to their own identity and cultural autonomy while ensuring that every citizen of Russia, regardless of nationality or religion, has the right to hold any public office in any region of the Russian Federation; bring regional legislation into line with the Constitution;
- Remove duplication of governmental administrative functions at federal and regional levels;
- Expedite the introduction of a real-estate tax (for housing over 100 m² and land over 0.25 hectares per person) of 1% of market value to be collected by regional and local authorities;
- Introduce a tax on property owned by federal monopolies to be paid to the authority where each property is located;
- Promote the revival of local authorities by giving them the financial means for their activities; introduce a land tax on land occupied by federally-owned properties of 0.1% of market value to be collected by regional and local authorities;

- Pay particular attention to the development of border and / or coastal areas with a view to increasing their involvement in the global economy and international trade;
- Turn Kaliningrad into a base for cooperation between Russia and the EU through the creation of comparable and compatible legal regulations for business entities; develop the region into a fully-fledged free economic zone;
- Relieve companies and enterprises operating in the North Caucasus regions from tax obligations to the federal budget by 2020, while simultaneously reducing federal subsidies to the region in order to enhance local businesses and increase the area's investment attractiveness;
- Create legislation valid through to 2020 to legally clarify a special status for the North Caucasus republics limiting their autonomy in appointing heads of law-enforcement agencies, the judiciary, and institutions involved in combating crime, including terrorism.

8. A Real Russia

I see the Russia of the future as a place where the individual feels equally comfortable no matter where in the country he is, as a country where a person can enjoy the full range of public services and opportunities offered by modern technology and infrastructure. I feel strongly that not one historical monument created by the talent and labor of our forebears should be destroyed, neither should any national park be harmed in the process. It is necessary to give full support to small towns, local industry and agriculture, on the basis of strict compliance with environmental standards, to make the whole country suitable for a full and productive life. To do this, I propose that we:

- Carry out a radical reform of land relations, removing restrictions on land-use in the countryside (with the exception of protected areas of outstanding natural beauty and areas excluded due to the proximity of hazardous industrial facilities);
- Expedite completion of the outstanding land inventory of the entire Russian Federation;
- Make ownership of land beneath buildings, industrial plants, garages and other outbuildings pass irrevocably to the owners of those facilities by December 31, 2012;
- Ensure the unimpeded purchase by Russian legal entities and individuals of land on the basis of the stated purpose given by the purchaser (i.e. use for agriculture or house-building); land not used for the stated purpose three years after purchase to be sold by court order on the grounds of a breach of contract of sale;
- Instruct the executive branch to develop and submit to the legislature before January 1, 2014, a plan to promote the commercialization of uncultivated lands currently under communal ownership via their purchase by the state, and either the subsequent free transfer of these lands to agricultural producers, or their privatization;

- Identify the country's unfavorable agricultural areas; promote the production of natural organic products in these areas by farming and marketing cooperatives; free farmers in "unfavorable" areas from all taxes, excepting insurance payments for their employees;
- Conduct, with the participation of public and professional communities, an inventory of objects of historical value in poor condition, and enact laws allowing them to pass into the ownership of private individuals to be restored by approved restoration specialists, and the subsequent provision of access to the public on set days and times, for the purpose of appropriate enjoyment of such objects;
- Encourage charitable donations from individuals and businesses to restore the nation's historical and cultural heritage by instituting a tax break of twice the amount spent on the restoration and preservation of historical and cultural monuments in towns of 100,000 or less, or in rural areas;
- Promote both domestic and inbound tourism; waive all taxes for 5 years on new hotels and tourist facilities.

9. A Real World

I see the Russia of the future as an active participant in geopolitical processes, as a superpower, able to defend herself but, at the same time, actively promoting a secure and peaceful world. Our defense policy should have at its heart respect for those who defend our borders, and our foreign policy should focus on our country's economic development and its integration into the world politically and culturally. As a step in this direction, I suggest we:

National Defense

- Create a professional, mobile, high-tech army, able to respond quickly to local and regional conflicts;
- Pay special attention to our strategic nuclear forces and space-based weapons as means of ensuring Russia's independence and security;
- End military conscription from 2015, while moving to a professional army.
- Ensure social benefits for war veterans (free education, tax exemptions and soft loans to start businesses or buy housing);
- Meet the needs of defense procurement in the country by creating an effective system of civil-military concerns using private – including foreign – capital to make products with both military and non-military applications;
- Make Russia's armed forces a significant sector in the national economy annually generating thousands of vacancies requiring highly-qualified specialists;
- Ensure efficient use of the defense budget; base the defense budget on the principle that spending on the military-industrial complex as a whole must not exceed expenditure on healthcare; strictly control the use of funds (including provisions for war veterans to acquire non-military professions, priority employment placements, and loans to start their own businesses).

Foreign Policy

- Make the main goal of Russia's foreign policy the protection of the interests of Russian citizens and Russian companies abroad and the economic and technological modernization of the country;
- Focus on Russia's main economic partner – the European Union – and strive to achieve maximum economic integration with its member countries;
- Develop and launch strategies to integrate the EU and Russian Federation into a single, geo-economic area with common economic and visa regulations, a common currency based on the euro and the ruble, and compatible legal systems;
- Unilaterally abolish short-term visas for citizens of OECD countries visiting the Russian Federation and simplify as much as possible for the citizens of those countries the process of obtaining permits to live and work in Russia long-term;
- Introduce a visa system with those countries of Central Asia which, as of January 1, 2012, are outside the Customs Union; develop and adopt a set of laws governing labor migration;
- Initiate negotiations on a comprehensive agreement covering guarantees on investment and property rights with all OECD countries;
- Liberalize access to the Russian market as much as possible for foreign companies in exchange for access to modern technology and investment opportunities in developed countries;
- Sign and ratify the statute of the International Criminal Court and join international conventions governing warfare;
- Reform the Foreign Service, increase the transparency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, overcome engrained prejudices in the selection of diplomatic personnel, and develop a system which objectively evaluates work done by Russian embassies and missions abroad; develop Russia's foreign policy guidelines on the basis of extensive consultation with expert communities and non-governmental organizations.

I, Mikhail Prokhorov, am convinced that Russia has little time to make the changes needed to create a real civil society and real democracy, build a strong economy which benefits all its citizens, and create the conditions necessary to revive our national culture, education and healthcare system. We must rise to the challenge and make full use of this historic opportunity.