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The impact of political stability on economic development after a military invasion: the experience of the countries of the Middle East and Southeast Asia

Вплив політичної стабільності на економічний розвиток після військового вторгнення (досвід країн Близького Сходу та Південно-Східної Азії)

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Written by:

Yuliia Melnyk¹ <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0392-4941>**Larisa Dunayeva²** <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0978-5417>**Olexander Shelest³** <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-1773-398X>**Marina Shulga⁴** <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8929-8111>**Olena Ataieva⁵** <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-4863-1506>


Abstract

Economic development after a military invasion depends on a number of factors led by the establishment of peace and political stability. However, the restoration of stability is a difficult test for the post-war economy because of a number of reasons, which include the destruction of institutions, conflicting interests of the government and society, violation of legitimacy, humanitarian crisis, and many others. The aim of the article is to study the ways of achieving political stability and its impact on economic development after the military invasion. The SWOT analysis and case study methods were used during the research. Using the example of Iraq and Vietnam, the appropriateness of using such advantages as the availability of a resource base, opportunities to attract international support, and effective reforms in the economic


Анотація


Економічний розвиток після військового вторгнення залежить від численної кількості факторів, основним з яких є встановлення миру та політична стабільність. Проте відновлення стабільності є важким випробуванням для повоєнної економіки через ряд причин, серед яких можна зауважити руйнування інституцій, конфліктні інтереси влади та суспільства, порушення легітимності, гуманітарну кризу та багато інших. Метою статті є дослідження шляхів досягнення та впливу політичної стабільності на економічний розвиток після воєнного вторгнення. Під час дослідження застосовувались методи SWOT-аналізу та кейс-стаді. В результаті проведеного аналізу було встановлено, що у ході післявоєнного відновлення (на прикладі Іраку та В'єтнаму) доцільно застосовувати такі переваги, як

¹ Candidate of Political Sciences, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Law, Institute of Humanities, Odesa Politechnik National University, Odesa, Ukraine.

² Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Dean of Faculty of Psychology and Social Work, Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, Ukraine.  WoS Researcher ID: AAE-8339-2021

³ Graduate Student, Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Odesa, Ukraine.

⁴ Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Professor of the Department of Public Administration, Educational and Scientific Institute of Public Administration and Civil Service, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv, Ukraine.  WoS Researcher ID: AHH-2381-2022

⁵ Candidate of Economic Sciences, Assistant Professor, Assistant Professor of the Department of Economics and Management of Enterprises, Educational and Scientific Professional and Pedagogical Institute, Ukrainian Engineering Pedagogical Academy (Bakhmut), Kharkiv, Ukraine.  WoS Researcher ID: JEN-6179-2023

sphere in the course of post-war recovery was established. Such limitations as the reduction of human potential, the destruction of infrastructure, and the increasing public debt should be taken into account in the course of recovery. The solution to the outlined problems can be effective fight against corruption, the strengthening of the institutional component, effective reforms in the economic sphere, as well as overcoming the environmental consequences of the war and restoring the physical and mental state of the population. The role of political stability in this process is significant. The main ways to achieve it include a team of patriot reformers, increasing the transparency of government actions, conducting inclusive policies and achieving social equality and welfare.

Keywords: political stability, post-war recovery, military invasion, corruption, social equality.

Introduction

The post-war recovery of the country is an extremely complex process that combines political, economic, social and other areas of recovery. Brown et al. (2011) note that the post-conflict period should not be reduced to one specific event — it is a process that involves the achievement of a number of peace milestones: cessation of hostilities and violence, signing of political (peace) agreements, integration, demobilization and disarmament, return of refugees, restoration of functioning of the state, reconciliation and social integration, economic recovery.

Achieving peace milestones is impossible without achieving political stability, which is a particularly challenging task for countries that have just went out of military conflict (Almukhtar, 2020; Ruwanpura et al., 2020; Premarathna, 2021). Disputes within the administrative machine and between different population groups, which often occur or even intensify in the post-war (often crisis) environment, can significantly slow down or disrupt the recovery process. Political instability delays the adoption of important reforms, reduces investment attractiveness, forces refugees to delay their return to the Motherland, and may lead to a new conflict in the worst case (Hisari & Fouseki, 2020; Warr, 2019). In turn, the stabilization of the political situation contributes to the minimization of the specified

нааявність ресурсної бази, можливості щодо залучення міжнародної підтримки, а також ефективні реформи в сфері економіки. В ході відновлення ватро враховувати такі обмеження, як скорочення людського потенціалу, руйнування інфраструктури, зростання обсягу державного боргу. Виришення окреслених проблем вбачається у ефективній боротьбі з корупцією, посиленням інституційної складової, ефективних реформах в сфері економіки, а також подоланні екологічних наслідків війни і поновленні фізичного і психічного стану населення. Роль політичної стабільності у цьому процесі є визначною, а основними шляхами її досягнення є наявність команди реформаторів-патріотів, підвищення прозорості дій уряду, проведення інклюзивної політики та досягнення соціальної рівності та добробуту.

Ключові слова: політична стабільність, післявоєнне відновлення, військове вторгнення, корупція, соціальна рівність.

threats and creates favourable conditions for development.

The history of the countries of the Middle East and Southeast Asia includes many armed conflicts related to ethnic, religious, political, territorial, economic, and other factors (Mehrl & Thurner, 2021; Gleick, 2019; Khalid et al., 2020). This is evidenced by the civil war in Syria, which has been going on since 2011 — currently the conflict is almost frozen, and the country has suffered a major humanitarian crisis (Hale, 2019; Walther & Pedersen, 2020; Lantis, 2021). Another example is the 2006 Lebanon War (the conflict is still ongoing), which caused a protracted economic crisis (Mounir Moghnieh, 2021; Farran, 2021), as well as the Arab-Israeli conflict, which lasted for nearly a century (Feinstein, 2018; Amal, 2020).

In the author's opinion, Iraq and Vietnam are the most relevant examples for studying the impact of political stability on economic recovery after a military invasion (Butt, 2019; Payne, 2020). Hassan and Ibrahim (2022) note that some economic reforms show effects in the short term, continuing in the medium and long term. The effect of other reforms can be tangible in the medium and long term only. A relatively long time has passed since the end of the conflicts in Iraq and Vietnam, which makes it possible to assess the success or failure of state measures for post-war economic recovery in the medium and

long term and to note the role of political stability in this process. Brown et al. (2011) note that the key aspects of economic recovery are the state of economic development, the availability of natural resources, and the existence of significant horizontal inequality. Regarding these aspects, there were mistakes, ineffective decisions and steps in the process of post-war reconstruction of Iraq and Vietnam, which can serve as a positive experience for other countries in the process of post-war reconstruction.

First of all, it is worth taking into account the negative experience because mistakes in the course of restoring peace can lead to serious economic, social, political consequences or even to the renewal of the conflict. As the experience of Iraq and Vietnam shows, the most significant threats to the restoration of peace are: corruption, weak institutions, misuse of funding, ineffectiveness of reforms, insufficient care for the consequences for human health and ecology. With this in mind, important lessons that can be learned in the course of studying the post-war reconstruction of Iraq and Vietnam are: the need for effective use of donor funds and taking into account the possibilities of their return; carrying out reforms on time and with proper prioritization; strengthening the role of the private sector; balanced social and environmental policy.

The aim of the article is to study the ways of achieving political stability and its impact on economic development after the military invasion. The aim was achieved through the fulfilment of the following research objectives:

- Assess the post-war state of the studied economies by conducting a SWOT analysis and identifying strengths and weaknesses, threats and opportunities;
- Identify measures and decisions that can provide positive and negative lessons for post-war economic recovery using the example of Iraq and Vietnam;
- Determine the role of political stability in post-war economic recovery using the examples of Iraq and Vietnam;
- Identify the ways to achieve political stability after the war.

The leading methods used in the research are SWOT analysis and case studies. A SWOT analysis allows to discuss the main aspects of post-war recovery in terms of existing strengths, opportunities, weaknesses and threats. A case study is used for an in-depth study of a specific

example in order to identify positive and negative experiences.

Literature Review

The periodic escalation of existing conflicts and the emergence of new conflicts in the world cause researchers' unquenchable interest in the issues of post-war recovery. Brown et al. (2011) suggest that developing a typology of scenarios that can unfold in post-war economies is more effective than searching for a universal approach.

Yasiry (2020) discusses the purpose of the US invasion of Iraq and also analyses the results of the post-war reconstruction of Iraq on the part of the US. The researcher does not justify the military invasion, noting that the war cannot be considered as a humanitarian intervention.

Hassan and Ibrahim (2022) examine the economic challenges and policies of recovery and stability for post-war economies. As an example, the researchers study the case of Iraq for 2000-2019. The researchers determine the motives and factors of the war, its consequences and problems of the post-conflict phase, and also touch on the topic of recovery policy.

Al-jawareen (2019) examine another invasion of Iraq by ISIS in 2014. The researchers analyse the economic costs associated with this invasion. The conflict continued until 2017, and the researchers note its devastating effects, exacerbated by the fall in international oil prices.

Lafta (2019) examine the economic problems of Iraq after the 2003 war and the invasion of ISIS. The researchers note significant advantages of Iraq compared to other developing countries: significant agricultural potential, availability of labour force, large reserves of oil and gas. However, there are a number of problems that hinder the country's development: the construction of dams by Turkey and Syria, which has reduced the flow of water, dependence on neighbouring countries for the transportation of goods, dependence on oil and gas.

The example of Vietnam enables assessing the long-term effects of post-war recovery. Panchenko et al. (2021) analyse the politics of economic nationalism and patriotism in Vietnam. The researchers focus on the security component of the economy and the advantages its adaptation provides to countries.

Studying the case of Vietnam's post-war development, the researchers often refer to the

experience of implementing “doi moi” (recovery policy), a course adopted by the Communist Party of Vietnam in 1986 and still in force with constant revisions. Ho (2020) describes the reforms implemented under the renewal policy, notes the country’s major achievements over the past 30 years and challenges to the country’s recovery. Vu-Thanh (2022) notes that post-doi moi private sector development is a success, but only a partial one, as further reforms are hampered by a number of political and economic obstacles.

Many works emphasize that the Vietnamese government ignores environmental problems. Not least, such problems are the result of military operations, when large areas of mangrove forests were destroyed by chemicals, affecting flora, fauna, soil, water and the agricultural sector during the Vietnam War. In this regard, Hai et al. (2020) examine the history of mangrove restoration in Vietnam, noting the major successes and failures of the process. Studying

the relationship between economic development and the state of ecology in Vietnam, Vo and Ho (2021) conclude that foreign direct investment may lead to further aggravation of environmental problems in the long term. The literature review gives grounds to note an understudied aspect of post-war recovery — the ways of achieving political stability in the post-war economy.

Methodology

The first step of the study was to determine the countries being the most indicative examples of post-war economic recovery in terms of political stability. The experience of recent conflicts in the countries of the Middle East and Southeast Asia was analysed for this purpose. Table 1 provides a brief overview of recent conflicts in the regions selected for the research, the study of which, in the author’s opinion, can be useful for measuring the impact of political stability on economic development after a military invasion.

Table 1.
Key information about the studied conflicts

Country	Conflict	Period	Official reasons	Main actors	Main result
Middle East					
Iraq	War in Iraq	March 20, 2003 - December 15, 2011	The official reason is the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.	The USA and Great Britain — on one part, while Iraq and Syrian volunteers were on the other during the invasion phase.	Military and political victory of the USA.
	The ISIS offensive	June 4, 2014 - 2017	Political and ethnic instability in Iraq, territorial ambitions of ISIS	The government of Iraq, Iran and other allies — on the one part, the Islamic State — on the other	Iraq’s victory
Syria	Civil war in Syria	March 15, 2011 — to date	Demonstrations that were part of the Arab Spring turned into an uprising and war. Protesters demanded the resignation of the President and the end of one-party Baathist rule.	Syria, Syrian opposition, Islamic State, Syrian Kurdistan and external forces (Russia, Turkey, USA).	The conflict is ongoing
Lebanon	Lebanon war of 2006	July 12, 2006 – to date (ceasefire since August 14, 2006)	Hezbollah’s capture of two Israeli soldiers and Hezbollah’s constant attacks on Israel.	Hezbollah, Israel, Lebanon	The conflict is ongoing
Southeast Asia					

Vietnam	The Vietnam War	September 26, 1959 - April 30, 1975	The desire of North Vietnam for unification under the communist regime, geopolitical and ideological reasons from outside parties (in particular, the USA and the USSR).	Communist North Vietnam (supported by the USSR and the PRC) and South Vietnam (supported by the USA, Australia, South Korea, etc.).	Military victory of North Vietnam, defeat of the United States
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Source: (compiled by the author)

As Table 1 shows, the conflicts in Syria and Lebanon are ongoing. These countries are characterized by a difficult economic situation. Therefore, Iraq and Vietnam are the most relevant examples for studying the impact of political stability on economic recovery after a military invasion. A long period of time has passed since the end of the conflicts, which makes it possible to assess the success or failure of state measures for post-war economic recovery and to assess the role of political stability in this process.

Thus, the selection of countries for analysis was determined on the basis of several key criteria. First of all, the presence of conflicts in the regions of the Middle East and Southeast Asia, in particular in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Vietnam, was taken into account. Countries with ongoing conflicts were excluded because their economies are isolated or experiencing significant difficulties. The second criterion was the availability of information on the recovery of economies after military conflicts. Countries where sufficient data could be obtained and their effectiveness analyzed were included in the study. The stability of the political environment during the post-war period was also taken into account. Countries with political stability were selected for further analysis in the context of the relationship between political stability and economic development.

The state of the post-war economies of Iraq and Vietnam was analysed by using a SWOT analysis, which made it possible to determine the

strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats regarding the economic recovery of the selected countries. The next step was to analyse the positive and negative lessons that can be learned about the post-war economic recovery of the studied countries. The conducted case study of the examples of Iraq and Vietnam made it possible to summarize the results of recovery and determine the role of political stability in it, as well as to offer recommendations on ways to achieve it in countries that have undergone military invasion.

Results

SWOT analysis of post-war economies

Determining the factors that had (continue to have) an impact on post-war economic recovery, and the role political stability has played in this process, should begin with identifying the post-war state of the studied countries. It is proposed to apply a SWOT analysis of the post-war economies of Iraq and Vietnam for this purpose. This analysis will help to assess the following aspects:

- Strengths – post-war advantages that can be used by the country during economic recovery;
- Weaknesses – aspects and factors that may hinder effective post-war recovery;
- Opportunities – available reserves, promising solutions, external resources;
- Threats — the most dangerous factors that can threaten to reduce the effectiveness of recovery or return to a state of conflict (Tables 2-3).

Table 2.
SWOT analysis of the post-war economy of Iraq

Strengths	Weaknesses
<p>Projected reduction of public debt relative to GDP in 2023 (up to 42.5%); Significant reserves of oil and gas; International financial support</p> <p>Opportunities 2003-2013: Write-off of 80% of debt by the Paris Club (\$32 milliard); Creation of a trust fund with the assistance of the UN, which aggregated more than \$1.3 milliard; The USA expanded its guarantees to \$60.6 milliard by 2012; 2014 — to date: Obtaining loans between 2016-2018 from the IMF, the World Bank, etc. participants in the amount of \$18 milliard; Development of a document jointly with the World Bank Group, which establishes 5 areas of recovery: governance, reconciliation, social development, infrastructure development, economic development; The start of activities of the Iraq Reform, Recovery and Reconstruction Fund in 2018; Adoption of the White Paper of economic reforms by the government with the aim of overcoming the fiscal crisis, solving problems with insufficient budget financing, solving structural problems of the economy.</p>	<p>The total amount of foreign debt at the end of 2003 was \$120 milliard; In 2014, the capture of Iraqi territories by ISIS caused the forced displacement of about 5 million people, and the amount of real losses by 2017 reached \$107 billion; The ratio of public debt to GDP in 2020 was 71.6%; Dependence on oil revenues; Drought Threats</p> <p>2003-2013: The four funds between which most of the American money was divided fell didn't achieve their goals because of high levels of corruption; Unresolved ethno-sectarian problems; Unsuccessful attempts to diversify the economy in order to reduce dependence on oil; Lack of significant results from the implementation of the decentralization reform; Influence of terrorist organizations; 2014 — to date: Delaying the implementation of investment projects for the private sector and other reforms regarding the restructuring of the economy; The White Paper does not address climate change; The deepening of corruption problems and the lack of communication between the parties.</p>

Source: compiled by the author based on (Nabok, 2022)

Table 3.
SWOT analysis of Vietnam's post-war economy

Strengths	Weaknesses
<p>Large oil reserves; A large number of young people and cheap labour; Effective prioritization helped, first of all, to develop the agro-industrial complex and ways of selling products, and later to start developing tourism and industry; Opportunities Approval of "recovery policy" or "doi moi" in 1986, promoting market reforms, economic integration, expansion of opportunities for the private sector; Successful application of tools for the creation of economic, industrial zones, export processing zones; Research successes in the field of post-traumatic recovery techniques;</p>	<p>After the war, most of the big cities were almost destroyed, there was catastrophic destruction of infrastructure and human casualties, the number of which ranged from 3 to 7 million people according to various sources;</p> <p>Threats Significant damage to ecology after the war — the destruction of jungles and mangrove forests by chemicals caused a drop in productivity, damage to flora, fauna, soil, water and air, and people's health. Recovery requires considerable effort and time; Psycho-emotional state ("Vietnam syndrome") and physical health of war veterans; Corruption; Ideological disputes;</p>

Source: compiled by the author based on (Dmytrenko, 2022)

The conducted SWOT analysis gives grounds to draw the following key conclusions:

- both countries suffered catastrophic damage during the wars, which continues to have an impact after a long period of peace;

- various strengths and opportunities can be used on the way to recovery — from the availability of resources to the attraction of international support and the implementation of effective government decisions;
- the weaknesses after military invasions are, first of all, the death and resettlement of people, which leads to a limited number of labour force, significant destruction of infrastructure, losses, and the growth of public debt;
- the key threats to recovery are corruption, institutional weakness, misappropriation of funds, ineffectiveness or the failure to make necessary reforms, as well as such long-term consequences as damage to the environment and human health.

Positive and negative experience of the studied economies in terms of post-war recovery

The cases of Iraq and Vietnam offer the following lessons for post-war recovery:

- 1) The need for international support for a war-torn country is an important aspect of recovery. However, the achievement of the set goals is possible only with the effective use of donor funds, which involves targeting the allocated funds, as well as comprehensive programmes to fight corruption and strengthening the institutional component. It is also important to coordinate donors' plans for the country's recovery with national plans and direct efforts not only to the implementation of individual projects, but also to broad support of priority industries. Besides, it is worth realistically assessing the country's ability to repay loans.
- 2) Reforms must be carried out on time, and their effectiveness depends on the correct arrangement of priorities, which consists in determining the most important sectors and directions of reforms.
- 3) During the crisis, the private sector is one of the main "saviours" of the economy, and therefore, it is necessary to strengthen its role in the plans for the recovery of the economy. This may involve changes in legislation, tax policy, various support programmes, as well as solving ideological issues.
- 4) The population plays a leading role in post-war recovery, so it is worth focusing on providing people with work, especially the youth, repatriation of refugees, compensation for the damage caused by the

war, restoration of mental and physical condition, providing support to war veterans, improving the quality of education, etc.

- 5) The elimination of the negative consequences of the war for ecology is not the least issue.

This direction of recovery requires consolidated efforts on the part of the damaged country and other countries of the world, because today the problem of ecology is a common challenge for all nations.

The role of political stability and ways of achieving it

The role of political stability in the country is key to the successful application of identified lessons from post-war economic recovery. Restoration of peace and elimination of internal contradictions is possible only under the condition of stabilization of the political situation. At the same time, political disputes can lead to a split and renewed conflict.

Peace and political stability are crucial aspects for attracting foreign investment, developing the private sector, and returning refugees. Effective implementation of reforms is impossible without concerted actions of the government, while political disputes lead to the prolongation of the implementation of reforms, postponing their potential positive results.

Achieving political stability is often a difficult task, especially in a country that has just emerged from a military conflict. Achieving political stability should be the result of joint efforts of the government and the population. In this regard, it is worth providing some recommendations that can play an important role in achieving political stability:

- after the war, the country should be headed by a team of patriot reformers, who should focus on post-war reconstruction with the support of the population, not on internal disputes;
- government activities should be as transparent as possible to ensure public control over the actions of politicians. the development of e-government, as well as the programme for improving the information literacy of the population, plays a significant role in increasing the transparency of the government's actions;
- it is advisable to conduct an inclusive policy — it is necessary to create conditions not

only to ensure freedom of speech, but also to take into account the views of people from different population groups in the field of politics, for example, through the implementation of specialized programmes and projects, the creation of public organizations, unions. One of the directions of implementation of an inclusive policy should be the elimination of religious, ethnic, and ideological contradictions in society, taking into account the interests of various population groups, as well as actions aimed at achieving national unity, identity, and respect among people;

- political stability depends not least on the population well-being, ensuring equal rights, and reducing horizontal inequality. Therefore, governments should implement a balanced social policy aimed at ensuring equal opportunities and prospects to realize the potential of each person.

Discussion

Brown et al. (2011) focus on economic recovery. The researchers note that economic development, the availability of natural resources, and horizontal inequality affect the possibility of reviving the conflict and economic recovery. Regarding Iraq, it was noted that there is a significant social and economic horizontal inequality in the country. In the author's article, this factor is defined as one of the decisive factors in achieving political stability, which plays a key role in post-war economic recovery.

Regarding Iraq, it was noted that there is a significant social and economic horizontal inequality in the country. The author of this article defined this factor as one of the decisive factors in achieving political stability, which plays a key role in post-war economic recovery.

Hassan and Ibrahim (2022) suggest the following areas of reform for Iraq: restructuring the economy, attracting foreign investment, reforming the financial system, reducing state intervention, developing exports, fighting corruption, controlling natural resources, developing infrastructure in the areas of health care and education. In the author's opinion, these directions should be complemented by the implementation of a balanced social policy to ensure the interests of various ethnic groups. This will contribute to increasing political stability, which is the basis for the implementation of further reforms.

Yasiry (2020) examines the results of post-war reconstruction of Iraq on the part of the US. The researcher notes that the goals of achieving political and economic stability have not been achieved. The US should have taken action to encourage the Iraqi government to implement an inclusive, less aggressive policy toward Sunni Arab, Kurdish, and Shiite Arab regions. Such conclusions confirm the author's position regarding the exceptional place of political stability in the post-war economic recovery, because any efforts to overcome economic problems may come to naught because of the exacerbation of political disputes in the government and among the population.

Analysing the key consequences of the ISIS invasion of Iraq, Al-Jawareen (2019) singles out the three most critical problems: high dependence on oil, high level of corruption, post-war urban reconstruction. However, the study pays insufficient attention to the internal contradictions and social inequality, which can disrupt political stability and inhibit economic development.

Lafta (2019) note the role of political stability in solving a number of economic problems and overcoming the consequences of military invasions. The solution to the problem of lack of water in Iraq may be solved by concluding a number of agreements with Turkey and Syria. Logistics problems are solved by building relations with neighbouring countries. This study cites another dimension of achieving political stability — international, which is not defined in the author's article. The author's research focuses on achieving political stability within the country, while establishing proper communications with international partners is a key aspect of ensuring political stability on the world stage.

Panchenko et al. (2021) consider the case of Vietnam, noting that the country effectively uses its natural and human resources, successfully combining innovation and regional features in the development of the agricultural sector. Ho (2020) notes problems in Vietnam's development: the level of economic development is still insufficient and not sustainable; limitations in solving social and environmental problems; slow pace of political reforms; lack of effective solutions to prevent the decline of political ideology. Examining the development of the private sector in post-doi moi Vietnam, Vu-Thanh (2022) notes a number of problems impeding further reforms. The main problem is determining the balance between political

ideology and economic legitimacy. These studies prove the correctness of the author's opinion that political stability is an important factor for economic recovery. Vietnam's economy is developing rapidly, but it would be more efficient provided the resolution of ideological contradictions.

Despite the rapid economic development of Vietnam, the country's government pays insufficient attention to environmental aspects. In light of the emergence of the concept of sustainable economy and the growing attention of governments to environmental safety, environmental problems should be considered in a complex with economic and political aspects. Hai et al. (2020) explore the challenge of restoring mangrove forests in Vietnam that were severely damaged during the Vietnam War. The active participation of the community is important in this process. Vo and Ho (2021) found a relationship between the economic development of Vietnam and the deterioration of the environment in the country. In this article, environmental problems are considered as one of the most significant negative consequences of the war in Vietnam, but their connection with economic indicators and political aspects is not investigated. At the same time, identifying the connection between ecology and political stability can become an important area of further research.

Conclusions

The conducted research confirms the key role of political stability in the restoration of the economy of countries after a military invasion. The SWOT analysis carried out in the gives grounds to conclude that both studied countries (Iraq and Vietnam) suffered significant damage during the wars, the consequences of which still have an impact after a long period of peace. On the way to economic recovery, countries can use their strengths and opportunities (availability of resources, attraction of international support, effective government decisions). Vulnerable areas of economies after military invasions are a limited number of labour force, significant destruction of infrastructure, losses, and the growth of public debt. The main threats to recovery are corruption, institutional weakness, misappropriation of funds, ineffectiveness or non-adoption of necessary reforms, damage to ecology and human health.

The examples of Iraq and Vietnam give grounds to note the importance of international support for countries devastated by the war, the

implementation of appropriate economic reforms, strengthening the role of the private sector, involving the population in recovery and caring for their well-being, as well as eliminating environmental consequences.

The key factor for a successful recovery is political stability in the country, which is achieved by approving a team of patriot reformers at the head of the country, increasing the transparency of the government's activities, conducting an inclusive policy, and improving the population welfare, balanced social policy.

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