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UKRAINE'S POST-WAR RECOVERY: KEY STEPS AND EXPERIENCE OF LEADING COUNTRIES

ПІСЛЯВОЄННЕ ВІДНОВЛЕННЯ УКРАЇНИ: ОСНОВНІ КРОКИ ТА ДОСВІД ПРОВІДНИХ КРАЇН

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Балан О.С., Войтенко М.В., Пульча Д.О. Післявоєнне відновлення України: основні кроки та досвід провідних країн. Оглядова стаття.

Російський напад завдав великих збитків українській економіці. На початку січня 2023 року уряд оцінював їх у понад 700 млрд. доларів. Автори розглянули досвід відновлення німецької та японської економік після 1945 року. На Заході та в Україні говорять про новий план Маршалла. Український план – 750 мільярдів доларів за 10 років, це кратно перевищує кошти, виділені на ФРН після 1945 року. Планується в основному давати гроші на енергетику, доступ до фінансування, інфраструктуру та житлове будівництво. Порівнюється з інвестиціями у зруйновану німецьку економіку. Є й спільні риси, але «новий план Маршалла» – умовна назва. Розглянуто японський досвід – знищення картелів і роздача землі дрібним власникам. Корисний для України німецький досвід.

Ключові слова: Євроінтеграція, Євросоюз, ЄС, Європейський Союз, план Маршалла, відбудова

Balan O.S., Voitenko M.V., Pulcha D.O. Ukraine's Post-War Recovery: Key Steps and Experience of Leading Countries. Review article.

The Russian attack has brought heavy losses to the Ukrainian economy. At the beginning of January 2023, the government estimated them at more than USD 700 billion. The authors have examined the experience of restoring the German and Japanese economies after 1945. In the West and in Ukraine a new Marshall Plan is being talked about. The Ukrainian plan is USD 750 billion over 10 years, which is a multiple of the funds allocated to the FRG after 1945. It is planned to give money mainly for energy, access to finance, infrastructure and housing construction. Compared to investing in the ruined German economy. There are common features, but the "new Marshall Plan" is a conventional name. The Japanese experience is considered, i.e. cartels destruction and land distribution to small owners. The German experience is useful for Ukraine.

Keywords: Eurointegration, European Union, EU, Marshall Plan, reconstruction

Ukraine, experiencing the consequences of the war against Russia, faces major challenges in the areas of economy, social development and politics. Post-war reconstruction is becoming a critical task for stabilising the situation and developing the country. The aim of the article is to examine the main steps and experiences of leading countries in the process of post-conflict recovery.

Analysis of recent researches and publications

The article by K.I. Antoniuk, D.A. Antoniuk, L.M. Bukharina, V.O. Shyshkin [11] examines the results of international assistance in Ukraine. The authors identify "the contradictory nature of aid, the dualism of international technical assistance in the context of ensuring the national security of the country, the difficulty of assessing the real impact of international donors' programmes and projects on socio-economic transformations". A. Kolosov, A. Savchenko, L. Bezzubko, S.K. Bezzubko, S. Kucherenko, V. Lyashenko and other scholars dedicated their research papers to the issues of recovery.

The aim of the article is to analyse and systematise the experience of leading countries in recovering from military conflicts to develop recommendations and strategies that will contribute to Ukraine's sustainable development after the end of the conflict with Russia.

The main part

The Ukrainian-Russian war has caused major losses for the country's economy. At the beginning of 2023, they were estimated at hundreds of billions of dollars [1].

As Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal said at a government meeting on 3 January, "In cooperation with the World Bank, we plan to conduct another verification of Ukraine's needs for the fastest possible recovery. I would like to remind you that we had such a fixation at the beginning of June. Back then, the figure was USD 350 billion in damages. Given the recent attacks on our infrastructure, this amount is now over USD 700 billion".

As early as 2022, Olha Ivanitska, Professor of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University, noted [2] that, according to preliminary estimates, the losses amounted to USD 1-1.5 trillion.

In addition to direct economic losses, the country has lost part of its workforce – some citizens left for Europe, some were killed, and some remained in the occupied territories. Production chains were disrupted. And some of them have now simply disappeared, such as the mine-Mariupol-port nexus of Mariupol and Berdiansk.

Sooner or later, this war will end, and Ukraine will face the issue of economic recovery. This happened more than once in the history of the 20th century, but for our country, the more interesting issue is how this was implemented in countries with previously developed market economies and how they managed to restore them. That is, the experience of Vietnam or Croatia is not as interesting for Ukraine as the experience of Germany and Japan after World War II. In this paper, the authors provide examples of how the economies of large countries that were almost completely destroyed were able to recover and demonstrate an economic miracle.

The Marshall Plan was an economic programme developed by the United States after World War II to rebuild Europe. Officially known as the European Recovery Programme, the plan was introduced in 1947 and named after the US Secretary of State George Marshall.

"The Marshall Plan" in a clear sense is a programme of the United States of America, initiated and authored by Secretary of State D. Marshall. The official name of the Marshall Plan is the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 [4]. The direct implementation of the Marshall Plan, following a specially adopted US law, was carried out from April 1948 to December 1951. The Marshall Plan, against the background of the Soviet Union's artificial delay of negotiations and its final refusal to participate in this project, as well as the socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe (except for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) and Finland, covered 17 countries of the continent. The total US assistance to European countries amounted to over USD 13 billion. Paul Hoffman, President of the Studebaker Corporation, was the immediate coordinator of the practical implementation of the Marshall Plan.

At the same time, the use by European countries of a number of economic and social policy measures developed in the context of the Marshall Plan lasted until the second half of the 1960s. Using the Marshall Plan as an analogue of the development and implementation of the Marshall Plan for Ukraine is legitimate only if there is an objective and comprehensive understanding of the Marshall Plan itself. Moreover, the fundamental US approaches to understanding, developing, and implementing this project have fundamentally changed.

Forming a systematic use of the Marshall Plan to substantiate the strategy and tactics of recovery policy in Ukraine will be facilitated by an understanding of its fundamental provisions, which reflect the essence and content of the Marshall Plan as a whole. First. According to the original version presented in September 1944 by US Secretary of the Treasury G. Morgenthau in his "Programme to Prevent Germany's Outbreak of World War III" ("The Morgenthau Plan"), the recovery policy in Europe was limited to Germany alone [5].

At this, in fact, it provided not only for the division of Germany into two states (with the allocation of three more parts under the control of France, Poland and the USSR), but also for the actual destruction of Germany's industry as the basis of its economic potential. The intentions to implement the Morgenthau Plan in practice were confirmed by their official formalisation in the form of a memorandum signed by US President F. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill at a special international conference in Quebec. Second. The US State Secretary D. Marshall (who served as the country's state secretary for a short time; he was a military man by his main occupation, he was the Chief of Staff of the US Army during the entire World War II) introduced several fundamentally different conceptual approaches to justify the strategy and tactics of the policy of recovery in Europe.

1. Understanding the revival of Germany as the main political component, unlike the Morgenthau Plan, the recovery policy implementation was initially envisaged on the entire European continent.

2. Concerning Germany, the measures were aimed at its revival, transforming it from an enemy into the first US ally in Europe and the main conductor of US policy on the continent (at this, economic assistance to Germany in the amount of USD 1.3 billion was combined with huge reparations payments).

3. The recovery policy in all the countries participating in the Marshall Plan envisaged not only the revival of the material base of industry, agriculture and social infrastructure but also systemic economic reforms, which primarily consisted of the gradual formation of a free trade area for goods, capital and labour on the continent. It was in this context that the European Coal Community was established in 1950 under the Schuman Plan, consisting of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg (after several transformations, it became the prototype of the future European Union).

The Marshall Plan was designed to provide financial and economic assistance to European countries affected by the war. The main goal of the plan was to help restore the European economy, strengthen political stability and prevent the spread of communism. The Federal Republic of Germany was one of the countries that received significant assistance under the Marshall Plan. Germany received financial, technical and material assistance to rebuild its economy after the war. This included the restoration of industry, infrastructure, agriculture and trade [6].

Third. According to the Marshall Plan, recipient countries could only use the relevant financial revenues to purchase investment goods in the United States (albeit on preferential terms), provided they were used for their intended purpose and created new jobs; this excluded the use of such aid to "patch up" the budget with social items.

Fourth. The development and implementation of the Marshall Plan system of measures was not limited to Europe alone. The same approaches were used by the United States in other countries that suffered during World War II (but with due regard to these countries' socio-economic development and their readiness for systemic socio-economic transformations). For example, in Japan, approaches to the Marshall Plan were implemented in a programme called the Dodge Line after its developer, the famous banker Dodge (who took an active part in implementing the recovery policy in Europe) [2]. In Japan, the conceptual provisions of the Marshall Plan were implemented with an emphasis on tax and budget reforms, as well as on the transformation of feudal agriculture on a capitalist basis (the success of agricultural reforms in Japan and some other Southeast Asian countries was ensured by their developer V. Ladezhynsky, a native of the former Kyiv province, one of the most authoritative scholars and practitioners of the US agricultural economy) [6].

Fifth. The socio-economic recovery of Europe was considered in the context of the United States' achievement of political objectives (the main ones were to prevent the spread of socialist ideas to new countries and to prevent the participation of communist parties in the governments of the Marshall Plan countries). Taking into account the Marshall Plan provision in Ukraine should be considered in the context of linking the recovery policy with the achievement of the country's general political goals at the stage of eliminating the consequences of the war [6].

The analysis of existing theoretical approaches of domestic and foreign scholars and practitioners on the policy of eliminating the consequences of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the official document "Ukraine's Recovery Plan" approved by the international community, as well as the identification of the essential provisions of the Marshall Plan, lay the foundation for the development of a systematic approach to the development of a "The Marshall Plan for Ukraine". This systematic approach is based on the SWOT analysis model. This model for the development and implementation of the Marshall Plan for Ukraine is presented in Table 1. The presented version of this model reflects the components of the SWOT analysis of both the development and implementation of the Marshall Plan for Ukraine, which is reasonable at the initial stage of research; in the future, it is advisable to differentiate these aspects.

Table 1. SWOT analysis of "The Marshall Plan for Ukraine"

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The existence of an established state institution for the development of recovery policy – the National Recovery Council. 2. The existence of an official document, "The Recovery Plan for Ukraine", whose foundations have been approved by the international community. 3. Ukraine gains the official status of a candidate country for accession to the European Union. 4. Availability of large domestic businesses ready to finance recovery policy (including those of national importance). 5. Preliminary estimates of the amount of funds needed to eliminate the consequences of the war. 6. Existence of reputable research centres (and certain developments) that have provided scientific and practical substantiation of Ukraine's recovery policy. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The ongoing war and the scale of the human cost, economic and environmental losses in Ukraine. 2. The institutional infrastructure for practical implementation of the recovery policy. 3. Lack of sufficient funds from the state. The budget required for the implementation of the restoration policy. 4. Incomplete market reforms in Ukraine and oligarchic structure of the economy. 5. The presence of a number of fundamental provisions that do not received the relevant justification in the submitted version of "The Recovery Plan for Ukraine".
Opportunities	Threats
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The existence of a specially created international platform for the development and implementation of the Marshall Plan for Ukraine. 2. The presence of large public and private investors who have confirmed their intentions to invest in the Marshall Plan for Ukraine. 3. Reparations payments by the Russian Federation to Ukraine. 4. International support for methodological and institutional support for the practical implementation of recovery policy in Ukraine. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The predicted constant threat to Ukraine from the Russian Federation in the future and the need for significant expenditures to ensure the country's defence capability. 2. The prospect of developing a legal framework for the collection of reparations payments (and even more so, the receipt of such payments) is delayed in time. 3. The presence of some countries that take a neutral position on supporting Ukraine.

Source: compiled by the authors based on [6]

According to the enlarged components of the SWOT analysis of the Marshall Plan for Ukraine, presented in Table 1, it is worth noting the aspects that best reveal the content of its internal strengths and weaknesses, as well as external prospects and threats.

These aspects identification is, in particular, the basis for the initial proposals for institutional infrastructure support of the Marshall Plan for Ukraine. Among the internal drivers of the development of such a document, the existence of the National Recovery Council and "The Recovery Plan for Ukraine" prepared by it are important necessary favourable preconditions. But they are not sufficient. The Lugano Declaration's observations on the need to revise the Recovery Plan are very serious. They need to be addressed with new versions of documents on the justification and implementation of the recovery policy, for which representatives of the scientific community should be involved (at one time, more than a thousand specialists from various fields of science and business were involved in the development of the Marshall Plan).

The Marshall Plan was successful and helped European countries emerge from the ruins of war and achieve economic recovery. It also contributed to increased closeness between the United States and Europe and strengthened NATO [3].

In July 2022, the Ukrainian government presented a USD 750 billion recovery plan for Ukraine in Lugano, Switzerland [4]. This plan is designed for 10 years. 750 billion dollars. This is the amount estimated to be needed on 4 July.

The largest amounts will be allocated to:

1) Energy security (about USD 130 billion). The projects include the construction of HPPs and PSPs, renewable energy power plants with a capacity of 5-10 GW, the completion of two power units at Khmelnytskyi NPP, the modernisation of other NPPs, and the construction of infrastructure for the production of green hydrogen.

2) Access to finance (about USD 75 billion). This includes insurance of investment projects against military risks, government grants and programmes to reduce interest on loans during and after the war, support for bank capital, stimulation of mortgage lending, and the creation of a development bank based on a state-owned bank.

3) Logistics and communications (USD 120-160 billion). The goal is to diversify export routes and rebuild the destroyed infrastructure. This includes the construction of 200 km of European-standard railway track (1.435 m wide, the standard in Ukraine is 1.52 m), cross-border agricultural storage facilities and terminals, and three new road checkpoints with the EU. It is planned to upgrade 5,800 wagons and 190 locomotives, repair 25,000 km of roads, and five to seven damaged airports.

4) Modernisation of regions and housing construction (USD 150-250 billion). The programme will implement a project to improve the energy efficiency of residential buildings, and build new and repair damaged houses.

If we go back to the Marshall Plan, we can note its key points.

The Marshall Plan implementation in Germany included several key stages:

Adoption of reconstruction programmes: Germany entered into an agreement with the United States that identified specific sectors and projects for economic recovery. "The German Recovery Plan" was created and priorities were set, such as the recovery of industry, agriculture, infrastructure and energy development.

1) Financing: Germany received significant financial resources from the United States for reconstruction projects. These funds were used for investments in industry, agriculture, construction of roads, ports, airports and other infrastructure facilities.

Germany received significant financial assistance under the Marshall Plan. In total, between 1948 and 1952, Germany received approximately USD 1.4 billion (the equivalent of about USD 12.7 billion in today's terms).

These funds came in the form of interest-free loans, grants and technical assistance. They were used to support the recovery of industry, infrastructure, agriculture and other sectors of the German economy. The financial assistance of the Marshall Plan was aimed at improving the lives of the population, providing food, creating new jobs and stimulating economic growth in the country.

2) Cooperation Development: Germany has actively cooperated with other European countries to coordinate efforts in regional economic recovery. Various international organisations, such as the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), were established to coordinate economic efforts and joint planning.

3) Industrial restructuring: The Marshall Plan promoted reforms in German industry. Measures were taken to modernise enterprises, improve technology and increase productivity. Decartelisation, i.e. the dissolution and limitation of the influence of cartels and monopolies, also took place.

4) Political changes: The implementation of the Marshall Plan also included political changes in Germany. The country's democratisation was carried out, aimed at establishing a stable democratic system.

A developed system of human rights and social protection was encouraged.

5) Stimulating trade: The Marshall Plan also contributed to an increase in Germany's foreign trade. Reducing trade barriers and increasing support for exports helped to reopen the foreign market for German goods.

In terms of money, Germany received more than USD 1.4 billion from the United States in three and a half years (1948-1951).

At the beginning of 1948, agricultural production in the western sectors of Germany decreased by a third compared to 1939, about five million houses and apartments were destroyed, and 12 million internally displaced

persons arrived from Silesia, Sudetenland, and East Prussia, who needed to be provided with jobs and housing [5].

Food makes up a significant share of aid for Germany. But at the same time, significant reforms have been carried out. Thus, as Artem Petrenko, Deputy Director of the Intens Institute for Innovation Development, notes [6]

"As a result of the 1949 reform, the income tax rate became flat at 50% (previously it was from 35% to 65%) Personal income tax: before the reform (since 1946), a 95% rate was applied to all income over 60 thousand reichsmarks (equivalent to DM 6 thousand). After the reform, this rate applies only to income above DM 250 thousand per year. But, for example, if before the reform, an income of DM 2.4 thousand was taxed at a marginal rate of 85%, then after the reform, this person would have paid at a rate of 18%. The system of tax incentives for exporters had a huge impact".

In addition, Germany and the Federal Republic of Germany used foreign aid better than others. Part of the loans under the Marshall Plan went to special funds, 60% of which went to industry. These funds played a special role in the reindustrialisation of Germany by providing cheap loans to private enterprises.

As for Japan's experience of economic recovery, it was sometimes too specific, including stimulating the economy with US orders for the Korean war, the issue of FIGs-zaibatsu-keiretsu, and the sale of land to farmers at affordable prices. Pre-war Japan was dominated by small peasant farms that leased land on indentured servitude from a small number of large owners. The rent was 50-70% of the harvest [7].

The Marshall Plan was not applied directly in Japan. However, Japan received postwar assistance from the United States through other programmes and initiatives. For example, in 1947, the Japan Assistance Act was passed, which provided financial and economic support for the country's economic recovery. Following the adoption of the Japan Assistance Act, various projects were launched to rebuild the country's industry, infrastructure and economic development. These projects included the construction of new factories, restoration of the transport system, support for agriculture and other measures aimed at improving the economic situation in Japan. Thus, although the Marshall Plan was not directly applied in Japan, the country received post-war assistance from the United States, which contributed to its economic recovery.

That is, the German experience is interesting for Ukraine but with local specifics. For example, in the authors' opinion, there is no need for monetary reform in Ukraine.

As noted at the roundtable discussion "The Marshall Plan: Experience and Lessons for Ukraine", there are various options for implementing the plan. One can try to directly duplicate the classic Marshall Plan and create special institutions: Western and Ukrainian administrations, as well as a special institution - the UBRD (analogous to KfW) [8].

Another option is to authorise other institutions by delegating functions to them: for example, to US and European aid agencies, as well as to banks in Ukraine, the EU and the US. Although a combined option is also possible.

One of the biggest challenges facing Ukraine after the victory is the restoration of its territories and infrastructure. Some cities have been completely wiped out, while others have been partially destroyed and are still under fire. The scale of the destruction is increasing every day – at the beginning of this year, the amount of damage caused to Ukraine as a result of the war exceeded \$700 billion.

The restoration process will require a lot of time and effort. Its development can be somewhat accelerated by taking into account the experience of countries that have successfully gone through a similar path. History knows many examples of countries that have managed to recover from wars and natural disasters.

To successfully rebuild Ukraine, it is necessary to have an effective plan that includes both immediate actions and long-term strategies. We have analysed the experience of rebuilding countries that may be relevant for overcoming the consequences of war [10].

Let's look at the main trends that emerged in the process of reconstruction (see Figure 1):

Countries' reconstruction after wars or natural disasters usually began with the attraction of "seed money" – loans or grants. After World War II, the Marshall Plan, which was primarily aimed at restoring industry, became such a support for the affected parties.

Later, emergency response instruments from IFIs were used to support countries in crises, such as suspension of payment or partial cancellation of external debts.

Grant and humanitarian aid to the affected countries, which often also comes in cash, also plays a significant role in reconstruction (Table 2).

We have not found a direct correlation between the amount of funding and the success of reconstruction. Instead, we identified certain obstacles that prevented countries from managing their finances effectively. For example, an error in damage assessment – most countries underestimated the extent of their destruction.

However, corruption has proved to be a more serious problem. When money is not used honestly and transparently, it increases the risk of cost overruns, deterioration of the quality of reconstruction and loss of partner confidence. This is what happened in Iraq – the country received more than USD 94 billion from the international community but failed to use it effectively. In contrast, Finland, without Marshall Funds, had virtually zero tolerance for corruption. Today, the country is a member of the EU and is on the verge of joining NATO, while Iraq is still struggling with the consequences of the war.

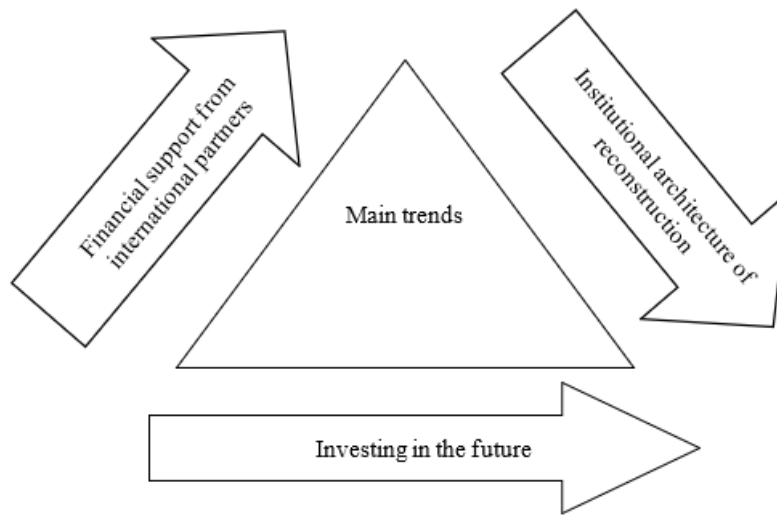


Figure 1. Main trends that emerged in the reconstruction process
 Source: compiled by the authors based on [10]

Table 2. Reconstruction of the world's countries

The USA (Hurricane Katrina)	South Korea (war)	Indonesia (tsunami)	Iraq (war)
Volunteers, supplies and financial assistance from 150 countries	Non-repayable financial assistance from the US (almost 10% of GDP)	USD 1.2 billion in grant aid raised, significant amounts of humanitarian aid were received	Agreement to allocate USD 33 billion in grant aid (part of the money was never disbursed)

Source: compiled by the authors based on [10]

Corruption is not the only reason for such a difference in the welfare and development of these two countries, but it is one of the determining factors in building the future [10].

Almost all countries have tried to carry out reconstruction in an organised and comprehensive manner. In this context, three main components that have accompanied the reconstruction process in one way or another attract attention:

1) A written declaration of objectives and goals. A programme, plan, law, or other legal act contains a set of guidelines and decisions on priorities, resources, methods, and implementers of recovery and reconstruction tasks, etc. The most famous ones were primarily concerned with economic rescue (The Marshall Plan, The Dodge Plan, The Monet Plan, The Hirsch Plan) and often helped to achieve the goals set. However, there were also comprehensive plans aimed at rebuilding and restoring everything vital, such as the General Plan for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in Indonesia.

2) The institutional network renewal. Each of the countries studied faced the issue of transferring authority to manage and coordinate the reconstruction process. To address this issue, a new government body with full powers was created, or special organisations with a specific purpose were established.

3) Policy activities optimisation. War or natural disaster temporarily puts the welfare of the population on the back burner. A new agenda emerges, focused on meeting emergency and basic needs. Many countries found it difficult to develop new rules and policies due to the centralised decision-making system. Those who already had a decentralised system in place before the disaster (Finland) found it easier to coordinate reconstruction and match needs with solutions.

The research has led to the hypothesis that the more damage a country suffered after a war or disaster, the more attention it paid to the education of its population. Thus, in one case, the goal could be to eliminate illiteracy in society (for example, South Korea), in the other – to build an innovative knowledge economy (for example, Finland). In both cases, the development of science and education was among the top priorities of post-war recovery.

Ukraine has compulsory and free education. However, it is also important to have a civic education and critical thinking, especially concerning the historical past and current events. This is key to the development of civil society and the future of Ukraine [10].

Key lessons for Ukraine (Figure 2).

1) European integration has helped the countries studied to implement economic reforms and improve political stability. Poland, Croatia and Cyprus have benefited from the EU accession process itself. The process of European integration promotes democracy and ensures the rule of law.

2) The need to improve the quality of life of veterans and internally displaced persons has become a very important issue for many countries after wars. Research on post-traumatic stress disorder in the United States and Vietnam, as well as practices in coordinating military resettlement in Finland and Croatia, may be useful in developing or improving policies in Ukraine.

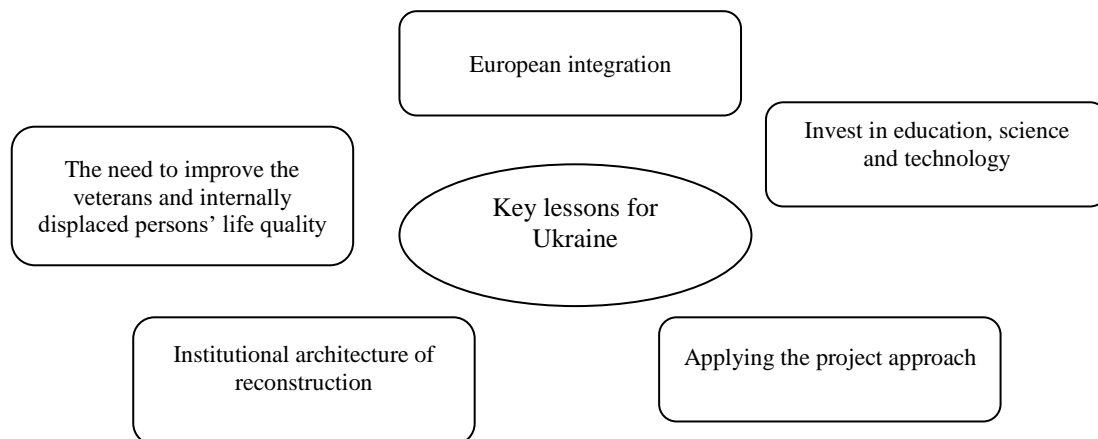


Figure 2. Key lessons for Ukraine
Source: compiled by the authors based on [10]

3) The institutional architecture of reconstruction is a particularly important issue for Ukraine. The countries studied used different models for reconstruction, depending on many different factors, such as context, resources and the level of development of the country. However, each country has its own peculiarities, so the same policies do not always produce the expected results. We can divide these models into several components: governance, financing, and strategy. It is important to examine each component and its effectiveness, as the institutional architecture of reconstruction will be formed in any case.

4) The use of a project-based approach to reconstruction is currently very attractive for Ukraine. However, there is currently no established strategy for its implementation. Indonesia has successfully applied the project approach to rebuilding its country. But they realised that if they did not involve the community in planning and control, problems could arise, such as spending money without proper control. This case study provides useful advice for Ukraine on how to guard against such risks.

5) After the victory, the most important need for the population will be the restoration of housing, energy facilities and infrastructure. However, a study of 16 countries that rebuilt after the war showed that it is better to invest in education, science and technology, as this will help the younger generation. Ukraine also needs this to get rid of the Soviet legacy. It is also important to develop technologies, including IT and creative industries, which can have a positive impact on the economy in the future [10].

Thus, there is no single algorithm for reconstruction – each country studied used its own strategies. Of course, not all of them were successful, but certain decisions can form the basis for an effective plan for Ukraine's recovery.

Conclusions

Ukraine's post-war recovery after the end of the war against Russia is determined by a number of key factors and necessary steps that require a comprehensive and careful approach. The experience of leading countries shows that successful recovery requires a combination of effective strategies in the areas of economy, social development, governance, legal reforms, and international cooperation.

An important aspect is the implementation of economic strategies aimed at accelerating economic growth through investment in infrastructure, reforms in the business sector and the creation of a favourable business environment. Social rehabilitation and support for those affected by the war require the development of impactful programmes and medical initiatives.

The overall conclusion is that Ukraine's post-war recovery requires a comprehensive and balanced approach, taking into account the lessons and successes of other countries. Only such a synergistic approach can lay the foundation for sustainable development, restoration of socio-economic potential and improvement of the quality of life of Ukrainian citizens after the difficult period of war.

Abstract

The Russian attack on Ukraine in February 2022 brought heavy losses to the economy. At the beginning of January 2023, the government of Ukraine estimated them at more than \$700 billion. In this article, the author examined the experience of restoring the German and Japanese economies after the Second World War. In

particular, the practice of implementing the Marshall Plan in Germany. It was West Germany and Japan that were chosen because, after two or three decades, their economies have become one of the leading in the world and are currently among the largest in the world. From the very beginning of the large-scale aggression in the West and in Ukraine, they have been talking about a new Marshall Plan, and Ukrainian proposals for it have been considered. The Ukrainian plan is designed to allocate 750 billion dollars over 10 years, which is dozens of times more than the funds allocated by the United States to the German economy after the end of World War II. About \$13 billion was allocated there, given the current purchasing power of the dollar. It was considered what these funds are planned to be allocated mainly for – energy, access to financing (grants, lowering rates from banks, and so on), infrastructure and housing construction. It is compared with investments in the German economy destroyed by the Second World War and the direction of these investments. Although there are common features, however, for the most part, the "new Marshall Plan" is a conventional name. For example, one example of the success of this plan in Germany was the monetary reform, which Ukraine does not need. In addition, one of the success factors of the plan was the integration of the German economy with the economies of other European countries and the opening of their markets for it. The plan also included a political component – the democratisation of the life of post-war German society. The Japanese experience is also considered. It also has its own specifics – like the destruction of large cartels and the distribution of land to small owners. Still, the German experience is useful for Ukraine, but with reservations and a separate important question, who and how will manage the allocated funds.

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