

**The MGIMO School of Government and International Affairs**

**POLITICAL ECONOMIES OF CONFLICT**

Undergraduate Course Syllabus

Instructor  
Dr. Igor A. Matveev

Moscow – 2022

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This syllabus is designed in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor's Program in International Affairs (program track *Government, International Politics and Law*).

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## PART 1. COURSE DESCRIPTION AND TEACHING METHODS

### 1.1 General information

- Full course title: Political Economy of International Conflict
- Type of course: Elective
- Level of course B.A.
- Year of study: 3<sup>th</sup>
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 3
- Number of office hours: 34
- Name of lecturer: Dr. Igor A. Matveev  
Email: matveev.i@my.mgimo.ru

### 1.2 Course aims, methodology, and learning outcomes

*Political Economies of Conflict* is an undergraduate elective course within the International Relations program. It aims at providing students with a broad and systematic vision of the “state-economy-individual” trichotomy under extraordinary environment of different conflicts.

The course constitutes a basis for better understanding of the whole spectrum of conflicts, their genesis and evolution through the lenses of economic impact – domestically, regionally, and internationally. It addresses a number of country and territorial cases aiming to assist in developing students’ skills to conduct *ad-hoc* analyses and to participate in academic/practical discussions.

The course inaugurates and presents a number of theoretical concepts such as: sanctioned economy, economy of conflict situation, economy of an unstable/fragile state, economy of an intra-state armed conflict (EISAC)/economy of a failed state, parallel (local) economy (PE) including a criminal/terrorist model of economy of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS, banned in the Russian Federation), siege economy, autonomous economy, and the Russian “security matrix” (in Syria). The ultimate goal is to develop students’ steady skills of conducting individual and collective theoretical research.

This course will be taught within the framework of transition from theory to practice using methods of visualization/content-analysis. It starts from description of the whole variety of conflict economies along with identification of EISACs and PEs in a case-by-case manner. This will teach students how to make their own complex assessments with the use of the SWOT methodology.

All economies will be viewed as systems/processes driven by domestic and foreign actors. As a result, students will get acquainted with the systematic approach. A separate segment of the course highlights scenarios in short-, middle-, and long-term perspectives developing students' abilities for forecasting and planning.

The course relies on a large body of academic literature together with results of field research accumulated by the instructor during his diplomatic stint in Syria in 2014-2017 as well as his subsequent regular trips to the Middle East.

## 1.2 Course requirements and evaluation

### *Format:*

This course implies a combination of eight lectures and nine seminars. Each lecture contains an interactive presentation of a particular topic provided by the lecturer with the use of PowerPoint slides. Seminars follow relevant lectures as class discussions and/or paper-work (either individual or collective) based on the material previously read as well as role-play games and in-class written tests.

Full-time attendance is important. Students are obliged to attend not less than seven of lectures and seven seminars reading the required literature in advance. All attendees will be registered by the instructor. Those being late for more than 5 minutes will not be permitted to attend in accordance with the Charter of MGIMO. Unauthorized leaving the lecture room is strictly prohibited.

Three **in-class written tests** (up to 25 minutes each) aimed to check students' knowledge of the required reading material will be organized during seminars without prior notice. Students will be asked to formulate a hierarchy of 10 bullet points containing 2-3 sentences each with 2-3 references to the required literature. Students will be notified about the results within the seven-day period.

**Written exam** will be held during the last seminar. It will contain 6 questions covering key definitions and a task to define 1-2 statements as true or false.

### *Reading:*

In-class lessons and homework/reading are the two equal integral parts of the learning process. Students will be provided with required and supplement reading lists in advance. Relevant books and articles can be found either in internet or in libraries. Students must do all the readings prior to each lecture/seminar.

### *Plagiarism:*

Since MGIMO has been always preserving universal academic values, plagiarism is recognized as a most serious violation of them. Practically, plagiarism means using in full or in part a book or an article without making referrals to relevant sources. Thus, all references to someone else's ideas must be cited accordingly by

identifying the author, the research paper, the publisher, the place/the year of publication, and the page number (if any). Students should be aware that any violation of the code of academic integrity results in the person's immediate failure of the course, followed by possible disciplinary penalty.

*Grading:*

Final grades will be assigned as follows:

- Class attendance – 20%
- Participation in class discussions/classwork – 20%
- Three in-class written tests – 45% (15% each)
- Final examination – 15%.

Grades will be assigned as follows: A – outstanding work; B – solid, capable work; C – good work; D – satisfactory work; F – failure to meet minimum goals.

### **1.3. Note on the instructor**

Dr. Igor A. Matveev was born in 1972 in Sochi, Russia. In 1995 he graduated from MGIMO-University with distinction. In 2003 he defended PhD in MGIMO.

In 1993-1994, Dr. Matveev for the first time visited Syria as a MGIMO student (intern). In 1998-2008, he served as a Russian diplomat.

In 2008-2014, Dr. Matveev was a senior staff member at the Council of Federation, RF Federal Assembly.

In 2014-2017, Dr. Matveev was Head of Trade and Economic Division (Senior Counselor) at the Russian Embassy in Damascus, Syria.

Author of a series of books and articles, including:

- National and Pan-Arab Components of the Syrian Policy in the Middle East (1946-2003). Moscow: Institute of Israeli and Middle Eastern Studies, 2004 (in Russian).
- The Economic Impact of the Syria Crisis: Lessons and Prospects. Beirut: The Arab Scientific Publishers, 2017.
- Syria in Conflict. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, 2020 (in Russian).
- Contemporary Economic Legislation of Arab Countries: The Case of the Syrian Arab Republic. Text-book. Moscow: GAUGN-Press, 2021 (in Russian).
- The Political Economy of Syria in Conflict. In 2 volumes. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, 2022 (in Russian).

Fluently speaks Arabic and English.

## **PART 2. COURSE CONTENT**

### **2.1 Types of work**

Types of work	Academic hours
Total	68
Total for lectures, seminars	34
Lectures	16
Seminars	18
Homework	34
Course assessment	Class attendance, class participation, three in-class written tests, final examination

## 2.2. Course Content

### ***Topic 1: Spectrum of conflict economies***

Explanation of aims and the general structure of the course. Clarification of requirements and grading. Comparative analysis of existing theoretical notions of conflict economies. Description of the meaning of political economy of conflict and its difference from economics. Introduction of the instructor-designed spectrum of conflict economies along with their characteristics. Depicting diversified roots and causes of conflict economies.

Questions:

- Why there is no unified notion of a conflict economy?
- What is the core of political economy of conflict?
- What are most and less radical forms of economies of conflict?

*Required readings:*

Garfinkel M. and Skaperdas S. Economics of Conflict: An Overview (April 2006). Available at SSRN. Pp. 1-3, 8-14, 33-39, 52-58. URL: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=895307> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

Hirshleifer J. The Paradox of Power//*Economics and Politics*. 3 (3), 1 Nov 1991. Pp. 177–179, 193-199. URL: <http://www.econ.ucla.edu/people/papers/hirshleifer/hirshleifer190.pdf> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

*Recommended readings:*

Anderton C., Carter J. Principles of Conflict Economics: The Political Economy of War, Terrorism, Genocide, and Peace. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge University Press, 25 Apr 2019.

Kimbrough E., Laughren K., Sheremeta R. War and Conflict in Economics: Theories, Applications, and Recent Trends//*Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 19 Jul 2017 (MPRA Paper No. 80277, posted 20 Jul 2017). URL: [https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/80277/1/MPRA\\_paper\\_80277.pdf](https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/80277/1/MPRA_paper_80277.pdf) (accessed: 18.05.2022).

***Topic 2: Sanctioned economies: Saddam Hussein’s Iraq, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Iran, Venezuela, and the Russian Federation***

Identification of a sanctioned economy. Description of common and specific features of sanctioned economies: from autarky to the “Look East” policy and multi-vector economic strategies.

Questions:

- Why do sanctions constitute a challenge for sustainable development and technological progress?
- What counter-measures could be most effective for overcoming negative impact of sanctions?
- What future scenarios are applicable to sanctioned economies?

*Required readings:*

Radcliffe B., Boyle M. (rev.). How Economic Sanctions Work//Investopedia, 24 Feb 2022. URL: <https://www.investopedia.com/articles/economics/10/economic-sanctions.asp> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

Sanctions Programs and Country Information. Wash. DC: US Department of the Treasury, n.d. URL: <https://home.treasury.gov/policy-issues/financial-sanctions/sanctions-programs-and-country-information> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

*Recommended readings:*

Geiguen S., Seung-Whan C., Shali L. Do Economic Sanctions Impair Target Economies?//*International Political Science Review*, 2016, Vol. 37 (4). Pp. 485–497. URL: <https://whanchoi.people.uic.edu/DoEconomicSanctionsimpairTargetEconomies.pdf> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

Haass R. Economic Sanctions//Brookings, 9 Sept 1998. URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/economic-sanctions/> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

***Topic 3: Economies of conflict situations: cases of non-recognized states (Transnistria) and partly recognized states (Abkhazia, Kosovo, Palestine, and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus)***

Comparative analysis of economies of conflict situations: featuring common and unique characteristics. Impact of isolation/semi-isolation and confrontations on social-economic situation. Possible future developments.

Questions:

- How does confrontation hinder prospects for sustainable development jeopardizing living standards?
- What recipes could be used to overcome negative economic and social consequences of conflict situations?
- How does survivability rating of economies of conflict situations look like?

*Required readings:*

Hamilton R. The Post-Soviet Wars: Part 1. Philadelphia, PA: Foreign Policy Research Institute, 18 Dec 2017. URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/12/post-soviet-wars-part-i/> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

Overview: Identifying Strategic Opportunities for Kosovo//OECD Library (электронный ресурс), n.d. URL: <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/68f3e399-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/68f3e399-en> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

*Recommended readings:*

The Palestinian Economy and Prospects for Regional Cooperation (UNCTAD Study). Geneva: UNCTAD, 1998. URL: <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-186101/> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

Amca H., Süreç Y., Çerkez A. Northern Cyprus Economy Competitiveness Report: 2018-2019. Lefkoşa: Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce, 2019. URL: [https://www.ktto.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/KTTO2018-2019\\_eng-3.pdf](https://www.ktto.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/KTTO2018-2019_eng-3.pdf) (accessed: 18.05.2022).

***Topic 4: Economies of unstable (fragile) states. Cases of present-day Iraq and Lebanon***

Economies in deeply divided societies (DDSs: Adrian Guelke – Vitaly Naumkin theory). Depicting the confessional economy in Lebanon.

Questions:

- What social-economic confrontation lines do exist in DDSs?
- What are perspective scenarios for evolution of the Iraqi economy?
- How can uniqueness of the Lebanese economy be summarized?

*Required readings:*

Gunter F. The Political Economy of Iraq: Restoring Balance in a Post-Conflict Society. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, May 2013. Pp. 1-13. URL: <https://www.amazon.com/Political-Economy-Iraq-Restoring-Post-Conflict/dp/1849809887?asin=1849809887&revisionId=&format=4&depth=1> (accessed: 18.05.2022).

Colombo S. Syria and Lebanon: Diverging Paths of State Unsustainability. MEDPRO Technical Report No 6/June 2011. Pp. 9-15. URL: [http://aei.pitt.edu/59184/1/MEDPRO\\_Technical\\_Report\\_No\\_6\\_Colombo\\_on\\_Syria\\_Lebanon.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/59184/1/MEDPRO_Technical_Report_No_6_Colombo_on_Syria_Lebanon.pdf) (accessed: 18.05.2022).

*Recommended readings:*

Guelke A. Politics in Deeply Divided Societies, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. Cambridge: Polity, 2012.

***Topic 5: Economies of an intra-state (domestic) conflict: Yemen, Libya, and Syria***



Presenting the notion of economy of an intra-state armed conflict (EISAC). Depicting its key characteristics: economic fragmentation/disruption of economic integrity, emergence of parallel (local) and siege economies, degradation of foreign trade and macroeconomic indicators, humanitarian crisis, essential roles of non-state actors (NSAs). Assessments of negative impact of domestic conflicts on economies (physical damage and losses: *adrar* and *khasair* [Arabic]). Comparative analysis: reviewing challenges related to certain conflicts: sectarianism (*taifiya*) in Syria, tribalism in Libya, the Shia-Sunni confrontation in Yemen. The Russian “security matrix” in Syria: a way for better future.

Questions:

- What common and distinctive features are applicable to EISACs?
- What challenges do exist in terms of assessing economic impact of intra-state armed conflicts?
- How future evolution of EISACs in Yemen, Libya, and Syria could be characterized in brief?

*Required readings:*

al-Akhali R. Yemen’s Most Pressing Problem Isn’t War. It’s the Economy. Oxford: University of Oxford, International Growth Center, 17 Nov 2021. URL: <https://www.theigc.org/blog/yemens-most-pressing-problem-isnt-war-its-the-economy/> (accessed: 18.03.2022).

Eaton T. Libya’s War Economy: Predation, Profiteering and State Weakness. London: Chatham House, April 2018. Pp. 2-7. URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2018-04-12-libyas-war-economy-eaton-final.pdf> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Said S. (ed.). Local Economies in Syria: Divisions and Dependencies. Beirut: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, September 2019. Pp. 4-15. URL: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/beirut/15702.pdf> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

*Recommended readings:*

El Kailani E. Extractive Industry and Conflict Risk in Libya. Civil Society Dialogue Network, 2012. Pp. 3-18. URL: [http://eplo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/CSDN\\_Policy-meeting\\_Private-Sector\\_Libya.pdf](http://eplo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/CSDN_Policy-meeting_Private-Sector_Libya.pdf) (accessed: 18.05.2022).

### ***Topic 6: Autonomous economies: Iraqi and Syrian Kurdistan***

Inauguration of the notion of an autonomous economy. Two embodiments of the Kurdish “economic dream:” “comfort provide” in Iraq and “Social contract” in Syria. Local economic doctrines vs. practices. Current and perspective economic relationships between Iraqi and Syrian Kurds: amity-enmity.

Questions:

- What are major distinctive features of autonomous economies as compared to other conflict economies? How do they reflect challenges of DDSs?
- Has the Syrian conflict produced any substantive impact on the Iraqi Kurdistan?
- How do perspectives for economic future of the Iraqi-Syrian Kurdistan look like: will it be *status-quo* or deeper integration?

*Documents:*

Autonomous Regions of Afrin, Jazira, and Kobane, Charter of the Social Contract. London: Peace in Kurdistan Campaign, 29 Jan 2014. URL: <https://peaceinkurdistancampaign.com/charter-of-the-social-contract/> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

van Wilgenburg W. (trans.). Social Contract of the Democratic Federalism of Northern Syria. Oxford: Co-operation in Mesopotamia Project for Solidarity Economy Association, n.d. Rpt. from van Wilgenburg blog, 3 Mar 2017. URL: <https://mesopotamia.coop/social-contract-of-the-democratic-federation-of-northern-syria/> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

*Required readings:*

Leezenberg M. Urbanization, Privatization, and Patronage: The Political Economy of Iraqi Kurdistan. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, n.d. Pp. 1-23. URL: <https://home.hum.uva.nl/oz/leezenberg/urbanization.pdf> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Hatahet S. The Political Economy of the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria. Firenze, Italy: European University Institute – Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 29 Nov 2019. Pp. 1-18. URL: [https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/65364/MED\\_WPCS\\_2019\\_16.pdf](https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/65364/MED_WPCS_2019_16.pdf) (accessed: 19.05.2022).

*Recommended readings:*

Biehl J. Rojava's Threefold Economy//Porsgrunn, Norway: New Compass, 1 Mar 2015. URL: <http://new-compass.net/articles/rojavas-threefold-economy> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Naumkin V. The Kurdish Conundrum of the Middle East (The Case of Iraq)//*Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia*, 2019. Vol. 63, Issue 5. Pp. 76-87. URL: <http://ras.jes.su/meimo/s013122270005153-9-1-en> [in Russian] (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Rudd G. Humanitarian Intervention: Assisting the Iraqi Kurds in Operation Provide Comfort, 1991. Wash. DC: US Government Printing Service, 2004.

***Topic 7: ISIS: Criminal economy of terrorism***

Inauguration of the definition of criminal and terrorist economy. Description of the structure of the ISIS economy: main sources of income and expenditures. Distinguished economic features of the “Caliphate:” transborder character, artificial Islamic archaization, “elite Jihad” (NSAs’ role), and survivability.

Questions:

- Why ISIS should be recognized as an economy rather than a pseudoeconomy (the instructor's view)?
- In what way economic impact the ISIS could be defined on the sub-regional (in the Levant/Iraq), regional (MENA), and international levels?
- How strengths and witnesses of the ISIS economy could be summarized? What is the "secret" of its survivability?

*Required readings:*

Johnston P., Alami M., Clarke C., Shatz H. Return and Expand? The Finances and Prospects of the Islamic State After the Caliphate//RAND Corp., 2019. P. ix-xxi. URL: [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR3046.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR3046.html) (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Almohamad H., Dittmann A. Oil in Syria Between Terrorism and Dictatorship. Giessen Justus Liebig University. *MDPI*, May 17, 2016. Pp. 1-14. URL: <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/5/2/20/html> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

*Recommended readings:*

How ISIS Runs Its Economy. Cologne: World Economic Forum (in cooperation with the Financial Times), 16 Dec 2015. URL: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/12/how-isis-runs-its-economy/> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Shapiro J. A Predictable Failure: The Political Economy of the Decline of the Islamic State//*CTC Sentinel*, Sept 2016, Vol. 9, Issue 9. Pp. 28-31. URL: [https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/CTC-SENTINEL\\_Vol9Iss94.pdf](https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/CTC-SENTINEL_Vol9Iss94.pdf) (accessed: 19.05.2022).

### ***Topic 8: Somalia: economy of a failed state***

Depiction of distinguished features of economy of a failed state. Comparative analysis of parallel economies of local "statelets". The role of NSAs. Perspective scenarios.

Questions:

- Somalia: fragmented economy, multiple economies or pseudoeconomies?
- How does the summary of local economic actors look like?
- What are future scenarios for Somalia's economy: fragmentation or re-integration?

*Required readings:*

Leeson P. Better off Stateless: Somalia Before and After Government Collapse//*Journal of Comparative Economics* 35 (2007). Pp. 689–708. URL: [https://www.peterleeson.com/Better\\_Off\\_Stateless.pdf](https://www.peterleeson.com/Better_Off_Stateless.pdf) (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Somalia Overview//The World Bank in Somalia, updated on 14 Apr 2022. URL: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/somalia/overview#1> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

*Recommended readings:*

Powell B., Ford R., Nowrasteh A. Somalia After State Collapse: Chaos or Improvement? Oakland, CA: Independent Institute, Working Paper # 64, 30 Nov 2006. Pp. 1-26. URL: [https://www.independent.org/pdf/working\\_papers/64\\_somalia.pdf](https://www.independent.org/pdf/working_papers/64_somalia.pdf) (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Little P. Somalia: Economy Without State. London: International African Institute, 2003.

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al-Akhali R. Yemen's Most Pressing Problem Isn't War. It's the Economy. Oxford: University of Oxford, International Growth Center, 17 Nov 2021. URL: <https://www.theigc.org/blog/yemens-most-pressing-problem-isnt-war-its-the-economy/> (accessed: 18.03.2022).

Almohamad H., Dittmann A. Oil in Syria Between Terrorism and Dictatorship. Giessen Justus Liebig University. *MDPI*, May 17, 2016. Pp. 1-14. URL: <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/5/2/20/htm> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Amca H., Süreç Y., Çerkez A. Northern Cyprus Economy Competitiveness Report: 2018-2019. Lefkoşa: Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce, 2019. URL: [https://www.ktto.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/KTTO2018-2019\\_eng-3.pdf](https://www.ktto.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/KTTO2018-2019_eng-3.pdf) (accessed: 18.05.2022).

Anderton C., Carter J. Principles of Conflict Economics: The Political Economy of War, Terrorism, Genocide, and Peace. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge University Press, 25 Apr 2019.

Autonomous Regions of Afrin, Jazira, and Kobane, Charter of the Social Contract. London: Peace in Kurdistan Campaign, 29 Jan 2014. URL: <https://peaceinkurdistancampaign.com/charter-of-the-social-contract/> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Biehl J. Rojava's Threefold Economy//Porsgrunn, Norway: New Compass, 1 Mar 2015. URL: <http://new-compass.net/articles/rojavas-threefold-economy> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

Colombo S. Syria and Lebanon: Diverging Paths of State Unsustainability. MEDPRO Technical Report No 6/June 2011. Pp. 9-15. URL: [http://aei.pitt.edu/59184/1/MEDPRO\\_Technical\\_Report\\_No\\_6\\_Colombo\\_on\\_Syria\\_Lebanon.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/59184/1/MEDPRO_Technical_Report_No_6_Colombo_on_Syria_Lebanon.pdf) (accessed: 18.05.2022).

Eaton T. Libya's War Economy: Predation, Profiteering and State Weakness. London: Chatham House, April 2018. Pp. 2-7. URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2018-04-12-libyas-war-economy-eaton-final.pdf> (accessed: 19.05.2022).

El Kailani E. Extractive Industry and Conflict Risk in Libya. Civil Society Dialogue Network, 2012. Pp. 3-18. URL: <http://eplo.org/wp->

- content/uploads/2017/02/CSDN\_Policy-meeting\_Private-Sector\_Libya.pdf (accessed: 18.05.2022).
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- Guelke A. Politics in Deeply Divided Societies, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. Cambridge: Polity, 2012.
- Gunter F. The Political Economy of Iraq: Restoring Balance in a Post-Conflict Society. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, May 2013. Pp. 1-13. URL: <https://www.amazon.com/Political-Economy-Iraq-Restoring-Post-Conflict/dp/1849809887?asin=1849809887&revisionId=&format=4&depth=1> (accessed: 18.05.2022).
- Haass R. Economic Sanctions//Brookings, 9 Sept 1998. URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/economic-sanctions/> (accessed: 18.05.2022).
- Hamilton R. The Post-Soviet Wars: Part 1. Philadelphia, PA: Foreign Policy Research Institute, 18 Dec 2017. URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/12/post-soviet-wars-part-i/> (accessed: 18.05.2022).
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- Hirshleifer J. The Paradox of Power//*Economics and Politics*. 3 (3), 1 Nov 1991. Pp. 177–179, 193-199. URL: <http://www.econ.ucla.edu/people/papers/hirshleifer/hirshleifer190.pdf> (accessed: 18.05.2022).
- How ISIS Runs Its Economy. Cologne: World Economic Forum (in cooperation with the Financial Times), 16 Dec 2015. URL: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/12/how-isis-runs-its-economy/> (accessed: 19.05.2022).
- Johnston P., Alami M., Clarke C., Shatz H. Return and Expand? The Finances and Prospects of the Islamic State After the Caliphate//RAND Corp., 2019. P. ix-xxi. URL: [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR3046.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR3046.html) (accessed: 19.05.2022).
- Kimbrough E., Laughren K., Sheremeta R. War and Conflict in Economics: Theories, Applications, and Recent Trends//*Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 19 Jul 2017 (MPRA Paper No. 80277, posted 20 Jul 2017). URL: [https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/80277/1/MPRA\\_paper\\_80277.pdf](https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/80277/1/MPRA_paper_80277.pdf) (accessed: 18.05.2022).

- Leeson P. Better off Stateless: Somalia Before and After Government Collapse//*Journal of Comparative Economics* 35 (2007). Pp. 689–708. URL: [https://www.peterleeson.com/Better\\_Off\\_Stateless.pdf](https://www.peterleeson.com/Better_Off_Stateless.pdf) (accessed: 19.05.2022).
- Leezenberg M. Urbanization, Privatization, and Patronage: The Political Economy of Iraqi Kurdistan. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, n.d. Pp. 1-23. URL: <https://home.hum.uva.nl/oz/leezenberg/urbanization.pdf> (accessed: 19.05.2022).
- Little P. Somalia: Economy Without State. London: International African Institute, 2003.
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