

The Dark Side of National Security: The Case of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

Dr. Ambrues M. Nebo Sr. (Doctor of Sociology)

Department of Political Science, University of Liberia

Department of Sociology, African Methodist Episcopal University, Liberia

Abstract: From a qualitative approach with the main emphasis on content analysis, this paper meticulously explores the dark side of national security. Particularly, it takes the current Russian invasion of Ukraine as a special case to unpack the problems associated with national security. As a research imperative, this study was guided by theoretical frameworks from two interrelated disciplines (International Relations and Sociology) that offer their national security insights. Under the lens of international relations, the paper conceptualized national security from two dominant perspectives: realism and liberalism. Under the lens of sociology, this article examines national security from the functionalist theory or perspective with an emphasis on the manifest and latent functions of national security. This paper argued that the current humanitarian crisis, civilian casualties, infrastructure damages, and spillover effects of the invasion are the dark side of national security that exemplify the latent dysfunction under the latent function. Put it differently, all the catastrophes the world has witnessed including the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine that bordered on national security interests are the unintended or undesirable consequences of national security. Substantially, this paper concludes on two key issues. Firstly, while it is true that nation-states cannot possibly exist without national security, the same is also true that its approach must not jeopardize the very security of nation-states. As such it becomes an irony of the situation. Secondly, in order for nation-states to protect their national security interest, they must engage in a constructive dialogue aiming at cooperation considered the heartbeat of liberalism.

Keywords: Dark side of national security, Latent dysfunctional, National Security, National Security Interest, Threats,

I. INTRODUCTION

At the expense or detriment of innocent civilians mostly women and children, the relentless urge for protecting the national security interests that have become so ideological will continue to shake the moral conscience of the world. History is copiously replete with both antique and contemporary notorious facts viewed as the supporting evidence. Examples bordering on national security issues include but are not limited to the followings: The memories of War World I and II pertaining to the quantum of the destruction of lives and properties, Operation Barbarossa code name for the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany and some of its Axis allies in 1941 (Taylor, 2011), the Bay of Pigs invasion covertly financed and directed by the John F. Kennedy administration that set the stage for the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 (BBC News, 2021), the Cuban Missile Crisis defined as a confrontation between the United States

and the Soviet Union due to American deployments of missiles in Italy and Turkey in which the Soviet Union retaliated by deploying similar ballistic missiles in Cuba (Jonathan, 2019). Moreover, the case of the US decision under the George W. Bush's regime to invade Iraq in 2003 (Heilbrunn, 2020), the prolonged conflict between Israel and Palestine that recently left at least 255 people dead most of whom were Palestinians in the territory of Gaza (BBC News, 2021), the conflict in Ethiopia's northern region of Tigray that has unleashed a horror of rape, massacres tantamount to ethnic cleansing (BBC News, 2021), and the killing of Osama bin Laden by US Special Forces on 2 May 2011 that raised several questions of international law with regard to the legality to respect for Pakistan's territorial sovereignty (Ambos & Alkatout, 2012). Added to this list is the long-held speculation about China's inclination to invade Taiwan following the Ukraine invasion by Russia (Madhukalya, 2022). If this will ever happen, the world could witness similar calamities as in Ukraine and perhaps other places.

A sober reflection on all the above examples suggests the dark side of national security. In other words, these examples explain the problem with national security when it comes to human suffering or humanitarian crisis.

Against this backdrop, this paper interrogates the dark side of national security with a focus on Russia's invasion of Ukraine which shocked the moral conscience of the international community evidenced by global condemnations (Basu, 2022) including FIFA and UEFA's suspension of Russia's national and club teams from all competitions until further notice (Sky Sports, 2022)

It employs both international relations and sociological theoretical frameworks to interrogate the topic. It is not intended to pass judgment about who is in the wrong or right regarding the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine. Or who has been in the wrong regarding similar cases? It only excavates the problem with national security suggesting the need to remodel the international order or system.

Structurally, this article is divided into five segments. The first segment conceptualizes national security. The second reviews relevant theoretical frameworks from both international relations and sociology. Under international relations, the article reviews two notable theories that offer insight into national security. They are realism and liberalism. Under the lens of sociology, the paper examines the functionalist

perspective. The third segment of this paper treats Russia's invasion of Ukraine as a special case. In so doing, it explores the cause(s) of the invasion including its legitimacy under international law.

Considered the crux of this paper, the fourth segment conceptualizes or explains the dark side of national security. The fifth segment draws logical conclusions from the first four segments.

II. METHODOLOGY

As its methodology, this paper employed a qualitative research approach with particular emphasis on content analysis. In content analysis, the researcher analyses the contents of some scholarly papers (articles and books) about the topic under interrogation or being explored (Luo, 2019). The articles or publications are the secondary data source from the Google search engine that helps the researcher provide new insight on the subject matter. Predominantly, the researcher strives to review relevant literature that meets the minimum research standard in terms of the year of publication (5-10 years).

Conceptual Clarifications of National Security

As a concept, national security could mean different things to different sovereign states or nation-states. As such, it remains difficult to reach a consensus on the precise definition of national security. To support this claim, it is imperative to review how the concept is being articulated or conceptualized by some prolific scholars. Although the years of publication of some of the definitions of national security are antediluvian, however, these definitions doubtlessly resonate with contemporary society.

In his contribution, Holmes, (2014) conceptualized national security as the safekeeping of the nation as a whole. Its highest order of business is the protection of the nation and its people from attack and other external dangers by maintaining armed forces and guarding state secrets.

By way of analysis, Holmes's definition seems to be too ambiguous when it comes to what constitutes dangers that can be equated to threats. To put it another way, it leaves the definition of dangers into the hands or purview of nation-states.

Viewing security as a cross-cutting concept that seems to resonate with contemporary society, (Yakubu & Shuaibu, 2016) offered a comprehensive definition that could be worthy of global consensus. They conceptualized national security as the freedom from all sorts of threats (physical, economic, social, political, and psychological) to the existence and survival of the state, the human race, and other living creatures. By analysis, although Yakubu & Shuaibu's definition tried as much as possible to have captured all aspects of national security, however, just like Holmes, they too leave the designation of all sorts of threats in the purview of the state.

In the words of Segun Osisanya, national security has been described as the ability of a state to cater to the protection and defense of its citizenry. This definition also implies threats as well.

According to Ammerdown Group (2016), national security may be understood as shared freedom from fear and want, and the freedom to live in dignity. It implies social and ecological health rather than the absence of risk... [and is] a common right."

For his part, Prabhakaran Paleri (2008) conceptualized national security as the measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimensional threats to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation-state at any given time, by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance... and is extendable to global security by variables external to it."

The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1968) defines national security as the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats.

According to Amos Jordan and William Taylor (1981), national security transcends physical harm and has a more extensive meaning. It also implies protection through a variety of means of vital and economic interest, the loss of which could threaten fundamental values and vitality of the state.

Charles Maier (1990) conceptualized national security "as the capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its self-determination or autonomy, prosperity, and wellbeing." Finally, Harold Brown, U.S. Secretary of Defense, (1977–1981) connotes national security as the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institution, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders." Though not explicit in this definition, however, also implied in the definition is a threat as well.

Analysis of the definitions of National Security

From careful analysis, it is no doubt about the ambiguity that lies within the conceptualization of national security. The ambiguity derives from what is perceived as threats by each nation. In other words, all the definitions leave the designation of all sorts of threats in the purview of each state or nation. In the opinion of the author of this paper, these fluid definitions make the concept to be problematic in the sense that each nation's perception and identification of national security is based upon its definition of threats. If the threats are externally perceived, it means that a nation regardless of possible or obvious collateral damage will do all it can to protect its national security. With this being said, it can be argued that the persistent conflict between Israel and Palestine in which the world continues to witness collateral damages from both sides especially perpetrated by Israel under the ambiance of protecting its national security against what it

designates as threats. Similarly, the US designation of national security is what continues to project its inclination and influence as a Superpower in global politics.

Also learned from the definitions is that national security has not moved away from the military dimension as its traditional designation despite evolving in contemporary society. In other words, the concept still retained the military as one of the viable state actors in the theatre of national security. However, it now encompasses other aspects that threaten the well-being and survival of nation-states. For example, both climate change and the current COVID-19 pandemic have expanded the definition scope of national security. For instance, a recent CNA report: “Viral Extremism: COVID-19, Nontraditional Threats, and US Counterterrorism Policy,” found that nontraditional threats, like pandemics, affect “traditional” national security threats, like violent extremist organizations (VEOs) (Faber, 2021). And because the current COVID-19 pandemic poses serious national security threats, many nations are spending a huge amount of money to combat the pandemic through the procurement of vaccines and financial relief or stimulus packages. For instance, as of October 1, 2020, roughly \$2.59 trillion in new budgetary resources have been made available for US federal agencies to respond to the pandemic (DATA LAB, 2021). The UK government has spent nearly £12 billion on Covid-19 vaccines so far but expects costs to mount up over the coming years, according to the National Audit Office (Inge, 2020). South Africa's government has announced plans to allocate \$688 million for coronavirus vaccines and \$756 million to boost youth employment, to counter economic setbacks brought by the pandemic (TRT WORLD, 2021). The Government of Ghana has spent GH¢19 billion on the Covid-19 pandemic (Mofep, 2021).

In addition, the Ammerdown Group (2016) considered the most recent definition of national security also sees the concept as a common right. This implies the obligation of nation-states to ensure the protection of their citizenry's rights. This means that national security is also human rights issue. This is because security threats have implications for human rights. This is strictly derived from Thomas Hobbes's concept of Leviathan which places the state as the referent object of security. Without the state, the lives of the people will be solitary, brutish, nasty, and short. As a result, the safety of the people became the business of the Leviathan, which is also called the common good or the state. Consequently, the citizens and the state had to come together to sign a social contract. The contract implied that the state should provide security and the citizens' consent to its authority (Luckam, 2007).

Finally, it can be inferred from all the definitions that national security places the state as the referent object making the concept to be political. This is simply because; the state is also defined as a political entity that operates based on national interest that also incorporates national security.

Theoretical Frameworks

Grant & Osanloo (2015) posits that a theoretical framework is the ‘blueprint’ or guide for research. They further explained that as a guide, it consists of theories, perspectives, constructs, concepts, and approaches, that seem interrelated with their propositions deduced (Grant & Osanloo, 2015).

Given the aforementioned, this paper is guided by theories, approaches, or perspectives from two interrelated disciplines, namely international relations and sociology. It starts with theories and approaches to national security under the lens of international relations. The reason for including a theoretical framework from sociology stems from the inarguable fact that international relations (IR) are an interdisciplinary field of studies that also borrows from sociology as one of the interrelated disciplines that help IR offers comprehensive insight surrounding a given phenomenon.

Realism

Considered to be the dominant approach to security studies, realism conceptualizes “security” as the security of the state and places specific emphasis on the preservation of the state's territorial integrity and the physical safety of its inhabitants (Walt, 1991). Since the signing of the Westphalia treaty in 1648, nation-states have been regarded as the major actors in the international system. Philosophers or logicians such as Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Rousseau viewed the international system as a brutal field in which states would seek to achieve their security at the expense of their neighbors (Baylis, 2001).

In paraphrase, (Walt, 1991) posits that a state is thought to be secured if it can defend against or deter a hostile attack and prevent other states from compelling it to adjust its behavior in significant ways or to sacrifice core political values.

Similarly, (Baldwin 1993: 4), (Buzan 1996: 60), and (Morgenthau 1978), described realism as the world order system of competing self-interested state actors under anarchy. In short, realism treats states as the primary unit of analysis. Moreover, (Watt, 2018) asserts that for realists, Security is a perennial concern. even for powerful states - and states tend to worry a lot about who is weaker or stronger and what power trends appear to be. The Athenians' infamous warning to the Melians captures this perfectly: “The strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must.” Quentin Tarantino couldn't have put it any better.

Realism also maintains that when it comes to security, all nation-states are motivated by national interests, or, at best, national interests disguised as moral concerns. In other words, realism is saying that states will pursue only their most vital national interests related to survival. Morgenthau (1978) conceptualizes national interest in terms of power. National power has an absolute meaning since it can be defined in terms of military, economic, political, diplomatic, or even cultural resources. But, for a realist, power is primarily a relative term that asks two compound-complex questions; does a state have the ability to defend itself against the power of another state? Does a state have the ability to coerce

another state to change that state's policies? The complexity of these questions stems from the national interest that will always trumpet the moral impulse behind the action of nation-states. In this context, Thucydides' maxim that "the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept" (where strength and weakness are calculated by military capabilities) is the stark and universal truth (Schmidt, 2007; Thucydides, 1972, p. 402). For example, in 2003, the U.S. decision to invade Iraq was strategic to its national interest. Although the U.S. claimed to have acted based on a weapon of mass destruction (WMD) that is yet to be proven. The fact remains WMD was just the cover-up. The US national interest in guaranteeing its oil supply at a time of diminishing domestic reserves and increased worldwide demand could also be achieved by military control of Iraq's petroleum reserves, which, in a Baathist controlled Iraq, would have been exploited instead by America's competitors (Mayer, 2004; Klare, 2004). Moreover, military bases in Iraq would enable the U.S. to project its power further into the Middle East, Central Asia, and Africa, and could replace the less secure bases that the US established in Saudi Arabia after the 1999 Gulf war (United States Department of Defense, 2003).

Shortcomings of Realism

Inherent in every theory, shortcomings or weaknesses are obvious. So, realism cannot be an exception. Here is my argument. The egoism or inclination for states to pursue only their most vital national interests related to survival seems to be troubling for many reasons. National interest can be both manifest and latent. The manifest interest which is always apparent is the justification germane to the survival of the state. It is what the state offers to the international order or system as the reason for its action. On the other hand, the latent interest, though strategic to the state's survival, is unknown and hidden. In other words, it is never announced. The reason is simple. It morally subjects the action of the state into scrutiny.

A perfect example of this would be the 2003 Iraq war. The US invaded Iraq for many reasons, none of which were specified. At first, it was to disarm Saddam of his WMDs. After the revelation that Iraq had no WMDs, Saddam suddenly became a 'dictator' and the invasion was for the spread of 'democracy'. On the consensus of most of the critics that looked at the reasoning behind the war, it was because the US had concerns regarding its security, following the 9/11 attacks. They felt that these 'terrorist' groups may be getting too powerful and so they had to be removed. This exemplifies the issue of survival and egoism. This explains the manifest national interest of the US. On the other hand, interests in the region regarding the oil that Iraq possessed and so it can also be argued it was an issue of absolute gain rather than one of power and fear of opposition. This explains the latent national interest of the US.

Libya is another example of how realism can be both commendable and quite mistaken in its explanation for current

world affairs. NATO intervened and assisted the rebels to overrun the 'dictator' Gadhafi. The reason behind this, as realists would argue, is for absolute gain because once again there were and still are national interests in the region (Russia Today, 2012).

Libya is known for its huge oil reserves, with the largest oil reserves in Africa and 8th in the world (Business Insider, 2012). However, the fact that NATO decided to intervene and claim that it was in the name of democracy proves that some states are not egoistic. Realism doesn't acknowledge the importance of international institutions, making it hard to explain the issue of intervention in Libya. With the case of Libya, it can be concluded that realism can, in some cases, have no explanation for certain conflicts or even resolutions.

In departure, it is safe to say that in a world where states have to protect themselves, the two most powerful states will eye each other warily and compete to make sure that they don't fall behind or become dangerously vulnerable to the other. Even when war is avoided, intense security competition is likely to result.

A contemporary example can be seen from how the rise of China, Russia, and North Korea is a critical event and likely to be a source of conflict with the United States (and others). As such, states will react to threats first by trying to "pass the buck" (i.e., getting someone else to deal with the emerging danger), and if that fails, they will try to balance against the threat, either by seeking allies or by building up their capabilities (Watt, 2018).

Liberalism

As a direct opposite of realism itself, liberalism is grounded on the ethical contention that securing an individual's rights is the most significant target for governments. Subsequently, liberals underline an individual's welfare as an essential factor in a political system. A system with unlimited power like monarchies and authoritarianism cannot be said to protect its denizens (Meiser, 2018). Thus, the principal interest of Liberalism is the establishment of institutions that secure individual liberty through the restriction and observation of political power. The U.S. and its allies are proponents of liberalism or liberal democracy. Liberalism's core ideals stress individualism, human rights, universality, freedom from authority, the right to be treated equally under the protection of the law, and the duty to respect and treat others as "ethical subjects" as well as freedom for social action. (Doyle, pp.206-207; Fukuyama, 1992, p. 42). In short, liberalism treats individualism as the unit of analysis. More importantly, as a general rule, liberalism is hostile to the balance of power, war, and militarism, preferring more rational, legal, and institutional approaches to international order (Meiser, 2018)

A strong contributor to Liberalism is the Democratic Peace Thesis (DPT). It argues that Liberal states do not wage war against each other for several reasons (Navari, 2008, p. 36). One reason is that Liberal institutions incorporate a wide

establishment of liberal nation-states and the requirement to secure widespread support; the separation, checks, and balances of powers inside democracies; and elections which causes liberal rulers to be wary and avoid risk (Russett, 1996), a referred to in Navari, 2008, p. 37). To best understand how liberalism influences Security Studies, it is important to turn to the state-society level, which examines the impact of governmental structure and society. Paine and Kant were among the first to articulate why democratic states may behave more peacefully. In *Common Sense*, Paine (1776: 80) pointed out that the republics (i.e., democracies) of the world tended to be peaceful. In the words of Paine (1776: 95), this peace results from the democratic tendency to ‘negotiate the mistake ‘rather than letting regal pride swell ‘into a rupture with foreign powers.

Kant further argued that republican states were ‘peace producers’; that is, they were more inclined to peaceful behavior than other sorts of states. He attributed this to habits of consultation; a citizenry that must be consulted before going to war would be unlikely to endorse war easily. He also attributed it to the legal foundations of the republican state because he believed a state built on the law was less likely to endorse lawless behavior in international relations (Kant, 1795). The central argument surrounding liberalism is that conflict-induced by security concerns can be repressed through discourse and negotiation.

Shortcomings of Liberalism

Like realism, liberalism also has its shortcomings or weakness. In his eloquent article, Kevork Oskanian (2018) accessed the vulnerabilities that lie within liberalism. It ignores power, the decline of democracy, and an Illusion of Interdependence. On the side ignoring power, Oskanian argued that an order that does not conform to power, however morally upstanding, cannot hold for long. Without commensurate power, the liberal missionary zeal – however nobly inspired – has revealed itself as both expensive, highly unpopular over the longer run, and, importantly, subject to curtailment and disruption by illiberal states.

A sober reflection on the militarization of the US and its allies as a major champion of liberal democracy creates too many grounds to question Meiser’s (2018) claim that as a general rule, liberalism is hostile to the balance of power, war, and militarism, preferring more rational, legal and institutional approaches to international order. For example, the US is on a copious record for belligerent posture toward states considered non-liberal democracies. So, this appears to be a contradiction.

Theoretical Framework under the lens of Sociology

Under the lens of sociology, the functionalist/functionalism theory offers insight into national security as a social phenomenon.

The Functionalist/Functionalism

Pioneered by the early works of Emile Durkheim, Herbert Spencer, Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton Talcott Parsons, the functionalist is a macro-sociological theory or perspective that posits that society is more than the sum of its parts; rather, each aspect of it works for the stability of the whole (Crossman, 2020)

In the view or opinion of functionalism, the different parts of society are primarily composed of social institutions, each designed to fill different needs. Family, government, economy, media, education, and religion are important to understanding this theory and the core institutions that define sociology. According to functionalism, an institution only exists because it serves a vital role in the functioning of society. If it no longer serves a role, an institution will die away. When new needs evolve or emerge, new institutions will be created to meet them (Crossman, 2020). For example, the family as one of the major and first social institutions exists perpetually as the nucleus of the society plays a vital role critical to the survivability of all human societies. It will never die away. Its needs are evolving due to social change or the dynamism of society.

Similarly, the government is continuity. It only changes with time through elections due to its failure to meet the hope and aspirations of society.

As part of his classical contribution that still resonates with contemporary society, sociologist Robert K. Merton (1949) advanced two types of functions social phenomena serve for society. They are manifest functions and latent functions. In the words of (Cole, 2020), manifest function refers to the intended function of social policies, phenomena, processes, or actions that are consciously and deliberately designed to be beneficial in their effect on society. Whereas a latent function is not consciously intended, that, nonetheless, has a beneficial effect on society. Not in all cases do latent functions benefit human society. For example, the manifest function of attending a university is to acquire education for better placement in society. In the same vein, university education also provides an avenue for marriage seen as the latent function harmless to society. On the other hand, when a latent function harms society, it becomes dysfunctional. Latent dysfunctions are of greater concern because being unknown and unpredictable, they tend to bear more harm to society which is often irreparable (Cole. 2020). For instance, if a rule is made, the manifest function will be the intended function for the fulfillment of which the rule is made. On the contrary, the unintended function is the latent function, e.g., if the rule is made to maintain peace, but it harms the public, that harm will be the latent function. To be practical, take the CO-VID 19 lockdown from a global perspective. The manifest function was to save lives by preventing the rapid spread. On the contrary, the lockdown took many people out of jobs which to some extent resulted in protests. This is a latent dysfunctional aspect of the CO-VID 19 lockdown.

Sociologist Talcott Parsons was more interested in understanding the manifest functions of social behavior, whereas according to Merton latent functions enhance the understanding of society, Parsons argued that Latent functions can at times support the manifest functions, e.g., a school as a social institution not only provides education as its manifest function but also help the government to inculcate values into students relevant for social control. Similarly, religions not only help followers to cope with the vicissitude of lives but also help the government to inculcate religious norms relevant to social control.

In the context of national security composed of multiple institutions under the government as one of the major social institutions, the manifest function that is generic though varies is to protect its citizens and territorial enclave or sovereignty from perceived threats. Both realism and liberalism including relevant approaches previously discussed under the lens of international relations in this article detailed how a government or state ensures this function. On the flip side of the same coin, or the other hand, all the destruction of lives and properties that shock the moral conscience of the global community speaks to the latent dysfunction of national security. For example, the 16 May 2021 Israeli airstrikes on Gaza that killed at least 42 people, including 10 children, damaged a Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) trauma burns care clinic, destroyed a sterilization room, and damaged a waiting area (Relief Web, 2021) speaks to the latent dysfunctional of national security. Similarly, the collateral damage from the U.S. 2003 invasion of Iraq is another historical example of latent dysfunctional of national security.

The Case of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

As mentioned in the introduction, this article does not in any way seek to establish or prove beyond reasonable doubt who is right and wrong in the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine. However, it is imperative to explore the cause(s) of the invasion including its legitimacy under international law.

Causes of Russian Invasion

The nitty-gritty of the ongoing Russian "Special Military Operation" in Ukraine is worth mentioning in this article. However, it is presented succinctly. Through President Vladimir Putin, Kremlin has given several reasons as it attempts to justify its incursion into Ukrainian.

On 24 February 2022, President Putin told the world that he had decided to hold a special military operation in response to the address of the leaders of the Donbas republics (Russian News Agency, 2022). In verbatim, this was how President Putin expressed it.

"People's republics of Donbas approached Russia with a request for help. In connection therewith, I decided to hold a special military operation. Its goal is to protect the people that are subjected to abuse, genocide from the Kyiv regime for eight years, and to this end, we will seek to demilitarize and

denazify Ukraine and put to justice those that committed numerous bloody crimes against peaceful people, including Russian nationals,"

Ukraine's desire to exercise its sovereign right to seek enrollment in European Union and the Western defensive alliance, North Alliance Treaty Organization (NATO), a move that Kremlin conceptualized as an unacceptable threat to its national security (Kirby, 2022). Following the demise of the Soviet Union, NATO expanded eastward, eventually taking in most of the European nations that had been in the Communist domain. The Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, once parts of the Soviet Union, joined NATO, as did Poland, Romania, and others. As a result, NATO moved hundreds of miles closer to Moscow, directly bordering Russia. And in 2008, it mentioned that it planned someday to enroll in Ukraine, though that is still seen as a far-off prospect (Bilefsky, Pérez-Peña, & Nagourney, 2022). During his December 2021 annual news conference, President Putin increasingly portrayed NATO's eastward expansion and Ukraine joining it as an unacceptable threat to his country. Moreover, President Putin has repeatedly invoked the specter of American ballistic missiles and combat forces in Ukraine, though U.S., Ukrainian, and NATO officials insist there are none (Bilefsky, Pérez-Peña, & Nagourney, 2022). Moscow also argues that Ukraine is seeking to become a major military base for Western powers on its borders that pose a significant threat to Russia's national security interest.

In his logical article, Rizzi (2022) unpacked other factors beyond the Russian invasion of Ukraine not voiced out by Putin's regime. The full development of Ukrainian democracy poses another threat to the Putin regime. A fairly elected government with strong institutions would be a dangerous example for Russian citizens oppressed under Putin's authoritarian regime to follow.

In summation, it can be inferred that the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine essentially borders on the perceived threat to its national security. Bear in mind that national security is at the core of the survivability of nation-states.

The legitimacy of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine under International Laws

Bordering on national security interest, meticulous scrutiny of Russia's invasion of Ukraine under international law seems to be a controversial phenomenon. Here is the argument.

In the first place, the legal basis of national security encompasses the system of provisions in international and national law that defines, promotes, regulates, and protects the state and national values and interests. As the provisions of international law are of undoubted importance for national security, this paper briefly catalogs a few international sources of law on national security.

In international law, a State whose national security is under threat is entitled to resort to all legitimate options, including the right to wage war in self-defense. It allows the use of

military force by a nation that has been attacked only "until the Security Council has taken measures necessary" to deal with the problem. This is the limitation of the law. (See Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations (signed on 26 June 1945). It can be argued that in the wisdom of the Security Council considered the custodian of international peace and security, "taken measures necessary to deal with the problem" suggests the concept of preventive diplomacy.

An example can be seen from US unilateral war in Afghanistan that remained controversial. Citing Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations as the legal reliance, the US argued that its action was justifiable following the bombing of the World Trade Center for which the Taliban claimed responsibility. On the contrary, the US action did not enjoy the Security Council authorization for the use of force in Afghanistan.

In case of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, despite the argument by President Vladimir Putin and other Russian officials that Russia's use of force is justified under Article 51 of the UN Charter remains controversial for several reasons.

Article 51 provides that "nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations." However, Ukraine did not commit or threaten to commit an armed attack against Russia or any other UN member state. Even if Russia could show that Ukraine had committed or planned to commit attacks on Russians in the Ukrainian regions of Donetsk and Luhansk, Article 51 would not permit action in collective self-defense, because Donetsk and Luhansk are not UN member states. Indeed, they do not even qualify as states under international law, despite their purported secession from Ukraine and Russia's recognition of them as independent (Bellinger III, 2022).

Second, Putin's claims or assertions that Ukraine was committing "genocide" against Russians in Donetsk and Luhansk, although a lightly veiled effort to justify Russia's use of force in the language of international law, are also not supported by the facts and would not, in any case, give Russia a right to launch an invasion of Ukraine. The Genocide Convention defines genocide as certain, specified actions intended to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Up to the publication of this article, Russia did not provide any quantum of evidence that Ukraine engaged in any of the defined actions and certainly no evidence of an intent to destroy in whole or in part any group in eastern Ukraine (Bellinger III, 2022). Hypothetically let's agree that Russia has the quantum of evidence to support its claims. However, its action against Ukraine should have been sanctioned by UN Security Council. Therefore, it can be concluded that Russia's ongoing military operation in Ukraine is unilateral just as the US did in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Third, Russia claims that Ukraine is seeking to become a major military base for Western powers on its borders that

pose a significant threat to its national security interest seems to be genuine. However, it appears questionable under Article 51. Russia's action is based on perceived threats that are also subjective under the symbolic interactionist perspective early mentioned as one of the theoretical frameworks. Arguably, for a nation's national security to be under threat is far different from the phrase "poses threat to national security". It suggests unprovoked physical attacks that risk the survivability of that nation or state. For example, Ukraine's national security is currently under threat by the ongoing Russian special military operation. Now, Article 51 says "national security under threat" It begs an answer to the question. Before the invasion, was Russia's national security under threat by Ukraine? Did Ukraine launch an unprovoked attack that put Russia's national security under threat?

On the flip side of the same coin, Article 2(4) of the UN Charter, a central tenet of the charter caution members to refrain from the use of force against member states. In verbatim, it says, "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations".

Arguably, there is no confusion between Article 2(4) and Article 51. In other words, a state can resort to the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State only when authorized by the UN Security Council after it has taken measures to deal with the problem. In this case, despite Moscow increasing claims surrounding national security, it did not give the UN Security Council to deal with the problem or claims.

The Darkside of National Security

As mentioned in the introduction, this article seeks not to establish who is right and wrong in the Russian invasion of Ukraine. So, the scrutiny of the legitimacy of the invasion under international law must not be misconstrued as a contradiction. Therefore, this article still maintains its stance of seeking to unpack the dark side of national security.

As a way of conceptualization, the dark side of national security can be defined as the latent dysfunction under the functionalist perspective previously mentioned as one of the theoretical frameworks. Latent dysfunctions are unintended consequences of any social phenomenon, policies, practices, institution, etc. that have negative effects (s) or undesirable consequences on society. National security is an institution guided by policy. As a manifest function, it serves the best national interest of every state. However, it has a dark side that poses a serious threat to global peace and humanity. Its existence will continue to threaten international peace. To make this assertion meaningful, let's put it into context.

Humanitarian Crisis

The humanitarian crisis has never been the manifest purpose or function of national security. As explained by realism, it is

believed to be in the best interest of the states. On the contrary, the current humanitarian crisis the world is witnessing in Ukraine explains one of the dark sides of national security. The refugee crisis is one of the convincing pieces of evidence. According to the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), more than 2 million people, mostly women, and children have fled Ukraine to neighboring countries since the Russian invasion began on February 24, 2022 (Whiting, 2022). At an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council on 28 February, Dame Barbara Woodward, the British Ambassador to the UN made this assertion difficult to dispute.

“As a result of President Putin’s decision to launch a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, a country of 44 million people is now on the brink of a humanitarian catastrophe. Missiles have rained down on Kharkiv, with cluster munitions hitting residential areas and injuring residents. Disruption to supply chains has caused food shortages in Kramatorsk

“Violence in Kyiv has forced people to seek refuge underground, with many thousands, including the elderly and disabled, unable to evacuate.” (Whiting, 2022).

Number of Civilian Casualties

Without a doubt, the number of civilian casualties is another explanation for the dark side of national security. According to the Office of the United Nations, High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) verified a total of 564 civilian deaths during Russia's military attack on Ukraine as of March 10, 2022. Of them, 41 were children. Furthermore, 982 people were reported to have been wounded. However, OHCHR specified that the real numbers could be higher (Statista, 2022).

Infrastructure Damage

Inarguably, national security exists to protect infrastructure instead of damaging it. The case of the invasion of Ukraine explains the dark side. According to Ukraine Deputy Minister of Economy Denys Kudin, at least \$120 billion in infrastructure have damaged by Russia’s war in Ukraine. He further indicated “this number will be growing every day.” (The Kyiv Independent news desk, 2022). Russia is also not exempted when it comes to its economic and military infrastructure.

Spillover Effects of the Invasion

Russia’s impulse to protect its national security at the expense of Ukraine is having spillover effects across Europe. This is strictly due to Russia being subjected to more economic sanctions, with mounting international financial measures and boycotts by increasing numbers of companies. The spillover effects take different dimensions or can be seen in different sectors. For this paper, the global economic sector is given attention.

Global Economic Impact

On account of valid research, it is learned that before the invasion, coal and gas prices were already high in 2020 and 2021 compared to 2019. Oil prices were lower in 2020 but increased in 2021. The main reason is the high demand for these fossil fuel products compared to supply, despite continuing global narratives of “decarbonization” and “net zero.” (Oplas, 2022).

According to the IMF World Economic Outlook Data Base 2021, Russia is the world’s 11th largest economy in terms of GDP size, a major producer and exporter of oil, gas, and coal, and has the world’s 9th biggest population. So, if it is involved in a war, it will have a significant impact on the global economy (Oplas, 2022). Moreover, Russia is the world's second top producer of crude oil after Saudi Arabia, and supplies about a third of Europe's needs, and any disruption would reverberate globally (BBC News, 2022). Many Asian economies depend on oil and gas imports, and even if those don't come from Russia, the spillover effects raise energy costs at a time when countries are still barely recovering from the pandemic (CBS News, 2022).

True to the above assertions about Russia can be seen from oil jumping to \$139 a barrel at one point, the highest level for almost 14 years, while wholesale gas prices for next-day delivery more than doubled (BBC News, 2022). It came as the US hinted at a ban on buying Russian energy, as it looked to other countries to increase supplies. European leaders rejected that idea. Netherlands Prime Minister Mark Rutte said: *“The painful reality is we are still very much dependent on Russian gas and Russian oil and if you now force European companies to quit doing business with Russia that would have enormous ramifications around Europe including Ukraine but also around the world. “We have to reduce our dependency. That will take time,”* he added (BBC News, 2022)

German Chancellor Olaf Scholz said Europe had *“deliberately exempted” Russian energy from sanctions because its supply cannot be secured “any other way”* at the moment (BBC News, 2022)

After peaking at \$139.13 a barrel, the price of Brent crude - an international benchmark - fell back to around \$125. (BBC News, 2022) The latest rise in UK petrol prices has pushed the cost to more than £7 a gallon, the AA said. Filling up a car with a 55-liter tank now costs nearly £17 more than a year ago, rising from £68.60 to £85.59. (BBC News, 2022)

Meanwhile, the price of US oil - West Texas Intermediate crude - rose to almost \$109 a barrel (BBC News, 2022).

Similarly, according to Al Jazeera’s 7 March news bulletin, Brent crude oil surged by more than \$10. Benchmark US crude was up nearly \$9, at more than \$124 a barrel (Al Jazeera, 2022).

US crude had jumped \$9.08 to \$124.74 a barrel in electronic trading on the New York Mercantile Exchange. The all-time

high was marked in July 2008, when the price per barrel of US crude climbed to \$145.29 (Al Jazeera, 2022)

That pushed the average price for petrol in the US above \$4 a gallon, a milestone reached earlier in 2008. The price of regular petrol rose almost 41 cents, breaking \$4 per gallon (3.8 liters) on average across the US for the first time since 2008, according to the AAA motor club (Al Jazeera, 2022).

The all-time high for average petrol prices was set on July 17, 2008, at \$4.10 per gallon. Brent crude, the international pricing standard, hit \$139.13 per barrel before falling back. It was trading up \$10.56 at \$128.67 a barrel (Al Jazeera, 2022).

Asia too is having its fair share of the spillover effects as well. Higher fuel costs are devastating for Japan, which imports almost all its energy. Japan's benchmark Nikkei 225 dipped 3.5 percent in morning trading to 25,091.93.

Hong Kong's Hang Seng dropped 4 percent to 21,021.38, while South Korea's Kospi dived 2.5 percent to 2,648.48. Shanghai Composite lost nearly 0.8 percent to 3,421.81 (Al Jazeera, 2022).

Africa is also not exempted from a fair share of the spillover effects. According to Silja Fröhlich (2022), Sub-Saharan Africa is experiencing a record surge in fuel and gasoline prices due to the invasion of Ukraine. In different parts of Africa, fuel and gasoline prices hikes at pumps. For example, in Nigeria, numerous independent fuel stations have increased the pump price of gasoline higher than the official 165 nairas per liter (\$0.40, €0.36) (Fröhlich, 2022). In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the price of petrol has risen by 3,000 Congolese francs (\$1,50) (Fröhlich, 2022). In Burkina Faso, fuel prices rose by 8% (Fröhlich, 2022). In Togo and Ivory Coast, food prices have also nearly doubled (Fröhlich, 2022). In Liberia, the Ministry of Commerce and the Liberia Petroleum Refinery Company (LPRC) announced an increment of US\$1.16 on gasoline while diesel fuel has been increased by US\$1.47. This means the retail price of gasoline is now US\$5.66 (L\$875) while diesel fuel is US\$6.00 (L\$930) (Doodoo, 2022). In Ghana, the price of gasoline as of 7 March 2022 stood at 8.62 Ghanaian cedis (GHS) per liter, corresponding to roughly 1.22 U.S. dollars. The value considerably increased compared to the preceding weeks. Since January 03, 2022, the price of gasoline in Ghana has increased by approximately 25 percent (Sasu, 2022).

Arguably, the above examples plus many more are the negative effect(s) or undesirable consequences of national security. to put it another way, the world is experiencing these spillover effects simply because of Russia's inclination to protect its national security interest. While Ukraine too is exercising its sovereign rights to strengthen its national security as well considered by Russia a serious national security threat.

III. CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the introduction, the conclusion of this paper is drawn from the first four segments already discussed. The sole intent was not by any means that could be inferred or implied to establish right and wrong in the ongoing invasion. This paper has maintained its neutrality.

It is clear by now that this article has established the argument that has unpacked the dark side of national security with special emphasis on the ongoing carnages and destruction of infrastructure the world is witnessing because Russia invades Ukraine.

By unpacking the dark side of national security, it does not in any way imply the irrelevance of the concept. Of course, it is vital for human society. However, its existence poses a serious threat to humanity. This is simply because it has become an ideological construction that will never exist outside of a framework of nation-states' interests. As such, a state would do anything to protect its national security interests, even if it means violation of international instruments or laws and global outcries or condemnations. Though debatable, history is replete with unequivocal facts. The US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the US raid that killed Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad Pakistan in 2011, the US invasion of Panama that removed from power Manuel Antonio Noriega Moreno, the US and its close allies' invasion of Afghanistan that toppled the Taliban government in 2001, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in 1990, etc. remains a subject of debate or scrutiny under international laws.

Conclusively, Russia's invasion of Ukraine resonates with Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Rousseau viewed the international system as a brutal field in which states would seek to achieve their security interest at the expense of their neighbors (Baylis, 2001). This explains a potential dark side of national security.

It can also be concluded that the dark side of national security often shows face in how governments or states respond to perceived security threats that are usually subjective. An example is President Putin's inclination to denazify Ukraine as one of the justifications for the invasion. Does his claim explain any perceived threats? How can the denazification of Ukraine be a perceived threat when President Volodymyr Zelensky, who is both Jewish and had family members die in the Holocaust? Moreover, three of his great-uncles were executed as part of the German-led genocide of European Jews during the war, the president said on a trip to Jerusalem in 2020. His grandfather, who was the brother of those killed, survived (Berger, 2022).

From the case study, while it is true that nation-states cannot possibly exist without national security, the same is also true that its approach must not jeopardize the very security of nation-states. As such it becomes an irony of the situation. This is exactly what is happening to Russia. Moscow's decision to protect its national security interest at the expense

of invading Ukraine now endangers the very national security it wants to protect. This is evidenced by the tough sanctions imposed on Russia by the West and its allies. No doubt about the danger all the sanctions pose to Russia's national security that has implications for the current Putin regime.

Finally, it can be concluded that in order for nation-states to protect their national security interest, they must engage in a constructive dialogue aiming at cooperation considered as the heartbeat of liberalism.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Ambrues Monboe Nebo Sr. is an Instructor in the Department of Political Science, University of Liberia. Department of Sociology, African Methodist Episcopal University, Criminal Justice Department, Adventist University of West Africa, Liberia and He has been a classroom lecturer since 2016. He earned a Doctor of Sociology (D.Sc.) with a major in Sociology from Atlantic International University (AIU). He also holds MSc in the top 5 % of the graduating Class in Peace and Conflict Studies with emphasis in Humanitarian and Refugee Studies from University of Ibadan, Nigeria, Post Graduate Certificate with distinction in Public Administration from Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration Ghana, Bachelor of Arts (Magna Cum Laude) in Sociology from African Methodist Episcopal Zion University College in Liberia, a graduate of Liberia National Police Academy and Training School formerly National Police Training Academy and obtained various Certificates in peacekeeping operations from the Kofi Anna International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Ghana.

Professionally, he is a senior police officer of the Liberia National Police with fifteen years of experience in Training and Administration. He is now the Commissioner of Police for Administration, Liberia National Police.

He is the author of four books namely: ‘

1. The Politicization of the Criminal Justice System: A Liberian Perspective’ available at <https://www.amazon.com/Politicization-Criminal-Justice-System-Socio-Political/dp/6139445337> and Morebooks shop.
2. The Wave of Protests Leading to Regimes Change in Africa: A Sociological Perspective available at <https://www.amazon.co.uk/dp/9975153461>
3. Introduction to Liberia Criminal Justice System: A Concise Edition available at <https://www.morebooks.de/store/us/book/introductio>

n-to-liberia-criminal-justice-system/isbn/978-620-3-04123-1

4. Liberian Society in Focus: An Introduction to Sociology: available at <https://www.amazon.com/dp/1639024425>

<https://www.generis-publishing.com/book.php?title=liberian-society-in-focus-an-introduction-to-sociology>

Moreover, he has authored a dozens of articles dealing with contemporary issues in Africa and Liberia that can be accessed online at <https://neboambrues.academia.edu/>