National Interest and the Russia-Ukraine War

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Abstract

The paper investigated National Interest and the Russia-Ukraine war. National interest is the guiding principle of foreign policy. In order words, the foreign policy of a nation is predicated on its national interest. The ongoing invasion of Ukraine by Russia is premised on the need to actualize interests. These interests as identified in this paper range from security, to economic and ideological amongst others. The realist theory of international relations was adopted as the theoretical framework. The secondary source of data was utilized for the study. It involved the collection of data from sources such as textbooks, Seminar Papers, Journals, etc. The work observed that the continued supply of arms and other logistics by NATO to Ukraine further fueled the ongoing war. NATO and her allies' continued support for Ukraine has divided the superpowers in the international system making it difficult to reach a common ground to bring the warring parties to a dialogue table to bring the war to an end. The study recommends that there is a need for the international community to consider creating a special agency and trust fund for the reconstruction of the infrastructure damaged as a result of the war. This will aid the reintegration of Ukrainians after the war.

Keywords: War, State, Interest, Conflict, National, NATO

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Background to the Study

States are rational actors in the global system. Every State has certain goals they seek to actualize in the global environment. These goals are usually influenced by the domestic environment and range from economic, security, cultural, technological, and political. National interest according to Nte (2016) is the fundamental policy instrument or compass that guides the conduct of foreign policy. According to Kaplan (in Nte, 2016), national interest is the interest that a national actor has in implementing a defined system of action. The pursuit of the national interest of a State in the global system can sometimes lead to conflict. Most of the wars fought in the international system are influenced by the pursuit of the national interest of States. For instance, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq on 2nd August 1990 was due to the pursuit of her national interest in the exploitation of Kuwait's mineral resource (oil). Also, the ongoing conflict between Israel and Hamas (Palestine) is predicated on national interest; the interest of both States to gain greater control over the Gaza region. We recalled that the Gaza Strip has been a subject of dispute between Israel and Palestine which has led to a series of tension in the Middle East. The United Nations had earlier proposed a two-state solution which was rejected by Palestine. The ongoing invasion of Ukraine by Russia can be understood from the perspective of national interest, as well.

On 24 February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine in a major escalation of the Russo-Ukraine war, which began in 2014. The attack has caused tens of thousands of deaths on both sides and has instigated Europe's largest refugee crisis since the aftermath of World War II. As reported by Chatham House (2023; p.8) "about 8 million Ukrainians were displaced within their State by late May, and more than 7.9 million escaped the country by 3 January 2023". The report further noted that "President Vladimir Putin's decision to launch a full-scale invasion of Ukraine one year ago was a global shock which 'marked an abrupt end to 30 years of globalization and all the international co-operation with serious implications for countries around the world" (Chatham House, 2023; p.8). Not only has the war threatened the stability of Europe, it has also crushed food and energy security universally including the Middle East and Africa, generating shock waves in a world just recuperating from the COVID-19 pandemic.

The offensive has been met with widespread international condemnation. For instance, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution condemning the invasion and demanding a full withdrawal of Russian forces (UN General Assembly Resolution, 2022). Also, the International Court of Justice ordered Russia to end military maneuvers and the Council of Europe barred Russia from its fold. Several countries-imposed sanctions on Russia, and its ally Belarus, and provided humanitarian and military support to Ukraine (ICJ Resolution, 543, 2022). President Putin predicated the invasion of Ukraine on the need to protect Russia's national interest; and security interests. For Putin, Ukraine's bid for membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) undermines her security interest owing to geographic contiguity (Russia shares a common boundary with Ukraine). Putin contends Russia's action on historical antecedents between the West (NATO and her allies led by the United States of America) and the East (former Warsaw Pact led by Russia) led to the ideological war during the Cold War. The paper therefore intends to examine Russia's national interest in the ongoing invasion of Ukraine.

After months of threatening military maneuvers and discussions in bad faith, on 24 February 2022, Russia threw an all-out attack on Ukraine. The United States, European leaders, and the United Nations (UN) have condemned this unprovoked and unjustified military aggression in the strongest possible terms, as it disrupts international law and weakens European and global security (UNGA, 2022). Richárd 2022 noted that "Ukraine applied for EU membership on 28 February, and Moldova followed with its application on 3 March. The European Council granted Candidate Country status to both countries on 23 June 2022". He noted further that "during the first month of fighting, Ukrainians repelled many Russian attacks, conducted counter-offensives and liberated some areas, most significantly around the capital Kyiv (Richárd, 2022; p.87). On 2 March, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution reaffirming "Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity with a broad majority".

The war has left thousands of Ukrainian civilians dead and injured, and cities partially razed to the ground. According to the UNHCR 2022 Report "more than 5.2 million refugees, mostly women and children, have been recorded as having fled to neighboring countries". In addition, as of 23 June 2022, the International Organization for Migration estimates that more than 6.2 million people have been internally displaced, even though 5.5 million internally displaced people have already returned to their homes. The Report further noted that "in February 2023, 1.7 million people in Ukraine require humanitarian assistance, 45% of whom are women, 235 are children and 15% are people with disabilities". The report concluded that "approximately 40% of Ukraine's populations are now in need of humanitarian assistance and protection". The February 2023 Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP, 2023) for Ukraine calls "for \$ 3.9 billion to reach 11.1 million people with food, health care, cash and other life-saving assistance". The European Parliament Resolutions 2023 also "highlighted the situation of women and children fleeing the war". The EU and its allies, within and beyond NATO adopted hard-hitting sanctions aimed at causing severe damage to the Russian economy.

According to Losh (2022), "The war in Ukraine and the sanctions imposed on Russia and Belarus have had a huge effect on international trade". They have affected direct trade with these countries and trade further down the chain. "The effects range from a shortage of food products, raw materials and components to canceled trade routes, changes in demand and price increases". From a trade perspective, "the biggest consequence of the war is the rise in commodity prices". There are three (3) main groupings of commodities: energy, agriculture, and metals. The war has affected all three. The substantial price upsurges affect international supply chains and markets. The result is higher inflation rates worldwide. OECD Secretary-General Mathias Cormann said during a presentation on Outlook, a BBC Radio program. "An end to the war and a just peace for Ukraine would be the most impactful way to recover the global economic outlook right now. Until this happens, governments must deploy both shortand medium-term policy measures to confront the crisis, to mitigate its impact in the short term while building the foundations for a stronger and sustainable recovery" (OECD, 2022; p. 34). These challenges form the focus of the study.

Objectives of the Study

- i. Examine Russia's interest in Ukraine.
- ii. Analyze the effect of the war on humanitarian crisis.

Theoretical Framework

The Realist Theory of international relations is deployed as the theoretical framework for the study. Realism is a theory that is predicated on power politics (realpolitik) and holds the view that the international behavior of States is determined by the search for power and the distribution of power. The philosophical foundation of this school of thought can be traced to Niccolo Di Bernardo Dei Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). Lysias (2013) noted that these philosophers were not realist scholars per se, but their philosophical rationalizations informed realist political thought. Machiavelli posits that political leaders should always be engaged with power; even during peacetime.

Realism unlike idealism believes that human nature is evil and inherently egocentric. Also, humankind is intuitively anarchic and conflictual in dispositions, unless there are beneficial conditions under which they (humans) can cohabit. According to Hans Morgenthau (1978), the interest of the States defined in terms of power, is the primary moral guide by which policies are developed, but prudence in pursuing those interests is the primary ethical guide for policymakers. In the world of power politics, states must increase their power to guarantee their survival. He "the goal of the State has come to include the search for ways to acquire and keep power, increase power and demonstrate power. In short, in a world of conflicting States seeking power, or a world confirmed by historical experience and by the nature of man, States must engage in power politics to survive, and they should do anything prudent or otherwise to achieve that goal".

Ogonor (2007), attests to realism that predication on the following assumptions:

- 1. The realist theory assumes that there is no essential harmony of interest among nations and that nation-states often have conflicting national objectives, some of which lead to war.
- 2. Realism posits that the capabilities of a State are crucial for the outcome of international conflict and for the ability of one State to influence another State's behavior.
- 3. Power, they believe has a military and non-military component which includes not just military force but also the levels of technology, population, national resources, geographical factors, forms of government, political leadership, and ideology.
- 4. Realists posit that there are severe limitations in the extent to which political reforms or education can alter human nature. Man is evil, sinful, and power-seeking. According to the realist, human nature is not innately perfect. The task of the statesman lies in fashioning a political system or framework within which the human propensity to engage in conflict can be minimized.
- 5. Realists assumed that moral principles in their abstract formulation cannot be applied to political actions.

6. Realists further believe that the balance of power framework can furnish an important regulation device to prevent any one nation from achieving total hegemony within the comity of nations.

Relating and applying the realist perspective in understanding the Russia-Ukraine war, it is pertinent to state that the Russia-Ukraine war has a devastating effect on Ukraine and the global system. These effects can be seen in humanitarian crises and the economy. The need to protect the national interest of Russia was the major factor that propelled the declaration of war on Ukraine. The quest for Ukraine to be a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was conceived by Russia as a threat to her national security. The ideological rivalry between Russia and the United States America (USA) since the Cold War era has continued to guide the actions of both states in their interactions. Ukraine joining NATO according to Russia will undermine her national security as it will allow the USA to gather intelligence from Russia. The deployment of military action by Russia on Ukraine was a ploy to protect her national interest. The realist theory of international relations clearly explains the rationale behind the Russia-Ukraine war.

Methodology

According to Bhattacherjee 2012, a research design has to do with creating a blueprint of the events to be carried out to satisfactorily answer the research questions identified in the study. In the view of Asika 2009, "It is the structuring of investigation aimed at identifying variables and relationships to one another". The historical research design was adopted for this study. It has to do with studying past events to understand present events in other to predict future events. The secondary source of data was utilized for this study. The secondary source of data refers to the set of data collated or authored by another person, archives, in the form of documents collected for a purpose other than the present one in which it is being used (Asika, 2006). Selltiz, Wrightman, and Cook 1977 have declared that the usefulness of secondary sources of data lies in the fact that information of this sort is collected periodically. Also, gathering information from such sources does not require the cooperation or assistance of the individual about whom information is being sought. The sources of data for this study include magazines, newspapers, textbooks, journals, and seminar papers among others. The content analysis was adopted as our method of data analysis.

Conceptual Review

The Concept of National Interest

Within the field of international relations, national interest has frequently been assumed to comprise the pursuit of power, security, and wealth. Neorealist and liberal institutionalist scholars tend to define national interest as revolving around security and power. Liberal scholars see national interests as an aggregation of the preferences of domestic political groups. Constructivist scholars reject that the national interest of States is static and can be assumed *a priori*; rather, they argue that the preferences of States are shaped through social interactions and are changeable. National interest is not only the key concept in foreign policy but also is a guide to foreign policy formulation.

The history of the concept of national interest dates back to the time when the evolution of the modern State system took place. It was and remains an important element to describe the underlying rationale for the behavior of States and statesmen in a threatening international environment Stanford, 1988. But the idea of separateness, of differentness from others, and the consequent idea of preserving and protecting one's values against others, goes back to antiquity. One common-sense definition describes it, as the general and continuing ends for which the nation acts. National interest shows the aspirations of States. It can be used also operationally, in application to the actual policies and programs pursued; it can also be used polemically in political argument, to explain, rationalize, or criticize. Above all, all statesmen are governed by their respective national interests (Morgenthau, 1958).

Whenever a treaty or summit takes place, the statesmen keep their national interest hung around the neg. If a statesman agrees to concessions or preferential treatment, he does so only when he is convinced that this brings some advantage to his State directly or indirectly America's approval of China as the Most Favoured Nation signifies America's interest in catching the potential market. So, this favorable treatment of China secured not only trade openings but also friendship. When China was admitted to the United Nations through United States efforts, it showed a greater political cum economic interest. Co-operation, conflict, war, competition, rapprochement, and all, take place, keeping in mind the interest of the nation in a given situation.

The crux of the concept as advanced in the post-war years, was that in a world in which States are the major units of political life, they command the supreme loyalty and affection of a great mass of individuals. Statesmen who are responsible for and to their separate publics, and who operate in an uncertain and threatening milieu, have little choice but to put the interests of their entity above those of others or those of the international system. National interest thus became a synonym for national egoism. One could not rely on others, nor could one rely on international institutions and processes to protect one's key values. See what happened in the inter-war period, despite international mechanisms, such as international law, international organization, and international trade had been set up to reduce the harshness of "realpolitik", but still culminated in a disastrous World War II. International institutions are invariably controlled by powerful countries. These international institutions function to meet the national interests of those powerful and influential States. The values and interests of a State are national in scope and protection is necessary which can be done only by that country. National interest is understood to mean a state of affairs valued solely for its benefit to the nation. The motive of national egoism, which leads men to seek this end, is marked by the disposition to concern oneself with the welfare of one's nation; self-love transferred to the national group (Nathan and Ross, 2013).

Osgood 1993 was correct in placing national survival or self-preservation at the head of the list because everything else would depend on the achievement of this goal. He defined survival or self-preservation in terms of territorial integrity, political independence, and maintenance of fundamental governmental institutions. Other important national interests include self-sufficiency, prestige, and aggrandizement. Morganthau (1978) defined national interest as

"the survival of a political unit....in its identity" as the minimum of a state's interest vis-a-vis other units, encompassing in this is the integrity of a state's territory, its political institutions, and its culture.

The prime concern of a State may be her and its people and the protection of her values and cultures. It is often believed that there is an irreducible core of national interest for any state at any given time. This is called the vital interest of a nation. The vital interest is that on which, if necessary, it is prepared to go to war. In other words, the vital interest is so important for a State that it is normally willing to go to war immediately or ultimately to safeguard that interest. The vital interest of a country is supposed to be so basic that it is often regarded as permanent. It is also supposed to be primary to which all other aspects of the national interest remain subordinated. The vital character of national interest invariably has an emotional appeal to the people. Such vital interests include for all States, as a minimum, the protection and preservation of their independence and territorial integrity.

The Concept of War

There are many definitions of war, but one of the most relevant is that put forward by Hedley Bull 2007 who founded the English school where he sees war as "an organized violence carried on by political units against each other" (Hedley, 2007; p.86). This definition has many vital elements. It is essential to say that war is violence organized by political units among themselves. While the idea of war is fraught with preconceptions and violence, we must be careful because when we talk about war, we do not speak of interpersonal violence. Interpersonal violence is violence linked to crime and aggression, while war is organized violence involving organized political units fighting each other.

He contends that war has an official character, i.e. that war is waged in the name of the State against another political unit. This is where he makes a third distinction in his definition, which is that even if war is waged on behalf of that political entity, it must be waged against other political entities that are generally outside the State, a fundamental distinction when it comes to organized violence, which is that of the fight against crime. War is therefore organized violence between political units among themselves, and the whole being of an official character focused in general outside these political units. This definition is quite comprehensive and reflects how modern warfare is shaped, and understood by most people who study war, whether it is in military academies, and it cuts across almost everything that is meant by 'war'.

For Thomas Hobbes in *The Leviathan* published in 1551, war is "the war of all against all". In other words, in a more sociological approach, the idea of warfare of all against all is an idea that has made it possible to develop other concepts that the State has emerged to regulate the jungle that reigned within society, and the war of all against all is an empirical impossibility because men cannot permanently fight anarchically. Individuals are reluctant to organize themselves and to fight. There may be individual aggression, and there may be selfishness that can lead to fights, but armed conflicts are something else. War, according to Hobbes, is something that is first and foremost a matter of human nature. Hedley 2007 contradicts this

view as he noted that "the idea of war against all is to be questioned because it starts from the idea that it is the selfishness of man that generates war, whereas, it is the sociality of man because we are forced to live in society. To be able to wage a war, we need structures (organizations) that make it possible to do so.

Russia's Interest in Ukraine

National interest is the bedrock of foreign policy. In other words, the foreign policy of any country is usually predicated on its national interest. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine emerged around several issues. It is a complex interrelation of ethnic, religious, political, and economic interests that concerns the international observers of the conflict. To understand the nature of the ongoing war, it is important to understand some basic issues such as; Russian maintenance of post-Soviet States; ideological interest of Russia, and security interest.

Russian Maintenance of Post-Soviet States: The Russian Federation has a long imperial history. Its sense of superiority and the need to prove it permeates much of its society. Andreas (2019) "emphasized the importance of Ukraine for Putin and noted that it led to largely manufactured, yet nevertheless widespread collective agreement within large parts of Russia's population about the rightfulness, justice, and legitimacy of Moscow's various territorial, political, cultural and economic claims towards Ukraine". He added that Russian imperial expansion is "to the support cohesion and longevity of Putin's regime (Andreas, 2019,). For TASS 2018 "Putin's regret of the collapse of the USSR that he expressed in 2018 during the Truth and Justice Media forum reflects the general mood of the Russians". According to the survey conducted in 2017 by the Yuri Levada Analytical Center, 58 % of the surveyed population stated that Putin regrets the collapse of the USSR.

The Report/Survey observed that "the number of people who regret the collapse of the Soviet Union decreased only by 8% from 1992. Moreover, over the past two epochs, it was indicated that what the Russians have felt most nostalgic about were the devastation of the unified economic system and the fact that people no longer feel like they were part of a world superpower". It seems that the Russians were thus taken away which the Western Europeans have been enjoying for years. The Russian government's efforts to maintain spheres of influence in the post-Soviet States, therefore, seem to attempt to reimburse this nostalgia by having control over these regions. Thus, the Russian invasion should be understood as reflective of the needs of the Russian society. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the Russian maintenance of the post-Soviet States, such as Ukraine, is an effort to unite the nation. Moreover, it is a response to the eastward expansion of Western European States.

The ideological interest of Russia: The conflict itself can be considered as a clash of two opposing ideologies represented by the West on one side (the EU, the UN, NATO), and Russia on the other side. The European Union along with NATO, the UN, many Non-Governmental Organizations, as well as the United States represent the liberal democratic stance that is perceived by Russia as a threat to its existence and the status of the world's power. The Kremlin seems to be isolated and facing the network of complex alliance attempts to minimize the influence of the Western ideology on former Soviet states, which to a large degree are still influenced by the Russian Federation.

Mearsheimer 2014 pointed out that the "Western final tool for peeling Kyiv away from Moscow has been its efforts to spread Western values and promote democracy in Ukraine and other Post-Soviet States, a plan that often entails funding pro-Western individuals and organizations". On the other hand, there is a Western concern for the respect of human rights in Ukraine, as well as Russia, and the spread of communist and, paradoxically, nationalist ideology in the East of the European Union. Moreover, due to the questionable legality of actions taken by Russia, the conflict seems to be even more complicated as it is ideologically motivated but has disputable positions concerning International Law not only for Ukraine and Russia but also the Post-Soviet States, the European Union, as well as NATO. Russia is supported by a minority of pro-Russian Ukrainians (who identify themselves as Russians) and its annexation of Crimea was recognized only by 19 members of the UN (Afghanistan, China, Cuba, and North Korea), while others still perceive the event as illegal. Russia and her supporters argue that they are trying to protect people who identify themselves as Russians from the oppression they could face due to being a minority. Russia considers Ukraine's efforts to join the European Union as a threat to the Russian economy and territorial integrity, due to the spread of the "Western ideology" closer to its borders.

As noted by Mearsheimer 2014, "The war in Ukraine understood from a realist perspective, is an effect of the EU's expansion eastward and the West's backing of the pro-democracy movement in Ukraine". According to him, "One can notice a certain continuity of events in Ukraine, which seems to be not necessarily a puppet of the Russian Federation, but perhaps a means of promoting the Western democratic ideology and, thus, an object of calculations of the EU'. The pro-Western Ukrainians hope that detaching from Russian influence will allow institutionalizing democracy in that post-Soviet state.

The War on Humanitarian Crisis

The full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine started on 24 February 2022. UNCHR Report 2023 noted that "before the war, Ukraine had a population of 41.6 million. As of 4 March 2023, 8.1 million people remain displaced – forced to flee from their own homes by the war within Ukraine and 10.3 million refugee movements have been recorded out of Ukraine". Ukraine's healthcare system was already facing problems such as underfunded healthcare and injustices in the distribution of resources and hospital locations before the war began. Since its 2014 healthcare reform, Ukraine has seen a steady decline in infant mortality. Nonetheless, this rate in Ukraine was still 1.85 times higher than the European Union average rate in 2019 7.2 deaths per 1000 live births in Ukraine vs 3.9 deaths per 1000 live births in the European Union. Another healthcare sector in Ukraine that has drastically changed over the years is the pharmaceutical industry. "Ukraine has increased its production of medicines over time – moving from having a few pharmaceutical plants during the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 to establishing a relatively strong pharmaceutical production sector. However, any gains over the years related to healthcare improvement and/or pharmaceutical production will likely be reversed given the current war in Ukraine". Akresh et al 2022, p.54.

Communicable diseases were also a major health concern in Ukraine even before the current Russian invasion. Ukraine has the fourth-highest tuberculosis (TB) rate in Europe, with

30,000 people diagnosed with TB each year. Drug-resistant TB accounted for 29% of all new diagnoses, and only 81% of the total TB cases were diagnosed and treated. In addition to TB, WHO (2022 Report) "estimated that about 152 000 of 260 000 people living with HIV in Ukraine receive antiretroviral therapy". Challenges in diagnosing and treating various communicable diseases in Ukraine were compounded by the country's limited medical supplies. Given the current Russian invasion of Ukraine, the WHO's Health Emergencies Programme cautions that a new COVID-19 variant could gravely impact the already vulnerable refugee population and the millions of displaced people. The surrounding nations absorbing an influx of refugees are also likely to experience a surge in COVID-19 cases, resulting in possible increases in hospitalizations and deaths from COVID-19 (WHO's Health Emergencies Programme, Report 2022).

Another area of concern is the impact of the war on the well-being of Ukrainian children. Beyond the immediate threats to life, the war in Ukraine has led to at-risk children with chronic conditions experiencing treatment disruption. According to the International Diabetes Federation Atlas (2022), around 6700 children and adolescents were diagnosed with Type 1 diabetes in Ukraine in 2021. The scarce access to essential health resources for these children during military conflicts is worrisome. Aside from the bombardment of hospitals and dispensaries that impacted the deliveries of healthcare and health services, shelling and bombing in areas with active hostilities also destroyed homes, schools, bridges, and nuclear power plants (Armantier et al, 2022). "The war has damaged an already fragile healthcare system, caused ongoing civilian casualties, and has involved direct attacks on healthcare facilities and residential areas. In addition to casualties of war and disruption to the delivery of healthcare and health-related services, there were at least 250 attacks on non-healthcare civilian infrastructure that impacted the safety and well-being of Ukrainians and compounded the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine" (Artue et al 2022 p.43).

Conclusion

- 1.) The study observed that the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine has led to the massive destruction of the healthcare system in Ukraine leading to the inability of people to access basic healthcare needs. This corresponds with Armantier et al (2022) who posit that due to the blockade of cities by Russian troops, wounded civilians, including mothers and newborns were unable to receive appropriate medical care. Taken together, the Russian invasion not only impacts lives and safety but also the health and well-being of all Ukrainians due to the impact of the invasion on access to clean water, gas, and electricity, as well as the internet and other forms of communication.
- 2.) The work observed that the continued supplies of arms and other logistics by NATO to Ukraine to enable her to defend her territory has further fueled the ongoing war. NATO and her allies' continued support for Ukraine has divided the superpowers in the international system making it difficult to reach a common ground to bring the warring parties to a dialogue table to end the war.

The impact of the recent Russian invasion of Ukraine has caused massive injuries and deaths, destroyed infrastructure and healthcare systems, and prevented the timely production and delivery of pharmaceuticals and medical supplies. The war has created the largest humanitarian crisis in Europe. Approximately one-quarter of the country's total population had left their homes in Ukraine in the wake of the invasion. 90% of Ukrainian refugees are women and children, while most Ukrainian men aged 18 to 60 are banned from leaving the country. By 24 March, more than half of all children in Ukraine had left their homes, and a quarter left the country. The invasion caused Europe's largest refugee crisis since World War II and its aftermath. It is the first of its kind in Europe since the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s, as well as the fourth largest refugee crisis in history, and is the largest refugee crisis of the 21st century, with the highest refugee flight rate globally.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made:

- 1. There is a need for European nations to formulate and implement policies that will help provide support to children, women, and other displaced people as a result of the ongoing war. Such policies should guarantee the fundamental rights of the people and also create an enabling environment for them to pursue their economic and other interests pending a peaceful resolution of the war.
- 2. There is a need for the international community to consider creating a Special Agency and Trust Fund for the reconstruction of the infrastructures damaged as a result of the war. This will aid the reintegration of Ukraine after the war.

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