

Analysis of Vladimir Putin's Rationality in The Policy of The Invasion of Ukraine in 2019-2022

Annisa Diva Sekartaji

University of Darussalam Gontor

annisa.diva.sekartaji@mhs.unida.gontor.ac.id

Abstract

The study aims to analyze the rationality of Vladimir Putin in the policy of the invasion of Ukraine in 2019-2022. As president of Russia, Putin invaded Ukraine to strengthen the security of his country and protect Russian citizens living on the territory of Ukraine. However, this action has attracted controversy in the eyes of the international community because it is considered to violate international law and undermine the stability of the European region. This research uses a descriptive research method that focuses on analyzing secondary data from various sources such as journal articles, mass media, and government policies. The results showed that Putin used structural and calculative rationality to invade Ukraine. Putin decided this because it benefitted his country in the long run. Putin believes that by taking this action, he can strengthen the position of Russia as the main power in the European region, increase public support within the country, and gain access to the territory of Ukraine, which is rich in natural resources. However, the invasion by Putin drew condemnation from many countries and international organizations. In addition, this action also has a detrimental impact on Ukraine and Russian citizens living in the region. Therefore, this study suggests taking important policies like this to consider the long-term impacts and not just focus on the benefits for the country itself.

Keywords: *Rationality, Vladimir Putin, Invasion, Russia, Ukraine*

INTRODUCTION

The conflict first erupted in February 2014 during the leadership of Oleksander Turchynov. At the same time, Russia is trying to control one of the regions of Ukraine. Russia unilaterally took over Ukraine in Crimea without a legitimate international process. The reason for the seizure of Crimea was that Russia had to pay rent against Ukraine for the right to use the Port of Sevastopol. While in Crimea, many weapons factories and military bases were built for Soviet defense in the Black Sea (Handayani, 2015). Crimea is also strategic because it contains mineral reserves and is a connecting route for Russian gas access to Western Europe.

This shows that control of the Region is important and strategic for Russia. But for Russia, the annexation of Crimea is a warning for Ukraine to join NATO. In response to the annexation of Crimea, Turchynov promised that Ukraine would soon join the European Union. However, he could not do so due to the complicated and lengthy process. Turchynov became known as the president of Ukraine with the shortest term and was replaced by Poroshenko as the election winner (Putra, 2015).

Poroshenko, who was elected as Ukraine's fifth president (2014-2019), has promised that the Ukrainian people can return Crimea to Ukraine. Instead, there have been uprisings in the east of Ukraine, particularly the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, allegedly supported by Russia. To overcome this, peace efforts have been made based on the Minsk I agreement in 2014 and the Minsk II agreement in 2015. Both agreements have key points: a ceasefire, dialogue, special status, and full border control. During his leadership, Poroshenko began to forge close ties with the United States and the European Union to resist Russian domination. But instead, Poroshenko made peace with the rebels in eastern Ukraine. This shows the vagueness of leadership orientation. This uprising in the east of Ukraine has led to the deaths of at least 13,000 Ukrainians (Rferl, 2022).

In the end, Volodimir Zelensky was elected the sixth president of Ukraine from 2019-2024. Zelensky was a comedian who won the election to star in several films as president. The Zelensky period was reaching its peak of conflict with Russia for trying to resist Russian supremacy. To end the uprising in the east of Ukraine, Zelensky wanted to join NATO. On the other hand, the internal situation in Ukraine is heating up since the country's people are divided into two groups. Eastern Ukrainian politicians are pro-European (Aprilia, 2015).

Troubled relations between Russia and Ukraine continued to peak until February 2021. At that time, Ukraine officially announced its intention to join NATO. This condition threatens Russia and cannot accept Ukraine's desire to join NATO. Russia responded by opposing Ukraine's view of joining the defense alliance. Instead, Russia wants it to maintain its influence in Eastern Europe and views Ukraine as a Russian backer. For Russia, the existence of NATO is seen as a threat to Russian sovereignty, as it extends its influence to the Eastern European space. This is evidenced by the large number of former members of the Soviet Union that are members of NATO (Pifer, 2020).

After withdrawing these troops, Putin launched a new effort in November, again placing many soldiers and military equipment on the border. In December, the Kremlin

demanded assurances that NATO would not expand into post-Soviet countries. However, the West will not give in to Putin's demands, although it will remain diplomatic relations open until early 2022. By February 2022, the conflict will become more acute, and Russia's demands will repeat themselves. Despite recent diplomatic efforts, Moscow declared the independence of the republics of Donetsk and Luhansk under the pretext of "de-Nazification" of Ukraine and protecting Russian citizens. On February 24, 2022, Putin announced the launch of special military operations in Ukraine. Russian troops and vehicles entered Ukraine in blatant aggression and violation of international law, triggering a conflict that claimed more than 2,500 civilian casualties a month later, including more than 225 children (Rights, 2022).

Some invasions included annexing parts of the Crimean peninsula, open invasions, and arms support for separatist groups in Ukraine to capture the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. In this way, Putin thinks that Russia can regain control of Ukraine. Behind Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Putin also deeply understands what NATO's ethos looks like. Putin knows the consequences Russia will have if it decides to invade Ukraine. If one NATO member is attacked, then all NATO members will protect (Stent, 2019). Even though Ukraine did not yet join NATO in 2022, NATO interests in the country make Putin even more suspicious. If Ukraine joins NATO, then Putin knows that Russia's dream of regaining glory as it was in the times of the USSR will not be realized.

The researcher's background taking the title "**Analysis of Vladimir Putin's Rationality in the Policy of the Invasion of Ukraine in 2019-2022**" is vital to comprehend the rationality in political policy and help understand the reasons and motivations for decision-making by state leaders. Vladimir Putin's invasion policy in Ukraine has serious ramifications for interstate relations and regional stability. Rationality analysis also helps evaluate the effectiveness of policies and provides information to make better policies in the future.

RESEARCH METHODE

This research uses qualitative research with a descriptive model. According to Sugiyono, the descriptive qualitative research method is a research method to examine the condition of objects naturally. The researcher is positioned as a critical instrument for data collection using qualitative data analysis that emphasizes meaning rather than abstraction. Descriptive qualitative research aims to explain, describe, explain, and answer in detail the problem to be studied (Sugiyono, 2018).

According to Widiyoko, data collection has a significant role in the analysis. The results

of the study are not only influenced by quality of the data but also by the accuracy of the data analysis (Widiyoko, 2016). The quality of data collection instruments relates to validity and reliability. There are two data collection methods, namely primary and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained directly, without going through intermediaries so that the data obtained is in the form of official data, for example, through interviews with related sources and conducting field observations. As for secondary data, it is obtained through intermediaries or parties who have collected data before, for example, through journals, articles, books, and so on.

Researchers use three data analysis techniques: data reduction, presentation, and conclusion. First is data reduction, where researchers look for valid data in articles, theses, journals, and books. Secondly, the data products can be text, graphs, and charts of the data reduction process. In this process, researchers will group similar things into categories. Third, concluding. In this study, research will analyze and will process data based on foreign policy and rationality.

DISCUSSION

Interpretation, Political Justification, and Factors of Russian Political Views and Domestic Political Situation Influencing Vladimir Putin's Rationality in the Policy of the Invasion of Ukraine

Vladimir Putin is a Russian president who has long stood out as a leader who fights for Russia's interests internationally. One of Putin's controversial actions was the policy of invasion of Ukraine that began in 2014. This action has received a lot of criticism from Western countries and several other countries for being considered in violation of international law and Ukraine's sovereign rights. However, Putin provided political justification and rational interpretations in favour of the invasion action.

Putin's political interpretation of the Ukrainian invasion is based on several factors (A.S, 2015). *First*, Putin believes Russia should maintain its power over Ukraine and strengthen its influence in neighbouring countries. Putin feels Ukraine is a very important strategic country for Russia, especially regarding national security and regional stability. Putin believes that the administration's pro-Western policies and Ukrainian approaches after the Orange Revolution in 2004 have endangered Russian interests in the region. Putin also expressed concern that NATO members would expand their territory into Ukraine, threatening Russia's security. *Secondly*, Putin believes using military force to strengthen Russia's interests is rational. According to Putin, this policy is a reasonable and necessary response to what he views as an attack on Russian

citizens in Ukraine, especially on the Crimean peninsula. Putin claimed that Russia's military action in Ukraine was to protect Russian citizens of the region, who he said were victims of the political conflict in Ukraine. Putin also accused Ukraine's democratically elected government of being illegitimate and unauthoritative. In Putin's view, using military force is necessary to ensure security and stability in the region. *Third*, Putin believes Russia should play an active role in global politics. Putin considers the invasion of Ukraine to be an act that strengthens Russia's position in the international world. Putin believes that Russia is a powerful world power and that an aggressive foreign policy will strengthen Russia's position in the eyes of the world. Putin also sees an aggressive foreign policy as a way to demonstrate Russia's strength and increase its regional influence. In Putin's view, the invasion of Ukraine was an act that gave Russia an advantage and strengthened the country's position in the international world.

In the face of criticism from Western countries and some other countries, Putin carried out political justification for the policy of invasion of Ukraine. According to Putin, Russia's actions in Ukraine are to protect the Russian people of the region. Putin claimed that Ukraine violated human rights and persecuted Russian citizens in Ukraine. In addition, Putin criticized the Western-backed Ukrainian government as illegitimate and not representative of the Ukrainian people. The most important factors in the policy of invasion of Ukraine are geopolitical considerations. Putin believes that Russia is a great power and should be treated as one with the same power as Western countries. Russia's success in the invasion of Ukraine will enhance Russia's position in the international world and show that Russia should not be ignored (Mendelson, 2014).

In addition, the domestic political situation in Russia also played an important role in Putin's policy. As international pressure increases and economic sanctions are imposed on Russia, Putin strives to maintain his support and legitimacy at home. The Ukrainian conflict provided an opportunity for Putin to strengthen the nationalist image of Russia and distract Russian society from domestic economic and political issues. On the other hand, Russia's military role is also a factor influencing Putin's policies. The Russian military is one of the world's largest military powers, and the invasion of Ukraine is considered an opportunity to showcase Russia's military capabilities and its power in the region. Putin also hopes that this conflict will strengthen Russia's role in global politics and revive Russia's image as a great power globally (Baev, 2014).

One of the factors of political views influencing Putin's rationality in the policy of

invasion of Ukraine is Russia's strategic importance in Ukraine. The presence of a Russian military base on the territory of Crimea is of great importance for Russia's national security, especially given that the region is a strategic gateway to control the Black Sea. In addition, Russia also has economic and political interests in Ukraine, especially in terms of natural resources and energy. In Putin's view, the invasion of Ukraine was a way to ensure the security and protection of Russia's national interests (Orr, 2014). Russia's domestic political situation also influences Putin's invasion in Ukraine. As an authoritarian leader, Putin wants to strengthen Russia's nationalist image and demonstrate Russia's military strength. In addition, the policy of invasion of Ukraine can also help divert people's attention from domestic economic and political problems so that Putin can continue to maintain his power (Wilkinson, 2022).

Putin's political views as a highly nationalist and authoritarian leader also influenced the policy of the invasion of Ukraine. Putin believes that Russia's military strength is key to safeguarding Russia's national interests at home and abroad. Therefore, Putin places aggressive foreign policy as a top priority in his administration's policies. Putin saw the policy of invasion of Ukraine as a way to demonstrate Russia's military strength and show that Russia is a great power in the world. Geopolitical factors and revenge against the West could also influence Putin's policy of invasion of Ukraine, given that Russia's relations with Western countries have deteriorated in recent years (Troianovski, 2022).

How Vladimir Putin Motivated and Justified His Action To the Public and The International World

The way Putin motivated the Ukraine invasion has many political, economic, and ideological factors. Some factors that prompted Putin to invade Ukraine were, 1) Putin saw that Russia's national security was threatened by political changes in Ukraine. When the pro-Russian government led by Yanukovich was brought down by mass demonstrations in Kyiv in 2014, Putin feared that forces siding with the West would place their interests in Russia's border regions. In addition, the separatist problem in the Eastern region of Ukraine which, is considered a region with a concentration of ethnic Russians is also a reason for Putin to protect Russian citizens and maintain the security of Russian territories; 2) Putin carries a strong ideology of Russian nationalism as a tool to cement his power. He stressed that Russia is a large and powerful country that has influence all over the world and that Russia should play the role of protector of Russian citizens who are outside its territory. The ideology of Russian nationalism is also used to shape the perception that the invasion of Ukraine is an attempt to

fight for Russia's national interests; 3) Ukraine has many natural resources that Russia is interested in, such as gas and oil. Russia also considers Ukraine an important export market. By taking over the territory of Ukraine, Russia can control Ukraine's natural resources and export markets; 4) Putin regarded the invasion of Ukraine as a move to restore Russia's glory on the international scene and elevate Russia's reputation as a great power. In addition, the invasion of Ukraine also became a political tool to strengthen Putin's position at home and his power (Kofman, 2015).

Such factors motivated Putin to carry out an invasion of Ukraine and gain the support of most of Russian society. Putin justified the act of invasion of Ukraine to the public and the international community in various ways. One of the means used by Putin is to build a narrative and manipulate public opinion. Putin used the media and propaganda to build a narrative about Russian actions in Ukraine. Putin tried to present Russia's actions as necessary measures to protect ethnic Russians in Ukraine who are considered threatened by the Ukrainian government. Although this claim is highly debated, the narrative Putin has constructed has influenced most of Russian society to support the invasion of Ukraine (Sakwa, 2015).

Putin also referred to national and security interests as reasons for invading Ukraine. Putin said that Russia's actions in Ukraine are necessary measures to protect Russia's national interests and security. Putin often refers to the fact that Crimea is part of Russia historically and that this action was taken to protect Russia's national interests threatened by Ukrainian actions considered to be approaching the West. In addition, Putin is also trying to build alliances with other countries to strengthen his arguments about Russia's actions in Ukraine. Putin is trying to build alliances with countries that share Russia's interests in Ukraine. Some countries, such as Tiongkok and Belarus, have supported Russian actions in Ukraine. Putin also criticized Ukraine's actions and Western support for Ukraine. Putin argued that Russia's actions in Ukraine were retaliatory measures against the actions of Western countries seeking to extend their influence to Ukraine (Tsygankov, 2015).

Although Putin used various means to justify his actions, other views also assessed Russia's actions in Ukraine as violating international law. They undermined stability and peace in the region. Several countries and international organizations, such as the United States, the European Union, NATO, the United Nations, and the OSCE, have condemned Russia's actions and imposed sanctions on it. To defuse tensions, some countries have tried to mediate the conflict and offer a peaceful solution. But until now, such efforts have not succeeded in ending

the conflict, and Russia's policy in Ukraine is still a matter of debate in the international world (Lukin, 2014).

Application of Rational Choice Theory to Vladimir Putin's Rationality in the Policy of Invasion of Ukraine

Rational choice theory is a theory that can be used to understand human behaviour in the context of rational decision-making. In the context of Vladimir Putin's policy of invasion of Ukraine, rational choice theory can be used to analyze the factors that influenced Putin's decision and the extent to which his decision was rational. This theory departs from the assumption that political actors, such as Putin, act rationally and choose the actions that are considered most favourable to the interests of their country.

Putin considered several factors in his decision to start an invasion of Ukraine. Such considerations include the benefits and costs of the invasion, as well as support from the Russian public and political elites. In terms of benefits, Putin saw that an invasion of Ukraine could strengthen Russia's position in the region and open access to natural resources. Putin also considered that this Ukrainian invasion would help divert the attention of the Russian public from domestic issues, such as economic pressure and political crisis. However, Putin also considered the costs of an invasion of Ukraine, such as international isolation, economic sanctions, and military conflicts with Ukraine and Western countries. Therefore, Putin considered ways to minimize an invasion's costs and negative impacts by going through diplomatic negotiations or ingenious military tactics. In addition, Putin also considered the support of the Russian public and the political elite in his decision to start the invasion. Putin believes that a crackdown on Ukraine will strengthen its position among nationalists and supporters and help suppress the opposition at home.

In the context of the invasion of Ukraine, Putin had several rational and favourable reasons for Russian interests. Regarding Russia's national security, Putin sees Western policies extending their influence to Ukraine as threatening Russia's national security. Putin believes that Ukraine must remain within Russia's sphere of influence to ensure the security of its country from Western threats. Regarding economic interests, Ukraine is an important country for Russia regarding gas and oil supplies. By controlling Ukraine, Russia can control the energy supply to Europe and maintain its dominance in the European energy market. In foreign policy, Putin wants to maintain Russia's position as a large and influential country in the international world. Putin also wants to show that Russia still has strong military strength and can take

aggressive action if necessary.

According to Putin, Ukraine is incompetent and dishonest and does not deserve sovereignty. He saw Russia's purpose and place in international politics through the lens of imperialism and believed that the state should govern others. He considered the sphere of influence to be that of norms rather than anomalies. His biased narrative of Ukrainian history fueled the myth that what was lost when the Soviet Union collapsed could be regained. Russia wants to push Ukraine out of the European Union and NATO alliance, and back into the orbit Putin is trying to rebuild. Unfortunately, this invasion will result in the deaths of many Russians and Ukrainians and inflict trauma that could shape Russia-Ukraine relations in the coming year (Soodavar, 2022).

Putin made several mistakes while invading Ukraine. He overestimated the military capabilities of his troops. He miscalculated the strength of Ukrainian nationalism and the insufficient ability of the Ukrainian army to defend its territory. He seems to have underestimated how quickly Western powers, NATO, and others will support Ukraine and how easily an energy-importing country can impose sanctions on Russia and eliminate Russian products. Putin also downplayed China's support for Russia, as China buys a lot of Russian gas and oil but does not publicly support Russia diplomatically or provide useful military assistance. When all these mistakes come together, the result is a choice that will be very detrimental to Russia and will last long after Putin leaves the scene. Regardless of the outcome of the conflict, Russia will become weaker and less strong if Putin chooses a different path (Walt, 2023).

Impact of Vladimir Putin's Invasion of Ukraine Policy On The International World

Vladimir Putin's 2019-2022 invasion policy of Ukraine greatly impacted the international world. This invasion was felt in Ukraine and affected relations between Russia and other countries. The conflict that occurred has shown that the occurrence of this kind of invasion can trigger conflict and instability around the world. Since the occurrence of the invasion, relations between Russia and Western countries have deteriorated significantly. The European Union and the United States imposed economic sanctions on Russia to protest such aggressive actions. In addition, this invasion was also the subject of discussion in international meetings, including in the G7 and G8 forums (Alaca, 2022).

The policy of invasion carried out by Vladimir Putin into Ukraine had a significant impact on the international world. *First*, the policy of invasion of Ukraine made relations between Russia and the West deteriorate even more. The West responded to the invasion with

economic sanctions against Russia that aggravated Russia's economic conditions. *Second*, the invasion of Ukraine strengthened Russia's position in the Eastern European region and exposed Russia's military strength. *Third*, the invasion of Ukraine increased tensions in the Eastern European region and provoked conflicts between Russia and the region's countries. *Fourth*, countries in the Eastern European region responded to the invasion of Ukraine by increasing their defense budgets and strengthening military relations with Western countries. *Fifth*, the conflict in Ukraine affects geopolitical stability in the Eastern European region and increases uncertainty in the region. *Sixth*, the invasion of Ukraine demonstrates the need to countries around Ukraine, such as Russia and Europe for increased international cooperation in tackling the conflict and maintaining stability in the region (T., 2015).

In terms of war, the focus of this discussion, which is also viewed through the Islamic view, is in the Qur'an surah Al-Hajj verse 39:

أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظَلَمُوا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ نَصْرِهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ

“It has been permitted (to fight) for those who are fought, because indeed they have been persecuted. And verily, Allah, the Almighty, helped them” (Tafsirq, 2015)

In the above verse it can be correlated with Russia's war on Ukraine, that it is not permissible to fight people without reason and without just protection. This is incompatible with Russia's war on Ukraine, which uses brutal violence. The above verse emphasizes the importance of fighting for truth, justice, and freedom in the world. Russia's war on Ukraine is a political conflict related to ambitions for power and territorial control.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis that has been carried out, it can be concluded that Vladimir Putin had rational reasons and considerations in carrying out the policy of invasion of Ukraine. Important factors that form the basis of this decision include national security factors, geostrategic interests, the Russian people's support, and economic factors. However, this act of invasion is also inseparable from international criticism and some sanctions by Western countries. Therefore, Vladimir Putin needs to consider the long-term impact of this policy on the relations between Russia and other countries, as well as on its economy and national security.

In justifying his actions to the public and the international community, Putin used various arguments, such as protecting Russians living in Ukraine, upholding the principles of

independence and state sovereignty, and responding to Ukraine's provocative actions. However, these arguments have been widely criticized by Western countries and many in Ukraine, who see this invasion as an aggressive act and in a violation of international law. In the ever-evolving situation, it can be seen that the invasion of Ukraine has brought significant repercussions to Russia, Ukraine, and the international community as a whole.

Thus, efforts are needed to find appropriate solutions to resolve the conflict with Ukraine and restore Russia's diplomatic relations with other countries. All parties must promote constructive and respectful dialogue to achieve peace and stability in the European region.

REFERENCES

- A.S, O. O. (2015). *Mr. Putin Goes to War: The Consequences of Russia's Intervention in Ukraine*. Rand Corporation.
- Alaca, M. (2022, February 22). *Russia-Ukraine crisis: What you need to know*. Retrieved from Anadolu Agency: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/world/russia-ukraine-crisis-what-you-need-to-know/2510497>
- Aprilia, F. (2015). *Konflik Antara Rusia dan Ukraina Pada Masa Pemerintahan Vladimir Putin 2012-2018*. Yogyakarta: University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.
- Baev, P. K. (2014). Putin's Ukraine gambit. *Survival, Vol. 56, No. 2*, 23-30.
- Handayani, D. L. (2015). *Strategi Rusia Menghadapi Embargo Amerika Serikat Pasca Krisis Krimea Tahun 2014*. Yogyakarta: University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.
- Kofman, M. (2015). Putin's War in Ukraine: Causes and Implication. *Strategic Studies Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 1*, 2-16.
- Lukin, A. (2014). Russia's Ukraine policy: Putin's grand strategy. *Journal of Eurasian Studies, Vol. 5*, 15-22.
- Mendelson, S. E. (2014). Russia, Ukraine, and the West: The Geopolitical Context of the Crisis. *Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 68, No. 1*, 6-7.
- Orr, R. (2014). *Why Crimea matters to Russia*. Retrieved from Financial Times: <https://www.ft.com/content/514abee5-c09b-34f6-9a3a-865a64540a65>
- Pifer, S. (2020). Ukraine, NATO, and Russia. *Turkish Policy Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 2*, 50-53.
- Putra, D. V. (2015). *Pengerahan Kekuatan Militer Rusia ke Krimea pada tahun 2014*. Malang:

University of Brawijaya.

Rferl. (2022, February 26). *Death Toll Up To 13,000 In Ukraine Conflict Says UN Rights Office*. Retrieved from Radio Free Europe Liberate: <https://www.rferl.org/a/death-toll-up-to-13-000-in-ukraine-conflict-says-un-rights-office/29791647.html>

Rights, N. O. (2022, March 24). *Ukraine: civilian casualty update 24 March 2022*. Retrieved from News Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/news/2022/03/ukraine-civilian-casualty-update-24-march-2022>

Sakwa, R. (2015). *Putin redux: power and contradiction in contemporary Russia*. Routledge.

Soodavar, B. (2022, February 25). *The psychology behind the Kremlin's war in Ukraine*. Retrieved from Kings College London: <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/whats-the-psychology-behind-putins-decision-to-invade>

Stent, A. (2019). *Putin's World: Russia Against the West and with the Rest*. New York: Twelve.

Sugiyono. (2018). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Alfabeta.

T, K. (2015). Ukraine and Russia: People, politics, propaganda and perspectives. *E-International Relations*.

T., K. (2015). Ukraine and Russia: People, politics, propaganda and perspective. *E-International Relations*.

Tafsirq. (2015). *Surat Al-Hajj Ayat 39*. Retrieved from Tafsirq: <https://tafsirq.com/22-al-hajj/ayat-39>

Troianovski, A. (2022, February 16). *Why Ukraine is important to Putin*. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/world/europe/why-ukraine-is-important-to-putin.html>

Tsygankov, A. (2015). The Logic of Putin's Ukraine policy. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 48, No. 3*, 157-165.

Walt, S. M. (2023, February 15). *What Putin Got Right About War in Ukraine*. Retrieved from Foreign Policy: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/02/15/putin-right-ukraine-war/>

Widiyoko. (2016). *Teknik Penyusunan Instrumen Penelitian*. Pustaka Belajar.

Wilkinson, T. (2022, February 21). *Why is Putin obsessed with Ukraine?* Retrieved from Los Angeles Times: <https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2022-02-21/why-is-putin-obsessed-with-ukraine>