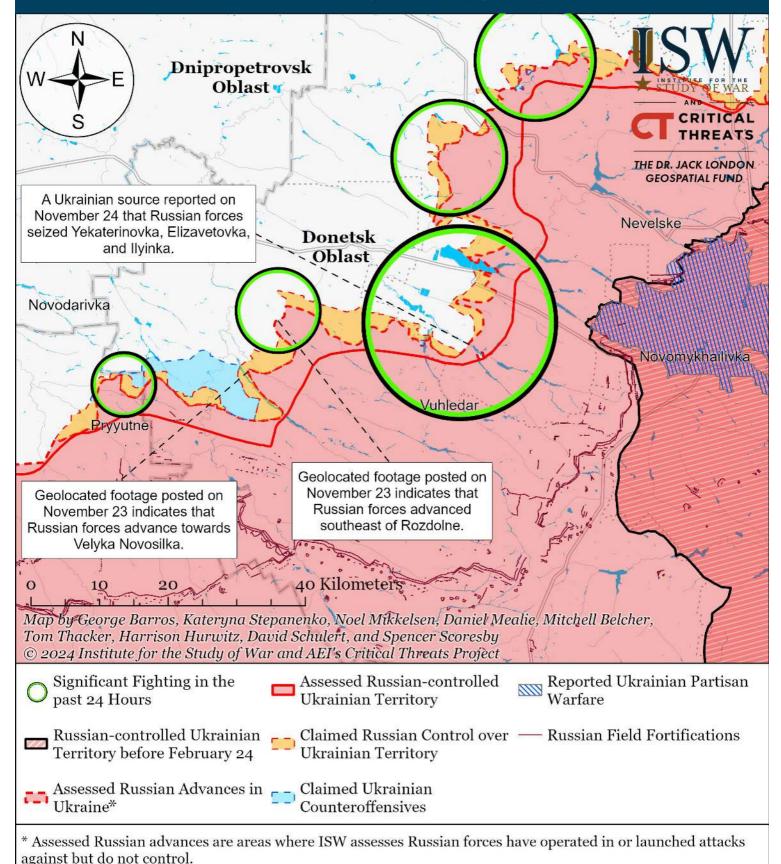
## Assessed Control of Terrain in Western Donetsk Oblast as of November 24, 2024, 1:30 PM ET





#### **Russian Offensive Campaign Assessment**

#### Christina Harward, Nicole Wolkov, Grace Mappes, Davit Gasparyan, and George Barros

November 24, 2024, 8:45 pm ET

Click <u>here</u> to see ISW's interactive map of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. This map is updated daily alongside the static maps present in this report.

Click <u>here</u> to see ISW's 3D control of terrain topographic map of Ukraine. Use of a computer (not a mobile device) is strongly recommended for using this data-heavy tool.

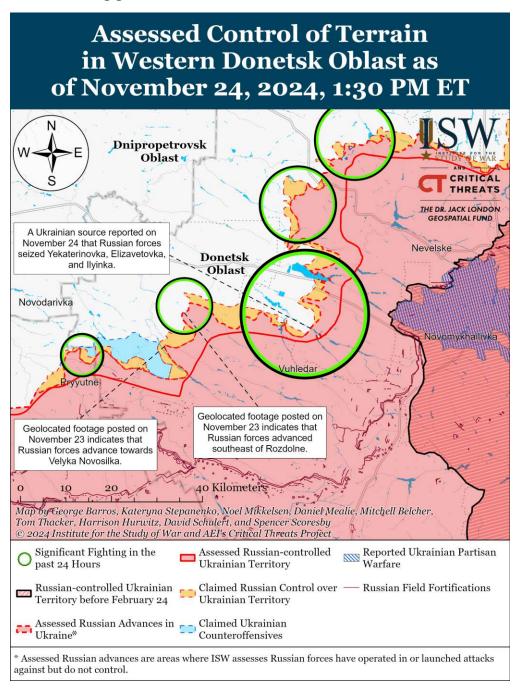
Click <u>here</u> to access ISW's archive of interactive time-lapse maps of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. These maps complement the static control-of-terrain map that ISW produces daily by showing a dynamic frontline. ISW will update this time-lapse map archive monthly.

Note: The data cut-off for this product was 11:30am ET on November 24. ISW will cover subsequent reports in the November 25 Russian Offensive Campaign Assessment.

Russian forces' recent confirmed battlefield gains near Vuhledar and Velyka Novosilka demonstrate that the war in Ukraine is not stalemated. The frontline in Donetsk Oblast is becoming increasingly fluid as Russian forces recently have been advancing at a significantly quicker rate than they did in the entirety of 2023. Ukrainian military observer Kostvantyn Mashovets stated on November 24 that Russian forces have seized Katerynivka, Yelizavetivka, Illinka, and likely Romanivka (all northeast of Vuhledar along the Co51104 highway), and geolocated footage published on November 24 indicates that Russian forces recently advanced to the eastern outskirts of Yelizavetivka.[1] Additional geolocated footage published on November 24 indicates that Russian forces recently advanced to central Trudove (north of Vuhledar).[2] Russian forces also made recent confirmed advances in the Velyka Novosilka area, as geolocated footage published on November 23 and 24 indicates that Russian forces recently advanced south of Rozdolne of Velyka Novosilka) and to western Novodarivka (southwest Novosilka).[3] Russian forces have significantly increased the tempo of their advances in the Pokrovsk, Kurakhove, Vuhledar, and Velyka Novosilka directions since September 1, 2024, having gained at least 1,103 square kilometers in these areas since September 1, 2024. Russian forces, in contrast, only gained 387 square kilometers in all of 2023 due to Ukraine's 2023 counteroffensive.

Russian forces' advances in southeastern Ukraine are largely the result of the discovery and tactical exploitation of vulnerabilities in Ukraine's lines. Russian forces have been making gradual, tactical advances in southeastern Ukraine since Fall 2024. Russian forces notably have not been able to restore operational maneuver seen during the initial months of Russia's full-scale invasion, and the current Russian tactical advances, although quicker now than in the months of positional warfare that

characterized most of 2023 and early 2024, is still far below the Russian rate of advance in March 2022.[4] Russian forces have succeeded in taking advantage of the seizure of Vuhledar for further offensive operations in western Donetsk Oblast, contrary to an incorrect previous ISW assessment that forecasted otherwise.[5] ISW presents the following courses of action (COAs) that the Russian command may be considering given Russian forces' recent advances.



Russian advances in the Pokrovsk, Kurakhove, Vuhledar, and Velyka Novosilka directions present the Russian military command with several courses of action (COAs) that the Russian command may attempt in the coming weeks and months. The Russian

military command appears to be simultaneously attempting to encircle Velyka Novosilka while closing pockets with Ukrainian forces north and south of Kurakhove. Russian forces are also pursuing supporting COAs to improve Russia's battlefield geometry in southern Donetsk Oblast and reduce threats to Russian flanks. ISW presents the following COAs in no particular order, as each can be mutually beneficial, and none of these COAs are mutually exclusive.

- COA 1: Russian forces advance southwest, east, and northeast of Velyka Novosilka to envelop the settlement from its flanks, bypassing the area immediately south of Velyka Novosilka. ISW assessed on November 4 that Russian forces seized Shakhtarske (northeast of Velvka Novosilka), and ISW has observed confirmation that Russian forces have advanced west and northwest of the settlement since.[6] ISW also recently observed confirmation that Russian forces advanced to the eastern outskirts of Rozdolne (northeast of Velyka Novosilka and northwest of Shakhtarske).[7] Russian forces have also increasingly advanced southwest of Velyka Novosilka, having recently seized Rivnopil and advanced near Novodarivka.[8] Russian forces are confirmed to be within five kilometers northeast and 2.5 kilometers southeast of Velyka Novosilka. Russian forces appear to be trying to bypass Velyka Novosilka and the string of settlements south of the settlement as Ukrainian forces likely have better-prepared defenses in these areas. The potential future Russian seizure of Rozdolne and further advances north and northeast from the Novodarivka-Rivnopil line would continue to threaten Ukrainian defenses within Velyka Novosilka. The Russian military command likely intends for continued pressure on Velyka Novosilka's southwestern and eastern flanks to force Ukrainian forces to withdraw from the area without having to conduct frontal assaults on the settlement itself - demonstrating how Russian forces are attempting to identify and exploit vulnerabilities in Ukrainian defensive lines in order to make gradual, increasingly threatening advances. Russian forces are also currently threatening Ukrainian ground lines of communication (GLOCs) supplying the Ukrainian defense in Velyka Novosilka. ISW assesses that Russian forces are less than three kilometers from the To518 highway that runs north from Velyka Novosilka to the H<sub>15</sub> highway, which itself serves as a major GLOC for Ukrainian forces in and near Kurakhove. ISW also assesses that Russian forces are less than four kilometers from the Oo510 highway that runs west from Velyka Novosilka to Hulyaipole. Continued Russian pressure on these Ukrainian GLOCs will likely threaten the sustainability of the Ukrainian defense in Velyka Novosilka.
- COA 2: Russian forces advance to Andriivka (along the H15 highway and west of Kurakhove) from the south in support of Russian efforts to close the Ukrainian pockets near Kurakhove and level the frontline. Ukrainian military observer Kostyantyn Mashovets and Russian milbloggers recently identified that the Russian military command is likely trying to advance towards Andriivka from the Rozdolne-Maksymivka line.[9] Russian forces are currently attempting to envelop Ukrainian forces in the pockets north of the Kurakhivske Reservoir and near the string of settlements northeast of Vuhledar along the Co51104 highway. A potential Russian seizure of Andriivka would set preferable conditions for Russian forces to envelop both of these Ukrainian pockets at once. Further Russian advances southward and southwestward from Sontsivka (northeast of Andriivka) would also support this

Russian effort to envelop a larger pocket of Ukrainian forces from Andriivka. The seizure of Andriivka would also allow Russian forces to increasingly level the flank from Rozdolne to the H<sub>15</sub> highway - benefiting ongoing Russian efforts to level the frontline between Selydove and Rozdolne so as to enable renewed Russian offensive operations to seize Pokrovsk in 2025.[10]

COA 3: Russian forces advance west and southwest from Selydove along the Pustynka-Sontsivka line in the direction of Andriivka to collapse the Ukrainian pocket north of Kurakhove and threaten Ukrainian egress routes. Russian forces have continued to push west and southwest since seizing Selydove as of October 30.[11] Russian advances southwest of Selydove towards Novodmytrivka, Zorya, and Sontsivka aim to envelop Ukrainian forces defending in the area north of the Kurakhivske Reservoir (north of Kurakhove). Possible Russian advances to Andriivka from the south, as described in COA 2, would greatly limit Ukrainian egress routes out of the pockets north of the reservoir and northeast of Vuhledar along the Co5114 highway. Russian advances to Andriivka could force Ukrainian forces in these pockets to withdraw along a narrow egress route northwestward towards the Bohdanivka area. Russian advances west and northwest of Selvdove towards Zhovte, Pushkine, and Zorva could threaten this potential Ukrainian withdrawal towards Bohdanivka. Should Ukrainian forces be able to withdraw from the pockets near Kurkhove and Vuhledar before Russian forces are able to advance to Andriivka, Russian advances southwest and west of Selydove would still help to level the flank along the Shakhtarske-Zhovte line to enable the renewal of Russian offensive operations to seize Pokrovsk.[12]

It remains unclear which of the COAs the Russian command will pursue, if any. None of the COAs in this analysis were part of the Russian command's initial objectives for its Fall 2024/Winter 2024-2025 campaign in Donetsk Oblast. The COAs have only emerged as possibilities following the Russian seizure of Vuhledar in October 2024 and tactical advances south of Pokrovsk and near Velyka Novosilka. The Russian command's self-identified priority in Donetsk Oblast in late 2024 was the seizure of Pokrovsk – an objective the Russian command temporarily abandoned following stiff Ukrainian resistance on Pokrovsk's outskirts.[13] It is unclear how much advance preparation the Russian command has undertaken to exploit opportunities in this area of operations or what kind of resistance Ukrainian forces will provide as Russian forces advance. Ukraine notably blunted Russian offensive operations near Chasiv Yar and Pokrovsk in 2024.

The Russian military command is likely planning on how to advance into the southeasternmost part of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast in support of Russia's longstanding objective to seize all of Donetsk Oblast. The Kremlin's stated objective of seizing all of Donetsk Oblast very likely presupposes ground operations in southern and eastern Dnipropetrovsk Oblast to interdict Ukrainian ground lines of communication that support Ukrainian positions in Donetsk Oblast and envelop these Ukrainian positions. Russian forces are geographically close to Dnipropetrovsk Oblast and may advance north into Dnipropetrovsk Oblast to envelop Ukrainian forces in southwestern Donetsk Oblast. (The Russian Forward Line of Own Troops near Novodarivka is eight kilometers from the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast administrative boundary as of November 24, for example.) Such a Russian advance, if successful, could eventually force Ukrainian forces from the areas southwest of Pokrovsk,

west of Kurakhove, and west and northeast of Velyka Novosilka. The Russian military would likely first have to successfully envelop or bypass Velyka Novosilka in order to interdict the To518 Bahatyr-Velyka Novosilka highway – a significant undertaking that Russian forces may not be able to achieve. Russian forces may attempt to leverage water features as natural barriers to advance north along the Vorona River (just west of Velyka Novosilka) toward Velykomykhailivka, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast (just east of the Donetsk-Dnipropetrovsk Oblast border) from the Rivnopil area (just east of the Vorona River). Russian forces may also try to advance along the Mokri Yaly River, which runs through and north of Velyka Novosilka, toward Novopavlivka, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast following a potential future Russian envelopment of Velyka Novosilka. Russian forces could leverage these advances into the southeasternmost parts of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast to support operations to seize territory in southwestern Donetsk Oblast. Such a development would likely not be part of a direct drive against the interior of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast in the short-to-medium term, though the Kremlin likely seeks to eventually seize significant territory in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast as well. Russian milbloggers have recently reignited calls for Russian forces to advance toward southeastern Dnipropetrovsk Oblast from the Velyka Novosilka area in order to pressure the Pokrovsk-Kurakhove area from the west.[14]

Potential Russian efforts to secure the Kremlin's objective of seizing the entirety of Donetsk Oblast by occupying at least part of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast are consistent with Russia's commitment to pursuing Ukraine's total capitulation and destroying Ukraine's independence and territorial sovereignty. Ukrainian outlet *Interfax Ukraine*, citing Ukrainian intelligence sources, reported on November 20 that *Interfax Ukraine* viewed a Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) document outlining Russia's objectives of partitioning Ukraine into three different parts: one acknowledging the full Russian annexation of occupied Luhansk, Donetsk, Zaporizhia, and Kherson oblasts and occupied Crimea; another establishing a pro-Russian puppet state centered in Kyiv under Russian military occupation; and a third part designating Ukraine's western regions as "disputed territories" to be divided among Ukraine's westernmost neighboring countries.[15] Dnipropetrovsk Oblast is notably not one of the four Ukrainian oblasts that the Kremlin has illegally annexed – for now. The Russian military may leverage limited advances into Dnipropetrovsk Oblast to set conditions for future operations to militarily occupy Dnipropetrovsk Oblast and other regions of eastern and central Ukraine in the long-term.

Elements of the Russian Central, Eastern, and Southern military districts (CMD, EMD, and SMD) are conducting simultaneous, mutually supportive offensive operations in Donetsk Oblast and have recently made relatively rapid tactical advances. The Russian military command may be learning from some battlefield mistakes after three years of war, but the extent of this learning is currently unclear. The Russian military command has dedicated significant units and formations of the CMD and 51st Combined Arms Army (CAA) (formerly 1st Donetsk People's Republic Army Corps [DNR AC]) to offensive operations in the Pokrovsk direction and the area north of the Kurakhivske Reservoir; elements of the 8th CAA (SMD) to offensive operations east of Kurakhove and to the south of Kurakhove near Dalne; elements of the 68th AC (EMD) and 8th CAA (SMD) to offensive operations northeast of Vuhledar in the belt of settlements on the Co51104 road; elements of the 36th CAA (EMD) north of Vuhledar; and elements of the 5th, 29th, and 36th CAAs (all EMD) south, east, and northeast of Velyka Novosilka.[16] This array of Russian forces to mutually supportive offensive operations represents an inflection in how Russian forces have conducted offensive efforts so far in this war, as Russian military districts have previously conducted successive and usually mutually exclusive efforts in their respective areas of responsibility in the

theater.[17] More recent Russian offensive operations with operational-level objectives along mutually supportive axes have not resulted in the same relatively higher tempo of gains as those currently ongoing in southern Donetsk Oblast.[18] Russian forces have also largely struggled with interoperability and command and control (C2) when using disparate elements of multiple formations and force groupings in a single operational axis, often hindering advances during dedicated offensive efforts.[19]

The Russian military command appears to be planning more complex operations, but Russian forces have yet to be able to restore operational maneuver to the battlefield and are instead still relying on their ability to identify and exploit vulnerabilities in the Ukrainian defensive lines to make gradual, tactical advances. Russian advances in the Kurakhove, Vuhledar, and Velyka Novosilka directions in recent weeks have prioritized efforts to exploit Ukrainian vulnerabilities to envelop or encircle Ukrainian forces from the flanks over direct frontal assaults against Ukrainian positions. Russian forces along the Pokrovsk-Kurakhove-Velyka Novosilka line have not restored operational maneuver to the battlefield, however, and are making these relatively rapid gains in highly attritional offensive operations-- resulting in personnel and equipment casualties that Russian forces cannot sustain in the medium- or long-term.[20] United Kingdom (UK) Defense Secretary John Healey stated on November 9 that Russian casualty rates in October 2024 reached about 1,345 personnel per day, and Russian forces may have suffered roughly 80,110 casualties alone in September and October 2024.[21] Data compiled by Oryx founder Jakub Janovsky indicates that Russian forces also lost 197 tanks, 661 armored personnel carriers (APCs), and 65 artillery systems larger than 100mm throughout the frontline in September and October 2024, and Russian forces are likely to run out of armored vehicles from Soviet-era stockpiles in mid-2025 or 2026.[22]

Ukrainian forces struck a Russian S-400 air defense system radar in an unspecified area in Kursk Oblast on the night of November 23 to 24. The Ukrainian General Staff reported that Ukrainian forces struck positions of the Russian 1490th Anti-Aircraft Missile Regiment (6th Combined Arms Army [CAA], Leningrad Military District [LMD]) and a S-400 radar in Kursk Oblast.[23] The Ukrainian General Staff reported that elements of the 1490th Anti-Aircraft Missile Regiment conduct ground-to-ground strikes against stationary Ukrainian targets, including civilian objects. Kursk Oblast Governor Alexei Smirnov claimed that Russian forces downed 24 Ukrainian drones and two missiles over Kursk Oblast on the night of November 23 to 24.[24] Russian milbloggers claimed that Ukrainian forces used US-provided ATACMS missiles in the strike, but ISW cannot independently confirm these claims and has not observed official confirmation of these Russian claims.[25] Russia's S-400 air defense systems comprise part of Russia's air defense umbrella, which facilitates Russian long-range air- and ground-based strikes against Ukraine. Weakening Russia's air defense umbrella is key to Ukraine's defense and efforts to eliminate Russia's ability to use sanctuary space within Russia to launch strikes. Further degradation of Russia's air defense umbrella will enable more effective combined Ukrainian strike packages against Russian military objects and enable Ukrainian fixed-wing aircraft to more freely operate. Russian opposition outlet Astra reported on November 24 that Ukrainian drones crashed near Belorechensk, Krasnodar Krai, roughly 13 kilometers from the Russian military's Khanskaya Air Base in Adygea Republic.[26] Astra also reported on November 24 that sources in Kaluga Oblast's emergency services stated that a Ukrainian drone struck a Rosneft oil depot in Kaluga Oblast on November 22 and damaged several empty oil tanks.[27]

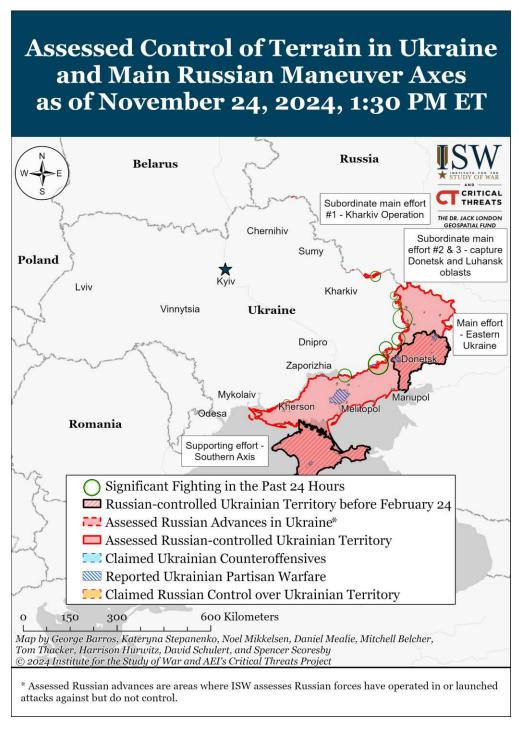
Russia reportedly recruited hundreds of Yemeni nationals to fight in the Russian military amid growing cooperation between Russia, Iran, and Iran-backed Houthi movement. NOTE: A version of this text appears in the September 24 ISW-CTP Iran Update. Financial Times (FT) reported on November 24 that Houthi-affiliated intermediaries recruited "hundreds" of Yemeni men beginning as early as July 2024 to travel to Russia after promising them lucrative jobs in the "security" and "engineering" fields and eventual Russian citizenship.[28] Russian authorities reportedly instead forcibly conscripted the largely inexperienced recruits into the Russian army and sent them to fight in the war upon their arrival in Russia. FT also highlighted growing ties between the Kremlin and the Houthis, citing US Special Envoy for Yemen Tim Lenderking, who confirmed that Russia is actively engaging with the Houthis and discussing weapons transfers. ISW has assessed that the Kremlin has in part sought to offset heavy battlefield losses and personnel shortages by enlisting migrants and foreign nationals while avoiding another partial involuntary reserve callup in Russia.[29] ISW also observed growing engagement between Kremlin officials and Houthis amid enhanced Russia-Iran cooperation and Iranian support for the Russian war effort in Ukraine.[30]

#### **Key Takeaways:**

- Russian forces' recent confirmed battlefield gains near Vuhledar and Velyka Novosilka demonstrate that the war in Ukraine is not stalemated. The frontline in Donetsk Oblast is becoming increasingly fluid as Russian forces recently have been advancing at a significantly quicker rate than they did in the entirety of 2023.
- Russian advances in the Pokrovsk, Kurakhove, Vuhledar, and Velyka Novosilka directions present the Russian military command with several courses of action (COAs) that the Russian command may attempt in the coming weeks and months.
- COA 1: Russian forces advance southwest, east, and northeast of Velyka Novosilka to envelop the settlement from its flanks, bypassing the area immediately south of Velyka Novosilka.
- COA 2: Russian forces advance to Andriivka (along the H<sub>15</sub> highway and west of Kurakhove) from the south in support of Russian efforts to close the Ukrainian pockets near Kurakhove and level the frontline.
- COA 3: Russian forces advance west and southwest from Selydove along the Pustynka-Sontsivka line in the direction of Andriivka to collapse the Ukrainian pocket north of Kurakhove and threaten Ukrainian egress routes.
- The Russian military command is likely planning on how to advance into the southeastern most part of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast in support of Russia's longstanding objective to seize all of Donetsk Oblast.
- Elements of the Russian Central, Eastern, and Southern military districts (CMD, EMD, and SMD) are conducting simultaneous, mutually supportive offensive operations in Donetsk Oblast and have recently made relatively rapid tactical advances. The Russian military command may be learning from some battlefield

mistakes after three years of war, but the extent of this learning is currently unclear.

- The Russian military command appears to be planning more complex operations, but Russian forces have yet to be able to restore operational maneuver to the battlefield and are instead still relying on their ability to identify and exploit vulnerabilities in the Ukrainian defensive lines to make gradual, tactical advances.
- Ukrainian forces struck a Russian S-400 air defense system radar in an unspecified area in Kursk Oblast on the night of November 23 to 24.
- Russia reportedly recruited hundreds of Yemeni nationals to fight in the Russian military amid growing cooperation between Russia, Iran, and Iran-backed Houthi movement.
- Ukrainian and Russian forces recently advanced in the main Ukrainian salient in Kursk Oblast.
- Russian forces recently advanced near Kupyansk, Pokrovsk, Vuhledar, and Velyka Novosilka, and Ukrainian forces recently advanced in the main Ukrainian salient in Kursk Oblast.

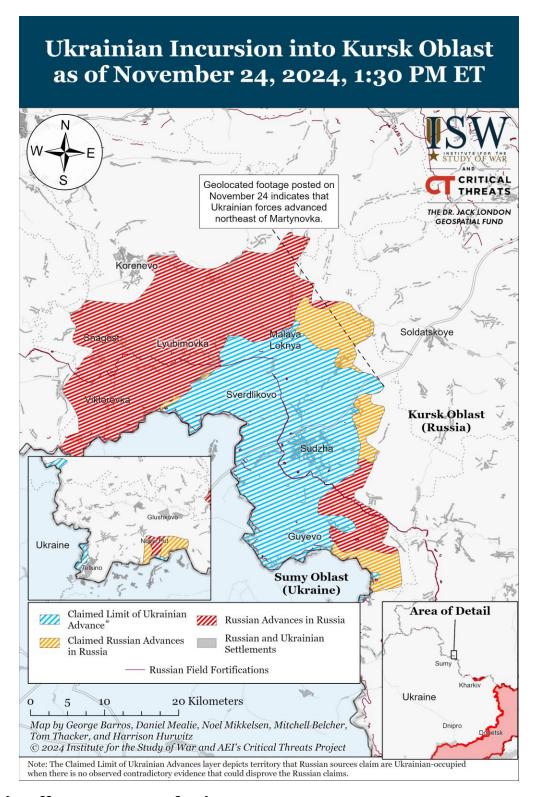


We do not report in detail on Russian war crimes because these activities are well-covered in Western media and do not directly affect the military operations we are assessing and forecasting. We will continue to evaluate and report on the effects of these criminal activities on the Ukrainian military and the Ukrainian population and specifically on combat in Ukrainian urban areas. We utterly condemn Russian violations of the laws of armed conflict and the Geneva Conventions and crimes against humanity even though we do not describe them in these reports.

- Ukrainian Operations in the Russian Federation
- Russian Main Effort Eastern Ukraine (comprised of three subordinate main efforts)
- Russian Subordinate Main Effort #1 Push Ukrainian forces back from the international border with Belgorod Oblast and approach to within tube artillery range of Kharkiv City
- Russian Subordinate Main Effort #2 Capture the remainder of Luhansk Oblast and push westward into eastern Kharkiy Oblast and encircle northern Donetsk Oblast
- Russian Subordinate Main Effort #3 Capture the entirety of Donetsk Oblast
- Russian Supporting Effort Southern Axis
- Russian Air, Missile, and Drone Campaign
- Russian Mobilization and Force Generation Efforts
- Russian Technological Adaptations
- Activities in Russian-occupied areas
- Significant Activity in Belarus

#### **Ukrainian Operations in the Russian Federation**

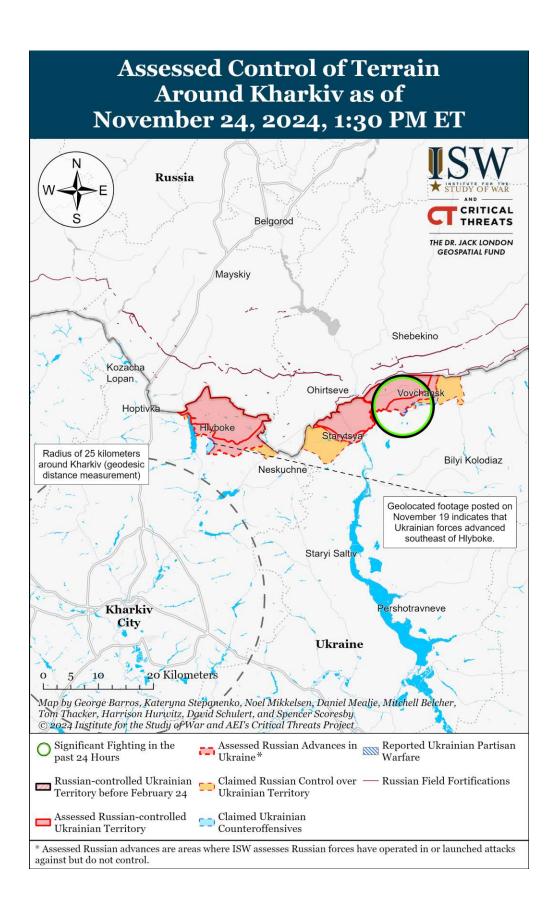
Ukrainian and Russian forces recently advanced in the main Ukrainian salient in Kursk Oblast amid continued fighting in the area on November 24. Geolocated footage published on November 20 indicates that Ukrainian forces recently advanced northeast of Martynovka (northeast of Sudzha).[31] Additional geolocated footage published on November 24 indicates that Russian forces recently advanced south of Zeleny Shlyakh (southeast of Korenevo).[32] Russian sources continued to claim that elements of the Russian 51st Airborne (VDV) Regiment (106th VDV Division) seized Darino (southeast of Korenevo), although one Russian milblogger claimed that Russian forces have not completely cleared the settlement and that Ukrainian forces are still operating in the area.[33] Russian milbloggers claimed that fighting continued southeast of Korenevo near Nikolayevo-Darino; north of Sudzha near Plekhovo; near Sudzha itself; and southeast of Sudzha near Plekhovo and Pogrebki.[34] Elements of the Russian 810th Naval Infantry Brigade (Black Sea Fleet, Southern Military District [SMD]) reportedly continue to operate in Kursk Oblast.[35]



Russian Main Effort – Eastern Ukraine

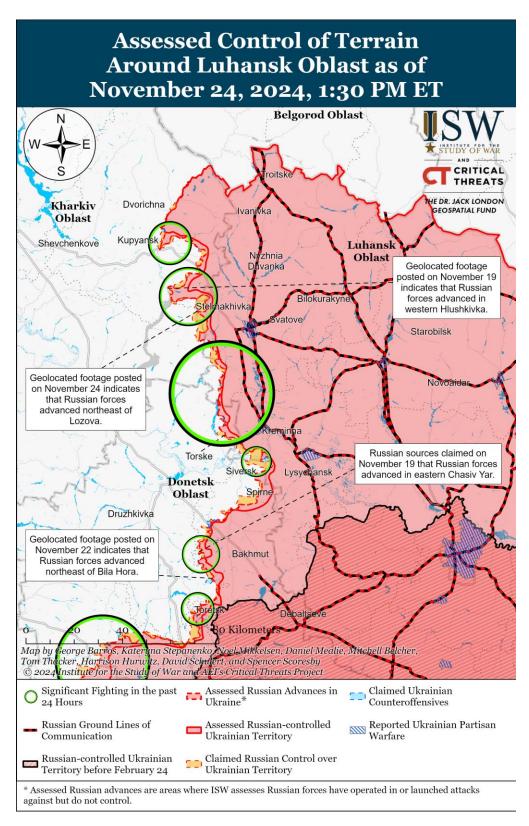
# <u>Russian Subordinate Main Effort #1 – Kharkiv Oblast (Russian objective: Push Ukrainian forces back from the international border with Belgorod Oblast and approach to within tube artillery range of Kharkiv City)</u>

Russian forces continued offensive operations northeast of Kharkiv City on November 23 and 24 near Vovchansk and Tykhe (east of Vovchansk) but did not make any confirmed advances.[36] A Russian milblogger claimed that Ukrainian forces unsuccessfully counterattacked with armored vehicles toward Zhuravlevka, Belgorod Oblast (just across the border from Vysoka Yaruha), but ISW has not observed any other sources making this claim.[37]

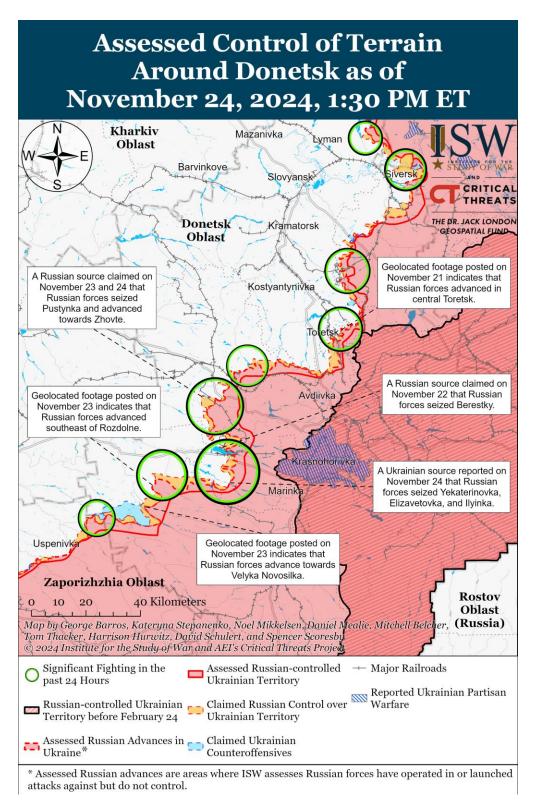


## <u>Russian Subordinate Main Effort #2 – Luhansk Oblast</u> (Russian objective: Capture the remainder of Luhansk Oblast and push westward into eastern Kharkiv Oblast and northern Donetsk Oblast)

Russian forces recently advanced southeast of Kupyansk amid continued offensive operations on the Kupyansk-Svatove-Kreminna line on November 24. Geolocated footage published on November 24 indicates that Russian forces recently advanced in fields south of Lozova (southeast of Kupyansk).[38] Russian milbloggers claimed that Russian forces occupy half of Kopanky and Pershotravneve (both southeast of Kupyansk) and advanced within eastern Kupyansk, 2.5 kilometers towards Borova (south of Kupyansk), and one kilometer towards central Terny (northwest of Kreminna).[39] ISW has not observed confirmation of these claims, however. Russian forces continued ground attacks north of Kupyansk near Kindrashivka; northeast of Kupyansk near Synkivka and Novomlynsk; south of Kupyansk near Novoplatonivka and towards Senkove; southeast of Kupyansk near Lozova, Hlushkivka, Zahryzove, Kolisnykivka, Pishchane, Kruhlyakivka; west of Svatove near Kopanky and Zeleny Hai; northwest of Kreminna near Druzhelyubivka, Hrekivka, Novoyehorivka, Terny, Yampolivka, Novomykhailivka, Cherneshchyna, and Tverdokhlibove; west of Kreminna near Torske; and southwest of Kreminna near Serebryanka on November 23 and 24.[40]

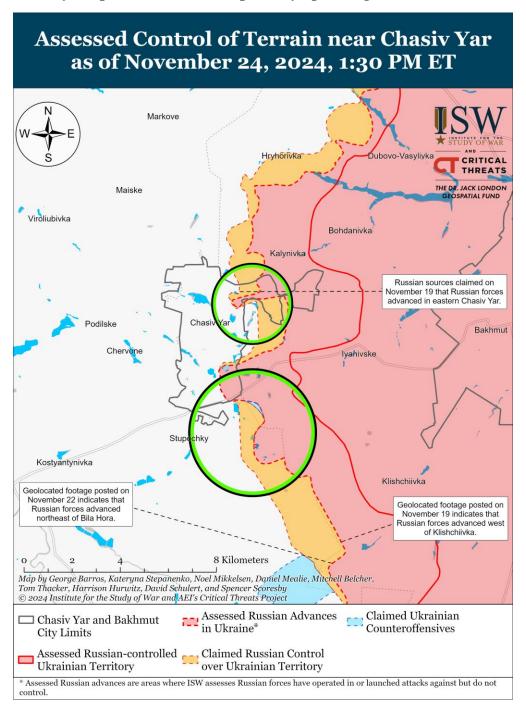


<u>Russian Subordinate Main Effort #3 – Donetsk Oblast</u> (Russian objective: Capture the entirety of Donetsk Oblast, the claimed territory of Russia's proxies in Donbas)

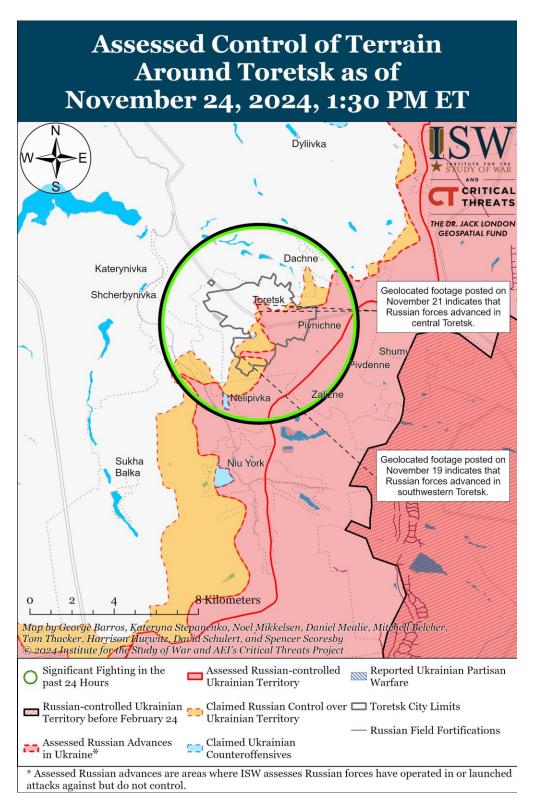


Russian forces conducted offensive operations near Bilohorivka (northeast of Siversk) on November 23 and 24 but did not make any confirmed advances.[41]

Russian forces continued offensive operations in the Chasiv Yar direction on November 24 but did not advance. Russian forces conducted offensive operations near Chasiv Yar and south of Chasiv Yar near Stupochky on November 23 and 24.[42] A Russian milblogger claimed that Russian forces are trying to bypass the refractory plant in central Chasiv Yar from the south.[43] Elements of the Russian 98th Airborne (VDV) Division, including of its 215th Reconnaissance Battalion; the 78th "Sever-Akhmat" Motorized Rifle Regiment (42nd Motorized Rifle Division, 58th Combined Arms Army [CAA], Southern Military District [SMD]); and the 4th Motorized Rifle Regiment (3rd CAA, formerly 2nd Luhansk People's Republic Army Corps [LNR AC]) are reportedly operating near Chasiv Yar.[44]



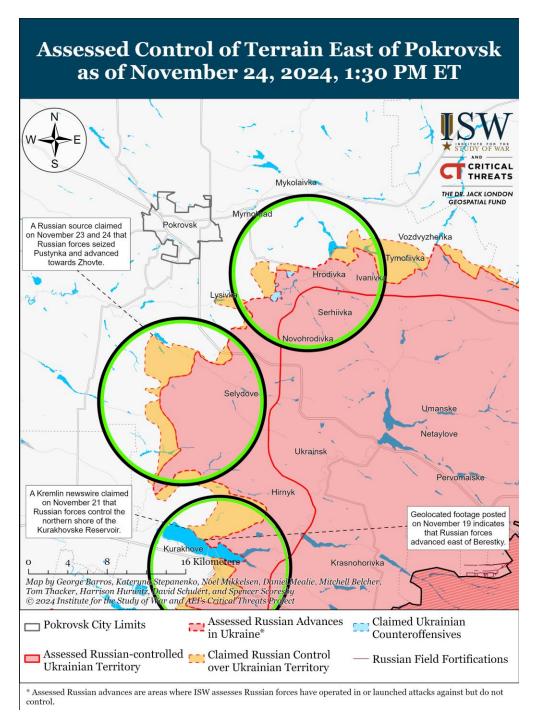
Russian forces conducted offensive operations near Toretsk on November 24, but there were no confirmed changes to the frontline. Russian forces conducted offensive operations near Toretsk, northeast of Toretsk near Dyliivka, and west of Toretsk near Shcherbynivka on November 23 and 24.[45] Russian milbloggers claimed that Russian forces occupy the eastern one-third of the Zabalka Microraion (southern Toretsk) but that the rest remains a contested "semi-gray zone."[46] Elements of the Russian 132nd Motorized Rifle Brigade (51st CAA, formerly 1st Donetsk People's Republic [DNR] AC) are reportedly operating in Toretsk.[47]



Russian forces recently advanced in the Pokrovsk direction amid continued offensive operations in the area on November 24. Geolocated footage published on November 22 indicates that Russian forces recently advanced south of Lysivka (southeast of Pokrovsk).[48] Russian milbloggers claimed that Russian forces advanced to Zhovte and west of Yurivka (both south of Pokrovsk), but ISW has not

observed confirmation of these claims.[49] Russian forces conducted offensive operations east of Pokrovsk near Myrolyubivka, Promin, Krutyi Yar, and Myrnohrad and southeast of Pokrovsk near Lysivka, Hryhorivka, Dachenske, Pustynka, Zhovte, and Petrivka on November 23 and 24.[50]

Russian forces continued offensive operations in the Kurakhove direction on November 24, but there were no confirmed advances. Russian forces conducted offensive operations northwest of Kurakhove near Novodmytrivka, Sontsivka, and Zorya; near Kurakhove; north of Kurakhove near Beretsky; and south of Kuarkhove near Dalne on November 23 and 24.[51] A Russian milblogger claimed that Russian forces almost completely occupy Zorya, Sontsivka, and Berestky but that Ukrainian forces maintain positions to the north and south of Zorya, on the outskirts of Sontsivka, and in the dachas near Beretsky.[52] Another Russian milblogger claimed that Ukrainian forces are still in northern Berestky.[53] Elements of the Russian 238th Artillery Brigade (8th CAA, Southern Military District [SMD]) are reportedly operating near Kurakhove.[54]

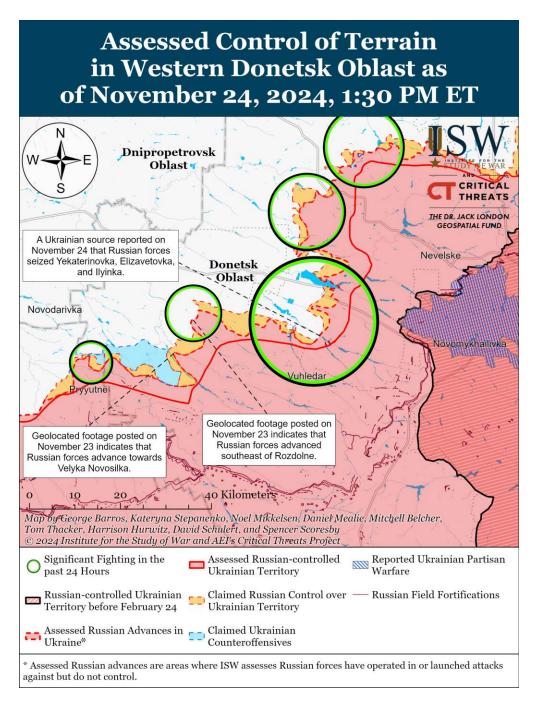


See topline text for analysis of recent confirmed Russian advances near Vuhledar and Velyka Novosilka.

Russian forces conducted offensive operations northeast of Vuhledar near Romanivka, Yelizavetivka, Hannivka, Katerynivka, and Antonivka; north of Vuhledar near Trudove and Kostyantynopolske; and northwest of Vuhledar near Sukhi Yaly on November 23 and 24.[55] Elements of the Russian 20th Motorized Rifle Division (8th CAA, SMD) are reportedly operating near Illinka (northwest of Vuhledar), and elements of the 14th Spetsnaz Brigade (Russian General Staff's Main Military Intelligence

Directorate [GRU]) and 200th Artillery Brigade (29th CAA, Eastern Military District [EMD]) are reportedly operating near Sukhi Yaly.[56]

Russian forces conducted offensive operations northeast of Velyka Novosilka near Rozdolne; near Velyka Novosilka itself; south of Velyka Novosilka near Makarivka; and southwest of Velyka Novosilka near Novodarivka and Rivnopil on November 23 and 24.[57] A Kremlin-affiliated Russian milblogger claimed that reports that battles have started for Velyka Novosilka are unconfirmed.[58] Elements of the Russian 40th Naval Infantry Brigade (Pacific Fleet, EMD) are reportedly operating near Rozdolne; elements of the 60th Motorized Rifle Brigade (5th CAA, EMD) are reportedly operating in Makarivka (south of Velyka Novosilka); and elements of the 5th Tank Brigade (36th CAA, EMD) are reportedly operating near Velyka Novosilka.[59]



## <u>Russian Supporting Effort – Southern Axis</u> (Russian objective: Maintain frontline positions and secure rear areas against Ukrainian strikes)

Russian and Ukrainian sources did not report any ground activity in the Hulyaipole direction in eastern Zaporizhia Oblast on November 24. Drone operators of the Russian 38th Motorized Rifle Brigade (35th Combined Arms Army [CAA], Eastern Military District [EMD]) are reportedly operating in the Polohy (Hulyaipole) direction, and drone operators of the Russian 63rd Separate Spetsnaz Company (35th CAA) are reportedly striking Ukrainian targets near Ternuvate (northwest of Hulyaipole).[60]

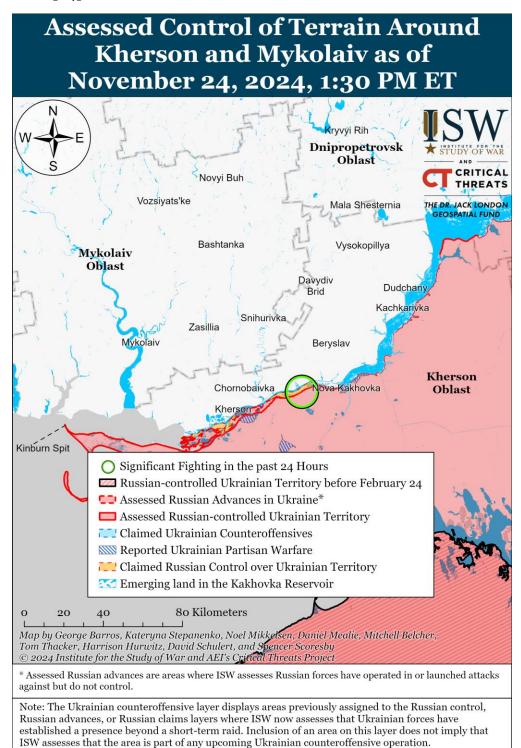
Russian sources claimed that Russian forces advanced northeast of Robotyne in western Zaporizhia Oblast. Russian sources claimed that Russian forces advanced roughly two kilometers near Mala Tokmachka and are advancing within Bilohirya (both northeast of Robotyne), but ISW has not observed visual confirmation of these claims.[61] Ukrainian Southern Group of Forces Spokesperson Colonel Vladyslav Voloshyn reiterated recent warnings that Russian forces are preparing assault groups for intensified localized operations in the Orikhiv and Hulyaipole directions.[62]



Russian forces continued limited ground attacks in east (left) bank Kherson Oblast on November 23 and 24.[63]

The Ukrainian Crimea-based "Atesh" partisan group reported on November 24 that Russian forces deployed an unspecified number of S-300 air defense batteries near the military base in occupied

Fiolent (south of Sevastopol), where the Russian 25th Coastal Missile Battalion (11th Separate Coastal Missile Brigade, 22nd Army Corps [AC], Black Sea Fleet [BSF]) and 26th Naval Radiotechnical Battalion are located.[64]



### <u>Russian Air, Missile, and Drone Campaign</u> (Russian Objective: Target Ukrainian military and civilian infrastructure in the rear and on the frontline)

Russian forces conducted a series of drone strikes against Ukraine overnight on November 23 to 24. The Ukrainian Air Force reported that Russian forces launched 73 Shahed drones and other unspecified strike drones (likely referring to decoy drones) from Oryol and Bryansk oblasts on the night of November 23 to 24.[65] The Ukrainian Air Force reported that Ukrainian air defense downed 50 drones over Kyiv, Cherkasy, Kirovohrad, Chernihiv, Sumy, Poltava, and Zhytomyr oblasts; that 19 drones were "lost," likely due to Ukrainian electronic warfare (EW) interference; and that four drones remained in Ukrainian airspace as of 0900 local time.[66] The Ukrainian Chernihiv Oblast Military Administration stated on November 24 that preliminary data suggested that Russian missile strikes damaged farms in Koryukivskyi Raion and houses in Chernihivskyi Raion.[67] The Ukrainian Kyiv City Military Administration stated on November 24 that Ukrainian forces downed more than 10 Russian drones over Kyiv City, and Kyiv Oblast Administration Head Ruslan Kravchenko stated that drone debris damaged an unspecified industrial enterprise in Kyiv Oblast.[68]

CNN reported on November 23 that about 60 of the total 194 ballistic missiles that Russia launched against Ukraine so far in 2024 were North Korean KN-23 ballistic missiles.[69]

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky stated on November 24 that Russian forces used more than 800 glided guide bombs, about 460 strike drones, and more than 20 missiles of various types to strike Ukraine in the past week (November 18 to 24).[70]

<u>Russian Mobilization and Force Generation Efforts</u> (Russian objective: Expand combat power without conducting general mobilization)

See topline text for updates on Russian mobilization and force generation efforts.

<u>Russian Technological Adaptations</u> (Russian objective: Introduce technological innovations to optimize systems for use in Ukraine)

Nothing significant to report.

<u>Activities in Russian-occupied areas</u> (Russian objective: Consolidate administrative control of annexed areas; forcibly integrate Ukrainian citizens into Russian sociocultural, economic, military, and governance systems)

ISW is not publishing coverage of activities in Russian-occupied areas today.

<u>Significant activity in Belarus</u> (Russian efforts to increase its military presence in Belarus and further integrate Belarus into Russian-favorable frameworks and Wagner Group activity in Belarus)

Nothing significant to report.

Note: ISW does not receive any classified material from any source, uses only publicly available information, and draws extensively on Russian, Ukrainian, and Western reporting and social media as well as commercially available satellite imagery and other

geospatial data as the basis for these reports. References to all sources used are provided in the endnotes of each update.

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## Assessed Control of Terrain in Ukraine and Main Russian Maneuver Axes as of November 23, 2024, 1:30 PM ET



<sup>\*</sup> Assessed Russian advances are areas where ISW assesses Russian forces have operated in or launched attacks against but do not control.



### **Russian Offensive Campaign Assessment**

### Christina Harward, Davit Gasparyan, Grace Mappes, Kateryna Stepanenko, William Runkel, and George Barros

November 23, 2024, 5:35pm ET

Note: The data cut-off for this product was 12:30pm ET on November 23. ISW will cover subsequent reports in the November 24 Russian Offensive Campaign Assessment.

The Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) likely attempted to cover up the recent removal of the acting commander of the Southern Military District (SMD) Colonel General Gennady Anashkin following widespread accusations within the Russian information space that Anashkin's subordinates submitted false frontline progress reports to superiors. Russian milbloggers widely claimed on November 23 that the Russian military command removed Anashkin, the acting commander of the SMD and commander of the Russian Southern Grouping of Forces, after Russian commanders in the Siversk direction in his area of responsibility submitted incorrect reports about Russian battlefield advances to their superiors.[1] Russian state outlet RBK reported that a source in the Russian MoD acknowledged Anashkin's dismissal but claimed that it was due to a "planned rotation" and praised Anashkin's military achievements.[2] Russian milbloggers widely applauded Anashkin's removal, claiming that this may lead to improvements in how Russian forces plan and conduct operations and may increase the value Russian commanders place on Russian soldiers' lives at the front.[3] One milblogger claimed that Anashkin's removal shows that Russian Defense Minister Andrei Belousov is starting to get involved in "military management" and not just administrative and economic reforms within the MoD.[4] Russian milbloggers recently claimed that Russian authorities arrested the commander of the 3rd Combined Arms Army (CAA), the 3rd CAA's chief of staff, and the commander of the 3rd CAA's 7th Motorized Rifle Brigade for submitting incorrect reports about Russian advances in the Siversk direction, and Russian milbloggers have widely complained in recent weeks about the pervasive Russian military culture of exaggerating battlefield successes near Siversk.[5] The Russian MoD falsely claimed that Russian forces in the Siversk direction seized Bilhorivka on May 20 and Serebryanka in late October 2024, for example, despite Russian criticisms claims milblogger of these since.[6]

Ukrainian military officials denied claims of North Korean personnel's presence in Kharkiv Oblast amid new unconfirmed reports that North Korean "technical advisers" are operating in occupied Mariupol. *CNN*, citing an anonymous Ukrainian security source reported on November 22 that North Korean technical advisers have arrived in Russian-occupied Mariupol, are performing support operations, and are detached from the Russian military units despite wearing Russian military uniforms. Ukrainian military officials also reportedly told *CNN* that radio intercepts suggest that North Korean troops are operating in Kharkiv Oblast and that North Korean troops are waiting for worsening weather conditions to conduct assault operations.[7] The Ukrainian Kharkiv Group of Forces denied reports of the presence of North Korean personnel in Kharkiv Oblast

and stated that the spokesperson cited in the *CNN* report is not an official Kharkiv Group of Forces spokesperson and commented on the situation outside of their responsibilities. [8] *Reuters* reported on November 23 that a large number of the 11,000 North Korean troops in Kursk Oblast are still finishing military

training.[9]

#### **Key Takeaways:**

- The Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) likely attempted to cover up the recent removal of the acting commander of the Southern Military District (SMD) Colonel General Gennady Anashkin following widespread accusations within the Russian information space that Anashkin's subordinates submitted false frontline progress reports to superiors.
- Ukrainian military officials denied claims of North Korean personnel's presence in Kharkiv Oblast amid new unconfirmed reports that North Korean "technical advisers" are operating in occupied Mariupol.
- Russian forces recently advanced in Kursk Oblast and near Velyka Novosilka.
- Kremlin Spokesperson Dmitry Peskov stated that Russia does not currently need to conduct another partial involuntary reserve callup as Russian authorities continue leaning into crypto-mobilization efforts.



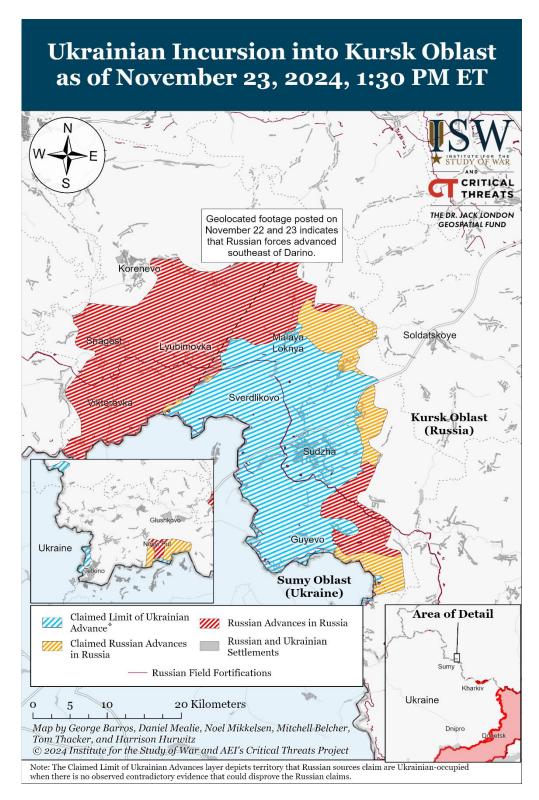
We do not report in detail on Russian war crimes because these activities are well-covered in Western media and do not directly affect the military operations we are assessing and forecasting. We will continue to evaluate and report on the effects of these criminal activities on the Ukrainian military and the Ukrainian population and specifically on combat in Ukrainian urban areas. We utterly condemn Russian violations of the laws of armed conflict and the Geneva Conventions and crimes against humanity even though we do not describe them in these reports.

- Ukrainian Operations in the Russian Federation
- Russian Main Effort Eastern Ukraine (comprised of three subordinate main efforts)

- Russian Subordinate Main Effort #1 Push Ukrainian forces back from the international border with Belgorod Oblast and approach to within tube artillery range of Kharkiv City
- Russian Subordinate Main Effort #2 Capture the remainder of Luhansk Oblast and push westward into eastern Kharkiy Oblast and encircle northern Donetsk Oblast
- Russian Subordinate Main Effort #3 Capture the entirety of Donetsk Oblast
- Russian Supporting Effort Southern Axis
- Russian Air, Missile, and Drone Campaign
- Russian Mobilization and Force Generation Efforts
- Russian Technological Adaptations
- · Activities in Russian-occupied areas
- Significant Activity in Belarus

| Ukrainian | Operations | in  | the | Russian   | Federation   |
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Russian forces recently advanced in the main Ukrainian salient in Kursk Oblast amid continued fighting in the area on November 23. Geolocated footage published on November 22 and 23 indicates that Russian forces recently marginally advanced southeast of Darino (southeast of Korenevo) and in eastern Darino.[10] Russian milbloggers claimed that Russian forces seized Darino and Nikolayevo-Darino (just south of Darino) and advanced near Nizhny Klin (southeast of Korenevo) and Malaya Loknya (north of Sudzha).[11] ISW has not observed confirmation of these claims, however. Russian forces conducted offensive operations near Nizhny Klin, Nikolayevo-Darino, and Martynovka (northeast of Sudzha).[12] A Russian source claimed that Ukrainian forces are unsuccessfully counterattacking near Novoivanovka (southeast of Korenevo).[13] A Russian milblogger claimed that Russian equipment is sinking in the mud during ongoing rainy weather in Kursk Oblast.[14] Elements of the Russian 56th Airborne (VDV) Regiment (7th VDV Division) are reportedly operating in Kursk Oblast; elements of the 83rd VDV Brigade are reportedly operating in Nikolayevo-Darino; and elements of the 51st VDV Regiment (106th VDV Division) are reportedly operating in Darino.[15]



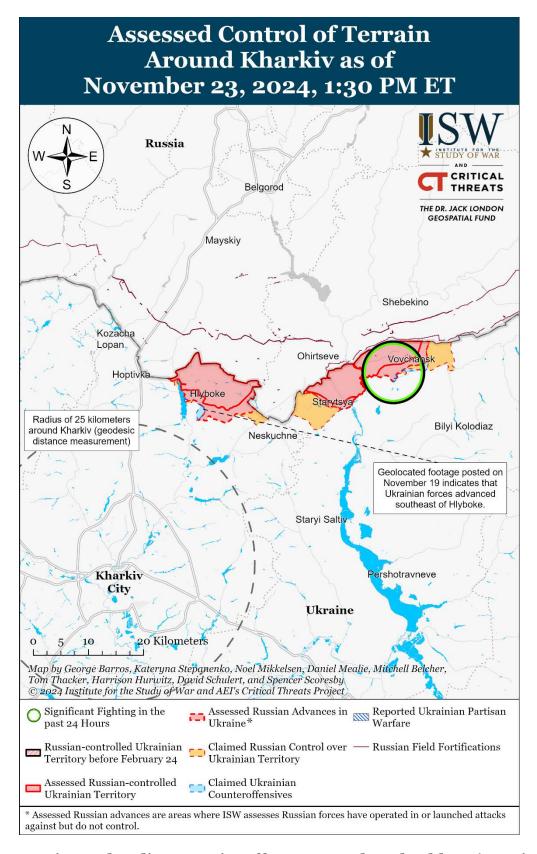
Neither Russian nor Ukrainian sources reported fighting in Glushkovsky Raion west of the main Ukrainian salient in Kursk Oblast on November 23. Geolocated footage published on November 22 shows Ukrainian forces striking a Russian crossing over the Seym River near Karyzh (northwest of Glushkovo).[16]

Ukrainian President Volodmyr Zelensky stated on November 23 that Russian President Vladimir Putin has tasked the Russian military command with pushing Ukrainian forces from Kursk Oblast by late January 2025.[17] Ukrainian officials and Western media have recently reported that Russia has concentrated a rough total of 50,000 personnel, including about 11,000 North Korean forces, in Kursk Oblast in preparation for an operation to push Ukrainian forces from Russian territory before late January

| Russian | Main | <b>Effort</b> | _ | Eastern | <u>Ukraine</u> |
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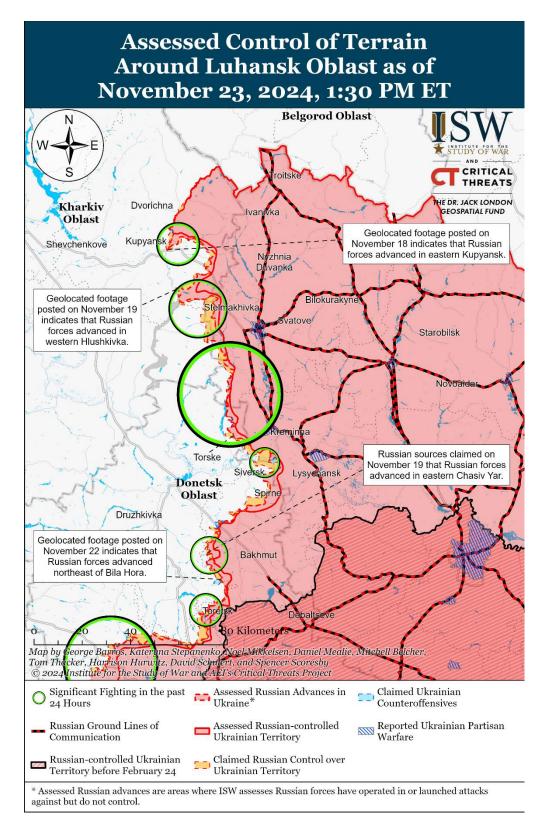
<u>Russian Subordinate Main Effort #1 – Kharkiv Oblast (Russian objective: Push Ukrainian forces back from the international border with Belgorod Oblast and approach to within tube artillery range of Kharkiv City)</u>

Russian forces continued ground assaults northeast of Kharkiv City near Vovchansk and Tykhe on November 22 and 23 but did not make confirmed advances.[19]



<u>Russian Subordinate Main Effort #2 – Luhansk Oblast</u> (Russian objective: Capture the remainder of Luhansk Oblast and push westward into eastern Kharkiv Oblast and northern Donetsk Oblast)

Russian forces continued offensive operations along the Kupyansk-Svatove-Kreminna line on November 23 but did not advance. Russian forces conducted offensive operations northeast of Kupyansk near Synkiyka: southeast of Kupyansk near Zahryzove and Hlushkiyka: southwest of Syatove near Makiivka, Druzhelyubivka, Tvedokhlibove, Novoyehorivka, and Hrekivka; west of Svatove near Zeleny Hai and in the direction of Novoplatonivka; and west of Kreminna near Terny and Torske on November 22 and 23.[20] Geolocated footage published on November 23 shows Ukrainian forces repelling a platoon-sized Russian mechanized assault east of Terny.[21] A Ukrainian battalion commander stated on November 23 that Russian forces are using armored vehicles to transport infantry during assaults under the cover of fog in the Kupyansk direction to avoid Ukrainian strikes and achieve tactical surprise.[22] The commander stated that Ukrainian forces destroy and damage 90 to 95 percent of lightly armored and armored Russian military equipment fielded on the frontline and in the near rear, forcing Russian forces to walk up to 12 kilometers to reach frontline positions in the Kupyansk direction.[23] The commander also noted that high Russian personnel casualties have prompted Russian forces to resort to disguising themselves as Ukrainian personnel in order to infiltrate into Ukrainian near-rear areas - a war crime.[24] Elements of the Russian 144th Motorized Rifle Division (20th Combined Arms Army [CAA], Moscow Military District [MMD]) reportedly continue to operate near Terny.[25]

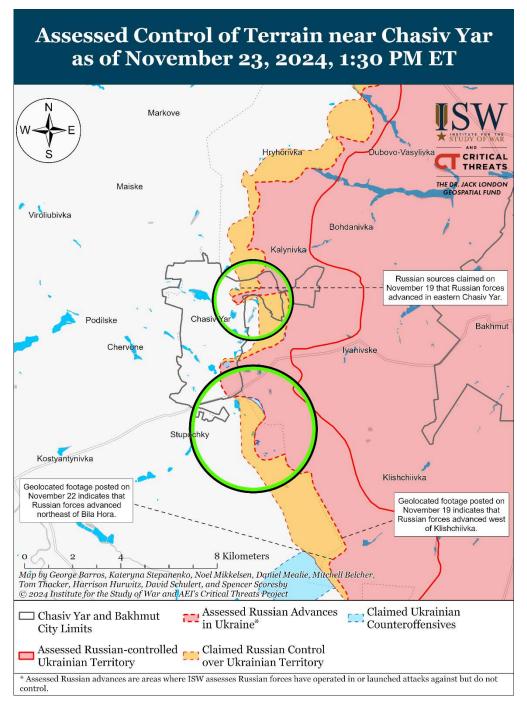


## <u>Russian Subordinate Main Effort #3 – Donetsk Oblast</u> (Russian objective: Capture the entirety of Donetsk Oblast, the claimed territory of Russia's proxies in Donbas)

Russian forces reportedly attacked northeast of Siversk near Bilohorivka on November 23 but did not advance. [26] A Russian milblogger indicated that Russian forces committed some unspecified reserves in the Siversk direction. [27] Russian milbloggers published footage claiming to show Russian forces

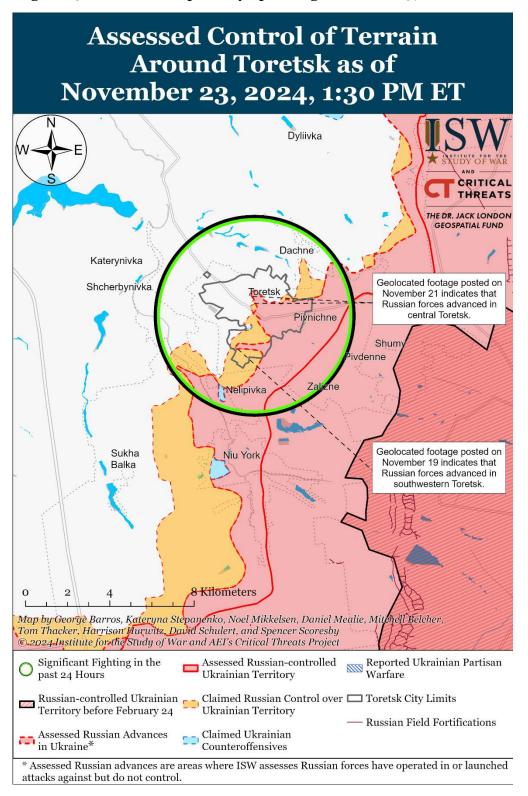
striking a Ukrainian pontoon bridge over the Siverskyi Donets River west of Siversk with a Kh-38 air-to-surface missile.[28]

Russian forces reportedly continued offensive operations near Chasiv Yar and Stupochky (south of Chasiv Yar) on November 22 and 23 but did not advance. [29] Russian sources also claimed that Ukrainian forces unsuccessfully counterattacked near Predtechyne (south of Chasiv Yar). [30] A Kremlin-affiliated Russian military expert claimed that Russian forces gained a foothold in Chasiv Yar's industrial zone and that Russian forces control 30 percent of the city. [31] ISW has observed Russian forces operating in approximately 21 percent of Chasiv Yar. Elements of the Russian 98th Airborne (VDV) Division; drone operators of the "Okhotnik" Separate Special Purpose Detachment (51st Combined Arms Army [CAA]; formerly 1st Donetsk People's Republic's 1st Army Corps [AC], Southern Military District [SMD]); elements of the Chechen "Akhmat" Spetsnaz; and elements of the 4th Motorized Rifle Brigade (3rd CAA, formerly 2nd Luhansk People's Republic's [LNR] AC, SMD) are operating in the Chasiv Yar direction. [32]



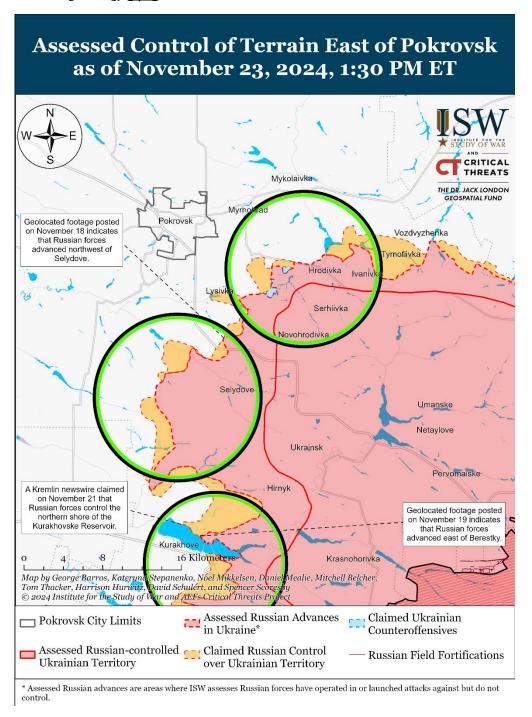
Russian forces continued ground attacks near Toretsk and west of Toretsk near Leonidivka on November 22 and 23 but did not make any confirmed advances. [33] Russian milbloggers claimed on November 23 that Russian forces advanced in northern Toretsk and up to 650 meters deep in the Zabalka Microraion (southern Toretsk). [34] ISW has not observed visual confirmation of these claims, however. A Russian milblogger claimed that Russian forces have consolidated positions in a sector up to one kilometer wide on Heroiv Pratsi and Myrna streets in central Toretsk. [35] A Kremlin-affiliated Russian milblogger claimed that Ukrainian forces are counterattacking in southern Toretsk and that Russian sources on the ground did not confirm Russian forces' presence north of Hrushevskoho Street in northern Toretsk. [36] The milblogger noted that it is difficult to determine the exact contours of the frontline in Toretsk due to the nature of urban combat in which Russian and Ukrainian forces are often

holding positions within the same buildings. Drone operators of the Russian 132nd Motorized Rifle Brigade (51st CAA) are reportedly operating in Toretsk.[37]



Russian sources made unconfirmed claims that Russian forces recently advanced south of Pokrovsk amid continued offensive operations on November 22 and 23. A Russian milblogger claimed that Russian forces marginally advanced to central Pustynka (west of Selydove and south of Pokrovsk), but ISW has not observed visual confirmation of this claim. [38] Russian forces attacked east of Pokrovsk

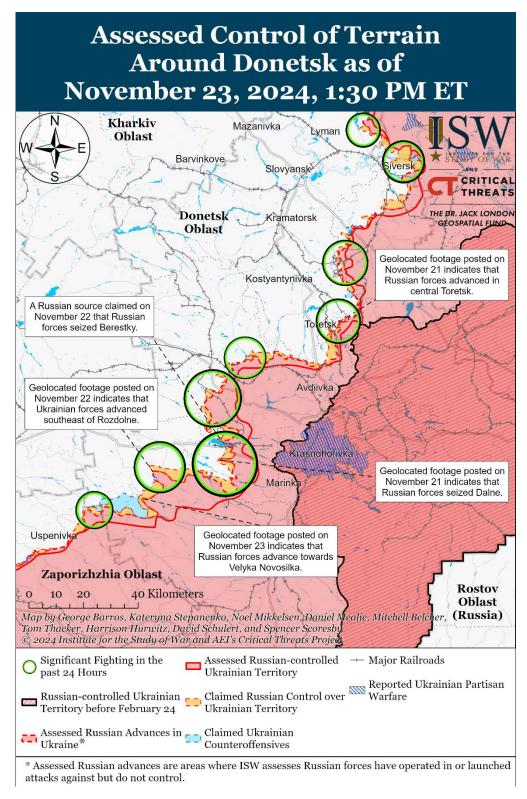
near Promin, Myrnohrad, and Myrolyubivka; southeast of Pokrovsk near Lysivka, Krutyi Yar, Sukhyi Yar; south of Pokrovsk near Hyrhorivka, Pustynka, Petrivka, Dachenske, Pushkyne, and Zhovte on November 22 and 23.[39] The spokesperson of a Ukrainian brigade operating in the Pokrovsk direction reported that Russian forces conduct up to 10 assaults per day within the brigade's area of responsibility and that the Ukrainian brigade is currently defending against elements of four Russian motorized rifle brigades, including elements of the Russian 74th Motorized Rifle Brigade (41st CAA, Central Military District [CMD]).[40]



Russian sources claimed that Russian forces made several advances in the Kurakhove direction, but ISW cannot independently verify these claims. The Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) claimed that Russian forces seized Novodmytrivka (northwest of Kurakhove), and Russian milbloggers continued to

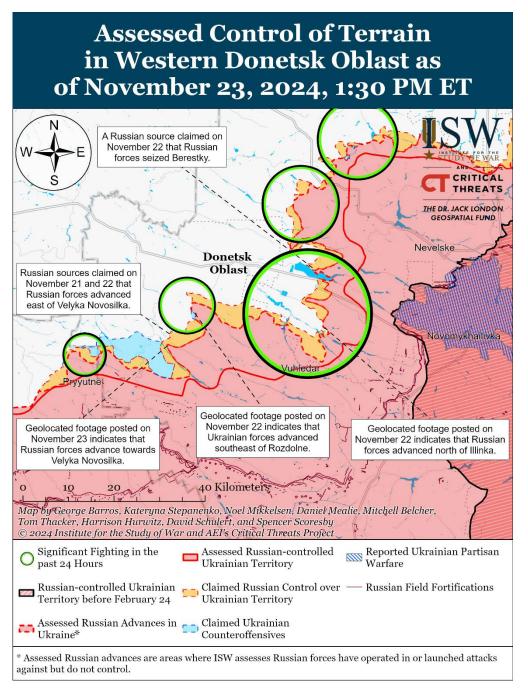
claim that Russian forces are consolidating positions in Berestky (north of Kurakhove on the northern bank of the Kurakhivske Reservoir). [41] ISW has not observed visual evidence to confirm these claims. A source in the Ukrainian General Staff told *Reuters* that the Kurakhove direction is the most threatening direction for Ukrainian forces as Russian forces advance at the rate of 200 to 300 meters per day in this direction and have already broken through in some unspecified areas. [42] Russian forces reportedly continued offensive operations near Kurakhove; northeast of Kurakhove near Sontsivka and Zorya; north of Kurakhove near Berestky; northwest of Kurakhove near Novodmytrivka; and south of Kurakhove near Dalne. [43] Elements of the Russian 5th Separate Motorized Rifle Brigade (51st CAA) are reportedly operating near Kurakhove. [44]

Russian forces reportedly advanced northeast of Vuhledar but there were no confirmed advances. A Russian milblogger claimed that Russian forces advanced north of Illinka (northeast of Vuhledar), but ISW has not observed visual evidence of this claim. [45] Russian forces reportedly continued assaults northeast of Vuhledar near Romanivka, Katerynivka, and Antonivka; and northwest of Vuhledar near Sukhi Yaly, Trudove, Rozlyv, and Kostyantynopolske. [46] The Russian 1st Company of the Kuzma Minin Battalion within the 10th Tank Regiment (51st CAA) is reportedly operating near Antonivka and Illinka, and assault elements of the Russian 33rd Motorized Riffle Regiment (20th Motorized Rifle Division, 8th CAA) are reportedly operating near Antonvika. [47]



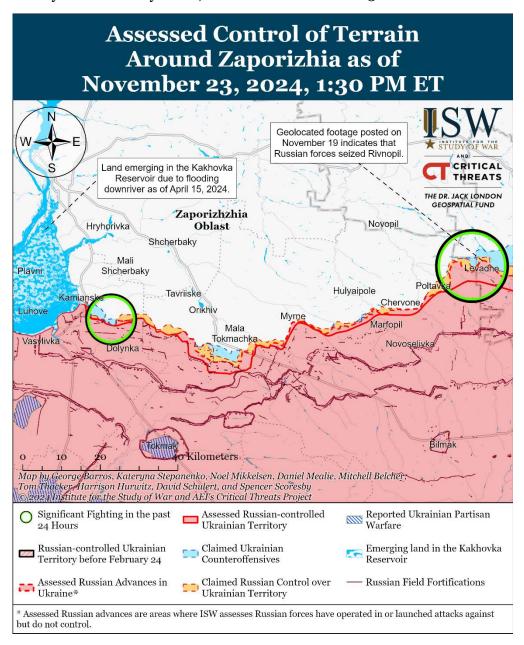
Russian forces recently conducted a company-sized mechanized assault in the Donetsk-Zaporizhia Oblast border area and advanced. Geolocated footage published on November 22 shows Ukrainian forces repelling waves of a Russian mechanized assault in the fields southeast of Velyka Novosilka, indicating that Russian forces advanced in the area. [48] Russian sources claimed that Russian forces broke through by almost five kilometers towards Rozdolne (northeast of Velyka Novosilka), are consolidating positions in eastern Rozdone, and advanced 2.2 kilometers deep on a front about 8.4

kilometers wide towards Velyka Novosilka.[49] A Russian milblogger claimed on November 23 that Ukrainian mine barriers are hindering Russian advances towards Velyka Novosilka and that heavy rain is affecting the ability to maneuver and use drones.[50] Russian forces reportedly conducted assaults near Velyka Novosilka; northeast of Velyka Novosilka near Rozdolne; and southwest of Velyka Novosilka near Novodarivka and Rivnopil.[51] Elements of the Russian 40th Naval Infantry Brigade (Pacific Fleet, Eastern Military District [EMD]) are reportedly operating near Rozdolne; elements of the 60th Motorized Rifle Brigade (5th CAA, EMD), including Spetsnaz elements, are operating in the Vremivka direction; and drone operators of the 5th Guards Tank Brigade (36th CAA, EMD) are operating near Velyka Novosilka.[52]

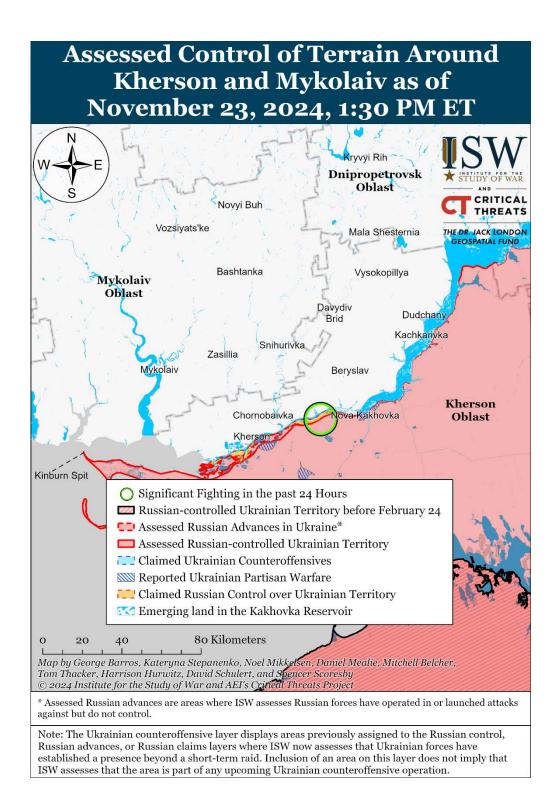


<u>Russian Supporting Effort – Southern Axis</u> (Russian objective: Maintain frontline positions and secure rear areas against Ukrainian strikes)

Russian forces continued ground assaults in western Zaporizhia Oblast, including northwest of Robotyne near Kamyanske, on November 22 and 23 but did not advance.[53]



Positional fighting continued in the Dnipro direction in east (left) bank Kherson Oblast on November 22 and 23, but there were no changes to the frontline. [54] Elements of the Russian 80th Arctic Motorized Rifle Brigade (14th Army Corps [AC], Leningrad Military District [LMD]) reportedly continue to operate in the Kherson direction. [55]



<u>Russian Air, Missile, and Drone Campaign</u> (Russian Objective: Target Ukrainian military and civilian infrastructure in the rear and on the frontline)

The Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) claimed on November 23 that Russian forces destroyed a Ukrainian MiG-29 fighter aircraft in an Iskander ballistic missile strike against a Ukrainian airfield near Dnipro City, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast.[56] A Russian milblogger claimed on November 22 that a Russian Iskander-M missile may have struck a high-quality mockup aircraft instead of a real MiG-29 at the Aviatorske airfield in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast.[57]

## <u>Russian Mobilization and Force Generation Efforts</u> (Russian objective: Expand combat power without conducting general mobilization)

Kremlin Spokesperson Dmitry Peskov stated that Russia does not currently need to conduct another partial involuntary reserve callup as Russian authorities continue leaning into crypto-mobilization efforts. Peskov stated on November 23 that Kremlin officials are not currently discussing a second round of mobilization and that Russia is currently recruiting sufficient numbers of contract volunteer personnel. [58] Other Russian authorities continue efforts to incentivize further contract volunteer recruitment. Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a law on November 23 allowing Russian soldiers who fought in Ukraine to write off loans up to 10 million rubles (about \$95,869) if Russian courts initiate debt collection proceedings before December 1, 2024, likely to incentivize Russians with existing debt to sign contracts with the Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD). [59] A Russian milblogger amplified a recruitment advertisement for military service within Russian Airborne (VDV) units in multiple Russian federal subjects, promising to cover recruits' travel expenses to sign contracts. [60] The advertisement also offered one-time payments of 2.5 million rubles (about \$23,967) for contracts signed in Tula Oblast, 3 million rubles (about \$28,760) for contracts signed in Belgorod and Nizhny Novgorod oblasts, and 2.1 million rubles (about 20,132) for contracts signed in Leningrad Oblast.

The Russian government remains concerned about the economic cost of continuing to wage war in Ukraine, particularly in compensating Russian soldiers. The Russian MoD submitted a draft law on November 22 that would oblige Russian soldiers to return their one-time payments from signing Russian military contracts if the soldiers commit a "gross disciplinary offense" or evade military duties. [61] Putin has recently indicated that he is concerned about Russia's long term economic stability, including by decreasing payments due to Russian soldiers injured on the battlefield. [62] The Russian MoD likely intends for this draft law to incentivize better discipline among Russian military personnel, particularly as Russian military personnel continue to publicly complain about the Russian military command's poor treatment of Russian soldiers.

Former commanders of the Wagner Group private military company (PMC) have reportedly formed a new PMC unit called "Wagner Legion." Russian milbloggers amplified an image of former Wagner Group commanders, callsigns "Rusich," "Cap," "Ratibor," "Marx," and "Radimir," standing in front of a banner bearing the insignia of the Wagner Legion and claimed that "Cap" is leading the new unit.[63] The milbloggers claimed that Wagner Legion is already recruiting and training new fighters. The Russian MoD has notably attempted to subsume the Wagner Group following the death of its former financier Yevgeny Prigozhin by piecemealing remaining Wagner personnel to various Russian military formations, and the extent of Wagner Legion's subordination to the Russian MoD or other security structures is unclear. Chechen Republic Head Ramzan Kadyrov claimed in April 2024 that Wagner commander Alexander Kuznetsov (callsign "Ratibor") would join the Chechen Akhmat Spetsnaz with 3,000 Wagner personnel and indicated that the Wagner personnel would be subordinated under the Russian

<u>Russian Technological Adaptations</u> (Russian objective: Introduce technological innovations to optimize systems for use in Ukraine)

Nothing significant to report.

<u>Activities in Russian-occupied areas</u> (Russian objective: Consolidate administrative control of annexed areas; forcibly integrate Ukrainian citizens into Russian sociocultural, economic, military, and governance systems)

ISW is not publishing coverage of activities in Russian-occupied areas today.

<u>Significant activity in Belarus</u> (Russian efforts to increase its military presence in Belarus and further integrate Belarus into Russian-favorable frameworks and Wagner Group activity in Belarus)

Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko claimed on November 22 that he will disconnect the internet in Belarus if there are protests following the Belarusian presidential elections to be held on January 26, 2025, likely in an attempt to prevent protests similar to those held in the aftermath of the presidential elections. [65]

Note: ISW does not receive any classified material from any source, uses only publicly available information, and draws extensively on Russian, Ukrainian, and Western reporting and social media as well as commercially available satellite imagery and other geospatial data as the basis for these reports. References to all sources used are provided in the endnotes of each update.



[1] https://t.me/rybar/65638 ; https://t.me/RVvoenkor/81215; https://t.me/dva\_majors/58442 ; https://t.me/osetin20/9632; https://t.me/voenkorKotenok/60270; https://t.me/milinfolive/135639 ; https://t.me/Sladkov\_plus/11873; https://t.me/boris\_rozhin/145349; https://t.me/DnevnikDesantnika/19738

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Qc9HVXEoucv9EUFgsNoBpT8AqkWYb9l;

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