## Interactive Map and Assessment: Verified Ukrainian Partisans Attacks Against Russian Occupation Forces

Date: November 1, 2022 George Barros and Noel Mikkelsen

Click <u>here</u> to see ISW's interactive map of verified Ukrainian Partisan Attacks. ISW will update this map as we confirm more attacks.



**Key Takeaway:** Effective Ukrainian partisan attacks are forcing the Kremlin to divert resources away from the frontline operations to help secure rear areas, degrading Russia's ability to defend against ongoing Ukrainian counteroffensives, let alone conduct their own offensive operations. Poor Russian operational security has enabled Ukrainian partisan attacks. Russia's increasing manpower shortages are likely degrading Russian forces' ability to effectively secure Russian rear areas against partisan attacks and simultaneously defend against Ukrainian counteroffensives. The Kremlin still has not effectively countered Ukraine's organized partisan movement and is unlikely to have the capabilities to do so.

Note on methodology: This curated list of confirmed Ukrainian partisan attacks contains only events that ISW can verify with high confidence using visual evidence, remotely sensed data, or Russian and Ukrainian source corroboration. This list only includes events that official Ukrainian government entities have claimed or discussed. ISW has observed several reported partisan attacks that have not met this high-confidence threshold. This dataset is likely a small subset of all actual Ukrainian partisan attacks. This list does not include Ukrainian partisan reconnaissance or fire

adjustment tasks. This list does not jeopardize Ukrainian operational security as Russian and Ukrainian government sources have discussed them publicly.

Russian occupation forces have so far failed to neutralize Ukraine's organized partisan movement as of November 2022 and are unlikely to possess the capability to do so. Ukrainian partisans began targeting pro-Russian Ukrainian collaborators and Russian personnel less than one week after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24.¹ Ukrainian partisans have conducted dozens of confirmed attacks across occupied Ukraine and have assassinated at least 11 Russian occupation officials and prominent collaborators as of November 1.

Poor Russian operational security has enabled Ukrainian partisan attacks. Russian forces have not effectively concealed the identities of pro-Russian collaborators and have failed to provide basic security to Russian occupation officials at their homes and places of work. Russian forces have failed to protect vulnerable sections of critical Russian ground lines of communication such as rail line junctures and bridges, particularly in rural areas.<sup>2</sup> Ukrainian partisans freely collect targeting information on Russian military and occupation authority targets and pass this information to other partisans and the conventional Ukrainian military.<sup>3</sup>

Russian sources have openly criticized the Kremlin's failure to provide additional security against Ukrainian partisan attacks in occupied Ukraine.

Prominent Russian milblogger Alexander Kots suggested that Russian occupation authorities are not taking Ukrainian partisan attacks seriously, comparing Ukrainian partisans to insurgents of the Chechen wars of the 1990s.<sup>4</sup> Kots advocated for Russian forces to begin an "antiterrorism campaign" in Ukraine alongside Russia's existing "denazification" and "demilitarization" efforts on August 25.<sup>5</sup> Russian milblogger Rybar criticized Russian occupation forces' failure to gain the initiative in the information space, including against "information operations" about Ukrainian partisan attacks.<sup>6</sup> Russian state media largely ignores these attacks and sometimes falsely frames them as conventional Ukrainian military attacks to downplay the effects of partisan warfare in Russian-occupied territory.

Russia's increasing manpower shortages are degrading Russian forces' ability to effectively secure their rear areas against partisan attacks. Russian forces occupy approximately 85,300 square kilometers of mainland Ukrainian territory, excluding Crimea, as of November 1. Russian manpower shortages are inhibiting efforts to secure this area. Ukrainian intelligence reported on October 28 that the Russian military has concentrated 40,000 personnel—most of Russia's remaining conventional forces—in Russian-occupied Kherson Oblast, where Russia occupies roughly 23,000 square kilometers.

The Russian military's prioritization of Kherson Oblast has likely degraded Russian security forces in Zaporizhia (a notable hotbed of partisan activity), Donetsk, and Luhansk oblasts. Partisan attacks have persisted in Russian-occupied Kherson and Zaporizhia oblasts even following Russia's annexation of those regions on September 30, indicating Russian forces continued inability to secure occupied territory.

Ukrainian partisan attacks have diverted Russian resources away from the frontline to help secure rear areas, degrading Russian capabilities to defend against Ukrainian counteroffensives, let alone conduct their own offensive operations. Russian occupation authorities have tasked Rosgvardia and Federal Security Service (FSB) special forces elements—elements that have participated in combat operations in Ukraine—to conduct rear security in occupied Ukraine.<sup>10</sup> Moscow reportedly deployed unspecified special anti-partisan elements to Kherson City in response to partisan attacks targeting occupation officials at an unspecified time before June 12.11 Russia deployed special Rosgvardia police units to provide security in occupied Starobilsk, Luhansk Oblast on August 22.12 The Russian Interior Ministry sent personnel from St. Petersburg and Leningrad Oblast to conduct patrols in Starobilsk, Shchastya, and Stanystia Luhanska in Luhansk Oblast to "prevent and suppress provocations to destabilize the situation at an unknown time before August 23."13 Russian sources also confirmed that Russian Spetsnaz detachments, possibly from the FSB Special Purpose Center, conducted spot checks and other law enforcement tasks in formerly-occupied Kharkiv Oblast on August 24.14

Elements of Rosgvardia, FSB special forces, and Russian private military companies—notably the Wagner Group—also serve as part of Russia's frontline combat power in Ukraine. These elements' participation in rear area security precludes them from participating in combat operations. Ukrainian officials have explicitly stated that Ukrainian partisans aim to exhaust Russian forces and force Russia to redirect frontline forces toward occupied territory.

## **Confirmed Partisan Events Timeline**

- 1. March 2, 2022: Unknown actors found the dead body of Kreminna's pro-Russian mayor, Volodymyr Struk, in Zhytlivka, Luhansk Oblast, on March 2. Struk's body reportedly had a gunshot wound to the heart. Struk's wife reportedly said that men in military fatigues—likely Ukrainian partisans—kidnapped Struk on March 1.<sup>17</sup>
  - o Event type: Small arms fire targeted violence
  - Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 2. March 20, 2022: Ukrainian partisans assassinated Pavel Slobodchikov, the assistant to future Russian Occupation Administration Kherson Head Volodymyr Saldo, with small arms fire in Kherson City, Kherson Oblast, on March 20.<sup>18</sup>
  - Event type: Small arms fire targeted violence
  - Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 3. April 20, 2022: Ukrainian partisans assassinated pro-Russian blogger Valery Kuleshov on Mykoly Kulisha Street in Kherson City, Kherson Oblast, on April 20 with small arms fire. 19 Kuleshov reportedly attempted to gain the position of chief of occupation police in Kherson.
  - o Event type: Small arms fire targeted violence

- o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 4. April 28, 2022: Ukrainian special forces in concert with Ukrainian partisans destroyed a railway bridge in Yakymivka, Zaporizhia Oblast, to disrupt supply transit from Crimea on April 28.<sup>20</sup>
  - Event type: Sabotage
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 35.1565428°E 46.6739580°N
- 5. May 22, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an improvised explosive device (IED) attack against the Russian collaborator mayor of Enerhodar Andrii Shevchyk in Enerhodar, Zaporizhia Oblast, on May 22.<sup>21</sup> Shevchyk survived the attack.
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - Geolocation status: Not Geolocated (The event reportedly occurred at 38 Kurchatova Street)
- 6. May 30, 2022: Ukrainian social media users observed damage to a car likely caused by a Ukrainian partisan IED attack against an unknown target in Melitopol, Zaporizhia Oblast, on May 30.<sup>22</sup>
  - o Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 46.841488, 35.374432
- 7. June 18, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED attack against the car of Yevhen Sobolev, the head of the 90th penal colony and a Russian collaborator, on Admiral Senyavin Avenue in Kherson on June 18.<sup>23</sup> The attack hospitalized but did not kill Sobolev.
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 32.6270106°E 46.6675749°N
- 8. June 22, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED attack against the head of occupied Chornobaivka, Yuriy Turulev, in Chornobaivka, Kherson Oblast, on June 22 while Turulev was in his car. Turulev and his bodyguards survived with a concussion and shrapnel wounds.<sup>24</sup>
  - o Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 9. June 22, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED attack against Kherson Oblast Occupation Deputy Chairman for Agriculture Oleksey Kovalov in Hola Prystan, Kherson Oblast, on June 22 while Kovalov was in his car.<sup>25</sup> Russian media published an interview with a hospitalized Kovalov on June 30. Ukrainian partisans later killed Kovalov with small arms fire in his home in Hola Prystan on August 28.
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 10. June 24, 2022: Ukrainian partisans assassinated Dmitro Savluchenko, the Russian-appointed director of youth policy management in occupied Kherson,

with an IED in Kherson City, Kherson Oblast, on June 24 while Savluchenko was in a car.<sup>26</sup>

Event type: IED targeted violenceGeolocation status: Not geolocated

- 11. June 25, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an arson attack against the car of Russian collaborator and Head of the Russian Occupation Education Department in Kakhovka Iryna Makhneva in the Svetlove District of Kakhovka, Kherson Oblast, on June 25.<sup>27</sup> The attack did not injure Makhneva.
  - o Event type: Arson
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 12. July 10, 2022: Ukrainian partisans assassinated Velykyi Burluk Occupation Head Yevgeny Yunakov in an unspecified location but likely in Velykyi Burluk, Kharkiv Oblast, on July 10 with an IED while Yunakov was in his car.<sup>28</sup> Ukrainian partisans either planted an IED under Tunakov's car or turned Tunakov's vehicle into a victim-operated car bomb.
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 13. July 11, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an assassination attempt against Head of Russian-occupied Melitopol Raion Andrei Siguta with small arms fire in Melitopol, Zaporizhia Oblast, on July 11.<sup>29</sup> The attack did not injure Siguta.
  - o Event type: Small arms targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 14. July 14, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an arson attack against the "Satellit" sunflower processing factory in Mariupol, Donetsk Oblast, on July 14.<sup>30</sup> NASA Fire Information for Resource Management System (FIRMS) data acquired on July 14 confirms an active fire in the area. Partisans reportedly conducted another series of arson attacks at the Satellit factory on July 31 and August 6 but there is no FIRMS evidence of heat anomalies on those days, possibly due to cloud coverage.
  - o Event type: Arson
  - Geolocation status: Geolocated to 47.132538912077976, 37.67194757801154
- 15. July 20, 2022: Vladimir Rogov, a member of Zaporizhia Oblast's main council for the military-civil administration, reported that Ukrainian partisans attacked Russian-occupied Zaporizhia Nuclear Power Plant (NPP) with three warhead-equipped UAVs on July 20.<sup>31</sup> Ukraine's Military Intelligence Directorate (GUR) provided combat footage of the strikes and reported that the strikes killed three Russians and wounded 12 Russian occupation personnel.
  - o Event type: Drone attack
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 34.5890583°E 47.5078611°N

- 16. July 24, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED sabotage attack against a railway split near Novobohdanivka, Zaporizhia Oblast, (30km north of Melitopol) on July 24.<sup>32</sup> Russian forces use the targeted railways to transport Russian military equipment and personnel between Vasylivka and Tokmak.
  - Event type: Sabotage
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 47°05'09.0"N 35°18'53.6"E
- 17. July 27, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED attack against a Russian occupation police car on Admiral Senyavin Avenue in Kherson City, Kherson Oblast, on July 27, killing one police officer and injuring another.<sup>33</sup>
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 46.659268, 32.598155
- 18. August 6, 2022: Ukrainian partisans assassinated Nova Kakhovka Deputy Occupation Administration Head Vitaly Gura near his home in Nova Kakhovka, Kherson Oblast, with small arms fire on August 6.34
  - o Event type: Small arms fire targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 46.752407, 33.332366
- 19. August 9, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED attack near the headquarters of the United Russia Party in Melitopol, Zaporizhia Oblast, on the night of August 8-9.<sup>35</sup>
  - o Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 20. August 11, 2022: Unknown actors (likely Ukrainian partisans) knocked down power transmission towers along the highway between the Zaporizhia Nuclear Power Plant (NPP) and Chaplynka, Kherson Oblast (near Nova Kamianka) on August 11.<sup>36</sup>
  - Event type: Sabotage
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 46.6226, 33.48270.
- 21. August 20, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an unsuccessful IED attack against the Russian Occupation Mayor of Mariupol Konstantin Ivashchenko at the entrance to the Mariupol City Zoo in Mariupol, Donetsk Oblast, on August 20.37 The attack did not injure anyone.
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 22. August 22, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted a radio-detonated IED attack against the deputy head of the department of internal policy in the Kherson occupation administration, Igor Telegin, while Telegin was in a car on Karbysheva Street in Kherson City, Kherson Oblast, on August 22.<sup>38</sup> The attack hospitalized but did not kill Telegin.
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - Geolocation status: Not geolocated (Event reportedly occurred on Karbysheva Street.)

- 23. August 24, 2022: Ukrainian partisans assassinated Occupation Head of Mikhailovka Village Ivan Sushko with an IED while Sushko was in his car in Mikhailovka, Zaporizhia Oblast, on August 24.<sup>39</sup>
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 24. August 26, 2022: Ukrainian Partisans assassinated the deputy chief of traffic police of Berdyansk, Alexander Kolesnikov, with an IED in Berdyansk, Zaporizhia Oblast, on August 26.40
  - o Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 25. August 28, 2022: Ukrainian partisans assassinated Kherson Oblast Occupation Deputy Chairman for Agriculture Oleksey Kovalov with small arms fire in his home in Hola Prystan, Kherson Oblast, on August 28.41
  - o Event type: Small arms fire targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 26. August 30, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED attack against the local headquarters of the "Together with Russia" political organization in Berdyansk, Zaporizhia Oblast, where occupation authorities were reportedly preparing for sham referenda on August 30.<sup>42</sup> Russian and Ukrainian sources reported that the explosion did not cause any causalities.
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 46.76989656247679, 36.79720552141415
- 27. September 2, 2022: Ukrainian partisan Maksym Makhrinov blew himself up with a grenade during his arrest by the Russian National Guard in Tokmak, Zaporizhia Oblast, on September 2.43 Russian sources claim that Makhrinov was a spotter supporting the Ukrainian military and that he killed one Russian National Guardsman and injured another after detonating a hand grenade during his arrest. Ukrainian sources claim that the second Russian National Guardsman later died in the hospital.
  - o Event type: Other
  - Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 28. September 6, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED attack against Berdyansk City Occupation Commandant Artem Bardin using a car bomb in Berdyansk, Zaporizhia Oblast on September 6.44 Ukrainian partisans reportedly engaged in a small arms firefight after the IED attack. Bardin was hospitalized and reportedly in serious condition as of September 6.
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 46.7551704, 36.7879092

- 29. September 12, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED attack against the Russian-appointed occupation rector of Kherson State University Tetyana Tomilina at her apartment in Kherson City on September 12.45 Ukrainian reports claim that the attack killed a Chechen bodyguard and put Tomilina in critical condition in intensive care. Russian reports claim that the other victim besides Tomilina was a civilian.
  - o Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 30. September 16, 2022: Ukrainian partisans assassinated Deputy Head of Housing and Communal Services Oleg Boyko and his wife Lyudmilla Boyko, who led the city commission for the annexation referendum, near their garage in Berdyansk on September 16.46
  - Event type: Targeted violence (unknown means)
  - Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 31. September 17, 2022: Unspecified actors (likely partisans) conducted an arson attack against the vehicles of Russian propagandist Dmitrii Kiselyov at his mansion on Aivazovskoho Street in Koktebel, Crimea on September 17.47
  - o Event type: Arson
  - o Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 32. September 24, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted an IED attack against a pro-Russian billboard sign near the Eternal Flame monument in Berdyansk on September 24.<sup>48</sup>
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
  - Geolocation status: Not geolocated
- 33. September 29, 2022: Ukrainian partisans reportedly conducted an IED attack against Director of the Department of Education Olena Shapurova's car near the Industrial and Economic College in occupied Melitopol on September 29.<sup>49</sup> The attack did not wound Shapurova but injured her husband and the driver of a passing car.
  - Event type: IED targeted violence
- 34. October 25, 2022: Ukrainian partisans conducted a vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (VBIED) attack on Zaporizhia Oblast Occupation Head Yevgeny Balitsky's media building in Melitopol on October 25 where a Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) branch was reportedly deployed.<sup>50</sup> The attack's intended target is unclear. The attack reportedly injured five people including pro-Russian propagandists working at the "Za-TV" media outlet stationed at the building.
  - o Event type: IED targeted violence
  - o Geolocation status: Geolocated to 46.826743 35.354025

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