

Russian Offensive Campaign Assessment, January 15, 2023

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Click [here](#) 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.

ISW is publishing an abbreviated campaign update today, January 15. This report focuses on Russia's likely preparation to conduct a decisive strategic action in 2023 intended to end Ukraine's string of operational successes and regain the initiative.

The Kremlin is belatedly taking personnel mobilization, reorganization, and industrial actions it realistically should have before launching its invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 invasion and is taking steps to conduct the "special military operation" as a major conventional war. Russian President Vladimir Putin began publicly signaling preparations for a protracted war in early December 2022, pledging that Russia will improve upon the mistakes of its earlier military campaigns and setting conditions for a protracted war in Ukraine.^[1] Putin notably remarked on December 7 that the "special military operation" in Ukraine could be a "lengthy process" and made several further public appearances throughout December indirectly outlining his goals to: improve the Russian war effort's mobilization processes, revitalize Russia's defense industrial base, centralize the Kremlin's grip over the Russian information space, and reinstate the Russian Ministry of Defense's (MoD) authority.^[2]

The Kremlin is likely preparing to conduct a decisive strategic action in the next six months intended to regain the initiative and end Ukraine's current string of operational successes. Russia has failed to achieve most of its major operational objectives in Ukraine over the past eleven months. Russian forces failed to capture Kyiv, as well as Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, and to maintain gains in Kharkiv Oblast or hold the strategic city of Kherson. The Russian air and missile campaign targeting Ukrainian critical infrastructure under Army General Sergey Surovikin in late 2022 also failed to generate significant operational effects or demoralize Ukrainian society, as the Kremlin likely intended. Putin and senior Kremlin officials continue reiterating that Russia has not abandoned its maximalist objectives despite Russian defeats on the battlefield.^[3] While Putin has not changed his objectives for the war, there is emerging evidence that he is changing fundamental aspects of Russia's approach to the war by undertaking several new lines of effort.

ISW has observed several Russian lines of effort (LOEs) likely intended to support a decisive action in the next six months.

LOE 1: The Kremlin is intensifying both near- and long-term force-generation efforts. Putin and the Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) announced plans to drastically expand the conventional Russian military by forming new divisions, reinstating pre-2010 military districts in western Russia, and increasing the conscription age — all indicating Russian *intent* (though likely not actual capability) to reform the Russian military to conduct large-scale conventional warfighting.^[4] Ukrainian intelligence reported that the Kremlin seeks to raise the number of military personnel to two million by an unspecified date (from about 1.35 million personnel as of September 2022), while Western intelligence officials noted that Russian military command is in "serious preparations" for a potential second wave of mobilization.^[5] Some Kremlin officials have begun discussing proposals to expand eligibility protocols for conscription, active mobilization, and the mobilization reserve, while Russian state structures are attempting to resolve past problems issuing mobilization summonses.^[6] Putin himself signed orders that expanded eligibility for mobilization by allowing the mobilization of convicts on November 4.^[7]

LOE 2: The Russian military is conserving mobilized personnel for future use — an inflection from the Kremlin's initial approach of rushing untrained bodies to the front in fall 2022. Putin stated on December 7 that the Russian Armed Forces have not yet committed all mobilized personnel from the first mobilization wave to the frontlines, likely to take time to train and equip these forces for a later, concentrated use.^[8] Conventional Russian forces (as opposed to the Wagner Group and the DNR/LNR proxy forces) have not conducted major offensive operations and have mostly maintained defensive positions since the series of successful Ukrainian counteroffensives in summer and fall 2022. ISW has monitored conventional Russian units regrouping and training in Belarus and in Russia.^[9]

LOE 3: Russia is attempting to reinvigorate its defense industrial base (DIB): The Kremlin began placing a significant emphasis on the resurrection of the Russian DIB in December. Putin has held several senior meetings and visited defense enterprises throughout the country since December.^[10] Putin publicly acknowledged issues with supplies, such as the lack of reconnaissance drones, and notably demanded that one of his ministers issue state defense procurement

contracts in a shorter-than-planned timeframe.^[11] Putin and other Kremlin officials have also entertained vague discussions that Russian authorities may nationalize property to support the Russian war effort.^[12]

LOE 4: Putin is re-centralizing control of the war effort in Ukraine under the Ministry of Defense and appointed Russia’s senior-most uniformed officer, Chief of the General Staff Valery Gerasimov, as theater commander. The Kremlin is also reinstating the original planners of the war and belatedly attempting to correct command-structure deficiencies. Army General Sergey Surovikin and previous Russian theater commanders failed to achieve the decisive operations Putin — likely unrealistically — intended them to achieve. The Kremlin appointed Gerasimov as the Commander of the Joint Grouping of Forces in Ukraine on January 11 after previously sidelining Gerasimov throughout the full-scale invasion.^[13] The Russian MoD also appointed three deputies to closely work with Gerasimov on the expanded scale of tasks pertaining to the “special military operation.” The Kremlin likely intends Gerasimov and his newly appointed deputies to both prepare Russia for a protracted war and take command of a major effort in 2023.

LOE 5: The Kremlin is intensifying its conditioning of the Russian information space to support the war. The Kremlin is shaping the information space to regenerate support for the invasion by reintroducing pre-February 24 narratives and undertaking measures to regain control over war coverage, after previously ceding this space to a variety of independent actors. Kremlin officials resumed promoting a false narrative in late 2022 that the existence of an independent Ukraine threatens Russian sovereignty and culture, justifying Russia’s invasion and ongoing Russian sacrifices as inevitable and necessary “self-defense” measures.^[14] Kremlin propagandists have also intensified narratives about the international legal consequences awaiting Russia if it does not win the war, likely to stoke fears of defeat and motivate rededication to the war.^[15] The Kremlin has intensified efforts to develop relations with and co-opt prominent pro-war milbloggers who have emerged as a powerful alternative to Putin and the Russian MoD’s deliberately vague war coverage.^[16]

The Kremlin’s effort to prepare for a likely intended decisive strategic action in 2023 is not mutually exclusive with the Kremlin’s efforts to set conditions for a protracted war. ISW is not forecasting a “last ditch” Russian effort to win the war in Ukraine. The war will not end, and Russia will not necessarily lose, if any of the possible actions discussed below fail. Russia’s rapid attempt to capture Kyiv and conduct a regime change within the first two weeks of the war was a failed strategic decisive action, for example. Many of the aforementioned indicators — such as the Russian MoD’s proposal to create many new Russian divisions — are almost certainly in part intended to support a long-term effort beyond any decisive action planned for calendar year 2023. However, ISW does not assess the Kremlin is simply staying its course as it prepares for a protracted war.

Russia’s decisive strategic action in 2023 can manifest itself in multiple possible courses of action (COAs) that are not mutually exclusive. According to US military doctrine, a military can undertake a decisive action at every level of war to produce a definitive result and achieve an objective.^[17] Decisive actions can be at the tactical, operational, or strategic level and can be either offensive or defensive.^[18]

COA 1: A major Russian offensive, most likely in the Luhansk Oblast area. Russian forces may seek to conduct a major offensive in the Luhansk Oblast area. The full capture of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts remain the Kremlin’s official war goals and are among Russia’s most achievable (though still highly challenging) objectives given Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts are logistically the easiest territories for Russia to capture. Russian forces have been deploying additional forces to Luhansk Oblast and undertaking other significant activities since 2022, which ISW assesses can support an offensive operation in Luhansk Oblast.^[19] ISW continues to assess that Russian forces are unlikely to conduct an offensive in southern Ukraine in Kherson or Zaporizhia oblasts.^[20] The Dnipro River separates the frontline in Kherson Oblast and is a serious obstacle to maneuver. Russia’s layered field fortifications array in Kherson Oblast and extensive mining in Zaporizhia Oblast indicate Russian forces are prioritizing defensive operations in both provinces.^[21]

COA 2: A Russian defensive operation to defeat and exploit a Ukrainian counteroffensive. The Kremlin redeployed significant military units from the southern (Kherson) direction to Luhansk Oblast in late 2022 and established field fortifications in Luhansk Oblast, as well as in Belgorod and Kursk oblasts in Russia.^[22] ISW has reported on many observed indicators that Ukrainian forces seek to conduct counteroffensives in 2023.^[23] Ukrainian officials have long been publicly signaling their intent to conduct counteroffensives in 2023.^[24] Russian milbloggers have also been long warning about Ukrainian counteroffensives.^[25] Russia seeks to secure Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts — territories the Russian government has (illegally) claimed as Russian territory — and to avoid another significant defeat like the rout in Kharkiv Oblast or the withdrawal from Kherson City. These were both significant events that degraded Russian morale and the perception of Russian forces’ ability to secure their larger objectives for the full “demilitarization and denazification” of Ukraine. Russian forces may seek to successfully defeat a Ukrainian counteroffensive and deprive Ukraine of the initiative by destroying a significant proportion of mechanized Ukrainian forces. Such a successful Russian decisive action could then enable Russian forces to develop a counteroffensive to exploit disorganized and exhausted Ukrainian forces.

Many of the aforementioned Russian lines of effort could support both COA 1 and COA 2; these scenarios are not mutually exclusive. Russian forces could be preparing for a major offensive operation or, alternatively, larger spoiling attacks short of a general offensive operation. The indicators could also support a counterattack to take advantage of a Ukrainian counteroffensive that Russian forces expect to stop.

The most dangerous course of action (MDCOA) of a Russian offensive against northern Ukraine remains unlikely at this time. However, the Kremlin is creating planning flexibility and will likely expand Russia's military presence in Belarus in the period leading up to planned major exercises (which could possibly support a combat operation) in September 2023. ISW continues to track Russian and Belarusian activities that could in time support a new Russian attack on Ukraine from Belarus. Russia will likely deploy more forces to Belarus under the rubric of the Zapad (West) 2023 and Union Shield 2023 exercises that will likely occur in September 2023.[26] The Kremlin deployed a senior Russian officer, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Ground Forces Oleg Salyukov — one of Gerasimov's three newly appointed deputies — to Belarus on January 12.[27] Salyukov may be intended to create command-and-control structures necessary for a Russian operational strike group. These are anomalous activities that intensify the information operation that Russia will attack Ukraine from Belarus and could support an offensive, though ISW assesses an offensive is still a low-likelihood scenario at this time. There continues to be no evidence that Russian forces in Belarus have created the command-and-control structures necessary for an operational strike group as of this publication.[28]

The Kremlin retains its maximalist goals to seize all of Ukraine, despite its poor conduct of the war to date. The Kremlin has been slow to effectively fix its flawed invasion for almost a year and has repeatedly opted for short-term solutions such as: repeatedly cycling through theater commanders and retaining a fragmented command structure, introducing crypto-mobilization campaigns as opposed to full-scale mobilization, failing to control the Russian information space by allowing different pro-war factions to partition the information space, and consistently disrupting the Russian military's chain of command. The Kremlin's apparent new attention to Russian military failures will not allow the Kremlin to fix its conduct of the war in the immediate term if at all, and the flaws in Russia's original campaign design — and the subsequent losses incurred — will be difficult to replace.

Russian forces remain dangerous, and Ukraine requires sustained support. Ukraine requires further and timely Western support to adequately prepare for the Russian COAs for 2023 outlined above. Ukraine's Western allies will need to continue supporting Ukraine in the long run even if a Russian decisive action in 2023 fails, as the Kremlin is nonetheless preparing for a protracted war. The West must continue its support to Ukraine's efforts to defeat Russia's invasion — and must do so quickly. **The Russian military, as the saying goes, retains a vote on the course of the war despite its weaknesses and is actively setting conditions for major operations as the war enters its second year.**

Key inflections in ongoing military operations on January 15:

- **Ukrainian officials specified that a Russian Kh-22 missile struck a residential building in Dnipro City on January 14, killing at least 25–30 civilians.[29] Ukrainian officials clarified inaccurate reporting that Ukrainian air defenses may have caused the destruction to the building, noting that Ukraine does not have the capability to shoot down Kh-22 missiles.**
- **Wagner Group financier Yevgeny Prigozhin awarded medals to Wagner Group forces for the capture of Soledar, likely in an ongoing effort to frame the capture of Soledar as a Wagner accomplishment rather than a joint effort with the Russian Armed Forces, as the Russian Ministry of Defense previously claimed.[30]**
- **The Ukrainian General Staff reported that Ukrainian forces repelled Russian ground assaults near Makiivka and Bilohorivka, Luhansk Oblast.[31] A Russian milblogger claimed that Russian forces are transferring Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) off-road vehicles from Russia to Luhansk Oblast, possibly for use in combat.[32]**
- **Russian sources claimed that Russian forces finished clearing Soledar and attacked Ukrainian positions to the north, west, and southwest of the settlement.[33] A Ukrainian source reported that Russian forces captured a mine west of Soledar near Dvorichchia on January 15.[34]**
- **Russian forces continued to attack Bakhmut and areas to the north, east, south, and southwest of the city.[35] Russian forces made marginal territorial gains southwest of Bakhmut near Andriivka.[36]**
- **Ukrainian Kherson Oblast Military Advisor Serhiy Khlan stated that Russian forces increased their presence in occupied Kherson Oblast and that some Wagner Group forces arrived in Kherson Oblast.[37] Russian occupation head of Kherson Oblast Vladimir Saldo claimed that the restoration of the Henichesk-Arabat Spit bridge improved Russian logistics into occupied Kherson Oblast.[38]**

- **A Russian servicemember reportedly detonated a grenade in a building where Russian soldiers quartered in Belgorod Oblast, Russia, possibly in a fratricidal act of resistance against mobilization.[39] A Russian source reported that the grenade attack killed three and injured 10 mobilized personnel.[40]**

ISW will continue to report daily observed indicators consistent with the current assessed most dangerous course of action (MDCOA): a renewed invasion of northern Ukraine possibly aimed at Kyiv.

ISW's December 15 MDCOA warning forecast about a potential Russian offensive against northern Ukraine in winter 2023 remains a worst-case scenario within the forecast cone. ISW currently assesses the risk of a Russian invasion of Ukraine from Belarus as low, but possible, and the risk of Belarusian direct involvement as very low. This new section in the daily update is not in itself a forecast or assessment. It lays out the daily observed indicators we are using to refine our assessments and forecasts, which we expect to update regularly. Our assessment that the MDCOA remains unlikely has not changed. We will update this header if the assessment changes.

Observed indicators for the MDCOA in the past 24 hours:

- Nothing significant to report.

Observed ambiguous indicators for MDCOA in the past 24 hours:

- The Ukrainian General Staff reported on January 15 that unspecified Russian and Belarusian military units continue to perform unspecified tasks near the Belarusian-Ukrainian border.[41]
- Radar data indicates that Belarusian forces may have erected new structures around Velykiy Bokov airport near Mazyr, Belarus, 58km north of the Belarusian-Ukrainian border.[42]

Observed counter-indicators for the MDCOA in the past 24 hours:

- The Ukrainian General Staff reiterated that it has not observed Russian forces in Belarus forming a strike group as of January 15.[43]

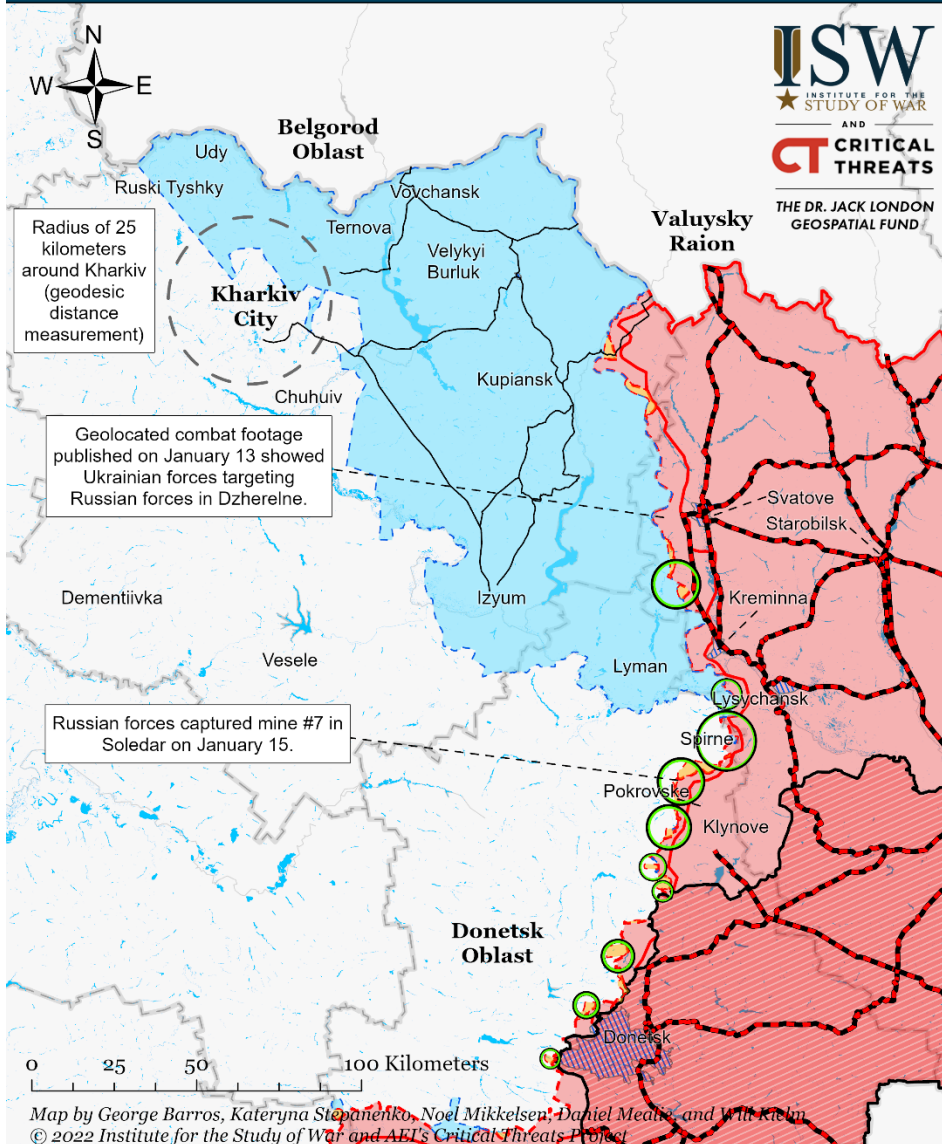
Assessed Control of Terrain in Ukraine and Main Russian Maneuver Axes as of January 15, 2023, 3:00 PM ET



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

Assessed Control of Terrain Around Kharkiv as of January 15, 2023, 3:00 PM ET

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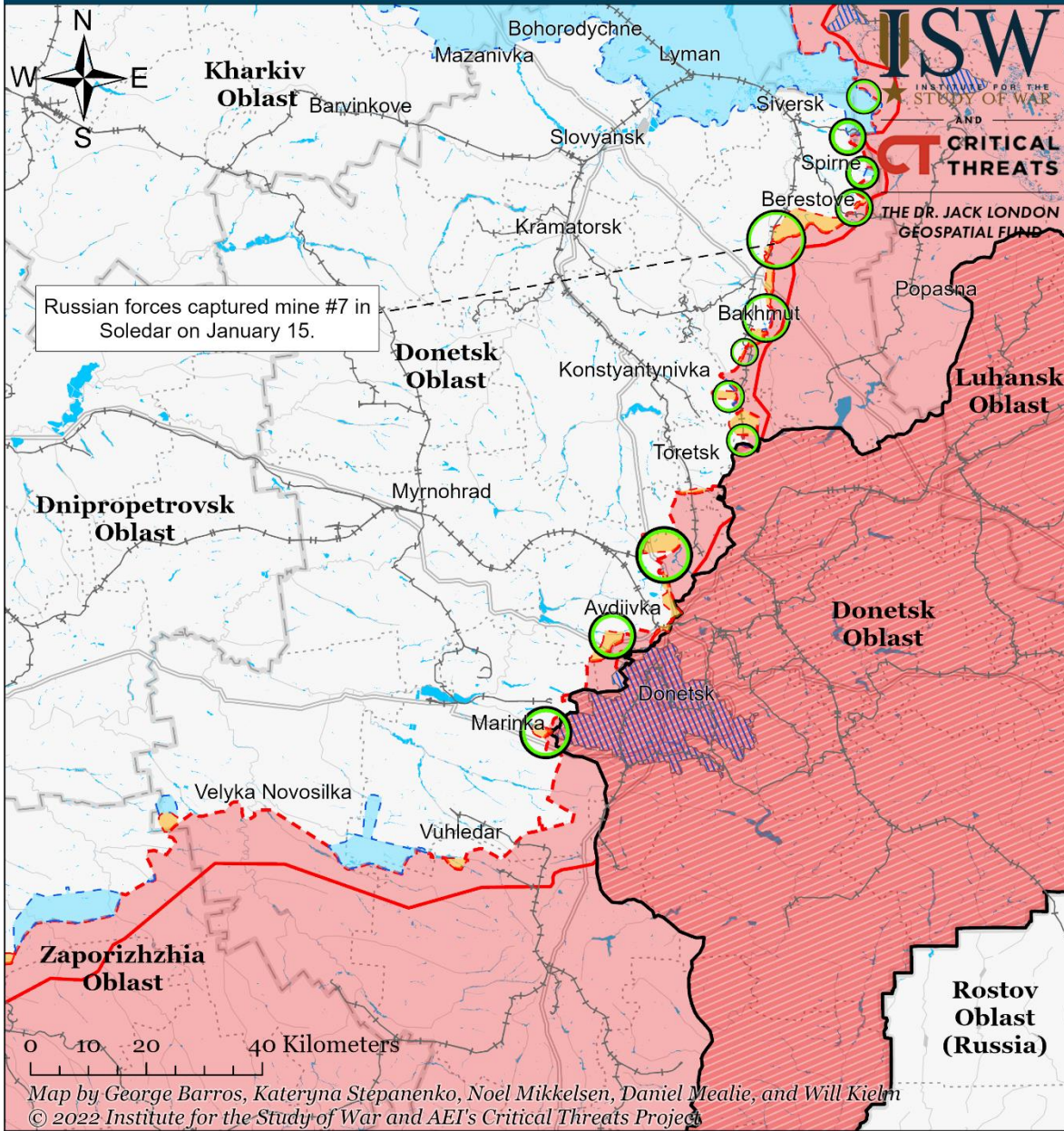
Map by George Barros, Kateryna Stepanenko, Noel Mikkelsen, Daniel Meade, and Will Klein
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Significant Fighting in the past 24 Hours	Russian-controlled Ukrainian Territory before February 24	Claimed Russian Control over Ukrainian Territory
Key Ukrainian Roads	Assessed Russian Advances in Ukraine*	Claimed Ukrainian Counteroffensives
Russian Ground Lines of Communication	Assessed Russian-controlled Ukrainian Territory	Reported Ukrainian Partisan Warfare

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

The Ukrainian Main Defense Intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine published an audio intercept on December 22 in which a Russian soldier operating in the vicinity of Chervonopopivka supported reports that Ukrainian forces captured part of the R-66 Kreminna-Svatove road in the vicinity of Zhytlivka (just south of Chervonopopivka). The Ukrainian General Staff has repeatedly reported since November 30 that Russian forces shelled Chervonopopivka, indicating Russian forces no longer control Chervonopopivka. The Russian Ministry of Defense claimed that Ukrainian forces unsuccessfully attempted to establish a position in Chervonopopivka on November 27, indicating Ukrainian maneuvers near Chervonopopivka. The R-66 runs through Chervonopopivka and the road's capture by Ukrainian forces would be consistent with the evidence presented in the intercepted phone call plus the Ukrainian General Staff's reports.

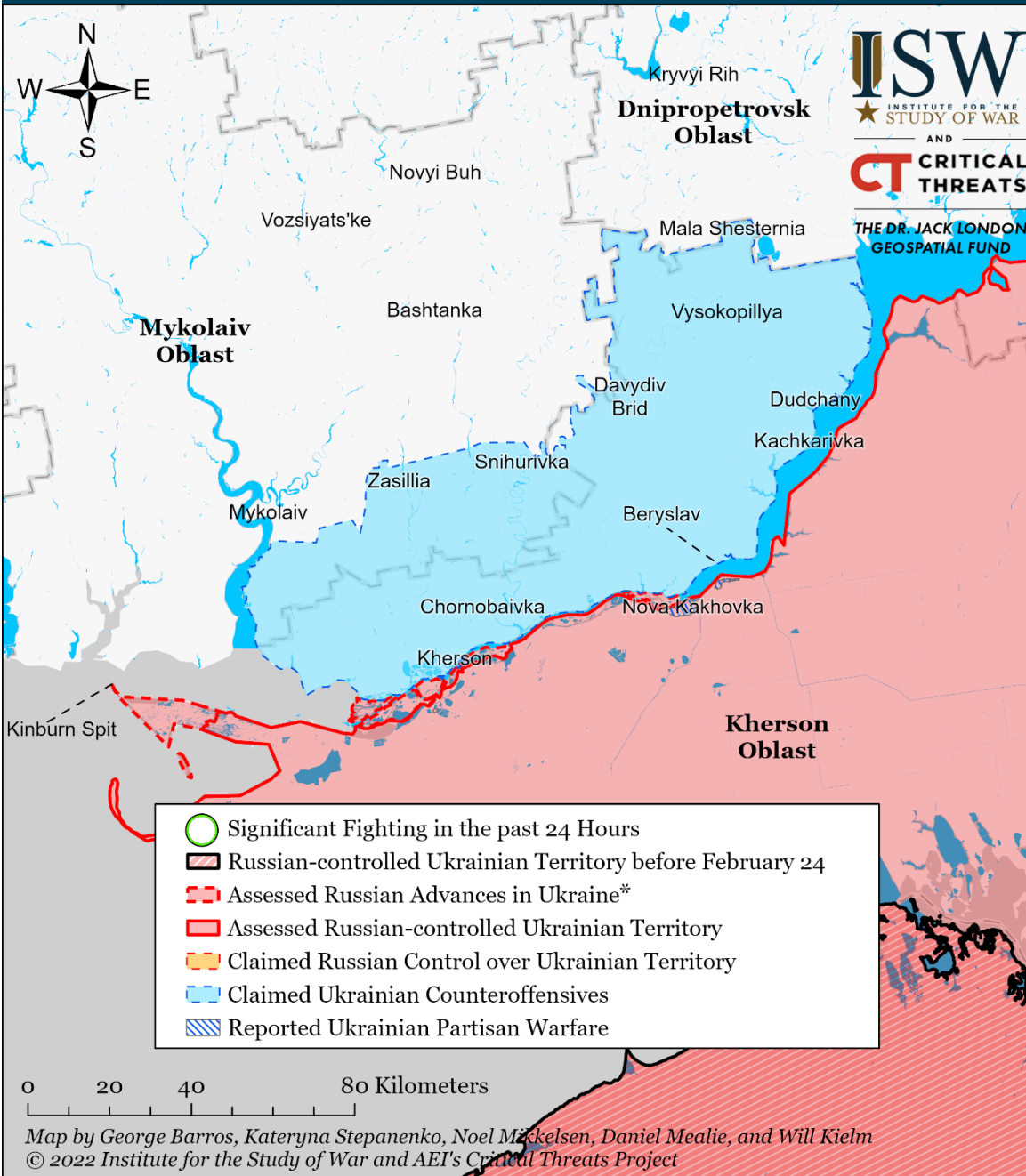
Assessed Control of Terrain Around Donetsk as of January 15, 2023, 3:00 PM ET



- Significant Fighting in the past 24 Hours
- Assessed Russian-controlled Ukrainian Territory
- Russian-controlled Ukrainian Territory before February 24
- Assessed Russian Advances in Ukraine*
- Claimed Russian Control over Ukrainian Territory
- Claimed Ukrainian Counteroffensives
- Major Railroads
- Reported Ukrainian Partisan Warfare

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

Assessed Control of Terrain Around Kherson and Mykolaiv as of January 15, 2023, 3:00 PM ET



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

ISW recoded the northeast section of Velykyi Potomkin Island in Kherson Oblast from reported Ukrainian counteroffensives to Russian claims based on Russian milblogger reports and video footage published on January 5 that claimed Russian forces recaptured that part of the island where Ukrainian forces placed a flag on January 2. ISW cannot confirm if Russian forces recaptured the same positions as Ukrainian forces as of January 5. A Russian milblogger claimed on January 3 that the island is in a gray zone because Russian forces are still operating in the northern part of the island. Geolocated footage published on January 2 does show Ukrainian forces striking Russian positions on an adjacent island east of Velykyi Potomkin Island, which indicates that Russian forces are still operating within the Dniester River delta areas.

[1] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-7>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-21>
[2] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-7>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-12-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-21>
[3] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-august-24>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-14-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Russian%20Operations%20Assessments%20January%2011%202023.pdf>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-5-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-29>
[4] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-21>
[5] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-13-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-14-2023>
[6] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-14-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-september-26>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-12-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-17>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-october-3>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-3-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-24>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-september-26>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-13-2023>
[7] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-4>
[8] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-15>
[9] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-29>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-12-2023>
[10] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-23>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-26>
[11] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-12-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-21>
[12] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-26>; <https://tass.dot u/ekonomika/16683593>; https://t.me/vv_volodin/588; <https://t.me/readovkanews/49597>
[13] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-11-2023>
[14] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-14-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-22>;
[15] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-14-2023>;
<https://twitter.com/JuliaDavisNews/status/1597465482592153601>; <https://www.thedailybeast.com/russian-propagandists-make-desperate-pleas-over-ukraine-war-failures-on-state-tv>
[16] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-september-14>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-27>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-21>;
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[17] https://www.army.mil/e2/downloads/rv7/info/references/ADP_3-0_ULO_Oct_2011_APD.pdf;
<https://www.ausa.org/articles/definition-%E2%80%98decisive%E2%80%99-depends-context>
[18] https://www.army.mil/e2/downloads/rv7/info/references/ADP_3-0_ULO_Oct_2011_APD.pdf;
<https://www.ausa.org/articles/definition-%E2%80%98decisive%E2%80%99-depends-context>
[19] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-28>
[20] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-27>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-august-17>
[21] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-27>;
<https://twitter.com/raging545/status/1608217394690027520>;
<https://twitter.com/bradyafr/status/1612441560284598276>
[22] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-12>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-22>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-7>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-october-22>
[23] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-4-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-12>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-12>

4; <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-3>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-13>
[24] <https://abcnews.go.com/International/expect-strikes-deeper-deeper-russia-ukraines-spy-chief/story?id=96127220>; <https://isw.pub/UkrWar120422>; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAAmRSLIaVo&ab_channel=UkraineMediaCenterOdesa; <https://zn.ua/ukr/UKRAINE/reznikov-rozpoviv-koli-prodovzhitsja-kontrnastup-sil-oboroni.html>; <https://www.pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2022/12/11/7380306/>; <https://fakty.com.ua/ua/ukraine/20221206-ukrayini-sogodni-ne-potribna-dodatkova-mobilizacziya-reznikov/>; <https://nv.ua/ukr/ukraine/politics/ukrajina-otrimaye-zahidni-tanki-ta-boyovi-litaki-zayaviv-reznikov-novini-ukrajini-50288954.html>; <https://armyinform.com.ua/2022/12/04/mobilizovani-ta-vagnerivci-ne-mayut-navychok-voyuvatv-zvymku-sergij-cherevatyj/>; <https://twitter.com/DefenceU/status/1594372791360491520>; <https://news.sky.com/story/ukraine-war-will-be-over-by-spring-predicts-countrys-defence-minister-12750712>;
[25] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-9-2023>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-2-2023>; <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-12>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-28>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-19>;
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<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-11>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-october-19>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-october-7>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-october-4>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-september-28>;
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-august-21>
[26] Zapad exercises occur once every four years and should in principle not occur again until 2025. The Kremlin used Zapad 2021 in September 2021 to prepare for its February 2022 invasion of Ukraine Russian forces may again accumulate significant forces in Belarus under the guise of exercises. <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-12-2023>
[27] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-29>
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