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June 23, 2025, 6:00 pm ET

**Note: The data cut-off for this product was 11 am ET on June 23. ISW will cover subsequent reports in the June 24 Russian Offensive Campaign Assessment.**

**The Kremlin continues to only diplomatically support Iran, showcasing the limitations in the Russian-Iranian strategic relationship.** Russian President Vladimir Putin, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, Russian Presidential Aide Yuriy Ushakov, and Chief of the Russian General Staff's Main Directorate (GRU) Igor Kostykov met with Iranian Foreign Affairs Minister Abbas Araghchi in Moscow on June 23.[1] Putin claimed that Russia's position on the Israel-Iran conflict is well-known and that the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) has raised Russia's concerns at the United Nations (UN) Security Council. Putin also claimed that recent Israeli and American strikes against Iran were unprovoked and unjustified and that Russia is making every effort to help the Iranian people. Araghchi thanked Russia for its strong condemnation of the strikes against Iran and claimed that Iran regularly consults with Russia on issues of global security, as Russia and Iran's relations have become "strategic in nature." Unspecified Iranian sources told *Reuters* on June 23 that Iran has not been impressed with Russia's support so far and wants Putin to do more to back Iran against Israel and the United States.[2] *Reuters* reported that an Iranian source stated that Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei sent Araghchi to Moscow to deliver a letter from Khamenei to Putin requesting more assistance from Russia. ISW continues to assess that Russia is constrained in its ability to provide direct support to Iran due to its war in Ukraine and has likely resigned itself to providing diplomatic overtures for the time being.[3]

**Russian officials are attempting to influence conversations about increasing NATO defense spending by misrepresenting Russia's ongoing efforts to restructure and expand Russia's military capabilities as a defensive reaction to NATO.** Russian President Vladimir Putin met with graduates of Russia's military academies on June 23 and acknowledged that NATO member states will likely announce a significant increase in defense spending and efforts to increase NATO military capabilities at the upcoming summit on June 24 and 25.[4] Putin claimed that this meeting would clarify that NATO is the party provoking "global militarization" - not Russia. Putin stated that Russia will continue to take steps to strengthen Russia's security and develop the Russian Armed Forces to guarantee Russia's sovereignty. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Grushko told the Russian state news agency *RIA Novosti* on June 23 in an article ahead of the upcoming NATO summit that the European Union (EU) is accelerating its militarization and that Russia will take all necessary measures and countermeasures, "including preemptive ones," to ensure Russia's security.[5] Grushko reiterated that Russia considers the possibility of Ukraine joining NATO to be a "direct threat" to

Russia's security and stated that Russia is seeking "ironclad" guarantees that Ukraine will not join NATO, which Grushko stated includes repealing the 2008 Bucharest Summit Declaration that welcomed Ukraine's and Georgia's intention to join NATO.[6] ISW has previously reported that Russian officials leverage escalatory rhetoric and threats during key moments of Western debates on military assistance for Ukraine in order to scare Western leaders into inaction, and Russian officials are likely again attempting to leverage threats to dissuade NATO member states from supporting increased defense spending.[7]

Putin announced during his speech to the graduates on June 23 that Russia will complete some of its ongoing force restructuring efforts in 2025.[8] Putin stated that Russia is urgently working to increase the Russian Armed Forces' combat capabilities and reiterated that Russia is standing up the Unmanned Systems Forces as a new branch of the Russian military. Putin stated that Russia will complete the formation of the Moscow and Leningrad military districts (MMD/LMD) and will reorganize Russia's naval infantry brigades into divisions in 2025. Putin stated that Russia is also undertaking a long-term technical modernization effort in the army and navy, modernizing its Strategic Missile Forces, beginning serial production of Oreshnik ballistic missiles, and producing new ships and submarines for the Russian Navy. Former Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu announced Russia's intention to form the MMD and LMD and reorganize Russia's naval infantry brigades into divisions in the medium-term in December 2022.[9] Russian officials had not previously provided a firm date for the completion of these efforts. ISW continues to assess that Russia's military reforms, particularly in the MMD and LMD in western Russia along its border with NATO, demonstrate Russia's longer-term preparation for a possible future conflict with NATO.[10] These military reforms come after Kremlin officials have repeatedly threatened NATO states, including the Baltic states and Finland.[11]

**Putin also acknowledged his ongoing efforts to empower Russia's internal security services in order to safeguard regime stability and internal security.** Putin stated during his speech to the graduates that the Russian government understands that protecting Russia from internal and external threats requires coordination between Russia's law enforcement agencies, special services, and other security agencies.[12] ISW reported in 2023 and early 2024 that the Kremlin was working to expand Rosgvardia's capabilities by allowing Rosgvardia to operate military equipment and subordinating special Russian units and some irregular units under Rosgvardia, particularly after the Wagner Group's armed rebellion in June 2023.[13] The Kremlin has been similarly expanding the Federal Security Service (FSB) force generation capabilities.[14]

**Russian forces conducted a large-scale combined drone and missile strike against Ukraine on the night of June 22 to 23 that largely targeted Kyiv City and killed at least seven people and injured 28.** The Ukrainian Air Force reported that Russian forces launched 352 drones, including up to 160 Shaheds, from the directions of Kursk, Oryol, and Bryansk cities; Millerovo, Rostov Oblast; Shatalovo, Smolensk Oblast; and Primorsko-Akhtarsk, Krasnodar Krai.[15] The Ukrainian Air Force reported that Russian forces launched 11 Iskander-M/KN-23 ballistic missiles from Taganrog, Rostov Oblast, and Bryansk Oblast and five Iskander-K cruise missiles from Kursk Oblast. The Ukrainian Air Force reported that Ukrainian forces downed all five Iskander-K missiles and seven Iskander-M/KN-23 missiles and that three Iskander-M missiles were "locally lost." The Ukrainian Air Force reported that Ukrainian forces shot down 146 drones and that 193 drones were "lost" or suppressed by Ukrainian electronic warfare (EW) systems. Ukrainian officials reported that Russian

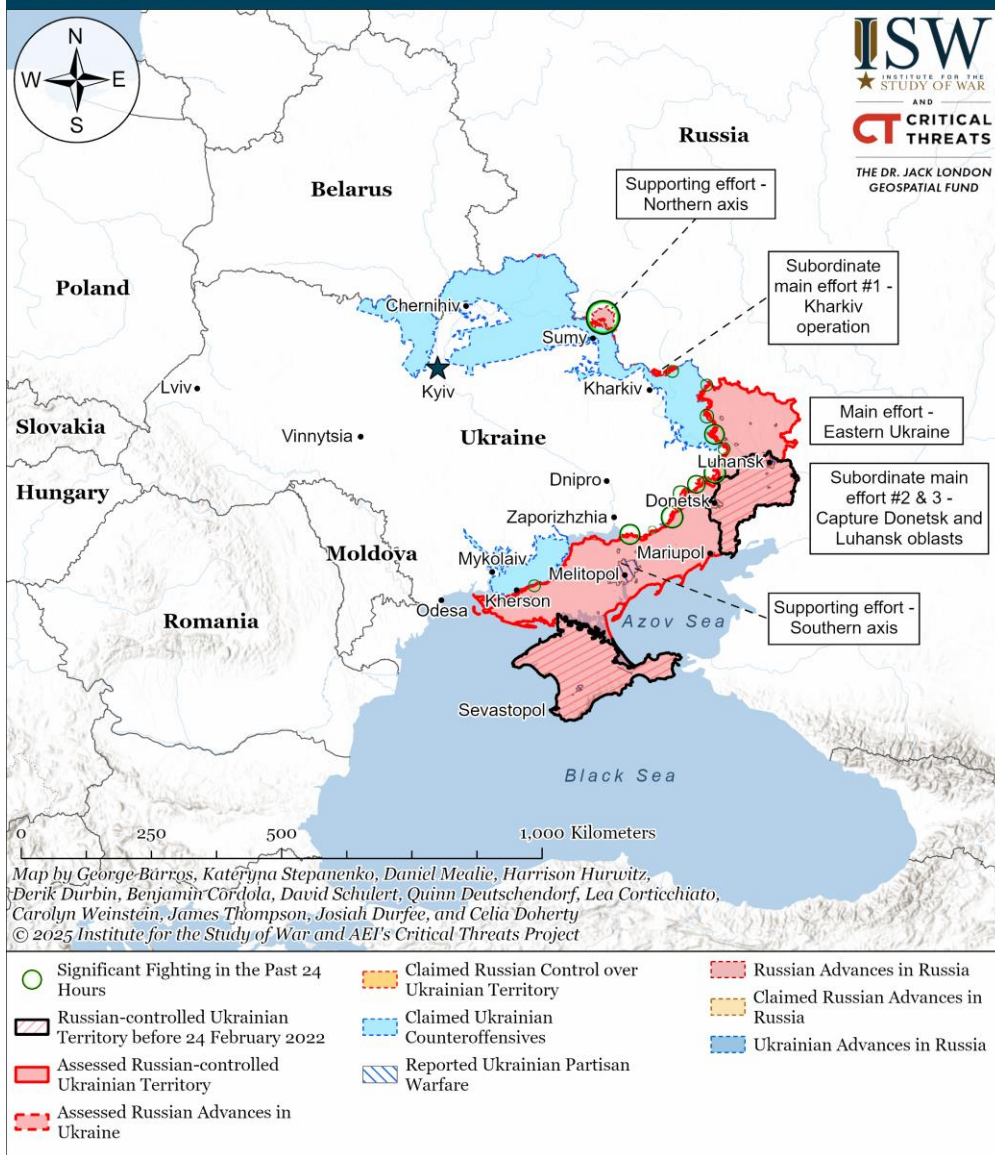
forces struck Mykolaiv, Odesa, and Zaporizhia oblasts.[16] The strikes heavily targeted Kyiv City, with Ukrainian officials reporting that Russian forces struck residential buildings in the city and damaged the campus of the Ihor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute.[17] Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky highlighted that Russia is targeting Ukrainian cities and civilians, noting that Russian forces damaged five apartment buildings in Kyiv City and hit a hospital in Bila Tserkva, Kyiv Oblast.[18] Russia has been increasingly targeting Kyiv City in its overnight drone and missile strikes.[19]

**Ukraine's Western partners continue to allocate military aid to Ukraine and collaborate with the Ukrainian defense industrial base (DIB).** Ukrainian Defense Minister Rustem Umerov stated on June 22 that Norway plans to allocate \$400 million to purchase Ukrainian weapons for the Ukrainian military.[20] Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky stated on June 22 that Norway will focus on investing in drones.[21] Zelensky noted that Norwegian defense company Kongsberg Defense and Aerospace opened an office in Ukraine, and Umerov stated that Ukraine will collaborate with Kongsberg to develop joint projects related to air defense.[22] New Zealand announced on June 23 a package worth 16 million NZD (about \$9.54 million) for Ukraine that allocates four million NZD (about \$2.38 million) toward the NATO Security Assistance and Training for Ukraine (NSATU) fund, four million NZD toward the UK- and Latvia-led drone coalition, seven million NZD (about \$4.17 million) worth of humanitarian aid, and one million NZD (about \$596,500) for displaced Ukrainians.[23]

#### **Key Takeaways:**

- **The Kremlin continues to only diplomatically support Iran, showcasing the limitations in the Russian-Iranian strategic relationship.**
- **Russian officials are attempting to influence conversations about increasing NATO defense spending by misrepresenting Russia's ongoing efforts to restructure and expand Russia's military capabilities as a defensive reaction to NATO.**
- **Putin also acknowledged his ongoing efforts to empower Russia's internal security services in order to safeguard regime stability and internal security.**
- **Russian forces conducted a large-scale combined drone and missile strike against Ukraine on the night of June 22 to 23 that largely targeted Kyiv City and killed at least seven people and injured 28.**
- **Ukraine's Western partners continue to allocate military aid to Ukraine and collaborate with the Ukrainian defense industrial base (DIB).**
- **Ukrainian forces advanced in northern Sumy Oblast. Russian forces advanced near Kupyansk, Borova, Pokrovsk, and Novopavlivka and in Sumy Oblast.**

## Assessed Control of Terrain in the Russo-Ukrainian War June 23, 2025 at 1:30 PM EST



***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 Supporting Effort – Northern Axis
- 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 Kharkiv Oblast and encircle northern Donetsk Oblast
- Russian Subordinate Main Effort #3 – Capture the entirety of Donetsk Oblast, the claimed territory of Russia's proxies in Donbas, and possibly advance into Dnipropetrovsk Oblast
- Russian Supporting Effort – Southern Axis
- Russian Air, Missile, and Drone Campaign
- Significant Activity in Belarus

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

**Russian forces conducted offensive operations in Kursk Oblast on June 23 but did not advance.**

Russian forces attacked in unspecified areas of Kursk Oblast on June 22 and 23.[24] Russian milbloggers claimed that Ukrainian forces counterattacked toward Kursk Oblast from Ryzhivka and Bezsalivka (south and east of Tetkino in Sumy Oblast) and toward Tetkino (southwest of Glushkovo), Glushkovo, and Novyi Put (east of Tetkino).[25]

**Russian Supporting Effort – Northern Axis (Russian objective: Create defensible buffer zones in northern Ukraine along the international border and approach to within tube artillery range of Sumy City)**

**Ukrainian forces liberated a village in the Sumy direction in mid-June 2025.**

Assessed Ukrainian advances: Geolocated footage published on June 20 and 23 indicates that Ukrainian forces advanced north of Kindrativka (north of Sumy City) and liberated Andriivka (north of Sumy City).[26] Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky reported on June 14 that Ukrainian forces liberated Andriivka, and a Russian milblogger acknowledged on June 21 that Russian forces withdrew from the settlement.[27] A Russian milblogger claimed on June 23 that elements of the Russian 155th Naval Infantry Brigade (Pacific Fleet) previously replaced elements of the 30th Motorized Rifle Brigade (2nd Combined Arms Army [CAA], Central Military District [CMD]) that were operating in Andriivka but that the naval infantry elements had to withdraw from the settlement.[28]

Russian forces attacked in northern Sumy Oblast, including north of Sumy City near Andriivka and northeast of Sumy City near Yunakivka, on June 22 and 23.[29]

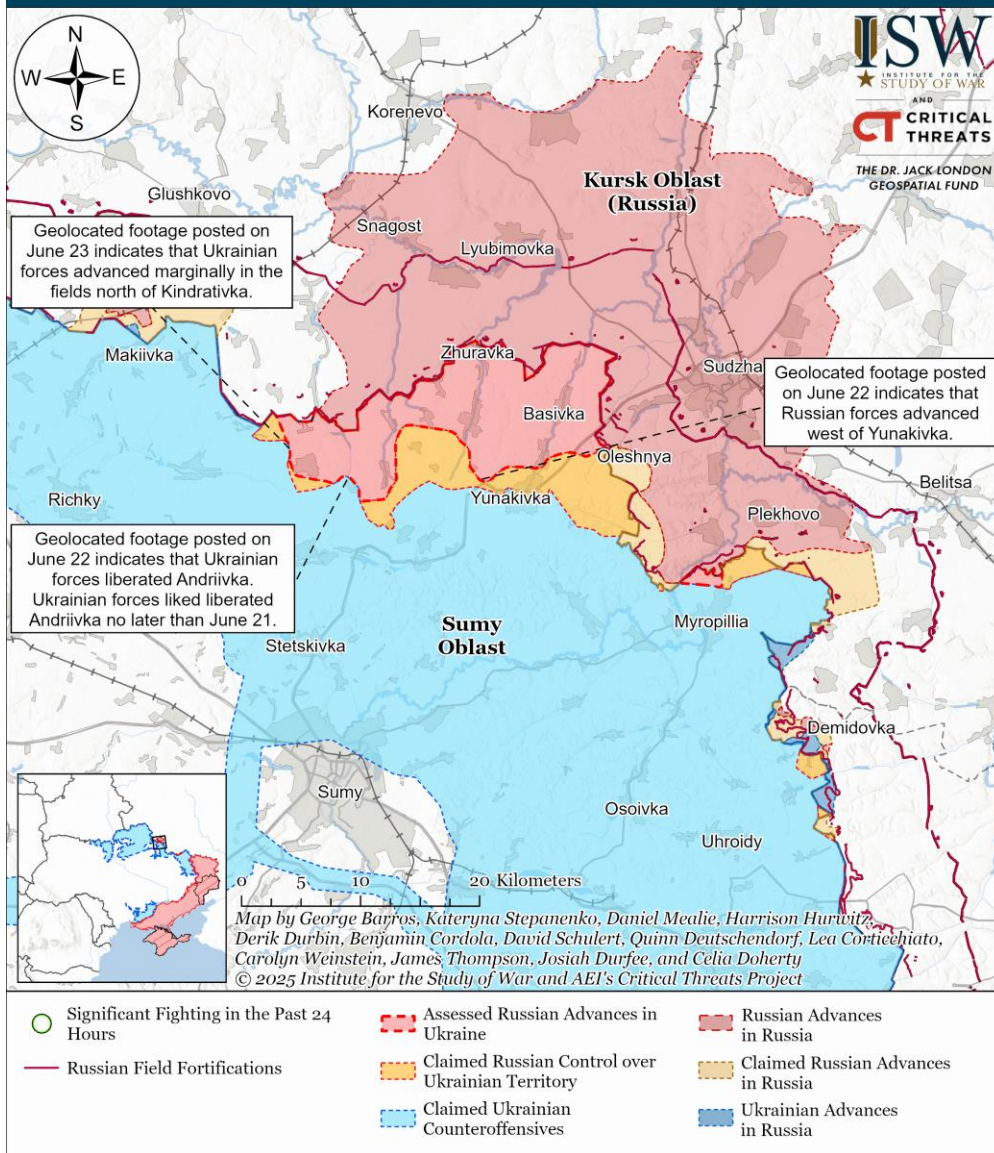
Ukrainian Commander-in-Chief General Oleksandr Syrskyi reported on June 22 that Ukrainian forces are conducting assault operations toward Yunakivka and that Ukrainian forces likely advanced between 200 and 700 meters in the settlement over the course of a week.[30] Syrskyi characterized Yunakivka as a contested "gray zone" and stated that Russian forces' reliance on small assault groups without armored support enabled Ukraine's counterattacks. A Russian milblogger claimed that Ukrainian forces are using Andriivka to develop attacks towards Kindrativka (northwest of Andriivka) and Oleksiivka (east of Andriivka), which are located roughly four kilometers from Andriivka.[31] Ukraine's

Siversk Group of Forces Spokesperson Vadym Mysnyk stated on June 22 that Russian forces are attempting to leverage superior manpower reserves with light vehicles to conduct infantry attacks in the North Slobozhansk direction (northern Sumy and Kharkiv oblasts) and that Russian forces are not using armored equipment within 10 to 15 kilometers of the frontline.[32] Mysnyk also stated that Russian forces in the area are struggling to maneuver across difficult terrain with ravines, small rivers, and forests with vehicles. Ukraine's Border Service Spokesperson Andriy Demchenko stated on June 23 that Russian forces have reduced the tempo of their assaults in Sumy Oblast and hypothesized that Russian forces likely lack the personnel to maintain a higher operational tempo with greater assaults.[33]

Order of Battle: Elements of the Russian 83rd Separate Airborne (VDV) Brigade and drone and artillery elements of the 11th Separate VDV Brigade are reportedly operating near Yablunivka (northeast of Sumy City).[34] Elements of the 810th Naval Infantry Brigade (Black Sea Fleet) are reportedly operating in the Sumy direction, including near Myropillia (northeast of Sumy City).[35] Elements of the 155th Naval Infantry Brigade are reportedly operating in Oleksiivka.[36] Drone elements of the Smuglyanka Detachment are reportedly coordinating Russian FAB-3000 air strikes against Ukrainian positions near Kindrativka.[37] Elements of the 40th Naval Infantry Brigade (Pacific Fleet) are reportedly operating near Kindrativka.[38]



## Assessed Control of Terrain in the Sumy Direction June 23, 2025 at 1:30 PM EST



### Russian Main Effort – Eastern Ukraine

#### 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)

**Russian forces continued offensive operations in northern Kharkiv Oblast on June 23 but did not make confirmed advances.**

Unconfirmed claims: A Russian milblogger claimed that Russian forces advanced in the Vovchanski Khutory direction (northeast of Kharkiv City).[39]

Russian forces attacked northeast of Kharkiv City near Vovchansk on June 22 and 23.[40]

The commander of a Ukrainian drone regiment operating in the Kharkiv direction stated on June 23 that Russian forces have become more active near Vovchansk.[41] The commander stated that Russian forces were deploying forces with 30 to 45 days of training in January 2025, but are now deploying forces with a maximum of 14 days of training in order to more quickly replenish losses. The commander stated that Russian forces are using lightly armored vehicles sporadically. The spokesperson of a Ukrainian border guards brigade operating in the Vovchansk direction stated on June 23 that Russian forces launch up to 10 assaults daily and have recently increased the number of personnel deployed in each assault to up to 25 personnel per assault, compared to previous assaults with three to 10 personnel.[42] The Ukrainian Border Guard Service reported on June 23 that Russian forces in the Vovchansk direction continue to attack using infantry on motorcycles.[43]

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

**Russian forces recently advanced in the Kupyansk direction.**

Assessed Russian advances: Geolocated footage published on June 23 indicates that Russian forces recently advanced in southern Dvorichna (north of Kupyansk).[44]

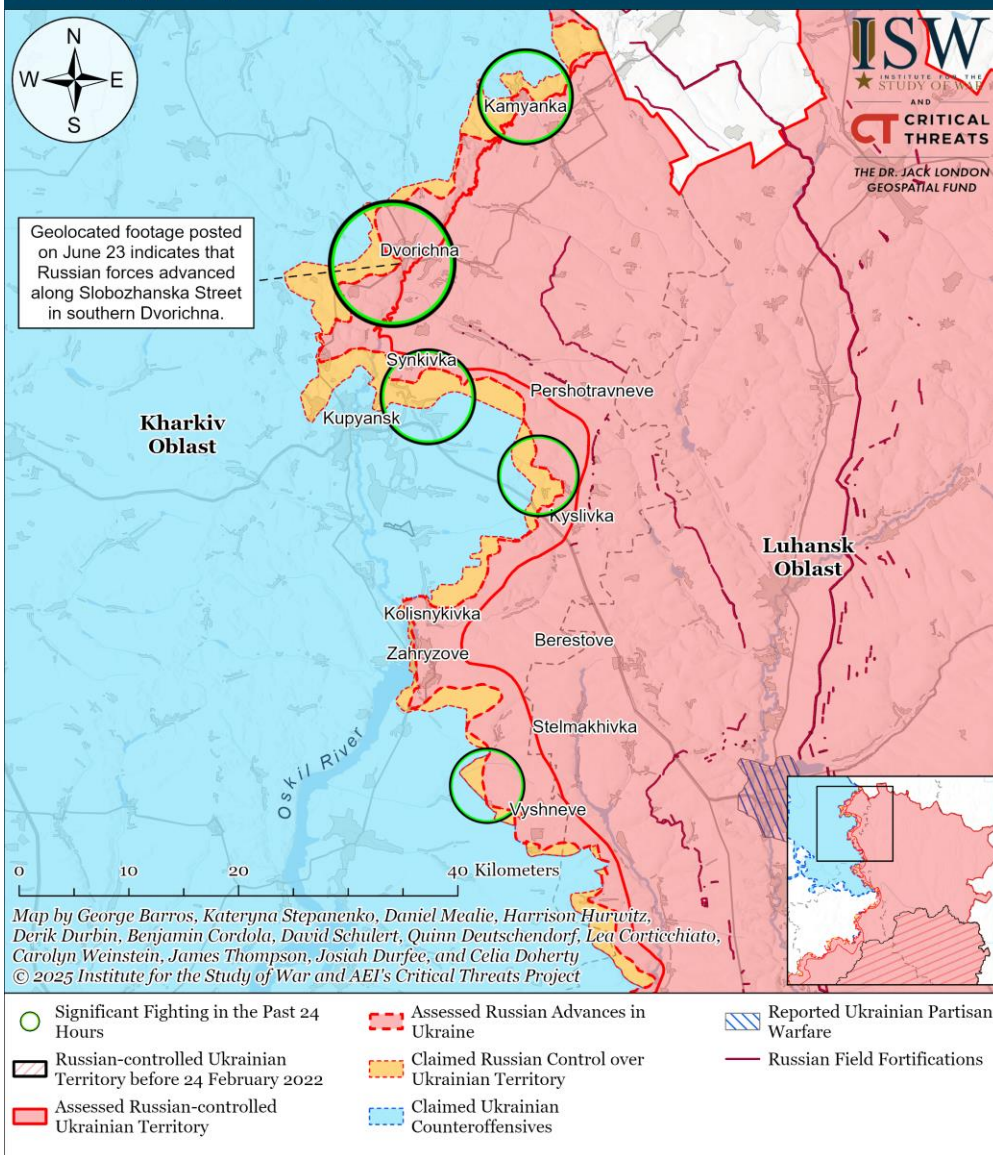
Russian forces attacked north of Kupyansk near Holubivka and Dvorichna and toward Kutkivka; northeast of Kupyansk near Stroivka and Fyholivka and toward Dvorichanske; east of Kupyansk near Petropavlivka; and southeast of Kupyansk near Stepova Novoselivka and toward Pischane on June 22 and 23.[45]

The commander of a Ukrainian drone regiment operating in Kharkiv Oblast stated on June 23 that Russian forces are intensifying efforts in the Kupyansk direction and supplementing efforts with untrained infantry units and small vehicles.[46]

Order of Battle: Drone operators of the Russian 352nd Motorized Rifle Regiment (11th Army Corps [AC], Leningrad Military District [LMD]) are reportedly operating in the Kupyansk direction.[47]



## Assessed Control of Terrain in the Kupyansk Direction June 23, 2025 at 1:30 PM EST



### Russian forces recently advanced in the Borova direction.

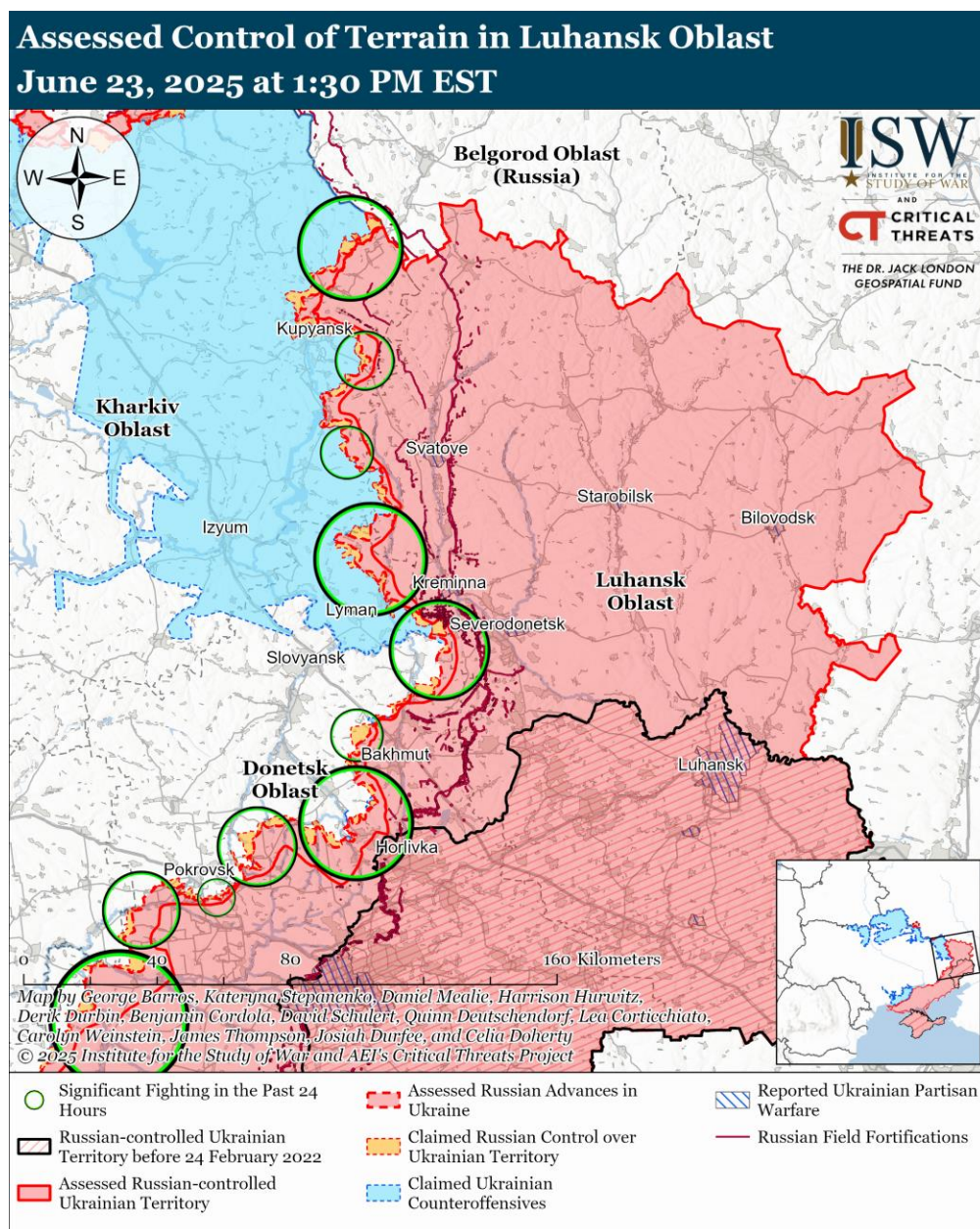
Assessed Russian advances: Geolocated footage published on June 23 shows Russian forces raising a flag in central Hrekiivka (southeast of Borova), indicating that Russian forces recently seized the settlement.[48]

Russian forces attacked northeast of Borova near Zeleny Hai and southeast of Borova near Hrekiivka and Tverdokhlibove and toward Olhivka.[49]

### Russian forces conducted offensive operations in the Lyman direction on June 23 but did not advance.

Russian forces attacked northwest of Lyman toward Shandryholove north of Lyman near Ridkodub, Karpivka, and Zelena Dolyna, and toward Novyi Myr; and northeast of Lyman near Kolodyazi on June 22 and 23.[50]

A Ukrainian battalion operating in the Lyman direction reported that Ukrainian drone operators struck a “Mur” surveillance system and a “Sylok-M1” electronic warfare (EW) system in the Lyman direction.[51]



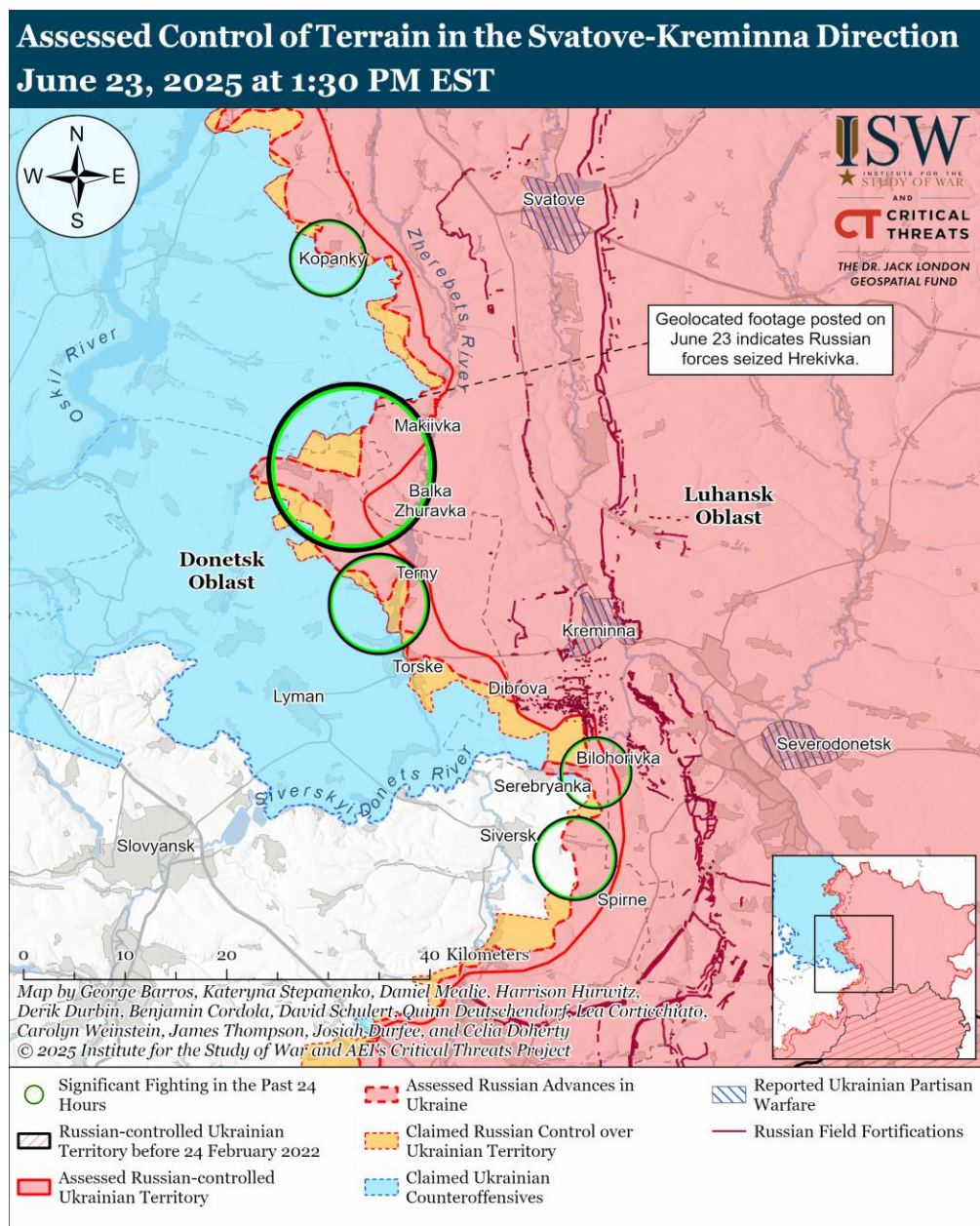
**Russian Subordinate Main Effort #3 – Donetsk Oblast (Russian objective: Capture the entirety of Donetsk Oblast, the claimed territory of Russia’s proxies in Donbas, and possibly advance into Dnipropetrovsk Oblast)**



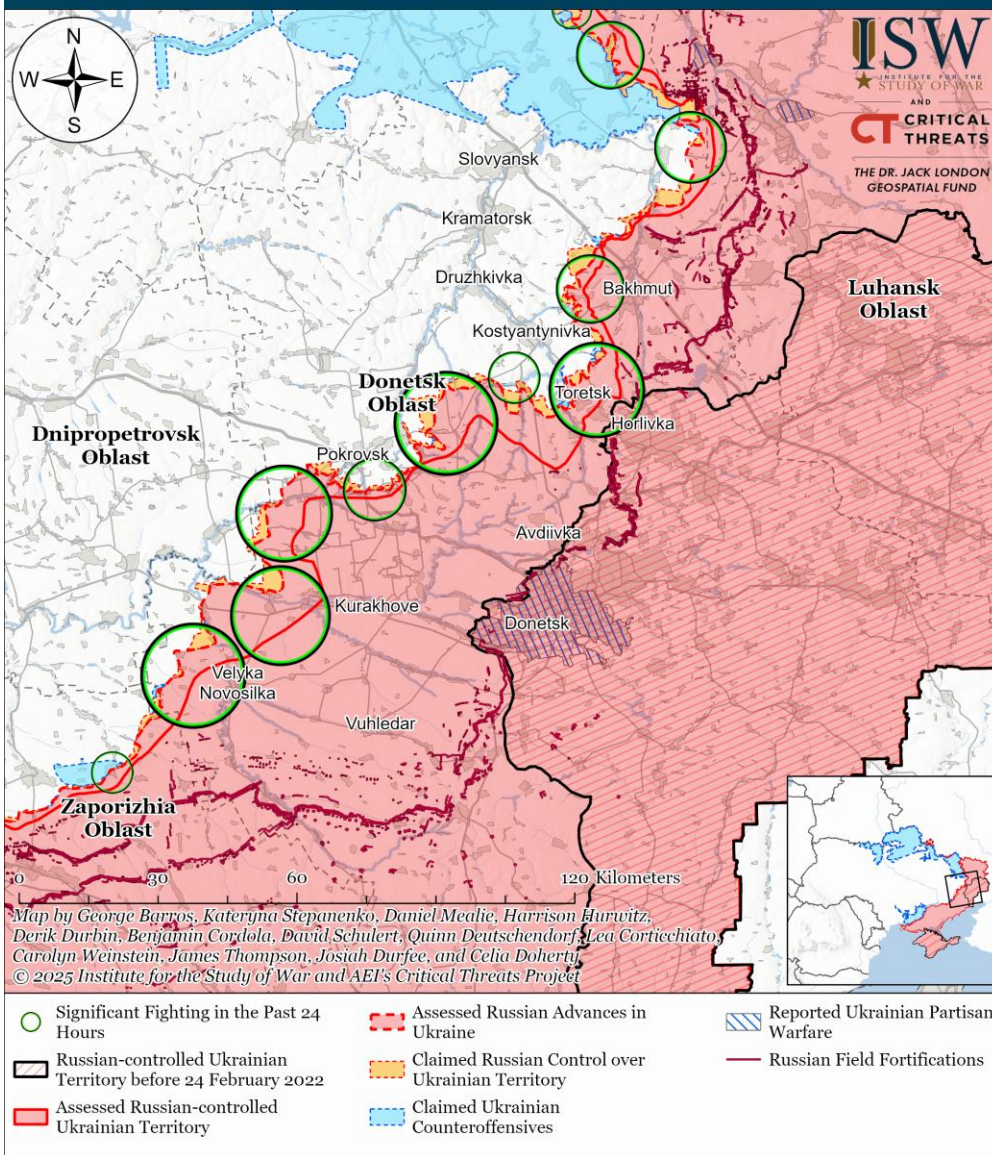
## Russian forces continued offensive operations in the Siversk direction on June 23 but did not make confirmed advances.

Russian forces attacked northeast of Siversk near Hryhorivka and Serebryanka, east of Siversk near Verkhnokamyanske, and southeast of Siversk near Ivano-Darivka on June 22 and 23.[52]

Order of Battle: Drone operators of the Russian 123rd Motorized Rifle Brigade (3rd Combined Arms Army [CAA], formerly 2nd Luhansk People's Republic [LNR] Army Corps [AC], Southern Military District [SMD]) are reportedly operating near Verkhnokamyanske.[53]



## Assessed Control of Terrain in Donetsk Oblast June 23, 2025 at 1:30 PM EST



**Russian forces continued offensive operations in the Chasiv Yar direction on June 23 but did not advance.**

Russian forces attacked near Chasiv Yar itself, north of Chasiv Yar toward Novomarkove, southeast of Chasiv Yar toward Mykolaivka, and south of Chasiv Yar near Stupochky and toward Predtechnye and Bila Hora on June 22 and 23.[54]

A chief sergeant in a Ukrainian brigade operating in the Chasiv Yar direction stated that Russian forces learned during offensive operations against Pokrovsk that it is difficult to conduct frontal assaults on large settlements and are avoiding attacking Kostyantynivka. The chief sergeant stated that Russian forces are instead attempting to strike Ukrainian logistics and rear areas near Kramatorsk and Druzhkivka to disrupt Ukrainian logistics in the area.[55] The chief sergeant stated that the Russian

military command has redeployed significant elements of "Rubikon" Center for Advanced Unmanned Technologies from the Pokrovsk direction to the Chasiv Yar direction. The chief sergeant suggested that these redeployments may indicate Russian prioritization of this sector of the front. The spokesperson of a Ukrainian brigade operating in the Chasiv Yar direction stated that the Russian military command is actively committing elements of the Russian 98th Airborne (VDV) Division in hopes of seizing Chasiv Yar.[56] The spokesperson stated that Russian forces conduct small infantry assaults "almost continuously," including with motorcycle support.

### **Russian forces continued offensive operations in the Toretsk direction on June 23 but did not advance.**

Russian forces continued offensive operations in Toretsk itself; northwest of Toretsk toward Pleshchiivka; north of Toretsk near Dyliivka and Dachne; west of Toretsk near Shcherbynivka, Novospaske, Novoolenivka, Yablunivka, and Rusyn Yar; and southwest of Toretsk near Leonidivka on June 22 and 23.[57]

Geolocated footage published on June 20 indicates that Ukrainian forces struck a Russian vehicle storage facility of the 24th Spetsnaz Brigade (Main Intelligence Directorate of the Russian General Staff [GRU]) in occupied Velyka Shyshivka (east of Donetsk City).[58]

### **Russian forces recently advanced in the Pokrovsk direction.**

Assessed Russian advances: Geolocated footage published on June 23 indicates that Russian forces recently advanced south of Udachne (southwest of Pokrovsk).[59]

Unconfirmed claims: A Russian source claimed that Russian forces have established positions in Novoekonomichne (northeast of Pokrovsk) and advanced into Novotoretske (north of Novoekonomichne).[60]

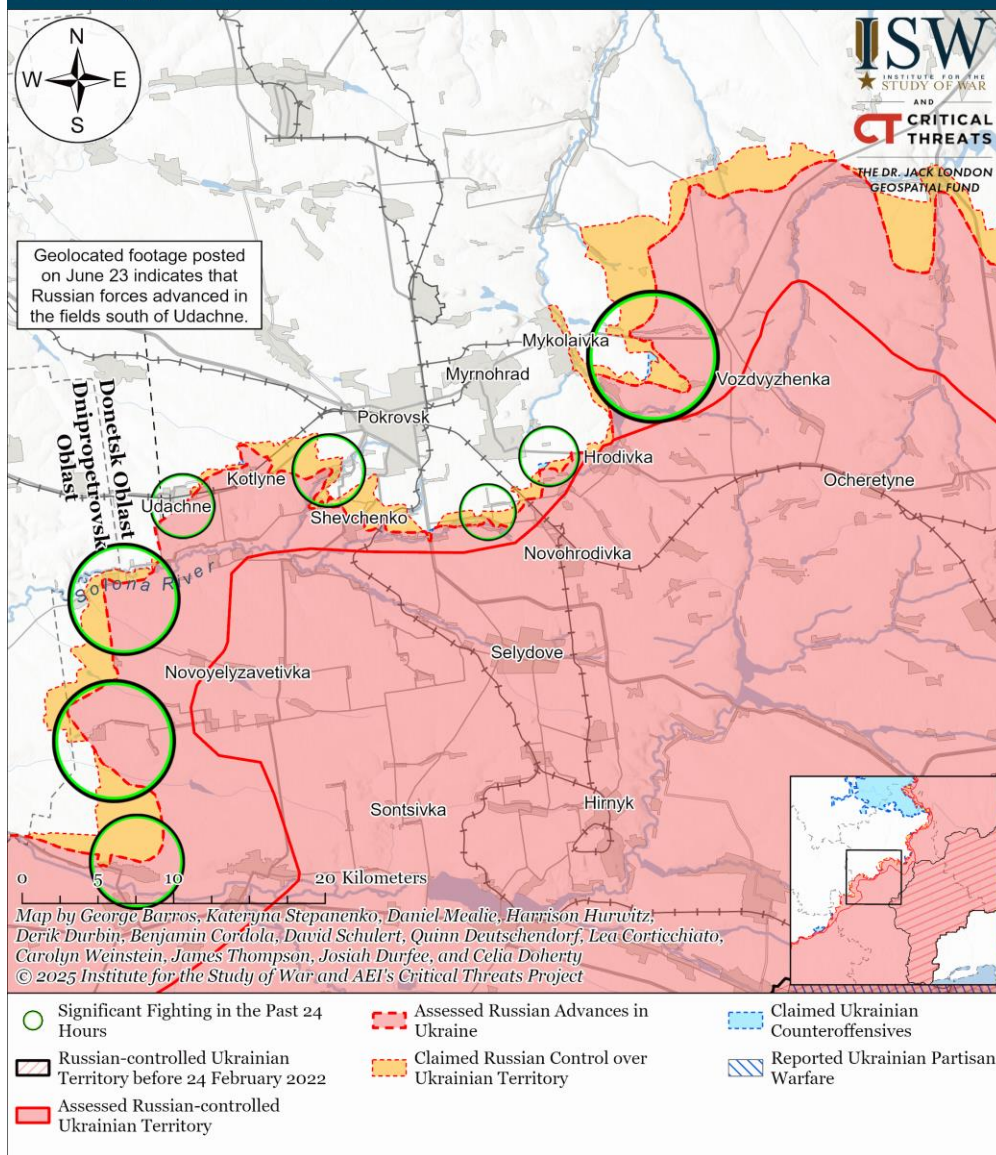
Russian forces continued offensive operations northeast of Pokrovsk near Myrne and Malynivka and toward Volodymyrivka, Shakhove, Razine, and Novotoretske; east of Pokrovsk near Myrolyubivka and Promin; southeast of Pokrovsk near Lysivka and Sukhyi Yar; south of Pokrovsk near Novoukrainka; and southwest of Pokrovsk near Udachne and toward Molodetske on June 22 and 23.[61]

A Ukrainian servicemember operating in the Pokrovsk direction noted that Russia's use of motorcycles and buggies is relatively effective.[62] The Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) claimed that Russian forces used Geran-2 drones (Russian-made analogues of the Iranian-made Shahed-136 drones) to strike Ukrainian positions near Razine and Sofiivka (further northeast of Pokrovsk and west of Toretsk).[63] ISW has observed recent reports that Russia is using Geran-2 drones for strikes along the frontline, marking a departure from Russia's previous pattern of using long-range Shahed/Geran drones against Ukraine's rear and deep rear and indicating Russia's enhanced drone production capabilities.[64]

Order of Battle: Drone operators of the Russian 80th "Sparta" Separate Mechanized Battalion (51st CAA, formerly 1st Donetsk People's Republic [DNR] AC, SMD) are reportedly striking Ukrainian positions near Novoekonomichne and Koptieve (northeast of Pokrovsk).[65] Drone operators of the 39th Motorized Rifle Brigade (68th AC, Eastern Military District [EMD]) are reportedly operating in the Pokrovsk direction.[66]



## Assessed Control of Terrain in the Pokrovsk Direction June 23, 2025 at 1:30 PM EST



### Russian forces recently advanced in the Novopavlivka direction.

Assessed Russian advances: Geolocated footage published on June 23 indicates that Russian forces recently advanced south of Vesele (south of Novopavlivka).[67]

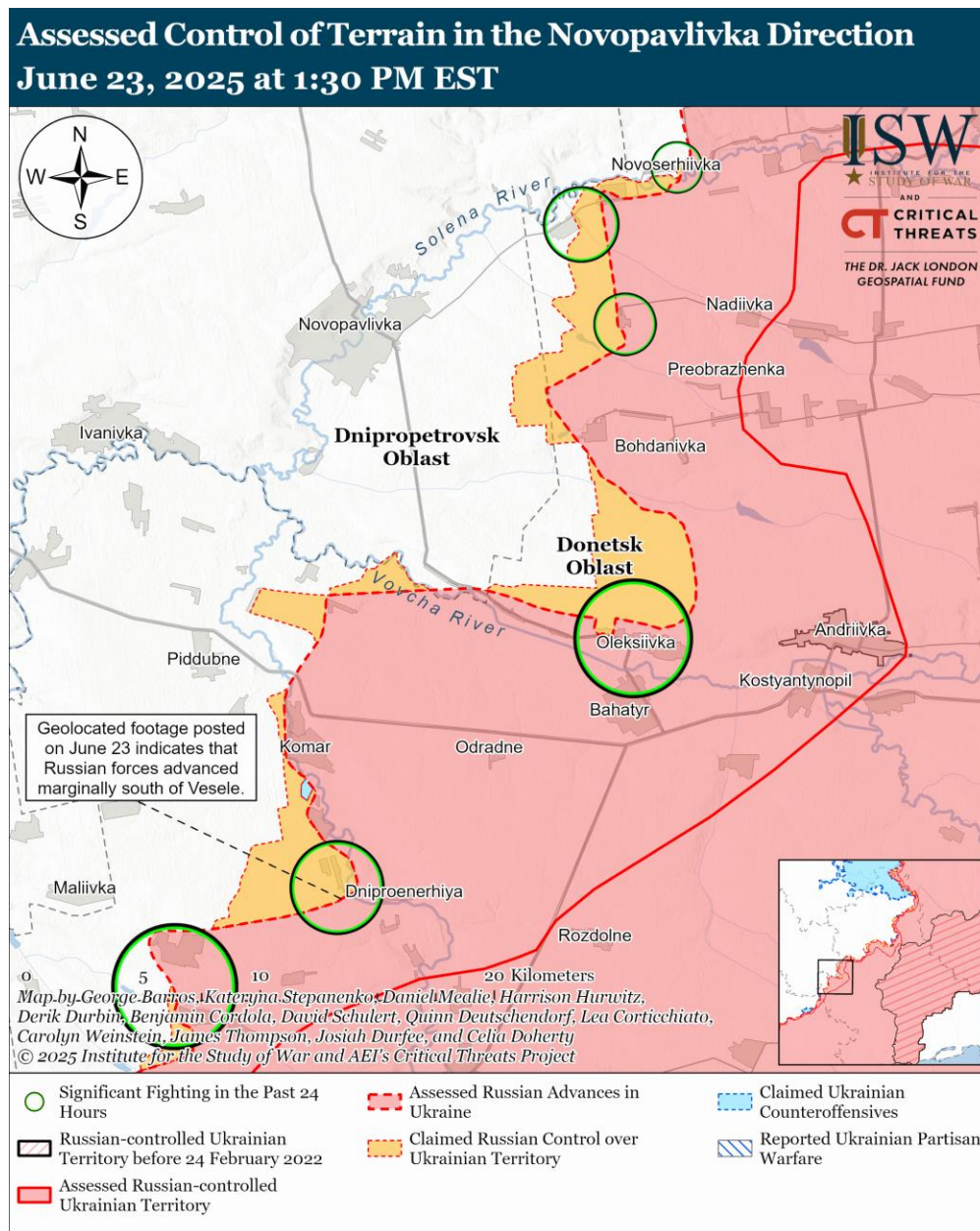
Unconfirmed claims: Russian milbloggers claimed that Russian forces advanced east of Novomykolaivka (northeast of Novopavlivka), west of Dachne, southwest of Horikhove (both southeast of Novopavlivka), west of Komar, west and southwest of Fedorivka, and east of Yalta (all south of Novopavlivka).[68]

Russian forces conducted offensive operations toward Novopavlivka itself; northeast of Novopavlivka near Novoserhiivka, and Muravka; east of Novopavlivka near Kotlyarivka; south of Novopavlivka near Yalta; and southeast of Novopavlivka near Oleksiivka and Bahatyr on June 22 and 23.[69] A Russian



milblogger claimed that Ukrainian forces counterattacked near Perebudova (south of Novopavlivka).[70]

Order of Battle: Elements of the Russian 36th Motorized Rifle Regiment (67th Motorized Rifle Division, 25th CAA, Central Military District [CMD]) are reportedly operating in Zaporizhzhia (south of Novopavlivka).[71] Elements of the 1444th Motorized Rifle Regiment (reportedly of the 74th Motorized Rifle Brigade, 41st CAA, CMD) are reportedly operating near the Donetsk-Dnipropetrovsk Oblast border.[72]



**Russian forces continued offensive operations in the Velyka Novosilka direction on June 23 but did not advance.**

Russian forces conducted offensive operations northwest of Velyka Novosilka near Shevchenko and Vilne Pole and toward Voskresenka and west of Velyka Novosilka near Novosilka on June 22 and 23.[73]

Order of Battle: Drone operators of the Russian 57th Motorized Rifle Brigade (5th CAA, EMD) are reportedly operating near Shevchenko.[74]

**Russian Supporting Effort – Southern Axis (Russian objective: Maintain frontline positions, secure rear areas against Ukrainian strikes, and advance within tube artillery range of Zaporizhzhia City)**

**Russian forces continued limited offensive operations in the Hulyaipole direction on June 23 but did not make confirmed advances.**

Unconfirmed claims: A Russian milblogger claimed on June 22 that Russian forces advanced toward Malynivka (east of Hulyaipole).[75]

Russian forces attacked east of Hulyaipole near Malynivka on June 22 and 23.[76]

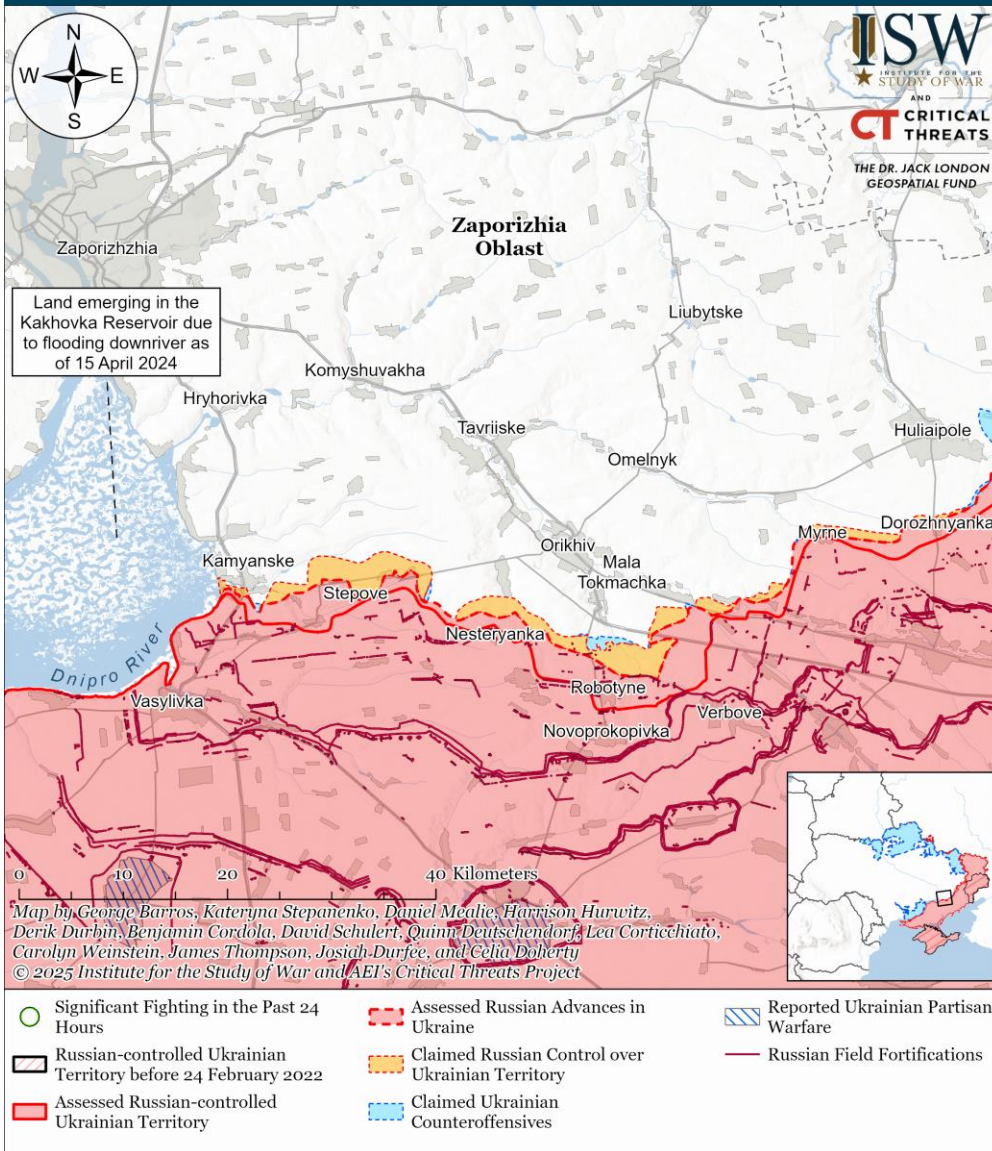
Order of Battle: Elements of the Russian 11th Air Force and Air Defense Army (Russian Aerospace Forces [VKS] and Eastern Military District [EMD]) and the 1295th Separate Anti-Tank Artillery Battalion (reportedly of the 35th Combined Arms Army [CAA]) are reportedly operating near Malynivka.[77]

**Russian forces continued limited offensive operations in western Zaporizhia Oblast on June 23 but did not advance.**

Russian forces conducted offensive operations southeast of Orikhiv near Mala Tokmachka and southwest of Orikhiv near Mali Shcherbaky and Stepove and toward Novoandriivka on June 22 and 23.[78]

Order of Battle: Drone operators of the "Nemets" group of the 291st Motorized Rifle Regiment (42nd Motorized Rifle Division, 58th CAA, Southern Military District [SMD]) are reportedly operating in the Zaporizhia direction.[79]

## Assessed Control of Terrain in the Zaporizhia Direction June 23, 2025 at 1:30 PM EST

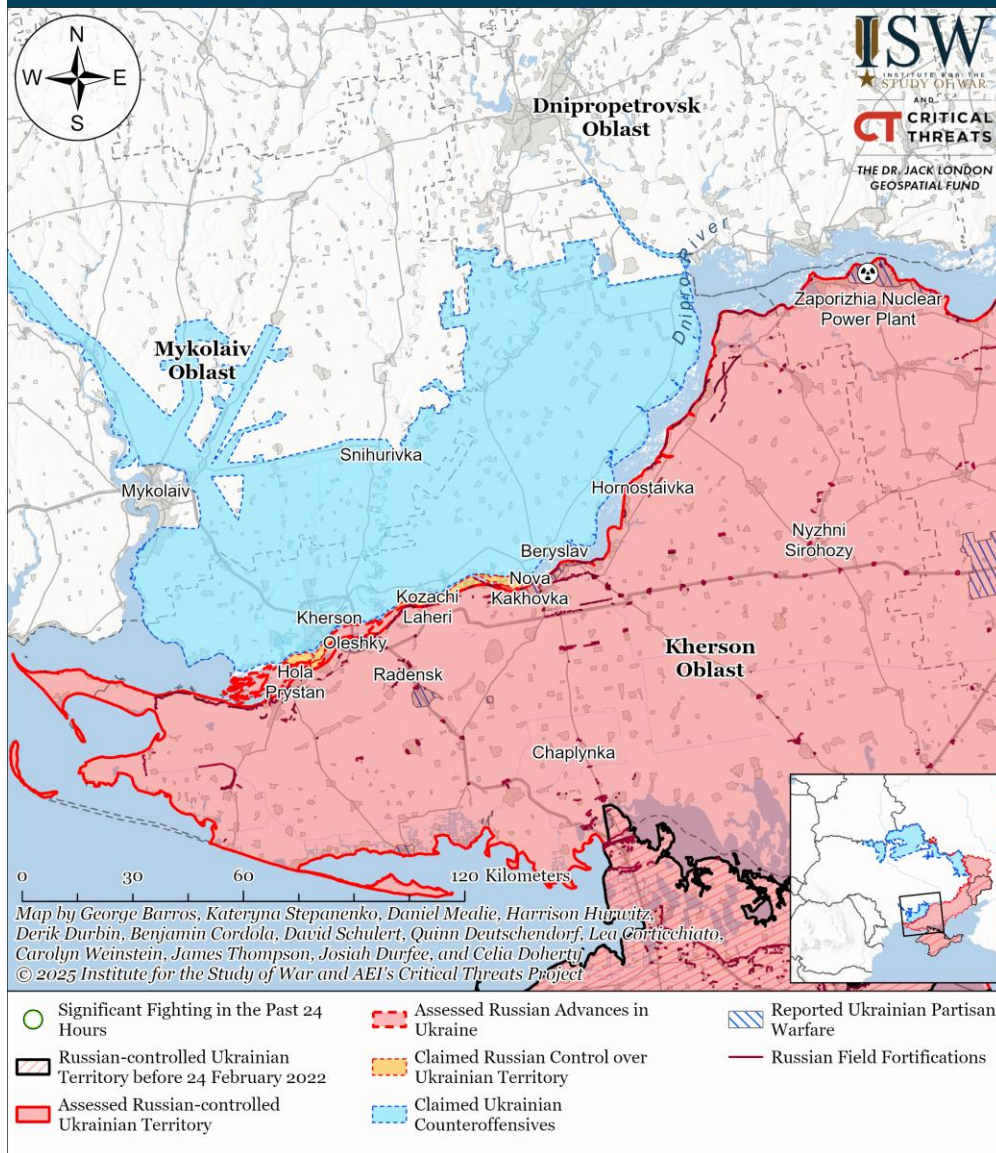


**Russian forces continued limited offensive operations in the Kherson direction on June 23 but did not advance.[80]**

Order of Battle: Drone operators of the Russian 61st Naval Infantry Brigade (Northern Fleet) are reportedly operating in the Kherson direction.[81]



## Assessed Control of Terrain in the Kherson Direction June 23, 2025 at 1:30 PM EST



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

See topline text.

### **Significant activity in Belarus (Russian efforts to increase its military presence in Belarus and further integrate Belarus into Russian-favorable frameworks)**

US Special Envoy to Ukraine General Keith Kellogg acknowledged on June 23 that he led a US delegation to Belarus on June 21.[82] Kellogg stated that the US and Belarusian delegations discussed the war in Ukraine and US-Belarusian bilateral relations and that the parties negotiated the release of 14 political prisoners from Belarus, including prisoners from Japan, Poland, and four other countries.

Belarusian opposition leader Svetlana Tikhanovskaya announced that Belarus had freed Belarusian opposition leader Sergey Tikhanovsky as part of the exchange.[83]

**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] <http://kremlin dot ru/events/president/news/77237>; [https://t.me/MID\\_Russia/61646](https://t.me/MID_Russia/61646)

[2] <https://archive.ph/dh6OM>; <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/irans-supreme-leader-asks-putin-do-more-after-us-strikes-2025-06-23/>

[3] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/adversary-entente-task-force-update-june-18-2025>; <https://understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-june-22-2025>

[4] <http://kremlin dot ru/events/president/news/77240>

[5] <https://ria dot ru/20250623/grushko-2024695639.html>

[6] [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_8443.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm)

[7] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/how-delays-western-aid-gave-russia-initiative-ukrainian-counteroffensive-kharkiv> ;  
<https://understandingwar.org/backgrounder/weakness-lethal-why-putin-invaded-ukraine-and-how-war-must-end>

[8] <http://kremlin dot ru/events/president/news/77240>

[9] <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russia%E2%80%99s-military-restructuring-and-expansion-hindered-ukraine-war> ; <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-17-2023> ;  
<https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-january-10-2024> ; <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-december-21>

[10] <https://isw.pub/UkrWar051325> ; <https://isw.pub/UkrWar030825>;  
<https://isw.pub/UkrWar030725>; <https://isw.pub/UkrWar021225>; <https://isw.pub/UkrWar020825>;  
<https://isw.pub/UkrWar020525>

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