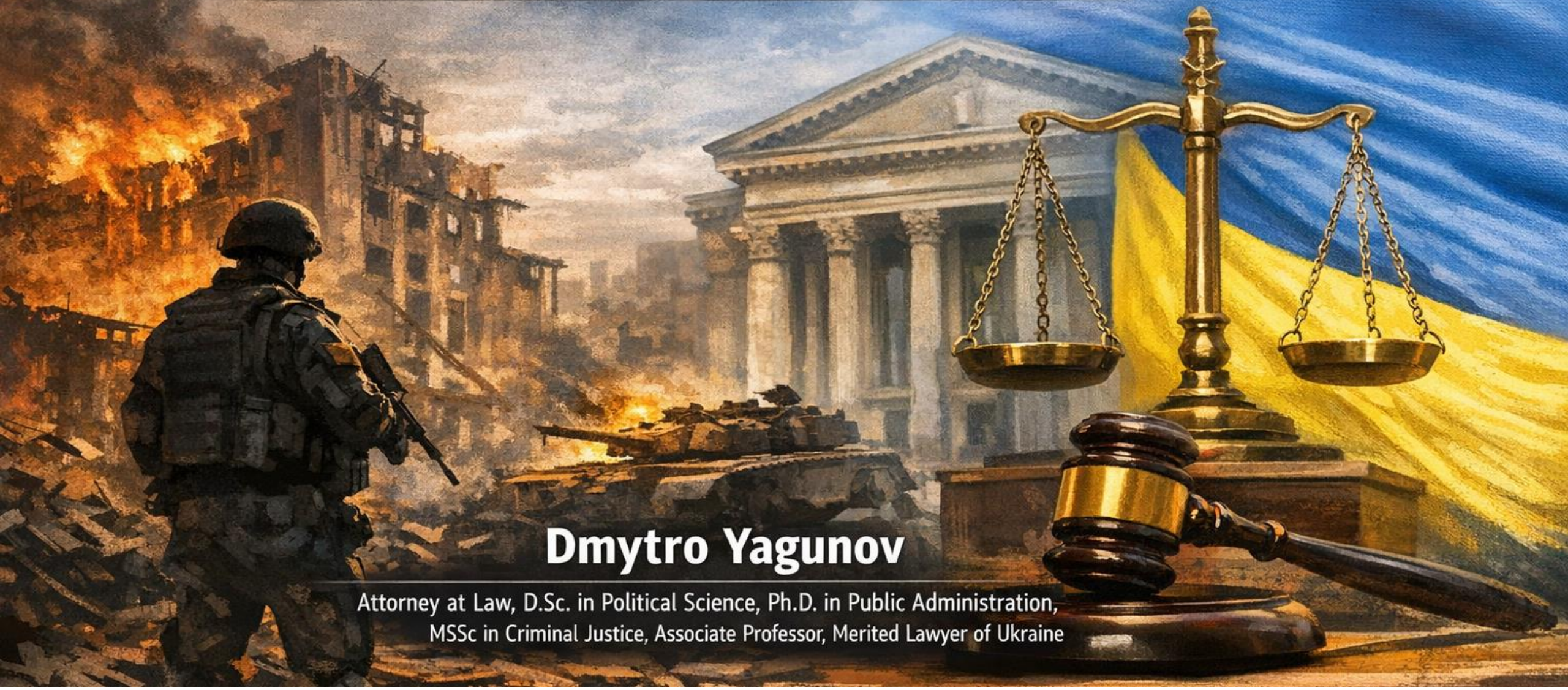


BETWEEN **WAR** AND **RULE OF LAW**:

CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN UKRAINE UNDER FIRE



Dmytro Yagunov

Attorney at Law, D.Sc. in Political Science, Ph.D. in Public Administration,
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EBERHARD KARLS
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WHY THIS RESEARCH MATTERS:

CONTEXT AND SCALE



A Longitudinal Perspective

Data collected since 2022 to track the evolution of crime **under fire**.



Beyond Local Statistics

It is a macro-analysis of **systemic stability**.



Europe's Largest Laboratory

Ukraine serves as a critical case study for modern, large-scale **armed conflict**.



Unprecedented Phenomena

The war has reshaped the domains of **politics, economics,**
and the management of criminal consequences in a **modern state**.

THE “UKRAINIAN EXPERIENCE” AS A EUROPEAN BLUEPRINT

Universal Challenges: Moving beyond “Ukraine as a subject” to focus on the “Ukrainian experience” as a set of challenges any European nation could face



Law Enforcement Under Pressure

Analyzing a system unprepared for the shift from peacetime to wartime policing



Transnational Implications

Criminal dynamics crossing borders:
People, Goods & Capital Flow



Post-War Forecasting

After the conflict:
Ukrainian crime trends impacting European security

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES: PREPAREDNESS AND PREVENTION



Identifying Systemic Failures

Documenting the gaps and “bottlenecks” in the Ukrainian justice system to provide a cautionary roadmap.

A Shared European Security Interest

Framing Ukrainian justice as a collective concern for neighbors & the wider EU.



Anticipatory Governance

Enabling friendly nations to adapt their legal and law enforcement frameworks before a crisis occurs.

The Goal of the Research

To transform raw wartime data into actionable insights that protect the integrity of the European community at large.



Safeguarding Justice & Security for Europe

Crime Statistics

During a Period of **Change**

During the onset of Russian armed aggression in Donbas and the start of institutional reforms.



Annual Registered Crimes



529,139 to 592,604

Reported Crimes Per Year

Proceedings with Suspects



159,480 to 223,561

Cases with Identified Suspects

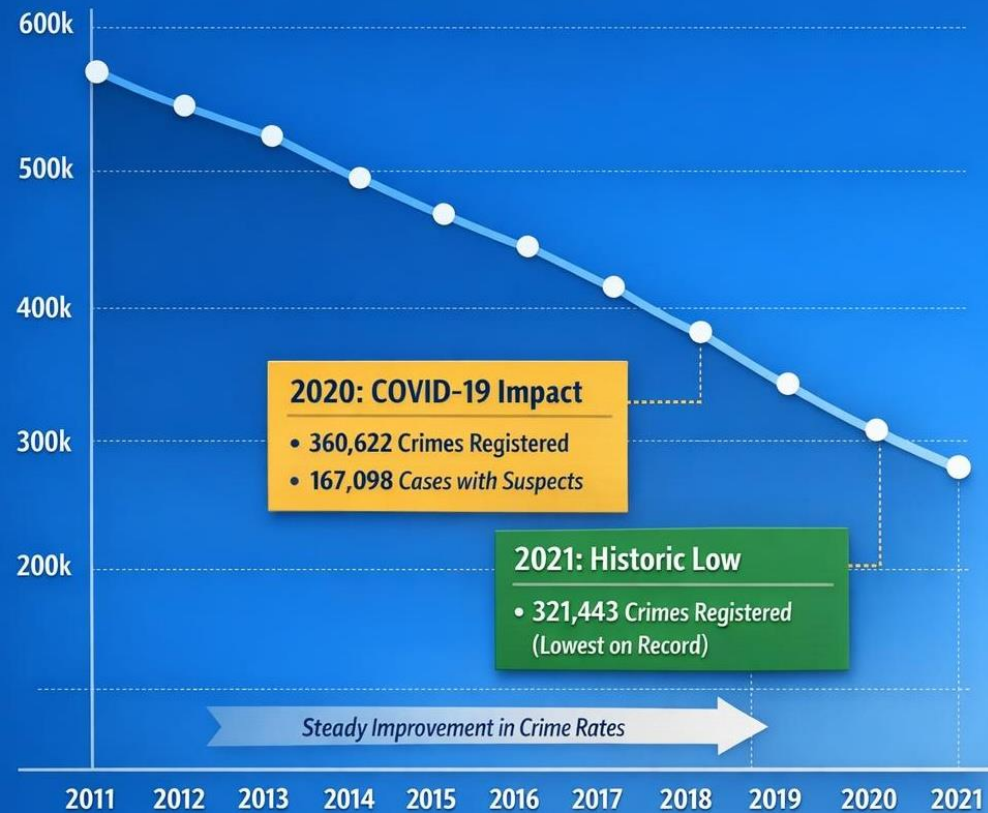
A Time of Conflict and Reform

PRE-REFORM BASELINE (2013–2016)

- **Registered Crimes:** Between 529,139 and 592,604
- **Proceedings with Suspects:** Ranged from 159,480 to 223,561
- **Context:** Period marked by the onset of Russian armed aggression in Donbas and the start of institutional reforms

Crime Rates Over the Decade

A Decade of Decline in Criminal Activity (2011–2021)



Improved
Crime Prevention



Effective
Institutions



Safer
Communities

THE PATH TO A HISTORIC LOW (2017–2021)

- **General Trend:** Consistent decline in crime rates over the decade.
- **2020 (COVID-19):** Registered 360,622 crimes with 167,098 proceedings involving suspects.
- **2021 Benchmark:** Reached a historic low of **321,443** registered crimes.
- **Outcome:** Better crime prevention and increased institutional effectiveness.

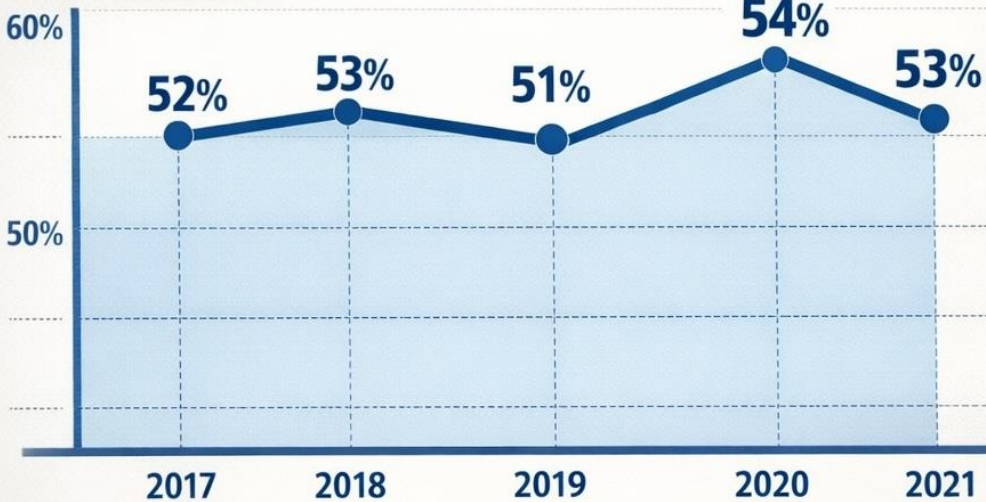


IDENTIFICATION RATE

Ratio of Registered Crimes to Identified Suspects (2017 - 2021)

50% - 54% IDENTIFICATION RATE STABLE OVER TIME

IDENTIFICATION RATE



CONSISTENTLY AROUND HALF OF ALL OFFENSES LED TO IDENTIFIED SUSPECTS

2021: RECORD LOW IN TOTAL CRIMES

172,494 SUSPECTS IDENTIFIED

HIGH PROCEDURAL EFFICIENCY

SYSTEM EFFICIENCY

- **Identification Rate:** The ratio of registered crimes to identified suspects remained stable between **50% and 54%**
- **Consistency:** Approximately half of all registered offenses resulted in specific individuals being notified of suspicion
- **2021 Specifics:** Despite the record low in total crimes, 172,494 suspects were identified, showing high procedural efficiency



IMPACT OF THE 2022 INVASION ON CRIME IN UKRAINE

Full-scale invasion in February 2022 abruptly disrupted pre-war trends.

 **362,636** Criminal Proceedings in 2022



Includes Cases with Suspects
& "Factual" Proceedings (No Suspects)



Crime Volume Exceeded 2021 Total
Despite War Starting Late February



Only **132,418** Cases with Identified Suspects

%

Suspect Identification Rate: **-36.5%**

Lowest Rate Across the Entire Observation Period

- **Full-scale invasion (February 2022)** abruptly disrupted pre-war trends
- **Registered crimes in 2022:** 362,636 criminal proceedings
- **Crime volume exceeded 2021 total**, despite the war starting only in late February
- **Only 132,418 cases had identified suspects**
 - Suspect identification rate: ~36.5%
 - Lowest rate

KEY PATTERNS IN THE FIRST YEAR OF WAR

RISE IN CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

Crime Did Not Decline,
Instead Increased

STATE FOCUS ON MILITARY DEFENCE

LEA Capacity
Redirected to War Efforts

DECLINE IN LEGAL CAPACITY

Investigative &
Prosecutorial Functions
Weakened



KEY PATTERN IN THE FIRST YEAR OF WAR

- Criminal activity **did not decline** and instead **increased**
- State and LEA capacity was **redirected to military defence**
- **Investigative and prosecutorial capacity deteriorated significantly**

POST-2022 PERIOD: SHARP ESCALATION IN CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

2023:



475,595 Registered Crimes



189,292 Proceedings
with Notes of Suspicion

↑ +31% vs. 2022, +48% vs. 2021



Suspect Identification Rate: **39.8%**

POST-2022 PERIOD: SHARP ESCALATION IN CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

- **2023:**

- 475,595 registered crimes
- +31% vs. 2022, +48% vs. 2021
- Suspect identification rate: 39.8%

- **Interpretation (2023):**

- Partial recovery in suspect identification
- Indicates **institutional adaptation by LEA**
- However, **absolute gap between crimes and investigative capacity widened**

2025:

CRITICAL TURNING POINT

608,191

REGISTERED CRIMES

165,904

PROCEEDINGS
WITH SUSPECTS

HIGHEST CRIME LEVEL IN 2013–2025 PERIOD

+89% VS. 2021

+24% VS. 2024

SUSPECT IDENTIFICATION RATE: **27.3%**
(LOWEST OBSERVED)

2024:

- 492,479 registered crimes
- Identification rate: 39.5%
- Continued deterioration in overall performance

2025 (critical turning point):

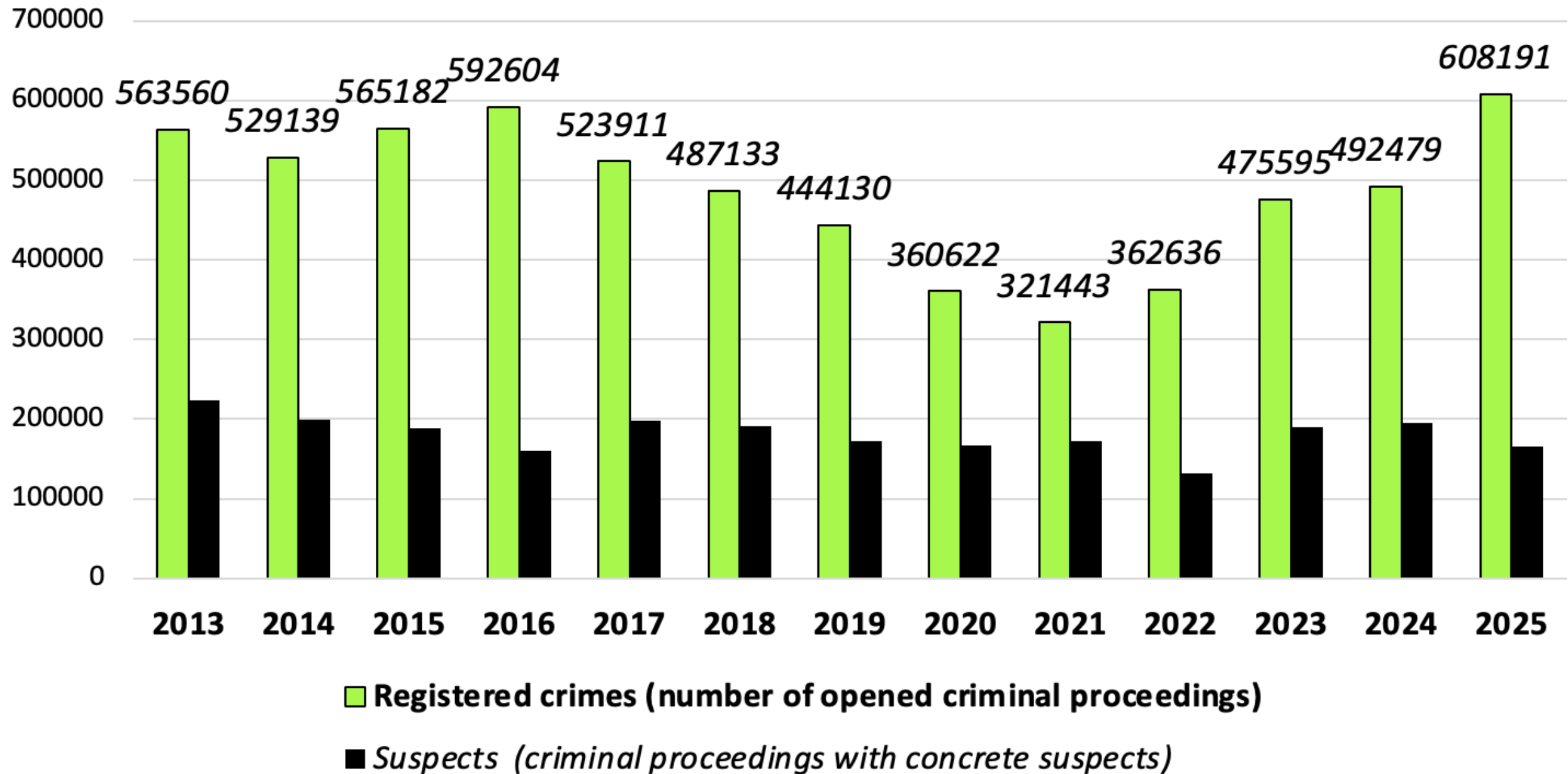
- 608,191 registered crimes
- Highest crime level in 2013–2025 period
- +89% vs. 2021, +24% vs. 2024
- Suspect identification rate: 27.3% (lowest observed)

Key paradox (2025):

- Record-high registered criminality
- Decline in absolute number of identified suspects
- Severe collapse in investigative effectiveness



Total number of registered crimes (2013 - 2025)

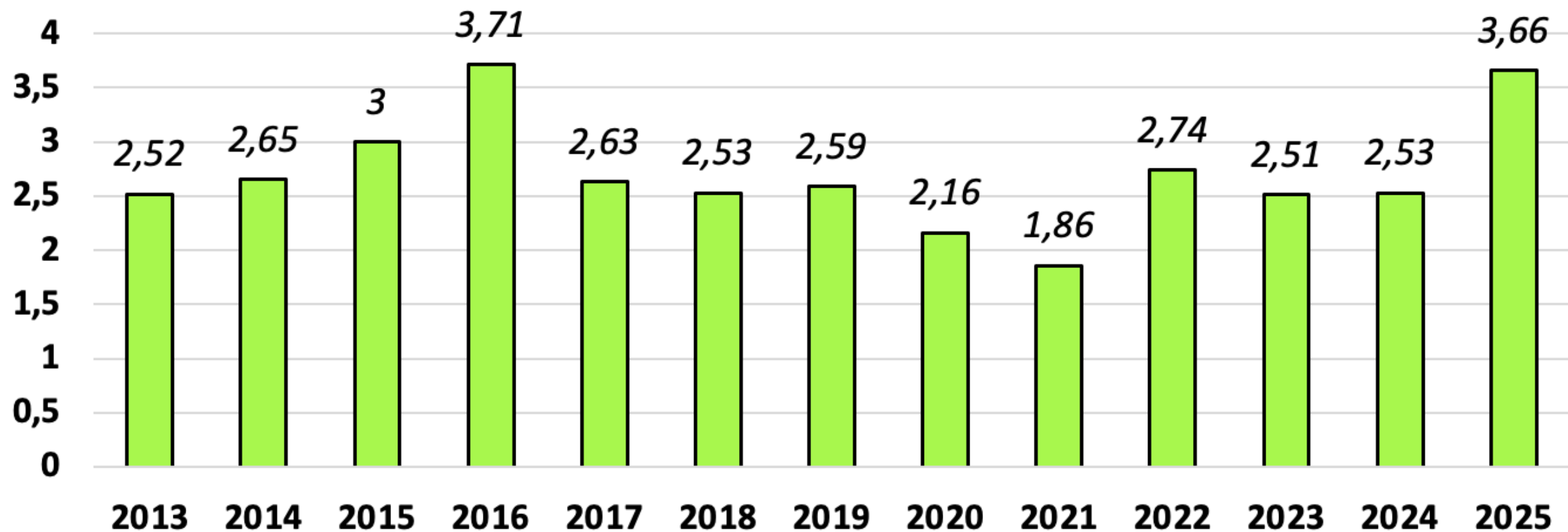




INVESTIGATIVE EFFICIENCY (2016–2021)

- **Ratio of Proceedings to Suspicion:** Showed a consistent downward trend, signifying higher efficiency.
- **2016 Peak:** The ratio stood at **3.71**.
- **2021 Historic Low:** The ratio dropped to **1.86**, the most efficient performance in the analyzed timeframe.
- **Enhancement in Investigative Capacity**
- **Improved Success Rates:** Law enforcement identified suspects in a significantly higher proportion of registered cases.
- **Systemic Improvement**

Ratio between criminal proceedings and notifications of suspicion



■ Ratio between numbers of registered criminal proceedings and notifications

Ruralisation of Crime in Ukraine

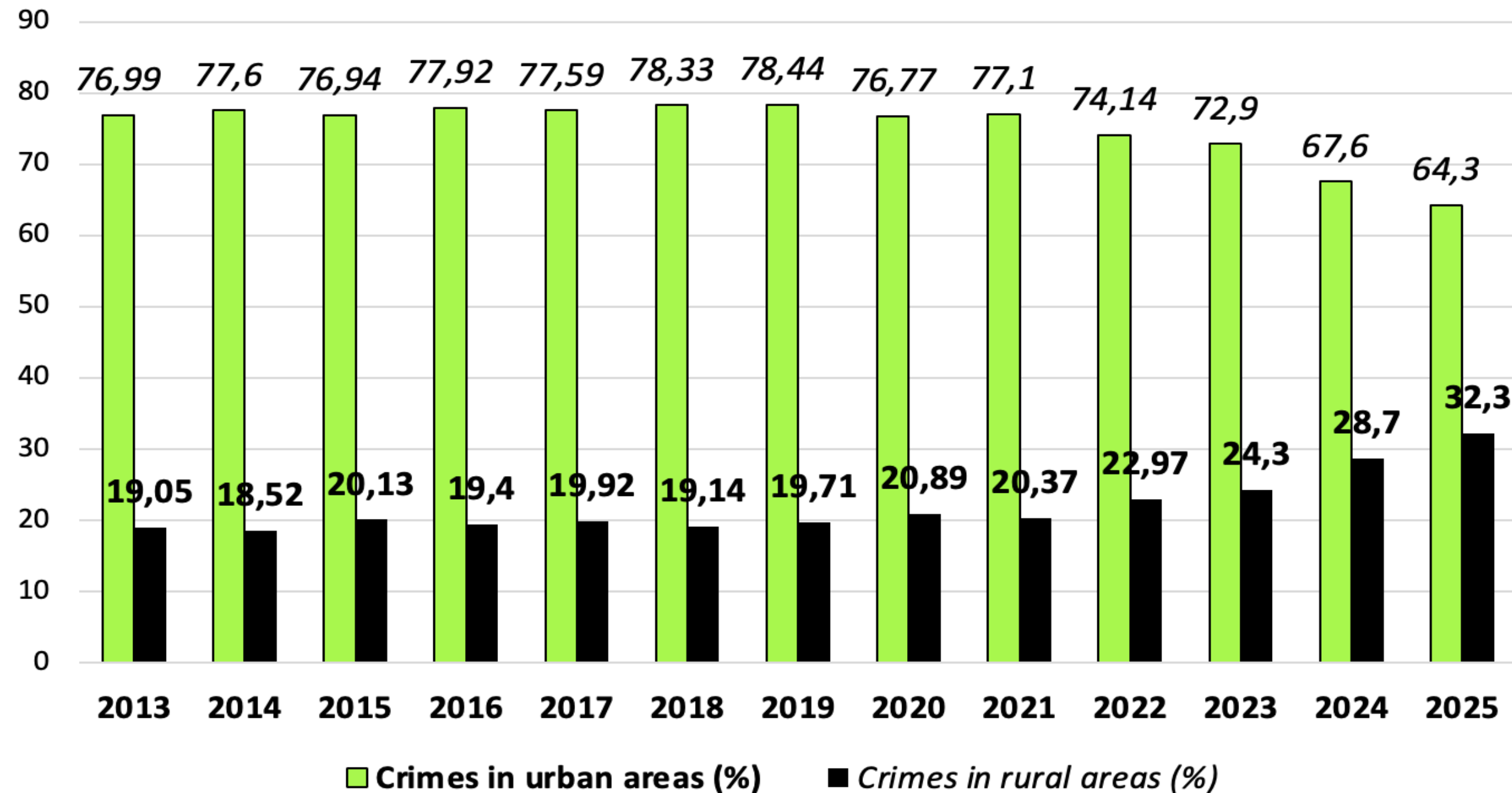
AFTER RUSSIAN INVASION



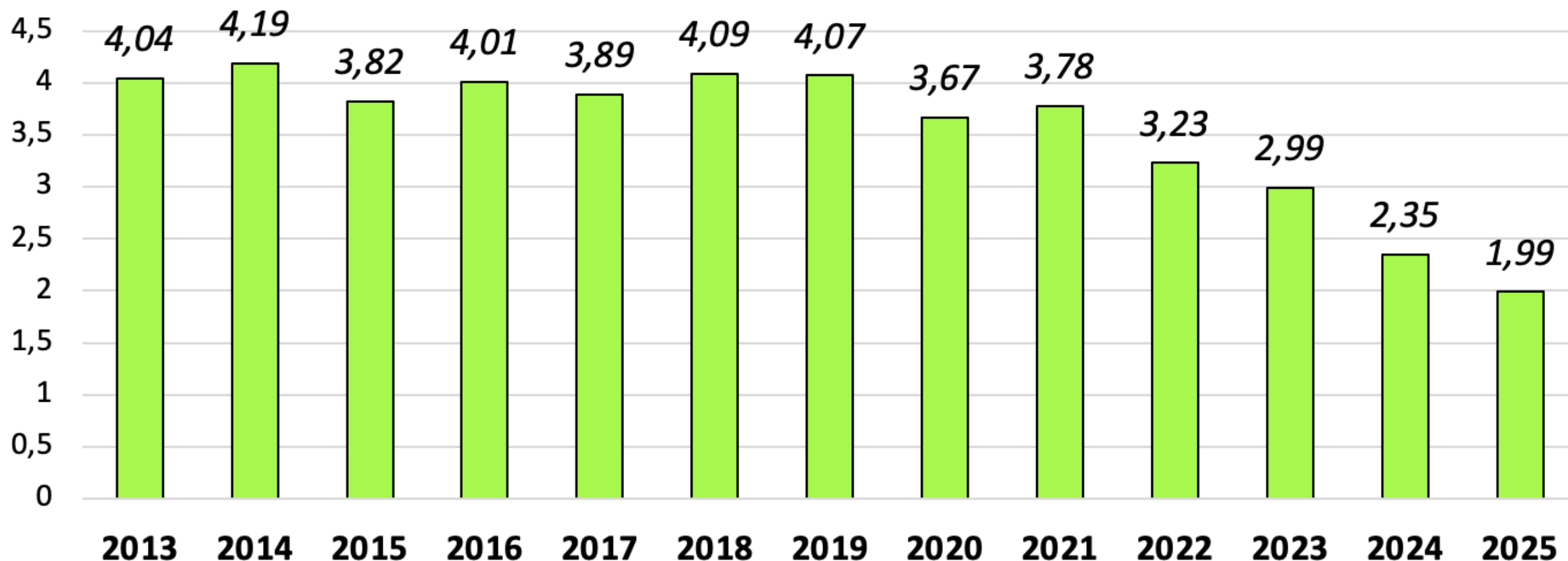
RURALISATION

- **Overall trend:**
- Criminal activity increasingly moved **from urban to rural areas**
- **Accelerating ruralisation (2023–2025):**
 - **2023:** ratio fell to **2.99**
 - **2024:** further decline to **2.35**
 - **2025:** historic low of **1.99**
 - Urban crime now only **twice** as prevalent as rural crime
 - Breaks with decades-long **four-to-one urban dominance**

Percentage of crime in urban and rural ares (2013 - 2025)



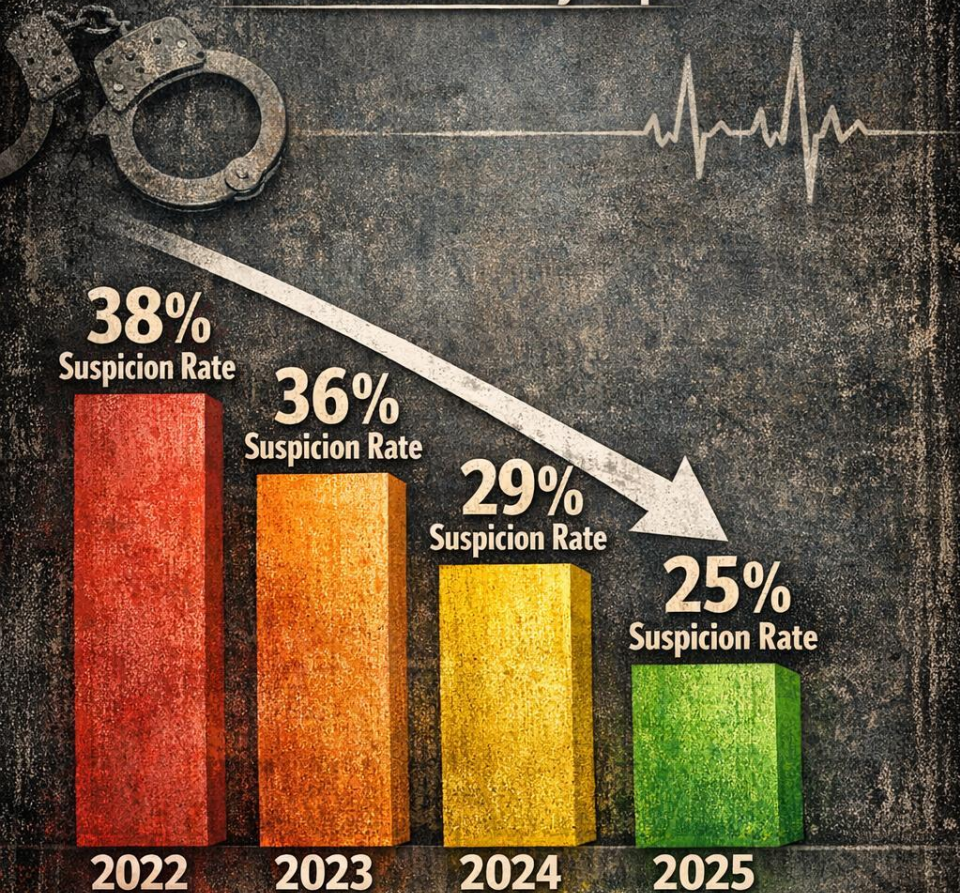
Geographical distribution of crime - Ratio



Ratio between crimes in urban and rural areas

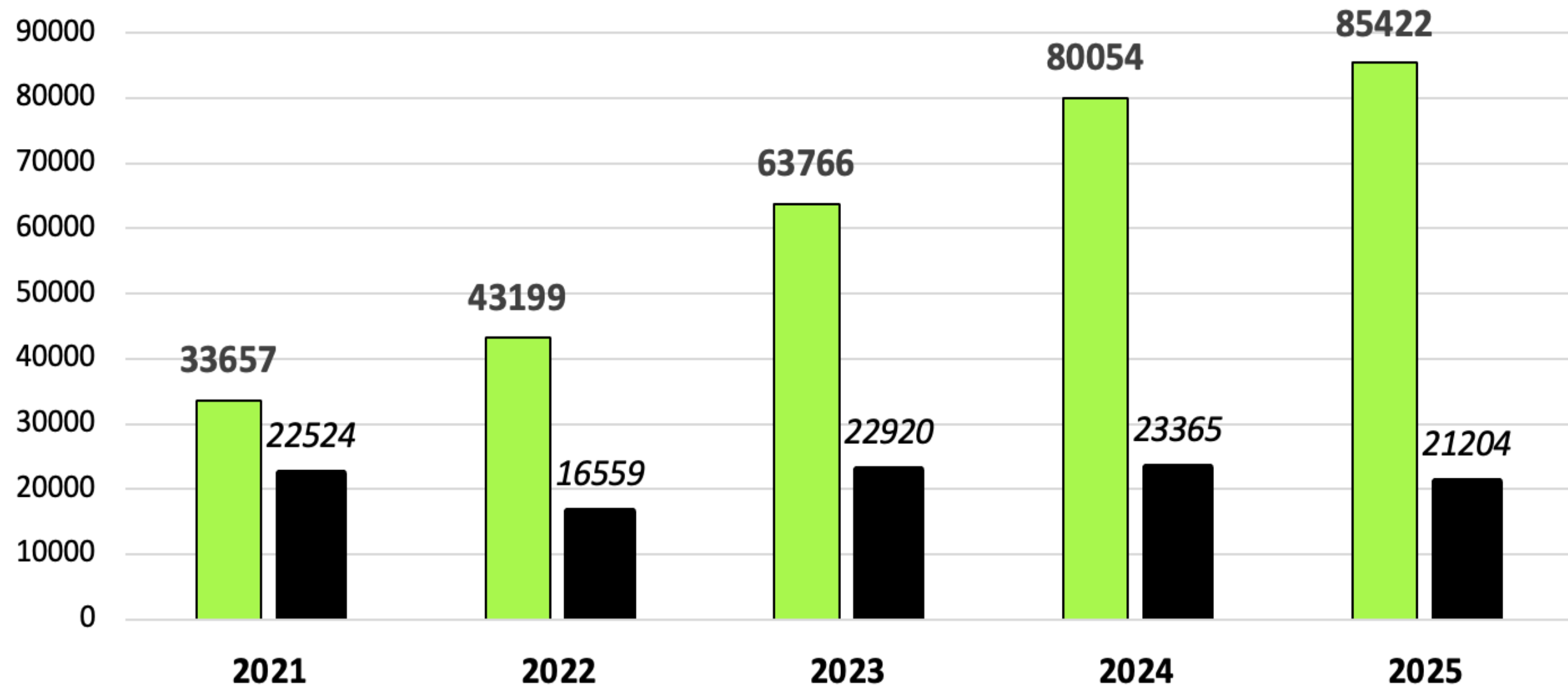
Crimes Against Human Life & Health

The "Accountability Gap":



CRIMES AGAINST HUMAN LIFE & HEALTH

- **Pre-War Baseline (2021):** Stable prosecution landscape with a **67% suspicion rate** (22,524 notices out of 33,657 crimes).
- **Rising Crime Volume:** Recorded incidents skyrocketed by **154%** over four years, peaking at **85,422** in 2025.
- **The "Accountability Gap":** As crime volume surged, the rate of issued notices of suspicion plummeted:
 - **2022:** 38% suspicion rate
 - **2023:** 36% suspicion rate
 - **2024:** 29% suspicion rate
 - **2025:** 25% suspicion rate



■ Crimes against human life and health (2021 – 2024)

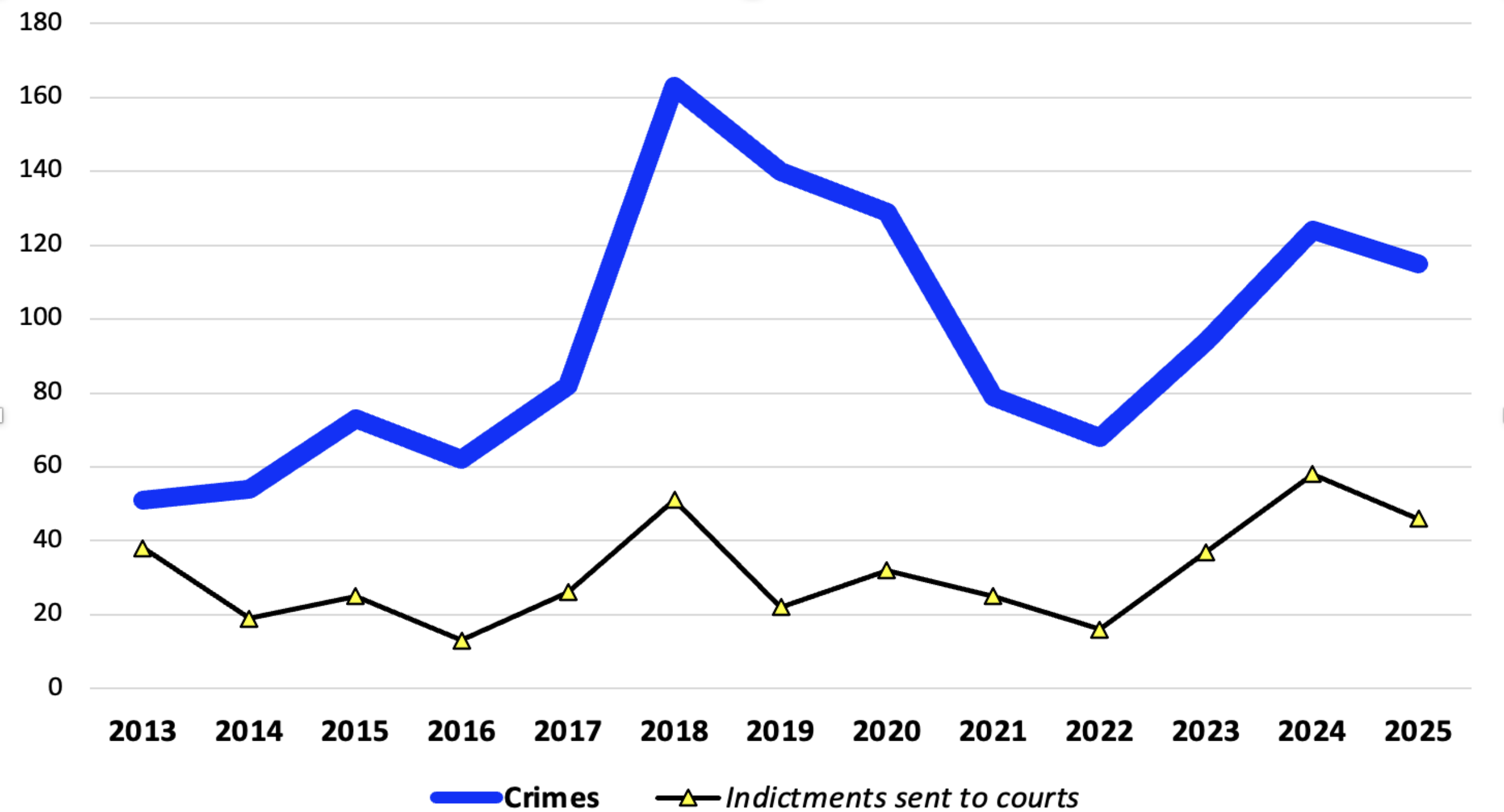
■ Crimes against human life and health - proceedings with suspects

TORTURE CASES



TORTURE

- **2013–2017 (post-Euromaidan):** relatively stable levels, **51–82 cases annually**
- **2018 shock:** sharp spike to **163 cases (+98.8% year-on-year)**, marking a clear structural break
- **2019–2021:** gradual decline, with cases fluctuating in the **79–140 range**
- **2022 (full-scale invasion):** abrupt collapse to **68 cases**, the **lowest level** in the entire period
- **2023–2025:** partial recovery and stabilization at **94–124 cases**, comparable to pre-2018 levels but **well below the 2018 peak**



DOMESTIC VIOLENCE



DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

- **Pre-war baseline (2021):**

- **4,800** domestic violence crimes registered
- Reflects functioning **social and household-based crime structure**

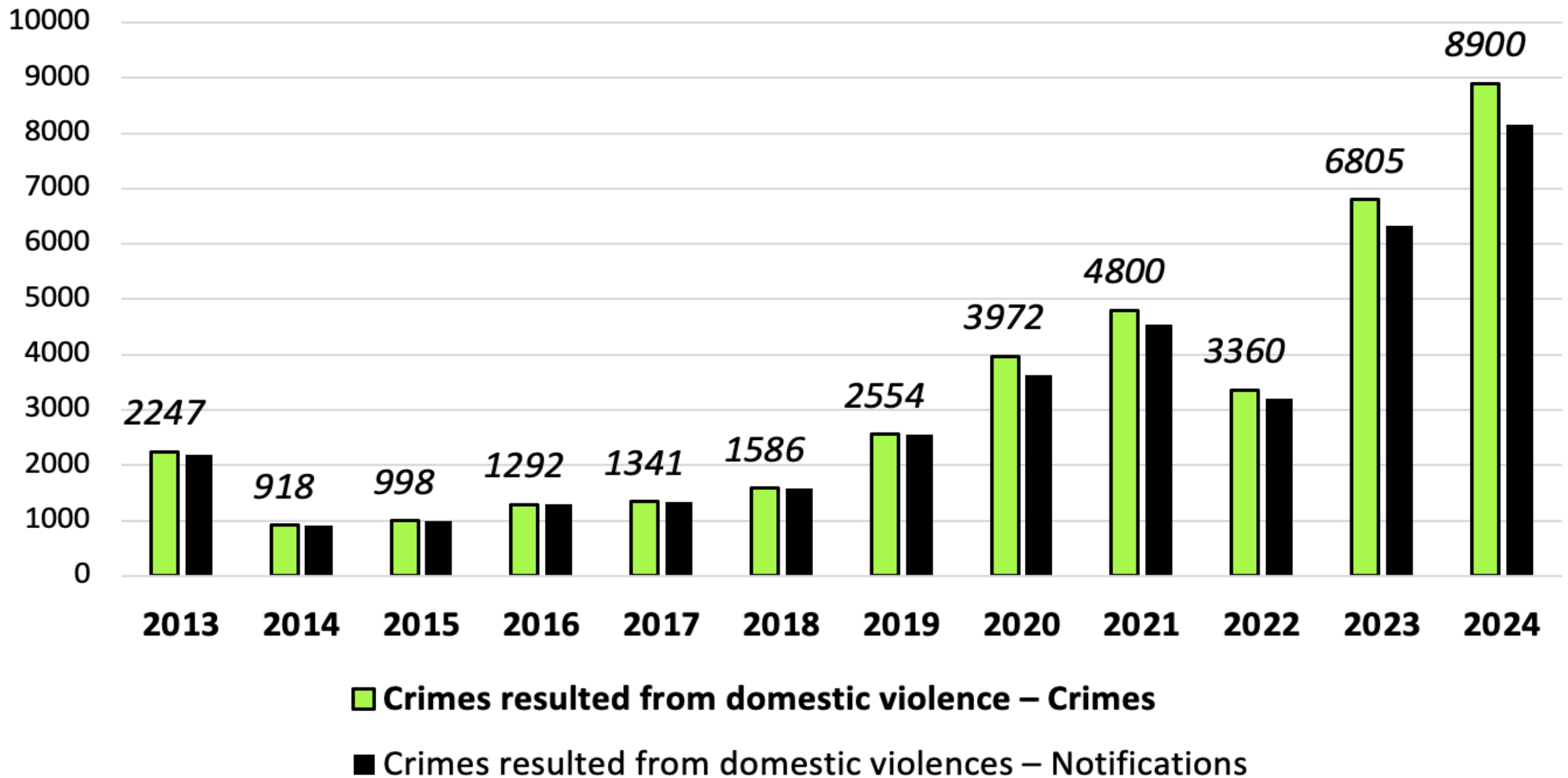
- **Immediate wartime decline (2022):**

- Registered cases fell to **3,360**
- Indicates a **temporary contraction** rather than genuine reduction

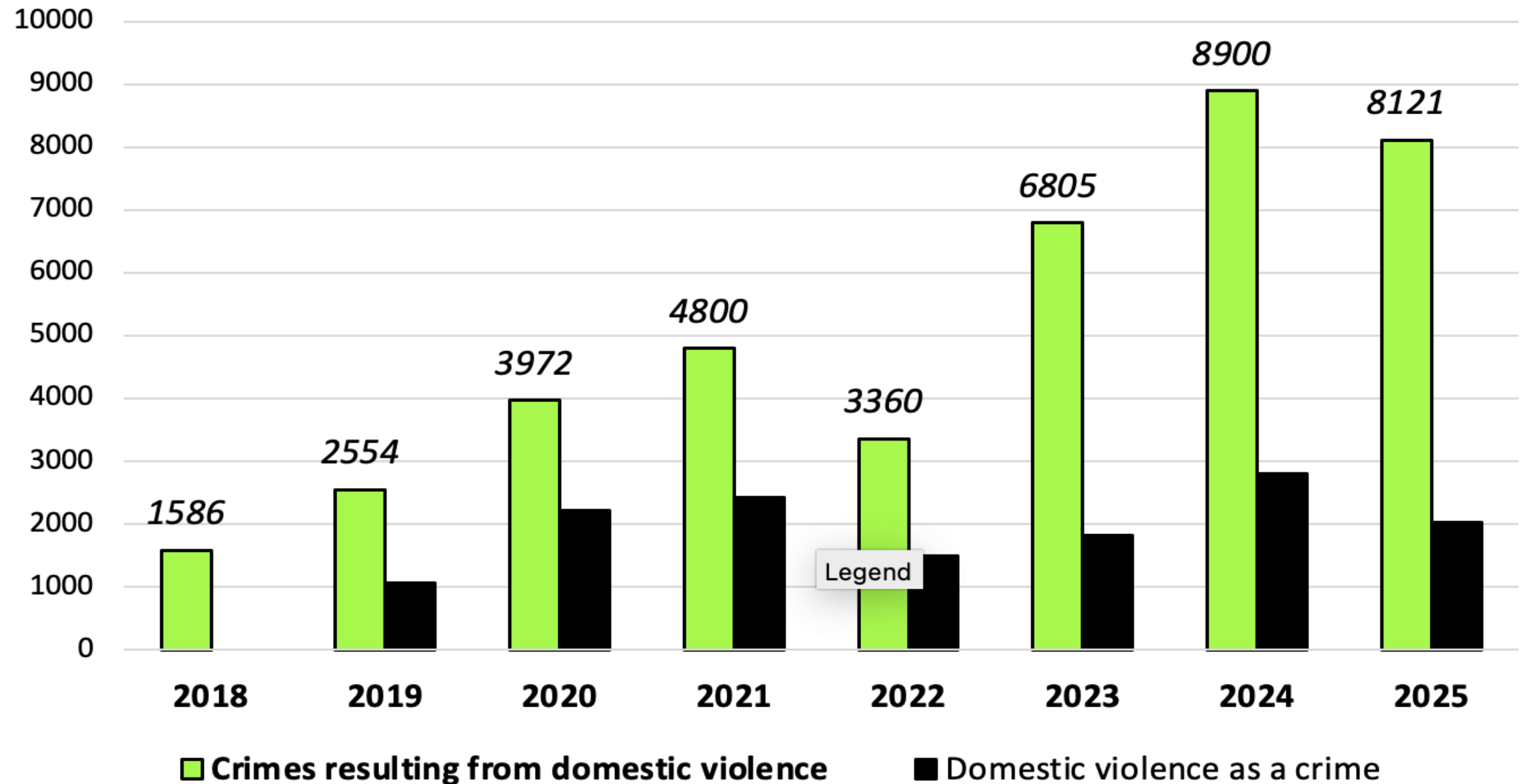
- **Likely explanatory factors:**

- Mass migration of potential victims to European countries
- Participation of many potential perpetrators in military operations
- Disruption of traditional household and family structures
- **Erosion of reporting and detection mechanisms** during early war phase

Crimes resulted from domestic violence (2013 - 2025)



Domestic violence (2022 – 2025)



DOMESTIC VIOLENCE



DRUG-RELATED CRIMES

- **General wartime pattern:**
 - Many crime categories registered a **sharp decline in March 2022**
 - Declines driven by displacement, mobilisation, and disruption of routine policing
 - Even crimes expected to increase initially showed **statistical contraction**
- **Key exception: drug-related crimes**
 - Drug markets, offenders, and especially **petty drug crimes** followed a **distinct trajectory**
 - War **did not suppress** drug-related criminality

DRUG-RELATED CRIMES

Investigative effectiveness (2022):

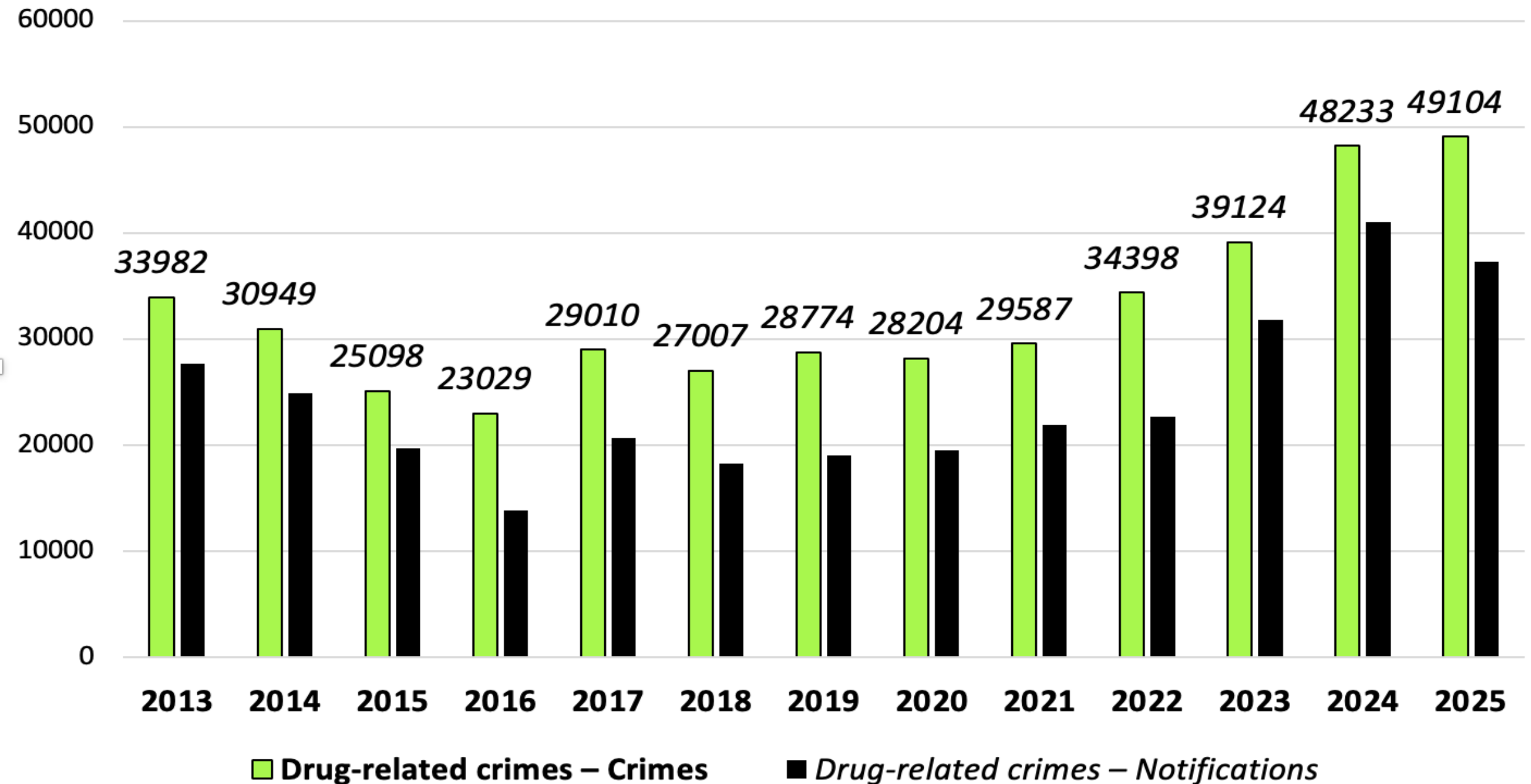
Ratio between registered cases and notifications of suspicion
was among the highest of the last decade



DRUG-RELATED CRIMES

- **2022 (first year of full-scale war):**
 - **34,398** drug-related crimes registered
 - **22,678** criminal proceedings involved identified suspects (Figure 14)
 - Indicates **continued operational capacity** in drug crime detection
- **Investigative effectiveness (2022):**
 - Ratio between registered cases and notifications of suspicion was **among the highest of the last decade**
 - Comparable only to **2016** (ratio **1.66**)
 - Suggests **relatively strong conversion rates** for drug-related offenses

Drug-related crimes (2013 - 2025)



DRUG-RELATED CRIMES

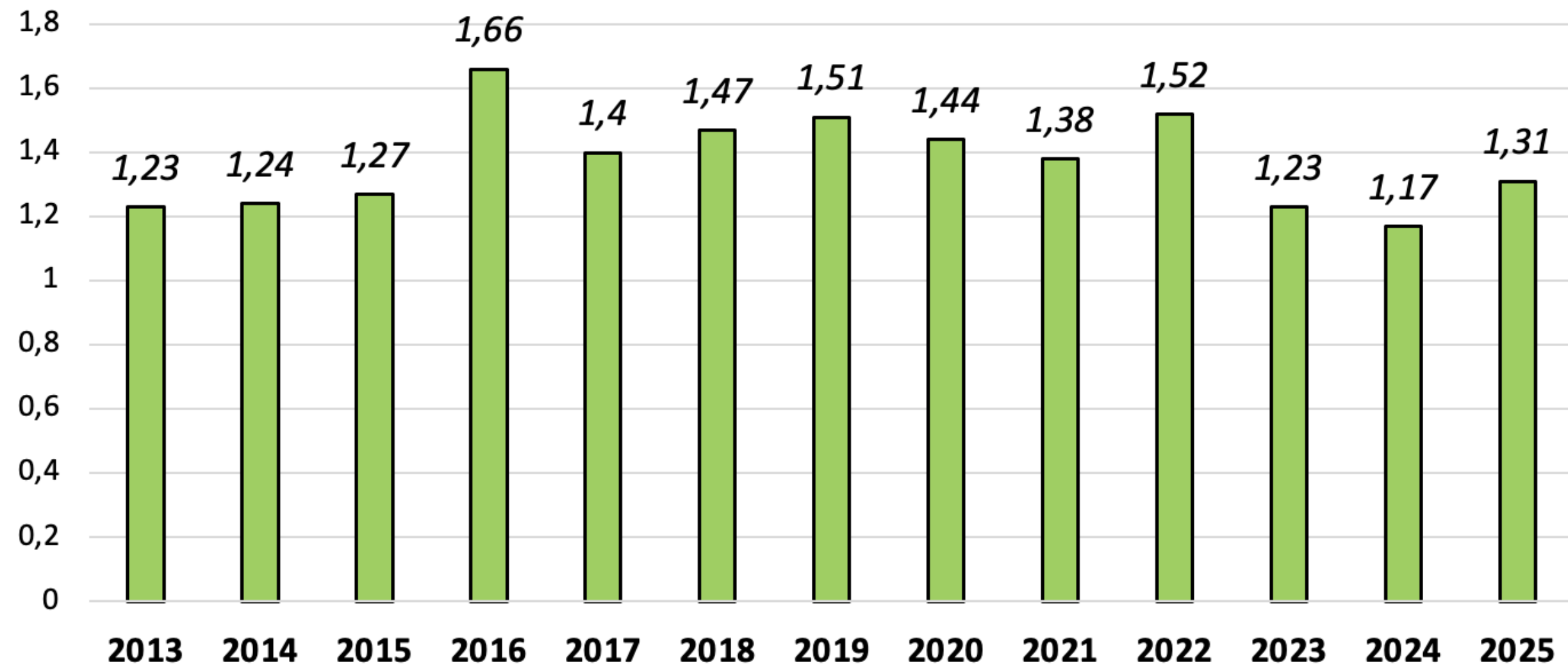
- **2023: 39,124** drug-related crimes registered
 - Clear increase compared to 2022
- **2024: 48,233** drug-related crimes registered
 - Confirms a sustained upward trend



POST-2022 ESCALATION

- **2023:**
 - **39,124** drug-related crimes registered
 - Clear increase compared to 2022
- **2024:**
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 - Confirms a **sustained upward trend**

Drug-related crimes (2013 - 2025)



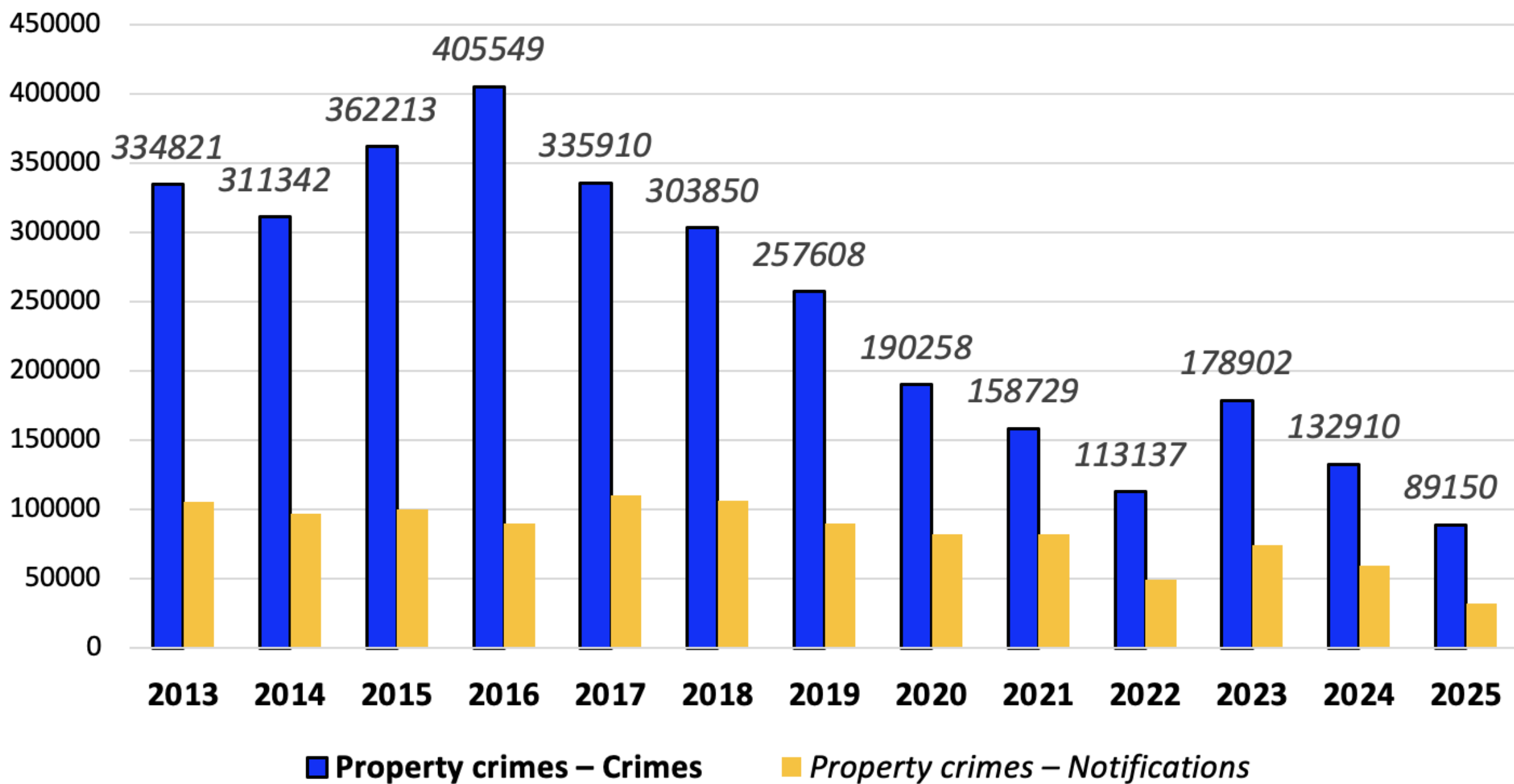
■ Ratio between drug-related crimes and notifications

Property Crimes

PROPERTY CRIMES

- **2021 (pre-war baseline): 158,729**
- **2022: 113,137**
- **2023: 178,902**
- **2024: 132,910**
- **2025: 89,150**
- **Overall pattern:**
 - Immediate drop in 2022
 - Temporary rebound in 2023
 - Sustained decline in 2024–2025





PROPERTY CRIMES: WARTIME DYNAMICS AND UNEXPECTED DECLINE

- **Initial hypothesis:**

- Wartime disruption and weakened policing should lead to a **significant increase in property crimes**

- **Empirical finding:**

- Contrary to expectations, **recorded property crimes declined sharply** during the war
- Indicates a **non-intuitive wartime transformation** of property crime patterns



THEFT

• Registered thefts:

- 2021: 113,517
- 2022: 69,496
- 2023: 82,123
- 2024: 55,576
- 2025: 28,416



Magnitude of change:

- Decline from 113,517 (2021) to 28,416 (2025)
- Represents an approximate 75% reduction in theft crimes



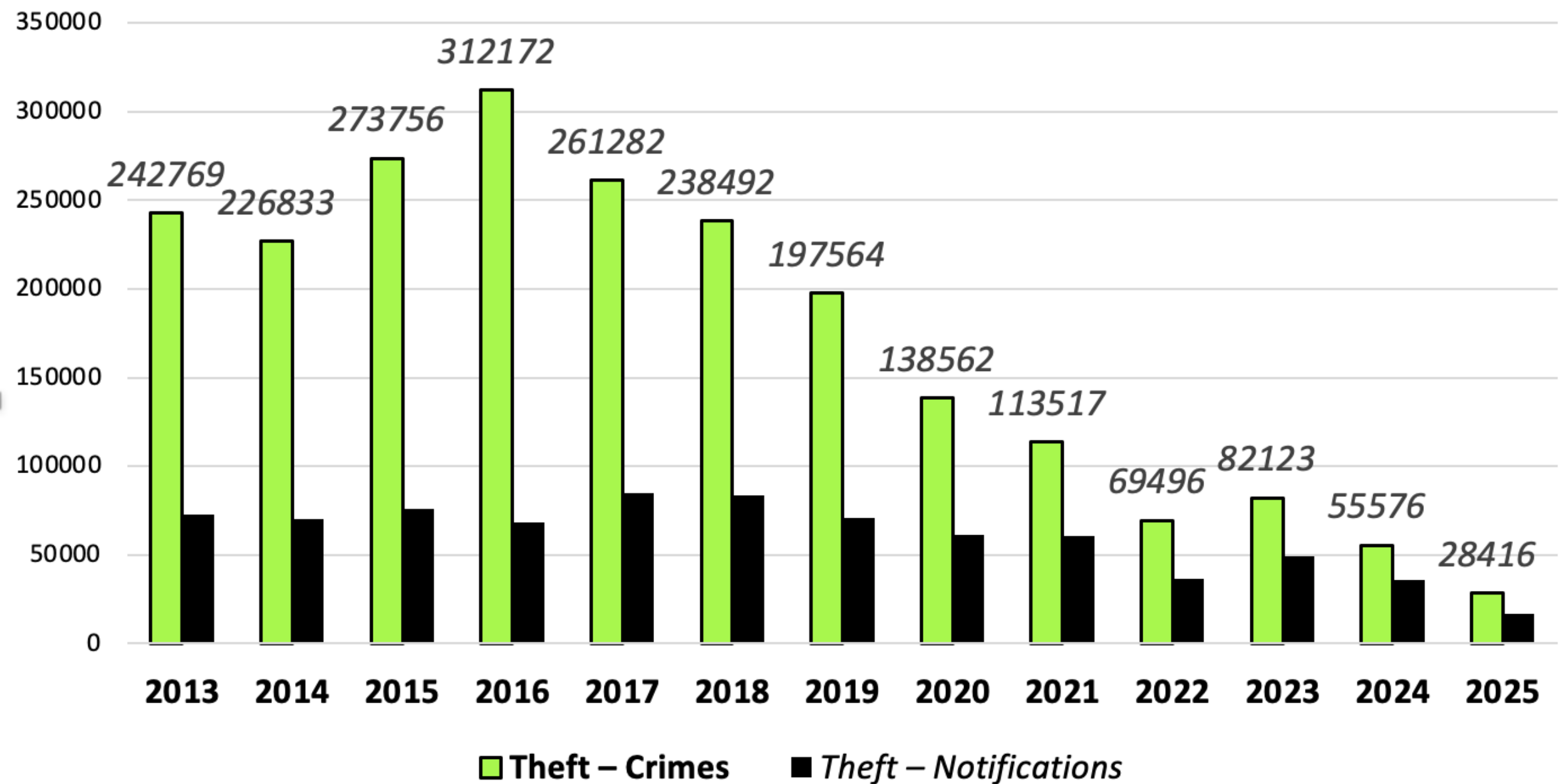
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ROBBERIES

♦ Registered robberies:

- ♦ 2021: 4,846
- ♦ 2022: 2,205
- ♦ 2023: 1,732
- ♦ 2024: 1,453
- ♦ 2025: 1,322

♦ Trend characteristics:

- ♦ Immediate decline in 2022
- ♦ Gradual but sustained decrease thereafter
- ♦ No post-war rebound observed



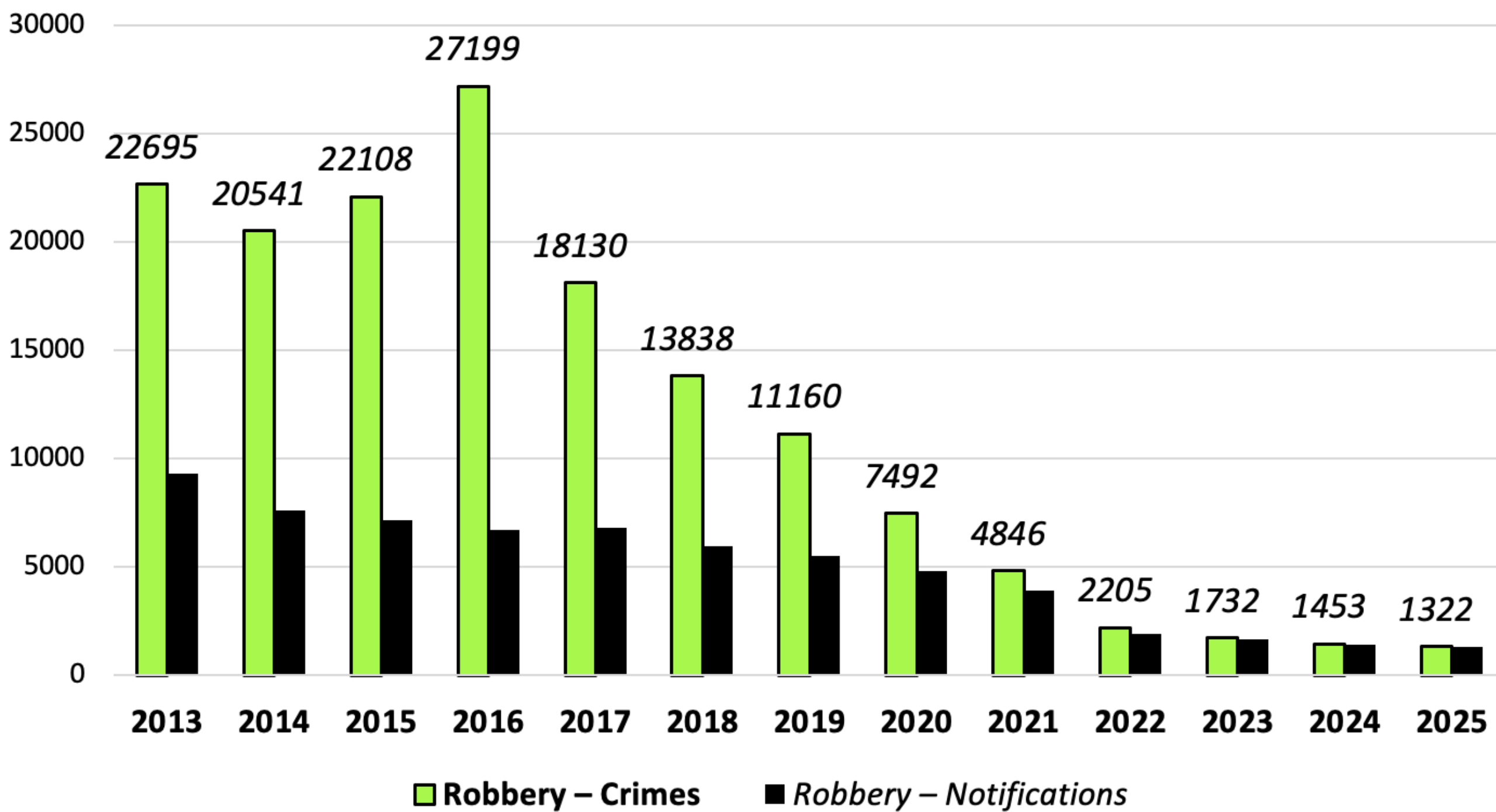
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AGGRAVATED ROBBERIES

Registered aggravated robberies:

- 2021: 952
- 2022: 492
- 2023: 386
- 2024: 313
- 2025: 310



More than two-thirds reduction since the pre-war baseline

Decline stabilised at historically low levels by 2024–2025



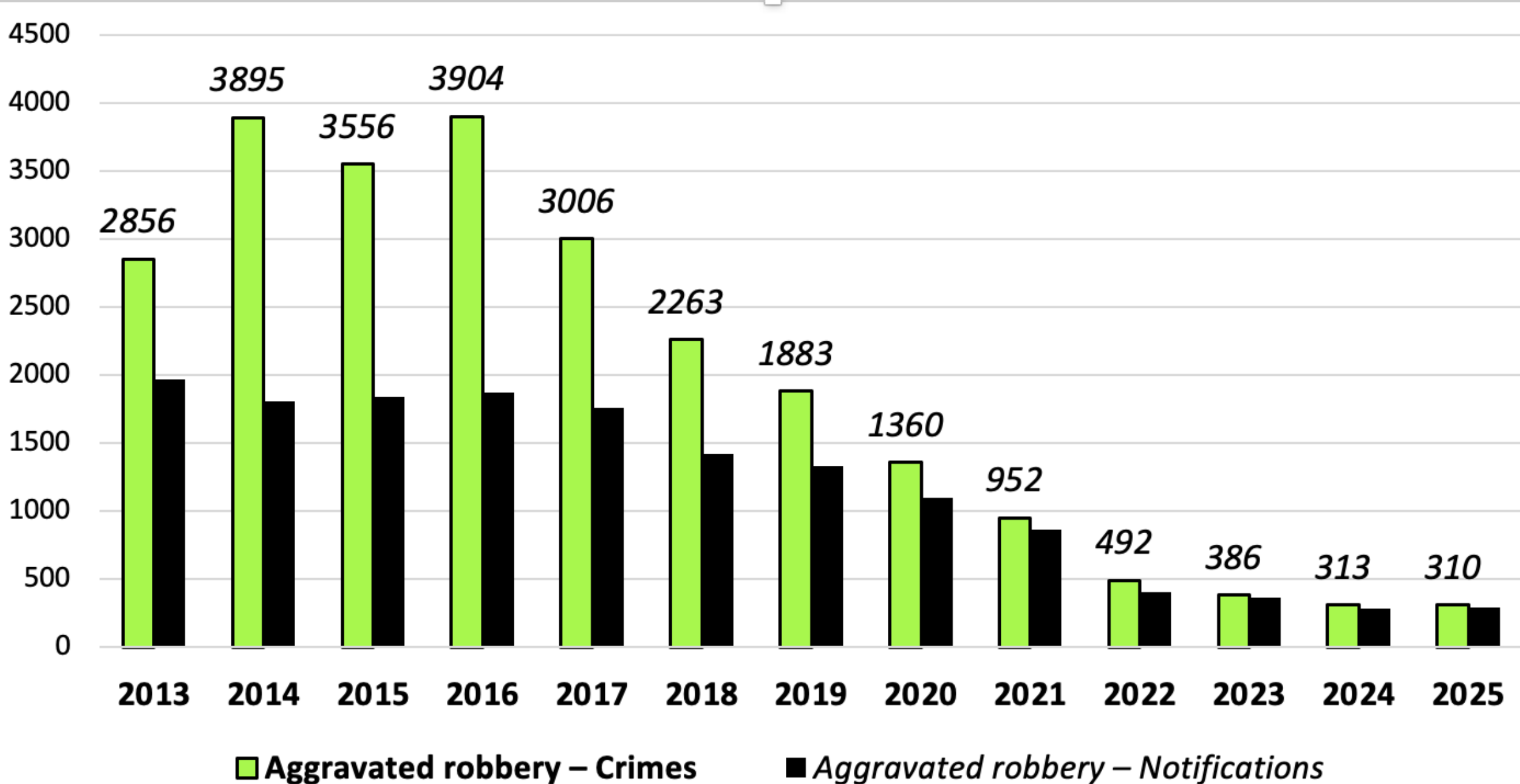
AGGRAVATED ROBBERIES

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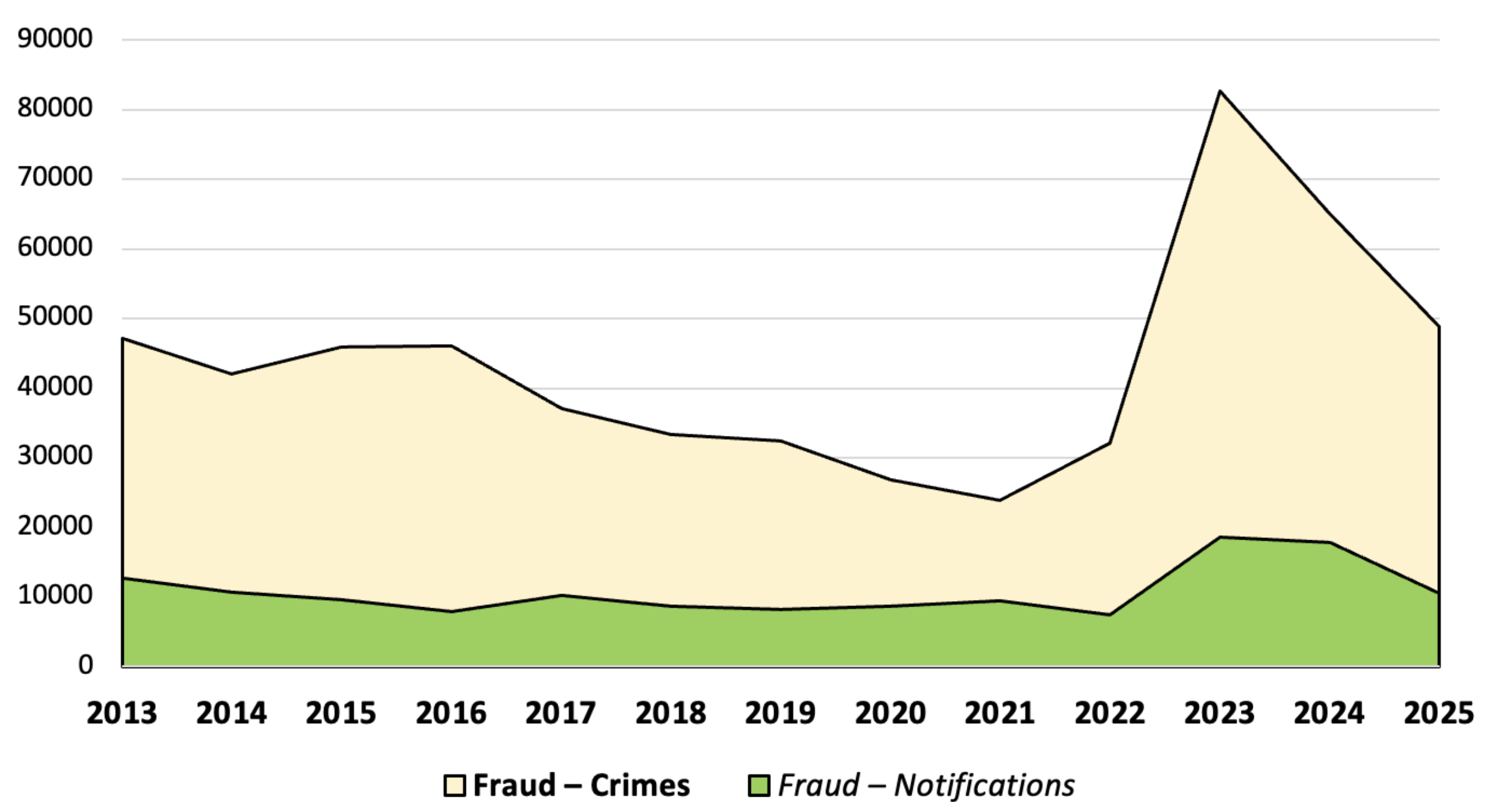


FRAUD

FRAUD

- **Unexpected wartime trend:**
 - Unlike most property crimes, **fraud increased sharply after the start of the war**
 - **2022: 32,086 fraud crimes**, up from **23,847** in 2021
- **Post-2022 dynamics:**
 - **2023: 82,609** registered fraud crimes
 - **2024: 64,978** registered fraud crimes
 - **2025: 48,871** registered fraud crimes
 - Indicates an **extraordinary wartime spike**, followed by gradual decline



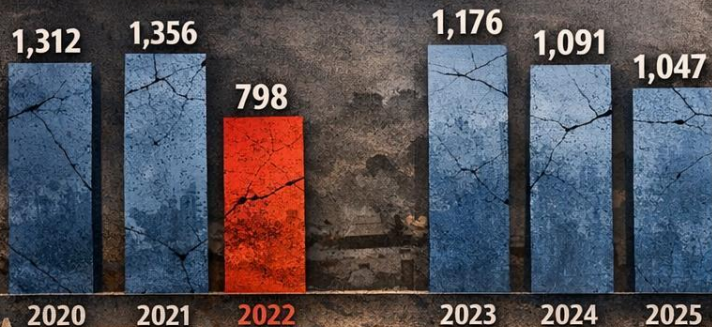


REAL ESTATE FRAUD

Collapse of the real estate market during war:

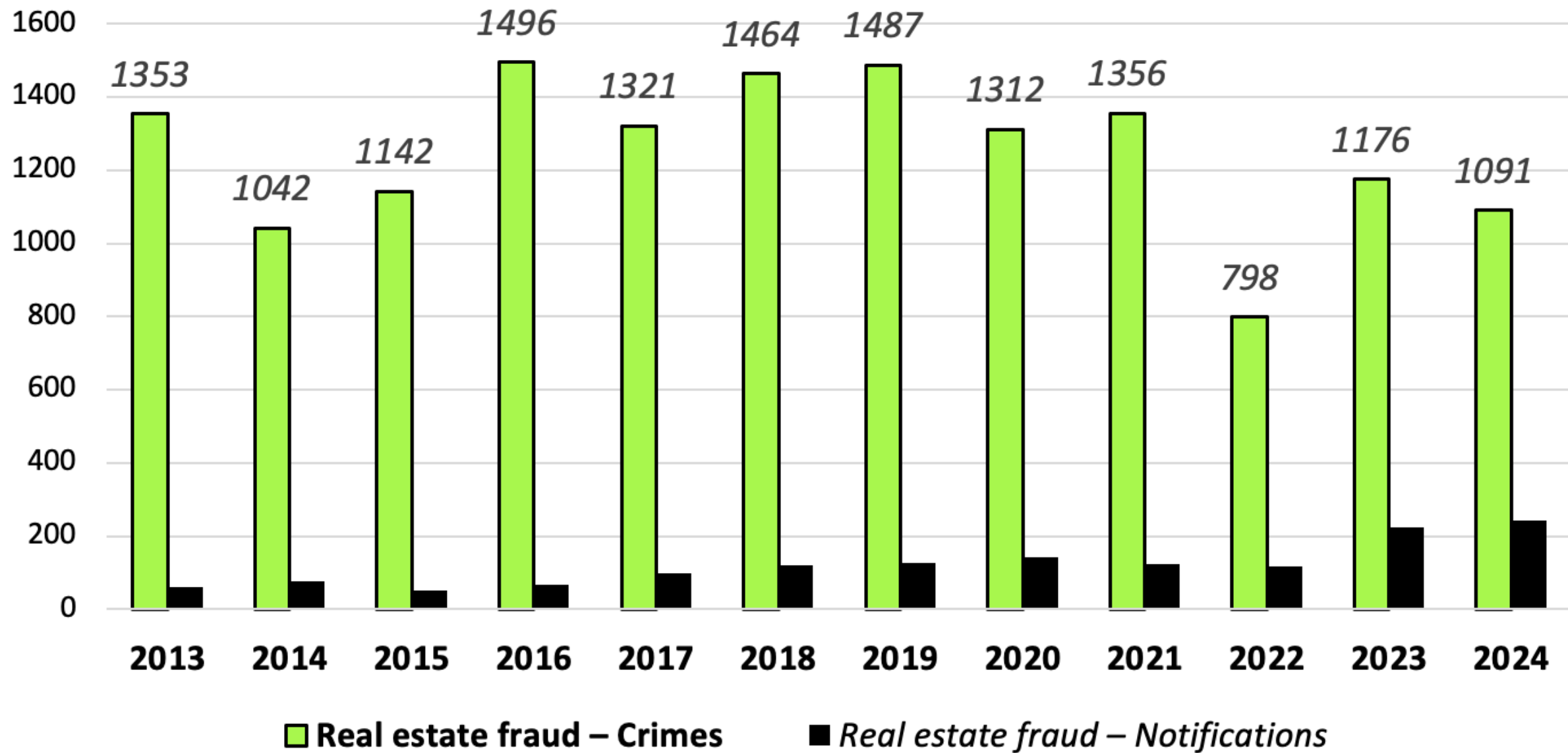
- Led to a rapid decline in real-estate-related fraud

Registered Real Estate Fraud Crimes:



REAL ESTATE FRAUD

- **Collapse of the real estate market during war:**
 - Led to a rapid decline in real-estate-related fraud
- **Registered real estate fraud crimes:**
 - 2020: 1,312
 - 2021: 1,356
 - 2022: 798
 - 2023: 1,176
 - 2024: 1,091
 - 2025: 1,047



FIREARM-RELATED CRIMES

Key historical coincidence (2014):

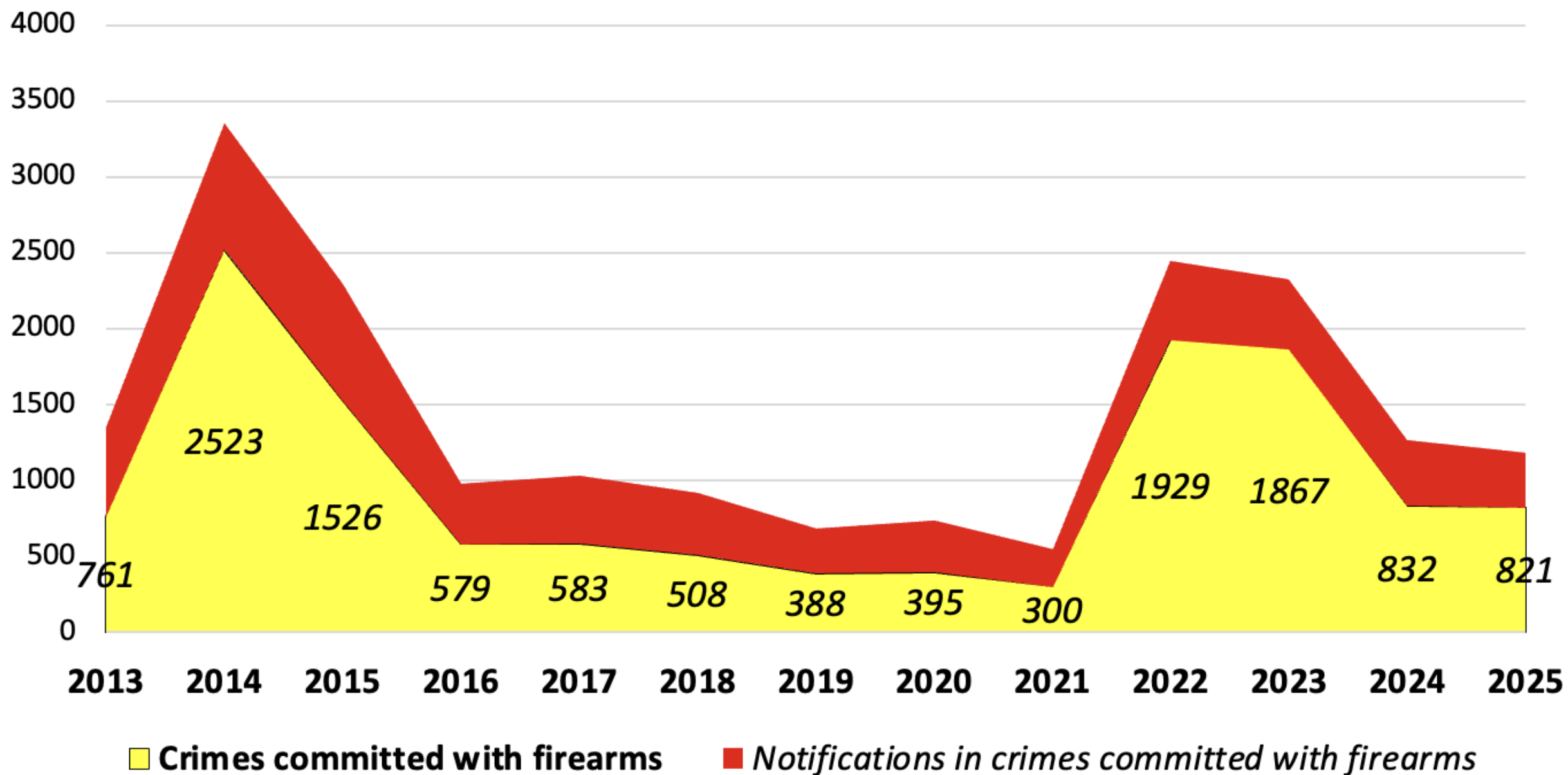
- Maidan Revolution
- Illegal annexation of Crimea
- Initial phase of Russian military aggression in Eastern Ukraine

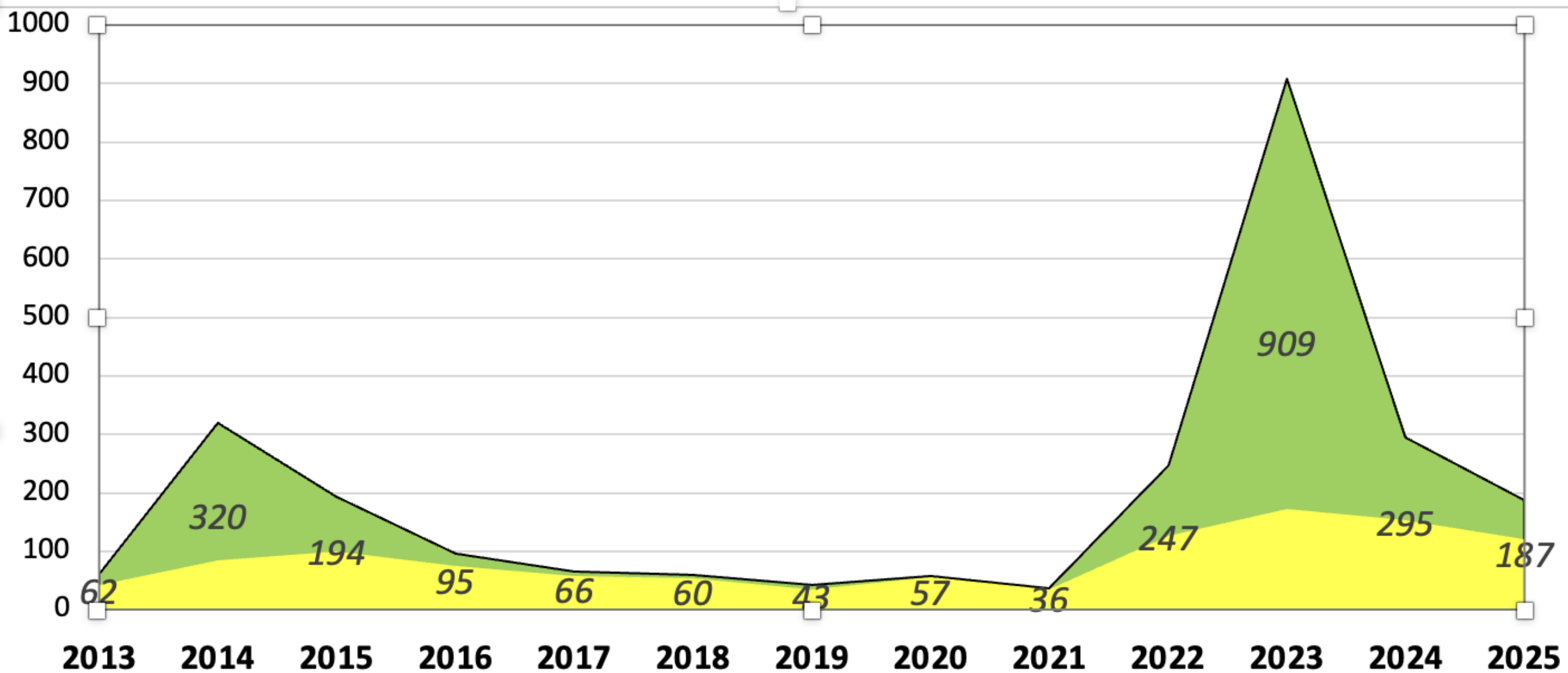


FIREARM-RELATED CRIMES

- **2022 wartime surge:**
 - **1,929** crimes committed with firearms
 - More than **six-fold increase** compared to **2021 (300 cases)**
 - Confirms a **significant immediate impact** of the full-scale invasion
- **Historical contextualisation:**
 - **2014 remains the peak year** with **2,523 firearm-related crimes**
 - 2014 figure exceeds 2022 by approximately **31%**
- **Key historical coincidence (2014):**
 - Maidan Revolution
 - Illegal annexation of Crimea
 - Initial phase of Russian military aggression in Eastern Ukraine

Crimes committed with the use of firearms





■ Intentional homicide with firearms (Criminal proceedings)

■ *Intentional homicide with firearms (Criminal proceedings with suspects)*

WAR CRIMES

- War crimes emerged as a new dominant category of criminal investigation



- Early wartime scale (2022):

- As of 7 August 2022, Ukrainian authorities investigating nearly

26,000

Suspected War-Crime Cases



- Explosive growth compared to pre-war baseline:

2021

2023



- Stabilisation at extreme levels

WAR CRIMES

- **Context:**

- Full-scale Russian invasion (from **24 February 2022**) fundamentally reshaped Ukraine's criminal justice agenda
- War crimes emerged as a **new dominant category** of criminal investigation

- **Early wartime scale (2022):**

- As of **7 August 2022**, Ukrainian authorities were investigating **nearly 26,000** suspected war-crime cases
- Data from the **Office of the General Prosecutor**

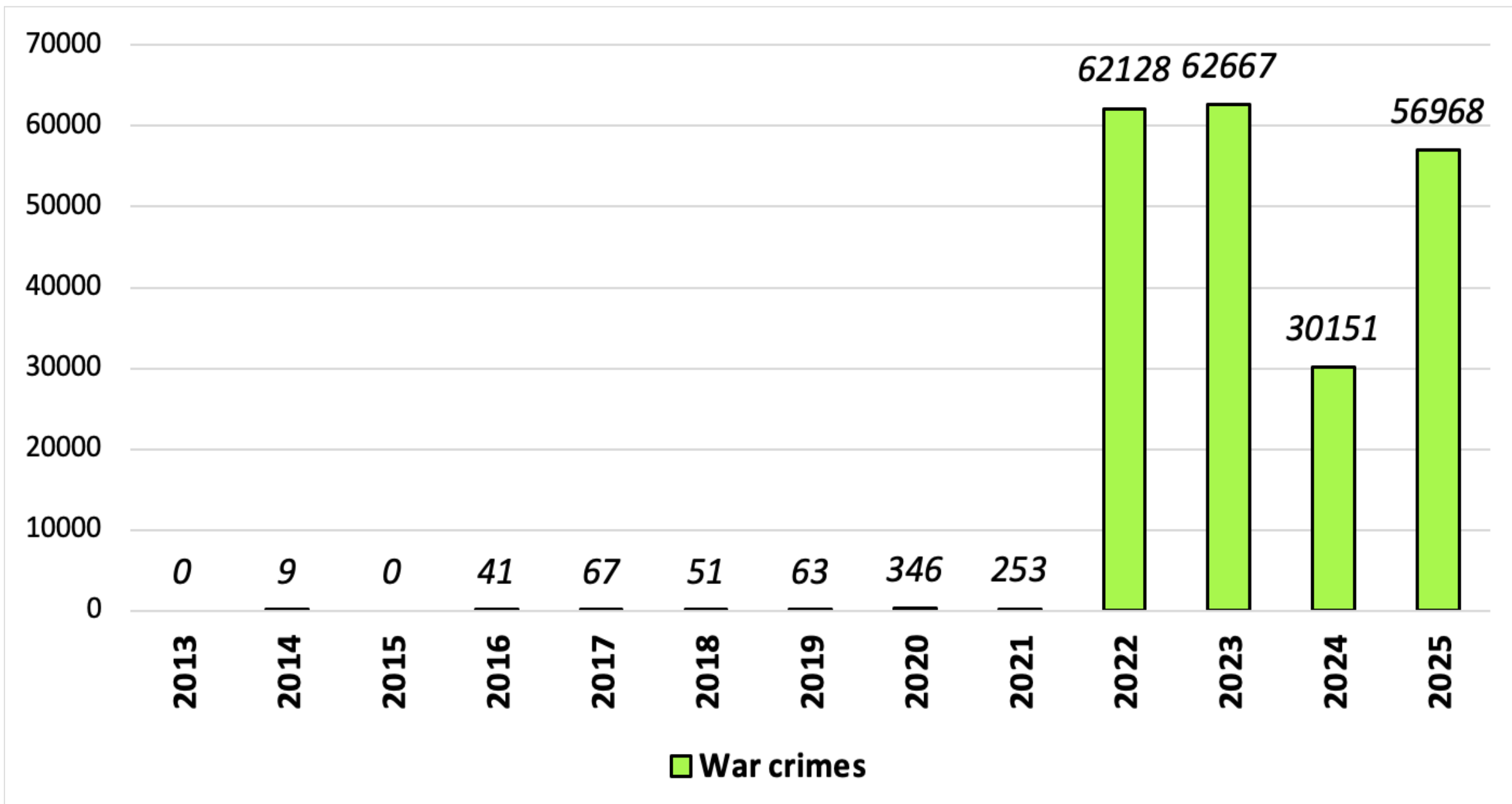
- **Explosive growth compared to pre-war baseline:**

- **2023: 62,128** registered war crimes
- Represents a **246-fold increase** compared to **2021**

- **Stabilisation at extreme levels:**

- **2024: 62,667** registered war crimes
- Crime volume remained **almost identical** to 2023
- Indicates institutionalisation of war-crime registration rather than temporary surge





SEX CRIMES

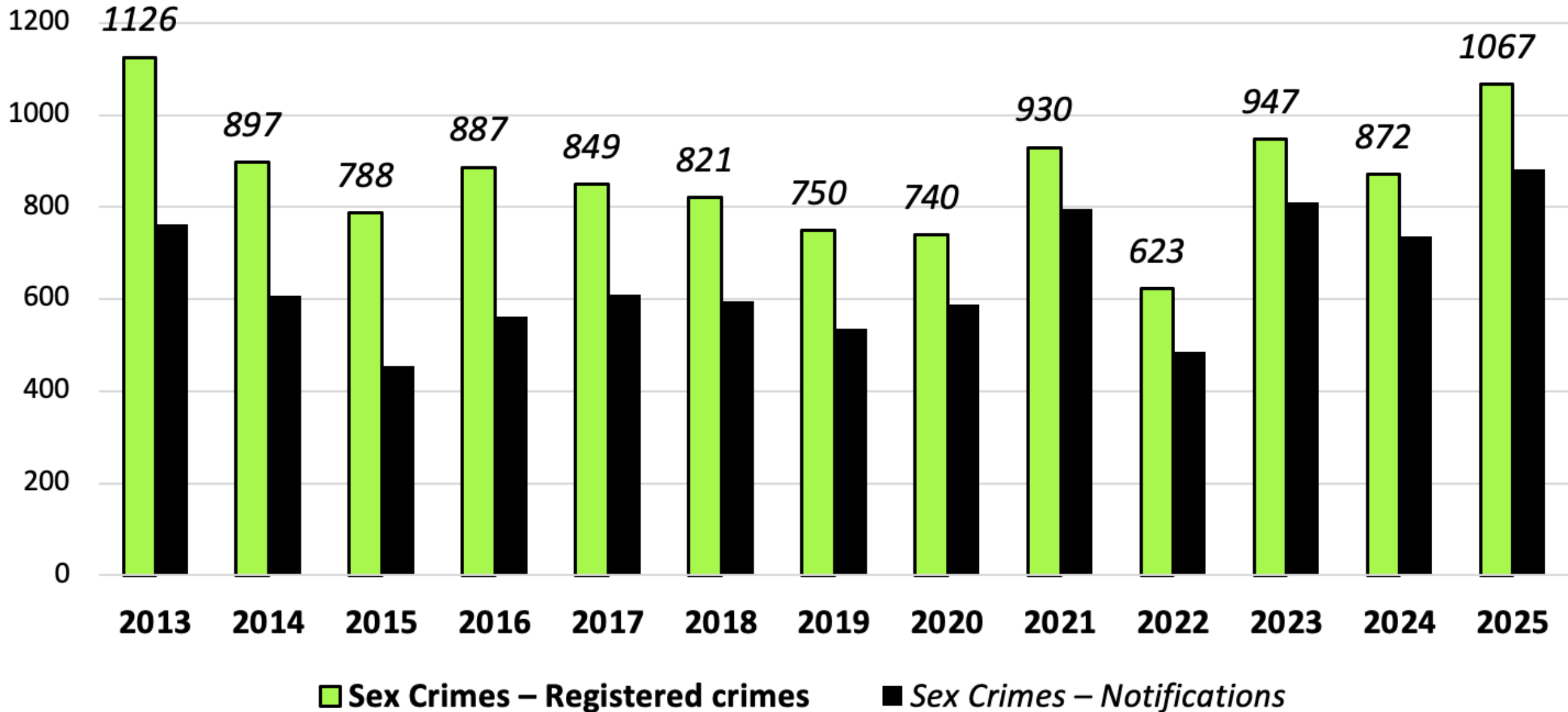
- General wartime pattern:
- Sex crimes decreased significantly after the start of the full-scale war
- Reached the lowest level in the ten-year history of crime prevention in Ukraine
- 2022 as a historical minimum



SEX CRIMES

- **General wartime pattern:**
 - Sex crimes **decreased significantly** after the start of the full-scale war
 - Reached the **lowest level in the ten-year history** of crime prevention in Ukraine
- **2022 as a historical minimum:**
 - **621 sex crimes** registered during the first **11 months** of 2022
 - **623 sex crimes** registered for the full year
 - In **December 2022**, only **2 sex crimes** were officially recorded
 - Reflects an **extraordinary contraction** of registered sexual criminality

Sex crimes (2013 - 2025)

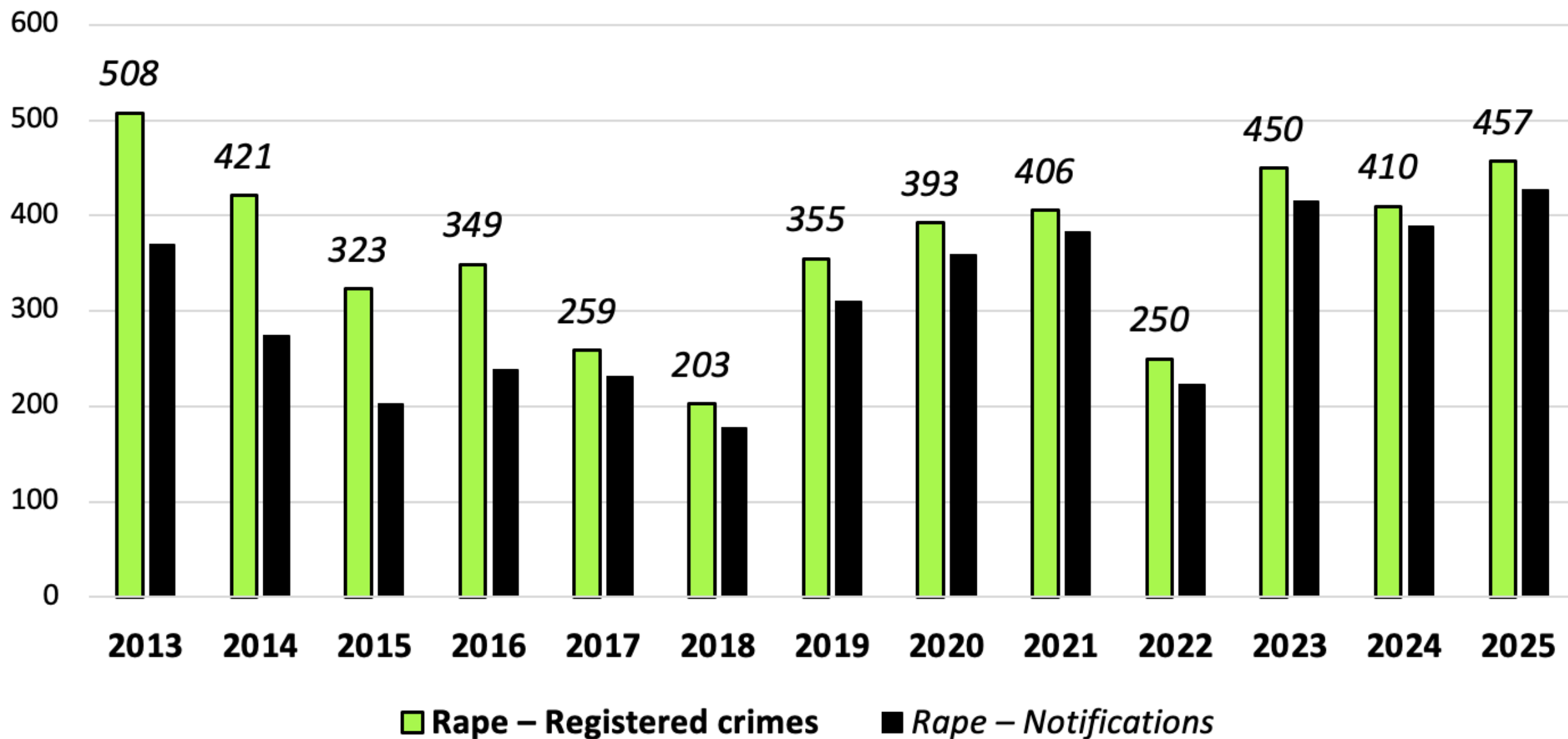


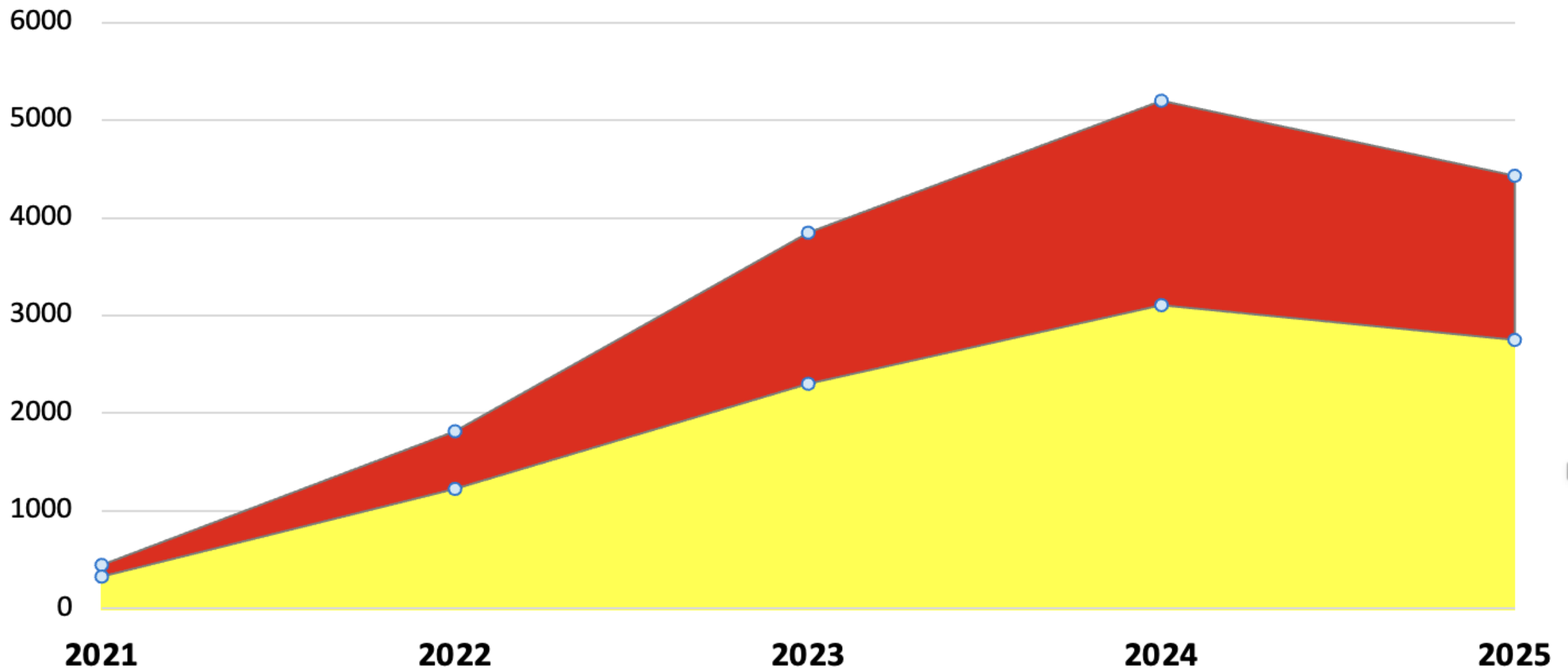
RAPE



- **Immediate wartime decline:**
 - **2021: 406** rapes
 - **2022: 250** rapes
 - Suggests strong impact of wartime restrictions and social disruption
- **Subsequent stabilisation at higher levels:**
 - **2023: 450** rapes
 - **2024: 410** rapes
 - **2025: 457** rapes
- **Key observation:**
 - After the initial drop, rape statistics returned to **pre-war or higher levels**
 - Indicates **normalisation of reporting and opportunity structures** over time

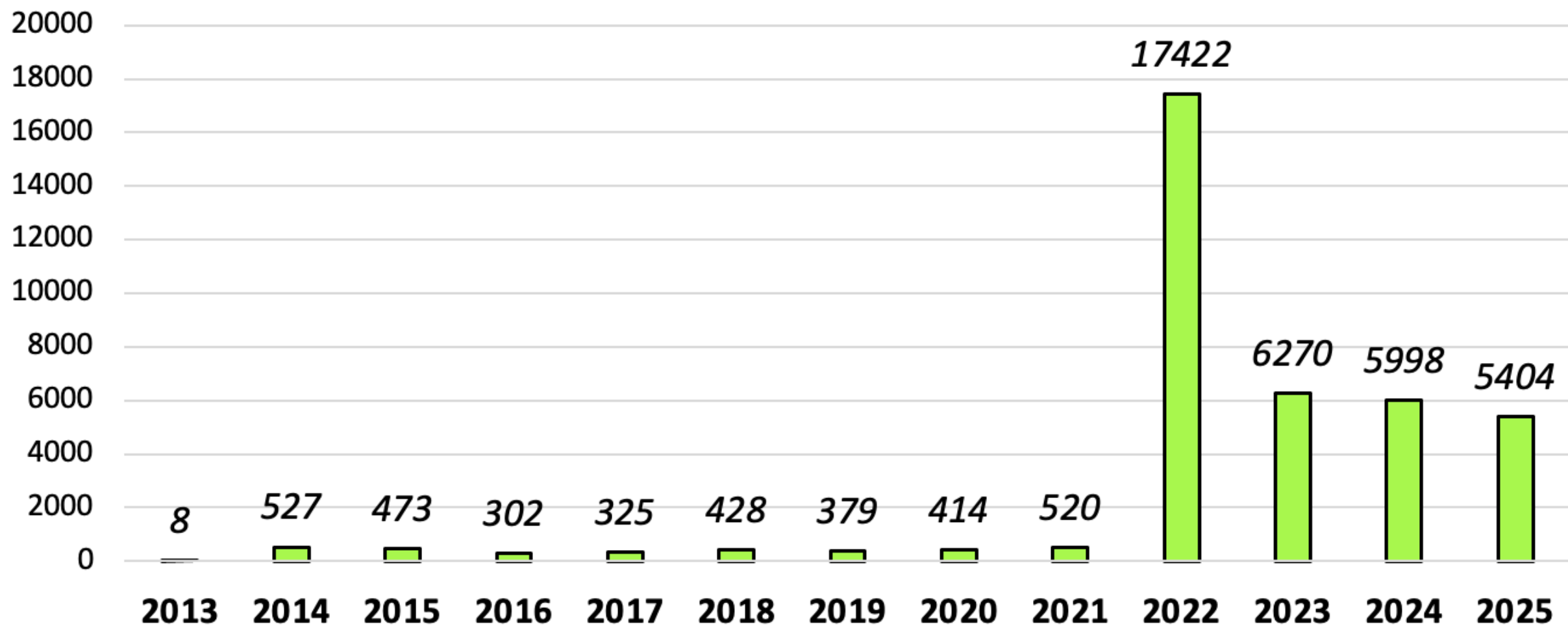
Rape (2013 - 2025)





■ *Illegal trafficking of persons across the state border of Ukraine – Notifications*

■ **Illegal trafficking of persons across the state border of Ukraine – Crimes**



■ Crimes against national security – Crimes

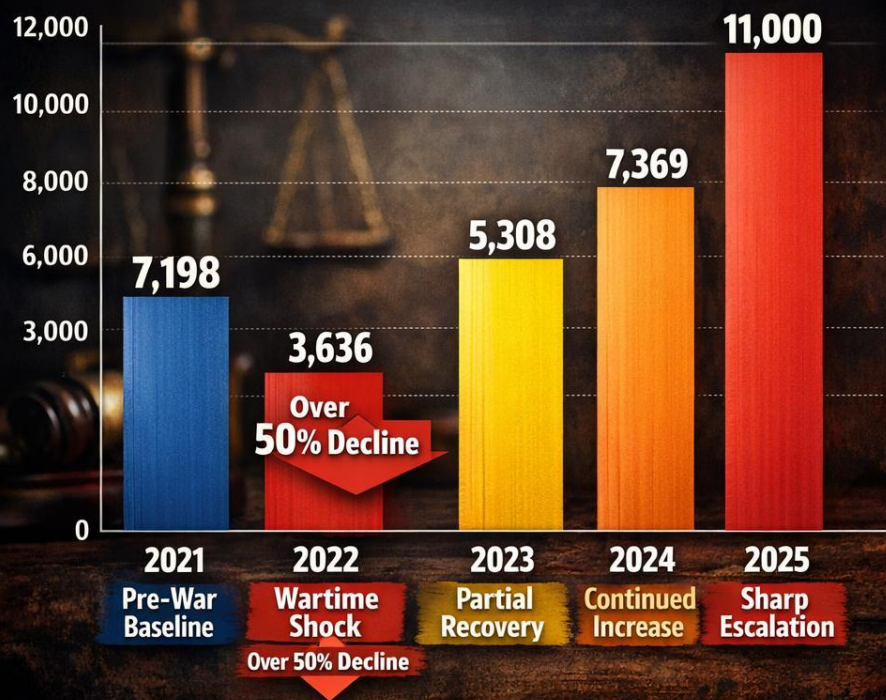
CRIMES AGAINST JUSTICE



CRIMES AGAINST JUSTICE

- **Analytical framing:**
 - Crimes against justice receded **statistically into the background** during the full-scale war
 - This creates a **paradoxical landscape** that masks a deeper crisis of **institutional accountability**
- **Key observation:**
 - Official police statistics show **extreme volatility**, not stable trends
 - Fluctuations suggest **systemic dysfunction**, rather than genuine changes in criminal behaviour

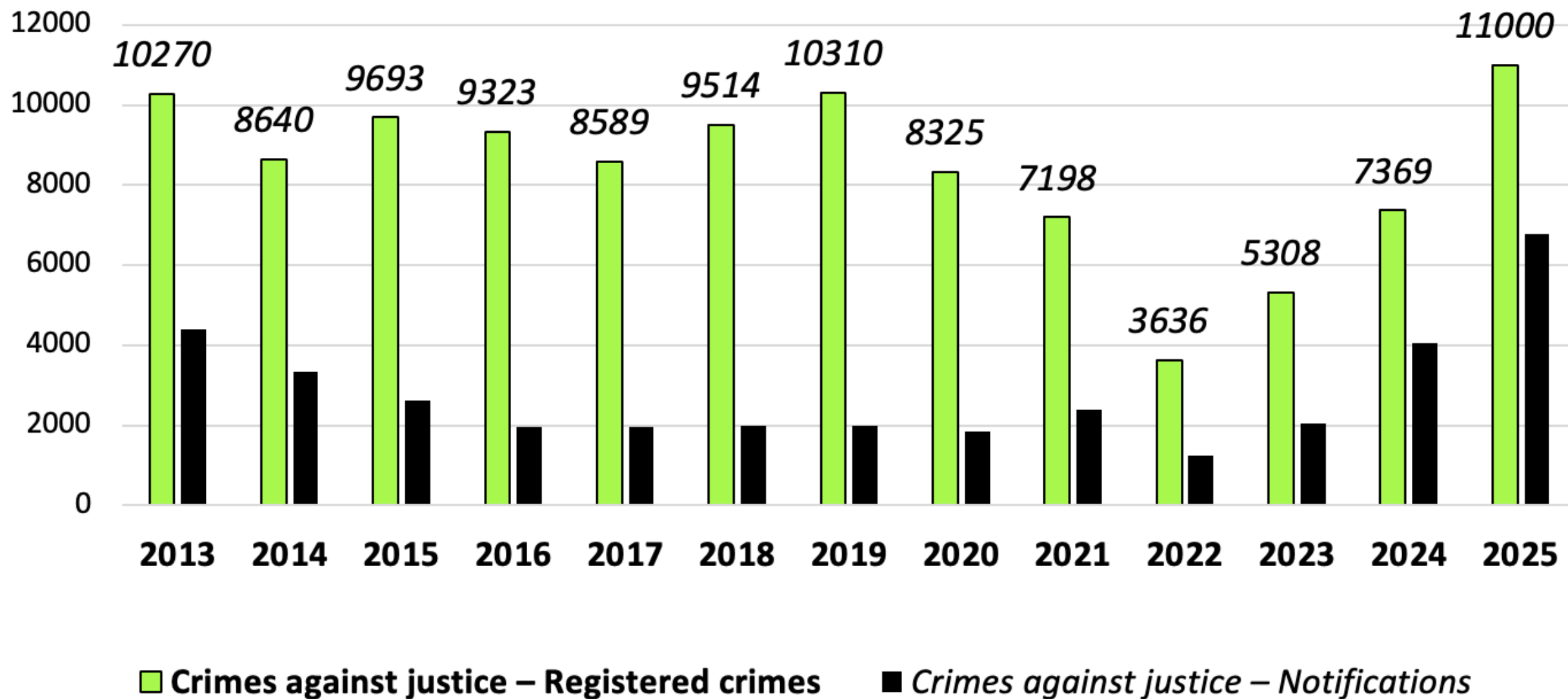
CRIMES AGAINST JUSTICE



REGISTERED CRIMES AGAINST JUSTICE

- 2021 (pre-war baseline): 7,198 crimes
- 2022 (wartime shock): 3,636 crimes
 - More than 50% decline compared to 2021
- 2023 (partial recovery): 5,308 crimes
- 2024 (continued increase): 7,369 crimes
- 2025 (sharp escalation): 11,000 crimes

Crimes against justice



THE PATHOLOGY OF NON-EXECUTION

Systemic Issue:

The non-execution of court decisions is a
“chronic pathology” within the
Ukrainian justice system.

Rule of Law Breach:

Consistently flagged by the Council of Europe
and the European Court of Human Rights
as a fundamental failure.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE



CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

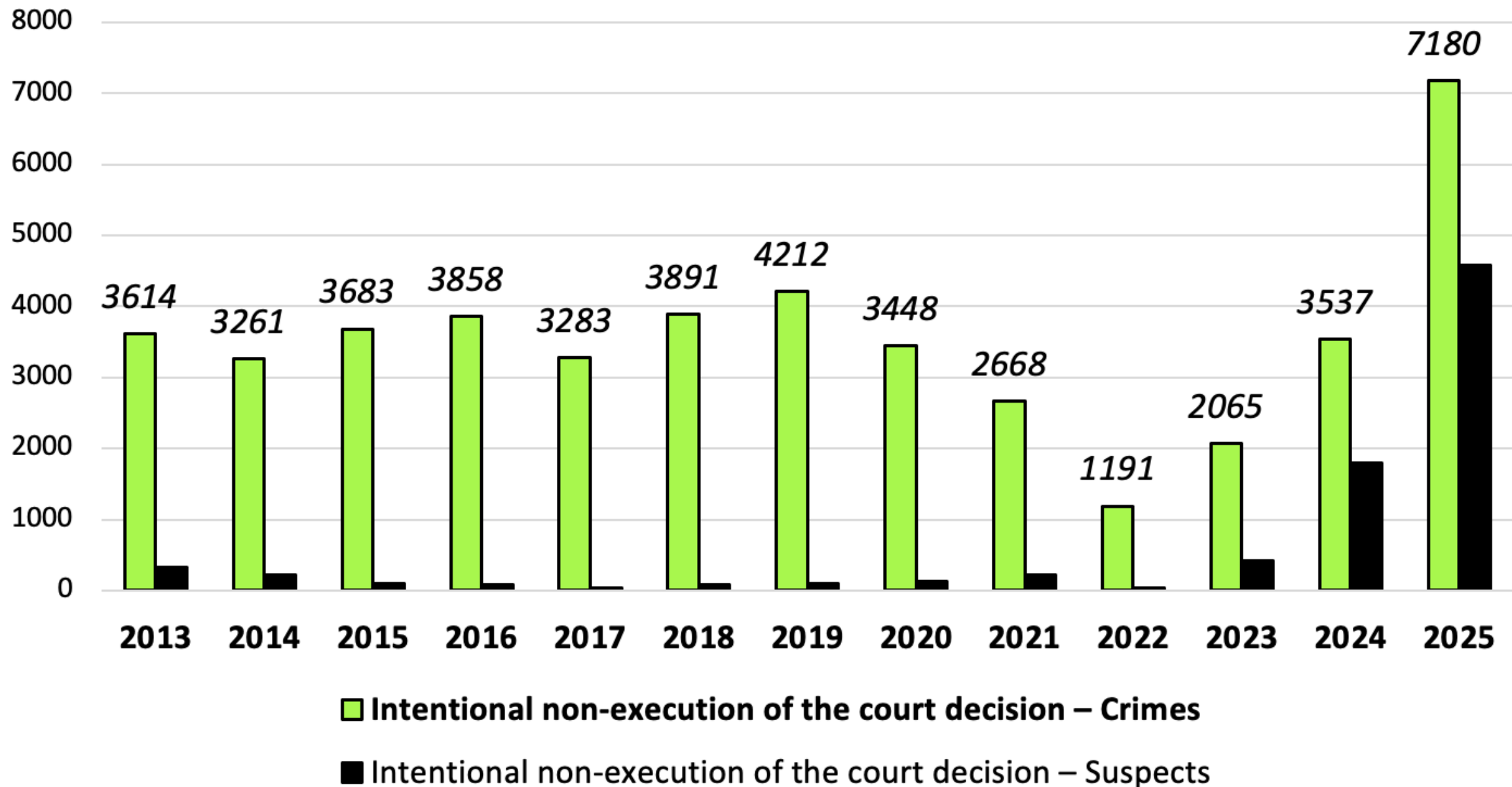


EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS
COUR EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME

THE PATHOLOGY OF NON-EXECUTION

- **Systemic Issue:** The non-execution of court decisions is a "chronic pathology" within the Ukrainian justice system
- **Rule of Law Breach:** Consistently flagged by the **Council of Europe** and the **European Court of Human Rights** as a fundamental failure

Intentional non-execution of a judicial decision (2013 - 2025)



HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- 342 cases in 2017
- Reported offenses declined after 2019
- Post–February 2022 invasion marks an anomalous shift in data patterns.

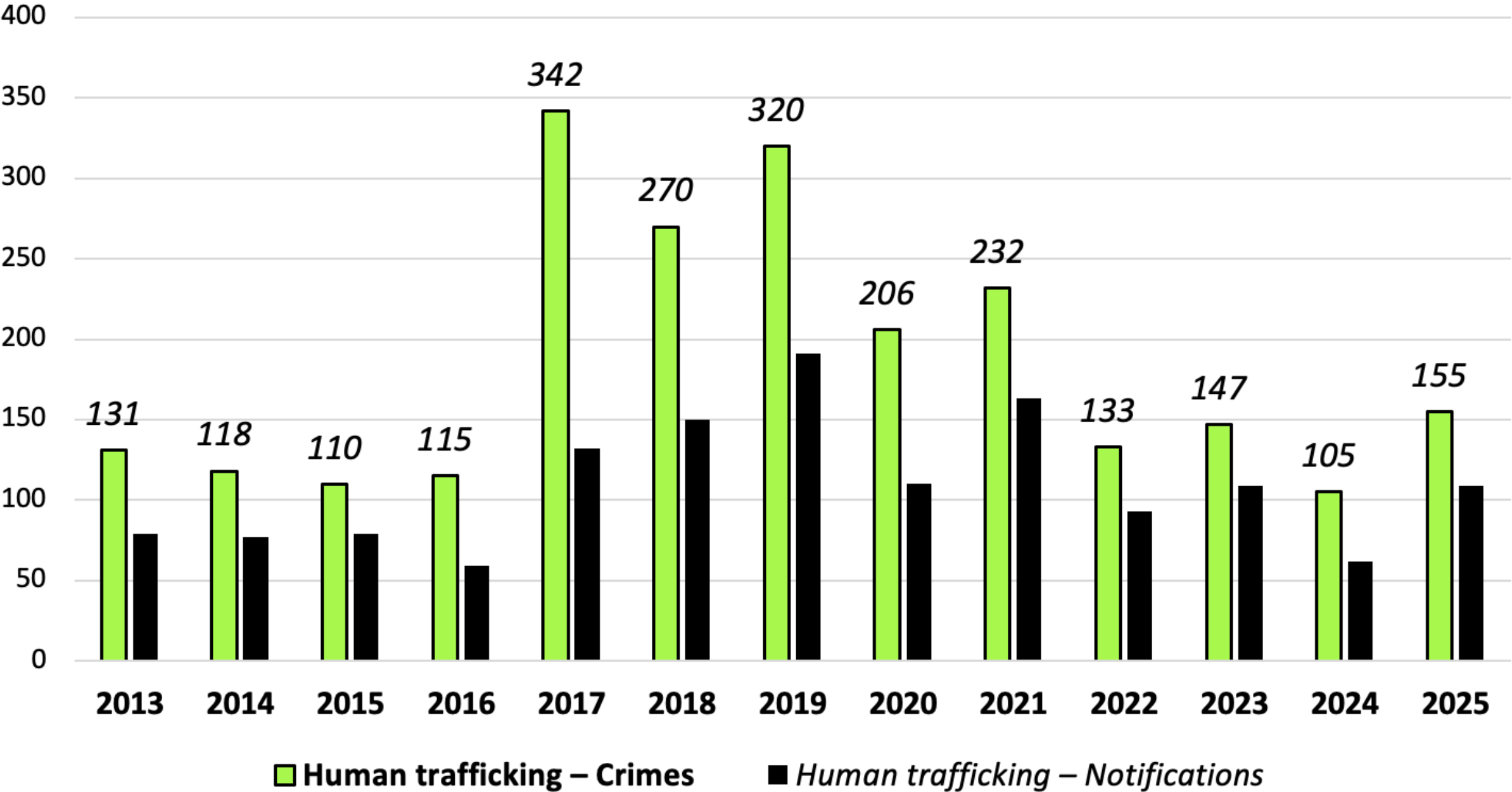


- Sharp Drop in 2022: 133 Cases
- Fluctuated Through 2023–2025

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

- THB trends over the past decade show **high volatility**, with major spikes in **2017–2019** (peak: 342 cases in 2017)
- Reported offenses declined after 2019, despite **growing structural risk factors**
- **Post–February 2022 invasion** marks an anomalous shift in data patterns
- Recorded THB crimes **sharply dropped** in 2022 (133 cases) and fluctuated through 2023–2025
- Notifications followed a similar **decline and instability**
- **Zero or reduced reporting** immediately after invasion raises concerns about data reliability
- Conflict, displacement, and economic collapse likely **increased vulnerability**, not reduced trafficking

Human trafficking (2013 - 2025)





**НАЦІОНАЛЬНЕ
АНТИКОРУПЦІЙНЕ
БЮРО УКРАЇНИ**

NATIONAL ANTI-CORRUPTION BUREAU OF UKRAINE



**ОФІС
ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОГО
ПРОКУРОРА**

OFFICE OF GENERAL PROSECUTOR



БЕБ

**БЮРО ЕКОНОМІЧНОЇ
БЕЗПЕКИ УКРАЇНИ**

BUREAU OF ECONOMIC SECURITY OF UKRAINE



**СЛУЖБА
БЕЗПЕКИ УКРАЇНИ**

SECURITY SERVICE OF UKRAINE



**ДЕРЖАВНЕ БЮРО
РОЗСЛІДУВАНЬ**

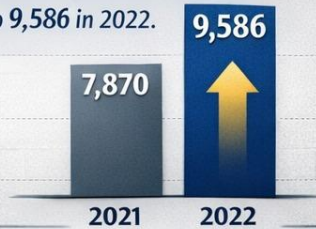
STATE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

OFFICE OF GENERAL PROSECUTOR

Surge in Criminal Proceedings (2022)

► Proceedings opened rose from 7,870 in 2021 to 9,586 in 2022.

► **21.8%** Increase in Initial Prosecutorial Activity



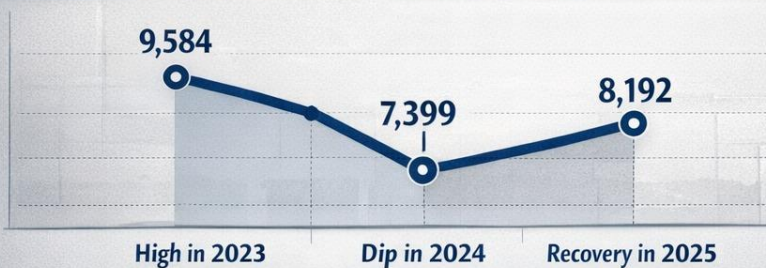
The "Suspicion Gap"

► Formal "Notifications of Suspicion" Declined by 4.6% in 2022.



Post-2022 Stabilization

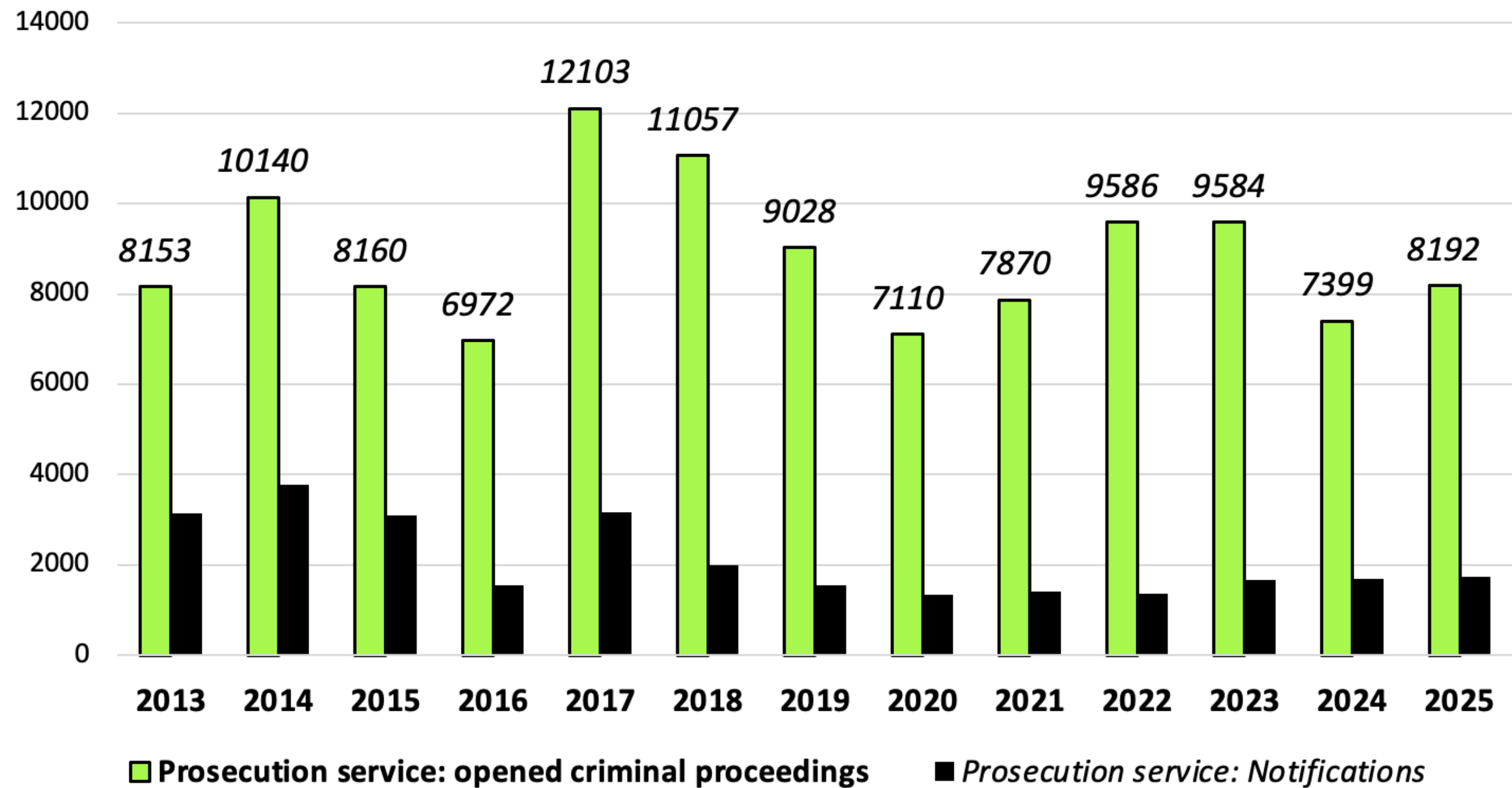
► Criminal Proceedings Trends



OFFICE OF GENERAL PROSECUTOR

- **Trends in Prosecutorial Activity (2021–2025)**
- **Impact of Global Events:** Significant fluctuations in activity observed following the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022
- **Surge in Criminal Proceedings (2022):** Proceedings opened rose from **7,870** in 2021 to **9,586** in 2022.
 - Represents a **21.8% increase** in initial prosecutorial activity
- **The "Suspicion Gap":** Despite the rise in cases, formal "notifications of suspicion" actually **declined by 4.6%** in 2022 (1,420 down to 1,354), highlighting early challenges in advancing investigations
- **Post-2022 Stabilization: Proceedings:** Remained high in 2023 (9,584), dipped in 2024 (7,399), and saw a partial recovery in 2025 (8,192)
 - **Notifications:** Recovered and grew steadily, peaking at **1,730** in 2025





THE POLICE

Remarkable Surge:

Police activity nearly doubled compared to the 2016 minimum.



2023: 61,847

Proceedings

(51,373 with suspects)



2024: 65,478

Proceedings

(56,014 with suspects)



Operational Challenges

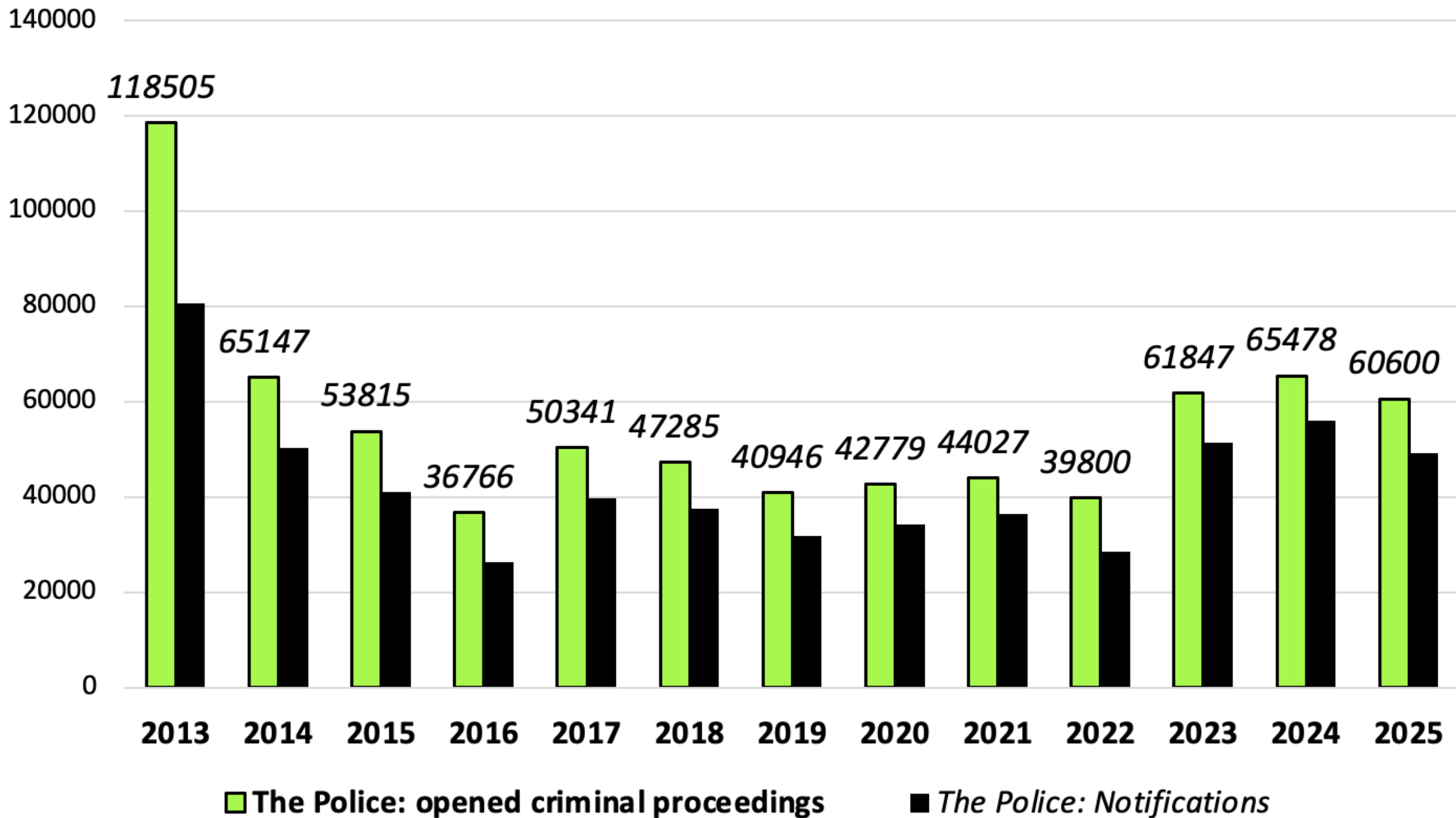
- **Consistent Efficiency**
- **Systemic Capacity**
- **Systemic Pressure**



THE POLICE

- **Remarkable Surge:** Police activity nearly doubled compared to the 2016 minimum
 - **2023:** 61,847 proceedings (51,373 with suspects)
 - **2024:** 65,478 proceedings (56,014 with suspects)
- **Operational Challenges:** Spikes represent levels not seen since 2014, driven by **expanded criminal activity** and wartime conditions
- **Consistent Efficiency:** The ratio of total proceedings to identified suspects remains high, typically between **70% and 85%**
- **Systemic Capacity:** A stable ratio suggests that police have maintained investigative capacity despite extreme workload volatility
- **Systemic Pressure:** Data highlights the massive pressure placed on Ukraine's criminal justice system during its transformation and current conflict





THE SBU

Immediate Surge (2022)

Registered proceedings jumped to

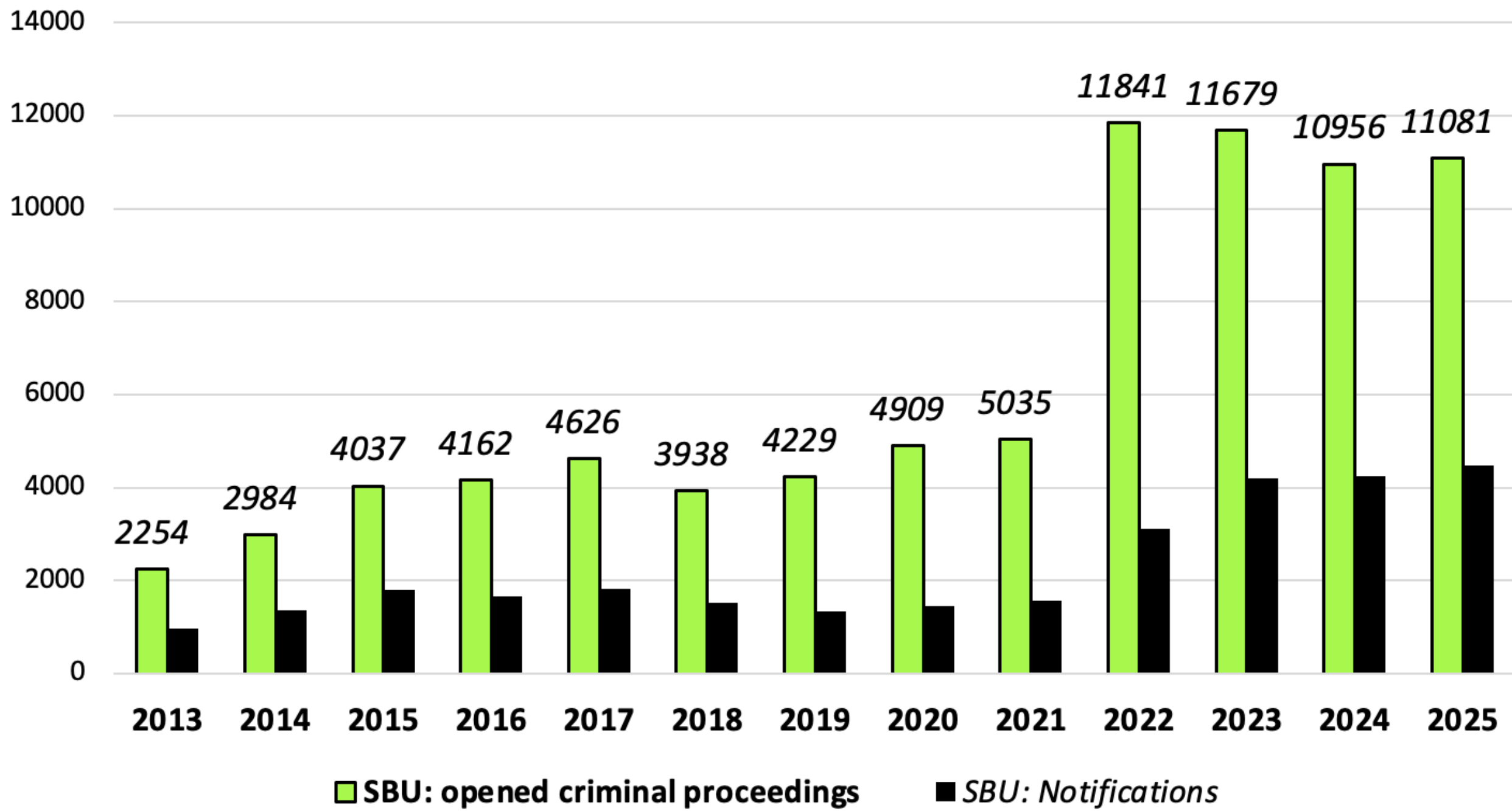
11,841

a **135% increase** from 2021 (5,035)



THE SBU

- **Operational Landscape Shift:** The 2022 invasion fundamentally changed the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), necessitating both quantitative and qualitative shifts in detection
- **Immediate Surge (2022):** Registered proceedings jumped to **11,841**, a **135% increase** from 2021 (5,035)
 - **New Priorities:** Shift toward treason, collaboration, sabotage, and violations of the laws of war



THE TAX POLICE

• Investigative Crisis

Catastrophic Breakdown

Following the full-scale invasion, functionality essentially collapsed.

• The Numbers

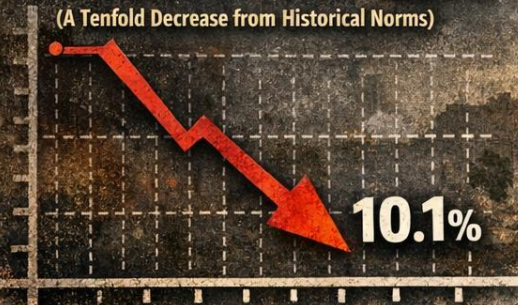
• Only **218** Proceedings Opened

• A Mere **22** Suspects Identified.



• Plummeting Efficiency

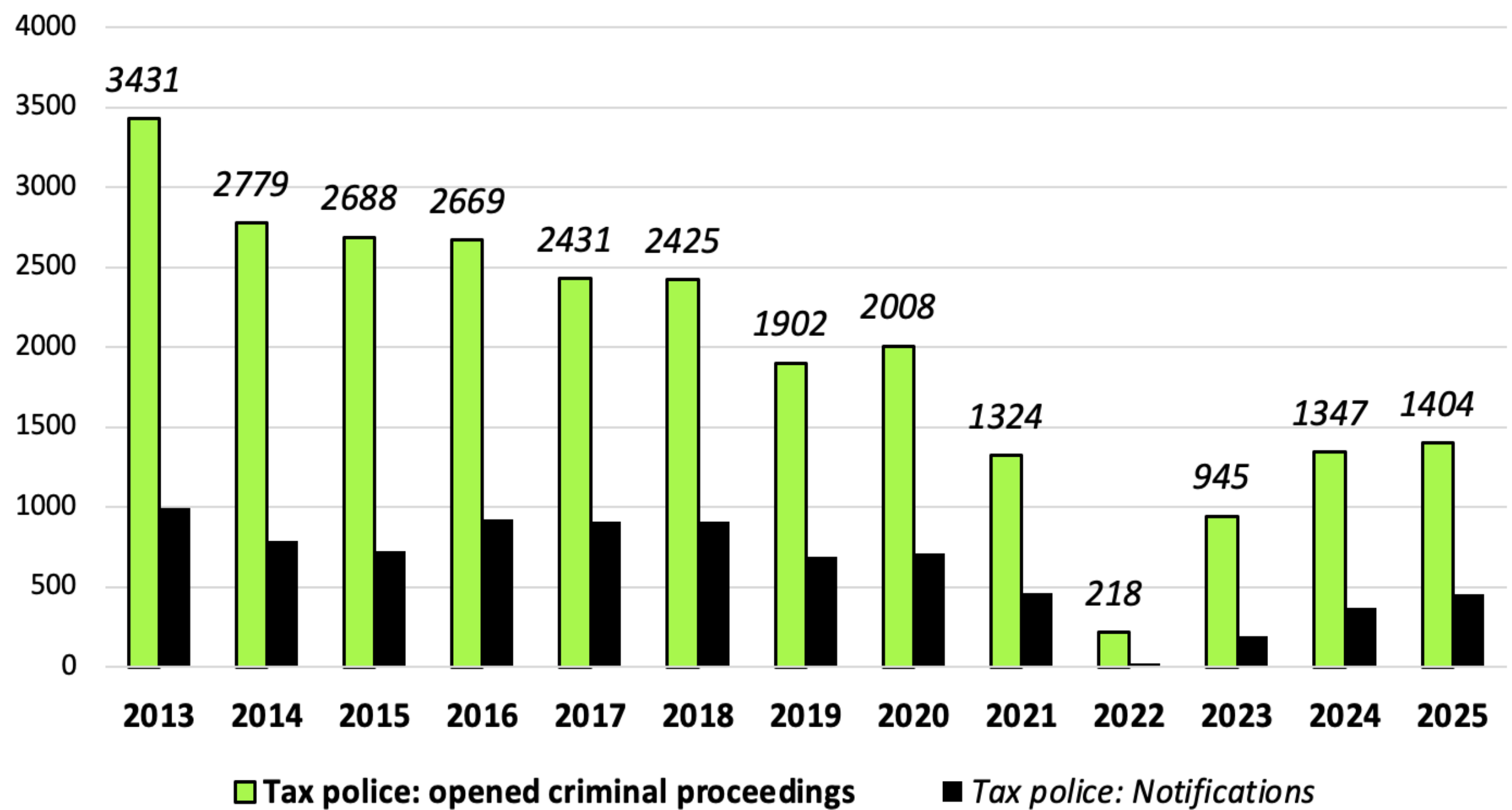
Detection Rate Hit a Low of **10.1%**
(A Tenfold Decrease from Historical Norms)



THE TAX POLICE

- **Investigative Crisis:** Data reveals a significant struggle to convert opened criminal proceedings into cases with identified suspects.
- **Pre-War Baseline (2013–2018):**
 - Maintained "stable, if modest" detection rates of **27–34%**.
 - Averaged 2,400–3,400 annual proceedings, producing 700–900 cases with suspects.
- **Early Warning Signs:** A gradual decline began pre-war, with proceedings dropping from 3,431 (2013) to 1,902 (2019).
- **Catastrophic Breakdown:** Following the full-scale invasion, functionality essentially collapsed.
- **The Numbers:** Only **218** proceedings opened with a mere **22 suspects identified**.
- **Plummeting Efficiency:** Detection rate hit a low of **10.1%** (a tenfold decrease from historical norms).
- **Primary Causes:** Likely driven by military mobilization, resource reallocation to defense, and displacement of investigative personnel.





STATE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (DBR)

Exponential Caseload Growth

Cases Opened: 2017 to 2025



The volume of opened proceedings has surged from a single case in 2017 to **8,920** in 2025.

The "Detection Gap"



While caseloads are rising, the effectiveness in *identifying* suspects is in a state of sharp decline.

Pre-War Performance

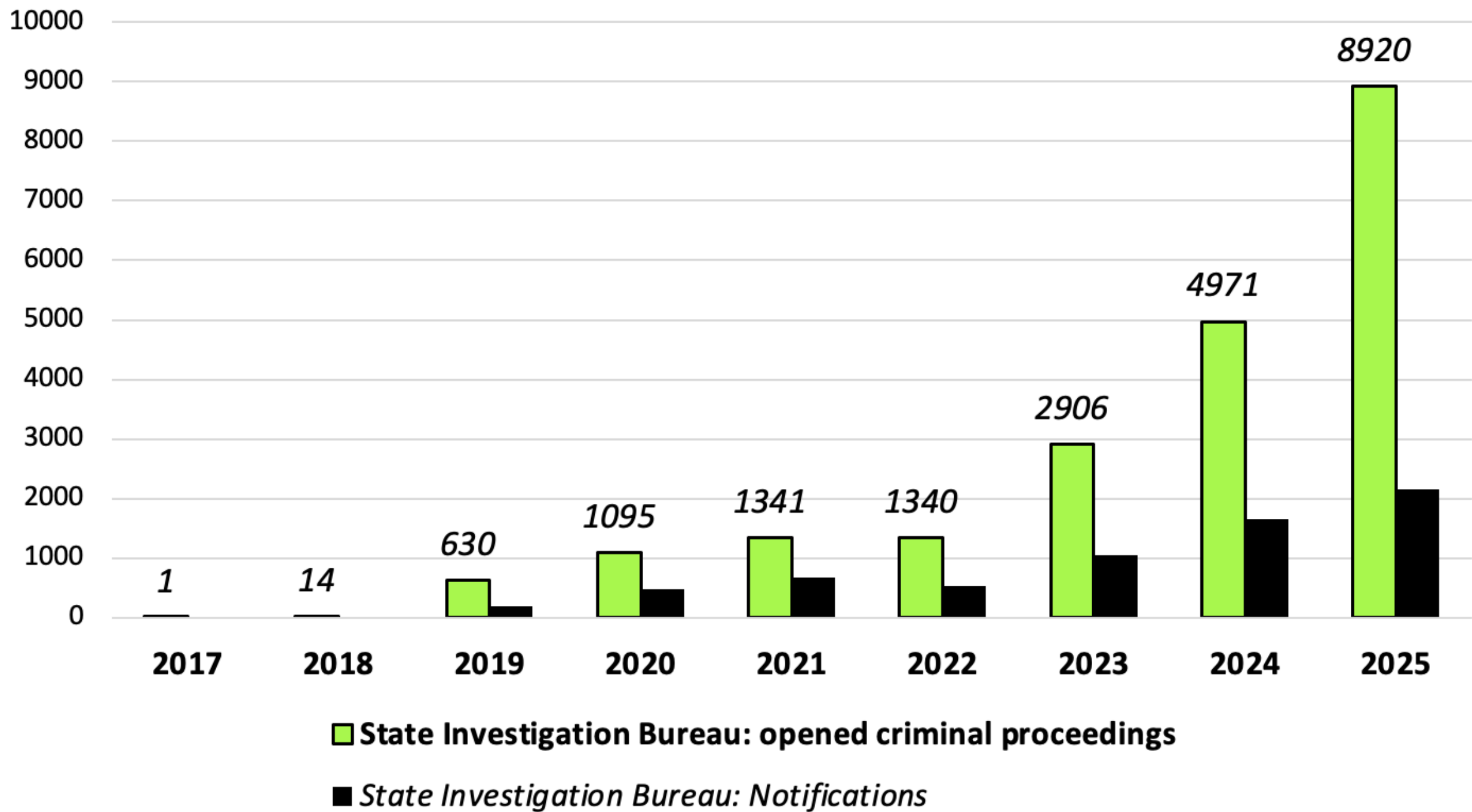
Peak Detection Rate: 2021



Peaked in 2021 with a **50.1%** detection rate.

STATE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (DBR)

- **Exponential Caseload Growth:** The volume of opened proceedings has surged from a single case in 2017 to **8,920** in 2025
- **The "Detection Gap":** While caseloads are rising, the effectiveness in identifying suspects is in a state of sharp decline
- **Pre-War Performance:** Peaked in **2021** with a **50.1% detection rate** (suspects identified in half of all cases)



Significant Expansion:

- Opened Criminal Proceedings: **105 Cases (2017)** → **355 Cases (2025)**

↑ **238%** Increase in Activity

Core Challenge: Detection Rate Volatility

- Ratio of Suspect Identification to Opened Cases



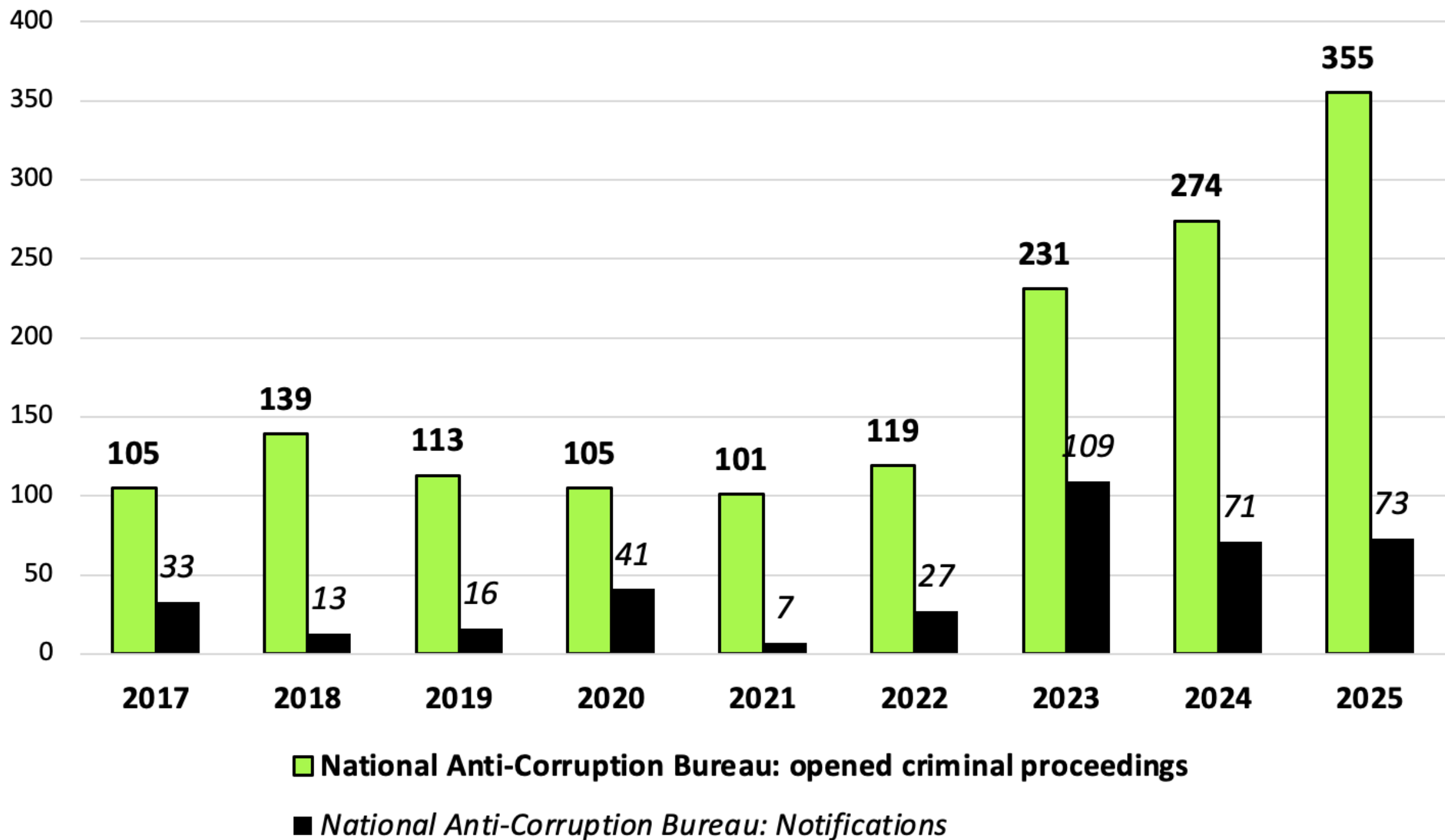
Key Takeaway:

Dramatic Swing Raises Serious Concerns!

2021 ↓ ↔ **2023** ↑

Stability & Consistency of Investigative Capacity?

- **Significant Expansion:** Opened criminal proceedings rose from **105 cases (2017)** to **355 cases (2025)**
- **Growth Trend:** Represents a **238% increase** in activity over an eight-year period.
- **Core Challenge:** Detection rates (the ratio of suspect identification to opened cases) show extreme inconsistency throughout the Bureau's history
- **Historical Peak (2023):** Achieved a detection rate of **47.2%**
- **Historical Low (2021)**
- **Key Takeaway:** The dramatic swing between 2021 and 2023 raises serious questions about the stability and consistency of investigative capacity





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