

'BUSIFICATION' AND THE RULE OF LAW **(HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGES OF WARTIME MOBILISATION IN UKRAINE).**



Dmytro Yagunov. Riga, April 8-9, 2026

‘BUSIFICATION’ AND THE RULE OF LAW (HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGES OF WARTIME MOBILISATION IN UKRAINE)

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'BUSIFICATION' AND THE RULE OF LAW

(HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGES OF WARTIME MOBILISATION IN UKRAINE)



CONTEXT OF EXISTENTIAL THREAT

2022 INVASION



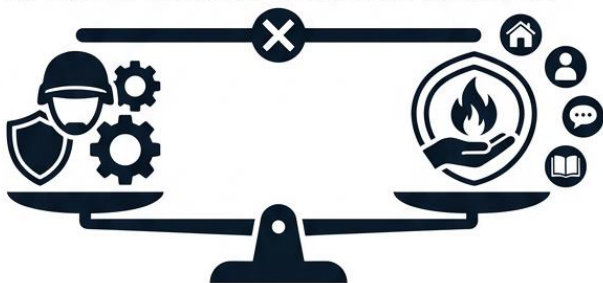
UNPRECEDENTED MOBILISATION
OF HUMAN RESOURCES



SIGNIFICANT EXPANSION
OF THE ARMED FORCES



'MILITARY NECESSITY' DOES NOT
CANCEL BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS



CONTEXT OF EXISTENTIAL THREAT

- The 2022 invasion required an unprecedented mobilisation of human resources
- Ukraine faced the necessity of a significant expansion of the armed forces
- However, "military necessity" does not cancel basic human rights



Crisis situations require the sharpest legal mechanisms to protect individuals from state arbitrariness

Article 15 of the ECHR (derogation) does not apply to the absolute prohibition of torture



DOES NOT APPLY



No emergency justifies inhuman or degrading treatment



STOP



CRISIS SITUATIONS

- Crisis situations require the sharpest legal mechanisms to protect individuals from state arbitrariness
- Article 15 of the ECHR **(derogation)** does not apply to the absolute prohibition of torture
- No emergency justifies inhuman or degrading treatment

RIGHTS IN CRISIS SITUATIONS

PROTECTION FROM STATE ARBITRARINESS

CRISIS SITUATIONS REQUIRE THE SHARPEST LEGAL MECHANISMS



To protect individuals from overreach during emergencies

THE NON-DEROGABLE CORE OF RIGHTS (ECHR Article 15)

ARTICLE 15 ECHR (DEROGATION) & ITS LIMITS

DEROGABLE RIGHTS (MAY BE SUSPENDED IN EMERGENCY)



Freedom of Assembly



Freedom of Movement

NON-DEROGABLE RIGHTS (NEVER SUSPENDED)



DOES NOT APPLY TO THE ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION OF TORTURE

DOES NOT APPLY TO THE ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION OF TORTURE

ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION, NO EXCUSES

NO EMERGENCY JUSTIFIES INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT



Counter-Terrorism



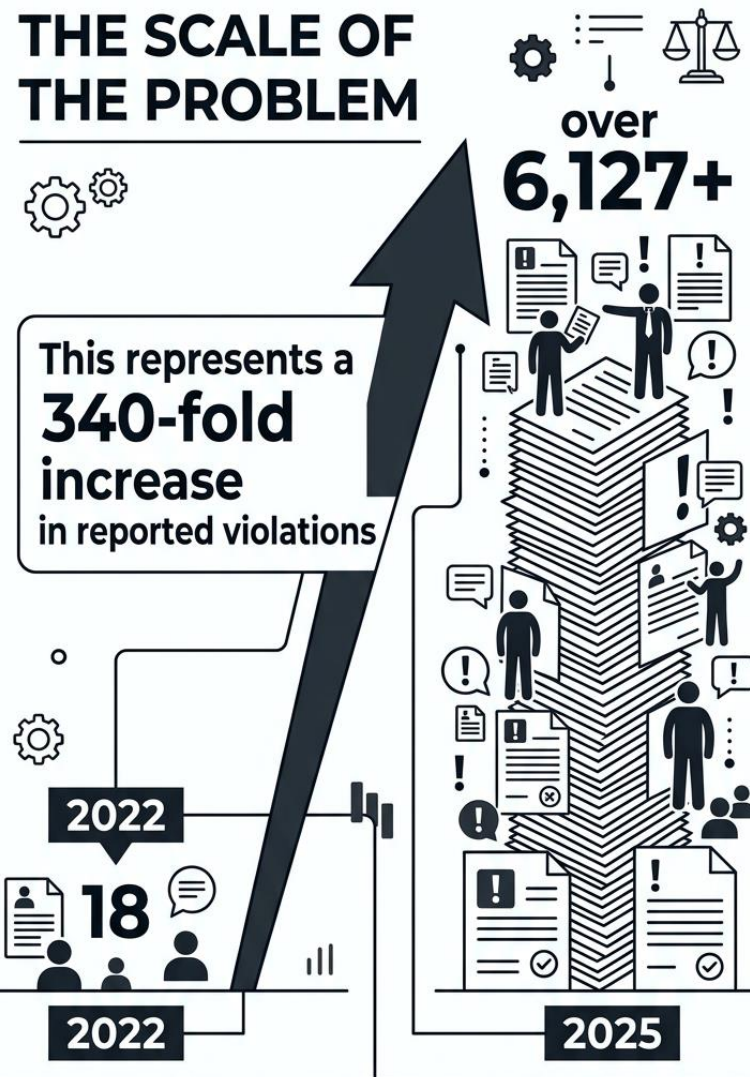
War/Conflict



Public Order

This prohibition is absolute, regardless of the situation or threat level.

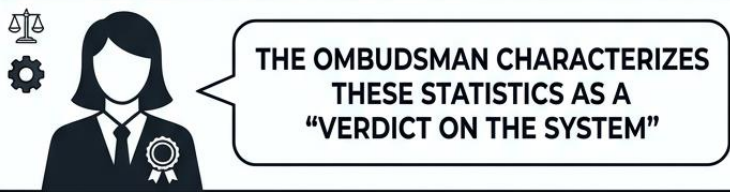
THE SCALE OF THE PROBLEM



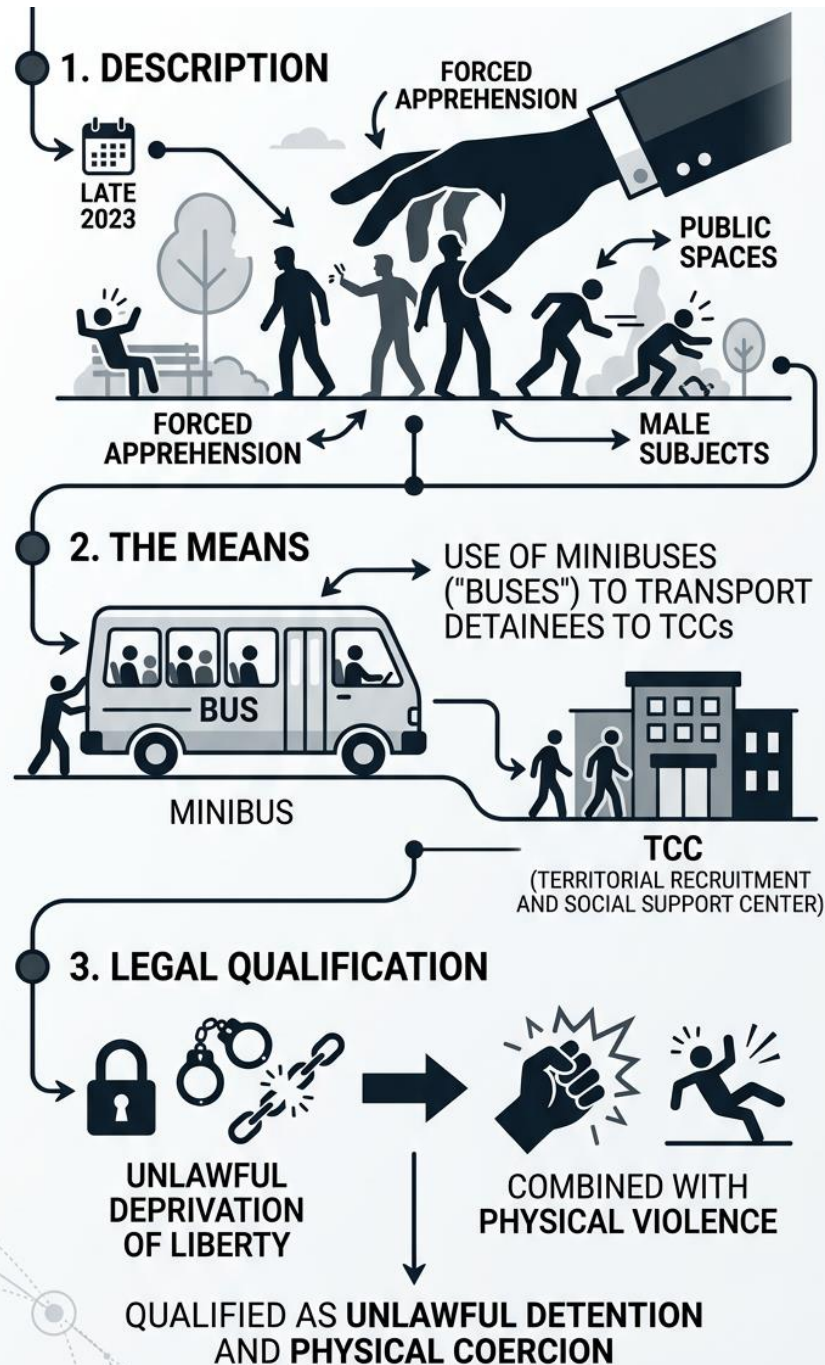
Complaints regarding TCC (Territorial Recruitment Centers) actions

THE SCALE OF THE PROBLEM

- Complaints regarding TCC (Territorial Recruitment Centers) actions rose from 18 in 2022 to over 6,127 in 2025
- This represents a 340-fold increase in reported violations
- The Ombudsman characterizes these statistics as a "verdict on the system"



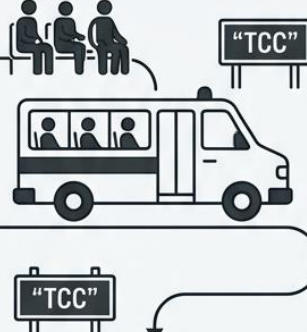




DEFINING "BUSIFICATION"

- The term emerged in late 2023 to describe the forced "seizure" of men in public places
- It refers to the use of minibuses ("buses") to transport detainees to TCCs
- Legally, it is qualified as unlawful deprivation of liberty combined with physical violence

LEGAL VS. ILLEGAL MOBILISATION

LEGAL MOBILISATION	ILLEGAL MOBILISATION
 LAWFUL DOCUMENT CHECKS	 PHYSICAL VIOLENCE
 DELIVERY TO TCCs VIA ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES	 DECEPTION
	 ISOLATION
	 IGNORING MEDICAL RECORDS



Illegal “busification” constitutes a gross violation of constitutional and Convention standards

LEGAL VS. ILLEGAL MOBILISATION

- **Legal:** Lawful document checks and delivery to TCCs via established procedures
- **Illegal:** Physical violence, deception, isolation, and ignoring medical records
- **‘Busification’** constitutes a gross violation of constitutional and Convention standards

STRATEGIC HARM OF ILLEGAL METHODS

Illegal methods undermine the **motivation** of citizens who previously sought to serve



The army requires **motivated**, prepared soldiers

VS



— not those **demoralized** by force.



Violence creates a **strategic threat** to national defense.

STRATEGIC HARM OF ILLEGAL METHODS

- Illegal methods undermine the motivation of citizens who previously sought to serve
- The army requires motivated, prepared soldiers — not those demoralized by force
- Violence creates a strategic threat to national defense

1. ACUTE PHYSICAL FORCE & INJURIES



Documented cases include broken bones (arms, legs, ribs) and severe beatings during "seizure"

2. DISREGARD FOR MEDICAL VULNERABILITY

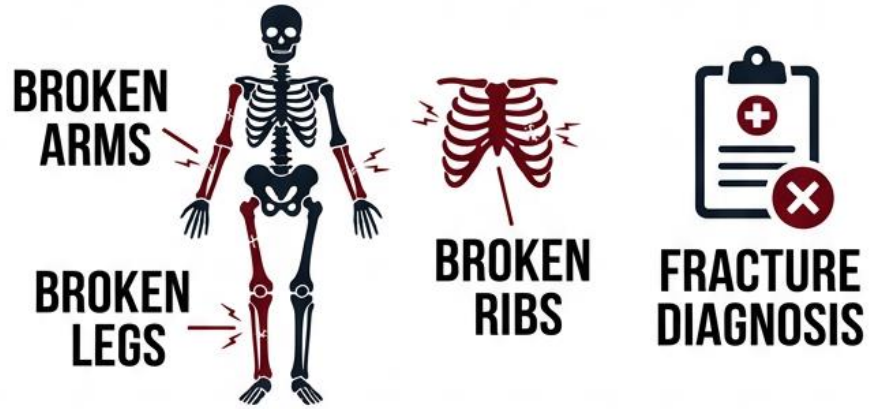


2. DISREGARD FOR MEDICAL VULNERABILITY
Physical force is used even against those who are medically unfit

MECHANISMS OF ABUSE: DECEPTION

- Individuals are often lured to TCCs through "voluntary" medical exam offers under false pretenses
- Once inside, the true purpose of detention is revealed, effectively kidnapping the individual

1. BONE FRACTURES (DOCUMENTED CASES)



MECHANISMS OF ABUSE: PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

- Documented cases include broken bones (arms, legs, ribs) and severe beatings during "seizure"
- Physical force is used even against those who are medically unfit

2. SEVERE BEATINGS

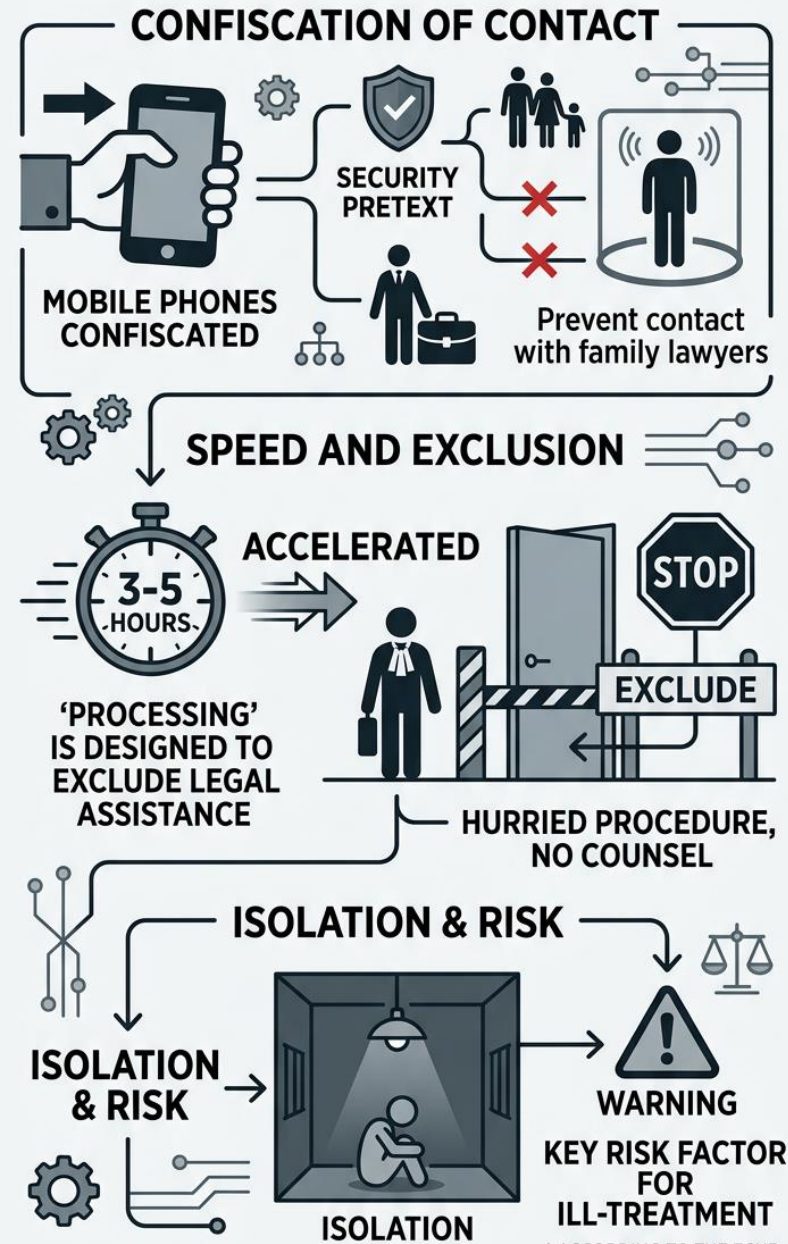


(REPORTS INCLUDE BEATINGS DURING "SEIZURE")

3. USE OF FORCE AGAINST MEDICALLY UNFIT



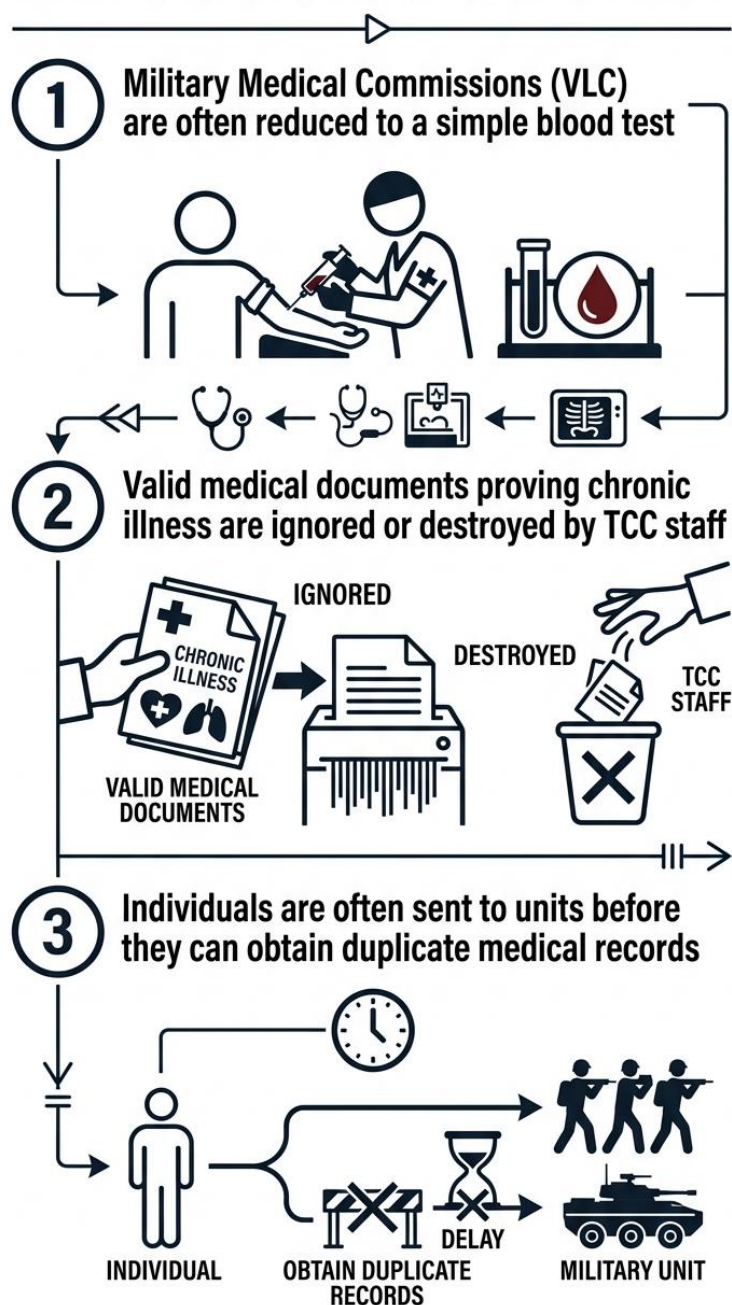
ISOLATION AND LACK OF EXTERNAL CONTROL



ISOLATION AND LACK OF EXTERNAL CONTROL

- Mobile phones are confiscated under "security" pretexts to prevent contact with family or lawyers
- Accelerated "processing" (3–5 hours) is designed to exclude legal assistance
- Isolation is a key risk factor for ill-treatment according to the ECHR

SUBVERTING MEDICAL PROCEDURES

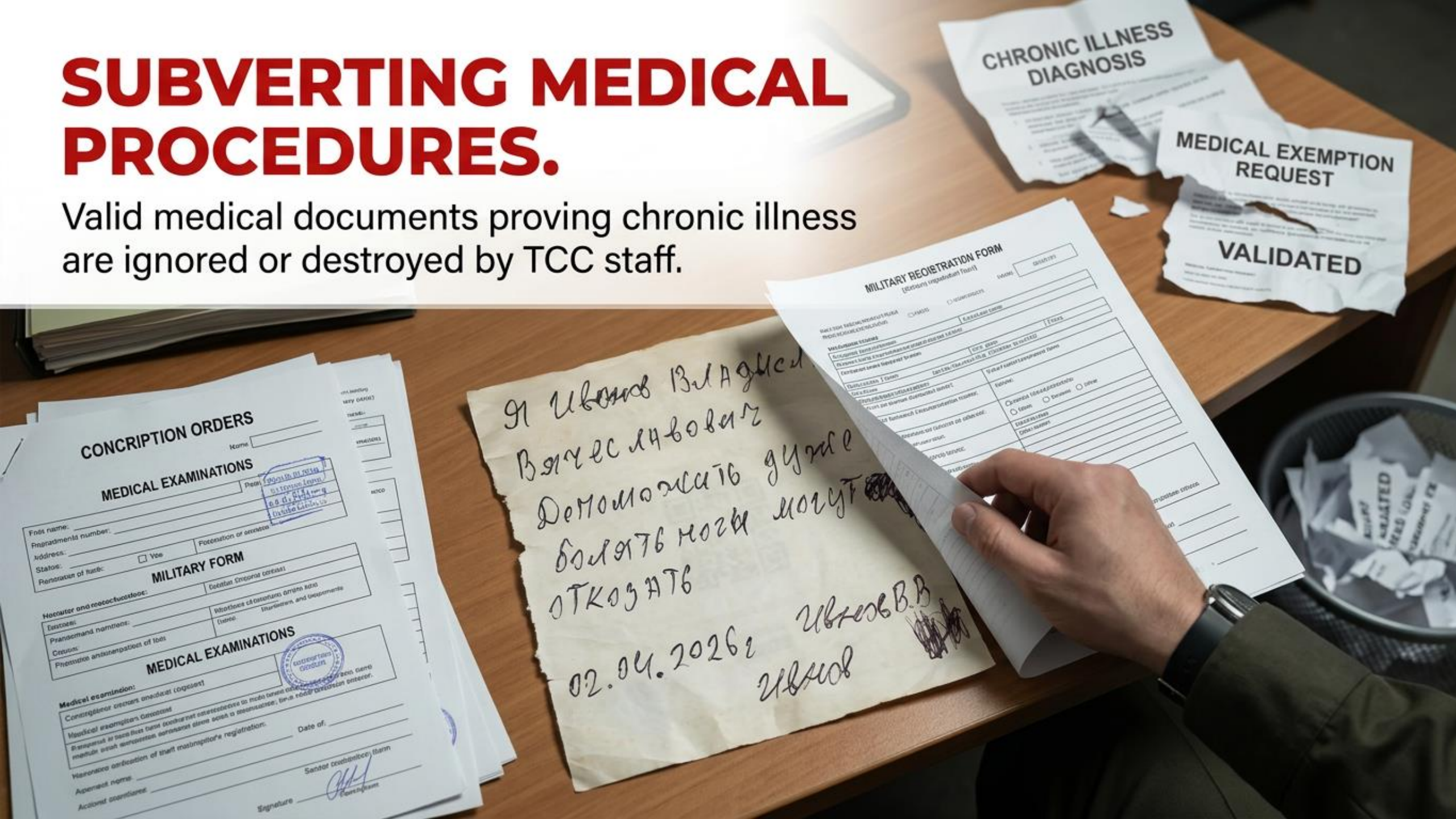


SUBVERTING MEDICAL PROCEDURES

- Military Medical Commissions (VLC) are often reduced to a simple blood test
- Valid medical documents proving chronic illness are ignored or destroyed by TCC staff
- Individuals are often sent to units before they can obtain duplicate medical records

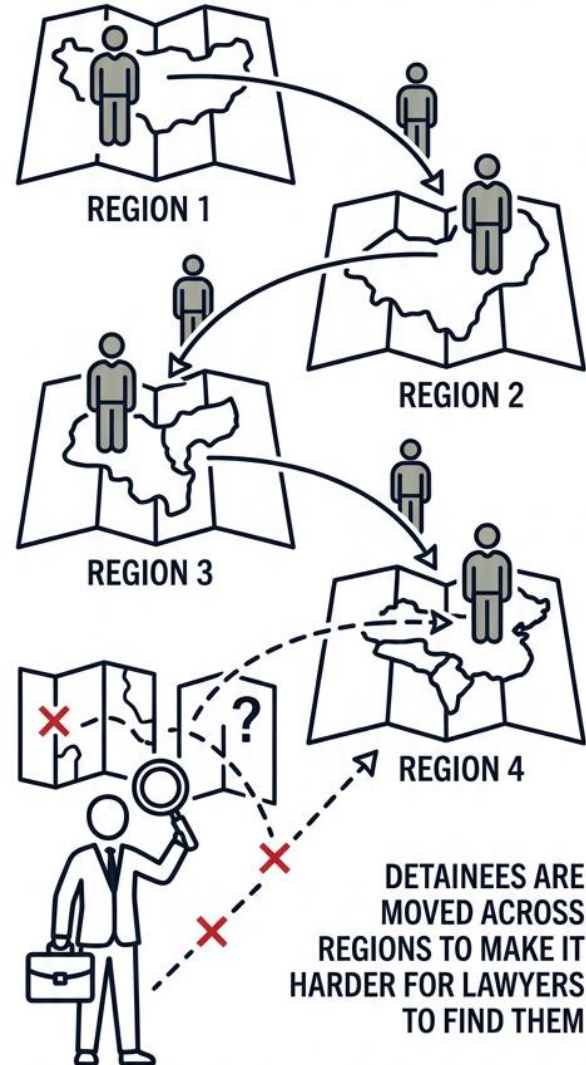
SUBVERTING MEDICAL PROCEDURES.

Valid medical documents proving chronic illness are ignored or destroyed by TCC staff.



VIOLATION OF TERRITORIALITY AND LEGAL DEFENSE

I. DISLOCATION OF DETAINEES ACROSS REGIONS



VIOLATION OF TERRITORIALITY AND LEGAL DEFENSE

- Detainees are moved across regions to make it harder for lawyers to find them
- Attorneys face physical obstruction and threats when attempting to access clients in TCCs

II. OBSTRUCTING ATTORNEY ACCESS IN TCCs



SCHEMATIC MAP OF ODESSA OBLAST





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**МІНІСТЕРСТВО ОБОРОНИ
УКРАЇНИ
ЗБРОЙНІ СИЛИ УКРАЇНИ
ОДЕСЬКИЙ ОБЛАСНИЙ
ТЕРИТОРІАЛЬНИЙ ЦЕНТР
КОМПЛЕКТУВАННЯ ТА
СОЦІАЛЬНОЇ ПІДТРИМКИ**

Код ЄДРПОУ 08402040
вул. Пироговська, 6 м. Одеса, 65044
Тел.: (048) 752-82-60
E-mail: Odeskiy_otck@post.mil.gov.ua

У Одеському обласному територіальному центрі комплектування та соціальної підтримки в межах компетенції опрацьовано Ваше звернення в інтересах громадянина [REDACTED]

За результатами опрацювання повідомляю, що неможливо розглянути звернення в зв'язку з ненаданням повної інформації стосовно гр. [REDACTED]

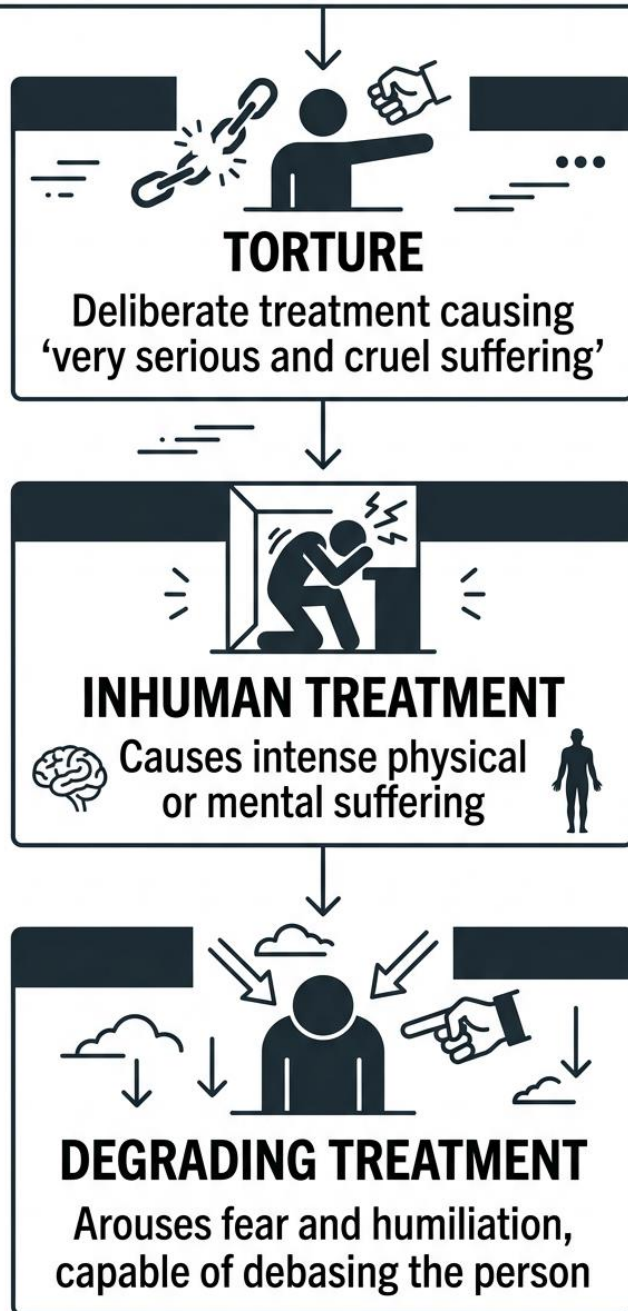


ARTICLE 3 ECHR: THE ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION



- Article 3 prohibits torture, inhuman, or degrading treatment without exception.
- Even threats to the life of the nation do not justify derogation from this article
- State agents must not become "mirrors" of the totalitarian violence they fight

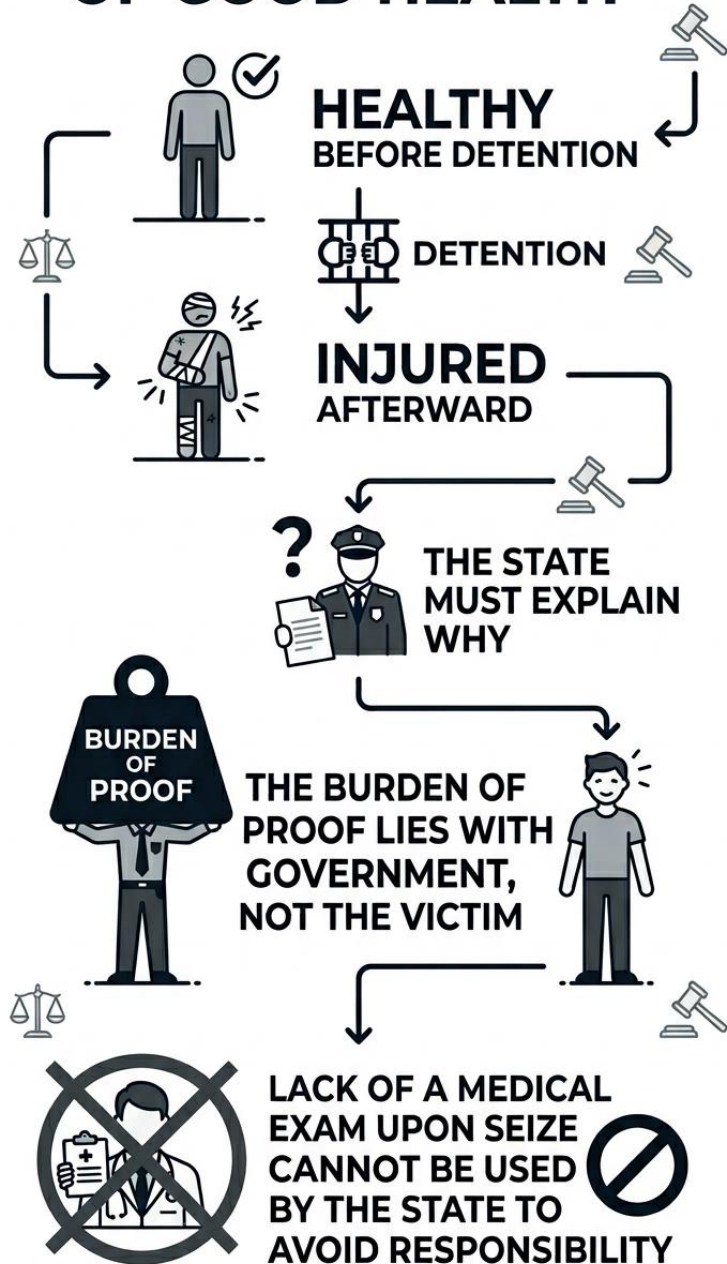
CATEGORISING ILL-TREATMENT



CATEGORISING ILL-TREATMENT

- **Torture:** Deliberate treatment causing "very serious and cruel suffering"
- **Inhuman Treatment:** Causes intense physical or mental suffering
- **Degrading Treatment:** Arouses fear and humiliation, capable of debasing the person

THE "PRESUMPTION OF GOOD HEALTH"



THE "PRESUMPTION OF GOOD HEALTH"

- If a person is healthy before detention but injured afterward, the state must explain why
- The burden of proof lies with the government, not the victim
- Lack of a medical exam upon seizure cannot be used by the state to avoid responsibility

PROCEDURAL OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE 3 (ECHR)



PROCEDURAL OBLIGATIONS

- The state must effectively investigate every credible complaint of ill-treatment
- Failure to investigate "busification" complaints results in a separate procedural violation

ARTICLE 5 ECHR: THE RIGHT TO LIBERTY



Forced detention in a minibus is "deprivation of liberty" the moment the person **cannot** leave



Article 5 § 4 guarantees the right to a **speedy court** review of detention

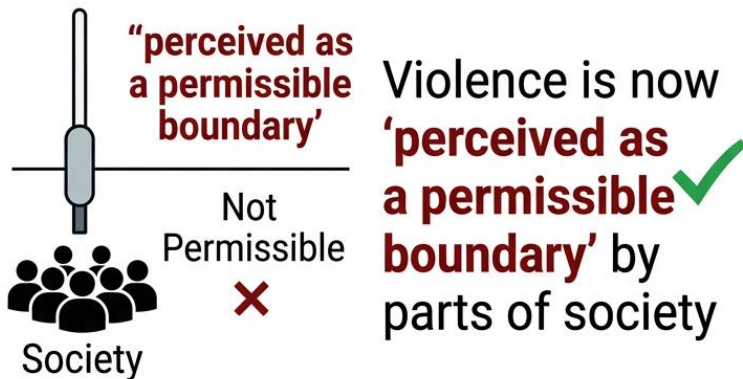
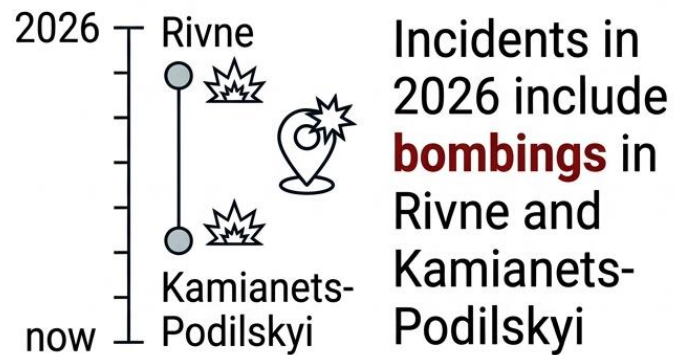


Current **6–12 month court delays** in Ukraine **violate** this right

ARTICLE 5 ECHR: THE RIGHT TO LIBERTY

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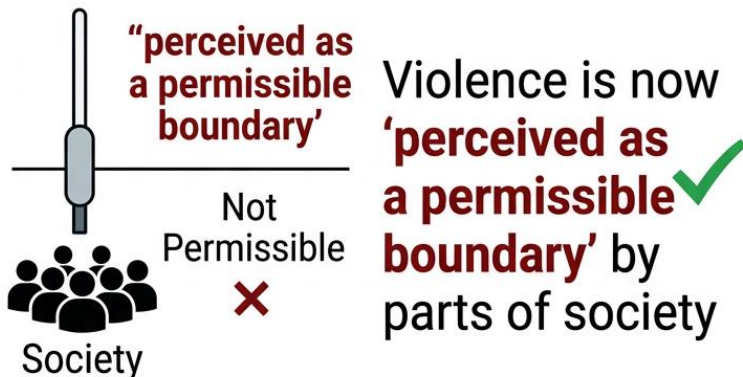
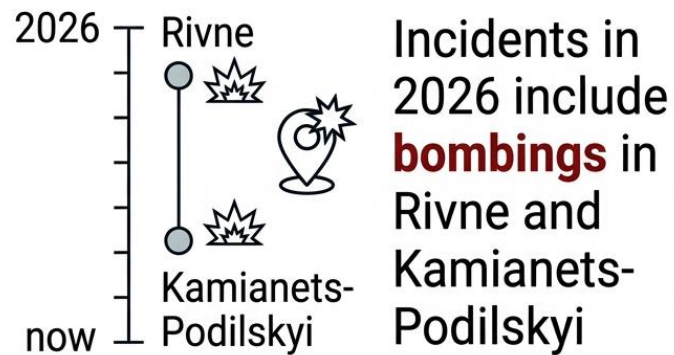
ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST TCC STAFF



ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST TCC STAFF

- 272 attacks on TCC personnel have been recorded, with four deaths
- Incidents in 2026 include bombings in Rivne and Kamianets-Podilskyi
- Violence is now "perceived as a permissible boundary" by parts of society

ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST TCC STAFF



ESCALATION OVERVIEW AND STATISTICS (Q1 2026)

- **Growing Crisis:** As of early 2026, 272 total attacks have been recorded since the start of the full-scale war, resulting in 4 fatalities
- **Rapid Acceleration:** In 2026, the intensity of violence has surged significantly
 - **Dnipropetrovsk Region:** Recorded 5 attacks in January alone (3.5x the average monthly rate of 2025)
- **Shift in Tactics:** Transition from civil disobedience to the use of lethal weapons (screwdrivers, knives, firearms, and vehicles)
- **Systemic Warning:** Experts warn of a "mechanism of escalation": shifting from mockery to physical assault, and finally to premeditated murder

ESCALATION OVERVIEW AND STATISTICS (Q1 2026)

» GROWING CRISIS

AS OF EARLY 2026

272
TOTAL ATTACKS

4 
FATALITIES

! SINCE START OF FULL-SCALE WAR

» RAPID ACCELERATION



INTENSITY OF VIOLENCE
HAS **SURGED** SIGNIFICANTLY



DNIPROPETROVSK REGION

5 **ATTACKS**
IN JANUARY ALONE

3.5x 
AVERAGE MONTHLY
RATE OF 2025

» SHIFT IN TACTICS



CIVIL
DISOBEDIENCE



USE OF
LETHAL WEAPONS



SYSTEMIC WARNING



MOCKERY



PHYSICAL
ASSAULT



PREMEDITATED
MURDER

EXPERTS WARN OF
SHIFTING FROM MOCKERY
TO PHYSICAL ASSAULT, AND FINALLY
TO PREMEDITATED MURDER

MECHANISM OF
ESCALATION

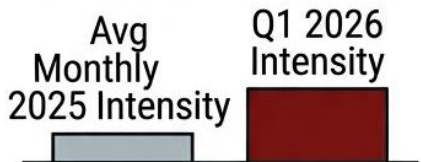


4

272



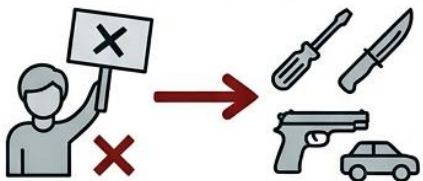
Growing Crisis: As of early 2026, **272 attacks** have been recorded since the start of the full-scale war, resulting in **4 fatalities**.



Rapid Acceleration: In 2026, the intensity of violence has surged significantly.



DNIPROPETROVSK REGION: Recorded **5 attacks** in January alone (3.5x the average monthly rate of 2025).



Shift in Tactics: Transition from civil disobedience to the use of lethal weapons (screwdrivers, knives, firearms, and vehicles).

SYSTEMIC WARNING: Experts warn of a 'mechanism of escalation':

1. Mockery
2. Physical Assault



TIMELINE OF MAJOR INCIDENTS (JAN – APR 2026)

- **Lethal Violence (February):**
- **Pyriatyn (Feb 1, 2025):** A service member was shot and killed at a gas station; the attacker stole a weapon and fled with a conscript
- **Lviv (Apr 2, 2026):** A high-profile murder where a TCC officer was killed with a knife by a customs official
- **Terrorist Involvement: Rivne (Feb 1, 2025):** A confirmed terrorist act organized by Russian intelligence (FSB/GRU) via Telegram; one dead, six wounded in a backpack bomb explosion
- **Field Incidents:**
- **Izmail (Jan 13, 2026):** First recorded attack of the year using a screwdriver
- **Kharkiv (Apr 1, 2026):** Deliberate use of a vehicle to strike a Sergeant at a mobile checkpoint
- **Vinnytsia (Apr 4, 2026):** Multiple knife stabbings during a routine document check



TIMELINE OF MAJOR INCIDENTS (JANUARY – APRIL 2026)

JANUARY



JANUARY 13, 2026: **Izmail**

First recorded attack of the year using a screwdriver.
[Field Incidents]

FEBRUARY



Terrorist Act

FEBRUARY 1: **Rivne**

Confirmed terrorist act organized by Russian intelligence (FSB/GRU) via Telegram; one dead, six wounded in a backpack bomb explosion.

[Terrorist Involvement]



FEBRUARY 16, 2025: **Pyriatyn**

A service member was shot and killed at a gas station; the attacker stole a weapon and fled with a conscript.

[Lethal Violence]

MARCH

APRIL

APRIL



APRIL 2: **Kharkiv**

Deliberate use of a vehicle to strike a Sergeant at a mobile checkpoint.

[Field Incidents]



Knife Crime

APRIL 2, 2025: **Lviv**

A high-profile murder where a TCC officer was killed with a knife by a customs official.

[Lethal Violence]



APRIL 4, 2026: **Vinnitsia**

Multiple knife stabbings during a routine document check.

[Field Incidents]

INCIDENT REPORT: IZMAIL, ODESSA OBLAST, UKRAINE

Analysis of Confrontation and Territorial Recruitment Center (TCC) Operation



Translated Event Summary: In Izmail, Odessa Oblast, a local individual (identified having local influence) with a reported weapon (automatic rifle) attempted to evade a Territorial Recruitment Center (TCC) team. The incident led to a confrontation. The individual was subsequently detained by security forces.

Contextual Details:

TCC (Territorial Recruitment Center) personnel were executing duties. The presence of a weapon and the individual's attempts to evade led to a security response. Investigation is ongoing.

REFERENCE: Unrelated activity from general area, date-matched for comparison



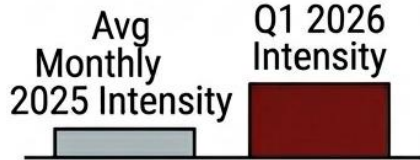


4

272



Growing Crisis: As of early 2026, **272 information attacks** have been recorded since the start of the full-scale war, resulting in **4 narrative-driven fatalities**.
(Territorial Mobilization Centers)



Rapid Acceleration: In 2026, the intensity of disinformation has surged significantly, driving the **shift**.



DNIPROPETROVSK REGION: Recorded **5 attacks** in January alone (3.5x the average monthly rate of 2025).



Shift in Tactics: Russian disinformation aims to shift public anger from the **aggressor to the TCC**. Fear of the TCC replaces fear of occupation.

SYSTEMIC WARNING: Experts warn of a "mechanism of escalation": The narrative "**Russia is no longer the enemy**" is driven by social media. TikTok and Telegram are used to portray **TCC staff as "people hunters"**.



1. Mockery
2. Physical Assault
3. Premeditated Murder

INFORMATION WARFARE: "THE ENEMY SHIFT"

- Russian disinformation aims to shift public anger from the aggressor to the TCC
- The narrative "Russia is no longer the enemy" describes a state where fear of the TCC replaces fear of occupation
- TikTok and Telegram are used to portray TCC staff as "people hunters"



INFORMATION WARFARE: THE ENEMY SHIFT

SHIFTING PUBLIC ANGER



- Russian disinformation aims to redirect public anger from the aggressor to the Ukrainian Territorial Defense Forces (TCC).

NARRATIVE: "RUSSIA IS NO LONGER THE ENEMY"



- The narrative describes a state where fear of the TCC replaces fear of Russian occupation.

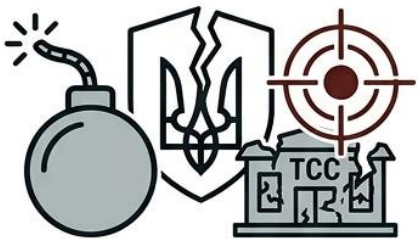


TACTICS: DISINFORMATION ON TIKTOK & TELEGRAM

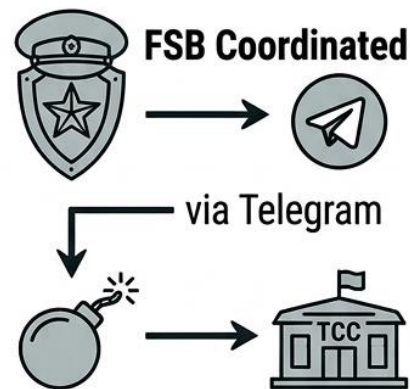


- TikTok and Telegram to portray TCC staff negatively, often using the narrative "people hunters".

This infographic analyzes the structure of specific Russian information warfare campaigns targeting Ukrainian domestic stability and mobilization efforts.



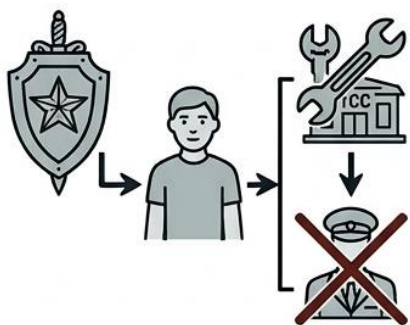
The **Rivne TCC bombing** (Feb 2026) was coordinated by the **Russian FSB** via Telegram



Case File: TCC-RIVNE-02-26-S



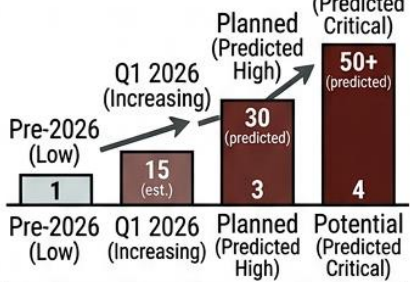
Russian agencies **recruit** local residents to **sabotage** TCC property and personnel



Targeting Assets and Staff

	Office Property
	Vehicles
	Infrastructure
	Personnel

INCIDENCE OF DIRECT SABOTAGE



SYSTEMIC WARNING:
Escalation to direct physical action confirmed.

TERRORIST THREATS AND DIRECT SABOTAGE

- The Rivne TCC bombing (Feb 2026) was coordinated by the Russian FSB via Telegram
- Russian agencies recruit local residents to sabotage TCC property and personnel



Вибух біля ТЦК у Кам'янці-Подільському. Це вже третій випадок за тиждень



НАЦІОНАЛЬНА ПОЛІЦІЯ



НАЦІОНАЛЬНА

Поліція біля будівлі ТЦК в Кам'янці-Подільському після вибуху 5 лютого

SCHEMATIC OVERVIEW: TERRORIST ATTACK ON RIVNE OBLAST TCC BUILDING

1 EVENT DATE AND TIME



16:15

1 FEBRUARY 2025

2 INCIDENT SUMMARY

2 INCIDENT SUMMARY

RF SPECIAL SERVICES
ORCHESTRATED TERRORIST ACT

REMOTE DETONATION
OF EXPLOSIVE DEVICE
WITHIN TCC PREMISES

Explosion
Epicenter



21-YEAR-OLD
PERPETRATOR
(ZHYTOMYR REGION
RESIDENT)

RECRUITED UNEMPLOYED YOUTH
DISTANCE-DETONATED DEVICE



RF SPECIAL SERVICES
HANDLERS

3 CONSEQUENCES FOR PERPETRATOR



FATAL
CASUALTY

OCCUPIERS ELIMINATED
THEIR OWN AGENT TO
REMOVE WITNESS.
21-YEAR-OLD PERPETRATOR
KILLED IN EXPLOSION.

3 CONSEQUENCES FOR PERPETRATOR



FATAL
CASUALTY

OCCUPIERS ELIMINATED THEIR
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21-YEAR-OLD PERPETRATOR
KILLED IN EXPLOSION.

4 CASUALTIES



SEVERAL
INJURED
IN BLAST

5 INVESTIGATION



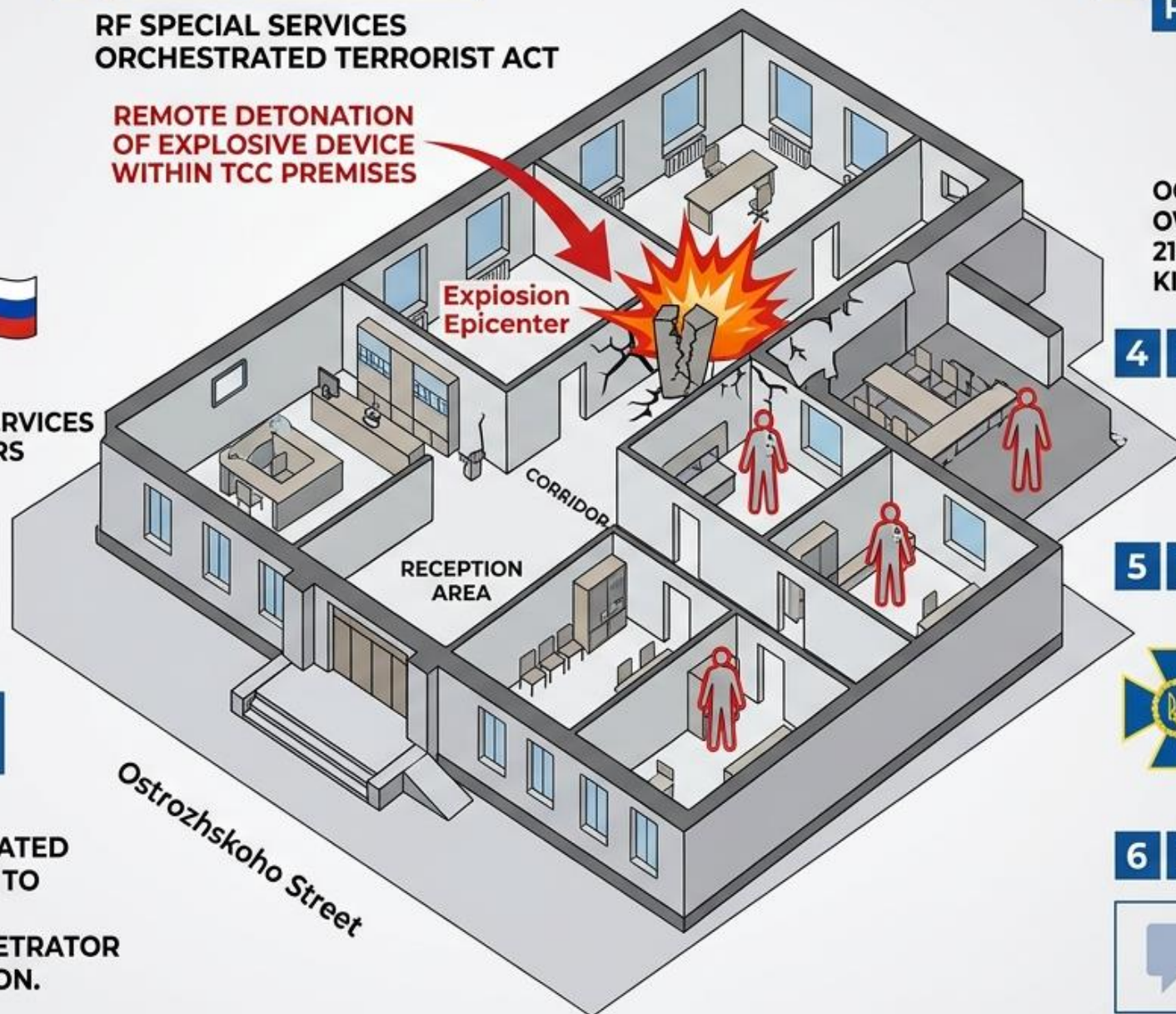
SBU ESTABLISHED
RECRUITMENT
CIRCUMSTANCES

CONFIRMED PLANNED
TERRORIST ACTIVITY
BY RF

6 RELATED FINDINGS



INVOLVEMENT OF
MINORS IN SIMILAR
CRIMES REPORTED



CORRUPTION AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

This creates a perception that the duty to protect the state is only for the poor.

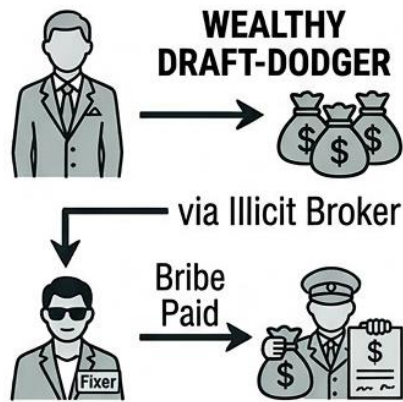


Corruption is a strategic threat equal to external aggression.

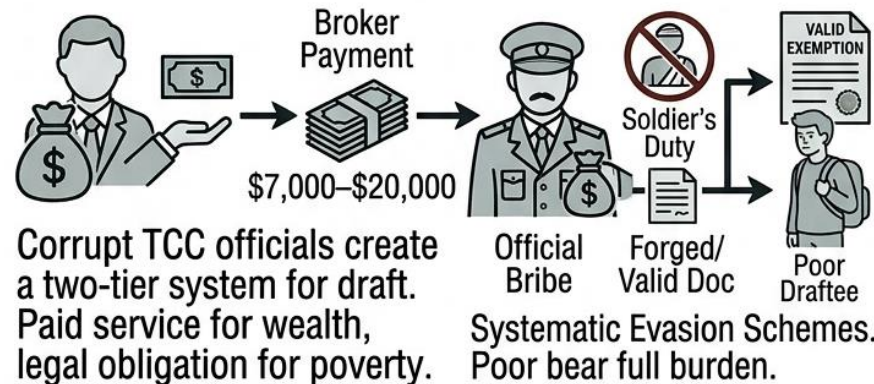
Unfair mobilisation evasion
fuels deep societal mistrust.



Corruption in mobilisation
schemes. Paid exemptions
sold. Poor citizens targeted.



Exemption Case File: ILLICIT-PAY-03-26-P

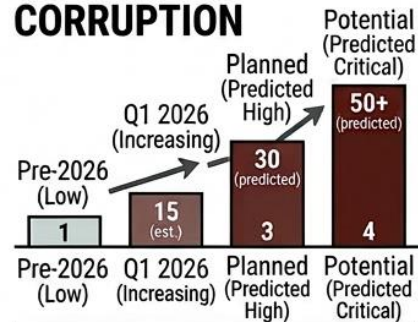


Corrupt TCC officials create
a two-tier system for draft.
Paid service for wealth,
legal obligation for poverty.

Systematic Evasion Schemes.
Poor bear full burden.

	Wealthy Evasion
	Poor Mobilisation
	Justice Over Money
	Social Hardship

INCIDENCE OF CORRUPTION



SYSTEMIC WARNING:

Exemptions only for the poor creates a fatal perception. Corruption is a strategic threat equal to external aggression.

CORRUPTION AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

- Exemptions from mobilisation are sold for \$7,000–\$20,000
- This creates a perception that the duty to protect the state is only for the poor
- Corruption is a strategic threat equal to external aggression

MAJOR REGIONAL SCANDALS (KYIV & ODESA)

Corruption cases involving Ukrainian Territorial Centers for Recruitment and Social Support (TCC)

KYIV

Holosiivskyi District (Kyiv)



OCTOBER 2024:
\$1.2 MILLION IN CASH
SEIZED FROM TCC EMPLOYEES.



SCHEMES CHARGED
\$2,000–\$15,000 PER PERSON
FOR ILLEGAL REMOVAL FROM
MILITARY REGISTERS.



Boryspil &
Bucha

Boryspil & Bucha TCCs



AUGUST 2024: HEADS
OF BOTH CENTERS
DETAINED
OVER **\$1 MILLION**
IN CASH DISCOVERED
DURING SEARCHES.

ODESA REGION

The “Borysov” Case & Others



Black
Sea



FORMER ODESA TCC HEAD
BORYSOV IS CURRENTLY
ON TRIAL FOR MONEY
LAUNDERING.



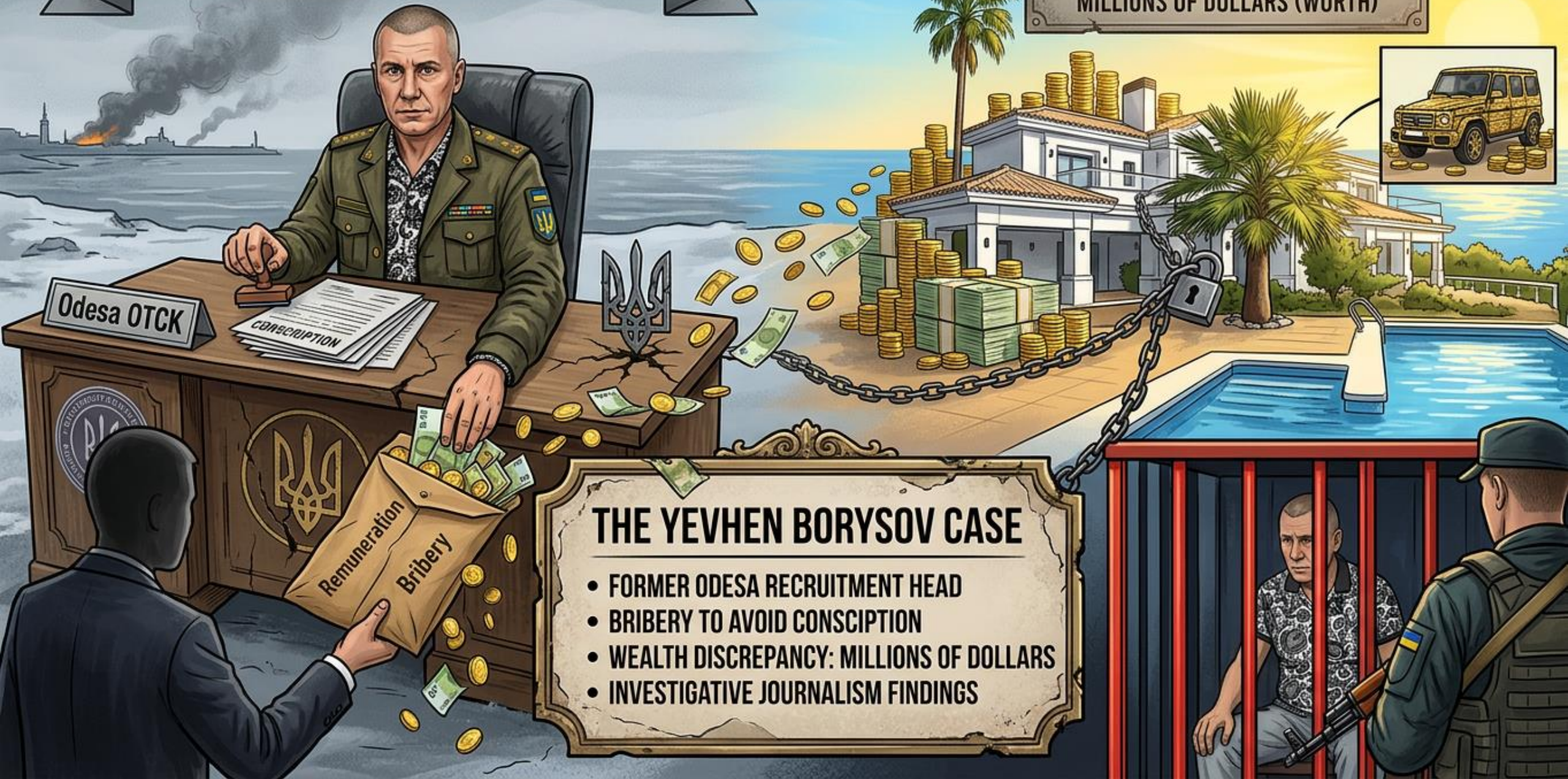
40 VOLUMES
OF EVIDENCE
PER CASE.



RECENT 2026 ARRESTS
INVOLVED TCC STAFF DEMANDING
\$6,000 BRIBES TO BYPASS
MOBILIZATION ORDERS.

ABUSE OF OFFICE & BRIBERY DURING WAR

SPANISH REAL ESTATE
MILLIONS OF DOLLARS (WORTH)



THE YEVHEN BORYSOV CASE

- FORMER ODESA RECRUITMENT HEAD
- BRIBERY TO AVOID CONSCRIPTION
- WEALTH DISCREPANCY: MILLIONS OF DOLLARS
- INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM FINDINGS

CASE SUMMARY: YEVHEN BORYSOV | FORMER HEAD OF ODESA REGIONAL TRSSC (ОТЦК та СП)



THE ACCUSED



YEVHEN BORYSOV

Former Head of the Odesa Regional Territorial Recruitment and Social Support Center (ОТЦК та СП).



HOW IT STARTED

MAY 2023 - DBR OPENS CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS

Focus: Abuse of office during mobilization activities

Allegation: Directing subordinates not to conscript individuals in exchange for remuneration (bribes)



INVESTIGATION & FINDINGS

Focus: Discrepancy between salary & family wealth (DBR & media probes)

Key Discovery: Spanish Assets (Mansion, Office, Vehicles) purchased by family members (Mother, Wife)

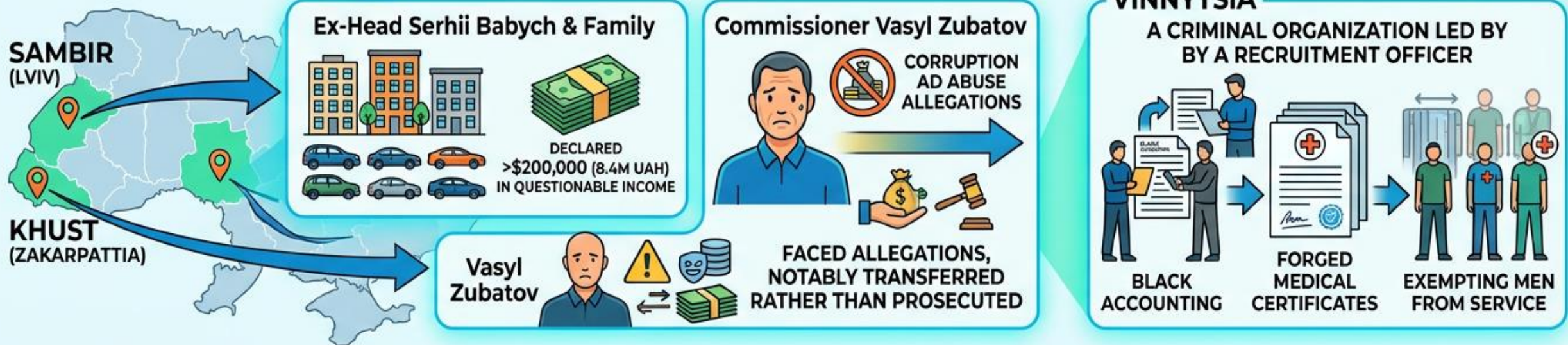
- Value: Worth millions of dollars (Spanish registry records cited).

- Timing: Purchased during the full-scale invasion of Ukraine

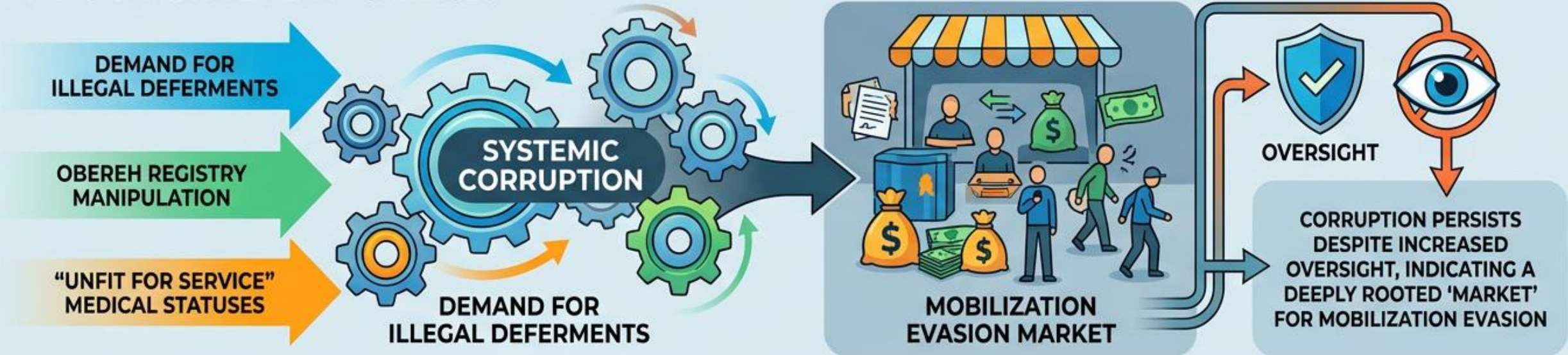


REGIONAL PATTERNS & SYSTEMIC ISSUES

WESTERN & CENTRAL UKRAINE CASES



THE "SHADOW MARKET" SERVICES





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



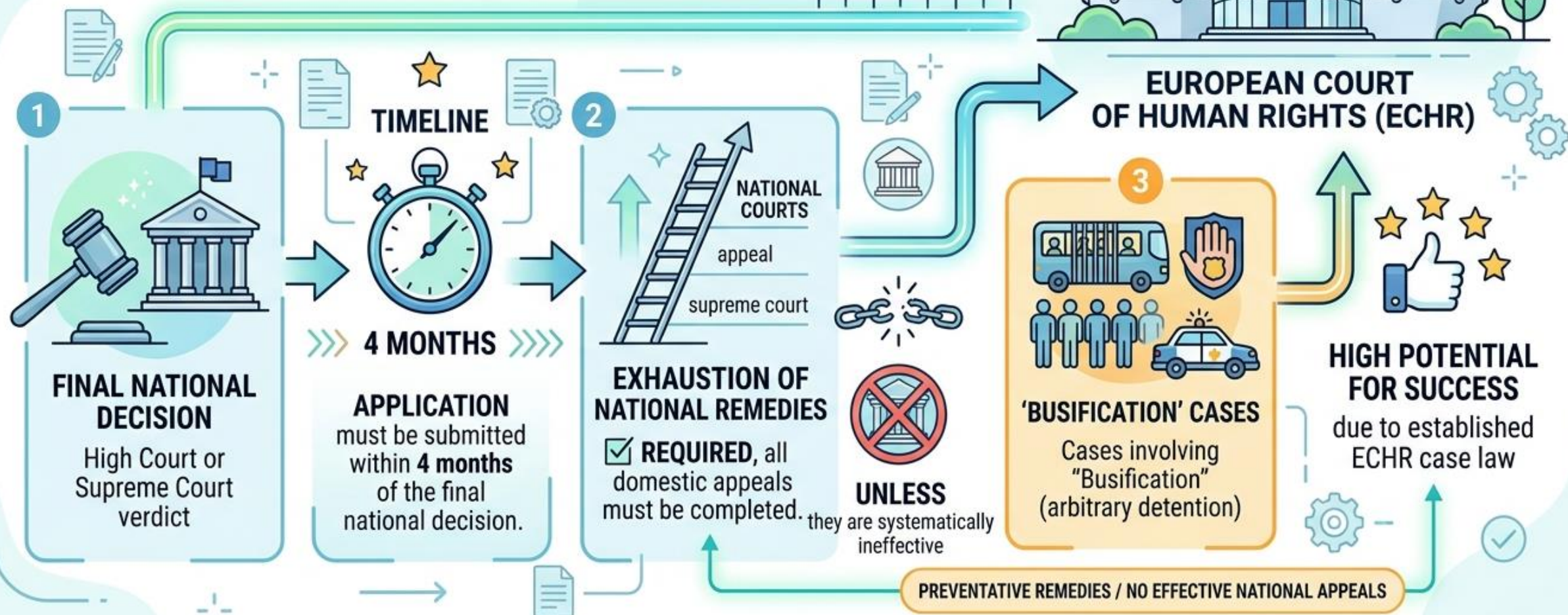
EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

EDUCATION OF RESEARCHERS
CONSTITUTION - CIVIL RIGHTS

EDUCATION OF RESEARCHERS
CONSTITUTION - CIVIL RIGHTS



PATH TO THE EUROPEAN COURT (ECHR) APPLICATION

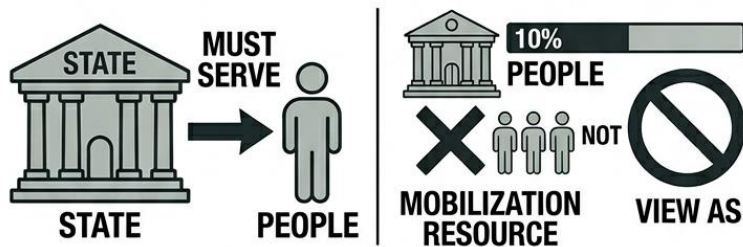


CLOSING – THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PERSON

★ THE CONSTITUTION (ART. 3) RECOGNIZES THE PERSON AS THE HIGHEST SOCIAL VALUE.



THE STATE MUST SERVE THE PEOPLE, NOT VIEW THEM AS A "MOBILIZATION RESOURCE".



A MOTIVATED AND RESPECTED ARMY IS MORE EFFECTIVE THAN ONE BUILT ON COERCION.



CLOSING – THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PERSON

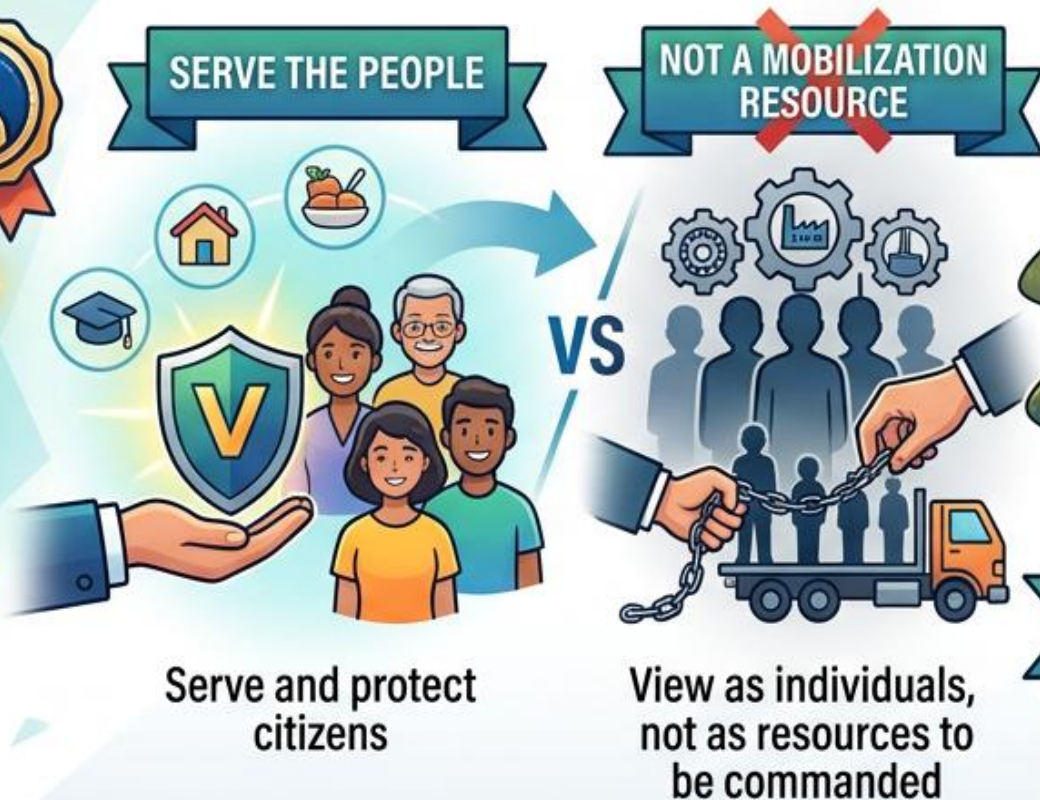
- Person is the highest social value
- The state must serve the people, not view them as a "mobilisation resource"
- A motivated and respected army is more effective than one built on coercion

CLOSING – THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PERSON

- Constitutional Recognition



- State's Role: Serve, Not Use



- Effective vs Coerced Army





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