

AIR DEFENCE AND DEPOTS

Two of the deadliest single strikes of the war were carried out with the same weapon: the Kh-22, a Soviet anti-ship missile with a warhead of nearly a tonne, fired from Tu-22M3 bombers. In Kremenchuk on 27 June 2022 it destroyed a working shopping mall; in Dnipro on 14 January 2023 it brought down the entrance of a nine-storey block. For each, Russia produced two explanations that exclude each other — a weapons depot and a mall that was "not functioning"; "we do not strike residential buildings" and "our missile was shot down by Ukrainian air defence". Six claims, the record, and what each concedes. The facts of each strike are in the Hub's historical case files.

UKRAINE EVIDENCE HUB
VERIFIED RECORD
2022 - 2023

≥20 · 46

civilians killed in the Amstor mall, Kremenchuk, 27 Jun 2022 · in the Dnipro apartment block, 14 Jan 2023, including six children A B

Poltava regional authorities (B), HRW (C), 29 Jun 2022 · OHCHR ASG Brands Kehris at S/PV.9245 ("45 civilians... including six children"); final 46, Ukrainian authorities, 19 Jan 2023

450 m

distance between the mall and the second Kremenchuk impact at the road-machinery plant, with buildings in between undamaged — the "fire spread from the depot" version C

Human Rights Watch, 30 Jun 2022 ("450 meters north of the first"); Bellingcat, 29 Jun 2022 ("several buildings between the mall and the site of the second impact appear undamaged")

0 of 210

Kh-22 missiles intercepted of those fired at Ukraine in the first year of the invasion — the "Ukrainian air defence" version (operational fact, Tier B) B

Commander of the Ukrainian Air Force, 15 Jan 2023

2 + 2

incompatible Russian versions per strike: depot / not-functioning mall; no strikes on housing / Russian missile downed by Ukrainian air defence RU

MoD 28 Jun 2022; Polyanskiy 27–28 Jun 2022 · Peskov 16 Jan 2023; Nebenzia S/PV.9245 / SC/15178, 17 Jan 2023

BOTTOM LINE

The depot that explains nothing. Russia says it hit hangars of Western weapons at the Kremenchuk road-machinery plant and that the fire "spread" to a mall that was "not functioning". The mall took a direct hit, 450 metres from the plant, with buildings between them untouched; it was open, with staff, shoppers and receipts to prove it; and no secondary explosions followed.

The air defence that was never fired. The Kremlin's Dnipro version rests on a remark by a presidential adviser who retracted it and resigned within three days. The weapon was a Kh-22; Ukraine's Air Force says none of the 210 fired in the first year was ever intercepted; independent analysts found no sign of air-defence activity in the footage.

Russia's two voices contradict each other. In both cases the Kremlin or the Ministry disowned the strike on civilians while the Mission to the UN admitted the missile was Russian and blamed its course on Ukraine. Both cannot be true; neither was supported by evidence.

What the claims concede. That the missiles were Russian, launched at targets inside cities, and that the Kh-22 — an anti-ship weapon with a near-tonne warhead — was the means chosen. Choice of means is itself a legal duty (AP I art. 57).

Fair to say. The UK Ministry of Defence assessed on 29 June 2022 that a nearby infrastructure target was a "realistic possibility" as the intended target in Kremenchuk; the Hub shows it. An unintended hit with a weapon of this kind in a city is the definition of an indiscriminate attack, not a defence to one.

THE SIX CLAIMS

Russian Ministry of Defence (Lt-Gen Konashenkov) · 28 Jun 2022	"On 27 June a strike with high-precision air-launched weapons was carried out on hangars with weapons and ammunition received from the United States and European countries, in the area of the Kremenchuk road-machinery pla..."	Contradicted by evidence
Dmitry Polyanskiy · RIA Novosti, 27 Jun 2022, and Security Council, 28 Jun 2022	"We'll have to wait and see what our Ministry of Defence says, but there are too many obvious inconsistencies. — [At the Council, 28 Jun:] ...an alleged strike on a shopping mall in Kremenchuk... In reality, no such strike wa..."	Contradicted by Russia's own MoD
Sergey Lavrov · press conference, 28 Jun 2022	"The strike targeted the hangar that received European and American weapons and ammunition... The ammunition detonation set fire to the nearby empty shopping mall."	Contradicted by evidence
Dmitry Peskov · Kremlin briefing, 16 Jan 2023	"The Russian armed forces have not been delivering strikes on residential buildings or social infrastructure facilities. Military targets — both evident and obscure — have been attacked... You yourselves saw the conclusion ..."	Misquotes a retracted remark · contradicted by monitors
Vassily Nebenzia · Security Council, 17 Jan 2023	"The Russian missile launched at an energy infrastructure facility was downed by Ukraine's air-defence forces. Since the air-defence system was — in violation of the norms of international humanitarian law you care so muc..."	No evidence presented · contradicts the Kremlin
Vassily Nebenzia · Security Council, 17 Jan 2023	"The missile was launched against an infrastructure facility which was placed in a residential district, in violation of norms of international law... [and] none of you found anything to say in condemnation of the almost da..."	Misstates the law

WHAT WE ASK

Use the two-voice contradiction — Kremlin denial versus Mission admission — whenever Russia offers a "Ukrainian air defence" explanation for a mass-casualty strike · ask Russia to produce the evidence it has never shown: the inventory of the Kremenchuk "hangars", the interceptor debris in Dnipro · support the ICC and Ukrainian investigations into the 52nd Guards Heavy Bomber Regiment and the chain of command for Kh-22 use against cities · request that OHCHR publish incident-level findings on weapon and impact for Kremenchuk and Dnipro in its next periodic report · cite the G7's Elmau statement of 27 Jun 2022 as the partners' already-agreed qualification.

WHO SAID IT, WHERE, AND TO WHOM

Where each claim was made, who made it, how the others in the room answered, and what the statements left out.

UKRAINE EVIDENCE HUB

VERIFIED RECORD

2022 - 2023

THE OCCASION AND THE RECORD	
Occasion	Kremenchuk, Monday 27 Jun 2022, c. 15:50–16:00: two Kh-22 missiles — one on the Amstor shopping mall, one on the Kredmash road-machinery plant 450 m away. Dnipro, Saturday 14 Jan 2023, c. 15:40: one Kh-22 on the entrance of a nine-storey apartment block on Naberezhna Peremohy Street, during a country-wide missile strike on energy infrastructure
Where the claims were made	Konashenkov/MoD daily briefing, 28 Jun 2022 · Polyanskiy (First Deputy PR), Twitter 27 Jun and Security Council 28 Jun 2022 (S/PV.9080) · Lavrov, press conference 28 Jun 2022 · Peskov, Kremlin briefing 16 Jan 2023 · Nebenzia, Security Council 17 Jan 2023 (S/PV.9245)
Record	G7 Leaders' Statement, Elmau, 27 Jun 2022 · S/PV.9080 (DiCarlo briefing; Zelenskyy by video) · HRW, 30 Jun 2022 · Bellingcat, 29 Jun 2022 · Secretary-General's statement, 16 Jan 2023 · S/PV.9245 (Brands Kehris briefing) · SC/15178 · CIT sitrep, 18 Jan 2023
What happened next	Ukraine's prosecutors attributed both strikes to the 52nd Guards Heavy Bomber Regiment (Shaykovka); Russia kept the Kh-22 in use against cities through 2023–24; the ICC issued warrants on 5 Mar 2024 and 24 Jun 2024 for the strike campaign on Ukraine's energy system; the "Ukrainian air defence" line returned for Kryvyi Rih in April 2025 (see Fact-check "Two cities, one script")

THE SPEAKERS		
Igor Konashenkov	Lieutenant-General, chief spokesman of the Russian MoD (2022)	Read the 28 Jun 2022 briefing: "hangars with weapons and ammunition... non-functioning shopping centre"
Dmitry Polyanskiy	First Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN in 2022 (since 29 Dec 2025 Permanent Representative to the OSCE)	Called Kremenchuk a "provocation" with "too many obvious inconsistencies" before the MoD spoke (27 Jun 2022); spoke for Russia at S/PV.9080 on 28 Jun 2022
Dmitry Peskov	Presidential press secretary · under EU (28 Feb 2022), US (3 Mar 2022) and UK sanctions	16 Jan 2023: "the Russian armed forces do not strike residential buildings"; pointed to "representatives of the Ukrainian side" on air defence
Vassily Nebenzia	Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the UN	17 Jan 2023, S/PV.9245: "The Russian missile launched at an energy infrastructure facility was downed by Ukraine's air-defence forces... the downed missile landed on a residential building"

WHAT OTHERS SAID	
G7 Leaders, Elmau (27 Jun 2022)	"Solemnly condemn the abominable attack on a shopping mall in Kremenchuk... Indiscriminate attacks on innocent civilians constitute a war crime. Russian President Putin and those responsible will be held to account."
France (28 Jun 2022; 17 Jan 2023)	President Macron called the mall attack "a new war crime"; at S/PV.9245 France strongly condemned Moscow's recent strikes on Dnipro; the Foreign Ministry called the Dnipro strike a war crime.
United States (S/PV.9080, 28 Jun 2022)	"The world has come together to say enough is enough"; Secretary Blinken called Kremenchuk an "atrocity".
United Kingdom (29 Jun 2022; S/PV.9245)	Prime Minister Johnson condemned the "cruelty and barbarism"; the MoD intelligence update judged an unintended hit a "realistic possibility"; at the Council the UK pointed to "the devastating attacks on residential buildings in Dnipro".
United Arab Emirates (S/PV.9245)	"The horrific human cost of the airstrike in Dnipro on 14 January" underscored the scale of the tragedy.
Albania (S/PV.9245)	"The brutal strike in Dnipro — reportedly by modern missiles — ended the lives of 44 innocent civilians."
Japan, Council President (S/PV.9245)	Condemned "hideous acts", including "the recent missile strike on a residential building in Dnipro".
UN Secretary-General (16 Jan 2023)	Attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure violate international humanitarian law and "must end immediately" (per Security Council Report).

WHAT THE STATEMENTS LEFT OUT
- The weapon: the Kh-22 is an anti-ship missile with a warhead of about 950 kg, designed for carrier groups, with a circular error against ground targets measured in hundreds of metres; Ukraine's Air Force commander said none of the 210 fired in the war's first year had been intercepted (Ukrainska Pravda, 15 Jan 2023, Tier B); HRW found crater and blast damage in Kremenchuk "consistent with warheads of nearly 1,000 kg". - The mall was open: a Comfy store blog listed the Amstor branch among reopened shops on 25 June; staff messages of 23 June said shops would trade 8 am–9 pm despite sirens; Silpo, Comfy and Toy House reported dead and injured employees; receipts and a family video of 27 June show the mall trading (Bellingcat, 29 Jun 2022; HRW, 30 Jun 2022). - The retraction: Arestovych withdrew the "shot down" remark, apologised and resigned on 17 January 2023; Ukraine's Defence Ministry had already said the deviation of such a missile from its target "can be hundreds of metres" (BBC, Guardian, 17 Jan 2023). - The toll in Dnipro as the UN gave it to the Council: "45 civilians... including six children" (ASG Brands Kehris, S/PV.9245); the final count was 46 killed and 80 injured (19 Jan 2023); 72 flats destroyed, more than 230 damaged. - The G7: "Indiscriminate attacks on innocent civilians constitute a war crime. Russian President Putin and those responsible will be held to account" (Elmau, 27 Jun 2022).

HOW IT TRAVELS
Kremenchuk: Russian television did not report the strike until the MoD had a version; Life.ru called the first footage "the latest fake" on the evening of 27 June; on 28 June TASS, RIA and the Russian Embassy in London carried the "hangars" statement and a "War on Fakes" diagram of a train yard that satellite imagery shows undamaged; Regnum and the Embassy argued from an empty car park that the mall was closed; EurasiaDaily claimed only "men of military age" were on site. Dnipro: TASS published "Russian forces do not attack residential buildings" in English on 15–16 January; the Arestovych clip was replayed for days on state television after its author had retracted it. The version that travelled was never the Mission's "our missile was downed".



CLAIM, RECORD, CONCESSION (1-3)

Each claim as made, with the date, the venue and a link; the record it runs into, with the tier of the evidence; and what it concedes. Words in square brackets are the Hub's.

UKRAINE EVIDENCE HUB
VERIFIED RECORD
2022 - 2023

CLAIM 1 · RUSSIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (LT-GEN KONASHENKOV) · 28 JUN 2022

"On 27 June a strike with high-precision air-launched weapons was carried out on hangars with weapons and ammunition received from the United States and European countries, in the area of the Kremenchuk road-machinery plant... The detonation of the stored ammunition for Western weapons caused a fire in a non-functioning shopping centre located next to the plant's territory. [translated]"

MoD daily briefing, 28 Jun 2022, as published by Novaya Gazeta Europe (08:22 GMT) and TASS

novayagazeta.eu/amp/articles/2022/06/28/minoborony-rf-podtverdilo-udar-po-kremench

CONTRADICTED BY EVIDENCE

Evidence C

HRW (30 Jun 2022, 15 witnesses, two site visits): the first missile "hit the shopping center around 4 p.m., destroying it"; the second struck the north side of the road-vehicle factory "450 meters from the first", leaving a crater 16 m wide and 5 m deep; the mall "remained open"; the factory's deputy director said it made only concrete and asphalt machinery; HRW found no evidence of munitions storage. Bellingcat (29 Jun 2022): park CCTV shows two impacts seconds apart with the plume over the mall; Planet SkySat imagery of 28 Jun at 08:51 UTC shows several buildings between the two sites undamaged, so fire could not have "spread"; no secondary explosions were seen after the first impact. The UK Ministry of Defence's intelligence update of 29 Jun 2022 called a nearby infrastructure target a "realistic possibility" as the intended target — which does not rescue the depot story.

What the claim concedes: The strike, the weapon type (air-launched), the date and the location — a plant across the road from a shopping mall in a city of 220,000.

CLAIM 2 · DMITRY POLYANSKIY · RIA NOVOSTI, 27 JUN 2022, AND SECURITY COUNCIL, 28 JUN 2022

"We'll have to wait and see what our Ministry of Defence says, but there are too many obvious inconsistencies. — [At the Council, 28 Jun:] ...an alleged strike on a shopping mall in Kremenchuk... In reality, no such strike was launched... [the strike] caused a fire, which then spread to the shopping centre... the work of the Ukrainian propagandists... [Western weapons deliveries] are only prolonging the agony of the criminal Kyiv regime."

Remarks to RIA Novosti, 27 Jun 2022, as reported by Bellingcat (29 Jun 2022); S/PV.9080, 9080th meeting, 28 Jun 2022 (UN verbatim record, via un-project.org/meeting/S-PV-9080)

un-project.org/meeting/S-PV-9080

CONTRADICTED BY RUSSIA'S OWN MOD

Evidence A

Polyanskiy cast doubt on the event before his own Ministry had spoken; at the Council the next day he denied any strike on the mall while conceding a Russian strike next to it. The next morning the MoD confirmed a Russian strike at the site. A staged event and a Russian precision strike with an ammunition fire cannot both be true. At the Council the Secretariat (DiCarlo) recorded 10,631 civilians killed in Ukraine as of 26 June; the United States said "the world has come together to say enough is enough". No member supported the "provocation" reading.

What the claim concedes: That Russia had no agreed account of its own strike 24 hours after it.

CLAIM 3 · SERGEY LAVROV · PRESS CONFERENCE, 28 JUN 2022

"The strike targeted the hangar that received European and American weapons and ammunition... The ammunition detonation set fire to the nearby empty shopping mall."

TASS, "Kremenchug shopping mall catches fire after Russia strikes hangar of US weapons — Lavrov", Ashgabat, 28 Jun 2022 (tass.com/politics/1472643; English as published by TASS)

tass.com/politics/1472643

CONTRADICTED BY EVIDENCE

Evidence C

Same record as claim 1. The G7 leaders at Elmau on 27 June had already "solemnly condemn[ed] the abominable attack on a shopping mall in Kremenchuk" and stated that "indiscriminate attacks on innocent civilians constitute a war crime". No Russian body has since published a photograph, inventory or coordinates of the "hangar of US weapons".

What the claim concedes: That the Foreign Minister adopted the Ministry's story and so bound the Russian state to it.

Sources: Russian MoD briefing 28 Jun 2022 (via Novaya Gazeta Europe, TASS) · Polyanskiy 27–28 Jun 2022 (via Bellingcat, Global News, KHPG) · Peskov 16 Jan 2023 (via Meduza, Novaya Gazeta Europe, TASS) · Nebenzia, S/PV.9245 / SC/15178, 17 Jan 2023 (via Meduza, Novaya Gazeta Europe) · S/PV.9080, 28 Jun 2022 · G7 Elmau statement 27 Jun 2022 · HRW 30 Jun 2022 · Bellingcat 29 Jun 2022 · CIT sitrep 18 Jan 2023 · BBC/Guardian 17 Jan 2023 · Ukrainska Pravda 15 Jan 2023 · Security Council Report, Feb 2023 forecast · full list on page 6

FACT-CHECK · HISTORICAL
V1 · 21 OCT 2026



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CLAIM, RECORD, CONCESSION (4-6)

Each claim as made, with the date, the venue and a link; the record it runs into, with the tier of the evidence; and what it concedes. Words in square brackets are the Hub's.

UKRAINE EVIDENCE HUB
VERIFIED RECORD
2022 - 2023

CLAIM 4 · DMITRY PESKOV · KREMLIN BRIEFING, 16 JAN 2023

“The Russian armed forces have not been delivering strikes on residential buildings or social infrastructure facilities. Military targets — both evident and obscure — have been attacked... You yourselves saw the conclusion of some representatives of the Ukrainian side that this tragedy was the consequence of a counter-missile and of air defence. [first two sentences: TASS English; last sentence translated from the Russian]”

Kremlin briefing, 16 Jan 2023: TASS English, tass.com/politics/1562725; Russian text as quoted by Meduza and Novaya Gazeta Europe tass.com/politics/1562725

MISQUOTES A RETRACTED REMARK · CONTRADICTED BY MONITORS

Evidence **A** **B** **C**

The "representatives of the Ukrainian side" is one person: Oleksii Arestovych, an adviser to the head of the Presidential Office, who said on a YouTube stream on 14 January that, according to an acquaintance, the missile had been shot down. He withdrew the remark, apologised and resigned on 17 January (BBC; The Guardian). Ukraine's Defence Ministry and Air Force (Tier B, operational facts, labelled) said the weapon was a Kh-22, that such missiles deviate by hundreds of metres, and that none had ever been intercepted. The Conflict Intelligence Team (Tier C) reviewed aftermath and dashcam footage and found "no signs of air defense activity", attributing flashes on the ground to short-circuiting trolleybus wires. The UN told the Council the "missile attack... struck a residential building" and killed 45 civilians including six children (Brands Kehris, S/PV.9245); the Secretary-General said attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure "must end immediately" (16 Jan 2023).

What the claim concedes: The nationwide strike that day was Russian — Peskov argues only about which missile fell where.

CLAIM 5 · VASSILY NEBENZIA · SECURITY COUNCIL, 17 JAN 2023

“The Russian missile launched at an energy infrastructure facility was downed by Ukraine's air-defence forces. Since the air-defence system was — in violation of the norms of international humanitarian law you care so much about — placed in a residential district, the downed missile landed on a residential building. You know the rest. [translated from the Russian text; UN English: "the remnants of the missile fell into a residential building"]”

S/PV.9245, 9245th meeting, 17 Jan 2023; UN Meetings Coverage SC/15178; Russian text per Meduza, 18 Jan 2023 press.un.org/2023/sc15178.doc.htm

NO EVIDENCE PRESENTED · CONTRADICTS THE KREMLIN

Evidence **B**

Peskov (claim 4) said Russia does not strike residential buildings; Nebenzia says a Russian missile destroyed one, after interception. Neither debris of an interceptor, nor a launch, nor radar data was presented, and the Kh-22's known performance (claim 4) makes the account implausible: an interceptor that stops a 5.8-tonne missile does not deliver its intact 950-kg warhead onto a building entrance. Ukraine's representative at the same meeting: "Unfortunately, Ukraine has no means at its disposal to shoot down this type of missile." Members who spoke on Dnipro that day — UAE, France, Albania, UK, Japan — treated it as a Russian strike on a residential building; none took up the interception story.

What the claim concedes: That the missile was Russian, launched that afternoon, and that it destroyed the apartment block — the whole of the Kremlin's denial, abandoned by its own Mission.

CLAIM 6 · VASSILY NEBENZIA · SECURITY COUNCIL, 17 JAN 2023

“The missile was launched against an infrastructure facility which was placed in a residential district, in violation of norms of international law... [and] none of you found anything to say in condemnation of the almost daily, almost uninterrupted strikes of the Ukrainian armed forces against Donetsk.”

SC/15178, summary of S/PV.9245, 17 Jan 2023 press.un.org/2023/sc15178.doc.htm

MISSTATES THE LAW

Evidence **A**

An "infrastructure facility" is not a military objective by location; the presumption in Additional Protocol I art. 52(3) runs the other way, and art. 51(8) provides that a defender's violation, even if proven, does not release the attacker from its own obligations. The choice of a Kh-22 for a target "in a residential district" is the precautions question (art. 57(2)(a)(ii)). The reference to Donetsk is tu quoque: it does not answer who fired at Naberezhna Peremohy Street. The Commission of Inquiry's March 2023 report found that Russian attacks with explosive weapons in populated areas were carried out without apparent regard for civilian harm (A/HRC/52/62, 15 Mar 2023).

What the claim concedes: That the aim-point was in a residential district — and that Russia knew it before launch.

Sources: Russian MoD briefing 28 Jun 2022 (via Novaya Gazeta Europe, TASS) · Polyanskiy 27–28 Jun 2022 (via Bellingcat, Global News, KHPG) · Peskov 16 Jan 2023 (via Meduza, Novaya Gazeta Europe, TASS) · Nebenzia, S/PV.9245 / SC/15178, 17 Jan 2023 (via Meduza, Novaya Gazeta Europe) · S/PV.9080, 28 Jun 2022 · G7 Elmau statement 27 Jun 2022 · HRW 30 Jun 2022 · Bellingcat 29 Jun 2022 · CIT sitrep 18 Jan 2023 · BBC/Guardian 17 Jan 2023 · Ukrainska Pravda 15 Jan 2023 · Security Council Report, Feb 2023 forecast · full list on page 6



THE RECORD			
QUESTION	WHAT RUSSIA SAYS	WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS	SOURCE
Kremenchuk — target	"hangars with weapons and ammunition... received from the US and European countries"	A trading shopping mall (direct hit) and a road-machinery plant 450 m away; no munitions evidence found; no secondary explosions	MoD 28 Jun 2022 · HRW 30 Jun 2022; Bellingcat 29 Jun 2022
Kremenchuk — the mall	"non-functioning shopping centre"; empty car park	Open 8 am–9 pm; staff and shoppers inside; employees of Silpo, Comfy, Toy House, Zerna killed or injured	Bellingcat; HRW
Kremenchuk — killed	— (no figure)	At least 18 (HRW, 30 Jun) / 20, 59 injured, 36 missing (Poltava authorities, 29 Jun, B); later counts 21–22	HRW; Reuters 29 Jun 2022
Dnipro — who destroyed the building	Nobody Russian (Peskov) / a Russian missile downed by Ukrainian air defence (Nebenzia)	"The 14 January missile attack, which struck a residential building" — a Russian Kh-22 that was not intercepted	S/PV.9245 (Brands Kehris); Ukrainian Air Force (B); CIT (C)
Dnipro — killed	— (no figure)	45 incl. six children (UN to the Council, 17 Jan); final 46 killed, 80 injured (19 Jan 2023)	S/PV.9245; Ukrainian authorities (B)
Kh-22 intercepted in the first year of the war	"downed by Ukraine's air-defence forces"	0 of 210 (operational fact, labelled B)	Ukrainian Air Force commander, 15 Jan 2023
Russia's "Ukrainian source" for the air-defence version	"representatives of the Ukrainian side"	One adviser's remark, retracted and followed by his resignation on 17 Jan 2023	BBC; The Guardian, 17 Jan 2023

FAIR TO SAY

Kremenchuk: the UK Ministry of Defence's intelligence update of 29 June 2022 judged it a "realistic possibility" that Russia intended to hit the nearby infrastructure target and struck the mall by inaccuracy. Bellingcat and HRW could not verify from open sources whether anything military was ever stored at the plant, and HRW "could not rule out" past military use. None of this supports the Ministry's account of a fire spreading from a depot to a closed mall; it would, if true, describe an indiscriminate attack with an unsuitable weapon.

Dnipro: a Ukrainian official did say, for a few hours, that the missile had been shot down. Peskov quoted a real remark. He did not mention that its author had withdrawn it and resigned the day after Peskov spoke, nor that the Ukrainian Air Force had said the opposite from the first evening. The Hub has no Tier A document identifying the weapon; the Kh-22 identification rests on the Ukrainian Air Force (B) and independent analysts (C), and is marked as such.

Casualty figures for Kremenchuk vary between 18 (HRW, at the time), 20 (Poltava regional authorities, 29 Jun) and 21–22 in later Ukrainian counts; the OHCHR figure for the incident is to be confirmed from the Feb–Jul 2022 periodic report. The Hub shows the range.

ESTABLISHED, PATTERN, POSITION

What mandated bodies have established, what the record shows as a pattern, and what is a position — kept apart. Then the lines to take and the questions to expect.

UKRAINE EVIDENCE HUB
VERIFIED RECORD
2022 - 2023

THE LAW

Additional Protocol I, art. 57(2)(a)(ii) and art. 51(4)(b)–(c): an attacker must choose means and methods that avoid or minimise civilian harm; an attack that employs a means which cannot be directed at a specific military objective, or whose effects cannot be limited, is indiscriminate. A 950-kg anti-ship warhead with a ground-target error of hundreds of metres, fired into a city, is tested here — whatever the intended target.

Additional Protocol I, arts. 52(2)–(3) and 51(8): civilian objects (a mall, a dwelling) are presumed civilian in case of doubt; an alleged violation by the defender does not release the attacker. "Infrastructure in a residential district" is not a defence; "air defence placed in a residential area", if it were proven, would not be either.

Rome Statute, art. 8(2)(b)(i), (ii), (iv): intentionally directing attacks against civilians or civilian objects, and launching an attack known to cause clearly excessive civilian loss, are war crimes; the ICC's warrants of 5 Mar 2024 (Kobylash, Sokolov) and 24 Jun 2024 (Shoigu, Gerasimov) concern the same campaign against Ukraine's energy system of which the 14 Jan 2023 strike was part. **G7, 27 Jun 2022:** "Indiscriminate attacks on innocent civilians constitute a war crime."

Three layers. *Established:* a Russian missile attack struck a residential building in Dnipro and killed 45–46 civilians incl. six children (UN to the Council); a Russian air-launched strike destroyed a working mall in Kremenchuk and killed at least 20 (UN record, HRW, Bellingcat; Russia admits the strike). *Pattern:* the Commission of Inquiry's finding of Russian attacks with explosive weapons in populated areas without regard for civilian harm (A/HRC/52/62, Mar 2023). *Position:* that either strike was intentionally directed at civilians is Ukraine's qualification; the Hub's reading is that the choice of weapon makes the attacks indiscriminate at minimum.

LINES TO TAKE

- "Russia said the Kremenchuk mall was closed and caught fire from a depot 450 metres away. It was open, it took a direct hit, and the buildings in between are untouched on the satellite image."
- "The Kremlin's Dnipro story rests on one Ukrainian adviser's remark. He withdrew it and resigned the next day. Russia's own ambassador then told the Council the missile was Russian."
- "Not one Kh-22 was intercepted in the first year of the war. That is the weapon Russia chose for a city."
- "Depot or mall, infrastructure or housing — Russia admits the launch and argues only about the landing. The law judges the launch."
- "When a state gives two explanations that cannot both be true, the honest reading is that it has none."
- "The G7 called Kremenchuk a war crime on the day it happened. The ICC has warrants for the campaign Dnipro belonged to."

Q&A

"The UK's own intelligence said Russia probably meant to hit something else in Kremenchuk."

"Ukraine's own adviser said air defence shot the Dnipro missile down."

"But Nebenzia said Ukrainian air defence was placed in a residential district in violation of IHL."

"Why is the weapon identification not Tier A?"

"Casualty figures differ between sources."

"Ukraine strikes Donetsk too."

Yes, and the Hub shows it. An intended strike on an infrastructure target with an anti-ship missile that lands on a shopping mall is an indiscriminate attack — the means could not be directed at the objective. It is also not the account Russia gave, which was a depot fire spreading to a closed mall; that account is contradicted by CCTV, satellite imagery and the people who were inside.

He said so on a stream, citing an acquaintance, retracted it and resigned on 17 January 2023. Ukraine's Air Force said from the first evening that a Kh-22 cannot be intercepted by the systems it then had. Independent analysts found no sign of air-defence activity. Russia's own Mission said the missile was Russian.

He presented no evidence of a launcher or a launch. Even if a defender violates the law, Additional Protocol I art. 51(8) says the attacker's duties remain. And his statement admits what the Kremlin denied — a Russian missile destroyed the building.

No UN body has published a technical identification for either strike. The Hub relies on the Ukrainian Air Force (an operational fact, labelled B) and on Human Rights Watch's and CIT's physical analysis (C), and says so. Russia has not disputed that it fired air-launched missiles on 27 June 2022 or 14 January 2023.

They do, and the Hub shows each with its date: Kremenchuk 18 (HRW), 20 (regional authorities), later 21–22; Dnipro 45 (UN to the Council, 17 Jan) and 46 (final, 19 Jan). None of the figures is Russian; Russia gave none.

Where civilians are harmed by any party the same rules apply and the UN reports it. It does not answer who fired the Kh-22 at Naberezhna Peremohy Street; Russia's ambassador answered that himself.

WHAT WE ASK

Use the two-voice contradiction — Kremlin denial versus Mission admission — whenever Russia offers a "Ukrainian air defence" explanation for a mass-casualty strike · ask Russia to produce the evidence it has never shown: the inventory of the Kremenchuk "hangars", the interceptor debris in Dnipro · support the ICC and Ukrainian investigations into the 52nd Guards Heavy Bomber Regiment and the chain of command for Kh-22 use against cities · request that OHCHR publish incident-level findings on weapon and impact for Kremenchuk and Dnipro in its next periodic report · cite the G7's Elmau statement of 27 Jun 2022 as the partners' already-agreed qualification.

Sources: Russian MoD briefing 28 Jun 2022 (via Novaya Gazeta Europe, TASS) · Polyanskiy 27–28 Jun 2022 (via Bellingcat, Global News, KHPG) · Peskov 16 Jan 2023 (via Meduza, Novaya Gazeta Europe, TASS) · Nebenzia, S/PV.9245 / SC/15178, 17 Jan 2023 (via Meduza, Novaya Gazeta Europe) · S/PV.9080, 28 Jun 2022 · G7 Elmau statement 27 Jun 2022 · HRW 30 Jun 2022 · Bellingcat 29 Jun 2022 · CIT sitrep 18 Jan 2023 · BBC/Guardian 17 Jan 2023 · Ukrainska Pravda 15 Jan 2023 · Security Council Report, Feb 2023 forecast · full list on page 6



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METHOD

Russian claims are quoted from the best available primary carrier: the MoD's 28 June 2022 briefing text as published in Russian by Novaya Gazeta Europe (translated by the Hub); Lavrov's and Peskov's remarks as published in English by TASS; Nebenzia's 17 January 2023 statement from the Russian text published by Meduza and the UN press summary SC/15178; Polyanskiy's remarks to RIA Novosti as reported by Bellingcat and his Council statement from the verbatim record S/PV.9080. Words in square brackets are the Hub's.

Tier A sources are the two Council records and summaries, the G7 statement and the Secretary-General's statement. Because no UN body has published a technical identification of the weapon for either strike, the Kh-22 identification is given as an operational fact from the Ukrainian Air Force (Tier B, labelled) and from independent physical analysis (HRW, CIT, Bellingcat — Tier C). Ukrainian official data are otherwise not used to rebut Russian claims.

Two cross-checks were applied: whether the Russian versions are consistent with each other (they are not, in both cases), and whether any Council member adopted them (none did).

Tiers: **A** — UN-mandated bodies, international courts and organisations (OHCHR/HRMMU, Commission of Inquiry, ICC, ECtHR, IAEA, OSCE, OPCW, Security Council record); **B** — Ukrainian official bodies, marked "according to Ukraine"; **C** — independent investigators and media; **RU** — Russian official statements, the position under review. Tiers are never combined in one figure.