

ENERGY: FOUR WINTERS

Russia has attacked Ukraine's power and heating system every winter since October 2022. The International Criminal Court has already qualified the first campaign as war crimes and crimes against humanity and issued four arrest warrants. The fourth campaign opened on 29–30 September 2026 and reached all three Kyiv heat-and-power plants on 14 October.

UKRAINE EVIDENCE HUB

VERIFIED RECORD

OCT 2026

4

ICC arrest warrants for the 2022–23 energy campaign: Kobylash, Sokolov, Shoigu, Gerasimov A

ICC Pre-Trial Chamber II, 5 Mar and 24 Jun 2024

~70%

of thermal generation capacity lost by mid-2025; every major thermal and hydro plant hit at least once B

Ministry of Energy of Ukraine, 2025

\$55 bn+

direct damage to the energy sector (KSE estimate, 2025); total damage to infrastructure \$155 bn+ (Jan 2024) C

Kyiv School of Economics, "Russia Will Pay"

600,000

people without power in Kyiv after the 13–14 Oct 2026 strike; outages in 9 regions B

Ukrenergo; Kyiv city administration, 14 Oct 2026

WHAT HAPPENED

Winter 2022–23. From 10 Oct 2022: systematic missile strikes on substations and generation; nationwide blackouts; the campaign the ICC and the Commission of Inquiry examined.

Winter 2023–24 and 2024–25. Shift to generation: Trypilska TPP destroyed (Apr 2024); all DTEK thermal plants hit; hydro plants damaged; Ukraine loses the bulk of its thermal capacity. 2025: strikes on gas production (Naftogaz) and on distribution before the heating season.

Winter 2025–26 (fourth). 29–30 Sep 2026: largest energy strike since April — Trypilska TPP hit again, Kyiv region outages. 7–8 Oct: Kyiv dark, metro halted. 13–14 Oct: 39 ballistic missiles on Kyiv CHP-4, 5 and 6, Trypilska and substations; 600,000 without power; Kharkiv energy hit. 22 Sep: Naftogaz facility in Poltava region "critically" destroyed.

WHO VERIFIED IT

- A ICC: warrants of 5 Mar 2024 (Kobylash, Sokolov) and 24 Jun 2024 (Shoigu, Gerasimov) — war crime of directing attacks at civilian objects; crime against humanity of inhumane acts; Oct 2022 – Mar 2023
- A Commission of Inquiry: A/HRC/52/62 (Mar 2023) — the energy campaign constituted war crimes and may amount to crimes against humanity; statement of 21 Sep 2026 on continued systematic targeting
- A UN ASG Khiari, Security Council, 9 Oct 2026: at least eight power facilities in three regions and Kyiv targeted in one week; "all attacks on energy infrastructure... must cease"
- B Ministry of Energy; Ukrenergo; DTEK; Naftogaz; Air Force of Ukraine
- C Kyiv School of Economics damage assessment; IEA/Energy Community reports; ISW

LEGAL QUALIFICATION — THREE LAYERS

ESTABLISHED ICC Pre-Trial Chamber II (2024): reasonable grounds that strikes on electricity infrastructure were directed at civilian objects and caused excessive incidental harm, and that the campaign constituted the crime against humanity of inhumane acts. COI reached the same conclusion for winter 2022–23.

PATTERN Rome Statute art. 8(2)(b)(ii), (iv); AP I arts. 52, 54, 57. Each subsequent winter repeats the conduct already qualified, under the same command, with the same stated purpose; the warrants cover the first winter only because that is what had been examined.

POSITION Ukraine qualifies the four campaigns as one continuing crime against humanity (art. 7(1)(k)) directed at the civilian population through cold, darkness and loss of water and heating. Pending international findings.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE

Long-Range Aviation	Lt Gen Sergei Kobylash — cruise missiles	ICC arrest warrant, 5 Mar 2024
Black Sea Fleet	Adm Viktor Sokolov (at the time) — Kalibr missiles	ICC arrest warrant, 5 Mar 2024
Minister of Defence (2022–24)	Sergei Shoigu	ICC arrest warrant, 24 Jun 2024
General Staff	Gen Valery Gerasimov	ICC arrest warrant, 24 Jun 2024
Supreme Commander	Vladimir Putin — energy strikes acknowledged as policy	ICC arrest warrant 17 Mar 2023; command responsibility, art. 28

RUSSIA SAID / THE RECORD SAYS

RUSSIAN MOD, 14 OCT 2026

Kyiv CHP plants are "energy facilities used for the needs of the military-industrial complex" and "military logistics".

THE RECORD

The ICC examined the same argument for 2022–23 and issued warrants. A plant that heats three million people is a civilian object; a factory on the same grid does not change that (AP I art. 52(3): doubt resolves in favour of civilian status).

AMB. NEBENZIA, UNSC, 9 OCT 2026

Energy strikes are a "predictable response" to Ukrainian escalation.

THE RECORD

Reprisals against civilian objects indispensable to survival are prohibited absolutely (AP I arts. 51(6), 54(4)). The statement concedes motive.

AMB. POLYANSKIY (OSCE), 10 OCT 2026

"Before long nothing will be left of Ukraine's infrastructure."

THE RECORD

A stated intention to destroy a country's civilian infrastructure, from a serving ambassador — evidence of the mental element for art. 7.

WHAT WE ASK OF MEMBER STATES

- Cite the ICC warrants every time Russia uses the phrase "military-industrial": the question of law is settled for this conduct.
- Energy ceasefire proposals must include verification against Russia's own published target lists.
- Air defence against ballistic missiles, transformers, gas turbines and distributed generation before December; support the Energy Support Fund.
- Register of Damage: energy claims category; no amnesty for the energy campaign in any settlement.

