

## Working Group Paper #3, Appendix A

### **Expanding Sanctions on Putin's Propogandists**

#### **The International Working Group on Russian Sanctions**

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<https://fsi.stanford.edu/working-group-sanctions>

[The International Working Group on Russian Sanctions](https://fsi.stanford.edu/working-group-sanctions) aims to provide expertise and experience to governments and companies around the world by assisting with the formulation of sanctions proposals that will increase the cost to Russia of invading Ukraine and that will support democratic Ukraine in the defense of its territorial integrity and national sovereignty. Our working group is comprised of independent experts from many countries, but coordinates and consults with the Government of Ukraine and those governments imposing sanctions. This consultation process helps to inform our views, but our members express independently held opinions and do not take direction from or act at the behest of the government of Ukraine or any other person or entity. This publication is an appendix to Working Paper #3 on individual sanctions. This appendix was released by the coordinator of the Working Group, in close consultation with expert members of the our working group on individuals sanctions, but does not necessarily reflect the views of all members. All of our papers, as well as additional memos and publications from our working group members can be found at on our website: <https://fsi.stanford.edu/working-group-sanctions>.

In our Working Group Paper #3 called [Individual Sanctions Roadmap](#), we singled out propagandists as one of the ten categories of individuals to be sanctioned for “*hav[ing] consistently reproduced false narratives in line with the Kremlin’s policies, laying the ideological foundation for Russia’s war and concealing ongoing crimes.*” Although Working Group Paper #3 lists a dozen of subcategories (journalists, celebrities, members of academia, clergy, etc.), they can be divided into two broad groups: those who generate ideas for propaganda (ideologists) and those who transmit and propagate these ideas (mouthpieces).

The division line is not always clear. In practical terms, identifying those in the first group is much more difficult than those in the second. The representatives of the second group (journalists, celebrities, clergy, etc.), whose activity is aimed at garnering larger audiences, are easily traceable whereas the representatives of the first one (members of academia, think-tanks, etc.) are likely to be out of the spotlight. Still, it is these persons who lay theoretical foundation for the Russian propaganda by manipulating or distorting historical facts, scientific research, and so on. As a consequence, to date most of the ideologists have managed to escape sanctions altogether, except for the most notorious of them, such as Alexander Dugin. Devoting more attention to sanctioning ideologists, therefore, must a key component of straightening sanctions on Russians as a means to hasten the end of Putin's invasion of Ukraine.

In this context it is worth mentioning that academic or expert affiliation of ideologists should not, however, be taken lightly as implying academic freedom and independence. Notorious think-tanks (like Valdai Discussion Club, Izborsk Club, Foreign and Defense Policy Council, Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), and Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS)) typically have close ties with high ranking officials (annual meeting with Putin at Valdai Discussion Club are self-explanatory. RIAC and RISS are chaired by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister respectively. The state or entities close to the states sponsor many of these organizations and individuals. Members of such think-tanks often act as advisors to various Russian government organizations. While formally keeping distance from Kremlin, many (not all ) Russian think tanks are nurturing and supporting ideas that support Putin's war. Their role in supporting Putin's barbaric invasion of Ukraine must be given greater scrutiny.

Propagandists or transmitters of information that supports Russia's invasion of Ukraine constitute the lion's share of this category of Russian individuals who should be sanctioned. As Peter Pomerantsev has written, " Russian military theory sees information operations as integral to military operations to an unprecedented extent – Russian state media managers even received military medals for their role during the annexation of Crimea in 2014. And rather than just nasty words broadcast on radio or TV, information operations are now continued in tightly controlled digital campaigns with everything from online "troll farms" through to search engine optimisation, which rise and crest in tandem with military operations."<sup>1</sup> Those in the business of propagating information to support Putin's invasion are not journalists or pundits, but soldiers in this war.

So too are those peddling Russian soft power indirectly in support of Russia's war. These artists are oftentimes as dangerous as corporate propaganda outlets on television, radio channels, and newspapers, due to their ability to spread propaganda swiftly and effectively through a large target audience. Most of them are also masters of hypocrisy. Despite having an instrumental role in spreading pro-war propaganda, inciting hatred, and badmouthing the West, they vacation abroad and enjoying lavish lifestyles anchored in part in the West. Many

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/16/propaganda-russia-ukraine-war-crimes-accountability>

of their own luxurious properties in Europe and United States. These individuals act openly either through their social media or by performing during the propaganda rallies in support of the illegal annexation of Crimea and the invasion of Ukraine. They perform at concerts, plays and festivals in support of Putin. Some even have visited the occupied territories of Ukraine, thereby directly undermining Ukraine's territorial integrity. Some individuals claim to have visited Mariupol Drama Theater<sup>2</sup> and afterwards supported the Kremlin's narrative that shifts responsibility for Russia's crimes instead onto Ukrainian populations. These people must be sanctioned too.

Below is a partial list of Russian opinion leaders, artists, and so-called intellectuals who openly or indirectly produce narratives in line with the Kremlin's propaganda, spread misinformation about Russia's war against Ukraine, and therefore support policies that undermine Ukraine's territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, and security. Since 2014, many of them have visited the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine. Their activities are unrelated to journalism, freedom of expression, or scholarship, but fall squarely into activities that purposely help Putin's war effort in Ukraine. Democracies around the world should add them to their sanctions list.

In expanding sanctions to this category of Russians, we also ask individual countries and the European Union to better coordinate their activities. Whereas more than 100 individuals, falling under the 'propaganda' criteria, have been sanctioned in at least one G7 jurisdiction, only a few of these individuals have been sanctioned by all G7 States.

Finally, our recommendations of Russian propagandists to be sanctioned is only partial. We encourage other independent expert groups and non-governmental organizations to make their own suggestions as to others who should be added to this list.

1. ALLEGROVA Irina Aleksandrovna
2. ANDREASIAN Sarik Garnikovich
3. ANDREEVA Ekaterina Sergeevna<sup>3</sup>
4. ARKHIPOV Roman Igorevich
5. AVERIN Maksim Viktorovich
6. AVERYANOV Vitaliy Vladimirovich (Izborsk Club)
7. ASKER-ZADE Nailya Vagif kyzy<sup>4</sup>
8. BABKINA Nadezhda Georgievna<sup>5</sup>
9. BADOEVA Zhanna Iosifovna
10. BASHAROV Marat Alimzhanovich<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> <https://dailymoscow.ru/author/kristina-potupchik-ya-sama-ezdila-v-mariupol-i-byla-v-dramteatre-zrelishche-konechno-zhutkoe>

<sup>3</sup> Sanctioned by US and Ukraine.

<sup>4</sup> Sanctioned in UK, Canada and Ukraine.

<sup>5</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

11. BASKOV Nikolai Viktorovich<sup>7</sup>
12. BELAN Viktor Nikolaevich / Dima BILAN
13. BEZRUKOV Sergei Vitalevich<sup>8</sup>
14. BOBUNETS Sergey Stanislavovich
15. BOIARSKII Mikhail Sergeevich<sup>9</sup>
16. BORISOVA Dana Alexandrovna
17. BORDACHEV Timofei Viacheslavovich (Valdai Club)
18. BURNYSHEV Igor Yurievich
19. BUTMAN Igor Mikhailovich
20. BUYNOV Alexander Nikolaevich
21. BUZOVA / TARASOVA Olga Igorevna
22. BYSTRITSKY Andrey Georgievich (Valdai Club)
23. CHICHERINA Yuliia Dmitrievna
24. DAINKO Victoria Petrovna
25. DIDULA Valery Mikhailovich
26. DOBRONRAVOV Viktor Fyodorovich
27. DOBRONRAVOV Aleksandr Andreevich
28. DOLINA/KUDEL'MAN/MIONCHINSKAYA Larisa Aleksandrovna
29. DOVLATOVA Alla Aleksandrovna / EVSTRAKHINA Marina Aleksandrovna
30. DUBTSOVA Irina Viktorovna
31. DUGIN Alexander Gelyevich<sup>10</sup> (Eurasian Youth Union)
32. DUHOVA Alla Vladimirovna
33. DYUZHEV Dmitriy Petrovich
34. EGORCHENKOV Dmitry Alexandrovich (Member of the expert council of RUDN University "RUSSIAN UNIVERSITY OF FRIENDSHIP OF PEOPLE", Valdai Club)
35. EGOROVA Snezhana Aleksandrovna<sup>11</sup>
36. FOMIN Dmitriy Anatolyevich
37. GAGARINA Polina Sergeevna
38. GALUSTYAN Mikhail Sergeevich
39. GAZMANOV Oleg Mikhaylovich<sup>12</sup>
40. GAZMANOV Rodion Olegovich
41. GLUSHKO Sergey Vitalievich

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<sup>6</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>7</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>8</sup> Sanctioned by EU, Switzerland, Canada and Ukraine.

<sup>9</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>10</sup> Sanctioned by EU, US, Switzerland, Canada and Ukraine.

<sup>11</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>12</sup> Sanctioned by EU, Switzerland and Ukraine.

42. ILNITSKY Andrei Mikhailovich (Advisor to the Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation, Valdai Club)
43. IVANOV Alexander Viktorovich (IVAN)
44. IVANOV Alexandr Yulievych
45. KANDELAKI Tinatin Givievna<sup>13</sup>
46. KARAGANOV Sergei Alexandrovich (Valdai Club)
47. KEOSAYAN Tigran Edmondovich<sup>14</sup>
48. KOSTIUSHKIN Stanislav Mikhailovich<sup>15</sup>
49. KHARATYAN Dmitrii Vadimovich<sup>16</sup>
50. KHRAMOV Andrey Vladimirovich
51. KHARLAMOV Igor Yurievich<sup>17</sup>
52. KHRULEVA Elena Vladimirovna (Vaenga)
53. KIPELOV Valery Aleksandrovich
54. KIRKOROV Philip Bedrosovich
55. KISELEV / KISELYOV Dmitrii Konstantinovich<sup>18</sup>
56. KISELEV Yuri Vladimirovich (YurKiss)
57. KISELYOVA Elena Yurievna (Elena Sever)
58. KITAYEVA Maria Vladimirovna<sup>19</sup>
59. KORMUKHINA Olga Borisovna
60. KOROVIN Valeriy Mikhailovich (Izborsk Club, Public Chamber of the Russian Federation)
61. KOZACHENKO Vadim Gennadievich
62. KRASOVSKY / KUZNETSOV-KRASOVSKY Anton Vyacheslavovich<sup>20</sup>
63. KRAVCHENKO Maria Olegovna
64. KRISTOVSKIY Sergei Evgenievich
65. KRISTOVSKY Vladimir Evgenievich
66. KRYSANOVA Ekaterina Valerievna
67. KUIEK Karolina Myroslavivna<sup>21</sup>
68. KUPRYK Sergey Vasilyevich
69. LANTRATOV Vladyslav Valerievich
70. LAZAREV Sergey Vyacheslavovich

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<sup>13</sup> Sanctioned by US, Canada and Ukraine.

<sup>14</sup> Sanctioned by EU, UK, Canada, Switzerland, Australia and Ukraine.

<sup>15</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>16</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>17</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>18</sup> Sanctioned in five G7 jurisdictions and Ukraine.

<sup>19</sup> Sanctioned by US and Ukraine.

<sup>20</sup> Sanctioned in five G7 jurisdictions and Ukraine.

<sup>21</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

71. LEBEDEV Artemy Andreyevich<sup>22</sup>
72. LEPSVERIDZE Grigory Viktorovich<sup>23</sup>
73. LESHCHENKO Lev Valerianovich<sup>24</sup>
74. LUKYANOV Fedor Alexandrovich
75. MAIDANOV Denys Vasilyevich
76. MAKEEVA Anastasia Vasilievna
77. MAMENKO Igor Vladimirovych
78. MANUCHAROV Vyacheslav Rafaelevich
79. MARSHAL (MINKOV) Alexander Vitalievich
80. MASHKOV Vladimir Lvovich<sup>25</sup>
81. MATVEICHUK Gleb Alymovych
82. MELNYKOV Matvey Alexandrovych (MOT)
83. MGOYAN Zarifa Poshaevna
84. MIKHAILOV Alexander Yakovlevich
85. MIKHAILOV Sergei Vladimirovich (TASS News Agency)<sup>26</sup>
86. MIKHAILOV Stanislav Vladimirovich
87. MIKHALKOV Nikita Sergeevich
88. MILYAVSKAYA Lolita Markovna
89. MUZA Dmitry Evgenievich (Izborsk Club)
90. MYKHALKOVA Yulia Evgenievna
91. NETREBKO Anna Yurievna
92. NAROCHITSKAIA Nataliia Alekseevna (Izborsk Club)
93. NIKULIN Maksym Yuryevich
94. OBRAZTSOVA Elena Vasiliyevna
95. OKHLOBYSTIN Ivan Ivanovich<sup>27</sup>
96. OMAROV Kurban Omarovych
97. PANAYOTOV Aleksandr Sergeyelevich
98. PERMYAKOVA Aleksandra Andreevna
99. PERFILOVA Alla Yurievna (Valeria)
100. PETROSYAN Evgeniy Vaganovich
101. PLATONOV Oleg Anatolyevich (Institute of Russian Civilization)
102. PODDUBNYY Alexey Viktorovych
103. POPLAVSKAYA Yana Evgenievna
104. PORECHENKOV Mikhail Evgenievich<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>23</sup> Sanctioned by US.

<sup>24</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>25</sup> Sanctioned by EU, Switzerland, Canada and Ukraine.

<sup>26</sup> Sanctioned by EU, UK, Canada, Switzerland and Ukraine.

<sup>27</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>28</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

105. POTUPCHYK Krystyna Andreevna
106. POVALIY Taisiia Mykolaivna<sup>29</sup>
107. PRESNYAKOV Vladimir Vladimirovich
108. PRIGOZHIN Iosif Igorevich
109. PRILEPIN Yevgeniy Nikolaevich
110. PROKHANOV Alexander Andreevich (Izborsk Club, Deputy Chairman of the Public Council under the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation)
111. PROKLOVA Elena Igorevna
112. PYEHA Stanislav Pyatrasovych
113. RASTORGUEV Nikolay Vyacheslavovich
114. RAZBEGAEV Vyacheslav Vyacheslavovich
115. REKSHAN Vladimir Olgerdovich
116. ROMANOV Alexey Dmitrievich
117. ROMANOV Igor Evgenievich
118. ROZANOV Oleg Vasilievich (Izborsk Club)
119. RYBIN Viktor Viktorovich
120. SADKOVA (MALINOVSKAYA) Marina Nikolaevna
121. SAGAL Dimitrii Alekseevich (Izborsk Club)
122. SARDAROV Amiran Shirinovich
123. SATANOVSKY EVGENY YANOVICH (president of the Institute of the Middle East, expert council of the State Duma Committee on the development of civil society)
124. SAVICHEVA Julia Stanislavovna
125. SEDOKOVA Anna Vladimirovna
126. SEMENOVICH Anna Grigoryevna
127. SENCHUKOVA Natalya Valentinovna
128. SEROV (SYAROV) Alexander Nikolaevich<sup>30</sup>
129. SHCHEDROVITSKY Pyotr Georgievich (Center for Strategic Research “North-West”)
130. SHEYNIN Artem Grigoryevich<sup>31</sup>
131. SHUFUTINSKY Mikhail Zakharovich
132. SHUKSHINA Maria Vasilievna
133. SHUROCHKINA Anna Vladimirovna (Nyusha)
134. SIMONYAN Margarita Simonovna<sup>32</sup>
135. SKABEYEVA Olga Vladimirovna<sup>33</sup>
136. SKLYAR Alexander Feliksovich
137. SLANEVSKAYA Anastasia Vladimirovna (SLAVA)

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<sup>29</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>30</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>31</sup> Sanctioned by EU, UK, Canada, Switzerland and Ukraine.

<sup>32</sup> Sanctioned in six G7 jurisdictions and Ukraine.

<sup>33</sup> Sanctioned in five G7 jurisdictions and Ukraine.

138. SMIRNOVA Polina Sergeevna
  139. STAROVOITOV Stas
  140. STEKLOV Vladimir Alexandrovich
  141. SUKHORUKOV Viktor Ivanovich
  142. SUSHENTSOV Andrey Andreevich (Valdai Club)
  143. SUSLOV Dmitry Vyacheslavovich (Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies, Russian International Affairs Council, Valdai Club)
  144. TELEGINA Pelageya Sergeevna
  145. TODORENKO Regina Petrovna<sup>34</sup>
  146. TOPALOV Vladislav Mikhailovich
  147. TORKUNOV Anatoly Vasilievich (Valdai Club)
  148. TRENIN Dmitry Vitalievich (former director of the Moscow Carnegie Center)
  149. TSOY Anita Sergeevna
  150. TSYGANOVA / ZHUKOVA Victoria Yuryevna
  151. TURETSKY Mikhail Borisovich
  152. TYMOSHCHUK Anatoliy Oleksandrovych
  153. USPENSKAYA Lyubov Zalmanovna
  154. USTIMENKO-VEINSTEIN Denis Aleksandrovich (DZHIGAN)
  155. VAKULENKO Vasyl Mykhailovych
  156. VINOKUR Vladimir Natanovich
  157. VOITENKO Sergei Ivanovich
  158. VYSOKOVA Klavdiya Vadimovna (Klava Koka)
  159. WEBER Maria Yurievna
  160. YAKOVLEVA Elena Alekseevna
  161. YAKUBOVYCH Leonid Arkadevich
  162. YUNUSOV Timur Ildarovich / TIMATI
  163. ZAKHAROVA Svetlana Yurevna
  164. ZAPASHNY Edgard Valterovich<sup>35</sup>
  165. ZHIGUNOV Sergey Victorovich
  166. ZHUKOV Sergey Yevgenevich
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<sup>34</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>35</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.