

## **Working Group Paper #3**

# **Individual Sanctions Roadmap: Recommendations for Sanctions against the Russian Federation**

## **Appendix A: Expanding Sanctions on Putin's Propagandists**

The International Working Group on Russian Sanctions

October 20, 2022

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

[The International Working Group on Russian 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](#). It was released by the coordinator of the Working Group, in close consultation with expert members of the working group on individual 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 our website: <https://fsi.stanford.edu/working-group-sanctions>.

In our [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.*” The subcategories in this paper can be generally divided into two broad groups: those who generate ideas for propaganda (ideologists) and those who transmit and propagate these ideas (mouthpieces). The division is not always clear. In practice, 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, these persons lay the theoretical foundation for Russian propaganda by manipulating or distorting historical facts and scientific research. Consequently, 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 strengthening individual-level sanctions as a means to hasten the end of Putin’s war in 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. For example, RIAC and RISS are chaired by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister respectively. The state or entities close to the regime 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 the Kremlin, many (but not all) Russian think tanks are nurturing and supporting ideas that promote Putin’s war in Ukraine. Their supportive roles must be given greater scrutiny.

Propagandists or transmitters of information that support Putin’s war in 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 such information are not only journalists or pundits, but also soldiers in the war.

So too are those peddling Russian soft power more indirectly. 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 to a large target audience. Most of them are also masters of hypocrisy. Despite having an instrumental role in spreading pro-war propaganda and inciting hatred, they vacation abroad and enjoy lavish lifestyles anchored, in part, in the West. In addition, many own luxurious properties in Europe and the United States. These individuals act openly either through their social media channels or by performing during 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’s war aims. Some even have visited the occupied territories of Ukraine, thereby directly undermining Ukraine’s territorial integrity. Several individuals claim to have visited the Mariupol Drama Theater<sup>2</sup> and afterwards supported the Kremlin’s narrative that shifts responsibility for Russia’s crimes onto Ukrainian populations. These people must be sanctioned as well.

Below is a 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 actively 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; they fall squarely into activities that purposely and deliberately 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 80 individuals, falling under the “propaganda” criteria, have been sanctioned in at least one G-7 jurisdiction, only a few of these individuals have been sanctioned by all G-7 states.

Finally, our recommendations of Russian propagandists to be sanctioned are only partial. We encourage other expert and non-governmental organizations to make their own suggestions as to others who should be considered and 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)

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

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

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

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>
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/KUDELMAN/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
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

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

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

<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.

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>17</sup>
56. KISELEV Yuri Vladimirovich (YurKiss)
57. KISELYOVA Elena Yurievna (Elena Sever)
58. KITAYEVA Maria Vladimirovna<sup>18</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>19</sup>
63. KRAVCHENKO Maria Olegovna
64. KRISTOVSKIY Sergei Evgenievich
65. KRISTOVSKY Vladimir Evgenievich
66. KRYSAANOVA Ekaterina Valerievna
67. KUIEK Karolina Myroslavivna<sup>20</sup>
68. KUPRYK Sergey Vasilyevich
69. LANTRATOV Vladyslav Valerievich
70. LAZAREV Sergey Vyacheslavovich
71. LEBEDEV Artemy Andreyevich<sup>21</sup>
72. LEPSVERIDZE Grigory Viktorovich<sup>22</sup>
73. LESHCHENKO Lev Valerianovich<sup>23</sup>
74. LUKYANOV Fedor Alexandrovich
75. MAIDANOV Denys Vasilyevich
76. MAKEEVA Anastasia Vasilievna
77. MAMENKO Igor Vladimirovich
78. MANUCHAROV Vyacheslav Rafaelevich
79. MARSHAL (MINKOV) Alexander Vitalievich
80. MASHKOV Vladimir Lvovich<sup>24</sup>
81. MATVEICHUK Gleb Alymovych
82. MELNYKOV Matvey Alexandrovich (MOT)

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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 by US and Ukraine.

<sup>19</sup> Sanctioned in five G7 jurisdictions and Ukraine.

<sup>20</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

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

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

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

<sup>24</sup> Sanctioned by EU, Switzerland, Canada and Ukraine.

83. MGOYAN Zarifa Poshaevna
84. MIKHAILOV Alexander Yakovlevich
85. MIKHAILOV Sergei Vladimirovich (TASS News Agency)<sup>25</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>26</sup>
96. OMAROV Kurban Omarovych
97. PANAYOTOV Aleksandr Sergeevich
98. PERMYAKOVA Aleksandra Andreevna
99. PERFILOVA Alla Yurievna (Valeria)
100. PETROSYAN Evgeniy Vaganovich
101. PLATONOV Oleg Anatolyevich (Institute of Russian Civilization)
102. PODDUBNYY Alexey Viktorovich
103. POPLAVSKAYA Yana Evgenievna
104. PORECHENKOV Mikhail Evgenievich<sup>27</sup>
105. POTUPCHYK Krystyna Andreevna
106. POVALIY Taisiia Mykolaivna<sup>28</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. RAZBEGAIEV Vyacheslav Vyacheslavovich
115. ROMANOV Alexey Dmitrievich
116. ROMANOV Igor Evgenievich
117. ROZANOV Oleg Vasilievich (Izborsk Club)
118. RYBIN Viktor Viktorovich
119. SADKOVA (MALINOVSKAYA) Marina Nikolaevna
120. SAGAL Dimitrii Alekseevich (Izborsk Club)
121. SARDAROV Amiran Shirinovich
122. SATANOVSKY EVGENY YANOVICH (President of the Institute of the Middle East, expert council of the State Duma Committee on the development of civil society)
123. SAVICHEVA Julia Stanislavovna
124. SEDOKOVA Anna Vladimirovna
125. SEMENOVICH Anna Grigoryevna

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

<sup>26</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

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

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

126. SENCHUKOVA Natalya Valentinovna
127. SEROV (SYAROV) Alexander Nikolaevich<sup>29</sup>
128. SHCHEDROVITSKY Pyotr Georgievich (Center for Strategic Research “North-West”)
129. SHEYNIN Artem Grigoryevich<sup>30</sup>
130. SHUFUTINSKY Mikhail Zakharovich
131. SHUKSHINA Maria Vasilievna
132. SHUROCHKINA Anna Vladimirovna (Nyusha)
133. SIMONYAN Margarita Simonovna<sup>31</sup>
134. SKABEYEVA Olga Vladimirovna<sup>32</sup>
135. SKLYAR Alexander Feliksovich
136. SLANEVSKAYA Anastasia Vladimirovna (SLAVA)
137. SMIRNOVA Polina Sergeevna
138. STAROVOITOV Stas
139. STEKLOV Vladimir Alexandrovich
140. SUKHORUKOV Viktor Ivanovich
141. SUSHENTSOV Andrey Andreevich (Valdai Club)
142. SUSLOV Dmitry Vyacheslavovich (Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies, Russian International Affairs Council, Valdai Club)
143. TELEGINA Pelageya Sergeevna
144. TODORENKO Regina Petrovna<sup>33</sup>
145. TOPALOV Vladislav Mikhailovich
146. TORKUNOV Anatoly Vasilievich (Valdai Club)
147. TRENIN Dmitry Vitalievich (former director of the Moscow Carnegie Center)
148. TSOY Anita Sergeevna
149. TSYGANOVA / ZHUKOVA Victoria Yuryevna
150. TURETSKY Mikhail Borisovich
151. TYMOSHCHUK Anatoliy Oleksandrovych
152. USPENSKAYA Lyubov Zalmanovna
153. USTIMENKO-VEINSTEIN Denis Aleksandrovich (DZHIGAN)
154. VAKULENKO Vasyl Mykhailovych
155. VINOKUR Vladimir Natanovich
156. VOITENKO Sergei Ivanovich
157. VYSOKOVA Klavdiya Vadimovna (Klava Koka)
158. WEBER Maria Yurievna
159. YAKOVLEVA Elena Alekseevna
160. YAKUBOVYCH Leonid Arkadevich
161. YUNUSOV Timur Ildarovich / TIMATI
162. ZAKHAROVA Svetlana Yurevna
163. ZAPASHNY Edgard Valterovich<sup>34</sup>
164. ZHIGUNOV Sergey Victorovich
165. ZHUKOV Sergey Yevgenevich

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

<sup>30</sup> Sanctioned by EU, UK, Canada, Switzerland and Ukraine.

<sup>31</sup> Sanctioned in six G7 jurisdictions and Ukraine.

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

<sup>33</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.

<sup>34</sup> Sanctioned by Ukraine.