

In today's Vatnik Soup, I'll introduce a Russian politician and First Deputy Chief of Staff of the Presidential Administration of Russia, Sergey Kiriyenko. He's best known for running both domestic and foreign disinformation and propaganda operations for the Kremlin.

1/20



On paper, and in photos, Kiriyenko is just as boring as most of the Kremlin's "political technologists": between 2005-2016 he headed the Rosatom nuclear energy company, but later played a leading role in the governance of Russia-occupied territories in Ukraine.





What is a political technologist? In Russia, they're spin doctors & propaganda architects who shape opinion, control narratives, and manage elections — often by faking opposition, staging events, and spreading disinfo to maintain Putin's power and the illusion of democracy.



## Russian political technologists – experts in "information warfare" – prepare for US elections

24 October 2024

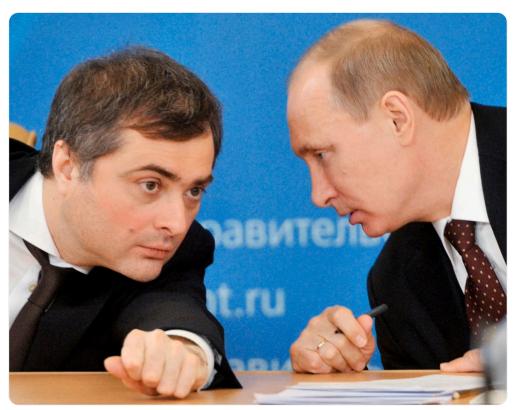


Russia's political technologists were planning last year for influence operations designed to impact the upcoming US elections by exploiting concerns about immigration, identity politics and culture wars.

The concept of political technologist emerged in the 1990s as Russia transitioned from chaos to centralized control. Political technologists blend manipulation, media dominance, and psychological ops to engineer consent and suppress dissent.



Figures like Vladislav Surkov pioneered "post-truth" politics, where reality is fluid, narratives shift constantly, and confusion reigns. The goal of this is to exhaust the public, neutralize resistance, and make alternatives to the regime seem futile or nonexistent.



After the fall of Surkov in 2016, Kiriyenko quickly became "Putin's right-hand man," shaping domestic and foreign politics based on political technologist ideology. Inside Russia, his goal was to promote the false idea of "conservatism" and "traditionalism".







After the launch of the full-scale invasion on Ukraine in 2022, Kiriyenko's work was expanded to the Russian-occupied territories. Like Surkov before, his main duties were to manufacture support for the occupiers and falsely claim they're supported by the locals.

STORIES

**The Viceroy** How Sergey Kiriyenko became Putin's point man in the Donbas and plans to shape Russia's 'post-war image'

2:48 am, June 10, 2022 - Source: <u>Meduza</u>





Sergey Kiriyenko (right) and Denis Pushilin, the head of the selfproclaimed Donetsk People's Republic, at the opening of a humanitarian center in Donetsk. May 5, 2022. Denis Pushilin's Press Service

For example, he oversaw the Kremlin's sham referendums in Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson, and Zaporizhzhia — staged votes held under military occupation, with no transparency or legitimacy. Designed to justify annexation, they earned him the nickname "Viceroy of the Donbas."



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## Ukraine condemns 'sham' elections in Russian-occupied regions

8 September 2023

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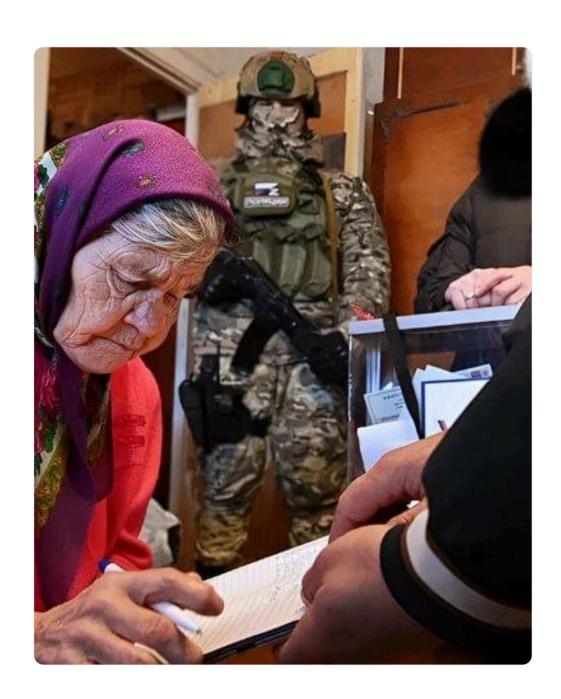
Nathan Williams & Sergei Goryashko BBC News & BBC Russian



The elections are taking place in regions of Ukraine that Russia claimed as its own last year

People living in Russian-occupied areas of Ukraine are being asked to vote in what the authorities are describing as local elections.







In May and Jun of 2022, Kiriyenko made propaganda trips to occupied cities like Mariupol, where he attended the unveiling of a statue waving the Soviet flag, and Kherson, where he took part in meetings planning to formally annex the territory on Russia's election day.



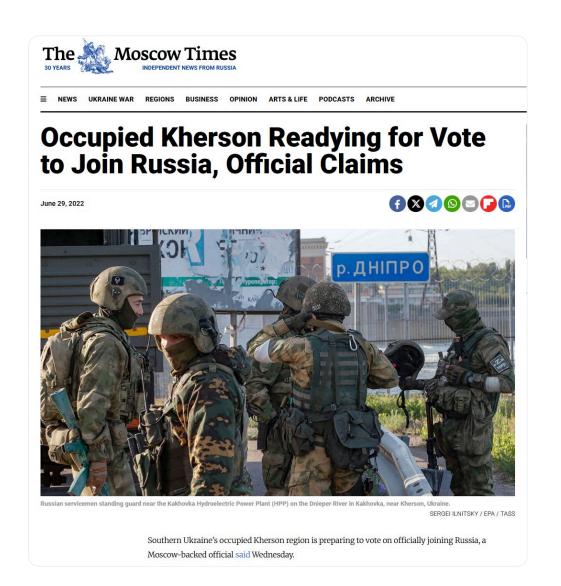
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## **Top Kremlin Official Unveils Pro-War Statue in Ukraine's Mariupol**

May 5, 2022

The statue of babushka Anya in Mariupol.





These plans were ultimately thwarted when Ukrainian forces liberated Kherson in a bold and brilliantly executed counteroffensive. Even Elon Musk couldn't stop the operation, despite reportedly disabling Starlink access in the area to prevent a Ukrainian drone strike.

#### **Ukraine**

• This article is more than 2 years old

### Ukraine troops enter centre of Kherson as Russians retreat in chaos

Volodymyr Zelenskiy hails 'historic day' as locals raise Ukrainian flags around Svoboda Square

Russia-Ukraine war - latest news updates

Peter Beaumont, Luke Harding in Kherson region, Pjotr Sauer and Isobel Koshiw in Kyiv

Fri 11 Nov 2022 18.59 CET





■ Crowds cheer as Ukrainian troops enter Kherson city centre - video

In extraordinary scenes, crowds of jubilant residents greeted Ukraine's armed forces as they reached the centre of Kherson, as Russia's retreat from the key strategic city appeared to have descended into chaos.



Incidentally, Elon Musk allegedly communicated directly with Kiriyenko. According to multiple sources, they discussed topics ranging from business to geopolitics. Did Kiriyenko suggest shutting down Starlink in Ukraine - or did that idea come from somewhere else?

# Elon Musk Julian Borger Fri 25 Oct 2024 16.47 CEST

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### Elon Musk has been in regular contact with Putin for two years, says report

Alleged talks between billionaire and Russian president could have enormous security implications



🗅 Elon Musk may be given a role in the US administration if Donald Trump is re-elected on 5 November. Photograph: Sean Simmers/AP

Elon Musk, the world's richest man who is now central to Donald Trump's election campaign, has been in regular contact with Vladimir Putin for the past two years, according to a report in the US.



Under Kiriyenko's direction, the occupation administration began forcibly Russifying the seized territories, introducing Russian school curricula, distributing Russian passports, replacing mobile networks, and imposing Kremlin-controlled governance structures.

#### Russians ban Ukrainian language in occupied territories as part of broader cultural erasure

#DEFEATRUSSIA JUNE 25,2025





Russia has banned the teaching of the Ukrainian language in schools in the occupied territories of  ${\it Ukraine, Ukraine's \, Ministry \, of \, Foreign \, Affairs \, reported, \, calling \, it \, a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, of \, Russia's \, long-like a \, continuation \, long-like a \, continuation$ standing effort to erase Ukrainian identity.

#### TIME

SIGN UP FOR OUR IDEAS NEWSLETTER

Russia Is Trying to 'Erase' Ukrainian Identity in Captured Territories, European Officials Allege





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## Ukraine: Older People unable to afford food, medicines, other essentials

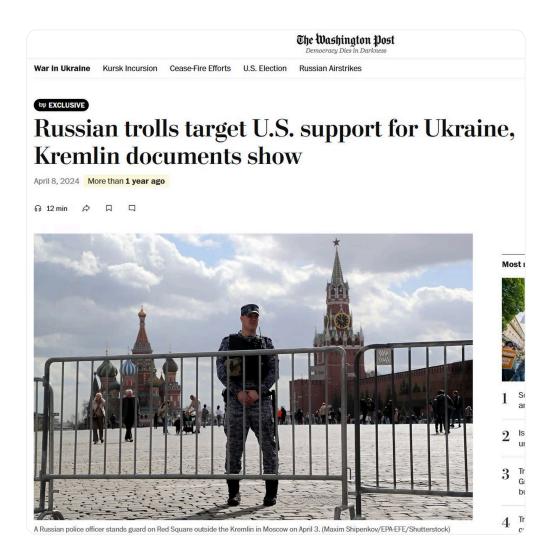
Older women, people over 70, and older people with disabilities at greater risk.

Published 23 February 2023

News → Ukraine: Older People unable to afford food, medicines, other essentials



As Surkov before him, Kiriyenko is also running the Kremlin's global troll farms. Under his direction, Russia's influence ops have become more sophisticated, covert, and tech-driven. Under his supervision are organizations like the Social Design Agency and Structura.



The Kremlin turned in earnest to undermining American support for Ukraine in January 2023. Sergei Kiriyenko, the Kremlin's first deputy chief of staff, called in the team of political strategists already working on campaigns to weaken backing for Kyiv in Europe, including Gambashidze, and asked them to expand their efforts, the documents show. The strategists employ dozens of troll farm employees and translators.

The Moscow spin doctors were soon ordered to create media content for Americans that would promote corruption allegations involving the Ukrainian leadership — "the sale and theft of weapons" given to Ukraine, one document shows.

The strategists were told to cultivate an environment in which "Americans are not ready to sacrifice their well-being for the sake of the conflict in Ukraine," as well as representing Russia's increasingly close relationship with China as a new threat "created by the U.S.'s own activities."

Remember that anti-Zelenskyy meme that Elon shared on X and that got around 100 million views, making Russian propaganda TV very happy? That, and thousands of others, were

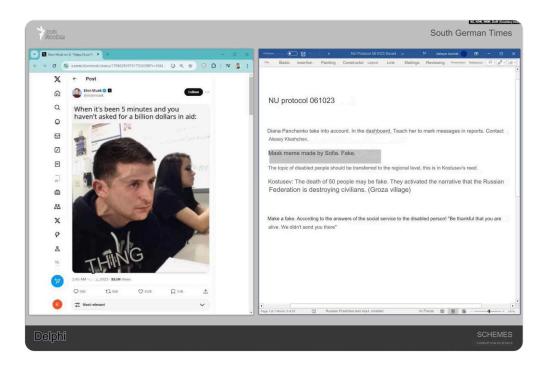
#### 14/20

A trove of leaked records from a Russian disinformation campaign reveals how Moscow sought to discredit Ukraine and Western governments that support it while also trying to boost support for far-right political parties in the European Union.

The documents obtained by a consortium of European media outlets and **shared with Schemes**, the investigative unit of RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service, highlight the internal operations of the Social Design Agency, a Moscow-based company that **the United States says** has led the propaganda campaign at the Kremlin's behest.

The campaign included a diverse mix of memes, falsified videos and government documents, and a network of websites impersonating legitimate news outlets across Europe to disseminate fake stories aimed at undermining Western support for Ukraine after Russia's full-scale invasion in February 2022.

The records state that one meme denigrating Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky that was shared on X by its billionaire owner, Elon Musk, and garnered 86,000 reshares was a creation of the Social Design Agency.







Kiriyenko oversees the Presidential Directorate for Public Projects, which coordinates state-controlled narratives online. He has also been leading one of the most infamous Russian online influence operations, Doppelgänger, famous for spreading pro-Kremlin BS online.

#### **Political bloc without borders** and boundaries Andrey Pertsev examines Sergey Kiriyenko's empire

Читать на русском





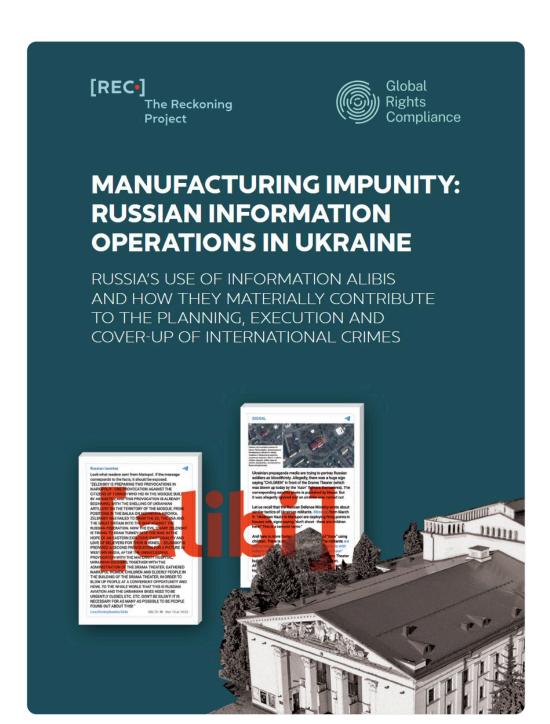








In Ukraine, the influence operations overseen by Kiriyenko have also had huge negative impact. A 2024 report by Global Rights Compliance found systematic disinformation tied to Kiriyenko's structures aimed at "manufacturing impunity" for Russian forces.



Kiriyenko's tactics aren't limited to Ukraine. In Moldova, Russian-backed media and troll farms, connected to his networks, have pushed narratives to undermine the pro-EU president Maia Sandu and pro-European forces ahead of the 2025 elections, per @IGTDS1.







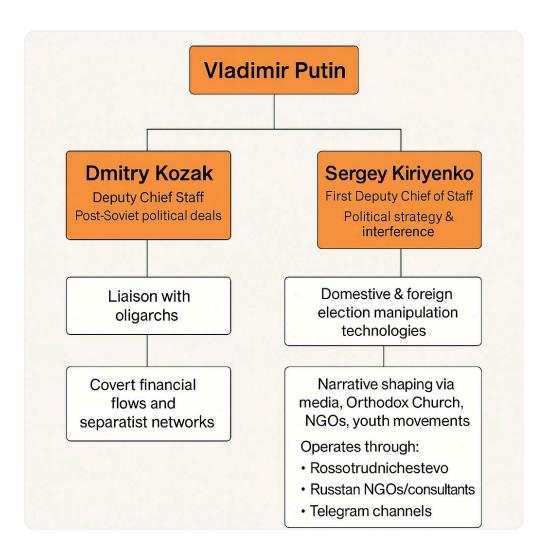
Governance

Intelligence ops

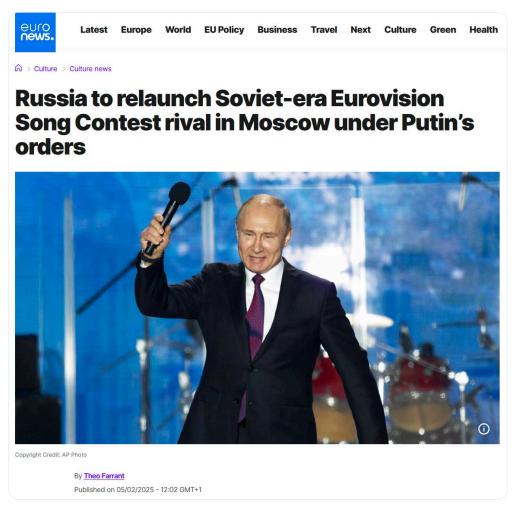
## The Consolidation of Pro-Russian Forces in Moldova: Implications for the 2025 Elections

July 23, 2025

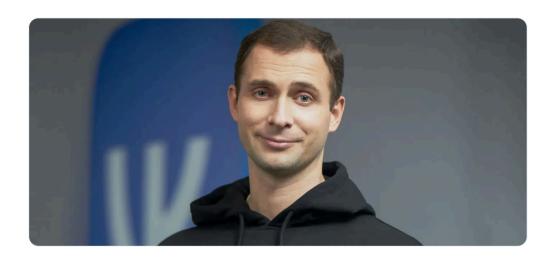




In addition, Kiriyenko now chairs the supervisory board of Russia's revived Intervision Song Contest — a Kremlin-backed alternative to Eurovision, promoting "traditional values" and resisting "woke" culture, serving as ideological soft power against the West.



As is tradition in Russia, Kiriyenko's son, Vladimir, was appointed the CEO of VK, Russia's flagship social network, in 2021. The Kremlin leadership likes to keep things in the family, especially when it comes to controlling key media platforms.



Vladimir Sergeevich KIRIYENKO is the CEO of VK Company Limited. VK Company Limited is a Russian internet company, with a major presence in the Russian speaking segment of internet. VK projects collectively had the largest audience in Russia and captured the most screen time. VK's sites reach more than 90 % of Russian internet users on a monthly basis and the company is in the top 5 of largest internet companies, based on the number of total pages viewed. It controls and operates the three largest and most popular Russian social networking sites, VKontakte, Odnoklassniki and Moi Mir, as well as the email service and internet portal mail.ru. Vladimir Sergeevich KIRIYENKO is therefore involved in economic sectors providing a substantial source of revenue to the Government of the Russian Federation. The Russian government is increasing its influence over media and social networks. VK Company is controlled by Gazprom Media (a State-owned company which is the major source of income to the Russian Government). Vladimir Sergeevich Kiriyenko therefore supports Vladimir Putin's aim for greater control over the internet. Vladimir Kiriyenko therefore actively supports, materially or financially, or benefits from Russian decision-makers responsible for the annexation of Crimea or the destabilisation of Ukraine. As VK Company is owned by the State-owned Gazprom group, the revenue it generates is an important source of revenue for the Russian Government. Vladimir Kiriyenko is the son of Sergei Kiriyenko, currently First Deputy Chief of Staff of the Presidential Office. Sergei Kiriyenko is reported to be Vladimir Putin's domestic policy curator.

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Swiss SECO Sanctions/Embargoes, 2024-08-23

To conclude: What sets Kiriyenko apart is his fusion of old-school political technology & modern information warfare. He effectively blends domestic repression, foreign manipulation, and digital propaganda into a seamless strategy to protect the regime and export chaos.

#### 20/20



The 2nd edition of "Vatnik Soup — The Ultimate Guide to Russian Disinformation" is officially out!

You can order your copy here:



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