



# ANTI-EUROPEAN NARRATIVES OF KREMLIN

map of informational  
threats for Ukraine



CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC  
COMMUNICATION  
AND INFORMATION  
SECURITY

# INTRODUCTION

Ukraine's path to membership in the European Union has been long and dramatic. During the Orange Revolution in 2004 and the Revolution of Dignity in 2013–2014, Ukrainian society defended its European choice, rejecting the prospect of joining Moscow-centered alliances. Amid the armed resistance to russian aggression, now in its eleventh year, Ukraine continues to defend its right to choose its own path of development.

Even during wartime, in 2014, the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union was signed. In 2019, Ukraine's strategic course toward full membership in the EU and NATO was enshrined in the Constitution. In 2022, during russia's full-scale invasion, Ukraine was granted candidate status for EU membership and began working intensively on fulfilling the European Commission's recommendations. In December 2023, the European Council made the decision to open accession negotiations with Ukraine.

Despite the irreversibility of Ukraine's path toward the EU, russia has, for decades, exerted tremendous efforts to change this trajectory. To do so, Moscow has widely employed corruption, economic blackmail, political pressure, and ultimately resorted to military intervention. For decades, russia has conducted aggressive foreign information manipulation and interference (FIMI) operations aimed at undermining Ukrainians' confidence in the European choice. This anti-European propaganda has become especially intense during the full-scale war.

This study is dedicated to analyzing the main narratives russia employs within FIMI operations targeting Ukraine and Ukrainians. The closer Ukraine gets to EU membership, the more intense these attacks are likely to become. Most likely, they will not cease even after Ukraine becomes a full member of the EU. That is why it is crucial today to monitor russian FIMI activity and to have a clear understanding of the landscape of information threats.



## SUMMARY

This study identifies and analyzes the content of five key anti-European narratives used in russian FIMI operations in the Ukrainian media space. The goal of these narratives is to shape and reinforce anti-European sentiment and negative biases toward European countries and the EU as a whole. It has been proven that these narratives are part of the official rhetoric of the russian government. The study analyzed FIMI operations conducted from January 1 to April 15, 2025. Media field analysis was carried out using monitoring platforms, including Osavul.

# ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES AND FIMI OPERATIONS

## 1. NARRATIVE: “UKRAINE IS A PUPPET IN THE HANDS OF THE WEST”

This narrative is based on the propaganda myth that Ukraine is allegedly not an independent and sovereign state, but rather a puppet controlled by the “collective West,” which is using Ukraine to create threats for Russia.



The origins of this narrative date back to the times of the Russian Empire. The Putin regime began actively using it no later than 2007, when Putin voiced his “grievances” against Western countries at the Munich Security Conference. The idea of Ukraine’s “illegitimate” leadership and its “artificial” origins became a central element of this narrative during the Revolution of Dignity

in 2013–2014, as well as after the start of Russia’s hybrid aggression against Ukraine. Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, this narrative has become one of the key pillars of Russian propaganda and ideology.

This narrative exists in various forms and includes several sub-narratives, such as:

- “Ukraine is an artificial state created by Lenin”
- “Ukraine was invented by the Austro-Hungarian General Staff”
- “After the 2014 coup, the West turned Ukraine into anti-Russia”
- “Ukraine is a puppet of Washington (London, Brussels, etc.)”
- “The West has aggressive plans against Russia and uses Ukraine to implement them”



## Goals of the Narrative in FIMI Operations

This narrative serves different functions depending on the target audience:

**For the domestic audience in russia:** It justifies aggression against Ukraine; supports Kremlin's genocidal rhetoric toward Ukraine and Ukrainians; and legitimizes the Kremlin's anti-Western foreign policy.

**For the audience in Ukraine:** It aims to justify russian aggression, undermine Ukrainian identity, erode trust in Ukrainian state institutions, and weaken trust in Western partners.

**For the audience in temporarily occupied territories (TOT) of Ukraine:** It serves to legitimize the occupation, reshape local identities, and incite anti-Ukrainian and anti-Western sentiments.

**For the international audience:** It is used to justify russia's claims over Ukraine, the armed aggression and occupation of Ukrainian territories, and to weaken international support for Ukraine.

## Reproduction of the Narrative by russian Officials and Government Bodies



“The Western authors of the ‘anti-russia’ project are shaping the Ukrainian political system in such a way that presidents, deputies, and ministers may change, but the agenda of division from russia and hostility toward it remains unchanged. In the ‘anti-russia’ project, there is no place for a sovereign Ukraine or for political forces that strive to defend its real independence.”

Article by vladimir putin: “On the Historical Unity of russians and Ukrainians”, July 12, 2021



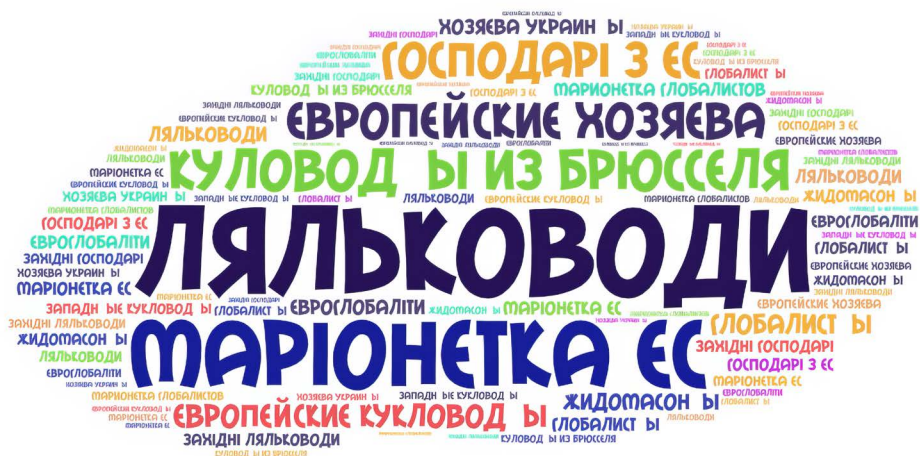


“The strategic calculation of the West in the Ukrainian crisis is absolutely clear: to impose on us a protracted war of attrition in order to split Russian society and create conditions for a ‘color revolution.’ The war is to be fought, as they say, ‘to the last Ukrainian.’”

Interview with Sergey Naryshkin,  
Director of Russia's Foreign  
Intelligence Service,  
December 10, 2024:

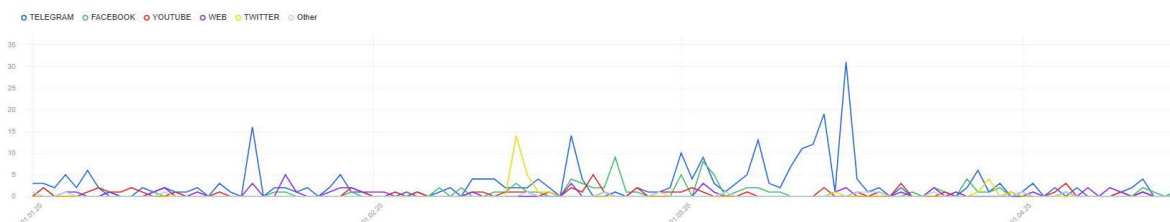
## Use of the Narrative in FIMI

Statements about Western, Anglo-Saxon, European, or other foreign “puppet masters” allegedly being the “true rulers” of Ukraine are a core element of Russian propaganda rhetoric used to promote strategic narratives of “external control” and the notion of Ukraine as a “failed state.”





Monitoring tools indexed over 12,500 publications on websites and social media platforms (posts, videos, and comments) in russian and Ukrainian between January 1 and April 15, 2025. The monitoring covered websites, and platforms like Facebook, X (Twitter), VK, TikTok, YouTube, and Telegram.



Telegram has been identified as the key platform for spreading this rhetoric. Claims about “European puppet masters” are actively promoted by both Telegram channel administrators and through comments. The total reach of indexed content is estimated at 84.8 million views.

Most of the indexed posts were published on russian platforms targeting russian audiences. Some of these sources (propaganda websites, the russian social network VK) are blocked in Ukraine. Entry points into the Ukrainian media space include:

- Fake Ukrainian Telegram channels (posts and comments)
- TikTok videos using hashtags popular in Ukraine
- Resources targeting residents of temporarily occupied territories
- Comments on Ukrainian websites, Ukrainian segments of social media, YouTube, Ukrainian Telegram channels, and russian-language versions of European and other foreign media (e.g., Euronews, Deutsche Welle, BBC, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Delfi), some of whose audiences include Ukrainians.

More than 4,800 messages from the indexed dataset were directly aimed at Ukrainian audiences, with a combined reach of 43.3 million views. Some of these messages are not part of russian propaganda or influence operations: elements of the rhetoric are used by Ukrainian media, bloggers, and official state channels with the aim of deconstructing it.

During the monitoring period, rhetoric about puppet masters was promoted by over 700 accounts on Facebook, X, and Telegram (1,700 indexed messages) and by 57 fake Ukrainian Telegram channels (over 150 posts).

After the inauguration of the 47th President of the United States, Donald Trump, the narrative began to shift toward reinforcing messages aimed at breaking Euro-Atlantic unity—particularly in relation

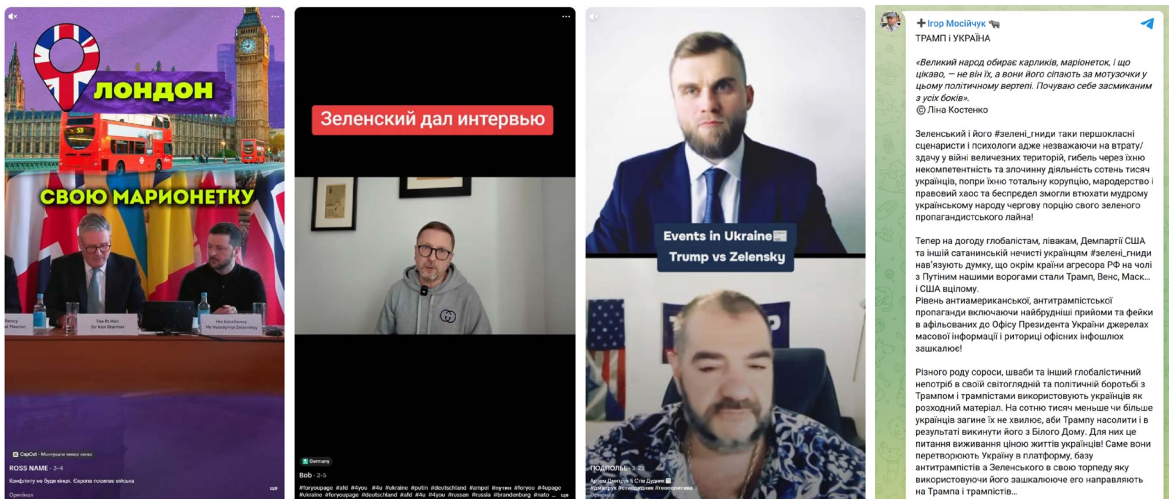
to Ukraine. A key emerging message is that Ukraine is an “anti-American puppet” of Europe, the UK, globalists, etc.

To promote this message to Ukrainian audiences, various online platforms and statements from Ukrainian Members of Parliament Oleksandr Dubinsky, Artem Dmytruk, former MP Ihor Mosiychuk, and bloggers

who have pushed anti-vaccine and anti-mobilization rhetoric have been used. These figures are being actively supported by russian media outlets, Telegram channels, and other resources.

During the analyzed period, four messages were posted on Oleksandr Dubinsky's resources, promoting the message that Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky is an “anti-American puppet of globalists.”

ПЛАТФОРМИ		КРАЇНИ	
Telegram	4718	Russia	1406
Facebook	653	Ukraine	818
Twitter	345	Ukraine TOT	118
Web	203	Belarus	70
TikTok	128	Moldova	56
Youtube	85	Kazakhstan	38
VK	15	Armenia	25
		Israel	17
		Germany	14
		Latvia	13
		INHI	+ 102







Dubinsky and other authors who create similar content usually include EU leaders and the US Democratic Party as “globalists.”

**Dubinsky.pro**  
16 лютий

Поведение Зеленского в очередной раз показывает, что он не просто британская марионетка, а и враг Украины. Упорствование в достижении мирного соглашения никак не ведет к улучшению положения Украины - ни на поле боя, ни в сохранении территорий.

Дико даже представить себе, чтобы Штаты в ответ на крендельбобели потужного - изменили свой подход к урегулированию.

Более того, по моему мнению, Зеленский в лице Трампа столкнулся со своим альтер-эго. Такой же принципиальностью и неуступчивостью, только подкрепленной мощью США.

То есть, чтобы сейчас не делал Зеленский - это будет вызывать не снижение, а увеличение давления. Причем, с совершенно очевидным результатом - остановка войны и достижение мира без Зеленского.

Есть, конечно, и небольшой шанс на то, что Украина превратится в Венесуэлу в центре Европы, но все равно с тем же результатом, что описан выше.





384

260 коментарів 19 поширених

**Dubinsky.pro**  
23 лютий 20:30

С момента срежиссированной Зеленским и его кукловодами перепалки в Белом доме - прошло 24 дня.

Все это время украинский в зад чинуха-нубинка бегал по Европе, заручался "поддержкой" Саргера, Макрона и других.

Началась эта поддержка с \$20 млрд, потом упала до \$10, а потом до \$5, которые тоже решили не давать.

Все это время Зеленский, присвоивший полномочия президента, разглагольствовал о справедливом мире. За это время Украина потеряла еще десятки тысяч жителей (даже страшно писать это так общоуно) и сотни квадратных километров территории. Но не приобрела ничего.

Возникает простой вопрос к Зеленскому - зачем ты упираешься миру, если каждый новый день упроста - это новые трагедии?

Кому и что ты пытаешься доказать своей "принципиальностью"?

Что еще такого вы с Татаровым и Ермаком не украл, что тебе нужно еще время, за которое Украина поглотит кровью? Что тебе общоуно всеми этими кавказскими - что ты так остервенело гробил свой собственный народ?

Я уверен, что никакого ответа у Зеленского нет.

Он просто безумен.

Как Гитлер в своем бункере в мае 1945-го. Потому, чем быстрее Зеленский будет отстранен от власти (демократическим путем - привет, СБУ), тем больше жителей и территорий сохранится.

При этом, давать ему какие-то гарантии - преступно.

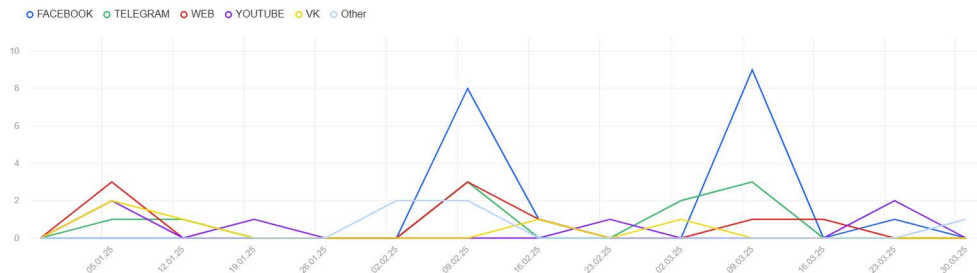



















1.6 тис.

554 коментарі 184 поширених

According to monitoring data, based on Dubinsky's four publications, more than 50 publications were created on other resources with a total reach of 615 thousand views. More than 30 of the indexed messages are aimed at a Ukrainian audience.



Джерело	Аудиторія	Країна	Повідомлення
 України більше нет!	35.4k	Ukraine	5
 Vladimir Svjatoy			4
 Sergiy Okladin			4
 Xell			2
 news-kiev.ru	6.97k	Ukraine	2
 EADaily	12.3M	Russia	2
 tsargrad.tv	49M	Russia	2
 Dubina TV	134k	Ukraine	2
 Dubinsky.pro	142k	Ukraine	2
 Дубинський	75.2k	Ukraine	2
 Тамир Шейх	38.6k	Ukraine	2
 ПОГЛЯД - КОЗЯТИН UA EU	5.09k	Ukraine	1
 Van Gog	3	Ukraine	1
 Бутинець Франц	0	Ukraine	1
 Дмитро Павліченко	0	Ukraine	1

## 2. NARRATIVE: “WESTERN ELITES BENEFIT FROM THE WAR IN UKRAINE”

This narrative is rooted in the propaganda myth that the Russia-Ukraine war was provoked by the West (“the collective West,” “Anglo-Saxons,” “globalists,” etc.) in order to pursue its own interests.

At the core of this narrative lies a conspiracy theory that the West is governed by transnational elites or elites from individual countries seeking to establish a new world order. The conspiracy theory about a “globalist plot” entered intellectual circulation in Russia as early as the early 2000s and was later adopted by official Kremlin propaganda.

This narrative exists in various forms and includes several sub-narratives, such as:

- “Globalists seek to impose an unjust world order on Russia and the entire world for their own benefit.”
- “Russia is not at war with Ukraine and Ukrainians, but with the collective West.”
- “Western elites are profiting from the war in Ukraine.”

### Purpose of the Narrative in FIMI Operations

This narrative serves different functions depending on the target audience:

**For the domestic Russian audience:** It justifies aggression against Ukraine; supports the Kremlin’s anti-Western foreign policy course; and frames Russia’s war against Ukraine as a broader international struggle.

**For the Ukrainian audience:** It aims to undermine trust in Ukraine’s military and political leadership as well as in Western partners; stokes anti-Western sentiment and doubts about the value of Euro-Atlantic integration.

**For audiences in temporarily occupied territories (TOT):** It helps legitimize the occupation and fuels anti-Ukrainian and anti-Western sentiment.

**For the international audience:** It serves to justify Russian claims over Ukraine and mobilize global anti-Western sentiment.



## Reproduction of the Narrative by russian Officials and State Bodies



“They [the Western globalist elites] are doing everything to maintain a vanishing hegemony, trying to keep countries and peoples in the grip of a neo-colonial order. (...) In order to preserve their hegemony, they need conflicts. That is why they prepared for the Ukrainian people the fate of cannon fodder.”

Speech by president  
vladimir putin,  
August 16, 2022



“For the sake of global domination, the West uses direct military force, threats of force, the ‘privatization’ of elites, ‘color revolutions,’ and supports terrorism and extremism. (...) The conflict in Ukraine was organized by Washington and London not only to inflict a strategic defeat on russia, but also to weaken Europe, where Germany had previously played the leading role.”

Article by Nikolai Patrushev,  
Secretary of the russian  
Security Council,  
September 3, 2023



“The vaunted Anglo-Saxon morality is just empty rhetoric for the public. Those who once made ‘profitable investments’ in Hitler’s Nazism are now enthusiastically and profitably cultivating Hitler’s successors in Ukraine. They encourage neo-Nazis, extremists, and terrorists to commit more and more crimes, while trying to keep their hands clean.”

Article by dmitry medvedev,  
Deputy Chairman of the russian  
Security Council, May 9, 2024

## Use of the Narrative in FIMI Operations

To reinforce anti-European narratives, russian propaganda manipulates statements by politicians from the European Union. In particular, publicly voiced forecasts that the continuation of russia’s aggressive war against Ukraine may turn into aggression against EU countries.

These statements are allegedly evidence of the russian propaganda narrative that the West and the European Union, in particular, benefit from the continuation of the war between Ukraine and russia.

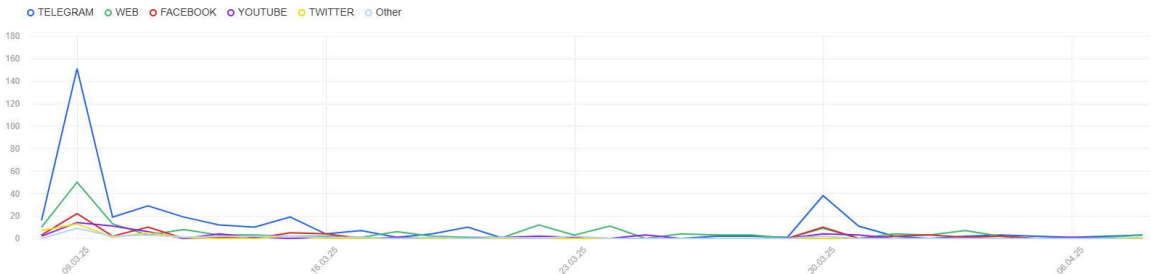
On March 5, the head of Germany’s Federal Intelligence Service (BND), Bruno Kahl, stated in an interview with Deutsche Welle that russia’s “exit” from the war it is waging against Ukraine by 2029–2030 would allow the Kremlin “to redirect its energy to where they most want—to Europe.”

russian propaganda used this informational occasion to reinforce the narrative that “the war benefits European elites” and to promote the messages: “Europe is interested in prolonging the war” and “Europe is using Ukraine to weaken russia.”

Monitoring tools indexed 711 messages posted over the course of a month (March 8 – April 8), which contain the message about the



“benefit” of the war for the EU and the “interest” in its continuation at least until 2030, referencing Bruno Kahl. The total reach of the indexed messages exceeds 12.2 million views. 345 of the indexed messages were posted in the Ukrainian segment of social media and on platforms targeting the Ukrainian audience (including the population of temporarily occupied territories). 260 messages were posted on russian platforms targeting the russian audience.



A strong impetus for the dissemination of the message in the Ukrainian media space was the official statement of People's Deputy Yulia Tymoshenko on March 8. On March 9, the message was repeated by political commentator Mykhailo Chaplyga in a more emotional form.

**Юлія Тимошенко** • 8 березня

ЯКЩО ВІЙНА В УКРАЇНІ ЗАВЕРШИТЬСЯ РАНІШЕ 2030 РОКУ, РОСІЯ ЗМОЖЕ ВИКОРИСТАТИ СВОЇ РЕСУРСИ ДЛЯ АГРЕСІЇ ПРОТИ ЄВРОПИ РАНІШЕ, НІЖ ОЧІКУВАЛОСЬ.

Цю сенсаційну заяву зробив сьогодні глава німецької розвідки Бруно Каль, чим вперше офіційно підтвердив те, у що нам так не хотілося вірити.

Ціною самого існування України і ціною життів сотень тисяч українців хтось вирішив заплатити за «знесення» росії заради безпеки у Європі?

Не думала, що про це наважаться сказати настільки офіційно і відкрито...


Це багато чого пояснює...

Вважаю, що Верховна Рада зобов'язана негайно відреагувати.

Ми ініціюємо такий крок.

ВІЙНУ ПОТРІБНО ЗАКІНЧУВАТИ НЕГАЙНО НА МАКСИМАЛЬНО СПРАВЕДЛИВИХ УМОВАХ!

<https://nordot.app/1271064963068608531>



PRAVDA.COM.UA

Глава німецької розвідки: Якщо війна закінчиться до 2030 року, РФ швидше стане загрозою для Європи

👍😂 Aksinya Kurina, Yuri Petrenko та ще 2,3 тис. 634 коментарі 805 поширень

**Миха Анархист Чаплыга**

Добранок Шановні Парафіяни!  
З днем народження, Тарасе Григоровичу... а в нас є трішки цікавих новин...  
Почнемо з Маска...

Тем временем...

Вчера в эфире я обратил внимание на "замечательное" откровение главы разведки ФРГ... Он требует не прекращать войну в Украине до 2030 года... ибо...

Ибо они "не успевают" подготовиться... За сим по его мнению Европа должна всячески способствовать тому, чтоб Украина истекла кровью еще 5 лет... пока они "готовятся"...

Первые и пока единственный политик обративший на это внимание стала Юлия Тимошенко:

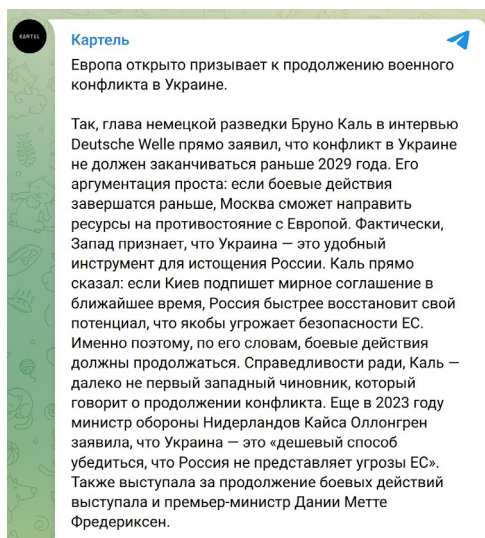
"...Бруно Каль... вперше офіційно підтвердив те, у що нам так не хотілося вірити. Ціною самого існування України і ціною життів сотень тисяч українців хтось вирішив заплатити за «знесення» росії заради безпеки у Європі?



ruddian resources disseminated Yulia Tymoshenko's statement more intensively than Ukrainian ones. It was quoted by 317 ruddian resources and users of the ruddian segment of social networks (380 indexed messages), as well as 171 resources aimed at a Ukrainian audience (including the population of the temporarily occupied territories) and users of the Ukrainian segment of social networks (245 indexed messages).



In addition to organic distribution by Ukrainian media, activity was recorded from pseudo-Ukrainian and pro-russian resources, as well as social media profiles that had previously been seen engaging in inauthentic behavior.



In particular, we are talking about the Telegram channels controlled by ruddian special services: “Spletnitsa”, “Kartel”, “Resident”, “Legitimny”, “Nablyudatel”, “Zerada”, “MediaKiller”, “Drugaya Ukraina”, “Mriya 2025”, “Open Ukraine | Открытая Украина”, etc.



Open Ukraine  Открытая Украина <a href="https://t.me/OpenUkraine">https://t.me/OpenUkraine</a>	205k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Сплетница <a href="https://t.me/spletnicca">https://t.me/spletnicca</a>	172k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Картель <a href="https://t.me/ZE_kartel">https://t.me/ZE_kartel</a>	170k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
ВЕСТИ <a href="https://t.me/vestiru24">https://t.me/vestiru24</a>	168k	Russia	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Работайте, братья! <a href="https://t.me/btr80">https://t.me/btr80</a>	145k	Russia	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
MediaKiller <a href="https://t.me/MediaKiller2021">https://t.me/MediaKiller2021</a>	141k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Наблюдатель <a href="https://t.me/nabludatels">https://t.me/nabludatels</a>	141k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Отряд Ковпака <a href="https://t.me/otryadkovpaka">https://t.me/otryadkovpaka</a>	140k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
XUA-фото войны <a href="https://t.me/XU_kraine">https://t.me/XU_kraine</a>	135k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Мрия 2025 <a href="https://t.me/mriya24">https://t.me/mriya24</a>	125k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Другая Украина <a href="https://t.me/the_other_ukraina">https://t.me/the_other_ukraina</a>	124k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Женщина с косой <a href="https://t.me/skosoi">https://t.me/skosoi</a>	119k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
UKR LEAKS <a href="https://t.me/ukr_leaks">https://t.me/ukr_leaks</a>	113k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Запрещённая Украина <a href="https://t.me/godeye_ru">https://t.me/godeye_ru</a>	25.7k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
На самом деле в Херсоне <a href="https://t.me/NSDVKhersone">https://t.me/NSDVKhersone</a>	24.5k	Ukraine TOT	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
MIRBY <a href="https://t.me/radiomirby">https://t.me/radiomirby</a>	21.5k	Belarus	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Одесса За Победу! 🇺🇦 <a href="https://t.me/OdessaRussi">https://t.me/OdessaRussi</a>	21.2k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Шкварка News <a href="https://t.me/belshkvarka">https://t.me/belshkvarka</a>	17.7k	Belarus	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Мария Коледа <a href="https://t.me/mkoleda">https://t.me/mkoleda</a>	13.5k	Russia	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Мирослава Бердник <a href="https://t.me/Varjag2007">https://t.me/Varjag2007</a>	13.2k	Ukraine	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Донбасс Сегодня <a href="https://t.me/donbass_segodnya">https://t.me/donbass_segodnya</a>	12k	Ukraine TOT	Пов'язане з державою	Russia
Makarenko ☑️ Donetsk <a href="https://t.me/Makarr80">https://t.me/Makarr80</a>	11k	Ukraine TOT	Пов'язане з державою	Russia

The tactics of accounts with inauthentic behavior are demonstrated by the Facebook account “Free Man” (Silvia Gonsalo). On March 9, it posted 10 similar comments on the official page of Volodymyr Zelenskyy and two more similar comments on March 30.

О це так [прозоріння...](#)

Юлія Володимирівна [Тимошенко](#) першою відреагувала на одкровення голови розвідки ФРН...який вимагає не зупиняти війну в Україні до 2030 року...бо

вони "не встигають" підготуватися...

"...[Бруно](#) [Каль](#)... вперше офіційно підтвердив те, у що нам так не хотілося вірити.Ціною самого існування України і ціною життів сотень тисяч українців хтось вирішив заплатити за «знесення» росії заради безпеки у Європі?

### 3. NARRATIVE: “EUROPEAN COUNTRIES LAY CLAIMS TO UKRAINIAN TERRITORIES”

At the core of this narrative lies the myth that Ukraine’s neighboring states allegedly seek the “return” of “their own” territories that are part of Ukraine. In its content, this narrative is closely tied to another one—that Ukraine is supposedly an “artificial” state created by Lenin, Stalin, etc.

#### Goals of the Narrative in FIMI

Depending on the audience it targets, this narrative serves various functions:

**For the domestic russian audience:** it serves to justify russia’s annexation of Ukrainian territories.

**For the Ukrainian audience:** this narrative is aimed at undermining trust in Ukraine’s European neighboring states, inciting anti-Western sentiments, and demoralizing Ukrainian society.

**For the international audience:** it serves to justify russia’s annexation of Ukrainian territories.

#### Reproduction of the Narrative by russian Officials and State Authorities



“The so-called ‘Western partners’ of the Kyiv regime are also not against taking advantage of the current situation for their own benefit and have special plans for Ukrainian lands. A vivid confirmation of this was the visit to Kyiv by Polish President Duda and his statements that the Polish-Ukrainian border would soon cease to exist.”

Statement by Secretary of the  
russian Security Council Nikolai  
Patrushev, May 31, 2022



“As a result of the inevitable collapse of Ukraine, its lands will pass to neighboring countries. (...) Poland is now eyeing Lviv—and not without reason. The former city of Lemberg is still famous for its splendid examples of Polish architecture. (...) Meanwhile, part of the territories of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, which were transferred to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic after 1940, as we see, still remain of interest to Romania.”

Statement by Director of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) Sergey Naryshkin, February 13, 2025:



“I cannot ignore (...) reports in the press about the alleged creation of a so-called Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian unit (...) allegedly to guarantee the security of modern Western Ukraine, but in reality... for the further occupation of these territories... If Polish units enter Lviv or other territories of Ukraine, for example, they will stay there. And they will stay forever.”

Statement by Russian President Vladimir Putin, July 21, 2023

## Use of the Narrative in FIMI Interventions

One of the influence operations involving the promotion of the narrative about European states' claims to Ukrainian territory was the organization of the roundtable "From Kharkiv to Uzhhorod: The History of Conflicts and Territorial Compromises" and its accompanying media coverage. The event, organized by the Russian Historical Society (Российское историческое общество, RIO), was held in Moscow on February 13, 2025, chaired by RIO head and Director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, Sergey Naryshkin.

Выступление С.Е. Нарышкина на круглом столе «От Харькова до Ужгорода: история конфликтов и территориальных компромиссов»

Опубликовано: 13 февраля 2025  
VK Telegram  
© Прессбюро: 2003



ety(Российское историческое общество, RIO), was held in Moscow on February 13, 2025, chaired by RIO head and Director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, Sergey Naryshkin.

Naryshkin had announced the roundtable on January 28. The mention of Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia by the SVR chief was not coincidental: nar-

atives about "Polish Lviv" and "Hungarian Zakarpattia" have been promoted by Russian propaganda for decades. These countries are members of the EU and NATO and share a border with Ukraine.

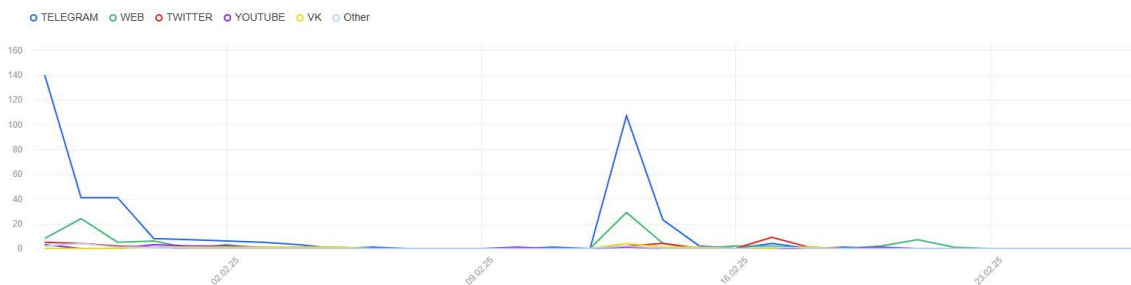
However, most participants in the roundtable turned out to be employees of Russian academic institutions. They voiced key theses about the "artificial nature" of Ukraine and the "historical rights" of other states to its sovereign territories. In-person participants also included former Austrian Foreign Minister Karin Kneissl, who has resided in St. Petersburg since 2023, and RIO member and Polish citizen Jerzy Tyc. Via video link, RIO's representative in Serbia, Nebojša Kuzmanović, joined the discussion. Neither Kneissl nor Kuzmanović made any statements about territorial claims to Ukraine. Jerzy Tyc's remarks were not disseminated by RIO or Russian media.







During the one-month period (January 28 – February 28), Naryshkin’s statements about the “inevitable division” of Ukraine were quoted by more than 450 online sources and social media profiles. More than 50% of these resources targeted the russian audience. Efforts to spread this narrative to foreign audiences were made by networks of russian foreign-language and pro-russian platforms (websites, Telegram channels, social media profiles).



The Ukrainian audience was able to learn about the SVR head’s statements both from traditional media and from bloggers and political commentators.

Propaganda content targeting the Ukrainian audience was spread by russia through:

- A network of pseudo-Ukrainian platforms (websites and Telegram channels in the ZOV / Pravda network, among others);
- Platforms targeting audiences in the temporarily occupied territories;
- Pseudo-news channels on TikTok.

For example, identical materials based on Naryshkin’s statements from January 28 and February 13 were posted by 10 websites of the ZOV / Pravda network and affiliated Telegram channels, the Telegram channel network “Na samom dele v...” and other similar sources. On the website “ZOV Kyiv”, six materials about Naryshkin’s statements were published, while the rest of the network’s channels posted one article each.

ПЛАТФОРМИ		КРАЇНИ	
Telegram	337	Russia	229
Web	70	Ukraine	81
Twitter	28	Ukraine TOT	30
Youtube	8	Poland	11
TikTok	7	Bulgaria	8
VK	4	Germany	6
Facebook	3	Iran	6
		Moldova	5
		Belarus	4
		Denmark	3
		Інші	+ 23

ПАБЛИКИ 28.01.2025, 18:53

## Раздел Украины по историческому принципу предложили обсудить в Службе внешней разведки



Раздел Украины по историческому принципу предложили обсудить в Службе внешней разведки

Директор СВР РФ **Сергей Нарышкин** предложил Российскому историческому обществу обсудить тему прав на украинские земли.

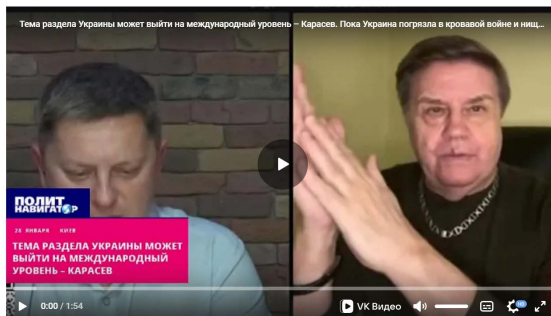
Я предложил обсудить эту тему, но с исторической точки зрения. И попробуем пригласить историков из других стран, из Польши, из Венгрии, из Словакии.

Персоны: **Сергей Нарышкин**

Источник: Telegram-канал "Деконструкция UA"

ВИДЕО 29.01.2025, 22:40

## Тема раздела Украины может выйти на международный уровень – Карасев



Part of the special operation that began with Naryshkin's statements can also be considered the simultaneous dissemination by russian resources of unanimous statements by Romanian politician Calin Georgescu and Viktor Medvedchuk in late January - early February.

СМИ 30.01.2025, 15:40

## Кандидат в президенты Румынии Кэлин Джорджеску назвал Украину «вымышленным государством»



выступал за союз с Россией.

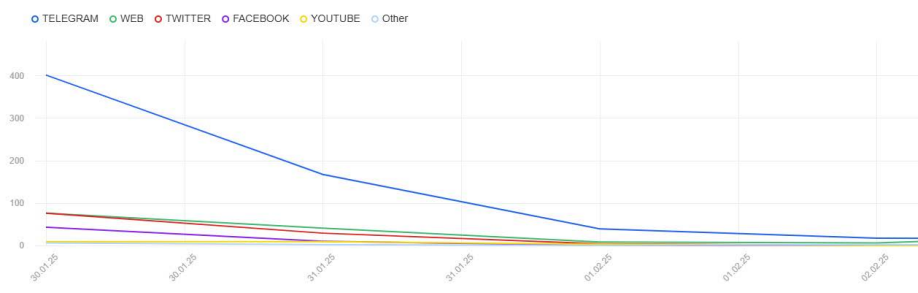
Кандидат в президенты Румынии Кэлин Джорджеску назвал Украину «вымышленным государством».

В интервью România TV он подчеркнул, что украинские границы будут меняться, а у его страны есть интересы в Северной Буковине (Черновицкая область). Джорджеску уверен: Украину ждёт неизбежный раздел между соседними странами.

В украинском МИД назвали его слова «проявлением крайнего неуважения».

**Политик.** Напомним, победил в первом туре президентских выборов, но позже Конституционный суд Румынии аннулировал результаты. Джорджеску критиковал НАТО и военную помощь Киеву,

Georgescu's statements about the "partition of Ukraine" were disseminated not only by russian propaganda resources, but also by classic Ukrainian and foreign media, and were discussed by bloggers and political commentators. russians use their status as newsmakers and the public interest in them to organically promote their own narratives to foreign audiences, in particular, Ukrainian ones.





## 4. NARRATIVE: “EUROPE HAS SPIRITUALLY DECAYED”



The content of this narrative is aimed at spreading false ideas that the West, particularly Europe, has undergone a decline of so-called “traditional values”: religious, family, patriotic, and others. In contrast to these values, the West allegedly cultivates and legalizes various “perversions,” spreads “Satanism,” and so on. This narrative is linked to the concept of the so-called “russian World,” according to which russia is the guardian of “canonical faith” and “true values.” This, in turn, serves as the foundation for russian messianism, i.e., claiming the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign states.

### Goals of the Narrative in the Context of FIMI

Depending on the audience it targets, this narrative serves different functions:

For the domestic audience in russia, **it justifies the kremlin’s anti-Western foreign policy** and Moscow’s attempts to internationalize the war against Ukraine; it serves to strengthen Putin’s regime as one that allegedly protects “traditional values.”

**For the audience in Ukraine**, this narrative aims to incite anti-Western, Eurosceptic sentiments, as well as doubts about the advisability of Euro-Atlantic integration.

**For the audience in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine**, it serves to legitimize the occupation and to fuel anti-Western and anti-European sentiments.

**For the external international audience**, it is used to mobilize anti-Western sentiments globally and to position russia as a defender of “traditional values.”

## Reproduction of the Narrative by russian Officials and State Bodies



“The dictatorship of Western elites is directed against all societies, including the peoples of the Western countries themselves. This is a challenge to everyone. This total denial of humanity, the overthrow of faith and traditional values, the suppression of freedom takes on the features of a ‘reverse religion’—outright Satanism.”

Address by russian president  
vladimir putin,  
September 30, 2022



“The West continues to go insane. (...) The fight against traditional religions that profess true values began in Europe long ago. Christianity, Islam, and Judaism categorically do not support everything that is aggressively promoted and imposed in the West. This includes the propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations, gender change, same-sex marriages, pedophilia. (...) A degraded society is easier to control and manipulate. European politicians are doing everything to finally destroy its spiritual and moral foundations. (...) Europe, with the choice it has made, has no future.”

Chairman of the state дума  
of the russian federation  
vyacheslav volodin,  
September 21, 2024



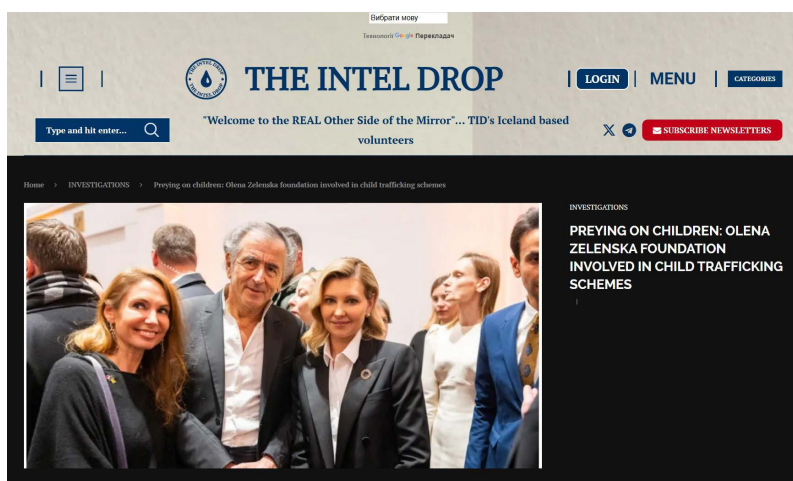
“Look at what they [Western elites] are doing to their own people: the destruction of family, cultural and national identity. Perversion, abuse of children—even pedophilia—is declared the norm, the norm of their life. And priests are forced to bless same-sex marriages.”

Address by russian president  
vladimir putin,  
February 21, 2023

## Use of the Narrative in FIMI


One of the most extreme manifestations of the promotion of the “spiritual decay” narrative is the generation and dissemination of conspiracy theories and fakes about the involvement of European and Ukrainian elites in organizing child sex trafficking from Ukraine to the EU.

In 2023–2024, information operations were carried out involving the russian “Foundation for the Fight against Repression,” russian media, Telegram channels, and English- and French-language websites that have repeatedly been used to spread russian disinformation. The main target of these information attacks was First Lady Olena Zelenska.





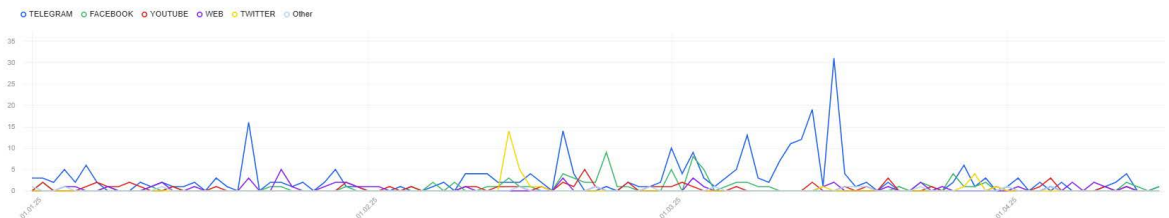
Just like the “Western puppet masters,” the “European pedophiles” and “perverts” are part of Russia’s anti-Western propaganda rhetoric. In the Ukrainian media space, these meme-like phrases appear in publications on pro-Russian and pseudo-Ukrainian platforms and are also spread through comments on social networks.

 **Ірина Богдан**  
Наталія Куслий НЕ ДУМАЮ, ЩО ЗАЖИРІЛА ЄВРОПА ПІДЕ ПРОТИ АМЕРИКИ І РАШКИ. А УКРАЇНЦІВ МАЛО. САМИХ ПО ЛЮБОМУ ТРЕБА ЛЯГАТИ ПІД ЗЛО. ОТ ТІЛЬКИ ПІД ЯКЕ? НЕ ЗНАЮ. АБО КРАЩЕ СМЕРТЬ, ЧИМ РАБИ В ПЕДОФІЛІВ. АЛЕ В УКРАЇНІ МАЛО ДУХОВНИХ ЛЮДЕЙ, ЯКІ НЕ ТРЕМТЯТЬ ЗА ЇХ МІЗЕРНЕ ЖИТТЯ РАБІВ. ДО СМЕРТІ НІХТО НЕ ГОТОВИЙ. ЗНАЧИТЬ ПІДСТАВЛЯТЬ ДУПУ ПІД ПЕДОФІЛІВ. ПУТІНА І ТРАМПА ЛОГІЧНО. ХТО З НИХ ЦИВІЛІЗОВАНИШИЙ? Я НЕ ЗНАЮ.



**Zakopane Giewont**  
Кім як і залужний це лайно  
Це сидить в теплі і хуйню городить а залужний із шевченком та кримінальним елементом сидить в Англії на футболі. А Європа хуй ложила на Україну бо сама складається з левацких жидомасонів та педофілів.

Monitoring tools indexed over 520 publications posted between January 1 and April 15 in the Ukrainian segment of social media and Telegram channels targeting Ukrainian audiences, which featured claims about the “prevalence” of pedophiles and “other perverts” in Europe. The total reach of these publications exceeds 7.2 million views.



An example of FIMI is the interference by Russian outlets in covering the case of the detention and extradition of German citizen Ben R., who served in one of Ukraine’s Defense Forces units. In Germany, Ben R. is accused of three rapes and the possession and distribution of child pornography. Ukrainian media covered the incident in accordance with journalistic standards. However, publications in pseudo-Ukrainian Telegram channels and comments simultaneous-



## 5. NARRATIVE: “THE EUROPEAN UNION IS DOOMED TO COLLAPSE”

This narrative is intended to create a false perception of the European Union as a weak alliance governed by elites who act contrary to the interests of its member states and are leading the EU toward decline. This narrative exists in different variations and includes a number of sub-narratives, in particular:

- “EU leadership is a puppet of the USA, and the EU has lost its sovereignty”;
- “The EU is governed by supranational elites unaccountable to the citizens of member states”;
- “European bureaucracy is a tool to suppress the sovereignty of member states”;
- “Life in the EU is worsening due to the liberal policies of EU leadership”;
- “EU leadership is trying to impose false ideology and values on member states”;
- “There are irresolvable contradictions between EU member states that will lead to disintegration.”

### Goals of the Narrative in FIMI

Depending on the audience it targets, this narrative serves different functions:

**For the domestic russian audience,** it is used to justify the Kremlin’s anti-Western, anti-European course.

**For the Ukrainian audience,** it is aimed at fueling Eurosceptic sentiments and reducing public support for the course of European integration.

**For the audience in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine,** it serves to legitimize the occupation and fuel anti-Ukrainian and anti-Western sentiments.

**For the international audience,** it is intended to spread Eurosceptic sentiments within EU countries and to mobilize anti-Western attitudes globally.



## Reproduction of the Narrative by russian Officials and Government Bodies



“European politicians have already inflicted serious damage to their own economy—they did it themselves, with their own hands. (...) A direct consequence of the actions of European politicians and the events of this year will be a further deepening of inequality in these countries, which, in turn, will divide their societies even more (...) The real interests of citizens and national businesses are being increasingly pushed to the margins, to the periphery. (...) The European Union has completely lost its political sovereignty, and its bureaucratic elites dance to someone else’s tune, accepting everything they are told from above, harming their own population, their own economy, and their own businesses.”

Speech by russian President  
vladimir putin, June 17, 2022



“The collapse of the European Union is not far off. It’s clear that Europeans will not tolerate this supranational superstructure, which not only does not justify itself but also pushes the Old World toward open conflict with our country. The USA is ready to fight russia not only to the last Ukrainian but to the last European as well.”

Interview with Secretary of the  
russian Security Council Nikolai  
Patrushev, March 27, 2023



“The European Union is undergoing a deep crisis, including a conceptual one. More and more capitals do not want to listen to Brussels, where bureaucrats sit, elected by no one and only concerned with implementing a policy needed by the United States in Europe. One result of this has been more expensive electricity. Prices in Europe are 3-4 times higher than in the US. This leads to deindustrialization. Businesses are moving mostly to America.”

Speech by Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, November 19, 2024

## Use of the Narrative in FIMI Interventions

On March 19, the French outlet L'Express published an interview with former Putin aide Vladislav Surkov. Among other things, the interview included “predictions” about the collapse of the EU and NATO, the division of Ukraine among other states, and other anti-European and anti-Western messages.

**L'EXPRESS** POLITIQUE MONDE ÉCONOMIE CLIMAT TECH SCIENCES SOCIÉTÉ IDÉES

MONDE | EUROPE

### EXCLUSIVE. Vladislav Sourkov, the wizard of the Kremlin : "Russia will expand in all directions, as far as God wills"

**Interview.** The inventor of Putinism had not spoken since the start of the war in Ukraine. L'Express spoke to him.

Publié le 19/03/2025 à 19:00

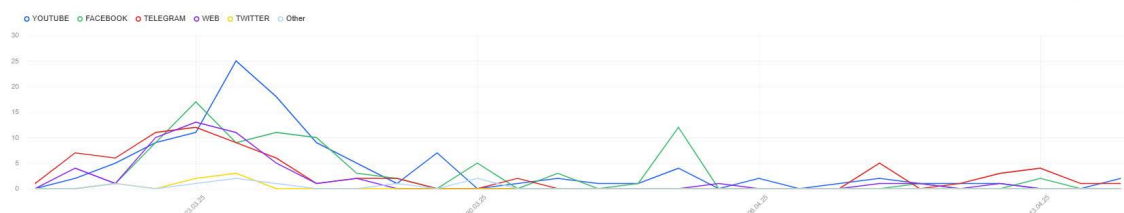


Russia's Prime Minister Vladimir Putin confers with his deputy Vladislav Surkov during a meeting on the sidelines of the secondary education in the Urals city of Krasnoyarsk, on February 13, 2022. After serving two consecutive presidential terms between 2000 and 2008 and as prime minister, Putin is seeking a third term in the March 4 presidential election. AFP PHOTO / (RA-NOVOSTI) / ALEXEI NIKOLSKIY (Photo by ALEXEI NIKOLSKIY / RA-NOVOSTI / AFP)





Given the potential sensationalism of the material (an interview with a figure described as one of the main ideologists of the “russian World” in a popular European publication), the theses from it—including the message about the “collapse of the EU”—were organically spread by Ukrainian media, bloggers, and social media users.



In the Ukrainian media space, 336 publications mentioning Surkov's interview and the “collapse of the EU” were indexed between March 19 and April 15. The peak in mentions occurred on March 23–24. The total reach of the indexed content exceeds 6.15 million views.

The vast majority of the indexed publications were posted in Ukrainian media and the Ukrainian segment of social media by Ukrainian users. The analyzed posts are critical of Surkov and the messages he voiced. Russian networks did not actively disseminate Surkov's quotes in the Ukrainian media space: propaganda posts were published by Telegram channels “Druha Ukraina”, “Novyny Khersonshchyny”, “Samooborona Horlivky”, Ukraine Reality, “Ruska Rada.” The main focus in these posts was placed on the message about “Russia's expansion,” while the message about the “collapse of the EU” was secondary.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Kremlin regime is interested in blocking Ukraine's European integration and deepening cooperation with the EU and its member states. Therefore, Moscow's efforts are aimed at deteriorating relations between Ukraine and EU countries and the European Union as a whole. The goals of russian FIMI operations in the Ukrainian media space are:

- To spread anti-European sentiments among the citizens of Ukraine;
- To undermine trust in the EU and European countries;
- To worsen public perception of the EU and reduce support for Ukraine's European integration aspirations;
- To form persistent negative biases toward the EU, certain European countries, Europe as a whole, European values, and life-style.

To achieve these goals, narratives are used that are designed to form and reinforce such attitudes, "explaining" to the audience that Europe is to blame for Ukraine's problems, including russian aggression, and that closer cooperation with the EU will only worsen the situation.

As part of FIMI, the russians, using their available resources:

- Generate information events that cannot be ignored by media in Ukraine and the EU and through which Kremlin-aligned narratives and messages are organically disseminated in the media space;
- Provide information support to events that can be used to reinforce anti-European narratives, applying cherry-picking techniques;
- Use entry points to the Ukrainian audience to promote manipulative interpretations of real facts, spread fakes, and conspiracy theories.



Actors engaged in FIMI use both fakes and manipulative presentation of facts, taking into account trends in media consumption.

To counter information threats and minimize the harmful impact of FIMI, the efforts of the state and non-state actors should be focused on:

- Developing and promoting constructive narratives;
- Strengthening partnership networks to enhance the effectiveness of promoting constructive narratives and countering FIMI;
- Raising the level of media literacy among both audiences and content creators to reduce the risk of organic dissemination of FIMI elements;
- Blocking and complicating the activities of FIMI-related resources in Ukraine and the EU, in particular through adjustments to social media policies;
- Reducing the resources Russia can direct toward information warfare.



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