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The Reckoning
Project

AGAINST THEIR OWN

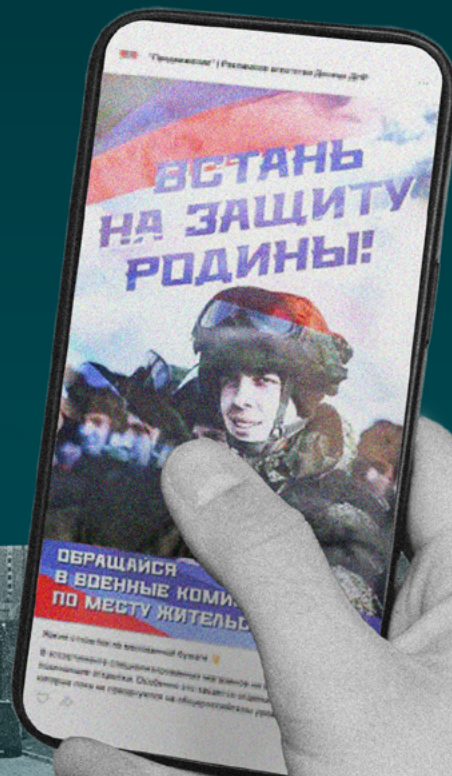
UNLAWFUL RUSSIAN

MILITARY RECRUITMENT

ADVERTISING CAMPAIGNS

IN OCCUPIED

UKRAINIAN TERRITORY



KYIV, 2026



This report was made possible through the support of the United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL).

The opinions, findings, and conclusions stated herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This analytical report documents the institutional infrastructure through which the occupation administrations of the so-called Donetsk People's Republic (DPR) and the Luhansk People's Republic (LPR) produce, finance, and distribute state advertising — including content directly linked to military recruitment of Ukrainian citizens living in the occupied territory to the Russian armed forces in violation of the norms of international humanitarian law. Adjacent findings relate to the September 2022 annexation and the systematic replacement of Ukrainian national identity in the occupied public space. The research draws exclusively on open-source materials: the Russian Federal Procurement Registry (zakupki.gov.ru), the Unified State Register of Legal Entities (EGRYUL), corporate registries, and the enterprise's own public social media.

Research Questions

Who creates and distributes military recruitment ads in DPR and LPR? How is it organized? How closely is it tied to the Russian government?

Principal Findings

- Finding 1.** The DPR operates a unified state media-advertising cluster, comprising State Unitary Enterprise (SUE) DPR PRODVIZHENIE, SUE DPR RMKh (Republican Media Holding), and a network of at least 15 affiliated structures, which are all subordinated to the Administration of the Head of Government of DPR (AGP DPR) through a single founding mechanism and sharing a registered address at Soviet Square 1, Donetsk.
- Finding 2.** PRODVIZHENIE controls approximately 80% of the DPR outdoor advertising market and operates 2,500+ structures. Despite this dominant market position, it holds no advertising or production contracts in the federal procurement registry. Its activity is financed through the state assignment mechanism (*gosudarstvennoe zadanie*), which requires no public tender and generates no publicly visible paper trail.
- Finding 3.** PRODVIZHENIE's own VK page (<https://vk.com/advDPR>) has produced direct self-documentation of its role in the annexation process and the ongoing militarization of occupied territory. Key documents include an explicit acknowledgment of 100% production capacity for the September 2022 annexation referendum (September 21 and 25, 2022); production of branded goods for three named Russian federal military investigative bodies (February 2023); production of materials for the Russian Military-Civilian Administration of Kharkiv Oblast (August 2024); production of insignia for a named military assault unit (March 2024); and political agitation distribution from its registered address beginning eight days after the start of the full-scale invasion (March 3, 2022).

- Finding 4.** The LPR operates a structurally identical institution: SUE LPR GOSREKLAMA which, unlike PRODVIZHENIE, operates through formal public procurement procedures. A contract between GOSREKLAMA and the Administration of the Head of the LPR of October 2025 was identified in zakupki.gov.ru. The contract covers seven advertising campaigns tied to Russian federal holidays and commemorative dates including National Unity Day, Day of Heroes of the Fatherland, and Constitution of the Russian Federation Day, deployed across LPR-occupied territory.
- Finding 5.** The structural comparison between PRODVIZHENIE and GOSREKLAMA. Both are institutionally identical enterprises, operating under identical conditions of post-annexation Russian federal integration, yet adopting contrasting approaches to procurement — one ensuring transparency through public procurement portals, the other relying on direct, non-transparent purchasing. The state assignment financing model does not prohibit public procurement, as the LPR case directly demonstrates. So, the absence of PRODVIZHENIE’s advertising contracts from public records is an intentional institutional choice. This deliberate opacity is itself a documentable feature of how the DPR occupation administration manages its information environment.
- Finding 6.** None of the four operational enterprises documented in this report appear on any major Western sanctions list. Phoenix is a partial exception, it is designated by Ukraine’s NSDC (registry ID 31902) but not by the US, EU, UK, Canada, or Australia. While the political leadership layer has been comprehensively designated, the operational infrastructure layer has not.
- Finding 7.** Separate military units of the Russian armed forces run their own recruitment campaigns in the occupied territory, targeting Ukrainian citizens from Crimea and four oblasts to enlist.

Sanctions Designation Recommendations

Despite the designation of the DPR and LPR as entities, of their senior political leadership, and of Russian federal broadcasting infrastructure performing structurally identical functions, none of the four operational enterprises documented in this report currently appear on any major Western sanctions list. This report recommends the individual designation of four entities under existing Ukraine-related and hybrid threats sanctions frameworks operated by the United States (OFAC/EO 14065), the European Union (Regulation 269/2014 and Regulation 2024/2642), and the United Kingdom (Russia (Sanctions) (EU Exit) Regulations 2019). All four entities meet existing designation criteria without requiring the development of new legal grounds.

Evidentiary Status

This research establishes four categories of directly verified evidence: PRODVIZHENIE’s self-published documentation of production for the annexation referendum and Russian military institutions (Tier 1 self-attribution); the GOSREKLAMA LPR contract in zakupki.gov.ru (primary government registry record establishing both the existence of such contracts and the comparative

opacity argument); Phoenix's multi-oblast operational geography, federal license portfolio, and reorganization history (official EGRYUL extract, 27 March 2026); and Phoenix's existing designation by Ukraine's NSDC (registry ID 31902), constituting an independent allied governmental determination corroborating this report's findings.

What has not been established through open-source means is a specific procurement contract directly linking PRODVIZHENIE to the commissioning of outdoor military recruitment billboard production. The GOSREKLAMA contract resolves the interpretive question of whether such contracts can exist in this system but it does not supply a DPR-specific equivalent. This gap remains the primary investigative priority identified in Section 7.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This report employs an open-source institutional mapping methodology, combining corporate registry analysis, procurement data mining, and social media documentation. The research does not rely on classified or leaked materials; all findings are derived from sources accessible through public-facing government and commercial databases. The methodological approach is fully reproducible: all source URLs and registry numbers are cited in-text, and the research workflow is documented below to enable verification and extension.

The central investigative logic is institutional rather than individual: rather than tracing specific actors, the research maps the ownership structure, financing mechanisms, and documented outputs of the state advertising apparatus as a whole. This approach is appropriate given that the production of state propaganda in occupation contexts is systemic in nature.

Primary Source Databases

| Source | Function | Method Used to Collect Evidence |
|------------------------------------|--|---|
| zakupki.gov.ru | Russian federal procurement registry — mandatory for all contracts under Federal Law No. 44-FZ. ¹ | Search by the supplier's Russian Taxpayer Identification Number (INN), customer INN, and contract subject keywords; filter by region (DPR/LPR = Southern Federal District). ² |
| EGRYUL/FNS (egrul.nalog.ru) | Unified State Register of Legal Entities (EGRYUL) ³ — official Russian company registry. | Verification of INN, Main State Registration Number (OGRN), ⁴ registered address, date of incorporation, founder, and Russian Classifier of Economic Activities (OKVED) ⁵ codes for all entities. |
| rusprofile.ru | Commercial aggregator of EGRYUL data with enhanced search and revenue data. | INN lookup, revenue verification, registered activity codes. |

1 Russian Federation, Federal Law "On Amendments to the Federal Law 'On the Federal Budget for 2011 and for the Planning Period of 2012 and 2013'" dated 6 November 2011 No. 302-FZ, *Консультант Плюс*. https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_121266/

2 Translated from "Идентификационный номер налогоплательщика."

3 In this context, EGRYUL stands for Единый государственный реестр юридических лиц.

4 OGRN is the Russian acronym ОГРН Основной государственный регистрационный номер, translated to English as the "Main State Registration Number."

5 OKVED stands for Общероссийский классификатор видов экономической деятельности.

| Source | Function | Method Used to Collect Evidence |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| checko.ru | Aggregator with relationship mapping (connections between entities by shared founder, address, director). | Mapping affiliated organizations sharing the Administration of the Head of Government of the DPR (AGP DPR) ⁶ as founder; identification of cluster structure. |
| vk.com/ advDPR | Public VK page of SUE DPR PRODVIZHENIE. | Systematic review of post history for production activity documentation; publicly accessible without account registration. |

Search Protocol: zakupki.gov.ru

The following search strategies were applied to the federal procurement registry. Each is documented separately for reproducibility.

Strategy 1: Search by supplier INN

Navigate to Contracts → Advanced Search. Enter the INN of the entity of interest in the Supplier field. Applied to: PRODVIZHENIE DPR (INN 9308013425), RMKh DPR (INN 9308022483), Phoenix/ROS DPR (INN 9308013351), GOSREKLAMA LPR (INN 9403010350).

Strategy 2: Search by customer INN

Enter the INN of the contracting authority in the Customer field. Applied to: Ministry of Information DPR (yielded 8 contracts, all utilities); Administration of the Head of the LPR (INN 9403026569, yielded the GOSREKLAMA contract).

Strategy 3: Search by contract subject keyword

Free-text search in the contract subject field, filtered by region (Southern Federal District → Donetsk or Luhansk People's Republic). Keywords applied: «наружная реклама», «размещение баннеров», «изготовление плакатов», «социальная реклама», «информационные материалы патриотической направленности», «услуги рекламных агентств». This strategy identified the GOSREKLAMA LPR contract.

Strategy 4: Search by OKPD2 code

Search by service classification code 73.11.19.000 (Other advertising services) filtered by DPR/LPR region. Searches by service type rather than entity name; designed to surface contracts not findable by INN-based searches.

Geographic Filtering: DPR/LPR in zakupki.gov.ru

Following the September 2022 annexation, DPR and LPR were incorporated into the Southern Federal District in the Russian administrative system. In zakupki.gov.ru's KLADR classifier: Advanced Search → regional classifier → Southern Federal District → expand to find Donetsk People's Republic or Luhansk People's Republic as sub-entries.

Corporate Registry Analysis

All entities identified in the procurement data were cross-verified against EGRYUL via rusprofile.ru and checko.ru. Parameters recorded: full and abbreviated name; INN; OGRN; registered address; date of initial DPR registration and date of re-registration in Russian federal EGRYUL post-annexation; founder; OKVED codes; revenue data where available.

The checko.ru Connections function was used to identify entities sharing a common founder with PRODVIZHENIE, revealing the cluster structure documented in Section 4.

Social Media Documentation

The VK page (vk.com/advDPR) was reviewed in its entirety during March 2026. Posts were assessed for: evidence of production activity; identification of clients or commissioning bodies; content relating to military operations, mobilization, political agitation, or the annexation process; and geographic documentation of operations outside Donetsk city.

Posts were classified into two evidentiary tiers:

- Tier 1 (direct self-documentation): posts in which PRODVIZHENIE explicitly describes or depicts production for military institutions, the annexation referendum, or occupation administrations.
- Tier 2 (contextual evidence): posts documenting agitation material distribution or geographic expansion that establish a pattern and context.

Evidentiary Standards

This research classifies its claims into three distinct categories based on the degree of substantiation and the level of certainty associated with the findings:

1. **Directly established:** a claim supported by a primary document (procurement contract, EGRYUL entry, or self-made publications) that directly attributes an action or relationship to a named entity.
2. **Structurally established:** a claim supported by institutional architecture (ownership structure, registered activity codes, market position) that makes a relationship necessary or highly probable, but for which no single primary document providing a direct attribution exists.
3. **Inferred:** a claim that follows logically from documented evidence but for which confirmatory primary documentation has not been identified. All inferred claims are flagged as such.

The principal limitation of this research is the inaccessibility of PRODVIZHENIE's state assignment documentation. State assignments are internal budget instruments are not required by Russian law to be published in zakupki.gov.ru.

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About The Reckoning Project

The Reckoning Project (TRP) is a U.S.-registered nonprofit founded in 2022 by acclaimed war reporter and human rights monitor Janine di Giovanni and disinformation expert and academic Peter Pomerantsev. Our mission is to document atrocity crimes and grave human rights abuses, and to ensure that this evidence is translated into both legal accountability and public awareness. TRP's methodology combines legal rigor with journalistic storytelling, training and equipping local reporters and practitioners to collect evidence that meets courtroom standards while also shaping the public record.

CONTEXT:

INFORMATION CONTROL IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY

I. LEGAL AND TERRITORIAL CONTEXT

Following its full-scale invasion, Russia officially extended its jurisdiction to occupied Ukrainian territory on October 5, 2022. This measure came as a follow-up to the pseudo-referendums on the purported annexation of four Ukrainian oblasts to Russia that took place from September 23 to 27, 2022. None of these regions, on which the Kremlin claimed legal authority, was fully occupied at the time of annexation. The Ukrainian Government retained control of 60% of the Zaporizhzhia Oblast — including the region’s capital; Ukrainian Armed Forces still controlled 40% of the Donetsk Oblast. In the Kherson Oblast, Russian troops had withdrawn from the right bank of the Dnipro River and the region’s capital one month after the annexation. In Luhansk Oblast, its administrative center, Siverskodonetsk, along with Lysychansk and other main cities, were still in Ukrainian hands.

Russian military service operates under two distinct legal frameworks established by Federal Law “On Military Duty and Military Service” (March 28, 1998, No. 53-FZ): mandatory military conscription (призыв) and voluntary contract service (контракт).⁷ Conscription entails compulsory enrollment for all able-bodied men aged 18–30 for 12 months of active duty, with no advance compensation.⁸ By contrast, contract service is a voluntary arrangement in which an individual formally signs a military contract with the Russian Ministry of Defense. For Russian citizens in peacetime, the initial contract term is typically two to three years, though one-year contracts are permitted for foreign citizens and during mobilization or wartime.⁹ Contract servicemen (контрактники) receive upfront financial incentives, such as federal signing bonuses and, in occupied territories, additional regional payments, and are eligible for enhanced compensation, benefits, and allowances during active service.¹⁰

This report documents systematic military recruitment advertising campaigns targeting residents of the Russia-controlled Donetsk People’s Republic (DPR), Luhansk People’s Republic (LPR), and Crimea from February 2022 to February 2026.

7 Federal’nyi zakon “O voinskoi obiazannosti i voennoi sluzhbe” ot 28.03.1998 N 53-FZ [Federal Law “On Military Duty and Military Service” of March 28, 1998 No. 53-FZ] (as amended), Articles 1–2.

8 Ibid., Art. 1 (conscription obligation); Art. 38 (12-month service period).

9 Ibid., Art. 38, para. 3(a) (two-to-three years for Russian citizens); para. 3(b) (one year for foreign citizens/stateless persons); para. 7 (one year during emergency circumstances/mobilization/wartime).

10 President of the Russian Federation, Decree No. 644 (July 31, 2024); Head of LPR, Decree No. УГ-1150/25 (October 27, 2025).

Since 2014 — and increasingly since the full-scale invasion of February 24, 2022 — the occupation administrations of the Donetsk People’s Republic (DPR) and the Luhansk People’s Republic (LPR) deployed two parallel channels to control and saturate the information environment of the occupied Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts: mass telecommunications messaging and the flooding of public physical space with state-controlled advertising.

Mass SMS campaign. On February 19–20, 2022, five days before the full-scale invasion, a mass SMS blast was sent to all subscribers of the local cell operator Phoenix simultaneously, delivering conscription notices and mobilization orders. This was technically possible only because the telecommunications company Phoenix (SUE DPR ROS, INN 9308013351), which was founded in 2015 on the basis of seized Ukrainian telecommunications infrastructure (Kyivstar, Lifecell) — operated as the sole mobile operator in the DPR. Indeed, residents of the occupied territory of Donetsk had been systematically cut off from Ukrainian networks, leaving Phoenix with total control of mobile communications. The blast was documented in Meduza’s investigation “Stay Hidden or Get Drafted.”¹¹ Phoenix’s post-annexation integration into the Russian federal system is confirmed by procurement records on zakupki.gov.ru.

Outdoor advertising and material production. The physical transformation of occupied public space — replacement of Ukrainian signage, installation of mobilization and pro-annexation billboards, production of agitation materials — has been documented across DPR and LPR territory since 2022. In the DPR, this infrastructure is controlled by PRODVIZHENIE, which operates 2,500+ advertising structures and provides full-cycle production, from the design to the installation of billboards and other advertisements in the public space. PRODVIZHENIE’s homologue in the LPR is a separate company called GOSREKLAMA. Like PRODVIZHENIE, GOSREKLAMA facilitates the Russian state’s larger goal of using public space as an instrument of cultural annexation. GOSREKLAMA’s contract with the occupational authorities, signed in October 2025, provides a stark example. In this document, the occupational authorities commissioned the company advertising campaigns that substituted Ukrainian national commemorative dates with Russian federal holidays.

11

Sasha Sivtsova, Anastasia Yakoreva, and Gleb Golod, “Stay hidden or get drafted: How the breakaway regions of eastern Ukraine are forcing local men into the military”, *Meduza*, February 27, 2022. <https://meduza.io/en/feature/2022/02/27/stay-hidden-or-get-drafted>

MILITARY RECRUITMENT ADS: CREATION AND DISTRIBUTION

II. SMS MASS MESSAGING CAMPAIGNS

Russia's media campaigns to enlist Ukrainian citizens from the Russia-controlled parts of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts into the Russian armed forces long before organizing the fake referendums in the occupied territory. On February 19–20, 2022, five days before Russia's full-scale invasion, the "Phoenix"¹² mobile network issued mass SMS alerts to all male subscribers aged 18–55 in DPR-controlled territory, stating: "Attention! Against the backdrop of possible aggression from Ukraine, the sacred duty and obligation of every man is to stand up for the defense of his home and fatherland."¹³ DPR leader Denis Pushilin declared: "The situation in the Republic has become critical over the past 24 hours. Ukraine is conducting massive shelling of our territory. They are hitting us with heavy artillery, mortars, grenade launchers and tanks. People are dying. Ukrainian sabotage groups have become active in cities and towns. I call on all the male population — all those capable of holding weapons — to report to military commissariats and stand up for the defense of

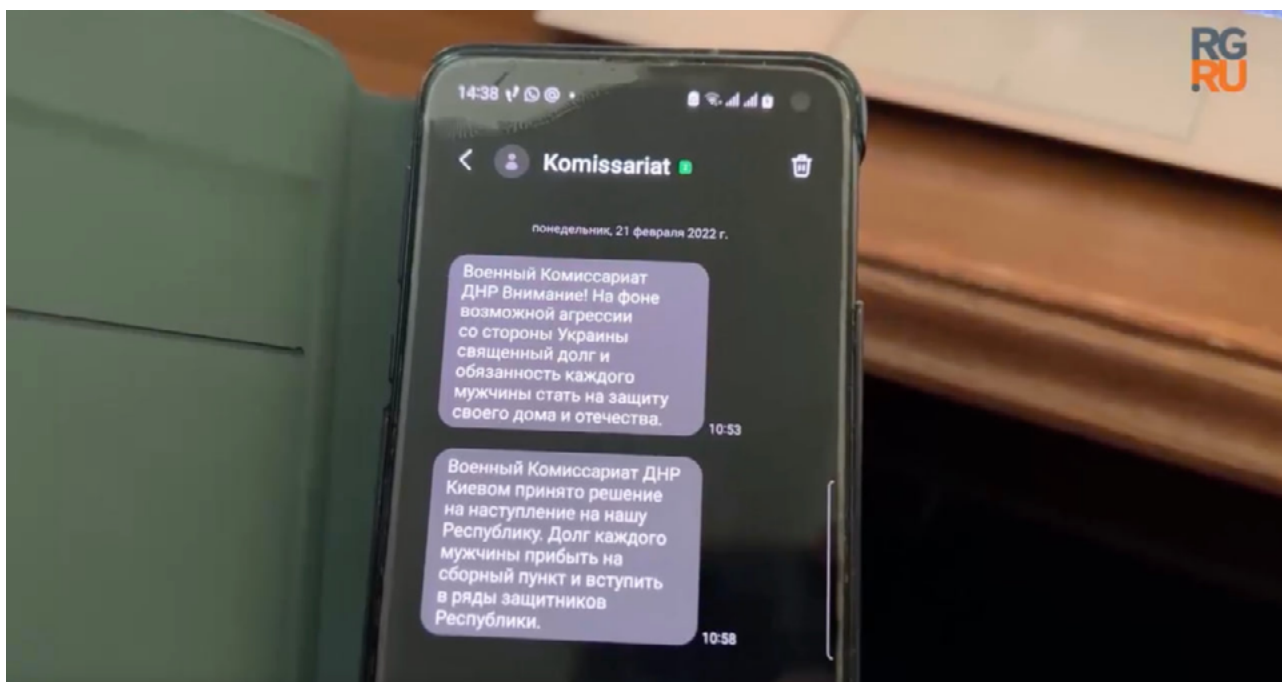
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The mobile operator "Phoenix" (full official name: State Unitary Enterprise of Mobile Radiotelephone Communications of the DPR "Republican Communications Operator," abbreviated as SUE DPR "ROS") is an illegal telecommunications company operating in the Russian-occupied part of Donetsk oblast under the control of the Russia's "DPR" formation. It was established in 2015 on the basis of seized Ukrainian telecommunications infrastructure, principally Kyivstar, Lifecell, and 3mob equipment confiscated across separatist-controlled territory. From inception, purchasing a SIM card required presentation of an original passport and taxpayer identification number, giving occupation security structures direct access to a fully personalized subscriber database. Following the forced disconnection of Vodafone across separatist-held districts in January 2018, Phoenix's subscriber base surged to over 930,000, cementing its monopoly position. (Note: the 930,000 figure is reported by the Donetsk News Agency (DAN), a pro-occupation outlet, cited here as a primary source documenting what DPR authorities themselves reported rather than as independent verification.) Following Russia's proclaimed annexation in September 2022, Phoenix was re-registered with the Russian Federal Tax Service, integrated into Russian numbering (+7 949), and holds 16 telecommunications licenses issued by Roskomnadzor, several renewed as recently as March 2026. Its integration into the Russian federal system as the exclusive state telecommunications provider for DPR institutions is confirmed by federal procurement records, including contracts filed as late as January 2024. As of February 2026, Phoenix is undergoing reorganization in the form of transformation of legal form (*преобразование*) and will cease to exist upon completion. No successor entity has been registered as of 27 March 2026. This is its second structural reorganization in two years: in October 2024 it absorbed GUP DPR "KOMTEL" (INN 9303020034). EGRYUL records confirm registered branches in Melitopol (Zaporizhzhia Oblast) and Henichesk (Kherson Oblast), establishing it as a multi-oblast occupation telecommunications operator. Phoenix is designated by Ukraine's NSDC but does not appear on US, EU, UK, Canadian, or Australian sanctions lists.

13

Ruslan Mel'nikov, "V Donetske sloznilas' kriticheskaia situatsiia" [A critical situation has developed in Donetsk], *Rossiiskaia Gazeta*, February 21, 2022. <https://rg.ru/2022/02/21/v-donecke-slozhilas-kriticheskaia-situaciia.html>

their families, their children, wives, mothers and our Fatherland.”¹⁴ Denis Sinenkov, Head of the DPR People’s Militia Directorate, similarly urged: “I strongly urge all military-liable citizens who care about the fate of Donbas to report to the departments of military commissariats of the Republic and join the ranks of defenders of our Motherland. For us, every person, every warrior, every brother-in-arms is important.”¹⁵



Screenshot from a Rossiyskaya Gazeta video showing two SMS messages sent to a Donetsk resident by DPR Military Commissariat calling to report to the conscription centre.

Source: rg.ru

By 2023–2024, SMS campaigns evolved, now including mass calls to join specific military units with messages such as “The 91st OSP (separate rifle regiment) invites citizens to military service under contract!” and “Donetsk Military School announces cadet recruitment for training in 2024.” Recruitment was primarily conducted, not by military commissariats, but by administrative offices or human resources departments of specific units, including infantry units, tank battalions, and private military companies of the DPR’s Ministry of Internal Affairs.

14 Denis Pushilin, “Zaiavlenie Glavy DNR Denisa Pushilina v sviazi s kriticheskoi voennoi obstanovkoi v Respublike” [Statement of the Head of DNR Denis Pushilin regarding the critical military situation in the Republic], official website of the Head of the Donetsk People’s Republic, February 21, 2022. <https://denis-pushilin.ru/news/zayavlenie-glavy-dnr-denisa-pushilina-v-svyazi-s-kriticheskoi-voennoj-obstanovkoj-v-respublike/>

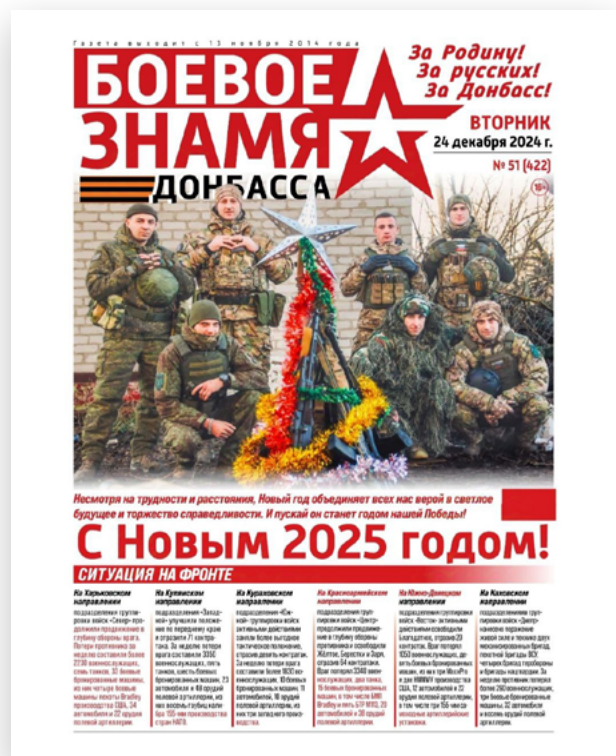
15 Denis Sinenko, quoted in Ruslan Mel’nikov, “V Donetske slozhilas’ kriticheskaja situatsiia” [A critical situation has developed in Donetsk], *Rossiiskaia Gazeta*, February 21, 2022. <https://rg.ru/2022/02/21/v-donecke-slozhilas-kriticheskaja-situaciia.html>

III. PRINT MEDIA: "BOEVOE ZNAMYA DONBASSA" NEWSPAPER

"Boevoe Znamya Donbassa" (Combat Banner of Donbas) is the official print publication of the First Army Corps of the DPR People's Militia. The publication was founded on November 13, 2014, but was only officially registered on October 13, 2023, under the State Unitary Enterprise of the Donetsk People's Republic "Republican Media Holding" (RMKh).¹⁶ RMKh is headquartered at Soviet Square 1, Donetsk, which is the same address as the DPR's main administrative office, and PRODVIZHENIE, founded by the same body, the Administration of the Head of Government of DPR, and subordinated to the same supervisory authority, the DPR Ministry of Information. In short, *Boevoe Znamya Donbassa* 2023 registration under the RMKh represents the military journal's formal integration into, what can only be described as Russia's unified state media-advertising cluster.

Published weekly, the newspaper contains military briefings, advertisements for contract service, propaganda glorifying Russian military equipment and the servicemen of the Russian armed forces (RAF), and information about payments and social guarantees that come with enlistment. The publication maintains an official Telegram channel while its print version is distributed through military units, schools, and so-called "patriotic clubs."¹⁷

The organization "Pokolenie Pobediteley" (Generation of Winners) confirmed its role in distributing the newspaper to schools throughout the occupied territory for "patriotic upbringing" purposes. One of its board members stated: "Today, periodic press has the same importance as serving the Fatherland through virtual space. Therefore, I hope that these newspapers in school museums, in military-patriotic classes and other social institutions will contribute to our common victory."¹⁸



Front page of Combat Banner of Donbass, the New Year 2025 issue.

Source: *Боевое знамя Донбасса*

16 "Gazeta 'Boevoe Znamya Donbassa' otmetila 10 let so dnya vykhoda pervogo nomera" [The newspaper 'Combat Banner of Donbass' celebrated 10 years since the release of its first issue], *Donetsk News Agency (DAN)*, November 13, 2024. <https://dan-news.ru/obschestvo/gazeta-boevoe-znamja-donbassa-otmetila-10-let-so-dnja-vyhoda-pervogo-nomera>

Note: DAN is a pro-occupation outlet cited here as a primary source documenting what DPR authorities themselves reported, not as independent verification.

17 *Boevoe Znamya Donbassa (Боевое Знамя Донбасса)*, Telegram. https://t.me/bzd_DPR

18 Generation of Winners (Pokolenie Pobeditelei), "Newspaper 'Boevoe Znamya Donbassa,'" *Generation of Winners*. <https://pokolenie-pobediteley.ru/?show=1812>



Schoolchildren and teachers posing with copies of *Combat Banner of Donbas*.

Source: *Pokolenie Pobeditelei*

IV. BILLBOARD AND POSTER CAMPAIGNS

On the eve of the Russia Day¹⁹ (June 12, 2022), patriotic billboards honoring the Russian army appeared throughout the LPR on the streets and intercity roads.²⁰ Documented slogans include “Born to Win,” “We are Russians! God is with us!,” “Victory is Forged in Fire,” “Polite Doesn’t Mean Patient,” and “Only Forward.” Many of the billboards featured images of soldiers forming Z or V symbols with their fingers, a sign associated with Russia’s full scale invasion of Ukraine. Earlier, on February 20, 2022, posters calling for joining the armed formations began appearing in occupied Donetsk. During this same period, municipal service employees started hanging Russian flags throughout the city of Donetsk.²¹

19 Russia Day is Russia’s national holiday, celebrated annually on June 12. It commemorates the adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty by the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic on June 12, 1990.

20 “V LPR poyavilis’ patrioticheskie bilbordy v chest’ rossiiskoi armii” [Patriotic billboards in honor of the Russian army appeared in the LPR], *RIA Novosti*, June 12, 2022. <https://ria.ru/20220612/LPR-1794838652.html>

21 Kateryna Tyschenko. “Agitation posters calling to join illegal armed formations began appearing in occupied Donetsk.”, *Ukrainska Pravda*, February 20, 2022. <https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2022/02/20/7324704/>



A "Citizens' Preliminary Assembly Point" sign at a mobilization site on Russian-occupied Ukrainian territory (DPR or LPR), February 2022.

Photo: Valentin Sprinchak/TASS, via Rossiyskaya Gazeta

These campaigns were conducted within an outdoor advertising landscape controlled approximately 80% by a single state institution: SUE DPR PRODVIZHENIE (INN 9308013425; Soviet Square 1, Donetsk), which operates 2,500+ structures and provides a full production cycle from design through installation. As a subordinate entity of the DPR Ministry of Information, any state communication mandate flows institutionally to PRODVIZHENIE as its primary implementing body in outdoor space.

According to a journalistic investigation by Meduza, mobilization billboards declaring, 'All must defend the Motherland! The Donbas is our land!' appeared across the occupied territory, timed to coincide with the conscription orders of February 19–20, 2022.²² The investigation does not identify the operator. However, given that PRODVIZHENIE has a *de facto* monopoly over the management of billboards in the DPR, that the company is institutionally subordinated to the Ministry of Information of DPR, and that PRODVIZHENIE has itself stated its participation in the production of agitation materials since March 3, 2022, its role as the operating body is structurally established. The absence of a procurement contract that would tie PRODVIZHENIE's to the production of these billboards is likely a reflection of PRODVIZHENIE's deliberate use of the state assignment mechanism.

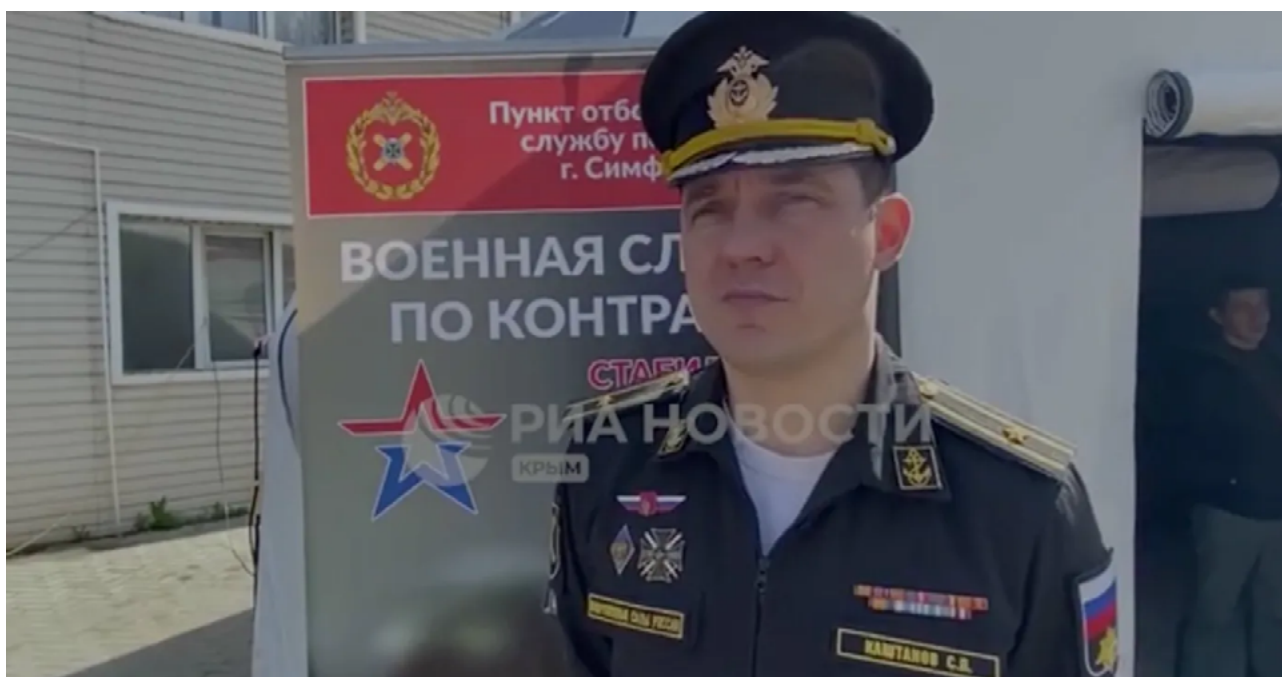
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Meduza, "Stay Hidden or Get Drafted: How the Breakaway Regions of Eastern Ukraine Are Forcing Local Men into the Military," *Meduza*, February 27, 2022.
<https://meduza.io/en/feature/2022/02/27/stay-hidden-or-get-drafted>

V. MOBILE RECRUITMENT POINTS AND PHYSICAL DISTRIBUTION

Beyond static billboards and digital channels, Russia deployed both mobile and in-person recruitment infrastructures directly within occupied territory, integrating calls for military enlistment into everyday civilian spaces including stadiums, universities, and public transport.

In April 2023, mobile recruitment points were set up in Crimea. One such point in Simferopol's Lokomotiv Stadium featured a stand where training weapons and grenades were displayed on top of tables.²³ Visitors, including young athletes and adult men, could assemble and disassemble rifles and automatic weapons under the supervision of an instructor. Visitors were also actively invited to sign a contract with the Russian armed forces. An officer present at the scene explained the financial benefits, special military mortgage program, and other advantages of enlistment. The recruitment activities were seamlessly integrated into the sporting events taking place in the stadium. The permanent recruitment point is headquartered at Kievskaya Street 152, Simferopol (contact: 8 (3652) 66 85 71).



Russian servicemen capt. Sergei Kashtanov at a mobile recruitment point in Simferopol, Crimea, April 2023. The banner behind him says: "Selection point for contract military service, Simferopol".

Source: still from RIA Novosti Crimea video

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RIA Novosti Crimea, "V Krymu otkrylis' mobil'nye punkty nabora voennykh na sluzhbu po kontraktu" [Mobile recruitment points for military service under contract opened in Crimea], *RIA Novosti Crimea*, April 15, 2023.
<https://crimea.ria.ru/20230415/v-krymu-otkrylis-mobilnye-punkty-nabora-voennykh-na-sluzhbu-po-kontraktu-1128195717.html>

Physical recruitment efforts extended across DPR and LPR-occupied territory. Donbas. Realities, a regional branch of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, reported that Russian military officers were stationed near universities in Luhansk to approach male students after classes, promising favorable conditions for contract service.²⁴

VI. DIGITAL RECRUITMENT CHANNELS

Digital recruitment infrastructure operated across multiple social media platforms during the mobilization period. The VK group “Army of the DPR” (Армия ДНР), with approximately 27,000 followers as of February 2022, featured pinned posts providing Russian and Ukrainian contact phone numbers and street addresses in Donetsk for recruitment purposes.²⁵ On VK, the group “Army of the DPR: Tips for Volunteers” (Армия ДНР. Советы добровольцам) actively recruited fighters for positions including frontline soldiers, anti-aircraft gunners, drivers, medical personnel, and mechanics, posting contact information for Military Unit 08826 in Donetsk on February 14, 2022.²⁶ Another VK page, “Humanitarian Volunteers of Novorossiya,” with 7,000 followers, solicited material support including watches, electronics, and medical supplies.²⁷ Analysis by Flashpoint cyber threat intelligence identified a marked increase in cross-platform recruitment activity beginning mid-October 2021, with identical contact information shared across VK and Telegram platforms.²⁸

VII. FINANCIAL INCENTIVES

In the DPR's as of 2024, occupation authorities advertised contract recruitment through official decrees and military commissariat materials, offering an 800,000 ruble one-time signing bonus (comprising 400,000 rubles²⁹ from the Russian Ministry of Defense and 400,000 rubles from the DPR regional government). Service members stationed in the special military operation zone received additional monthly social payments of 15,000 rubles, two monthly salaries according to

24 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “In Occupied Areas, Russia Pushes Ukrainian Youth To Sign Contracts To Fight Ukraine,” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, May 22, 2024.
<https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-war-russia-military-recruiting-donbas/32959105.html>

25 “Social media posts call on Russians to join separatist forces,” *Al Jazeera*, February 2, 2022.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/2/social-media-posts-call-on-russians-to-join-separatist-forces>

26 “How Russian and Ukrainian Militias Are Using Social Media and Chat Platforms to Recruit Volunteers in the Donbas and Fund Their Causes,” *Flashpoint*, February 24, 2022.
<https://flashpoint.io/blog/donbas-russia-ukraine-conflict-social-media-chat-usage/>

27 “Social media posts call on Russians to join separatist forces,” *Al Jazeera*, February 2, 2022.

28 “How Russian and Ukrainian Militias Are Using Social Media and Chat Platforms,” *Flashpoint*, February 24, 2022.

29 100 rubles equals appr 1 EUR according to [xe.com](https://www.xe.com) currency converter.

military rank, and daily allowances of 4,240 rubles.³⁰ Russian occupation authorities in occupied Crimea initially advertised contract recruitment through mobile recruitment points, offering approximately 395,000 rubles (federal payment of 195,000 plus regional payment of 200,000) as of April 2023.³¹ By September 2025, regional authorities had escalated recruitment incentives dramatically, with contract offers reaching 2,200,000 rubles for service in the special military operation.³² However, by March 2026, the regional component was reduced to 1,200,000 rubles, reflecting possible shifts in manpower assessments and recruitment strategy.³³ In the so-called LPR, occupation authorities offered 400,000 rubles as a one-time regional payment to contract recruits.³⁴ Combined with the federal payment of 400,000 rubles, the total one-time signing bonus reached 800,000 rubles.³⁵

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- 30 Official Internet Portal of Legal Information, Ukaz Glavy Donetskoy Narodnoy Respubliki ot 24 oktyabrya 2024 g. № 522 "Ob ustanovlenii edinovremennoy denezhnoy vyplaty litsam, zaklyuchivshim kontrakt o prokhozhdenii voennoy sluzhby s Ministerstvom oborony Rossiyskoy Federatsii" [Decree of the Head of the DPR No. 522 of October 24, 2024, "On Establishing a One-Time Monetary Payment to Persons Who Have Concluded a Contract for Military Service with the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation"], *Official Internet Portal of Legal Information*, October 25, 2024, PDF.
<http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/document/8000202410250001>
- 31 RIA Novosti Crimea, "V Krymu otkrylis' mobil'nye punkty nabora voennykh na sluzhbu po kontraktu" [Mobile recruitment points for military service under contract opened in Crimea], *RIA Novosti Crimea*, April 15, 2023.
<https://crimea.ria.ru/20230415/v-krymu-otkrylis-mobilnye-punkty-nabora-voennykh-na-sluzhbu-po-kontraktu-1128195717.html>
- 32 Sergei Vinnik, "V Krymu zaklyuchivshie kontrakt s Minoborony smogut poluchit' 2,2 milliona rublei" [In Crimea, those who have concluded a contract with the Ministry of Defense will be able to receive 2.2 million rubles], *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, September 26, 2025.
<https://rg.ru/2025/09/26/reg-ufo/v-krymu-zakliuchivshie-kontrakt-s-minoborony-smogut-poluchit-22-milliona-rublej.html>
- 33 "V Krymu povysili vyplaty voennosluzhashchim-kontraktnikam" [Crimea increased payments to contract military personnel], *RIA Novosti Crimea*, March 23, 2026.
<https://crimea.ria.ru/20260323/v-krymu-povysili-vyplaty-kontraktnikam-1154552195.html>
- 34 Head of the Luhansk People's Republic, "Ukaz № УГ-1150/25 'O predostavlenii edinovremennoy denezhnoy vyplaty voennosluzhashchim, prokhodyashhim voennuyu sluzhbu po kontraktu v Vooruzhennykh Silakh Rossiyskoy Federatsii, vojskakh nacionalnoy gvardii Rossiyskoy Federatsii'" [Decree No. УГ-1150/25 "On the provision of one-time cash payment to military personnel serving under contract in the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, troops of the National Guard of the Russian Federation"], October 27, 2025.
<http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/document/8100202510280001>
- 35 President of the Russian Federation, "Ukaz № 644 'O edinovremennoy denezhnoy vyplate voennosluzhashchim, prokhodyashhim voennuyu sluzhbu po kontraktu v Vooruzhennykh Silakh Rossiyskoy Federatsii'" [Decree No. 644 "On a one-time cash payment to military personnel serving under contract in the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation"], July 31, 2024.
<http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/document/0001202407310001>

ENTITIES INVOLVED

The campaigns documented in the preceding sections constitute an institutionalized, structured, and state-directed system of advertising recruitment. Each of the four channels mentioned in this report (mass SMS campaign, print media, outdoor advertising, and physical recruitment) correspond to a specific state enterprise but are all integrated into a unified administrative cluster subordinated to the occupation authorities of the DPR and LPR. The following section maps out the institutional architecture of said cluster, tracing the corporate identities, founding structures, financing mechanisms, and documented outputs of the four enterprises responsible for executing the recruitment and mobilization ad campaigns across the occupied Ukrainian territory.

1. Structure of the DPR Media-Advertising Cluster

Analysis of EGRYUL data and the Russian federal procurement registry reveals a unified state media-advertising cluster subordinated to the AGP DPR. The cluster consists of two core enterprises, State Unitary Enterprise³⁶ (SUE) DPR PRODVIZHENIE and SUE DPR RMKh, working alongside a network of affiliated structures sharing the same founder, address, and serving overlapping functions.

Scheme: single founder — single address — single control

| Structure of SUE DPR PRODVIZHENIE and SUE DPR RMKh | |
|--|---|
| Parameter | Data |
| Common Founder | AGP DPR — Administration of the Head of Government of the Donetsk People's Republic |
| Common Registered address | Soviet Square 1, Donetsk |
| Common Supervisory authority | Ministry of Information of the DPR |
| Date of Integration into the Russian system | Both registered in EGRYUL following annexation (September 2022) |

2. SUE DPR PRODVIZHENIE (Agency for Advertising and Mass Communications)

SUE DPR PRODVIZHENIE (INN 9308013425; full corporate data in Annex I, Section A) is a state unitary enterprise headquartered at Soviet Square 1, Donetsk, subordinated to the Administration of the Head of the DPR and supervised by the DPR Ministry of Information.

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A State Unitary Enterprise (SUE) is a state-owned commercial entity common in Russian law. Its assets are "unitary," meaning they are indivisible and cannot be issued as shares or stocks; the state retains full ownership while the enterprise holds the right to manage those assets for profit.

2.1 Scale of Operations

According to open-source data, PRODVIZHENIE controls approximately 80% of the DPR's outdoor advertising market, operating over 2,500 advertising structures across the city of Donetsk and its surrounding areas. This includes billboards, city-light panels, banners, and scrolling displays. The company provides a full-cycle service: design, printing, installation, polygraphy, promotional merchandise, and video production (through the Donbass Pictures studio).

2.2 Financing Mechanism

Despite being a subordinate state enterprise to the Ministry of Information of the DPR and dominating the outdoor advertising market, the public procurement registry does not show a contract between state clients and PRODVIZHENIE for the production or placement of advertising materials. According to zakupki.gov.ru's record, the Ministry of Information of the DPR has only 8 contracts with private entities which all relate exclusively to utility services: heating, electricity, water supply, and refuse collection.

This is consistent with the state assignment (*gosudarstvennoe zadanie*) financing model — a form of direct budget financing for subordinate state unitary enterprises that requires no public tender and would thus not appear in the zakupki.gov.ru registry. The analytical significance of this absence is addressed in Section 6, where it is compared to this research's findings in the LPR.

2.3 Self-Documented Production for Military and Annexation Purposes: VK Evidence

PRODVIZHENIE maintains an active public page on VK (vk.com/advDPR). An analysis of its post history conducted in March 2026 identified a series of publications in which the enterprise directly documents its role in the production of advertising material for the annexation process, the distribution of pro-war political agitation, and the manufacture of branded goods for official Russian military justice institutions operating in occupied Ukrainian territory. All posts carry the enterprise's watermark and are published from its verified account.



Posts from PRODVIZHENIE's official VK page documenting production for Russian military and annexation purposes. From left: pennants for Russian military investigative bodies; "ZA Победу!" agitation for 23 February; production-line photo of pseudo-referendum materials; branded packaging for the occupational civic-military cooperation of Kharkiv Oblast.

Source: vk.com/advDPR

Tier 1 – Direct Self-Documentation (Highest Evidentiary Value)

| Date | Content Type | Post Text (translated) | Evidentiary Significance |
|-------------|--|--|---|
| 21 Sep 2022 | Production facility photo + caption | "We say nothing about the most-discussed topic. We just do. Preparations for the Referendum are proceeding at full pace. Production capacity is at 100%." | PRODVIZHENIE explicitly acknowledges operating at full capacity to produce referendum materials. The annexation referendum was held 23–27 September 2022 — two days after this post. |
| 25 Sep 2022 | Video of printing presses running referendum materials | "Preparations for the Referendum proceeded at an incredible pace. Our people and equipment bore an enormous responsibility. Any error, any manifestation of the human factor..." | Post-facto acknowledgment of their production of referendum materials Combined with the September 21 post, this constitutes direct self-attribution of material production for the annexation process. |
| 13 Feb 2023 | Branded pennants for military investigative bodies | "Pennants are a classic!" Post shows three pennants: (1) Operational HQ of Russian IC Military Investigative Bodies in DPR and LPR; (2) 12th Military Investigative Directorate of the IC RF; (3) Military Investigative Directorate of the IC RF for the Joint Forces Grouping. | PRODVIZHENIE produced branded goods for three Russian federal military investigative bodies operating in the occupied territory—institutions of the Russian state, not the de facto DPR administration. |
| 16 Aug 2024 | Promotional packaging — VGA Kharkiv Oblast | Bag featuring Russian double-headed eagle, slogan "WE CAME TO STAY," and logo of the VGA [Military-Civilian Administration] of Kharkiv Oblast. | Production for the occupation administration of Kharkiv Oblast — a territory Russia occupies but has not formally annexed. Documents operational geography beyond the four formally annexed oblasts. |
| 12 Mar 2024 | Military unit insignia | "Embroidered chevrons: durability is always in fashion." Embroidered tactical patches bearing the inscription "ASSAULT UNIT TEREK." | Production of branded insignias for a named Russian military assault unit. Extends the pattern of providing services to military clients documented in February 2023. |

Tier 2 — Contextual Evidence (Supporting)

| Date | Content Type | Significance |
|-------------|---|---|
| 3 Mar 2022 | Political stickers, free distribution | Stickers reading “Donbas Supports the President!” distributed free from Soviet Square 1 — PRODVIZHENIE’s registered address. Date: 8 days after the start of the full-scale invasion. |
| 17 May 2022 | Z stickers — political agitation | Z-symbol car stickers with the slogan #WeDontAbandonOurOwn. The Z symbol functions as a state-sanctioned emblem of the invasion. May 2022 — during the active phase of the Mariupol siege. |
| 7 May 2022 | Employee post — Mariupol billboard installation | “Here is the promised Mariupol. We are working.” — post by PRODVIZHENIE employee Roman Golovin, with photographs of Victory Day billboards being installed in Mariupol two weeks before the fall of Azovstal. |
| 28 Apr 2023 | Victory Banner flags | Mass production of Soviet Victory Banner flags in any size — standard infrastructure for May 9 commemorations deployed across Russian-controlled territory. |
| 13 Feb 2025 | February 23 military holiday cards | Cards for Defender of the Fatherland Day bearing slogans “For victory! For our people! For truth!” and hashtag #WeAreTogether. Production of state military holiday materials continuing into 2025. |

3. SUE DPR RMKh (Republican Media Holding)

SUE DPR RMKh (INN 9308022483; full corporate data in Annex I, Section B) is a state unitary enterprise headquartered at Soviet Square 1, Donetsk, founded by the AGP DPR and supervised by the DPR Ministry of Information, generating 140.9 million rubles of revenue in 2024.

Contracts in the State Procurement Registry

| Client | Subject of Contract | Value / Registry No. |
|--|--|--|
| Administration of Donetsk Urban District (INN 9303035337) | Publication of normative legal acts. Newspaper Donetsk Vecherniy | RUB 310,846.74 No. 2930303533725000106 |
| Administration of Khartsyzsk Urban District (INN 9304022860) | <i>Subject to be confirmed (presumed: publication of normative legal acts)</i> | <i>Value to be confirmed</i> |

Both contracts confirm that a branch of the RMKh (Donetsk Vecherniy) functions as the official publication organ of the occupation administration, and not as an independent media outlet.

4. Affiliated Structures of the Unified Cluster

EGRYUL data aggregated on checko.ru shows that AGP DPR is also the founder of at least 15 other organizations. Below is a list of those with a particular relevance to this research:

| Organization | Primary Activity | Relevance to Research |
|--|---------------------|---|
| ANO Center for Social Communications DPR | Other NGOs | High. State communications management function. Requires separate verification in zakupki.gov.ru. |
| ANO CRK Tochka Opory Donbassa | Other NGOs | Medium. Potential vehicle for information campaigns. |
| ANO RegionGrant DPR | Other NGOs | Medium. Alternative financing channel for patriotic projects without direct state contracts. |
| DPR Representation in Moscow | Executive authority | Confirms integration of AGP DPR into the Russian federal power vertical. |

Note: All entities listed as "Other NGOs" are formally registered as autonomous non-profit organizations (ANO) under DPR law but function as government-organized NGOs (GONGOs), operating under state direction and control.

5. SUE DPR ROS / Phoenix: Infrastructure for Mobilization SMS

SUE DPR ROS / Phoenix (INN 9308013351; full corporate data in Annex I, Section C) is the DPR's state monopoly mobile operator, established in 2015 on the basis of seized Ukrainian telecommunications infrastructure and re-registered in the Russian federal EGRYUL following the September 2022 annexation.

Phoenix's role in the mobilization infrastructure is documented in Meduza's investigation: The mass SMS blast sent to all DPR subscribers on February 19–20, 2022, was transmitted through Phoenix's telecommunications infrastructure. The capacity to conduct simultaneous mass messaging is a direct consequence of Phoenix's structural monopoly: it is the sole cell operator operating in the territory of the DPR, after its residents were cut off from Ukrainian networks.

Phoenix's integration into the Russian federal system following annexation is confirmed by its portfolio of 16 licenses (10 active, 6 inactive as of April 29, 2026) issued by Roskomnadzor — the Russian Federal Service for Supervision of Communications, Information Technology, and Mass Media. The active licenses cover all key telecommunications segments: mobile radiotelephone communications (license L030-00114-77/00647913 — the technical basis for the mass SMS distribution of February 19–20, 2022), local and long-distance telephone communications, data transmission, telematic services, and communications channels. Integration is further evidenced by Russian federal numbering (+7 949) and re-registration in EGRYUL. Phoenix's monopoly position as the sole telecommunications provider in the occupied territory of the DPR is additionally illustrated by its contract with RESOBRNADZOR (the Republican Service for Supervision in Education and Science — a regional body of the DPR occupation administration; Contract No. 2930302936524000001, dated May 16, 2023, valued at 1,067.12 rubles). The terms of this contract demonstrate that Phoenix serves as the sole telecommunications provider for all state institutions of the DPR, confirming the monopolistic character of this sector.

6. The LPR Comparative Case: SUE LPR GOSREKLAMA

SUE LPR GOSREKLAMA (INN 9403010350; full corporate data in Annex I, Section D) is a state unitary enterprise headquartered at Lermontova 1B Street, Luhansk, subordinate to the AG LPR and functioning as the state’s primary outdoor advertising operator for the LPR-occupied territory.

| Parameter | Data |
|------------------------------|--|
| Full name | State Unitary Enterprise LPR GOSREKLAMA (SUE LPR GOSREKLAMA) |
| INN | 9403010350 |
| Address | Lermontova 1B Street, Luhansk, LPR |
| Institutional counterpart | SUE DPR PRODVIZHENIE — identical organizational form, identical founding structure |
| Client (documented contract) | Administration of the Head of the LPR (AG LPR) INN 9403026569 |

6.1 Documented Contract: Registry No. 2940302656925000149

A contract between GOSREKLAMA and the Administration of the Head of the LPR was identified in zakupki.gov.ru (registry no. 2940302656925000149, contract no. 93-10-2025). This is the first directly documented contract in the federal procurement registry linking a state advertising company to the executive administration of an occupied Ukrainian territory for the production and placement of social advertising.

| Field | Value |
|--------------------------|--|
| Registry number | 2940302656925000149 |
| Contract number | 93-10-2025 |
| Client | Administration of the Head of the LPR (AG LPR) |
| Client INN | 9403026569 |
| Supplier | SUE LPR GOSREKLAMA (INN 9403010350) |
| Contract subject (OKPD2) | Services provided by advertising agencies (73.11.19.000) |
| Contract value | RUB 2,992,900.20 |
| Contract signed | 6 October 2025 |
| Contract executed | 30 December 2025 |
| Procurement method | Electronic auction (recognized failed — sole supplier basis, Art. 93 Law No. 44-FZ) |
| Budget | Budget of the Luhansk People’s Republic (subject of the Russian Federation) |
| Geographic scope | Luhansk, Alchevsk, Antratsit, Stakhanov, Rubizhne, Starobilsk, and 20+ additional settlements across LPR |

6.2 Contract Line Items

The contract encompasses seven advertising campaigns tied to Russian state holidays and commemorative dates, each commissioned as a separate line item within the document:

| Campaign Subject | Value (RUB) | Note |
|--|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Father's Day | 176,165.40 | |
| National Unity Day (4 November) | 727,836.00 | Russian federal holiday |
| Mother's Day | 176,165.40 | |
| Volunteer's Day | 283,045.20 | |
| Day of Heroes of the Fatherland | 438,661.80 | Russian federal commemorative date |
| Constitution of the Russian Federation Day | 461,848.20 | Russian Constitution — not Ukrainian |
| New Year and Christmas | 729,178.20 | |
| TOTAL | 2,992,900.20 | |

Three of the seven line items — National Unity Day, Day of Heroes of the Fatherland, and Constitution of the Russian Federation Day — are Russian federal commemorative dates with no counterpart in Ukrainian national or legal tradition. Their inclusion as commissioned social advertising campaigns from the budget of an occupied territory documents the systematic substitution of Ukrainian civic identity with Russian state symbolism at the level of public space.

6.3 Analytical Significance: The LPR Case as Comparative Control

The GOSREKLAMA contract carries evidentiary significance beyond the LPR context: it resolves a key interpretive question raised by the DPR's official documentation. Namely, whether the absence of advertising contracts in the DPR procurement registry reflects a structural impossibility (inherent to the state assignment financing model) or a deliberate institutional choice.

The LPR case provides a direct answer: It is an institutional choice. GOSREKLAMA and PRODVIZHENIE are structurally identical institutions. Both companies are state unitary enterprises, both are subordinated to the republican executive administration, both monopolize the outdoor advertising market of their respective territory, and both were integrated into the Russian federal system following the September 2022 annexation. The only material difference is that GOSREKLAMA operates through formal public procurement procedures and PRODVIZHENIE does not.

| Characteristic | PRODVIZHENIE DPR | GOSREKLAMA LPR |
|---|---|--|
| Organizational form | State unitary enterprise | State unitary enterprise |
| Founder | Administration of the Head of the DPR | Administration of the Head of the LPR |
| Function | Monopoly outdoor advertising operator | Monopoly outdoor advertising operator |
| EGRYUL registration | November 2022 | Post-annexation |
| Advertising contracts in zakupki.gov.ru | None identified | Documented (RUB 2,992,900.20 — Oct 2025) |
| Financing mechanism (DPR) | State assignment — no tender, not visible in registry | Formal public procurement — electronic auction |

This comparison establishes that the opacity of PRODVIZHENIE’s financing is more than likely an active institutional choice that diverges from the practice of its structural twin in the neighboring occupied territory. This incongruence allows us to assert that the deliberate exclusion of PRODVIZHENIE’s advertising activity from transparent procurement procedures is itself a documentable feature of how the DPR occupation administration manages its information environment.

7. Analytical Conclusions

7.1 Architecture of the System

- Administration of the Head of Government of DPR (AGP DPR) exercises foundational control over all key media and advertising structures simultaneously — PRODVIZHENIE, RMKh, the Center for Social Communications, RegionGrant — through a single founding mechanism.
- PRODVIZHENIE monopolizes the physical space of outdoor advertising (~80% of market, 2,500+ structures); RMKh controls print media and radio broadcasting; Phoenix controls telecommunications.
- The Financing of PRODVIZHENIE’s advertising activity is conducted through the state assignment mechanism, excluding it from public procurement records. PRODVIZHENIE’s financing model diverges from that of its LPR homologue, rendering PRODVIZHENIE’s choice of financing structure analytically significant in itself.
- The occupation administration uses the newspaper Donetsk Vecherniy to publish its official decrees and statements.

7.2 Evidentiary Assessment

Together, the documents compiled from VK and the comparative analysis of the LPR's financing structures substantially advance the evidentiary basis of this research. Respectively, PRODVIZHENIE's publications featured on VK constitute direct self-documentation of its role in the production of advertising material for the annexation process; the comparison with similar companies in the LPR establishes that the opacity behind the DPR's procurement process is a deliberate, structural choice and not an institutional constraint.

What is directly established:

- Referendum production (Sep 21–25, 2022): PRODVIZHENIE self-documents operating at full capacity to manufacture materials for the annexation referendum.
- Production for Russian federal military institutions (Feb 13, 2023): Branded goods produced for three Russian federal military investigative bodies operating in DPR/LPR.
- Production for occupational VGA Kharkiv Oblast (Aug 16, 2024): Production documented for an occupied territory Russia has not formally annexed.
- Production of military unit insignia (Mar 12, 2024): Embroidered patches for the named assault unit 'Terek'.
- Political agitation from the first days of the invasion (Mar 3, 2022): Free agitation materials distributed from PRODVIZHENIE's registered address eight days after invasion.
- Operational expansion into Mariupol (May 7, 2022): Billboard installation documented before the fall of Azovstal.
- LPR structural parallel with transparent procurement (Oct 2025): GOSREKLAMA LPR — an institutionally identical enterprise — operates through formal public procurement, confirming PRODVIZHENIE's opacity is a deliberate choice.

What remains to be established:

- Specific procurement contract between a military or mobilization client and PRODVIZHENIE for the production of outdoor recruitment billboards, as distinct from the broader production documented above.
- Identification of the client entity for the February-March 2022 mobilization billboard campaign documented in Meduza's reporting.
- Earlier GOSREKLAMA LPR contracts (2022–2024) — likely to include campaigns with more explicitly militarized content.

7.3 Priority Directions for Further Research

- zakupki.gov.ru: search all contracts for GOSREKLAMA LPR (INN 9403010350) — particularly 2022–2023 for wartime or mobilization content;
- zakupki.gov.ru: search by INN of ANO Center for Social Communications DPR and ANO Tochka Opory Donbassa as suppliers;
- Identify INN of DPR military commissariats registered in EGRYUL post-annexation — search their procurement contracts for advertising or print production;
- Identify military units of Russia's Armed Forces, their commanders, and the hierarchical command structure that directly advertise the enlistment of the population of the occupied Ukrainian territory to their ranks;
- Immediate archiving of all cited VK posts via web.archive.org and archive.ph;
- Contact IMI Ukraine / StopFake for documentation with attribution of specific outdoor billboard campaigns.

CONCLUSION

VIII. TIMELINE AND CONCLUSION

The advertisement campaigns documented in this research share the following evolution: blasts of mass SMS messages and installation of billboards calling to enlist in February 2022; patriotic billboard campaigns and Mariupol billboard installation during spring-summer of 2022; establishment of mobile recruitment points in Crimea, official registration of *Boevoe Znamya Donbassa* under RMKh, and unit-specific SMS campaigns throughout 2023; peak advertising activity with increased financial incentives in 2024; and continued intensification across all channels into 2026.

Each channel corresponds to a specific state enterprise within the unified DPR cluster. Mass telecommunications messaging was executed through Phoenix (INN 9308013351), the only entity technically capable of a simultaneous blast to all DPR subscribers. Print recruitment media is produced under RMKh (INN 9308022483), and subordinated to the DPR Ministry of Information. Outdoor advertising campaigns were conducted within a market controlled ~80% by PRODVIZHENIE (INN 9308013425), the exclusive state outdoor advertising operator, also at Soviet Square 1. In the LPR, GOSREKLAMA (INN 9403010350) performs the equivalent outdoor function, confirmed by a documented October 2025 procurement contract.

The comprehensive nature of these campaigns, and specifically mass telecommunications, print media, outdoor advertising, physical recruitment events, digital channels, and escalating financial incentives, constitutes a multi-channel approach to recruiting occupied territory residents into Russian military service, in apparent violation of Article 51 of the Fourth Geneva Convention's prohibition on "pressure or propaganda which aims at securing voluntary enlistment" in the occupied territory. None of the four enterprises executing these campaigns currently appears on any major Western sanctions list. The designation recommendations in Section II address this gap directly.

IX. SANCTIONS DESIGNATION RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Existing Designations

The DPR and LPR are designated across all major Western sanctions regimes. They are designated by OFAC under EO 14065, by the EU under Regulation 269/2014, by the UK under the Russia (Sanctions) (EU Exit) Regulations 2019, and by Australia, Canada, Japan, Switzerland, and others. The LPR carries equivalent designations. The Administration of the Head of the DPR, which serves as the founding body of the entire media-advertising cluster documented in this report, is sanctioned as part of the DPR entity designation.

At the leadership level, Denis Pushilin (head of the so-called Donetsk People's Republic) is individually designated across all major Western sanctions regimes. His authority over the AGP DPR — the founding and supervisory body of PRODVIZHENIE and RMKh — establishes a direct link of ownership and control over the unsanctioned entities in this report.

Senior officials of the DPR individually designated on the EU Consolidated Financial Sanctions List include Nataliya Nikonorova, former so-called Minister of Foreign Affairs of the DPR and now a member of the Russian Federation Council, whose EU listing notes her role as "Deputy Secretary of the regional branch of United Russia in the DPR for propaganda"; Igor Pashkov, Member of the so-called People's Council of the DPR (EU reference EU.7961.90, legal basis 2022/581 OJ L110); Aleksandr Timofeev, former so-called Minister of Revenues and Duties; and Vladimir Pavlenko. All are designated under the UKR-Ukraine programme.

At the level of federal Russian media infrastructure operating in occupied territory, the EU's July 2025 designation of RTRS (Russian Television and Radio Broadcasting Network) under the hybrid threats framework (Regulation 2024/2642) establishes the most directly applicable precedent. RTRS was designated for "effectively replacing established Ukrainian broadcasting systems in occupied regions" with content "aimed at suppressing dissent, aligning the local population with Russian policies and delegitimizing Ukraine's governance in the occupied territory." This rationale maps directly onto the documented functions of all four entities in this report.

II. Despite the designation of the DPR and LPR as entities, of their senior political leadership, and of Russian federal broadcast infrastructure performing structurally identical functions, none of the four operational enterprises documented in this report currently appear on any major Western sanctions list. This report recommends the individual designation of four entities under existing Ukraine-related and hybrid threats sanctions frameworks operated by the United States (OFAC/EO 14065), the European Union (Regulation 269/2014 and Regulation 2024/2642), and the United Kingdom (Russia (Sanctions) (EU Exit) Regulations 2019). All four entities meet existing designation criteria without requiring the development of new legal grounds.

SUE DPR PRODVIZHENIE (INN 9308013425; Soviet Square 1, Donetsk; acting Director: Belozub Aleksandr Sergeyeovich, INN 930300121401). Controls ~80% of DPR outdoor advertising across 2,500+ structures. Self-documented production for the September 2022 annexation referendum, three Russian federal military investigative bodies, the Military-Civilian Administration of Kharkiv Oblast, and a named military assault unit. Financed through the state assignment mechanism, deliberately excluding its activity from public procurement transparency. RTRS precedent applies directly: PRODVIZHENIE performs in physical public space what RTRS performs in broadcast.

SUE DPR ROS / Phoenix (INN 9308013351; Artema 169K Street, Donetsk; Director: Khardikov Nikolai Nikolayevich, INN 614346057850). DPR state monopoly mobile operator established on seized Ukrainian infrastructure. Documented role in military mobilization: mass SMS blast delivering conscription orders to all DPR subscribers on 19–20 February 2022, five days before the full-scale invasion. Not DPR-specific: registered branches confirmed in Melitopol (Zaporizhzhia Oblast) and Henichesk (Kherson Oblast). Holds 16 Roskomnadzor licenses, several renewed as recently as 17 March 2026.

Reorganization note. As of 20 February 2026, Phoenix is undergoing *преобразование* (transformation of legal form) and will cease to exist as a legal entity upon completion. No successor has been registered as of 27 March 2026. This is its second structural reorganization in two years; Phoenix absorbed GUP DPR "KOMTEL" (INN 9303020034) in October 2024. Designation must explicitly extend to any successor entity to prevent circumvention.

SUE LPR GOSREKLAMA (INN 9403010350; Lermontova 1B Street, Luhansk; acting Director: Gulyachenko Viktor Aleksandrovich, INN 345920131399). Documented contract with the Administration of the Head of the LPR (registry no. 2940302656925000149, RUB 2,992,900.20, October 2025) for advertising campaigns tied to Russian federal holidays across 20+ LPR settlements, which is the strongest single piece of primary documentation in this report for a formal designation submission.

SUE DPR RMKh (INN 9308022483; Soviet Square 1, Donetsk; General Director: Cherkashin Nikolai Nikolayevich, INN 617100640627). Controls DPR print media and radio, including *Donetsk Vecherniy*, the official publication organ of the occupation administration. 2024 revenue: 140.9 million rubles. Clearest corporate structure for asset-freeze enforcement.

ANNEX I:

CORPORATE REGISTRY DATA FOR DESIGNATED ENTITIES

All data in this annex is drawn from open official sources documented in the Methodology section of this report. All entries verified March 2026.

A. SUE DPR PRODVIZHENIE (Agency for Advertising and Mass Communications)

| Parameter | Data |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Full name | State Unitary Enterprise of the Donetsk People's Republic "Agency for Advertising and Mass Communications 'PRODVIZHENIE'" |
| Abbreviated name | SUE DPR PRODVIZHENIE |
| INN | 9308013425 |
| OGRN | 1229300088753 |
| Registered address | Soviet Square 1, Donetsk, Donetsk People's Republic |
| Date of primary registration | 2015 (DPR registry) |
| Date of re-registration in EGRYUL | November 2022 |
| Founder | Administration of the Head of Government of the Donetsk People's Republic (AGP DPR) |
| Supervisory body | Ministry of Information of the Donetsk People's Republic |
| Acting Director | Belozub Aleksandr Sergeyeovich (INN 930300121401), in post since 25 June 2024 |
| Public VK page | vk.com/advDPR |

B. SUE DPR RMKh (Republican Media Holding)

| Parameter | Data |
|--------------------|---|
| Full name | State Unitary Enterprise of the Donetsk People's Republic "Republican Media Holding" |
| Abbreviated name | SUE DPR RMKh |
| INN | 9308022483 |
| OGRN | 1229300166963 |
| Registered address | Soviet Square 1, Donetsk, Donetsk People's Republic |

| Parameter | Data |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Date of registration | 2018 (DPR registry) |
| Founder | Administration of the Head of Government of the Donetsk People's Republic (AGP DPR) |
| Supervisory body | Ministry of Information of the Donetsk People's Republic |
| General Director | Cherkashin Nikolai Nikolayevich (INN 617100640627), in post since 20 July 2023 |
| Revenue 2024 | 140.9 million rubles |
| Registered activities (OKVED) | 58.13 (Newspaper publishing); 58.14 (Journals and periodicals); 73.11 (Advertising agency activities); 60.10 (Radio broadcasting); 73.12 (Media representation) |

C. SUE DPR ROS / Phoenix (Republican Communications Operator)

| Parameter | Data |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Full name | State Unitary Enterprise of Mobile Radiotelephone Communications of the Donetsk People's Republic "Republican Communications Operator" |
| Trade name | Phoenix |
| Abbreviated name | SUE DPR ROS |
| INN | 9308013351 |
| OGRN | 1229300088423 |
| Registered address | Artema 169K Street, Donetsk, Donetsk People's Republic |
| Date of primary registration | 2015 (DPR registry) |
| Date of re-registration in EGRYUL | Post-annexation (September 2022) |
| Founder rights exercised by | Ministry of Digital Development, State Administration, IT and Communications of the DPR (INN 9303039684) |
| Director | Khardikov Nikolai Nikolayevich (INN 614346057850), Russian citizen, in post since 25 July 2023 |
| Roskomnadzor licenses | 16 licenses; several renewed as recently as 17 March 2026 |
| Registered branches | Melitopol, Zaporizhzhia Oblast (KPP 900143001); Henichesk, Kherson Oblast (KPP 950043001) |
| Current reorganization status | Undergoing преобразование (transformation of legal form) as of 20 registered as of 27 March 2026 |
| Prior reorganization | Absorbed GUP DPR "KOMTEL" (INN 9303020034) by присоединение (absorption), completed 8 October 2024 |
| Sanctions status | Designated by Ukraine NSDC (registry ID 31902). Not designated by US OFAC, EU FSF, UK OFSI, Canada, or Australia |

D. SUE LPR GOSREKLAMA

| Parameter | Data |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Full name | State Unitary Enterprise of the Luhansk People's Republic "GOSREKLAMA" |
| Abbreviated name | SUE LPR GOSREKLAMA |
| INN | 9403010350 |
| OGRN | 1229400037943 |
| Registered address | Lermontova 1B Street, Luhansk, Luhansk People's Republic |
| Founder | Administration of the Head of the Luhansk People's Republic |
| Acting Director | Gulyachenko Viktor Aleksandrovich (INN 345920131399) |
| Documented procurement contract | Registry no. 2940302656925000149; contract no. 93-10-2025; value RUB 2,992,900.20; signed 6 October 2025; client: Administration of the Head of the LPR (INN 9403026569) |