

**EDUCATION SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF BELARUS IN MARCH 2025**

The February monitoring research demonstrated a decrease in the rates of ideologization of Belarusian education, which contradicted the tendency for its strengthening, which we observed throughout the entire 2024/2025 academic year. This phenomenon was also reflected in the share of ideologically oriented news on the official resources of the Ministry of Education. In February, we observed the lowest share of ideology on the Ministry's resources since the beginning of the academic year: 18% on the official website and 28% on the official Telegram channel of the Ministry of Education. Recall that by the end of 2024 every third news on the resources of the Ministry of Education had an ideological orientation, and in January these indicators of the share of ideology exceeded 40% of all news. But if the decrease in the share of ideology on the official resources of the Ministry of Education in February corresponded to the general decrease in the ideologization of Belarusian education, in March these two processes did not depend on each other. On the official website of the Ministry,<sup>1</sup> 7 out of 22 news (32%) had ideological coloring, and in the official Telegram channel<sup>2</sup> there were 43 out of 166 such news items (26%), which is only slightly higher than in February. At the same time, throughout March we observed a significant strengthening of ideologization of Belarusian education at all its levels. If to speak about the general state of Belarusian education, in March it was characterized by the following features and phenomena:

### **1. Creation of additional obstacles by the state for Belarusians to get foreign education.**

During the last several years, the Belarusian authorities have been working purposefully to create various obstacles and restrictions for Belarusians to get foreign education. Another such non-obvious obstacle was the introduction of an electronic queue for making an appointment for apostilization of documents on education. Initially, it was stated that the introduction of an electronic queue would simplify the process of apostilization of documents, but, as can be seen on a specially created website,<sup>3</sup> the Department of Education Quality Control accepts documents for apostilization in a strictly limited time (2.5 hours on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, as well as 2 hours on Wednesday), while the new procedure takes only 30 minutes per person. Currently, the effect of the introduction of electronic enrollment is not fully understood due to the fact that until March 31, the Department had two queues: electronic and in-person. In addition, the spring period is not the most active in terms of apostilization of educational documents, as potential applicants to foreign universities are still continuing their academic year. However, if the current electronic queue system remains, only 24 people per week, or about 300 people for the whole summer period, will be able to submit documents for apostille. Moreover, in order to pre-register, graduates need to know the number of their education document, which means that they will be able to take a place in the electronic queue only in mid-June, when most of the places for the first summer month will already be occupied by people who apostilize education documents not for admission to foreign universities, but, for example, for emigration to another country. As a result, school graduates will not have time to prepare documents for admission to foreign universities and will have to continue their studies in Belarus or choose Russian universities as an alternative. Reducing the number of applicants to foreign universities was one of Aliaksandr Lukashenka's demands before the Belarusian education system, and the introduction of an electronic queue for submitting documents to the Department of Education Quality Control so far looks like one of the tools to fulfill these requirements.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://edu.gov.by/news/index.php>

<sup>2</sup> <https://t.me/MinobrofBelarus>

<sup>3</sup> <https://dkko.edu.gov.by/apostil>

**2. Continuation of the policy of complete subordination of the educational sphere to the state and destruction of independent educational initiatives.** This policy has also been implemented by the Belarusian authorities over the past few years, and in March we saw more examples of it:

First, this is directly evidenced by the words of official Maryna Ilyina about the plans to introduce state electronic journals and diaries already this year. According to the official, many schools already use electronic journals and diaries, but all of them are developments of private companies and therefore it is important to introduce state services in education.<sup>4</sup> In a situation when the state seeks to keep all processes in education under control, the introduction of state electronic diaries and journals will mean a forced transition to them for all schools and the actual destruction of existing products and any competition. Moreover, we assume that the Moscow Electronic School project, the introduction of which was actively discussed in Minsk in the summer of 2024,<sup>5</sup> will act as a platform for state electronic journals and diaries. Thus, Belarusian officials are ready to further increase the dependence of Belarusian education on Russia in pursuit of the total ousting of non-state structures from the sphere of education.

Secondly, at the end of March, at the Legal Forum of Belarus, a draft resolution “On the procedure for carrying out independent professional activities of teaching” was published,<sup>6</sup> which introduces a number of restrictions for tutors and other people who engage in such activities. In particular, tutors and other self-employed people will be allowed to provide online services only with the help of resources hosted in the territory of the Republic of Belarus and registered in the prescribed manner. Only adult citizens will be allowed to teach computer work, as well as playing musical instruments, dancing, fine arts, choreography, vocal, public speaking on educational programs not used in schools and other educational institutions. It will be possible to provide tutoring services only in accordance with educational programs used in official educational institutions. The tutor will be obliged to establish the fact that the consumers of his services have been trained in educational institutions. It will be allowed to provide tutoring services only on an individual basis, and group tutoring will be prohibited. We consider this draft decree as another step of the government to establish full control over the sphere of education, to create additional difficulties for self-employed teachers, to complicate the access of Belarusians to non-state educational services because of legislative restrictions and potential growth of prices for such services. At the same time, the draft resolution does not create comfortable conditions for legal activity, but, on the contrary, makes various obstacles, because of which it will be much easier for tutors and other self-employed teachers to go to work in the shadow sector and not to advertise their activity before the state, or to stop individual activity altogether.

Thirdly, the Belarusian authorities continued to persecute independent educational structures and associations of teachers. In March, it became known about the decision of the KGB of Belarus to recognize the independent initiative *Nastaunik.info*, which was not noticed in political statements and for almost 20 years was engaged only in methodical support of Belarusian teachers, as an “extremist formation.”<sup>7</sup> Famous Belarusian teachers Sviatlana Ivanyushyna, Mikalai Zaprudski, Tamara Matskevich, and others were recognized as involved in the activities of this initiative. For example, Mikalai Zaprudski is the author<sup>8</sup> of dozens of books and various manuals for

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<sup>4</sup> <https://tochka.by/articles/life/v-belarusi-sobirayutsya-vvesti-novyy-elektronnyy-dnevnik-chem-on-budet-otlichatsya/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://t.me/uchitelstolicy/46955>

<sup>6</sup> <https://forumpravo.by/publicnoe-obsuzhdenie-proektov-npa/forum15/17673>

<sup>7</sup> <https://reform.news/democratic-media-institute-i-nastaunik-info-priznany-iekstremistskimi-formirovanijami>

<sup>8</sup> <https://akademy.by/index.php/ru/21-ob-akademii/personalii/189-zaprudskij>

teachers, and he is also known as a leading specialist in the country in introducing elements of active assessment into the educational process. It is obvious that recognizing these people as involved in the activities of an “extremist formation” will be a reason for the authorities to take repressive measures against them. The situation with the initiative *Nastaunik.info* demonstrates the aspiration of the authorities to subordinate any informal pedagogical associations to the state structures. Besides, ideological loyalty rather than professionalism plays the primary role in the present Belarusian education, and this is evidenced by the readiness of the authorities to get rid of unique specialists in their desire to realize their ideological attitudes.

**3. Continuation of the policy of subordinating education to the needs of the economy.** The important events of March were the publication by universities of the control figures for admission for 2025, as well as the comments of representatives of the Ministry of Education on the future admission campaign. This year’s admission campaign will be held without any significant changes compared to 2024, and all its key aspects are the continuation of the state policy aimed at subordinating the sphere of education to the needs of the Belarusian economy:

First, the course to reduce the number of paid places in universities continues. Compared to last year, the admission figures for paid education have been reduced by 2.7 thousand places and amount to 16.5 thousand.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, the admission to budgetary places has been increased: this year universities plan to admit 31.8 thousand students, which is 400 more than last year.<sup>10</sup> The increase in budgetary and reduction of paid places in higher education institutions will allow the authorities to attract more students to compulsory jobs by distribution after studies, which is extremely important in the conditions of personnel hunger, which is observed in many sectors of the Belarusian economy.

Secondly, higher education institutions of Belarus continue the course of profiling. According to Minister of Education Andrei Ivanets, this year the institutions stopped providing education in 45 non-core specialties, and next year it is planned to completely stop non-core education in higher education institutions.<sup>11</sup> The reduction of non-core specialties in higher education institutions facilitates the work of large enterprises in recruiting potential staff, as it allows them to cooperate with individual higher education institutions and to plan in advance the entry of new employees into production.

Thirdly, the tendency to increase the number of quota-based admission places in universities has been maintained, and it is especially noticeable in medical educational institutions. This year the share of quota-based admission places in medical universities is about 80% of the total number of budgetary places. The situation looks especially indicative in regional medical universities – HrSMU, HomSMU and VSMU, where enrollment of winners of university Olympiads will take place. After enrollment of the winners of Olympiads and quota students, only a few budgetary places will remain for the general enrollment in these higher education institutions. The acute shortage of workers in the Belarusian economy and especially in the medical sphere forces the authorities to increase the number of quota-based admission places in specialized universities, as it will allow to attract graduates for a longer period of compulsory job by distribution.

In our opinion, all the above-mentioned theses indicate the government's desire to solve staffing problems in the economy through compulsory job by distribution, but without introducing unpopular measures in the form of increasing the terms of compulsory job by distribution or introducing such a distribution for fee-paying students. At the same time, the number of young

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<sup>9</sup> <https://people.onliner.by/2025/03/25/v-belarusi-stanet-menshe-studentov-platnikov>

<sup>10</sup> <https://bobruisk.ru/news/2025/03/24/vuzy-belarusi-v-etom-godu-sokratyat-nabor-budet-menshe-mest-dlya-platnikov>

<sup>11</sup> <https://news.zerkalo.io/life/95146.html>

people subject to compulsory job by distribution with expanded terms increases every year, but this result is achieved through hidden measures and solutions. We are convinced that this course will continue and it is unlikely that the format of the admission campaign will undergo any major changes in the coming years.

#### **4. Imposition of the personality cult of Aliaksandr Lukashenka in Belarusian education.**

We have observed the strengthening of this tendency in Belarusian education during the last year, but in March its manifestations were especially noticeable:

First, throughout the month we observed active work on introducing the book “Our President” about the life and activities of Aliaksandr Lukashenka into the educational process of educational institutions. For example, the book was actively used during ideological events in educational institutions. In BSUPhC students and teachers were told about the history of the formation of the Constitution in the lands of Belarus, but the result of the lecture was a general photo session with the book “Our President.”<sup>12</sup> A similar situation took place in Vitsiebsk Veterinary Academy, where the rector accompanied the story about the Constitution of Belarus with memories of meeting Aliaksandr Lukashenka and demonstration of the book “Our President.”<sup>13</sup> The students of BSPU were taken to the dialogue platform “History and Development of the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus as a Basic Law,” where the book “Our President” was demonstrated to them along with the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1588.<sup>14</sup> A unified information day on Constitution Day was held in Babruisk Trade and Economic College for students, where the book “Our President” was demonstrated on a par with the printed version of the Constitution. It is notable that together with these publications the students were also actively shown the famous photo of Aliaksandr Lukashenka with a machine gun, taken during one of the protest actions in August 2020.<sup>15</sup> At VSTU, students were forced to take photos with the book “Our President” while watching the inauguration ceremony of the Belarusian dictator.<sup>16</sup> Separate events with the participation of representatives of the education system were also devoted to the new book about Aliaksandr Lukashenka. A meeting of the university staff was held at Vitsiebsk Veterinary Academy, where they were shown the publication, and after the meeting the vice-rector Dzmitry Fedotau recommended everyone to read the book this year.<sup>17</sup> Another similar presentation of the book was held in Hrodna Music College, where the employees of the institution were also gathered en masse.<sup>18</sup> The official resource of the Main Department of Education of Minsk regional executive committee published a series of photos where first the school librarians<sup>19</sup> of the region and then school students<sup>20</sup> from Barysau were forced to take pictures with the book about Aliaksandr Lukashenka as part of the challenge “#NADO\_chitat” [*should read*]. In Pinsk Medical College,<sup>21</sup> the arrival of the book to the library was accompanied by the students taking pictures with it, and in HrSU the next issue of the university newspaper was published, where almost the whole first page was devoted to the arrival of the book about the life and activity of the Belarusian dictator to the library fund of the university.<sup>22</sup> Finally, at the

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<sup>12</sup> <https://t.me/bsupc/12603>

<sup>13</sup> [https://t.me/vsavm\\_official/29110](https://t.me/vsavm_official/29110)

<sup>14</sup> [https://t.me/bspu\\_official/22046](https://t.me/bspu_official/22046)

<sup>15</sup> <https://t.me/bgteptk/3766>

<sup>16</sup> [https://t.me/VSTU\\_VITEBSK/14530](https://t.me/VSTU_VITEBSK/14530)

<sup>17</sup> [https://t.me/vsavm\\_official/29157](https://t.me/vsavm_official/29157)

<sup>18</sup> <https://t.me/evqs3qEn7aA4MDZi/6822>

<sup>19</sup> <https://t.me/uomoik/116736>

<sup>20</sup> <https://t.me/uomoik/117725>

<sup>21</sup> <https://pinskmed.by/nash-prezident/>

<sup>22</sup> [https://t.me/grsu\\_official/23801](https://t.me/grsu_official/23801)

end of March, a large-scale presentation of the book for young people was held on the basis of Mahiliou State University named after A. A. Kuleshov. Not only students and employees of MSU,<sup>23</sup> but also representatives of the Belarusian State Academy of Agriculture,<sup>24</sup> BSUT,<sup>25</sup> Mahiliou Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs<sup>26</sup> were involved in the event. Obviously, the event was filled with a huge number of compliments and positive assessments of Aliaksandr Lukashenka.

Secondly, a whole series of events dedicated to praising Aliaksandr Lukashenka were held in educational institutions in connection with the regular inauguration of the Belarusian dictator. For example, young people were forced to take part in another pro-governmental flash mob, where they thanked Aliaksandr Lukashenka and chanted the slogan “You are the people's president!” on camera. Examples of involving representatives of education in this action can be seen in BSAM,<sup>27</sup> BSPU,<sup>28</sup> BSU,<sup>29</sup> BarSU,<sup>30</sup> BrSU,<sup>31</sup> and VSMU.<sup>32</sup> Students across the country were forced to publish their positive impressions of the inauguration, which can be seen in the examples of BSPU,<sup>33</sup> BNTU,<sup>34</sup> MITSO,<sup>35</sup> PalesSU,<sup>36</sup> VSTU,<sup>37</sup> VSU,<sup>38</sup> and students of BrSU,<sup>39</sup> VSMU,<sup>40</sup> and HrSU<sup>41</sup> were even forced to record video reviews of the inauguration they watched. Teacher of the Year 2023 Siarhei Shaminski, who attended the inauguration as a guest, recorded an enthusiastic review of the inauguration ceremony and Aliaksandr Lukashenka.<sup>42</sup> At Vitsiebsk Veterinary Academy, hundreds of students were gathered to participate in the event, where they listened standing up to the song “Batska is cool!” which was also performed by students wearing T-shirts they were given during the election.<sup>43</sup> At VSMU, teachers were forced to record a separate video message thanking Aliaksandr Lukashenka for his words at the inauguration.<sup>44</sup>

**5. Significant strengthening of ideologization of Belarusian education.** In the February monitoring research, we reported that ideologization of Belarusian education had somewhat weakened, which contradicted all our previous observations. We supposed that the decrease in the ideologization of Belarusian education is most likely a temporary phenomenon, which is caused by the necessity for the state system to rest from the huge number of events and actions of ideological orientation carried out during the electoral period. As the results of our monitoring researches have shown, our assumptions turned out to be correct and in March the ideologization

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<sup>23</sup> <https://t.me/MGUKULESHOV/13099>

<sup>24</sup> [https://t.me/bsaa\\_by/11869](https://t.me/bsaa_by/11869)

<sup>25</sup> [https://t.me/BGUT\\_university/15845](https://t.me/BGUT_university/15845)

<sup>26</sup> <https://t.me/mimvd/8213>

<sup>27</sup> <https://t.me/bgam2021/11208>

<sup>28</sup> [https://t.me/bspu\\_official/22204](https://t.me/bspu_official/22204)

<sup>29</sup> [https://t.me/official\\_bsu/19781](https://t.me/official_bsu/19781)

<sup>30</sup> [https://t.me/coordinationcouncil\\_barsu/10529](https://t.me/coordinationcouncil_barsu/10529)

<sup>31</sup> [https://t.me/brsu\\_pushkina/13880](https://t.me/brsu_pushkina/13880)

<sup>32</sup> [https://t.me/mediacenter\\_vgmu/16660](https://t.me/mediacenter_vgmu/16660)

<sup>33</sup> [https://t.me/bspu\\_official/22253](https://t.me/bspu_official/22253)

<sup>34</sup> <https://t.me/bntuby/14760>

<sup>35</sup> [https://t.me/univer\\_mitso/14735](https://t.me/univer_mitso/14735)

<sup>36</sup> [https://t.me/polessu\\_official/5490](https://t.me/polessu_official/5490)

<sup>37</sup> [https://t.me/VSTU\\_VITEBSK/14540](https://t.me/VSTU_VITEBSK/14540)

<sup>38</sup> <https://t.me/vsumasherov/15300>

<sup>39</sup> [https://t.me/brsu\\_pushkina/13877](https://t.me/brsu_pushkina/13877)

<sup>40</sup> [https://t.me/mediacenter\\_vgmu/16657](https://t.me/mediacenter_vgmu/16657)

<sup>41</sup> [https://t.me/qrsu\\_official/23834](https://t.me/qrsu_official/23834)

<sup>42</sup> [https://t.me/krestyanskaya\\_14/29356](https://t.me/krestyanskaya_14/29356)

<sup>43</sup> [https://t.me/vsavm\\_official/29385](https://t.me/vsavm_official/29385)

<sup>44</sup> [https://t.me/mediacenter\\_vgmu/16687](https://t.me/mediacenter_vgmu/16687)



of Belarusian education considerably increased. At that, this process included several directions at once, which were realized by the authorities during the month:

First of all, during the month thousands of ideological events related to three significant ideological dates were held in Belarusian education: Constitution Day (March 15), the Day of Remembrance of the Victims of the Khatyn Tragedy (March 22), and the Day of Unity of the Peoples of Belarus and Russia (April 2). And if the events in honor of Constitution Day and the Day of Remembrance of the Victims of the Khatyn Tragedy are a traditional phenomenon in Belarusian education, the early involvement of Belarusian education in the celebrations of the Day of Unity of the Peoples of Belarus and Russia is a new feature, which indicates the growth of Russian influence on Belarusian youth.

Secondly, at the end of March, a series of ideological events related to the next inauguration of Aliaksandr Lukashenka took place in Belarusian education. An obvious sign of the high degree of ideologization of Belarusian education is the fact that in order to watch Aliaksandr Lukashenka's speech at the inauguration ceremony the educational institutions completely suspended the educational process. We recorded cases of watching the inauguration live in Liakhavichy Agrarian College,<sup>45</sup> Vitsiebsk Medical College,<sup>46</sup> Polatsk Medical College,<sup>47</sup> Orsha Medical College,<sup>48</sup> Homiel College-branch of BelSUT,<sup>49</sup> Homiel College of Consumer Services,<sup>50</sup> Chyrvony Berah Agrarian College,<sup>51</sup> Rechytsa Pedagogical College,<sup>52</sup> Zhlobin Metallurgical College,<sup>53</sup> Khoiniki College,<sup>54</sup> Mahiliou Social and Humanitarian College,<sup>55</sup> Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs,<sup>56</sup> Mahiliou Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs,<sup>57</sup> BSMU,<sup>58</sup> BSU,<sup>59</sup> BNTU,<sup>60</sup> BarSU,<sup>61</sup> BrSTU,<sup>62</sup> BrSU,<sup>63</sup> PalesSU,<sup>64</sup> VSMU,<sup>65</sup> VSU,<sup>66</sup> PSU,<sup>67</sup> BelSUT,<sup>68</sup> BTEU,<sup>69</sup> MSPU,<sup>70</sup> HSU,<sup>71</sup> HrSMU,<sup>72</sup> BSAA.<sup>73</sup> In Petrykau,<sup>74</sup> Kalinkavichy,<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> [https://t.me/coordinationcouncil\\_barsu/10521](https://t.me/coordinationcouncil_barsu/10521)

<sup>46</sup> <https://t.me/vitgmk/4137>

<sup>47</sup> <https://t.me/psecbv/3346>

<sup>48</sup> <https://www.oqmk.by/index.php/novosti-kolledzha/762-torzhestvennaya-tseremoniya-inauguratsii-prezidenta-respubliki-belarus>

<sup>49</sup> <https://t.me/gkfb2021/8305>

<sup>50</sup> <https://t.me/GGPTKBO/4270>

<sup>51</sup> [https://t.me/off\\_kbgak/2008](https://t.me/off_kbgak/2008)

<sup>52</sup> <https://t.me/rechitsaped/2664>

<sup>53</sup> <https://t.me/bntuzgmk/5435>

<sup>54</sup> [https://t.me/hqpl\\_by/4596](https://t.me/hqpl_by/4596)

<sup>55</sup> <https://sgkmsu.by/index.php/14-novosti/1373-aleksandr-lukashenko-prines-prisyagu>

<sup>56</sup> <https://www.amia.by/news/segodnya-vazhny-den-aleksandr-lukashenko-vstupil-v-dolzhnost-prezidenta-strany>

<sup>57</sup> <https://t.me/mimvd/8188>

<sup>58</sup> [https://t.me/BSMU\\_official/46657](https://t.me/BSMU_official/46657)

<sup>59</sup> [https://t.me/official\\_bsu/19782](https://t.me/official_bsu/19782)

<sup>60</sup> <https://t.me/bntuby/14751>

<sup>61</sup> [https://t.me/coordinationcouncil\\_barsu/10511](https://t.me/coordinationcouncil_barsu/10511)

<sup>62</sup> <https://www.bstu.by/news/109-universitet/2664-sostoyalas-inauguratsiya-prezidenta-respubliki-belarus>

<sup>63</sup> [https://t.me/brsu\\_pushkina/13873](https://t.me/brsu_pushkina/13873)

<sup>64</sup> [https://t.me/polessu\\_official/5480](https://t.me/polessu_official/5480)

<sup>65</sup> [https://t.me/mediacenter\\_vgmu/16646](https://t.me/mediacenter_vgmu/16646)

<sup>66</sup> <https://t.me/vsumasherov/15304>

<sup>67</sup> [https://t.me/psu\\_by/11116](https://t.me/psu_by/11116)

<sup>68</sup> [https://t.me/bsut\\_oms/8950](https://t.me/bsut_oms/8950)

<sup>69</sup> <https://t.me/bteuofficial/4702>

<sup>70</sup> [https://t.me/mspu\\_by/16589](https://t.me/mspu_by/16589)

<sup>71</sup> [https://t.me/francisk\\_skorina\\_gsu/11074](https://t.me/francisk_skorina_gsu/11074)

<sup>72</sup> [https://t.me/qrsmu\\_by/12927](https://t.me/qrsmu_by/12927)

<sup>73</sup> [https://t.me/bsaa\\_by/11847](https://t.me/bsaa_by/11847)

<sup>74</sup> <https://t.me/petrikovoo/74913>

<sup>75</sup> [https://t.me/kalin\\_roditeli/37869](https://t.me/kalin_roditeli/37869)

Drahichyn district<sup>76</sup> and other regions of the country teachers were massively involved in watching the inauguration even despite the school vacations. Young people from the capital's universities were placed along the route of Aliaksandr Lukashenka's motorcade, which created a certain mass character to the event and imitated the people's support for the Belarusian dictator. Examples of participation of students and teachers in this event can be seen in MSLU,<sup>77</sup> BSATU,<sup>78</sup> Academy of Management,<sup>79</sup> BSMU,<sup>80</sup> BSPU,<sup>81</sup> BSUCA,<sup>82</sup> BNTU,<sup>83</sup> MITSO.<sup>84</sup> Creative groups of Minsk Music College,<sup>85</sup> BSAM,<sup>86</sup> MSLU,<sup>87</sup> BSPU<sup>88</sup> performed before the guests of the inauguration. Members of military-patriotic clubs “Eaglets. Heirs of Victory!”,<sup>89</sup> Zubr,<sup>90</sup> Doblest,<sup>91</sup> Skif,<sup>92</sup> students of schools in Minsk,<sup>93</sup> Homiel,<sup>94</sup> representatives of Minsk College of Service Industry,<sup>95</sup> Minsk College of Architecture and Construction,<sup>96</sup> BSMU,<sup>97</sup> BSPU,<sup>98</sup> BSEU<sup>99</sup> were invited as spectators to the second part of the inauguration where Aliaksandr Lukashenka took the military oath of allegiance.

Thirdly, educational institutions resumed holding pro-governmental exhibitions, which were actively attended by pupils and students. As stated in February by Deputy Education Minister Katsiaryna Petruskaya, the propaganda exhibition “Parallel Worlds,” accompanied by the presentation of the book “Superposition. Parallel Worlds.” Recall that the book praises the rule of Aliaksandr Lukashenka, while the exhibition also criticizes the activity of the Belarusian opposition with the help of various manipulations. Throughout March, such events were held in BSTU,<sup>100</sup> BSAC,<sup>101</sup> MITSO.<sup>102</sup> Besides, in the educational institutions of Belarus another ideological exhibition “Our Way to Unity” was resumed, which is devoted to the dissemination of pro-governmental ideological theses concerning the history of Western Belarus in the 1920s-1930s and the annexation of this territory to the BSSR at the beginning of World War II. This exhibition was shown in Minsk College of Light Industry and Complex Logistics,<sup>103</sup> Minsk

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<sup>76</sup> <https://t.me/eduDrog/25354>

<sup>77</sup> <https://mslu.by/news/mglu-uchastnik-istoricheskogo-sobytiya/>

<sup>78</sup> [https://t.me/bsatu\\_orvm/15849](https://t.me/bsatu_orvm/15849)

<sup>79</sup> [https://t.me/academy\\_by/773](https://t.me/academy_by/773)

<sup>80</sup> [https://t.me/BSMU\\_official/46641](https://t.me/BSMU_official/46641)

<sup>81</sup> [https://t.me/bspu\\_official/22194](https://t.me/bspu_official/22194)

<sup>82</sup> <https://t.me/bguki/27535>

<sup>83</sup> <https://t.me/bntuby/14745>

<sup>84</sup> [https://t.me/univer\\_mitso/14702](https://t.me/univer_mitso/14702)

<sup>85</sup> <https://t.me/glinkacollege/7929>

<sup>86</sup> <https://t.me/bgam2021/11203>

<sup>87</sup> <https://mslu.by/news/mglu-uchastnik-istoricheskogo-sobytiya/>

<sup>88</sup> [https://t.me/bspu\\_official/22205](https://t.me/bspu_official/22205)

<sup>89</sup> <https://t.me/orlyataklub/3206>

<sup>90</sup> <https://t.me/ZavObrazovanie/100396>

<sup>91</sup> [https://t.me/school\\_smolevichi/5974](https://t.me/school_smolevichi/5974)

<sup>92</sup> [https://t.me/krestyanskaya\\_14/29349](https://t.me/krestyanskaya_14/29349)

<sup>93</sup> <https://t.me/sovedu/106099>

<sup>94</sup> [https://t.me/krestyanskaya\\_14/29349](https://t.me/krestyanskaya_14/29349)

<sup>95</sup> <https://t.me/mqks0/6528>

<sup>96</sup> <https://t.me/filialbntumqask/5392>

<sup>97</sup> [https://t.me/BSMU\\_official/46662](https://t.me/BSMU_official/46662)

<sup>98</sup> [https://t.me/bspu\\_official/22197](https://t.me/bspu_official/22197)

<sup>99</sup> [https://t.me/bseu\\_official/26004](https://t.me/bseu_official/26004)

<sup>100</sup> <https://belstu.by/news/university/educational-work/v-bgtu-sostoyalas-prezentacziva-knigi-superpozicziya-parallelnye-miry>

<sup>101</sup> <https://bsac.by/events/vystavka-parallelnye-miry>

<sup>102</sup> [https://t.me/univer\\_mitso/14762](https://t.me/univer_mitso/14762)

<sup>103</sup> <https://t.me/mqptklogist/2930>



College of Modern Technologies in Machine Building and Automobile Service,<sup>104</sup> BSMU,<sup>105</sup> BSUCA.<sup>106</sup> We would like to emphasize the fact that part of the exhibition is devoted to Aliaksandr Lukashenka's quotes about the position of Western Belarus within Poland and the events of September 1939.

Fourth, a regular phenomenon of March was the involvement of pupils and students in watching politically motivated trials of Belarusian citizens. Students of Minsk College of Entrepreneurship were taken to an open trial, where a resident of Baranavichy was tried under Article 342 of the Criminal Code, which is used by the authorities to repress participants of protest rallies and actions.<sup>107</sup> Another similar trial took place in the Minsk branch of the Russian State Social University, where a young man was also tried under Article 342. The distinctive features of this trial are the open demonstration of the defendant on the resources of the university, as well as the report that some students watched the trial as an element of education. Especially paradoxical in this situation is the message on the website of the Minsk branch of RSSU, where the political persecution of citizens is called "*a unique experience for future specialists, which helps them better understand the profession and prepare for practical activity.*"<sup>108</sup> In BrSTU, students were forced to watch a trial, which considered the case of a young man accused of "public insult of Aliaksandr Lukashenka" (Article 368 of the Criminal Code of Belarus). At the end of the trial, the court found the young man guilty and sent him to an open-type correctional facility for two years.<sup>109</sup> Students of Minsk College of Construction were taken to the trial of Savetski District Court of Minsk, which was held on the case of abuse of state symbols (Article 370 of the Criminal Code).<sup>110</sup> The regular involvement of young people in watching politically motivated trials is clear evidence of the strengthening of ideologization of Belarusian education and shows the aspiration of the authorities to turn political persecution of citizens into an everyday element of ideological education of young people.

Fifth, mass screenings of the new propaganda film "Alien Sky" started in Belarusian education. The new movie was deceitfully made for Belarusian state mass media and is devoted to the problems of Belarusians who, because of political persecution in Belarus, found themselves in emigration. The propagandistic character of the film is that it shows life outside Belarus in an extremely negative light, tells about the advantages of life in Belarus, criticizes Belarusian opposition forces, as well as European and international organizations that provide assistance to Belarusians who find themselves in emigration. Right after the premiere, the film was recommended for viewing on the official resource of the Ministry of Education,<sup>111</sup> and the BSAA held the first screenings of the movie for students.<sup>112</sup> In March, the propaganda film was also shown to students of the Minsk branch of RSSU as part of their study of the discipline "Fundamentals of Prevention and Counteraction to Terrorism and Extremism"<sup>113</sup> and to students of Mahiliou State University named after A.A. Kuleshov.<sup>114</sup> Finally, the loudest example of showing a propaganda film was recorded in HrSU, where the life of Belarusian emigrants abroad

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<sup>104</sup> [https://t.me/kstmia\\_uo\\_ripo/9401](https://t.me/kstmia_uo_ripo/9401)

<sup>105</sup> [https://t.me/BSMU\\_official/46169](https://t.me/BSMU_official/46169)

<sup>106</sup> <https://t.me/bguki/27353>

<sup>107</sup> <https://t.me/mcbbyy/2883>

<sup>108</sup> <https://tinyurl.com/2p8xw4zt>

<sup>109</sup> [https://t.me/BrSTU\\_telegram/7031](https://t.me/BrSTU_telegram/7031)

<sup>110</sup> <https://tinyurl.com/yc43c239>

<sup>111</sup> <https://t.me/MinobrofBelarus/37007>

<sup>112</sup> <https://t.me/akadbgai/10675>

<sup>113</sup> <https://tinyurl.com/4y36s2vj>

<sup>114</sup> <https://t.me/MGUKULESHOV/13067>

was discussed with students by Minister of Education Andrei Ivanets.<sup>115</sup> Showing the movie “Alien Sky” to students is one of the elements of pro-government propaganda, which seeks to show young people the advantages of life in Belarus and to create a negative impression about the life of migrants in European countries. We are sure that Andrei Ivanets' public support of the practice of showing propaganda films in educational institutions will only increase the number of such events throughout Belarus, and we expect to see this phenomenon already in April.

**6. Slight decrease in the rates of militarization of Belarusian education.** Unlike the process of ideologization, in March we observed a slight decrease in the rates of militarization of Belarusian education as compared with February. At the same time, the decrease in the rates of militarization is an expected phenomenon and it is caused by the fact that February in Belarusian education is traditionally the most active period of activity of representatives of power structures in educational institutions in connection with the celebration of the Day of Defenders of the Fatherland and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus on February 23. If we assess the level of militarization of Belarusian education in March, we observed rather high rates of introduction of the paramilitary component into the educational process at the levels of general secondary, vocational and technical and specialized secondary education. The traditional forms of militarization of Belarusian education were the activity of military-patriotic clubs, visits of pupils to the locations of power structures, agitation work of representatives of power structures in educational institutions, involvement of pupils in various paramilitary events and tournaments. A notable action of the authorities on further militarization of Belarusian education is the introduction of the educational program “UAV Technologies” in the National Children's Technopark since June. During the educational shift, the students will study the principles of operation and design of unmanned aerial vehicles, as well as the hardware and electronics necessary for controlling and programming their flight. At the end of the training, young people are expected to master the technique of piloting UAVs in manual and programmed modes.<sup>116</sup> Despite the fact that representatives of the National Children's Technopark declare the exclusively peaceful nature of UAV use, we are confident that the Technopark's site will be actively used in the future by military-patriotic clubs and other paramilitary youth structures as another base for training operators of combat drones. Another significant phenomenon of March was the launch of a new paramilitary tournament “Breakthrough” among students. Examples of universities' participation in the paramilitary tournament can be seen in the examples of MSPU,<sup>117</sup> HSAU,<sup>118</sup> HrSU,<sup>119</sup> where students competed in shooting, firearms and tactical training. Earlier we have repeatedly reported that the militarization of higher education in Belarus is poorly implemented and the creation of a new paramilitary tournament for students is aimed at solving the problem of strengthening this process in universities. Thus, despite the general decrease in the pace of militarization compared to February, the introduction of the paramilitary component into the educational process continues, although this process is not so noticeable against the background of the intensified ideologization of Belarusian education.

**7. Intensification of international educational cooperation with China.** The beginning of 2025 was marked by the intensification of the dependence of Belarusian education on Russia, which was the main and the only significant partner of Belarus in the field of international

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<sup>115</sup> [https://t.me/grsu\\_official/24005](https://t.me/grsu_official/24005)

<sup>116</sup> <https://www.osh.by/?p=118859>

<sup>117</sup> [https://t.me/mspu\\_by/16623](https://t.me/mspu_by/16623)

<sup>118</sup> <https://www.ggau.by/news/7519-voenno-prikladnaya-igra-prorvy-dukhn-sorevnovaniya-i-komandnogo-edinstva>

<sup>119</sup> [https://t.me/grsu\\_official/24048](https://t.me/grsu_official/24048)

educational cooperation during January-February. Although Russia remains the main partner of Belarus according to the results of March, the results of the monitoring research show some improvement of the situation in the sphere of international educational cooperation for Belarus and, first of all, it is explained by the activation of contacts of Belarusian educational institutions with China. According to the results of March, China restored the status of the second most important partner of Belarus in the field of international educational cooperation: during the month new agreements on cooperation were concluded between educational institutions of Belarus and China, and representatives of the sphere of education regularly made visits to Belarus and China. Apart from Russia and China, we recorded contacts of Belarusian educational institutions with Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republika Srpska), Burundi, Venezuela, Vietnam, India, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Myanmar, UAE, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Turkey, Uzbekistan, Eritrea, Ethiopia. At the same time, only Belarus's contacts with Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Vietnam can be called permanent and demonstrate a significant level of partnership in the educational sphere. We still have not recorded any significant educational contacts of Belarus with the countries of the European Union and North America, which testifies to the continuation of the course of the Belarusian authorities on the isolation of Belarusian education caused by ideological reasons.

#### **8. Growth of the influence of the Aliaksei Talai Foundation in Belarusian education.**

Already in the February monitoring research, we reported that pro-government activist Aliaksei Talai became the most active figure in Belarusian education, and the structures connected with him managed to realize several projects with the help of the education system, some of which had an obvious pro-Russian essence. In March, Aliaksei Talai's activity in Belarusian education decreased, but it cannot be said about the activity of the structures connected with him. For example, all levels of education were involved in the process of the collection of Soviet coins to make a monument on the theme of the Great Patriotic War, which will be installed in Moscow. Examples of participation of the education system in this project can be seen in kindergartens in Drahichyn,<sup>120</sup> Pruzhany,<sup>121</sup> Smarhon,<sup>122</sup> schools in Minsk,<sup>123</sup> Brest,<sup>124</sup> Baranavichy,<sup>125</sup> Navapolatsk,<sup>126</sup> Homiel,<sup>127</sup> Pruzhany district,<sup>128</sup> Petrykau district<sup>129</sup> and Maladzechna district;<sup>130</sup> colleges of Minsk,<sup>131</sup> Vitsiebsk,<sup>132</sup> Pastavy,<sup>133</sup> Polatsk,<sup>134</sup> Homiel,<sup>135</sup> Zhlobin,<sup>136</sup> Kletsk,<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> <https://t.me/eduDrog/25454>

<sup>121</sup> [https://t.me/pruzhany\\_schools/15576](https://t.me/pruzhany_schools/15576)

<sup>122</sup> [https://t.me/obrazovanie\\_smorgon/57048](https://t.me/obrazovanie_smorgon/57048)

<sup>123</sup> [https://t.me/mosue\\_minsk/57812](https://t.me/mosue_minsk/57812)

<sup>124</sup> [https://t.me/brest\\_moskovskij/45340](https://t.me/brest_moskovskij/45340)

<sup>125</sup> [https://t.me/obrasovanie\\_baranovichi/32299](https://t.me/obrasovanie_baranovichi/32299)

<sup>126</sup> [https://t.me/pro\\_education\\_np/38850](https://t.me/pro_education_np/38850)

<sup>127</sup> [https://t.me/Novobelica\\_Obrazovanie/44699](https://t.me/Novobelica_Obrazovanie/44699)

<sup>128</sup> [https://t.me/pruzhany\\_schools/15511](https://t.me/pruzhany_schools/15511)

<sup>129</sup> <https://t.me/petrikovoo/72844>

<sup>130</sup> <https://t.me/obrazovaniemolodechno/7678>

<sup>131</sup> [https://t.me/BTEU\\_MINSK/467](https://t.me/BTEU_MINSK/467)

<sup>132</sup> <https://vqke.by/2025/03/19/akcija-deti-belarusi-veteranam-i-budushhim-pokolenijam/>

<sup>133</sup> <https://t.me/postavykolledi/2625>

<sup>134</sup> <https://t.me/psecby/3377>

<sup>135</sup> <https://t.me/kgatpl/5756>

<sup>136</sup> <https://t.me/bntuzgmk/5454>

<sup>137</sup> <https://tinvurl.com/yvn8xfu4>

Dziarzhynsk;<sup>138</sup> as well as in BSU,<sup>139</sup> BSAA,<sup>140</sup> Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs,<sup>141</sup> VSMU,<sup>142</sup> BSMU,<sup>143</sup> HSTU,<sup>144</sup> VSAVM,<sup>145</sup> BrSTU.<sup>146</sup> It can be noticed that in some cases the participation of children and young people in the action had a formal and forced character, as evidenced by the large number of given valid Belarusian, Russian and other coins. Besides, the Aliaksei Talai Foundation used students of BelSUT<sup>147</sup> and students of Homiel College of Constructors<sup>148</sup> for the collection and sending of aid, which was sent to Kursk, Belgorod and to the occupied territories of Ukraine. The position of the Aliaksei Talai Foundation in Belarusian education is strengthened by the cooperation agreement signed in March between the Foundation and the pro-governmental movement Belaya Rus. We believe that this agreement will allow Aliaksei Talai's structures to use Belaya Rus for mass attraction of the education sphere to participation in pro-Russian projects. First of all, the Aliaksei Talai Foundation, with the help of Belaya Rus, will be able to massively collect aid for the needs of the Russian authorities in the occupied territories of Ukraine. We have already seen how on the initiative of Belaya Rus, educational institutions across the country were forced to collect such aid in the summer-fall of 2024 within the framework of the action "Back to Back." We suppose that due to the new cooperation agreement, such collections can become a common phenomenon in Belarusian education, and their realization will contribute to the spreading of Russian influence among Belarusian youth.

**9. Dissemination of Russian propaganda theses in Belarusian education.** Throughout March, we constantly recorded cases of promotion of the Russian propaganda agenda among young Belarusians. It is important to note that the Russian propaganda was disseminated in various ways and often with the help of pro-Russian structures in Belarus:

First, the students continued to be involved in Russian events with obvious propaganda overtones. For example, students of Mahiliou Polytechnic College took part in the Russian drawing contest "Defenders of the Fatherland. Zavetam Verny" [*true to testaments*]. Although the works of young people from Belarus were dedicated to the events of World War II, the organizers of the contest openly placed the symbols of Russian aggression against Ukraine "Z" and "V" on the certificates.<sup>149</sup> Theses of Russian propaganda were also promoted among teachers and students of Homiel College-branch of BelSUT during their participation in the forum "Dvizhemsya Vmeste" [*moving together*]. The propaganda character of the event is evidenced by the use of the letter "V" in its name – a symbol of Russian aggression against Ukraine. Among the organizers of the forum and its speakers were participants of the war against Ukraine,<sup>150</sup> and the program of the event included stories of Russian activists about their visits to the occupied Ukrainian territories.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> [https://t.me/dgk\\_dzr/576](https://t.me/dgk_dzr/576)

<sup>139</sup> [https://t.me/official\\_bsu/19251](https://t.me/official_bsu/19251)

<sup>140</sup> <https://t.me/akadbgai/10756>

<sup>141</sup> <https://amia.by/news/pamyati-pokolenij-byt>

<sup>142</sup> [https://t.me/mediacenter\\_vgmu/16318](https://t.me/mediacenter_vgmu/16318)

<sup>143</sup> [https://t.me/BSMU\\_official/46695](https://t.me/BSMU_official/46695)

<sup>144</sup> [https://t.me/gstu\\_news/25543](https://t.me/gstu_news/25543)

<sup>145</sup> [https://t.me/vsavm\\_official/29441](https://t.me/vsavm_official/29441)

<sup>146</sup> [https://t.me/BrSTU\\_telegram/7074](https://t.me/BrSTU_telegram/7074)

<sup>147</sup> [https://t.me/bsut\\_oms/8626](https://t.me/bsut_oms/8626)

<sup>148</sup> <https://t.me/uogqpls/2125>

<sup>149</sup> <https://www.politex.mogilev.by/be/news/konkurs-risunkov-zashchitniki-otechestva-zavetam-verny-4817>

<sup>150</sup> <https://t.me/gkfb2021/8209>

<sup>151</sup> <https://udmurt-news.net/other/2025/03/21/73580.html>

Secondly, Russian propaganda in Belarusian education was promoted with the help of invited Russian speakers. The presentation of the book “Source Code” by Russian figure Kirill Koktysh took place at the Academy of Management. The main idea of the book is to criticize liberal democracy and to promote extremely dubious ideas. For example, the Russian author promotes the idea that *“democracy in its pure form, in fact, is a blocker of innovation production, a blocker of progress.”*<sup>152</sup> In addition, the author accuses Western countries that *“democracy is promoted by them as a norm for the realization of neo-colonialist policies in the world.”* The position of Rector of the Academy of Management Ihar Buzouski, who praised the book in every possible way and assessed its content as “new and bold”, which is “super relevant for managers of a new format”, is also extremely revealing. Igor Buzovsky also stated, *“Previously, for various reasons, we did not want to develop knowledge in this direction: the strategy for liberalization, democratization, and the standards that dominated many processes were the reasons for this. And today, having declared that we are looking for our way and our strategy, we have the opportunity to write and publish such books.”*<sup>153</sup> Recall that the Academy of Management exists to train civil servants in Belarus, and the fact that the rector of the university promotes a book that openly criticizes democracy and presents it as a tool to promote the interests of foreign states is quite indicative. Another notable event in March was an event at the Minsk branch of RSSU dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the Yalta Conference and the 11th anniversary of the so-called “Crimean Spring” (occupation of the peninsula by Russia). The students were addressed by Mikhail Solomentsev, a representative of the Russian occupation authorities in Crimea, with a story about the consequences of the Russian occupation for the peninsula, and Raman Chahrynets, chairman of the public organization “Belarusians of Crimea”, shared his memories of the events of 2014, when Crimea was occupied by Russia. In addition, students were openly told about the concept of the “Russian World” as a *“value-based alternative to Western models of development.”*<sup>154</sup> Finally, an odious Russian Viktor Bout, who is known in the world as an arms dealer, sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment in the USA, addressed the students of BSU. At the same time, Victor Bout was presented to the students of BSU as an “expert and public figure”, and Rector of BSU Andrei Karol drew attention to the fact that the speeches of such people are extremely relevant in the conditions of “opposition of Eastern and Western civilizations.”<sup>155</sup>

Thirdly, local pro-Russian activists and organizations were also engaged in spreading Russian propaganda in Belarusian education. For example, in Homiel, school students, as well as students of Homiel Medical and Agrarian-Economic Colleges at the local “Russian House” were shown the propaganda film “Crimea. Reborn,” which not only identifies the peninsula as Russian territory, but also promotes the idea of the positive consequences of the Russian occupation for Crimea.<sup>156</sup> At the end of March, lessons dedicated to the Day of Remembrance of the Victims of the Khatyn Tragedy were held all over the country, and in Mahiliou School No. 24 such a lesson was held by Aleksandr Pavlov, an activist of the pro-Russian organization “Union Movement.”<sup>157</sup> As can be seen, at the end of the event, the speaker handed the school library a propaganda book “Donbass - Novorossiya: Belarusian view”, where the events of Russia's war

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<sup>152</sup> <https://www.pac.by/press-center/news/kniga-ishodnii-kod-prezentovana-v-akademii-upravleniya/>

<sup>153</sup> <https://www.sb.by/articles/iskhodnyy-kod.html>

<sup>154</sup> <https://tinyurl.com/tf8x6apv>

<sup>155</sup> <https://bsu.by/news/geopoliticheskie-vyzovy-i-istoricheskuyu-pamyat-belarusi-i-rossii-obsudili-v-bgu-d/>

<sup>156</sup> <https://t.me/russiagogomel/6528>

<sup>157</sup> <https://t.me/souvezby/2155>



against Ukraine are described exclusively from pro-Russian positions. Once again the students of the capital's military-patriotic club “Eaglets. Heirs of Victory!” were involved in the obviously pro-Russian event. In March, school students met with the founder of STF-Montazh LLC and deputy of the Cherven District Council of Deputies Andrei Hundar to discuss mechanisms of assistance for Russian participants in the aggressive war against Ukraine. It is notable that Russian soldiers are called “our servicemen” in the club's message, and their actions on the territory of Ukraine – “defense of our Motherland”.<sup>158</sup> Recall that Andrei Hundar earlier this year has already cooperated with representatives of the club in the collection of aid for the Russian military,<sup>159</sup> and the new meeting indicates that cooperation in this direction can be carried out on a permanent basis.

Fourth, Belarusian students were involved in ideological events of Russian structures in Belarus. School students from Brest were involved in the press conference, which was dedicated to the start of the motor rally “Belarus - Russia” within the framework of the project “Commonwealth” and the celebration of the 80th anniversary of the USSR Victory in the Great Patriotic War.<sup>160</sup> As can be seen, the route of the rally will pass through the occupied territories of Ukraine (Luhansk and Donetsk regions, Crimea), which was openly mentioned by the speakers at the press conference, calling these territories Russian.<sup>161</sup> Students of the military-patriotic club “Eaglets. Heirs of Victory!”<sup>162</sup> as well as students of the capital's school No. 10<sup>163</sup> were involved in the ceremony of consecration of the monument at the mass grave of soldiers of the Russian Imperial Army in Minsk. The monument is distinguished by the fact that the Russian imperial coat of arms<sup>164</sup> is used in its design and this automatically makes the monument a tool for promoting Russian ideological attitudes in Belarus.

Since the beginning of 2025, we observe a significant increase in the activity of the agents of Russian influence in Belarusian education, and the dissemination of the theses of Russian propaganda becomes a regular phenomenon of it. The examples listed above indicate the continuation of this trend and the expansion of the activity of pro-Russian forces in Belarus. We should separately note the strengthening of the positions of the organization “Union Movement” in Belarusian education: while a year ago this organization was not allowed to work in schools, in 2025 this work acquires a national scale, and the leader of the organization, Siarhei Lushch, becomes a more and more prominent conductor of pro-Russian ideas in Belarusian education.

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<sup>158</sup> <https://t.me/orlyatakclub/3293>

<sup>159</sup> <https://t.me/orlyatakclub/2520>

<sup>160</sup> [https://t.me/brest\\_moskovskij/44587](https://t.me/brest_moskovskij/44587)

<sup>161</sup> [https://t.me/brest\\_moskovskij/44588](https://t.me/brest_moskovskij/44588)

<sup>162</sup> <https://t.me/orlyatakclub/3074>

<sup>163</sup> [https://t.me/partizan\\_obr/76802](https://t.me/partizan_obr/76802)

<sup>164</sup> <https://nashaniva.com/ru/363745>