

**“There can be no ideology without cinema”**

Lukashenka’s cult of personality and Soviet-style narratives in  
Belarusian propaganda in June 2025

Monthly review of narratives of Belarusian and Russian propaganda targeting  
Belarus

**Belarus Propaganda Update**

#21. June 2025

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:**

- **BELARUS**

In June, there were a number of signs indicating that the Belarusian regime intends to intensify its propaganda efforts in the country. Lukashenka again spoke of the need to create a national idea and increase the production of patriotic films.

Propagandists continued to glorify dictator Lukashenka, thereby strengthening his cult of personality. They emphasize the dictator's "unique role" in preserving Belarus's independence, as well as the importance of strategic alliances with Russia and China.

Lukashenka's June trip to Beijing and his meeting with Xi Jinping were enthusiastically reported by the loyal media. Particular importance was attached to the "family" nature of the meeting between the two dictators.

Despite the high assessment of the results of the meeting with the Chinese leader, the greatest attention is being paid to the strategic alliance with Russia.

- **BELARUS'S DEMOCRATIC FORCES**

Propaganda continues its efforts to discredit, ridicule, and intimidate representatives of democratic forces and Belarusians who oppose the regime.

As a result of the visit of U.S. Envoy Keith Kellogg to Minsk and his meeting with Lukashenka, a new group of political prisoners was released. State channels tried to present this as if the most insignificant figures who "posed no danger" had been released.

- **WAR IN UKRAINE**

iSANS media monitoring showed an increase in hostile anti-Ukrainian statements in the Belarusian media in June. Propaganda presents the conflict as an inevitable result of the aggressive policy of Kyiv and the West, emphasizing Belarus's "peacekeeping role" in the negotiation process.

Several statements were recorded that used the classic propaganda technique of shifting the blame for starting the war from the aggressor to the victim.

In response to strikes on Russian strategic air bases, Belarusian propaganda accused Ukraine of terrorist attacks and tried to downplay the damage caused.

Propagandists continue to justify and defend the illegal transfer of Ukrainian children to Belarus.

At the same time, "peaceful" statements are being made that Belarus wants peace as soon as possible and is in favor of negotiations.

- **WESTERN COUNTRIES**

Propaganda continues to portray the West as a hostile, hypocritical, and degenerate international player seeking to weaken Russia and Belarus, but losing its influence and facing internal problems.

The excitement and euphoria of Donald Trump's first months as U.S. president are now replaced by disappointment and skepticism. The rise of anti-Trump sentiment became particularly evident after the U.S. participated in Israel's operation against Iran's nuclear facilities.

Lukashenka's propaganda continues to portray Poland and the Baltic states as Belarus's main foreign policy enemies.

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In general, Belarusian propaganda continues to operate in a logic of total confrontation with the West and the opposition, while glorifying Lukashenka as the center of national unity and stability, the union with Russia as a guarantor of security, and rapprochement with China as a civilizational choice. The information campaign is accompanied by harsh militaristic rhetoric and justification of repression against "enemies inside and outside."

## **BELARUS**

### ***Strengthening propaganda***

In June, there were a number of signs indicating that the Belarusian regime intends to intensify its propaganda efforts.

On June 12, at a meeting with his administration, Aliaksandr Lukashenka said it was important to develop a “national idea.” He wasn't happy with the ideological work going on in the country. According to Lukashenka, the country still needs “an idea that could capture hearts, minds, and souls.”<sup>1</sup>

Recall that in April this year, he signed a directive “On the Fundamentals of State Ideology,” but apparently, this document had no effect.

Also in June, Lukashenka visited the state film studio Belarusfilm, where he gave a long speech to the company's management. In it, he criticized the work of the film studio and called the state of affairs with patriotic films “extremely unsatisfactory.” Lukashenka warned that the company should not count on additional funds from the budget if it did not make good films, and also pointed out that cinema was part of the state ideological machine: “There can be no ideology without cinema.”<sup>2</sup>

### ***Lukashenka's cult of personality***

In June, propaganda regularly emphasized the dictator's “unique role” in preserving Belarus's independence, as well as the strategic importance of alliances with Russia and China. In state-controlled media, the “president” is portrayed as the only possible leader, the “center of national unity” and the “guarantor” of the country's sovereignty. It is emphasized that Lukashenka personally defends the country and bears “enormous pressure” amid growing conflicts.

In the context of strengthening the cult of personality surrounding the “president,” it is worth dwelling on the “achievements” of Rychor Azaronak, a TV presenter on the Belarusian STV state TV channel. This propagandist is viewed as an aggressive madman who is “approved” by the authorities and who knows no bounds in his glorification of Lukashenka and moral destruction of his “enemies.”

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<sup>1</sup> “God willing, we will finally tell the people clearly not only what ideology is, but also, as we always say: we should develop a national idea that can capture the hearts and minds of the people. Maybe it already exists. Some people say “patriotism” or something else. But I don't feel that there is such an idea. If we develop it (and this should be a very important goal for us, one that will capture everything from people's hearts to their minds), that will be the pinnacle.” Aliaksandr Lukashenka, BelTA, 12.06 <https://belta.by/president/view/eto-budet-vershina-lukashenko-zajavil-o-neobhodimosti-vyrabotat-natsionalnuju-ideju-720547-2025/>.

<sup>2</sup> “You made a good product – it's worth the money. Especially for a good film. Because there's a shortage of them. A terrible shortage in our society. We can't do without them. There can be no ideology without cinema.” Aliaksandr Lukashenka, BelTA, 10.06 <https://belta.by/president/view/otdacha-minusovaja-lukashenko-raskritikoval-rabotu-belarusfilma-720075-2025/>.

In Azaronak's article in the Minskaya Prauda newspaper, dedicated to Children's Day on June 1, the Belarusian president is portrayed as "the father" – "strong, competent." He is "the most courageous man for his daughter – an example of her future husband." For his son, according to Azaronak, Lukashenka is an "unattainable model." And the West, according to the propagandist, "destroys childhood," "cripples innocent souls," and puts "not a doll or a rattle, but a **vibrator**" in a child's crib.<sup>3</sup>

In his program "The Secret Springs of Politics" on June 4, Azaronak obsequiously calls Lukashenka "the abbot of our land" and "the bird of happiness," and prophesies "a fiery hell" (*with the grammatical error*) for those who challenge his power. The propagandist claims that despite Belarus's lack of a huge army, a billion-strong population, or access to the sea, it has Lukashenka, who is "more powerful" than all of that.<sup>4</sup>

Belarusian channels continue to use the word "dictatorship" for the needs of their ideology. Yes, we have a dictatorship, propagandists agree, but this dictatorship is a "good" one. ONT TV presenter Ihar Tur: Belarus has a "reasonable authoritarian system, and dictatorship is just a form of implementing this reasonable authoritarian system of power."<sup>5</sup>

### **Lukashenka's trip to China and meeting with Xi Jinping**

The visit of the Belarusian "president" to China on June 2-4 and his meeting with the Chinese president were presented by propaganda as one of the main world events and a geopolitical triumph for Lukashenka, confirming his status as a world leader.

The focus of media coverage of the visit is on the "highest level of reception" of Lukashenka in Beijing. The media describe the meeting with Xi as "family-like,"<sup>6</sup> while propagandists call it a "friendly lunch" that became a "sign of the highest trust

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<sup>3</sup> "The West is destroying childhood. It is crippling innocent souls. It puts not a doll or rattles in a child's crib, but a vibrator. [...] Our children have a Father. His name is Aliaksandr Lukashenka. For all our children, he is strong and competent. For girls, he is the most courageous man and an example of a future husband. For boys, he is the greatest authority and an unattainable ideal." Ryhor Azaronak, Minskaya Prauda, 01.06 <https://mlyn.by/01062025/kogda-zapad-kalechit-a-ukraina-ubivaet-kak-v-belarusi-stroyat-krepost-dlya-detej/>.

<sup>4</sup> "Belarus has no resources. It has no huge army. It has no billion-strong population. It has no access to the sea. It has no colonies. But Belarus has Lukashenka. That is more powerful. And that is why Xi is waiting for him. The ruler of the Chinese Empire is welcoming a dear guest. Like a great bird bringing good news. The Bird of Happiness. As it was written in ancient times." (Telegram channel "Azaryonok. STV. Belarus"), 04.06 <https://t.me/AzarenokCTV/51080>.

<sup>5</sup> "Firstly, in terms of the form of government, we have a reasonable authoritarian system, and dictatorship is just a form of implementing this reasonable authoritarian system of government. And secondly, all those who dislike Lukashenka's dictatorship, believe me, you simply misunderstand it or do not understand it at all." Ihar Tur, ONT, 16.06 <https://t.me/ontnews/182907>.

<sup>6</sup> "It was a family meeting in a small circle. Not official, not working – family. I believe that the visit was successful. And most importantly, the corridor has been expanded for them – take action. That is why I told the ambassador: 'You are responsible for relations with China. These are new opportunities for us.'" Aliaksandr Lukashenka, BelTA, 04.06 <https://belta.by/president/view/lukashenko-i-si-tszinpin-podtverdili-kurs-na-ukreplenie-druzhby-i-dogovorilis-intensifitsirovat-718915-2025/>.

and respect.”<sup>7</sup> It is noted with particular enthusiasm that the Chinese leader received the Belarusian dictator not in his official residence, but “at home.”<sup>8</sup> According to propagandists, this fact alone speaks to the failure of Western attempts to isolate Belarus from the international community.<sup>9</sup>

Ihar Tur: “Which other world leader was welcomed by Xi Jinping as warmly as Aliaksandr Lukashenka? Practically no one!”<sup>10</sup>

State-controlled media outlets describe the friendship with China as a “strategic partnership” and an “all-weather” alliance.<sup>11</sup> China, along with Russia, is called “one of the foreign policy pillars of sovereign Belarus.”<sup>12</sup>

Lukashenka’s trip to Beijing coincided with the opening in Minsk of a new football stadium for 33,000 spectators, built entirely at China’s expense. The facility was called a “grand project” and a “monument to Belarusian-Chinese cooperation and personal friendship” between Lukashenka and Xi. At the opening ceremony, Lukashenka proposed erecting a monument to Xi in Minsk in gratitude for the “gift from the Chinese people.”<sup>13</sup> Belarusian TV channels glorified the Chinese leader, not

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<sup>7</sup>“The international community should follow the example of friendship, mutual support, and joint development between Belarus and China, as demonstrated by the current visit of the President. This is not a working or official visit. It is a visit for a friendly family dinner. Perhaps it would not hurt for world leaders to gather and talk to each other about the common future of their peoples on the global agenda.” Mikalai Snapkou, Deputy Prime Minister of Belarus, BelTA, 03.06 <https://belta.by/politics/view/chem-unikaleni-vizit-lukashenko-v-kitaj-i-kakoj-primer-podajut-lidery-snopkov-rasskazal-podrobnosti-718737-2025/>.

<sup>8</sup> “A rare occasion: Xi Jinping received the leader of another state not in the official halls for international meetings, but at his home. Moreover, he was in an obviously good, elevated mood. No wonder, since an old and dear friend had come to visit.” Vadzim Hihin, SB. Belarus Segodnya, 07.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/plody-dobroserdechnosti.html>.

<sup>9</sup> “After the events of 2020, we were promised isolation, and people shouted, ‘Belarus will be isolated!’ This is impossible, and time has shown that the plans to isolate our country have not only failed but now look ridiculous. Today, the President of Belarus is being received by the leader of a superpower. [...] My friends, if Belarus were as you say – not sovereign – no one would meet with our President at such a high level. But he is being received at the highest level, which shows that the Republic of Belarus is indeed a sovereign and independent state, a strong state, a state which a great deal depends on in the region.” Aleh Haidukevich, pro-government politician, member of the House of Representatives of the National Assembly of Belarus, personal Telegram channel, 04.06 <https://t.me/gajdukevichh/9327>.

<sup>10</sup> “Which other world leader was welcomed by Xi Jinping as warmly as Aliaksandr Lukashenka? Practically no one!” Ihar Tur, ONT, 09.06 <https://t.me/ontnews/182311> <https://youtu.be/cV3aSsZjhrY>.

<sup>11</sup> “We are currently in a phase of ‘all-weather comprehensive strategic partnership’ [with China] – the highest stage of interaction with foreign states in China’s diplomatic hierarchy.” Aliaksandr Shpakouski, Telegram channel “Shpakouski. Po sushchestvu,” 04.06 <https://t.me/shpakouski/6431>.

<sup>12</sup> “Along with brotherly Russia, the People’s Republic of China is rightfully one of the foreign policy pillars of sovereign Belarus. It is important to emphasize that both Belarus and China are committed to further enhancing the quality of bilateral relations. In the near future, society will witness another series of landmark events in the economic and political context of Belarusian-Chinese cooperation.” Aliaksandr Shpakouski, Telegram channel “Shpakouski. Po sushchestvu,” 07.06 <https://t.me/shpakouski/6451>.

<sup>13</sup> “It would be appropriate to erect a monument to my friend Xi Jinping here. Because it is only thanks to him that the Chinese built this stadium at their own expense.” Aliaksandr Lukashenka, BelTA 07.06

forgetting Lukashenka. For example, ONT TV presenter Maryna Karaman said that “you have to be Batska” for Xi to make such serious gifts.<sup>14</sup>

The most flattering of them went even further and hinted that not only Belarus should be grateful to China, but China should also be grateful to Lukashenka.

Ryhor Azaronak:

“Aliaksandr Lukashenka was in China even before he became President. Back then, the country was called a ‘banana republic.’ Or a rice one. [...] But he saw that the Chinese were working hard. [...] And then Batska said that the future belonged to China. Today, it is the world’s leading power.”<sup>15</sup>

Ihar Tur:

“Minsk and Aliaksandr Lukashenka personally will always be more important to Beijing and Xi Jinping personally than all the new ‘friends,’ because China remembers very well what it was like when friendship with China did not mean any benefits, and how people behaved towards Beijing back then.”<sup>16</sup>

### ***Alliance with Russia***

And yet, despite all the enthusiasm surrounding China, Russia remains Belarus’s main ally. Aliaksandr Lukashenka’s regime depends not only on Russia’s energy resources and finances, but also on its political support. In June, Belarusian propaganda often wrote about the “eternal friendship” between the two countries and emphasized that there were “no unresolved issues” between them.

On June 12, Lukashenka sent Putin a message congratulating him on Russia Day. In it, he called Russia “the leader of the movement for a new world order.”<sup>17</sup>

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<https://belta.by/president/view/lukashenko-predlozhit-postavit-v-minske-pamjatnik-si-tszinpinu-719699-2025/>.

<sup>14</sup> “There is a new stadium in Minsk. [...] At the entrance, there is a sculpture of Chinese and Belarusian footballers. The money is a gift from China. It’s a wonderful gift, I must say. You have to be Batska to get Xi Jinping to give your people such gifts.” Maryna Karaman, ONT, Telegram channel, 08.06 <https://t.me/zmeymarini4/6437>.

<sup>15</sup> “Aliaksandr Lukashenka visited China even before he became President. At that time, the country was referred to as a “banana republic.” Or perhaps a rice republic. It was when the West was at the height of its power. [...] But he saw that the Chinese were working hard. Work, work, work. [...] And then Batska said – The future belongs to China. Today, it is the leading power. [...] Now there’s a queue to Xi Jinping. And Aliaksandr Lukashenka is the one being waited for. Always waited. Even just for tea. To discuss what to do with the world, with Europe.” Ryhor Azaronak, Minskaya Prawdа, 03.06 <https://mlyn.by/03062025/azaryonok-nazval-poezdku-lukashenko-v-kitaj-vizitom-na-chaj/>.

<sup>16</sup> “Today, almost everyone wants to be friends with Beijing because they have enormous political influence, obvious military power, and the most powerful economy on the planet. But just three decades ago, the planet perceived China differently [...] Minsk and Aliaksandr Lukashenka personally will always be more important to Beijing and Xi Jinping personally than all the new “friends,” because China remembers very well what it was like when friendship with China did not mean any benefits, and how everyone behaved towards Beijing back then.” Ihar Tur, ONT, 09.06 <https://youtu.be/cV3aSsZjhrY>.

<sup>17</sup> “On the international stage, your country stands firmly in defense of national interests and is a leader in the movement to establish a new non-discriminatory world order and respect for state sovereignty.” Aliaksandr

On June 20, the “president” held a meeting in Minsk with Aleksandr Bastrykin, the head of Russia’s Investigative Committee, at which he spoke about Belarus’s exceptional support for Russia. He stated that Belarus is “the only country in the world” that supports Russia “in these difficult times.”<sup>18</sup>

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Lukashenka, website of the “president” of Belarus, 12.06 <https://president.gov.by/ru/events/pozdravlenie-prezidentu-rossii-vladimiru-putinu-1749654745>.

<sup>18</sup> “I want you to understand that we are with you in these difficult times. We have not hidden (the only country in the world) that we are with Russia. We have been, are, and will always be with you. You can count on us. Of course, we are doing this carefully and cautiously. We are not rushing into battle like Cossacks. But if we do rush in, we will fight alongside the Russian people to defend our common homeland. There is no escaping this. We have only one homeland, and there will be no other.” Aliaksandr Lukashenka, BelTA, 20.06 <https://belta.by/president/view/lukashenko-belarus-vsegda-byla-est-i-budet-vmeste-s-rossiej-722036-2025/>.

## BELARUS'S DEMOCRATIC FORCES

Propaganda continues to attempt to discredit representatives of the democratic forces and Belarusians who oppose the regime. “Fugitives” and “zmahars” (the derogatory terms used by propagandists to refer to political emigrants and participants in protests) are ridiculed as “incompetent” and “reality challenged.” They are accused of disloyalty, collaboration with the West, and treason. Threats are made against those who fight the regime, using terminology associated with terror and violence against any manifestation of disloyalty.

The peaceful protests of 2020 are remembered by representatives of the regime as the worst nightmare of their lives, a catastrophe that was narrowly avoided. Aliaksandr Lukashenka constantly recalls that large layers of the intelligentsia supported the protests, and he never fails to remind its representatives of this fact.

During the aforementioned visit to Belarusfilm, he suddenly attacked the film studio’s management, accusing them of supporting the events of five years ago. His speech was emotional, incoherent, and completely illogical. In particular, he claimed that cultural workers during the difficult days of 2020 “created propaganda,” “ran out into the streets in short skirts,” and that “everyone was raped” on the streets. At the same time, the dictator repeated his hackneyed thesis that if the protesters had won in 2020, there would have been “war” in Belarus, “we would not be here” (it is unclear who ‘we’ refers to), and everything “would be like in Ukraine.”<sup>19</sup>

Ryhor Azaronak immediately echoed the chief’s words. He praised Lukashenka for his statement and declared that “there has never been more sluttiness than among the artistic intelligentsia in 2020.”<sup>20</sup> In his usual aggressive manner, Azaronak promised the intelligentsia “cultural purges,” punishment for “treason,” and “flogging” even “for a single thought of treason.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> “Let’s be honest, it [2020] showed who’s who. And you were ahead. What if you hadn’t held out in 2020? We would have been at war... No, we wouldn’t have been at war, we would have been gone long ago! You see what’s happening in Ukraine. We wouldn’t be here. [...] The emotions that took hold of some artistic people at the time should have been kept in check, rather than giving in to them. [...] I don’t want to accuse you all en masse. You are emotional people, so am I. But emotions sometimes need to be used for the good of the cause. And hide them away until the time is right. Don’t rush. Where are you rushing to? You’re in no hurry to make films, but you were quick to rush out into the streets in short skirts and “rape” everyone there.” Aliaksandr Lukashenka, 10.06 <https://belta.by/president/view/lukashenko-kinematografistam-esli-by-v-2020-m-ne-vystojali-by-la-by-vojna-720203-2025/>.

<sup>20</sup> “Batska’s words are balm for the heart. There has never been more sluttiness than among the artistic intelligentsia in 2020. Only a few people stood up in all the collectives. All the rest whored around like the lowest herd. Was it so? It was. And they should be ashamed and disgusted forever. It’s disgusting even to look in the mirror.” Ryhor Azaronak, Telegram channel “Azaronak. STV. Belarus,” 10.06 <https://t.me/AzarenokCTV/51562>.

<sup>21</sup> “They [the intelligentsia] will have to redeem themselves for their eternal betrayal of their ancestors. Behind barbed wire. In sharashka. These are the times we live in. Batska was right to tell them what was happening in the world and along the borders. War. And if there is war, then get in line and work. [...] Work, elite. Work, intelligentsia. In harness. And if anything – a whip across the back – for a single attempt, for a single thought of treason. That’s it. [...] That’s how we’ll raise a new intelligentsia. That’s how our cultural

### ***Kellogg's visit and the release of a group of political prisoners***

On June 20, U.S. Envoy Keith Kellogg visited Minsk. At a meeting with Lukashenka, the special envoy, among other things, warned the Belarusian dictator against direct involvement of the Belarusian army in the war in Ukraine on the side of Russia.

But apparently there were other agreements as well. Right during Kellogg's visit, the Belarusian authorities released 14 political prisoners from prisons, including Siarhei Tsikhanouski, a former presidential candidate in the 2020 election and husband of Belarusian democratic leader Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya.

iSANS media monitoring revealed the desire of regime-controlled channels to present the meeting between Lukashenka and Kellogg as an outstanding diplomatic breakthrough that destroys the "myth of isolation" of Belarus, as well as to justify the sudden release of political prisoners whom they themselves had accused of all manner of crimes and for years called "extremists and terrorists."

Lukashenka was enraged by Tsikhanouski's words, who said after his release that "President Trump now has such power and opportunity that he can free all political prisoners in Belarus with a single word."<sup>22</sup> Speaking at a meeting dedicated to Belarusian Independence Day (July 1), Lukashenka said that, on the contrary, Trump would only have to ask (for the release of political prisoners) and all negotiations with him would be immediately terminated. He also tried to discredit the opposition activist by saying that Tsikhanouski is "pro-Russian."<sup>23</sup>

According to MP and propagandist Vadzim Hihin, the meeting shows that "there can be no talk of any international isolation of Belarus." Of course, Hihin could not do without the obligatory flattery of Lukashenka, and once again emphasized his merits in ensuring that "the Ukrainian armed conflict did not take on a much more threatening scale."<sup>24</sup>

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revolution will happen." Ryhor Azaronak, Minskaya Prauda, 11.06 <https://mlyn.by/11062025/kulturnaya-revoljucziya-oblichenie-intelligenczii/>.

<sup>22</sup> "President Trump now has the power and opportunity to free all political prisoners in Belarus with a single word. And I ask him to do so – to say that word." Siarhei Tsikhanouski, quoted from: REFORM.NEWS, 22.06 <https://reform.news/sergej-tihanovskij-posle-zakljuchenija-vesit-79-kilogrammov>.

<sup>23</sup> "Don't think that we were groveling there like one of the fugitives whom I personally released. The Americans didn't even ask for him. They consider him pro-Russian. It will be difficult for him to talk his way out of this. [...] He shouts: 'If Trump says a single word, he'll run, he'll release, he'll let go, something else.' As soon as Trump dares to say a single word, all talks with the Americans will cease." Aliaksandr Lukashenka, quoted from: REFORM.NEWS, 01.07 <https://reform.news/lukashenko-otvetil-tihanovskomu-ob-osvobozhdenii-politzakljuchennyh>.

<sup>24</sup> "The recent meeting is evidence of a number of important trends. First, there can be no talk of any 'international isolation' of Belarus. Second, in recent years, there has been a 'Belarusian channel,' a format for communication between the West and our Union State. This channel has made it possible to manage the level of escalation during the SMO [*special military operation*], preventing it from escalating and reaching a stage that could lead to a direct confrontation between Russia and NATO. [...] The enormous merit of our President in ensuring that the Ukrainian armed conflict did not take on a much more threatening scale is becoming increasingly obvious." Vadzim Hihin, SB. Belarus Segodnya, 25.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/iskrennost-rozhdaet-uvazhenie.html>

At the same time, Aliaksei Bialiayeu, the dean of the journalism faculty at BSU, appeared on ONT TV channel on June 25 and urged viewers not to “idealize” the meeting:

“We understand that political contacts always exist, even between states that are in a state of direct confrontation, direct war. Therefore, we should not console ourselves with the fact that Keith Kellogg has come to visit us.”<sup>25</sup>

According to Bialiayeu, Kellogg came to Lukashenka “to consult.” In his opinion, there is currently a “certain crisis of analysis” in the U.S., and American politicians “do not always have a correct understanding of what is really happening in the countries of the former USSR,” which is why they turned to “the oldest and most experienced politician in Eastern Europe” for analysis.<sup>26</sup>

Vadzim Yelfimau writes in the *SB. Belarus Segodnya* newspaper that Kellogg arrived in Minsk to “talk with a political guru and a true diplomat, who is so rare today.”<sup>27</sup>

As for the release of political prisoners, propaganda attempted to justify this move by claiming that they “pose no danger anyway.” Diplomat and propagandist Aliaksandr Shpakouski advised his audience to take this “absolutely calmly,” as Belarus has “a number of purely pragmatic goals that must be achieved through negotiations with the U.S.”<sup>28</sup>

The propaganda channel Pervy Informatsionny claimed that by releasing Siarhei Tsikhanouski, Lukashenka had “outplayed and destroyed” his opponents abroad.

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<sup>25</sup> “I wouldn’t idealize this meeting. We understand that political contacts always exist, even between states that are in a state of direct confrontation, direct war. Therefore, we should not console ourselves with the fact that Keith Kellogg came to visit us, what a joy... We understand that America perceives Russia as a geopolitical enemy in all its founding documents, they write and speak about this openly and frankly.” Aliaksei Bialiayeu, ONT, 25.06 <https://ont.by/news/ne-nado-idealizirovat-vstrechu-aleksandra-lukashenko-s-kitom-kellogom-zayavil-ekspert>.

<sup>26</sup> “Aliaksandr Lukashenka is currently the oldest serving head of state in Eastern Europe. He is an extremely experienced politician. [...] At the same time, we now see a certain crisis among analysts in a number of countries, in the former Soviet Union and in the United States. [...] That is why Aliaksandr Ryhoravich has been approached for his analytical view on all these issues – this is an indication that his opinion and experience are extremely important today.” Aliaksei Bialiayeu, *ibid*.

<sup>27</sup> “There are almost no real world diplomats left – you can count them on the fingers of one hand. One of them is Aliaksandr Lukashenka. That is why U.S. Special Envoy Keith Kellogg arrived in Minsk – to talk to a political guru and a true diplomat, who is so rare today and who has both strategic vision and tactical skills at the highest level.” Vadzim Yelfimau, *SB. Belarus Segodnya*, 26.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/kogda-iskrennost-v-osnove-politiki.html>.

<sup>28</sup> “As for unfounded fears about the possible harm caused by extremists who have been released, if our society is truly united, organized, ideologically motivated, patriotic media outlets set the information agenda, and law enforcement effectively protects the security of the state, then we won’t even notice the mosquito bites from the next batch of “fugitives” who have joined the ranks of malicious political emigrants.” Aliaksandr Shpakouski, Telegram channel “Shpakouski. Po sushchestvu,” 21.06 <https://t.me/shpakouski/6554>.

The argument was that “money was being collected in Tsikhanouski’s name, and now this had been stopped.”<sup>29</sup>

ONT TV presenter Ihar Tur presented Tsikhanouski’s “expulsion” from Belarus as a carefully thought-out move aimed at finally dividing and destroying the democratic forces.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> “For five years, the entire brood of office-bound activists carried around the “Tsikhanouski case” as if it were a sacred media treasure. [...] The key thing is that the story of “Tsikhanouski-gate” was used by the zmahars and their curators for personal PR and to line their pockets with grants, while Belarus turned it to the benefit of the country.” NEWS.BY Telegram channel, 24.06 [https://t.me/newsby\\_btrc/167046](https://t.me/newsby_btrc/167046).

<sup>30</sup> “To those who are concerned about Tsikhanouski’s release, I will say this: in backroom talks with some fugitives, they all said that if the authorities decide to push Siarozha out to Lithuania or Poland, it will be the end of the ‘democratic forces.’ [...] I will only add that Tsikhanouski’s inclusion in the list of those released by the Americans means that they [...] agreed with Minsk’s proposal to shoot (figuratively) this lame dog called the ‘Belarusian opposition’ by including Siarozha in this list.” Ihar Tur, “Glavny Tur” Telegram channel, 22.06 [https://t.me/glav\\_tur/14670](https://t.me/glav_tur/14670).

## WAR IN UKRAINE

### ***Justification of the “special military operation.” Shifting blame from the victim to the aggressor***

iSANS media monitoring showed an increase in hostile anti-Ukrainian statements in Belarusian propaganda in June. In materials loyal to the regime, Ukraine is called an “aggressor,” “terrorist” or “Nazi state,” “puppet of the West,” and attempts are made to discredit the political and military leadership of Ukraine.

It is emphasized that the “special military operation” (*a term used by Moscow to camouflage the word “war”, hereinafter referred to as SMO*) is a preventive measure against “Ukrainian aggression.” The conflict in Ukraine is presented as an inevitable result of the aggressive policies of Kyiv and the West, with emphasis on the “peacekeeping role” of Belarus.

Lukashenka’s “political scientists” use a typical propaganda technique to justify the war: they claim that the victim is to blame for being attacked by the aggressor, stating that Russia was forced to start the “special military operation.”

Vadzim Yelfimau:

“First they gave it [Ukraine] independence, then it grabbed Crimea, then asked for cheap energy resources, then said it wouldn’t pay for them, then started squeezing the local Russians out of the country, and now it’s saying that **all Russian lands are its own, ‘originally’ Ukrainian lands. And anyway, ‘there is no Russian people and there never was!’** Russia didn’t agree with that, and now here we are.”<sup>31</sup>

We should add that the statement highlighted in bold is a direct reflection of one of the main Russian narratives created to justify the invasion: “There is no Ukraine, it is all Russian land” and “Ukrainians and Russians are part of one people (Russian),” “Ukrainians are Russians who do not want to admit it.”

Yury Uvarau:

“Today, it is no secret that immediately after gaining ‘independence,’ Ukraine began preparing a springboard for military aggression against Russia. In 2022, Russia was forced to launch a preemptive strike, beginning the SMO.”<sup>32</sup>

Uvarau then claims that Russia “offered the Istanbul agreements,” but Ukraine “cynically violated them and provoked a new escalation,” thus repeating the Kremlin’s narrative from early 2022 justifying the invasion.

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<sup>31</sup> Vadzim Yelfimau, SB. Belarus Segodnya, 05.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/naglost-vtoroe-schaste.html>.

<sup>32</sup> “Today, it is no secret that immediately after gaining ‘independence,’ Ukraine began preparing a springboard for military aggression against Russia. In 2022, Russia was forced to launch a preemptive strike, beginning the SMO.” Yury Uvarau, Minskaya Pravda, 07.06 <https://mlyn.by/07062025/chtodolzhnosluchitsya-chtoby-ukrainczy-stali-svobodnymi/>.

Uvarau employs another propaganda tactic: he claims that the war serves as a means of enrichment for the West and the “Kyiv regime,” and therefore Zelenskyy is the least interested in a ceasefire.<sup>33</sup>

Anton Papou from SB, Belarus Segodnya develops this line: the only way for Zelenskyy to retain power, he says, is to “continue the conflict,” so the Ukrainian president will try to “torpedo” peace initiatives as much as he can.<sup>34</sup>

Aliaksandr Shpakouski refers to the myth of the “Slavic brotherhood,” of which Ukraine is a part, according to popular propaganda. This is also one of the important narratives justifying the aggression: Ukraine got out of control, left the “brotherhood,” and therefore the goal of the SMO is to bring it back. Shpakouski calls for a change of power in Kyiv, which he believes will allow a return to the “trilateral ‘Slavic’ format of negotiations.”<sup>35</sup>

Belarusian Foreign Minister Maksim Ryzhankou also took on the role of propagandist, claiming on Russian federal television that “the Russian side is ready for peace talks,” but “the Ukrainian side has been prevented by its Western curators from concluding the talks with a peace agreement.”<sup>36</sup>

### ***Accusations of terrorist attacks. Strikes on Russian military airfields***

On June 1, a road bridge collapsed onto a passenger train passing underneath it at that moment in Bryansk region, killing several people, including children. Kremlin and Minsk propagandists immediately accused Ukraine of terrorism without any

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<sup>33</sup> “Today, both the Ukrainian conflict and the anti-Russian hysteria being whipped up in Europe are bringing fabulous sums of money to American arms manufacturers on a daily basis. Of course, apart from the U.S. and Europe as customers, the Kyiv regime is also interested in continuing the bloodshed.” Yury Uvarau, Minskaya Prada, 10.06 <https://mlyn.by/10062025/komu-vygodno-prodolzhenie-voyny-na-ukraine/>.

<sup>34</sup> “Continuing the conflict is the only way for Zelenskyy to stay in power, so he will try to torpedo peace initiatives as much as he can. Europe clearly stands with him on this: at a new meeting in the Ramstein format, several countries promised to provide weapons and money to support the Ukrainian Armed Forces.” Anton Papou, SB.Belarus Segodnya, 06.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/do-poslednego-ukraintsia-russia-ukraina.html>.

<sup>35</sup> “If there’s no war, Zelenskyy will disappear. [...] However, if Zelenskyy equals war, then the first step towards peace must be a change of power in Kyiv. [...] In theory, this kind of reset would allow a return to the trilateral ‘Slavic’ format of negotiations.” Aliaksandr Shpakouski, Telegram channel “Shpakouski. Po sushchestvu,” 08.06 <https://t.me/shpakouski/6453>.

<sup>36</sup> “The Western curators did not give the Ukrainian side the opportunity to conclude the negotiations with a peace agreement, and we have had what we have had for three years now. We in Belarus see and feel how much the Russian side is ready for peace talks and for resolving issues at any moment in the historical development of this conflict. [...] And besides, the main instigators of this whole bloodbath are trying to weaken Russia with Ukraine’s help.” Maksim Ryzhankou, BelTA, 10.06 <https://belta.by/politics/view/ryzhenkov-zajavil-chto-ne-vidit-iskrennosti-v-mirnyh-zajavlenijah-ukrainskogo-rezhima-720061-2025/>.

evidence. A couple of commentators openly suggested in official publications that “terrorists and saboteurs” should have their knees shot.<sup>37 38</sup>

On the same day, large-scale attacks by Ukrainian strike drones were carried out on Russian military airfields. As a result, several dozen strategic aircraft were damaged. This was not only a powerful blow to one of the components of Russia's nuclear triad, but also to the reputation of the “second army of the world” and the entire Putin regime. Even with the best will in the world, propaganda could not ignore such a high-profile event. Its task during this period was to portray the raids as a “terrorist act by the Kyiv regime” (even though military aircraft and airfields are entirely legitimate targets) and to downplay or belittle the damage caused by Ukraine.

Aliaksandr Shpakouski admitted that “the sabotage and terrorist attacks by the Kyiv regime were, unfortunately, successful and very painful,” but despite this, they had “no impact” on the current situation on the battlefield.<sup>39</sup>

Minskaya Prauda commentator Pavel Karnazytski also claims that the attack on the airfields “falls under the definition of a terrorist act” and emphasizes that “Moscow had a good reason to refuse negotiations and give a nuclear response.”<sup>40</sup>

Vadzim Hihin, a member of the House of Representatives (parliament) and propagandist, said that the military effect of such actions was “minimal” and that they were “political and PR-oriented.” In any case, according to the author, they will not be able to “outweigh Russia’s advantage.”<sup>41</sup>

### ***Illegal transfer of Ukrainian children to Belarus***

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<sup>37</sup>“It is worth noting that Ukrainian special services have simply resorted to a ‘rail war.’ [...] If the enemies decide to rely on collaborators, terrorists, and traitors, then we have already found the right recipe. Shoot them in the knees, and somehow there will be no more groups of cheerful arsonists in sight.” Andrei Mukavozchuk, SB. Belarus Segodnya, 05.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/seans-na-pyati-doskakh.html>.

<sup>38</sup> “In Bryansk region, an overpass over the railroad tracks was blown up just as a passenger train was approaching. [...] And I immediately remembered how we had decided to shoot all these ‘railroad partisans’ on sight. A couple of them had their knees shot, and the rest quickly understood how such hobbies end. [...] Otherwise, there would be courts, human rights... First, trains must run safely, and then human rights.” Yury Tserakh, Telegram channel “Lyudazhory,” 01.06 <https://t.me/ludazhors/1475>.

<sup>39</sup> “The sabotage and terrorist attacks carried out by the Kyiv regime have, unfortunately, been successful and extremely painful. This is true both in terms of the killing of civilians in Bryansk region and the destruction of expensive strategic combat aircraft. At the same time, the operation carried out by the special services of the Kyiv regime and their Western curators had no impact on the current situation on the battlefield and the future prospects for Ukraine. In the long run, Ukraine is losing and running out of steam.” Aliaksandr Shpakouski, Telegram channel “Shpakouski. Po sushchestvu,” 01.06 <https://t.me/shpakouski/6425>.

<sup>40</sup> “Even if we disregard the bridges, the attack on the airfields also falls under the definition of a terrorist act rather than a military operation. [...] Moscow had a compelling reason to abandon negotiations and respond with nuclear force.” Pavel Karnazytski, Minskaya Prauda, 03.06 <https://mlyn.by/03062025/svoboda-slova-po-amerikanski-wall-street-journal-uchit-pravilno-vesti-peregovory/>.

<sup>41</sup> “As a rule, the military effect of such actions is minimal. They are political and PR-oriented. Therefore, despite all the cunning of the Zelenskyy regime and all the support it receives from the West, such raids are not strategic in nature. And they cannot outweigh Russia’s advantage on the battlefield.” Vadzim Hihin, Telegram channel “Hihin. The110th Partisanski,” 03.06 [https://t.me/Gigin\\_Vadim/5707](https://t.me/Gigin_Vadim/5707)

The state-controlled channels continue to justify the need to illegally transfer Ukrainian children from the Russian-occupied territories to Belarus. It is emphasized that the deportation is carried out “for their own good,” and the very ‘mission’ of Belarus in this case is called “humanitarian.”

In June, Aliaksei Talai, a famous paralympian, the head of the foundation of his name, involved in the involuntary transfer of Ukrainian children, spoke about the role of Belarus. He said that he “received words of gratitude and support” from the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Kirill for the “humanitarian mission of the Belarusian people in Donbas.”<sup>42</sup>

The exalted TV propagandist, Ryhor Azaronak, reacted pathetically as always:

“A good angel – Aliaksei Talai [...] comes down to the most terrible and gloomy hell, to the place where they shoot, burn, kill, and take [*Ukrainian children*] to paradise – to Belarus.”<sup>43</sup>

### **Dehumanization and demonization of Ukraine and Ukrainians**

The propaganda continues to intimidate its own population with “cruelty” allegedly coming from Ukrainians and indiscriminately assigns negative characteristics to all representatives of the Ukrainian people.

Yuriy Uvarau, a propagandist of Minskaya Prauda, believes that “nationalists who achieved power by deceit,” “year after year nurtured the worst national traits in Ukrainian society.” He also claims that these “nationalists” deliberately educated their people to hate “Moskals” and Russia.<sup>44</sup>

Azaronak also once again accused Ukrainians of terrible crimes and called Ukraine an “infernal monster.”<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> “The meeting and blessings of His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of All Russia!!! – a great mercy and joy for all of us! [...] I received words of gratitude and support for the ongoing “Humanitarian Mission of the Belarusian people in Donbass”. [...] Only together, collectively and with a pure heart and thoughts can we defeat the evil hanging over the world, external enemies and the internal, hidden 5th column – defeat it with faith and love, labor for the good of our beloved land!” Aliaksei Talai, Telegram channel “Aliaksei Talai – news,” 09.06 [https://t.me/alexey\\_talai/9650](https://t.me/alexey_talai/9650).

<sup>43</sup> “There is a good angel – this is Aliaksei Talai. He goes down to the most terrible and gloomy hell, to the place where people shoot, burn, kill, and takes them to paradise – to Belarus. [...] Belarus has become a safe haven, a place of dream fulfillment for thousands and thousands of Donbass children.” Ryhor Azaronak, “Minskaya Prauda,” 01.06 <https://mlyn.by/01062025/kogda-zapad-kalechit-a-ukraina-ubivaet-kak-v-belarusi-stroyat-krepost-dlya-detej/>.

<sup>44</sup> “Ukrainians were explained that economic problems are the result not of theft, but of the colonial policy of the ‘Moskals.’ Most people liked the idea that the devastation was not the fault of Ukrainians, but of the enemies from Russia. Once in power, the nationalists nurtured the worst national traits in Ukrainian society year after year, because it was beneficial to the authorities. We see the result now.” Yury Uvarau, Minskaya Prauda, 17.06 <https://mlyn.by/17062025/kak-degradacziya-ukrainskogo-obshhestva-vedet-k-likvidaczii-strany/>.

<sup>45</sup> “Ukraine has already hit such bottoms. Torture, closed prisons, cluster munitions, the ‘White Angel’ (a group kidnapping children from the frontline territories for Western pedophiles and organs), a corpse hung in a Maidan tree. Persecution of churches, Nazis and pederasts, exhibitions of words from murdered bodies,

### **“Peaceful” statements**

Simultaneously with this rhetoric of hatred, Belarusian propaganda sends false signals of peacefulness and friendship to the Ukrainian people and declares that it has always strived for peace. Needless to say, these signals are completely false.

Ambassador of Belarus to Turkey Anatol Hlaz, answering the question about the possibility of holding talks between Russia and Ukraine in Ankara, reminded that since the first days of the conflict, Belarus had been in favor of its peaceful settlement:

“Our country borders Ukraine, which is why we also deeply and humanly worry about what is happening: we are not indifferent to the victims, and we rejoice at any progress in the negotiation process. [...] For this reason, the Ukrainian conflict is also a deeply personal, humanitarian issue for us. [...] As a neighboring country, we are extremely interested in a speedy resolution of the conflict.”<sup>46</sup>

Another official, Maksim Ryzhankou, the head of the Foreign Ministry of Belarus, speaking in Moscow, said that it was very important for Belarusians that “the conflict in Ukraine” be resolved “the sooner, the better.”<sup>47</sup>

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calls to relatives of the dead with abuse, filming torture on camera for wives. Are we still surprised by anything? There is an infernal monster on our borders.” Ryhor Azaronak, Telegram channel “Azaryonok. STV,” 08.06 <https://t.me/AzarenokCTV/51412>.

<sup>46</sup> “He [*the Belarusian ambassador*] drew attention to the fact that since the first days of the conflict, Belarus and Turkey have been in favor of its peaceful settlement and stability in the region. ‘Therefore, we fully support the efforts of our Turkish colleagues. Our country borders Ukraine, so we are also deeply concerned about what is happening in a human way: we care about the victims and rejoice at any progress in the negotiation process,’ he said. [...] For this reason, the Ukrainian conflict is also a deeply personal, humanitarian issue for us. You know that it is on the territory of our country that exchanges of prisoners and bodies of the dead between Russia and Ukraine take place. As a result of the agreements reached in Istanbul two weeks ago, it was in our country that the next round of prisoner exchanges took place on the basis of the “1000 for 1000” formula. [...] As a neighboring country, we are extremely interested in a speedy resolution of the conflict and believe that Turkey is perfectly fulfilling its mediation role.” Anatol Hlaz, BelTA (interview with Anadolu), 01.06 <https://belta.by/politics/view/glaz-belarus-vsetselo-podderzhivaet-posrednicheskie-usilija-turtsii-718400-2025/>.

<sup>47</sup> “By mentality, there are no peoples closer to Belarusians than Russians and Ukrainians. Therefore, we understand the nature of all these things, we understand more than anyone that this action [*probably Russia’s war against Ukraine*] is generally anti-Slavic, anti-Orthodox to some extent, and generally anti-mental from the point of view of the plot, because of which all this is happening today in Ukraine. And this plot is from there, from the collective West.” Maksim Ryzhankou, BelTA, 10.06 <https://belta.by/politics/view/ryzhenkov-dlja-belarusi-vazhno-chtoby-ukrainskij-konflikt-zavershilsja-kak-mozhno-skoree-720202-2025/>.

## WESTERN COUNTRIES

Propaganda continues to portray the West as a hostile, hypocritical, and degenerate international player seeking to weaken Russia and Belarus, but losing its influence and facing internal problems. Overall, the West is portrayed in propaganda narratives as a threat to Belarus, a “source of evil, provocation and manipulation.” The U.S. and the EU are portrayed as morally corrupt, geopolitically aggressive powers supporting “Nazism” in Ukraine.

The West is accused of “heresy and arrogance” and of “destroying childhood.” Ryhor Azaronak, in his now famous text for Children’s Day, in which he wrote that children in the cribs there are given ‘vibrators’ instead of toys, called the West “modern Herod.”<sup>48</sup>

### THE U.S.

The United States is often portrayed in the media as a dying hegemony. The focus is on economic problems, dependence on Chinese raw materials, and the failure of the “isolation of Belarus.”

Media commentary reveals growing disappointment with Donald Trump’s policy. While the beginning of his presidency (February-March 2025) was dominated by enthusiasm and euphoria, as well as the illusion that “Trump is on our side,” skepticism is now gradually gaining ground.

For example, Yury Uvarau, a propagandist for Minskaya Prauda, called Trump’s policy “hypocrisy and histrionics.” He considers him “the main instigator of the continuation of the war” in Ukraine, as well as a “puppet of the war industry committee.”<sup>49</sup>

Another traditional activity of propagandists is predicting the inevitable and imminent “civil war” and collapse of the U.S. Commenting on the June protests in Los Angeles, which forced President Donald Trump to send federal troops into the city, Vadzim Hihin notes that “the color revolution, after traveling around the world, is returning to the homeland of its creators.”<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> “And when modern Herod – the West – threatened our president with a trial, he sent them to their father – the devil. And he continued his great mission.” Ryhor Azaronak, Minskaya Prauda, 01.06 <https://mlyn.by/01062025/kogda-zapad-kalechit-a-ukraina-ubivaet-kak-v-belarusi-stroyat-krepost-dlya-detej/>.

<sup>49</sup> “Despite the change in rhetoric on the Ukrainian issue, in my opinion, the U.S. remains the main driving force behind the continuation of the war. Trump’s policy on this issue is hypocrisy and histrionics. [...] Trump can pretend to be the ruler of the world as much as he likes, but as the head of the U.S., he was, is, and will remain a puppet. He is unlikely to be able to overcome the pressure of the war industry committee.” Yury Uvarau, Minskaya Prauda, 10.06 <https://mlyn.by/10062025/komu-vygodno-prodolzhenie-vojny-na-ukraine/>.

<sup>50</sup> “The U.S. president is acting decisively, but these actions are leading to a situation where some elements of civil war are already visible in the country. The ‘color revolution’ has traveled around the world and is now

Uvarau writes that “by harshly suppressing protests, the current head of the White House has laid the groundwork for the collapse of the U.S.,” and asserts that by 2030, “the U.S. will cease to exist.” In his opinion, the first independent state will be the “California People’s Republic.”<sup>51</sup>

NATO is also portrayed as the embodiment of evil in Belarusian state media. Propaganda regularly accuses the alliance of militarization, interference, preparing for an attack, and putting pressure on Belarus and Russia, including through military support for Ukraine. Belarusian Foreign Minister Maksim Ryzhankou said that the “information war” being waged by NATO aims to “strangle and divide” Russia and Belarus.<sup>52</sup>

### **Poland and the Baltic States**

During his visit to the Belarusfilm film studio, Aliaksandr Lukashenka once again expressed his resentment towards the three Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia) and asked the rhetorical question, “What were they missing?” According to him, in Soviet times they were “high-tech republics,” but now they “spit” on Belarus. The dictator calls Belarus an ‘island’ (presumably of stability) and predicts that “they will not let us live in peace.”<sup>53</sup>

Belarusian Foreign Minister Maksim Ryzhankou called the Baltic states “marginal” and “the most ardent anti-Russian and anti-Belarusian critics in the EU.”<sup>54</sup>

In June, propagandists also discussed the results of the presidential election in Poland. Most of them agree that the winning candidate, Karol Nawrocki, “prefers to knock on the doors of the White House,” i.e., is oriented towards Washington, while the candidate from the ruling coalition, Rafal Trzaskowski, is a “puppet” of the EU.

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returning to the homeland of its creators.” Vadzim Hihin, SB. Belarus Segodnya, 10.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/bumerang-tsvetnoy-revoljutsii.html>.

<sup>51</sup> “I have said it before and I will say it again today – by 2030, the U.S. will cease to exist. My prediction is not the result of fortune-telling, but the result of an objective analysis of processes that can no longer be stopped. The California People’s Republic – sounds good, doesn’t it?” Yury Uvarau, Minskaya Prouda, 10.06 <https://mlyn.by/10062025/ssha-dvojnye-standarty-i-liczemernye-igry/>.

<sup>52</sup> “Unprecedented sanctions from former international business partners, direct military threats from NATO, which has regained its meaning of existence, and an information war for the hearts and minds of our youth – all of this, according to Western strategists, was supposed to stifle and divide us. But in reality, it has only made us stronger.” Maksim Ryzhankou, BelTA, 10.06 <https://belta.by/politics/view/ryzhenkov-v-otnoshenijah-belarusi-i-rossii-net-nereshaemyh-voprosov-720104-2025/>.

<sup>53</sup> “I don’t want to talk about Poland. You know. Even lower down there is war – Ukraine. Even lower down – in the Caucasus, it hasn’t ended. What am I getting at? And here is this little island [Belarus]. Do you think they will let us live in peace? No, it takes enormous effort. First and foremost, of the president, excuse my immodesty.” Aliaksandr Lukashenka, 10.06 <https://president.gov.by/ru/events/posesenie-nacional-noj-kinostudii-belarus-fil-m>.

<sup>54</sup> “It is very paradoxical that these states, which have long been in the same camp as us, have turned into the most ardent anti-Russian and anti-Belarusian critics in the EU. All the most striking and sophisticated anti-Russian and anti-Belarusian sanctions, restrictions, and political statements come from there.” Maksim Ryzhankou, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belarus, BelTA, 10.06 <https://belta.by/politics/view/naibolee-izoschrennye-sanktsii-ottuda-ryzhenkov-obvinil-strany-baltii-v-ksenofobii-720066-2025/>.

Poland is portrayed as a country “stretched between Washington and Brussels,” under “external control.”<sup>55</sup> It is noted that for the U.S., “the Poles themselves are useless.”<sup>56</sup> Propaganda sees an advantage in deepening the political crisis in Poland caused by social divisions and the struggle between “two pro-American clans.”

Court “philosopher” and “political scientist” Aliaksei Dzermant stated that “conditional Trumpists have won in Poland” and rejoiced that “the chances of Poland being drawn into a full-scale war are slightly decreasing.”<sup>57</sup>

SB. Belarus Segodnya commentator Andrei Mukavozchyk called the new president a “systemic Russophobe” and predicted that Poland, regardless of who its president is, “will remain an American vassal in Europe.”<sup>58</sup>

Propagandists also have no illusions about Poland’s relations with the Belarusian authorities improving under the new president. They hypocritically pity “ordinary Poles” because “the fever of madness will only grow, and while politicians tear each other apart under the watchful eye of foreign curators, the lives of the population will go downhill.”<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> “Both Polish candidates visited their sugar daddies before the election. Just like princes used to travel to the Horde for a charter. They had to crawl on their bellies to the khan’s feet and show their utmost submission. Nawrocki crawled to Trump’s polished boots, while Trzaskowski licked Obama’s skin. The U.S. Republican and Democratic parties fought in the Polish elections.” Ryhor Azaronak, Minskaya Prauda, 02.06 <https://mlyn.by/02062025/kogda-polyaki-ne-hozyaeva-v-varshave-chno-pokazali-vybory/>.

<sup>56</sup> “Nawrocki crawled towards Trump’s polished boots, while Trzaskowski licked Obama’s skin. The Republican and Democratic parties of the U.S. fought in the Polish election. Each has its own plans and projects for this territory. But for both, the Poles themselves are just useless.” *ibid*

<sup>57</sup> Aliaksei Dzermant, Telegram channel “Dzermant,” 02.06 <https://t.me/dzermant/11016>.

<sup>58</sup> “It doesn’t matter whether the new Polish president Karol Nawrocki is a systematic Russophobe, a ‘Holocaust revisionist’ or a ‘Trumpist.’ In the case of Poland, which, I repeat, will remain an American vassal in Europe under any president, it doesn’t matter at all.” Andrei Mukavozchyk, SB. Belarus Segodnya, 02.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/lomayu-podkidnyu-dosku-.html>.

<sup>59</sup> “The counterproductive confrontation with the Union State will continue. However, for Belarus, there was no particular difference between the two contenders for the Polish leadership – both see their eastern neighbor as an enemy without any grounds. But one can only feel sorry for ordinary Poles: the fever of madness will only grow, and while politicians tear each other apart under the watchful eye of foreign curators, the lives of the population will go downhill.” Anton Papou, SB. Belarus Segodnya, 02.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/napravo-i-v-tupik.html>.

## THE WAR BETWEEN ISRAEL AND IRAN

On June 12, Israel launched an operation against Iranian uranium enrichment facilities, prompting retaliatory missile strikes by Iran. In the final stage, the U.S. joined the operation, using deep-penetration bombs to destroy Iran's underground nuclear facilities. The Iranian-Israeli air war lasted 12 days.

Israel's actions drew negative reactions from the Kremlin, with which Iran has close ties. Iran exports technology and spare parts to Russia, which has enabled the production of Iranian attack drones on Russian territory. Belarus predictably joined its Moscow allies and condemned Israel.

Pro-government philosopher Aliaksei Dzermant called the Israeli and U.S. military operation "brutal imperialism, which cannot be justified."<sup>60</sup> "Public opinion in Belarus is on Iran's side," he believes.<sup>61</sup>

Another propagandist, Aliaksandr Tsishchanka, in an article in the newspaper SB. Belarus Segodnya accused the U.S. and Israel of an "oil conspiracy" and "eliminating competitors in the oil market by attacking Iran." The fact that nuclear facilities were attacked is not taken into account.<sup>62</sup>

Pro-government "expert" Aliaksandr Shpakouski, speaking on Alfa Radio, habitually shifted all blame for the Iranian-Israeli conflict – and, incidentally, for the war in Ukraine – onto the U.S. He claimed that "the U.S. was the main instigator of the war and the main sponsor of the Kyiv regime, and now the U.S. has shifted its attention to the Middle East."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> "Trump is waging war with someone else's hands. In this case, Israel's. An attack on Iran is the very same brutal imperialism for which there can be no justification." Aliaksei Dzermant, Telegram channel "Dzermant," 13.06 <https://t.me/dzermant/11080>.

<sup>61</sup> "According to my observations, Israel has lost the public opinion in Belarus. Almost all Belarusian social media influencers support Iran. [...] I will explain why: Belarusians have a keen sense of where the truth lies. It is like a tuning fork. Israel has squandered the moral authority of the Jewish people and has itself become a dragon, turning into a machine of genocide. Israel needs to end the war before it is too late." Ibid, 19.06 <https://t.me/dzermant/11131>.

<sup>62</sup> "But then Israel attacked Iran on its own, and the U.S. pretended it had nothing to do with it. [...] And this is precisely where the stars and stripes came into play in this new escalation. The peace-loving Trump is using this war to block the rebellious cartel, create shortages, and raise prices for his own energy resources, oil and gas, which he has switched Europe to. OPEC is in the grip of military conflict, Russia is under sanctions and the military burden of Ukraine, against the background of promises of 500% duties. There you have it, an oil monopoly. A market without competitors. A Republican's dream." Aliaksandr Tsishchanka, SB. Belarus Segodnya, 13.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/protivostoyanie-izrailya-i-irana-pri-chem-zdes-neft-i-donald-tramp.html>.

<sup>63</sup> "At the time, the U.S. was the main instigator of the war and the main sponsor of the Kyiv regime, but now it is supposedly above the fray and is almost a moderator of the negotiation process. It is obvious that the U.S. has shifted its attention to the Middle East. And then there is the Asia-Pacific region. It is also very interesting to Washington. But it cannot interfere there too much, because there is China, which is building up both its economic and military power." Aliaksandr Shpakouski, SB. Belarus Segodnya, 19.06 <https://www.sb.by/articles/blizhnevostochnyy-i-ukrainskiy-syuzhety-vo-mnogom-obuslovlenny-strategiy-kollektivnogo-zapada-shpako.html>.

Aliaksandr Lukashenka not only condemned the attacks on Iranian nuclear facilities, but also equated them in terms of danger to the Chernobyl nuclear accident.<sup>64</sup>

Propagandist Yury Uvarau reacted most sharply to them. In his article in Minskaya Prauda, he wrote that “only scums can support Trump’s brazen and immoral scam with strikes against Iran.” “Amid Trump’s previous failed initiatives, it looks like the apotheosis of idiocy.”<sup>65</sup>

### **iSANS will continue to analyze the main directions of Belarusian and Russian propaganda in 2025**

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<sup>64</sup> “I won’t even mention the feelings that such actions [*strikes on Iranian nuclear facilities*] evoke in Belarus, the country most affected by the Chernobyl accident. At that time, radioactive fallout was recorded even in Great Britain, Germany, Sweden. They probably think that it won’t affect them now, especially a country that has committed such acts.” Aliaksandr Lukashenka, BelTA, 27.06 <https://belta.by/president/view/lukashenko-prokommentiroval-udary-po-jadernym-objektam-irana-723404-2025/>.

<sup>65</sup> “Only scums can support Trump’s brazen and immoral scam against Iran. Reality shows that even the passive majority in the U.S., despite the frenzied propaganda, is completely confused, and many openly condemn the president’s decision. Amid Trump’s previous failed initiatives, it looks like the apotheosis of idiocy.” Yury Uvarau, Minskaya Prauda, 24.06 <https://mlyn.by/24062025/reakcyiya-v-ssha-na-udary-po-iranu-rejting-trampa-pikiruet/>.