

**“CALLS FOR PEACE”  
AND OTHER ANTI-UKRAINIAN NARRATIVES BY ALIAKSANDR LUKASHENKA**

Review of Belarusian propaganda in October 2025

**Belarus Propaganda Update #25**

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**SUMMARY**

## **WAR IN UKRAINE**

- A significant part of this review is devoted to Aliaksandr Lukashenka's personal contribution to Russia's aggression against Ukraine – on an ideological level. Lukashenka himself, on his own initiative, participates in an anti-Ukraine propaganda campaign, spreading false claims, for example, about Ukraine's systemic failures and Russia's advances on the battlefield, calling on Ukraine to cede and agree to peace on the Kremlin's terms.
- According to one of the main propaganda lines, Russia is "waging war against the West" in Ukraine, which is fighting it "through the hands of Ukrainians."
- Propagandists have finally lost faith in Trump and realized that they will not see a return to pressure on Ukraine from the American president, and that he will not engage in a "business built on blood" with Putin.

## **BELARUS**

- The cult of personality of Lukashenka continues to get stronger. The most active role in praising the "leader" is given to the most aggressive propagandist, Ryhor Azaronak.
- Representatives of the Belarusian democratic forces remained the main target of propaganda attacks in October.

## **"THE COLLECTIVE WEST"**

- The propaganda attacks in October focused on European Union countries that have taken a consistent and firm stance against the dictatorships in Russia and Belarus and the ongoing war against Ukraine.

## WAR IN UKRAINE

### *Aliaksandr Lukashenka's anti-Ukrainian narratives*

As has been noted repeatedly in our reports, Aliaksandr Lukashenka is the country's chief ideologist and political commentator, generating the main propaganda narratives. The messages coming from the "president" and broadcast by TV channels with many thousands of viewers have a direct impact on the perception of reality in the closed Belarusian community, which is almost completely deprived of alternative sources of information. These messages are then further developed and disseminated in propaganda materials. That is why studying the narratives coming directly from Lukashenka is important for understanding and predicting the possible actions of the Belarusian, and sometimes Russian, authorities. This section is devoted to analyzing Lukashenka's personal contribution to Russia's war against Ukraine through the media.

Alongside ongoing insults and provocations against Ukraine, Minsk's propaganda is increasingly calling for an end to the war and peace talks. The Belarusian media is actively promoting the idea that Aliaksandr Lukashenka is the only one who cares about the fate of Ukrainians and demands an end to the war. However, for some reason, he is demanding this not from the aggressor (Russia), but exclusively from Ukraine, the victim of the aggression.

These calls are obviously based on the dictator's fatigue and irritation with the ongoing endless war on Belarus's borders, as well as his desire to regain his role as a "peacemaker" between the parties to the conflict. The government, Foreign Ministry officials, Lukashenka himself, and pro-government propagandists are imposing the thesis that Belarus is the most suitable venue for future peace talks. Lukashenka sees Minsk's peacemaking role on a par with global international players. However, Lukashenka irrevocably lost this role in February 2022 due to Belarus's complicity in Russian aggression, which he apparently still refuses to accept:

"I believe that Belarus, as Russia's closest ally in resolving the Ukrainian crisis and building a regional security architecture, has a certain role to play. The Americans have recognized us in this process. We have specific opportunities and potential." ([BeITA](#), 14.10)

With his statements, Lukashenka is effectively **participating in the war on the Kremlin's side**, putting pressure on Ukraine to force it to accept the unfair and illusory "peace" offered by Russia, thus pushing it to capitulate on the Kremlin's terms. At the same time, despite growing dissatisfaction with the events unfolding, he still cannot afford to utter a single word of criticism against the true organizer of this war – Putin.

One example of this "inclination to peace" is the disinformation spread by A. Lukashenka himself. For example, he confidently claims that Ukraine is suffering defeat after defeat on the battlefield, while Russia is advancing. The "president" illustrates this with reports of the alleged capture of various Ukrainian cities, which turn out to be lies upon closer examination. Based on the first artificial imperative, Lukashenka constructs a second one – that the president of Ukraine, Volodymyr

Zelenskyy, needs to “urgently rush and negotiate peace with Putin.” He made such statements in October as well:

“[Zelenskyy] should act urgently. Russia is advancing on the frontline. I say this with confidence, because I see it happening every day. And this could lead to the disappearance of Ukraine as a state.” ([BelTA](#), 12.10)

Another propaganda technique used by Lukashenka is the myth of a “family of Slavic peoples” to which Ukraine must return (or be forcibly returned):

“I will say once again, so that the President of Ukraine hears my proposals and understands that no one will bring him happiness on the territory of Ukraine except the Slavic states. Therefore, we need to sit down and come to an agreement.” (At the CIS summit in Tajikistan, [BelTA](#), 12.10)

At the same time, Lukashenka’s “Ukrainian” rhetoric occasionally includes statements that would be unthinkable in the Kremlin’s propaganda. These could be described as friendly, were it not for Belarus’s comprehensive support for Russian aggression. Apparently, the dictator is trying hard to emphasize to both his own and Ukrainian audiences that this ongoing conflict is “not his war”:

“We have stated our position: peace, peace, and only peace. **Ukraine must exist as a sovereign, independent state.** We are in favor of stopping the war now, otherwise Ukraine will disappear as an independent, sovereign state.” ([BelTA](#), 14.10)

It should be noted that all the “peaceful appeals” of Belarusian propaganda, including Lukashenka’s statements on Ukraine, which are groundless and unsubstantiated, are perhaps what most strongly distinguish it from Kremlin propaganda. From the very beginning of preparations for the full-scale invasion, Russian propaganda has been participating in the war against Ukraine alongside its army – through the media. Its “area of responsibility” is the ideology of the invasion, the justification and excuse for the occupation and war crimes of the Russian army. Russian propagandists not only legitimize the criminal war in the eyes of their audience, but also publicly call for the destruction of the Ukrainian state, the killing of civilians, the “Russification” of Ukrainian children, and the destruction of cities. In September, iSANS wrote about this in detail in its new study, “[The Crime of Incitement to Genocide of Ukrainians in Russian and Belarusian Propaganda.](#)”

### ***The West and the war in Ukraine in Belarusian propaganda narratives***

The Belarusian media agenda actively promotes the idea that Russia is actually fighting the West in Ukraine. The West is waging war against Russia “to the last Ukrainian.”

In October, Aliaksandr Valfovich, the Secretary of the Security Council of Belarus, stated that Europe is “doing everything possible to **make the fire of war in Ukraine burn more and more intensely,**” as “aircraft carrying weapons and military equipment, convoys of vehicles, and not humanitarian cargo” are constantly flying from the European Union to Ukraine. ([BelTA](#), 14.10)

Kseniya Lebedzeva writes in Minskaya Prauda that “Europe has waited too long for revenge,” but now “Brussels is ready to fight without having the necessary expertise, weapons, or money”:

“Apparently, the European Union will deplete Russia on credit: American banks will allocate the money. But gynecologist Ursula von der Leyen will think about that tomorrow. Today, she dreams of leading the Fourth Reich.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 14.10)

Aliaksandr Tsishchanka insists that the conflict in Ukraine is actually a war between the U.S. and Europe:

“Fomenting military conflict in Ukraine was a **crazy yet ingenious plan by the U.S.** to prevent Europe from becoming a world leader in the new century. Only the Anglo-Saxons could eliminate a competitor so effectively and ruthlessly, with such irreversible degradation.” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 16.10)

In addition, propagandists continue to cynically justify and legitimize the Russian invasion. Yauhen Pustavy:

“**Putin is also not against peace in Ukraine – Russian peace.** What commander-in-chief would want to halt a successful offensive?” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 20.10)

Pustavy also echoes Lukashenka’s myth about the “united Slavic family.” He is convinced that “the road to independence for Kyiv lies through Minsk,” and that anyone who “denies Ukraine as a state and culture” is “an enemy of Slavic unity”:

“Ukrainian should not be perceived as the antonym of Russian. Ukrainian is an independent culture in the pantheon of Pan-Slavism. Belarusian, Russian, and Ukrainian are like German, Dutch, and Belgian, but within the same civilizational paradigm. Unity in respect for uniqueness. Only such a philosophy will help end the conflict and move forward.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 20.10).

Note that at the beginning of the war, Pustavy’s words would most likely have been perceived as treason.

### ***Assessment of Donald Trump’s role in the Ukrainian peace process***

Skepticism in the pro-Kremlin press regarding the U.S. president tended to grow in October, and Donald Trump’s image gradually shifted from a friend to an enemy. It became clear that he would not return to putting pressure on Zelenskyy on the Kremlin’s terms, and that he would not have a “business built on blood” with Putin.

Yury Uvarau:

“Trump’s ‘peacemaking’ is a blatant lie and hypocrisy. And I am extremely surprised by the ‘analysts’ who continue to seek excuses for this person with some kind of cunning games. He has already dropped all his masks.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 7.10)

“There is no point in talking about Trump’s promises to bring peace to Ukraine. It is a prime example of hypocrisy.” ([Ibid.](#), 10.10)

Some propagandists seek explanations for Trump’s behavioral changes in conspiracy theories. For example, “independent military analyst” Aliaksandr Alesin claims in the official news agency BelTA that the “deep state” has forbidden Trump from getting closer to Russia:

“There is a view that a consensus has been reached between the deep state and Trump. American business groups, whose interests are antagonistic on many issues, agree that Russia needs to be weakened. After that, they plan to divide it up, take control of the fragments, and exploit its natural resources and human potential.” ([BelTA](#), 17.10)

Propagandists celebrated Trump’s October decision to abandon his plan to transfer Tomahawk long-range missiles to Ukraine as their own victory. It is clear that the mere prospect of such powerful missiles appearing in the Ukrainian army seriously alarmed the Kremlin, and every effort was made to prevent this from happening. Lukashenka was also involved in these efforts. In October, he repeatedly echoed the Kremlin’s claim that Tomahawks “would not change anything on the battlefield” and that Russia would “achieve its goals,” without explaining why, in that case, it was seeking to prevent the delivery of Tomahawks to Kyiv.

Another line of defense chosen by Lukashenka: transferring missiles “will only escalate the situation to nuclear war.” ([BelTA](#), 14.10). This narrative is repeated by pro-government journalists. According to Alesin, the delivery of Tomahawks will accelerate “[the world’s slide towards World War III](#).” By promoting this narrative, the dictator and his propagandists are “intimidating” the U.S. president with Putin’s “inadequacy.”

Ryhor Azaronak is painfully experiencing the September intensification of contacts between Minsk and Washington as a phantom “victory of Belarusian greatness”:

“We are currently experiencing the peak of geopolitical power. [...] Trump, an arrogant cowboy, humiliates the old states of Europe. But at the same time, he fawns over Lukashenka. He calls him, flatters him, calls him powerful, asks for favors. **It’s a unique situation – the Americans need us much more than we need them.**” ([Minskaya Prawdа](#), 06.10)

## BELARUS

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

In October, Belarusian pro-government media once again showered Aliaksandr Lukashenka with praise and gratitude. As always, the most famous Belarusian propagandist, STV TV presenter Ryhor Azaronak, was perhaps the most enthusiastic. This time, the occasion was the anniversary of the 2004 referendum, when amendments were made to the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus allowing Lukashenka to be re-elected an unlimited number of times.

“Today marks the anniversary of the 2004 referendum. When the Belarusian people said, ‘Father, run for office as many times as necessary.’ Lukashenka does not rule on behalf of a narrow segment of society. Not on behalf of a party or dynasty. The source of his power is the will of the people. And that is why he always wins.” ([Azaryonok. STV. Belarus](#) Telegram channel, 17.10)

Azaronak also used the visit of the Sultan of Oman to Minsk in early October to praise Lukashenka:

“The mighty Sultan will not visit stinky Poland, crazy Baltic states, or any other country with rotten democracy. Monarchs are interested in a long-term approach. It is important for him to see strength. Strength embodied in a person. They see this strength in Aliaksandr Lukashenka.” ([Azaryonok. STV. Belarus](#) Telegram channel, 08.10)

### ***Belarus's democratic forces***

Activists who have left Belarus due to fears of political repression and Belarusians inside and outside the country who simply disagree with the regime remain the main target of propaganda.

Varvara Marozava, writing in the Minskaya Prauda newspaper, humiliates her fellow citizens while simultaneously urging them to return to their homeland:

“The Lithuanians have finally realized who they have been welcoming for five years. After all, the fugitives do not want to integrate, call themselves Litvins, and believe that everyone owes them something. I wonder where they will flee to now... We can suggest one option. It's true what they say: where one was born, there one belongs. This is a very fitting motto for our return commission, thanks to which dozens of Belarusians are already back home. And there's no need to flee anywhere.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 16.10).

Azaronak, on the contrary, threatens political emigrants that they will remain in exile forever, and in general does not spare epithets for those who have left:

“You will never return to Belarus. You will never see your relatives. You will never open old photo albums. You will never visit your ‘grandmother in the village.’ [...] Your children will gradually assimilate and speak Polish and Lithuanian. Your grandchildren will not know your language and will not be able to talk to you.

How are you feeling? Have a good evening.” ([Azaryonok. STV. Belarus Telegram channel](#), 18.10)

“The released bastards, scum, and faggots are just waiting for war to break out in Belarus, for us to be shelled and bombed, for the country to be drowned in blood. That will be the only justification for their worthless, pathetic lives. Death to Belarusians.” ([Ibid.](#), 12.10)

In October, one of the most prominent Belarusian political prisoners, journalist and activist Andrzej Poczobut of the Union of Poles in Belarus, was awarded the European Parliament’s Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought. Azaronak commented on this event as follows:

“So, a Polish nationalist, Russophobe, and anti-Soviet activist receives an award named after... the creator of Stalin’s hydrogen bomb.” ([Azaryonok. STV. Belarus Telegram channel](#), 12.10)

## THE “COLLECTIVE WEST”

In October, another wave of harsh criticism of the European Union was observed in Belarusian propaganda. The reason for this is the consistent and fairly firm position of European leaders regarding Russia’s war against Ukraine, which has not been shaken even by the partial withdrawal of the U.S. from its commitments to ensure collective security in Europe.

On October 1, in a conversation with journalists, Belarusian Foreign Minister Maksim Ryzhankou warned that if the West does not find a way to integrate into the “architecture of the emerging world with the strengthening role of the global majority,” it will face defeat. He called on EU countries to abandon their “still lingering theory of superiority” and complained that “a piece of land” (Europe) “is trying to impose its will on the world”:

“In fact, this piece of land, which today has no resources, no territory, and no national unity, does not understand that they are heading into a protracted crisis and does not understand that today they must approach projects in the international community from a unifying point of view.” ([BelTA](#), 01.10)

In early October, the European Union announced the creation of an “anti-drone wall” along its eastern borders, which sparked another wave of outrage in the Belarusian media. Vadzim Yelfimau:

“And now the land is not enough for them – they’ve decided to build an iron curtain, just like the Tower of Babel... even in the sky! Aren’t you afraid that one day it will collapse on your stupid heads?”

“Just like a rabid dog, only a good blow with a cudgel will work on you. Your broken spine awakens your instinct for self-preservation.” ([Belarus Segodnya](#), 02.10)

In October, pro-government channels repeatedly raised the issue of “Europe preparing for war” due to the “phantom Russian threat.” They repeated the myth that European politicians are using this threat to militarize the minds of Europeans, as well as to justify the deterioration of living standards and continue to “rob the population.” Aleh Haidukevich:

“Europe, Brussels, the UK, globalists are doing everything they can to keep the war going. [...] They want to prolong it, they categorically do not want peace, because for them, peace means losing power.”

“They maintain power in Europe by spreading scary stories about Russia and Belarus, preparing Europe for war, taking away rights and freedoms, and if there is peace, they will simply be swept out of power.” ([Sputnik Belarus](#), 09.10)

Aliaksandr Alesin:

“Of course, they [the ruling circles of the EU] will resist. They have lost their leverage over the population, no longer generate new ideas, and cannot provide social benefits such as education and healthcare at the proper level. Their only trump card is to stir up military psychosis in order to turn people into a herd and keep them under control.” ([BelTA](#), 06.10).

The topic of “psychosis” was supported by columnist Yury Kutyreu:

“It seems that a real drone phobia has begun in Europe. [...] Of course, no one is jumping out of windows yet shouting “Russian drones are flying!”, but it is only a matter of time. Mass psychosis has a tendency to grow.” ([Minskaya Prouda](#), 06.10)

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