

IN THE SHADOW OF TRUMP

The main narratives of Belarusian propaganda
in the last quarter of 2025



Analytical review

January 2026



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iSANS is an international initiative of experts from different countries aimed at identifying, analyzing, and countering hybrid threats to democracy, the rule of law, and sovereignty of the countries of Western, Central and Eastern Europe, and Eurasia.

About the author: Andrey Kalikh, iSANS senior analyst, andrey.k@isans.org

Media monitoring: Victoria Sakharova

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PREFACE

Whether we like it or not, 2025 was marked by Donald Trump. The 47th president of the United States caused the most significant shifts in international politics in recent decades. He has redefined the role in the global world not only of the U.S. itself, but also of European countries, and even of closed dictatorships such as Russia and Belarus, which depend more on the will of their leaders than on external influence.

With regard to Russia, Donald Trump, for example, managed to restore its hope, if not for victory, then at least for a dignified outcome in the bloody and unjust war it had unleashed against Ukraine. Help came at precisely the moment when everything seemed to be turning against Moscow: Europe was uniting, NATO was strengthening, and the Russian army was being repelled by Ukrainian defense forces. Trump not only resumed contacts with Vladimir Putin, but also restored his legitimacy to some extent: unlike the previous administration, the U.S. no longer called the Russian dictator an international war criminal. Trump flattered Putin, promised all sorts of concessions, put pressure on Ukraine and its president, and suspended financial and military aid to Ukraine, which only led to additional casualties and suffering for the Ukrainian people.

Of course, Russian and Belarusian propagandists were delighted with this. iSANS covered the statements of pro-government channels on this topic in sufficient detail. They discussed the U.S. president's activities perhaps no less than those of their own "president." Initially, it seemed that Trump had taken Russia's side. However, the pendulum swung back again, aid to Ukraine resumed, new sanctions were imposed on Russia, and attitudes toward him changed accordingly.

This happened several times throughout the year.

A noticeable improvement in relations began in the summer and autumn of 2025, when the American side unexpectedly resumed contacts with Belarus. Trump called Lukashenka before meeting with Putin in Alaska, and then U.S. special envoys visited Minsk several times – first Keith Kellogg, then John Coale – who conveyed all kinds of praise and compliments from the US president to Lukashenka. As a result of the negotiations with Belarus, U.S. sanctions were partially lifted, and a large number of Belarusian political prisoners were released.

As a result, by the end of the year, Russian and Belarusian propagandists had largely lost interest in discussing Trump's actions. Now, the attitude of pro-government media toward him can be described as detached and ironic. The main wish for the U.S. president is that he should, if possible, not interfere in further affairs with Ukraine and not criticize Russia and Belarus for human rights violations, but rather focus on Venezuela, Iran, and conflicts with Europe. Which is, in fact, what is happening now.

In this review, we tried to classify and summarize the most important lines of Belarusian propaganda at the end of 2025.

Research objectives

1. Monitoring, systematization, and analysis of the main themes and narratives in Belarusian state propaganda statements, as well as in Russian propaganda statements aimed at supporting the Lukashenka regime.

2. Analysis of actions and forecast of possible further steps by the Belarusian political regime based on the analysis of propaganda, statements by pro-government journalists, commentators, and government officials.

iSANS identifies four main groups of Belarusian propaganda narratives (lines):

- *A group of internal Belarusian narratives* – necessary for preserving Lukashenka’s power and reinforcing his image as the only possible leader of the country, around whom society must unite in the face of threats and global challenges. This group also asserts the postulate that Belarus cannot exist without an alliance with Russia.

- *A group of anti-opposition narratives* – aimed at discrediting and dividing Belarusian democratic forces through provocations, disinformation operations, and intimidation of protest-minded Belarusians outside or inside the country. The KGB and other Belarusian security agencies often use propagandists in their information operations against representatives of democratic forces.

- *A group of anti-Ukrainian narratives* – aimed at creating a negative image of Ukraine and its leadership and justifying Russia’s military aggression against Ukraine. They represent a set of attitudes that deny Ukraine’s independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty, and right to exist. These narratives indirectly give an idea of the Belarusian regime’s dependence on Russia, as it is forced to follow the pro-war rhetoric of the Kremlin media.

- *A group of anti-Western narratives* are based on the image of the “collective West” as an enemy of Belarus and Russia, dreaming of capturing, dividing, or weakening Belarus. The West’s main tool for achieving these goals at this stage is sanctions, but military maneuvers against Belarus cannot be ruled out. Before Donald Trump was elected, the U.S. was at the center of anti-Western propaganda, but now the rhetoric toward the U.S. has softened. In the second half of 2025 and early 2026, the main attack is directed against European countries, primarily the UK, Poland, and the Baltic states.

These narrative groups sometimes include blocks of situational commentary on specific international events, such as events in Venezuela, Iran, U.S. claims to Greenland, etc.

Definition of propaganda

For the purposes of this study, propaganda is understood as the information policy of the state, aimed not at objectively informing the public with the possibility of choosing between different points of view, but at forming false and one-sided views in the audience, prompting to react and take actions necessary for the immediate benefit of the political regime. Propagandists very easily abandon their own attitudes if they suddenly begin to contradict the changed values or needs of the authorities at a given moment, and promote those that were previously considered harmful or even hostile.

Research methodology

This report is based on an analysis of the findings of the iSANS monitoring group for the period from October to December 2025.

Since 2020, iSANS has been documenting and classifying statements made by pro-government channels on domestic and international events. The data obtained during monitoring is used to compile information that allows for analysis of the mechanisms by which propaganda influences public opinion and the actions of the authorities.

The monitoring covers the following sources of information:

- Information channels of the authorities, primarily official websites of Aliaksandr Lukashenka, the parliament and ministries, as well as the state-owned Belarusian Telegraph Agency BelTA);
- Websites, official Telegram channels, YouTube accounts (or other video hosting services) of state media (TV channels STV, ONT, Pervy Informatsionny, Belarus 1; newspapers SB. Belarus Segodnya, Minskaya Prawdа; online publications Minsk-Novosti, Sputnik.by, News.by, etc.);
- Personal Telegram channels of Belarusian propagandists;
- Anonymous Telegram channels linked to law enforcement agencies and special services (Belorussky Silovik, Nevolfovich, Zheltiye Slivy, etc.).

It is important to note that iSANS only considers reports from anonymous sources in exceptional cases. In any case, all information received is subject to verification.

In addition to statements made by propagandists, statements by officials, primarily Aliaksandr Lukashenka himself, are also studied, as they set the tone for the main ideological lines.

Software tools, such as the GAMMA system, developed by the iSANS team for automated collection of information, is used as a tool to facilitate monitoring tasks. To study television broadcasts, speech recognition applications based on artificial intelligence, such as Aiko on OpenAI's Whisper model, are used.

Brief summary: main directions of propaganda at the end of 2025

BELARUS

- 2025 was marked by Trump. Throughout the year, the actions of the American president were the focus of attention of Belarusian pro-government channels.
- In August, the U.S. administration resumed dialogue with the Belarusian authorities. Sanctions were partially lifted, and large groups of political prisoners were released. The attitude of the propaganda media toward the American president can be described as "ambiguous." Enthusiasm is replaced by anger. Skeptics urge people not to trust Trump.
- The regime's main efforts are still focused on preserving and supporting Lukashenka's image as the sole leader. Among other things, visits by U.S. special envoys to Minsk are used as a reason to praise the "leader."

BELARUS'S DEMOCRATIC FORCES

- Propaganda's efforts were aimed at denigrating and discrediting political prisoners who had been released.
- "Trend of the year": State media employees and officials are increasingly participating in campaigns by the special services aimed at sowing seeds of universal suspicion and division among democratic forces abroad. Lukashenka himself often spreads narratives that benefit the KGB. One of the claims is that there are many "their people" among those who have left – agents and informants working for the KGB.
- Threats, including physical violence and reprisals, are used against the dissidents.

"THE COLLECTIVE WEST"

- In propaganda narratives, the West remains a "hostile alliance," a source of evil and vice that threatens the stability of Belarus.
- Europe, primarily the countries on the eastern frontier of the European Union – Poland and the Baltic states – has taken the place of the main antagonist.

WAR IN UKRAINE

- Lukashenka personally participates in spreading anti-Ukrainian narratives that benefit the Kremlin. In October and December, he insisted that Volodymyr Zelenskyy needed to quickly negotiate peace with Putin because Ukraine was allegedly suffering defeats on the front lines.
- This supports one of the Kremlin's main propaganda lines: that the West has unleashed a war against Russia in Ukraine.

Part 1. STRENGTHENING THE POWER OF THE “PRESIDENT”

1.1. *Lukashenka’s cult of personality*

Glorifying Lukashenka remains one of the main tasks of Belarusian propaganda. Considerable effort is being made to convince voters that there is no alternative to the “leader” and that he is unique, and to show the futility of any thoughts of changing the government.

In their statements, propagandists often attribute imaginary merits to the Belarusian leader, calling him the “creator of modern Belarus” and “Batska” (father) of the nation, thanking him for protecting the country from enemies and preserving peace and tranquility in Belarus.

A successful propagandist must be able to use any significant event as an excuse to thank the dictator: Lukashenka’s trips around the country, events, meetings, interviews, visits by foreign guests, public holidays, etc.

Ryhor Azaronak, TV presenter on STV channel:

“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)

“Aliaksandr Lukashenka is the president of the people. [...] He is a man of peace and cooperation.” ([STV](#), 15.11)

“The secret of Lukashenka’s foreign policy is his steadfastness. He is a rock. [...] And now, without any concessions on our part, Poland and Lithuania are opening their borders. They are capitulating. The rock stands firm. It towers above everyone else. It is steadfast and impregnable. Joy in my heart. Pride in my soul.” ([Azaryonok. Napryamuyu](#) Telegram channel, STV, 19.11)

“Why do they [the West] hate Lukashenka so much? Because he is alive. He is genuine. He won not because of his connections, trips to islands, or help from his Masonic brothers, but **only with the help of God**, his spiritual strength and charisma, the truth that drives him, the **star of God** that lights his way. He is a peasant.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 16.11.)

“Batska is a man the size of the globe. That is precisely what distinguishes him from the cocooned, shriveled, petty, embittered nationalists.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 05.12)

“We feel calm only thanks to the President and our military.” ([STV](#), 10.12)

“We have a weapon more powerful than nuclear arms – Aliaksandr Lukashenka.” ([STV](#), 13.12)

Aliaksei Audonin, the head of the pro-government society Znaniye:

“Thanks to our President, Belarus, despite the malicious plans of its opponents, has always built its model of future events.” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 20.11)

Vadzim Hihin:

“Aliaksandr Lukashenka is one of the most experienced political and state leaders on the planet.” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 05.12)

Ihar Tur:

“If we speak strictly about the economy, then the most valuable asset of Belarus is a single individual – Aliaksandr Lukashenka.” ([ONT](#), 09.12)

Mikalai Buzin:

“There is no need to escape into some virtual world – one simply needs to listen to the President. He speaks honestly and openly, and credit must be given to the fact that all Belarusians already clearly understand what the President is saying. One must listen – and listen attentively.” ([STV](#), 15.12)

Valer Baineu:

“Aliaksandr Lukashenka is making incredible efforts to protect, shield, save the country he has nurtured like his own child from the deadly cataclysms threatening it.” ([Minskaya Prawdа](#), 03.11)

Along with the glorification of Lukashenka, the idea of Belarus as a safe and peaceful country is being promoted.

Yauhen Horyn:

“Why are we received so well around the world? Because when we arrive, **we do not bring ‘color’ revolutions with us**, we bring tractor catalogs, assembly schemes, and projects that are beneficial to both sides.” ([SB.BY. Belarus Segodnya](#) Telegram channel, 04.12)

Aliaksandr Shpakouski:

“Our country has a reputation as a donor of regional stability and security — a reputation shaped under the leadership of Aliaksandr Lukashenka.” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 11.12)

1.2. Use of official visits for propaganda

Another example of Lukashenka’s consolidation of power through propaganda is the use of visits by foreign officials, primarily from the U.S. In 2025, fate presented the Belarusian regime with great opportunities for this: in connection with the change in foreign policy orientations of the new U.S. President Donald Trump, the American side resumed dialogue with Belarus. This happened despite the existing international restrictions and sanctions, including those imposed by the U.S.

In the second half of 2025, U.S. president’s special envoys Keith Kellogg and John Coale visited Minsk several times. According to media reports, their visits were

prompted by the need to discuss Putin's policies with Lukashenka and how the U.S. should respond to them, especially with regard to the ongoing military aggression in Ukraine. The humanitarian outcome of the trips was the pardon by the Belarusian "president" of several groups of political prisoners of the regime in exchange for gratitude, expressed, among other things, in the partial lifting of sanctions: in September – from the Belavia state airline, and in December – from the Belarusian potash industry.

The controlled media channels turned each such visit into an international event of global significance. They tried to capitalize, first and foremost, on the very fact of the arrival of a high-ranking American guest in Minsk.

Aleh Haidukevich:

"The very fact that the U.S. is engaging in dialogue with us speaks to Belarus's significance. The U.S. negotiates only with strong, independent countries that actually make decisions." ([ZhS Premium](#) Telegram channel, 16.12)

"Donald Trump likes strong leaders. He is sick of European rags. [...] Trump loves **Aliaksandr Lukashenka, Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping, and Kim Jong Un** – people who hold their countries firmly and are not afraid of threats." ([Minsk-Novosti](#) Telegram channel, 16.12)

"Without Belarus, it is impossible to achieve a sustainable peace in Ukraine, and this is understood in the United States. To a large extent, the future peace in Ukraine depends on us." ([ZhS Premium](#) Telegram channel, 16.12)

Andrei Bahadzel:

"Today, the President of Belarus has close ties not only with Putin. He is the only leader in Europe who maintains close, trusting relations with leaders who influence the fate of humanity – **these are Putin, Xi Jinping, and Donald Trump.**" ([News.by](#), 14.12)

Ryhor Azaronak:

"An American delegation arrived in Minsk to **pay homage** to the respected President Lukashenka. They recognize strength and power in our leader." ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 13.12)

"Three global centers – **Russia, China, and the U.S.** – the three 'pillars' of the planet, the three poles of power – all maintain separate relations with Lukashenka." ([STV](#), 13.12)

"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 Prauda](#), 06.10)

"It is already obvious to everyone that the defeated octopus of globalism in the United States is craving revenge. It wants to turn the war in Ukraine into a total European war – the final war of humanity. And the planet, embodied by

Lukashenka, Putin, Trump, and Xi Jinping, seeks to prevent this. This is the party of peace, the party of life.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 17.12)

Part 2. BELARUS'S DEMOCRATIC FORCES

In the second half of 2025, iSANS media monitoring revealed new examples of propagandists (state channel employees or officials) participating in the special services' disinformation campaign against dissidents. In this way, state media "journalists" and authors of pro-government channels deliberately help the security forces spread narratives aimed at discrediting, dividing, and weakening the Belarusian democratic movement.

2.1. *Discreditation of released political prisoners*

In the second half of 2025, propagandists' comments about the opposition mostly revolved around the resumption of the process of pardoning political prisoners. As is well known, during this period, primarily thanks to the assistance of the American side, several large groups of political prisoners were released and deported from the country.

Every time the freed prisoners left their penal colonies and crossed the border, a heated discussion unfolded in the propaganda media, which resembled a planned disinformation campaign aimed at discrediting the participants in the release, belittling the significance of their release, and, if possible, causing division and mistrust among them. The propagandists' comments were often similar, as if taken from the same "manual." Examples of repetitions are shown in previous iSANS reviews, here we will only focus on the main lines of meaning.

First of all, propagandists felt it necessary to emphasize each time that **the issue of pardon was far from the most important** in the negotiations with the American side. This [line was pursued](#), in particular, by the pro-government "political scientist" and deputy of the National Assembly Vadzim Hihin.

In reality, this issue has always been of much greater concern to the Belarusian authorities than propagandists would have us believe: pardon was one of the conditions for the partial lifting of U.S. sanctions.¹

Another part of the disinformation campaign was the "leak" that **"political marginal figures"** whom **no one needed** had been released. According to propaganda, their release "caused a rift" among political emigrants – a struggle for power and opposition funds. Accusations of competition and fighting over money are an old propaganda tactic used to discredit civil movements and individual activists.

Vadzim Baravik:

"There is fierce competition among fugitives, which often leads to conflicts. The current release of a large number of prisoners may create some tension in relations between fugitives." ([BeITA](#), 14.12)

¹ For more details, see: Kalikh, A. "The 'Blow of Mercy.' Lukashenka's propaganda on the release of Belarusian political prisoners." iSANS, January 2026 <https://isans.org/ru/propaganda/propaganda-analytics/udar-miloserdiya-propaganda-lukashenka-ob-osvobozhdenii-belarusskih-politzaklyuchennyh.html>.

Aliaksei Dzermant:

“There is a lot of competition among these people. [...] Because there are quite a lot of them for the political niche, and the resources they live on are scarce. And I think that most of the time they will actually be busy sorting out their relationships with each other.” ([BeITA](#), 13.12)

SB.BY Belarus Segodnya:

“Those who have been pardoned have already been sent to Lithuania and Ukraine. But no one is waiting for them there: the fugitive elite is terrified that the €30 million allocated for the ‘fight’ will have to be divided among everyone.” ([SB.BY Belarus Segodnya](#), 13.12)

Another narrative: **“dangerous state criminals”** who pose a threat to society are being released. However, if society is sufficiently consolidated around the “national leader,” there is no need to fear them. It is obvious that this myth aims to create fear and hostility among the population toward dissidents and protesters. Aliaksandr Shpakouski:

“As for the fears of some members of society that state criminals detained for crimes against the government, espionage, and terrorism are being released, there is no need to be afraid. [...] If our society is truly united around the values of state sovereignty and our national leader, there is no need to fear the release of any destructively-minded citizens.” ([Sputnik.by](#), 13.12)

Another type of disinformation: political prisoners were pardoned, which means they admitted their guilt and wrote a corresponding petition to the “president.” This lie was spread by many propagandists, such as Minsk City Council MP [Vadzim Baravik](#) and Russian “political scientist” [Nikolai Mizhevich](#).

Meanwhile, none of those released confirm that they “requested” a pardon. One of the leaders of the protest movement, Maria Kalesnikava, sentenced to 11 years in prison in 2021, has stated several times in prison that [she will not write a petition for pardon](#). Nobel laureate [Ales Bialiatski](#) also refused to sign it.

Finally, during the most recent release in December 2025, it was claimed that the political prisoners had been released in exchange for Russian and Belarusian soldiers captured in Ukraine. This myth is based on the fact that a large group of prisoners (more than 100 people) were deported to Ukraine rather than to EU countries after their release. The original source of the myth was Lukashenka’s press secretary [Natallia Eismant](#), whose statement was later echoed by many media outlets.

Eismant’s statement was refuted by the Ukrainian Coordination Headquarters for the Treatment of Prisoners of War ([Telegram channel](#), 13.12).

It is obvious that pro-government channels spread the lies of Lukashenka’s press secretary with the same goal in mind: to discredit those who had been released, equating them with combatants on the enemy's side, and thus traitors and enemies.

2.2. *Discreditation of political emigrants*

Another example of pro-government “journalists” and Telegram channel authors effectively performing the functions of special services is the dissemination of disinformation to discredit, provoke division, and cause widespread suspicion and mistrust among political emigrants and representatives of the democratic movement. One such piece of disinformation is the claim that there are KGB agents among those who have left the country.

Aliaksandr Lukashenka:

“I would like to draw your attention to the reaction of our centers (the opposition abroad). I have already told the Americans: ‘Guys, don't worry, we are on top of things. We know all about it.’ Because half of those who fled are **our agents**.” ([BelTA](#), 18.12)

Ryhor Azaronak:

“About 95-97 percent of our fugitives are either direct agents or secret employees, informants, those who write daily reports and analytical notes to the KGB about what is happening among the fugitives.” ([ZhS Premium](#) Telegram channel, 20.12)

2.3. *Threats of physical violence and murder*

Propaganda continues to view the internal opposition as its main enemy and a threat to the stability of the regime, and therefore does not shy away from direct threats of violence and reprisals. During the period under review, there were numerous such statements, the most striking examples of which are given below.

Ryhor Azaronak:

“Fear, you trembling creatures. Fear, you peoples of the earth. **The Great Terror begins**. No heart will respond with joy. Pol Pot will seem like a kindergarten group.” ([Azaryonok. STV. Belarus](#) Telegram channel, 03.11)

Andrei Mukavozchyk:

“Making them [those who disagree with the regime] accountable for their actions in the same public manner... it seems easier to **flog them on the square**. With a large crowd gathered and the recording inevitably posted on the internet.” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 19.11)

Vadzim Baravik:

“If we need to, we will bring them from anywhere in the world. There have been precedents. We have diplomatic services and other services, we cooperate closely with Interpol and the Russian Federation. [...] We will find and punish them.” (Quoted from: [Reform.news](#), 31.10)

Part 3. "THE COLLECTIVE WEST"

3.1. General trends

In the ideological lines of propagandists, Western countries traditionally occupy the place of the main “external enemy” of Belarus and its union with Russia. According to these narratives, the EU, the U.S., and the “aggressive NATO bloc” are the embodiment of evil, a source of threats, and a source of vices and sins that threaten the stability of Belarus. One of the most passionate proponents of these ideas is Ryhor Azaronak:

“The Western elite is the embodiment of abomination. It is the cancerous tumor of humanity. They have undergone a thorough negative selection process. The social elevator there does not start from the first floor, it rises straight from the underworld. They rape children, they drink human blood, they bomb cities, destroy countries, and throw beaten migrants into the cold winter forest. [...] They want to fix the world in eternal inequality, to create a dictatorship of perverts that will rule the planet and billions of people as if they were inanimate objects.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 16.11)

Vadzim Yelfimau:

“Western media today are largely generators of fake news and disseminators of lies. Information that is inconvenient for Brussels or London is either silenced or rewritten beyond recognition.” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 20.11.)

Andrei Bahadzel:

“The most important thing we understood is that beyond the western borders lies [...] the savannah, where predators live who are now gnashing their teeth at our country.” ([STV](#), 15.12)

Anton Papou:

“The alliance, which has never been a defensive organization, is now actively transforming itself into an **analogue of the Third Reich**. [...] Even the rhetoric of modern NATO officials is practically identical to that of their colleagues in the military and diplomatic circles of Nazi Germany.” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 03.12)

Threats play an important role in anti-Western narratives. Propaganda and officials led by Lukashenka threaten the West with nuclear and conventional weapons, “devastating” strikes, destruction, etc. Threats can be direct or veiled. Recently, threats to use Oreshnik, a Russian hypersonic missile system that, according to state media reports, was delivered to Belarus in December, have been added to the intimidation with nuclear weapons. So far, there is no compelling evidence that Belarus possesses either nuclear warheads or Oreshnik, so it can be said that Lukashenka is intimidating his Western neighbors with “uncertainty.” (For more details, see the iSANS report [“The Belarusian Nuclear Myth 2: In the Shadow of Oreshnik”](#))

Aliaksandr Lukashenka:

“The Americans still claim that they don't know whether we have weapons or not. That's fine, let them think so. We warned them. We don't say how many, where, how... That's my business. It's in a safe place.” ([BelTA](#), 10.11)

“Oreshnik is a terrifying weapon. It will be put on combat duty in December. Why? I want them [the West] to understand that we can strike if things go badly. **We will sit down with Putin, make a decision, and strike.** So don't push your luck.” ([BelTA](#), 31.10)

Andrei Bahadzel:

“But who is this aimed at? Many say, now we will show Ukraine, now we will show Europe, now we will blow Belgium up. This is not about Europe, and even less about Ukraine. **These weapons were created for one purpose – against America.**”

“What is the purpose of Poseidon [a nuclear submarine system]? [...] The emergence of Poseidon raises the question of nullifying the **Anglo-Saxon project.**” ([NEWS-BY](#), 05.11)

Threats alternate with “peaceful” statements. In these statements, Belarus is a “peaceful country,” the “door is not closed” to contacts with the West, and Lukashenka calls for a return to friendly relations and “business as usual.”

Yauhen Pustavy:

“Belarus, represented by President Aliaksandr Lukashenka, systematically and purposefully puts forward proposals to promote the peace agenda.” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 03.11)

3.2. Relations with the U.S.

As noted above, the shift in U.S. foreign policy priorities has led to a change in the rhetoric of pro-government channels. In general, the new narratives directed at the U.S. can be characterized not as a manifestation of friendliness and love for Americans, but rather as indifference and bitter irony: let this American “narcissist” deal with Venezuela and Greenland, as long as it does not interfere in the internal affairs of Russia and Belarus, and, most importantly, does not interfere with the successful conduct of the “special military operation” in Ukraine, does not raise issues of usurpation of power and human rights violations in Russia and Belarus (which, in fact, is currently happening).

In the autumn and early winter of 2025, controlled media outlets were buzzing about the escalating situation around Venezuela. Most people thought that Trump's threats and his military bravado in the region would come to nothing. Lukashenka himself, at a meeting with U.S. Special Envoy John Coale and in an interview with the American media, condescendingly “warned” America against starting military action, because it could end up as a “second Vietnam.” As far as we can see, none of these predictions have come true.

Aliaksandr Lukashenka:

“I am absolutely convinced that all issues, all demands of the U.S. of America can today be resolved entirely by peaceful means. War will lead to nothing. I told John Coale this yesterday. I told him: this would be a second Vietnam. Do you need that? You don't. So there is no need to fight there. An agreement can be reached.” ([BelTA](#), 12.12)²

3.3. Anti-European narratives

Against the background of warming relations with the U.S. in the autumn and winter of 2025-2026, there was an increase in propaganda attacks against European countries. Europe has become the main antagonist of the Putin and Lukashenka regimes, with constant accusations, criticism, and threats directed at it. In their speeches, propagandists [compare](#) Europe to Nazi Germany and call it a “[collective Hitler](#).”

Andrei Kryvasheyeu:

“The European Union in its current form – as an antagonist and self-proclaimed enemy of both the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus – **must be destroyed**, just like Carthage. For us, they are enemies.” ([NEWS.BY](#) Telegram channel, 12.12)

Pro-government channels have repeatedly raised the topic of “Europe’s preparations for war” against Russia. According to them, European politicians are using “the myth of Russian threat” to militarize the minds of Europeans, as well as to justify the “deterioration of living standards” and further “exploitation of 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)

3.4. Poland and the Baltic states

In anti-Western propaganda narratives, of all European countries, Poland and the three Baltic countries – Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia – are considered the most “dangerous” enemies of Belarus. During the period described, several serious incidents occurred between these countries and Belarus, resulting in a deterioration of relations, including sabotage on the railway in Poland and the arrival of numerous

² A more detailed analysis of Belarusian and Russian propaganda statements regarding the capture of President Maduro is published in the iSANS review: Kalikh, A. “The Fall of Maduro in Lukashenka’s state propaganda narratives.” iSANS, January 2026
<https://isans.org/propaganda/propaganda-analytics/the-fall-of-maduro-in-the-narratives-of-lukashenkas-state-propaganda.html>

weather balloons carrying contraband into Lithuania. Also not mentioning the migration crisis on the border of Belarus with Poland and Lithuania, which has been ongoing since 2021. Propaganda denied all accusations and put forward numerous conspiracy theories in the hope of confusing Western public opinion, examples of which are given below.

Lyudmila Hladkaya:

“I personally have not trusted any information from the Polish authorities for a long time. As for the damage to the railway, [...] perhaps this is how Polish citizens are hinting to their authorities that it is time to stop arming Ukraine?” ([Lyudmila Gladkaya. SB](#) Telegram channel, 17.11)

“The Polish army is not an army prepared for war. Polish citizens clearly understand where they are being led, seeing the example of Ukraine, and they know that the next military training ground will be the Baltic states and Poland.” (Telegram channel [SB.BY Belarus Segodnya](#), 16.12)

Nevolfovich (anonymous channel of Belarusian law enforcement agencies):

“It is quite possible that the trail will ultimately lead either to the Poles themselves, who are tired of watching Europe fuel the Ukrainian conflict with its own hands, or to terrorists from the GUR [Main Directorate of Intelligence of Ukraine], who are desperately trying to keep Russophobic hysteria alive.” ([Nevolfovich](#), 18.11)

Aliaksei Dzermant:

“A very strange terrorist attack, very strange. There are two main versions, I think, from our point of view, so to speak. The first is that the Polish special services are doing this in order to delay the border issue. The second version of the provocation is the Ukrainian, Bandera trail, which may also turn out to be quite real.” ([SPUTNIK](#), 19.11)

Yury Tserakh:

“Poland has its own “railway partisans” now!!! Well, Poles, how do you like that karmic boomerang? You were so supportive and encouraging when we had an epidemic of similar terrorist attempts here [a reference to opponents of Russian aggression who carried out sabotage on Belarusian railways against Russian military cargo trains].” ([Lyudazhory](#) Telegram channel, 17.11)

One of the most common propaganda narratives is that the Baltic states are “political puppets” that are not independent in their decision-making and carry out the will of Brussels and Washington.

Aliaksandr Shpakouski:

“Lithuania has long embarked on a course aimed at overthrowing the constitutional order in our country. Clearly, it is acting **in the interests of the collective West.**” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 11.12)

Aleh Haidukevich:

“Do you know why the Lithuanian authorities behave this way? Because they are not an independent government – they are waiting for instructions from their masters in Brussels and the U.S..” ([ZhS Premium](#) Telegram channel, 12.12)

Part 4. THE WAR IN UKRAINE

4.1. General trends

Belarusian propaganda continues to justify and excuse Russia's military aggression against Ukraine. In doing so, it follows Russian ideological lines and repeats the Kremlin's main anti-Ukrainian narratives.

Aliaksandr Shpakouski:

"The war in Ukraine was a forced measure for Moscow and was aimed at ensuring the security of the Russian Federation. NATO's advance toward Russia's borders via Ukraine was precisely what triggered Moscow's military response." ([ONT NEWS](#) Telegram channel, 19.12)

Vadzim Hihin:

"Any scenario in which the pro-Western Kyiv regime remains in place is unacceptable. We need a friendly Ukraine – at the very least neutral, and preferably allied. This constitutes the ultimate goal of the so-called special military operation." ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 05.12)

"Philosopher" and propagandist Aliaksei Dzermant promotes the Kremlin narrative that the war will end only once Western military aid to Ukraine ceases:

"The conflict in Ukraine is fraught with the risk of a global war if it is not stopped. We see how Europe is being drawn into it by all possible means. The U.S. seems to want to halt the conflict, reducing assistance and making efforts to resolve it peacefully. But we see that this is not enough." ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 18.12)

Yuri Petrovsky, in Ryhor Azaronak's stream, admitted the possibility of the Belarusian army participating in the war in Ukraine:

During a livestream hosted by Ryhor Azaronak, Yury Piatrouski suggested the possibility of Belarus's direct military involvement in the war in Ukraine:

"Regarding Belarus's participation in military actions – some people ask why North Koreans took part, but Belarusians did not. The reason is simple: no one has officially asked us. If Russia makes such a request – **then immediately, my friends, immediately we will move out...**" ([Azaryonok. STV. Belarus](#) Telegram channel, 14.12)

4.2. Lukashenka's participation in the propaganda campaign against Ukraine

The Belarusian dictator is the country's chief ideologist and political commentator, generating the main narratives that are then used by propagandists. The messages coming from the "president" are of paramount importance to the state media. In particular, Lukashenka is personally involved in creating and spreading anti-Ukrainian attitudes that help justify or rationalize Russian aggression against Ukraine.

In the information space within Belarus, along with ongoing attacks and provocations against Ukraine, calls for an end to the war and peace talks are increasingly being heard. At the same time, the claim that Lukashenka himself is the only one who cares about the fate of Ukrainians and demands an end to the war is being actively promoted. 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 war that has been going on for almost four years on the borders of Belarus, as well as his desire to regain his role as a "peacemaker" between the parties. Propaganda persistently promotes the idea that Belarus is the most suitable venue for future peace talks. The "president" sees Minsk playing a peacemaking role on a par with global international players. However, this role was irretrievably lost in February 2022 due to Belarus's complicity in Russian aggression, which he apparently still refuses to accept.

One way or another, Lukashenka's statements effectively **mean that he is participating in the war on the Kremlin's side**, putting pressure on Ukraine to force it to accept an unjust and illusory "peace" on Russia's terms. One example of this "push for peace" is the disinformation spread by Lukashenka himself. For example, he confidently declares that Ukraine is suffering defeat after defeat on the battlefield, while Russia is advancing. The "president" illustrates this with information about the alleged capture of one Ukrainian city or another, which turns out to be a lie upon closer inspection. Based on the first artificial imperative, Lukashenka builds a second one – that the only one who does not want peace is Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy. He is to blame for the delay in peace talks, and "Zelenskyy needs to urgently flee and negotiate peace with Putin before things get worse."

"We have been receiving a lot of information in recent days that the problem here [in the peace process] is not the United States, which is very keen to move forward, nor Russia, which is ready to move forward, nor European leaders, but Volodymyr Oleksandrovych Zelenskyy."

"We must act [i.e., agree to peace on Russia's terms] urgently. Russia is advancing on the front lines. I say this responsibly, 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 constant exploitation of the myth of the "family of Slavic peoples," from which Ukraine allegedly slammed the door and left, and to which it 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 Kremlin's propaganda. They could be described as friendly, were it not for Belarus's comprehensive support for Russian aggression.

Apparently, the dictator is trying with all his might 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.” ([BeITA](#), 14.10)

“I think, well, against the background of the war in Ukraine, we should be happy here and the President should go... But I think the Ukrainians will forgive me. We are connecting the shores, including for them.” ([BeITA](#), 06.11)

In one of his speeches, Lukashenka even called on the people of Ukraine to move to Belarus:

“We are open. Please come, Ukrainians. We will gladly welcome you. We will provide your families and your children with the same standard of living as Belarusians in terms of education and healthcare. We are ready to accept them. For us, Ukrainians are a blessing. They are very hard-working people who understand us and speak the same language. Nevertheless, trouble has come to our neighbor's house.” ([BeITA](#), 06.11)

It is unclear whether Lukashenka realizes that after Belarus's complicity in Russia's military aggression, Ukrainians are unlikely to take him up on his offer.

Against this background, propagandists are “keeping their fingers to the wind” and saying something completely different about Ukrainians than they did at the beginning of the full-scale invasion.

Ryhor Azaronak:

“And so we have come to this tragedy. We have come to fratricidal slaughter. **Slavs are killing Slavs to the joy of foreign rabble.**”

“**Ukrainians, you have proven that you are worthy of statehood** – genuine, true sovereignty. And that is only possible alongside Russia and Belarus. No one will take you into any Europe, no one will give you any money. [...] You have proven that you are strong, brave, mighty warriors, just like the Russians. If it weren't you on the battlefield, but all these Poles, Czechs, even the current Germans, Belgians, Dutch, British, and Americans – the Russians would have crushed them long ago.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 13.11)

Note that the “peaceful appeals” of propaganda, including Lukashenka's statements, which are unsubstantiated and unfounded, strongly distinguish it from the Kremlin's propaganda. From the very beginning of preparations for a full-scale invasion, Russian propaganda has been participating in the war against Ukraine on a par with its army. Its “area of responsibility” is the ideology of the invasion, inciting hatred against Ukraine and Ukrainians, and justifying and excusing 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 the population, and the destruction of

cities. In September, iSANS wrote about this in detail in its study "[The Crime of Incitement to Genocide of Ukrainians in Russian and Belarusian Propaganda.](#)"

4.3. The West and the war in Ukraine in propaganda narratives

During the period under review, the Belarusian media continued to spread the Kremlin's narrative portraying Russia's war in Ukraine as a war against the West. According to this narrative, it was not Russia that attacked Ukraine, but the West that attacked Russia and is waging war against it in Ukraine "through the hands of Ukrainians" "to the last Ukrainian."

Aleh Haidukevich:

"Once again, we can see the true attitude of both Europe and the West towards Ukrainians – unfortunately, human life is worthless to them." ([Ruslan Mizulo | LDBP](#) Telegram channel, 08.11)

Alena Krasouskaya:

"The European Union has its own view of security. Today, together with NATO, it is preparing for war and doing everything in its power to fuel and prolong the conflict in Ukraine. [...] It all looks not only like a deliberate escalation of the situation, but also like a real desire to unleash another armed conflict in the European region." ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 02.11)

Kseniya Lebedzeva:

"This is Ukraine's path. Even before 2014, the country began to withdraw from a number of international treaties, refusing to officially fulfill certain obligations related to human rights. After some time, we witnessed the genocide of our their people." ([LEBEDEVA](#) Telegram channel, 04.11)

Vita Khanatayeva:

"In the next decade, Ukraine is likely to become a gray zone where all kinds of criminals will gather – from radical groups to arms, drug, and human traffickers." ([BeITA](#), 20.11)

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.**" ([BeITA](#), 14.10)

Kseniya Lebedzeva wrote in Minskaya Prawdа that Europe has always waged war against Russia, and previously against the Soviet Union, and has no intention of stopping this time because it "[has waited too long for revenge.](#)"

Aliaksandr Tsishchanka, writing in SB. Belarus Segodnya, puts forward another crazy theory: 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)

4.4. Assessment of Donald Trump’s actions in the peace process

The role and place of Donald Trump in pro-Kremlin propaganda narratives has already been mentioned above in the preface and several chapters of this study. As we wrote above, throughout 2025, the attitude toward the U.S. president in the pro-Kremlin press changed depending on which way Trump himself swung. While at the beginning of his presidential term (let’s say from February to April 2025), his ratings tended to rise, by the end of the year Donald Trump had gradually transformed from a friend into an enemy. (However, this changed again by the beginning of 2026).

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)

4.5. Anti-corruption investigations in Ukraine

Anti-corruption investigations have been and continue to be conducted in Ukraine, resulting in high-profile exposes and criminal cases against high-ranking officials and businessmen. Kremlin and Minsk propaganda presents information about these high-profile cases (i.e., not the corruption itself, but the fight against it) as evidence of the highest level of bribery and embezzlement in the country.

Ryhor Azaronak:

“‘Ukraine’ and ‘corruption’ are synonymous words. Theft, embezzlement, and bribery on a staggering scale have been shaking up politics and life in this country for three decades now, ever since it was divided up among a dozen oligarchs.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 13.11)

Aliaksandr Shpakouski:

“Given that NABU [National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine] is a structure that is very closely linked to Western decision-making centers, I can say that

the West as a whole is sending Zelenskyy a black mark [with its anti-corruption investigations into Zelenskyy's circle]." ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 13.11)

Viachaslau Danilovich:

"Corruption in Ukraine is not just a common occurrence, but a tool used by Western sponsors to control their colony." ([NEWS-BY](#), 16.11)

CONCLUSION

The analysis of Belarusian propaganda and the Kremlin's propaganda targeting Belarus in the last quarter of 2025 allows us to draw the following conclusions:

- On the domestic information front propaganda efforts are aimed at strengthening the personalized power and cult of personality of Lukashenka, as well as at weakening the “internal opposition” – representatives of democratic forces, dissent Belarusians from outside and inside the country.
- The state-controlled media and Lukashenka himself continue to spread anti-Ukrainian narratives that are beneficial to the Kremlin, aimed at forcing Ukraine to make concessions and conclude peace on Russia's terms.
- On the external ideological front, European countries, primarily Poland and the Baltic states, remain the “main enemies.” The West is presented as the main source of threats to Belarus and its alliance with Russia.
- U.S. President Donald Trump is portrayed in propaganda narratives as an odious figure who is not to be trusted, and attitudes toward him are shifting toward neutrality and irony.