

## **LUKASHENKA'S PROPAGANDA AT THE END OF 2025**

**Main narratives of Belarusian propaganda in December**

Monthly analytical review by iSANS

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# SUMMARY

## BELARUS

- Strengthening Aliaksandr Lukashenka's image as the sole and irreplaceable ruler remains one of the main tasks of Belarusian propaganda. The expressions of gratitude directed at him are reminiscent of the rhetoric of Joseph Stalin's cult of personality.
- Along with the glorification of Lukashenka, the idea of Belarus as a safe and peaceful country surrounded by hostile forces is being promoted.
- According to propaganda, Belarusian democratic forces and citizens who disagree with the regime pose the greatest threat to the regime. They are the main targets of ideological attacks.
- In December, a large group of political prisoners was released. Lukashenka and his propagandists made considerable efforts to justify this step to the public. The emphasis was placed on material and political concessions – the lifting of sanctions and the resumption of dialogue with the U.S.
- The KGB continues to use propaganda (and Lukashenka himself) to spread disinformation in order to divide and sow general suspicion among the ranks of the opposition. One such piece of disinformation in December was the claim that many representatives of the Belarusian democratic emigration are agents infiltrated by the special services.

## THE “COLLECTIVE WEST”

- The West is portrayed as a united alliance hostile to Belarus and Russia in propaganda narratives.
- The U.S. is no longer the main antagonist. Now, Europe is the main target of ideological attacks.
- Poland and the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia) are subject to the most intense attacks.
- Throughout December, propagandists actively discussed the escalating situation in Venezuela. Lukashenka himself threatened Americans with a “second Vietnam” if armed conflict broke out. Others predicted that Trump would be scared off and would not initiate military action. As is now clear, neither prediction came true.
- Lukashenka's propaganda is participating in the Kremlin's hybrid war against the West. In December, Meta announced the discovery of a network of bots designed to influence the Polish audience. According to Meta, the network is located in Belarus.

## WAR IN UKRAINE

- Belarusian propaganda is involved in justifying and legitimizing the continuation of Russian military aggression against Ukraine. In this, it is fully in line with the Kremlin's ideological agenda.

- In December, U.S. Special Envoy John Coale visited Minsk. Propagandists presented his visit as almost the most important international event of the year. Coale's visit was predictably used to legitimize the Lukashenka regime and strengthen Lukashenka's position. Propaganda claimed that the American delegation had come to "bow down" to "Batska" and that without Belarus's participation, the peace process in Ukraine would be impossible. According to propagandists, the "president" is participating in the negotiations on an equal footing with such powerful leaders as Trump, Putin, and Xi Jinping.

## BELARUS

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

Strengthening Aliaksandr Lukashenka's image as the sole and irreplaceable ruler remains one of the main tasks of Belarusian propaganda. Pro-government channels promote the image of Lukashenka as a “peacemaker” who is keeping the country from falling into the abyss of war and conflict, and as ‘Batska’ – “father of the nation”, who is credited with creating modern Belarus. The content, images, and generally laudatory rhetoric of the state media towards Lukashenka are reminiscent of the glorification of Stalin in the USSR or North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, which gives reason to speak with sufficient confidence about the creation and maintenance of a cult of personality around the “president” in Belarus.

In December, Belarusian media provided numerous examples of this type of rhetoric.

Ryhor Azaronak:

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

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)

Lyudmila Hladkaya:

“Our plans remain the same – peaceful ones: to plow and to sow. [...] And along this path of peace and development we, Belarusians, move forward. We follow our Batska.” ([SB. Belarus Segodnya](#), 05.12)

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)

At the same time as the glorification of Lukashenka, propaganda advances the narrative of Belarus as a safe and peaceful country.

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)

## BELARUS'S DEMOCRATIC FORCES

In December, thanks to the efforts of the U.S. President's Administration, Lukashenka pardoned a large group of political prisoners, including prominent opposition leaders Maria Kalesnikava, Viktor Babaryka, and Ales Bialiatski. Nevertheless, activists and Belarusians who disagree with the regime remain the main target of propaganda attacks.

Aliaksandr Lukashenka:

“Don't even think about it. You won't win anywhere else. We've learned our lesson from 2020. And we'll bomb you, bomb you in the information sphere.” ([BelTA](#), 18.12)

“You know them, charlatans, political fraudsters. And they won't succeed. They are ready to lick anyone's boots, just to get a few pennies.” ([NEWS.BY](#) Telegram channel, 18.12)

Ryhor Azaronak:

“The president is outsmarting you, fugitives, like kids. You lost the revolution like kids who were sent to the potty at night. It's very pleasant to outsmart you.” ([Azaryonok. STV. Belarus](#) Telegram channel, 18.12)

Vadzim Hihin:

“The 'fugitives' don't hate Lukashenka – they hate it when the people decide their own fate!” ([NEWS.BY](#) Telegram channel, 19.12)

Yauhen Pustavy:

“In Belarus, the fields are plowed by agricultural machinery, not military equipment. But things could have been completely different. If the progressive part of the capital's political bohemia, with their necks and minds turned toward the West, had overturned the country back then, Belarusians would definitely be fighting Russians now. If not Ukrainians first.” ([STV](#), 20.12)

Propaganda, and above all Lukashenka himself, often perform the functions of special services – they become disseminators of disinformation, the purpose of which is to provoke division and cause widespread suspicion and distrust of the democratic movement. One such piece of disinformation is the claim that the political emigrant community is allegedly full of KGB agents.

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)

Aleh Haidukevich:

“For them, ‘fighting Belarus’ is a source of income. Tsikhanouskaya's office has only one dream – to secure grants, which are coming to an end. In the entire history of independent Belarus, we have never had an opposition that was not anti-Russian.” ([Minsk-Novosti](#) Telegram channel, 15.12)

Andrei Mukavozchyk, SB. Belarus Segodnya:

“They cannot speak ill of their masters. They cannot fail to speak well of their masters. [...] If something bad happens to the West, Putin and Lukashenka are to blame. Well, that's a given. Blame them, and you'll always be in the mainstream of Western propaganda.” ([STV](#), 12.12)

## THE “COLLECTIVE WEST”

### **“Hostile Alliance”**

Anti-Western narratives are an essential part of the content of Belarusian propaganda media. According to these narratives, the EU, the U.S., and the “aggressive NATO bloc” form a united alliance hostile to Belarus and Russia.

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. [...] Today, they are preparing for another leap forward. Where to? To the East.” ([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)

Andrei Lazutkin:

“Belarus is a separate center from Russia, with which you scumbags will all have to talk. As with Russia, you will have to talk separately with Lukashenka on issues of nuclear or missile disarmament.” ([STV | Novosti Belarus](#) Telegram channel, 09.12)

### **Anti-European narratives**

Nevertheless, in recent years, the main target of anti-Western narratives has become “collective Europe” – the main antagonist of the Putin and Lukashenka regimes. The U.S. is no longer the main enemy of Putin and Lukashenka, nor is it a potential adversary (at least temporarily). Europe has now taken its place.

Accusations of fascism, nationalism, and Russophobia are regularly used against European countries. The charge of fascism, however, is a long-established and well-tested method of discreditation aimed at a post-Soviet audience, for whom the word “*fascist*” remains one of the most emotionally loaded and stigmatizing labels. It is worth recalling that one of the pretexts for launching Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine was the demand for so-called “denazification,” as the country’s authorities were portrayed by the ideologues of the war as having been seized by fascists and nationalists.

On December 11, Belarus’s Prosecutor General Andrei Shved, speaking at a conference marking the 77th anniversary of the Genocide Convention, [stated](#) that “The European Union and Western Europe, **following Hitler’s templates**, are preparing a new crusade – a bloody crusade here, onto our lands.”

In his December 13 column in the pro-government outlet Minskaya Pravda, Yauhen Pustavy described Europe as a “[collective Hitler](#).”

Andrei Kryvasheyeu:

“The European Union in its current form – as an antagonist and self-proclaimed opponent of both the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus – like Carthage, **must be destroyed**. If you oppose us – the official Minsk, our society, our President – then you must be eliminated as a force confronting us. For us, they are enemies.” ([NEWS.BY](#) Telegram channel, 12.12)

### **Poland and the Baltic states**

The countries of the European Union’s eastern frontier – Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia – are subjected to particularly aggressive hybrid attacks by Belarusian propaganda.

In December, Meta, which owns Instagram and Facebook, [published](#) its semiannual report on cyber threats. Among other things, the report revealed the exposure of an influence network targeting the Polish audience and operating from Belarus. The independent outlet Zerkalo [reports](#):

*“The document states that the network’s operators deliberately disseminated messages focused on Poland’s migration policy, as well as on the country’s relations with the European Union and Ukraine. [...] An internal investigation established links between the fake accounts and Belarus and Russia, indicating a coordinated foreign influence campaign.”*

One of the recurring propaganda narratives claims that the Baltic states are “political puppets” – lacking independence in decision-making and merely carrying 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)

Propaganda also frequently voices explicit threats against Poland and the Baltic states. Lyudmila Hladkaya:

“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)

## **THE U.S.**

### **Situation around Venezuela**

Throughout December, Belarusian propaganda actively discussed the escalating tensions between the U.S. and Venezuela. State-controlled media tended to suggest that Trump's threats and his militaristic bravado in the region would ultimately come to nothing.

Aliaksandr Lukashenka himself, during a meeting with U.S. presidential special envoy John Coale and in interviews with American media, patronizingly "warned" the United States against launching military action, claiming that it could end in a "second Vietnam." As can now be observed, none of these predictions came 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." ([BeITA](#), 12.12)<sup>1</sup>

### **John Coale's visit to Minsk**

In mid-December 2025, U.S. President's Special Envoy for Belarus John Coale arrived in Minsk. According to media reports, the primary purpose of Coale's visit was his discussion with Aliaksandr Lukashenka regarding Vladimir Putin's policies and ways to halt Russia's military aggression against Ukraine. The humanitarian outcome of the trip was the "president's" decision to pardon a large group of political prisoners in exchange for Donald Trump's lifting of sanctions on Belarus's potash industry.

Further details on this issue are addressed in the section "Belarus's Democratic Forces." Here, it is worth focusing on the external, "image-building" dimension of propaganda efforts. State-controlled channels portrayed Coale's visit as nearly the most important international event of the outgoing year. Their attention was directed less toward the substance of the visit and more toward the very fact of a high-ranking American official's arrival in Minsk "to pay homage" to Lukashenka.

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** –

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<sup>1</sup> 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>

people who hold their countries firmly and are not afraid of threats.” ([Minsk-Novosti](#) Telegram channel, 16.12)

Yauhen Pustavy:

“Belarus’s capabilities can be assessed in different ways. But the fact that we are a serious player is no longer disputed by anyone. [...] Without Minsk, Moscow and Kyiv would not have taken a single step toward a handshake.” ([STV](#), 13.12)

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)

“Aliaksandr Ryhoravich [in his conversation with Coale] immediately praised Donald Fredovich. When there is something to praise, Batska always praises. When necessary, he can tell the Americans to go far away. And when necessary – he can praise them as well.” ([Minskaya Prauda](#), 12.12)

“Just think about this fact – Trump has only six special envoys worldwide. [...] And one of them is assigned to our Belarus. This alone underscores the importance of our country, its enormous geopolitical weight both in the region and globally.”

“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)

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)

## WAR IN UKRAINE

Belarusian propaganda continues to justify and legitimize Russia's military aggression against Ukraine. In doing so, it follows the main ideological lines promoted by the Russian authorities and reproduces the Kremlin's core 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)

The "philosopher" and propagandist, Aliaksei Dzermant, promotes the Kremlin narrative that the war will end only once Western military assistance 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)

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)

The visit of U.S. President's Special Envoy John Coale to Minsk on December 12–13 was, as expected, used to legitimize the regime and strengthen Aliaksandr Lukashenka's position in the eyes of both domestic and international audiences. Propaganda seized the opportunity to claim that a peaceful resolution of the war in Ukraine would be impossible without Belarus's participation. According to propagandists, the "president" is taking part in negotiations on an equal footing with such powerful leaders as Donald Trump, Vladimir Putin, and Xi Jinping.

Aleh Haidukevich:

"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)

Ryhor Azaronak:

“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 Pravda](#), 17.12)