



RESEARCH INTO MILITARY HISTORY: ITS STATUS AND PROSPECTS IN LITHUANIA

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After the collapse of communism, at least within the confines of Europe, to quote the American analyst Robert Kagan, “the miracle came from the rejection of military power and of its utility as an instrument of international affairs”¹. Therefore, an impression formed that for Europeans, who have been enjoying peace for more than 60 years, war and the direct experience of war became part of remote history, just like the Napoleonic era.

The collapse of communism removed the external danger of the Soviet Union, and the belief started spreading that the time of armed conflict in Europe had passed, and there was no need any longer for external or internal military defence. It seemed that The End of History (Francis Fukuyama) had come, and that people would start reaping the fruits of the free market and democracy. For the dominating liberal ideology, war was an anomaly, and an obstacle on the road to eternal peace; however, to date, we have observed the entry into force of the power of violence. The collapse of the Soviet Union was the end of the abnormal period of the Cold War, when international relations were frozen. After the collapse, classic power-based politics began, and classic international relations, related to ethnic and religious war and the struggle for resources, were to return, as well as separatist wars and small countries’ fear of big ones. In other words, in the face of the Ukrainian crisis, we are witnessing a return to the stage of *normal* history.

The First World War, which started one hundred years ago, and, according to the American diplomat George F. Kennan, ‘was the great seminal catastrophe of this century’,² in the opinions of many diplomats, was the war to end all wars. However, Russia’s aggression against Ukraine in 2014 returned Europeans to the reality of power politics, and demonstrated a new operating model, when the aggressor refers to, and seeks to legitimise, a new pattern of warfare: unidentified special forces pretending to be paramilitary units from the local population (Russian propaganda actively imposed the monosemantic term *ополчение*, or Home Guard) and thus transferred to hybrid warfare as named by NATO experts in 2004. In other words, the specificity of the activity of the management of violence, soldiers as a social and political group, which may acquire great significance in the future, changed. To date, on one hand, the practice of paramilitarism is remembered, when operations are

¹ KAGAN, R. *Of Paradise and Power. America and Europe in the New World Order*. New York, 2003, p. 59.

² KENNAN, G. F. *The Decline of Bismarck’s European Order: Franco-Russian Relations 1875-1890*. Princeton, 1981, p. 3.

based on a synergy of the activity of paramilitary and regular special forces. On the other hand, an indispensable prerequisite for such activities is the possibility for special forces soldiers to 'melt' into the local population, from linguistic, cultural and racial points of view, and to secure the support of at least some of them, which are qualities typical of guerrilla (paramilitary) activity. Lieutenant Colonel William Nemeth of the USA defined hybrid war as a contemporary guerrilla war, in which the latest technologies and modern mobilisation methods are combined with terrorist or criminal activities. The Russian strategy of 2014 changed the traditional approach to military action. Currently, the involvement of a 'paramilitary component of citizens' (in Russian *военно-гражданский компонент*) in potential military action is planned, and Russia intends to be the first to launch military action in the direction of the West, and with an unexpected attack reduce the enemy's military potential in the area of operations to a degree that would be acceptable to Russia.³

The sentence 'In preparing for battle, I have always found that plans are useless, but planning is indispensable' is attributed to the US president General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Past events may be used not only to explain the sources of wars and conflicts (although a hundred years after the beginning of the First World War, historians are unable to reach a consensus on how a shot in Sarajevo and the 1914 July crisis turned into the First World War), but also to help develop defence strategies.

The Scottish historian Niall Ferguson is famous not only for his book *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals* which was published in 1997. His other well-known and controversial idea is that if Germany had won the Great War, something similar to the European Union would have developed.⁴ In *military science*, we cannot use experimental methods, and due to the surprise factor, even military exercises and manoeuvres do not allow us to accurately simulate eventual military actions or consequences. However, the significance of historical experience, as it is presented by historical research, is recognised in Lithuanian military doctrine, which argues that historical analysis and the inclusion of conclusions in the planning process predetermine the more effective use of military power.⁵ The importance of a knowledge of history in modelling state security and planning military operations is also revealed in the operations and military training doctrines of the Lithuanian army.⁶ Thus, Machiavelli's insight that one

³ In 2014, the Second Investigation Department at the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Lithuania stated 'the likelihood of conventional war in the immediate geopolitical environment of Lithuania (in the Baltic Region) remained low'; however, it noted that, although in 2014 Russia was still incapable of fighting against NATO and the USA, it had the goal in the period 2016 to 2025 of creating forces capable of operations in accordance with the new military planning principles against any adversary (including NATO and the USA): *Antrojo operatyvinių tarnybų departamento prie Krašto apsaugos ministerijos grėsmių nacionaliniam saugumui vertinimas*. Vilnius, 2014, p. 3, 7–8.

⁴ FERGUSON, N. *The Pity of War*. New York, 1998, pp. 168–173.

⁵ *Lietuvos karinė doktrina*. Vilnius, 2010, p. 29.

⁶ *Lietuvos karinių pajėgų operacinė doktrina*. Vilnius, 2011, p. 4, 114, 263, 305; *Lietuvos karinių pajėgų rengimo doktrina*. Vilnius, 2013, p. 40, 78.

'should read histories and consider in them the actions of excellent men, should see how they conducted themselves in wars, and should examine the causes of their victories and losses'⁷ in order to win a victory, remains relevant.

Research in military history in Lithuania

In Western Europe, attention to military history and various aspects of warfare has never declined, and it has often been brought up at times of war-related commemorations. There are institutes for research into the history of warfare and military strategy, and periodicals (of which *War in History* is worth noting, as it publishes papers not merely on military, but also on economic, social and political aspects of warfare), studies, and monographs on themes related to the history of warfare. The studies on the First World War that appeared in Europe in 2014 alone could fill all the shelves in the library of a Lithuanian town. However, Lithuanian historiography on the theme of military history is rather poor.

The development of the historiography of Lithuanian military history, from the application of archaeological studies to the historiography of postwar guerrilla warfare, has been reviewed by Valdas Rakutis, Vytautas Lesčius, Jonas Vaičėnionis, Mindaugas Pocius and Mantvydas Virkūnas.⁸

Because of the Soviet occupation, any research into the military history of Lithuania, and especially the military conflicts of the 20th century, was impossible.⁹ The Napoleonic Wars in Lithuania and the Swedish invasions were researched to degree, in the context of political events and on the basis of Soviet ideology.¹⁰ Research into the Battle of Grunwald (which took place in 1410) received more attention. Only after the restoration of independence did research in the field of military history start, although due to a shortage of specialists and problems in their training (study programmes in military history are still lacking), it took some time for the process to gain momentum.

Another problem was the absence of research institutions. It was only on 11 November 2000 that the public organisation the Society for Lithuanian Military History, which

⁷ MACHIAVELLI, N. *The Prince*. Second ed. Chicago and London, 1998, p. 60.

⁸ RAKUTIS, V. XVIII a. Lietuvos karo istorijos tyrimų apžvalga. *Karo archyvas*, 2003, t. XVIII, p. 307–322; LESČIUS, V. Dėl Lietuvos kariuomenės kūrimo ir nepriklausomybės kovų istoriografijos. *Lietuvos istorijos studijos*, 2002, t. X, p. 35–50; VAIČĖNIONIS, J. 1921–1940 m. laikotarpio Lietuvos kariuomenės tyrimai. *Karo archyvas*, 2003, t. XVIII, p. 339–354; POCIUS, M. 1944–1953 metų partizaninio karo Lietuvoje istoriografija. *Istorija*, 2006, t. LXIV, p. 52–64; VITKŪNAS, M. Archeologijos mokslo vaidmuo Lietuvos karo istorijos tyrimuose. *Karo archyvas*, 2003, t. XVIII, p. 296–306.

⁹ The study by Vytenis Statkus that appeared abroad in 1986 (STATKUS, V. *Lietuvos ginkluotos pajėgos 1918–1940 m.* Chicago, 1986) is often quoted in the works of military historians.

¹⁰ DUNDULIS, B. *Lietuva Napoleono agresijos metais (1807–1812)*. Vilnius, 1981; DUNDULIS, B. *Napoleono imperijos žlugimas ir Lietuva (1813–1815 m.)*. Vilnius, 1989; TYLA, A. *Lietuva ir Livonija XVI a. pabaigoje – XVII a. pradžioje*. Vilnius, 1986; DUNDULIS, B. *Švedų feodalų įsiveržimai į Lietuvą XVII–XVIII a.* Vilnius, 1977.

brought together people interested in the history of warfare, started its activity.¹¹ On 7 February 2002, it and the Department of History of the Faculty of Humanities of Vytautas Magnus University (in Kaunas) held the first conference devoted to the history of warfare: 'Research into Lithuanian Military History and its Prospects'.¹² The delayed beginning of research into military history and the shortage of qualified specialists predetermined the themes of the research and the broader contextual approaches, whereby studies of different military aspects were related to theories on politics and political sociology, and research into changes in military technology, etc. As Valdas Rakutis noted, in the historiography of Western Europe, war was considered to be not only a political instrument of the state, but also a process that, to different degrees of intensity, involved large groups of people. War changed people and societies. Rakutis posed a searching question:

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Shall we continue to calmly follow outdated methodologies? Or shall we tackle exclusively contemporary themes? Let's try to split the problem. The general history of warfare exhausts the traditional possibilities of the science; however, Lithuanian military history has not yet answered the key questions asked of it. We are forced to work in a traditional direction, as we cannot rise higher without a solid foundation. You can build a fine house on sandy foundations; however, when the foundations sink, the house will collapse.¹³

Lithuanian historiography of military research is undoubtedly dominated by the 'master narrative': the struggles for independence that cover not only the military actions of 1918-1919, but also the clashes of 1920-1923 in the Vilnius region, and the successful Klaipėda occupation campaign of 1923. After the restoration of independence, the struggles for independence and the formation of the Lithuanian army were probably described most comprehensively by Vytautas Leščius in his two books brimming with maps and figures.¹⁴ True, the maps of the battles recalled the schemas of the battles of the Austro-Hungarian Army as drawn by Cadet Biegler, the hero of the book by Jaroslav Hašek, 'which looked like a football line-up before the game, and the arrows showed the direction in which to pass the ball.'¹⁵ We can name a few recent books devoted to issues of Lithuanian military history. First of all, the book by Jonas Vaičenonis, which reviews Lithuanian warfare from the pre-state history of the Baltic tribes to the 21st century.¹⁶ The book is at least valuable to students, due to the abundant list of literature. By applying a new approach to Lithuanian military history in the historiographical context, that is, relating the history of operating units of the Lithuanian army to the tradition of warfare in the Grand

¹¹ NARVYDAS, R. Karo istorikų susirinkimas. *Kardas*, 2003, Nr. 1, p. 49.

¹² Lietuvos istorikai apie karo istorijos tyrimus. *Trimitas*, 2002, Nr. 3, p. 50.

¹³ RAKUTIS, V. Lietuvos karybos istorija: tarp tradicijos ir naujovių. *Darbai ir dienos*, 2000, t. XXI, p. 10–14.

¹⁴ LEŠČIUS, V. *Lietuvos kariuomenė 1918–1920*. Vilnius, 1998; LEŠČIUS, V. *Lietuvos kariuomenė Nepriklausomybės kovose 1918–1920*. Vilnius, 2004.

¹⁵ HAŠEKAS, J. *Šauniojo kareivio Šveiko nuotykių pasauliniame kare*. Vilnius, 2000, p. 344.

¹⁶ VAIČENONIS, J. *Lietuvos karyba nuo baltų iki XXI amžiaus*. Vilnius, 2011.

Duchy of Lithuania, the book by Vaičenonis and Rakutis devoted to the history of one unit of the army presents the development of the infantry in Lithuania from the 16th to the 21st centuries.¹⁷ One recent noteworthy work is the book by Vidmantas Airini on the narrow issue of hussars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.¹⁸

At the First Congress of Lithuanian Historians, which took place in Vilnius on 15-17 September 2005, 'a completely male gathering discussed issues of military history, whose strongest centre formed in Kaunas.'¹⁹ The workshop on military history summarised the work completed over the last 15 years, and presented a strategy in compliance with the needs for research in military history. The discussion 'Military History and Society' aimed to answer the problematic question: how to get through to the general public?²⁰ At the Second Congress of Lithuanian Historians, at Klaipėda University on 10-12 September 2009, research into military history was discussed in the workshop 'Lithuanian Military History: Methodological Issues and Future Visions'.²¹ The Third Congress of Lithuanian Historians, in Šiauliai on 26-28 September 2013, found place in its agenda for the workshop 'The History of Struggles for Freedom: On the Crossroads of Research and Politics'.²² Since 1999, conferences on issues of the history of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union have been organised, and their proceedings have been published.²³

¹⁷ RAKUTIS, V.; VAIČENONIS, J. *Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Algirdo mechanizuotojo pėstininkų bataliono istorija*. Vilnius, 2012.

¹⁸ AIRINI, V. *Pro Deo et Patria. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės husarai 1500–1673. Abiejų Tautų Respublikos husarų ginkluotė Vytauto Didžiojo karo muziejaus rinkiniuose*. Kaunas, 2013.

¹⁹ KAMUNTAVIČIUS, R. The First Congress of Lithuanian Historians, Vilnius University, 15-17 September 2005 [viewed on 12 06 2014]: <<http://istorija.vdu.lt/Inik/suvaziavimas2005.htm>>.

²⁰ The presentations given were: A. Jurevičiūtė 'Research in Military History in the Lithuanian Historiography of 1990 to 2005'; G. Surgailis 'The Contribution of the National Defence to the Organisation of the Research in the History of the Army'; J. Vaičenonis 'The Works on the History of Warfare in Vytautas Magnus University over 1994-2005 (a review of outcomes)'; D. Babilas 'History of War and Society Needs'; V. Rakutis 'The Strategy of the Warfare History Development in Lithuania': KAMUNTAVIČIUS, R. Op. cit.

²¹ The presentations given were: V. Rakutis 'The Prospects of the Lithuanian Warfare Development'; W. Rezmer 'The Polish System of the War Historian Training: Status and Prospects'; J. Vaičenonis 'A Methodology of Writing a History of Military Units and its Problems'; G. Lesmaitis 'The Prospects of Research in the Warfare of the Great Duchy of Lithuania of the 16th Century'; S. Strelcovas 'Interdisciplinary Methods in the Studies on the History of Lithuanian Warfare of the 20th Century'.

²² The presentations given were: W. Rezmer 'Military History in Polish Politics: the Past and the Present'; V. Rakutis 'The Significance of the Military History of the Early Modern Times for Domestic and Foreign Policies'; J. Vaičenonis 'The Development of the Studies of the Fights for Independence as an Instrument of Political Discourse'; S. Strelcovas 'Lithuanian Guerrilla Wars as a Political Expression of Regional Identity'; V. Jokubauskas 'The Interwar Lithuanian Riflemen-Guerrillas in the National Defence System: Historical Research and its Prospects'; A. Jurevičiūtė 'The View of the Interwar Politicians on Lithuanian Army Volunteers'.

²³ On 18 June 1999 in Šiauliai 'The 80th Anniversary of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union' (*Lietuvos šaulių sąjungai 80: mokslinės konferencijos, vykusios 1999 m. birželio 18 d. Šiauliu „Aušros“ muziejuje, medžiaga*. Sud. E. RAGUCKIENĖ. Šiauliai, 1999). On 7 March 2002 in Kaunas 'The Historical Features of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union' (JEGELEVIČIUS, S. Mėginimai rašyti Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos istoriją. *Lietuvos istorijos studijos*, 2002, t. X, p. 99–101; the conference materials have been published: *Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos istorijos fragmentai*. Sud. J. VAIČENONIS, S. DOVYDAITIS. Kaunas, 2002). The last conference 'The Lithuanian Riflemen's Union: the Past, Present, and Future', devoted to the LRU history, took place in Kaunas on 7 May 2009 (*Lietuvos šaulių sąjunga: praeitis, dabartis, ateitis. Leidinys skirtas Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos gyvavimo 90-mečiui*. Sud. R. VARSACKYTĖ. Kaunas, 2009).

In 2009, in a review of the development of research in Lithuanian military history, Vaičėnionis noted that:

conditions for research into Lithuanian military history formed simultaneously with the restoration of Lithuania's statehood in 1918. The period from 1918 to the Soviet occupation could be divided into two periods. The first one (1921-1926) could be named the preparatory period, while the second, starting in 1927 and ending in 1940, could be called the period of implementation of specific and targeted works of military history [...] When comparing the development of the military history of the First Republic of Lithuania and contemporary Lithuania, we can state that over several years, starting with the 1990s, and also over a shorter period, much more has been done. Some of the ideas born in the interwar period have been implemented, most of the blank spots in Lithuanian military history have been filled, and researchers of the new generation have been brought together to implement new objectives for Lithuanian military history.²⁴

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On 10 August 2010, the Institute of Military Sciences was established at the General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, consisting of the Centre for Strategic Research, the Centre for Military History, and the Centre for Military Technology. Research into military history has also become more active at Klaipėda University and other Lithuanian research and study institutions. Some methodological works on conducting research into military history that have been published in recent years are worth mentioning.²⁵

Karo archyvas (Military Archives), a publication that was launched in interwar Lithuania, could be considered a publication in the field of military history, similar to those published in military research centres and institutions in Western Europe. Up to 1939, 12 volumes of the publication appeared. The publishing of *Karo archyvas* was resumed in 1992, and it addressed the readers as follows:

The resumed *Karo archyvas* will strive to follow the traditions of the interwar *Karo archyvas*. It will publish research articles, memoirs and documents. We will try not to turn it into a dry academic publication that is of interest to historians alone. We will do our best to make it useful, interesting and necessary to all those who are keen to know more about the history of Lithuania.²⁶

Between 1992 and 2014, 16 volumes (XIII to XXIX) were published, which included 157 articles, with 80 of them (or 50.96%) devoted to the analysis of the military history of interwar Lithuania. In the first volume of the resumed publication (or consecutive Volume XIII), the bar of research was raised high: issues of Lithuanian warfare in the pre-state period and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were analysed, by leading

²⁴ VAIČĖNIONIS, J. Lietuvos karo istorijos tyrimų organizavimas 1918–2008 metais. *Istorija*, 2009, t. LXXIII, p. 59–67.

²⁵ RAKUTIS, V. *Karo meno istorijos tyrimų metodika*. Vilnius, 2006; VAIČĖNIONIS, J. *Metodiniai nurodymai kariuomenės dalinio istorijai rašyti*. Kaunas, 2010.

²⁶ Gerbiamas skaitytojau. *Karo archyvas*, 1992, t. XIII, p. 1.

researchers such as Edvardas Gudavičius²⁷ and Alvydas Nikžentaitis.²⁸ Meanwhile, in later years, even though since 2002 *Karo archyvas* has had a scientific editorial board including Lithuanian, Latvian and Polish historians, we can find huge descriptive and detailed texts, valuable merely for the fact that other authors will not have to work so much in archives any more. Lately, the quality of the published articles has significantly improved, thanks to the potential of young researchers who recently defended their doctoral dissertations. However, the issue of the inclusion of the publication in research databases remains unresolved, and this reduces the spread and prestige of the contributions, and, from the point of view of the research bureaucracy, undermines the value of the papers.

In recent years, the number of researchers in the military history of interwar Lithuania has been increasing, as has the number of dissertations defended on the theme of warfare (in the period 1999 to 2013, 12 history dissertations were defended on the subject, including ten at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas²⁹ and two at Klaipėda University³⁰). The fact that all the dissertations related to the military history of interwar Lithuania defended so far have been at Vytautas Magnus University is a sign of the formation of a true centre of research in military history. This is also confirmed by the abundance of BAs and MA final theses defended.³¹ The future

²⁷ GUDAVIČIUS, E. Lietuvių pašauktinės kariuomenės organizacijos bruožai. *Karo archyvas*, 1992, t. XIII, p. 43–118.

²⁸ NIKŽENTAITIS, A. XIII–XV a. lietuvių kariuomenės bruožai (organizacija, taktika, papročiai). *Karo archyvas*, 1992, t. XIII, p. 3–33.

²⁹ Vyngantas Vareikis 'Military and Political Activities of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union in 1919 to 1923' (supervisor Liudas Truska, 1999); Petras Stankeras 'The Lithuanian Police in the Years of Nazi Occupation in 1941 to 1944 (organisational structure and staff)' (supervisor Liudas Truska, 2000); Valdas Rakutis 'The Army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Four-Year Sejm Period (1788-1792)' (supervisor Antanas Tyla, 2000); Jonas Vaičėnionis 'The Role of the Army in the Political Life of the First Republic of Lithuania in 1927-1940' (supervisor Liudas Truska, 2003); Gediminas Lesmaitis 'The Changes in the LGD Army in the Context of Social Development (late 15th and early 16th century)' (supervisor Zigmantas Kiaupa, 2005); Simonas Strelcovas 'WWII Refugees in Lithuania (1939-1940)' (supervisor Saulius Pivoras, 2007); Modestas Kuodys 'Martial Regime in the Republic of Lithuania in 1918 to 1940' (supervisor Pranas Janauskas, 2009); Aušra Jurevičiūtė 'Organisations of Former Servicemen and their Role in Lithuanian Domestic Policy in 1923 to 1940' (supervisor Sigita Jegelevičius, 2009); Estela Gruzdienė 'Foreign Military Missions in the First Republic of Lithuania in 1919 to 1920' (supervisor Pranas Janauskas, 2011); Andriejus Stolarovas 'The First Law Enforcement Institutions in the First Republic of Lithuania: Specialised Military Courts (1919-1940)' (supervisor Jonas Vaičėnionis, 2012).

³⁰ At Klaipėda University in 2005, Mindaugas Pocius defended his doctoral dissertation 'Guerrilla Resistance in Lithuania in 1944 to 1953: Fight with the Population Accused of Collaboration' (supervisor Liudas Truska), and Vytautas Jokubauskas 'Lithuanian Military Doctrine and its Implementation in 1923 to 1940 in the Context of North-Eastern Countries of the Baltic Region' (supervisor Vyngantas Vareikis, 2013).

³¹ In 1993-2007, at Vytautas Magnus University, out of the total 533 Bachelor's final theses, 109 (20.45%) were devoted, or closely related, to issues of military history; in 1995-2007, 19 (22.09%) out of 86 Master's final theses: VAICĖNIONIS, J. Lietuvos karo istorijos tyrimų organizavimas 1918-2008 metais. *Istorija*, 2009, t. LXXIII, p. 59-67; to compare, at Klaipėda University in 1997-2014, 297 Bachelor's final theses were defended, including 30 related to military history (10.1%), and 71 Master's final theses, including two related to military history (2.82%). Calculations were made afterwards: Baigiamieji darbai [viewed on 12 06 2014]: <<http://briai.ku.lt/institutas/istorijos-katedra/baigiamieji-darbai/>>.

offers even more opportunities for the writing of innovative dissertations on themes of the military history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, processes of the First and Second World War in Lithuania, and the uprisings of the 19th century, based on novel research methodologies and approaches.

In 2013, following the example of other countries, an abundantly illustrated book of an encyclopaedic character, meant for the general public, was published in order to present Lithuania's most famous battles and military operations.³² In the near future, the Lithuanian Military Academy intends to publish a synthesis of military history. Moreover, research into warfare tends to be joined by researchers from other areas. The dissertation by the political scientist Deividas Šlekys, defended in 2012, set the ambitious aim of updating, supplementing and bringing back to the research discourse the tradition of political theory thinking which explains socio-political actions in the state and society through the prism of the military dimension.³³ The proposals for political science to turn back to history by taking over different concepts from military history (such as *military revolution*), and to introduce strategies of research of the latest military tradition (*new military history, war and society*) are welcome phenomena. How well Lithuanian military history researchers are able to take over these competences and research strategies is another matter.

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Military history research projects in Lithuania

In the development of research into military history, Lithuania is making a transition to competitive research funding by receiving target funds from different foundations. In recent years, several war history-related projects have been launched.

In the period 2012 to 2014, the General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania implemented the Lithuanian Research Council-funded project 'Lithuanian War Experiences in the 19th and 20th Centuries: A Systemic-Qualitative Analysis' (manager Gediminas Vitkus, implementors Virgilijus Pugačiauskas, Ieva Šenavičienė, Gintautas Surgailis and Edita Jankauskienė). In the project for the accumulation of data related to war and its causes, 'Correlates of War', implemented in the USA, data on the military experience of Lithuania was also collected.³⁴ However, some aspects of the experience (battles, losses, etc) were presented inaccurately, and sometimes wrongly. That became the principal reason for the implementation in Lithuania of a project for a systemic-qualitative analysis of the national military experience. According

³² *Žymiausi Lietuvos mūšiai ir karinės operacijos*. Vilnius, 2013.

³³ ŠLEKYS, D. *Military as the Forgotten Dimension of Political Theory*. Doctoral dissertation. Vilnius, 2012, p. 8.

³⁴ For more about the USA-implemented project and its methodology see: VITKUS, G. Lietuvos nacionalinė kariavimo patirtis „karo koreliatų“ duomenų rinkinyje. *Karo archyvas*, 2011, t. XXVI, p. 321–346.

to G. Vitkus, for the first time in Lithuanian historiography, the project intends to collect and scientifically systematise all the available factual information and statistical data on the wars in Lithuania in the 19th and 20th centuries.³⁵ The outcomes of the project will also be available to the compilers of the 'Correlates of War' data collection, when they get down sooner or later to updating the collected data, as well as to other foreign researchers-war analysts. An even more important outcome of the research is not so much to help researchers abroad as to develop a new framework for a better perception and understanding of the accumulated war experience in Lithuania.³⁶ In 2014, a monograph in Lithuanian³⁷ was published on the basis of this project, whose texts were regrettably not equivalent in terms of quality.

In the context of *hybrid warfare*, the concept of paramilitarism and its application became highly relevant. The concept of paramilitarism was formed in the 1930s, and covered not only paramilitary organisations, which were active alongside regular military forces, and their military activities, but also the ideological, military and cultural preparation for the armed struggle. Paramilitarism is associated with nationalism; therefore, studies into that historical phenomenon enable a deeper knowledge of the developmental processes of modern nations. During a project that was implemented at the University of Dublin in 2009 and 2010, the publication *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, compiled by Robert Gerwarth and John Horne, was published, and researchers in paramilitarism will not be able to ignore it.³⁸ In the case of Lithuania, research into paramilitarism acquires an exclusive significance not merely due to the guerrilla movement in the years 1919 to 1923 and the uprising of June 1941, or the specificity of the guerrilla fighting in the postwar years (1944 to 1953), but also due to the memories of guerrilla war and the opportunities for the formation of warfare tactics in the context of the latest geopolitical events.

The Lithuanian Research Council-funded project 'The Significance of Paramilitary Organisations in the National Defence System: The Case of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union' (manager Vygantas Vareikis, implementors Jonas Vaičenonis, Hektoras Vitkus and Vytautas Jokubauskas)³⁹ was implemented at the Institute of Baltic Region Histo-

³⁵ *Lietuvos karai. Lietuvos XIX–XX a. nacionalinių karų sisteminė-kiekybinė analizė*. Sud. G. VITKUS. Vilnius, 2014.

³⁶ In the conference at the Military Academy of Lithuania, the national warfare experience was discussed, 13 November 2013 [viewed on 12 06 2014]: <<http://www.lka.lt/lt/apie-mus/naujienu/naujienu-archyvas-2013/p10/lietuvos-karo-akademijos-xgak.html>>.

³⁷ *Lietuvos karai. Lietuvos XIX–XX a. nacionalinių karų sisteminė-kiekybinė analizė...*

³⁸ *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*. Ed. by R. GERWARTH, J. HORNE. Oxford, 2012 (translation into Lithuanian: *Karas taikos metu. Paramilitarizmas po Pirmojo pasaulinio karo 1917–1923 m.* Sud. R. GERWARTH, J. HORNE. Vilnius, 2013).

³⁹ VAREIKIS, V.; JOKUBAUSKAS, V. Surašykim jų vardus, kad neišnyktų: Apie Klaipėdos universitete vykdomą mokslinių tyrimų projektą „Paramilitarinių organizacijų reikšmė valstybės gynybos sistemoje: Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos atvejis“. *Karo archyvas*, 2014, t. XXIX, p. 386–396; Projektas MIP-001/2013 [viewed on 12 06 2014]: <<http://briai.ku.lt/projektai/projektas-mip-0012013/>>.

ry and Archaeology of Klaipėda University. The project aimed, on the basis of a case study of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union (LRU), to identify the opportunities for the use of paramilitary organisations in the national defence system, and to establish the scale of the participation of the riflemen, who were trained for guerrilla warfare in interwar Lithuania, in the armed anti-Soviet resistance. The participants in the project sought to establish the place of the LRU in the interwar Lithuanian military defence system in the context of the Latvian, Estonian and Finnish cases, and to answer the question of the impact of the riflemen's military training on the armed anti-Soviet resistance that took place in Lithuania in the postwar years. They analysed the 'riflemenisation' ideology of interwar Lithuania, and the LRU's attitudes towards ethnic minorities. They also sought to establish the quantitative and qualitative role of former members of the LRU in the Lithuanian armed anti-Soviet resistance; and, last but not least, to identify how the experience of the guerrilla resistance in Lithuania in the first half of the 20th century could eventually be adapted to ensure the military security of the state of Lithuania in the 21st century.

In the course of the project, issues of the genesis of paramilitary organisations and aspects of their military training were analysed, and the ideologies of paramilitary organisations were studied in detail. The project sought to show the guerrilla resistance to have been a homogeneous fighting process, manifested in the 20th century and having taken place in a situation of an imbalance of power. It was expected to contribute to a reconsideration of the guerrilla war in Lithuania, and opportunities for its use for future security projections. Possibly in the 21st century, the passive or active functioning of paramilitary structures will become a potential deterrent, and in an emergency, a form of resistance.

As part of the project, on 29 November 2013, the Institute of Baltic Region History and Archaeology at Klaipėda University held the seminar 'The Lithuanian Riflemen's Union in the Context of Paramilitary Organisations of East Central European Countries in the First Half of the 20th Century: Comparative Aspects', and on 16 May 2014, the second seminar 'Military and Social Activities of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union and its Members (1919-1953)'. An analysis of interwar Lithuania's military doctrine and issues of the riflemen's training for guerrilla warfare was presented in Vytautas Jokubauskas' monograph (2014).

A structural and statistical analysis of the composition of the interwar LRU, done during the project, was expected to identify the social status, nationality and age of the Union's members predominating in the organisation, as it functioned not merely as a national-patriotic, but also as a civil structure. A reference book on the combatant riflemen in the years 1939 to 1940 in an e-format was planned, which would present the biographical-service descriptions of up to 50,000 combatant riflemen.

Since 2013, the European Social Fund-financed project 'Displacement of Population and its Political and Cultural Legacy in Lithuania in the 20th Century' has been conducted at Vilnius University (manager Tomas Balkelis, implementors Arūnas Streikus, Violeta Davoliūtė, and Klaus A. Richter). The project seeks to investigate the impact of forced displacement and its legacy in Lithuania in the 20th century. It touches on processes that took place during the First and the Second World War; and therefore, it can also be claimed to be indirectly related to military history.⁴⁰

It is to be expected that the anniversaries of the events of the First World War, the forthcoming centenary of Lithuania's declaration of independence and the struggles for independence, and the annexation of the Klaipėda region by Lithuania will intensify research into Lithuanian military history. Events in Eastern Europe demonstrate that changes in the functioning of military structures and the changing nature of warfare provide opportunities for military historians to grasp certain social or political processes that remain unnoticed by others.

⁴⁰ ES struktūrinių fondų finansuojami projektai. Visuotinės dotacijos projektai: Gyventojų dislokacija ir jos politinis bei kultūrinis palikimas XX amžiaus Lietuvoje (GDPKPL) [viewed on 12 06 2014]: <<http://www.if.vu.lt/projektai/es-strukturiniu-fondu-finansuojami-projektai#projekto-vykdytojai>>.