

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

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Communicative significance of
the media and memory drives in
forming the collective memory
of Armia Krajowa in the middle
of the 20th century

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SUMMARY

Relevance of the topic

The past provides the basis for memory, but the content of memory is formed by communication among individuals, collectives, memory drives and the media. Memory, whether individual or collective, does not derive solely from past events which are stored in memory drives. Past events undoubtedly form the basis for memory to come up, however, communication is relevant in the process of creating the knowledge of the past. The science of history makes an effort to answer the question what the past was like. Communication, as a constituent, supplements history research by answers to the question why different collectives perceive the same past differently. This research emphasises the communicative significance of memory drives and the media in the process of memory formation and transformation.

The implications of communication expand the historical research about the Polish armed resistance that was active in the territory of eastern Lithuania (between 1939 and 1945). The perception of the past is constructed not only by scholars but also by different collectives who expand the knowledge or create an alternative perception of the past through memory drives. The dissertation analyses how communication by memory drives, collectives and the media impact the process of formation and transformation of collective memory.

The communicative significance of memory drives and the media unfolds in the second part of the dissertation which probes into the impact of communication by the media and media drives on the formation of knowledge about the

past. The third part of the dissertation addresses the impact of the media and memory drives on the memory narrative on the Polish armed resistance.

Pierre Nora¹ and Alon Confino² wrote that the 20th century was the age of memory. Various authors claimed the same – that, since the middle of the 20th century, there has been more interest in memory than history. In the light of systematic developments that had taken place, countries, social groups, and families started newly appreciating their past and redefining their relationship with the past. The interest in memory was manifest in different forms: criticism of official history, revival of forgotten memory fragments, genealogical research, intensity of different commemorative events, creation of new museums, interest in archives, emphasis on heritage. The countries of Western Europe were the first to enter the age of memory; later, after the collapse of the Socialist block, the world faced the “recovered” memory of Eastern Europe and the interest in memory studies only increased.³ Interest in the memory of the past could be classified into three stages.

The first stage began in the eighth decade of the 20th century, with the start of emphasis on the roles of states, nations, and individuals during World War II. The second stage started after the collapse of the Socialist block and the emergence of new states in Europe which began shaping their identity based on their historical experience. The reinstatement of independence gave rise to collective memories. The third

¹ NORA, Pierre. *Czas pamięci. Res Publica Nowa*. 2010, No. 10, s. 134.

² CONFINO, Alon. *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance. Promises and Limits of Writing History*. Chapel Hill 2006, p. 155.

³ NORA, Pierre. *Czas pamięci. Res Publica Nowa*. 2010, No. 10, s. 134.

stage began in the 21st century and continues to date – the past is reconsidered in the light of the Euro-Atlantic integration and societal changes. The interest in the past is fuelled by the medialisation of images of the past, by the appearance / fading away of political powers, and by social processes. The past is invoked in creating common identities, therefore, it may be stated that the past serves for existential justification where efforts are made to justify the collective present with reference to past events. Lithuania has recovered its interest in the World War II events, holocaust, and resistance. Lithuania has memories of different resistance movements where residents of the country were involved. They are presented and interpreted differently. The interest in these elements of the past is predetermined not only by internal processes in the state but also by the international context. Much attention is given to the events that took place during World War II because they involved the majority of residents. The topics of this war are often explored in popular culture (films, games). The war period events are used in politics (e.g. by Russia for the justification of the occupation and inclusion in the Socialist block). The actions of militarised units and resistance movements spark discussions as their members had, for some reasons, committed crimes against civil residents: the cases of Kaniukai village, Gližiškės estate, Dubingiai town.

Civil participation in a resistance movement can be predetermined by various factors: dissatisfaction about the internal situation in the country, ideological conflict, occupation by interventionists, etc. Manuel Castells⁴ derived resistance from public dissatisfaction bearing in mind public

⁴ CASTELLS, Manuel. *Władza komunikacji*. Warszawa 2013, s. 344.

resistance to undertaken reforms. Arvydas Anušauskas⁵ described resistance as a patriotic movement of differently thinking persons, with a distinctive political programme. This definition shows that resistance is a centralised organisation⁶ with a political goal expressed in a political programme. Kęstutis Kasparas⁷ defined *resistance* as a movement with an independent strategy and tactics for the struggle for freedom by a country occupied by enemies or by part of its residents. Four major components may be distinguished in this definition: *occupants, freedom, struggle* and *movement*. Such description of the concept of *resistance* indicates that a resistance movement comes into existence when the enemy occupies a sovereign state or its part and the objective of resistance members is freedom. The definition implies that the fight (pursued according to an independent strategy and tactics) can be perceived in a broad sense, i.e. not only as armed resistance against the occupant (i.e. active resistance) but also as any conduct by the subjugated country or its part, by which it seeks damage to the occupant (i.e. passive resistance).⁸

⁵ ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Pasipriešinimo raida ir pasipriešinimo metodai. In: *Pilietinis pasipriešinimas Lietuvoje ir Lenkijoje: sąsajos ir ypatumai 1939-1956*. Compiled by ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Vilnius 2004, p. 241.

⁶ The word *movement* means a focused public movement – according to *Žodynas.lt* [interactive]. 18/11/2017, [accessed on 21 July 2017]. Accessed online: <https://www.zodynas.lt/terminu-zodynas/S/sajudis>

⁷ KASPARAS, Kęstutis. Teorinė pasipriešinimo samprata ir klasifikacija. *Laisvės kovų archyvas*, 1997, 20, p. 236.

⁸ In his article, Kęstutis Kasparas introduces the classification of this concept according to the method, form of resistance, and co-ordination of resistance actions (p. 238–244), however, in view of the author of the dissertation, such classification is excessive. Classification of resistance according to the form of fight to active

The definition includes the word *movement*, which indicates that the fight was carried out by a centralised organisation.

Considering the differences and components of the above-described definitions, this research explores *resistance movement* as a centralised, targeted, politically engaged armed movement of residents of the territory occupied by enemies aimed at breaking free from occupation in different ways.

Organised resistance against occupants took place during different periods. During World War II, Lithuania was exceptional in the European context as there were three ideologically different resistance movements (in according to the above-referred definition – author's comment) active in Lithuania during that time: Lithuanian anti-Nazi resistance, armed Polish resistance, armed resistance against Soviets.⁹ During the time period at issue, the following Lithuanian anti-Nazi resistance organisations were active on the territory of Lithuania: Lithuanian Front (LF), Union of Lithuanian Freedom Fighters (LLKS), Lithuanian Freedom Army (LLA), Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania (VLIK). These organisations did not stand out during the war but laid the basis for the emergence and organised operations of the after-war armed Lithuanian anti-Soviet resistance. The armed struggle sought independence and aimed at showing to the Western states that Lithuania did not agree with the resolutions

and passive provides a sufficiently clear indication of the method chosen for the fight.

⁹ BUBNYS, Arūnas. *Pasipriešinimo judėjimai Lietuvoje Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais: lenkų pogrindis 1939-1945 m.* Vilnius 2015, p. 9.

of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences¹⁰, i.e. with their inclusion in the composition of the Soviet Union.

There was organised armed Polish resistance movement active in eastern Lithuania during World War II and in the first years of the after-war period. The Polish armed resistance movement, referred to by the common name Armia Krajowa, was a centralised organisation formed by professional officers and subordinate to the Polish Government in Exile (which operated in France in November 1939 and in England from June 1940). The goal of the Polish underground resistance was the struggle for independence (the AK structure is described in more detail in part 3.2 of the research). The Polish resistance movement started developing in the autumn of 1939, after the lost defensive war and the beginning of the occupation by the Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The underground Government sought to restore the statehood of Poland also in the former pre-war eastern lands of Poland, which had become part Lithuania and the Soviet Union.¹¹ This aspiration was driven not only by the wish to retain these lands in the composition of the State of Poland but also by the necessity to show where the influence area of the Soviet Union ends. The inter-war (the concept “inter-war” applies with reference to the period between the First and the Second World Wars) disagreement between Lithuanians and Polish concerning Vilnius regained

¹⁰ The Yalta and Potsdam Conferences defined and approved the new borders of the after-war Europe according to which Lithuania found itself in the composition of the Soviet Union.

¹¹ According to: BUBNYS, Arūnas. Antinacinis pasipriešinimas. In: *Lietuva 1940-1990: okupuotos Lietuvos istorija*. Vilnius 2007, p. 246-250. In addition: ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Lenkų pogrindis Lietuvoje 1939 – 1945 m. In: *Lietuva 1940-1990: okupuotos Lietuvos istorija*. Vilnius 2007, p. 250-252.

the elements of an armed conflict in the years of World War II. AK fought against the Lithuanian units that collaborated with the Nazi, there were also civil casualties. For these reasons, this movement is viewed differently in Lithuania.

The Lithuanian and Polish AK anti-Nazi (and also anti-Soviet after July 1944) resistance movements have several common features evidencing their similarities rather than differences. The anti-Nazi resistance of Lithuanians, similarly to the Polish AK¹², was geared towards the U.S. and England in belief of enforcement of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and referred to the Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union as to enemies. The Lithuanian anti-Nazi resistance was similar to the Polish AK not only in its belief in the implementation of provisions of the Atlantic Charter but also in the tactics of its operation. Both anti-Nazi tactics of unarmed resistance, i.e. calls not to join any German organisations and refuse deliveries of grain to the state, focused on a large-scale anti-Nazi propaganda, disclosure of collaborators, and intimidation.¹³ These movements are identical in the fact that the arrangements and operations of resistance by both Lithuanians and Polish involved cooperation with Nazis, as well as civil victims. Different organisations left a similar complicated heritage – memories about killings of civil residents and cooperation with collaborators. For these reasons, the history of activities of the resistance movements receives attention and diverse interpretations that can be manipulated. Negative activity aspects are used in order to downplay the scope, participants and the results achieved by the Polish or Lithuanian post-war

¹² For more about AK see parts 3.2 and 3.3 of the research.

¹³ BUBNYS, Arūnas. Antinacinė lietuvių rezistencija. In: *Lietuva 1940 – 1990: okupuotos Lietuvos istorija*. Vilnius 2007, p. 246–247.

resistance. The opponents to the preservation of remembrance of these resistance movements try, for their own goals, to influence not only history research and education but also any expression of the past and its form in the present times.¹⁴

In the light of the premises stated above, the research uses the concept *armed resistance movement* for defining the Lithuanian anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet as well as the Polish anti-Nazi resistance movements which struggled for independence and operated in the territory of Lithuania in an organised way between 1939 and 1953. The scope of this definition excludes the Soviet (Communist) movement that was active in the territory of Lithuania in the years of World War II. The Communist movement sought the introduction of the Communist dictatorship and the inclusion of Lithuania into the composition of the Soviet Union. The Communist movement was anti-Nazi, but it did not seek independence.¹⁵

The Lithuanian and Polish armed resistance movements had differences predetermined by the changing occupants of the country. According to Arvydas Anušauskas¹⁶, the biggest enemy for Lithuanians was the Soviet Union the freeing from which was facilitated by the Nazi Germany. For this reason, the Nazi Germany was considered as an ally in the

¹⁴ DE BEATS, Antoon. *Responsible History*. New York – Oxford 2009, p. 40.

¹⁵ Such statement is supported by articles of Rafał Wnuk which detail a clear difference between the Polish and Communist underground organisations that operated in Poland. WNUK, Rafał. *Politiniai ir idėjiniai Lenkijos antikomunistinio pogrindžio pavidalai*. In: *Pilietinis pasipriešinimas Lietuvoje ir Lenkijoje: sąsajos ir ypatumai 1939-1956*. Compiled by ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Vilnius 2004, p. 205-206.

¹⁶ ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Įvadas. In: *Pilietinis pasipriešinimas Lietuvoje ir Lenkijoje: sąsajos ir ypatumai 1939-1956*. Compiled by ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Vilnius 2004, p. 8-9.

fight against the Soviet Union. Major differences between the Polish AK and the Lithuanian anti-Nazi resistance are inherent in the following features (because some AK units collaborated with the Nazis):

1. The Polish resistance movement was a strictly centralised military organisation. The Lithuanian anti-Nazi movement was not unified. There were several different organisations in operation: LF; LLKS; LLA, and VLIK, which joined into one almost all organisations, except LLA and communists, was formed in November 1943;
2. The Polish resistance movement carried out armed actions and diversions from the very beginning, i.e. December 1939; partisan brigades started operating in 1943. The Lithuanian anti-Nazi resistance was limited to an unarmed, i.e. passive, form of resistance for fear of massive repressions by the occupant;
3. Since July 1944, the structures of the Polish resistance movement started retreating to central Poland. The Polish anti-Soviet resistance movement that operated in Vilnius region from 1944 was not organised, consistent, and centralised. The anti-Nazi Lithuanian resistance had prepared, in ideological and organisations terms, the nation for active resistance at the start of the second occupation by the Soviets in July 1944.¹⁷ The after-war Lithuanian anti-Soviet resistance was characterised by its organised nature, armed struggle and massive scale

¹⁷ BUBNYS, Arūnas. Antinacinė lietuvių rezistencija. In: *Lietuva 1940 – 1990: okupuotos Lietuvos istorija*. Vilnius 2007, p. 246–250.

(involved around 4 per cent of the population of Lithuania at that time);

4. The remembrance of the Lithuanian resistance movements has its basis established in law, meanwhile the remembrance of the Polish armed resistance in Lithuania has not been regulated by laws. The remembrance of the Polish resistance depends on the Polish cultural and public organisations operating in Lithuania.

In may be stated in the discussion of these anti-Nazi movements that, as a result of their ambivalent history, the memory about of these movements can be manipulated for political purposes. Societies react sensitively to killings of civil residents. By means of the media, political organisations can create a distorted memory of any resistance movement. The collective memory of AK is outside the scope of the Lithuanian public memory, i.e. is excluded from the institutionalised public memory, which is regulated by laws. Some AK soldiers moved from Lithuania to Poland in the summer of 1944, while others stayed in eastern Lithuania. Some of them continued their fight against the Soviet occupants, while others chose peaceful life under the Soviet rule. After the reinstatement of independence in Lithuania, former AK soldiers became citizens of the independent Lithuania where the attitude to them was predetermined by the events that took place during the inter-war period and World War II. In the light of the above statements, it will be researched in the dissertation why, in the absence of the Lithuanian public memory, the memory of AK has been retained, changed and how memory drives are related to this process.

Previous research on the topic

The Lithuanian anti-Nazi and armed anti-Soviet resistance was explored in the works of Arūnas Bubnys¹⁸, Arvydas Anušauskas¹⁹, Dalia Kuodytė²⁰. These authors discussed the structure of the underground movement, the struggle with the occupants, as well as – which is important in the context of the dissertation – the relationship with the Polish underground movement that was active in eastern Lithuania until 1950. Activities of AK in the territory of Lithuania during World War II and in the first after-war years was researched by Longin Tomaszewski.²¹ This author was

¹⁸ BUBNYS, Arūnas. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva (1941 – 1944)*. Vilnius 1998; BUBNYS, Arūnas. Lietuvių ir lenkų pasipriešinimo judėjimai 1942-1945 metais: sąsajos ir skirtumai: In: *Pilietinis pasipriešinimas Lietuvoje ir Lenkijoje: sąsajos ir ypatumai 1939-1956*. Compiled by ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Vilnius 2004; BUBNYS, Arūnas. Antinacinis pasipriešinimas. In: *Lietuva 1940-1990: okupuotos Lietuvos istorija*. Vilnius 2007.

¹⁹ ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Lenkų pagrindis Lietuvoje 1939 – 1945 m. In: *Lietuva 1940-1990: okupuotos Lietuvos istorija*. Vilnius 2007; ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Pasipriešinimo raida ir pasipriešinimo metodai. In: *Pilietinis pasipriešinimas Lietuvoje ir Lenkijoje: sąsajos ir ypatumai 1939-1956*. Compiled by ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Vilnius 2004; ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Lietuvių ir lenkų pasipriešinimas komunistinei santvarkai (1944-1989). In: *Lietuvių – lenkų santykiai amžių tėkmėje: istorinė atmintis*. Compiled by GAIDIS, Ryšard. VOLKONOVSKI, Jaroslav. Vilnius 2009.

²⁰ KUODYTĖ, Dalia. Ginkluotos rezistencijos politiniai ir ideologiniai ypatumai. In: *Pilietinis pasipriešinimas Lietuvoje ir Lenkijoje: sąsajos ir ypatumai 1939-1956*. Compiled by ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Vilnius 2004.

²¹ TOMASZEWSKI, Longin. *Wileńszczyzna lat wojny i okupacji 1939-1945*. Warszawa 2001.

one of the first who described in detail the situation in eastern Lithuania during World War II. The insights provided in his book are not original – that is a compilation of different sources. Quite different are the publications of the following authors: Jarosław Wołkonowski²², Tomasz Strzembosz²³, Piotr Niwiński²⁴, Arūnas Bubnys²⁵. The above-referred researched the structures, political and military activities of armed resistance organisations, as well as the relationship between Lithuanians and Poles during World War II and the in the first years after that war. Their works reveal similarities of the Lithuanian and Polish underground organisations, however, they do not analyse the memories about armed resistance movements, the functioning of memories in the contemporary

²² WOŁKONOWSKI, Jarosław. *Okręg Wileński Związku Walki Zbrojnej Armii Krajowej w latach 1939-1945*. Warszawa 1996; WOŁKONOWSKI, Jarosław. *Wizerunek Wileńskiego okręgu Armii Krajowej w podręcznikach szkolnych na Litwie, w mediach na Litwie oraz wypowiedziach polityków litewskich*. In: *Lietuvių – lenkų santykiai amžių tėkmėje: istorinė atmintis*. Compiled by GAIDIS, Ryšard. VOLKONOVSKI, Jaroslav. Vilnius 2009.

²³ STRZEMBOSZ, Tomasz. *Pogrindinė Lenkijos valstybė Vilnijoje 1939-1945 metais*. In: *Pilietinis pasipriešinimas Lietuvoje ir Lenkijoje: sąsajos ir ypatumai 1939-1956*. Compiled by ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Vilnius 2004.

²⁴ NIWIŃSKI, Piotr. *Okręg Wileński AK w latach 1944-1948*. Warszawa-Kraków 2014.

²⁵ BUBNYS, Arūnas. *Pasipriešinimo judėjimai Lietuvoje Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais: lenkų pogrindis 1939-1945 m.* Vilnius 2015; BUBNYS, Arūnas. *Lenkų pogrindžio požiūris į Lietuvos valstybingumą 1939–1944 metais*. In: *Lietuva antrajame pasauliniame kare*. Compiled by ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. LAURINAVIČIUS, Česlovas. Vilnius 2007; BUBNYS, Arūnas. *NKVD-NKGB kova su lenkų pogrindžiu ir represijos prieš Lietuvos lenkus 1944-1945 metais*. In: *Pilietinis pasipriešinimas Lietuvoje ir Lenkijoje: sąsajos ir ypatumai 1939-1956*. Compiled by ANUŠAUSKAS, Arvydas. Vilnius 2004.

public discourse and their potential in the light of the geopolitical context. That is an important aspect because memory can be used as a political instrument for public consolidation or confrontation. For the analysis of AK underground activities, the insights of Krzysztof Tarka²⁶ that the Polish Government in Exile looked for an agreement with the representatives of Lithuania were relevant. That helped disclose that the narrative created by the AK information and propaganda partly conflicted with the Polish Government in Exile, which was predetermined by the relationship between Lithuanians and Poles during the occupation.

The third part of the dissertation made use of published memoirs and document collections where it was possible to unfold the specifics of AK activities in eastern Lithuania. They included the memoirs published by Edmund Banasikowski²⁷, Zygmunt Brzozowski²⁸, Romuald Warakowski²⁹, Stanisław Kiałka³⁰, Jan Leszek Malinowski³¹. The memoirs of the above-referred authors helped identify the structure of the AK Information and Propaganda Office, the specifics of its operations, the communications released, the

²⁶ TARKA, Krzysztof. *Konfrontacja czy współpraca? Litwa w polityce Rządu Polskiego na uchodźstwie 1939–1945*. Opole 1998.

²⁷ BANASIKOWSKI, Edmund. *Na zew Ziemi Wileńskiej*. Warszawa-Paryż 1987.

²⁸ BRZOZOWSKI, Zygmunt. *Szczęśny. Litwa – Wilno 1915–1945*. Paryż 1987.

²⁹ WARAKOMSKI, Romuald. *Wileńskie dramaty w czasie wojny i w PRL*. Kraków 2006.

³⁰ Stanisław Kiałka – *Legenda wileńskiej konspiracji: materiały biograficzne i pisma wybrane*. Ed. MALINOWSKI, Jan. Leszek. Bydgoszcz 2000; Papiery Stanisława Kiałki. *BOss*, Rkps, 16635 – 16672/II.

³¹ MALINOWSKI, Leszek. Jan. *I Wileńska brygada AK „Juranda”*. Warszawa – Kraków 2014.

narrative developed by AK and the relationship of AK with Lithuanians. Among published documents, mention should be made of the six-volume collection of published documents of Armia Krajowa³², which detailed the formation stages of the Polish armed resistance, public attitude to the occupation and the evolving Polish underground movement.

The activities of members of the armed resistance movements are viewed controversially due to the killings of civil residents. That is confirmed by ongoing discussions in the media, e.g. on the commemoration of the most controversial personalities – Juozapas Krištaponis, Jonas Noreika, Tadeušas Konvickis.³³ Juozapas Krištaponis and Jonas Noreika were the officers who were involved in the

³² *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach 1939-1945*. Londyn 1970-1989, vol. 1-6.

³³ JACEVIČIUS, Mindaugas. Profesorius apie žydų žudynių dalyvius Lietuvoje: tai nebuvo tik saujelė išgamų, bet ir dalis inteligentijos. *Delfi* [interactive]. 26/11/2017 [accessed on 26 November 2017]. Accessed online: <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/profesorius-apie-zydu-zudyniu-dalyvius-lietuvoje-tai-nebuvo-tik-saujele-igsawu-bet-ir-dalis-inteligentijos.d?id=76344801>; ALIŠAUSKAS, Antanas. Kaltinamas dalyvavęs genocide: ar pagrįstai? *Delfi* [interactive]. 26/11/2017 [accessed on 26 November 2017]. Accessed online: <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/a-alisauskas-kaltinamas-dalyvaves-genocide-ar-pagristai.d?id=70483230>; PUMPRICKAITĖ, Nemira. Ar prezidento A.Smetonos sūnėnas J.Krištaponis iš tiesų dalyvavo žydų žudynėse? 15min.lt [interactive]. 11/01/2015 [accessed on 26 November 2017]. Accessed online: <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/istorija/ar-galejo-prezidento-a-smetonos-sunenais-j-kristaponis-dalyvauti-zydu-zudynese-582-477858>; VITKUS, Zigmąs. Pavojingas akmuo. Pavojingesnis, nei Žaliojo tilto „balvonai“. *Bernardinai.lt* [interactive]. 15/07/2014 [accessed on 26 November 2017]. Accessed online: <http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2014-07-15-zigmas-vitkus-pavojingas-akmuo-pavojingesnis-nei-zaliojo-tilto-balvonai/119886>;

holocaust in Lithuania during the years of the Nazi occupation.³⁴ After the start of the second Soviet occupation, they contributed to the organisation of the anti-Soviet underground movement and fought against the Soviets. Tadeusz Konwicki, a famous Polish writer who was born in Naujoji Vilnia, paid much attention to Lithuania in his works. He served in AK during the years of the Nazi occupation and is viewed negatively for this reason.³⁵ The discussions show that it has not been clarified who and why should be remembered, and how controversial personalities should be treated. Furthermore, another feature of the remembrance policy pursued in Lithuania comes to light – the content of public memory is the responsibility of politicians rather than historians. That is also confirmed by the study made by Skaidra Trilupaitytė³⁶, which notes that remembrance is formed by politicians who decide for whom a monument will be built and who will be commemorated in street names. On the one hand, the ongoing discussions on memory and memorials show the relevance of the research of memory of armed resistance movements. On the other hand, in the

³⁴ VINOKŪRAS, Arkadijus. Ne Šindlerio sąrašas. *lrytas.lt* [interactive]. 04/02/2016 [accessed on 26 November 2017]. Accessed online:

<https://lietuvsdiena.lrytas.lt/aktualijos/2016/02/04/news/ne-sindlerio-sarasas-820286/>.

³⁵ Vilniaus rajono savivaldybė pavadino gatvę „Armijoje krajojoje“ kovojusio rezisieriaus vardu. *Bernardinai.lt*

<http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2017-03-31-vilniaus-rajono-savivaldybe-pavadino-gatve-armijoje-krajojoje-kovojusio-rezisieriaus-vardu/157539>.

³⁶ TRILUPAITYTĖ, Skaidra. Medijų kultūra ar „atminties transformacijos“? Žaliojo tilto atvejis ir kiti paminklai. In: *Nacionalinis tapatumas medijų kultūroje*. Compiled by GAIŽUTYTĖ-FILIPAVIČIENĖ, Žilvinė. RUBAVIČIUS, Vytautas. Vilnius 2011, p. 84-86.

present-day geopolitical context, the memory of Lithuanians and Polish of their common resistance to the Soviet occupation may become a factor that consolidates society. The joint fight of these movements and their ideological views are becoming relevant as evidenced by the discussions taking place in online media,³⁷ however, the potential of memory to consolidate society has been untapped to date.

The research of memory is inter-disciplinary and embraces the research of memory places and the media, history and culture, social and political research. The dissertation upholds the opinion that individual and collective memories are interrelated but collective ones impact the content of individual memories. Collectives as such keep reconsidering the content of their memories in order to decide what will be remembered and what will be forgotten for some time. Such approach is based on the observations of Astrid

³⁷ SAVUKYNAS, Virginijus. „Istorijos detektyvai“ atskleidžia: tie, kuriuos laikėme priešais, II pasaulinio karo metu buvo vieninteliai mūsų draugai. *Delfi.lt* [interactive]. 04/03/2018, [accessed on 11 March 2018]. Accessed online:

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/istorijos-detektyvai-atskleidzia-tie-kuriuos-laikeme-priesais-ii-pasaulinio-karo-metu-buvo-vieninteliai-musu-draugai.d?id=77326455>; PRALEIKA, Aidanas. Armija Krajova ir Lietuva: sunkūs žingsniai į susitaikymą. *Lietuvos žinios*. [interactive]. 04/03/2018, [accessed on 11 March 2018]. Accessed online:

<https://www.lzinios.lt/lzinios/Lietuva/armija-krajowa-ir-lietuva-sunkus-zingsniai-i-susitaikyma/260977>; SALDŽIŪNAS, Vaidas. Ginklo broliai: pamiršti partizanai, kurie kartu su lietuviais kėlė siaubą Kremlui. *Delfi.lt* [interactive]. 25/02/2017, [accessed on 11 March 2018]. Accessed online:

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/medijos-karas-propaganda/ginklo-broliai-pamirsti-partizanai-kurie-kartu-su-lietuviais-kele-siauba-kremlui.d?id=73863912>;

ErlL.³⁸ The views of this author are close to Maurice Halbwachs³⁹, a pioneer in the research of collective memory who has centred not on collective memory but on the impact of a collective / society on individual memory. This approach is developed by Paul Connerton⁴⁰ who analyses the relationship between individual and collective memory and the mechanism when collective memory becomes public memory by emphasising the importance of political decisions and ritual performances. These ideas were further developed not only by Astrid ErlL⁴¹ but also by Barbara Misztal⁴².

Social memory is a social construct formed by authorities according to present needs. Such view is also maintained by Barbara Szacka⁴³ – just this researcher uses the term of collective memory and states that it is narrower and easier to interpret. Public memory is maintained by the media and memory drives. This proposition and the literature on memory drives and memory media have been more extensively discussed in the second part of the research.

³⁸ ERL, Astrid. Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction. In: *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Ed. ERL, Astrid. Berlin 2008, p. 3–4.

³⁹ HALBWACHS, Maurice. *Spoleczne ramy pamieci*. Warszawa 1969.

⁴⁰ CONNERTON, Paul. *Jak społeczeństwa pamiętają*. Warszawa 2012, s. 40.

⁴¹ ERL, Astrid. Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction. In: *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Ed. ERL, Astrid. Berlin 2008, p. 4.

⁴² MISZTAL, Barbara. *Theories of Social Remembering*. Philadelphia 2003.

⁴³ SZACKA, Barbara. II wojna światowa w pamięci rodzinnej. In: *Między codziennością a wielką historią: druga wojna światowa w pamięci zbiorowej społeczeństwa polskiego*. Gdańsk-Warszawa 2010, s. 81.

Jan Assmann⁴⁴ states that there is no collective memory but there is cultural memory which conveys cultural meanings. Cultural memory is perceived by Assmann⁴⁵ as a continuous process where a society maintains its identity through the reconstructions of its common past (in the light of its present situation). According to him, an important role in this process is played by cultural works – texts, buildings, etc. This observation supports the assumption that the concept of places of memory is not the only instrument which can explain the process of memory creation, maintenance and communication. The concept of places of memory developed by Pierre Nora⁴⁶ in the second half of the 20th century helps explain the possibilities of memory recollection. That does not mean that it is the only universal instrument. The dissertation maintains the opinion that memory about past events is constructed in the light of the present needs and that the content of memory may change with changing needs. This opinion builds upon works of other scholars. Barbara Misztal⁴⁷ refers to such approach as dynamic, i.e. collectives choose what they will remember in the light of the present. The present predetermines what we remember and what we forget.

⁴⁴ ASSMANN, Jan. Kultura pamięci. In: *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa: współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*. Ed. SARYUS-WOLSKA, Magdalena. Kraków 2009. 59–99.

⁴⁵ ASSMANN Jan. CZAPLICKA, John. Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique*, 1995, No. 65, p. 125–131. JSTOR [interactive]. 1995 [accessed on 1 December 2019]. Accessed online:

https://www.academia.edu/1411583/Collective_memory_and_cultural_identity

⁴⁶ NORA, Pierre. Między pamięcią i historią. *Lieux de memoire*. Tytuł roboczy: *archiwum*, 2009, 2.

⁴⁷ MISZTAL, Barbara. *Theories of Social Remembering*. Philadelphia 2003, p. 31–48.

Therefore, forgetting could also be considered as a component of public memory. Maurice Halbwachs⁴⁸ argued with psychologists who were convinced that memory preserves everything – his opinion was that memory, in principle, is selective. Such view was later developed also by other scholars who upheld the opinion that memory is selective and forgetting is its integral element. Public memory it's a phenomenon which can be fully understood only if it can be answered why society remembers not everything. By turning the attention to forgetting, as a component of public memory, Paul Ricoeur states⁴⁹ that memory changes as a result of political ideologies. The primary role in the process of forgetting, according to Karolina Wigura⁵⁰, is played by authorities (e.g., the media, the Parliament, the Ministry of Education) which shape public memory.

Lithuanian scholars research the following aspects of memory: the impact of historical places on identity and memory, transformation of the memory policy in Lithuania in the 20th-21st centuries, the role of national narrative in memory policy.⁵¹ In the academic discourse of Lithuania, various forms

⁴⁸ HALBWACHS, Maurice. *Spoleczne ramy pamięci*. Warszawa 1969, s. 11–12.

⁴⁹ RICOEUR, Paul. *Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie*. Kraków 2012.

⁵⁰ WIGURA, Karolina. *Wina narodów*. Gdańsk–Warszawa 2011.

⁵¹ *Kultūrologija 18: istorinės vietos, atmintys, tapatumai*. Compiled by BERENIS, Vytautas. Vilnius 2010. *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011. *Epochas jungiantis nacionalizmas: tautos (de)konstravimas tarpukario, sovietmečio ir posovietmečio Lietuvoje*. Compiled by LAURINAVIČIUS, Česlovas. Vilnius 2013. *Atminties daugiasluoksniškumas: miestas, valstybė, regionas*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2013. *Vietos dvasios beiėškant: straipsnių rinkinys*. Compiled by ČEPAITIENĖ,

of memory, their content and development mechanisms were researched by Alvydas Nikžentaitis⁵², Vasilijus Safronovas⁵³,

Rasa. Vilnius 2014. *Savas ir kitas: šiuolaikiniais požiūriais*. Compiled by SAVONIAKAITĖ, Vida. Vilnius 2014. *Atmintis kultūrų dialogai Ukrainos, Lietuvos, Baltarusijos (ULB) erdvėje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. KOPCZYŃSKI, Michał. Vilnius 2015.

⁵² NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Istorija, kolektyvinė atmintis, atminties ir atminimo kultūros. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011; NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Simbolinis daugiakultūrio miesto užvaldymas. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011; NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. XX a. diktatūrų laikotarpis Lietuvos gyventojų atminties kultūroje: dominuojanti ir diskriminuojama atmintis. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011; NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Atminties ir atminimų kultūrų modeliai: Lietuva, Lenkija, Rusija, Vokietija. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011; NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Atminties ir atminimo kultūros kaip užsienio politikos objektas Vidurio ir Rytų Europoje. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011; NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. KOPCZYŃSKI, Michał. Atminties kultūrų dialogai Ukrainos, Lietuvos, Baltarusijos (ULB) erdvėje. In: *Atmintis kultūrų dialogai Ukrainos, Lietuvos, Baltarusijos (ULB) erdvėje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. KOPCZYŃSKI, Michał. Vilnius 2015; NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. LDK versus Partizanų Respublika. Du nacionaliniai mitai šiandieninėje Baltarusijos atminties kultūroje. In: *Atmintis kultūrų dialogai Ukrainos, Lietuvos, Baltarusijos (ULB) erdvėje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. KOPCZYŃSKI, Michał. Vilnius 2015.

and Dangiras Mačiulis⁵⁴. They analysed variations in memory narratives, the relationship between collective and national remembrance policies, etc. Their observations drew upon the

ČEPAITIENĖ, Rasa. ČAPLINKSAS, R. Antanas. MIKNYS, Rimantas. NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. RAGAUSKAS, Aivaras. Vietoje apibendrinimo: Įprasminta istorinė raida Vilniaus mieste: situacijos analizė. In: *Santykis su istorine praeitimi XXI amžiaus Vilniuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. RAGAUSKAS, Aivaras. Vilnius 2004.

⁵³ SAFRONOVAS, Vasilijus. Kultūrinė atmintis ar atminimo kultūra? Kultūrinės atminties teorijos taikymo modernių laikų tyrimams problemos. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011; SAFRONOVAS, Vasilijus. Lietuvos atminimo politikos tendencijos po 1990 metų. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011.

NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Nuo Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo-Ribbentropo: kultūrinės atminties politika Lietuvoje. In: *Lietuvių – lenkų santykiai amžių tėkmėje: istorinė atmintis*. Compiled by GAIDIS, Ryšard. VOLKONOVSKI, Jaroslav. Vilnius 2009.

⁵⁴ MAČIULIS, Dangiras. MIKNYS, Rimantas. NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. „Vilniaus okupacija“ – vienos lietuvių atminties vietos genezė ir jos transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje. In: *Atmintis kultūrų dialogai Ukrainos, Lietuvos, Baltarusijos (ULB) erdvėje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. KOPCZYŃSKI, Michał. Vilnius 2015; MAČIULIS, Dangiras. Atminties kultūrų formavimo strategijos Lietuvos urbanistinėse erdvėse. Muziejus kaip atminties kultūros kūrimo vieta. In: *Atmintis daugiasluoksniškumas: miestas, valstybė, regionas*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. KOPCZYŃSKI, Michał. Vilnius 2013; MAČIULIS, Dangiras. Laikiniosios sostinės kolektyvinės atminties kraštovaizdis. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011.

theoretical insights of Maurice Halbwachs⁵⁵, Assmanns⁵⁶. These authors were the first who analysed the public memory of Lithuania, therefore, their insights that the Lithuanian memory lacks dialogue are valuable in developing the concept of dialogic memory. The authors write in their works about memory culture, which they understand as a form of collective memory maintained by the media and reinforced in tangible expressions, i.e. memory drives. The view of the above-referred authors is more related to the science of history than to sociology or communication. These works are important in the dissertation for discussing the difference between collective memory and public memory, for defining the role of authorities, such as the media, the Parliament, municipalities, etc. in the formation of public memory. Sociological approach to memory and its expression in society was explored in the works of Irena Šutinienė⁵⁷ who discussed the interrelation

⁵⁵ HALBWACHS, Maurice. *Společne ramy paměci*. Warszawa 1969.

⁵⁶ ASSMANN, Jan. *Kultura paměci*. In: *Paměć zbiorowa i kulturowa: wspólczesna perspektywa niemiecka*. Ed. SARYUS-WOLSKA, Magdalena. Kraków 2009; ASSMANN Jan. CZAPLICKA, John. *Collective Memory and Cultural Identity*. *New German Critique*, 1995, No. 65, p. 125–131. *JSTOR* [interactive]. 1995 [accessed on 1 December 2019]. Accessed online: https://www.academia.edu/1411583/Collective_memory_and_cultural_identity:

⁵⁷ ŠUTINIENĖ, Irena. *Daugiakultūrio miesto istorija komunikacinėje tautinių grupių atmintyje: Klaipėdos ir Vilniaus atvejai*. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011; ŠUTINIENĖ, Irena. *Tautos istorijos pasakojimo simboliai Lietuvos gyventojų tautinėje vaizduotėje*. In: *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX–XXI amžiuje*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2011; ŠUTINIENĖ, Irena. *Komunikacinė atmintis*

between national narrative, collective memory and memory drives. The insights of this author are valuable because they turned the attention to the fact that family memory has preserved its independence with respect to public memory. Such approach will help explain in the dissertation the interaction between collective memory and public memory and answer the question why the collective memory of armed resistance movements is capable of preserving the narrative with little changes while public memory evolves. In order to answer this question, reference was made to the research of Inga Vinogradaitė.⁵⁸ This author has revealed that collective identity and interest in history are interrelated and also turned the attention to the fact that the stories and presence of witnesses help preserve the integrity of a historical narrative. This approach has been used in the dissertation for the development of the empirical survey questionnaire in order to find out how memory witnesses impact the existing memory narrative.

The analysis of academic literature shows that there is a lack of comprehensive research of the collective memory of Armia Krajowa, its relationship with the public Lithuanian memory and its communication forms. To summarise the existing research on collective and public memory, it may be stated that it does not reveal how the memory of AK is constructed and communicated in Lithuania and does not unfold the relationship between the media, memory drives and collective memory of AK. The above-referred scientific

Lietuvos didžiuosiuose miestuose. In: *Atmintis daugiasluoksniškumas: miestas, valstybė, regionas*. Compiled by NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Vilnius 2013.

⁵⁸ VINOGRADAITĖ, Inga. Istorija ir mąstymas tautomis: lietuvių istorinės sąmonės ir atminties būklė. In: *Istorija kaip politinio mąstymo veiksnys*. Ed. LOPATA, Raimundas. Vilnius 2012.

literature does not explain whether the memory of AK is changing and, if yes, what predetermines such change. The above-referred authors confirm that the narrative on the struggle for independence is established in Lithuanian public memory but does not provide an answer whether this narrative opens up opportunities for similar memories to appear in the Lithuanian public memory. Likewise, no research had been made on the communicative role of memory drives in the formation of collective memory of AK.

Scientific problem addressed in the Dissertation

The communicative role of the media and memory drives in forming the collective memory of Armia Krajowa.

Chronological limits

The title of the dissertation defines the chronological limits – the middle of the 20th century, which is perceived as the period of World War II (1939 – 1945) when the Polish armed resistance was active on the territory of Lithuania. The Information and Propaganda Office (Polish – *Biuro Informacji i Propagandy, BIP*), a body of the Polish underground movement responsible for information and its dissemination, made use of different media to create the narrative which became the basis for collective memory on AK. During the Soviet occupation period, the collective memory narrative remained unchanged. The dissertation explores how the narrative created in the middle of the 20th century on the collective memory on AK is changing in the present-day society.

Object of the Research

Media and memory drives in the formation of collective memory of Armia Krajowa.

Goal of the Research

After the study of the role of memory drives and the media in the construction and dissemination of collective memory, to identify the communicative factors that predetermined the construction and change in the collective memory of Armia Krajowa in the middle of the 20th century.

Objectives

- 1 To analyse public memory and its relationship with collective memory in the context of communicative performance theory and dialogic memory.
- 2 To research the role of the media and memory drives in forming the narrative of memory, identify its communicative determinants.
- 3 To analyse the information and communication activities pursued in order to form the image of Armia Krajowa and reinforce it among the residents of Vilnius region.
- 4 To identify the determinants of evolution of the collective memory of Armia Krajowa by highlighting the role of memory drives and the media.

Statements to be defended

1. The pluralism of public memory may be ensured by including into the process of its construction memory drives, which are associated with collective memories that convey the narrative and communicate the values identical to public memory.
2. The media use memory drives to impart authenticity for the memory narrative constructed. Memory drives mean independent communication channels which are integrated in the narrative created by the media and which acquire new meaning due to the interpretative capacity of the media.

3. The narrative of collective memory of Armia Krajowa was based on the propaganda disseminated by the AK Information and Propaganda Office, however, the narrative created was not reinforced by media drives. For this reason, the collective memory narrative on AK changes under the influence of the media today, gets reduced to the events of the summer of 1944.
4. The collective memory of Armia Krajowa is reduced to the memory about the events of the summer of 1944. That was influenced by the media which communicated the narrative about the military operations of the summer of 1944 as incredibly significant in the context of World War II.

Methodology and methods of the Research

The Dissertation construes public memory as a social construct. Such view draws upon the theory of Maurice Halbwachs⁵⁹ about the social framework of memory according to which the content of memory is predetermined by social environment, while common memory creates common identity. The theory of the social memory framework describes memory as a social construct which results from present events rather than history. It would be possible to claim according to the theory of this scholar that collective memory is not the sum of individual memories but a social and cultural construction resultant from collective interaction with social settings. The theory of the memory framework proves that an individual gains memory only as part of a collective. Maurice

⁵⁹ HALBWACHS, Maurice. *Spoleczne ramy pamieci*. Warszawa 1969.

Halbwachs only described how an individual functions in different collectives and why different memories are similar, however, this author has not developed a universal definition of the concept *collective memory* to be suitable, for example, for describing today's society. The theoretical part of the dissertation will expand the observations of this author in the context of communicative action theory and dialogic memory. The theory of memory frameworks, however, does not explain how public memory is formed, who takes part in the process of public memory creation, how to substantiate the narrative of constructed public memory. In view of the author of the dissertation, not only collectives (clubs, organisations, authorities, political organisations, etc.) but also the media and memory drives which impart sense and justification for the constructed memory narrative are relevant in the process of memory creation and maintenance. Therefore, an integrated approach is required for the research of the process of construction of public and collective memories.

In order to achieve the set goal and objectives, several methods are applied in the dissertation. Qualitative content analysis is combined with critical discourse analysis and historiographical research. The triangulation of these methods will allow detailed disclosure of the mechanism, content and context of the discourse of public memory. Through the method of historiographical research, scientific literature is analysed, efforts are made to prove that the creation of collective and public memory is based and dependent on memory drives. Public memory consists of symbols, heroes, rituals, values and fixity. It is considered that symbols, i.e. visible expressions of public memory, give meaning and justification for the content of memory and, at the same time, allow speaking about heroes of the past and their values, therefore, scholarly literature is used for defining

collective memory, public memory and memory drives. In the light of the topic, online media publications will also be analysed. The research of articles related to the topic of memory allows a diverse analysis of the role of the media in the construction of public memory. The archives of published articles and the opportunity to retrieve them according to the key words entered ensures a more accurate and detailed selection of articles. Online media is the main pool of public information and an important source in analysing the construction of public memory discourse on the public space. The analysis of online media will make it possible to select from massive information the units most relevant for the research according to common indications and criteria.⁶⁰ Such

⁶⁰ MORKEVIČIUS, Vaidas. Turinio analizė. In: *Pavyzdinis metodologinis mokomasis studijų paketas: Kompiuterizuota kokybinių duomenų analizė su NVivo ir Text analysis suite*. Kaunas 2008, p. 127–131. [interactive]. 2008 [accessed on 10 March 2018]. Accessed online:

http://www.lidata.eu/index.php?file=files/mokymai/NVivo/nvivo.html&course_file=nvivo_II_2_7.html; MORKEVIČIUS, Vaidas. TELEŠIENĖ, Audronė. ŽVALIAUSKAS, Giedrius. *Pavyzdinis metodologinis mokomasis studijų paketas: Kompiuterizuota kokybinių duomenų analizė su NVivo ir Text analysis suite*. Kaunas 2008, p. 37–51. The narrative method was also researched by KRANIAUSKIENĖ, Sigita. Biografinis metodas: dvi teorinės-metodologinės kryptys. *Sociologija: mintys ir veiksmai*, 2000, 3-4, p. 78–90. WELZER, Harald. Materiał, z którego zbudowane są biografie. In: *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*. Compiled by SARYUSZ–WOLSKA, Magdalena. Warszawa 2009. WELZER, Harald. MOLLER, Sabine. TSCHUGGNALL, Karoline. „Dziadek nie był nazistą“. Narodowy socjalizm i Holokaust w pamięci rodzinnej. In: *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*. Sud. SARYUSZ–WOLSKA, Magdalena. Warszawa 2009. WYLEGAŁA, Anna. *Przesiedlenia a pamięć: studium (nie)pamięci społecznej na*

indicators, as they are perceived in the research, include such concepts as collective memory, public memory, monuments, law on commemorative days.

For the purposes of empirical research, a study of historiographical documents about AK of Vilnius and an in-depth interview have been chosen as a method. The historiographical method was used in order to prove that the propaganda activities of AK have impacted the collective memory of AK members. The empirical research has been supplemented by in-depth interviews. This method has been applied in order to collect more extensive empirical material about the attitude of members of a collective to the past. The in-depth interview as a method means an interpretative event where the informant summarises his/her life to a short story. The methods applied during the empirical research have been more extensively explained in part 3.1 of the research. The analysis of the data collected during in-depth interviews and of the available ego documents and memory drives will unfold the content of collective memory. That makes it possible to identify how the collective memory of AK is influenced by public memory, memory drives and AK propaganda. In this dissertation, various research methods have been used in order to fill out gaps of individual methods.

The research of AK history and memory as well as of its communication covers a considerably broader range of research objects than presented in the dissertation. AK collective memory, its communication and AK history may be researched through different dimensions, e.g. the relationship between Lithuania and Poland in the first half of the 20th century and at the end of the 20th century, at the beginning of

przykładzie ukraińskiej galicji i polskich „Ziem odzyskanych”. Toruń 2014.

the 21st century, the impact of the Lithuanian and Polish media in shaping the knowledge about AK in Lithuania between the 20th and 21st centuries, the impact of cultural differences and stereotypes in building knowledge about AK. No less importance is retained by the geopolitical factor as it can be analysed whether increasing geopolitical threats also change the attitude to the history of AK, its veterans, and club members. The analysis of AK propaganda also reveals its impact on other communities of Lithuania, however, the dissertation was limited to the research of the communicative role of the media and memory drives in forming the collective memory of AK.

Presentation of the research methodology and data collection process

There was already research of the collective identity of Lithuanian Poles and their historic memory undertaken in Lithuania. Between 2010 and 2013, research was carried out of the cross-cultural competences of the youth of eastern Poland and bordering neighbouring states. Jerzy Nikitorowicz⁶¹ asked in this research what elements of the past should be communicated in order to develop common civic identity in a multi-cultural society. It was emphasised that common identity in a multi-cultural society could be

⁶¹ NIKITOROWICZ, Jerzy. Kompetencje do komunikacji międzykulturowej w aspekcie tradycyjnej wielokulturowości regionu i procesów migracyjnych. Wprowadzenie w realizowaną problematykę. In: *Kompetencje do komunikacji międzykulturowej w aspekcie wielokulturowości regionu i procesów migracyjnych*. Ed. MAKARUK, Katarzyna. Warszawa 2013, s. 4–12.

underpinned by local-territorial identity to which shared experiences of different collectives are associated. In 2013, similar research was carried out in Lithuania by Bogusław Grużewski⁶² and Alicja Malewska⁶³. This research did not analyse the relationship among collective memory, media and memory drives.

In 2014, Gediminas Kazėnas, Adas Jokubauskas, Inga Gaižauskaitė, Romualdas Kacevičius and Aistė Visockaitė⁶⁴ published the research results on the identity of the Polish national minority in Lithuania. The research focused on analysis of the expression of national identity and did not investigate the expression of collective memory of Lithuanian Poles and of any of its forms. The research combined the qualitative and quantitative methods, the data obtained were supplemented by the insights made from the analysis of the content of the media. The qualitative research was based in direct individual in-depth interviews according to a pre-developed questionnaire, which was adjusted during the interview.⁶⁵ The quantitative research questionnaire was drawn up with reference to the data received during the qualitative research, the data obtained were supplemented by the insights derived from the analysis of the content of the media.⁶⁶ The

⁶² GRUŻEWSKI, Bogusław. Tożsamość etniczna Polaków na współczesnej Litwie oraz Polska i Polacy w ocenie litewskiej społeczności. *Rocznik SNPL*, t. 13-14, s. 46–60.

⁶³ MALEWSKA, Alicja. Problematyka tożsamości – rozważania teoretyczne w kontekście badań nad Polakami na Wileńszczyźnie. *Rocznik SNPL*, vol. 13-14, s. 75–96.

⁶⁴ *Lenkų tautinės mažumos Lietuvos identiteto tyrimas*. Ed. KAZĖNAS, Gediminas. Vilnius 2014.

⁶⁵ *Lenkų tautinės mažumos Lietuvos identiteto tyrimas*. Ed. KAZĖNAS, Gediminas. Vilnius 2014, p. 23.

⁶⁶ *Lenkų tautinės mažumos Lietuvos identiteto tyrimas*. Ed. KAZĖNAS, Gediminas. Vilnius 2014, p. 29.

research has not revealed whether the memory of AK has a role for the identity of a Lithuanian Pole.

In 2015, a group of Lithuanian and Polish students carried out a research on civic participation of Lithuanian and Polish youth “Socially Engaged Stories about the Civic Participation of Young Lithuanian and Polish Citizens”.⁶⁷ In the context of this research, Marcelina Jakimowicz and Ilona Lučinska⁶⁸ analysed the memory of the families which moved from Vilnius to Wrocław in the after-war years, as well as several families from Vilnius which agreed to take part in the research. Data were collected by means of the qualitative research method – in-depth interview. The responses of the informants were used for analysing the memories of several generations. It has been identified that memory drives – photographs, family members themselves – are relevant in the communication process of family memory. The impact of the media on family memories has not been discussed. The research did not analyse the expression of collective memory of AK. The stories of the informants contained memories about resistance members (without detailing whether Lithuanians or Polish) where partisans were referred to as bandits.

⁶⁷ *Zaangażowane narracje o obywatelskości młodych mieszkańców Litwy i Polski*. Ed. JAKIMOWICZ, Marcelina. SIKORA, Mateusz. Bydgoszcz 2016.

⁶⁸ JAKIMOWICZ, Marcelina. LUČINSKA, Ilona. Pamięć odziedziczona – Wileńszczyzna w opowieściach rodzinnych młodych obywateli Litwy i Polski. In: *Zaangażowane narracje o obywatelskości młodych mieszkańców Litwy i Polski*. Ed. JAKIMOWICZ, Marcelina. SIKORA, Mateusz. Bydgoszcz 2016.

Between 2012 and 2014, Irena Šutinienė⁶⁹ carried out a research on the expression of ethnicity and identities in eastern Lithuania. The research unfolded that the memory of AK is relevant for part of the population of these regions of Lithuania, although their views on AK differ because of different experiences, however, that is part of their memory. This research is different from the above-referred ones because it analysed the impact of collective memory of AK on the identity of the Lithuanian Poles.

The introduction to the dissertation overviews the key research on the history of AK, while the research presented in the introduction to the empirical research shows that the collective memory of the Lithuanian Polish ethnic minority is researched from different perspectives. The authors of the above-mentioned research not only drew upon scientific literature and published sources but also carried out quantitative and qualitative informant surveys. The material collected in this way generated more detailed research results. The Polish national minority in Lithuania is researched from sociological and cultural perspectives. It may be stated on the basis of the research that the speech, the past and traditions are important parts of identity. There is a lack of research on the collective memory of the Polish resistance movement, its content and communication, on the impact of the media on memory and its relationship with memory drives. With this in mind, the purpose, questionnaires and scope of the empirical research used in this dissertation was designed.

⁶⁹ *Etniškumas ir identitetai Pietryčių Lietuvoje: raiška, veiksniai ir kontekstai*. FRĖJUTĖ-RAKAUSKIENĖ, Monika. MARCINKEVIČIUS, Andrius. ŠLIAVAITĖ, Kristina. ŠUTINIENĖ, Irena. Vilnius 2016.

Purpose of the empirical research

- To identify the importance of the media and memory drives in the preservation and communication of the created collective memory of Armia Krajowa in the middle of the 20th century.

Tasks of the work:

1. Through documentary and historiographical analysis, to identify the media and memory drives used in the formation of AK image in the middle of the 20th century;
2. Based on the analysis of the information about the Kmicic brigade as preserved in the memory drives of the middle of the 20th century, to unfold changes in the narrative about this unit;
3. To explore the role of the media and memory drives in preserving and developing the image of AK among AK members, their families, and likeminded persons;
4. To identify communication factors which create, preserve, reinforce and change the narrative about AK in the collective and public memory in the beginning of the 21st century.

Research methodology

In 2014, the collective monograph of Dalia Leinartė, Laima Žilinskienė, Sigita Kraniauskienė, Irena Šutinienė and

Irena Gečienė⁷⁰ was published with the analysis of the biographic stories collected in 2010-2011. The concept and study of this research allowed the author to develop his own research design, which focuses on the impact of the media on collective memory and on the analysis of the expression of collective memory in individual memories. Autobiographic stories not only convey the individual's memory about daily life but also show collective memory because individual memories are a media for the expression of collective memories.⁷¹ The above-referred research emphasises the role of the media in expanding, distorting or creating a memory.⁷² That will help unfold in the dissertation the relationship of the collective with the narrative shaped by the AK Information and Propaganda Division of Vilnius County (hereinafter will be referred to by the acronym BIP – Biuro Informacj i Propagandy). The relationship between individual and collective memories was also analysed in the article of Laima Žilinskienė⁷³ published in 2015 and dealing with family memory; the article, *inter alia*, turned the attention to the commemorative practices in communicating a memory.

⁷⁰ LEINARTĖ, Dalia. ŽILINSKIENĖ, Laima. KRANIAUSKIENĖ, Sigita. ŠUTINIENĖ, Irena. GEČIENĖ, Ingrida. *Sovietmečio atmintis gyvenimo istorijoje*. Vilnius 2014.

⁷¹ ŽILINSKIENĖ, Laima. Įvadas. In: *Sovietmečio atmintis gyvenimo istorijose*. LEINARTĖ, Dalia. ŽILINSKIENĖ, Laima. KRANIAUSKIENĖ, Sigita. ŠUTINIENĖ, Irena. GEČIENĖ, Ingrida. Vilnius 2014, p. 11-18.

⁷² ŽILINSKIENĖ, Laima. Sovietmečio diskursai masinėse medijose. In: *Sovietmečio atmintis gyvenimo istorijose*. LEINARTĖ, Dalia. ŽILINSKIENĖ, Laima. KRANIAUSKIENĖ, Sigita. ŠUTINIENĖ, Irena. GEČIENĖ, Ingrida. Vilnius 2014, p. 62–64.

⁷³ ŽILINSKIENĖ, Laima. Šeimos atmintis. In: *Šeiminiai pokyčiai atvirų Europos sienų ir globalaus mobilumo akivaizdoje: resursai, procesai ir praktikos*. Compiled by. JUOZELIŪNIENĖ, Irena. SEYMOUR, Julie. Vilnius 2015, p. 93-112.

During the development of the research methodology, reference was also made to the research of Anna Wylegała⁷⁴ which underlined the impact of memory drives on the transformation of collective memory.

Historiographical analysis – substantiation of the method

In order to achieve the set goal and objectives, the historiographical method for researching documents about AK of Vilnius has been chosen for the empirical research. The comparative analysis of historiography, archival documents and published memoirs was undertaken in order to find out how the narrative created by the media (radio, press) of that time impacted the content of the collective memory of AK and its formation process. The written heritage of a collective is the factor facilitating the preservation of common collective identity. Scholars-researchers of the Institutes of Sikorski⁷⁵ and Piłsudski⁷⁶ as well as Torun University⁷⁷ collect the written–documentary–visual heritage of the Poles who are scattered all over the world in order not only to preserve it but also make it accessible to scholars. This activity is not yet systematic in Lithuania – if any heritage is collected abroad, that is mostly done on the initiative of individual scholars in their research or before various commemorations. In the context of these facts, mention should be made of the

⁷⁴ WYLEGAŁA, Anna. *Przesiedlenia a pamięć: studium (nie)pamięci społecznej na przykładzie ukraińskiej galicji i polskich „Ziem odzyskanych”*. Toruń 2014, s. 85–94.

⁷⁵ *Instytut Polski i muzeum im. Gen. Sikorskiego* [interactive] [21/07/2019], accessed online: http://www.pism.co.uk/index_pl.htm

⁷⁶ *Józef Piłsudski Institute of America* [interactive] [21/07/2019], accessed online: <http://www.pilsudski.org/pl/o-nas/misja-i-dzialalnosc>

⁷⁷ *Archiwum emigracji* [interactive] [21/07/2019], accessed online: https://www.bu.umk.pl/Archiwum_Emigracji/

Bernardine Fund of the Central National Archives which stores documents of the BIP of Armia Krajowa about the situation in the country, propagandist and military activities⁷⁸. The Fund is rich in its material but so far it seems that it has not received major attention from scholars who, for example, compile the archives of the Polish who live abroad. The documents on AK activities stored in the archives of other countries, however, have been published – 6 volumes of the documents of Armia Krajowa (*Armia Krajowa w dokumentach*) have been published to date.⁷⁹ Since 2015, this publication has been republished, the first volume has been supplemented and published, just without the documents of the Bernardine Fund yet.

On 18 February 1995, restorers found a case with documents of AK of Vilnius County under the layer of garbage. On 28 February 1995, the restoration works' contractor handed the documents over to Parliament members Romualdas Ozolas and Juozas Dringelis rather than to the archive. Between 2 and 6 March 1995, with participation of an employee of the Lithuanian Central State Archives and the Head of the Restoration Division of the Archives, these documents were taken out from the case, flattened and put into 102 folders.⁸⁰ On 25 April 1995, the documents were handed over to the Lithuanian Central State Archives, however, archivists started working on them only in June. Most of the documents were in Polish; there were also some documents in Lithuanian, Russian and Belarusian. Then the files were

⁷⁸ Armijos krajovos Vilniaus apygarda. *LCVA*, f. R-601, ap. 1, b. 1 – 110.

⁷⁹ *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach*. t. 1 – 6. Londyn 1970– 1989.

⁸⁰ Armijos krajovos Vilniaus apygarda. *LCVA*, f. R-601, ap. 1, pratarmė p. 2–4.

finally completed and their description was made. The documents found included orders on the granting of military ranks, training of soldiers, alignment of military actions, directives on work arrangements of AK BIP, documents on the ensuring of the internal security, references to arrangements of information diversions, etc. All surviving legible documents were microfilmed and became accessible to the readers of the Lithuanian Central State Archives in 1996. Although 23 years have passed since the publication of the Fund documents, their content is still little known among historians. Such situation could be explained by the fact that the Fund has a very small number of documents related to military operations of AK, which is, in principle, of most interest to historians. Documents about the situation in the country are not necessarily interesting and valuable from the first sight. That could be one of the reasons why the institutions, which explore the Polish heritage, not only seek to preserve it but also make efforts to make it accessible for the public by digitalising it and uploading on a publicly accessible platform. Such stock of documents would supplement the information collected earlier because a 6 volume collection on the activities of the armed Polish resistance was published between 1970 and 1989. The attention should also be drawn to the fact that volume 6 supplements the documents newly discovered at the end of the 20th century.

Documents, as memory drives, stay unchanged but their interpretation depends on the context. The case of the Bernadine Fund is interesting in the context of the dissertation research. It is stated in part 2.1 of the research that the media help shape memory, they can communicate the narrative of a memory, media narratives impact memory, and such repositories as archives are rediscovered by means of the media. The analysis of the documents in the Bernardine Fund

would be helpful in finding out what narrative was being formed by the AK BIP, however, the Fund's documents are outside the scope of research of collective memory (memory formation, communication). Once it is found out what narrative was being formed by the AK BIP, it will be possible to identify the relationship of the narrative with the collective memory of AK. The relationship will be identified by analysing the stories collected from participants in the underground movement and their family members and by comparing the answers given with the data obtained during the historiographical research. For collective memory research, individual memory is important and can be discovered through narrated stories or in-depth interviews. Therefore, the qualitative research method – in-depth interview was used during the research. The data obtained will be analysed in the context of theory and historiographical research. The research excluded the media and the narratives they shape because this topic has been discussed in the studies presented in the introduction to the empirical research.

In-depth interview – substantiation of the method

With reference to the scientific literature discussed in pages 76–78, the empirical research was supplemented with the material collected during in-depth interviews. The in-depth interviews enabled to collect and analyse more and less thorough answers from the informants and identify, from the perspective of individuals, the features of collective identity, its relationship with different media drives, historiography and the narrative formed by the AK BIP.⁸¹ The method chosen did

⁸¹ According to: TELEŠIENĖ, Audronė. Interviu metodai. In: *Kompiuterizuota kokybinių duomenų analizė su Nvivo ir Text analysis suite*. [interactive][21/07/2019], accessed online:

not focus on the search for facts but on an interpretative event where informants had to abstract certain moments of their life to short stories. By abstracting their life, the informants almost consciously or instinctively select what should be told and how. An interview means the recollection of the past in today's settings – but only of the past which has survived in the informant's memory. This act is predetermined by three factors, that is, by the present situation of the informant (how he/she lives, what is his/her status in society or its part), by the past (what took place and why), and the present attitude of the majority to the past where the informant lived and which the informant knows. An interview is often used in the narrative, grounded theory research because it allows exploring not only the content of stories but also how everything is told.⁸² By combining these different qualitative research methods – an in-depth interview and document analysis – it was sought to get as extensive data as possible.

The research encountered some obstacles. The topic chosen for the research is relevant – Armia Krajowa is often presented in the context of Dubingiai killings on the public space, which generates distrust.⁸³ The informants replied to the questions casually, without providing more extensive explanations. Several informants refused to cooperate and

http://www.lidata.eu/index.php?file=files/mokymai/NVivo/nvivo.html&course_file=nvivo_III_3_2_2.html

⁸² TELEŠIENĖ, Audronė. Interviu metodai. In: *Kompiuterizuota kokybinių duomenų analizė su Nvivo ir Text analysis suite*. [interactive] [21/07/2019], accessed online:

http://www.lidata.eu/index.php?file=files/mokymai/NVivo/nvivo.html&course_file=nvivo_III_3_2_2.html

⁸³ The informants involved in the activities of AK or AK veterans had encountered a negative attitude of state authorities, the media and different society groups to their activities in the past.

offered groundless arguments as an excuse.⁸⁴ The unwillingness to respond thoroughly came to light in the discussion of the questions related to Lithuanian-Polish relations and to the attitude to Lithuanian authorities.

Formation of the sample of informants

Data for the qualitative research were collected in 2018 – 2019. Fourteen structured in-depth interviews were carried out with Polish underground veterans, their family members, members of the veterans' club, and experts. Twelve interviews were recorded on a voice recorder and later presented in the text format; the replies of two informants were sent in the electronic form. The number of informants was predetermined by the purpose of the empirical research and by the chosen quantitative research method – in-depth interview where detailed stories of the informants are analysed. This method is time intensive. One interview lasted approximately one hour, which equals 14 to 16 pages of typescript. The transcription of such an interview takes up to 5 hours. The interview was held in Polish and Lithuanian. In order to gain trust in the target group, i.e. AK veterans and their family members, the author of this research regularly participated in various events for

⁸⁴ Allegedly, a warning by the Polish authorities about intended provocations. Such position was expressed by Stefan Sawicki and Bogumił Stolarczyk who died in October 2019. The refusal by these persons to give an interview could be explained by the fact that none of the above-referred persons was a true member of AK. These persons joined the AK Veterans' Club in 1989. Now they wear uniforms of the Polish Army, have shoulder straps of officers but are not officers in fact, have never served in the ranks of AK and, according to their age, were just born when AK operated actively in Vilnius region. Today they have created the image of AK officers for themselves and it seems that the fear to lose the respect of the Polish community in Lithuania and the financial support from the Republic of Poland predetermined their decision to refuse to give an interview.

commemorating AK activities from 14 February 2016 until 13 July 2018, where he informally met the veterans, their family members, club supporters, etc. At that time, there were three true surviving AK members of the age 89, 90 and 92 (one of them has already passed away). Later, their children and grandchildren who agreed to participate in the research were interviewed. One supporter agreed to be an informant after the board of the AK Veterans' Club had been contacted with a request for assistance in collecting data for the research. The interviews of the veterans aimed at unfolding their relationship to the past of the region, with AK memory drives, and national holidays. Similar questions were addressed to their family members. All the interviews took place in the places chosen by the informants: their homes, employment places, restaurants. With the informants' consent, the interview was recorded on a voice recorder, only two interviews were carried out in the electronic form – due to the physical inaccessibility of the informants as they were outside Lithuania during the research.⁸⁵ One interview lasted approximately 40 minutes on average, which equals to 10 pages of typescript. Twelve interviews were in Polish and two interviews – in Lithuanian.

When selecting experts for the qualitative research, the input of historians in the research of AK activities of Lithuania was used as a criterion. On these considerations, two historians who have published monographs about AK of Vilnius were chosen – Jarosław Wołkonowski⁸⁶ and Arūnas

⁸⁵ These informants do not live in Lithuania, they are citizens of the Republic of Poland.

⁸⁶ WOŁKONOWSKI, Jarosław. *Okęg Wileński Związku Walki Zbrojnej Armii Krajowej w latach 1939-1945*. Warszawa 1996.

Bubnys⁸⁷. The interviews with the experts aimed at unfolding their view to the relationship between the collective memory of AK and the public memory of Lithuania.

Design of the interview questionnaire

The design of a questionnaire of the qualitative interview was based not only on the theoretical part of the research but also took into consideration similar research as noted in p. 74–75. The analysis of archival documents and historiographical analysis enabled to reveal the relationship between memory drives and collective memory. The interviews were carried out according to the pre-designed structured questionnaire⁸⁸. Considering the differences in the engagement of the informants, several different questionnaires were developed. There was a questionnaire for experts, i.e. the historians who researched the AK activities in Lithuania and have published monographs on this topic, a questionnaire for AK veterans, a questionnaire for members of the AK veterans' club and supporters' club, and a questionnaire for family members. Such diversity of the questionnaires was predetermined not only by the difference of engagement of the informants but also by the needs that came up while collecting the empirical material to revise, change and supplement the questions in order to get the most interesting empirical material. The designed questionnaires differ by their questions and wordings, however, all questions of the questionnaires may be classified into three topics:

1. Collective memory;
2. Relationship of family memory with the history of the country and memory drives;

⁸⁷ BUBNYS, Arūnas. *Pasipriešinimo judėjimai Lietuvoje Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais: lenkų pogrindis 1939-1945 m.* Vilnius 2015.

⁸⁸ See Annex.

3. Public attitude to the memory of AK and its memory drives.

Such choice has been predetermined by the goal and objectives set for the research.

As far as the research of collective memory is concerned it should be emphasised that the Fund and its content is not known to the participants of the Polish underground movement and their family members. Their stories picture the motifs of the military past, the deportations experienced during the Soviet occupation and the fear about their families because of the affiliation with the Polish underground movement during the years of the war, as well as to opportunity to publicly preserve the memory of and pay respect to their friends in struggle, commemorations in cemeteries (the cemetery Rasos, in Skurbutėnai, Pavilnys, etc.), occasionally they told about some newly released books. They had heard about the archival material but could not provide more detailed comments.

The comparison of the content of the above-referred Fund of documents with the memories retained by the underground movement participants and their family members shows the real impact and effects of the information and communication activities of the AK BIP.

Design of the research

The empirical research was carried out in several stages. During the first stage, the historiography about AK activities in eastern Lithuania was analysed by means of historiographic research method. The activities were analysed in the context of AK propagandist communication by focusing on the scope and communicated narrative of the propagandist activities. The main task was to find out what narrative was communicated by the AK BIP. The research was underpinned by the assumption that the narrative created by the AK BIP during

the years of the war became the basis for the collective memory narrative of AK. In the next stage, the in-depth interviews were discussed in order to determine whether the narrative created and communicated by the AK BIP became the narrative of the collective memory of AK. In order to gain trust in the target group, i.e. AK veterans and their family members, the author of this research regularly participated in various events for commemorating AK activities from 14 February 2016 until 13 July 2018 where he informally met the veterans, their family members, club supporters. In-depth interviews were collected between 2018 and 2019. The analysis of the data collected during the in-depth interviews aimed at revealing the relationship between the memory of AK and memory drives and the impact of the media on collective memory. It was assumed during the research that the narrative created by the AK BIP formed the basis of collective memory of AK, however, the impact of the media and the selection of memory drives make the memory of AK change, i.e. get reduced, while part of the past falls into oblivion. The communicative determinants of the change in collective memory of AK as identified in the research are detailed in the synopsis of the research.

The research of the collective memory of Armia Krajowa and its communication embraces a broad range of phenomena and objects. The collective memory of AK may be researched using the historiographical research method by adapting it for the analysis of the documents stored in the archives of Lithuania and Poland. However, only the Bernardine Fund stored in the Lithuanian Central State Archives and its documents are relevant in the context of this research for achieving the research goal.

The press published in Lithuania during the Nazi occupation period may be analysed. The analysis of the

content of such press would help unfold the view of the media of that time to the processes taking place in eastern Lithuania. The qualitative analysis of content makes it possible to investigate the content of the Lithuanian underground press and thereby reveal the narrative formed about Poles and Polish underground organisations. Analysis of the above-referred phenomena, however, would unfold the context of that time, which is not very relevant for this research. It is more important to show how the Polish underground organisation presented itself, what narrative it created about itself and its public image, what was the relationship between the narrative created and collective memory. The empirical research was limited to the efforts to identify the meaning of the media and memory drives in the preservation and communication of the created collective memory of Armia Krajowa in the middle of the 20th century.

Synopsis of the research results

During the years of World War II, between 1939 and 1944, the Polish armed resistance movement, which was commonly referred to as Armia Krajowa, was active in eastern Lithuania. AK was an armed resistance movement formed by professional officers and politicians and directly subordinate to the Polish Government in Exile. The Government in Exile formally controlled AK but, taking into consideration the reality of the occupation, the leadership of AK in the occupied region quite often pursued the policy against the Government's position. That refers to Lithuanian and Polish international relations in the context of AK propagandist activities. On the one hand, the media were used to urge Lithuanians to come to an agreement concerning a common after-war vision – that

was the aspiration of the Government in Exile. On the other hand, bearing in mind the collaboration by Lithuanians, the media were used to threaten Lithuanians by the annexation of the country and assimilation of the nation. The AK BIP had formed the narrative about strong Poland and its armed forces, about the relations of the after-war Poland with Lithuania. The image of Lithuania and Lithuanians was not consistent in that narrative. Lithuanians were featured as future allies and as enemies. It was common for such different images that Lithuanians were pictured as inextricably linked with future Poland. This narrative became the basis for collective memory of AK.

Communicative inconsistency and the killings of civil residents, which had not been avoided, reinforced the image of AK as an anti-Lithuanian organisation among Lithuanians. The region of Vilnius remained the part of Lithuania after the war, some AK soldiers stayed to live in eastern Lithuania. The reinstatement of the independent state was followed by the development of public memory of Lithuania. According to surviving memory repositories, public memory was formed by state authorities in cooperation with scholars. They had been impacted by political parties, non-governmental organisations, etc. through the media, leading to the public memory where the narratives on the struggle for statehood and on the martyrology of the Lithuanian nation prevailed and where AK was clearly an enemy of Lithuania. The memory formed lacked dialogic remembrance, i.e. excluded other memories with similar value-based views.

The experience of the years of the war is gaining a new meaning nowadays as the number of the war veterans and witnesses is reducing and there is transition from direct communication with live witnesses to ritualised memory communication via memory drives and the media. This

process has a positive side – traumatic experiences can be discussed without emotions. This process fuelled discussions in Lithuania and the emergence of a new approach to AK as an ally of Lithuania. The memory of AK is not a part of the institutional public memory of Lithuania. These two different memory forms – public and collective – interact. Collective memory is formed by individuals who belong to a collective and who, impacted by the institutional public memory and the media, develop their own memory narrative and select the memory drives which confirm the authenticity of the memory narrative. Being impacted via the media, public memory is unable to change collective memory fully because collective memory is maintained by the daily inside communication in the collective and by memory drives. Collective memory may be affected by the media and by the master narratives they shape. The basis of the collective memory of AK is the propagandist activities undertaken by AK during the war time. The media of that time had, in principle, shaped the values (freedom, democracy, attitude to other nations (Russians – enemies, Lithuanians – allies). The same is true about collective memory, which cannot change public memory, if a collective does not have adequate support in stakeholder groups: the media, political parties, etc. Therefore, the first hypothesis statement proved to be true only in part – until representatives of AK collective memory do not have adequate support in the stakeholder group, their memory will not become part of public memory. It has been confirmed that the pluralism of public memory may be ensured if the process of its construction includes memory drives, which are associated with collective memories that convey the narratives and values identical to public memory.

The collective memory on AK, despite of similarities with the collective memory on Lithuanian

partisans, is still outside the scope of the Lithuanian public memory. The neighbouring Poland faces a similar situation as far as the collective memory on deported Ukrainians (after World War II) is concerned. Mention could be made of the research by Anna Wylegała⁸⁹, Krzysztof Malicki⁹⁰, Lech M. Nijakowski⁹¹. It is common for these works of research that they probed into the traumatic memories outside the scope of the Polish public memory, however, they showed that commemorative rituals are allowed as a compromise in the nurturing of their own collective memories.

Pierre Nora⁹² composed the lists of places of memory and was convinced that he preserved the public memory of France in this way. His works did not take into consideration the activities and impact of the media on memory. Public memory will be as created and maintained by the media. The narratives created by the media will be supported by selectively chosen and individually interpreted memory drives. Otherwise stated, a memory depends on the attitude of the media to selected media drives. For example, the media can create the memory of AK as an anti-Lithuanian organisation with reference only to the example of the town of

⁸⁹ WYLEGAŁA, Anna. *Przesiedlenia a pamięć: studium (nie)pamięci społecznej na przykładzie ukraińskiej galicji i polskich „Ziem odzyskanych”*. Toruń 2014.

⁹⁰ MALICKI, Krzysztof. Upamiętnianie przeszłości jako źródło konfliktów w przestrzeni symbolicznej regionu podkarpackiego. In: *Pamięć zbiorowa jako czynnik integracji i źródło konfliktów*. Ed. SZPOCINSKI, Andrzej. Warszawa 2009.

⁹¹ NIJAKOWSKI, M. L. Kiedy krwawa plama staje się białą. Polityka pamięci związana z masakrami w XX wieku. In: *Pamięć zbiorowa jako czynnik integracji i źródło konfliktów*. Ed. SZPOCINSKI, A. Warszawa 2009.

⁹² NORA, Pierre. Czas pamięci. *Res Publica Nowa*. 2010, No. 10, s. 139–141.

Dubingiai. The town of Dubingiai, as a memory drive, reminds of the killings of civil residents by the fifth brigade of AK in June 1944. Such reference can be used in order to confirm other existing stories where AK is presented as an organisation that persecutes and kills Lithuanians. These findings confirm the second hypothesis statement that the media make use of memory drives in order to impart authenticity to a constructed memory narrative. Memory drives mean independent communication channels which are integrated in the narrative created by the media and which acquire new meaning due to the interpretative capacity of the media.

The concept of a memory drive in the context of the media has an advantage over the concept of places of memory developed by Pierre Nora.⁹³ That is so because the notion of a memory drive refers to the ability of an object, phenomenon, collective to preserve the memory, which can be revealed and communicated via interpretative possibilities of the media. The media will interpret memory drives depending on the social, political and cultural context and will create their own memory narrative. That means that the process of formation of a memory has two components – a memory drive and the media. The media will select memory drives, will interpret them and communicate their own memory narrative.

For informants, the place and time are significant as memory drives. The place is a unique space for them which can be seen and explored. The place makes it possible to use it according to the needs of a collective, perform commemorative rituals in it. It is not abstract places never

⁹³ NORA, Pierre. Czas pamięci. *Res Publica Nowa*. 2010, No. 10, s. 134–141; NORA, Pierre. Między pamięcią i historią. *Lieux de memoire. Tytuł roboczy: archiwum*, 2009.

visited by members of a collective that are meaningful to them but the places directly associated with their lives: memorials of the cemeteries of Rasos, Kalvarijos, Pavilnys, the church and memorial of Skurbutėnai, the village of Bagušiai, the AK memorial of the cemetery of Eišiškės, the monument in Kalviai, and the battle field in Kraučiučiai. All other memory drives are the places which are abstract for the collective, not linked with its members and, accordingly, to the collective. The above-referred places are associated with their lives, such drives have gained a sacral meaning through commemorative rituals. Such memory drives are only ritual locations bearing an indirect relationship with the past of the collective; the collective was not present in such places in a direct sense in the past. An exception is the village of Bagušiai where AK soldiers were detained, but none of the informants was present there. A memory drive, which serves as the place of commemorative rituals, has acquired the meaning of the place of commemorative rituals. Therefore, places have become an integral part of a collective. In summary, it may be stated that the collective memory of AK is mostly impacted by the memory drives of the first (95), second (16), and fourth categories. It is interesting that the research shows that only one memory drive has been observed among the members of the collective, their families and club members – the monument in the village of Bagušiai to commemorate the AK officers who were detained, disarmed and deported in July 1944. The research also identified three other memory drives of the third category, which are not significant for the members of the collective, their families and club members – they do not visit and did not mention such places during the interview. Such memory drives include Glitiškės (the place of the killings of civil residents), Turgeliai (the place where AK soldiers were disarmed and detained) and the castle of

Medininkai (the place where AK soldiers were imprisoned in July 1944). The memory drives had been sorted out not only by the collective itself but also by the authorities: the Embassy of Poland in Lithuania, the Union of Lithuanian Poles, the Institute of National Remembrance of the Republic of Poland, clubs of reconstructors, scouts. These institutions promote the memory drives that witness the history of the Polish nation in Lithuania as well as the memory drives related to the Polish armed underground movement.

The stories of the informants picture the motifs of the military past, the deportations experienced during the Soviet occupation and the fear about their families because of the affiliation with the Polish underground movement during the years of the war. The informants consider it meaningful to commemorate and pay public respect to their friends in struggle, parents. The informants seldom commented on any of the books released. They had heard about the Bernardine Fund, however, were unable to comment more because this media drive did not have any significance for the informants.

The third hypothesis statement proved out to be true because correlation has been observed in the comparison of the informants' responses with the narrative formed by the AK BIP, in particular, as far as the relationship between Polish and Lithuanians, federative ideas, relations with the neighbours in the East were concerned. The participants in the Polish underground movement have retained in themselves (as in a memory drive) the narrative formed by the AK BIP at that time (either directly, i.e. by reading the underground press, participating in lectures / discussions, or indirectly, i.e. by listening to the discussions of others on one or another issue) and its ideas and, when it became possible (after the collapse of the Soviet Union), started communicating it. It should be noted that one of the media of the AK RIP to disseminate

information during the years of the war was partisan units and their soldiers; they were used to communicate the constructed narrative about strong Poland, its strong armed forces, etc. to rural residents which seldom received any printed content. Therefore, it should be stated that the collective memory of AK and its narrative consists of the narrative formed and communicated by the AK BIP.

A study of the developments in the collective memory of AK from 1988-1989 until the present day shows a clear transition from the generation which remembers the war to the after-war generation which knows about AK only through memory drives and from the media. The deaths of AK participants bring along changes in the actors in the communication process of AK memory. Instead of them, the memory is communicated by new members of the veterans' club, the descendants of veterans, and by authorities (Embassy of Poland in Lithuania, the Union of Lithuanian Poles, the Institute of National Remembrance of the Republic of Poland, etc.). Their communication is simplified, these institutions sort out the memory drives to be supported in the light of the present day. For this reason, some of the battlefields, which are not controversial, are not commemorated because such memory drives have no meaning in the reduced memory. Thus, it may be stated that the memorials of the cemeteries of Rasos, Kalvarijos, Pavilnys, the church and memorial of Skurbutėnai, the monument in the village of Bagušiai, the AK memorial of the cemetery of Eišiškės, the monument in Kalviai, and the battlefield in Kraučiuškai acquire significance. As the veterans of the underground movement are passing away and the club accepts new members who do not have any shared experience in the underground activities of AK, the authorities will shape the memory with reference to the above-referred memory drives. Such memory will be very

fragmented, with the only prevailing narrative of the fight for Vilnius in the summer of 1944. That can lead to the situation that, for example, the memory of the Kmicic brigade will eventually survive only in history monographs. Whereas the created narrative had not been reinforced in memory drives, with disappearing memory witnesses, the memory was also changing.

That does not mean that the above-referred authorities start taking action and creating a narrative about the underground movement only when there are no longer live witnesses. It is the topics which are closely related to the present time that are most appealing to visitors, audience, etc. That is, the narratives of live witnesses are most interesting for the public. When the memory of the underground movement passes from the communication sphere to public memory, the society decides which narrative about the underground should be preserved, how it should be shaped, used and communicated. The collective memory of AK is constructed via communicative interaction by means of the media and memory drives. Today we can say that the memory of the Polish underground is in the stage of preservation in the region of Vilnius. During the revival period and in the first years of independence, this memory was in the recovery stage, later – in the stage of creating and ritualising memory drives. Now, when there are only two surviving underground participants, we can speak about memory preservation and communication to those who those who do not know anything about the war.

The disappearance of witnesses of the past affects not only the communication of memories but also the perception of the Polish underground in the region of Vilnius and all over Lithuania. Today the authorities, which communicate the stock of memory, communicate it not only to direct participants but also to their children, grandchildren and

often also to their great-grandchildren. Thus, the target groups of the authorities are no longer only veterans, i.e. the experts and specialists of this period, but also those who know nothing or know only from stories which often get forgotten. For this reason, the whole past becomes an abstraction which is important as much as it relates to the story of the ancestors. With the passing away of witnesses of the past, authorities are losing those who were able to control the content and authenticity of constructed narratives by looking for substantiation for their memory, for the confirmation of their story in those narratives. That leads to a risk that institutionally shaped narratives will be controlled by political powers and lobbyists who can have their own goals and that the narrative formed will be far from what was communicated by direct participants in the underground movement. The disappearance of participants means a transition from direct memory communication to memory culture, i.e. the ritualisation of the moments important for the society now.

It has been identified during the research that the collective memory of AK performs several functions. The first function is the function of legitimacy – justification of existence by exceptional experiences and on the basis of personal experience. The second function is the structural function under which time is perceived as a structure with cornerstones helping preserve a collective memory narrative and collective identity. The third function – the cognitive function, which helps distinguish a collective from others; members of the collective interpret the world through this perspective.

On the one hand, the disappearance of direct participants makes it possible to talk about the events they communicated more extensively. That allows touching upon traumatic experiences, difficult issues, etc. About the matters

that evoked emotions, which prevented from getting a broader picture of the phenomenon under discussion. That is, the interference caused by the exaggeration of personal experiences or, otherwise stated, communicative noise that prevented proper communication disappeared. On the other hand, the disappearance of direct participants, i.e. the main media drives, brings along the disappearance of protectors, which prevented the experienced past from being distorted, which did not allow speculating in facts and their experiences.

Therefore, authorities can help interpret the remaining memory drives in one's own way and must make correct choices of the memory drives in ritualising them because communication via memory drives requires more interpretation efforts and a certain level of knowledge to enable understanding. When creating the story, i.e. the narrative about the Polish underground activities in Lithuania, it should be born in mind that the knowledge of the public about this organisation has been decreasing. Otherwise stated, today stories about the Polish underground movement that was active in Lithuania are narrated so that it were possible to understand but not necessarily by revealing the whole complexity of this phenomenon – they seem to be improvised, with free interpretation of facts.

The collective memory of AK has underwent a clear metamorphosis. The history narrative formed during World War II remained unchanged during the Soviet occupation period. The narrative of history was unable to change because it was not communicated at that time, memory drives were not fostered and this topic was not in the media. Systemic changes and the opportunity to freely discuss the past in the public discourse brought about the memory of AK. On the one hand, that may be explained by the beginning of informal activities of the AK veterans' club, which started promoting its memory

and surviving memory drives. It also began creating new memory drives to help develop the memory narrative. On the other hand, the memory was stirred because the media took an interest in the AK activities in the past, started interpreting the surviving memory drives and creating a narrative about AK. The media used surviving memory drives for reference and created their own narrative. The promotion of memory drives and activities of the media in interpreting the memory drives contributed to the fact that the memory of AK started existing in the public discourse. The existence of the memory led to the fact that efforts were made to reconcile AK and the Lithuanian Territorial Defence Force and that happened in 2004. This year was also important by the fact that master narratives, such as the narratives on the Dawn's Gate Operation and the resurrection of Warsaw, appeared in the media. These narratives were creating the image of AK as a powerful military organisation, which was capable of resisting the occupants independently. The reconciliation was not followed by any date to commemorate this event, the media paid much attention to the events of the summer of 1944, the participants who were personally involved in the underground movement and were able to tell also about earlier events died, and the collective memory of AK started reducing. Today's communication on the collective memory of AK pays much attention to the events of the summer of 1944 – they are ritualised while earlier events fall into oblivion. These insights confirm the fourth hypothesis statement that the collective memory of AK gets reduced to the memory about the events of the summer of 1944. This was impacted by the media which communicated the narrative about the military events of the summer of 1944 as about very significant in the context of World War II.

Conclusions

Through communication, individual memories create collective memory, which is capable of becoming public memory through legal decisions. Memory and its narrative is a dynamic construction dependent on the environment and context where the chosen memory drives are also recovered.

A collective is not the most important memory drive because a memory may be restored via the new media even in the absence of a collective. The relationship between collective and public memory may be explained from the perspective of a communicative action. A communicative action – an action based on mutual trust and tolerance where communication participants believe that the speaker is telling the truth and does not aim at manipulation, that consensus is sought. Trust is acquired during dialogue. In the case of public memory, a narrative that embraces different collective memories would be the solution that satisfies all parties to the dialogue. Public memory is shaped not only by means of authorities and law but also by the media and memory drives which help construct and communicate a memory narrative. Public memory is a construct which is created in the light of the internal social, cultural and political situation of the state as well as the international context. The most expressive element in this process is various commemorations and anniversaries through which the past is linked with the present and future. On the one hand, all national commemorations underline the monolithic nature of public memory and show that it has no space for other memories. On the other hand, rituals communicate universal values which should and could please the needs of different memory collectives. A very important role in this process is played by memory drives as

the basis of a narrative and by the media which communicate their own interpretation of memory drives. Interpretation can help integrate other similar narratives into the public memory narrative. Likewise, by means of the media, political parties, movements or other organisations can impose one or another narrative, which is more favourable only to one organisation, therefore, the new media are in the position of legalising or delegalising collective memories. The content of public memory and memory drives depends on political decisions. Political decisions can open the space for the memory of the common Lithuanian and Polish resistance in the Lithuanian public memory, which is predominated by the narrative about the struggle for statehood and the martyrology of the nation. Such a decision would create preconditions for a dialogue-based public memory narrative. The development of dialogic memory can also benefit from the media which are capable of constructing the perception about the past. With the transition to dialogic memory, mistakes are admitted and connections are underlined. A road to dialogic memory could be opened if the fact of the common Lithuanian and Polish resistance struggle were stated in a law. A communicative action and dialogic memory shape a broader view of the past in public memory. A communicative action enables dialogic memory where different collective memories coexist in one institutional public memory and communicate the same values, e.g. such as democracy, patriotism, tolerance. The dialogic narrative of public memory is the opposite of nationalist narrative, predominated by the interpretation of the past of one nation based on political decisions. Dialogic memory would enable the development of social capital, new social relations, uniform civic society. Dialogic memory should be understood as a process where different (but similar by the values communicated) social groups become the co-authors of public

memory, which is one of the features of a civil society. Eastern Lithuania stands out as bearing multi-layered memory, a mix of the memories of different ethnic groups, often with opposite views of the past events.

An important role in memory formation and communication is played by the media and memory drives. Memory drives add authenticity for the memory narrative shaped and communicated by the media. A memory drive requires much interpretation effort to be able to understand the memory created by its means. A memory drive is a cold media which requires much effort from the audience. The media is a memory communication channel which requires less interpretation effort. The media create and communicate a memory narrative on their own, relying on subjectively selected memory drives and in the light of social, political and cultural contexts. Memory drives and the media are important in the formation processes of both public memory and collective memory. Their role and significance differs. For the formation of public memory, a discussion developed by memory drives and the histories told by different collectives are important, therefore, the role of the media is more distinctive in this process because they provide an opportunity for different stories. The media (in particular, mass media) are not highly important for collective memory – much more important are memory drives, making them meaningful and keeping them alive, as well as the collective memory narrative they create and maintain. The media can impact the perception and interpretation of some memory drives.

Propaganda, as information and communicating activities, may be divided into several levels by their scope and achieved results – micro, meso, and macro. On the micro level, the impact of propaganda is short-term, based on the play on emotions to get one or another short-term action. The

meso-level propaganda has an objective, seeks to change the attitude, encourage particular actions. The content and dissemination of propaganda is within the responsibility of a specific institution. Propaganda on the macro level may be described as the total propaganda when there are several institutions which purposefully communicate a pre-designed narrative. It seeks long-term goals, i.e. to change public attitude, create value-based viewpoints. The propagandist activities of the Polish underground developed gradually – from micro to macro level. The propaganda spread by the AK BIP on the macro level created and disseminated the narrative about AK as a strong organisation that will become the military and administrative basis of Poland. It developed the image of a strong organisation, which was to form the basis of the Polish administration and army. The information disseminated in this way shaped attitudes to other nations and to the relationship with them, however, the narrative created during World War II was not reinforced in memory drives, the narrative was maintained only by members of the club. Therefore, today when members of the club are changing and young persons are joining the AK club, the narrative of the collective memory, which is affected by the media, also changes. The narrative is reduced to the memory of the events of the summer of 1944.

AK collective memory about the past differs from the narrative of the institutional public memory. Supported by memory drives, it retains the same narrative as formed by the AK BIP communication activities during the years of the war. With passing away witnesses of the past, the memory of AK becomes institutional, i.e. its creation is taken over by the veterans' club (without any veterans) and authorities (municipality administrations). A new process of AK collective memory formation began with the start of

operations of the club of veterans of the Polish armed resistance movement in 1988-1989. The memory drives witnessing the activities of AK in the region of eastern Lithuania were discovered. Tribute was paid to various dates related to the activities of AK in eastern Lithuania. The reconciliation achieved in 2004 did not settle the memory of AK into the public memory of Lithuania. That was one of the reasons why the memory of AK underwent gradual reduction. Another factor that predetermined the reduction of this memory was master narratives. The anniversaries of sixty years from the plan Storm, the Dawn's Gate Operation and the resurrection of Warsaw were commemorated in 2004. The highlighting of these events, the emphasis placed on the memory drives related to these events eventually predetermined that the memory of the Polish underground was associated only with these events. The memory of the Polish armed underground movement became reduced to the memory of the events of the summer of 1944. The memory was being shaped relying on several memory drives of the first, second, third, and fourth categories; all of them were associated with the 1944 battle for Vilnius. Such memory was fragmented, it emphasised only one aspect, i.e. the unsuccessful fight for Vilnius. The propagandist activities pursued by the AK BIP became the backbone of memory of Armia Krajowa. The narrative created during the war remained unchanged until 1988/1989. During the years of the Soviet occupation, the media did not communicate any memory about AK. The situation changed in 1988/1989 when informal AK veterans' clubs began opening and the media could discuss the role of AK during the years of the war. In 1988/1989, the collective memory of AK was reborn, the old memory drives that witnessed AK activities became meaningful, the topic of AK appeared in the media that were creating one or another image

of AK. An important example is the Kmicic brigade, which has never fought against Lithuanians and could have become an example of the AK fight against the Nazis and Soviets, however, the memory about it disappeared – it does not exist either in collective memory or in the media. The collective memory of AK has also retained the matters communicated in the media – those which are mostly related to the Lithuanian-Polish relations during the years of the war and to the events of the summer of 1944. This can be explained by several reasons. Firstly, the Lithuanian-Polish relations were more and more often discussed in the media between 1988/1989 and 2004. The main elements could be the reconciliation between AK and the Lithuanian Territorial Defence Force achieved in 2004. Since this event did not receive any legal expression – any remembrance day – the relations between Lithuanians and Poles during the years of World War II, as well as the reconciliation itself, were being gradually forgotten. The second factor is the impact of master narratives via the media. The anniversary of the Dawn's Gate Operation and the resurrection of Warsaw was commemorated in 2004. These two narratives influenced the previous collective memory of AK – the events of the summer of 1944 have predominated as very significant in the memory since that time. Therefore, it may be stated that the collective memory of AK has been reduced to the memory about the events of the summer of 1944. The episodes pertaining to earlier events, e.g. the Kmicic brigade, no longer exist in the collective memory. That was mostly influenced by the media which communicated the master narrative about the events of the summer of 1944. Nowadays, only those memory drives which relate to the master relative are promoted. In order to incorporate AK into public memory, not only a common experience of the after-war fight against the Soviets could be used but also the

memory about the Kmicic partisan unit, which had no armed incidents with Lithuanian units but suffered from the Soviets in the same way as Lithuania. Such view is also confirmed by the interview data of the informants/experts according to which the memory of the Kmicic brigade is neutral for Lithuanians, thus, it could be integrated into the institutional public memory. The memory of the Kmicic brigade could be integrated through memory media. The research has identified that there is not a single memory drive in the territory of Lithuania witnessing the operations of this unit. Such memory drive could appear in Gelednė where the first battle of the unit against Germans took place.

PUBLICATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Publications on the topic of the dissertation have been published in scientific peer-reviewed publications

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- Report in International Conference „22nd International Conference on the Science and Quality of Life & Symposium – Vilnius Region: Past, Present, Future“, (28 June - 01 July 2018, Vilnius);
- Report in International Conference „Nuo Liublino unijos iki Europos Sąjungos“ in Vilnius (25-27 April 2019);
- Report in International Conference „Baltijos šalių diasporos kultūrinė raiška 1944-2018 metais: dokumentinis paveldas“ (14 May 2019, Panevėžys);
- Report in International Conference „23rd International Conference on the Science and Quality of Life, and Symposium „Vilnius Region: Past, Present, Future“, (27-30 June 2019, Vilnius)

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