NEW HONORARY NAMES OF UKRAINIAN MILITARY FORMATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF RESISTANCE TO RUSSIAN AGGRESSION*

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INTRODUCTION

Evidently, the formation of modern tradition of honorary names of military formations (or security and special paramilitary structures – the Ukrainian Armed Forces (UAF/ZSU), the State Border Guard Service, the National Guard of Ukraine, etc.) involves the use of elements of the "existing principles and norms of behavior of military personnel, their civic and moral qualities, the principles of training and education, in particular the system of awards, as well as the logic of introducing many innovations, such as the armed forces cadences, songs, salutes, vocabulary, traditions, etc."1. At the same time, the study of the first experience of such a Ukrainian tradition requires the processing of many sources, primarily legal documents and statistical data. Among others, we highlight the Decree of the President of Ukraine № 286 of May 18, 2019 "On the Strategy of National and Patriotic Education in the Armed Forces of Ukraine for 2020 - 2025", which for the second time since 2015 stated that this is a priority area of state policy, while systemic national and patriotic education required "strengthening Ukrainian statehood, consolidating society, and establishing ... national values"2.

The tradition we talk about did not emerge in the last decade, but it was the Russian aggression that began in the spring of 2014 and ended that year with the temporary annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the occupation of part of Donbas that motivated the beginning of the assertion of clear national certainty in this matter. In our opinion, it requires thorough research in the context of clarifying all the prerequisites and circumstances of this broad "mental breakdown" that significantly changed the ratio of 'friend or foe' in understanding the essence, nature and functional purpose of Ukraine's security and special paramilitary structures, their likely allies and real enemy, which, in turn, testified to the birth of a new quality of historical culture in Ukrainian society.

^{*} This chapter was prepared according to the state budget topic "Counteracting the historical policy of the aggressor country, the Russian Federation, in the process of de-occupation of Ukrainian territories" (state registration #0123U101598, Ukraine)

¹ Сидоренко Л. Особливості військово-історичних традицій у збройних силах України. *Розбудова Збройних сил України. Військово-історичний меридіан: Електронний науковий фаховий журнал.* 2020. № 1 (27). С. 149 – 150. URL: https://vim.gov.ua/pages/ journal files/26.04.2020/pdf/-VIM 27 2020-144-154.pdf

² Указ Президента України №286 від 18.05.2019 року "Про Стратегію національно-патріотичного виховання у Збройних силах України на 2020 – 2025 роки". URL: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/286/2019#Text

Analysis of previous studies. Firstly, let's pay attention to studies that contain theoretical provisions aimed to provide a proper professional assessment of the very process of formation of the modern Ukrainian tradition of honorary names of military formations of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the National Guard, the State Police, etc. They introduce us to the so-called "spatial turn" in modern humanities3. Thus, to explain many phenomena of history, a methodological approach is useful, which, in particular, assumes that "a person assimilates information about the surrounding space within the subjective psychology of perception, that is, regardless of the visual or descriptive way of receiving this information"4. "This means", emphasizes Natalia Yakovenko, "that the idea of space is always associated with a person who perceives not 'space in general' but only the space that this person has isolated and 'ordered' according to a certain system of coordinates organized hierarchically, on the basis of the endowment of certain spatial objects with the appropriate properties"5. Based on the studies of such well-known scholars as F. Ratzel, G. Simmel, E. Cassirer, V. Benjamin, A. Lefebvre, M. Foucault, and representatives of the Chicago School of Urban Ecology, we are convinced that space should be considered not as an object but as a problem, with special attention paid to people's own perceptions and connections. In our case, of particular value are not only visions of spaces in the relatively recent past, but also their multiplicity, a large intuitive spectrum – from something historical and sacred to geopolitical, security, and military. It will be important to understand what ideas, beliefs (stereotypes), and needs were behind the decisions to (re)assign honorary names to military formations.

The article by Lubava Sydorenko deals directly with the problem stated in the title of the article. In particular, it deals with the implementation of national military and historical traditions in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, taking into account the practical experience gained. Attention is focused on the interrelationships between traditions and patriotism, which the author tried to reconcile with "the formation of national consciousness in military personnel, a steadfast desire to imitate the best achievements of the Ukrainian army, and the conscientious fulfillment of military and constitutional duty"⁶.

³ Кононов И. Ф. Пространственный поворот в социологической теории: перспективы развития. *Методологія. Теорія та практика соціологічного аналізу сучасного суспільства :* зб. наук. пр. Вип. 19. Харків : ХНУ ім.В. Н. Каразіна, 2013. С. 151 – 157.

⁴ Яковенко Н. У пошуках Нового Неба. Життя і тексти Йоаникія Галятовського : моногр. Київ : Лаурус. Критика, 2017. С. 14.

⁵ Idem.

⁶ Сидоренко Л. Особливості військово-історичних традицій у збройних силах України. *Розбудова Збройних сил України. Військово-історичний меридіан:* Електронний науковий фаховий журнал. 2020. № 1 (27). С. 144 URL: https://vim.gov.ua/pages/_journal_files/26.04.2020/pdf/-VIM_27_2020-144-154.pdf

In addition, the author traced military rituals: greetings (on October 4, 2018, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted a new greeting for the Armed Forces - "Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!"); raising the State Flag of Ukraine; presentation of the Battle Flag; announcement of the names of servicemen permanently enrolled in the lists of army units at the evening check; celebration of the Day of the Military Unit; meeting of officials and direct superiors; laying wreaths at the monuments and graves of military heroes; paying military honors during the burial of soldiers, etc. 7. By the way, in Kyiv (on the territory of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine), a unique Memory Bell has been installed, with which at 09:00 the state and society honor every fallen soldier in Donbas, and since the large-scale invasion of the Russian army, one must assume, all those who died in the fight against the occupiers. L. Sydorenko proposed a "conditional" classification of the military traditions of the Armed Forces of Ukraine according to the following: combat traditions, traditions of military training and education and traditions of military life. At the same time, according to the degree of commonality, they are classified into general (loyalty to the military oath, military valor, etc.) and partial. The latter express the specifics of military activity in all types of formations. The researcher paid special attention to service traditions.

The articles by Iryna Haniukova⁸, Olena Otych⁹, Mykola Shevchenko, Valentyna Yefimova¹⁰, Tetiana Hlushkova¹¹, Eduard Afonin's monograph¹², and the works of other researchers have proved to be somewhat productive. However, the authors rarely managed to avoid dependence on the post-Soviet political situation, for example, as was the case before the general military

⁷ Idem.

⁸ Ганюкова І. Виховання військовослужбовців Збройних сил України на традиціях українського народу. *Музейний збірник*: зб. наук. пр. Київ: ІМФЕ ім. М. Т. Рильського НАН України, 2008. С. 41 – 43.

 $^{^9}$ Отич О. Військові традиції і звичаї як чинники підвищення якості вищої військової освіти. *Вища освіта України*: наук. та наук.-метод. часоп.. Т. 1(3). Київ: Пед. преса, 2014. С. 59-63.

¹⁰ Шевченко М. М. Імагологія та проблеми формування воєнно-політичної свідомості українського суспільства в умовах маніпуляції історичною інформацією. *Воєнна історія*. 2007. № 1 – 3. С. 99 – 106; Шевченко М. М., Єфімова В. В. Військова культура українського суспільства: проблеми та шляхи формування. *Вісник Національного університету оборони України*. 2012. № 6. С. 323 – 328.

¹¹ Проблеми комплектування ЗСУ військовослужбовцями служби за контрактом: соціальний аспект аналізу : моногр. / Т. Д. Глушкова та ін. ; ред. М. М. Шевченко. Київ : Вид-во НАОУ, 2007. 172 с.

¹² Афонін Е. А. Становлення Збройних сил України: соціальні та соціальнопсихологічні проблеми / відп. ред. Л. В. Сохань, Л. Ф. Бурлачук : моногр. Київ : Інтерграфік, 1994. 304 с.

reform (2014 - 2016), when the title "Guards" or references to Soviet awards were retained in the names of military formations.

An analysis of the opinions and assessments offered in the historiography shows that even in recent interpretations of the formation of modern military and political traditions, there was a noticeable "blurring" of national preferences, values, and priorities. Thus, in 2008, in an attempt to substantiate the thesis of "unity of the army and the people", I. Haniukova referred to the uncompromising space of the inherently contradictory historical memory of military personnel as "admirers of the fighters against fascism" and, at the same time, participants in the Orange Revolution¹³. This meant that Ukrainian researchers, when they set out to cover the existing military-historical traditions in the armed forces, often used outdated ideas, forms, methods, and interpretive models. It is not surprising that to this day some "educators" are pretentiously concerned with either "realizing their own responsibility for the moral character of the Ukrainian army, preserving and enhancing the best traditions of our people" or "legal aspects of the implementation of national military and historical traditions"14. And such a ("criminal") shift and simplification of the cognitive focus is known to harm the "potential addressee"15.

Since no special works on the national tradition of honorific names of military formations have been created so far, this relieves the authors of the article of the obligation to engage in a substantive discussion with their predecessors. In addition, the provisions and conclusions proposed here will obviously be preliminary, which does not exclude the emergence of such a polemic in the future.

Objective. Having analyzed the military-historical traditions established in the Armed Forces of Ukraine (and other power structures), especially those that have acquired national educational significance, the authors seek to study the process of formation of the modern, Ukrainian tradition of honorary names of military formations, and to propose their classification.

1. Public demand for reforming military history traditions

Of all the material contained in the historiography of the problem identified and studied by the authors, two thoughts seem to be the most useful:

¹³ Ганюкова І. Виховання військовослужбовців Збройних сил України на традиціях українського народу. *Музейний збірник :* зб. наук. пр. Київ : ІМФЕ ім. М. Т. Рильського НАН України, 2008. С. 43.

¹⁴ Турчак О. В., Надрага М. С. Відродження та впровадження військовоісторичних традицій у Збройних силах України: нормативно-правовий аспект. *Юридичний наук. електрон. журн.* 2019. № 3. С. 31. URL: http://www.lsej.org. ua/3 2019/8.pdf

Wyszczelski L. Wojna o polskie Kresy 1918 – 1921. Walki z czerwoną rosją, Ukraińcami i litwinami. Warszawa: Bellona, 2013. S. 11.

the first, "the main feature of the national military-historical traditions of the Armed Forces of Ukraine is their orientation towards the formation of a stable motivation in the personnel to perform their duties in an exemplary manner in any conditions", including war; the second, the system of military-historical traditions that have been formed in Ukraine "is part of the national traditions of the Ukrainian people with its specific features" ¹⁶. There is a rather close relationship between these two statements: ensuring the security function in combination with the task of consolidating the Ukrainian nation, which is a constitutional duty, the highest mission of the military and all citizens of Ukraine. They can cope with this super-task if they use a powerful catalyst for ethno-national (self-) identification, which, in its turn, is in great need of a historical foundation.

The demand for the past is determined by the needs of the present. The Revolution of Dignity went down in the history of Ukraine not only by intensifying the process of decommunization of Ukrainian society, which manifested itself in the massive demolition of monuments to Lenin and other communist figures, but also by truly profound changes in the field of national (self-) consciousness. This modification began and for some time took place "with inspiration" of Euromaidan, but in the end, the spontaneity was "tamed", and the demolishing Lenin monuments itself was organized and coordinated¹¹. No matter how much we criticize the officials, it was the state "intervention" in the form of decommunization laws that made this transformation systemic. In addition, the Decree of the President of Ukraine of October 13, 2015, № 580/2015 approved the "Strategy of National and Patriotic Education of Children and Youth for 2016 − 2020".

As part of these and other measures, the same year we saw the abandonment of the Soviet names of formations, units and subunits of the Armed Forces and other military formations that had been retained until then. The most illustrative example of this was the renaming on August 23, 2017 of the "most glorified" 24th mechanized Samara-Ulyanovsk Berdychiv Iron Order of the October Revolution, three times Order of the Red Banner, Order of Suvorov and Order of Bohdan Khmelnytsky division (since 2003 – brigade) named after Prince Danylo Halytskyi into the 24th separate mechanized brigade named after King Danylo. The root causes of this "simplification" were hidden in the general changes that were taking place in the country, including in the intellectual sphere of society. It took a long time to notice them, but if earlier people usually interpreted the national question as such separately from social,

¹⁶ Сидоренко Л. Особливості військово-історичних традицій у збройних силах України. *Розбудова Збройних сил України. Військово-історичний меридіан* : електронний науковий фаховий журнал. 2020. № 1 (27). С. 151. URL: https://vim.gov.ua/pages/_journal_files/26.04.2020/pdf/-VIM_27_2020-144-154.pdf

¹⁷ В'ятрович В. Нотатки з кухні "переписування історії". Київ : Наш Формат, 2021. С. 258.

legal, religious, church, and even historical and security problems, now they began to coordinate it with them, and even more so, to imagine and interpret it in close cooperation with the formation of the foundations of civil society. Volodymyr Viatrovych, the director of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory (2014 – 2019), spoke about the educational impact of historical symbols on a person, which is intended to fill their life space with special meanings, and this became clear and obvious to many citizens: "Imagine a schoolchild going down the subway, and at every station he sees a swastika, going to school down Ribbentrop or Himmler Street, and a monument to Hitler standing in front of the school. Could he grow up in such conditions as a citizen with strong democratic values?" 18.

The annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Sevastopol and the Russian military invasion of Donbas, which began immediately after the Revolution of Dignity, further sharpened interest in the world of ideas, thoughts, feelings and will, and primarily affected the consciousness of military personnel. The issue of identity and its evolution became crucial. Ukrainian soldiers participating in the ATO began to pay attention to the great importance of names and symbols. And as the authority of military structures in society began to grow rapidly, this prompted the Ukrainian authorities and the public to take into account the point of view of people in uniform. What were they talking about? In their appeals, the "guys from the front line" often reported how detained Russian intelligence officers told them: "This (i.e., Ukraine – Author) is our land, our names, our cities"19. One had to give some kind of answer to such views, not only to the captured occupiers, but also to himself, to the relatives, colleagues, and fellow citizens. It was becoming clear that the Soviet identity and everything associated with it did not stand the test of time, did not meet the requirements of the day. That is why in those years Ukraine started renaming the names of cities, urban-type settlements, villages, streets, alleys, and squares, but first of all, the changes affected the names of military formations.

Typically, in such cases, it is customary to select from the past what people want to see in the present. In the army environment, these "desirables" were primarily prominent figures who, thanks to the efforts of many generations, respectively, as patriotic heroes, famous warriors, and above all, state-builders, were imprinted in historical memory. Since the aggressor had already determined its ideological priorities, political ambitions, and practical intentions at that time, a somewhat asymmetrical response to its myths, preferences, and actions simplified the situation with the choice. Its general algorithm could be outlined in the words that served as the title for

 $^{^{18}}$ В'ятрович В. Нотатки з кухні "переписування історії". Київ : Наш Формат, 2021. С. 296.

¹⁹ Idem. C. 302.

the 2014 international conference, "How to get Lenin out of the minds of Ukrainians?"²⁰.

In an attempt to better clarify the motives behind the creation of the modern tradition of honorary names for military formations, it is appropriate to return to the experience of the mental distinction between "friend" and "foe", whose roots are lost in those ancient times of history when man only "began to develop as an individual"²¹. Let us take advantage of the practice of provisions developed in historiography. According to the Austrian historian Peter Dinzelbacher, "the stranger is a kind of driving mechanism for one's own feelings... Disillusionment with our world is responsible for... most acts of violence and crime... and the cause should be sought in individual frustration"22. Therefore, our appeal to the "other", with its still unchanged function (as an element of psychological culture), where it "is a level of projections of unauthorized fantasies and a goal of directing aggression that cannot be expressed in any other way", is fully justified²³. Thus, the formation of the modern Ukrainian tradition of honorary names of military formations, which began in 2014 – 2016, did not occur in an empty place – it was preceded by certain changes in society, with conditionally "positive" and "negative" key events that prompted radical actions: The Revolution of Dignity and the beginning of the conventional phase of Russia's war against Ukraine. It seems that the factor of bloodshed was decisive, as it provoked not only an adequate intellectual response, but also activities equivalent to the new realities.

By the mid-2010s, society and the state had reached a situation where there were already people to choose honorary titles and a lot to choose from. In fact, citizens came to understand that "we decide everything and are responsible for everything," i.e., for the first time since the proclamation of state independence in 1991, there was an awareness of responsibility itself, both at the narrowly national level and in the international aspect²⁴. The history of Ukraine, especially its heroism and positive experience of state-building, became top priorities, which harmonized the situation and ensured the first successes.

2. Actual implementation of the new military naming system

The chronology of the formation of the modern tradition of honorary names of military formations should not be limited to a few years, as it turned

 $^{^{20}\,}$ В'ятрович В. Нотатки з кухні "переписування історії". Київ : Наш Формат, 2021. С. 295.

 $^{^{21}}$ Історія європейської ментальности / за ред. П. Дінцельбахера ; пер. з нім. В. Кам'янець. Львів : Літопис, 2004. С. 449.

²² Idem. C. 493.

²³ Idem.

 $^{^{24}}$ В'ятрович В. Нотатки з кухні "переписування історії". Київ : Наш Формат, 2021. С. 419.

out to be much more "stretched in time". This was evidenced by its extremely inconsistent, i.e. unsystematic "Ukrainization", especially before the events of 2014. It was so chaotic, confusing, and contradictory that it was often difficult to discern the national vector of transformation. In order to form a picture of this process that is as close to reality as possible, we should use the historical and genetic method, which has been well developed by scholars, and focus on the motives for making decisions about awarding honorary titles. It is not only about stimulating people to act (change), but also about the whole complex of phenomena/states that aroused certain interests, caused needs, drives, attitudes, emotions, and ideals.

According to their honorary names, it is appropriate to divide Ukraine's paramilitary structures into those before and after the start of Russian aggression. And not least by the criterion of their combat capability. In addition to the formation of new formations, units, and subunits, starting in 2014, there will be a deep rearmament, combat coordination of troops, and improvement of their command-and-control system, including in compliance with NATO standards. A component of this process ("creation of the army") was a truly radical strengthening of the educational impact on the personnel (the introduction of the institute of military chaplains is only one example, although the relevant law on their status will come into force only on November 30, 2021). People who have finally begun to fully realize what the "eternal strategic partner" (Moscow) really wants have realized that it is impossible to defend state sovereignty on the basis of the military traditions inherited from the former empire. The loss of this sovereignty over a part of the territory gave rise not only to despair, but also to the desire to resist, as there was no other choice. So, if earlier even the military had been frustrated, now, with the outbreak of hostilities, paradoxically, signs of optimism began to appear among the general population. This was the case when the realities of war (which, by the way, gave rise to the movement of volunteers and volunteerism, while reducing the influence of oligarchs and their media on society) educated better than any lecturers, propagandists, not to mention politicians. Therefore, the issue of national-patriotic education was understandably optimized.

The initiative belonged to the military and political leadership of the security forces. At the same time, the "decision-making center" also underwent significant changes, primarily depending on the current political situation. However, after the Revolution of Dignity, the general public began to take a more active part in this process. On October 13, 2014, at the roundtable "The New Image of the Ukrainian Army" organized by the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, military experts, historians, journalists and public figures proposed to start "cleansing the Ukrainian army from the atavisms of the Soviet past" and begin to shape the national face of the army, based on Ukrainian military traditions. In this regard, the head of the Institute, V.

Viatrovych highlighted: "An integral element of the modernization of the Ukrainian army should be to rid it of the remnants of the Soviet past, which are still present in the names and numbering of military units, their heraldry and symbols".

As of the end of 2022, we have information on 136 military formations and educational institutions, including: 64 brigades, 32 separate units (regiments, special operations centers, etc.), 9 separate battalions, 8 border guard detachments, 4 warships, 3 aircraft, 16 higher and secondary military educational institutions and military training centers.

The study of this material allowed us to identify certain patterns in the formation of the modern military history tradition. The honorary titles awarded are characterized by the following statistics: out of 101 personal titles, 82 (slightly more than 81%) relate to the history of Ukraine before 1991 and, accordingly, 19 (almost 19%) to modern history. The latter are almost all related to the defense of Ukraine from Russian aggression and date back to 2014. More specifically, for the "historical" block of titles, the statistics look like this: 13 figures (almost 13 %) represent the Middle Ages (Kyivan Rus', Galicia-Volhynia Principality, Grand Duchy of Lithuania), 31 persons (almost 31 %) represent the early modern era (mainly Cossacks, Hetmanate, "people's avengers"), 29 persons (almost 29 %) represent the heroics of the national liberation struggle of the twentieth century (mostly the period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921), 7 persons (almost 7 %) relate to the Soviet tradition. We would also like to mention the names of philanthropist Ivan Kharytonenko, aircraft designer Ihor Sikorsky, and Ukrainian Navy Commander Vice Admiral Volodymyr Bezkorovainy (almost 3%).

For obvious reasons (because the war is still ongoing), the percentage of honorary titles related to the heroism of the Russian-Ukrainian war tends to increase. But for eight years (until the large-scale invasion on February 24, 2022), it did not receive a clear expression. Obviously, because it coincided with another one – the restoration of the historical traditions of the national army. The focus was on the most significant figures from different periods of the past. Thus, in 2017, certain military formations were named after King Danylo and the Black Cossacks; in 2018, Kostiantyn Ostrozky and the Zaporizhzhian Sich; in 2019, Roman the Great, Ivan Vyhovskyi, Ivan Sirko, Kostia Hordiienko, the Knights of the Winter Campaign, Kostiantyn Pestushko, Roman Dashkevych, Mykhailo Bilynskyi; 2020 – Yaroslav the Wise, Volodymyr Monomakh, Vytautas, Taras Tryasyl, Ivan Mazepa, Danylo the Apostle, Petro Kalnyshevsky, Mykhailo Ostrohradsky. The increase in these renaming occurred in 2017 – 2018, with a peak in 2019 – 2020, due to a phased policy of first creating an army and then increasing its combat capability.

As for territorial honorifies, there were 35 of them, which is 26 % of the total number. This tradition is ancient and means honoring military valor on a regional

basis – it indicates the place of service, participation in combat operations, and the exploits of servicemen. However, modern territorial names, unlike the Soviet tradition, include the names of the settlements where the relevant units are deployed or formed. Moreover, the names "Zakarpattia" and "Donbas" were given to two military formations at once, and the "brightest" name was given to the Azov Special Forces Unit, also known as the Azov Regiment. It was formed in 2014 from volunteers who were distinguished by their radical views and uncompromising fight against the enemy. With the start of the large-scale invasion, the Azov Special Forces Regiment / Azov Special Forces Regiment Kyiv was created, which was reorganized into the 3rd Separate Assault Brigade of the Armed Forces of Ukraine on January 26, 2023.

Some units, such as the 17th Separate Tank Kryvyi Rih Brigade named after Kostiantyn Pestushko, the 54th Separate Mechanized Brigade "Donbas" named after Hetman Ivan Mazepa, the 15th Boryspil Transport Aviation Brigade named after aircraft designer Oleh Antonov, the 204th Sevastopol Tactical Aviation Brigade named after Oleksandr Pokryshkin, and the 540th Anti-Aircraft Missile Regiment named after Ivan Vyhovskyi, managed to get a double name.

Undoubtedly, the extreme conditions of the defensive war awakened in Ukrainian citizens, especially military personnel and other "security forces", a fundamentally different attitude toward history and everything that can be justified in relation to national sacred symbols. These processes have significantly changed people's attitudes to reality, both deepening and specifying their identification of "friends"/"foes"²⁵. Interestingly, religious themes were not widely recognized. It seems that only the 19th Separate Missile Brigade, formed in 1997 on the basis of the former division of three Soviet units, was named "St. Varyara" in December 2019.

CONCLUSIONS

Over the years of sovereign Ukraine, the establishment of the Ukrainian tradition of honorary names for military formations has become a significant step towards strengthening state security, enhancing the combat capability of many formations, units, subunits, and crews, and improving the methodology of national-patriotic education. The emphasis was placed on prominent historical figures, contemporary heroes, and territorial names, which, through their national symbolic images, were intended to "connect" them with modern Ukraine as such, and thus strengthen national identity, shape a patriotic outlook, and maintain the proper emotional state of military personnel. Given the soviet traditions that existed before, the attribution of the images, as well as the pathos of their presentation, was preserved, but shifted in the direction

²⁵ Яковенко Н. У пошуках Нового Неба. Життя і тексти Йоаникія Галятовського : моногр. Київ : Лаурус. Критика, 2017. С. 190 – 191.

of new, specifically Ukrainian spiritual and national priorities. Over the past eight years, the process of people's internalization has been influenced by the unfolding political and soon armed struggle for individual, group, and national interests and, importantly, moral values. The focus on "radical" national historical memory and modern heroism was the response of Ukrainians to the challenges of the hybrid war unleashed by Russia, and it was perhaps the first time that this orientation brought them closer to the democratic Euro-Atlantic world.

SUMMARY

The chapter is devoted to the study of the process of formation of the modern, Ukrainian tradition of honorary names of military formations in the context of resistance to Russian aggression. It is found that after the long preservation of the soviet system of naming military formations, independent Ukraine made a fundamental turn to its own national military and historical tradition. The catalysts for this process were the Revolution of Dignity and the beginning of Russia's open armed aggression, which gave rise to a strong public demand for a sharp dissociation from the soviet and Russian imperial heritage. As part of the defense reform, a total rebranding of the military was carried out. Ideologized soviet components were removed from the names of military formations. Instead, Ukrainian honorific names are being introduced quite consistently. It is proposed to distinguish two types of them: nominal/ personal and territorial names. For all historical periods, the vast majority are military figures. In some cases, personal and territorial names are combined. Since the naming process is dynamic, the formation of the Ukrainian militaryhistorical tradition continues.

АНОТАШЯ

Розділ присвячений дослідженню процесу становлення сучасної, власне української, традиції почесних найменувань військових формувань та їхньої класифікації. З'ясовано, що після тривалого збереження совєтської системи найменування військових формувань в незалежній Україні відбувся принциповий поворот до власної національної військово-історичної традиції. Каталізаторами цього процесу стали Революція Гідності та початок відкритої збройної агресії РФ, які породили потужний суспільний запит на різке відмежування від совєтської та російської імперської спадщини. У межах оборонної реформи був проведений тотальний ребрендинг військового назовництва. З назв військових формувань вилучені ідеологізовані совєтські складові. Натомість досить послідовно запроваджуються українські почесні найменування. Запропоновано виділяти два їх різновиди: іменні/ персональні та територіальні назви. Для всіх історичних періодів

абсолютну більшість становлять саме військові діячі. Територіальні назви, на відміну від совєтської традиції, містять назви населених пунктів, у яких дислоковані, або були сформовані відповідні підрозділи. В окремих випадках поєднуються персональні та територіальні назви. Оскільки процес найменування перебуває у динаміці, то й продовжується становлення української військово-історичної традиції.

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