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**THE CONTENT OF MILITARY EDUCATION OF THE UKRAINIANS
IN NATIONAL AND FOREIGN ARMED FORCES IN 1914 – 1921**

Abstract. Aim of the research: to analyze the content of military education of the Ukrainians, who fought during World War I (1914 – 1918) and the subsequent military conflicts related to the national freedom fight on Ukrainian lands in 1917 – 1921 as the part of foreign (Austro-Hungarian, Russian) and national armed forces. **The research methodology:** compliance with the principles of objectivity and historicism contributed to the consistent disclosure of the preconditions, content and consequences of the experience of combat military education of the Ukrainians during World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine. The use of the comparative-historical method made it possible to trace the influence of military education in the system of functioning of the legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen of the Armed Forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, land and naval units of the armed forces of the Russian Empire, the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian Galician Army. **The scientific novelty** consists in the attempt to cover comprehensively the problem of educational work in the environment of the Ukrainian servicemen during World War I and the subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine in 1917 – 1921 and the formation

of patriotic attitude towards the performance of their military duty in the context of hostilities that to date has not been the subject of special military-historical research. First, an attempt was made to recreate the picture of the formation of the national military education system in Ukraine. New theoretical generalizations of the content of the army patriotic education were introduced to scientific circulation. **The Conclusions.** The military-political events of 1914 – 1921 showed that the army was the main driving force behind the revival of Ukraine, since it was the Ukrainian military that often acted as a catalyst for state-building processes in general. In this context, the military upbringing of the Ukrainians, who fought in the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and national armed forces during World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine is of particular importance. However, understanding the value of military education did not always find support from Ukrainian politicians of the time. During World War I, servicemen of the Austro-Hungarian Legion of the USSR managed to transform this unit into a well-trained, factually Ukrainian, military formation with national symbols, their own distinctions, as well as the Ukrainian official language and military terminology. The military training of the Ukrainians fully manifested itself during the war and within the structure of the land and naval forces of the Russian army. The soldiers from the Dnipro region proved to be well-trained, brave, disciplined and morally stable. Considering the military training in the Army of the UNR and UGA, it can be stated that despite the adverse factors caused by the aggression of the neighboring states and the blockade of Ukraine's borders by the Entente, the original national system of military training in the army units was established for the first time. However, the rudiments of a full-fledged patriotic upbringing in the army failed to achieve this goal. The experience of national military formation shows that one of the key factors in the proper functioning of the armed forces is its upbringing in the spirit of patriotism and commitment to the state idea. This principle should be applied today, when reforming the Armed Forces of Ukraine to the level of Euro-Atlantic standards and forming a professional army is underway.

Key words: World War I, the Ukrainian servicemen, legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen of the Armed Forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, land and naval units of the Armed Forces of the Russian Empire, Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Galicia-Bukovyna kuren of Sich Riflemen, Ukrainian Galician army, combat military education of the Ukrainians.

ЗМІСТ ВІЙСЬКОВОГО ВИХОВАННЯ УКРАЇНЦІВ У НАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ ТА ІНОЗЕМНИХ ЗБРОЙНИХ СИЛАХ 1914 – 1921 рр.

Анотація. Мета роботи – проаналізувати зміст військового виховання українців, які у роки Першої світової війни (1914 – 1918) та подальших воєнних конфліктів, пов'язаних з національно-визвольною боротьбою на українських землях у 1917 – 1921 рр., воювали у складі іноземних (австро-угорських, російських) й національних збройних сил. **Методологія дослідження:** дотримання принципів об'єктивності та історизму сприяло послідовному розкриттю передумов, змісту і наслідків здобутого досвіду бойового військового виховання українців у роки Першої світової війни та подальших воєнних конфліктів на українських землях. Застосування порівняльно-історичного методу дало змогу прослідкувати зміст військового виховання у системі функціонування легіону Українських січових стрільців збройних сил Австро-Угорської монархії, сухопутних та військово-морських підрозділах збройних сил Російської імперії, Армії Української Народної Республіки, Українській Галицькій армії. **Наукова новизна** полягає у комплексному висвітленні проблеми ідейно-виховної роботи в середовищі військовослужбовців-українців під час Першої світової війни та подальших воєнних конфліктів на українських землях у 1917 – 1921 рр., формування у них патріотичного ставлення до виконання свого військового обов'язку в умовах бойових дій, що донині не було предметом спеціального військово-історичного дослідження. Насамперед зроблено спробу відтворити картину формування національної системи військового виховання в Україні. Введені до наукового обігу нові теоретичні узагальнення змісту армійського патріотичного виховання. **Висновки.** Воєнно-політичні події 1914 – 1921 рр. показали, що армія була основною рушійною силою відродження України, адже саме українські військовослужбовці часто виступали каталізатором державотворчих процесів загалом. У цьому контексті важливе значення набуває військове виховання українців, які у роки Першої світової війни та подальших воєнних конфліктів на українських землях воювали у складі австро-угорських, російських

ї національних збройних сил. Однак розуміння ваги військового виховання не завжди знаходило підтримку у тодішніх українських політиків. Під час Першої світової війни військовослужбовці австро-угорського легіону УСС зуміли перетворити цей підрозділ на добре вишколену, фактично українську, військову формацію з національною символікою, власними відзнаками, а також українською офіційною мовою та військовою термінологією. Патріотичний військовий вишкіл українців проявив себе під час війни й у складі сухопутних та військово-морських сил російської армії. Наддніпрянці показали себе військово справними, хоробрими, дисциплінованими і морально стійкими воїнами. Розглядаючи військове виховання в Армії УНР та УГА, можна констатувати, що попри несприятливі фактори, викликані агресією сусідніх держав, і блокаду кордонів України Антантою, вперше відбувається процес становлення національної системи бойового виховання в армійських підрозділах. Однак зародки повноцінного патріотичного виховання в армії не встигли досягти поставленої мети. Досвід національного військового будівництва показав, що одним з ключових факторів належного функціонування збройних сил, є його виховання у дусі патріотизму та відданості державницькій ідеї. Такий принцип необхідно використовувати і сьогодні, під час реформування Збройних сил України до рівня євро-атлантичних стандартів та формування професійної армії.

Ключові слова: Перша світова війна, військовослужбовці-українці, легіон Українських січових стрільців збройних сил Австро-Угорської монархії, сухопутні та військово-морські підрозділи збройних сил Російської імперії, Армія Української Народної Республіки, Галицько-Буковинський курінь січових стрільців, Українська Галицька армія, бойове військове виховання українців.

The Problem Statement. The World War I (1914 – 1918) became a landmark event in the history of European civilization. Not only did it divide the lives of the Ukrainians and many other peoples into two periods – pre-war and post-war, but it also reshaped the lives of many people, forced them to reconsider the system of past values, to abandon the illusions of the past, and to learn to live by the new laws. The war not only led to enormous material and human losses, but also affected the conscience and morale of the servicemen, leaving a deep mark on their memory. The study of the aftermath of the war and the subsequent military conflicts related to the national freedom fight on Ukrainian lands in 1917 – 1921 is of great importance for understanding what efforts the Ukrainians were making to show their strength and will, to gain experience in defeating the enemy, to learn how to be responsible for their actions, and, ultimately, to become a dreamed independent state.

The disclosure of the experience of military education of the Ukrainians during the World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine is important in studying the history of Ukraine and the military history of the leading European states of the first quarter of the twentieth century. These questions have long been raised in a simplified, distorted form by the Soviet ideology, silenced by Western scholars, and are still falsified by the Russian chauvinists nowadays. V. Sergiychuk, Doctor of History, notes that “for decades, Ukraine could not have known anything about its true sons from its faithful Corps of Starshinas. The totalitarian Bolshevik system did its best not only to erase their names from the historical memory of the people, but also to brand them as allegedly traitors to their nation” (Serhiichuk, 1995, p. 255).

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Some aspects of the topic studied were reflected in domestic biographical directories, memoirs, general and narrow-profile publications on the problems of the history of World War I and a number of events related to the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainians in 1917 – 1921 (Lytvyn, Naumenko, 2004; Lytvyn, Naumenko, 2007; Ripetskyi, 1956; Ripetskyi, 1967; Kuchabskyi, Babii, Zarytskyi, Herchanivskyi, Bilynskyi, 1969; Kuchabskyi, Bezruchko, Konovalets, 2004; Mykytiuk, 1958; Shankovskiy, 1999; Berezhytskyi, 2003; Utkin, Kuzmuk, 2001; Reient, 2014; Pinak,

Chmyr, 2017). A separate research of the following authors address this issue: M. Herasymenko (Herasymenko, 2005), V. Holubko (Holubko, 1997), O. Latsenko (Datsenko, 2002), V. Zadunaiskyi (Zadunaiskyi, 2018), L. Kryvyziuk (Kryvyziuk, 2006), V. Sidak (Sidak, 2001), O. Skliar (Skliar, 2017), Ya. Tynchenko (Tynchenko, 2011), R. Tiutenko (Tiutenko, 2018), O. Furtes (Furtes, 2016), V. Futuluichuk (Futuluichuk, 2002), I. Khoma (Khoma, 2016) and the others, where one may find fragmentary information on the accumulated experience of combat patriotic upbringing of the Ukrainians in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian armies and special investigations concerning the history of Ukrainian riflemen in the Armed Forces of Austria-Hungary. However, there is no separate study on the role and importance of military education of the Ukrainians during World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine.

Given the lack of research into this problem, the article provides a more detailed disclosure of the content of military education of the Ukrainians, who fought during World War I (1914 – 1918) and the subsequent military conflicts related to the national freedom fight on Ukrainian lands in 1917 – 1921 as the part of foreign (Austro-Hungarian, Russian) and national armed forces. This practice successfully proved itself in the system of functioning of the legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen of the Armed Forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the land and naval units of the Armed Forces of the Russian Empire, the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian Galician Army. The study of this subject also makes it possible to rethink the role of the Ukrainian military personnel in the development of military movement and construction during the the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The research aim is to highlight the to analyze the content of military education of the Ukrainians, who fought during World War I (1914 – 1918) and the subsequent military conflicts related to the national freedom fight on Ukrainian lands in 1917 – 1921 as the part of foreign (Austro-Hungarian, Russian) and national armed forces.

The Statement of the Basic Material. One of the important consequences of World War I was the accumulated experience of combat patriotic education of the Ukrainians. This practice successfully proved itself in the system of functioning of the legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USR). Among the riflemen ranks, as noted by the Galician lawyer and political figure and an ex-combatant Gvina S. Ripetsky, “there was a lively ideological and political work, there were creative efforts for the right methods and the clear purpose of our fight for freedom. It was very responsible work that was done in a variety of forms and under different circumstances. It was being carried on continuously, because the struggle on the avant garde of the Ukrainian front, in very difficult and changing situations, required daily clear answers to the question: what is our place and what are our responsibilities in that world war?” (Ripetskyi, 1956, p. 137).

The riflemen ideology was created and developed in the meetings and debates of officers and riflemen, in numerous speeches by officers at various events: Shevchenko events, riflemen funerals, sending soldiers to the front, sanctification of small tombs and monuments, riflemen meetings where appropriate resolutions were adopted, as well as in many lectures of national and educational content. One of the riflemen commandments contained the words: “I shall be a good son of Ukraine and a good soldier and a good brother-in-arms, to make a better destiny for the Fatherland with joint labor and joint forces!” (Zelenko, 1935, p. 243).

In 1914 – 1916, the USR Legion distinguished its patriotic orientation with a yellow and blue rose on the left side of the cap. In the spring of 1915, the starshynas began to wear gold

pendants interwoven with blue threads by their sabers; as for the under-sergeants, they began to wear yellow pendants interwoven with blue threads by their bayonets. The pendants had a Galician cote of arms – the lion – sewn on one side and the letters “USR” on the other one. In the autumn of 1916, a major change in the appearance of the riflemen was introduced – a cape, with a cockade with a national coat of arms – a trident – placed in front. This cap was later worn by Ukrainian youth as a traditional symbol of fight for freedom. At the same time, a blue and yellow cross belt is introduced instead of the blue lapels on the military uniform collar (Ripetskyi, 1956, p. 150). In 1917, the battle symbol of the legion of the was sanctified – its own flag, depicting Archangel Michael (coat of arms of Kyiv) with a sword ready to strike in one hand, and a shield depicting a lion (coat of arms of Galicia) on a blue silk cloth of rectangular shape). The leaves and a bunch of red viburnum were placed around. This way, the flag of the legion depicted the basic idea of the unity of Ukraine.

In addition to its appearance, the use of the Ukrainian language was an important feature of the legion's. All military orders and documents were handled exclusively in Ukrainian. Officers of the Austrian or German armies, who were instructors in the legion had to learn Ukrainian to conduct small arms courses or to give military orders. The reason for this was the passive reluctance of the Ukrainians to obey orders given in German, although they were well understood. This fact furthers the evidence of the patriotism and moral strength of the Sich Riflemen. Additionally, the official announcements of the commanders of the units arriving for inspection by the Austrian or German officers, were made in Ukrainian. In particular, when at the beginning of 1918 a new legion commander had to come to the place of M. Tarnavsky – centurion O. Mykytka (officer of the Austrian army) D. Vitovsky warned the officers before the arrival of the new commander: “Comrades, not a word in German!” (Ripetskyi, 1956, p. 151). Such activity of Sich Riflemen during the war also influenced the further formation of fighting patriotism of the Ukrainians (Idzo, 2010, p. 169). It is no coincidence that the Austrian military command feared that this “Ukrainian army” could “resume the fight for freedom for Ukraine” (CSHAUL, f. 353, d. 1, c. 223, p. 91).

It is worth mentioning that the military patriotic training of the Ukrainians manifested itself fully during the war within the structure the Russian army as well. Dnipro region proved to be well-trained, brave, disciplined and morally stable: land generals – M. Arkhipovich, O. Bezkravny, O. Berezovsky, M. Volkhovsky, Y. Gandziuk, O. Grekov, L. Drozdovsky, V. Kirey, P. Kysly, G. Mandryka, O. Osetsky, O. Rogoza, Y. Safonov, P. Skoropadsky, L. Fedyai, M. Chukevich, M. Yunakov, three brothers Paschenko, colonels – M. Omelyanovich-Pavlenko, V. Petrov (Werner), O. Pilkevich, V. Sikevich, B. Stelletsy, B. Sulkovsky and others (Lozynskyi, 2017, pp. 48–62); Navy admirals – S. Burley, O. Kapnist, V. Klochkovsky, A. Pokrovsky, M. Sablin, O. Khomenko, 1st rank captains – M. Ostrogradsky (Apostol), M. Rimsky-Korsakov, V. Shramchenko (Shramenko), M. Chernilovsky-Sokol and others (Lozynskyi, 2016, pp. 73–76).

That is why, in the revolutionary time of 1917, under the influence of political events of the collapse of the tsarist empire and the threat of catastrophic defeat at the front, the Russian military command had to consent to the creation of the Ukrainianized military formations. Their combat potential was planned to be used to stabilize the situation at the frontlines (Kryvyziuk, 2009, p. 427). The successful deployment of the patriotic movement in the Russian army was facilitated by the fact that the personnel of the fronts stationed in Ukraine had a significant share of the Ukrainian element. The Ukrainian contingent was especially significant within the Southwestern Front. Thus, as of March 1917, there were nearly 2 million

300,000 soldiers, officers, and military officials here. A third of its total membership was Ukrainians. In the Romanian Front, the proportion of the Ukrainians was 1/4 of the total number of all military personnel (RSMHA, f. 2067, d. 2, p. 54; f. 2085, d. 1, p. 64).

The education system of the Ukrainian military age of the Central Rada and the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) deserves some attention. It may be noted that its peculiarity was the evolution from the complete ejection of the need of a regular army for the state to the realization of its necessity. Along with the change of this view, the military-educational work in the army was also changed. Although the Ukrainian leadership at that time did not initially understand the necessity of creating a regular army, even in such circumstances, the training of a patriot soldier was developed, mainly in the voluntary units. An example is the Galicia-Bukovynian Kurin of Sich Riflemen (later – the First Kurin of Sich Riflemen), whose organizational rules included the ideas of fighting for an independent Ukraine, nurturing a sense of personal honor and other patriotic motives, as well as the representation of the first Ukrainian military school exemplified by the heroic feat of the young Ukrainians in the battle of Kruty January 29, 1918 (Mykhailyk, 1995, p. 69). It was not until the spring of 1918 that the situation changed when it was decided to include drill instructors to train the Army personnel (Harcheva, 1993, p. 104).

A major achievement of the UNR government was the establishment of a national military education system and the training of its own officers (Deshchynskyi, 2000). Considering the military training in the Army of the UNR, it can be stated that despite the adverse factors caused by the aggression of the neighboring states and the blockade of Ukraine's borders by the Entente, the original national system of military training in the army units was established for the first time. However, the rudiments of full-fledged patriotic upbringing in the army failed to achieve this goal.

The experience of military education in the Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA) deserves considerable attention. The military-political leadership of the Western People's Republic (ZUNR) managed to organize military training of soldiers and officers despite all the difficulties, first and foremost of an objective nature (Mykytiuk, 1958, p. 73–140). Military traditions and combat experience of the USR Legion were used for this purpose. In view of the continuous hostilities, when it was not possible to carry out a full-fledged military training of the young recruits and officers, the example of Galician warriors was used to demonstrate bravery, discipline and moral stability. These qualities were formed by a well-established system of military education of Galician Riflemen, which formed in them high patriotism and national consciousness (Futuluichuk, 1999). Of interest is the statement of the Chief of Operations Department of the UNR Army General Staff, General M. Kapustiansky, who noted that "The Galician army has produced some new positive qualities, and most importantly: a uniform, nationally educated, passionate element to the country... The soldiers demanded a lot and gladly listened to their elders and were clay ready to be molded" (Kapustianskyi, 1946, p. 75).

It is worth noting the important role of the officers from the Dnipro region in the combat training of Galician military personnel. Established in November 1918, the young ZUNR state needed armed defense and rapid formation of its own army. The UNR leadership sent General M. Omelyanovich-Pavlenko and Colonel E. Meshkovsky, and later General O. Grekov to aid Western Ukrainians. The officers from the Dnipro region were distinguished for their active participation in the fighting and high patriotism. In particular, ataman K. Karas (former captain of Russian Army artillery) was the commander of the 10th Cannon Regiment

of the Yaniv Brigade. The then deputy regiment commander, centurion V. Galan highly appreciated the personal moral qualities of the former: “Kirill Karas fully understood his affiliation with the Ukrainian people and decided to give his knowledge and work to the Ukrainian army” (Galan, 1968, p. 199).

A significant role in the formation of the UGA was played by a native of Kherson region, Lieutenant Colonel A. Dolud, who in the middle of November 1918, headed by the Cossack detachment named Ivan Gonta, arrived from Odessa to Galicia (Skorych, 2010, p. 114). A military historian O. Kuzma noted that “the greatest publicity was given to the personal courage of the detachment commander, Ataman Dolud... Colonel Stefanov gave his courage as an example to the Ukrainian army. If all our garrison was determined by such courage as our brothers-in-arms from the Dnipro region, there would be no trace of Polish troops in Lviv within a few days” (Kuzma, 1931, p. 303). The commander of the 4th Cannon Regiment, centurion P. Lyaskovsky, who arrived in Galicia to the front as a battery commander with his guns and soldiers in January 1919, was distinguished by his organizational skills (Galan, 1968, p. 38). High patriotic abilities were demonstrated in Galicia by the former commander of the Hussar Regiment of the Russian Army, Colonel I. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko (the younger brother of prominent Ukrainian military commander M. Omelyanovich-Pavlenko), who arrived in Lviv in December 1918 and led the Navaria battle group (Pidkova, Shust, 2001, p. 531).

Thus, it is worth noting that despite the extremely difficult situation, the UNR managed to provide strong military assistance to the ZUNR. This was prompted not only by the agreements and proclamation of the Act of Union on January 22, 1919, but also by the historical desire for restoration of the unification of the Ukrainian state, the wishes of the Ukrainians of the East and the West, and the close relations intensified by the national liberation movement of the early 20th century (Skorych, 2010, p. 118).

With the proclamation of the unity of Ukraine, there was a certain leveling of differences in the system of patriotic education of the Galician and Dnipro units of the Ukrainian army. But the transition of the Galician units to the area of the UNR Army’s deployment became an impetus to strengthen the educational work in the Ukrainian army. In general, educational work in the Ukrainian army yielded positive results. Despite the crushing defeats caused by the enemy’s prevailing forces, the morale of the army was preserved. It continued the struggle and was ready to emigrate with the government rather than capitulate (Prokhoda, 1929, p. 10).

The Conclusions. Thus, the experience of the military political events of 1914 – 1921 showed that the army was the main driving force behind the revival of Ukraine, since it was the Ukrainian military that often acted as a catalyst for state-building processes in general. In this context, the military upbringing of the Ukrainians, who fought in the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and national armed forces during World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine is of a particular importance. However, understanding the value of a military education did not always find support from Ukrainian politicians of the time.

During World War I, the servicemen of the Austro-Hungarian Legion of the USSR managed to transform this unit into a well-trained, factually Ukrainian, military formation with national symbols, their own distinctions, as well as Ukrainian official language and military terminology. The military training of the Ukrainians manifested itself fully during the war and within the structure of the land and naval forces of the Russian army. Soldiers from the Dnipro region proved to be well-trained, brave, disciplined and morally stable.

Considering the military training in the Army of the UNR and UGA, it can be stated that despite the adverse factors caused by the aggression of the neighboring states and the blockade of Ukraine's borders by the Entente, the original national system of military training in the army units was established for the first time. However, the rudiments of a full-fledged patriotic upbringing in the army failed to achieve this goal.

The experience of a national military formation shows that one of the key factors in the proper functioning of the armed forces is its upbringing in the spirit of patriotism and commitment to the state idea. This principle should be applied today, during the process of reforming the Armed Forces of Ukraine to the level of Euro-Atlantic standards and forming a professional army is underway.

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