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## THE ROLE OF SONGS AND SINGING IN THE EVERYDAY PRACTICES OF THE UPA AND OUN SOLDIERS IN ZAKERZONNIA

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research* is to elucidate and characterize the everyday military practices related to singing and the use of music among the UPA and OUN soldiers in Zakerzonnia region in 1944 – 1947. **Research Methodology.** The study is based on an interdisciplinary approach that combines the analysis of memoir sources and insurgent documents with theoretical developments in military anthropology, social psychology, and musicology. In the research musicological approaches and concepts have been applied that explain the role of a collective singing in shaping group identity and in combat situations. **Scientific Novelty.** This article represents the first attempt to explore the anthropological dimension of the use of songs and singing in daily lives of the UPA and OUN soldiers in Zakerzonnia. The research expands the understanding of musical practices in military environments and opens new perspectives for studying the impact of a song on the psychological state and combat effectiveness of military formations. **Conclusions.** Thus, the role of a song and singing in everyday practices of the UPA and OUN soldiers in Zakerzonnia was multidimensional. The analysis of the sources shows that music served not only an entertainment or emotional function but also acted as a powerful tool for psychological adaptation, group identification, and even tactical influence on the enemy. This study identifies the functions that singing and songs played in the daily lives of the Ukrainian combatants. In particular, singing and songs served as a means of rest and leisure; accompaniment for celebrations and rituals; a tool for unity and communication; emotional support and stress relief; a marker of national identity and the distinction between “us” and “them”; an instrument of ideological influence and propaganda; support in combat situations; and the final act before death. Collective singing contributed to the formation of group identity and the maintenance of morale. Singing practices united combatants and civilians, becoming a kind of ritual that strengthened camaraderie and mutual understanding. Singing played a crucial role in regulating emotional states, alleviating anxiety, and improving mood. The article argues that the phenomenon of “combat singing” was used as a means of influencing the enemy. By analyzing these aspects, we not only gain a deeper understanding of the psychology and culture of the Ukrainian underground but also acquire a broader perspective on the role of music in military conflicts in general.

**Key words:** Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Zakerzonnia, combat singing, everyday life, military anthropology.

## РОЛЬ ПІСЕНЬ І СПІВУ В ПОВСЯКДЕННИХ ПРАКТИКАХ ВОЯКІВ УПА Й ОУН НА ЗАКЕРЗОННІ

**Анотація. Мета роботи** – розкрити і охарактеризувати військові повсякденні практики, пов’язані зі співом пісень і використанням музики, вояків УПА й ОУН на Закерзонні в 1944 – 1947 роках. **Методологія дослідження** базується на міждисциплінарному підході, що поєднує аналіз мемуарних джерел, повстанських документів із теоретичними напрацюваннями військової антропології, соціальної психології та музикознавства. Дослідження застосовує підходи й концепції музикології, які пояснюють роль колективного співу у формуванні групової ідентичності та в бойових ситуаціях. **Наукова новизна.** Стаття є першою спробою дослідження антропологічного виміру використання пісень і співу в повсякденному житті вояків УПА й ОУН на Закерзонні. Дослідження розширює уявлення про музичні практики у військовому середовищі й відкриває нові перспективи для вивчення впливу пісні на психологічний стан і бойову ефективність військових формувань. **Висновки.** Отже, роль пісні та співу в повсякденних практиках вояків УПА й ОУН на Закерзонні мала багатовимірний характер. Аналіз джерел показує, що музика виконувала не лише розважальне чи емоційне завдання, але й була потужним інструментом психологічної адаптації, групової ідентифікації та навіть тактичного впливу на супротивника. У дослідженні виділені функції, які відігравали спів і пісня у повсякденному житті українських комбатантів. Зокрема, це був засіб відпочинку й дозвілля; супровід святкувань та обрядовості; засіб єднання і комунікації; емоційна підтримка й подолання стресу; маркер національної ідентичності й розрізнення “свій” / “чужий”; інструмент ідеологічного впливу та пропаганди; підтримка в бойових ситуаціях; остання практика перед загибеллю. Спільне виконання пісень сприяло формуванню колективної ідентичності й підтримки морального духу. Співочі практики об’єднували комбатантів і цивільне населення, стаючи своєрідним ритуалом, що зміцнював товариські зв’язки та взаєморозуміння. Спів відігравав важливу роль у регулюванні емоційного стану для зняття тривожності й поліпшення настрою. У статті автор доводить, що фактор “бойового співу” використовувався як засіб впливу на ворога. Аналізуючи перелічені аспекти, ми не лише глибше розуміємо психологію та культуру українського підпілля, а й отримуємо ширшу перспективу для ролі музики у військових конфліктах загалом.

**Ключові слова:** Українська повстанська армія, Організація українських націоналістів, Закерзоння, бойовий спів, повсякдення, військова антропологія.

**Problem Statement.** Music always accompanied a person in moments of triumph and sorrow, during work and rest, during peace and periods of war. War is not only a clash of armies and strategic operations, but also a special socio-cultural space in which unique practices of behaviour and communication are formed. The study of war phenomenon goes beyond purely military history and belongs to military anthropology. This field of knowledge is multidisciplinary and touches on the vast field of applied, social, cultural and historical anthropology (Boroch, 2021, pp. 63–73). One of the important topics of military anthropology is music, singing, and songs, which play a significant role in the lives of combatants. The Ukrainian liberation movement of the 1940s – 1950s left a noticeable mark on the folk art – primarily in songs. The insurgent and underground members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) were creators and performers of these songs, the experience of which requires its own interpretation, especially in the context of the modern Russo-Ukrainian war.

**Review of Sources and Recent Research.** In Ukrainian historiography and folklore studies, there are quite a few researches that study, systematize, and analyze the Ukrainian song heritage of the insurgent struggle during and after World War II. Famous collectors and researchers of folklore and insurgent songs – Hryhoriy Demian (Demian, 2003), Yevhen Hishchynskyi (Hishchynskyi, 2007), Yevhen Luno (Luno, 2014) – made a significant

contribution to the preservation of this heritage and made the first attempts at its systematization and analysis.

A large number of the UPA songs are presented in Volume 25 of the UPA Chronicle. The editor Zenoviy Lavryshyn conducted a significant research: he identified the main themes of the songs, elucidated the images used in the texts, and provided a generalized musicological description (Lavryshyn, 1996). Volodymyr Kobylanskyi (Kobylanskyi, 2013), V. Kulchytskyi (Kulchytskyi, 2011), Hanna Sokil (Sokil, 2023), and Dahmara Turchyn-Duvirak (Turchyn-Duvirak, 2011) focused on a detailed analysis of the songs, determining their authorship and subject matter. The researchers show how the UPA songs not only preserved traditional images and motifs, but also transformed them, reflecting new ideas and historical circumstances, which make songs a significant material for understanding national identity and cultural continuity.

However, none of the above mentioned studies takes into account the “anthropological” aspect of the use of songs, music, and singing during the insurgent war. The questions arise: What did the UPA and OUN insurgents feel and do when singing songs? Why did they sing songs? What were their everyday practices?

In the article, we make the attempt to do the research using the example of Zakerzonnia. The choice of this particular region is determined by the clear chronological boundaries of the nationalist underground and insurgent units operation there, as well as a significant representation of the source base we need – memoirs. Our research is primarily based on the analysis of about a hundred memoirs and recollections of combatants of the Ukrainian insurgent formations from Zakerzonnia region. This sample is sufficiently representative to draw conclusions about the entire insurgent-underground community. We supplemented the narrative sources with documents of insurgent, less often the Polish or Soviet origin. After all, in the process of researching everyday life and anthropological dimensions of war, it is ego-documents that come to the fore, in which a person can write more frankly about his experiences, emotions, and practices. Although these sources are worthy of historical criticism, in the realm of everyday wartime they are more informative than official documents, as they reveal the inner worlds and daily realities of people more deeply.

The methodological component of the research is based on the studies of Joseph Jordania, who is known for his model of the origins of a human singing (including choral singing) in a broader context of a human evolution. He analyzes music and singing from the perspective of social and cultural anthropology. J. Jordania sees music and singing as a means of promoting collective identity, trust, and commitment within a group, which is crucial for survival and success in conflicts (Jordania, 2011). The biological foundations of music make it a powerful factor in community cohesion, in particular, Isabelle Peretz singles out the archaic origins of people's musical abilities, which in turn had an impact on the survival and effectiveness of the group (Peretz, 2006). The psychological functions of music have been studied by a group of researchers who identify three main dimensions of music: conveying feelings and emotional comfort; social bonding; and entertainment and distraction. (Schafer, Sedlmeier, Stadler, & Huron, 2013). Other Western musicologists and anthropologists note that music and songs at war are peculiar rituals that give meaning to combat and become important psychological responses to the war trauma of war (Grant, 2020). Another perspective concerns the ability of music to promote integration and empathy among people, to be a kind of centre of psychological comfort, which is so lacking at war (Grant, Möllemann, Morlandstö, Münz, & Nuxoll, 2010, pp. 190–191). The British researcher Janine Natalia Clark develops the

thesis that at war music essentially forms a familiar soundscape in contrast to the hostile and violent surroundings of the war sounds. The author argues that music-making becomes an expression of resilience and resistance during military conflicts. In general, music can have many roles as an emotional release, a setting for battle and killing at war. Or it can be a means of influencing the enemy and even torture (Clark, 2023). In our opinion, Nicole Wegner's article is overloaded with contradictory discourses in its criticism of the military as a community, but is nevertheless interesting in its critical approaches to insurgents' rituals, which, in particular, are a collective performance of songs and music, or rituals of honouring the dead, which fill the participants with deep emotions (Wegner, 2021).

**The purpose** of the research is to elucidate and characterize the daily military practices associated with singing songs and using music by the UPA and OUN insurgents in Zakerzonnia, in 1944 – 1947.

**Research Results.** Usually songs are sung and listened to during free time, when there is time, opportunity and inspiration to relax. The insurgents were no exception, there is a lot of evidence that in addition to military duties they found time to sing songs (Kmet, 2000, pp. 95, 210; Yovyk, 1995, p. 35; Kordan, 2006, pp. 85, 107; Ivanyk, & Bokhno, 2012, p. 193). Under favourable conditions, during stops in villages and forest camps, songs were performed in groups, with civilians, and without them as well. In winter, in hiding places, when there was more free time, songs were also an attribute of rest: “A song was also a favourite pastime for the insurgents” (Savchyn, 1995, pp. 168–169, 196; Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001a, p. 608; Potichnyi, 2003, p. 105).

A song was also heard during various holidays. In the insurgent hundreds, in Zakerzonnia there were choirs of singers, and there were musical instruments and musicians who played the musical instruments during national, religious and personal holidays. They performed folk or popular melodies (Harasymiv, 1999, pp. 8, 116–117, 134). In some settlements, you could listen to music from gramophones and dance to the “Lviv tango” with local girls or women underground members (Harasymiv, 1999, p. 190). National holidays or memorable dates of liberation struggles (Pokrova, Second Winter Campaign, Ukrainian Unity Day (Den' Sobornosti), Heroes' Day, June 30) were also accompanied by songs whenever possible: “After the opening speeches, the choir sang the song “When You Were Dying”” (Ivanyk, & Bokhno, 2012, pp. 160, 220).

Musicians played the musical instruments and songs were sung at both peasant and insurgent weddings, and Maria Savchyn recalled her own wedding in particular: “What a powerful singing it was! I haven't heard such a lot in my life for many years” (Savchyn, 1995, p. 90). The soldiers of the hundreds, with the permission of their commanders, also did not miss the opportunity to attend such celebrations: “Dancing takes place with a fairly modest orchestra. We have fun until 2 o'clock in the morning” (Shtendera, 1987, p. 71).

During the celebration of Easter, Christmas, or during church services, soldiers could perform a religious prayer song, or a national patriotic song that suited the moment (Karvanska-Bailiak, 2000, p. 164; Potichnyi, & Viatrovykh, 2003, p. 351; Yovyk, 1995, pp. 174, 295). During the Easter holidays, “they sang insurgent songs that even small children knew the texts of songs: “Oh, There, under the Forest” (Kordan, 2006, pp. 67, 156). Carol singing according to folk tradition was inherent in the insurgent Christmas cycle. The song and carol accompanied the insurgents throughout all times of the struggle: “the melody of the Ukrainian carol “God the Eternal...” resounds from hundreds of chests” (Kmet, 2000, pp. 91–92; Potichnyi, 2003, pp. 86, 154; Tsiapka, 1975, pp. 66, 148, 254).

A song was used as an emotional shock absorber in times of sadness and upheaval associated with war, loss, separation, and farewell. For the soldiers, the song was actually a means of overcoming stress: "Songs were our consolation. We sang songs, and our hearts would rest" (Potichnyi, & Viatrovych, 2003, p. 278). To more sensitive and emotional natures, like underground member Maria Savchyn, it sometimes seemed that a song could even relieve physical pain: "...Tender songs were my only and, perhaps, the best medicine than all others" (Savchyn, 1995, p. 79). When the combatants said goodbye and set off on a campaign, there were brief moments of farewell with civilians: "...The peasants and insurgents gathered in a circle, and an insurgent song echoed through the forest in a low voice" (Yovyk, 1995, p. 160; Hromenko, 2000, p. 41). Or when saying goodbye to their brothers, relatives or friends: "Khrin suggested singing together as a farewell. He really loved to sing songs" (Savchyn, 1995, p. 168; Lenko, 1999, p. 36).

Often a song made us think about the fate of a person at war, and sometimes it brought a certain sentimentality and sadness (Lyko, 2002, pp. 80–81; Savchyn, 1995, p. 166). Although, it was this aspect that caused criticism of commanders, because a song should be "combat" and "the enemy must die, not the Ukrainian insurgent", as it was often said in the songs (Kmet, 2000, pp. 113–114).

This vivid genre of folk art was essentially a marker of Ukrainian identity, especially in the context of the struggle for statehood and survival in Zakerzonnia region. This marker concerned not only combatants, but also the Ukrainian civilian adults and children (Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001b, p. 254). A song was essentially perceived as a calling card of the Ukrainians to foreigners. During propaganda raids in Slovakia and Poland, in order to make a good impression, as well as for tactical reasons to demonstrate the larger number of personnel, hundreds of the UPA performed choral songs (Lyko, 2002, p. 537; Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001a, pp. 616, 618). Later, while in the American camp in Germany after the "big raid", hundreds from Zakerzonnia also performed songs in their own choir (Yovyk, 1995, p. 303).

It should be said that the performance of a certain repertoire was a means of distinguishing in the dichotomy of "one's own"/"alien." A Polish or Russian song precisely captured this situation, when the sound atmosphere changed (Savchyn, 1995, p. 471). The insurgents felt a certain tension and hostility when they heard Russian songs: "I felt a Ukrainian night, littered with Moscow ditties (chastushka) and the suffering "Katiusha" song (Harasymiv, 1999, p. 127; Savchyn, 1995, p. 326). There was more loyalty to the Polish songs, because contact with the Polish culture and people was closer. The line of hostility was blurred, especially under the conditions of the Polish-Ukrainian ethnic borderlands, which were the lands of Lemko, Nadsianina, Chełm and Pidliashshia regions. The Polish songs were used to make a good impression and befriend the population during marches through the Polish villages (Kmet, 2000, p. 179; Shtendera, 1987, p. 63; Huk, 1994, p. 143).

In the Polish environment the Ukrainian women underground members used the ability to perform Polish repertoire as an additional means of conspiracy (Labunka, 2015, pp. 151–153). In general, women underground members, according to their recollections, were more inclined to sing songs. They describe their associations with songs about specific situations, people, thoughts, moods and feelings, memories of childhood and adolescence (Savchyn, 1995, pp. 255, 359; Labunka, 2015, pp. 70, 139–140, 186; Tymochko, 2005, pp. 36, 253).

A song was an important element of unity between combatants and civilians, the culmination of celebrations, gatherings and meetings, and acted as a kind of emotional communication (Savchyn, 1995, pp. 91–92). In the insurgent memoirs, there are quite a few



testimonies about such meetings: “It happened that we became hoarse because of singing. Everywhere we were warmly welcomed... The friendly singing of the national anthem “Ukraine is not Dead yet” moved the insurgents and peasants” (Kmet, 2000, pp. 94, 184; Dmytryk, 1992, p. 88).

Singing was often used to unite the underground insurgent community. Singing songs became a kind of a ritual that created an atmosphere of camaraderie and mutual understanding: “These minutes warmed us for a long time and remained unforgettable for a lifetime” (Potichnyi, & Viatrovych, 2003, p. 349; Karvanska-Bailiak, 2000, p. 91).

Many memoirs of the UPA soldiers mention the performance of marching songs while moving through Zakerzonnia region (Yovyk, 1995, p. 76; Shtendera, 1986, p. 21; Shtendera, 1987, p. 73; Harasymiv, 1999, pp. 29, 52; Potichnyi, 2003, p. 151). It is obvious that this happened under favourable conditions, when strict secrecy was not required. As many studies have shown, based on the examples of other armies (Reed, 2016), marching songs helped soldiers be in a cheerful mood, promoted group unity and joint efforts. This aspect was also a kind of manifestation of one's presence and control over the territory. This was used to emphasize one's own strength both to civilian population and opponents.

A song was also a convenient means for the ideological education of people. As ordinary soldiers from Lemko region noted: “Our songs often spoke louder than the most passionate speeches” (Dmytryk, 1992, p. 12). Under the conditions of the virtual absence of mass media, insurgent songs conveyed the main emotional and informative messages to the population, served the purposes of propaganda and spreading ideas: “Even little boys ran and sang the song: – Bandera will show us the way to freedom!” (Yovyk, 1995, p. 72).

During the research, we also revealed purely combatant practices of using songs in the UPA and OUN community. In particular, during the preparation for the battle, the necessary mood was achieved by singing marching songs: “... An elevated mood prevailed, humour appeared, jokes were cracked, and some of the insurgents even sang cheerful songs” (Kmet, 2000, p. 42). Victorious actions were also celebrated with singing songs, especially in honour of beloved commanders: “We are not afraid of attack, when “Burlaka” is with us” (Huk, 1994, p. 337).

A song played an important role in the event of the death of a comrade. First of all, as an aid in overcoming the pain of loss (Savchyn, 1995, p. 163; Huk, 1998, p. 228; Labunka, 2015, p. 131). Music became a means of perpetuating the feat of the military. Soldiers sang songs during funerals and in memory of fallen comrades: “We believed that our fallen friend hears them. This is for him. This is a holiday (Heroes' Day – honouring those who fell for Ukraine. – *Author*), “a song united us spiritually. Everyone knew that we were not the first and, probably, not the last, ready to give our lives for Ukraine” (Potichnyi, & Viatrovych, 2003, pp. 271, 284; Karvanska-Bailiak, 2000, p. 143; Hromenko, 2000, p. 98; Harasymiv, 1999, p. 156; Tymochko, 2005, p. 117). The people could dedicate a song to certain important, difficult and tragic battles, which was performed to honour the memory of the dead. Such, for example, was the battle in March of 1945 near the village of Mryholody (nowadays – part of the village of Wierchrata, Podkarpatie Voivodeship, the Republic of Poland) with heavy losses for the UPA (Lenko, 1999, pp. 44, 121). In the reports and diaries of the hundreds, we see a widespread ritual of memorial service – singing songs (Ivanyk, & Bokhno, 2012, p. 218). A song is a kind of emotional outlet that reduced the stress during the “turmoil” and the war in general. Conversely, when soldiers experienced losses too acutely, a song was not sung, because the words and melodies were simply superfluous (Shtendera, 1987, p. 76; Kmet, 2000, pp. 35–36, 160).

In the insurgent environment, we find evidence from various sources about the special performance of songs before apparent death. When, under conditions of encirclement or blockade in hiding places, soldiers-nationalists were aware of no way out and the last battle had come, they sang national anthems: "While searching for a hiding place (kryivka), friends sang revolutionary songs" (Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001b, p. 553). We should assume that this was done to reduce fear, to prepare for the last moment emotionally, in which the goal and ideological component of the sacrificial struggle were expressed. In part, singing revolutionary songs served as a means of intimidating enemies and creating a national legend of resistance for the population. In particular, when the leader of the OUN underground in Zakerzonnia, Yaroslav Starukh "Stiah", died: "...The whole group, having sung the anthem "Ukraine is not Dead yet", and blew up the mines" (Halasa, 2005, pp. 104, 137).

The UPA and OUN soldiers sang songs directly during the battle. On the one hand, this was done to intimidate the enemy, and on the other hand, to create a soundscape to maintain a fighting spirit, enthusiasm, and courage. But at the same time, to reduce fear and stress (Potichnyi, & Lyko, 2001a, pp. 59, 69; Huk, 1996, p. 115). The sotennyi "Hromenko", who wrote his memoirs almost immediately after the battles in Zakerzonnia, described his actions during the battle: "...I order the musicians and the rest of the insurgents to play the musical instruments and sing our favourite song at the top of their voices" (Hromenko, 2000, p. 19).

A rather interesting case is recorded in several insurgent diaries and memoirs – the performance of a "combat song" by soldiers of the hundreds "Burlaka" and "Krylacha". During Operation "Vistula" they were surrounded by superior forces of the Polish army, the situation was quite hopeless. However, the psycho-emotional factor of the song was clearly manifested in it: "Everyone is determined to fight and defend to the penultimate bullet, to keep the last one for oneself. The guys shout to the Poles: "We are not afraid of death!" We begin to sing "Evening is already falling..." – the whole line picks up the song. Everyone seems to be happy, cheerful, forgetting about the enemy, danger, hunger, overstrain. Only from time to time do they fire on the enemy, who, as if enchanted, has somewhat quieted down. We continue to sing "Wake up, Mighty Ukraine!", "The Winds are Blowing", "Gdy narod w Warszawie" and "Hey-ha, Hey-ha" (Shtendera, 1986, pp. 58–59; Shtendera, 1987, p. 184; Tsiapka, 1975, p. 343; Huk, 1994, p. 26; Huk, 1996, p. 124).

The soldiers were aware of the fact that this could be the last battle and its ending would be death or terrible captivity. However, just after the insurgents sang desperately, the Polish unit retreated for some reason. This situation of hopelessness and a special fervor of the "combat song" together with the fact of the enemy's retreat and, ultimately, the successful breakthrough of the hundred from the encirclement, precisely correlates with the research of Joseph Jordania. He describes the phenomenon of a "combat trance" that occurs under the influence of rhythmic collective actions, such as singing in a group, and it can cause an altered state of consciousness in which people cease to feel fear and pain, lose their individual identity, where everyone feels part of a greater whole, ready to fight to the end and, at the same time, intimidate the opponent (Jordania, 2011, pp. 98–102).

**Conclusions.** Summing up the research, several conclusions should be drawn. The role of a song and singing in the everyday practices of the UPA and OUN soldiers in Zakerzonnia was multidimensional. The analysis of the sources shows that music performed not only an entertaining or emotional role, but was also a powerful tool for psychological adaptation, group identification, and even a tactical influence on the enemy. The study highlights the functions that singing and a song played in the everyday life of the Ukrainian combatants.

In particular, it was a means of recreation and leisure; an accompaniment to celebrations and rituals; a means of unity and communication; emotional support and stress relief; a marker of national identity and the distinction between “one’s own” and “alien”; a tool of ideological influence and propaganda; support in combat situations; and the last practice before death.

The joint performance of songs contributed to the formation of a collective identity and support of morale. Under the difficult conditions of the underground struggle, singing served as a way of uniting insurgents, strengthening the sense of a common goal and readiness for self-sacrifice. Singing practices united combatants and civilians, becoming a kind of ritual that strengthened comradeship and mutual understanding.

Singing played an important role in regulating emotional states. Songs helped insurgents cope with trauma, loss of comrades, psychological and physical exhaustion. It can be said that collective music making is an effective mechanism for relieving anxiety and improving mood. A song for insurgents was an opportunity to vent emotions, soothe pain, and calm the stress response. This is a kind of “a cry of the soul”, because, as the saying goes: when a man sings, his soul cries. In a male collective, tears and emotional reactions are usually a taboo, but singing was an acceptable practice.

According to the results of the study, we can talk about the factor of a “combat singing”, which was used as a means of influencing the enemy. At critical moments, the insurgents sang songs, which could contribute to entering a special psychological state, when fear and pain were not felt, the soldiers acted as a single organism, and singing could intimidate the enemy, creating the impression of psychological superiority.

Songs were an important means of ideological education and propaganda. Under conditions of limited access to the media, it was music that served the function of spreading national ideas, shaping public sentiment, and transmitting historical memory.

By analyzing this aspect, we not only gain a deeper understanding of the psychology and culture of the Ukrainian underground, but also gain a broader perspective on the role of music in military conflicts in general.

It is worth noting that modern generation sometimes finds it difficult to understand the necessity and importance of singing songs in chorus, because everyone has gadgets and their own musical preferences, and surfing the Internet you can hear any melody. However, collective singing, especially in times of trials of the full-scale war, is quite relevant and can be useful for modern defenders of Ukraine.

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