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The Western Ukrainian Statehood 1918–1923 and the Theories of Randomness in the 20th – early 21st Centuries

1. Introduction

Besides the obvious tectonic shifts happening in the study of the "Ukrainian question" in history and political science and them being represented by several generations of contemporary Ukrainian and foreign researchers, the marked by the "spirit of the time" interpretation of the important nation-building events continues to dominate; it includes the events of the Ukrainian revolution of 1914–1923[1].

Despite its historical and political short duration, the Western Ukrainian statehood of 1918–1923 had a certain potential that can be defined in two ways: formal force and actual powerlessness. Therefore, modelling the potential of the West-Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR, in origin – *Західноукраїнська Народна Республіка, ЗУНР*) in the light of theories and proposals of international scholars, geopoliticians, mathematicians and economists, is an important factor in studying all the positives and negatives of the studied ethnopolitical sphere, for they show its security and geostrategic components. Among the formal indicators of strength / potential of WUPR, we can outline the territory, population, Armed Forces, form of government and economic potential of the state. They are followed by sectors of potential, the study of which form the content of the second subsection: morphological, demographic, economic, organizational, military and foreign policy potentials[2].

The rival states – the proclaimed WUPR and the restored Polish Republic (*Druga Rzeczpospolita Polska*) – were not alike in their reliance on quite different tools of con-

[1] Я. Грицак, *Подолати минуле: глобальна історія України*, Київ 2021, с. 215–232; Tegoż, *Нарис історії України. Формування модерної нації XIX – XX століття,* Київ 2023, с. 248–259, 291–293.

[2] В. Великочий, *Національна соборність і Українська революція 1914–1923 рр. Історіографічні сильветки*, Івано-Франківськ 2022, с. 75–87, 144–159; I. Monolatii, *W Europie, obok Europy, dzięki Europie. Dylematy historii, polityki i bezpieczeństwa Ukrainy*, Płock 2020, s. 21–22.

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flict, in particular regarding the use of military potential during the Polish-Ukrainian war in Galicia in 1918–1919. Namely, there took place constant militarization of East Galician society, economy and states in general. In the context of military and political conflict it was extremely important to provide for the military needs and to maintain military rhetoric of power. Nowadays the issue of whether the militarization of Ukrainians in Galicia (mainly civilian population, by the way) had place as a matter of fact is rather rhetorical. In particular, one cannot know of the amount of weapons in possession of civilian Ukrainians in Galicia. Consequently, for a number of totally justifiable reasons which are still not enough to fully explain the short political life of the Western Ukrainian state in its various forms in between 1918–1923, it proves impossible to fully project the probable potential of ethno-security during the Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918–1919, relying on the WUPR potential alone[3].

2. Conclusions and proposes.

First of all, building up on the theory of Black Swans developed by Nassim Nicholas Taleb, a Lebanese-American mathematician[4], I comes up with the three research hypotheses related to the events that took place in Galicia in 1918–1919.

The first hypothesis studies the November Action (in origin – *Листопадовий зрив*) as the Black Swan of Western Ukrainian statehood. The second deals with the events of 3 January 1919 when the Ukrainian National Rada (National Council) approved the union of the WUPR and the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR, in origin – *Українська Народна Республіка, УНР*) that in my opinion is an example of the Black Swan because its (non-) implementation had far more grave consequences than its contemporaries thought it would. The third theory analyses another Black Swan, which is the nomination of Yevhen Petrushevych as a dictator on 9 June 1919 that led to the return to the WUPR legal framework and the pursuit of the independent "Galician state"[5].

The first hypothesis demonstrates that the November Action of 31 October – 1 November 1918 testifies not only to Taleb's transition[6] from Mediocristan that is the Habsburg Empire, a tyranny of the collective, to Extremistan represented by the WUPR, a tyranny of the accidental, but also to the Black Swan event that had epochal consequences for the studied region. In my opinion, the November Action became

[3] О. Дєдик, *Бої у Львові 1-21 листопада 1918 року*. Частина І, Львів 2018, с. 6–8, 158–161; Тегож, *Бої у Львові 1-21 листопада 1918 року*. Частина ІІ, Львів 2020, с. 134–147; I. Monolatii, *Ethno-Safety Potential During the Polish-Ukrainian War for Halychyna in 1918.* "Journal of Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University" 2022, Vol. 9, no 2, p. 18–24.

[4] Zob.: N. N. Taleb, *Czarny Łabędź. O skutkach nieprzewidywalnych zdarzeń*, przeł. O. Siara, Warszawa 2014.

[5] *Ereignisse in der Ukraine 1914–1922 deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe* von Theophil Hornykiewicz. Band IV, Philadelphia, Pa., USA, 1969, p. 263, 270, 282, 327.

[6] Por.: N. N. Taleb, *Czarny Łabędź. O skutkach nieprzewidywalnych zdarzeń*, przeł. O. Siara, Warszawa 2014, s. 20, 34 (tab. 1), 39.

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the Black Swan not only for Galicia Ukrainians (to some extent, though) but also for "strangers", first of all for Poles and Jews residing in Galicia[7].

Historical sources prove that the direct participants of the events of October 31-November 1, 1918 did not struggle with their interpretation; neither did they resort to terminological discussion of a kind; they perceived it as a rather self-evident, accomplished fact. Thus, the military and civilians relied on the main concepts such as "coup", "disarmament" and "seizure of power", all of which, in fact, became the basic markers of a qualitative change in the political situation that made a difference in the lives of Galician Ukrainians at the end of the World War I, creating the necessary preconditions for the imminent independent state establishment. While in the case of Lviv it was rather "disarmament", the cities and towns nearby perceived the events primarily as the military "takeover of power". Therefore, the term "coup" seems to be the most appropriate to describe the essence of the events of the late autumn of 1918; there were solitary examples when its contemporaries perceived it in the meaning of revolutionary transformations after some time, and, thus, it conveyed glorification. The interpretation of these events, especially the ones that took place in Lviv, as a Ukrainian military act became the cornerstone; it provided a standpoint for the basic characteristics of the national liberation struggle of Western Ukrainians during the XX century. Moreover, the shift of emphasis to the revolutionary nature of the November Action, its manipulation, politicization and ideologization with the following mythologization, all took place less than half a century later, and it was not by the will of the direct participants of this coup[8].

On the other hand, the November Action, as the Black Swan, sparked a new warfare (after World War I) first for Lviv and then for Galicia. Therefore, this situation just aggravates the Black Swan problem as an (im)probable event of Western Ukrainian statehood in 1918–1919.

The second hypothesis indicates that the WUPR being Extremistan after the November Uprising (1 November 1918) suffered from the Black Swan. Experience of the past did not help regional political actors to foresee the future including the one for Galicia and for the WUPR.

The tyranny of the accidental that was the emotionally tinged decision of the Ukrainian National Rada on 3 January 1919, happened again, and the winner, the Ukrainian National Rada, took all it aspired to, i.e. joining the Ukrainian National Rada. The history started "jumping" again – this time after 22 January 1919. However, keeping Taleb's contemplations in mind[9], the second Black Swan is more likely to be nearly-Black

[7] K. Kotyńska, *Lwów. O odczytaniu miasta na nowo*, Kraków 2015, s. 49–59; G. Gauden, *Lwów. Kres iluzji. Opowieść o pogromie listopadowym 1918*, Kraków 2019, s. 27, 80, 132, 197, 214; О. Кузьма, *Листопадові дні 1918 р.* Із шкіцами, Львів 1931; Нью Йорк 1960, с. 69–85.

[8] I. Monolatii, *The November Breakdown» («November Action») 1918: a Revolution or a Military Coup?*, "Journal of Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University" 2021, Vol. 8, No 2, p. 28–33.

[9] Por.: N. N. Taleb, *Czarny Łabędź. O skutkach nieprzewidywalnych zdarzeń*, przeł. O. Siara, Warszawa 2014, s. 21–22, 46, 76.

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or Gray given the fact that its occurrence was foreseen first by external and then by internal political actors after December 1918. They were ready to that happening which eventually took place on 3 January 1919, and the Preliminary Agreement being signed in Fastiv worked as a suitable tool. Therefore, the "Stanislav" ("Stanisławów") (in origin – *станиславівський*) decision on the union of the WUPR and the UPR is in its essence *the Mandelbrotian randomness*, and I suggested the category of "sobornist" (national unity) to be treated as *fractal*[10]. Its fractal nature, firstly, expands the specificity of this imaginary idea of the Ukrainian nation, and secondly, it makes it possible to highlight and structure certain nation-building codes as a system of expectations that function in the Ukrainian "congregational" space. The proposed vision is that the properties of fractals as an objective process vary from clear regularity to chaos, the category of "orderliness" as a fractal demonstrates, on the one hand, the borderline "zone of chaos" (statelessness) and, on the other hand, the formation of "order with chaos" (national statehood).

The category *sobornist'* of in its institutional and structural dimension in Galicia in the middle of the 19th – the first half of the 20th century. can generally correspond to the Sierpinski triangle. Given the self-similarity of the institutions of Ukrainian *sobornist'* in the 19th and 20th centuries, it is worth considering Serpinsky's carpet, which to a greater extent corresponds to the fractal dimension of the phenomenon under study. The Ukrainian *sobornist'* is interpreted as a mutually unambiguous and continuous reflection (from the point of view of Serpinsky's carpet theory), and therefore its structures are topologically identical (the Main Russian Council of 1848 in Lviv, the Main Ukrainian Council of 1914 in Lviv, the Ukrainian National Council of 1918 in Lviv , the Ukrainian National Council of 1941–1942 in Lviv, the Ukrainian National Council in Kyiv in 1941, the Ukrainian National Council of 1948–1992 in the system of the state center of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile). The category *sobornist'* in its fractal dimension is also partly an illustration of Nasim Taleb's *theory of antifragility*[11].

Another, albeit somewhat debatable, fractal manifestation in the Western Ukrainian ethno-political sphere can be considered the spread of *epidemic diseases*. In 1986, Peter Grassberger proposed a research approach based on the growth patterns of clusters of infected individuals, and also deduced the spread of epidemics and the formation of fractal clusters[12]. And although such a context is quite conditional for our research, it is worth trying to see it in the events of the Ukrainian revolution in Galicia in 1918–1919. As a result of the First World War, the world was faced with the largest flu pandemic in terms of mortality in the history of mankind ("Spanish flu", *Strains of A/H1N1*), one of the many areas of which it spread was also WUPR in 1918–1919.

[10] І. Монолатій, *Категорія «соборність України» як фрактал*, "Історико-політичні проблеми сучасного світу" 2023, Т. 47, с. 313–325.

[11] Zob.: N. N. Taleb, *Antykruchość. O rzeczach, którym służą wstrząsy*, przeł. O. Siara, Warszawa 2013.

[12] P. Grassberger, *Spreading of Epidemic processes leading to fractal structures*, [in:] *Fractals in Physics,* ed. by L. Pietronero, E. Tosatti, Amsterdam–Oxford–New York–Tokyo 1986, p. 273–278.

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For this, it is worth taking as a research model the camp for internees and prisoners, created by the Ukrainian authorities in the suburbs of the town of Kolomyia, Kosachiv (ukr. *Косачів*, pol. *Kosaczów*)[13]. Based on the list of deceased internees and prisoners of war in Kolomyia during the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918–1919, according to the entries in the death register book of the Roman Catholic parish in Kolomyia, 369 people died due to infectious diseases (typhys, influenza)[14]. Taking into account the fact that from 3,484 to 3,900 people passed through the camp in Kosachiv in 1918–1919[15], and the death of 369 people was recorded in the church register book, it can be stated that every tenth of them died. However, the Kolomyia military hospital recorded the deaths of 154 people from the camp in Kosachiv (including 151 Poles, one Jew, one German, and one Ukrainian) caused by infectious diseases[16].

The "friend" of the "Spanish" pandemic was the epidemic of spotted (epidemic rash) typhus. Between February and May 1919, an epidemic of typhus and other epidemic diseases passed through Galicia. According to his information, in March 1919, 17,229 people fell ill with spotted typhus, of which 858 people died; in May of the same year, 14,987 and 1,814 people, respectively[17].

I propose to consider the spread of epidemic diseases in Galicia 1918–1919 using *the Koch snowflake* (also known as the Koch kurve, Koch star, or Koch island) by the Swedish mathematician Helge von Koch (1904). The Koch snowflake clearly demonstrates the peculiarities of epidemics, because at each new stage (for example, the epidemics in Galicia in 1831, 1848–1849, 1856, 1892–1894, 1918–1919) the algorithm is applied to each link of the curve formed during the first generation (in particular, from the first cholera pandemic to subsequent ones). Such a procedure could be repeated $n \to \infty$ times[18].

In my opinion, the fractal dimensions of the Western Ukrainian ethnopolitical sphere still need to be studied in view of the specifics of ethnomathematics, and the conclusions of such studies will be an important addition to the interpretative field of interethnic interaction.

[13] I. Tsependa, I. Monolatii, V. Velykochyy, *Wojny i przemoc. Obóz dla internowanych w Kosaczowie w czasach Zachodnioukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej: mity i stereotypy*, „Forum Historyczno-Społeczne" 2020, nr 8, s. 53–64.

[14] *Ibidem.*

[15] П. Гаврилишин П., Р. Чорненький, *Табори для інтернованих і військовополонених на території Західноукраїнської Народної Республіки – Західної області Української Народної Республіки (1918–1919).* Івано-Франківськ 2023, с. 283–80, 381–390, 391–404.

[16] І. Монолатій, *Творення Коломиї. Від Листопадового зриву 1918 р. до румунської і польської окупації 1919 р.*, Брустури 2023, с. 192.

[17] Л. Шанковський, *Українська Галицька Армія. Воєнно-історична студія*, Вінніпеґ 1974, с. 314.

[18] І. Монолатій, *Етнопериферійність. Участь суб'єктів західноукраїнської етнополітичної сфери в міжетнічній взаємодії, міждержавних конфліктах і культурі пам'яти*, Дрогобич 2022, с. 437.

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The third hypothesis proves, the introduction of Dictatorship on 9 June 1919, indirectly though, in a certain way led to the change of Galicia's status on the geo-political chessboard of Europe. This new status got embodied through a "cascade" of events:

1) the decision of the Supreme Council at the Paris Peace Conference on 25 June 1919 to allow Poland to take over Galicia;
2) the Treaty of Warsaw (Petliura-Piłsudski Agreement) of 1920 under which Eastern Galicia, among other lands, was ceded to Poland;
3) the Treaty of Riga of 1921 which de facto abrogated the Treaty of Warsaw, whereas UkSSR renounced its claims to Eastern Galicia by handing it over to II Rzeczpospolita;
4) by its decision of 15 March 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors of the great powers of the Entente recognized the sovereignty of Poland with Eastern Galicia being part of its territory[19].

In the conclusions I emphasizes that under Taleb's theory, the Black Swans of the Ukrainian revolution scaled down to Western Ukraine could be assigned to the respective quadrants: the first Black Swan (the November Uprising) to the Fourth Quadrant of the *positive* Black Swan, the third Swan (Dictatorship of the Western Province of the UPR (WPUPR), in origin – *Західна Область Української Народної Республіки, ЗОУНР*) also to the Fourth Quadrant but of the *negative* Back Swan. Though, the second Black Swan or the first and the only Gray Swan (Ukrainian National Rada's decision on the union) is most likely to be in the Third Quadrant which implies simple payoffs, i.e. the probability of this Swan had no impact on the final result (22 January 1919). Hence, they are only the November Uprising and the Dictatorship that fit in the Fourth Quadrant of the Black Swan domain[20].

To close, I suggested that the Ukrainian revolution in Galicia did not end in 1923 (when the WUPR in its emigration format came to the end), but lasted all way till 30 June 1941, when the restoration of the Ukrainian state was proclaimed. This very event is another Black Swan, similar in its "Black Swan" nature, therefore akin to the November Uprising. Members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (led by Stephan Bandera) who proclaimed this restoration in Lviv, "caught" Nazis by surprise and forced the Nazi regime in the Procrustean bed of the political expediency, fait accompli and the Ukrainian national liberation movement in the time of World War II. I considers that the happening of 30 June 1941 in Lviv accords with Taleb's logic being an extreme, exclusive and absolutely unexpected event. The Proclamation of Ukrainian statehood on 30 June 1941 became the Black Swan not only for Western Ukrainians

[19] Por.: W. Paruch, *Kwestia ukraińska w myśli politycznej Józefa Piłsudskiego*, [w:] *Dziedzictwo Józefa Piłsudskiego i Symona Petlury. Przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość partnerstwa Polski i Ukrainy. Praca dedykowana mężom stanu Polski i Ukrainy*, red. W. Baluk, J. Makar, M. Doroszko, Lublin 2021, s. 43–44; W. Matwijenko, M. Doroszko, *Konsekwencje ukraińsko-polskiej umowy souszniczej 1920 r.*, [w:] *Ibidem*, s. 59.

[20] N. N. Taleb, *Czarny Łabędź. O skutkach nieprzewidywalnych zdarzeń*, przeł. O. Siara, Warszawa 2014, s. 187–188.

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(to some extent, though) but also for "strangers", first of all, for occupying Nazi rulers. However, this Black Swan being an attempt to start a new phase in building the state in the times of the military and political conflict, provoked the imprisonment of Ukrainian nationalistic leaders and the change of the command of *Roland* and *Nachtigall* battalions by Germans. On top of that, it could also have an impact on the killings of Jewish and Polish elites in Lviv in summer 1941, which was instigated by occupying powers. The author suggests the latter to be treated as a payback for 30 June 1941, given the fact that in Lviv the occupying powers used the proclamation of the restoration of Ukrainian statehood to their own anti-Semitic and anti-Polish purposes[21].

My *second proposal* is based on the *Gray Rhino theory* by American strategist Michele Wucker[22], because I studies the Treaty of Warsaw (Petliura-Piłsudski Agreement) and specifically its impact on Galicia statehood(less). Following Wucker's way of thinking, I suggested that this Gray Rhino of the Ukrainian Revolution was the outcome of a few factors:

–– "inconvenient truth" – negotiations conducted by the diplomatic missions of the UNR Directory with Poles on the status of Galicia, and how the government of the ZOUNR reacted to those attempts;

–– "Charged Rhino" – the relations between the WPUPR and the UPR as a results of the Galician Army's (in origin – *Галицька Армія, ГА*) retreat across the Zbruch River;

–– "Recurring Rhino" – typhus epidemic in the Galician Army which is akin to "Domino" and "Chimera Rhinos" (here again health problems);

–– "Meta-Rhino" – problems of the public administration in the UNR and the WPUPR related to "Riddle or Gordian Knot" that are Ukrainian-Polish relations in general, and the Galician theme in particular.

In my opinion it can be argued that the nature of the 1920 Treaty of Warsaw, as the Gray Rhino for Western Ukrainians, corresponds to the stages of how the Gray Rhino reacts to the threat, as suggested by Michelle Wucker –1) denial, 2) muddling, 3) diagnosing, 4) panic, 5) action (trampling)[23].

Using the term "l'événement monster" introduced by French scientist Pierre Nora[24], I believed that the attack of the Gray Rhino on Western Ukrainian statehood, specifically the Treaty of Warsaw on 21 April 1920, is somewhat the "monster event" that triggered a few events of the local and regional importance, i.e. the occupation of Galicia by the Soviet armed forces in July 1920, the proclamation of the Galician Soviet Socialist Republic, the Treaty of Riga in 1921 which annulled the Treaty of Warsaw and finally

[21] І. Монолатій, *Зоосад революції. Західноукраїнська державність 1918–1923 років і теорії випадковостей XX – початку XXI сторіч*, Івано-Франківськ 2020, с. 69–71.

[22] See: M. Wucker, *The Gray Rhino. How to Recognize and Act on the Obvious Dangers We Ignore*, New York 2016.

[23] M. Wucker, *The Gray Rhino. How to Recognize and Act on the Obvious Dangers We Ignore*, p. 40–44.

[24] П. Нора, *Теперішнє, нація, пам'ять*. Пер. з франц. А. Рєпи. Київ 2014, с. 27.

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established the line of frontiers with the rule of Poland over the Western Ukrainian lands.

The main idea of this essay is that it was the 1920 Treaty of Warsaw, the Gray Rhino for Galicia that became an inevitable event, which was neglected by Ukrainian politicians in the presence of two key factors. Firstly, de facto Poland conquered the western Ukrainian lands, and by sanctioning the Polish temporary occupation of the region rather than its annexation, the Supreme Council of the Entente made that happen. Furthermore, on 10 September 1919, the Allies signed the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye with Austria as a successor to the Austrian part of the Habsburg Monarchy, and this treaty recorded the right of the Entente for Eastern Galicia, whereas on 2 December 1919, the Paris Peace Conference declined to grant Poland a mandate to temporary rule Eastern Galicia. Secondly, the absence of the legal framework to speak on behalf of the UPR in international affairs (the Constitution of 28 January 1919 not being recognized meant that the UPR itself remained non-recognized) which automatically turned the political and military convention the Treaty of Warsaw into a personal agreement of two state leaders, i.e. Head of the state (Józef Piłsudski) and Supreme Otaman (Symon Petliura)[25]. Hence, in the author's opinion, the 1920 Treaty of Warsaw, as the Gray Rhino for Western Ukrainian statehood, is the end result of its various types, as suggested by Michele Wucker.

Therefore, my points to a very disheartening situation by saying that Galicia felt very much dissatisfied with the Treaty of Warsaw which subsequently deepened the rupture in the Ukrainian political camp and accelerated the move to running "Western Ukrainian state politics" independently, with the UPR politicians putting the whole blame on Galicians. He also adds that further undertakings of the Ukrainian political elite in Galicia give evidence of the Gray Rhino effect which Wucker calls "Creative Destruction" and "Unidentified Rhino" meaning the situation where the efforts spent are greater than the benefits achieved. Understandably, the WPUPR diplomatic potency should have been far stronger than in fact, it was at that time.

In the end of this part of study, I suggests that some lines of Ukraine's political history before World War II should be viewed as the Gray Rhino. In terms of time and space, the "nearest" events took place in Carpathian Ukraine. Here we talk about German arguments for the "Theory of Greater Ukraine", and Ukrainians and Germans getting closer in November-December 1938, attempts to "Europeanize" the Ukrainian issue in December 1938 – January 1939, Germany's reluctance in February 1939, and up to the situation when in late February the German foreign policy dumped the issues of Carpathian Ukraine. Therefore, the author thinks that the Gray Rhino reached Carpathian Ukraine on 5–11 March 1939 when the Germans abandoned Khust, and

[25] *Ereignisse in der Ukraine 1914–1922 deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe* von Theophil Hornykiewicz. Band IV, Philadelphia, Pa., USA, 1969, p. 274, 278, 307; *Ukraine and Poland in documents. 1918–1922.* Part I. Ed. by Taras Hunczak, New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto 1983, p. 419–421.

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twenty-four hours of the Ukrainian independence (on 14–15 March 1939) did not save it from the Gray Rhino trampling[26].

Thirdly, I feels driven to study the "animal" world of the Ukrainian political elite in Galicia by how the building of the state rose and fell in the days of the Ukrainian Revolution, by the colourful figures who exuded both splendour and vileness, and by the psycho-types the Ukrainian politics could boast about and feel ashamed of[27].

Using ideas, theories and typologies developed by Niccolò Machiavelli about Lions and Foxes, by Isaiah Berlin about Foxes and Hedgehogs, group selections for hatchlings, night herons, rats and geese by Kondrad Lorenz, or neurotic conditions of Rat Man and Wolf Man by Sigmund Freud, the author studies twelve famous representatives of "Galician" politics. They are Kost Levytsky, Yevhen Petrushevych, Kyrylo Trylovsky, Myron Tarnavsky, Ivan Makukh, Sydir Holubovych, Lonhyn Tsehelsky, Mykhailo Lozynsky, Osyp Nazaruk, Vasyl Paneiko, Dmytro Vitovsky and Yevhen Konovalets.

Noteworthy, the public space was available for political activities of the essay's characters long before the November Uprising and the proclamation of the WUPR. Even though the ZUNR future political animals were far from being children, their "allegiant" political culture backfired[28]. Their entering the "WUPR Zoo" was more like a game than a mindful decision for the sake of the independent future.

I provided wide explanations among which he point to "stumbling stones" in studying the "WUNR Zoo". The *first* stone is that most of the future political players do not provide any recollections of their childhood and adolescence. Am very critically about the fact that this "omission" has been corrected in memoirs written by Kyrylo Trylovsky, Myron Tarnavsky, Ivan Makukh and Osyp Nazaruk when being in their late years, or in life stories about Dmytro Vitovsky and Yevhen Konovalets. The *second* stumbling stone deals with the hierarchy, the ruling characters, and on a whole, the absence of any family or clan of Western Ukrainian politicians prior to the proclamation of the WUPR. Finally, the *third* stone puts the question whether Western Ukrainian politicians by and large being "loyal" to the constitutional order of the Habsburg monarch, were ready for their roles.

In my opinion doubts, the November Action was unlikely to change the mindset and the values of the political animals who were building the "WUPR Zoo" singly and jointly. Before the Uprising of 1 November 1918, Galicians were in the coordinate system of realism and idealism.

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[26] І. Монолатій, *Зоосад революції. Західноукраїнська державність 1918–1923 років і теорії випадковостей XX – початку XXI сторіч*, Івано-Франківськ 2020, с. 111–113.

[27] І. Набитович, „…Ліпше гетьманить хай лев оленями, аніж олень керманить почав би над львами" (Думки з приводу однієї небуденної книжки Івана Монолатія), https://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/dyskusiya/2820-igor-nabitovich-lipshe-getmanit-khaj-lev-olenyami-anizh-olen-kermanit-pochav-bi-nad-lvami-dumki-z-privodu-odnieji-nebudennoji-knizhki-ivana-monolatiya, inf. 15 IX 2023.

[28] I. Monolatii, *Między autonomią a państwowością. Próby instytucjonalizacji struktur przedstawicielskich i wykonawczych w Ukrainie po I wojnie światowej*, „Przegląd Sejmowy" 2019, nr 1(150), s. 154–171.

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In autumn 1918, the battle for Galicia as national "Piedmont", a springboard for unification, for Ukrainians and Poles entered a new, active phase, so Galician Ukrainians, their leaders in particular, suffered from a mix of problems, i.e. corporatism in terms of a social status, professional, financial and property relationship, changes in mindsets and far-left influences, social polarization in the milieu of social and professional groups, and above all the absence of a new political elite[29]. To add to that, human beings are quite complex, and their motives are not that simple, hence, the late-1918 Galician community was prone to a metaphoric unity which was an affinity through ethnic identity, nationality and church membership. The societal organisation could not help but foresee the rivalry for such a scarce resource as power. That being said, the "WUNR Zoo" problems started as soon as the competition of individuals become the key goal of their human activities.

In this case I articulated some short summarizing statements. Firstly, all political animals of the "WUPR Zoo" felt less than confident in themselves and/or their endeavours for the benefits of the Ukrainian Revolution. Secondly, almost all characters of this study except army men, were prone to infantilism, a sort of "children's disease" of Austrian loyalty. Thirdly, the transformation of the roles of political animals happened mainly because of external factors, not due to ideological beliefs and/or value orientations.

As the final comment, the author asserts, the life among animals implies fights, and if the animals are political then their fights are intra-party, and inter-personal interactions which were unlike to take place. For them, being in the imaginary "WUPR Zoo" was largely an escape from active politics, then an attempt to use politics, as scarce resource though, for some benefits. The "status" of Galician politicians was formed not only by their psycho-types and capabilities, but also by equality and inequality of such statuses in the system of interrelations between Galicia and Dnipro Ukraine.

My comments, that the "WUPR Zoo" was all men, masculine (say, the Zoo of males), and furthermore, such a mono-sex culture turned out to be the Achilles heel. To add to that, the WUPR political "males" were of older age, we saw them "fading", therefore "le premier sexe" of Western Ukrainian statehood was likely to be physically and politically impotent given the actual loss of this statehood in 1919[30]. In further studies, it would be worthwhile to find out the problem of the *sexual mentality* of politicians of the WUPR.

The "WUPR Zoo" can be better understood when using special tables compiled by the author, in particular the table of possible roles played by the political animals in the times of the WUPR and in the post-WUPR period. My conclusions once again asserts, it is impossible to apply elite "pure" types from European and American studies to run a "pure" experiment on Ukrainian Revolution actors, specifically in Galicia of 1918–1923.

[29] *Ereignisse in der Ukraine 1914–1922 deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe* von Theophil Hornykiewicz. Band I, Philadelphia, Pa., USA, 1966, p. XXIX–XXXVI.

[30] Zob.: M. Ridlay, *Czerwona Królowa. Płeć a ewolucja natury ludzkiej,* przeł. J. J. Bujarski, A. Milos, Poznań 1999.

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My *fourth* and final interpretation applies *the Butterfly Effect theory* by Edward Lorenz[31], an American mathematician and meteorologist, and tries to identify specific features of culture in the settings of the WUPR and the WPUPR.

My idea is not about finding cultural actors like artists, writers, publishers, theatre and educational workers during this short period of Western Ukrainian statehood (WUPR and WPUPR) who created the phenomenon of what the Ukrainian historical science adamantly calls "culture", because in fact, it never existed. Among prominent public figures one cannot find real innovators; they were just followers who copied cultural patterns that appeared and functioned in completely different ethno-cultural and geo-political circumstances and ruling political regimes which all disappeared in turmoil events of the revolutionary epoch that started in 1914[32].

I'm convinced that we still do not know about any prominent piece of art, literature or whatsoever creation that was produced by and under the influence of the WUPR when it was the state of western Ukrainians, or was dedicated to it. Everything we have today is the cultural product of the inter-war and further (diaspora) epochs. Works of culture, may they be called in this way, were unlikely to come into being given the short term of the Ukrainian state in Galicia and most unfavourable for cultural development factors.

Therefore, I formulates a few hypotheses or questions:

1) One cannot be quite confident when saying "the culture of the WUPR or WPUPR", but speak mainly about certain manifestations of the cultural life in Galicia during the war and political conflicts, the Ukrainian-Polish War in particular.
2) The cultural life of 1918–1919 lacked an institutional network (theatres, museums, libraries etc.).
3) Was the culture of the WUPR-WPUPR just a culture "without properties" (Galician as such) whose representatives chose the strategy that was oriented towards the all-Ukrainian culture, thus proving the absence of any sign of autonomism or separatism in the cultural life of 1918–1919?
4) Did the founders of Western Ukrainian statehood understand the importance of culture? This would open the way to understanding whether WUPR-WPUPR had any cultural policy, whether the development of 'culture' was seen as directly dependent on the support from the state.
5) Did the cultural life of those days end at the level of the civic society (but not at the level of, for example, governmental bodies)? Was it just unconscious imitation of successful cultural patterns of the previous epochs prior to 1914?

[31] E. N. Lorenz, *Predictability: Does the Flap of a Butterfly's Wings in Brazil Set off a Tornado in Texas,* https://fermatslibrary.com/s/predictability-does-the-flap-of-a-butterflys-wings-in-brazil-set-off-a-tornado-in-texas, inf. 16 IX 2023.

[32] Por.: L. Wolff, *Idea Galicji. Historia i fantazja w kulturze politycznej Habsburgów*, z ang. przeł. T. Bieroń, Kraków 2020, s. 569–587; J. Sowa, *Fantomowe ciało króla. Peryferyjne zmagania z nowoczesną formą*, Kraków 2011, s. 489–490.

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6) And finally, was the cultural life of 1918–1919 in Galicia catalysed by the events that were far remote in time, but could be recognized as "butterflies"?

My stresses that the answers to the above and other questions would provide the understanding of the type of the culture where a human being of the revolutionary epoch in Galicia found himself, was it the imperial or post-imperial. And furthermore, what was the culture by its aspiration? Was it socialist, radical or conservative? I states that the revolutionary epoch of 1914–1923 was the epoch of violence, the epoch of mass killings. Thus, the culture of that epoch was, rightfully or not, the *culture of murder* in the first place, while in the Galician conditions it had clear anti-Polish sounding.

To summarize this question, I convinces, the phenomenon that occurred historically in the times of the war and political conflicts in Galicia in 1918–1919 was not in fact a culture in its broad meaning, but a cult. In its essence, on the post-imperial Galician terrains this phenomenon was characteristic of *populus simplex* and/or idealistic motives of the hierarchical division of the world into *sacrum* and *profanum.* For this reason, the drama, the cultural one in particular that unfolded in Galicia in 1918–1919 (and because of the wider context of the *culture of murder* in the times of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1914–1923) could equally be an example of *the culture of the Vertep drama*[33].

Is the above said the reason why the 'Galician cultural situation' is a sample of the "traditional" world map that has remained untouched by Art Nouveau in all its splendour and/or ugliness? My answer is as follows, that never happened given the latent Ukrainian-Polish conflict in Galicia since the mid-19th – early 20th centuries along with a few political killings in 1900–1910 that symbolised the fight between the political cultures of two 'Galician Piedmonts'. Hence, the political killings of Marko Kahanets, Andrzej Kazimierz Potocki, Adam Kotsko, Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria (and even the death of Ivan Franko) when being powerful attractors and causing deterministic chaos for the Ukrainian-Polish relations in Galicia, impinged upon the way the imaginary culture of WUPR-WPUPR worked. Its core representative was not *Homo Ludens,* a "Playing Man" (this could have been in peaceful times), but *Homo Militaris* a "Military Man".

As the final comments, one should revert to the title of my thoughts-interpretations which reminds the reader that after the French Revolution Jardin des plantes ("Garden of Plants") in Paris got a small Zoo with animals from the royal menagerie at Versailles. One of its tasks was to enlighten people. I convinced, when the Ukrainian Revolution of 1914–1923 ended, nobody had any time to think of a *Ukrainian* zoological garden. Therefore, today it is important to look upon Black Swans, Gray Rhinos and other political animals of Western Ukrainian statehood through the lens of the randomness theory of the 20th – early 21st centuries, as well as apply some common sense. What is more important is that one should go beyond just looking, but identify those who are buffoons on the political scene of Ukraine, so that this small historic experience could finally teach *something* to *someone*.

[33] І. Монолатій, *Зоосад революції. Західноукраїнська державність 1918–1923 років і теорії випадковостей XX – початку XXI сторіч*, Івано-Франківськ 2020, с. 286.

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Thus, the problem-chronological composition of this article, the content and main provisions of which "depict" group ("community") and personal (individual) portrait of ethnic political actors of the Western Ukrainian statehood, is seen as a "bridge" that spans from the 1918–1923 to the present.

Abstract: In the article author focused on the understudied and disputable aspects of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1914–1923, mainly on how Western Ukrainian statehood was established and developed in 1918–1919, as well as some specific issues of the political history of the West-Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR) in 1918–1923. By applying the theories of randomness introduced by scientists in the 20th – early 21st centuries (generally, Nassim Nicholas Taleb, Michele Wucker, Peter Grassberger, Edward Lorenz), the author puts forward an approach to the events of the early 20th century Ukrainian history, which is completely different to what has been suggested before, in its "Galician" form.
Keywords: Ukrainian Revolution; Black Swan theory; Gray Rhino theory; Butterfly effect; West-Ukrainian People's Republic, Galicia, Ukraine, Poland.

Państwowość zachodnioukraińska 1918–1923 oraz teorie losowości XX – początku XXI w.
Streszczenie: W artykule autor skupił się na niedostatecznie zbadanych i dyskusyjnych aspektach rewolucji ukraińskiej w latach 1914–1923, głównie na sposobie tworzenia i rozwoju zachodnio-ukraińskiej państwowości w latach 1918–1919, a także na niektórych specyficznych zagadnieniach historii politycznej Zachodnio-Ukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej (ZURL) w latach 1918–1923. Stosując teorie losowości wprowadzone przez naukowców na przełomie XX i XXI w. (generalnie – Nassim Nicholas Taleb, Michele Wucker, Peter Grassberger, Edward Lorenz), autor proponuje zupełnie odmienne od dotychczas sugerowanego podejście do wydarzeń z historii Ukrainy początku XX w., w jej postaci „galicyjskiej".
Słowa kluczowe: rewolucja ukraińska, teoria czarnego łabędzia, teoria szarego nosorożca, efekt motyla, Zachodnioukraińska Republika Ludowa, Galicja, Ukraina, Polska.

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