LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES OF THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

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Abstract. The purpose of this research is to analyze the process of formation, legal regulation, and main areas of activity of the state gendarmerie, and the militia as the primary law enforcement agencies in the system of public order maintenance of the West Ukrainian People's Republic during the period from November 1918 to June 1919. *The research methodology* is based on the principles of historicism, scientific rigor, objectivity, and a systematic approach. The application of the methods of analysis, synthesis, and generalization made it possible to examine the processes of formation, legal framework, regional characteristics of operations, and the role of the state gendarmerie and the militia as the main structural components of the law enforcement system of the West Ukrainian People's Republic. The historical-comparative method enabled a comparative analysis of the formation and functioning of the militia bodies of the West Ukrainian People's Republic with the legal regulation of militia activities during the period of the "first" Ukrainian People's Republic, as well as the processes of formation and operation of law enforcement structures in Austria-Hungary. *Scientific Novelty.* Based on an examination of published sources and historiographical studies, this work investigates the organizational and legal foundations of the formation and operational characteristics of the state gendarmerie and police of the West Ukrainian People's Republic as key structures in the system of public order enforcement agencies during the state's initial period of existence, from November 1918 to June 1919. *Research findings* indicate that the process of establishing and developing law enforcement agencies in the Western Ukrainian People's Republic was well-thought-out and systematic in nature and proceeded in parallel with the processes of building the system of state authorities and judicial

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reform. The legislation of Austria-Hungary, which did not conflict with the interests of the West Ukrainian People's Republic was used as the basis for the legal regulation and development of the state gendarmerie. It was the state gendarmerie that played a key role in ensuring law and order in the West Ukrainian People's Republic. With the transfer of military units of the Ukrainian Galician Army across the Zbruch River, the state gendarmerie will come under the command of the convoy command and, therefore, will no longer perform law enforcement functions within the state but will carry them out solely as part of the Armed Forces of the West Ukrainian People's Republic. The lack of legislative regulation governing the activities of the militia, in contrast to the state gendarmerie, will affect the process of its formation, organizational development, and systematic, effective operation. Although the militia structures, within the system of public order enforcement agencies, should nevertheless be regarded as a public body that, alongside the state gendarmerie, was tasked with maintaining public order.

INTRODUCTION

The events of October-November 1918 marked the beginning, for Ukrainians in the western territories of Ukraine, of processes aimed at reviving their own state, which were of a national-democratic nature. The emergence and establishment of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (hereinafter – WUPR) was a natural consequence of centuries-old aspirations, the struggle of the Western Ukrainian population for the establishment of Ukrainian statehood in Eastern Galicia and throughout the western territories of Ukraine as a whole.

An objective examination of various aspects of the development program of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (from January 22, 1919 – WOUNR) requires consideration of its stages (in the context of our study, the events of the period from November 1918 to June 1919 are the subject of scientific analysis), each of which was characterized by specific features, methods, and means of state-building processes. The state-building processes of the WUPR were well-thought-out, consistent, and legally regulated at each of these stages, and their practical implementation under the conditions of the time had its own distinctive features, which differed quite significantly from the specifics of nation-building in the

"first" and "second" Ukrainian People's Republics (hereinafter – UPR) and the Ukrainian State [1, p. 241].

Amid the ongoing struggle for survival, the state institutions of the WUPR managed, on the whole, to establish sufficiently effective law enforcement agencies, including the state gendarmerie and the police, whose task was to ensure an effective mechanism for combating crime and maintaining public order under the complex conditions of the state-building processes of that time. Understanding the historical and legal experience at any stage of Ukrainian state-building is crucial for drawing profound lessons from both positive and negative experiences of the struggle and, based on these, shaping the enduring state-legal trends of the present.

Understanding the historical and legal conditions surrounding the formation and operation of public order enforcement agencies in the West Ukrainian People's Republic, as well as the specifics of their legal regulation and functioning, can serve as a positive model for the practical activities of Ukraine's law enforcement agencies amid the extremely complex conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war. The Comprehensive Strategic Plan for Reforming Law Enforcement Agencies as Part of Ukraine's Security and Defense Sector for 2023-2027, approved by Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 273/2023 of May 11, 2023, defines the overall goal of reforming law enforcement agencies as "[…] to improve their value orientations, organizational culture, management structure, and legislative regulation, in particular taking into account the needs of law enforcement practice" [24].

Thus, understanding – in the current context of the functioning of Ukraine's law enforcement system (the process of qualitative reform of which was initiated following the events of the Revolution of Dignity in 2013-2014) – the historical experience of the formation, reform, and practical activities of the public order agencies of WUPR, as well as the institutions of the state gendarmerie and the militia, determines the relevance of the chosen research topic.

Contemporary Ukrainian historiography on the history of the WUPR-WOUNR is substantial. Researchers such as V. Velykochy, O. Vivcharenko, P. Hai-Nyzhnyk, Y. Danilenko, M. Dzikovskyi, M. Kobyletskyi, M. Matskevych, V. Ortynskyi, V. Prus, L. Protosavitska, V. Sidak, B. Tyshchyk, I. Terlyuk, D. Futuluychuk, O. Shkuratenko, and others [12]. Of particular

scholarly value to researchers are the bibliographic indexes published by scholars from the Carpathian region [7], collections of documents and materials on the history of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic from 1918 to 1923 – which contain documents on the formation and development of law enforcement agencies [8] – as well as materials from international and all-Ukrainian scientific conferences dedicated to the anniversaries of theWUPR's establishment [10]. The in-depth source-critical study conducted by Carpathian scholar V. Velykochiy deserves special attention; it represents one of the first attempts in historiography to comprehensively examine the body of sources for studying state-building in the WUPR. The scholar proposed a classification of sources, offered a fresh interpretation of documents already known to the academic community, and introduced into scholarly circulation new documents and materials concerning both the process of formation and the specific features of the functioning of law enforcement agencies [1]. The list of fundamental scholarly studies should also include the research by V. Sidak, whose monograph is based primarily on documents from nearly three dozen archival fonds that were first made accessible only after 1991, including the archives of the Security Service of Ukraine. Focusing primarily on the formation and activities of national special services during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921, V. Sidak also examines the functioning of the state and railway gendarmerie of the West Ukrainian People's Republic [20]. Researcher A. Stetsyshyn focused on the state-legal views of K. Levytsky, Prime Minister of the WUPR, his conceptual vision for the development of the law enforcement system as a whole, and the organization of the gendarmerie institution [15]. In 2021, scholars at the Western Ukrainian National University undertook one of the first attempts at a comprehensive analysis of the history of Ukraine's law enforcement agencies from ancient times to the present, in which due attention was given to the legal regulation of the formation and activities of the WUPR's law enforcement agencies [6].

In general, the characteristic features of contemporary scholarly works are as follows: first, researchers largely focus on analyzing the structure and activities of the state gendarmerie as an institution within the public order system; second, no separate publication has been devoted to the issue of the formation and activities of the militia within the Western Ukrainian People's Republic's law enforcement system; consequently,

virtually all studies on the militia give it only fragmentary attention, and its activities are largely analyzed in the context of the functioning of the state gendarmerie. Third, the vast majority of scholarly articles focus on researching individual aspects of the activities of the state gendarmerie of the WUPR- WOUNR. Fourth, only a small number of authors use archival sources or existing published archival documents; some scholarly articles also take on a compilatory nature, drawing from already well-established research. Fifth, a number of authors, while citing the works of leading scholars in the history of the WUPR- WOUNR, fail to critically evaluate certain historical claims regarding the state gendarmerie (particularly concerning its numerical strength during specific periods of its operation), which, according to contemporary in-depth archival research, require verification. Sixth, a number of works provide only a fragmentary account of the activities of certain segments of the law enforcement structures of the WUPR- WOUNR, without distinguishing between the two periods of their operation and, consequently, without identifying the specific forms, methods, and characteristics of their activities. There is a need both for the verification of specific aspects of this research topic and for further systematic source-based studies.

Research Objective. Given the significance of issues related to the effective functioning and further reform of law enforcement agencies in Ukraine, as well as global security challenges, a comprehensive study was conducted on the formation and characteristics of the state gendarmerie within the system of public order enforcement agencies of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR) and the Western Oblast of the Ukrainian National Repablic (WOUNR) during the first period of their operation (November 1918 - June 1919).

This objective made it possible to formulate the following research **tasks:** to analyze the organizational and legal foundations of the formation of the state gendarmerie in the WUPR-WOUNR; to highlight the characteristics of the regional formation and development of state gendarmerie structures, their chain of command, governing bodies, staffing levels, functions, and duties; to examine the requirements for candidates, the specifics of training, and the benefits package for state gendarmerie personnel; to reveal the characteristics of the process of forming the police at the regional level in the context of establishing local government bodies

in the WUPR; to examine the interaction with the state gendarmerie; to analyze approaches to the designation, personnel strength of the police force, and its role within the system of public order enforcement agencies.

1. The State Gendarmerie – the Foundation of Public Order in the WUPR

Amid the challenging conditions of building a young state (the Polish-Ukrainian War), increased activity by foreign intelligence services, the destructive activities of Polish underground groups, the deterioration of the domestic political situation amid wartime turmoil, problems in the functioning of the state administrative apparatus, complications with mobilization policy, demoralization and desertion in the army, and mounting socioeconomic problems – all of which collectively contributed to a rise in criminal activity and pointed to the urgent need to establish state institutions tasked with maintaining public order, protecting vital national economic facilities, and upholding proper order in society [20, p. 87].

The Ukrainian National Council (hereinafter – UNC), in its first proclamation, "People of Ukraine!" called on local Ukrainian civil and military authorities to "immediately restore order, public safety, and peace" [3, p. 4]. The UNC's proclamation of November 1, 1918, stated that all soldiers of Ukrainian nationality were subject exclusively to the Ukrainian National Council and to the orders of the military bodies appointed by it. All of them were to come to its defense. The state required organized and disciplined public order enforcement bodies [25, p. 99; 4, p. 183].

In fact, the process of establishing public order agencies proceeded in parallel with the formation of the civil and military judicial systems in the WUPR [1, p. 199]. The establishment of the state gendarmerie took place pursuant to a decree of the State Secretariat of the WUPR, based on the provisions of the Austrian Gendarmerie Act of December 25, 1894, insofar as they did not conflict with the interests of the Ukrainian state [16, pp. 77-78]. In fact, as early as November 6, 1918, the UNC adopted a resolution to establish the Corps of the Ukrainian State Gendarmerie. According to this resolution, the existing county units were to continue their work, relying on the old Austro-Hungarian legal framework until the UNC developed a new one. Military and civilian institutions were not permitted to interfere in the work or personnel decisions regarding the establishment

of the state gendarmerie [13, p. 403]. This militarized state gendarmerie was entrusted with the functions of "[…] maintaining public order, combating crime and smuggling, preventing offenses, countering espionage and desertion, protecting the army's rear, property, and communications, conducting requisitions in the interests of the military, etc." [2, p. 5].

Both the Prime Minister and the State Secretary of Internal Affairs of the WUPR needed to urgently resolve a range of pressing issues. First, there was a lack of a regulatory framework for effective cooperation among all state and legal institutions, especially law enforcement agencies. Second, there was a shortage not only of competent managerial personnel but also of rank-and-file law enforcement officers capable of effectively performing their assigned duties. Finally, there was an obvious shortage in that society of a sufficient number of people with practical experience working in law enforcement agencies. In assessing the role of K. Levytskyi, head of the WUPR government, in the establishment of the state gendarmerie, researcher A. Stetsyshyn points to the theoretical and legal principles underlying the Prime Minister's views: "First, guaranteeing citizens' right to privacy and the inviolability of private property; second, strict adherence to the rule of law by gendarmerie officers and the principle of humanism in their treatment of citizens, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation. It was precisely this that ensured the peaceful coexistence of various territorial communities in the towns and villages of Eastern Galicia, whose rights and freedoms were not infringed upon by the gendarmerie" [21, p. 117]. Prime Minister K. Levytsky and the head of the State Secretariat of Internal Affairs, I. Makukh, took the position that the gendarmerie's managerial personnel should be selected based on professional qualities rather than party-political preferences. This also determined their position regarding the non-interference of political party representatives in the selection of management personnel for the state gendarmerie. A. Stetsyshyn points to K. Levytsky's adherence to the principle of the supremacy of constitutional law in the development of both the institution of the State Gendarmerie and the formation of the legal framework governing the activities of public order enforcement agencies [21, p. 120].

Among the documents that laid the legal foundation for the development of the state gendarmerie were the laws of the Ukrainian National Council: "On the Corps of the Ukrainian State Gendarmerie" of November 6,

1918, "On Amendments to the Law on Gendarmes" dated February 15, 1919, and the Decrees of the State Secretariat: on the establishment of the Corps of the Ukrainian State Gendarmerie dated November 13, 1918, and on the increase in pay for "soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the State Gendarmerie" dated April 1, 1919. Circulars from the State Secretariat of Internal Affairs to the State District Commissioners regarding non-interference in the work of the gendarmerie dated March 2 and 13, 1919 [1, p. 199].

As early as November 10, 1918, in his first order, Commandant L. Indyshevsky emphasized that the gendarmerie would be guided in its daily work by existing regulations. Each county commander was tasked with independently exercising leadership within the county, laying the foundations, and developing the structures of the gendarmerie. The leadership tasked the already formed county gendarmerie units with submitting weekly objective reports on both the political situation in the region (with an emphasis on monitoring the Bolshevik movement) and the work of the gendarmerie [2, p. 52].

The government decree of November 13, 1918, "On the Establishment of the State Gendarmerie," outlined the procedures for practical organizational and technical measures regarding the formation of the State Gendarmerie within the law enforcement system; it required district military commanders and county commissioners to use the material and technical resources of the disbanded gendarmerie of the Habsburg Empire to establish a Ukrainian gendarmerie in its place [13, p. 404].

The gendarmerie's headquarters, initially led by L. Indyshevsky – who was succeeded by O. Krasitsky in February 1919 – was based in the city of Lviv; over time, it moved to Ternopil and later to Stanislaviv. The official language was Ukrainian. To oversee the day-to-day operations of the Corps of the Ukrainian State Gendarmerie, the State Secretariat of Internal Affairs established the position of inspector, to which the leaders of the WUPR appointed Colonel O. Havansky of the former Austrian gendarmerie [13, p. 404].

In November 1918, the State Gendarmerie was under dual command: the State Secretariat of Military Affairs (headed by D. Vitovsky), which oversaw its operations through the heads of district military commands, and the State Secretariat of Internal Affairs (headed by I. Makukh), which

directed its activities through county commissioners. The next level down consisted of the district commands of the State Gendarmerie, the number and names of which corresponded to the number of military districts. Each district command comprised two or three county commands. The primary level of the gendarmerie's organizational structure consisted of rural and urban outposts [16, p. 77].

Since a military-administrative division into the Lviv, Ternopil, and Stanislav military regions had been introduced on the territory of the WUPR, the gendarmerie structures in those regions were led by so-called "exposed officers," who were accountable to the high command of the State Gendarmerie. Regarding the number of district departments established in these regions, contemporary historiography reveals a variety of approaches. Some scholars cite 22 gendarmerie departments [16, p. 79; 9]. V. Sidak, in his own thorough study, cites 23 departments [20, p. 112]. Clearly, further source-based research is needed here to verify the existing approaches.

Archival documents reveal information about the inception and functioning of the system of public order agencies at the regional level. For example, in a report by Osip Tanchakovsky, commissioner of the Pidhaetskyi County, to the UNC regarding the events of November 1918, it is specifically noted that "the gendarmerie has resumed its functions and is under our control […]" [1, p. 125]. In a report to the UNC on the situation in the district dated November 16, 1918, the Radekhiv District Military Command stated: "The overall structure of the district gendarmerie, as well as that of the police, has not yet been determined […]. The district gendarmerie is currently being organized by the district commandant. It consists of former gendarmes from our Ukrainian district and soldiers who have received gendarmerie training; currently, their number amounts to 25 people" [1, p. 126]. These and similar documents allow us to reconstruct the historical context of the rather complex process of forming law enforcement structures in the reborn Ukrainian state. Reports, information, and editorial articles published in the press of that time make it possible to analyze the main areas of activity of the security forces and law enforcement agencies, the quality of their performance of assigned duties, and the level of cooperation with regional government institutions.

The adoption on February 15, 1919, of the WUPR Law "On the State Gendarmerie" undoubtedly marked the beginning of a qualitatively

new period in the functioning and further improvement of the state gendarmerie. Taking into account the foundations of the state structure and the mechanisms of organizing power and governance in the WUPR, the new law regulated the legal status of the State Gendarmerie, its chain of command, and its territorial organization. The law outlined the rights and duties of gendarmes, defined the procedures for recruitment and service, as well as matters concerning the dismissal of gendarmes, and set forth the criteria for the professional selection of gendarmes – both officers and enlisted personnel. Structurally, the law consisted of two chapters and forty paragraphs. Undoubtedly, just as in the early days of the formation of the state gendarmerie, the new law was based on legislative developments dating back to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with significant features dictated by the new realities of socio-political changes in the region following the establishment of the West Ukrainian People's Republic [16, p. 80]. Scholars quite rightly emphasize the importance and authority of the State Gendarmerie within the system of government of the Ukrainian state, whose legal status was defined by a normative legal act of the WUPR's highest legislative and representative body. In accordance with the Law "On the State Gendarmerie," a series of subordinate legal acts – resolutions, instructions, and orders – was issued to regulate in detail the structure and conditions of social protection for gendarmes [22, p. 347].

Under the new law, the State Gendarmerie was subordinate to the State Secretariat of Internal Affairs and, organizationally, was part of its fourth department, "Gendarmerie and Police," headed by Major Voloshchuk. Military laws and disciplinary statutes applied to the corps' personnel [20, pp. 203–204]. The new law effectively perpetuated dual subordination. Given the vicissitudes of the socioeconomic and political situation in the region, and the operational situation, district commissioners had the right to redeploy the gendarmerie's forces. In matters of professional training, military affairs, service, administrative and logistical operations, and official duties, local units of the state gendarmerie were strictly subordinate to higher-level commands.

The gendarmerie's duties included providing assistance to military and civilian institutions as needed, though the latter were prohibited from interfering in decisions made by gendarmerie leadership. State gendarmerie units were also required to provide legal assistance to the best of their

ability to the prosecutor's office and the judiciary. At the same time, the State Gendarmerie was granted the right to request the necessary assistance from civil and military authorities on matters concerning the maintenance of public order and the fight against crime. In carrying out its duties, the State Gendarmerie was required to strictly adhere to the applicable regulatory framework. As a military structure, the State Gendarmerie was obligated to carry out all instructions and orders without assessing their legality in terms of compliance with current legislation. The official who issued an instruction or order was personally responsible for its legality. It was precisely for this purpose that a practice became established within the State Gendarmerie units to issue all orders and directives in writing, to the extent that martial law conditions permitted [16, p. 82].

The law defined the circumstances under which State Gendarmerie officers could use their service firearms while performing their duties: "In cases of 'necessary' self-defense when it is necessary to repel an attack on a gendarmerie officer or other persons, if such an attack threatened their lives and if it was impossible to repel the attack by any other means; when a person subject to arrest resists; when a dangerous criminal attempts to escape, if there is no other way to apprehend him" [16, p. 83].

State gendarmerie officers were granted "the right to use the services of confidential informants in the course of their duties, to conduct visual surveillance of persons of operational interest, to question offenders, criminals, witnesses, and victims, to conduct inspections and searches of residential and office premises and of individuals, to engage in intelligence gathering (meaning personal searches and intelligence-gathering interviews), monitor telephone conversations and postal and telegraph correspondence, […] was granted the right to summon citizens for questioning, […] and performed the functions of an investigative body with the right to engage in operational and investigative activities" [16, p. 83].

The law established the requirements for candidates seeking service in the State Gendarmerie: "[…] a candidate must be a citizen of the West Ukrainian People's Republic, lead an impeccable lifestyle, possess positive moral qualities and a sharp mind, be between 20 and 40 years of age, unmarried or a childless widower, of tall stature, physically healthy and well-developed, able to read, write, and count well, and know the official

language as well as the language of that segment of the non-Ukrainian population residing in the territory where the future gendarme is expected to serve […]" [13, p. 405]. For final acceptance into service, it was necessary to complete a one-year probationary period, which was counted toward the total term of service in the gendarmerie. Afterward, the candidate took a commission exam, the panel for which was composed of representatives of the local administration and senior officials of the department. Those admitted to the State Gendarmerie Corps took the oath of office and pledged to serve for four years [5, p. 229].

The law also established disciplinary penalties for gendarmerie officers in the event of a breach of their official duties: a reprimand; detention for up to 30 days; demotion; or dismissal from service. The conditions for dismissal of State Gendarmerie officers included: "failure to demonstrate aptitude for service in the Gendarmerie during the probationary period; upon completion of the prescribed term of service; on health grounds; due to family circumstances (with the permission of the State Secretary of Internal Affairs); in the event of committing a crime or serious misconduct (in this case, the dismissed officer was required to complete the remaining term of service in the gendarmerie as part of the reserve forces, if he was still subject to military service obligations based on his age); during staff reductions" [11].

The benefits package for State Gendarmerie personnel and their family members was also standardized. This included "[…] provision of housing, the granting of pensions for length of service and in connection with the loss of working capacity during service, as well as pensions and lump-sum payments to the widows and children of a gendarme in the event of his death while performing official duties, etc." [20, p. 134]. It should be emphasized that the adoption of the law made it possible to increase the gendarmes' pay by 100 percent. At the same time, issues related to employees' desire to start their own families appear somewhat controversial in today's context. For example, an officer with the rank of colonel had to obtain permission for this from the Head of State, while a lieutenant colonel and lower ranks, down to a corporal, had to obtain it from the State Secretary of Internal Affairs [20, p. 135].

The law and a series of subordinate acts supplementing it also contained a number of shortcomings. First, the key functional tasks and areas of

activity of the State Gendarmerie, as well as its powers and the procedural rights of its officers, were not clearly defined. Second, the internal structure of the gendarmerie's central units and the procedures for interacting with higher authorities required more detailed clarification. Third, the regulatory acts governing the activities of the State Gendarmerie did not provide even general regulations conserning "[…] issues of classified documentation and the categories of cases under the jurisdiction of the State Gendarmerie, the fundamentals of undercover operations, interaction with investigative bodies and other special services, the conduct of special operations, etc." [20, p. 143].

Finally, the issue of the numerical strength of the State Gendarmerie of the WUPR-WOUNR requires verification. In most contemporary publications on the history of the State Gendarmerie of the WUPR, authors typically compile data from M. Stakhiv's work "Western Ukraine and the Policies of Poland, Russia, and the West (1772–1918)," which specifies the strength and combat composition of the State Gendarmerie in the spring of 1919: "6 sergeants major, 25 sergeants and ensigns, 100 gendarmes, and 400 probationary gendarmes" [1, p. 137]. Contemporary researchers of the history of the West Ukrainian People's Republic repeat these figures in their works. However, as V. Velykochy notes, M. Stakhiv himself does not cite the source of this information in his own monograph. Y. Danilenko notes that "in the spring of 1919, the Ukrainian State Gendarmerie had 6 sergeants major, 25 centurions and ensigns, 1,000 gendarmes, and 4,000 probationary gendarmes (trainees)" [5, p. 229]. In the author's opinion, the data presented by V. Sidak – based on documents from numerous archives – appear more objective today; he notes that "[…] the strength of the Gendarmerie before its retreat across the Zbruch River in July 1919 was as follows: 6 sergeants major, approximately 25 centurions and ensigns, 1,000 qualified gendarmes, 400 probationary gendarmes, and 3,000 militiamen. There was one non-commissioned officer for every approximately 155 gendarmes. Through probationary service and practical training, the professional level of the personnel gradually improved. In May 1919, after passing an exam, 7 junior non-commissioned officers were promoted to the rank of non-commissioned officer" [20, p. 149].

2. The Militia in the WUPR's Law and Order System

The establishment of public order agencies in the young Republic was initiated by the November Uprising of 1918, which necessitated not only the rapid restoration of state functions both centrally and locally – amid the extremely difficult conditions of the Polish-Ukrainian war – the difficulties of political, social, and economic life, but also the urgent need to build the state's internal and external security agencies.

The Ukrainian political leadership ordered local political leaders to immediately take control of all state institutions, including law enforcement agencies. The Ukrainian National Council called on local political leaders to immediately lead the process of rebuilding state life and to ensure public safety and peace [9, p. 4] . Like the state gendarmerie, the police – as an integral part of the law enforcement system – were also being formed in parallel with the establishment of the civil and military judicial systems in the WUPR [1, p. 199]. This is confirmed by reports from regional authorities, which attest to the self-governing efforts of local communities in maintaining law and order. Here is how Centurion I. Kozak described these processes: "During the coup on November 1, 1918, all gendarmerie stations were disarmed. However, given the need for security, a so-called militia composed of volunteers was formed in each locality […]. In areas where Ukrainian gendarmes had been stationed prior to the coup, they took over the organization of the militia […]. However, there were still too few of them in Eastern Galicia. Therefore, the militia was largely recruited from people who had no qualifications for this service. This prompted the county centers to immediately set about organizing a proper security force. In several counties, this task was voluntarily undertaken by non-Ukrainian officers (mainly Germans), former Austrian unit commanders. These were, however, exceptional cases, so that, until the arrival of Ukrainian officers, the organizational work fell primarily to senior gendarmerie officers of Ukrainian ethnicity who had served in Eastern Galicia [...] or who had managed to return home from abroad in the very first days" [19, pp. 184–185].

The process of establishing and developing public order agencies is documented in records detailing the establishment of the Ukrainian state's authority in the western territories in November 1918. For example, a report from the Radekhiv Military Command of the UPR to the Council on the

situation in the county, dated November 16, 1918, stated: "The general structure of the county gendarmerie, as well as that of the police, has not yet been determined […]. The county gendarmerie is currently being organized by the county commandant. It consists of former gendarmes from our Ukrainian district and soldiers who have received gendarmerie training; currently, their number totals 25 people" [1, pp. 201–202]. An analysis of the documents suggests that the process of forming the militia was viewed as a component of public order enforcement agencies and took place in parallel with the development of the state gendarmerie. For example, O. Maksymiuk, a representative of the UNC, while analyzing the events in the Birsk County on November 8, 1918, noted that "the gendarmerie is taking over the organization of the militia in the county" [1, p. 202]. Y. Zhmur, the military commandant in Stoyaniv, Radekhiv County, reported to the UNC that "[…] initially, a local police force was organized in this town, which took over […] all equipment from the local units of the former Austrian army, disarmed them, and sent the foreigners home via Sokal; thereafter, it proceeded to organize local gendarmerie units" [1, p. 202].

It should be emphasized that, unlike the state gendarmerie, there was no regulatory act adopted by the higher authorities and administrative bodies of the WUPR to regulate the legal status of the militia. By comparison, during the time of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the process of forming police structures was standardized, even though the regulatory acts of the Provisional Government were largely used with amendments and additions (the Resolution "On the Establishment of the Police" (March 14, 1917), circulars from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Provisional Government regarding the staffing of police agencies ("On the Acceptance of Former Military Officers into Police Service" dated March 15, 1917, and "On Persons Eligible to Join the Police" dated March 22, 1917) [6, p. 152]. According to V. Velykochiy, no such document has been found in the archives. Reports from local officials regarding the establishment of the UNC's authority in the region's counties in November 1918 indicate that "the formation of local police forces took place under the direction of administrative bodies and was regulated by them" [1, pp. 202–203].

The lack of legislative regulation of police activities led to a proliferation of various names for this law enforcement structure within the system of public order agencies of the WUPR-WOUNR. According to researcher

V. Velykochiy, most documents use the term "police" with a clear indication of its status: county, city, village, economic, etc. [1, p. 203]. For example, one of the documents describing the course of events in November 1918 in the Horodok County states: "An economic police force has been organized in every village" [15, pp. 224–225]. In a report by Zboriv County Commissioner Nalyvaiko to the UNC dated November 9, 1918, regarding the situation in the town of Pomoryany, it was stated: "The police force is organized into county, municipal, and rural units" [9, p. 210]. Osyp Tanchakovsky, the Pidhaichchyna District Commissioner, summarized in his report to the UNC dated November 9, 1918, that in this region the militia was formed under the direct leadership of community commissioners as "armed night watchmen" [1, p. 203]. It is evident that the development of the militia was significantly influenced by the experience of police operations during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the Austrian authorities did not limit themselves to a single focus of police activity, but applied the principle of specialization in structuring its police system. This was reflected in the creation and operation of specialized police units in Galicia, including the highway, military, field, medical, and commercial police, among others. A positive aspect of this approach was the maintenance, at a sufficiently high level, of public order and the rule of law in the western territories of Ukraine. The negative consequences were manifested, first and foremost, "[…] in the activities of the political police, which hindered the implementation of the democratic principles enshrined in Austrian legislation" [6, p. 135]. Scholar M. Lutskyi uses the term "people's militia," noting its emergence in certain regions as a self-defense force [13, p. 406]. P. Hai-Nyzhnyk and I. Furman also point to the formation by the authorities of the West Ukrainian People's Republic of a "people's militia" that was elected at assemblies and public meetings [2, p. 50]. A. Hrubinko notes the formation of a "people's militia" in the counties, which was established simultaneously with the structures of the state gendarmerie, while in cities such as Lviv, Husiatyn, Shchyrets, Chortkiv, Stanislaviv, and Ternopil, units of the Jewish militia were active [4, p. 185] . V. Sidak, an authoritative researcher on Ukrainian special services during the period of the Ukrainian liberation struggle of 1917-1921, writes about the formation in November 1918 of volunteer units of the "state militia," which recruited people without proper qualifications, many of whom sought in this way to avoid

conscription into the military units of the Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA), and it was precisely these factors that were key to the inability of this branch of the young Republic's law enforcement agencies to professionally carry out the tasks assigned to it [20, pp. 203-204]. The regional specificity and the willingness of the local Ukrainian elite to take an active part in the processes of establishing law enforcement structures are evidenced by the experience of forming the "people's militia," initiated by the communities of the Sokal County, where Ukrainian Sich organizations undertook the development of its organizational network [14, p. 113].

As auxiliary units, the militia units were subordinate to the state gendarmerie, and civilian institutions and military structures were prohibited from interfering in their activities [13, p. 403].

The issue of the numerical strength of the militia within the system of public order enforcement agencies of the WUPR-WOUNR also deserves special attention. It should be emphasized that an objective examination of this issue – as, incidentally, of the numerical strength of the state gendarmerie – requires further source-based research and verification of existing data. In a number of scholarly publications, there is no diversity of approaches to this issue; rather, a compilatory approach is taken, with references to the works of researchers who are authorities on the topics of state-building and law-making in the WUPR. Thus, V. Sidak cites the figure of "3,000 police officers" as of July 1919 [20, pp. 203-204] M. Lutsky [13, p. 406], B. Tyshchyk, O. Vivcharenko [23, p. 203], M. Lytvyn, K. Naumenko [14, p. 281], O. Pavlyshyn [17, pp. 128-129]. At the same time, as V. Velykochyy rightly notes, no documentary evidence supporting these figures has been found in sources on the history of the WUPR [1, pp. 203-204]. In fact, we share the views of the Ivano-Frankivsk-based researcher, who, based on an analysis of archival sources, attempted to estimate the numerical strength of the police force. In his calculations, V. Velykochiy refers to a report dated November 1, 1918, from the Radekhiv Military District Command of the UPR to the UNC regarding the situation in the region: "In the towns of Radekhiv, Kholoyiv, and Stoyaniv, given the large amount of military equipment, the strength of the police ranges from 186 to 75 to 60, for a total of 321 men. In other localities, the police force numbers between 5 and 10 men, and in rural areas, given the local circumstances (a larger number of Poles or unreliable individuals), up to

25 men. The total number of police in the county, as follows from this report, already amounted to 960 people in November 1918" [1, pp. 203-204]. The author asserts that if one takes into account that the number of counties during the first period of the WUPR's existence (November 1918 – July 1919) was 48 (including those occupied by Polish troops), the figure of 3,000 police officers in the WUPR-WOUNR is unlikely and therefore requires further verification through primary sources.

Unjustifiably little attention has been paid in contemporary historiography of the WUPR-WOUNR has been given to the issue of the mutiny of the Drohobych police company – formed of townspeople – against the Ukrainian county authorities in Drohobych on April 14, 1919. The preconditions for the uprising were the refusal to recognize the appointed military ranks and the election of their own, physical violence, and the murder of one of the riflemen, and the decision by the commandant of Drohobych, Major I. Hrabovetskyi, to send the police company to the front. Although the police company temporarily took control of the military and civilian leadership of the Drohobych county, the police station, and the railway station, the uprising did not gain significant momentum and was suppressed by the Hutsul Kuren of the Galician Army, which had arrived from the front, and an armored train from the "Rudka," it was suppressed, and its active participants were punished. This uprising highlighted the dire circumstances, growing fatigue and discontent among the population, the complex socioeconomic situation, and rampant corruption [18, p. 124].

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, the scientific analysis of the formation and activities of the WUPR's State Gendarmerie and Militia from November 1918 to June 1919 allows us to draw the following conclusions:

– First, "[…] the state institutions of the WUPR refrained from excessive revolutionary fervor and the radicalism inherent in it across all spheres of state and public life. This fact demonstrated its overriding intention to create a state that would be guided in its activities by established legal norms" [1, p. 213]. This significantly distinguished the WUPR from the state-building processes of the "First" and "Second" Ukrainian People's Republics (UPR) and Pavlo Skoropadsky's Ukrainian State;

– Second, the legal framework for the establishment and operations of the WUPR State Gendarmerie consisted of the old legislation of Austria-Hungary, which did not conflict with the interests of the Ukrainian state. The higher state institutions of the WUPR quickly managed to create a fairly effective system of public order enforcement agencies, which, in turn, focused on addressing a range of issues related to the work of law enforcement agencies – such as their place within the state apparatus and internal organizational matters concerning their operations, particularly those of the State Gendarmerie;

– Third, the documents point to the consistency and purposefulness of the formation and consolidation of the system of public order enforcement agencies, within the context of the nationwide trends in the formation of the WUPR, which was based on the regulatory and legal framework in effect at the time, taking into account the specific national and political nature of the development of Western Ukrainian society from November 1918 to June 1919;

– Fourth, with the transfer of units of the Ukrainian Galician Army across the Zbruch River, the structures of the state gendarmerie were placed under the command of the Convoy Command, whose functions included logistical support and maintaining order in the army's areas of deployment;

– Fifth, the police force, which, within the system of public order enforcement agencies of the WUPR-WOUNR, alongside the state gendarmerie, was viewed by the Republic's leaders as a force capable of helping to ensure law and order during difficult revolutionary times, unfortunately did not receive the necessary legal framework, which, in our opinion, had a negative impact on its organizational and practical activities;

– Sixth, despite the variety of scholarly approaches to its conceptual definition, the most acceptable term – and this is confirmed by documentary evidence – is "militia," which was, after all, a public body that, together with the State Gendarmerie, was tasked with maintaining law and order in the region.

In fact, with the start of the second phase of the WUPR-WOUNR's activities (from June – July 1919), the state gendarmerie and police forces no longer performed public order functions within the state but carried them out solely as part of its Armed Forces.

Promising areas for further research include continuing source-based research – not only in Ukrainian archives – which could potentially lead to the discovery of documents regarding the possible legislative regulation of the activities of the WUPR's law enforcement agencies, particularly the police forces, and verify data on their numerical strength.

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