

Edited by RALPH LINDHEIM and
GEORGE S.N. LUCKYJ

Towards an Intellectual
History of Ukraine:
An Anthology of
Ukrainian Thought
from 1710 to 1995

Published by the University of Toronto Press
in association with the
Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc.

Toronto Buffalo London

Contents

PREFACE	ix
Introduction	3
1 The Bendery Constitution (abridgment)	53
2 Sermon on Royal Authority and Honour (excerpt) TEOFAN PROKOPOVYCH	65
3 A Talk between Great Russia and Little Russia (excerpt) SEMEN DIVOVYCH	69
4 A Submission to the Legislative Commission (excerpt) HRYHORII POLETYKA	71
5 The Serpent's Flood (excerpt) HRYHORII SKOVORODA	74
6 <i>Istoriia Rusov</i> (excerpts)	82
7 Letters (excerpts) NIKOLAI GOGOL	88
8 The Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People (excerpt) MYKOLA KOSTOMAROV	94
9 Preface to an Unpublished Edition of <i>Kobzar</i> TARAS SHEVCHENKO	101

vi Contents

10	Epilogue to <i>The Black Council</i> PANTELEIMON KULISH	105
11	Two Russian Nationalities (excerpts) MYKOLA KOSTOMAROV	122
12	A Letter to the Editor of <i>Kolokol</i> MYKOLA KOSTOMAROV	135
13	The Science of the Human Spirit (excerpts) PAMFIL IURKEVYCH	146
14	The Lost Epoch (abridgment) MYKHAILO DRAHOMANOV	152
15	Polish Policy towards Rus' (excerpts) STEPAN KACHALA	162
16	The Problem of Denationalization (excerpt) OLEKSANDER POTÉBNIA	167
17	Draft Constitution for the Ukrainian Society in the Free Union MYKHAILO DRAHOMANOV	171
18	Ukrainianism versus Russianism (excerpts) IVAN NECHUI-LEVYTSKY	184
19	Letters from Dnieper Ukraine (excerpt) BORYS HRINCHENKO	188
20	Beyond the Limits of the Possible (abridgment) IVAN FRANKO	193
21	An Independent Ukraine (excerpt) MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKY	201
22	On the Issue of a Distinctive Ukrainian Culture (excerpt) BOHDAN KISTIAKOVSKY	216
23	A Free Ukraine MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY	227

24	Speech on National Minorities (excerpt) MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY	239
25	The Fourth Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada	243
26	The Rebirth of a Nation (excerpt) VOLODYMYR VYNNYCHENKO	248
27	Letters to My Brother Farmers (excerpts) VIACHESLAV LYPYNSKY	251
28	Nationalism (excerpt) DMYTRO DONTSOV	260
29	Pamphlets (excerpts) MYKOLA KHVYLOVY	269
30	Speeches (excerpts) MYKOLA SKRYPNYK	278
31	Ukrainian Reality and the Task of Women (excerpt) MILENA RUDNYTSKA	284
32	Dontsov's Nationalism (excerpts) OSYP NAZARUK	287
33	The Manifesto of the OUN	291
34	Declaration of the Ukrainian National Council	295
35	Our Teachings about the National State PETRO POLTAVA	297
36	Theses on the Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Reunion of Ukraine with Russia (excerpt)	303
37	Little-Russianism IEVHEN MALANIUK	316
38	Internationalism or Russification? (excerpt) IVAN DZIUBA	330

viii Contents

39	Program of the Popular Movement for the Restructuring of Ukraine (excerpts)	341
40	Constitution of Ukraine: Draft (excerpts)	363
41	The Manifesto of the Ukrainian Intelligentsia	394
42	Ukraine without Ukrainians? MYKOLA RIABCHUK	400
	DATES IN UKRAINIAN HISTORY	405
	SOURCES AND PERMISSIONS	407
	INDEX OF NAMES AND PLACES	411