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**UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION TO LATIN AMERICA COUNTRIES:
HISTORIOSOPHY ASPECT**

Annotation. *The goal of the work* is to investigate reasons, character and periodization of Ukrainian emigration to Latin America countries as well as to define the ontological status of each emigration wave and to reveal common features of Ukrainian foreign communities in Latin America as a peculiar socio-cultural phenomenon. **The methodological foundation** of the work is based on interdisciplinary approach. The leading research principles are objectivity, historicism, special historical, general scientific and philosophical approaches. The work foregrounds methods of philosophical reflexion, systemic and critical analysis of historiographical facts and comparative-historical one. **The scientific novelty** of the work is in comprehending Ukrainian emigration to Latin America countries in context of being rootedness of man and social-philosophical understanding of emigration. **Conclusions.** While the most attractive for Ukrainian emigrants were Argentina and Brazil, other countries as Bolivia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Chile were opted for only during certain periods. Ukrainian big diasporas were rather compact in Argentina and Brazil, whereas small diasporas in other countries were rather disperse. Open-mindedness, tolerance, devotion to national traditions, their preservation and enrichment, establishing of connection between emigrants of different generations, interaction between

diasporas as well as intensive participation in process of culture-making both in recipient country and in Homeland – were the common features of Ukrainians in diasporas. Each emigration wave has certain ontological status: first wave emigrants tried to take roots at new place both locally and existentially; second wave emigrants treated emigration as a temporarily situation; the third wave had immanent-ontological character; the fourth wave sought for freedom; the fifth wave representatives tried to take roots and integrate themselves in the society.

Key words: Ukrainian emigration, countries of Latin America, waves of emigration, ontological status, being rootedness of man.

УКРАЇНЬСЬКА ЕМІГРАЦІЯ ДО КРАЇН ЛАТИНСЬКОЇ АМЕРИКИ: ІСТОРИСОФСЬКИЙ АСПЕКТ

Анотація. *Мета роботи* полягає у дослідженні причин, характеру, періодизації української еміграції до країн Латинської Америки, визначенні онтологічного статусу кожної з її хвиль, виявленні загальних рис латиноамериканських осередків закордонного українства як особливого соціально-культурного феномену. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить комплексний міждисциплінарний підхід. Провідними у дослідженні є принципи об'єктивності та історизму, конкретно-історичний підхід, загальнонаукові та загальнофілософські методи. Особливий акцент зроблено на методі філософської рефлексії, системному й критичному аналізі історіографічних фактів, порівняльно-історичному методі. **Наукова новизна** полягає у спробі осягнення української еміграції до країн Латинської Америки в контексті концепції буттєвого вкорінення людини та соціально-філософського розуміння еміграції. **Висновки.** Найбільш привабливими країнами для українських емігрантів у Латинській Америці є Аргентина та Бразилія, інші країни – Болівія, Венесуела Парагвай, Перу, Уругвай, Чилі – обиралися для в'їзду лише у певні періоди. Особливістю поселення українців у країнах Латинської Америки – у компактності великих діаспор (Аргентина, Бразилія) і дисперсності розселення невеликих діаспор в інших країнах. Загальними соціокультурними рисами закордонного українства в країнах Латинської Америки є відкритість, толерантність, відданість національним традиціям, їх збереження та збагачення, встановлення зв'язку між емігрантами різних поколінь, взаємодія між діаспорами, а також посильна участь у процесах культуротворення у країні-реципієнті та на батьківщині. Кожна хвиля української еміграції до країн Латинської Америки має певний онтологічний статус: емігранти першої хвилі прагнули вкоренитися на новому ґрунті як локально, так і у буттєвому вимірі, представники другої хвилі сприймали еміграцію як тимчасову ситуацію, для третьої хвилі притаманний іманентно-онтологічний характер, смисл четвертої – втеча до свободи, і намагання вкоренитися у представників п'ятої хвилі.

Ключові слова: українська еміграція, країни Латинської Америки, хвилі еміграції, онтологічний статус, буттєве вкорінення людини.

Problem statement. Nowadays the migration problem deserves to be in the centre of researchers' attention as globalization processes contribute to spatial movement of population, border and state erosion. Each country meets its own consequences because of migration: some countries suffer from excessive influx of refugees, immigrants and social issues they trigger; other countries, including Ukraine, suffer from emigration and loss of indigenous population. Ethnical Ukrainians are virtually divided in half: almost half of them (from 16 to 20 mln.) live outside native ethnical region (Troshchinskyi, 1999, p. 6). The biggest Ukrainian diasporas are formed in Canada, the USA, Russia and Western Europe countries. Ukrainian diasporas in Latin America countries are also quite populous, however, they have not been studied thoroughly enough as well as this very vector of emigration in general. The study of the latter will contribute to the establishment of closer connections between metropole and diaspora Ukrainians, and to the popularization of Ukrainian culture in the world.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. The issue of emigration and Ukrainians in diaspora was virtually forbidden during the Soviet period, thus, the majority of works in

the field were written after 1991. Comparing to other aspects of the problem, it is the history of Ukrainian emigration that was studied the most, in particular, by V. Kliuchevsky, I. Franko, M. Hrushevskyi in XIX – XX centuries. The present research works on Ukrainian emigration are based on ethnographical, linguistic, oral and written sources, as well as on history artefacts of Ukrainian diaspora. A separate group includes law-making documents, statistical data, narrative memorials and biographies. The researchers focus on the immigration: arranging a new place for a living, peculiarities of adaptation, culture-making work of Ukrainian diaspora, etc. One of the most prominent works in the domain is «Encyclopaedia of Ukrainian studies» (Енциклопедія українознавства, 1993), a handbook «Ukrainians abroad» (Зарубіжні українці, 1991), works of P. Kardash (Kardash, 1995), S. Narizhnyi (Narizhnyi, 1942), M. Marunchak (Marunchak, 1974), F. Zastavnyi (Zastavnyi, 1992). Starting from 1991 foreign Ukrainians have been publishing journals and several institutes of diaspora research have been founded. Ternopil authors investigated the emigration and its historical aspect in «Ukrainian emigration: from past to the present days» (Lanovyk, 1999). However, the number of scientific works on emigration of Ukrainians to Latin America is scanty and the topic range is also limited. S. Tsipko (Tsipko 2013), V. Pohromskyi (Pohromskyi, 2011), M. Danylyshyn (Danylyshyn, 1979) studied the life of Ukrainians in Argentina, A. Strilko (Strilko, 1972) and V. Borys (Borys, 1970) – in Brazil, and V. Kosmyna (Kosmyna, 2015) carried out a historiographical research on the first wave of emigration.

The publication's purpose is to analyse the reasons, character, periodization of Ukrainian emigration to Latin America (to Brazil and Argentina first of all, as the biggest Ukrainian diasporas live there); to distinguish common features of Latin America Ukrainian groups and to define ontological status of each wave of Ukrainian emigration. The scientific novelty of the research work is in comprehending Ukrainian emigration to Latin America countries in context of being rootedness of manprocess (Tsymbal, 2005) and social-philosophical understanding of emigration (Tsymbal, 2012).

Statement of the basic material. Ukrainian emigration is a complex phenomenon starting from the definition of the process: we may define it as Ukrainians leaving Ukraine as a state or Ukrainians leaving Ukrainian lands regardless their state belonging in the past. The second approach is a priority.

Traditionally, four waves of Ukrainian emigration are distinguished, each has specific reasons, forms, quantity, consequences and social cultural meaning: the first – from the end of XIX century – to the beginning of XX century, the second – after revolution, the third – after the end of the World War II, the fourth – the modern one, after the proclaiming of the Independence of Ukraine. In our opinion, the period of so-called «Thaw» (the end of 60-ies – the beginning of 70-ies of XX centuries) should be the fourth instead. This wave was significant not by its numbers, but by the context of political events and its influence on the international image of Ukraine. Thus, the modern wave of emigration is the fifth one.

The first wave of emigration was caused by the range of reasons: the complete destruction of Ukrainian statehood at the end of XVIII century in the result of which the Right Bank Ukraine was appropriated by Russian Empire and Galicia with Bukovina – by Austria (these territories had certain cultural and economic freedoms); drastic social and economic changes in Europe in XIX century caused by abolition of serfdom (in 1848 in Austria and in 1861 in Russia), industrialization, urbanization and modernization. At the same time in Ukraine the quantity of population increased by 72% which made it the most populated country in Europe (Encyclopaedia of Ukrainian Studies, 1993, p. 179).

While this meant improvement of the standard of living, it also caused an unemployment problem. In 90-ies of XIX century there were 10,7 million of working-age population, but only 3,4 million were involved in industry, trade or agriculture, while 7,3 were unemployed or temporarily employed (Subtelnyi, 1992). Such a situation led to a sudden deterioration of standard of living of the majority of Ukrainians. Apart from this, during 90-ies of the XIX century and the beginning XX century Ukraine suffered from crop failure. The unemployed peasants suffered the most: deprived from the right and ability to work at their native land, being hard-working and willing to find the space for productive activity. The lack of costs for existence, poverty and unemployment caused massive emigration of Ukrainian peasants to the East of Russian empire (Caucasus, Middle Asia and Far East) at first and then – across the ocean. Transportation companies also stimulated leaving of the country, as they promoted new places of living and promised decent conditions of work.

Common tendencies of the first emigration wave concern those Ukrainians who were moving to Latin America countries, mostly to Argentina and Brazil. Years 1895 – 1897, 1901 – 1903 were the time of the most active emigration activity, when Brazilian emperor Pedro II granted permanent place of living to Ukrainians of Austria-Hungarian empire and Galicia in order to engage a comparatively cheaper work labour.

The first mentioning of Ukrainian emigrants in Brazil is dated back to 1872. The biggest influx of Ukrainian emigrants to Brazil happened in 1895 when the government signed an agreement with steamship companies about transferring thousands of migrants after the abolition of slavery in 1888 led to the lack of labour force. Moreover, the situation deteriorated to such an extent, that the government even paid for the trip to Brazil, provided with clothes and food, and lent land areas for 10 years. However, there were some problems too: the long journey, tropical diseases, not knowing the language, dispelling of myths about the fairytale life abroad. Transformation of Brazil from empire to republic turned Ukrainians into unwanted guests. After 1890 the situation changed due to the construction of the railway and the new influx of migrants from Ukraine. Thus, before World War I there were 47 thousand Ukrainians in the country (Borys, 1970, p. 69).

First Ukrainians in Argentina arrived in 1897 and before World War I there were 14 thousand Ukrainians there (Tsipko, 2013, p. 204). Every Ukrainian in Argentina had the right to buy 50 hectares of land and organise their own farm. However, some Ukrainians who couldn't afford it worked in sea ports, industry or construction. Sometimes they took up seasonal work on a coffee plantation, a farm or worked as domestic workers for rich families.

Both Brazil and Argentina turned out to be an unfriendly place, as Ukrainians found themselves in prairies, deserts, forests, that is why, some of them returned to the homeland. However, the majority of Ukrainians managed to cope with all the difficulties, organise the agricultural household, build churches, that later became the centres of diaspora. The first Ukrainian settlers got the status of colonists and their settlements (farms, parts of towns, any locations) were called colonies. The notion of «diaspora» was not used at those times.

The first wave of Ukrainian emigration was mostly aimed at earning money. However, the emigration was not limited to economic aspect only. The revolution of 1905 at the beginning of XX century pushed Ukrainians to flee from persecutions of Tsar authorities and join those of their compatriots who sought for earning money and stay abroad forever. Thus, the first wave essentially tried to existentially take roots at a new place.

These condwave of Ukrainian emigration – the so-called «white» emigration – took place after the revolution. Despite the fact that it started from the World War I, it became the

most intensive during the October Coup and the Civil War. Regardless national belonging, voluntarily or forcefully, nearly 23 millions of Ukrainians left the territory of Russian empire (Azrael, 1992). Those were the representatives of all classes and strata, but first of all the representatives of elite: officers, artists, writers, scientific intelligentsia. After those events the Western Europe became the place of exile for those who created Russian and Ukrainian culture.

Apart from Europe and Northern America, Ukrainian emigrants of the second wave arrived in Latin America as well. That time they settled not only in Brazil and Argentina, but in Uruguay and Paraguay too. The second wave did not involve as many people as the first one, and migrants did not want to stay abroad forever, instead, they hoped to wait until the victory of the counter-revolution. The second wave of emigration refilled Ukrainian diaspora on 50 – 60 thousand in Argentina and on a bit less amount in Brazil. This wave was represented by a wider class spectrum, including intelligentsia, former militarists, intellectuals that supported Ukrainian Peoples Republic (Pohromskyi). Emigrants actively participated in civil life: they took part in social-political life, published magazines and journals, gave classes in universities, acquainted the locals with their culture. Thus, the second wave tried to preserve values and traditions destroyed in homeland, and to some extent isolate themselves and children from other part of society. Their intention caused an ambivalent situation: on the one hand, the emigrants did not lose connection with their native culture, on the other hand, the second wave emigrants did not integrate themselves in the society. Those who wanted to get the citizenship were considered to be lost for the common cause of preserving the Ukrainian culture.

The leaders of Ukrainian emigration, civil and cultural activities came from this second wave of emigration. Due to the activity of the second wave the very name «Ukrainian emigration» was later applied to other Ukrainian migrants.

Another remarkable activity was the foundation in 20 – 30-ies of numerous cooperatives and private enterprises in Brazil and Argentina that emphasized on their Ukrainian roots: The Union of Ukrainian engineers (Argentina, 1931), Ukrainian Union (Brazil, 1934) (later renamed as «Educational agricultural foundation») that became the centre of the cultural life of Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil, cooperative «Renaissance» in Argentina united more than 5 thousand members, The Union of Ukrainian merchants, entrepreneurs and qualified specialists included the most educated and rich emigrants (Pohromskyi, 2011)

The second wave of emigration is characterized by systemic character and the feeling of unity with the homeland: by calling themselves emigrants the representatives of that wave tried to highlight the temporality of their staying abroad and their faith in return. Thus, these emigrants were not integrated neither locally, nor ontologically. The emigration of this period has circumstantial character.

The third wave of Ukrainian emigration (after-war) is the least studied. In our opinion, the reason is its political and ideological colouring. The wave started from interwar period, before the World War II from 1939, when the territories of Western Ukraine and Baltic regions were annexed by the USSR. At that time, the overall amount of people that joined the Soviet Union was 23 million people. The great part of these people did not want to live under totalitarian rule, and leaving their motherland, they returned under legislation of their own citizenship. It should be mentioned that the Soviet authorities allowed and even encouraged that process of re-emigration. From 1939 until 50-ies 5,5 million people left the annexed territories (Troshchynskyi, 1999).

The ending of the World War II launches a new period in the history of emigration. Those who were persecuted by fascists in Europe and held in captivity returned to motherland, not everyone though, they were afraid of repressions and persecutions. More than 1,5 million of the so-called «transferred people» joined the new wave of emigration (Troshchynskyi, 1999, p. 34–35). Among them were Soviet citizens, captives of war, criminals of war and collaborationists. After the end of the war, captivity and forced labour they could not return to the homeland because of investigations and years of forced-labour camps waiting for them.

During after war period the International organization of refugees' affairs resettled nearly 200 thousand Ukrainians (Troshchynskyi, 1999, p. 34–35). Moreover, the refugee status was attributed those who suffered from fascism and victims of Stalin regime. They received a special help and support. The precise number of Ukrainian emigrants appeared after 1945 when in afterwar Germany there was founded the Central representation of Ukrainian emigrants. According to their data there were 177 thousand of Ukrainians in Western Germany in 1946. Gradually, Ukrainians tried to resettle to the USA, Canada, Latin America and in January 1949 in Western Germany there were only 85 thousand of Ukrainians left (Troshchynskyi, 1999, 34–35).

Captives of war, political refugees and Ostarbeiters that were arriving to countries of Latin America had problems with adaptation, which later stimulated re-emigration to Canada and the USA. The establishment of dictatorship in Brazil pushed the emigrants to return even to the USSR. During 1946 – 1950 six thousand of Ukrainians arrived in Argentina. In 1952 after the economic crisis in Brazil and Argentina and establishing of dictatorship the influx of Ukrainians almost stopped. 1955 was the beginning of re-emigration to the United States. In general, the third wave of Ukrainian emigration embraces bigger range of Latin America countries: besides Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay those were Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru and Chile. However, this process took place mainly after war, only small groups and single emigrants were arriving later. With time the quantity of Ukrainians in Argentina and Brazil was balanced at the expense of Uruguay and Paraguay Ukrainians.

After war migration, Just as the after-revolution wave, had a distinct political character, the emigrants themselves were refugees. In terms of its philosophical meaning, the afterwar wave had absolutely different status – an ontological, not circumstantial one. The emigration became the way of existence, and after all – life.

The fourth wave of emigration took place in 60–70-ies after Khrushchev Thaw and it pushed Ukrainian Jews and dissidents to move to Europe, Israel and the USA. Another type of emigration emerged too – the one for marriage. Young girls were getting married with international students or young specialists in order to leave the country later. Obviously, such marriages often ended up with divorce, followed by re-emigration, because of drastic differences in culture and the way of living

After the famous case of pilots trying to hijack the plane and escape to Israel, the USSR had to join the Helsinki agreement that provided the right of a person to leave the country. Some people understood that they were no longer the property of the country and they tried to apply for leaving the country, which for a long time was considered as a brave effort. There were *nevozvrashchentsy* (nonreturnees) though, they stayed in Western countries after business trips, tours, etc. Despite the arrests after unsuccessful efforts, the number of people trying to escape increased.

Thus, after signing the agreement of Helsinki and the fall of the USSR, nearly 700 thousand families left the country (most often they left for their homeland to unite with their families)

(Troshchynskyi, 1999, p. 36). Between 1987 and the gain of Ukrainian independence nearly million people left. The number of students leaving for studying abroad in Europe increased by 30%. Unfortunately, the data about Ukrainian emigration to Latin America during that period remains unknown. In historiosophical aspect, the fourth wave may be characterised as an escape for freedom or ethnical emigration.

Modern Ukrainian emigration wave is one of the most populous in the entire history of our nation, influencing gene pool in the most adverse way ever. Presumably, there is no other country in the world that exported so many educated people abroad as Ukraine. This process began with the gain of Independence and even earlier – from perestroika. From 1986 to 1991 the quantity of trips linked with personal affairs increased in 54 times (from 43 to 2327 thousand). Mass emigration started from adoption by Supreme Rada of the law «On the order of leaving and entering Ukraine for Ukrainian citizens» in 1994. In overall, from 1994 to 2000 nearly 600 thousand people left the country. Moreover, the emigration in majority of cases is irreversible (Shybko, 2006, p. 18).

After proclamation of Independence Argentina was the among first countries in Latin America to recognize Ukraine on international arena. Ukrainians' positive image and the status of diaspora in Argentina influenced this decision. In 1993 in National Congress of Argentina there was founded the Group of friends of Ukraine as well as the Embassy of Ukraine; in 2011 the visa regime between two countries was suspended and they signed the agreement on recognition of the documents on obtaining higher education. In order to legalize the time-being in Argentina, one has to enter the university or get married (civil marriage is acceptable too). Today, there are 300 thousand of Ukrainians (almost 100 thousand live in Buenos Aires).

Starting from 20-ies, Ukrainian communities have been taking part in social life and activities, publishing journals and magazines, supporting the activity of «Prosvita», «Ukrainian national club», «Renaissance», etc. Argentinian-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce started its activity from 1992 (Tsipko, 2013).

Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil that consists of 500 thousand people is one of the oldest Ukrainian communities abroad and it includes mostly the descendants of the first emigrants. Ukrainians live close to each other in Southern-Eastern part of the country, which is called «Brazilian Ukraine» (80% of all Ukrainians). For example, in schools of Parana, where the biggest quantity of Ukrainians live, Ukrainian language is among the languages of instruction, thanks to the corresponding constitutional law, adopted on initiative of Ukrainian diaspora. In this state there are more than 35 Ukrainian churches and Brazilian authorities included the ones made from wood to the Register of common property in order to protect from destruction. Ukrainian organizations in Brazil are also rather active, among them: Ploughmen-educational union in Parana, Ukrainian-Brazilian centre of Ukrainian Studies, etc. Ukrainian community in Brazil created the conditions for learning the native language and culture not only in extra school institutions and Sunday schools, but in state schools too (Hrymych, 2015).

In other countries of Latin America the number of Ukrainians is not that significant: in Uruguay – nearly 8 thousand, in Paraguay – 10 thousand, in Venezuela – nearly 11 thousand. Nevertheless, all Latin America countries remain attractive for Ukrainian emigrants, first of all, due to favourable conditions for business development, rather high standard of living, favourable conditions and terms of receiving documents for residence permit and beautiful nature. Apart from countries named above, Ukrainians choose Chile, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia.

Among Ukrainians of Latin America there are quite a lot of intellectuals, engineers and programmers. Some Ukrainians made significant contribution into the development of Brazilian and Argentinian universities (V. Burka, Yu. Polyanskyi, S. Onatskyi, B. Galaichuk and others), art (I. Hrytsenko, O. Klymko, Yu. Shumlynskyi) and female activism (O. Borushchenko, O. Kolodiy) (Hrymych, 2015).

The ontological status of the modern wave of Ukrainian emigration is close to the one of the first wave: the attempt to take root in the country.

Conclusions. The carried-out research demonstrated that the most attractive countries in Latin America for Ukrainians were Argentina and (a bit less) Brazil, other countries (Bolivia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Chile) were chosen rather occasionally. The peculiar features of Ukrainian communities in Latin America are compactness of great diasporas (Argentina and Brazil) and dispersion of smaller communities in other countries.

Among common socio-cultural features of Ukrainians abroad there are tolerance, open-mindedness, devotion to national traditions, their preservation and enrichment, establishing the connection between emigrants of different generations, interaction between diasporas in different countries and active participation in the processes of culture-making in the homeland. Every wave of Ukrainian emigration to Latin America countries has certain ontological status: emigrants of the first wave tried to take roots in the new «soil» both locally and existentially, the second wave treated the emigration as a temporary condition, the third wave had immanent-ontological character, the fourth saw emigration as an escape (ethnic emigration) and the fifth tried to take roots.

Today, when Eurasian «historical crossroad» is disturbed again, and Ukraine, while resisting the Eastern aggressor, became the fort post of Europe again, Ukrainians from metropole should understand that Ukrainian emigration are representatives of Ukraine in the world and they make image of their country in social-economic and cultural aspects. That is why, Ukrainians need to make themselves more aware of their economic and cultural-anthropological potential.

In general, the issue of Ukrainian emigration is distinguished by the plurality of senses and reveals opportunities of its further comprehension in poly-disciplinary scientific discourse. The research may contribute not only to the thorough study of processes of Ukrainian emigration, but to the further plan-making for corresponding state institutions to help them slow down the pace of emigration and establishing of closer connection between Ukrainians of metropole and diaspora. The latter may prevent Ukraine from further loss of labour, cultural, intellectual resources and human capital.

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