

ECONOMIC COLONIALISM IN UKRAINE: POSTWAR VISIONS OF UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION REFLECTED IN PUBLISHING HERITAGE*

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Abstract. In the context of Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine, which represents the culmination of centuries-old imperial policy, the importance of understanding the historical mechanisms of economic colonialism becomes acutely relevant. The investigation of the narratives that have contributed to the formation of the ideological underpinnings of this policy is of critical importance for a comprehensive understanding of the contemporary resilience of Ukrainian economic consciousness. Therefore, the *study focuses* on the narratives of Russian economic colonialism in Ukrainian economic history and the resistance of Ukrainian economic consciousness, as reflected in the analytical publishing heritage of Ukrainian emigration, particularly in the work of Bohdan Wynar. The *purpose of this scientific research* is to analyse the narratives of Russian economic colonialism in Ukrainian economic history and the resistance of Ukrainian economic consciousness, as evidenced in the analytical publishing heritage of Ukrainian emigration. This study will be illustrated using the publications of Bohdan Wynar, such as "Economic Colonialism in Ukraine" (Paris, 1958) and "Ukrainian Industry: A Study of Soviet Colonialism" (1964) and "Materials for the History of Economic Experiments in Emigration" 1919–1964" (1965). The *research methodology* is based on a combination of the following approaches: systemic, value-based and postcolonial; and discourse analysis. These approaches contribute to the disclosure of the principles and strategies of economic colonialism as an ideology and intervention. The methodology also employs the diachronic method and historical analytics, which involves synchronising successive historical and political events and phenomena with economic decisions and cases. Bohdan Wynar's analysis goes beyond history. They serve as a critical source for understanding how imperial powers used economic mechanisms for colonial domination. Even during periods of apparent liberalisation, such as the "Khrushchev Thaw" and the Soviet farm reforms, the Ukrainian SSR's economy continued to function as a raw material appendage of the centre. The reforms aimed to increase the efficiency of exploitation rather than grant real autonomy. The publishing heritage of studies of Soviet colonialism in the economic sector demonstrates that Ukrainian economic consciousness encompasses more than just knowledge of markets and finance; it is also a deep awareness of history and the ability to defend economic interests and counteract external influences. Today, as Ukraine builds its own economic model and integrates into the global economy, this historical memory ensures it can avoid old pitfalls and preserve national sovereignty. Thus, the *conclusion of the scientific research* is that the thesis concerning the colonial nature of Moscow's economic policy towards Ukraine was preserved even under the conditions of formal decentralisation and changes to the administrative system. The research also concludes that the analytical heritage of Ukrainian emigration is valuable as it is a critical and independent source that allows for a systematic study of economic relations within the USSR. Furthermore, the research highlights the need to develop a Ukrainian

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economic consciousness based on knowledge of the past and the ability to counter imperial narratives. This is critically important for ensuring national security and sovereignty in the modern era.

Keywords: economic colonialism, imperial policy, Ukrainian post-war emigration (post-1945), narratives of publishing heritage in economic literature, Ukrainian economic consciousness, Ukrainian national economic literature and press.

JEL Classification: H11, H76, J48

1. Introduction

In the context of the ongoing full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war, it is imperative to research the visions of post-war Ukrainian emigration regarding economic colonialism in Ukraine.

The notion of "economic colonialism" is imbued with renewed significance in light of contemporary events. The post-war emigration, which was both a direct witness and victim of imperial policy, revealed the mechanisms of economic enslavement of Ukraine, which had been used for centuries by the Russian Empire, and later by the USSR. These views have become a kind of intellectual testament, containing analysis and warnings about potential threats. The analysis of these historical visions facilitates a more profound comprehension of the manner in which economic exploitation constitutes an integral component of aggressive imperial policy in general, and in the context of modern Russian colonial policy in particular.

Since 2014, Russian aggression against Ukraine has manifested not only in a military but also in an economic dimension. The phenomenon is accompanied by a number of consequences, including the destruction of infrastructure, the destruction of industrial potential, and the removal of Ukrainian grain, metal, and other resources from temporarily occupied territories. These actions are not merely a consequence of the war, but rather an integral component thereof, aimed at the economic weakening of Ukraine and its transformation into a resource appendage. Consequently, the historical conclusions of the Ukrainian emigration, as documented in their publications, acquire a prognostic significance, as they predicted and described the mechanisms that Russia uses today.

It is evident that a comprehension of the Ukrainian experience is of particular value to countries of the Global South, which have frequently been subjected to the dominion of colonial empires. The narratives of economic exploitation, enforced assimilation, and cultural degradation that transpired under the governance of the Russian Empire and the USSR find resonance with those experienced by the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This research establishes a connection between Ukraine and other countries grappling with similar challenges concerning their identity and sovereignty.

The contemporary Russian aggression is not merely a war for territory; it is also an endeavour to institute a novel form of economic domination that poses a threat not only to Ukraine but also to the global order as a whole. The destruction of Ukrainian infrastructure, the blockade of exports, and the theft of grain represent a novel manifestation of economic colonialism. Thus, historical analogies, global solidarity and the strengthening of international support in the context of many countries' shared experience of surviving colonialism, as well as the prevention of future threats, confirm the relevance of the narratives analysed in the publishing heritage for confronting aggressive imperial practices.

Modern economic science is replete with examples of Ukrainian economic development in various sectors, thus demonstrating its relevance on the global economic stage. Notable cases include the historical analysis of economic factors through the prisms of economic security and education, and the implementation of the social component.

There is an increasing need for research focused on economic security and systemic resistance to the influence of colonialism on the economy. This is reflected in the work of V. Hrytsiuk, "The War of the Russian Federation Against Ukraine: Military, International Legal, Geopolitical, and Economic Dimensions", where he emphasizes that the Kremlin has used economic and political levers for decades to ensure its dictates, allowing interference in the internal affairs and violation of the territorial integrity of post-Soviet states (Hrytsiuk, 2023). In her book "Blowout: Corrupted Democracy, Rogue State Russia, and the Richest, Most Destructive Industry", provides a comprehensive analysis of the historical underpinnings and methodologies employed by Russia in its utilisation of the oil and gas industry as a means of exerting influence over global democracy (Maddow, 2020). The study "Economic security of Ukraine in wartime: challenges and prospects" highlights the significant overlap between economic stability and national resilience while analysing Ukraine's current economic security model, detailing components such as financial, industrial, food, and energy security (Rohatiuk, Ivchenko, Kanfui, 2024). N. Gorin, in the article "Soviet Economic Integration or Industrial Colonialism?", argues that after the defeat

of the Ukrainian-Swedish coalition near Poltava (1709), a large-scale policy was implemented to use Ukrainian industrial and agricultural potential for the needs of the newly established Russian Empire (1721): "The Ukrainian economy was to be integrated into the Russian state economy to enhance the latter and strengthen its international positions at the expense of Ukrainian raw materials and labor" (Gorin, 2022).

These studies provide the theoretical and methodological foundations necessary for the analysis of the continuity and essence of Russian economic colonialism, a phenomenon which directly correlates with the analytical logic of the Ukrainian emigration.

For the critical structuring of cause-and-effect relationships in Ukrainian discourse, the "narrative of the post-war emigration discourse of Ukrainians has always remained valuable. This narrative is a kind of metatext that accumulates and at the same time interprets the nation-building discussions of the Ukrainian diaspora, which in the context of modern social transformations, national revival on the backdrop of a political crisis become an important factor in the consolidation of Ukrainian society. This metatext stands for an institution of national memory, a source of the nation's societal capital, and is aimed at building an effective socio-communication system that would unite the entire society and motivate it to creative civic activity" (Kovpak, 2016, p. 5). The economic development of post-war Ukrainian intellectuals in emigration can be viewed as a diachronic mechanism for the creation of the semantic space, the axiogenesis of world Ukrainian identity and the mainland of Ukraine. In the context of the formation of economic and information security, this development becomes relevant for the correction of economic approaches and information policy in modern Ukraine. The analysis of such works is the accumulation of societal capital of the post-war national-patriotic movement, which demonstrated the effectiveness of emigration self-organisation. It is imperative for decolonisation processes in contemporary Ukraine, particularly in the context of armed conflict, encompassing economic decolonisation.

Among such intellectuals, Bohdan Wynar (1926–2013) deserves particular attention. He was an economist, bibliographer, and publisher; a full member of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society (1965) and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in the United States (1967); and a member of the Ukrainian Historical Society. His research focused on the development of Ukrainian industry and the history of Ukrainian economic thought. In 1964, he founded the publishing house "**Libraries Unlimited, Inc.**" in Denver, which included a separate Ukrainian division, the "**Ukrainian Academic Press**". For his achievements in this role, he received the "*Mudge*

Citation" award in 1977. In 1974, he established the Ukrainian Scientific Foundation as a private institution. His key works include "*Economic Colonialism in Ukraine*" (Paris, 1958), which was republished in 2005 alongside other works with a foreword by A. Zhukovsky (Wynar 1958). According to the entry in the "*Encyclopaedia of Modern Ukraine*" (Zhukovsky 2005), his major publications on this topic also include "*Ukrainian Industry: A Study of Soviet Colonialism*" (Wynar 1964) and "*Materials for the History of Economic Experiments in Emigration: 1919–1964*" (Wynar 1965).

2. The Ideology of Russian Economic Nationalism and the Birth of Ukrainian Economic Consciousness in the Analysis of Bohdan Wynar

Bohdan Wynar noted that in the post-war decade after World War II, many Ukrainian materials on the real state of the economy in Ukrainian territories were unavailable, since Soviet literature, when discussing the national economy of Ukraine, filled statistical reference books with percentage indicators or simply remained silent about them: "... Ukrainian economic science today is not on an even the same level with other Ukrainian studies subjects and, despite its exceptional political importance, is in a threatening regression... We do not even dare to draw a schematic outline of the long-established conviction in Ukrainian economic thought about the colonial nature of the national economy of Ukraine" (Wynar, *Economic Colonialism*, 1958, p. 7–8). Consequently, research focusing on the distinctive terms of Russian economic ideology, which historically recognised the national economy of Ukraine as an integral component of the Russian economic complex, is particularly pertinent in the context of the contemporary Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war.

In the context of the discussion on the genesis of the colonial status of the Ukrainian economic sector, the author notes the interdependence of the political disunity of the Ukrainian national territory due to historical circumstances and the impossibility of forming a coherent economic complex: "It is impossible to speak of any economic consciousness when 'Ukrainian identity', shaped by the cultural vision of typical theatrical restorationism, is not yet able to leave the framework of apolitical philistinism... The cultural Ukrainian renaissance merged into peculiar forms where there was no room for any other phenomena. Ukrainian economic original thought did not exist. There was territorial-economic particularism, which has left its negative consequences in the development of Ukrainian economic thought to this day" (Wynar, 1958, p. 11–12). In this fragment the author, referring to the work of Professor O. Ogloblyn "The Problem of the Ukrainian Economy in Scientific and Public

Thought of the 19th–20th Centuries", shows how the concept of the Ukrainian economy was formed. It is important to note that this concept did not emerge within academic circles; rather, it arose for purely practical reasons. This was due to the economic struggle for the Ukrainian market between Russia, Poland and Western Europe in the first quarter of the 19th century. Wynar emphasises that the consequences of the Pereyaslav Treaty were catastrophic for Ukraine, affecting not only the political sphere but also the economy. Despite the notable development of Ukrainian trade and select industries, along with more robust trade relations with Europe compared to Muscovy, the Russian government implemented several measures aimed at altering this status quo. The author asserts that the Moscow government deliberately impeded the development of Ukrainian trade, a policy that reached its zenith during the reign of Peter I. A similar fate befell Ukrainian industry. He further notes that he cannot consider in detail all the measures of Russian economic policy, but as an example he cites the customs policy from 1754 to 1822, which practically destroyed the main forms of Ukrainian manufacturing production. In support of this assertion, the author cites the work of V. Sadovsky, who in his research indicated that the manufactories in Ukraine, associated with Russian landowners, could not organically integrate into the Ukrainian national economy. According to V. Sadovsky, the main reasons for the decline of Ukrainian manufacturing were its subordination to the needs of the Russian Empire and competition from Russian industry (Wynar, 1958, p. 12–16). The Russian exploitation of Ukrainian resources and markets was no accident, but rather a consistent policy that began in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The author quotes M. Slabchenko, who observed that the Moscow bourgeoisie had no interest in developing Ukrainian enterprises in the 17th–18th centuries, as their products were able to compete successfully with Russian ones. This suggests the deliberate suppression of the Ukrainian economy to eliminate competition in the Russian market.

B. Wynar chronologically unfolds a stage in the history of the Ukrainian economy in his work, when the various Ukrainian lands – the Right Bank, the Left Bank and the Steppe – were united within the Russian Empire's political system. While this process can be partially described as Sobornytsia from a nationalist perspective, it led to economic struggles in the new Ukrainian market. Here, Russian, Polish and German (Prussian) capital clashed. The Russian government supported the expansion of Russian capital using tools such as customs policy. Nevertheless, Polish and Prussian capital significantly influenced the Right Bank, further consolidating foreign positions in the Ukrainian economy and preventing domestic

development. The author also draws attention to the issue of serfdom, which was particularly prevalent on the Right Bank, and the economic hardships that fuelled peasant uprisings. In this context, the Ukrainian economy was in a very weak position. The author then returns conceptually to the situation on the Left Bank after the abolition of customs borders in 1753, which led to the decline of Ukrainian trading centres and their replacement by new centres that lacked extensive foreign ties. The most significant consequence of this policy was the large-scale resettlement of Russian nobles and the introduction of serfdom, enabling Russian landowners to dominate Ukrainian agriculture (Wynar, 1958, p. 17). The author identifies the following as examples of the phenomenon of "economic colonialism" of Russia in relation to Ukraine: the inhibition of the development of its own industry; dependence on foreign capital and the imperial centre; the exploitation of Ukrainian territories as a source of raw materials; and opposition to the formation of its own economic and national consciousness (Wynar, 1958, p. 17–39).

1. Slowing down industrial development.

The author presents statistical evidence that the Russian government deliberately hindered the development of Ukrainian industry. In the first half of the 19th century, serf labour was prevalent in Ukraine, whereas in Russia, the proportion of free workers was significantly higher (54.3% in 1825, for example). The author also provides a comparison of the number of industrial enterprises, which shows how Ukraine significantly lagged behind the general imperial pace of development. The author emphasises that this policy benefited the Russian bourgeoisie, who did not want Ukrainian manufacturers to become their competitors.

2. Foreign capital investment and control.

Subsequent to this period of stagnation, the development of heavy industry commenced in the southern regions of Ukraine, notably the Donbas and Kryvyi Rih districts. Nevertheless, this growth was primarily driven by foreign capital, rather than Ukrainian investment. The domination of the metallurgical and coal industries by French and Belgian capital had negative consequences, as it did not allow the development of a full cycle of production, in particular mechanical engineering. Concurrently, the Ukrainian economy remained under the jurisdiction of the Russian government, which pursued a protectionist policy that favoured Russian industrial centres such as the Urals and St. Petersburg. Russian industry lobbied for tariffs, such as the 1822 tariff, which made the Ukrainian market dependent on Russian goods and turned Ukraine into a source of raw materials for Russian industry. Consequently, Ukrainian local merchants became dependent on Russian wholesalers. "In exchange for Russian products, Ukraine exports

cattle, lard, leather, wool, and other raw materials to Russia, and this puts it in the position of a raw material base for the Russian economy" (Wynar, 1958, p. 21).

3. Formation of economic consciousness.

Despite the pressure in the second half of the 19th century **Ukrainian economic consciousness** begins to form. The author notes that this happened through contrast, through conflicts between the interests of the Ukrainian and Russian economies. This idea was first formulated in the works of such economists as **M. Yasnopolsky**, who in his work of 1871 pointed out the one-sided nature of the Ukrainian economy. These ideas were adopted and expanded upon by Ukrainian public figures, particularly within the framework of the Southwestern Department of the Russian Geographical Society. The Russian government banned its activities in 1876 precisely because it began to link Ukraine's economic interests with Ukrainian public positions, which contradicted imperial goals, with a "clear emphasis on national characteristics". **Julian Bachynsky** in his work "**Ukraina Irredenta**" (Lviv, 1895) first justified that political independence is a necessary condition for the economic and cultural development of Ukraine. **Mykhailo Porsh** in his works reasonably proved the colonial state of Ukraine on the labor market. The first impetus to the full emphasis of the political moment in terms of the needs of the Ukrainian national economy was provided by the work of **Serhiy Podolinsky**, "**Crafts and Factory in Ukraine**", which was published in 1880 in Geneva. The author considers the national economy of Ukraine as a certain, from the economic side, natural integrity, which creates an individual economic organism which is separate from Russia. Podolinsky analyses the growth of industrial capital in Ukraine and explains this phenomenon in close connection with similar processes in Western Europe's economic life. Indeed, he was one of the first to draw a direct link between the development of capitalist economic forms in the West and in the Russian Empire, a statement that was both novel and incomprehensible to most Russian economists at the time (Wynar, 1958, p. 40).

Bohdan Wynar traces the ideological evolution of Russian economic nationalism, starting from the Slavophile ideas and culminating in the protectionist economic policies espoused by Friedrich List, which aimed to safeguard the nation's capital. This policy was implemented by prominent figures such as Sergei Witte and Dmitry Mendeleev, who advocated for economic self-sufficiency in Russia and the development of its eastern territories. The most revealing position is that of Professor Hrynevetsky, who wrote the work "**Post-war Prospects of Russian Industry**" in Kharkiv in 1919. He openly opposed the Ukrainian state, considering it a threat to Russian economic interests: "Ukraine must renounce all

dreams of its independence... skilled workers must emigrate from Ukraine to Siberia and fulfill all the tasks dictated by Russian economic interests there, because Ukraine will 'return to its role as a cultural fertilizing plant out of Urals'" (Wynar, 1958, p. 50). It is evident that the Russian economic sphere regarded Ukraine not as an equal partner, but rather as a source of raw materials and labour for the development of its own economy.

In the second part of the analysed work by Bohdan Wynar, "**The National Economy in Ukraine in the Economic System of the USSR**", the author focuses on the **economic foundations of the Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine**. The author posits that the economic relations between Soviet Russia and Ukraine in the initial period of Soviet rule have been the subject of insufficient scholarly research. The rationale behind this phenomenon is explained by the Soviet ideology, which not only denied the existence of independent Ukrainian economic thought but also sought to assimilate the Ukrainian economy into the Russian economic complex. This policy had deep roots in the ideas of Russian economic nationalism: **the economic motives of Russian aggression; the concept of "the Bolsheviks as the heirs of imperial policy"; the resistance and liquidation of Ukrainian economic thought**.

The book under scrutiny here is one which emphasises that, despite the Bolsheviks' socialist rhetoric, their aggression against the Ukrainian People's Republic was primarily driven by economic expediency. The requirement for Ukrainian resources was evident, with a demand for coal, bread, sugar, and steel. According to Bohdan Wynar, one of the Bolshevik leaders, Georgy Pyatakov, spoke frankly about this at one of the first conferences in Kyiv: "We do not have to support the Ukrainians, because this movement is useless for the proletariat. Russia cannot exist without the Ukrainian sugar industry, the same can be said about coal (Donbas), bread, and so forth" (Wynar B., 1958, p. 65). Despite the formal recognition of Ukraine's independence in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Russian Bolsheviks engaged in open discourse at their congresses on the potential economic consequences of Ukraine's loss, which they anticipated would be disastrous for Russia. Konstantin Radek declared: "This means the loss of 40% of the industrial proletariat and industrial production. This means the loss of such important sources of raw materials as the Donetsk basin... You understand very well what it means when Russia loses 90% of its sugar industry" (Wynar, 1958, p. 68).

Bohdan Wynar's analysis clearly shows that the Soviet government continued the traditional Russian centralist policies and imperial ideas established during the Tsarist era. Like their predecessors, the Bolsheviks attempted to relocate economic centres to

ethnic Russian lands (see Table 1). The scientist saw this concept in the work **"Geographical Location of Russian Industry"** by economist **M. Wolf**. This concept continued the ideas of the "white" émigré Hrynevetsky. Wolf did not even use the name "Ukraine", but only "Southern Russia", emphasising the colonial nature of this policy.

The author emphasises that from the outset of the Soviet occupation of Ukraine, there was resistance to Moscow's centralist efforts. The expression of this sentiment was made by Ukrainian national political groups that sought to operate within the framework of the Soviet platform. This group included the "borotbysts" (fighters, supporters of the Soviet government who fought for the establishment of socialism in Ukraine under Moscow's control; they were formed as a reaction to the existence of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR)) and the Ukrainian Communist Party (UCP). They defended the real economic and political independence of Ukraine. In its declaration at the IV All-Ukrainian Congress of Councils, the UCP noted: "The Ukrainian proletariat, politically organized into a state, but economically dispersed and in this form subordinate to Moscow – this is the contradiction in which the modern Soviet government struggles..." (Wynar, 1958, p. 68).

As the author notes, this resistance was ultimately brutally suppressed. Without allies, the UCP and the borotbysts were eliminated, and Ukraine formally lost its political sovereignty when the USSR was formed, finally legalising its complete economic subordination to the Russian central authorities.

Table 1

**Financial exploitation of Ukraine (1925–1927),
by Bohdan Wynar**

Financial exploitation of Ukraine		
	1925/1926 in thousand SUR	1926/1927 in thousand SUR
Profits of the Ukrainian SSR	689,467	852,300
Expenditures of the Ukrainian SSR	554,250	686,200
Left income	135,217	166,100
	in percentage	
Income to Expense Ratio	124,5	124,2

Source: (Wynar, 1958, p. 92)

In the context of colonialism in the food and light industries of the Ukrainian SSR, the author cites arguments put forward by Ukrainian economic representatives to justify the development of the textile industry. These advantages were deliberately ignored by the Soviet authorities in order to maintain dependence. These advantages included: 1) solving the problem of agricultural overpopulation (proximity to raw materials, Ukraine is located closer to Asian sources of raw

materials than Russian centres); 2) a significant sales market (Ukraine was one of the largest consumers of products in this industry); 3) savings on transportation; 4) the availability of skilled labour and craft traditions.

The author demonstrates with great precision how the Soviet authorities deliberately redirected capital investment to weaken Ukraine as a key centre of the sugar industry. Despite the fact that Ukraine produced 81.9% of all sugar in the USSR, only 22% of all capital investment in this industry was allocated there. Conversely, within the Russian SFSR, particularly in the North Caucasus region where production was relocated, new construction constituted 62.2% and 67.1%, respectively.

3. The Development of Ukrainian Economic Thought Despite Repression in the Information Space

In his publication, Bohdan Wynar observes that the highlighted statements concerning the development of Ukrainian economic thought in the mid-20th century are of historical significance. This can be attributed to the paucity of literature on the subject of the development of Ukrainian economic thought in the 1920s. Constrained by the official framework of Soviet Marxist doctrine, Ukrainian economic thought was unable to define itself fully in a national context. "The resistance of Ukrainian economic circles in the forms it took in the 1920s has been finally destroyed. Volobuyev and his opponents Hirchak and Richytsky were shot. Skrypnyk shot himself in protest against Russian centralism. Since the beginning of the 1930s, thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals, including all the most prominent Ukrainian businessmen, economists-theorists and scientists, were destroyed, all the others had to submit to the ruthless demands of the political system. During the later implementation of the Soviet five-year plans, it is no longer necessary to talk about any more or less independent positions of Ukrainian economic thought. In that direction, Ukraine, suppressed by acute political terror, only has serious potential opportunities. Based on studies of structural processes in the later development of the Ukrainian economy, it can be stated that at the slightest stage of a certain liberalization of political relations, those opportunities will be fully used by Ukrainian factors" (Wynar, 1958, p. 107–108).

The systematic destruction of Ukraine's leadership caused enormous losses in both the economic and cultural spheres. Repression affected anyone with more or less independent views. State and scientific institutions were destroyed, as was the extensive co-operative network. In the economic sphere, this process was called "Volobuyivshchyna", which, together with "Shumskyism" and "Khvylovism", was branded as

a "bourgeois-nationalist bias". The aim was to destroy the traditions of national communism from the 1920s. This is evident in the increased control exercised by the All-Union authorities over Ukrainian industry, with many enterprises, particularly those in the heavy industry sector, being directly subordinated to the Union bodies in Moscow. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in November 1933 finally condemned "Ukrainian national communism" and began open repressions against Ukrainian economists, scientists and cultural figures. In 1934, the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UAS) was liquidated, which was replaced by a branch of the All-Union Academy. Repressions against scientists: in particular, M. Hrushevsky (his "school" and institutes were closed); S. Rudnytsky, the organiser of the Scientific Institute of Geography and Cartography, was exiled to Solovki; M. Slabchenko, one of the most prominent researchers of Ukraine's economic development, was arrested in connection with the ULU (Union of the Liberation of Ukraine) trial.

The repressions had a particularly severe impact on the publishing industry and on statistical periodicals that covered Ukraine's economic life. This was done to completely subordinate the information space to Moscow: "The further appearance of numerous statistical works that had been grouped mainly around the Central Statistical Office (CSO) was prohibited... such valuable statistical publications as the statistical yearbooks 'Ukraine' (1925–1929) were liquidated, and the non-periodical statistical collection 'Statistics of Ukraine' was published for a slightly longer period (until 1931)..." (Wynar, 1958, pp. 121–122).

Other important periodicals and projects were also liquidated:

"Ukraine in Figures" (thematic collections).

"Socialist Industry" (monthly design and construction magazine).

"Ukrainian Economist" and "On the Financial Front" (journals dedicated to finance and economics).

"Economy of Ukraine" (economic journal of central importance).

The author emphasises that, after 1937, statistical data on Ukraine's national economy stopped being published. Some information could only be found in All-Union publications, which gave Ukraine very little space – a fact that further emphasises its colonial status.

As a result of the terror, Ukraine entered the Second World War with its national and spiritual life completely destroyed. This made any broader manifestations of national revival impossible. Ukraine suffered the greatest losses of all the Soviet republics during the war, with a significant proportion of its industrial equipment and population being taken to the eastern USSR, where they remained after the

war. This policy was aimed at further undermining Ukraine's economic potential in favor of the Russian regions: "...the evacuated industrial enterprises were not returned to Ukraine, they continued to operate in the eastern regions of the USSR" (Wynar, 1958, p. 130). Ukraine's economic situation was extremely difficult after the war. However, as the author notes, the lack of reaction or protests was due to the complete extermination of the Ukrainian intellectual elite in the 1930s.

In 1954, the Soviet authorities used the press and publishing projects to justify Ukraine's colonial status from an ideological perspective. The 300th anniversary celebrations of the "reunification of Ukraine with Russia" were accompanied by the publication of numerous economic monographs that attempted to prove the "progressive significance" of the Pereyaslav Treaty. Authors such as O. Nesterenko falsified historical data in an attempt to assert Ukraine's economic dependence on Russia and dismiss accusations of colonialism.

Economic reforms in the mid-1950s: from centralism to "sovnarkhozes" – Bohdan Wynar fixed the following characteristics (Wynar, 1958, p. 147):

- Decentralisation of industrial management. The essence of the reform was the transition from a centralised sectoral system (ministries) to a regional one, creating Councils of the National Economy (sovnarkhozes).

- Liquidation of ministries (more than 50 union ministries had to be liquidated).

- Regionalisation. The territory of the USSR was divided into 92 economic regions, of which 11 fell to Ukraine (68 to the RSFSR).

- Transfer of powers. A total of 2,752 enterprises were transferred to the councils of Ukraine's people's economic communities, accounting for 75–80% of the country's total industrial production.

The author analyses these changes, emphasising that key industries such as the military, aircraft manufacturing, chemicals and finance remained under Moscow's control despite the apparent decentralisation. The reforms were aimed primarily at increasing efficiency, rather than providing real political autonomy: "...many Ukrainian enterprises receive details from Moscow, Leningrad, the Caucasus, and even the Far East on the basis of inter-factory cooperation" (Wynar B., 1958, p. 157); "...enterprises of one department transport, for example, metal products from the Urals to the South, and enterprises of another department from the South to the Urals" (Wynar B., 1958, p. 146); Ukrainian timber and wood were exported to the Caucasus, while the Caucasus had a surplus of them.

Despite Moscow's overall control, Ukrainian officials seized the opportunities presented by the reforms to further their own interests. For example, they demanded the centralisation of the geological service

and the energy sector at the republican level, which had previously been impossible. They also insisted on paying more attention to the Volyn-Lviv coal basin, which had previously been neglected in favour of the Donbass. Ultimately, the author concludes that, although the reforms were anti-bureaucratic, their success hinged on the Ukrainian republican apparatus's ability to resist Russian imperial interests, which were aligned with those of the All-Union bodies.

The author's emphasis on the critical understanding of Soviet economic scientific literature as a tool of ideological manipulation merits particular attention. This is exemplified in the publication "Essays on the History of Economic Thought in Ukraine", which deliberately bypasses significant periods and figures in Ukrainian economic science. These characteristics are indicative of the historical period:

Falsification of history. The author claims that the 'Essays' gloss over the repression of a whole galaxy of prominent Ukrainian economists from the 1920s. Although many of the repressed communists have been rehabilitated, these figures are ignored because they criticised Moscow's Russification policy.

"Starshobratstvo" ("Bigbrotherhood"). Bohdan Wynar emphasises that the book deliberately misrepresents facts to prove the "progressive" influence of Russian economic thought on Ukrainian thought. He gives the example of the interpretation of Serhiy Podolynskyi's works, from which his criticism of Russian-Ukrainian relations has been removed, thereby distorting the scientist's true views. The author observes that Ukrainian and other non-Russian government bodies adopted an extremely cautious and passive approach during discussions on important reforms initiated by Moscow. This "expectant" position was shaped by the memory of past repression.

The author concludes that the decentralisation of industrial management was not a voluntary act, but **a forced reform** prompted by the internal situation in the USSR and the power struggle between different factions within the CPSU. However, despite financial and planning functions remaining in the hands of the centre, the author emphasised that this process marked the beginning of a new, potentially decisive stage in Ukrainian-Russian relations.

4. Conclusions

Thus, the analysed economic publications are not only a valuable source of information on the history of economic thought, but also a powerful tool for understanding the essence of imperial policy. The ideological underpinnings of Russian economic colonialism, as evidenced by the historical trajectory of Ukrainian economic industries and the resilience of Ukrainian economic consciousness, along with the analytical publishing legacy of the Ukrainian diaspora, provide compelling evidence that even periods of "thaw" and administrative decentralization did not alter the colonial nature of the relationship between Moscow and Ukraine. The concealment of the names and ideas of Ukrainian economists of the 1920s, as well as the irrational management of resources, were part of a deliberate process aimed at curbing Ukraine's economic development. The relevance of these conclusions is undeniable, as they teach modern recipients that Ukrainian economic consciousness is not only about knowledge of markets, but also about awareness of one's own history and unique path. It is historical memory that helps to resist contemporary challenges and build a sustainable, self-sufficient economy, free from any form of colonialism.

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