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SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY OF RESEARCHES OF THE HEAVY INDUSTRY OF EASTERN UKRAINE UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War led to significant changes in the geopolitical situation in the world. Its scale and duration led to the collapse of several empires, among which was the Russian Empire. The association of as many of the territories that were previously part of the Russian Empire, the aggressiveness of the foreign policy of the USSR, and the excessive analysis of all spheres of life required an appropriate economic foundation, the implementation of ideological work and ethno-national policy. This marked the isolation of the Soviet historiography of the newest period in the history of mankind, beginning with the Bolshevik revolution, which led to the perception and consideration of the history of the First World War as periods of 1914–1916 and 1917–1918. Thus, the fact of political life was a factor in the allocation of certain historical periods, which to a large extent contradicted the distinction of historical periods of human development on the basis of changes in industrial and economic relations. The Marxist periodization, modified by the Bolshevik leaders in accordance with its goals, became an important factor which influence on the coverage of the history of the First World War in the USSR.

The main aim of the article is to overview Soviet historiography on the state of heavy industry in the East of Ukraine during the First World War and to analyze the views of the authors on the economic phenomena and processes that took place at these enterprises in 1914–1918.

It is important to mention that the substantiation of the historical condition of the establishment of Soviet power during the 1920's after a long civil war, demanded a certain shift in the emphasis on the coverage of economic processes during the First World War. On the one hand, there was a need to prove the existence of a monopoly capitalism in the Russian Empire, whose destruction was declared an important milestone in the construction of a «socialist society», but on the other hand – economic transformations and successes in the USSR for a long time were evaluated in comparison with the achievements of the Russian Empire in 1913. This led to the gradual introduction of various stamps in the assessments of economic development both during the First World War and in the prewar period, which largely reflected by Soviet historiography.

Despite the existing Soviet historiography, in which the authors analyzed economic phenomena and processes during the First World War, changes in the heavy industry of the East of Ukraine, unfortunately, were investigated only fragmentarily: mostly in the context of processes that took place in the territory of the Russian Empire. However, in the presence of general tendencies in the field of finance and measures aimed at ensuring state regulation of economic development, there were a number of peculiarities in the field of heavy industry in Ukrainian lands which were not subject of scientific studies.

The main idea of the article is that in the second half of the XX century, in the Soviet historiography, coverage of the First World War gave way to the study of the events of the Second World War. The increase in interest in this event was followed in the writings of Russian scientists in the 90's of the XX century. As a result of content analysis and critical discourse analysis, this interest was partly due to the growing tendency to outline the links between the Russian Federation and the Russian Empire, criticizing the Soviet period in the history of the country. Imperial ambitions of the Russian Federation at the beginning of the XXI century became one of the factors of increasing attention to the events of the First World War.

Key words: *First World War, economy, industry, East of Ukraine, Soviet historiography.*

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РАДЯНСЬКА ІСТОРІОГРАФІЯ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ ВАЖКОЇ ПРОМИСЛОВІСТІ СХІДНОГО РЕГІОНУ УКРАЇНИ В УМОВАХ ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ

Висвітлено радянську історіографію з аналізу стану важкої промисловості східного регіону України під час Першої світової війни та проаналізовано погляди авторів щодо економічних явищ і процесів, що відбувалися на цих підприємствах у 1914 – 1918 рр. Доведено, що попри наявну літературу, автори якої розглядали економічні явища та процеси у роки Першої світової війни, але зміни у важкій індустрії Сходу України досліджено лише фрагментарно: здебільшого у контексті перетворень, що відбувалися на теренах Російської імперії.

Ключові слова: *Перша світова війна, економіка, промисловість, Схід України, радянська історіографія.*

The statement of the problem. The First World War led to significant changes in the geopolitical situation in the world. Its scale and duration led to the collapse of several empires, including Russian. The association of as many of the territories that were previously part of the Russian Empire, the aggressiveness of the foreign policy of the USSR, and the excessive analysis of all spheres of life required an appropriate economic foundation, the implementation of ideological work and ethno-national policy. This left its mark on the isolation of the Soviet historiography of the newest period in the history of mankind, beginning with the Bolshevik coup, which led to the perception and consideration of the history of the First World War as periods of 1914 – 1916 and 1917 – 1918.

Thus, the fact of political life was a factor in the allocation of certain historical periods, which to a large extent contradicted the distinction of historical periods of human development on the basis of changes in industrial and economic relations. This was the basis for outlining, for example, the slave and feudal system. The Marxist periodization, modified by the Bolshevik leaders in accordance with its goals, became an important factor influencing the coverage of the history of the First World War in the USSR.

The purpose of the article is to review the Soviet historiography on the state of the heavy industry of the East of Ukraine during the First World War and to analyze the views of the authors on the economic phenomena and processes that took place at these enterprises in 1914 – 1918.

The main material. The substantiation of the historical condition for the establishment of Soviet power during the 1920's after a long civil war required a certain shift in the emphasis on the coverage of economic processes during the First World War. On the one hand, there was a need to prove the existence of monopoly capitalism in the Russian Empire whose destruction was declared an important milestone in the construction of a «socialist society», but on the other hand, economic transformations and successes in the USSR for a long time were evaluated in comparison with the achievements of the Russian Empire in 1913. This led to the gradual introduction of various kinds of stamps in estimates of economic development during the First World War and in the prewar period. At the same time, economic experi-

ments in the years of the NEP, the course on industrialization led to an increase in interest in illuminating the development of heavy industry, whose performance was declared a criterion for assessing the success of economic transformations. The presentation of industrialization as a means to get rid of foreign influence in the conditions of the USSR's «hostile environment» of capitalist countries demanded increased attention of researchers to the study of the influence of foreign capital on the economy of the Russian Empire. A gradual increase in the level of statism of Soviet society led to unrestrained criticism of the monopolies, as unions that opposed state structures, defending above all their mercenary interests. That is why the practice of Soviet scientists entered the critique of monopolistic associations with the conclusion that monopolies hampered the development of industry, and unwise government policy contributed to the growth of crisis phenomena in the economy (Последние дни, 1921), (Сидоров, 1927).

During the 1920's the main focus of Soviet historical and economic science was the process of monopolization of production, the relationship between the tsarist and monopolistic capital, the monopolization of profits, the activities of the «Prodamet» and «Produgol» associations (Гольман, 1927), (Грановский, 1929). Monopolistic associations gradually began to serve as one of the main obstacles to the nationalization of the economy, which was declared the most progressive phenomenon. Critics were subjected to entrepreneurial initiative and the process of concentration of production, which, according to many Soviet scientists, was conditioned only by selfish motives of industrialists. It is worth noting the study of P. Sharov, who described the dependence of military operations on the possibilities of the economy. The paper emphasizes that it was thanks to the modern production facilities of the Moscow economic region and the eastern region of Ukraine that the Russian Empire managed to provide for some time the needs of the armed forces (Шаров, 1928).

The studies also paid attention to the study of the impact of dependence on foreign capital on the stability of economic processes in Russia and the adoption of certain policies by the Russian government (Оль, 1922), (Оль, 1925), (Ронин, 1926). In connection with the determination of the Russian economy depends on foreign capital determined the role of German investors including those who lived in the Russian Empire in the formation of monopoly capitalism. The opposite views were expressed: some researchers believed that Russia was completely dependent on foreign capital, being a colony or semi-colony (Гольман, 1927), (Ванаг, 1930) and supporters of the so-called «national» direction have argued that this did not happen (Гиндин, 1927), (Сидоров, 1927), (Грановский, 1929). In addition, both statements were used by the Stalinist ideological machine to justify the expediency of forced industrialization: on the one hand, the country had to get rid of dependence on foreign capital and investments, and on the other, there were «objective opportunities» for economic transformations due to internal capabilities and reserves (appeared even the direction of publications, the authors of which argued that despite the massive introduction of certain scientific achievements abroad, in Russia, such discoveries were made earlier).

The analysis of the influence of foreign capital on Russian industry during the First World War, which was aimed primarily at proving the necessity of eliminating dependence on foreign entrepreneurs to ensure an adequate level of defense capabilities of the USSR, was mainly carried out with reference to unsuccessful examples of cooperation with foreign firms and organizations. The result was almost complete lack of reliable data on foreign, in particular, German, land tenure and capital in Russia, as in such materials nobody was essentially interested in the long-term. Among the first were the calculations of M. Halytsky (Галицкий, 1922). But they

were made mostly on the basis of untested newspaper reports and they were not accompanied by analytical material. In particular, methods of calculations were not covered.

Some authors used the data of P. Olya, which was grouped in 1917 by industry (Оль, 1922), (Оль, 1925). But they also have a characteristic lack of explanations for the initial data on the size of foreign capital in any joint-stock company. In this regard, it is necessary to recognize the fair judgment that the figures given by P. Olya «are more expert evaluations than precise statistics» (Дякин, 1971: 9). Despite this, some of Olya's findings are noteworthy as they are the result of significant analytical work.

In the writings of Soviet researchers, the analysis of the process of militarization of the economy of the Russian Empire in the years of the First World War became popular. Emphasized the importance of mobilizing the economy to meet the needs of the army. The role of state bodies in this process and in the organization of evacuation of industrial enterprises was determined (Сорокин, 1922). Separately were investigated, the attraction of various categories of workers to work in industrial enterprises within the militarization of the economy (Гессен, 1927), the implementation of financial policies (Каценеленбаум, 1924), (Гиндин, 1927) and the features of monopoly capitalism in the Russian Empire (Грановский, 1929).

During the 30's of the XX century intensified attention to the determination of the impact of foreign capital on the activities of industrial enterprises in the territory of the Russian Empire, criticizing the increasing dependence on foreign entrepreneurs (Ванаг, 1930). Outside the attention of the researchers, the analysis of the effectiveness of economic relations on the basis of private property and the determination of the appropriate limits of state interference in economic processes was gradually drawn. During this period Soviet historical and economic science was completely isolated from the influence of foreign scientific researches. Staying outside the world of research, Soviet scientists focused on «substantiating» the economic transformations of socialism and criticism of capitalist relations. It is important that the analysis of the ideas of J. Keynes and the basic postulates of «New course» of F. Roosevelt was ignored by Soviet researchers of the XX century. This led to the primitiveness of judgments about attempts to state regulation of economic processes carried out by the government of the Russian Empire during the First World War. Behind the thoughtless critique of the Provisional Government's actions, the accusations of the Ukrainian Central Rada of Hetman P. Skoropadsky and the Directory in «bourgeois nationalism» concealed reforms in the sphere of industrial production, attempts to preserve the industrial capacities of industrial enterprises and skilled personnel. The struggle for control over the industrial enterprises of the East of Ukraine between Russian and Ukrainian power structures also remained out of the attention of scientists against the backdrop of large-scale coverage of the «triumphal procession of Soviet power in Ukraine».

During the second half of the 50's – in the 60's of the XX century several attempts have been made to analyze the process of concentration of production in the Russian Empire and determine its impact on the defense of the country (Гефтер, 1953), (Погребинский, 1954), (Шигалин, 1956), (Маевский, 1957а), (Бовыкин, Тарновский, 1957), (Волобуев, 1957), (Погребинский, 1958), (Тарновский, 1958), (Гиндин, 1964). Monopolistic associations have been accused of neglecting national interests in the construction of transport routes, the organization of coal mining and the organization of transportation of mineral fuel through the desire to obtain extra profits, which, according to scientists, led to an increase in the fuel and energy problem. Gradually, scientists began to become increasingly interested in the topic of the illumination of the strike struggle of workers for their rights and the participation of

the Bolsheviks in the organization of anti-government activities in the working environment with the definition of its impact on the work of industrial enterprises (Никифорова, 1953), (Рабочее движение, 1966), (Кирьянов, 1971). At the same time, the spread of the labor movement was due primarily to the growth of the economic crisis in the conditions of war. The results sought to connect with the Bolshevik Revolution, avoiding talk about the economic losses that occurred as a result of strikes (Корелин, 1965).

Instead, the emphasis was on aggravating the financial crisis in the Russian Empire during the war years. Problems in financial policy were related to the problems in the system of governance and the general decline of autocracy, which, according to the scientists, was unable to ensure a well-balanced use of public finances and the proper mobilization of forces and means of warfare (Бовыкин, 1966), (Бовыкин, 1970), (Иванов, Тарновский, 1970). It was pointed out the dependence of the Russian Empire on foreign investment, which created the preconditions for the imbalance of the financial system during the war. However, Soviet researchers for the most part did not link the aggravation of financial problems with the implementation of Russia's financial obligations to the Entente allies for the supplied equipment and mechanisms, as was later done by Russian scientists.

On the example of the organization of production and financial activities of monopolistic associations, financing of economic activity by credit unions, Soviet researchers analyzed the peculiarities of the movement of financial flows during the war years, comparing this process with the prewar (Дозорцев, 1973), (Голиков, 1974), (Воронкова, 1975).

Comparison of the process of organizing production before the war and during the war years, with the emphasis on the role of the Bolshevik Party in the reconstruction of industry and agriculture, and the suppression of the destructive influence of revolutionary organizations on production activity became the subject of an analysis of a significant number of Soviet researchers.

It is worth highlighting the work of I. Maievsky (Маевский, 1957b), the author of which – the doctor of economic sciences – made an attempt to comprehensively explore the development of Russian economy during the First World War. His study includes an analysis of the nature of industrial restructuring to meet military needs, features of production and forms of distribution of metal and fuel, the process of concentration of production and the growth of profits of industrialists through the execution of military orders, the dynamics of labor productivity and the provision of enterprises with labor force. At the same time, in this work I. Mayevsky widely represented the role of the Bolsheviks in the organization of strike movement with an emphasis on determining the factors that accelerated the decline of autocracy.

At the same time, it should be noted the work of V. Dyakin, who paid much attention to the analysis of the relationship between the Russian bourgeoisie and the tsarist during the First World War, as well as the coverage of the activities of joint stock companies, part of the capital of which were the finances of foreign entrepreneurs (Дякин, 1967), (Дякин, 1968), (Дякин, 1971).

In studies A. Sidorov stressed out that the main reasons for the growth of crisis phenomena in the economy of Russia was a low capacity of transport routes (and especially railways) and their relatively small network, as well as the location of production due to the features of the process of concentration of capital (Сидоров, 1957), (Сидоров, 1960). Being competent and acquainted with the content of the source base by the researcher, A. Sidorov considered the fact of the uneven development of various economic branches and the presence in these sectors of different rates of economic growth. But like most other researchers, he gives

preference to general phenomena in his opinion compared with secondary ones (Ланской, 2010: 196).

In the works of Soviet researchers mostly highlighted progress towards the concentration of capital in the Russian Empire. At the same time, attention was drawn to the enterprises located on the territory of the Donbas, since an absolute majority of them were built and equipped with modern machines and mechanisms by attracting foreign capital and concentration of production (Тарновский, 1958), (Шепелев, 1973), (Шепелев, 1987), (Кубицкая, 1989), (Кушнирук, 1989).

Considerable attention was paid to the study of the history of individual industrial enterprises. At the same time, the emphasis was placed on the study of the labor movement and the participation of workers in the «establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine», and much less attention was paid to the analysis of production processes, organization of labor. By pointing indicators that characterize output, retreated into the background managers and employees who have made great efforts for the organization of enterprises in market conditions and increased government regulation of economic processes during the First World War (Малюк и др., 1960), (Кнышев и др., 1962), (Каган, 1963), (Прохоров и др., 1964), (Зарево над заводом, 1965), (Коммунарцы, 1965), (Евселевский, Пустовит, 1967), (Вараввa, Маленко, 1970).

Some aspects of the activity of industrial enterprises in the eastern region of Ukraine were considered within the framework of the studies devoted to the analysis of providing the army with the necessary equipment. In this regard, much attention was paid to the coverage of the so-called «shell hunger» and measures aimed at solving this problem. The importance of organizing large-scale production of shells of various calibres was emphasized, but at the same time it was pointed out that the loading of individual enterprises by comparatively simple manufacture of this type of ammunition complicated the simultaneous production of machines and mechanisms, the technology of which was much more complicated. Therefore, in some cases, enterprises that had equipment for the production of turbine engines for ships or metal-working machines, were engaged in the production of shells. It was pointed out that the problem was the organization of providing defense enterprises with skilled workers, fuel and raw materials (Астафьев, 1976).

The ideological principles that guided their research in most of the Soviet historians who studied the events of the First World War often contradicted not only historical facts but, in fact, one another. Thus, the justification for the existence of monopoly capitalism in Russia and, accordingly, the prerequisites for the socialist revolution required the advancement of success in the economic development before the war. At the same time, the justification for the need to overthrow autocracy required criticism of the government during the war years. Therefore, enough effort was made to cover the crisis phenomena in the economy of the Russian Empire during the First World War (Флоринский, 1988), (Аврех, 1989).

Guided by the relevant directions, the economic reasons were determined for the deployment of the campaign «Fighting German domination» in the Russian Empire during the First World War. It was pointed out that, in the opinion of the ruling circles, the slogan of the elimination of «German domination» was to draw on the side of the government the middle and petty bourgeoisie, which thus got an opportunity to get rid of competitors of German origin, to provide the authorities with support for the broad bourgeois parties that sought to strengthen the government's assistance to the «Russian industry» (Кризис, 1984: 182). It was emphasized that the struggle with «Germanism» created attractive prospects in the agrarian sphere, because by liquidating the land tenure of the Germans-colonists, the government was

given a chance to resolve the land issue without affecting the interests of Russian landlords (Флоринский, 1988: 93). It was emphasized that the struggle against «German domination» was supposed to contribute to the formation of chauvinistic sentiments in the population (Дякин, 1968: 227). However, in agreeing with the opinions of Soviet researchers, it should be pointed out that the coverage of their campaign against the German colonists aimed, first of all, to demonstrate the shortcomings of the work of Russian officials, their interest in preserving landlord land tenure and feudalism, which hampered economic development, and led to future revolutionary transformations in Russian society. However, the close cooperation between the leaders of the Bolshevik Party and the German intelligence and the receipt of large funds for the organization of the Bolshevik coup was concealed.

Conclusions. Thus, we can state that in the second half of the XX century in the Soviet historiography coverage of the First World War gave way to the study of the events of the Second World War. The increase of interest in this event was displayed in the writings of Russian scientists in the 90's of the XX century. According to the results of content analysis and critical discourse analysis, this interest was partly due to the growing tendency to outline the links between the Russian Federation and the Russian Empire criticizing the Soviet period of the history of the country. Imperial ambitions of the Russian Federation at the beginning of the XXI century became one of the factors of increasing attention to the events of the First World War.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that despite the literature, authors of which analyzed economic phenomena and processes during the First World War, unfortunately, changes in the heavy industry of the East of Ukraine were investigated only fragmentarily: mostly in the context of processes that took place in the territory of the Russian Empire. However, in the presence of general tendencies in the field of finance and measures which were aimed at ensuring state regulation of economic development, there were a number of peculiarities in the field of heavy industry in Ukrainian lands which were not the subject of scientific studies.

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