

文學博士學位論文

볼셰비끼 사회주의와 ‘노동자 관리’(Workers'
Control) 운동, 1917~21

1998年 8月

서울대학교 大學院

西洋史學科

李 貞 姬

< >

‘ (Workers' Control) ,
1917-21

1917 21 가
‘ (Рабочий контроль) (consciousness)
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1917 21 ‘ ,
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, 1917 ‘ , 가
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, 1917 10 ‘ ,
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, 1918 6 ‘
, 1921
- 가 ,
가
가 反
가 .

, ‘ ’가
 (spontaneous) 가 , ‘
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 1917 2 10
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 가 , , 가 가가
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 가 ’ 가
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 , 1917 21 , ‘ ,
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 : 階級意識, , ‘ ; ‘ 가 ; ‘ , ‘ ,
 産業 中樞部, ‘ .

1	1
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< 1>	1917 3 10 25 市	36
< 2>		61
< 3>	(5 7)	61
< 4>	市	80
< 5>	1917 3 10 市	89
< 6>	9 10 市	90
< 7>	가 (1918 8)	162
< 8>	가 (1917 6 1920 4)	167
< 9>	中樞部	183
< 10>	中樞部	184
< 11>		185
< 12>		209
< 13>		211
< 14>		212
< 15>		213

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가 . ,

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1917 1918 2 28
1918 3

13 .

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1. ‘ , ’

社會主義 10 가 社會主義
義가 ,

(spontaneity)¹⁾ 意識(consciousness)²⁾

1) 意識 1870
. 1870

가 .

, 意識
가 . 意識

,
. D. Hardy,
“Consciousness and Spontaneity, 1875,” *Canadian Slavic Studies* 4: 4 (1970), 699- 700;
L. H. Haimson, *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism* (Cambridge,
Mass., 1955), 209- 211.

가

. R. A. Wade, *Red Guards and Workers' Militias in the Russian
Revolution* (Stanford, 1984), 4- 6.

2) E. J. Hobsbawm, “Class Consciousness in History,” I. Meszaros, ed., *Aspects of
History and Class Consciousness* (London, 1971), 5- 12. 意識

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가
가 , 10
,
理念 (plan) ,
.3) (A. Sobolev) 가
.
70 가 , 가
가 .
가 ‘ ,
가 .
가 , ,
가 가
....
가 . 가
.4)

3) P. V. Volobuev, "Perestroika and the October Revolution in Soviet Historiography," *Russian Review* 51: 4 (1992), 566-76. 1985

가 10
가 非
가 가

4) G. L. Sobolev, "Rabochii klass Rossii -- reshaiushchaia sila velikogo oktiabria: Nekotorye itogi izucheniia problemy v 70- 80e gody," O. N. Znamenskii i drugie red., *Rabochii klass Rossii v 1917 godu* (Leningrad, 1989), 6-11. 1987 70

,

無階級 社會

.5)

,

幹部

(кадр агент групп, Cadre Agent Group)⁶⁾

가

意識

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意識

가

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意識

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가

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.7)

가

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5)

. W. H. Chamberlain,

Russian Revolution, 2 vols. (New York, 1953); L. Trotsky, *History of Russian Revolution*, 3 vols. (London, 1967); R. V. Daniels, *Red October: The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917* (New York, 1967); E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-23*, 3 vols. (New York, 1951-53).

6)

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7)

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8)

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.9)

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1960

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- A. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd* (New York, 1978); R. V. Daniels, *The Conscience of the Revolution, Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); A. B. Ulam, *The Bolsheviks* (New York, 1965); L. H. Schapiro, *The Origins of Communist Autocracy: Political Opposition in the Soviet State: The First Phase, 1917-21* (London, 1966); idem, *The Russian Revolution of 1917: The Origin of Modern Communism* (New York, 1984); B. D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution, A Biographical History* (New York, 1964).
- 8) W. H. Chamberlain, *The Russian Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York, 1933-5); L. H. Schapiro, *op. cit.*; F. I. Kaplan, *Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labor, 1917-20: The Formative Years* (New York, 1968); J. Buynan, *The Origins of Forced Labor in the Soviet State, 1917-21: Documents and Materials* (Baltimore, 1967); J. S. Curtiss, *The Russian Revolutions of 1917* (Princeton, 1957).
- 9) J. H. L. Keep, *The Russian Revolution: A Study in Mass Mobilization* (London, 1976); P. Avrich, "The Russian Factory Committee," Ph. D. Diss. (Columbia University, 1961).

人民主義的 가 .
1965 (L. Haimson) , “1905- 14
” 1917 ,

1914
,10) 1

가 .

가 修正主義的 11)
. 1980 修正主義的 가¹²⁾ 10

10) , “1905- 14 ”, 『
』 (, 1992), 220- 278.

11) - 가 .

가 10 ,
10 , “
,” 『 』 33 (1989), 221- 22.

12) D. Mandel, *The Petrograd Workers and the Fall of the Old Regime: From the February to the July Days, 1917* (New York, 1978). *The Fall* ; idem, *The Peterograd Workers and the Soviet Seizure of Power: From the July Days to July 1918* (New York, 1985). *The Soviet Seizure* ; S. A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in Factories, 1917-18* (Cambridge, 1983). *Red Petrograd* ; D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers in 1917 Revolution* (Princeton, 1981).
Moscow Workres ; W. G. Rosenberg & R. G. Suny, eds., *Party, State and Society in the Russian Civil War: Exploration in Social History* (Bloomington, 1989).
Civil War .
가 .

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.¹³⁾

意識

意識

가

社會主義

가?

가?

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가?

가

가

가?

社會主義

意識

가?

1917 2

(Фабзавком)¹⁴⁾가

13) V. Brovkin, ed. and trans., *Dear Comrades: Menshevik Reports on the Bolshevik Revolution and Civil War* (Stanford, 1991), 1-36; R. Pipes, *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime* (New York, 1993).

14) 1905 .

1917 2 25

가

가

가

1921 가 ‘ (рабочий контро
ль)¹⁵⁾ , 가
가 , 가
가 1917 3 10
意識
가
(рабочее управление)¹⁶⁾ ,
無階級 社會主義
1921 가
1917 1921 ,
社會主義 實像
가

가

15) ‘ ,
. 1917 ,
가
, 가
16) ‘ , 1918 가 -
(Skvortsov-Stepanov)가 , *Ot rabocheho kontrolia k rabochemu upravleniu v promyshlennosti i zemledelenii* (『
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 ,
 (M. Brinton)
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 20 가 가 가
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 1960
 가
 ,
 (C. Bettelheim) 社會主義가
 , 가
 (Economism) 가
 , 가
 가
 .
 .
 .¹⁸⁾

17) M. Brinton, *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control* (London, 1970), v; idem, "The Factory Committee and the Dictatorship of Proletariat," *Critique* 4 (1975), 78-9.

18) C. Bettelheim, *Class Struggle in the USSR, First Period: 1917-23*, vol. 1 (New York, 1978), 21-4.

2

.¹⁹⁾ 가
生産様式
가
,²⁰⁾ 가 가
가 ,²¹⁾ 社會主義
가
,²²⁾
(C. Sirianni)
가 가
가
가

19) V. A. Vinogradov, *Rabochii kontrol' nad proizvodstvom: teoriia, istoriia, sovremennost'* (Moskva, 1983), 300-20; idem, *Workers' Control over Production, Past and Present* (Moskva, 1973), 160-79. 2

20) M. Brinton, "Factory Committee and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," *Critique* 4 (1975) ; J. Chauvier, "Contrôle Ouvrier et Autogestion Sauvage en Russie, 1917- 21," *Revue des Pays de l'Est* 14: 1 (1973), 71- 100.

21) , 『가, , 』, (, 1994), 197- 212.

22) G. Hunnius, ed., *Workers' Control* (New York, 1973), 3- 25; R. Hyman, "Workers' Control and Revolution: An Appraisal of Publication of the Institute for Workers' Control," *Socialist Register 1974*, eds., R. Miliband and J. Saville, (London, 1974), 241- 78.

社會主義的

.²³⁾

‘ ,
가 . , ‘ ,

意識

， ，
理念

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2. ‘ ,

가 가 ‘ , 가

. , 1917

‘ , 가²⁴⁾

가

가

가 .

23) C. Sirianni, *Workers' Control and Socialist Democracy: The Soviet Experiences* (London, 1982), 6. *The Soviet Experiences* .

24) 가

가

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. 가
2/3

가 .

‘ , , 10
 ‘ ,
 ,²⁵⁾ 가 (A. Pankratova)²⁶⁾,
 (A. G. Egorova), (N. P. Silantieva) 가
 ‘ ,
 .²⁷⁾
 1918 反
 ‘ , . 10
 가
 意識的 ,
 . 1930
 가 (B. M. Freidlin)

-
- 25) V. I. Lenin, *On Workers' Control and the Nationalization of Industry* (Moskva, 1970), 173-4; S. A. Lozovsky, *Rabochii kontrol'* (Petrograd, 1918), 32-58; I. I. Stepanov-Skvortsov, *Ot rabocheho kontroliia k rabochemu upravleniiu* (Moskva, 1918) .
 26) A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy Rossii i bor'ba za sotsialisticheskuiu fabriku* (Moskva, 1923). *Fabzavkomy* ; idem, *Fabzavkomy i profsoiuzy v pervye gody revoliutsii 1917g.* (Moskva, 1927). *Fabzavkomy i profsoiuzy* .
 1920 가 .

- 가
 . < >, <
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 27) A. G. Egorova, *Profsoiuzy i fabzavkomy v bor'be za pobedu Oktiabria, mart-oktiabr' 1917 goda* (Moskva, 1970); N. P. Silantieva, *Rabochii kontrol': proiavlenie tvorchestva narodnykh mass v bor'be za vlast' Sovetov, 1917-20 gg.* (Moskva, 1954); P. V. Volobuev, "Leninskaia ideia rabocheho kontroliia i dvizhenie za rabochii kontrol' v marte-oktiabre 1917 g.," *Voprosy istorii KPSS* 6 (1962), 39-56.

,28)

(L. Kritzman)

1917

29)

意識的

,30)

28) V. M. Freidlin, "Bor'ba predprinimatelei protiv rabocheho kontroliia v 1917 g.," *Bor'ba Krasnov* 6-7 (1931), 21-6; *Ocherki Istorii rabocheho dvizheniia v Rossii v 1917 g.* (Moskva, 1967); "Glava iz podgotovliaemoi monografii 'rabochii kontrol'", *Istoriia proletariata SSSR* 12 (1932), 16 (1933); "Dekret o rabochem kontrole," *Istoriik-marksist* 5 (1933), 84-5.

20

가

1918

가

가가

가

1918

가

가

29) L. Kritsman, *Geroiskii period velikoi russkoi revoliutsii* (Moskva, 1924)

30) 1917-18

3가

< >(Совнарком)

<

>(Всехна)

. V. M. Freidlin,

1960 (V. P. Nasyrin), (A. Ya. Gorman),
(V. Z. Drobizhev)

1917 가 ,

.³¹⁾

가

1960 70 (V. I. Selitskii), (M. L. Itkin), (D.
Zeitlin), (D. A. Kovalenko) ‘ , ’

.³²⁾

(Z. V. Stepanov)

“Bor'ba predprinimatelei protiv rabocheho kontroliia v 1917 g,” *Bor'ba Krasnov* 6-7
(1931), 21-6.

- 31) V. P. Nasyrin, “O nekotorykh voprosakh sotsialisticheskogo preobrazovaniia promyshlennosti v SSSR,” *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1956), 90-100; A. Ya. Gorman, “O sotsialisticheskome preobrazovanii promyshlennosti SSSR,” *Voprosy istorii* 2 (1957); V. Z. Drobizhev, “Staticheskie dannye o roli rabocheho kalssa v formirovanii organov upravleniia promyshlennosti, 1917-22 gg.,” *Iz istorii rabocheho kalssa SSSR, sbornik statei* (Leningrad, 1962); “Uchastie profsoiuzov v sozdanii sovetov narodnogo khoziaistva v 1917-18gg.” *Uchenie zapiski Moskovskoi vysshei zaochnoi shkoly profdvizhenia VtsSPS*, v. 2 (1960).

10

가 가

가

- 32) V. I. Selitskii, “Bor'ba trudiashchikhsia za kontrol' nad raspredeleniem,” *Istoriia SSSR* 3 (1967), 3-16; “Nekotorye voprosy bor'by petrogradskikh rabochikh za kontrol' nad proizvodstvom v period mirnogo razvitiia revoliutsii, mart-iiun' 1917 g.,” *Istoriia rabocheho kalssa Leningrada*, vyp.1 (1965), 187-210; D. A. Zeitlin, “Fabrichno-zavodskie komitety v fevrale-oktiabre 1917g.,” *Voprosy istorii* 11 (1956), 86-97; D. A. Kovalenko, “Bor'ba fabrichno-zavodskikh komitetov Petrograda za

가

.33)

意識

非

34)

가

가

(P. Avrich), (J. H. Keep) 1917

35)

(S. Smith), (D. Koenker), (D. Mandel) 20

階級意識

-
- rabochii kontrol' nad proizvodstvom, mart-oktiabr' 1917g." *Istoricheskie zapiski*, t. 61 (1957), 66-111; M. L. Itkin, "K voprosu o rabochem kontrole nad proizvodstvom i vooruzheniem proletariata nakanune Oktiabria," *Lenin i Oktiabr'skoe vooruzhennoe vostanie v Petrograde* (Moskva, 1964), 250-58; idem, "Nekotorye funktsii rabocheho kontroliia v period podgotovki vooruzhennogo vosstaniia, iul'-oktiabr' 1917 g.," *Rabochii klass i rabochee dvizhenie v 1917 g.* (Moskva, 1964), 305-24; "Tsentry fabrichno-zavodskikh komitetov v 1917 g.," *Voprosy istorii* 2 (1974), 21-35.
- 33) Z. V. Stepanov, *Rabochie Petrograda v period podgotovki i provedeniia Oktiabr'skogo vooruzhennogo vosstaniia: avgust-oktiabr' 1917 g.* (Moskva, 1965); idem, *Fabzavkomy Petrograda v 1917 godu* (Leningrad, 1975). *Fabzavkomy* ; idem, "K voprosu o rabochem kontrole nad proizvodstvom i raspredeleniem," *Istoriia SSSR* 1 (1967), 232-4.
- 34) S. Schwarz, *Fabrichno-zavodskie komitety i profsoiuzy v pervye gody revoliutsii* (Stanford, 1935). *Fabrichno-zavodskie* ; M. S. Bershtam, red., *Nezavisimoe rabochee dvizhenie v 1918 godu, dokumenty i materialy* (Paris, 1981); D. Dalin, *Narodnoe khoziaistvo i sotsializm, Sbornik statei* (Moskva, 1918); N. Sukhanov, *Zapiski o revoliutsii, 1921-23 gg.* (Moskva, 1922-23)
- 35) J. H. L. Keep, *op. cit.*; P. Avrich, ed., *Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (Ithaca, 1973). *Anarchists* ; idem, "The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control," *Slavic Review* 22: 1 (1963), 47-63.

意識

가

가

가

가

가

37)

가

.38)

(G. L.

- 15 -

가

가 階級意識

가

.³⁹⁾

(R.J. Devlin) 1917

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, ‘ ’가 가

.⁴⁰⁾ ‘ ,

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가

가,

가

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.⁴¹⁾ 非

가

40) S. Smith, *Red Petrograd*; R. J. Devlin, "Petrograd Workers and Workers' Factory Committee: An Aspect of Social History of Russian Revolution," Ph. D. Thesis (SUNY at Binghamton, 1976) .

- 16 -

.42)

가 .43)

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3 10 가

, 10 ,

.44)

修正主義 가 (V. Bonnell)

1870 ,

10

, 가 ,

.45) 1917

가 ,

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가 ,

가

42) D. Dalin, *Narodnoe khoziaistvo i sotsializm, za god, sbornik statei* (Moskva, 1918); N. N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution*, 4 vols. ed. Carmichael (London, 1955); S. Schwarz, *Fabrichno-zavodskie* .

43) Soiuz SR.-Maximalistov, *O rabochem kontrole* (Moskva, 1918); V. Voline, *Nineteen Seventeen: The Russian Revolution Betrayed* (New York, 1956) .

44) P. Avrich, *Anarchists* .

45) S. A. Smith, *Red Petrograd*; D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers.*; V. E. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion: Workers' Politics and Organization in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900- 1914* (Berkeley, 1983) .

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 1917 21 ‘ ,
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 2 階級意識 1917 3 8
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 3 1917 9 10 反革命 權力
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 ‘ ’가
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가 가
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 가

가
‘ - 가 ’
. 意識 ,
가
. ‘ 幹部’ (контролёр
кадр, Controller Cadre)⁵⁰⁾
가 .

50) - 가 가

2 2 7 ‘ , 政治理念的

1917 2 7 ‘ ,
, 가 政治理念
가 가 .
, ,
, 가 , ‘
, 가
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1. ‘ ,

1 가
. 2

.1) 2

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- 1) E. N. Burdzhakov, *Russia's Second Revolution: The February 1917 Uprising in Petrograd*, trans. D. J. Raleigh (Bloomington, 1987), 104-21; M. T. Florinsky, *The End of the Russian Empire* (New York, 1961), 32-54; W. H. Chamberlain, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-21*, vol. 1 (New York, 1965), 73-99; M. Ferro, *The Russian Revolution of February 1917* (London, 1972); N. N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution*, 4 vols., ed. J. Carmichael (London, 1955); I. P. Leiberov, *Na Shturm samoderzhavii: Petrogradskii proletarii v godu pervoi mirovoi voiny i fevral'skoi*

. 2

가

.²⁾

.³⁾ 2

가

人民

(Совет)가

.⁴⁾

revoliutsii (Moskva, 1979), 65.

2)

가

. 1897 1914

가 120

224

. 1917

1 8

240

. 1912 2

188

68.7%,

15.5%,

4.1%,

0.7%,

0.5%,

7.2%

가

가 23.4

, 26

가 5.8

, , ,

가 5.2

가 7.7

가 4.1

2.5

가 2.1

. 1912

27%

1890

7.3 , 1914

24 , 1917 41.7

. 가

. Z. V. Stepanov, *Rabochie*

Petrograda v period podgotovki provedeniia oktiabr'skogo vooruzhennogo vosstaniia

(Moskva, 1965), 29;

, “

, 1870- 1914:

,” , 『

』 (, 1989), 272- 77.

3) 1917

()

240

39

350

1/10

60%

200

38

60%

2/3

, 가

60%

17

가

2

. Z. V. Stepanov, *op. cit.*

(1965), 30; A. G. Rashin, *Formirovanie rabocheho klassa* (Moskva, 1958), 83.

4)

가 .

2

가

가 二重權力(dual power)

10

新憲法

制憲議

會

가

, 2

.5)

.6)

1000

1

87%가

250

1

424

422

가

가 6

500 ,

10

900 가

5) 2

가

二重權力

가 3

民

兵隊⁷⁾, 工場委員會(фабзавком)⁸⁾,

가

가

29

1,670

5

.⁹⁾

6) D. Mandel, *The Petrograd Workers and the Fall of the Old Regime: From the February Revolution to the July Days, 1917* (London, 1983), 61-75. *The Fall*

7) R. A. Wade, *Red Guards and Workers' Militias in the Russian Revolution* (Stanford, 1984), 80-99; T. Hasegawa, "The Formation of Militia in the February Revolution: An Aspect of the Origins of the Dual Power," *Slavic Review* 32: 2 (1984), 303-22. 2

가

8) A. M. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy Rossii i bor'ba za sotsialisticheskuiu fabriku* (Moskva, 1923). *Fabzavkomy* ; idem, *Fabzavkomy i profsoiuzy v revoliutsii 1917 g.* (Moskva, 1927). *Profsoiuzy* ; S. A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories, 1917-18* (Cambridge, 1983). *Red Petrograd* ; Z. V. Stepanov, *Fabzavkomy Petrograda v 1917 godu* (Leningrad, 1985). *Fabzavkomy* .

9) V. I. Selnitskii, *Massy v bor'be za rabochii kontrol', mart-iiuni' 1917.* (Moskva, 1971), 41; D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution* (Princeton, 1981), 145. *Moscow Workers* . 가 가

(AMO)

’(checking) , 가 , ’(managing) .¹²⁾ ‘ , 無階級 , 가 가 가 (C. Sirianni) 1 , 가 가 가 .¹³⁾ 가 가 , , 가 反 가 2 , 1 , 14) 가 1905 14

12) M. Brinton, *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control* (London, 1970), i-ii. (Patronnyi) , (Kebke Canvas) , (Admiralty)

가 .
13) C. Sirianni, “Workers' Control in the Era of World War I: A Comparative Analysis of the European Experience,” *Theory and Society* 9: 1 (1980), 29-30.
14) V. Brovkin, ed., *Dear Comrades: Menshevik Reports on the Bolshevik Revolution and Civil War* (Stanford, 1991), 5-6; R. Pipes, *Revolutionary Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); idem, *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime* (1993, New York), 4-6; B. Pares, *Russia between Reform and Revolution* (New York, 1962); L. H. Schapiro, *The Origin of Communist Autocracy: Political Opposition in the Soviet State: The First Phase, 1917-21* (London, 1961), 52-66 ; F. I. Kaplan, *Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labour* (London, 1969), 97-141; J. B. Sorenson, *The Life and*

가 30, 40
 産業化 가
 .15)
 가 . 20 가
 1905 가
 (D. Koenker) , 2
 1905 7 , 1912 14 , 1916 17
 , 1905
 . 1905 14 950
 가 65%가 .16)

Death of Soviet Trade Union, 1917-28 (New York, 1969), 16-39.

- 15) V. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion: Workers' Politics and Organization in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900-14* (Berkeley, 1983), 390-438; H. Reichmann, "Russian Railmen and the Revlution of 1905," Ph. D. Diss. (Berkeley, 1977); G. D. Surh, *1905 in St Petersburg, Labour, Society and Revolution* (Stanford, 1985), 350-405. 1905

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. D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers*, 145.

17) [https://www.oxfordjournals.org/doi/10.1093/oxfordjournals/mednuc.a010702](#), 268- 67.

18) $\frac{1}{2} \cdot 18 = 9$

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19) P. Liashchenko, *History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1917 Revolution* (New York, 1947), 284.

20) P. Liashchenko, *ibid.*, 418-20. 1861 6000
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21) P. Liashchenko, *ibid.*, 422.

22) , , 273.

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23) A. G. Rashin, *op. cit.*, 19- 30. 1914 1240 .
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24) R. A. Wade, *Red Guards and Workers' Militias in the Russian Revolution* (Stanford, 1984), 10- 19.

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25) A. Rashin, *Sostav fabrichno-zavodskogo proletariata SSSR* (Moskva, 1929), 19-21.
Sostav ; S. Smith, *op. cit.*, 20.

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26) I. Deutscher, *Soviet Trade Union: Their Place in Soviet Labour Policy* (London, 1950), 13.

27) W. Rosenberg, “ : ” 『 』, 313- 341; S. Smith, *Red Petrograd*, 181- 5.

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- 28) A. Pankratova and V. Meller, red., *Rabochie dvizhenie v 1917 godu: Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Moskva, 1926), 16; M. G. Fleer, *Rabochie dvizhenie* (1925), 4-7; M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 6.
- 29) W. Rosenberg, “ ”, , 323-25.

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30) W. Rosenberg, , 331. 3

31) , “1917 ” (, 1991),
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,	36	35	44	68	183 (4.3%)
8 ,	32	12	12	2	58 (1.4%)
, , 가	75	56	72	38	241 (5.6%)
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, ,	60	48	48	117	299 (7.0%)
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“ ”	6	12	42	169	229 (5.4%)
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,	20	16	38	94	168 (3.9%)
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: Z. V. Stepanov, *Fabzavkomy Petrograda v 1917 g.* (Leningrad, 1985), 64- 65.

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32) D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers*, 160, 162- 25.

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36) A. Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution* (Chicago, 1967), 320.

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38) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol' v promyshlennykh predpriiatiakh Petrograda, 1917-18 gg.; Sbornik dokumentov* (Leningrad, 1947), 41. M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol', dok.*

39) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Ibid, dok.*, 42, no. 3.

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Mitel'man i drugie red., *Ibid.*, 55, no. 21.

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41) S. Smith, ed., *Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i fabzavkomy*, s. xiii. *Fabzavkomy, dok.* ; A. F. Kerensky and R. P. Brower, eds., *The Russian Provisional Government*, vol. 1 (Stanford, 1960), 170; A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy*, 9.

42) G. L. Sobolev, *Revoliutsionnoe soznanie rabochikh i soldatov Petrograda v 1917 g.: period dvoevlastiia* (Leningrad, 1973), 58; D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 85-95.

43) S. Smith, *Red Petrograd*, 63-4.

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44) A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy*, 12-13; M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 2.

45) P. V. Volobuev, “Leninskaia ideia rabocheho kontroliia i dvizhenie za rabochii kontrol' v marte-oktiabre 1917g.,” *Voprosy istorii KPSS* 6 (1962), 39-52.

46) R. Hyman, “Workers' Control and Revolutionary Theory: An Appraisal of the Publication of the Institute for Workers' Control,” *Socialist Register 1974* (1974), 241-78. 가 ‘ 가

가 . C. Sirianni, *Workers' Control and Socialist Democracy: The Soviet Experiences* (London, 1982). *The Soviet Experiences* ; idem, “Workers' Control in the Era of World War I: A Comparative Analysis of the European Experience,” *Theory and Society* 9: 1 (1980),

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50) , , 307.

51) A. Wildman, *op. cit.*, 56-70.

52) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 6: 32; *CW* 24: 22.

53) M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 3. ‘ ,

54) M. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol'*, dok. nos. 8, 9, 10, 20, 21.

55) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 6; I. I. Gaza, ed., *Putilovets v Trekh revoliutsiiakh: Sbornik materialov po istorii putilovetskogo zavoda* (Leningrad, 1933), 309-18.

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56) . V. I. Selnitskii, *Massy v bor'be za rabochii kontrol', mart-iiun' 1917 g.* (Moskva, 1971), 199-202, < 2>, < 3> ; G. L. Shkliarevsky, *op. cit.*, 123-64; S. Smith, *Red Petrograd*, 176-89; "Materialy k istorii rabocheho kontroliia nad proizvodstvom," *Krasnyi Arkhiv* 103 (1940), 109.

57) 가 1917 3 가

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58) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 6: 62, 850-6; M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 3.

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54-57.
63) LGAORSS, f. 1000, op. 73, d. 6, l. 4; D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 90 .

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64) D. Mandel, *ibid.*, 105-7.

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66) D. Mandel, *ibid.*, 97.

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. LGAORSS, f. 4602, op. 7,

d. 7, I. 68; D. Mandel, *ibid.*, 97 ; G. L. Sobolev, *op. cit.*, 72.

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68) D. Mandel, *ibid.*, 20.

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Moscow Workers, 119.

77) D. Koenker, *ibid.*, 200.

78) D. Mandel, “Russian Intelligentsia and Working Class”, *Critique* 14 (1981), 67- 82: D.

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Koenker, *ibid.*, 220.

79) V. I. Lenin, *On Workers' Control and the Nationalization of Industry, Documents* (Moskva, Progress Publisher, 1970), 31-7. *Workers' Control, Dok.* ;
 “From the Resolution on the Current Situation,” *CW* 24: 311-2.

80) V. I. Lenin, *Workers' Control, Dok.* 31-7; *CW* 24: 513-14, “Inevitable Catastrophe and Extravagant Promises”; *CW* 6: 116-7, “Workers' Control by Working Class.”

81) P. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton, 1971), 72-81. *Anarchists* .
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85) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol', dok.*, no. 86-7.

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86) A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy*, 15.

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87) A. Pankratova, *ibid.*, 19.

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. N. N. Sukhanov, *op. cit.*, 3: 339-40; *Pravda*, 1917. 6. 20; *Izvestiia*, 1917. 6. 29; D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 128.

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. ‘ , ’ 336 85 . *Pervaia rabochaia konferentsiia fabrichno-zavodskikh komitetov* (Petrograd, 1917), 5; S. O. Zagorsky, *State Control of Industry in Russia During the War* (New Haven, 1928), 174-5.

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. D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 143; M. I. Mitelman i drugie red., *Istoriia Putilovskogo zavoda 1801-1917* (Moskva, 1961), 77; I. I. Gaza, ed., *Putilovets v trekh revoliutsiiakh: Sbornik materialov po istorii putilovskogo zavoda*

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(Leningrad 1933), 236; Z. V. Stepanov, *Rabochie Petrograda* (Moskva, 1965), 27.
 89) S. Smith, *Red Petrograd*, 177-80.
 90) S. Smith, *ibid.*, 184-5. 7

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91) *Velikaia oktiabr'skaia.*, 138; R. Devlin, *op. cit.*, 149 .

92) N. N. Sukhanov, *op. cit.*, 3: 339; *Pravda*, 1917. 8. 20; *Izvestiia*, 1917. 6. 29.

93) 가

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 I. Selnitsky, *Massy v bor'be za rabochii kontrol', mart-iul' 1917g.* (Moskva, 1971),
 200; G. L. Sobolev, red., *Piterskie rabochie v bor'be s kontrrevoliutsiei v 1917-18gg.*

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(Moskva, 1986), 260-1; I. I. Gaza, ed., *Putilovets*, 431; *Pravda*, 1917. 5. 24 ; A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy*, 122.

94) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol'*, 93.

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97) *Ibid.*, no. 67; D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 157. 가

98) D. Mandel, *ibid.*, 156.

99) *Tret'ia vserossiiskaia konferentsiia*; M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 5-6 .

100) M. Brinton, *ibid.*, 6.

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: *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, : 36-44; R. J. Devlin, *op. cit.*, 128 .

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: V. I. Selnitskii, *Massy v bor'be za rabochii kontrol', mart-iiul' 1917 goda* (Moskva, 1971), 200.

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101) I. I. Gaza, red., *Putilovets*, 236.

102) *Velikaia oktiabr'skaia sotsialisticheskaia revoliutsiia: Dokumenty i materialy*

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(Moskva, 1957- 63), 501. Vel. okt. dok. . D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 158
 ; M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *op. cit.*, no. 54.
 103) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *ibid.*, no. 55.
 104) *Vel. okt. dok.*, May, 560; D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 158 .
 105) *Vel. okt. dok.*, May, 558- 61.

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106) A. Rabinowitch, *Prelude to October Revolution* (Bloomington, 1968), 5-16; *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* 6 (1922), 59-61; D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 158.

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108) R. Devlin, *op. cit.*, 216; A. Rabinowitch, *op. cit.*, 194; D. A. Kovalenko, “Bor'ba fabrichno-zavodskikh komitetov Petrograda za rabochii kontrol' nad proizvodstvom, mart-oktiabr' 1917,” *Istoricheskie zapiski* 61 (1957), 66-111; A. G. Egorova, “KPSS v bor'be za profsoiuzy i fabzavkomy v period mirnogo razvitiia revoliutsii, mart-iun' 1917 goda,” *Voprosy istorii KPSS* 3 (1959), 62-80; I. I. Mints, red., *Istoriia Velikogo oktiabria* (Moskva, 1967), 538.

109) P. Avrich, *Anarchists*, 130-1, 140.

110) O. A. Znamenskii, *Iiul'skii krizis v 1917 g.* (Moskva, 1964), 55, 86. 104; A. Metelev “Iiul'skoe vosstanie v Petrograde,” *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* 6 (1922), 171; W. H. Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, 1: 177; N. N. Sukhanov, *Zapiski o revoliutsii*, 440; D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 166.

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111) V. Meller and A. Pankratova, red., *Rabochee dvizhenie v 1917 godu*, (Moskva, 1926), 144; D. A. Kovalenko, "Bor'ba fabrichno-zavodskikh komitetov Petrograda za rabochii kontrol' nad proizvodstvom, mart-oktiabr' 1917," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 61(1957), 90; A. Rabinowitch, *op. cit.*, 149; D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers*, 122.

112) R. Devlin, *op. cit.*, 276; B. M. Freidlin, *Ocherki istorii rabocheho dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moskva, 1967), 275-7, 292; V. I. Lenin, *Rabochii kontrol'*, 176; CW 25: 89; V. I. Selnitsky, *Massy v bor'be* (Moskva, 1971), 200.

113) N. N. Sukhanov, *op. cit.*, 1: 55, 110.

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115) D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers*, 141. 7

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116) D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 67; *Izvestiia*, 1917. 7. 5.

117) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 9.

118) V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (New York, 1934), 10-11, 35-8.

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119) D. Mandel, *The Fall*, 178.

120) S. Smith, ed., *Fabzavkomy*, 1: 185, 200-3, 239; G. L. Shkliarevskii, *op. cit.*, 192.

121) *Novyi put'* 1-2 (1917).

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122) W. Rosenberg, “ ”, , , 347.

123) S. Smith, ed., *Fabzavkomy, dok.*, 1: 229; M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 25.

124) *Golos Truda* 1 (1917. 8. 11), “Deklaratsiia Petrogradskogo Soiuza Anarko-Sindikalistskoi Propagandy”; P. Avrich, ed., *The Anarchists*, 68-70.

125) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol', dok.*, nos. 116, 132. 133.

126) F. I. Kaplan, *Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labor, 1917-20: The Formative Years* (New York, 1968), 88.

127) M. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol', dok.*, nos. 103, 104, 116.

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132) M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 8.

133) Z. V. Stepanov, *Fabzavkomy*, 140-41; A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy*, 190.

134) G. L. Shkliarevsky, *op. cit.*, 340; S. Smith, ed., *Fabzavkomy*, 199-206.

135) D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers*, 360.

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139) V. I. Lenin, *ibid.*, 21: 147-48, 402-3.

140) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (3rd. edition), 21: 399.

141) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 31: 408.

142) *Ibid.*, 26: 104- 11 “Can Bolsheviks Take Power?”

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2) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol' v promyshlennykh predpriatiiakh Petrograda, 1917-18 gg.*, Sbornik dokumentov, T. 1, 2 (Leningrad, 1947), no. 142. *Rabochii kontrol,' dok.*

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4) ‘...’, ‘...’; ‘...’;
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. Izvestiia, 1917. 9. 5; A. L. Sidorov i drugie red., *Velikaia oktiabr'skaia sotsialisticheskaia revoliutsiia, Dokumentov* (Moskva, Leningrad, 1947), 491. *Velikaia oktiabr'skaia, dok.*; D. Mandel, *The Soviet Seizure*, 250.

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6) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol'*, dok., no. 140.

7) D. Manel, *The Soviet Seizure*, 229.

8) *Novyi put'* 1-2, 1917. 10. 15.

9) 1917 4 反 가 . 9

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12) D. Mandel, *op. cit.*, 234.

13) W. G. Rosenberg, “The Russian Municipal City Duma Elections of 1917,” *Soviet Studies* 21: 2 (1969), 162; *Delo naroda*, 1917. 8. 23–24.

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15) 階級意識 ‘ , 가 1917 .

14) 가 1915 <戰時>가

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. L. Haimson, “The Problem of Social Identities in the Early Twentieth Century Russia,” *Slavic Review* 47: 1 (1988), 1-22.

15) R. G. Suny, *op. cit.*, 5.

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16) Z. V. Stepanov, *Fabzavkomy Petrograda v 12917 godu* (Leningrad, 1985), 141.
Fabzavkomy Petrograda .

17) 9 3 , , , , ,

18) Z. V. Stepanov, *Fabzavkomy Petrograda*, 53-4; A. G. Rashin, *Formirovanie rabocheho klassa Rossii* (Moskva, 1958), 579-83, 611. *Formirovanie* ; J. L. Keep, *The Russian Revolution: A Study in Mass Mobilization* (London, 1976), 73.
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19) M. Brinton, *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control* (London, 1970), 11; F. I. Kaplan, *Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labor, 1917-20; Formative Years* (New

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York, 1968), 83.

20) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol,' dok.*, no. 155.

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26) 1 5 , 25 , 50 .

27) A. Rabinotwitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd* (New York, 1978), 191- 208; M. McCauley, *The Russian Revolution and the Soviet State, 1917- 21; Documents* (London, 1975), 113- 124; G. L. Shkliarevsky, “The Russian Revolution and Organized Labor,” Ph. D. Diss., (University of Virginia, 1985), 369- 419.

28) 9 ‘ , D. , A.

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30) N. N. Sukhanov, *op. cit.*, 3: 337; L. Trotsky, *The Russian Revolution*, 3 vols. (London, 1965), 2: 265.

31) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol', dok.*, no. 177.

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32) S. A. Smith, ed., *Fabzavkomy*, 2: 206, 207, 208.

33) *Ibid.*

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34) *Ibid.*

35) *Ibid.*

36) M. Ferro, “The Aspiration of Russian Society,” R. Pipes et al., eds., *Revolutionary Russia* (1967), 183-208.

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: Z. V. Stepanov, *Fabzavkomy Petrograda v 1917 g.* (Leningrad, 1985), 108.

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39) D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers*, 244-45, < 6: 4> .

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41) N. N. Sukhanov, *Russian Revolution, 1917: Eyewitness Account*, ed. J. Carmichael, 2 vols. (New York, 1962), 2: 337.

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42) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol', dok.*, no. 173.

43) D. Mandel, *The Soviet Seizure*, 279, 427.

44) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol', dok.*, no. 183.

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45) V. I. Startsev, "Bolsheviki i lozung 'odnorodnogo sotsialisticheskogo pravitel'stva,'" O. N. Znamenskii i drugie red., *Rabochii klass Rossii v 1917 godu* (St. Peterburg, 1987), 16-33.

46) A. Lozovski, *Professional'nykh vestnik* 1-2; S. Smith, ed., *Favzabkomy*, 2: 43-44. (D. Kol'tsov)

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50) G. L. Shkliarevsky, *op. cit.*, 382-85.

51) G. P. Maximoff, *Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1978), 36
Syndicalists ; M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 13.

52) Z. V. Stepanov, *Fabzavkomy Petrograda*, 130.

. S. Smith, ed.,
Fabzavkomy, 1: 208; D. Mandel, *The Soviet Seizure*, 281.

53) D. Mandel, *The Soviet Seizure.*, 283.

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56) E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-23*, 3 vols. (New York, 1951-53), 2: 80;
I. Deutscher, *Soviet Trade Union.: Their Place in Soviet Labor Policy* (London,
New York, 1950), 15-16.
57) S. Smith, ed., *Fabzavkomy*, 1: 92, 208.

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58) G. L. Shkliarevsky, *op. cit.*, 277-78.

59) G. P. Maximoff, *Unknown Revolution* (New York, 1955), 11-2; S. Smith, ed., *Fabzavkomy*, 2: 114. 137 . 86 , 22 , 11 , 6 , 6 , 4

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60) G. L. Shkliarevsky, *op. cit.*, 187-88; V. I. Lenin, *CW* 34: 1-5, 10-17.

61) E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-23*, 3 vols. (New York, 1951-53), 2: 80.

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62) M. Liebman, *Leninism under Lenin* (London, 1975), 191-211; R. Barfield, "Lenin's Utopianism; State and Revolution," *Slavic Review* 30: 1 (March, 1971), 45-56.

63) R. Daniels, "The State and Revolution: A Case Study in the Transformation of Communist Ideology," *American Slavic and East European Review* 12: 4 (Feb., 1953), 22-43; R. Barfield, *Ibid.*, 51-3. 『 가 』

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64) E. H. Carr, *op. cit.*, 2: 80; M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 14; G. P. Maximoff, *Syndicalists*, 11-12; I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 15-16.

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65) A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy*, 230- 5.

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68) A. Rabinowitch, *op. cit.*, 176.

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69) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol'*, dok., no. 201 (1917. 10. 25).

70) D. Koenker, *Moscow Workers*, 302.

71) Z. V. Stepanov, *Fabzavkomy*, 46-7.

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72) V. I. Lenin, CW 26: 264-5, “Draft Regulation on Workers' Control,” 1917. 10. 26; M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol', dok.*, 99-100.

73) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 17-8.

74) G. L. Shkliarevsky, *op. cit.*, 376.

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76) Council of People' Commissars. 1917 10

77) V. I. Lenin, CW 35: 30; G. L. Shkliarevsky, *op. cit.*, 377.

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79) S. A. Oppenheim, “The Supreme Economic Council, 1917-21,” *Soviet Studies* 25: 1 (1973), 3-6.

80) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 17; V. I. Lenin, CW 23: 121.

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86) *Izvestiia*, 1917. 12. 13; M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 21.

87) R. Rucker, "Workers' Control of Production in the October Revolution and Civil War," *Science and Society* 43: 2 (1979), 158-165.

88) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 19. 1917 11 14 ,

89) *Izvestiia*, 1917. 10. 28 9, 11. 18 23; M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 18.

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90) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 20.

91) B. M. Freidlin, "Dekret o rabochem kontrole," *Istorik-markist* 5 (1933), 80-95.

92) P. Avrich, *Anarchists*, 162; Voline, *Nineteenseventeen*, 139-45.

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93) A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy*, 236-51.

94) G. L. Shkliarevsky, *op. cit.*, 379-80.

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100) *Ibid.*; M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 15-7.

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102) G. L. Shkliarevsky, *op. cit.*, 385-91.

103) J. Buynan, *The Origin of Forced Labor in the Soviet State, 1917-21. Documents and Materials* (Baltimore, 1967), 8.

104) J. Buynan, *ibid.*, 8-11; A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy*, 243. 356-60.

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1) V. N. Brovkin, ed., *Dear Comrades; Menshevik Report on the Bolshevik Revolution and Civil War* (Stanford, 1991), xv-xxi.

2) M. Brinton, *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control, 1917 to 1921* (London, 1970), i-v. *Workers' Control* .

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3) C. Sirianni, *Workers' Control and Socialist Democracy: The Soviet Experiences* (London, 1982); F. I. Kaplan, *Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labor, 1917-20* (London, 1969)

‘ , ’ . M. Dewar, *Labor Policy in the USSR, 1917-28* (London, 1956); M. Gordon, *Workers before and after Lenin*, (New York, 1941); R. Conquest, *Industrial Workers in the USSR* (New York, 1967); S. O. Zagorsky, *Stae Control of Industry in Russia during the War* (New Haven, 1928) . E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-23*, 3 vols. (Middlesex, 1961); C. Bettelheim, *Class Struggle in the USSR*, 2 vols. (New York, 1976-8)

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4) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol' v promyshlennykh predpriiatiakh Petrograda, 1917-18 gg.*, Sbornik Dokumentov T. 1, 2. (Leningrad, 1947), nos. 204, 209, 215, 265, 268. *Rabochii kontrol', dok.* 가

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6) *Pervyi vserossiiskii s'ezd professional'nykh soiuzov, 7-14, ianvaria, 1918g.* (Moskva, 1918), 134-5. *Pervyi* .

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7) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 32. 4 3

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8) *Pervyi*, 233-8.

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12) I. Deutscher, *ibid.*, 23; *Novyi Luch* 22 (1918. 2. 4.), 3.
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14) *Pervyi*, 127- 128.

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15) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 34; *Pervyi*, 96-8.

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17) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 26: 429-30, 28: 488-90. “Bolshevik's Declaration at the Constitutional Assembly,” 1918. 1. 18 3

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18) **КОЛЛЕГИАЛЬНОСТЬ**, Collective Management. 1918

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19) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 34

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21) I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 5.

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22) A. Lozovsky, "Rabochii kontrol'," *Professional'nykh vestnik* 9 (1918), 19.

23) A. Lozovsky, *ibid.*, 4-5.

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24) A. Lozovsky, *ibid.*, 5.

25) T. Ignatenko, *Sovetskaia istoriografiia rabocheho kontroliia i natsionalizatsii promyshlennosti v SSSR, 1917-19 gg.* (Moskva, 1971), 58. *Sovetskaia istoriografiia* .

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26) I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 22; *Pervyi*. 11. 29, 75, 128, 197.

27) S-R Maximilists, *O rabochem kontrole*, Zaretnyi (Moskva, 1918), 4.

28) S-R Maximilists, *ibid.*, Nestroev, 7-8.

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29) *Ibid.*, Nestroev, 10- 11.

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32) W. J. Chase, *op. cit.*, 39; E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, 2: 64; M. Brinton "Factory Committes and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," *Critique* 4 (1975), 78- 86; N. M. Aleshchenko, "Moskovskii sovet v 1918- 20gg.," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 91 (1973), 81- 112; Ia. Rezvushkin, "Proletariat na pervom etape sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva; ot oktiabria do voennogo kommunizma," *Istoriia proletariat SSSR* 11 (1932), 80- 86. < > ‘ ,

33) V. I. Startsev, "Bol'sheviki i lozung 'odnorodnogo sotsialisticheskogo pravitel'stva'," O. N. Znamenskii, red., *Rabochii klass Rossii v 1917 godu* (Moskva, 1989), 16- 33.

34) W. G. Rosenberg, "Russian Liberals and the Bolshevik Coup," *Soviet Studies* 41 (1967), 328- 45.

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1917 11 14 ‘ ,
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가 .³⁵⁾

國有化

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35) T. Ignatenko, *Sovetskaia istoriografiia*, 15; V. I. Lenin, *CW* 35: 277.

36) M. Brinton, *Workers' Control*, 32; I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 25.

37) G. P. Maximoff, *Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1978), 12-13.
Syndicalists .

. (Pinamo)

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2. B 1 .
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- 38) W. J. Chase, *op. cit.*, 37; N. M. Aleshchenko, *Moskovskii sovet v 1917-51gg.* (1976), 41-43; M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 22-23 1918 1 50% 가, 3 75%가 ‘ , .
- 39) M. I. Mitel'man i drugie red., *Rabochii kontrol' dok. nos.* 374, 414, 417.
- 40) *Ibid.*, nos. 342, 358.

.....가가 ‘ ,
 .41)
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 .42) 가가
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 .43) 10 ‘ ,가
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41) V. I. Lenin, CW 36: 515. 1918. 7. 5., 5 ; T. Ignatenko, *Sovetskaia istoriografiia*, 17-18. < >가 < >가

42) V. I. Lenin, CW 36: 175-6; M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 16.

43) V. I. Lenin, CW 31: 109, 34: 376, 6 .

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.45)

가 . (C. Sirianni) 1

.46)

가

生産論的

民衆 解放論的

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44) V. I. Lenin, *On Workers' Control and the Nationalization of Industry* (1970), 142-3, "Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government"; CW 26: 423-4, 410.

45) M. Brinton, *Workers' Control*, 36-7; E. H. Carr, *op. cit.*, 2: 86-7.; C. Bettelheim, *op. cit.*, 149-51. < > 5 , 5 , 5 , 5 , 가 2 , 10

46) C. Sirianni, "Workers' Control in the Era of World War I: A Comparative Analysis of the European Experience," *Theory and Society* 9: 1 (1980), 29-88.

가 , 1918 가 , 47)

1918 가 , ? 가

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(Единоначалие, One-Man Management) 48)

가 , 가 , 가 , 가 , 가 , 가 , 49)

47) 가 , 가 가 , 가

. S. L. Mekhanik, "Ob ispol'zovanii gosudarstvennogo kapitalizma v podgotovke sotsialisticheskogo obobshchestvleniia sredstva proizvodstva," *Istoriia SSSR* 5 (1961), 21- 39.

48) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 56. 1918 1 - 가

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49) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 36; V. I. Lenin, *CW* 26: 104-11, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?"

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‘ (Коллегиальность, Collective Management) .
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51)
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52)

50) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 42: 63-4, “Speech at the Meeting of the Congress of Communist Party”.

51) V. I. Lenin, *CW* (4th edition) 27: 210-11. 212, 269, 268, 316-317, “The Immediate Task of the Soviet Government,”

52) N. Osinski, *Stroitel'stvo sotsializma* (Moskva, 1918), 34-6, 75.

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가 ,61)

57) V. I. Lenin, *CW* (4th edition) 27: 212; *CW* (5th edition) 42: 71- 76, “Immediate Task of Soviet Government” (1918. 3. 23)

58) V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (New York, 1932), 15- 20.

59) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 32.

60) S. Malle, *ibid.*, 33.

가
가
가
(Larin),
(Skvortsov- Stepanov), (Miliutin), (Arsk), (Tsperovich)
.64)
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.66)
가
意識

64) 가

1918- 23

65) T. Ignatenko, *Sovetskaia istoriografiia*, 34; “Pis'mo I. I. Skvortsov- Stepanova V. D. Bonch- Bruevichu,” *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* 12 (1928), 293.
< >誌 1917 2 1918 4

가
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66) I. Skvortsov- Stepanov, *Ot rabochego kontrolia k rabochemu upravleniiu v promyshlennosti i zemledelii* (Moskva, 1918), 3, 5- 6, 9. 24.

1918 3 4 , , 가

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‘(rabochee upravlenie)

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官僚主義的 .70)

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가 階級協助

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가 .71)

67) T. V. Kuznetsovoi, *Sozdanie sovetskogo apparata upravleniia gorodskim khoziaistvom Moskvy, 1917- 25gg.* (Moskva, 1965)

68) , “ ,” 『 』 38 (1992), 139- 146.

69) ‘ , - .

가 (Rabochee pravlenie)

가 ‘ (Rabochee upravlenie)

70) N. Osinski, *Stroitel'stvo sotsializma* (Moskva, 1918), 35, 52- 55.

71) N. Osinski, *ibid.*, 21.

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 .72)

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72) V. I. Miliutin, *Sovremennoe ekonomicheskoe razvitie Rossii i diktatura proletariata, 1914- 1918 gg.* (Moskva, 1918), 86.

73) A. V. Venediktov, “Rabochii kontrol' v promyshlennosti,” *Zapiski Leningradskogo planovogo instituta* (1939); B. G. Verkhoben', “Leninskii plan pri stupu k sostialisticheskomu stroitel'stvu,” *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* 1 (1940); P. I. Vinokur, “Rabochii kontrol' na fabrikakh i zavodakh Kharikova,” *Hauchnye zapiski Ukrainskoi Akademii sotsialisticheskogo zemledeleniia im. Artema*, T. 2 (Kharikov, 1940). 1930

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 .77) 1918 國有化 가
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 .78) 國有化 社會化,

가 1917 10 1918 6 가
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. V. Vinogradov i I Maevskii, “Protiv izbrashcheniia istorii obrazovaniia sotsialisticheskogo sposoba proizvodstva,” *Kommunist* 16 (1956) .

74) T. Ignatenko, *Sovetskaia istoriografiia*, 43.

75) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 96-7; Z. Stepanov, *Rabochie Petrograda* (Moskva, 1965), 239-40; C. Bettelheim, *op. cit.*, 125-130.

76) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 36: 128. 1918 ‘ ,
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77) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 59.

78) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 38: 96. 가
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79) T. Ignatenko, *Sovetskaia istoriografiia*, 50; N. Osinski, *op. cit.* (1918)

80) V. L. Sorin, *Rabochaia gruppа*, introd. N. Bukharin (Moskva, 1924), 2-7.

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81) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 36: 245- 6. 285.

82) N. Osinski, *op. cit.*, 6.

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83) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 39.

84) 1918- 21 ‘ , 가
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3. (рабочая оппозиция)

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85) M. I. Itkin, “Nekotorye funktsy rabocheho kontoliia v period podgotovki vooruzhennogo vosstaniia, iul'-oktiabr' 1917 g.,” *Rabochii klass i rabochee dvizhenie v 1917 g.* (Moskva, 1964), 306-8.

86) N. Silant'iev, *Rabochii kontrol' i sovnarkhozy: Moskovskii rabochii* (1957), 77, 88.

87) V. Z. Drobizhev, “Sotsialisticheskoe Obobshchestvleniie promyshlennosti v SSSR,” *Voprosy istorii* 6 (1964), 56, 63; T. F. Remington, *Building Socialism in Bolshevik Russia: Ideology and Industrial Organization, 1917-21* (Pittsburg, 1984), 59.

88) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 103; A. Lozovsky, *Rabochii kontrol'* (1918), 24.

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89) V. A. Vinogradov, *Workers' Control: Past and Present* (1973), 65-66.

90) J. Chauvier, "Contrôle Ouvrier en Autogestion Sauvage en Russie 1917-21," *Revue des Pays de L'Est* 4: 1 (1973), 71-5.

91) A. Lozovsky, *Rabochii kontrol'*, 30; J. B. Sorenson, *op. cit.*, 66-8.

92) M. Dewar, *op cit.*, 36-7. 가 20% .

93) S. Stepanov, *Ot rabocheho kontroliia k rabochemu upravleniiu v promyshlennosti i*

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.97) 1918

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67; T. H. Rigby, *Communist Party Membership*, 63-9; S. G. Strumilin, *Vserossiskaia perepis' chlenov RKP (b)* .

97) R. Service, *ibid.*, 70.

98) W. Rosenberg, "Russian Labour and Bolshevik Power after October," *Slavic Review* 44: 2 (1985), 213-56.

99) *Vestnik* (1918. 7. 4) 132

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103)

101) J. Buynan, *The Origin of Forced Labour in the Soviet System, 1917-18: Documents and Materials* (Baltimore, 1967), 15-20. *Forced Labor*; I. Gladkov, *Natsionalizatsiia promyshlennosti v Rossii* (Moskva, 1954), 18-20; N. Silantiev, *Rabochii kontrol' i sovnarkhozy* (Moskva, 1954), 3; Ankudinova, *Natsionalizatsiia promyshlennosti v SSSR, 1917-20* (Moskva, 1963), 33.

102) T. Remington, *op. cit.*, 103; M. P. Price, *My Reminiscence of the Russian Revolution* (London, 1921), 280.

103) R. R. Abramovich, *Soviet Revolution, 1917-39* (New York, 1962), 153-4.

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Remington, *op. cit.*, 104.

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104) M. S. Bernshtam, *Nezavismoe rabochee dvizhenie*, 30.

105) W. Rosenberg, “Russian Labour and Bolshevik Power after October,” *Slavic Review* 44: 2 (1985), 227-9.

106) W. Rosenberg, *ibid.*, 231.

107) 『(Novyi den'), 『(Novaia zhizn'), 『(Metallist), 『(Pechatnik), 『(Rabochii khimik), 『(Novyi put'), 『(Tseksstil'shchiki) 誌 . W. Rosenberg, *ibid.*, 233.

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108) T. Remington, *op. cit.*, 98-102; W. Chase, “Revolutionary Enthusiasm and the Disintegration of Moscow, 1918-21,” paper presented AAASS (1981), 36-7.

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. R. R. Abramovitch, *op. cit.*, 151-2.

109) A. Pankratova, *Fabzavkomy*, 285.

110) T. Remington, *op. cit.*, 107; E. Gimpel'son, *Sovetskii rabochii klass*, 190-91, 93. 1919
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111) R. Service, *op. cit.*, 85; D. Footman, *Civil War in Russia* (London, 1961); S. F. Naida, *Istoriia grazhdanoi voiny v SSSR* (Moskva, 1959).

112) *Proletarii* 51 (1919. 2. 21), 73. (1919. 2. 28). 74. (1919. 3. 1); R. Service, *op. cit.*, 83.

113) 가

가 . R. Service, *ibid.*, 88;

E. V. Gimpel'son, *Sovetskii rabochii klass*, .

.114) 가

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)119)

114) R. Service, *ibid.*, 68; *Sed'moi s'ezd rossiiskoi kommunisticheskoi partii*, 6-8 Mart 1918 goda (Moskva, 1923), 294.

115) R. Service, *ibid.*, 69.

116) E. H. Carr, *op. cit.*, 2: 100; V. I. Lenin, *CW* 22: 516-17.

117) W. Rosenberg, “Russian Labor and Bolshevik after October,”. *American Slavic Review* 44: 2 (1985), 229.

118) J. Buynan, *Forced Labor*, 27.

119) 10

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 T. F. Remington, “The Rationalization of State Kontrol,” W. G. Rosenberg et al., eds., *The Party, State and Society in the Russian Civil War* (1989), 216-17; N. Voskresenskaia, *V. I. Lenin: Organizator sotsialisticheskogo kontroliia* (Moskva, 1970), 96-7.
 120) N. A. Voskresenskaia, *ibid.*, 96.
 121) T. F. Remington, *op. cit.*, 46; *Novyi put'* 3 (1918. 1); A. Pankratova, *Favzavkomy*, 295-6; J. Buynan and H. H. Fisher, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-8; Documents and Materials* (Stanford, 1934), 619-20. 1918 3 < 가 >
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122) T. Ignatenko, *Sovetskaia istoriografiia*, 85; *Sed'moi s"ezd.* (1919. 3). 8
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CW 38: 140-141.

123) T. Ignatenko, *ibid.*, 111; V. P. Miliutin, *Novyi period mirovoi ekonomiki: Kurs leksii po ekonomike perexodnogo perioda* (Moskva, Leningrad, 1923) .

5 戰時共產主義

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反革命 .¹⁾

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義 .²⁾ 反革

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戰時共產主義

.⁴⁾ 가

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- 1) *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia* 12 (Moskva, 1928), "War Communism"
; *Istoriia Grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR, 1917-22*, 5 vols. (Moskva, 1939-60); V. A. Antonov-Ovseenko, *Zapiski o grazhdanskoi voine* 4 vols. (Moskva, 1924-33); I. I. Mints i E. N. Gorodetsky, red., *Dokumenty po istorii grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR* (Moskva, 1940); I. A. Gladkov, red., *Natsionalizatsiia promyshlennosti v SSSR. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov, 1917-20 gg.* (Moskva, 1954).
- 2) E. G. Gimpel'son, *Voennyi kommunizm: politika, praktika, ideologiya* (Moskva, 1973)
. *Voennyi kommunizm* .
- 3) W. G. Rosenberg, R. G. Suny and D. Koenker, eds., *Party, State and Society in the Russian Civil War: Explorations in Social History* (Indiana Univ. Press, Bloomington, 1989), . W. G. Rosenberg and D. Koenker eds., *Russian Civil War* .
- 4) 가

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.5)

. Cf. S. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography: 1888-1938* (New York, 1973); idem, "Stalin's Revolution Reconsidered," *Slavic Review* 32: 2 (June, 1973), 264-70; M. Lewin, *Lenin's Last Struggle* (London, 1968); R. Service, *The Bolshevik Party in Revolution: A Study in Organizational Change, 1917-23* (London, 1979). *The Bolshevik Party* ; R. Daniels, *The Conscience of the Revolution, Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, 1960); R. Pethybridge, *The Social Prelude to Stalinism* (London, 1974); W. Rosenberg and D. Koenker, eds., *Russian Civil War*.

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5) (R. Pethybridge) (R. Service)

(D. Koenker) (M. Lewin)

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. L. Kritsman, *Geroicheskii period russkoi revoliutsii* (Moskva, Leningrad, 1926). *Geroicheskii period* ; idem, “Geroicheskii period velikoi russkoi revoliutsii,” *Vestnik Kommunisticheskoi Akademii* 9 (1924), 1-24.

가 .8)

가 戰時共產主義 가

.9) , (Gimpel'son)

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戰時共產主義 가

.11)

(R. Medvedev)

1917 가 戰
時共產主義 가,

.12)

8) N. Bukharin, *The Economics of Transformation* (New York, 1970), 70.

9) D. A. Baevskii, *Ocherki po istorii khoziaistvoiroitel'stva perioda grazhdanskoi voyny* (Moskva, 1957), 20-23; E. G. Gimpelson "O politike voennogo kommunizma," *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1936), 36; I. A. Gladkov, *Ocherki Sovetskoi ekonomiki 1917-20 gg.* (Moskva, 1956), 20.

10) E. G. Gimpel'son, *Voennyi kommunizm*, 220-1.

11) V. P. Nasyrin, "O nekotorykh voprosakh sotsialisticheskogo preobrazhovaniiia promyshlennosti v SSSR," *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1956), .

戰時共產主義가

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15) W. G. Rosenberg and D. Koenker eds., *Russian Civil War*

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; T. F.

Remington, *Building Socialism in Bolshevik Russia: Ideology and Industrial Organization, 1917-21* (Pittsburg, 1984). *Building Socialism* .

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W. J. Chase, *Workers, Society and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow, 1918-29* (Chicago, 1989) R. Service, *The Bolshevik Party*

; S. Malle, *op. cit.*

16) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 28, 457-460.

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18) M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 45.

戰時共產主義

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51- 200	900	62.5	472	57.2
201- 500	361	70.6	278	73.7
501- 1,000	174	76.6	143	73.7
1,001- 5,000	183	84.3	166	84.4
5,000	23	100.0	21	95.4
	196	56.2	105	65.2
	2,830	64.3	1,518	64.0

: V. Z. Drobizhev, 'Sotsialisticheskoe obobshchestvlenie promyshlennosti v SSSR', *Voprosy Istorii* 6 (1964), 55 ²¹⁾

19) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 89.

20) S. Malle, *ibid.*, 89-90.

< 7> ‘ , , 1918
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가 .
(kontrol') (Managing) (Checking) ,
< > ,
. 1918 12 2 (Совнархоз)²⁴⁾
.
5 . . <
> . ,
, .²⁵⁾

21) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, p. 103 .

22) V. Vinogradov, *Workers' Control over Production: Past and Present* (Moskva, 1973), 51.

23) M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 37.

24) <
> . <
>

25) J. Buynan, *The Origins of Forced Labor in the Soviet System, 1917-18: Documents and Materials* (Baltimore, 1967), 27. *Forced Labor* ; *Trudy II Vserossiskogo s'ezda sovetov narodnogo khoziaistva, Stenography*, 2 , 1918. 12. 27. (Moskva, 1919), 198-200.

가 ,

. ,

.26) 1918 1 1

가 .

(Совнарком) < 가

> (НКГК) < > .27)

가

가

가 <

> 가

가

가 < 가 >

가

가 < 가 > (НКГК)

가

가

가 < 가 >

.28)

가가

가

.

.29) 30) 가

26) M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 45; R. Daniels, *The Conscience of Revolution*, 91.

27) N. A. Voskresenskaia, V. I. Lenin: *Organizator sotsialisticheskogo kontroliia* (Moskva, 1970), 12-30.

28) *Izvestiia* 208 (1918. 9. 25), 5; *Narodnoe khoziaistvo* 1-2 (1919), 35-6.

29) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 106; M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 48. < > 30

9 가

1919 1 2
 ,31)
 2 . ‘ , 1
 ‘ , .
 5 . ‘ , <
 >
 11 . ‘ ,
 ,32)

가
 .
 가
 가
 .
 ,33)

; E. H. Carr, *op. cit.*, 2: 180-81, 190. 1918 11 < >
 400 10% , 9% , 43%

30) 10

가 ‘ ,

31) J. Buynan, *Forced Labor*, 32.

32) *Vtoroi vserossiiskii s"ezd professionalnykh soiuzov, Stenograficheskii otchet*, 2
 , 1919. 1. 25. (Moskva, 1921), 114-6.

33) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 23: 250-1; J. Buynan, *Intervention, Civil War and Communism in Russia* (Baltimore, 1936), 413.

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9

,

'가

,

?

1919 3

가

2

가

,

.36)

가

. M. Brinton, *op. cit.*, 52.

(Moskva, 1933), 16- 18.

- 167 -

, < 8> 가

< 8> (1917 6 1920 4)

\		,	%		%
3 (1917 6)	220	120	55.5	80	36.4
(1917 9)	117	45	38.5	70	59.8
1 (1918 1)	416	66	15.8	273	65.6
2 (1919 1)	748	29	3.8	449	60.0
3 (1920 4)	1,129	48	4.2	949	84.0

: A. Lozovsky, *Trade Unions in Soviet Russia: Their Development and Present Position* (1920), 30-41.

< 8> 1917 1920

.37)

가

가

37) T. F. Remington, *Building Socialism*, 140-54; idem, "Institution Building in Bolshevik Russia: The Case of 'State Control'," *Slavic Review* 41: 1 (Spring, 1982), 99-101.

(D. Limon)
 .³⁸⁾
 가
 가
 가
 ,
 ,
 , ‘ ,
 ‘ 가 , 가
 ‘ ,
 ,

2. 戰時共產主義

가 (L.
 Kraitsman)
 6
 6 1) 10 ‘ , 2) 10
 1918 6 ‘ , 3) 1918 <6
 > 1918 ‘ , 4) 1919
 , 5) 가
 , 6) 1921 ‘ ,
 ,
 .
 ,

38) D. L. Limon, *op. cit.*, 99-101.

39) L. Kraitsman, *Geroicheskiy period*, 76; *Deviatyi s'ezd Rossiiskoi kommunisticheskoi partii*, Stenography, 1920. 3. 2. (Moskva, 1925).

가 , .40)

가

가

가

1918 . 가

가 가 가

가 가 가 .41)

가

< > ‘ ,

< > ‘ ,

‘ < > ?

가

가 ‘ ’가

40) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 293- 5.

41) S. Malle, *ibid.*, 164- 74.

42) *Ekonomicheskaja zhizn'* 230 (1918. 10. 18).

.⁴⁸⁾ ,

戰時共產主義

. 1919 3 < >

가 , (shock work)

.⁴⁹⁾ 가 가

.

. 1919

,

.

가

戰時共產主義 生産性 ?

가 가 . 1919 2

가 (кустары,) 國有化

(Nogin) .⁵⁰⁾

48) . 77.9% . 1920 50%
가 1/4 1/8 1/16 가
. S. Malle, *ibid.*,

478-81.

49) W. Rosenberg and D. Keonker eds., *Civil War*, 361.

가 .
가 .

50) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 76-78, 87. 1913 () 가
GNP 24 27% .

生産性
가

生産性

가

가

戰時共產主義

가

가

가

.51)

2 가

12 15

200 300

300

가

; *Ekonomicheskaja zhizn'* 231

(1919. 10. 17), 2.

35%

51)

1

가

가

가

가

가

3,486

. A. L. Sidorov i drugie

< >

가

.52)

가

가

.53) < > (Совет Труда и Обороны. СТО)54)

1919 7

.55)

red., *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenoe Rossii nakanune velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii: dokumenty i materialy, mart-oktiabr' 1917g.* (Moskva, 1973), 370.

52) 1919 3 8

가 .

53) D. A. Kovalenko, *Oboronnaia promyshlennost' sovetskoi Rossii v 1918-23* (Moskva, 1970), 385-90; *Narodnoe khoziaistvo* 4 (1919), 47; S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 473.

54) Council of Labor and Defense, .

55) *Grazhdanskaia voina, 1918-21*, 2 vols., 2: 392 (Moskva, 1928).

50-65%

가

(Ivanovo-

, 1919 11 < >

3 1

2 ,56)

가

가
가 理想

,57)

1919 11 30 < > (CTO)

,58)

Voznesensk),

56) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 486; J. Buynan, *Forced Labour*, 132-4.

가

1920 10 가 9 ,
20 , 18 , 14
(Shock Workplace) ,

57) L. Trotsky, "A Plea to Establish an Economic Dictatorship," *Izvestiia* 65 (1919. 3. 26); J. Buynan, *Forced Labor*, 68

58) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 45.

가 군사化(Militarization of Labor)

<

> . 强制労働

1919 6 ,

.⁵⁹⁾

强制労働 ,

가 .

反革命

노동軍事化 가

가 ,

.⁶⁰⁾

노동軍事化

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‘ ,

가가

‘ ,

‘

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.⁶¹⁾

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>

.⁶²⁾ 1920 1 3

‘ ,

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가

.⁶³⁾

強制労働

‘ ,

1920 1 3

9

‘

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>

가

가

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.⁶⁴⁾

.⁶⁵⁾

1920 9

, 10

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62) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 51.

63)

8:1

.

가

25% 가

가

1 18

. M.

Dewar, *ibid.*, 52.

64)

,

가

65) *Putevoditel' po rezoliutsiiam vserossiiskikh professional'nykh soiuzov* (Moskva, 1924), ss. 270- 1, 276- 8.

軍事化 .66) 가 ‘
 ’가 ‘
 , 9
 .
 가 . 가 가 가
 가 가 가 가
 가 가
 .67)
 . 1920
 . 1920 8
 ,
 (Цектран)
 .68)
 . 5000
 ,
 ,

66) M. Brinton, *Workers' Control*, 63; I. Deutcher, *Trotsky: Prophet Armed*, 498.

67) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 132.

68)

가 . 가
 .
 (Glavpolitput,)
 .
 .

, 가 가 1920 9 .70) 1920 8

. 10 가

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1921 1 .71)

80 28 13 州(Область) ,

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.72)

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.73)

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73) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 32: 20-1, "The Trade Unions, The Present Situation and Trotsky's

, 가 .

.74)

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- , , ‘ ,
가 , ,
, .

가

.75)

.

,

.76)

35%

가

.77)

, , 가
.

가 ,

Mistake,”; CW 32: 61-2, “Report on the Role of and Tasks of the Trade Union at the Second All Russian Congress of Miners.”

74) I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 56.

75) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 495-505.

76) M. McAuley, ed., *The Russian Revolution and the Soviet State, 1917-21* (London, 1975), 163.

1919 가

77) *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn'* 231 (1919. 10. 17); S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 87.

3. 中樞部(Главки)

軍事化
가
가
軍事化
中樞部(Главки) , 生産責任管理制(Главкизм)
.78)
生産責任管理制 (Главки, Центры)
(Politobureau)
中樞部 生
産 管理局 廳, 課 係
가
가 , 가 , , ,
가 ,

78) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 218- 33.

中樞部

가가

. 10

>

< 가

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>

,

가

中樞部

中樞部

가

中樞部

.79)

中樞部

(Совнархоз)

가

.80)

가

中樞部

.81)

反革命

79) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 267- 80;

T. Remington, *Building Socialism*, 65- 71.

80) *Izvestiia* 208 (1918. 9. 25), 5; *Narodnoe khoziaistvo* 1- 2 (1919), 35- 6.

81) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 211. < > 5,031

反革命

가

1920 가 ,

가 10

< >

중樞部

중樞部

< 9> 中樞部 (%)

37.6	35.2	9.1	8.0	4.5	5.6

: *Narodnoe khoziaistvo* 7-8 (1919), 47.

中樞部 가 < >

37.6% .⁸²⁾ 中樞部

가

? 中樞부가

가

164 , 374 . < >

82) < >가

60% . S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 125.

< 10> 中樞部

(1919 8 , %)

				가	
20.2	3.1	29.6	22.6	10.5	14.0

: *Narodnoe khoziaistvo* 7- 8 (1919), 46- 7.

가

20%, 3.1% ,83)

가

?

가

.84) 가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

83) *Narodnoe Khoziaistvo* 7-8 (1919), 45- 7.

84) S. Malle, *op. cit.*, 126.

가 < >

< 11>

< 11>

< 11> (1000 , %, 1920)

\							
			%		%		%
州	187	107	57.2	22	11.8	58	31.0
	184	48	26.0	72	39.0	64	35.0
	1,143	726	63.5	398	34.8	19	1.7
	1,614	881	58.0	492	33.0	141	9.0

: < 8 > 1920 12 22 9 (Moskva, 1921), 24.

(S. Malle)

.85)

< > 州 .
?
< >
, <
>

85) S. Malle, *ibid.*, 127-78.

가

가

86) 1920 , ‘ , 87)

가

88) ‘ , 가

가

1919

가 1917 가 89)

가

?

86) *Ibid.*, 117-9.

87) *Ibid.*, 126-7.

88)

Year	Percentage
1918	28
1919	10.8%
1920	65.3%
1921	71.2%
1922	3.4%
1923	90.7%

가

33%, 46%

J. F. Kaplan, *Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethies of Soviet Labour, 1917-20: The Formative Years* (New York, 1968), 88.

89) J. F. Kaplan, *ibid.*, 329.

가

가

‘ , 가
1920
‘ , 가
‘ , 가 가 .90)

‘ ,
가 ? 1918 1 1
1920 ,

‘ , .91)
가
1919 1
가 .

가
.92)

가 가

가

90) *Deviatyi s"ezd rossiiskoi kommunisticheskoi partii, Stenograficheskii otchet*, 1920. 3. 29. (Moskva, 1926), 56.

91) R. Chase, *op. cit.*, 51.

92) *Vtoroi vserossiiskii s"ezd professional'nykh soiuzov, Stenograficheskii otchet*, 2 , 1919. 1. 9-16 (Moskva, 1923), 37-40. M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 72 .

가

.⁹⁸⁾

가

1919 20

. 1919

戰時

가

.⁹⁹⁾

가

1920

‘ ,

,

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10

98) J. F. Kaplan, *op. cit.*, 226.

99) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 31: 494, 496-7.

가

가

100)

가

101)

가

102)

가

가

가

103)

가

100) T. F. Remington, *Building Socialism*, 140-6.

101) C. Sirianni, *Workers' Control and Socialist Democracy: The Soviet Experiences* (London, 1982), 253.

102) M. Brinton, *Workers' Control*, 45.

103) 1918 11 < >

가

< >

10%, 가 9%, 가 38%, 43%

. T. Remington, *Building Socialism*, 93-8.

勞働者 文化

가

가

가

가

生産性

生産性

가

가 , 1917

104)

104) L. Trotsky, *Defense of Terrorism; Terrorism and Communism* (1921), 126- 131.

4

,

中樞부가

,

1)

,

戰時共產主義

2)

新經濟 (HEП, New Economic Policy)³⁾

가

•

가

3)

1921 3 10

가

가

가

가

國有化

가

國有化

‘ - 가 ’가

가

, ‘ - 가 ’가

가

1921

가

가

(Рабочая оппозиция)⁸⁾가

가

‘ - 가 ’

가

'가

sotsialisticheskuiu fabriku (Moskva, 1923), 270- 302. *Fabzavkomy* .

8) R. V. Daniels, *The Conscience of the Revolution: Communist Opposition in Socialist Russia* (Cambridge, 1960), .

가 가 .

1. 新經濟 (НЭП)

戰時共產主義

.9)

가

. 1920

1920

가 ,

.10) 1921 2

가 .11)

가

.12) 1921

9) V. I. Lenin, "The Trade Unions, The Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistake," *CW* 32: 20-1; "Report on the Role of and Tasks of the Trade Union at the Second All Russian Congress of Miners," *CW* 32: 61-2; I. Deutscher, *Soviet Trade Union: Their Place in Soviet Labor Policy* (London, 1950), 55.

10) W. J. Chase, *Workers, Society, the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow, 1918-29* (Chicago, 1989), 49; K. Leites, *The Recent Economic Development in Russia* (Oxford, 1922), 195-7; S. Lapitskaia, *Byt rabochikh Trekhgornoi manufaktury* (Moskva, 1935), 124; P. Avrich, *Kronstadt in 1921* (New York, 1974), 64-78. *Kronstadt* . 77%가 가 . (Goznak) , (Kauchuk) , 가 (Krasnyi Bogatyr') 가 .

11) W. J. Chase, *ibid.*, 49; *Pravda* (1921. 2. 8); L. Haimson, *The Mensheviks from the Revolution of 1917 to the Second World War* (Chicago, 1974), 234-8.

12) I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 42-8; J. B. Sorenson, *The Life and Death of Soviet Trade Union: 1917-28* (New York, 1969), 108-16.

가 (Цектран)
 , 가 ‘ ,
 . 1921 3 10
 官僚化 ,
 가
 .¹³⁾
 가 가 , 가
 ,
 가 .¹⁴⁾
 가 ,
 , 가
 .
 .
 官僚主義的
 (Shliapnikov), (Osinski),
 (A. Kollontai)
 .
 가

13) V. Sorin, *Rabochaia gruppa* (Moskva, 1924), 96-109; I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 42; R. V. Daniels, *op. cit.*, 137-52; L. H. Schapiro, *The Origin of Communist Autocracy: Political Opposition in the Soviet State: First Phase, 1917-21* (London, 1966), 273-95.

14) 1921 3 10 ‘ 11 ’
 가
 가 가 가
 . L. Trotsky, “The Trade Union and the Future Role,” M. Dewar, *Labor Policy in the USSR, 1917-28* (London, 1966), 83 .

‘ ’

•

가

가

, ,

가

5

10

가

,18)

,19)

‘가 非
가 가 非
가
가 ,20)

17) A. Kollontai, *The Workers' Opposition in Russia*, (New York, 1921), 3-12.

가
1921
가 , 가,

18) A. Kollontai, *ibid.*, 25.

19) F. I. Kaplan, *Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labor, 1917-20: The Formative Years* (New York, 1968), 273-91; M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 83; I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 46-50.

反 가 ,
 .24)
 ,
 ‘ ; ‘ ; ‘ ; ‘ ,
 .
 .
 .25)
 가 . 1917
 .
 가 ,
 가
 . 1921 3 反
 .
 . 1921 2
 .

1. 가 ,
2. ,
7. (Чека)²⁶⁾ ,

cit., 186 .
 24) P. Avrich, *Kronstadt*, 35.
 가 25% .
 1913 420 1920
 10 , 423 20
 4.6% 13.3% ,
 4% . *Russkaia promyshlennost' v 1921 g.* (Moskva, 1921), 13, N.
 A. Voskresenskaia, *op. cit.*, 186 .
 25) *Pravda o kronshtate* (Prague, 1921), 6.
 26) <反 , >. 1918-22 .

가 ,²⁷⁾

10. [The 100 Best Restaurants in America](#)

$$15. \quad \frac{1}{\sqrt{1-x^2}} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{1-\frac{1}{4}x^2}} = \frac{2}{\sqrt{4-x^2}}, \quad (28)$$

反 反

‘反’ (29)

가 .

가 ,

가

30) ' ,

?. . ‘小

.32) 가가

27)

28) *Pravda o Kronshtadte*, 46-7; Berkman, *The Kronstadt Rebellion*, 9-11.

29) P. Avrich, *Kronstadt*, 40-5.

30) *Ibid.*, 164.

31) *Ibid.*, 164- 5.

가

가

.³³⁾

가
가

가

反

가

16

1000

2500

.³⁴⁾

32) *Pravda o kronshtadte*, 72- 4.

33) *Ibid.*, 92, 173- 4.

34) P. Avrich, *Kronstadt*, 40- 45. 가

가

“反 !”(“No Bolsheviks!”)가 “ !” (“Better Bolsheviks!”)

가 , 1917

가

가

35)

10 가

가

反

가

『 가 』

1920 3 9 『 가 』 가

가

35) V. I. Lenin, CW 43: 138, 387.

.36)

가 ,

가

.37)

가

?

가

가

가 가

新經濟

가

가

가

. 38)

가 가

가

가

가

36) I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 48, 52-7.

37) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 32: 11, “O Professional'nykh soiuзах”; F. I. Kaplan, *op. cit.*, 291-2;
I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 50.

38) F. I. Kaplan, *ibid.*, 297.

가 가

가

가 ?

가 가³⁹⁾

가 1921

生産性

가 生産性

가 가

가

가

가?

가

< >

.⁴⁰⁾

1921 3 10

戰時共產主義

39) L. H. Schapiro, *op. cit.*, 314- 20.

40) A. Kollontai, *op. cit.*, 28- 31.

6

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,

,

가 가 가

,

가 가

.

가 .

幹部' (контролёр кадр)

가 ‘ 가

,

가

志 志

가

가
가

1921 11

<

>

•

,

가 5%

가

가

‘가’

가

< 가

$$> (\text{HK}\Gamma\text{K})$$

.43)

.44)

< 가

$$>$$

가

가

가가

가

階級意識

. 1921

1917

階級意識

43) ‘가’
 , ‘가’
 가 , 가 . ‘가’
 ‘가’ . 1918 5
 < 가 >가 , 937
 2.3% 12 1921 10.9% , 1921
 20% 가 . T. Remington, “The Rationalization of State Kontrol,” eds.,
 W. Rosenberg and D. Koenker, *Civil War*, 211-12. “The Rationalization of State
 Control” ; N. A. Voskresenskaia, *op. cit.*, 185- 89, 204.

44) N. A. Voskresenskaia, *ibid.*, 176- 79, 193- 224.

가 가 .45) 1921 가 反

가 가 . 가

階級意識

階級意識

가 가 가 가? 가 中樞部가 ,

가? < 12>

< 12> (%)

		가						가		
	20.2	3.1	14.6	15	11.8	10.8	10.5	3.5	4.9	5.6

: *Narodnoe khoziaistvo* 3-4 (1920), 62- 66.

45) R. E. Johnson, *Peasant and Proletariat: The Working Class of Moscow in the 19th Century* (New Brunswick, 1979); V. Bonnell, ed., *The Russian Workers: Life and Labor under the Tsarist Regime* (Berkeley, 1983); R. E. Zelnik, *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855-70* (Stanford, 1970); L. M. Ivanov et al., eds., *Rossiiskii proletariat: oblik, bor'ba, gegemoniia* (Moskva, 1970); S. I. Kanatchikov, *Iz istorii moego bytiia* (Moskva, 1929) .

가

가

.

가

.⁴⁶⁾ 1917

2 4

가

가

가

10

가

24

90% 가

가

1918 6

가

가 36

가

가

1920 15

가

1921 3

가 60

⁴⁷⁾

가가

가

1921 90%

47) S. G. Strumilin, *Vserossiiskaia perepis' chlenov RKP(b)* ; G. E. Zinoviev, *Vos'moi s'ezd*, 280; R. Service, *op. cit.*, 90, 117, 165;

10% .

가
가

, 가, , 가 , 가,
 .
 意識的’
 , .⁴⁸⁾
 가
 D.

< 13>
 1917 1920 60.2% 43.8% ,
 가
 가 .⁴⁹⁾ 가

< 13> (1000 , %)

		(1000 , %)			
1917	23.6	14.2/60.2	1.8/7.6	6.1/25.8	1.5/6.4
1918	115.0	65.4/56.9	16.7/14.5	25.8/22.4	7.1/6.2
1919	251.5	120.1/47.8	54.9/21.8	60.1/23.9	16.4/6.5
1920	431.4	188.8/43.8	108.4/25.1	104.7/24.3	29.5/6.8

: *Izmenenie sotsial'noi struktury*, 156; D. T. Orlovsky, *op. cit.*, 198.

10

反

48) , “ ,” 『 』 38 (1992), 145- 6.

49) D. T. Orlovsky, “State Building in the Civil War Era: The Role of Lower-Middle Strata,” eds. W. G. Rosenberg and D. Koenker, *Civil War*, 187. “Lower-Middle Strata” . <3> 4 47.3%가

가 .

(Цык) < 14>

< 14> 1918 1920 , 非 가 .

州(Область)
(Округ)

非 가 .

< 14> (%)

(/)	/		
	1918	1919	1920
州(Область)/ (Округ)	71.4/83.9 60.6/83.5	79.9/88.9 55.4/85.9	78.6/91.3 43.0/79.9
州/	14.2/16.1 14.2/16.5	4.7/0.7 4.9/1.0	0.2/0.8 0.7/4.7
州/	14.4/- 25.2/-	15.4/10.4 39.7/13.1	21.2/7.9 56.3/15.4

: D. T. Orlovsky, *op. cit.*, 198.

가

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가
 < 15> 1919 20 州
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< 15> (%)

	州		
1919	29.7	13.0	57.3
1920	34.1	8.8	57.1
1919	37.9	22.6	39.5
1920	32.8	20.8	46.4

, *Izmenenie sotsial'noi struktury*, 149, D. T. Orlovsky, *op. cit.*, 200.

가
 가
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 가
 官僚主義化
 < 가 >

가 가 ,

.50) 1921 6

50) 1921 < 가 > 1 2
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가
 < > (Комиссия Рабоче-Крестьянской Инспекции, РК
 И) .51) <
 > (РКИ) < 가 > (НКГК)

< > - 가 가
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 가? 非
 가? .52)

.53)

가

가

51) N. A. Voskresenskaia, *op. cit.*, 178-80. < > 1919 12

가

52) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 36: 228.

53) N. A. Voskresenskaia, *op. cit.*, 197-98.

가 가

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幹部

가 . 1921 6 < >

가 900 가 3 4 .

11%, 2.1%,

10.9%, 非 가 88.9% .

11% .54) 1922

< > 3%

가

.55)

官僚主義化

< > (Центральная Контрольная Комиссия, ЦКК)가

가

가 官僚主義化

54) *Ibid.*, 194- 5.

55) S. N. Ikonikov, *Organizatsiia i deiatel'nost' RKI v 1920- 25 gg.* (Moskva, 1960), 72;

T. F. Remington, "The Rationalization of State Control," 226. <

> 10%

4 .

‘ - 가 ’

‘ 幹部’(контролёр кадр)⁵⁹⁾ . ‘ 幹
部’ ? 가
幹部 (D. Orlovsky)

,⁶⁰⁾

,⁶¹⁾

反

,⁶²⁾

59) . 1920

60) D. T. Orlovsky, “Lower- Middle Strata”, 185- 7. 『 誌
(Tambovskii zemskii vestnik)

가 가
非 . ,

가

가 .

61) M. Lewin, *op. cit.*, 410; L. M. Spirin, *Klassy i partiia v grazhdanskoi voine*
(Moskva, 1968), 347. 10

가

77%, 14%, 8.2%
67%, 12%, 20.7% .

62) T. A. Remington, *Building Socialism*, 78-112; A. Rabbitnowitch, *The Bolsheviks
Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd* (New York, 1978), 131.

幹部가 ,

가 ‘ 幹部’

‘ - 가 ’가

理想

‘ 幹部’ 가 ,

가

가 1917

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O.

Anweiler. *The Soviets: The Russian Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Council, 1905- 21* (New York, 1974), .

3.

—階級解放

生産力

主義

生産性

.63)

10

가

社會主義 理念

新經濟

가

.64)

가

.65)

가

300%

63) M. Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917* (London, 1960), 35; A. Nove, *An Economic History of the USSR* (London, 1969), 10; E. H. Carr and R. V. Davies *Foundation of a Planned Economy, 1926-29* (London, 1969), 787-836; P. R. Gregory and R. C. Stuart, *Soviet Economic Structure and Performance* (New York, 1981), 50-52. 1926

64) 가 6 7 80 . 가 . M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 95-7.

65) 32 16 3 가 .

. 1923 1 가 80:1
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 新經濟
 “ 가 ” .⁶⁸⁾
 生産力
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 가 ,

66) M. Dewar, *op. cit.*, 95- 7.

67) I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 59, 65, 66.

68) *Ibid.*, 63.

?	가
	,
社會主義的 生産關係	가

가

가

가

가

社會主義的 生產關係

가 가

가

69) *Ibid.*, 71; *V Vserossiiskii s"ezd professional'nykh soiuзов*, Stenograficheskiĭ otchet, 1921. 5. 17–25 (Moskva, 1923), 118.

70) C. Bettelheim, *Class Struggle in the USSR, First Period: 1917-23* (New York, 1978), 440- 43.

71) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 33: 488.

72) , “ ,” ¶ 38 (1992), 143.

73) C. Bettelheim, *op. cit.*, 485; A. Sirianni, *op. cit.*, 326-30; V. I. Lenin, *CW* 33: 467-9

< > (Рки)

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1922

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1921 가

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1/3 .75)

意識 . 1917

400 가 1920 160 , 42 8

500 가 120 , 100 150

가

가 .76)

가 가 “ ”, “ ”, “ ”

74) V. I. Lenin, *CW* 32: 173; E. H. Carr, *op. cit.*, 2: 173.

75) W. J. Chase, *op. cit.*, 102-125.

76) M. Lewin, “The Civil War: Dynamic and Legacy,” eds. W. G. Rosenberg and D. Koenker, *Civil War*, 403.

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 1918- 21 100 가 , 16 .78) 1926
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77) D. Koenker, "Urbanization and Deurbanization in the Russian Revolution and Civil War," *ibid.*, 81. 1918 21 가

. 250 70 200
 100

. L. Haimson, , 『 (1991), 83.
 78) D. Koenker, *ibid.*, 92; D. A. Baevskii, *Rabochii klass v pervye gody sovetskoi vlasti, 1917- 21 gg.* (Moskva, 1974); V. Z. Drobizhev, A. K. Sokolov and V. A. Usinov *Rabochii klass sovetskoi Rossii v pervye gody proletarskoi diktatury* (Moskva, 1975), .

79) W. J. Chase, *op. cit.*, 104.

80) D. Koenker, *op. cit.*, 95.

가 ? . ,

가 , 親

意 識

意 識

81)

意 識

意 識

82)

1921

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가

階級意識

가

83)

勞動者階級

가? 勞動者階級

81) D. Koenker, *ibid.*, 100; W. J. Chase, *op. cit.*, 11-33.

82) W. J. Chase, *op. cit.*, 108; A. G. Rashin, *Sostav fabrichno-zavodskogo proletariata SSSR: predvaritel'nye itogi, perepisi metalistov, gornorabochikh i tekstil'shchikov v 1929 g.* (Moskva, 1930), 19-21.

83) W. J. Chase, *ibid.*, 115; A. G. Rashin, *ibid.*, 154-5.

(Job Consciousness)

勞働者階級

가

가

勞働者階級 分解

가 (E. P. Thompson) ⁸⁴⁾, 階級

, 1921

階級意識 勞働者階級

勞働者階級

가

階級意識 ⁸⁵⁾

< 가 >

勞働

84) E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963), 9-11. “

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85) D. Koenker, *op. cit.*, 100; S. Fitzpatrick, *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union, 1921-34* (Cambridge, 1979), .

者階級 가? ,

1917 階級意識 가

가

‘ 가 要人’(Государственный Агент), ‘ 가 幹部’
(Государственный Кадр)

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10 ‘ ,
.86) 가
.87) 가

私的

가

戰時共產主義 가 . 1922

가 가

.88) , 非

86) 10 (Milonov)

87) *Pravda*, 1921. 6. 30; R. Service, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-65. 25%

2/3

88) R. B. Day, *L. Trotsky and the Politics of Economic Isolation* (Cambridge, 1973), chap. 4; V. I. Startsev, “Al'ternativy L. D. Trotskogo v diskussiiakh dvadtsatiakh

.89) 가 .

가 ,

1921 < >

가 , ,

가 , (Orzhonikidze), (Yezov),

.90)

1924 死後, 理念

가? 1924 26 가 産業

化

가 産業

化 .91) 産業化 , , 가

godov”, unpublished manuscript (Petrograd, 1995), 1- 12.

89) M. Brinton, *The Bolsheriks and Workers' Control* (London, 1970), 83; L. Schapiro, *op. cit.*, 323- 24.

90) L. H. Schapiro, *op. cit.*, 273- 313; R. V. Daniels, *op. cit.*, 370- 97; M. Lewin, *Lenin's Last Struggle*, 43- 64; I. Deuscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography*, 228- 93; L. Trotsky, *Arkhive*, R. Service, *op. cit.*, 187 .

91) A. Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debate, 1924- 28* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); “Stalin's Views on Economic Development,” E. Simmons, ed., *Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955); N. Spulber, *Soviet Strategy for Economic Growth* (Bloomington, 1964); S. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York, 1973); A. Nove, “A Note on Trotsky and the Left Opposition, 1929- 31,” *Soviet Studies* 29: 4 (1977), 576- 89; R. Day, “Preobrazhensky and the Theory of the Transition Period,” *Soviet Studies* 27: 2 (1975), 196- 219.

가

.92)

1929

集團農場化

.93)

.94)

.95)

92) M. Lewin, *Russian Peasant and Soviet Power, A Study of Collectivization* (New York, 1967), 446- 52.

93) I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 83.

94) 1921

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23.5%

95)

2 5 幹部' 96) 가

社會主義的 競爭' (socialist emulation)

幹部

가

가 98)

社會主義的 競爭'

階級解放

가

가?

(C. Bettelheim)

가

가

96) 1929 富農'(кулак) 가

가

97) I. Deutscher, *op. cit.*, 107, 115.

(ударничество, shock labor) , (СТАХАНОВСКОЕ ДВИЖЕНИЕ, stakhanovite movement) (Stakhanov) 1935

1 6 102

< >

98) I. Deutscher, *ibid.*, 115- 16.

生産關係

가 .
가
가 .99)

理念

가

가

生產關係

· , 『 가 』

가

官僚的 幹部

가

官僚的 幹部

가가

가

99) C. Bettelheim, *op. cit.*, 253.

7

1917 21 가
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10 意識(consciousness)
(spontaneity),
(plan)
가 '가
'(контролёр кадр)
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 共產主義 生産力

가 . 가 .

生産力 ,

가 .

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가 1917 가

가 , 新經濟

가 가

가 .

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‘ - 가 , ‘ - 가 ,

가

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‘ 幹部’(контролёр кадр) .

가 .

가 가 ,

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意識

階級意識

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fond 6276/1/9: Petrograd Factory Committee
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TsGAOR. 10
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fond 6395: Factory Committee
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<АБСТРАК>

Большевистский социализм и рабочий контроль, 1917-21

Ли Жён Хи

Настоящая диссертация анализирует спорные вопросы на роль таких факторов, как сознательность и стихийность рабочего класса и как марксистская идеология в политике Большевиков в рабочем контроле в процессе Октябрьской революции и в период построения социалистического общества в 1917-21 годах.

Для решения этих спорных вопросов, автор во-первых подробно изучает тот фон, на котором развивался рабочий контроль как сознательная организация в марте-апреле 1917 года. Далее автор рассказывает о том, на какую точку зрения опирался рабочий класс, различая позиции политических партий, соответствующие перемене ситуации. Автор использует такие архивные материалы, как разговоры, протоколы, дискуссии и сообщения на различных митингах рабочего класса в 1917-21 годах. Во-вторых, автор размышляет о том, как рабочий класс относился к термину 'социализм' до Октябрьской революции. Кроме того, он объясняет как рабочий класс различал Большевиков и Меньшевиков и по какой причине рабочий класс окончательно выбрал Большевиков в качестве сотрудников. В-третьих, автор расследует перемены в отношениях Большевиков и фабзавкомов после 1917 года и основную причину нового конфликта между обоими лагерями. В-четвёртых, рассказывается об

изменениях произошедших в классовой сознательности, в отношении рабочих и Большевиков, и в социалистической идеологии партии Большевиков в 1921 году после того, как рабочий контроль был запрещён.

Из всего выше- сказанного, отмечая многие недостатки в советской историографии, и в консервативных западных работах, автор пришёл к следующим выводам.

Во- первых, в целом можно сказать, что рабочий контроль развивался только в соотношении с разрастающимся политическим сознанием рабочего класса. Так как рабочие пережили политическое соревнование с мелко- буржуазной и социалистической партиями в марте- октябре 1917 года, рабочие сами стали осознавать коренное различие обеих позиций, суть революционной цели, саму необходимость революции. Рабочие никогда не восстали бы только в результате пропаганды Большевиков. Они сами принимали участие в разных рабочих организациях, выборных кампаниях, митингах, дискуссиях на разных этапах революции и сами определили направления своих действий.

Во- вторых, в отличие от утверждения советских историков автор отмечал, что рабочий класс и партия Большевиков имели совершенно разные взгляды на рабочий контроль даже с первых дней Октябрьской революции 1917 года. Также рабочий контроль обозначал для рабочего класса моральное управление промышленностью, приносящее пользу интересам народа, в отличие от буржуазного управления, ищущего только прибыль и эгоистический классовый интерес. Это никогда не было марксистским убеждением. Однако рабочие были уверены в том, что это и есть социализм. В. И. Ленин сам отметил, что именно рабочий контроль и

является контролем рабочего государства, согласно которому назначенные государством органы будут проводить надзор над производством и распределением продукции. Поэтому после Октября рабочие и Большевики противостояли друг другу в отношении к рабочему контролю.

В-третьих, Партия Большевиков призывая в период гражданской войны к победе против врагов и к повышению производительности труда на заводах, лишала рабочих самоуправления, запрещала самостоятельные организации рабочих, подчёркивая неизбежность преобразования рабочего контроля в государственный контроль. Но это никогда не помогало рабочим повышать свой статус в социальной структуре.

Так как эти исходившие из рабочего класса кадры, в самом деле, предпочитали служить разложению коллективной солидарности рабочего класса, чем представлять его интересы и укреплять его независимую организацию.

В четвёртых, рассмотрев всё в целом, трудно согласиться с утверждением, что у В. И. Ленине было конкретно намеренная оформления рабочего контроля в начале революции в 1917 году. Справедливости ради необходимо сказать, что у него не было какой-либо готовой теории по созданию нового демократического типа производства.

Главные слова: Классовый сознательность, Фабзавком, Рабочий контроль, Государственный контроль, Единоначалие, Коллегиальность, Главки, Рабочее управление.

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Аппаратчики, Apparachiki.

, .

ВРК- Военная революционная комиссия, Military Revolutionary Committee, <
>. 1917 4 反

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ВСРК, Всероссийский совет рабочего контроля, All-Russian Council of Workers'
Control, < > 1917 11 ‘
, .

가 가
가 .

ВСНХ, Высший совет народного хозяйства. Vesenkha. < > 1917
12

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ВЦИК - Всероссийский центральный исполнительный комитет, All-Russian Central
Executive Committee, < >
가 .

.

ВЦСПС - Всероссийский центральный совет профессиональных союзов, All-Russian
Central Council of Trade Unions, < > 1917 11

.

Генсек - Генеральный секретар, General Secretary of the Party's Central
Committee, .

Главки - Glavki. Branch Chief Committee, < >, <
>.

. (Politobureau)

Госкапитализм - State Capitalism, ‘가’ . 1918 2
‘가’
, 가가 가 , ,
가

ГОСПЛАН - Государственная плановая комиссия. State Economic Planning
Commission < 가 >
Государственный контроль - State Control, 가 . ‘가’
, ‘
가 , 가 ,
가 1917 11 ‘가’
‘가’ , ‘가’
, .

ПТУ - Государственное политическое управление, GPU, < 가 > 1922

Единоначалие - One-Man Management. . 가
가 가
가

Землячество - zemyliachestvo, .
кадр агент групп - Cadre Agent Group, .
가 , ,

Коллегиальность - Collective Management. . 1918
‘ ,

Комбеды - Комитеты бедноты, Committees of Poor Peasants, < >
1918- 21 .
контролёр кадр - Controller Cadre, . - 가
가
Кустарь - Kustari, , 가 .
НЭП - New Economic Policy. , 1921 3 가
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. 1929
.
НКВД - Народный комиссариат внешнего дела, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, < >
НКГК - Народная комиссия государственного контроля, People's Commission of State Control, < 가 > 1918 3 <
>
, , , ,
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. 1918 6
.
НКТРУДА - Народный комиссариат труда, People's Commissariat of Labor, <
>
Партийно-государственный контроль, Party-State Control, ‘ - 가 ’. 1922
< - > (ЦКК- РКИ) 가 가
,
Продразвёрстка - Продовольственная развёрстка. Obligatory Delivery of Foodstuff. 1918- 21 .

Рабочая оппозиция, Workers' Opposition, ' . 1920

가

Рабочее Управление, Workers' Administration, ' . 1918

가

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Рабочий контроль, Workers' Control, ' . ' ,

РКИ, Рабкрин - Комиссия Рабоче-Крестьянской Инспекции, Commission of Workers and Peasants' Inspection. < > 1919 12

가

СВ - Социалистический вестник, Socialist Courier. 1921

Совнарком - Совет народных комиссаров, Council of People's Commissars, < > 1917 10

Совнархоз - Совет народного хозяйства, Council of People's Economy, < > . 1917 12

<

>

СТО - Совет труда и обороны, Council of Labor and Defense. < > . 1919-21

가

Фабзавком - Factory Committee, < > . 1917 3

가

ЦВОРК, Центральная и Высш-областная организация рабочего контроля, <
州 >. 1917 11 가 ‘ ,
州, ,
‘ , , ,
州 < > <
>

Цекист - Tsekist, .

ЦЕКТРАН, Центральная комиссия транспорта, < >. 1920

ЦК - Центральный комитет, Central Committee, < >.

ЦКК - Центральная контрольная комиссия, Central Control Commission, <

>.

< > - 가 ,

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> 가 1956 20 < > .

ЧЕКА - Чрезвычайная комиссия по борьбе с контрреволюцией, саботажем и спекуляц
ей, Cheka, <反 , >. 1918-22 .