

# 第五讲 三个世界性社会主义政党

本讲的主要内容

- 一、共产主义者同盟
- 二、第一国际
- 三、第二国际



# 一、共产主义者同盟

The Communist League



## 1. 共产主义者同盟成立的背景

- ◎ 19世纪40年代西欧工人运动及其特点
- ◎ 当时的德国工人运动状况

## 2. 共产主义者同盟成立的组织基础

◎ 人民同盟（1832年）

◎ 流亡者同盟

口号：“人人皆兄弟”

◎ 正义者同盟（1936年）

### 3. 马克思、恩格斯对正义者同盟的改造

◎ 布鲁塞尔共产主义通讯委员会

◎ 1846年8月恩格斯在巴黎参加正义者同盟活动



我把共产主义者的宗旨规定如下：

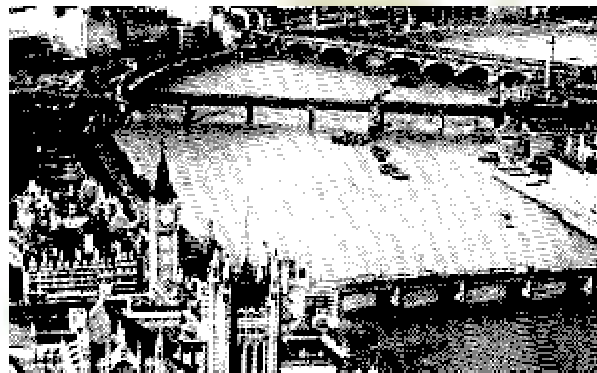
- (1) 实现同资产者利益相反的无产者的利益；
- (2) 用消灭私有制而代之以财产公有的手段实现这一点；
- (3) 除了进行暴力的民主革命以外，不承认有实现这些目的的其他手段。

——恩格斯：《致布鲁塞尔共产主义通讯委员会》

#### 4. 共产主义者同盟成立

- ◎ 1947年6月在伦敦召开改组大会
- ◎ 马克思因经济困难没有出席
- ◎ 名称改为共产主义者同盟
- ◎ 口号变为“全世界无产者，联合起来”

**Working Men of All Countries, Unite!**



London, circa 1847

## 5. 共产主义者同盟第二次代表大会

◎ 1947年11月29日至12月8日

◎ 马克思、恩格斯都出席

◎ 沙佩尔当选为主席，恩格斯为秘书

◎ 通过马克思起草的《章程》  
(Draft Rules of the Communist League)

◎ 委托马克思和恩格斯起草纲领

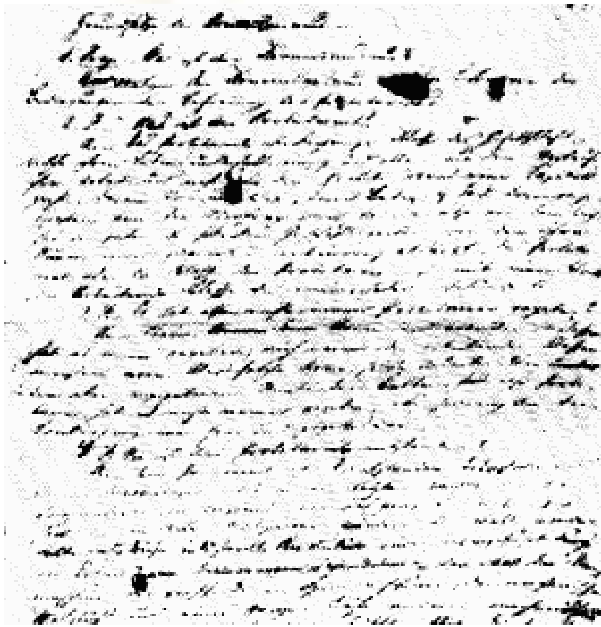


**The Red Lion Hotel on Great  
Windmill St, London. Site of the  
Second Congress of the  
Communist League  
(Nov 29 to Dec 8 1847)**

## 6. 《共产党宣言》的诞生

◎ 《共产主义原理》（[The Principles of Communism](#)）

◎ 《共产党宣言》（[Communist Manifesto](#)）



《共产主义原理》手稿

### 目录

I: [Bourgeois and Proletarians](#)

II: [Proletarians and Communists](#)

III: [Socialist and Communist Literature](#)

IV: [Position of the Communists in Relation to the Various Existing Opposition Parties](#)

Appendix: [Prefaces to Various Language Editions](#)

## 7. 共产主义者同盟的主要活动

◎ 1848年欧洲革命

◎ 1848年3月在巴黎组成新的中央委员会  
马克思任主席，沙佩尔任秘书，恩格斯、鲍威尔、沃尔弗任委员

◎ 3月下旬，马克思、恩格斯起草《共产党在德国的要求》

◎ 3月底4月初，400多名盟员分头回德国

☆ 马克思在科隆办《新莱茵报》（1848.6.12~1849.5.19）

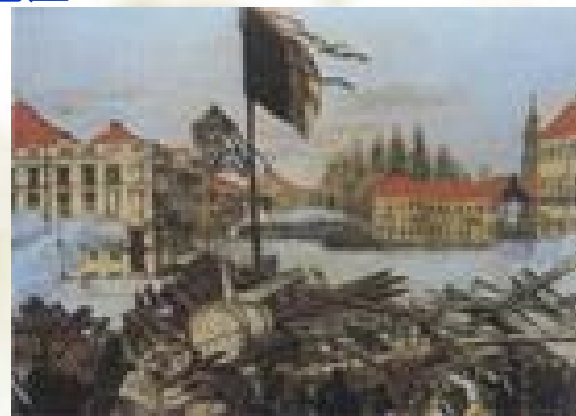
☆ 恩格斯到了爱北菲特和莱茵省其他地区

◎ 1849年8月马克思到了伦敦

◎ 1850年9月共产主义者同盟分裂

◎ 科隆共产党人审判案

◎ 1852年11月根据马克思的提议解散





## 8. 马克思、恩格斯对1848年革命的总结

### ◎ 马克思恩格斯的总结

- ☆ 《中央委员会告共产主义者同盟书》
- ☆ 《1848年至1850年的法兰西阶级斗争》
- ☆ 《路易·波拿巴的雾月十八日》
- ☆ 《德国的革命和反革命》
- ☆ 《德国农民战争》

### ◎ 理论观点

- ☆ “革命是历史的火车头”与“不断革命”
- ☆ 用暴力打碎旧的国家机器
- ☆ 无产阶级专政
- ☆ 工农联盟
- ☆ 民族解放运动

March 31 1846: Weitling letter

May 5 1846: Letter: Marx asks Proudhon to join, Marx

June 1847: Rules of the Communist League, First Draft

June 1847: Circular to Members, First Congress of Communist League

June 1847: Communist Confession of Faith, Engels

September 1847: Report by Central Authority, to the Communist League

November 1847: Principles of Communism, Engels

December 1847: Rules of the Communist League

January 1848: Letter from Engels to Marx, 14th January

February 1848: Communist Manifesto, Marx & Engels

March 1850: Address to the Communist League, Marx & Engels

June 1850: Address to the Communist League, Marx & Engels

October 1885: History of the Communist League, Engels



## 二、第一国际

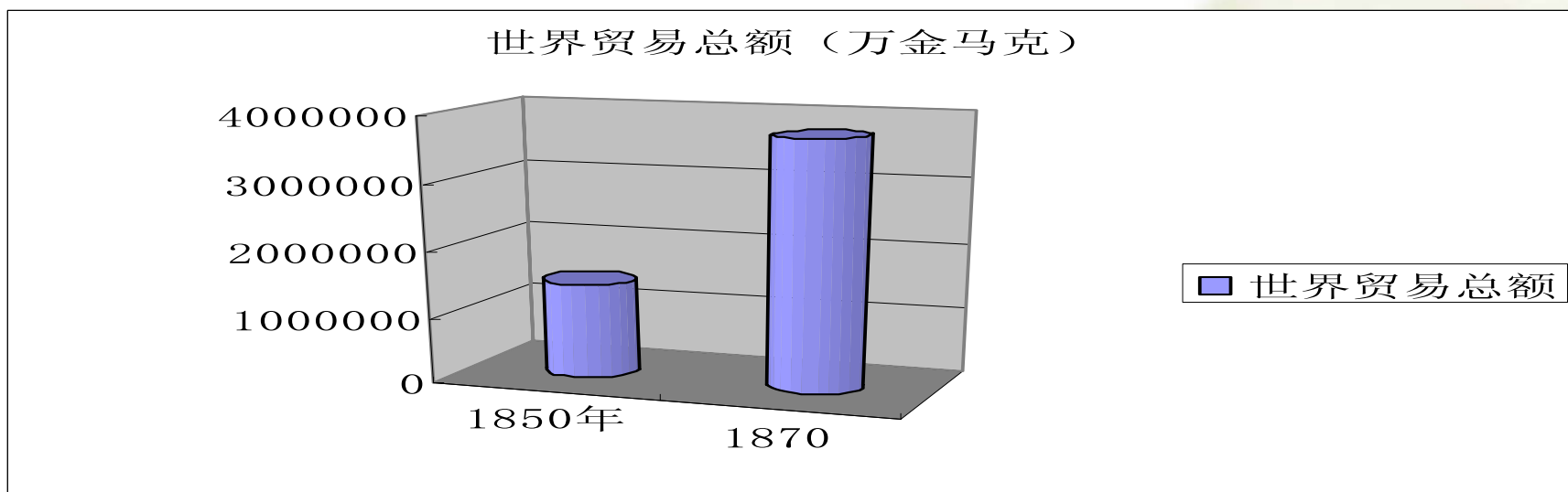
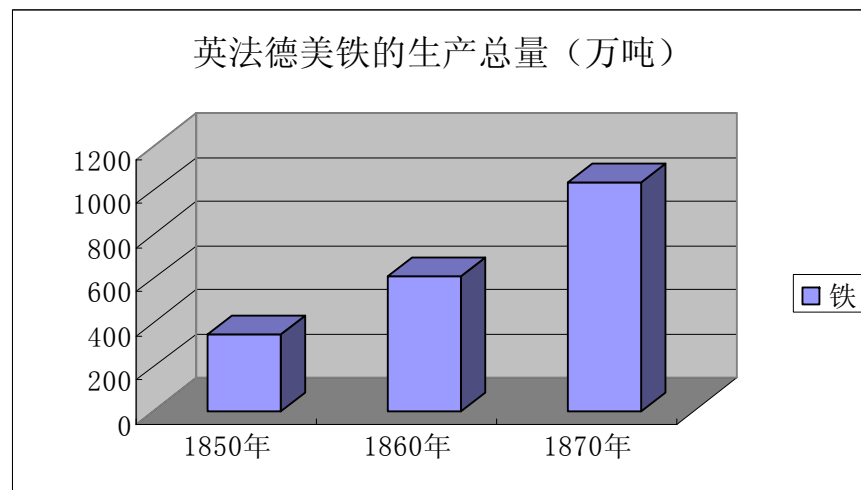
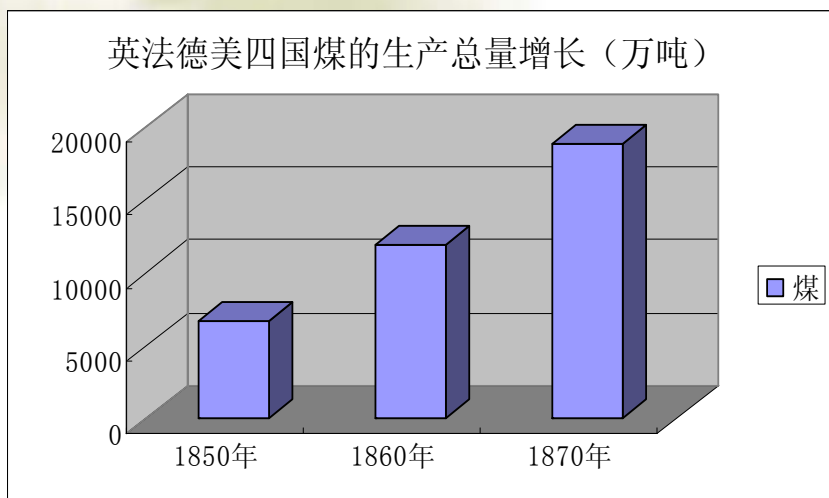
International Workingmen's Association

First International



# 1. 第一国际成立的背景

## ◎ 资本主义的发展





◎ 工人阶级的壮大

◎ 工人运动的特点

☆ 独立地为自己的权益进行斗争

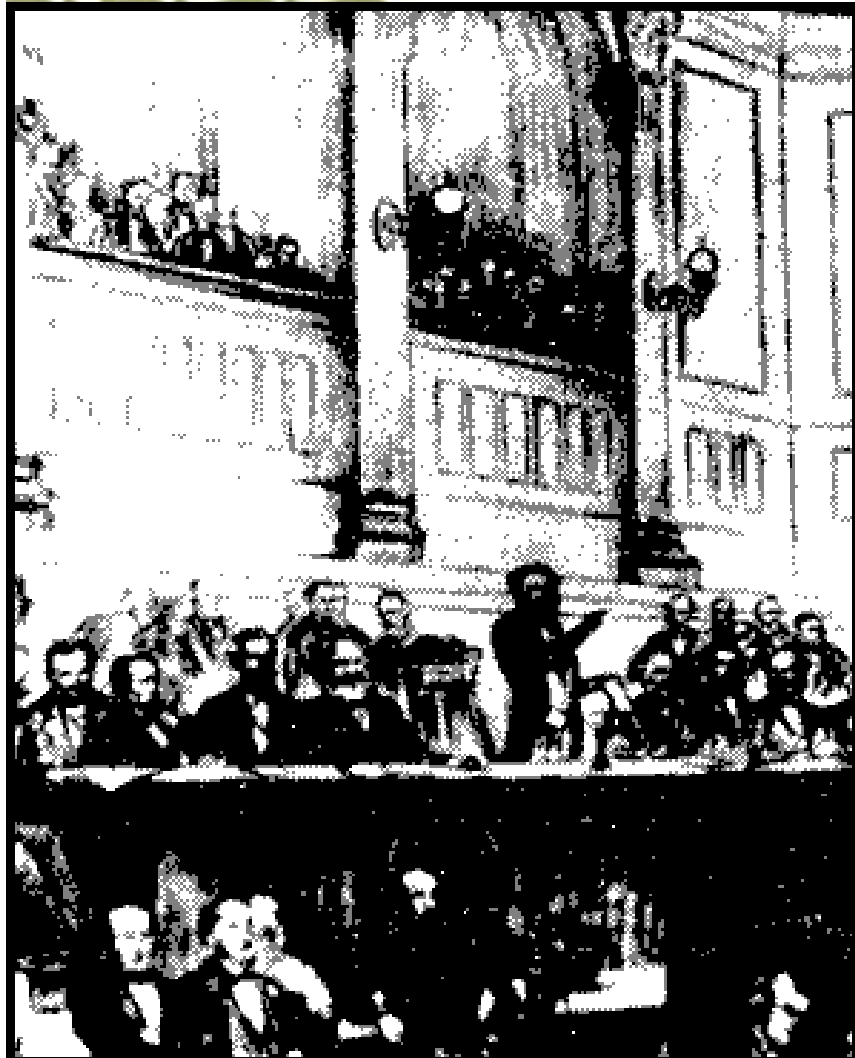
☆ 意识到加强国际联合的重要性

☆ 受多种派别影响，理论水平不高

◎ 宪章派的作用

◎ 1862年法国工人代表团到伦敦





St. Martin's Hall, London  
September 28 1864  
Founding of the  
International Working Men's Association

## 2. 第一国际的成立

- ◎ 1864年9月28日, 伦敦
- ◎ 声援波兰人民起义
- ◎ 建立第一国际
- ◎ 领导机构
- ◎ 主席奥哲尔, 总书记克里默
- ◎ 马克思当选为委员

### 3. 《成立宣言》和《临时章程》

ADDRESS  
AND  
PROVISIONAL RULES  
OF THE  
WORKING MEN'S  
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION,  
ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 29, 1864,  
AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT ST. MARTIN'S  
HALL, LONG ACRE, LONDON.

◎ 起草过程

◎ 特点

◎ 主要内容

《临时章程》

本协会设立的目的,是要成为追求共同目标即追求工人阶级的保护、发展和彻底解放的各国工人团体进行联络和合作的中心。

——《临时章程》

**FORM OF APPLICATION**  
FOR SOCIETIES WISHING TO JOIN THE  
**International Working Men's Association.**

◆◆◆◆◆

We, the Members of the \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ assembled  
at the \_\_\_\_\_  
declare our entire concurrence with the principles and  
aims of the International Working Men's Association, and pledge ourselves to disseminate and reduce  
them to practice; and as an earnest of our sincerity we  
hereby apply to the Central Council to be admitted  
into the fraternal bond as an affiliated Branch of the  
Association.

Signed on behalf of the Members, \_\_\_\_\_ in number.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Secretary.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
President.  
\_\_\_\_\_ 186

会员登记表



恩格斯的会员证



## International Working Men's Association.

CENTRAL COUNCIL,  
18 GREEK STREET, LONDON, W.

Trade, Friendly, or any Working Men's Societies are invited to join in their corporate capacity, the only conditions being that the Members subscribe to the principles of the Association, and pay for the declaration of their enrolment (which is varnished and mounted on canvas and roller), the sum of 5s. No contributions are demanded from Societies joining, it being left to their means and discretion to contribute or not, or as they may from time to time deem the efforts of the Association worthy of support.

The Central Council will be pleased to send the Address and Rules, which fully explain the principles and aims of the Association, to any Society applying for them: and, if within the London district, deputations will gladly attend to afford any further information that may be required. Societies joining are entitled to send a representative to the Central Council. The amount of contribution for individual members is 1s. per annum, with 1d. for Card of Membership; which may be obtained, with every information concerning the Association, by applying to the Honorary Secretary, or at the Central Council's Meetings, which are held every Tuesday Evening, at 18 Greek Street, from Eight to Ten o'clock.

E. DUPONT,	Corresponding Secretary for	France.
K. MARK,	"	Germany.
E. HOLTORF,	"	Poland.
H. IUNG,	"	Switzerland.
L. LEWIS,	"	America.

G. ODGER, President of Central Council.  
G. W. WHEELER, Hon. Treasurer.  
W. R. CREMER, Hon. Gen. Sec.



总委员会的文件

马克思的就职演说

## 4. 第一国际的前期活动

- ◎ 发展壮大组织，在各国建立支部
- ◎ 支持欧美各国工人阶级的经济斗争
- ◎ 支援波兰人民和爱尔兰人民争取民族独立的斗争
- ◎ 内部的斗争
  - ☆ 马克思主义与蒲鲁东主义
  - ☆ 马克思主义与工联主义



马克思、恩格斯与第一国际

## 5. 巴黎公社



◎ 发生背景

- ☆ 第二帝国的矛盾
- ☆ 普法战争
- ☆ 国防政府



拿破仑二世和威廉一世的血浴



**Paris: The Montmartre  
March 18 1871, before the uprising**



© 1871年3月18日革命

◎ 巴黎公社的建立

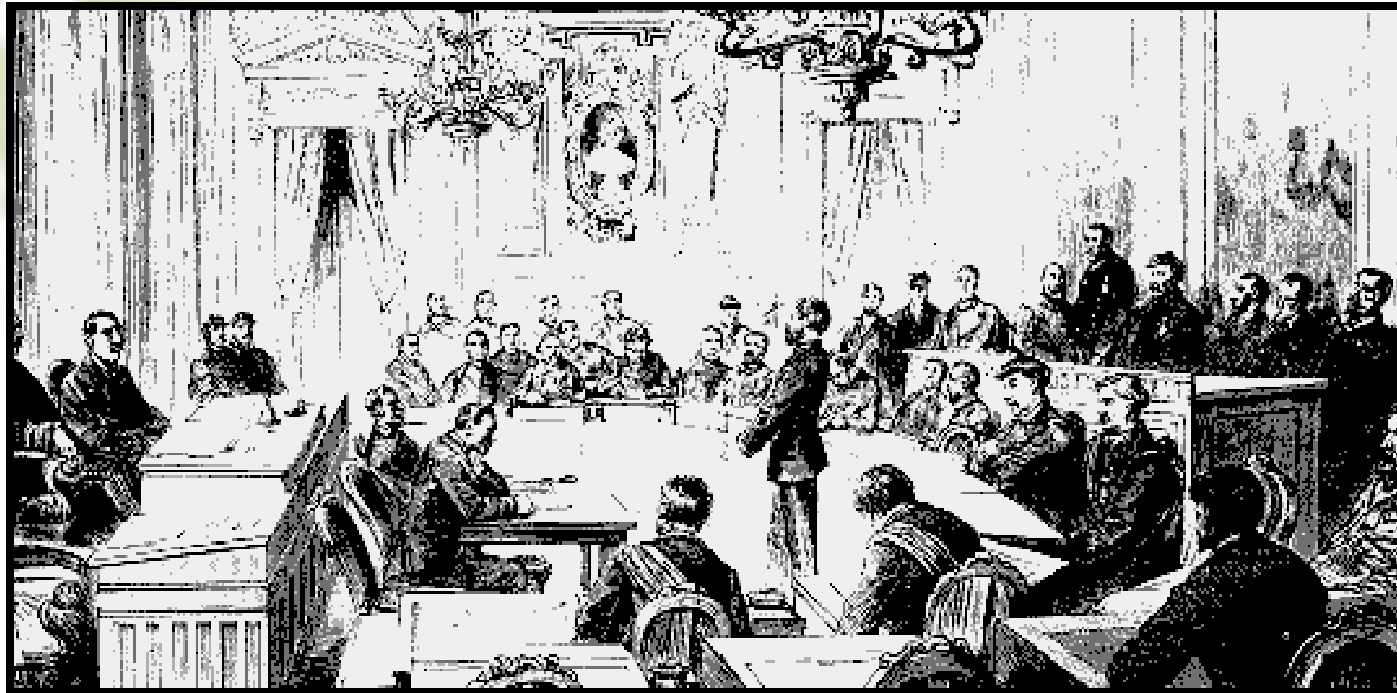


☆ 打碎旧的国家机器

- 废除警察、法院
- 取消常备军
- 废除议会制

☆ 建立无产阶级专政的尝试

- 建立国民自卫军
- 议行合一
- 十个委员会
- 两项措施



**Members of Paris Commune meet In the Hotel de Ville**

公社委员召开会议



◎ 巴黎公社的失败

☆ 军事上的失败

☆ 缺少支持

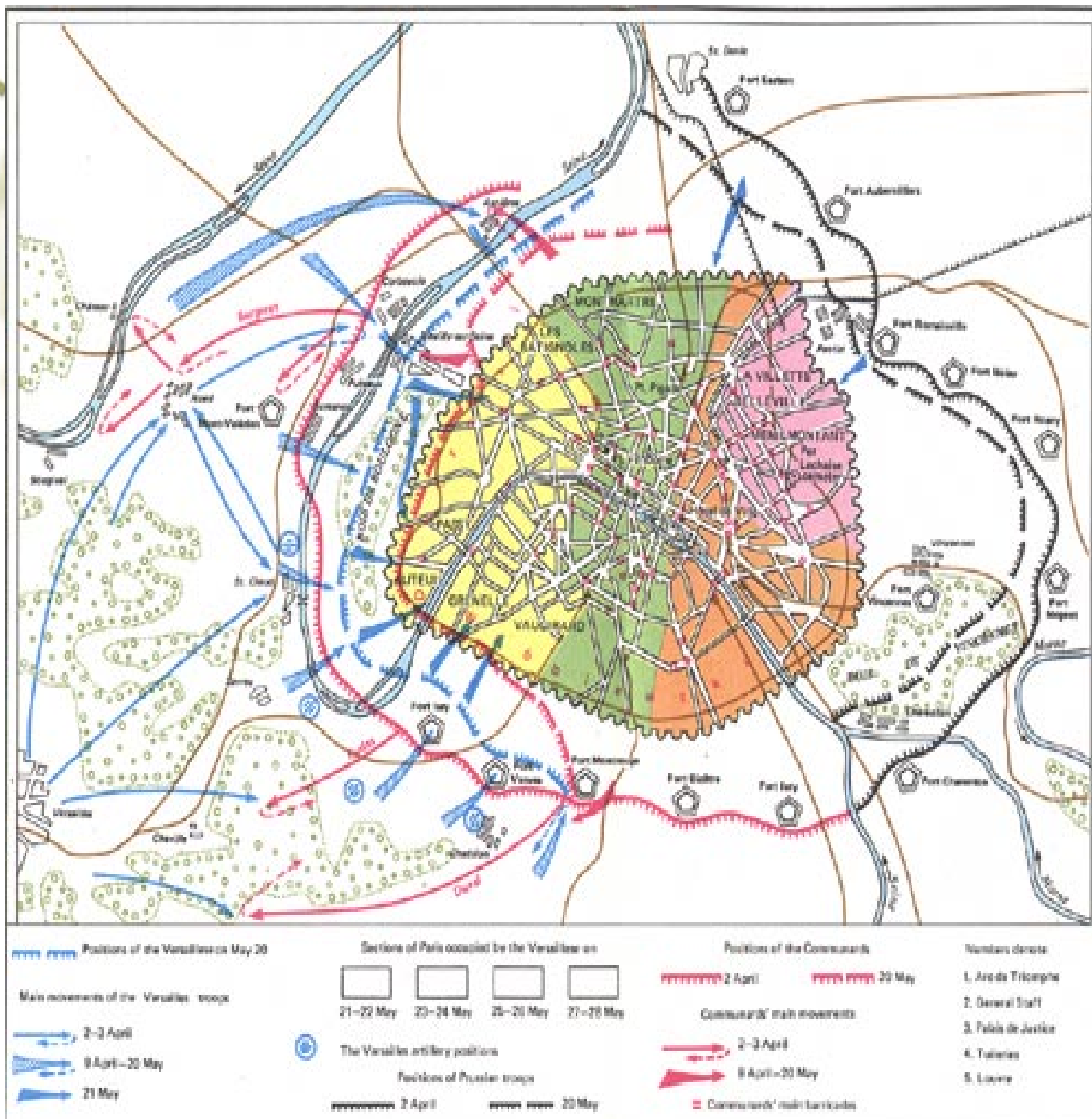
☆ 力量对比悬殊

☆ 条件不成熟





# 巴黎公社受围攻示意图





Communards  
executed in  
Luxembourg  
gardens

五月流血周



## ◎ 马克思对巴黎公社的总结

### THE GENERAL COUNCIL

OF THE

## International Workingmen's Association ON THE WAR.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-  
MEN'S ASSOCIATION

IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES.

In the inaugural Address of the INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, of November, 1864, we said:—"If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?" We defined the foreign policy aimed at by the International in these words:—"Vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the laws paramount of the intercourse of nations."

No wonder that Louis Bonaparte, who usurped his power by exploiting the war of classes in France, and perpetuated it by periodical wars abroad, should from the first have treated the International as a dangerous foe. On the eve of the plebiscite he ordered a raid on the members of the Administrative Committees of the International Workingmen's Association throughout France, at Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, Brest, &c., of the International was a secret society dabbling in assassination, a pretext soon after exposed in its own judges. What was the real crime of the International? They told the French emphatically that voting the plebiscite was for home and war abroad. It has been, in fact, the great towns, in all the industrial centres of France, the class rose like one man to reject the plebiscite, the balance was turned by the heavy ignorant mobs. The Stock Exchanges, the Cabinets, the the press of Europe celebrated the plebiscite as the French Emperor over the French working the signal for the assassination, not of an individual.

The war plot of July, 1870, is but an amended *d'état* of December, 1861. At first view the thing that France would not believe in its real good believed the deputy denouncing the ministerial stock jobbing trick. When, on July 15th, war

### SECOND ADDRESS.

In our first manifesto of the 23rd of July we said:—

"The death-knell of the Second Empire has already sounded at Paris. It will end, as it began, by a parody. But let us not forget that it is the Governments and the ruling classes of Europe who enabled Louis Napoleon to play during eighteen years the ferocious farce of the *Redoubt Empire*."  
Thus, even before war operations had actually set in, we treated the Bonapartist bubble as a thing of the past.

If we were not mistaken as to the vitality of the Second Empire, we were not wrong in our apprehension lest the German war should "lose its strictly defensive character and degenerate into a war against the French people." The war of defence ended, in point of fact, with the surrender of Louis Bonaparte, the Sedan capitulation, and the proclamation of the Republic at Paris. But long before these events, the very moment that the utter rottenness of the imperialist arms became evident, the Prussian military camarilla had resolved upon conquest. There lay an ugly obstacle in their way—King William's own proclamations at the commencement of the war. In his speech from the throne to the North German Diet, he had solemnly declared to make war upon the Emperor of the French, and not upon the French people. On the 11th of August he had issued a manifesto to the French nation, where he said:—"The Emperor Napoleon having made, by land and sea, an attack on the German nation which desired and still desires to live in peace with the French people, I have assumed the command of the German armies to repel his aggression, and I have been led by military events to cross the frontiers of France." Not content to assert the defensive character of the war by the statement that he only assumed the command of the German armies "to repel aggression," he added that he was only "led by military events" to cross the frontiers of France. A defensive war does, of course, not exclude offensive operations, dictated by "military events."

Thus this pious king stood pledged before France and the world to a strictly defensive war. How to release him from his solemn pledge! The stage-managers had to exhibit him as reluctantly yielding to the irresistible behest of the German nation. They at once gave the cue to the liberal German middle class, with its professors, its capitalists, its aldermen, and its penmen. That middle class, which in its struggles for civil liberty had, from 1846 to 1870, been exhibiting an unexampled spectacle of irresolution, incapacity, and cowardice, felt, of course, highly delighted to betray the Emperor.

☆ 《法兰西内战》

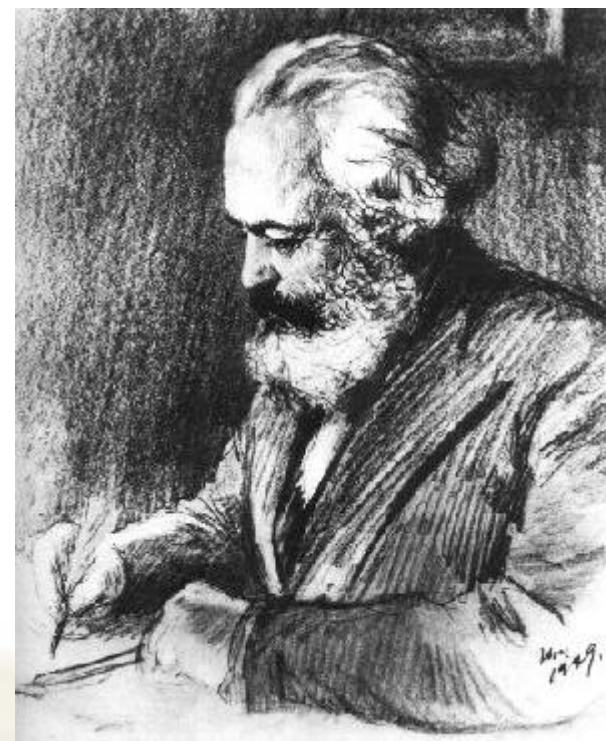
☆ 工人阶级不能简单地掌握现成的国家机器

☆ 无产阶级专政理论

☆ 巴黎公社的原则是永存的

## 6. 第一国际的后期活动

- ◎ 营救和帮助巴黎公社社员
- ◎ 反对巴枯宁主义
- ◎ 1871年伦敦会议
- ◎ 海牙大会
- ◎ 1876年费城会议



马克思写《论权威》





# 三、第二国际

The Second International  
(Social-Democracy)



# 1. 第二国际的成立

## ◎ 成立的背景

☆ 西欧工人运动再度复兴

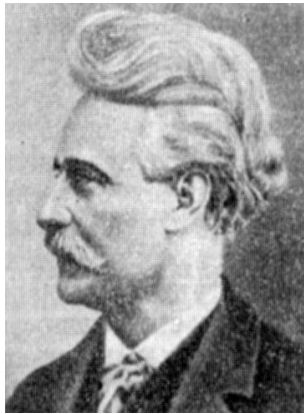
☆ 工人运动的特点

☆ 社会民主党的普遍建立

- 德国社会民主党
- 丹麦社会党
- 美国劳动人民党
- 法国社会党
- 英国社会主义者同盟
- 俄国劳动解放社
- 奥地利社会民主党

## ◎ 第二国际成立大会

- ☆ 各国社会民主党建立国际联系的尝试
- ☆ 法国社会党的“盖德派”和“可能派”
- ☆ 恩格斯的努力
- ☆ 1889年7月14日的巴黎



拉法格



盖德



1889年期的恩格斯



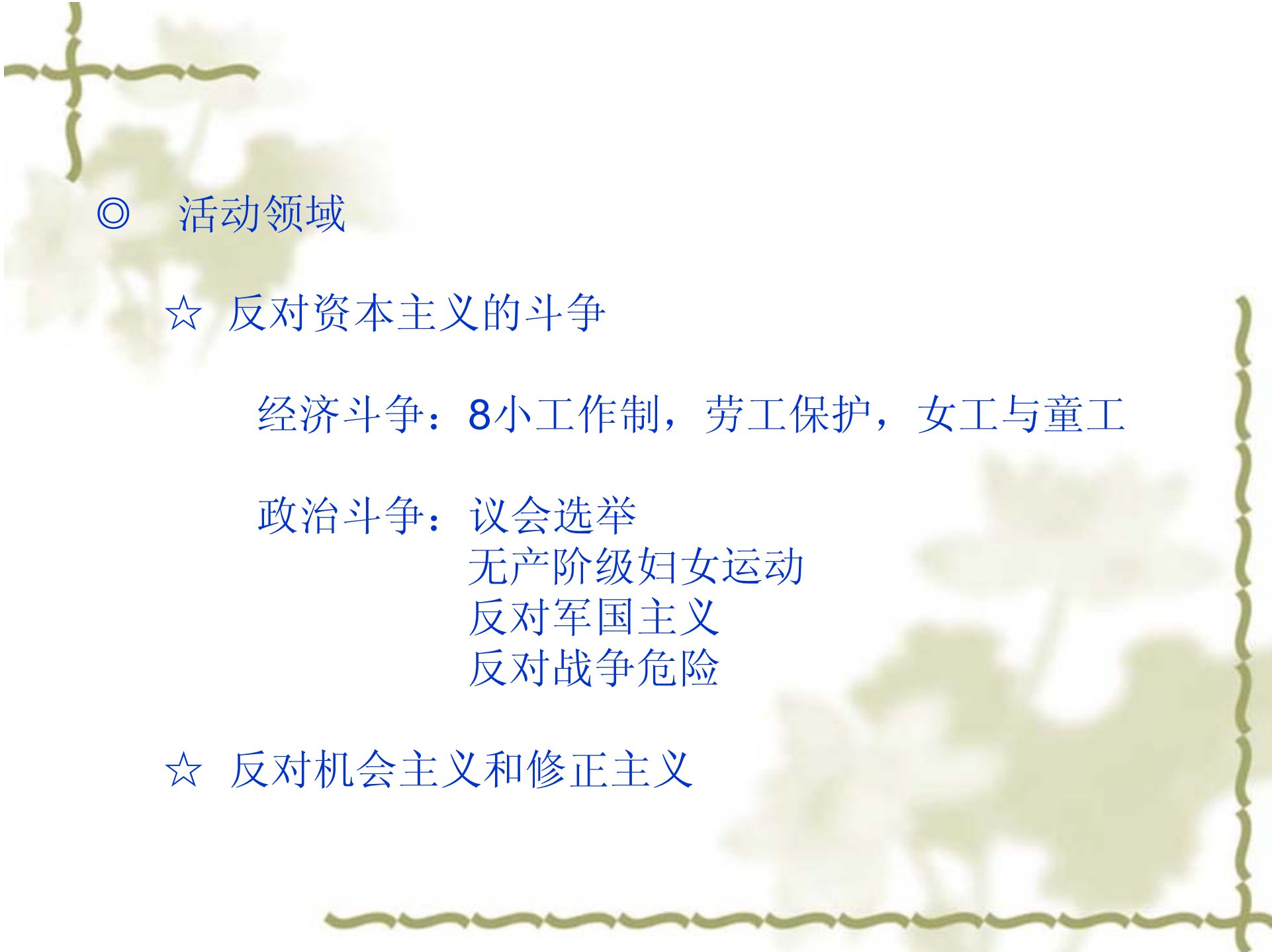
## 2. 第二国际组织特点

- ◎ 没有正式名称，不设常务的中央领导机构，没有纲领和章程
- ◎ 1900年成立的社会党国际局负责通讯和联络，并非领导机构
- ◎ 代表大会的决议对各国党只起指导作用
- ◎ 1907年制定的组织章程没有改其松散联合的特点
- ◎ 第二国际组织特点形成的原因

### 3. 第二国际的主要活动

#### ◎ 历次大会

1889-7	巴黎	通过劳工立法、工人阶级政治经济斗争的决议
1891-8	布鲁塞尔	讨论对军国主义的态度
1893-8	苏黎士	反对无政府主义，战争问题，政治策略问题
1896-7	伦敦	开除无政府主义者，民族自决权问题，土地问题
1900-9	巴黎	米勒兰事件，军国主义与殖民政策，成立国际局
1904-8	阿姆斯特丹	日俄战争，伯恩斯坦修正主义问题
1907-8	斯图加特	反对军国主义、对待战争的态度、殖民地问题
1910-8	哥本哈根	战争问题
1912-11	巴塞尔	反战宣言



◎ 活动领域

☆ 反对资本主义的斗争

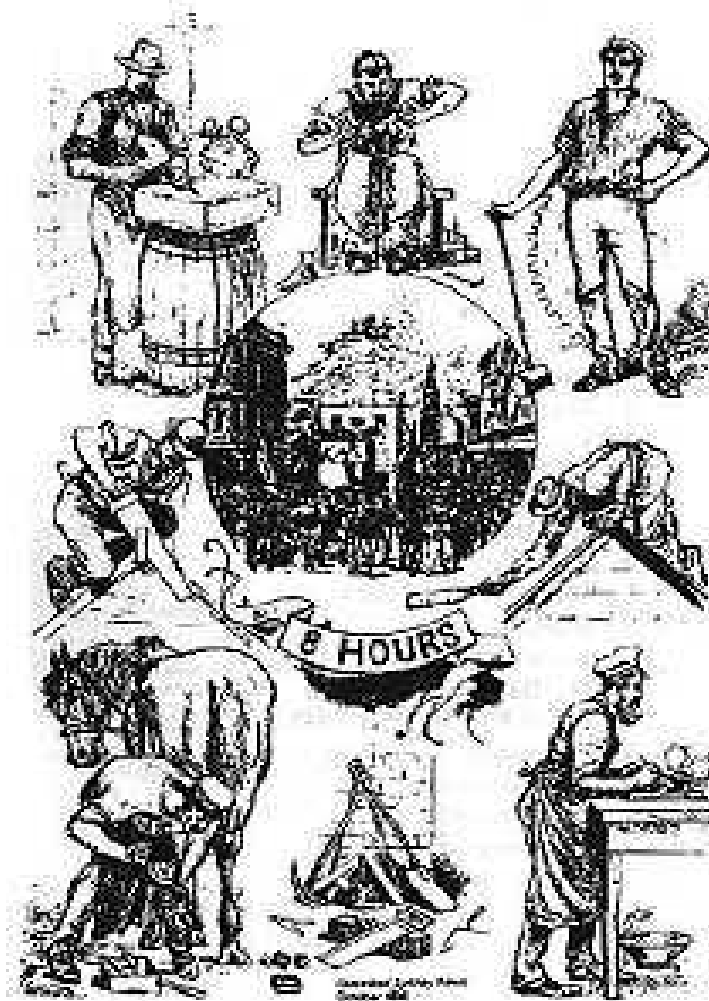
经济斗争：8小工作制，劳工保护，女工与童工

政治斗争：议会选举  
无产阶级妇女运动  
反对军国主义  
反对战争危险

☆ 反对机会主义和修正主义

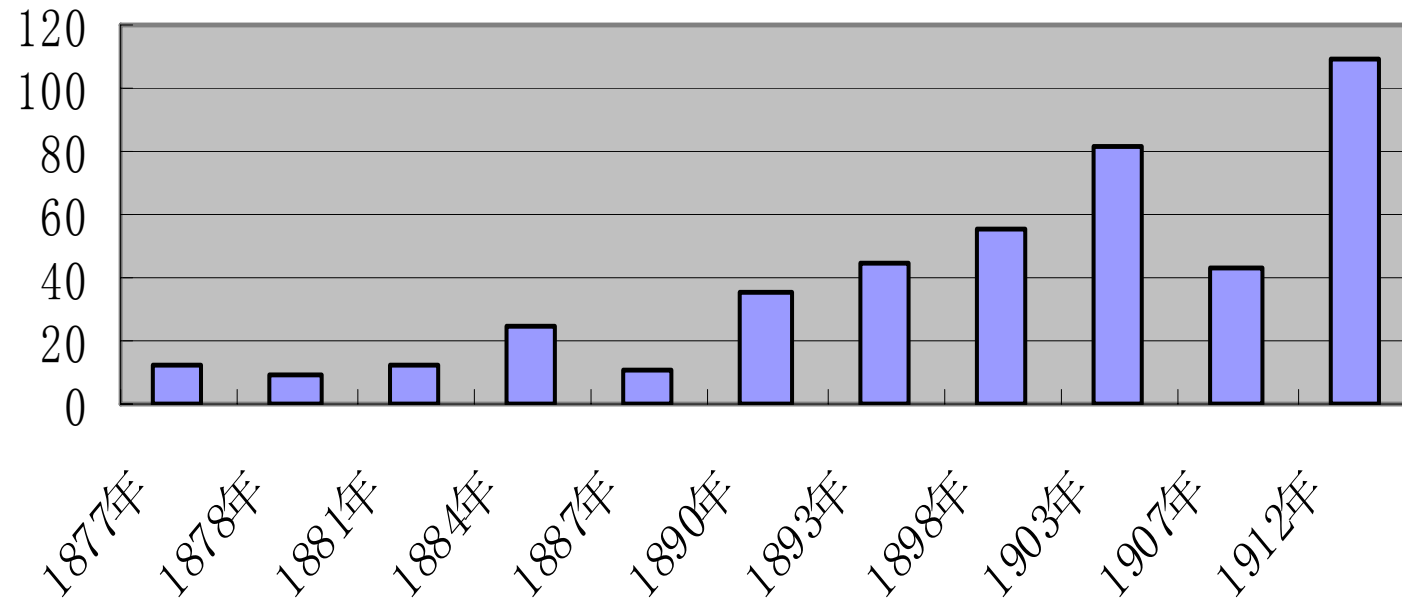


Let's offer for May Day 1891  
The Workers' Pole



五一国际劳动节宣传画

1877~1912年德国社会民主党在帝国议会选举中获得议席数量图示(单位: 个)



## 4. 第二国际破产问题

### ◎ 战争的阴霾

- ☆ 不同军事集团的形成
- ☆ 摩洛哥危机

### ◎ 第二国际的反战决议

- ☆ 1907年斯图加特大会
- ☆ 1910年哥本哈根大会
- ☆ 1912年巴塞尔大会

决不能以民族自由的利益来为日益迫近战争辩护；从工人方面来说，在这次战争中互相射击就是犯罪；战争将导致无产阶级革命。

——《巴塞尔宣言》

### ◎ 第一次世界大战的爆发