

· 意识形态跟踪研究 ·

不能颠倒坚持无神论和实行宗教信仰自由的关系

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〔摘 要〕要正确认识、理解和把握坚持无神论和实行宗教信仰自由之间的关系，不能片面强调宗教信仰自由，否则就会在行动中出现偏差。不能把宗教信仰自由片面解读为公民只有信仰宗教的自由，而忽视了公民还有不信仰宗教、宣传无神论的自由。我国是共产党领导的社会主义国家，无神论与有神论在政治上要团结、引导宗教。无产阶级政党领导建设社会主义、共产主义社会的目标是使信仰摆脱宗教，这是马克思主义的一般原则，是马克思主义宗教观的本质和归宿，也是在宗教问题上区别真假马克思主义的试金石。

〔关键词〕无神论 有神论 宗教信仰自由 马克思主义宗教观

2018 年中央一号文件——《中共中央国务院关于实施乡村振兴战略的意见》，在第五部分“繁荣兴盛农村文化，焕发乡风文明新气象”中提出，要“加强无神论宣传教育，丰富农民群众精神文化生活，抵制封建迷信活动”。

党的十八大以来，以习近平同志为核心的党中央一再强调和重申，坚持和宣传无神论的基本观点和主张。2015 年 8 月，习近平总书记在中央第六次西藏工作座谈会上的讲话中强调：要坚持不懈开展马克思主义祖国观、民族观、宗教观、文化观和唯物论、无神论，“团结稳定是福，分裂动乱是祸”、“三个离不开”等宣传教育活动，让人民群众掌握反分裂斗争的思想武器。在这次会后下发的《关于进一步推进西藏经济社会发展和长治久安的意见》要求，广泛宣传马克思主义唯物论、无神论，普及科学知识和先进文化，引导群众追求健康文明生活方式。2016 年 4 月，习近平同志在全国宗教工作会议上的重要讲话中，对坚持马克思主义无神论作了全面系统的阐述。他强调指出，作为马克思主义的信奉者，共产党员当然要坚持无神论，不坚持无神论就不是马克思主义者了，也就不是彻底的唯物论者了。^① 我们不仅要坚持马克思主义无神论，而且要积极宣传马克思主义无神论，普及科学文化知识，帮助和引导人们划清唯物论和唯心论、无神论和有神论、科学和迷信、文明和愚昧的界限，始终保持马克思主义无神论作为主流意识形态在人民群众思想中占据主导地位。

结合学习十九大报告关于坚持辩证唯物主义、历史唯物主义和关于宗教问题的重要论述，深切感到有一个思想上、认识上、理论上的关节点、关键点必须打通。这就是要正确认识、理解和把握坚持无神论和实行宗教信仰自由之间的关系。如果在这个基本问题上理不清，把坚持无神论

^① 《习近平出席全国宗教工作会议并发表重要讲话》，人民网 2016 年 4 月 23 日，<http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2016/0423/c1001-28299513-2.html>。

和实行宗教信仰自由对立起来，就会在行动中产生偏差。这个问题理清了，讲通了，既有利于坚持和宣传无神论，也有利于实行宗教信仰自由。

为进一步正确认识、理解和把握这对关系，初步梳理了以下六个观点：

第一，不能把宗教信仰自由歪曲为信仰宗教自由。“宗教信仰自由”是一项基本政策。它的内涵是，公民既有信仰宗教的自由，也有不信仰宗教、宣传无神论的自由。不能把“宗教信仰自由”片面解读为公民只有“信仰宗教的自由”，而忽视了公民还有“不信仰宗教、宣传无神论的自由”。尊重和保护这两个方面的自由，才是宗教信仰自由政策的全貌和本义。有的学者把“宗教信仰自由”等同于“信仰宗教自由”，并把它作为衡量宗教领域一切是非的唯一标准和唯一要求。在这种思潮的长期误导下，已经造成了“宗教信仰自由就是信仰宗教自由”的普遍性误读。因此，要全面、完整、规范地认识和表达宗教信仰自由的内涵。不能把宗教信仰自由歪曲为只有“信仰宗教的自由”而没有不信仰宗教和宣传无神论的自由。如果只有信教自由而没有不信教和宣传无神论的自由，那么这种被曲解的自由，实际上是不自由。

第二，宗教信仰自由，不能误解为宗教活动自由，也不能简化为宗教自由。宗教信仰、宗教思想和宗教行为、宗教活动是相互联系又有所区分的。宗教信仰自由的实质，就是要把信仰宗教和不信仰宗教，作为公民个人自由选择的“私事”。1844年马克思和恩格斯在《神圣家族》中提出：“当单个的人已经不再把宗教当做公事而当作自己的私事来对待时，他在政治上也就从宗教下解放出来了。”^①

宗教信仰自由是思想上的自由，是个人的私事，而宗教行为和宗教活动，有些就超出了个人信仰的范围，与社会和他人发生关系。涉及社会公共领域，宗教就与其他社会事务一样，必须遵守法律法规，享有在法律范围内的自由，而不是无条件的、绝对的自由。全国宗教工作会议提出对宗教活动要坚持保护合法、制止非法、遏制极端、抵御渗透、打击犯罪的原则。党的十九大报告在“有效维护国家安全”一节，提出要“严密防范和坚决打击各种渗透颠覆破坏活动、暴力恐怖活动、民族分裂活动、宗教极端活动”。^② 今年一号文件在第六部分“加强农村基层基础工作，构建乡村治理新体系”中也强调，“依法加大对农村非法宗教活动和境外渗透活动打击力度，依法制止利用宗教干预农村公共事务，继续整治农村乱建庙宇、滥塑宗教造像”。^③

第三，深刻认识马克思主义无神论是大原则。说马克思主义无神论是大原则，是和与其相关的宗教信仰自由相比较而言的。这两条原则的适用范围有所不同，一个范围大一个范围小。宗教信仰自由是宗教工作的基本原则，马克思主义无神论则不仅是与宗教工作有关的原则，同时又超出了宗教工作的范围，涉及许多不同领域不同方面的工作。全国宗教工作会议要求，我国立法、行政、司法，以及经济、政治、社会、文化、生态等方方面面都要坚持这个大原则，不要有意无意违背这个大原则。马克思主义无神论贯穿立法、行政、司法三大权力体系，覆盖经济、政治、社会、文化、生态“五位一体”的总体布局，是覆盖到方方面面，适用于方方面

① 《马克思恩格斯全集》第2卷，人民出版社1965年版，第143页。

② 《决胜全面建成小康社会 夺取新时代中国特色社会主义伟大胜利》，《人民日报》2017年10月19日。

③ 《中共中央国务院关于实施乡村振兴战略的意见》，《人民日报》2018年2月5日。

面的大原则。

第四，始终保持马克思主义无神论的主导地位。宗教既是一种社会实体，又是一种意识形态。因此，宗教工作既是社会管理工作，又是意识形态工作。

在改革开放和建设社会主义市场经济的条件下，要全面认识和把握宗教所具有的社会实体和意识形态这两种属性。既要重视宗教的社会实体属性，强调依法管理宗教事务，积极引导宗教与社会主义社会相适应；又要看到无神论和有神论也是意识形态领域的较量，是某种形式的争夺人心，要加强和创新科学无神论宣传教育，发挥思想宣传教育工作在提升全民族科学文化素质、遏制宗教渗透蔓延、培育和践行社会主义核心价值观方面的基础性作用。

无神论和宗教信仰自由这两条基本原则在内涵上是有相容之处的，不是绝对对立、割裂的。宗教信仰自由本身就包括公民还有不信仰宗教和宣传无神论的自由。无神论与有神论在世界观上对立，但在政治上还要团结、引导宗教。在政治基础上，在法律范围内，无神论对宗教有包容性。

但是，包容不能弱化主导、替代主导、失去主导。在精神领域，如同在其他社会领域一样，既要尊重差异，包容多样，又要始终保持马克思主义无神论作为主流意识形态在人民群众思想中占据主导地位。要深刻认识和把握主导性和包容性的关系。没有包括无神论在内的马克思主义意识形态的主流主导，就不能创造和维护尊重差异、包容多样的社会秩序和氛围，也不能在尊重差异中扩大社会认同、在包容多样中形成思想共识。否定马克思主义无神论主流主导地位的观点，是把这个大原则看小了、看窄了、看浅了，甚至看偏了。

第五，宗教工作的出发点、落脚点是团结、引导宗教，不是推动、发展宗教。坚持和宣传马克思主义无神论的共产党人，为什么要制定和实行宗教信仰自由政策？因为制定和实行这一政策的出发点和落脚点是超越信仰上有神无神的次要差异，实现政治上的团结合作。尽管坚持无神论的共产党人与各种宗教的信仰者在信仰上是有差异的，但是这种信仰上的次要差异并不妨碍我们为根本的、一致的共同利益在政治上团结合作。共产党人在坚持宗教信仰自由的基础上，更加强调促进信教和不信教群众的团结，目的是要把信教的人与不信教的人、把信仰不同宗教的人都团结起来、和谐相处，把他们的意志和力量集中到全面建成小康社会的共同目标上来。党和政府要通过思想教育（包括采用“团结—批评—团结”公式处理人民内部矛盾的方法）和依法管理，在政治上团结、引导宗教，而不是人为地推动、发展宗教。

第六，认清和坚持共产党人在宗教问题上的目标和价值追求。过去我们经常说对宗教要“政治上团结合作，信仰上互相尊重”。毛泽东曾经指出：“共产党员可以和某些唯心论者甚至宗教信徒建立在政治行动上的反帝反封建的统一战线，但是决不能赞同他们的唯心论和宗教教义。”^①说明共产党人尊重的是宗教信仰者自由选择自己信仰的权利，但是“决不能赞同他们的唯心论和宗教教义”。如果无神论只能“尊重”而不能批判有神论，那无异于让无神论放下解放人类精神的思想武器，成为“虚拟”的无神论，在实际生活中被弱化、淡化、虚化、边缘化。

党要坚持和宣传马克思主义无神论，尊重公民个人选择和保持自己的宗教信仰的自由，实

^① 《毛泽东选集》第2卷，人民出版社1991年版，第707页。

现在政治上的团结合作。国家要实行宗教信仰自由政策，包括公民有信仰宗教的自由和不信仰宗教、宣传无神论的自由。只讲坚持和宣传无神论，不讲实行宗教信仰自由，是片面的，同时，只讲实行宗教信仰自由，不讲坚持和宣传无神论，也是片面的。马克思在《哥达纲领批判》中指出：《哥达纲领》只提“信仰自由”而不提无神论宣传，是“不愿超越‘资产阶级的’水平”。^①

说到底，宗教是一种唯心主义世界观。我国是共产党领导的社会主义国家，既不能用封建主义、资本主义思想意识和价值观念来作为全社会的精神支柱，也不能用宗教来作为全社会的精神支柱。无产阶级政党领导广大人民群众建设社会主义、共产主义社会，其中一个目标是使信仰摆脱宗教，而不仅仅是实现资产阶级的允许各种各样宗教信仰的自由。这是马克思主义的一般原则，是马克思主义宗教观的本质和归宿，也是在宗教问题上区别真假马克思主义的试金石。

在党的十九大精神和习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想指引下，在坚持和宣传马克思主义无神论这条有时看得见有时看不见的精神思想战线上，中国无神论学会面临着新形势、新机遇、新任务、新要求。一方面，在弘扬共产主义理想信念、宣传社会主义核心价值观、始终保持马克思主义无神论作为主流意识形态在人民群众思想中占据主导地位等方面，要承担和发挥重要作用；另一方面，在消除一切损害党的先进性和纯洁性的因素、清除一切侵蚀党的健康肌体的病毒、遏制形形色色的有神论和封建迷信观念对党的肌体和国家体制的侵蚀和渗透等方面，还要承担和发挥重要作用。

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^① 《马克思恩格斯选集》第3卷，人民出版社1995年版，第317页。

Marxism curricula were closely related to the ups and downs of the workers' movement. Italian Marxism in the 20th century made significant contributions to the world. Currently, however, Marxism has been removed from the curriculum of political economy in Italy by all sorts of measures and has been completely marginalized in scientific research. In universities of Italy and other Western countries, Marxism has already been separated from real struggles and movement and from political parties of working class. Marxist professors do not communicate with each other and there is no unified theory and proletarian world outlook. In addition, the emergence of Marxist professors who occupy a privileged position with purely theoretical discussions that bear no connection with social movement in reality is to some extent a method adopted by bourgeoisie in order to take the lead in ideological struggles, which has succeeded in subtly infiltrating the Marxist troops and undermining the Marxist coalition.

The Ideological Suppression of Left-wing Political Parties by the Right-wing Government in Japan

..... Tan Xiaojun (50)

In developed capitalist countries, capitalist ideology prevails, attacking and suppressing the proletarian ideology in various aspects. In Japan, there is a fundamental opposition between the Liberal Democratic Party representing the bourgeois interests and the Communist Party of Japan representing the interests of the working class. The right-wing force in Japan has set out new anti-Communist strategies, i. e., to create a system of "Two Major Political Parties". The strategy is actually to create a situation for the two major conservative political parties to hold power in alternation so as not to leave the left-wing force any opportunity to win the majority of seats in the parliament via election, and prevent the Communist Party of Japan from growing and shaking the foundation of the current regime. For that reason, the ideological struggle is rather fierce and will exist in the long term.

• International Studies •

The Emergence of Structural Changes in Sino-American Power Relationship Wang Wen (54)

The Sino-American relations have such global impact that one small change could lead to systemic shift. For that reason, the power relationship, changes in strategic situation, intensification of trade friction and escalation of conflicts between China and the United States have always received wide attention from the two countries and the world. Since 2008, the power comparison between China and the US has undergone significant changes, and the strategic situation between the two countries has undergone structural changes: China has moved from a position of strategic defense to that of strategic equivalence. The current Sino-US interaction must be understood under the unity between single short term event and long-term trend, individual gains and strategic situation, opportunity and tendency, and "Tao" and "technique". Currently, we should explore the reasons of the rise of the US, grasp its social and political characteristics, understand its internal contradictions, and gain a favorable position through taking advantages of its cyclical policy mistakes and domestic crises. The outcome of Sino-American power struggle depends on the level of domestic governance. As long as we continue to deepen the reform and opening-up, proceed with established strategy of development and patiently handle the all-around power struggle with the US with the mindset of a protracted war, China will eventually become the one that prevails.

Change and Consistency: New Changes in the US Election and the Underlying Causes

..... Chen Chengxin (59)

With the development of the US style democracy and the change in the status of the United States in the world, the US presidential election continues to draw attention with its influence and value for research. Currently, research on the issue of political donation in the US system of democracy mainly focuses on revealing and highlighting the dilemma—as an endogenous contradiction—it has brought to the US style democracy. Looking at the 58th US presidential election, this article analyzes the changes and consistencies in the three dimensions of political donation, the role of candidates, and the election culture. It further reflects upon the relationship between the new changes in political donation and the social structure of the United States, with the hope to gain a more accurate understanding of the form and essence of Western, particularly the US style democracy.

• Issues of Ideology •

The Relationship between Upholding Atheism and Exercising Freedom of Religious Belief Shall Not Be Reversed

..... Zhu Xiaoming (67)

The relationship between upholding atheism and exercising freedom of religious belief must be correctly recognized,

understood and grasped. We cannot partially stress the freedom of religious belief. Otherwise errors could take place in our action. Freedom in religious belief cannot be exclusively interpreted as freedom of belief in various religions, while ignoring the freedom of not believing in any religion and promoting atheism. In China as a socialist country led by the Communist Party of China, political solidarity should be established between atheism and theism and guidance provided for religions. The goal of building a socialist and communist society led by political party of the proletariat is to free belief from religion, which is the general principle in Marxism, the essence and destination of Marxist concept of religion, and the touchstone to differentiate true and fake Marxism regarding the issue of religion.

Class Category under the Perspective of Transformed Theory of Practice Zhu Yiyi (71)

The attention to and the use of class as a category has its beginning in modern times. Before Marx, the inherently mechanical, intuitive and abstract methodology had resulted in a metaphysical way of thinking that cannot possibly be removed from the class analysis of the time. The establishment of Marxist philosophy represents a great transformation in the history of philosophy, which achieved realistic, concrete and dialectic understanding and application of class as a category directly connected with private ownership. Class in Marxism is a holistic entity which should be neither completely denied nor understood or applied in our analysis in a simplistic, intuitive, and mechanical manner.

• Insights from History •

Renewal of Respect for the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the New History Textbook for Middle Schools in Russia Wu Huixin (76)

The latest textbook of national history in Russia published in 2016, *The 10th Grade Textbook of Russian History*, acknowledges that the October Revolution was the choice of the history, and recognizes the historical status and significance of Lenin and his action. In this textbook, the October Revolution in the form of armed uprising was not only the result of Bolsheviks' seizing of the opportunity at the time being under the leadership of Lenin, but also the right choice of history and inevitable outcome under specific historical conditions. The textbook presents an objective evaluation of the Stalinist system and Stalin's contribution in the Great Patriotic War was acknowledged. Khrushchev, as always, receives mixed comments with as much blame as praise. Gorbachev's ideas and practice of reform were criticized; his "democratization" was disapproved in that it led to the crisis in the political system of the Soviet Union without providing a better and more sophisticated alternative in its place, thus leaving the reform with an uncertain future.

Memories of Family Love and Teaching—In Commemoration of the 110th Anniversary of Comrade Wang Zhen's Birth Wang Zhi (80)

• Academic Reviews •

Public Oriented Theory and Reality Based Research—Reflections upon the publication of the Fifth Volume of *Vigilance in Times of Peace* • Booklet Series of World Socialism Chen Zhihua (82)

Liberalism Will Only Intensify Global Inequity, and The Real and Only Way Out Is Socialism—The 2018 World Inequity Report and Samir Amin's Comments Shan Chao and Liu Xiaolan (84)

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