

教育部人文社会科学研究青年基金项目资助：
《社会主义国家处理宗教问题的经验教训》（项目批号：11YJC710039）

社会主义国家 处理宗教问题的 经验教训

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中国社会科学出版社



北航

C1688113

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

社会主义国家处理宗教问题的经验教训 / 孟宪霞著. —北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 2012. 12

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5161 - 2007 - 1

I. ①社… II. ①孟… III. ①社会主义国家 - 宗教政策 - 研究 - 世界
IV. ①D523②B928

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2012)第 311503 号

出 版 人 赵剑英
责任编辑 任 明
责任校对 安 然
责任印制 李 建

出 版 中国社会科学出版社
社 址 北京鼓楼西大街甲 158 号 (邮编 100720)
网 址 <http://www.csspw.cn>
中文域名: 中国社科网 010 - 64070619
发 行 部 010 - 84083685
门 市 部 010 - 84029450
经 销 新华书店及其他书店

印 刷 北京奥隆印刷厂
装 订 北京市兴怀印刷厂
版 次 2012 年 12 月第 1 版
印 次 2012 年 12 月第 1 次印刷

开 本 710 × 1000 1/16
印 张 15.25
插 页 2
字 数 273 千字
定 价 48.00 元

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本人主持的中国博士后科学基金资助项目：《社会主义国家处理宗教问题的当代省思》（资助编号：2012M521310）的阶段性成果。（申报单位：山东大学政治学与公共管理学院）

教育部哲学社会科学研究重大课题攻关项目：《马克思主义文化理论发展研究》（项目批准号：11JZD003）的阶段性成果。

国家社会科学基金项目：《马克思主义政党关于无神论的理论和政策研究》（项目批准号：09BZJ001）的阶段性成果。

摘 要

本选题属于“马克思主义宗教观”综合研究体系的一部分。当前我国的宗教理论与宗教政策制定皆以“马克思主义宗教观”为指导，“马克思主义宗教观”属于我国宗教领域的主流意识形态，其重要性不言而喻。然而梳理与统观整个“马克思主义宗教观”研究，我们发现，学术界对于“马克思主义宗教观”的研究尽管在很多方面已经成绩卓著，但在完整性上却有所欠缺，那就是，缺少了对各社会主义国家宗教理论与实践的系统研究及综合省思。

“马克思主义宗教观”发端于马克思恩格斯的宗教思想，其在20世纪初的苏联生根发芽，以致根深叶茂，形成了列宁、斯大林等领导人的宗教观，新中国成立之后，中国共产党人接力继续践行马克思恩格斯列宁的宗教理念。当前无论政界还是学界，大都集中于以上脉络来研究马克思主义宗教观的发展历程。然而，就历史的真相而言，马克思恩格斯列宁的宗教观在社会主义国家的直接影响，还达及东欧八个社会主义国家，达及越南、老挝、朝鲜、古巴等至今尚存的四个社会主义国家。在马克思恩格斯列宁宗教观的统照之下，基于各国不同的国情与教情，各社会主义国家的宗教政策与宗教实践呈现出丰富而又多彩的历史画面。因此，在“马克思主义宗教观体系”的综合研究中，这一段，绝对是不能忽略的重要一笔。本选题力图还原“马克思主义宗教观”研究的整体性，力求弥补学术界在这一领域研究之不足，为“社会主义宗教论”与“马克思主义宗教论”的研究增砖添瓦。梳理与分析各社会主义国家的宗教理论、政策与实践，力图在当下宗教理论认知水准的映照之下，总结社会主义国家处理宗教问题的经验教训，为我所用。

本书首先从马克思的“宗教消亡论”与“宗教博兴”的现实对垒入手，从国际国内两大宏阔视角，铺陈与分析了“宗教热潮”在全球以及在中国的具体表现、现实根源、正面和负面效应等，从而展示了本论题研究的时代语境及其必要性。并提出了如下思考问题：宗教的本质到底是什么？马克思主义经典作家关于宗教的经典论断是否已经过时？社会主义国家宗教存在的原

因在哪里？执政的共产党应该如何看待与处理当代宗教方面的新情况与新问题等？因此，面对如此繁复的宗教情况与宗教问题，鉴借全球宗教文化认知尚有必要，回望与梳理各社会主义国家处理宗教问题的成败得失，并总结其经验教训，对于服务于社会主义中国当下的宗教实践，对于服务于中国参与全球政治、经济、文化和意识形态竞争，尤其具有重大的、直接的理论和现实意义。

马克思主义宗教观是马克思恩格斯等经典作家及其后继者关于宗教问题及宗教现象的根本观点与看法，是马克思主义政党认识和处理宗教问题的世界观和方法论，其发端于马克思恩格斯，历经各国共产党人在本国的发展与实践，至今仍然焕发着勃勃的生命力。马克思主义宗教观是一脉相承的理论体系，它有着丰富的内涵，包括关于宗教的本质，宗教的发展规律，宗教的社会功能以及马克思主义政党对待宗教的态度等。然而，就当前“马克思主义宗教观”的研究而言，把其作为指导我国宗教认知和宗教实践的方法论来探讨，却是“马克思主义宗教观研究”当中的“短板”。马克思主义宗教观其优越于其他宗教观的突出特点就在于：其以唯物史观为指导，坚持辩证地看待问题，坚持实践性的原则，是制定政策的正确导航与科学研究的有力指导。

苏联东欧社会主义国家都有着不同于我国的浓重的宗教传统，然而在其社会主义实践的过程中，无一不深受马克思恩格斯宗教观的深刻影响，其中尤以马克思的“宗教鸦片论”影响最巨。所以，其一度采取了过于偏“左”、打击甚至消灭宗教的政策，因此，国内宗教势力一度大大放低姿态，宗教活动由地上转为地下。然而，或如许多宗教学家主张的“人天生就是宗教的动物”，也或如有些学者们探讨的“宗教是人类掌握世界的一种方式”、“宗教是人类精神的家园”、“宗教是人类共同的文化财富”等，在此，我们姑且不去争辩这些命题的真伪，而今对于宗教大抵已形成如下共识：当今社会，当今时代，宗教是人类生活不可或缺的精神和物质财富，宗教有其发生、发展的规律，宗教的消亡将是一个漫长的历史过程。逆历史发展规律而动的后果就是——前苏东国家内部政教关系紧张，宗教在苏东剧变这场社会主义的大地震中，发挥了重要作用。从某种意义上可以说，在剧变前，社会主义国家与宗教之间基本上是一种“你死我活”的阶级斗争关系，宗教关系极不和谐，人民反对社会主义政权的暗流涌动，这种敌对的暗流结果被国外反动势力借用，最终危及到了社会主义国家的安全与稳定。人民群众是历史的创造者，是社会的根基，压抑人民的宗教需求，社会根基不稳，社会主义的大厦就必

然有倾覆的危险。苏东对宗教问题的处理大抵留给我们以下经验教训，比如，要充分认识宗教具有长期性的特点，用行政甚至暴力手段消灭宗教不可取；要坚持宗教信仰自由政策，分清宗教方面两种不同性质的矛盾；处理好宗教与民族问题，防止国际宗教渗透活动；尊重意识形态发展规律，通过发展经济、政治和文化事业，让人们远离宗教；坚持马克思主义宗教观，党员不能信仰宗教等。

新中国的宗教政策承继中国共产党在新民主主义革命时期的“宗教信仰自由”政策而来。然而，总体而言，中国共产党一方面因为对马克思主义宗教观存在片面的“左”的理解，一方面因为在我国近代历史上，尤其是基督教和天主教都扮演过作为殖民者的“开路先锋”的不良角色。正如蒋梦麟所言：“如来佛是骑着白象来到中国的，耶稣基督却是骑在炮弹上飞过来的。”加之宗教势力的强大，在中国从古至今的历史上，历朝历代都发挥过妄图颠覆政府的巨大作用。所以，新仇加旧恨，对于新中国政府和中国人民欣然接受限制甚至消灭宗教的“国家及全民举动”，就不难理解了。中国乏有宗教信仰的传统，中国自汉代“罢黜百家，独尊儒术”以来，儒家学说构建并维护了中国几千年的封建政治体制，勾画与夯实了中国国民的文化面貌。即使是本土的道教文化、东汉末年从印度而来的佛教文化，和近代随着殖民者的坚船利炮扑进中国的基督教与天主教，都积极吸收融合儒家文化特色，实现了在中国的生根发芽。“以科学代宗教”“以美育代宗教”“以艺术代宗教”，五四时期的先哲们为我们奉出如许之多的满足我们精神营养的饕餮大餐，其惟愿取宗教而代之。然而，宗教是宗教，科学是科学，美育是美育，艺术还是艺术，即便人们有“杀之而后快”的强烈愿望，也自是“抽刀断水水更流”。当宗教存在的社会根源和阶级根源没有被消灭之际，宗教还依然就是在那里。中国对宗教本质、意义及作用的认识之路，可以用一路欢歌一路泪来形容。当形势需要之时，它就是我们的座上之客，当形势不需要时，更多地强调的是宗教的负面功能，以加强科学无神论宣传为由，大力挤占宗教的生存空间，伤害了广大教徒的感情，挫伤了他们参与建设社会主义小康社会的积极主动性，处理不当，甚至会酿成逆反情绪，形成社会反对力量的暗流。大禹治水，疏且导之，教徒的感情犹如滔滔洪水，堵截戕害始终不能解决问题，唯有积极引导宗教与社会主义社会相适应，实现对宗教教义作出有利于建设和谐社会的有益解释，发动教徒爱国爱教，参与到社会主义建设当中来，同时切实落实宗教信仰自由政策，依法加强宗教事务管理，实施独立自主自办原则，才不失为解决宗教问题的上佳之策。

现存的社会主义四国——越南、老挝、朝鲜、古巴，处理宗教问题的经验教训同样值得我们汲取。龙生九子，各有不同，马克思主义的伟大理论，诞生了十几个鲜红的社会主义国家，而今苏东九兄弟已丢弃马克思主义的信仰，舍弃社会主义与共产主义的追求，各自奔赴自己或一帆风顺或命运多舛的前程去了。如今剩余的社会主义国家，吸取共产主义运动史上深刻的历史教训，再也没有产生社会主义国家的“龙头老大”，各国均根据国情，吸纳全球经验，加强全球合作，进行社会发展。在宗教政策方面也没有产生谁对谁的指手画脚，倒是美国这一“世界宪兵”每年发出各国宗教报告，连续指责我国西藏问题、新疆问题以及“法轮功”问题；指责朝鲜是“宗教压迫最严重的国家”；对于越南，在越南积极加强与美国和梵蒂冈的沟通，并按照他们规定的程序进行宗教改革的基础上，2009年终于摘掉了“宗教压迫严重国家”的帽子；在古巴，浓郁的宗教传统，造就了古巴人民对宗教的特殊感情，在古巴社会主义发展史上，同样也存在过压迫甚至消灭宗教的“严打”时期，然而总体而言，其与梵蒂冈的关系破冰，有利于其在国际上争取更多的同情，有利于改善古美关系，从而更有利于其社会主义建设与发展。梳理四国处理宗教问题的历史，为我们展示了四国多彩的宗教处理历史画卷，省思其宗教政策，有利于我们更好地理解与坚持马克思主义宗教观，有利于我们在意识形态领域与西方的一场没有硝烟的战争中，防患于未然，修筑起思想领域的万里长城。

自第一个社会主义国家——苏联建立，至今已有近百年的历史，马克思当年预言了宗教随着社会进步必然逐渐消亡的历史命运，我们似乎也已经为宗教准备好了灭亡后的“裹尸之布”。然而，在经济发展、科技昌明、全球化雷声阵阵的今天，宗教却呈现全球发展热潮。适时扭转对宗教及宗教问题的看法，实施与时俱进、适合中国国情、适合国际潮流的宗教决策，是我们今天的当政者面临的重大课题。社会主义国家处理宗教问题的经验教训，带给当代中国很多有益的启示：第一，需要正确认识宗教的本质和功能问题，这是关于宗教认知的最深层次和最根本的问题；第二，正确认识与处理宗教与社会主义社会的关系难题，阐释积极引导宗教与社会主义社会相适应的理论意义；第三，正确认识与处理宗教信仰与马克思主义信仰的关系问题，辨析宗教信仰与马克思主义信仰的区别，分析宗教信仰对马克思主义信仰提出的严峻挑战；第四，正确认识与处理中国政教关系，反思中国政教关系的处理及对当代中国所谓“官办宗教”的误读；第五，正确认识与处理宗教方面的中美、中梵关系，防止西方的宗教渗透等。

往左走，抑或往右走？左灯右行，抑或右灯左行？如何选择一条适合中国国情的正确的宗教处理之路？依赖我们理论工作者，以光荣的使命感与历史责任感，以正确的立场——“马克思主义的立场”、“国家的立场”、“人民的立场”，来分析社会主义国家处理宗教问题的经验教训，从而为中国特色的社会主义伟大事业，为全面建设小康社会，为建设和谐社会、和谐世界、和谐内心来服务。

ABSTRACT

This topic belongs to a part of the system of “Marxist view of religion”. The current religious theories and policies of China are all guided by it and it is the mainstream ideology in the field of religion in China, and its importance is self-evident. However, combing the whole “Marxist view of religion”, we find that academic has much study on “Marxist view of religion”, but not on integrity, that is, lacking the research on the system of religious theory and practice in socialist countries, and make comprehensive reflection.

“Marxist view of religion” originated in the religious ideas of Marx and Engels, from the beginning of the last century in Soviet Union, deeply rooted and formed in the religious concept of Lenin, Stalin and other leaders. The Chinese Communists continued to practice the religious philosophy of Marx and Engels. Most politicians and academics concentrate on this context to study the course of the development of the Marxist view of religion. However, the truth of history is that the direct impact of the view of Marx, Engels and Lenin religion in socialist countries has not only reached eight socialist countries of Eastern Europe, but reached the four surviving social capitalist countries, i. e. Vietnam, Laos, North Korea and Cuba. Under the guidance of Marx, Engels and Lenin, according to different national conditions, the policy on religion and religious practices of the socialist countries show a rich and colorful historical picture. Therefore, in the comprehensive study of “the system of Marxist view of religion”, this can not be ignored. This topic is trying to restore the integrity of the “Marxist view of religion”, striving to make up the lack of research in academia, adding bricks and tiles for the “religious theory of socialism”. By combing and analyzing religious theory, policy and practice of Socialist States, the study tries to sum up the lessons of Socialist Countries in dealing with religious issues under the current religious theory and put it into use.

This article starts firstly from “religious fervor” in China and the whole world,

and the confront reality of “Marx’s religion Extinction” and “religious reviving”, and mentioned the following problems: how to treat the religious fervor of the present era? How do Socialist Countries adapt to the global religious revival, and how to deal with them? Whether the Marxist view of religion can guide the religious theory and practice of the socialist countries? Today, as some people criticize, whether or not is China’s current policy on religion the “left” or “right”? Thus, it is even necessary to learn from the world’s religious and cultural awareness. It has a direct, significant theoretical and practical significance to look back and sort out the successes and failures of the socialist countries in dealing with religious issues, and to summarize the lessons for the religious practice of current socialist China, to participate in global political, economic, cultural and ideological competition.

The Marxist view of religion is the fundamental views and opinions on religion of classical writers such as Marx and Engels and their successors, and it is the world outlook and methodology of Marxist political parties recognizing and dealing with religious issues, it originated in the religious ideas of Marx and Engels, and has been developed and practiced by the Communists of various socialists in socialist countries. Marxist view of religion is the strain of the theoretical system, it has rich content, including the basic points such as the Marxist essence of religion, the development law of religion, the social function of religion and the religious attitude of Marxist political parties. However, it is the “short board” on the study of “Marxist view of religion” in regarding it as the guidance and methodology in our religious understanding and religious practice. But what Marxist view of religion is superior to other religious views is that: it is guided by historical materialism, adheres to the dialectical view, the principle of practical, effective guidance in policy-making and scientific research.

The former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist countries all have strong religious traditions different from China. In the process of socialist practice, however, they are all impacted profoundly by Marx and Engels’ view of religion, especially Marx’s “religion of opium”, and for once they took the more “left” religious policy apposing and even eliminating religion. Therefore, the religious forces once lowered stance and religious activities turned underground. However, as many religious scientists investigated that “men are religious animals”, or as some scholars have mentioned “religion is a way to grasp the world of human beings”, “religion is the home

of spirit", "religion is humanity's common cultural wealth", We will not argue the authenticity of these propositions indeed, now probably the following consensus about religion has been formed: in today's society, in the present era, religion is indispensable spirit and substantial wealth of people, religion has its own law of occurrence and development, the demise of religion is a very long time. The consequences of reversing the law of history - the tension between politics and religion, religion played an important role in the socialism earthquake of Drastic Change. In a sense it can be said that before the drastic changes, there was a "bitter" relationship between socialist state and religion, religious relations were disharmonious, and the undercurrent against the socialist regime surging, if this hostile undercurrent is used by foreign reactionary forces, it may endanger the security and stability of the socialist countries. The people are the creators of history, the masses are the base of society, to suppress the religious needs of creators, the social foundation is unstable, the building of socialism has the danger to overturn. The leaders of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe countries, such as Lenin, Stalin, Polish leaders have proposed many useful good measures that is conducive to the harmony of religious relations, about these initiatives, there still exists a lot of contend in academia, such as Lenin's "religion opium cornerstone theory" and "inferior wine theory" are the first misinterpretation of Marx's view of religion, which is the culprit that caused the leftist religious practice of the later Soviet successor. So it is necessary to combine and interpret the religious policy and practice of the counties, and restore the truth of history and reflect the fact.

The religious policy of New China is from the inheritance of "religious freedom" policy of Communist Party of China in the New Democratic Revolution. However, all in all, we have to say, the religious freedom policy of Chinese Communist Party always gives people a strange feeling of "last resort". Indeed, on the one hand, because there are one-sided "left" understanding of the Marxist view of religion, on the other hand, because in our modern history, especially the Protestant and Catholic have played a bad role as the "pioneers" of the colonists. As Jiang Meng lin said: "Buddha came to China riding a white elephant, but Jesus Christ riding on the flying shells." Coupling with the powerful religious forces, dynasties have played an important role to subvert the government in the history of China since ancient times. Therefore it turns not so difficult to understand that the new Chinese government and

even the Chinese people embrace to accept the “national and universal moves” to limit or even eliminate religion. China lacks of religious tradition. Since the Han Dynasty, China “abandon 100 factions, only respect Confucianism”, Confucianism builds and maintains the feudal political system of China for thousands of years, outlines and consolidates the national cultural landscape. Even the local Taoist culture, Buddhist culture came from India in Eastern Han Dynasty, and the Christianity and the Catholic culture which flew into China with the colonists’ modern gun and boats, all actively absorb the fusion of Confucian cultural characteristics, and take root in China. “Replacing religion with science”, “replacing religion with aesthetic”, “replacing religion with art”, during the May Fourth thinkers provided so many good dinner to raise the spirit of us to replace religion. However, religion is religion, the science is science, the aesthetic is aesthetic, even if people have a strong desire to kill it quickly, religion is still like the flowing water, when the social roots and class origin of religion has not been eliminated, religion is still there. You can use “sing with tears all the way” to describe the road to understand the awareness of religious nature, significance and role in China. When the situation requires, it is our passenger, when the situation does not, more negative opinions comes out in order to strengthen the propaganda of scientific atheism, vigorously squeeze the living space of the religion, and hurt the feelings of the majority of religious believers, and dampen the enthusiasm of their participation in the construction of socialist well-off society, if improperly handled, and may even cause cynicism, form the community’s opposition. Da Yu sparse and guide water, the feelings of religious believers, like a flood, the interception and harm can not always solve the problem, only to actively guide religions to adapt to the socialist society, achieve useful explanation of the religious teachings in favor of building a harmonious society, mobilize religious believers patriotism, and to participate in socialist construction, and effectively implement the religious policy of freedom of religious belief in accordance with the law to strengthen the management of religious affairs, to implement the principle of independence and self, was regarded as good problem-solving.

The lessons learned from dealing with religious issues in the existing socialist countries-Vietnam, Laos, North Korea, Cuba, are also worth remembering. “Long has nine sons, each one is different”, and the great theory of Marxism gave birth to 16 red socialist countries, now the nine brothers of Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

have discarded Marxism belief and abandoned the pursuit of socialism and communism, and all went to their own smooth or ill-fated future. Today, the remaining socialist countries all learned profound lessons of history of the communist movement and no longer produce the “leader” of the socialist countries. All countries are absorbing the global experience, strengthening global cooperation for social development according to own national circumstances. No one meddles in religious policy, except that the United States as “the world’s policeman” issues the national religion report every year continuously criticizing China’s Tibet and Xinjiang, the Falun Gong issue; accusing North Korea of “the most serious religious oppression state”; for Vietnam, on the basis of Vietnam actively strengthening communication with the United States and did religious reform in accordance with the procedures they prescribe, and finally shook off the hat of religious oppression affected countries in 2009; in Cuba, the rich religious traditions created a special religious feelings of the Cuban people, and also existed the term of “strike hard” to oppress or even eliminate religion in the history in the socialism development of Cuba. However, the ice-breaking of its relations with Vatican is beneficial to win sympathy in the international arena and more conducive to improving the ancient relations with the United States, and thus more conducive to its socialist construction and development. The history of dealing with religious issues in four countries shows us a colorful picture, and reflecting on their religious policy will help us better understand and adhere to the Marxist view of religion and do favor of taking preventive measures and constructing the Great Wall of the ideological field in the areas of “a war without guns” with western ideology.

It has been nearly hundred years of history so far, since the establishment of the first socialist state Soviet Union. Marx predicted the historical destiny of religion gradually disappearing with social progress. Yes, we seem to have prepared “shroud” for religion. However, today economic develops, science and technology forges ahead, the globalization goes fast, religion is globally blooming. It is a major issue faced with the administrator to revise the religion and religious issues timely, implement religious decision-making on time, suitable for China’s national conditions and the trend of international today. The lessons learned from dealing with religious issues in Socialist countries bring contemporary China a lot of useful insights: First, we need the correct understanding of the nature and function of religion,

which is the deepest level and the most fundamental issue of religion; Second, correct understanding and handling the problem of the relationship between religion and socialism, explain to actively guide the theory of religion to adapt to socialist society; Third, correct understanding and handling the relations of religion and belief in Marxism, analyze the difference between religion and belief in Marxism, analyze a serious challenge religious beliefs on the beliefs of Marxism; Fourth, correct understanding and dealing with the Chinese church-state relations, and reflect on the handling of church-state relations in China and China's misreading so-called "government-run religion"; Five, correct understanding and handling of religion Sino-US and Sino-Vatican relations and prevent religious infiltration of the West.

Go left or go right? Left light right line, or Right light left line? How to choose a correct road of religious treatment for the Chinese situation? It relies on our theoretical workers analyzing the lessons in dealing with religious issues in socialist countries, with a glorious sense of mission and of responsibility to history, in the correct position- "the position of Marxism", "the position of the people", "the position of nation", serving for the great cause of socialism, building a moderately prosperous society, and serve to build a harmonious society and harmonious world.

目 录

导言	(1)
一 问题的提出	(1)
二 研究主题、理论意义与现实意义	(3)
三 研究现状	(6)
四 研究方法	(14)
 第一章 “宗教热”——社会主义国家处理宗教问题经验教训	
研究的时代语境	(16)
一 “宗教热”的具体表象	(16)
二 “宗教热”的双重影响	(27)
三 “宗教热”的原因解析	(33)
四 “宗教热”带来的理性思考	(39)
 第二章 马克思主义宗教观及其方法论意义	(41)
一 马克思主义宗教观的形成	(41)
二 马克思主义宗教观的体系与内涵	(49)
三 马克思主义宗教观的方法论意义	(54)
 第三章 苏维埃社会主义共和国联盟处理宗教问题的经验教训	(60)
一 列宁时期的宗教政策 (1917—1924 年)	(61)
二 斯大林时期的宗教政策 (1924—1953 年)	(66)
三 赫鲁晓夫时期的宗教政策 (1953—1964 年)	(68)
四 勃列日涅夫时期的宗教政策 (1964—1985 年)	(69)
五 戈尔巴乔夫时期的宗教政策 (1985 年—苏联解体)	(70)
六 苏联处理宗教问题的经验教训	(72)

第四章 前东欧社会主义国家处理宗教问题的经验教训	(80)
一 20 世纪 60 年代及以前, 实行严厉的宗教政策	(80)
二 20 世纪 70 年代前后, 实行基本宽松的宗教政策	(82)
三 1980 年至东欧剧变, 实行纵容的宗教政策	(85)
四 东欧剧变以后, 实行宗教信仰自由政策	(87)
五 前东欧社会主义国家处理宗教问题的经验教训	(89)
附录 东欧剧变的桥头堡——波兰对宗教问题的处理	(95)
第五章 中华人民共和国处理宗教问题的经验教训	(106)
一 中华人民共和国成立初期的宗教政策 (1949—1956 年)	(107)
二 1957 年至“文化大革命”前的宗教政策	(110)
三 “文化大革命”期间的宗教政策	(112)
四 十一届三中全会以来的宗教政策	(113)
五 中国处理宗教问题的经验教训	(116)
第六章 越南、老挝、朝鲜、古巴社会主义国家处理宗教问题的经验教训	(122)
一 越南处理宗教问题的历史考察与经验教训	(122)
二 老挝处理宗教问题的历史考察与经验教训	(133)
三 朝鲜处理宗教问题的历史考察与经验教训	(141)
四 古巴处理宗教问题的历史考察与经验教训	(150)
第七章 社会主义国家处理宗教问题的经验教训给中国的启示	(164)
一 正确认识宗教的本质与功能	(164)
二 正确认识与处理宗教与社会主义的关系问题	(172)
三 正确认识与处理宗教信仰与马克思主义信仰的关系	(185)
四 正确认识与处理中国的政教关系问题	(193)
五 正确认识与处理中美、中梵宗教关系, 防止西方宗教渗透	(200)
结束语	(209)
参考文献	(215)
后记	(228)