

## 【刘哲伟专栏】给予极端意识形态自由空间还是抑制它？



刘哲伟

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登嘉楼州伊青团日前一场活动，出现手持剑、长矛和盾牌战士打扮者，并在路边挂满伊党旗帜的道路上参与游行的照片，引起网民不安的情绪。（图取自互联网）

对于读过我文章，看过我演讲的人来说，我一直称聂阿兹是自己欣赏的少数政治家之一。而且熟悉我的人来说，我与一般华裔的看法不同，我不认为355法令会伤害到非穆斯林社区，因为它与非穆斯林无关。对于伊斯兰的公共政策，我与其他人的看法不同，我认为可以存在一定程度的宽松。

此文章一如既往保持中立，就像我上周推荐你们阅读约翰·罗尔斯（John Rawls）《正义论》中的“无知之幕（Veil of ignorance）”。无论如何，我先声明，我身为华裔以及非穆斯林，言论中有可能有个人偏见。

对我来说，任何一种意识形态的传播和推广包括社会主义和共产主义都无所谓，即使这些是右翼思想派的禁忌意识形态。然而，在马来西亚，任何有关共产主义的素材则是禁忌，即使像我这样的政治科学学生想要接触任何共产主义的素材，即使是为了研究目的，也需要向系主任申请并获得许可。

我对意识形态的看法与宗教相似，只要各自的虔诚者没做坏事就应该允许它有回旋的空间，人民会自己决定那一种意识形态是否合适。例如在美国，一个反对共产主义意识形态很强硬的国家，即使如此也允许共产党存在。同样地，撒旦主义——一种被许多人视为魔鬼的宗教或信仰，也被允许实行。不管这些主义试图带来什么样的意识形态和信仰，国家允许的底线是不能违反国家法律，例如不能武装革命来达到目的，甚至杀戮等不当行为。为此，它们必须遵守法律的限制，而不是对意识形态和信仰的限制。只要是在不违反法律的情况下，谁能说的准什么是对，什么是错。

在美国，虽然允许共产主义，但没有多少人知道，我之前也不知，按照逻辑，美国和共产注意是扯不上边，也不应该存在。然而在赋予的自由，但得不到支持，共产主义还是很难存在。

经过以上长篇大论的哲学概述，现在我想谈谈最近发生的两张图片，第一张是历史照片，马来人坐着华人拉着的人力车，描绘成马来人富裕，华人当年也是苦力。另一张是伊斯兰党身穿绿色主题的中世纪激进分子服装游行。

关于第一张照片，我个人是不能容忍这种情况。当我们以理性的方式讨论这个问题时，抛开个人利益，所采取的每一个行动都必须给现状带来改善。如果一个行动使现状恶化，那么最好还是保持现状。我试着让自己冷静下来，从不同的角度思考，到底是自由表达的一宗案例，还是已经越过了边界，我本身认为是后者。当然，如果是为了个人利益，这肯定是不对的。即使如此，我个人还是给予一些提出质疑的空间，也许他的意图是试图鼓励马来人更努力地工作。但是我还是相信有其他方法来鼓励马来人勤勉，而不是踩在别人身上来抬高自己。这就是为什么我无法认同接受扎基尔，他通过贬低其他宗教来宣传伊斯兰宗教。对我来说，宣传自己的意识形态或宗教是没问题的，但通过贬低他人来提高自己的意识形态或宗教是绝对不行的。

再看登嘉楼游行一样，我相信大部分人都认同这是政治因素。虽然我也认为如此，但是在这里，我想要以客观的分析游行背后的真正目的。这是自由空间还是超过界限呢？我尝试找完整的游行视频，可惜找不到。所以，我就假设的说，首先，无论哪一种游行都不能涉及暴力。第二，这样的游行，也不能鼓吹煽动的宣传。如果符合以上这两点，不管我喜欢与否，都觉得可以给予自由的空间。至于那些反对的人也应该保持中立（必须想想有一天他们当反对派时），因为如果给予当权者基于本身的主观角度来告诉他人什么是对与错，这些反对的声音可以接受吗？

我一直在想，是否应该对待马哈迪一样的对待伊斯兰极端主义呢？无论马哈迪说了什么，没有人注意，没有媒体报道，没有人关心回应。马哈迪迟早会被时间冲淡。若要一个人被遗忘，很多时候只要他不被关注就可以了，反而持续关注他倒是给了他一个振兴的机会。然而，对于极端伊斯兰来说，不回应它们基本上是给他们更多空间走得更远。这就有如在国际关系中的绥靖主义（Appeasement），也为世界大战提供爆发空间。

总结，当看一件自己不乐意的事件时，与其以个人偏见和喜好来衡量此事，倒不如以宏观的角度，思考此事背后的原则性辩论，中立的换位思考来分辨对与错，应该与不应该。

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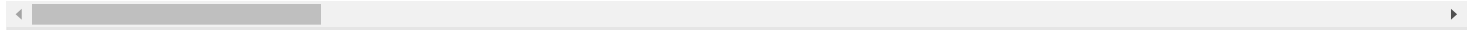


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# [Liu Zhewei Column] Give free space to extreme ideologies or suppress them?

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**Liu Zhewei**

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*A recent event held by the Terengganu State PAS Youth League showed photos of people dressed as warriors armed with swords, spears and shields and participating in a parade along a road lined with PAS flags, causing uneasiness among netizens. (Picture taken from the Internet)*

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For those who have read my articles and watched my speeches, I have always called Nik Aziz one of the few politicians I admire. And for people who know me well, I have a different view than the average Chinese. I don't think Law 355 will hurt the non-Muslim community because it has nothing to do with non-Muslims. I have a different view than others on Islamic public policy, and I think there can be a certain degree of laxity.

This article remains neutral as always, just like last week I recommended you to read "Veil of ignorance" in John Rawls's "A Theory of Justice". In any case, let me state first that I am of Chinese descent. and non-Muslims, there may be personal bias in the remarks.

It does not matter to me the spread and promotion of any ideology including socialism and communism, even if these are taboo ideologies of right wing ideologies. However, in Malaysia, any material related to communism is taboo. Even if a political science student like me wants to access any communist material, even for research purposes, he needs to apply for and obtain permission from the department chair.

My view on ideology is similar to that of religion. As long as the respective devout people do not do bad things, they should be allowed room for maneuver, and the people will decide for themselves which ideology is suitable. For example, in the United States, a country that is very hard-line against communist ideology allows the Communist Party to exist. Likewise, Satanism, a religion or belief that many people view as demonic, is also allowed to be practiced. No matter what ideologies and beliefs these doctrines try to bring about, the bottom line allowed by the state is that they cannot violate state laws, such as armed revolution to achieve their goals, or even killing and other inappropriate behaviors. To do this, they must abide by the constraints of the law, not the constraints of ideology and belief. As long as it does not violate the law, no one can say for sure what is right and what is wrong.

Although communism is allowed in the United States, not many people know about it, and I didn't know it before. According to logic, the United States and communism have nothing to do with each other, and they should not exist. However, given the freedom but without support, it is still difficult for communism to exist.

After the long philosophical overview above, I now want to talk about two pictures that happened recently. The first one is a historical photo. Malays are riding in rickshaws pulled by Chinese. It is depicted as wealthy Malays and Chinese were also coolies back then. Another shows PAS marching in green-themed medieval militant costumes.

Regarding the first photo, I personally cannot tolerate this. When we discuss this issue in a rational way, personal interests aside, every action taken must bring improvement to the status quo. If an action worsens the status quo, it is better to maintain the status quo. I tried to calm myself down and think about it from a different perspective, whether it was a case of free expression or whether it had crossed a boundary. I personally thought it was the latter. Of course, if it is for personal gain, this is definitely wrong. Even so, I personally give some room to question that maybe his intention was to try to encourage Malays to work harder. But I still believe there are other ways to encourage Malays to be diligent rather than stepping on others to lift themselves up. This is why I cannot agree with Zakir, who promotes the Islamic religion by belittling other religions. To me, it's okay to promote one's own ideology or religion, but it's absolutely not okay to promote one's own ideology or religion by putting others down.

Looking at the Terengganu parade again, I believe most people agree that this is a political factor. Although I also think so, here I want to objectively analyze the real purpose behind the march. Is this free space or over the limit? I tried to find a complete video of the parade, but unfortunately I couldn't find it. So, let me just say hypothetically, first of all, no kind of demonstration can involve violence. Second, such a march cannot promote seditious propaganda. If the above two points are met, whether I like it or not, I think it can be given free space. As for those who oppose, they should also remain neutral (must think about one day when they are in opposition), because if those in power are given the opportunity to tell others what is right and wrong based on their own subjective perspective, can these opposing voices be accepted?

I have been thinking, should I treat Islamic extremism the same way I treat Mahathir? No matter what Mahathir said, no one paid attention, no media reported it, no one cared to respond. Sooner or later, Mahathir will be diluted by time. If a person is to be forgotten, in many cases it is enough as long as he is not paid

attention to. On the contrary, continuing to pay attention to him gives him a chance to revitalize. However, for radical Islam, not responding to them is basically giving them more room to go further. This is like appeasement in international relations, which also provides space for a world war to break out.

In summary, when looking at an event that you are not happy with, instead of judging the matter based on personal prejudices and preferences, it is better to think about the principled debate behind the matter from a macro perspective and neutrally put yourself in someone else's shoes to distinguish right from wrong, should and shouldn't.

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