

The Buddha's Relationship with Politics, Social Justice and the Meaning of Freedom

佛陀與政治、社會公義與自由含義的關係

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There are times in life when we are unsure which direction to go. There are times when it seems there are no precedents in our own lives to clarify a path forward into the unknown. At times like these we can look for examples and guidance from wise people in history to help us navigate the present. How did they live their lives when confronted with serious issues? How might they act in our circumstances? What would the Buddha do in 2019, in Hong Kong?

人生總有些時候，我們不能確定應該前進的方向。

人生總有些時候，我們似乎找不到讓自己看清楚前路先例。這些時候，我們可以參考歷史上智者的經驗，尋找指引和啟發，幫助自己掌握當前的狀況。他們如何在面對嚴重問題時，繼續過自己的生活？他們在面對與我們相同的處境時，會作出怎樣的反應？如果佛陀來到 2019 年的香港，他該會如何應對？

If the Buddha was here in Hong Kong this summer, it is highly unlikely that he would have worn a black T-shirt, gas mask and helmet.... However, he might have had an umbrella.

如果佛陀今年夏天在香港，他不太可能會一身黑色 T 恤、防毒面具和頭盔。但是，他的手中卻可能會有著一把雨傘。

In the sixth century BC, as far as we know, the Buddha was not directly involved with political issues, but he was also not completely uninvolved. In many ways the Buddha was a social revolutionary. He ordained people from all social castes and treated them equally, undermining an established class system. He ordained women into the Sangha, a radical and unprecedented move at that time. Although he lived in monasteries in the forest, he gave much of his time to council Kings, Queens, royalty, military leaders and wealthy business owners in order to guide them on the path to true happiness. He knew that if the leaders of a society acted in harmony with the truths of

nature, the Dhamma, then this would benefit all the other living beings, including animals, of that society.

據我們所知，在公元前六世紀，佛陀並沒有直接參與過政治事項，但他也並非完全沒有涉足過。在許多層次上他其實是位社會革命家。他讓所有來自不同種姓的人出家，並且以平等的態度對之，挑戰那時既存的種姓制度。他也允許女性出家，而在當時這是一個非常激進而且是史無前例的一步。儘管住在森林中的寺廟裡，他還是將大部分時間都花在國王、皇后、皇室成員、軍事領袖和富有企業家的身上，以指導他們走向真正的快樂。他知道，如果領導者與自然真理，佛法 (Dhamma)，和諧相處，將可以使社會中所有其他生命---包括動物，都可以獲益。

The Buddha's advice for leaders is organized into a list of 10 qualities that would encourage a government to rule in accordance with the laws of nature, creating harmony and benefit, an ethical framework for rulers, allowing them to be worthy of leading others and worthy of the people's respect, allowing them to lead effectively not through power of force but through the power of the Dhamma. These standards are known as the Ten Duties of a Righteous King (dasa-raja-dhamma) or **Ten Guidelines for a Political Leader to Rule in Harmony with the Dhamma**

佛陀對領導者們的建議就是要擁有 10 種品質，這樣可以鼓勵政府根據自然真理進行統治，並帶來和諧與利益，亦使統治者有了道德的框架，讓他們值得擁有領導他人的權力和值得人民的尊重，使他們可以不透過武力而是以佛法的力量，就能夠有效地領導。這些標準被稱為十王法 (dasa-raja-dhamma) 或政治領袖依佛法和諧管治的十項原則。

1. **Dāna** – The leader of a society should be generous and involved with charity for the benefit of the majority of the society. The rulers in the government should not have undue craving for and attachment to wealth and property, but should give it away for the welfare of the people.

1. **Dāna** – 社會的領導者應該慷慨並參與慈善事業以造福整個社會。政府的統治者不應對財富和財產有過分的渴望和執著，應該可以為了人民的福利而放棄錢財。

2. **Sīla** – to be of good moral character. The leader should not intentionally take the lives of living beings, cheat, steal or exploit others, not sexually abuse others, not become intoxicated and especially never lie, being devoted to truth.

2. **Sīla** – 具有良好的品格。領導者不應刻意殺害、欺騙、偷竊或者剝削他人，不應對他人施行性虐待、不應沈迷酒精毒品，尤其絕對不應撒謊，並致力維護真理。

3. **Pariccāga** -- sacrificing for the good of the people. A good leader must be prepared to give up personal comfort, pleasure, name and reputation, and even his or her life, if it is in the best interest of the people.

3. **Pariccāga** - 為人民的利益作出犧牲。一位好的領導者，必須準備為了人民的最大利益而放棄個人的舒適、享樂、名氣和聲譽，必要時甚至要放棄他或她的生命。

4. **Ājjava** -- honesty and integrity. A good leader must be free from prejudice, bias and favoritism in the discharge of her or his duties, must be sincere in her intentions, and must not deceive the public.

4. **Ājjava** - 誠實和正直。好的領導者在履行職責時必須沒有偏見和大公無私，必須真誠地表達自己的意圖，且不能欺騙公眾。

5. **Maddava** -- gentleness. She or he must possess a friendly, kind or pleasant disposition.

5. **Maddava** - 溫和。她或他必須具有友善、仁慈或令人愉快的性情。

6. **Tapa** -- austerity or self-control. A good leader should lead a simple life and not indulge in a luxurious lifestyle. He or she must have self-control and restraint.

6. **Tapa** - 節儉或自我克制。一位好的領導者應該過簡單的生活，不應該沉迷於奢侈的生活方式。他或她必須具有自制力和自我約束的能力。

7. **Akkodha** – non-anger or kindness. A good leader is free from anger, envy, hatred or animosity. He or she should be forgiving and bear no grudges.

7. **Akkodha** - 不生氣或保持友善。好的領導者應該不會生氣、嫉妒、懷有仇恨或者敵意。他或她應該寬容，不會懷恨在心。

8. **Avihimsa** -- non-violence, meaning not only that she should not harm anybody personally, but also not encourage or allow others to engage in violence on her behalf. He or she should try to promote peace by avoiding and preventing war, and discourage any activity that involves violence or the destruction of life. A good leader looks to solving problems in a peaceful manner.

8. **Avihimsa** — 非暴力，她不僅不該去傷害任何人，更不應鼓勵或允許其他人代表她去使用暴力。他或她應該努力透過避免和防止戰爭，以促進和平，他或她應該不鼓勵任何涉及暴力或者會傷害生命的活動；一位好的領導者會試圖以和平的方式解決問題。

9. **Khanti** -- patience, endurance and tolerance. He or she must be able to bear hardships, difficulties and insults without losing his or her temper.

9. **Khanti** - 耐心、忍耐和寬容。他或她必須能夠承受艱辛、困難和侮辱而不會因而生氣。

10. **Avirodha** or **Avirodhana** -- non-opposition, non-obstruction, that is to say, a good leader should not oppose the will of the people, should not obstruct any measures that are conducive to the welfare of the people. He or she should rule in harmony with the people.

10. **Avirodha** 或 **Avirodhana**- 不反對、不阻礙，就是說，一位好的領導者不該違背人民的意願，不該阻礙任何有利於人民福祉的措施。他或她應該與人民和睦相處。

So much trouble comes about when leaders or governments are thin-skinned and hyper-sensitive. If they are simply able to patiently listen to criticism without over-reacting, then so much fighting in the world can be avoided. When the leader of a society is wise, suffering decreases, so teaching equanimity, acceptance and understanding to people in power is important. As we know, bamboo is strong but flexible. When a typhoon comes, a brick wall may be blown over, but the bamboo survives.

當領導人或者政府變得過度敏感易怒時，問題就會出現。只要他們能夠耐心地聽取批評而不會作出過度的反應，世界上很多的鬥爭其實都可以避免。如果領導人有智慧，社會就會更加繁榮，人民就會減少痛苦。因此，教導當權者去擁有對人民平和寬容、接納和理解的胸襟，實在非常重要。眾所皆知，竹子很堅固但也很柔韌，所以當颱風來臨，磚牆可能會被吹倒，但竹子卻能夠倖存。

Buddhism is not a Passive Teaching

Sometimes Buddhism is portrayed as a passive teaching that only encourages people to accept whatever happens to them and be content with that. This is inaccurate. The Buddha's teaching is a path of awareness, action and change.

佛教並不是一種消極的教導

有時候，佛教被描述成一種消極的思想，只會鼓勵人們去接受發生在身上的的一切，並要從而感到滿足。但這種說法是絕對不準確的，佛陀的教導其實是一條通往覺悟、行動和改變的道路。

The Buddha had higher standards than simply accepting the status quo or being OK with whatever happens to you. Yes, accepting the reality of the present is a necessary first step, but the Buddha didn't stop there. He was the champion of right effort. His

teaching was referred to as 'viriyavada' or the path of energy and effort. Every factor of the Noble Eight-fold Path must be accompanied by both mindful-awareness, sati, and right effort. The Buddha strongly encouraged people to relentlessly improve both their external behavior and their inner wisdom.

佛陀的標準，比單純地接受現狀，又或對發生在自己身上的任何事情都加以接受為高。是的，接受當前的現實是不能或缺的第一步，但佛陀並沒有就此止步。他鼓勵的是正確的努力(正精進)。他的教學被稱為 (viriyavada) 或者精力和努力的道路。八正道中的每一環，都必須有正念-覺知和正確的努力(正精進)的伴隨，佛陀大力鼓勵大家要不間斷地改善自己外在的行為與內在的智慧。

Certainly it is true that we cannot change the past. You have to give up all hope of having a better past. We can either accept the past with peace of mind, or else we suffer unnecessarily--and to cause ourselves unnecessary mental suffering is simply not smart.

當然，我們不能夠改變過去，您必須放棄對可以擁有更美好的過去的希望。我們如果不能安心地接受過去，就只會遭受不必要的痛苦。讓自己精神上受到不必要的苦難，實在也並非明智之舉。

We also cannot change the present. From the beginning of time, all the causes and conditions and decisions and actions that have taken place have led us to this precise moment, right here and right now. We can't change that. But how we respond to this present moment will create our future.

我們亦不能改變現在；無始以來，所有的因緣條件及種種的決定和行動，將我們帶到了這個時刻，就在此時此地，我們已經無法改變。但是，我們就當前時刻作出的應對，卻將創造出我們的未來。

So we can hate the current situation if we choose. Anger and hatred give us energy and motivation, but they also make it impossible to see things clearly. These emotions create suffering for ourselves right now, first and foremost, and then can easily lead to causing suffering for others. When we throw dog poo at another person, our own hand is the first thing that becomes dirty and smelly. However, if we can accept the current state of the present with a calm and clear awareness, then we are ready to act mindfully.

因此，我們可以選擇去憎恨當前的局勢，憤怒和仇恨會賦予我們精力和動力，但也會使我們看不清楚事實。這些情緒，首先就會令自己痛苦，接著更每每亦會為他人帶來苦痛。當我們向他人扔擲狗屎時，我們自己的手就首先會變

得骯髒和發臭。但是，如果能夠以冷靜和清醒的覺知去接受當前的狀況，我們就能帶有正念地行事。

Right mindfulness is one aspect of the Noble Eightfold Path, however the Buddha did not teach us only to be mindful. He taught first there must be mindfulness, then effort. First you have to understand the current situation, both outside and inside, as clearly as possible, with whatever wisdom you have. But don't stop there. Then you have to make right effort. Then you have to choose what to do and say, what decisions to make, and try to choose the wisest path forward. In short, the Buddha teaches us to take action, but to act wisely.

正確的正念 (Sati)，是八正道的其中一環，但是佛陀並沒有教導我們只去保持正念。他教導我們必須先有正念在那裡，接著就要繼續加以努力。首先，您需要運用自己已有的智慧，去裡裡外外地，盡可能透徹清楚地了解當前的狀況，但是並不要就此打住，您必須繼續正確地努力。接下來，您要找出什麼才是需要說的話、需要做的事和需要作出的決定，並且要分辨出最有智慧的前路。簡而言之，佛陀教導我們要採取行動，但必須要明智地行事。

How do you know if you are acting wisely? When is it best to move forward and when to sit still? When is it best to speak and when to remain silent? The first step is to be clearly aware of our current thoughts, moods and emotions. Pay attention to your environment and use your intelligence and clarity of mind to understand it. Then it becomes more clear what's best to do, what to say and how to solve problems. Breathe. Allow your mind to be calm, and the answers begin to arise by themselves. Once we have clarity of intention that is in line with the Dhamma, then take action and make effort as if your life depended upon it.

但您要怎樣才知道自己是在否在明智地行動？要怎樣才知道什麼時候應該前進，什麼時候又需要安靜的坐著？何時是開口說話的時候，何時最好還是保持沉默？首先，要清楚地覺知自己當下的思想、情緒和情感，要注意身處的環境，並以您的智慧和清晰的頭腦去了解它。然後，什麼是最佳的行動、最應該說的話和最理想的問題解決方法等，自然就會清晰地浮現。呼吸。允許你的心歸於寧靜，然後答案就會自己浮現。當意圖明確並且符合佛法時，我們就可以採取行動，並且像自己已經命懸於此一樣地付出最大的努力。

Right effort can take many forms. Helping others is right effort. Sitting still and developing loving-kindness is right effort. Abandoning mental defilements is right effort. Look at your intention and the result to determine if it is wise or not. If our actions are leading to a decrease of greed, anger, selfishness and suffering, then we can be confident we are acting wisely.

正確的努力(正精進)可以有許多種型態。幫助別人是一種，寧靜的端坐並培養慈悲心也是一種。拋棄心與頭腦裡的污漬更是正精進。審視你的意圖與結果來決定是否他們是否明智。如果我們的行動令貪婪、憤怒、自私和痛苦減少，那就可以確信自己正在明智地行事了。

Shade of a Leafless Tree

There is certainly one time we know of when the Buddha protested. On one occasion, a young, hot-headed king from one of the most powerful kingdoms of that time, was angry and offended by comments made about him by the people of the Sakyan State, the birthplace of the Buddha. Once that prince became king, he gathered his army and marched to destroy the Sakyans in revenge. The Buddha heard about this and went alone to do what he could.

無葉樹的遮蔭

我們知道，佛陀曾經作出過一次抗爭。有一次，當時一個強大的王國的魯莽的年輕國王生氣了，他因為迦毘羅國(佛陀的出生地)的人民對他的評論而感到被冒犯。因此，當他手握大權，為了報復，便帶著軍隊要去摧毀釋迦族。佛陀聽說了這件事，便獨自去做他所能夠做的事。

As the king was leading his army towards Kapilavattu, it was a hot day, and the king came upon the Buddha meditating under a dead leafless tree next to the road. In those days, the Buddha was a spiritual rock star, so the king stopped his caravan, got down out of his chariot and paid respect. He asked, "Blessed one, why are you meditating in the heat of the midday sun, sitting under a tree that gives no shade?"

國王領著軍隊前往迦毘羅城時，天氣非常炎熱，他們遇見在路邊一棵無葉片的樹下打坐的佛陀。在那個年代，佛陀是像搖滾巨星般的名人，所以國王停下了他的軍隊，從戰車上下來，並禮敬了佛陀。然後他問：“世尊，您為什麼要在烈日下禪坐，而且還坐在一棵不能提供遮蔭的樹下呢？”

The Buddha responded, "Simply being near my home country makes me feel cool and refreshed." Oh snap. The king got the message, reconsidered, and out of respect turned his army around and abandoned his invasion.

佛陀回答：“只要靠近我的祖國，我就會感到涼爽和精神煥發。”

瞬息間，國王明白了佛陀的意思，經過重新思考，出於對佛陀的尊敬，他撤回了軍隊，放棄了入侵。

This type of silent, non-violent protest, without even directly mentioning the purpose of stopping an attack and preventing violence, was successful because of the Buddha's powerful presence and because he was famous and well-respected. However, even with the Buddha, this protest only worked once. At a later time, the same king again marched to destroy the Sakyans, and this time there was nothing the Buddha could do to stop the destruction of his homeland and the killing of his people. The Buddha did what he could, but once that failed, then he accepted the result with peaceful equanimity.

這種無聲而非暴力的抗議活動，甚至沒有直接提出要製止襲擊和防止暴力的目的。之所以如此有效，是因為佛陀強大的存在，以及他非常地有名亦很受人尊敬。但是，即使是佛陀，這樣的抗爭也只能奏效一次。後來這位國王又再次出兵，結果還是摧毀了釋迦族。這次佛陀亦無能為力，無法阻止他的家園被毀與人民被殺。佛陀曾經竭盡所能，但是一旦失敗，他便平靜地接受結果。

Compassion

The Buddha often said that the work he was doing to establish the Dhamma, was not merely to help people at that time, but out of compassion for future generations. So when we make decisions on whether to act or not, we should take into account what is best for our children, our grandchildren and onwards into the future. It is not merely about doing what is easiest for us at this time.

悲心

佛陀經常說，他為建立法而做的工作，不僅是為了幫助當時的人，亦是出於對子孫和後代的悲心。因此，當決定是否要採取行動時，我們應該考慮到怎樣才對我們的孩子、子孫乃至未來的世代都最有利，而非只是去做此刻對我們來說最簡單的事情。

We may not often think about the sacrifices people in the past have made that allow us the freedoms we take for granted, the educational opportunities, the great range of options and opportunities that economic freedom allows us. We may not fully appreciate how hard the Buddha and his disciples have worked for 2,600 years to make sure the Dhamma is available for us today. But if we too have compassion for future generations, then we have a responsibility to make sure these things of value do not disappear.

我們可能不會經常念及過去的人做過的犧牲，但正正就是這些犧牲，使我們可以將能夠擁有自由、得以接受教育、作出各種選擇和享受自由經濟帶來的各種機遇，都視為理所當然。我們可能不太了解佛陀和他的追隨者們，為了確保我們在今天仍能接觸到佛法，已經付出了 2600 年的努力。但是，如果

我們對自己的子孫和後代，也抱有同樣的悲心，那麼我們就有責任，去確保這些有價值的東西不會消失。

Compassion is the wholesome emotion of empathy that arises from understanding another person's suffering, or even our own suffering. When people in society have compassion for each other, then no one wants to harm another, because it would be like harming ourselves. No one would want to oppress or take advantage of others, because that only creates more suffering for everyone. And remember, forgiveness is a sign of strength not weakness.

悲心是理解到他人的甚至是我們自己的痛苦，從而生起的善意的同理心。當社會上的人們對彼此都帶有悲心，將沒有人會願意傷害他人，因為這就像在傷害自己。沒有人想要壓迫或者佔他人的便宜，因為這樣只會給每個人都帶來更多的痛苦。請記住，寬恕是力量的表現而非軟弱的顯露。

Spiritual Crisis Caused by Politics

When politics makes us feel frustrated, powerless, hopeless and depressed; when we feel angry seeing progress already made in important areas being reversed; it can be like we are having a spiritual crisis. To be honest, when we live in times of prosperity and peace, people tend to get lazy and complacent. They most often spend their time on social media, entertainment or shopping, rather than on a path to develop wisdom. But when a crisis hits, and our lives and security and meaning are thrown into question, then we actually have a better chance to make true progress.

政治引起的靈性危機

當政治形勢讓我們感到受挫、無力、絕望和沮喪；當眼見自己一直珍視的價值受到扭曲而感到憤怒；就像是我們在靈性上也遇到了危機。老實說，當生活在繁榮與和平的年代，人們往往會變得懶惰和自滿。他們經常將時間花在社交媒體、娛樂或者購物之上，而不會去發展智慧。但是，當危機襲來，當性命、安全和生存意義都存疑時，我們實際上是獲得了更好的機會去取得真正的進步。

At times like these it is crucial not to get lost in depression. At times like these, it can be helpful to take some action that feels like a positive step, no matter how small. It may be important to get involved for one's own sake as much as for the sake of social benefit. To take some positive action is a way to overcome depression and anxiety, a way to feel self-respect and not feel powerless, a way to heal. Everything we do, say and think has an effect on our society. In this way, our Dhamma practice and our politics begin to become one, not separate.

在這樣的時候，至關重要的是不要迷失在抑鬱中。在這樣的時候，無論可以採取的行動有多微不足道，讓自己邁開感覺積極的步伐十分重要。不論是為了個人還是社會的利益，對於讓自己參與其中，都同樣重要。採取積極的行動，是一種克服抑鬱和焦慮的方式，是帶來自尊和不再感到無力，也是一種治癒的方法。每件我們所做的事、所說的話，以及我們心裡所想的，都對我們生活著的社會帶來影響。如此，我們對法的實踐與及自身的政治取態，從此就能合而為一，而不是分離的了。

When we are in danger of losing those things that make us feel secure, then we must take an honest look at the big picture, contemplating the essential truths of life and what gives our lives meaning.

當有可能失去讓自己感到安全的事物時，我們必須坦誠地審視大局，思考生命的根本真理以及賦予我們生命意義的事物。

Seeing the future as uncertain is unsettling. The truth is, the future is always unknown and uncertain, but we cover up that truth with the delusion of plans that make us think we know what will happen in the future. If we have plans, we feel more secure. And no one wants to feel insecure. However, occasionally something happens in our life that tears away the façade of our well-managed and well-thought out plans. Sometimes it's a death. Sometimes it's a cancer diagnosis or the loss of a job. In rare circumstances, an entire society is forced to confront the insecurity of an unknown future. This can be extremely stressful, but it is realistic. It is also an opportunity to grow beyond our normal limits and constraints. Predictable patterns of a predictable schedule, predictable careers and a predictable family life, help people feel secure, but they also limit how much we can grow. When human beings are challenged, when we are forced to go beyond what feels safe, that is often when we discover what we are truly capable of. We all have untapped potentials of creativity, social leadership and wisdom. Sometimes it is only adversity and difficulty that force us out of our safe zones and allow us to realize our potential. Yes, fear is natural when confronted with the unknown, but overcoming fear is a great source of joy and freedom.

感到未來很不確定時會令人不安，但事實上，未來從來都是未知而不確定的。我們只是透過各種計劃去掩飾這個事實，使自己產生知道將來會發生什麼事情的錯覺。有計劃，令我們感到比較安全，沒有人會喜歡感到不安。但是，生活中偶爾會發生一些事情，將我們精心周密的計劃面具都完全破壞。有時候是死亡的到來，有時則是癌症的確診又或是失業的來訪。在較少見的情況下，整個社會都被迫面對未知的未來所帶來的不安全感。這可能會是極

大的壓力，但卻是現實。事實上，這正好就是讓我們去超越常規極限和約束的機會。可以預期的日程，可以預期的職業，可以預期的家庭生活，都讓人們感到安全，但同時也限制了我們的成長能力。當面對挑戰，被迫離開安全的環境時，通常就是我們發掘出自己真正的能力的時候，我們都有尚未開發的創造潛能、社會領導能力與及智慧。有時候，只有逆境和困難才能使我們離開安全領域，使我們的潛能得以發揮。是的，當面對未知時，心生恐懼亦十分自然，但是一旦克服了恐懼，則可以引導出極大喜悅以及自由。

So find your purpose with courage—not the courage of macho aggression but the courage of not being controlled by fear, not being a slave to fear. With this courage, our hearts become peaceful in the midst of chaos and the path forward becomes clear. I offer this for your reflection.

因此，要勇於追尋自己的目標 — 不是說要有俱侵略性的霸氣，這裡是指不因恐懼而屈服，不去成為恐懼的奴隸的勇氣。有了這種勇氣，我們的心在混亂中亦可以得到安寧，面前的道路亦會變得清晰。

這就是我予您們思考的內容。