

중도中道와 정치政治  
정치, 이 시대의 길은?

# 진실을 넘어선 정치의 현장에서 불교의 의미를 고민하다

중도포럼 2023  
2023.10.14

강성용

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... the points following ...

**01**

불교, 정치적 맥락

**02**

불교, 정치적  
무력감

**03**

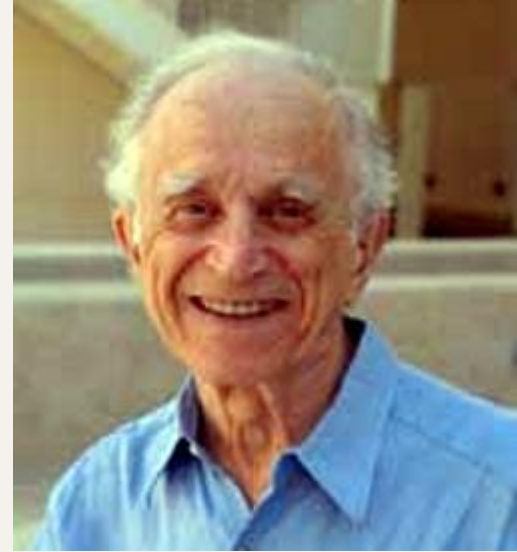
우리의 불교 이해

**04**

정치적 지향:  
자아의 확장

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“정치는 사회적 가치의  
권위적 배분”  
(authoritative  
allocation of social  
values)



David Easton (1917–2014) Canadian-born American  
political scientist  
1947–1997 professor of political science  
at the University of Chicago

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## **Dhammapada (Chapter 26: The Brāhmaṇa)**

This chapter is devoted to the Buddha's redefinition of a true brāhmaṇa. Throughout this chapter, the Buddha describes a brāhmaṇa not as someone born into a particular class, but as someone who has cultivated virtues and transcended certain defilements.

For instance:

Dhp 383: "He who has cut off all fetters, who trembles not, who has gone beyond ties, who is unbound - him do I call a brāhmaṇa."

Dhp 393: "He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise - him do I call a brāhmaṇa."

## **Majjhima Nikāya (MN 98: Vāseṭṭha Sutta)**

In this discourse, the Buddha has a conversation with two young brahmins, Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja, who are debating about the true path to union with Brahmā. The Buddha describes how a true brāhmaṇa is one who is morally upright, wise, and has realized the ultimate truth, rather than someone born into the brahmin caste.

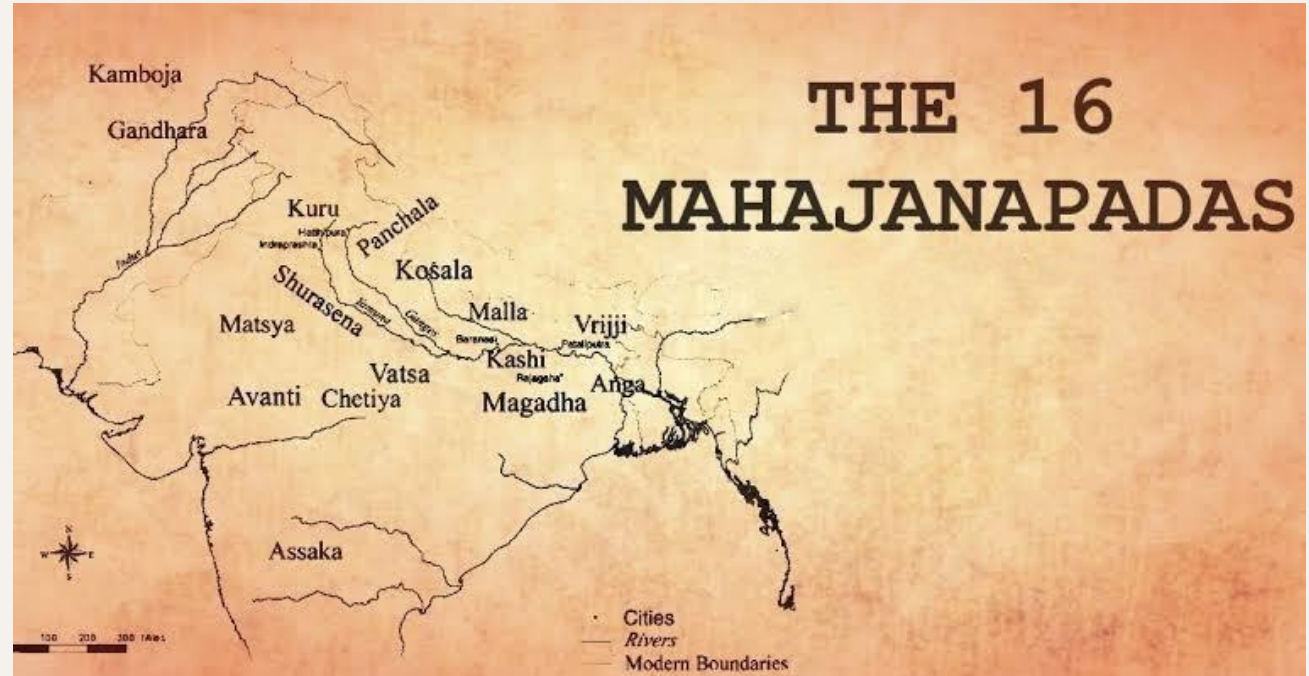
## **Majjhima Nikāya (MN 96: Dhanañjānī Sutta)**

Here, a brāhmaṇa's wife named Dhanañjānī reproaches her husband for not conducting himself like the brāhmaṇas of old. The Buddha explains to her what makes a true brāhmaṇa, highlighting conduct and realization over birth.

## **Sutta Nipāta (Sn 3.9: Vasala Sutta)**

In this discourse, the Buddha explains who can truly be called an "outcast" and, by contrast, who can be considered a true brāhmaṇa. As with the other texts, the emphasis is on moral character and wisdom.

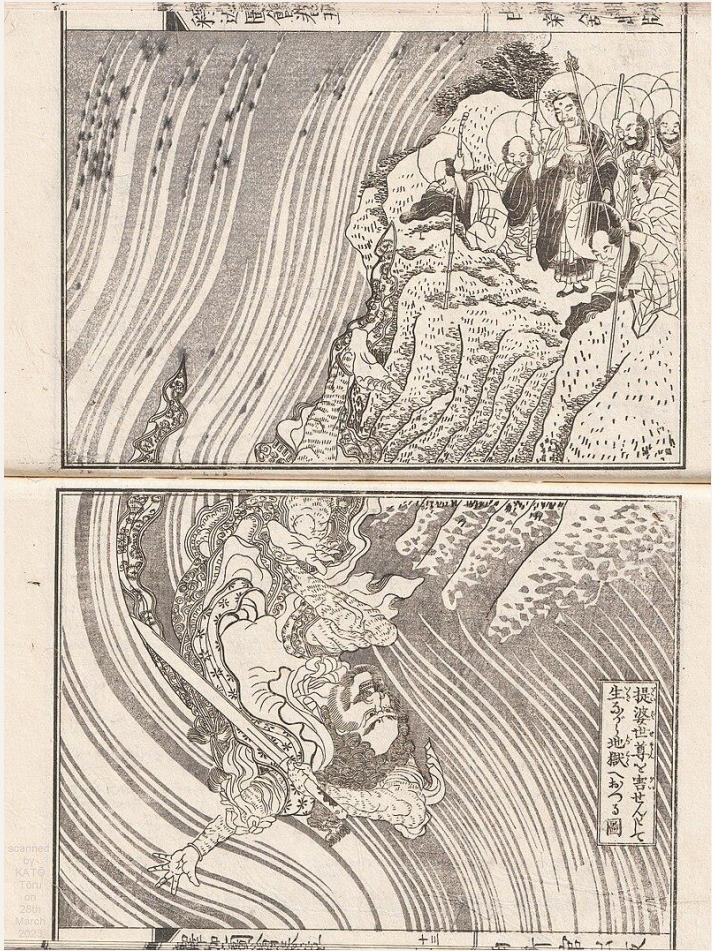
# mahājanapada



# Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya

(oldest extant Buddhist Vinaya?)

Reginald Ray: Devadatta as a Buddhist saint who wishes for the monks to live a rigorous lifestyle



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... the points following ...

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# 정도전(鄭道傳) 『불씨잡변』

## 벽불(闕佛)의 명저?

이(理)기(氣)론에 입각한 불교 비판:  
몰이해를 전제하지만 지배적 불교관을 형성

“불교의 교설은 인간과 세계에 대한 인식을 그릇 되게 하고, 이 때문에 사람의 정의(情意)를 사리 사욕에 골몰하게 하여 의리와 공의(公義)를 망각, 사회적 질서 또는 인륜의 질서를 파괴한다.”





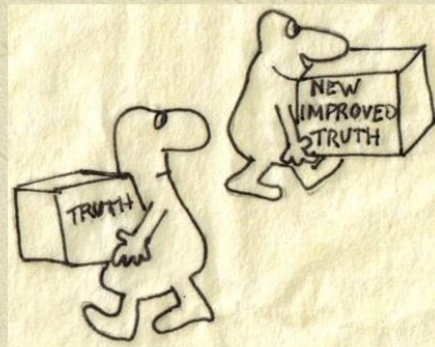
# 다양한 불교들

Among Buddhists, the meaning of Buddhist teaching is often claimed to be singular—the teaching manifests a “single taste” (ekarasa)—while the means used to convey this meaning are claimed to be both inexhaustibly various and tailored to the sensibilities of divergent audiences (Pye 2004). One of the tasks of Buddhist hermeneutics is to reconcile these claims of multiplicity and unity: to explain (or explain away) prima facie discordances between or within texts and find ways of reading apparently novel and problematic passages as sounding variations on old and familiar themes.

# eka-rasa 一味

**Inclusivism: all religions contain partial truth but one contains it all**

✦ There is truth. And then there is new, improved truth



# 국제정치 무대의 불교

Simply playing the 'Dalai Lama card', as many are prone to do, will not only restrict India's ability to manoeuvre in the outside world, but also risks undermining its own Buddhist legacy



# 정치 변혁과 불교

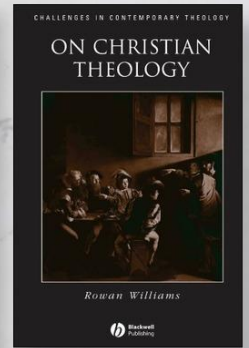
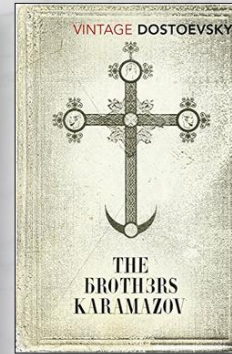
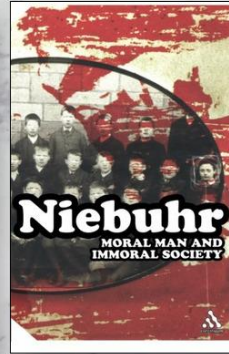
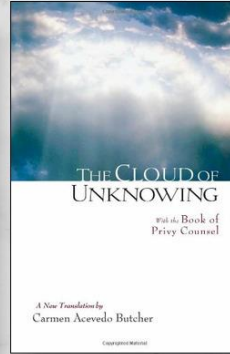
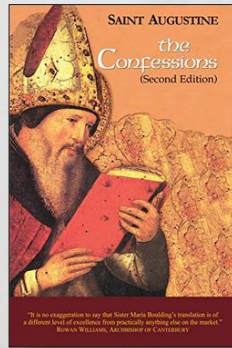
1986년 9월 7일  
해인사 승려대회



# 구조적 문제와 도덕성 함양

Reinhold Niebuhr  
1932

도덕적 인간과  
비도덕적 사회  
Moral Man and  
Immoral Society



Richard Harries recommends the best books on **Christianity**



# 불교 정치의 현실

Extremist Monk, Sri Lanka



Monkmilitia, Myanmar



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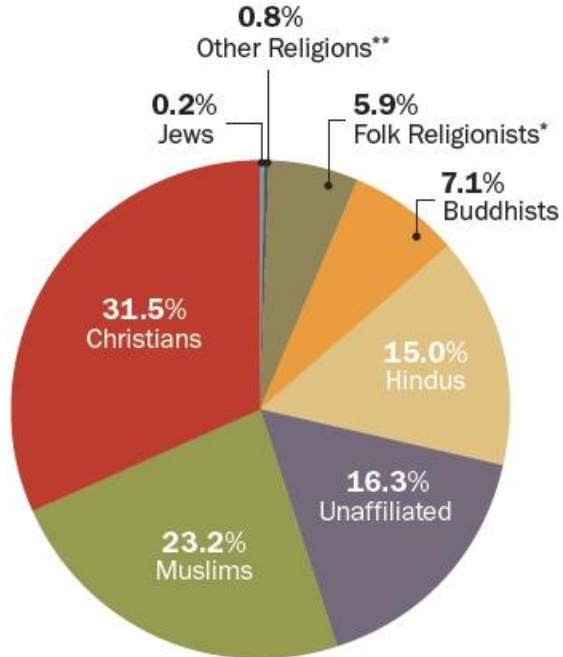
04

정치적 지향:  
자아의 확장

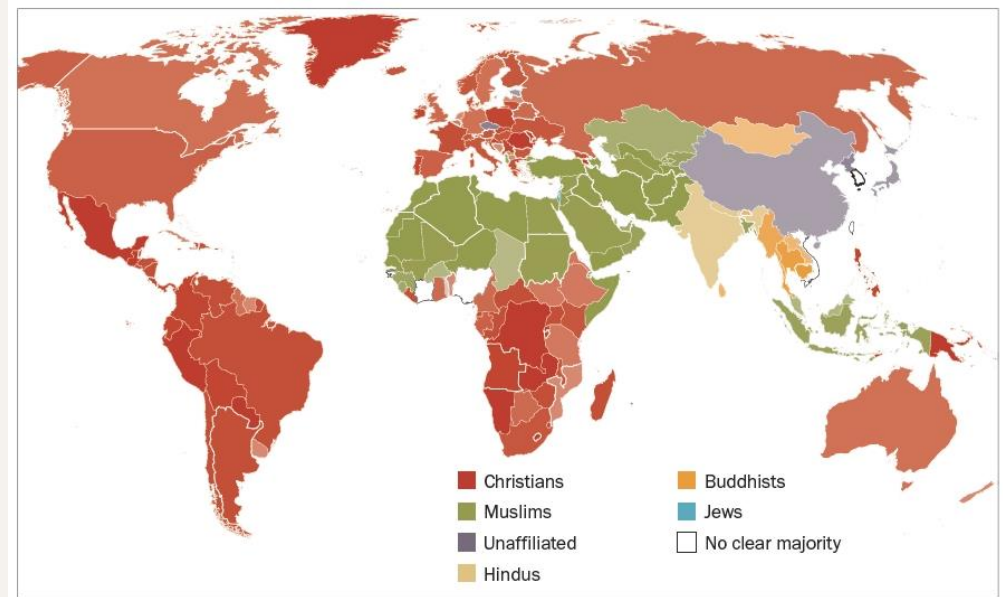
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## Size of Major Religious Groups, 2010

Percentage of the global population



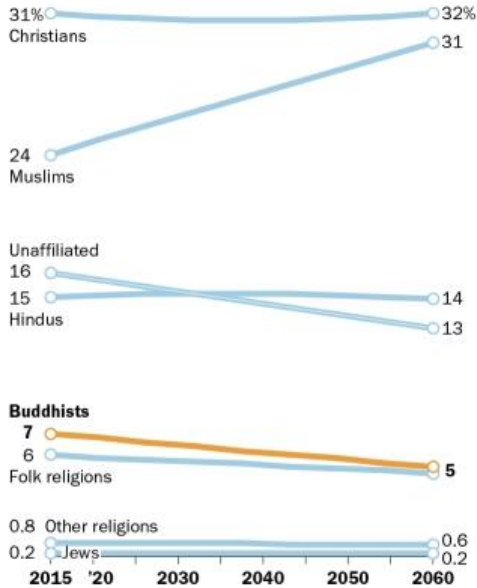
## Minority in the World?



Size of Major Religious Groups in the World, 2010 (PEW)

## Buddhist share of world's population expected to decrease by 2060

% of global population, 2015 to 2060

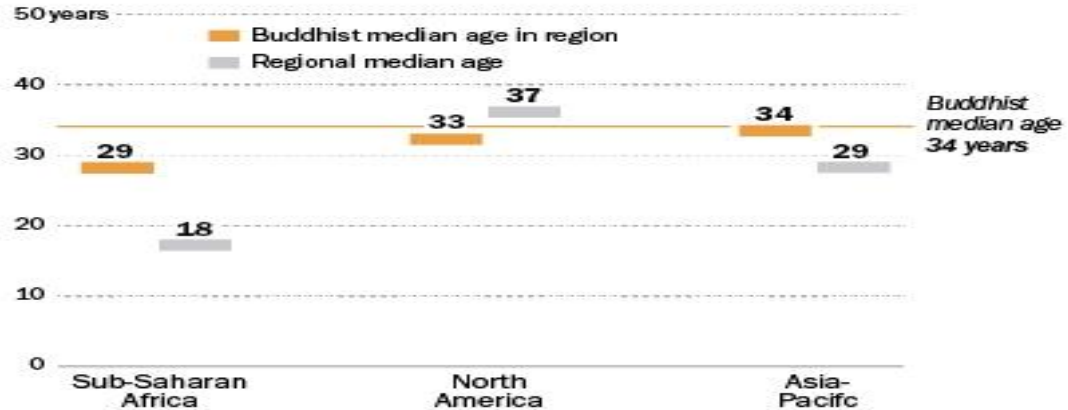


Source: Pew Research Center demographic projections.  
"The Changing Global Religious Landscape"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# Crisis for Buddhism And Buddhists?

## Regional Median Ages of Buddhists Compared with Overall Median Ages, 2010



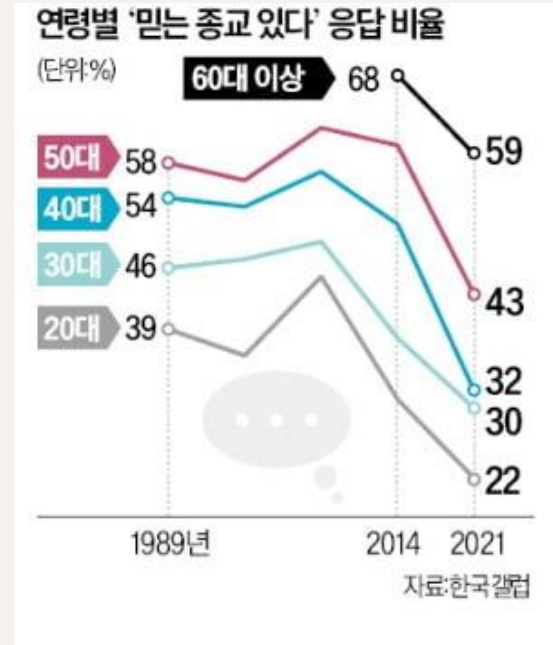
Regions are ordered by median age of Buddhists from youngest to oldest.

Median age is not presented when reliable age structure data are unavailable.

Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life • Global Religious Landscape, December 2012



# Crisis for Buddhism In Korea?



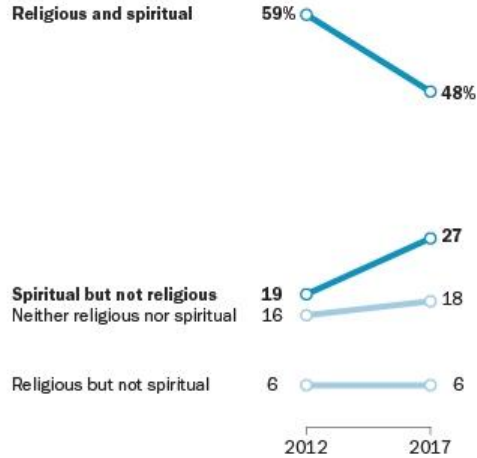
**Buddhists Decreasing and Older**

# Spiritual But Not Religious

## 1/4 of Americans

### A quarter of Americans now see themselves as spiritual but not religious

% who identify as ...



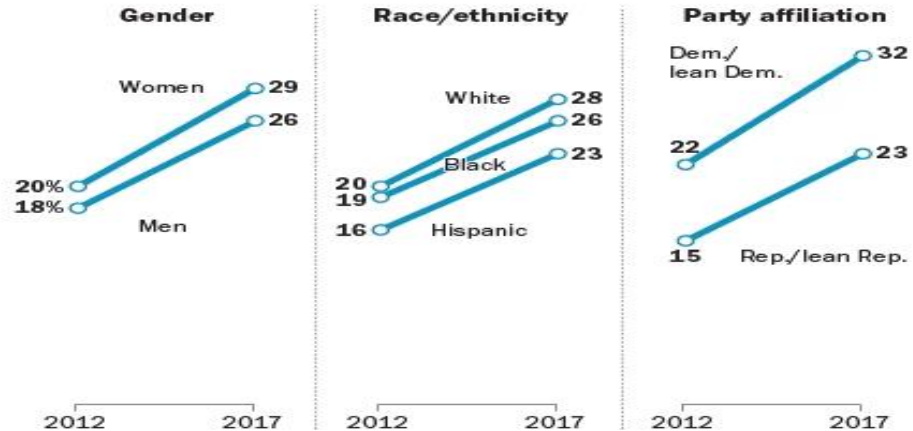
Note: Respondents were asked separate questions about whether they consider themselves to be "a religious person" and whether they consider themselves to be "a spiritual person." The "spiritual but not religious" category includes those who responded affirmatively to the question about being a spiritual person and also responded that they do not consider themselves to be a religious person. Statistically significant changes are indicated in bold. Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Source: Survey conducted April 25-June 4, 2017.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

### Increase of 'spiritual but not religious' is broad-based

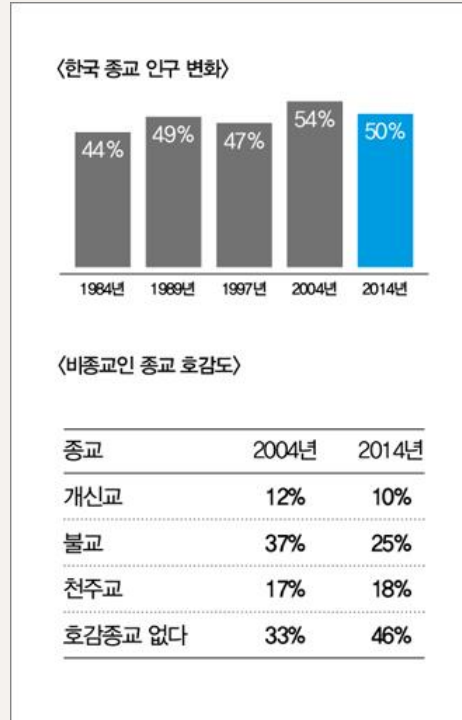
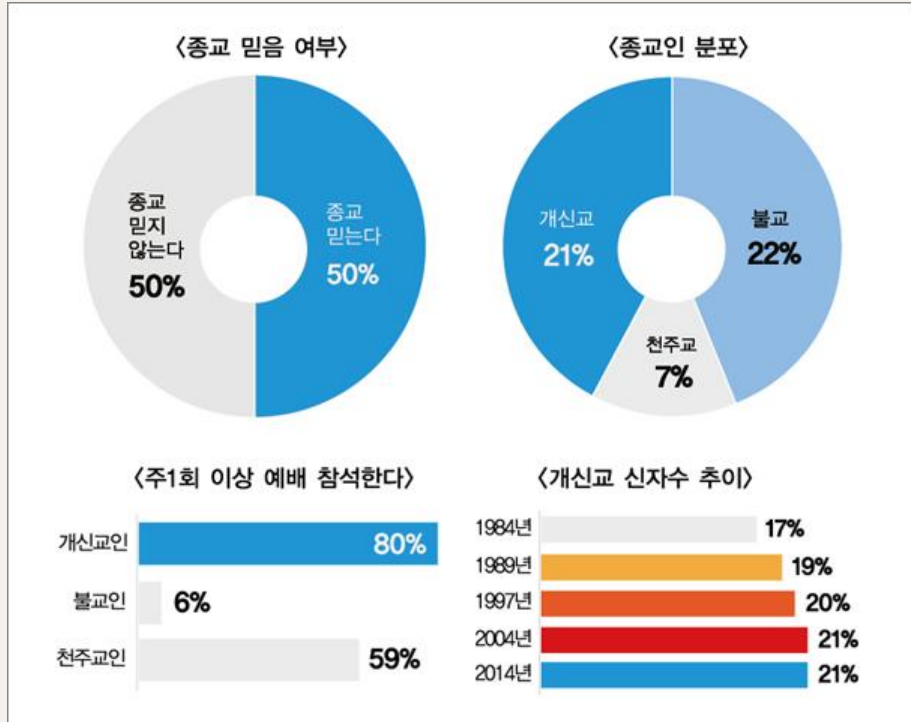
% of U.S. adults who identify as spiritual but not religious



Note: Respondents were asked separate questions about whether they consider themselves to be "a religious person" and whether they consider themselves to be "a spiritual person." The "spiritual but not religious" category includes those who responded affirmatively to the question about being a spiritual person and also responded that they do not consider themselves to be a religious person. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic. Hispanics can be of any race.

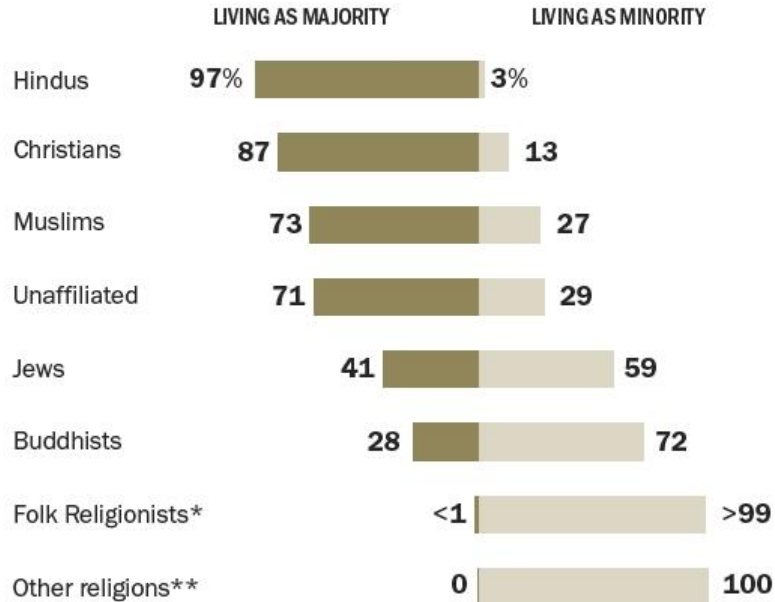
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# Spiritual But Not Religious In Korea



## Majority or Minority

Percentage of each religious group that lives in countries where its adherents are a majority or a minority



## Buddhists will Live as Minority In the World and in Korea



# EFFECTS OF MINDFULNESS-BASED STRESS REDUCTION (MBSR)

on employees mental health



Janssen, M., Heerhans, Y.,  
Kuijter, W., Van Der Heijden, B.,  
& Engels, J. (2018). Effects of  
Mindfulness-Based Stress  
Reduction on employees' mental  
health: A systematic review.  
PloS one, 13(1), e0191332.



## Problem:

Many work  
places include



High  
productivity



Overtime



Employee  
shortages



Organizational  
Change

## Research Question:

Can MBSR  
help with  
employees  
mental health?

MBSR alleviates suffering by  
using these mindfulness  
activities:



Body scan



Sitting  
meditation



Mindfulness  
during daily  
tasks

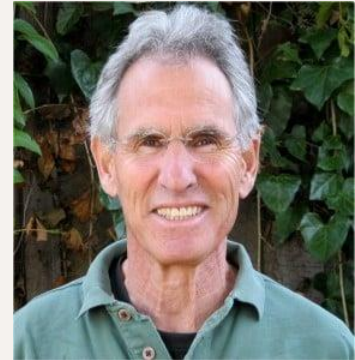


Simple  
movement  
activities



# MBSR (Mindfulness- Based Stress Reduction)

Jon Kabat-Zinn



# Buddhist Heritage, Heritage for All Humans?



아시아 최초

한국MBSR 연구소와 미국 브라운대학 마음챙김센터가 국제 마음챙김(MBSR) 협력기관 협약 체결!

BROWN Mindfulness Center

Global Mindfulness Collaborative

한국 MBSR 연구소  
Korea Center for Mindfulness

이제 한국MBSR 연구소가 글로벌 스탠다드의 마음챙김 명상/MBSR 지도자를 육성/배출하는 국제인증 교육기관으로 새롭게 도약합니다.

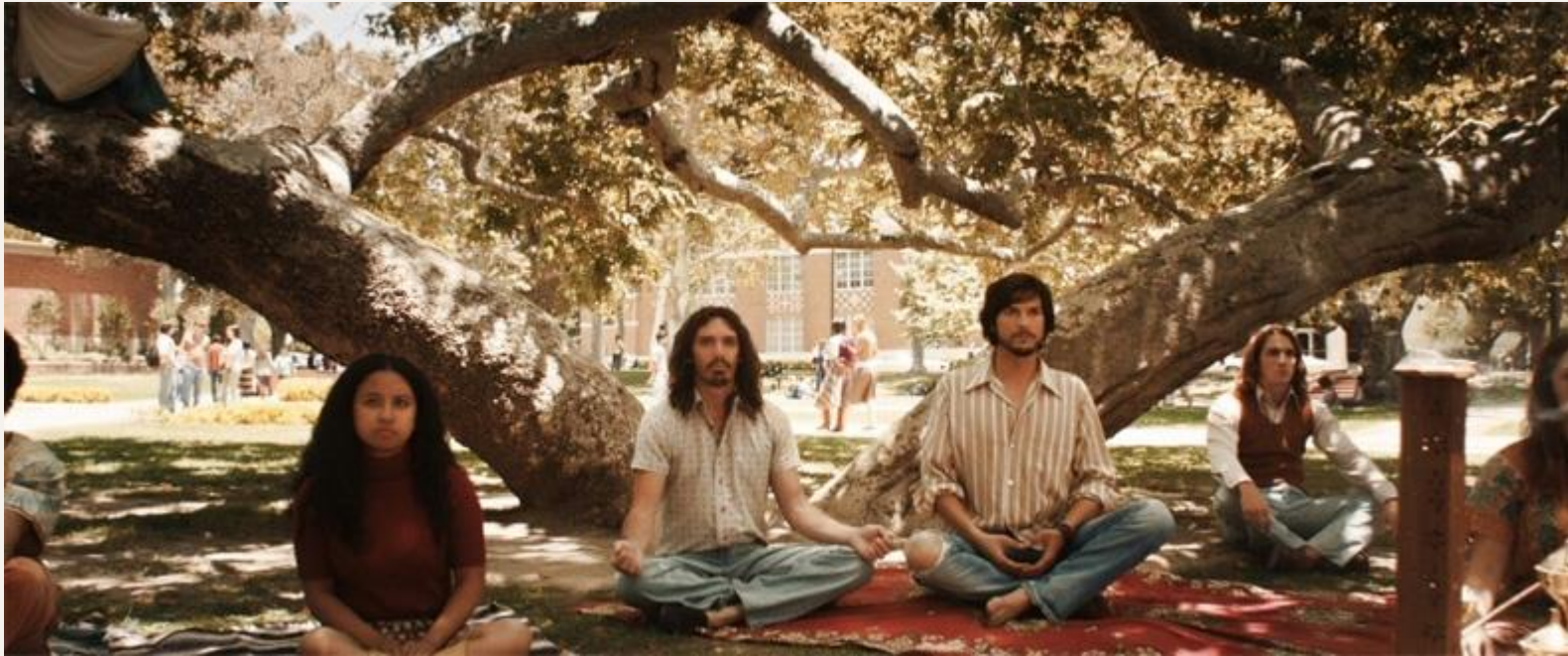
**한국 MBSR 마음챙김 연구소**  
Korea Center for Mindfulness **KCfM**

# Initiated by Ledi Sayadaw 1846–1923



Temporary Noviceship in Laos?  
Temple Stay in Laos for Koreans?

# 1960s San Francisco: Hippie and Zen Film, Jobs 2013



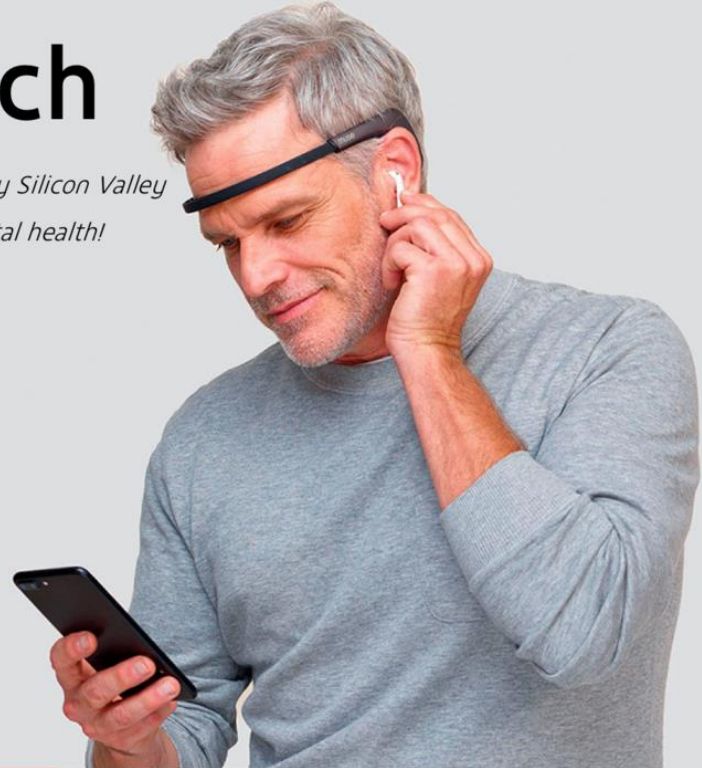


# MeditationTech?

## MeditationTech

*The arranged marriage between Tech & Meditation by Silicon Valley  
that creates Unicorns 🦄 and will improve your mental health!*

*#FutureOfWork*



# Meditation in Silicon Valley?

It Could Make Your  
Career!



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... the points following ...

**01**

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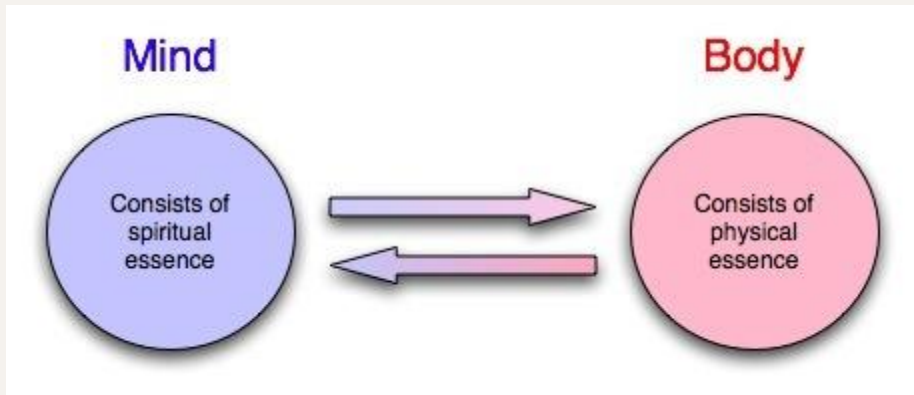
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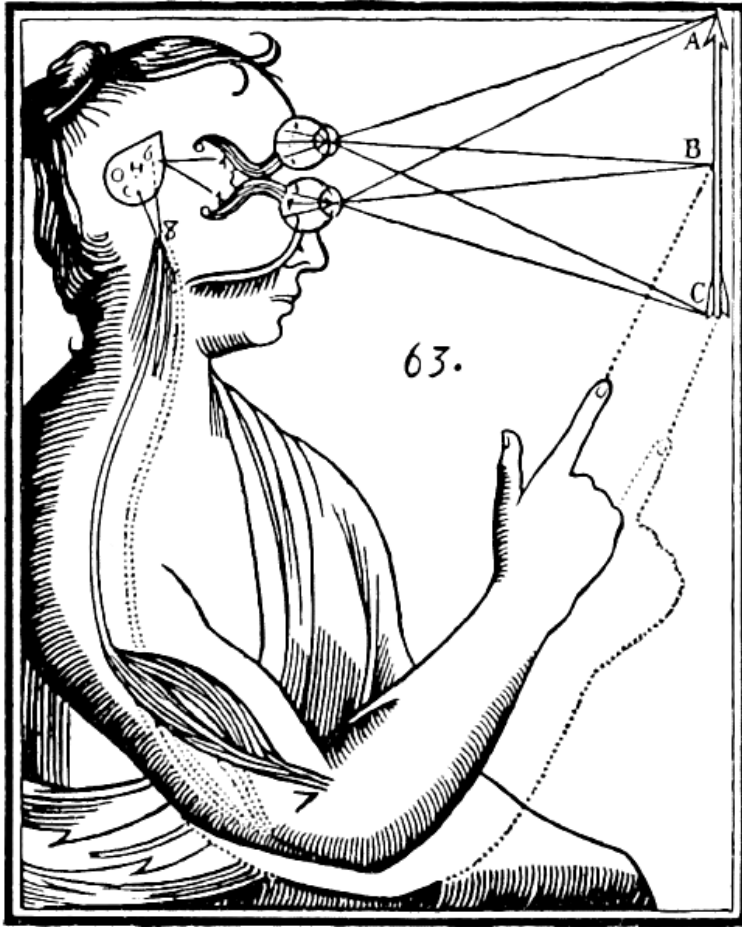
# 규율/습관”(śīla, 戒)



*We first make  
our habits then  
our habits  
make us.  
- John Dryden*

# 규율/습관”(śīla, 戒)



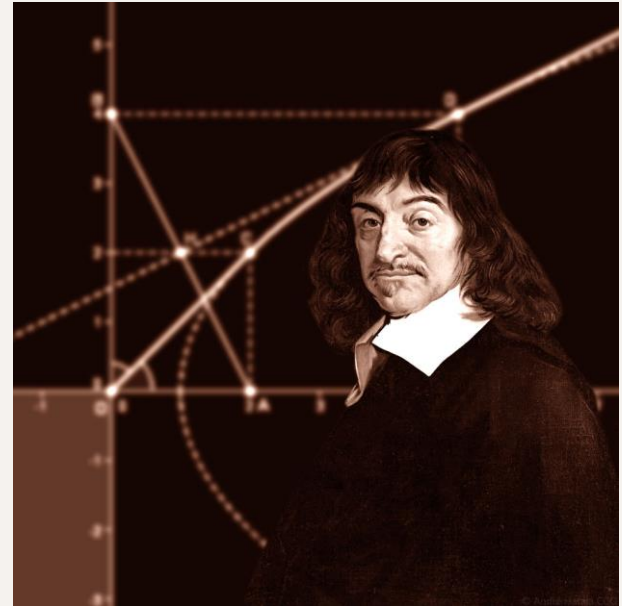


sensory organs

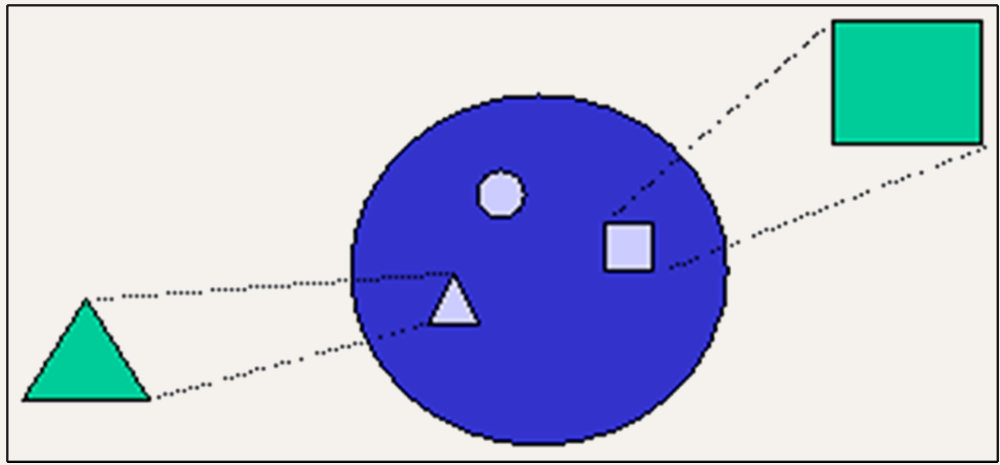
⇒ epiphysis in the brain

⇒ immaterial spirit

René Descartes



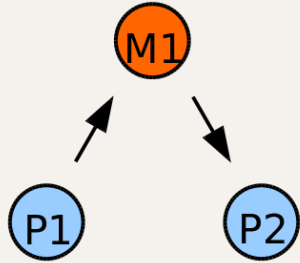
# vedanā, 受는 단순한 반영이 아니다



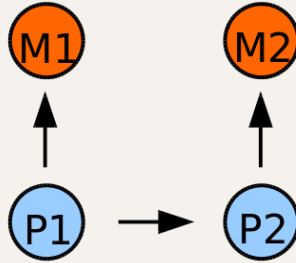
# Mind-Body Problem

## Mental Causation

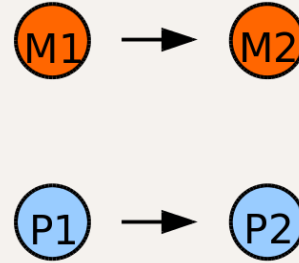
Interactionist  
Dualism



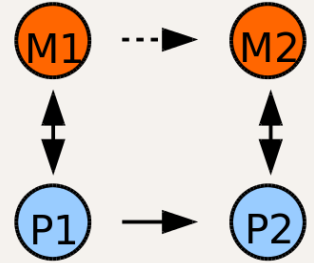
Epiphenomenalism



Psychophysical  
Parallelism



Non-Reductive  
Physicalism

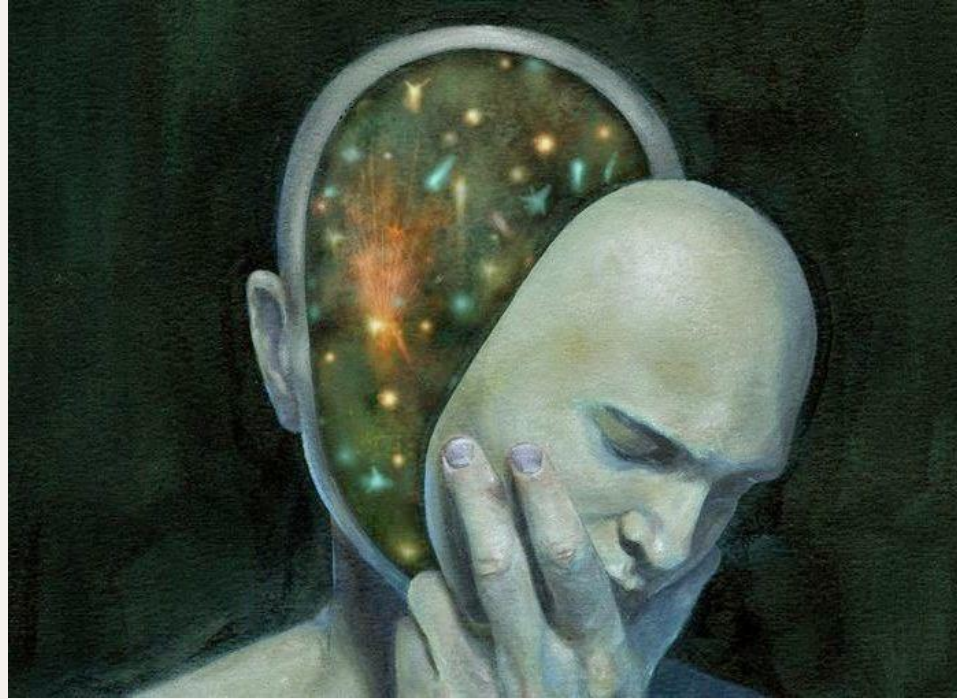




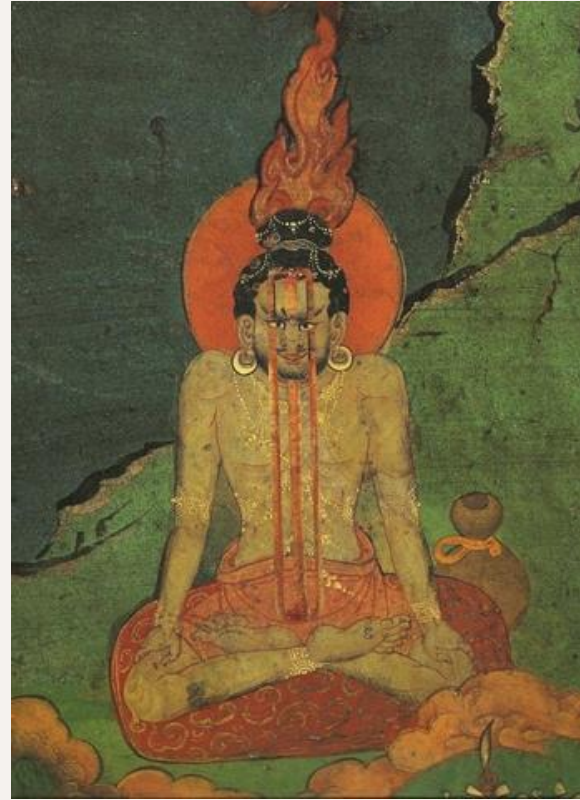
# 규율/습관” (śīla, 戒)



# 규율/습관”(śīla, 戒)

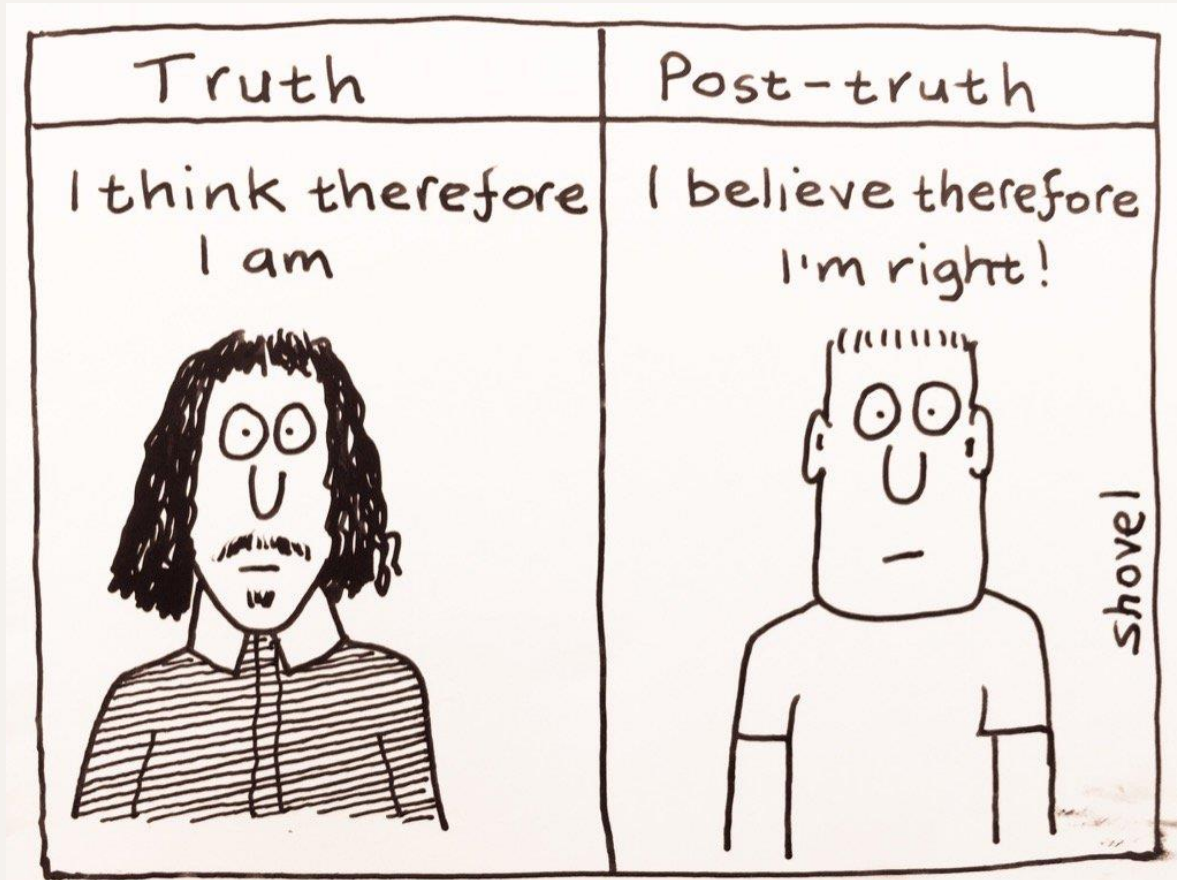


# Internalization of Ritual Fire



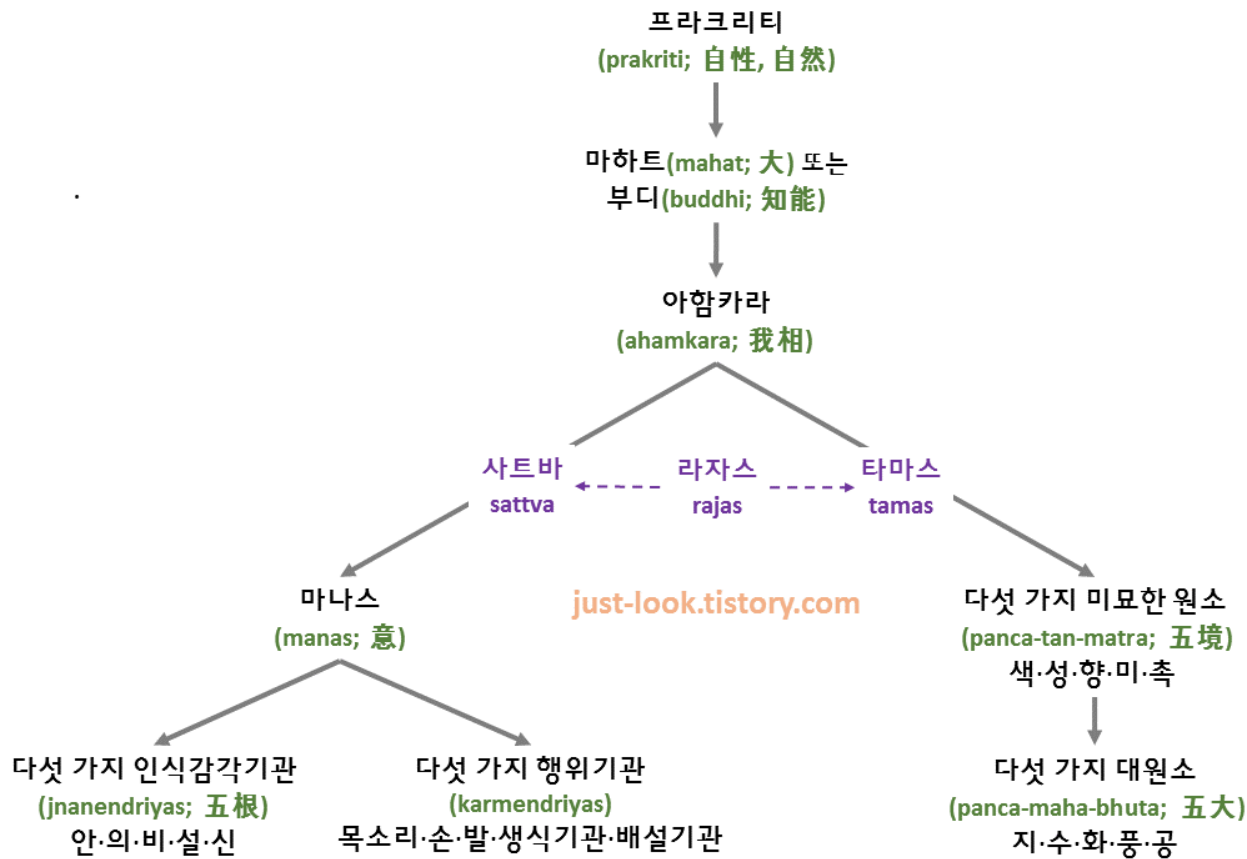
**Tibetan Inner Fire Meditation (Tummo)**

# Post- Truth



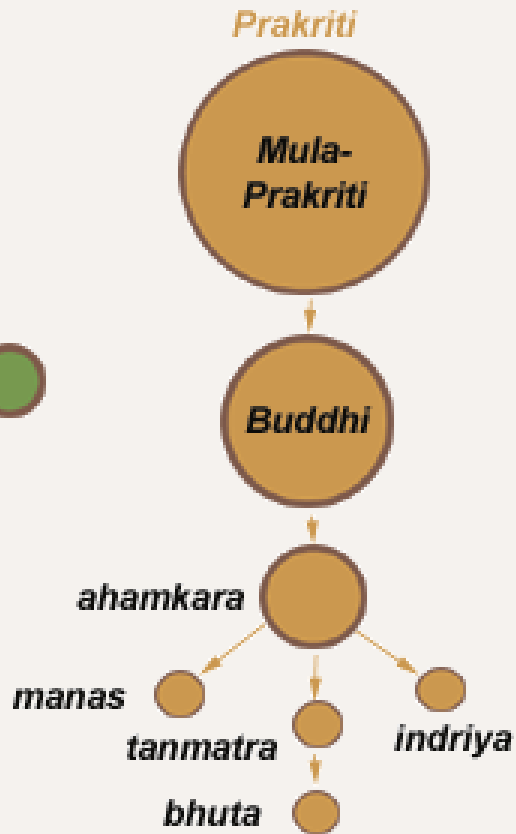
# Post-Truth





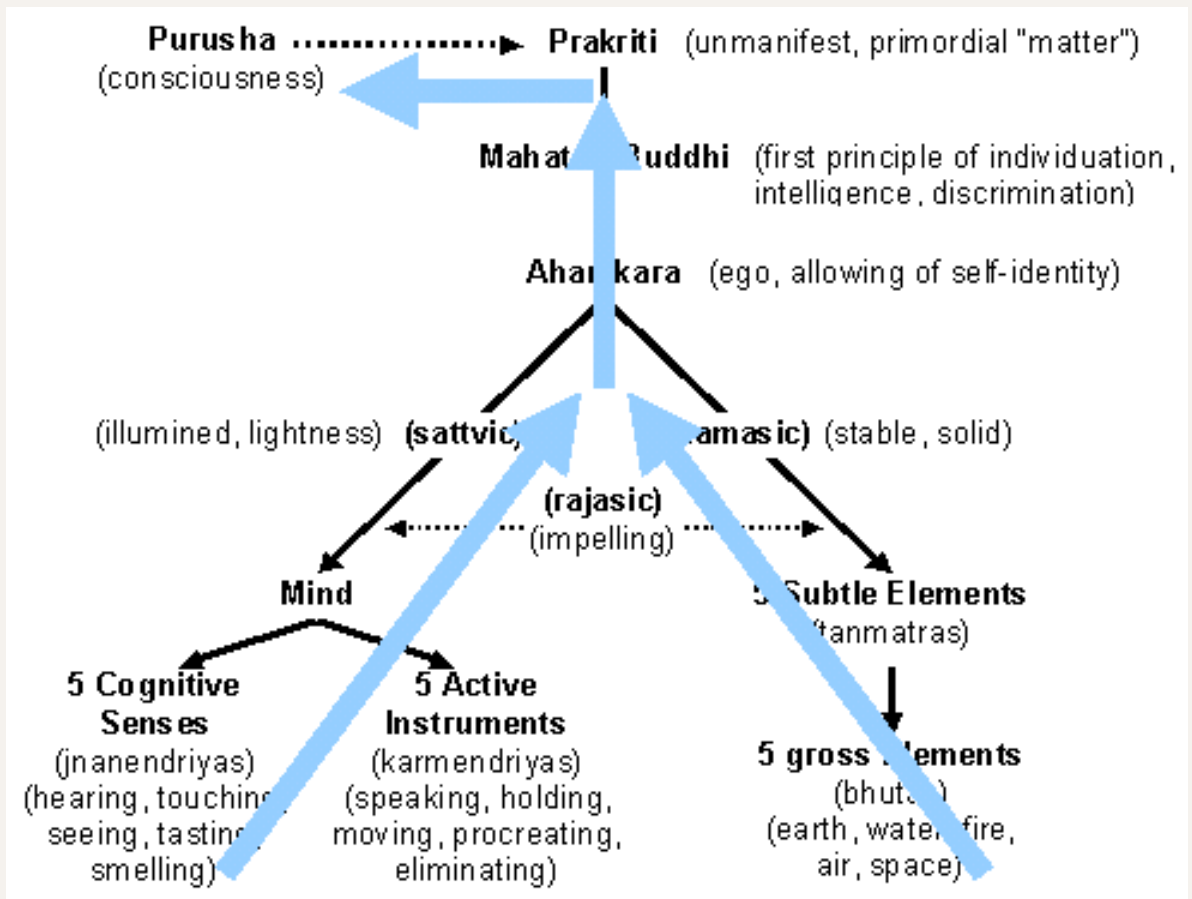
# Sāṅkhya 이원론 數論 / 僧法

# Sāṅkhya-Yoga



Sāṅkhya

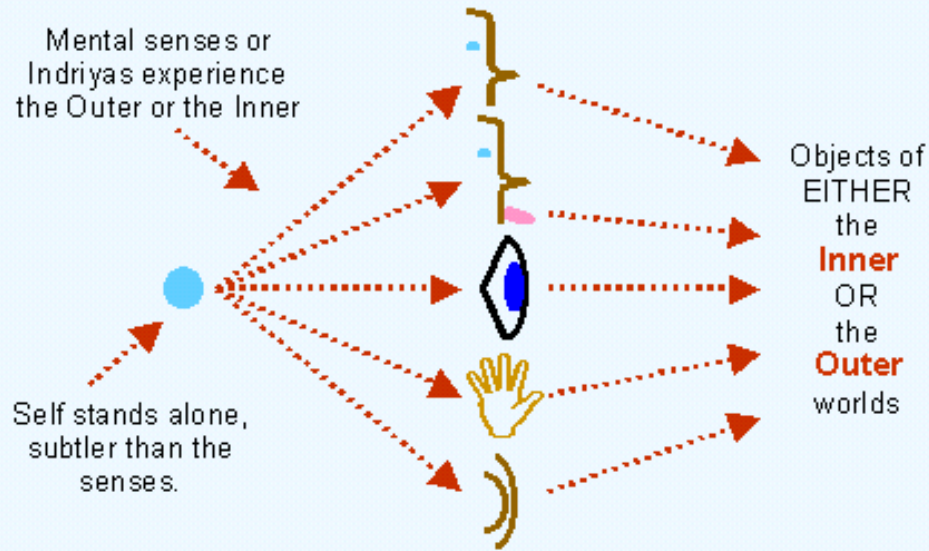
puruṣa-prakṛti



Sāṅkhya  
이원론은 왜  
만들어졌나?



The fixation or addiction to sensation itself is one of the largest single reasons so few people experience Self-Realization.



Truth, Reality, Self, Atman, Brahman, Purusha, Pure Consciousness, or whatever else you want to call it CANNOT be smelled, tasted, seen, touched, or heard. Those are merely senses (Indriyas), which are instruments by which Consciousness experiences outer or inner objects. To know the True Self, it is imperative to go beyond the senses. This is called sense-withdrawal, or Pratyahara. It is a prerequisite to advanced meditation. (Yoga Sutras 2.54-2.55)

Sāṅkhya  
이원론

불교  
12처  
18계

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Vasubandhu의 [Abhidharmakośa](阿毘達磨俱舍論)

karmajaṃ lokavaicitryaṃ cetanā tatkṛtaṃ ca tat|  
cetanā mānaśaṃ karma tajjaṃ vākkāyakarmaṇī ||1||

The variety of the world arises from action.

It is volition and that which is produced through volition.

Volition is mental action: it gives rise to two actions,  
bodily and vocal action.

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오 비구들이여! 의도(cetan)를 가지고 몸과 말과 정신을 통해 실천하는 것,  
그것이 내가 말하는 업이다. (A. III. 415)

죽이려는 의도가 아니었다면 사람을 죽이는 것도 죄가 아니다.(Vin.III.78)?

내가 생각하기에 남에게 도움이 된다는 것이 실제로 남에게 도움이 될까?  
자신의 의도가 좋은지에 대해 알 수 있는 것은 누구인가?  
좋은 의도가 나쁜 결과를 낼 때의 책임은?  
나의 의도와 다른 결과에 대해 책임을 져야 하는가? (그리스적 영웅)

Cetanā 와 manas(마음)의 관계는?

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## 3가지 karma(業) 身 口 意 가 cetanā이다

Vaibhāṣika에서는 意만 cetanā이고 身 口는 vijñapti(드러나는 행위)이다.

Kośa II.24 cetanā는 citta-abhisamkāra “마음을 형성하는 것”이 cetanā

의식(vijñāna)은 cetanā가 윤회를 통해 그 힘을 발휘하게 만드는 매개체

cetanā가 지향하는 대상 자체가 물리적으로  
좋고, 나쁘고, 의미 없고가 구분되는 것이 아니라  
그 대상을 향하는 cetanā의 성격과 구조가  
대상을 향하는 행동(karma)를  
좋고(kuśala) 나쁜(akuśala) 혹은 중성인 것으로 만든다.

어떤 행위를 하겠다는 의도 자체가 실제로 그 행위를 하는 것과 동치되지 않는다: 충분조건이 아니고 필요조건  
의도가 있고 인지적 오류가 없어야 한다!

의도와 특정한 대상/목표를 향한 마음 없이 karma는 없다:  
행위가 아니라 사건

사건은 외부 대상의 변화이고 사건이 한 개인의 존재적 흐름에 영향을 미친다.

행위가 누적되어(upacita) 의도/의식을 만들고 이것은 결과이기도 하지만 외부 세계의 상황을 결정한다.

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감사합니다!