TRAILOKYA BAUDDHA MAHASANGHA SAHAYAK GANA

Die Entwicklungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte der „Friends of the Western Buddhist Order“ (FWBO) ist hinlänglich bekannt (Dharmachari SUBHUTI, 1983), sie muß nicht neuerlich dargestellt werden. Es interessiert hier nur die spezifische Ausprägung, die der engagierte Laienbuddhismus der FWBO in Form der TBMSG („Vereinigung der Helfer des buddhistischen großen Ordens der Drei Welten“) in Indien hervorbringen half (detailliert dazu neuerdings: Alan SPONBERG, 1996).


Damals aber noch als junger Theravada-Mönch, der gerade eine größere Arbeit über Anagarika Dharmapala für die Maha Bodhi Society in Calcutta fertiggestellt hatte, traf Sangharakshita 1952 erstmals Dr.
In 1956, following the example of their great leader Dr Ambedkar - who was himself born an 'untouchable' - many ex-untouchables converted to Buddhism in order to leave behind the Hindu caste system. This decisive act inaugurated the movement of peaceful social and spiritual uplift within which Karuna is working today. Dr Ambedkar chose Buddhism because it has always been totally opposed to caste, has no place for blind belief or superstition, and encourages self-respect and compassion as the basis of a just and humane society.

One of Dr Ambedkar’s key supporters was the English Buddhist Sangharakshita. After Ambedkar’s sudden death in 1956, Sangharakshita became a leading figure in India working for the emancipation of the ex-untouchables. Karuna was set up as a partnership between Western and Indian disciples of Sangharakshita, all members of an international Buddhist order known in the West as the Western Buddhist Order.

**Buddhist Activities and Effective Social Change**

Karuna's work does not promote conversion to Buddhism and it is freely available to benefit Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Buddhists. However, following the example of Dr Ambedkar there are now over ten million Buddhists in India. Unfortunately, the vast majority have little or no opportunity to study and practise their new religion and culture - important if they are not to slip back into old caste attitudes. For those supporters of Karuna who agree, a proportion of their contribution goes towards funding specifically Buddhist activities.

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**Rural Retreat Centres**

With the help of Buddhists and others from around the world Karuna has raised the funds for two retreat centres, one between Pune and Bombay, and the other near Nagpur in central India. These give men and women the chance to spend time in beautiful and peaceful settings away from the slum conditions they usually live in, and to gain inspiration from Dr Ambedkar’s vision and the practice of Buddhism.

The Mahavihar, Pune

When the delegation had departed Ambedkar seated himself behind his desk and, after we had exchanged the usual amenities, fixed me with an unfriendly stare, and demanded belligerently, ‘Why does your Maha Bodhi Society have a Bengali Brahmin for its president?’ The word Brahmin was not only emphasized but pronounced with such contempt and scorn that the whole Brahmin caste, as well as any organization so misguided as to have a Brahmin for its president, was at once consigned to a kind of moral dustbin. Realizing that Ambedkar took me for one of the Bhikkhus (mostly Sinhalese) who ran the Maha Bodhi Society’s various pilgrim-centres, I hastened to make my position clear. It was not my Maha Bodhi Society, I explained. Though I was happy to help the Society in whatever way I could, I did not actually belong to it, and one of the reasons I did not belong to it was that it had a Brahmin for ist President, as well as a Governing Body that was dominated by Caste Hindus who had no real interest in Buddhism. Some of the Buddhist members of the Society, I added, were no more satisfied with the present state of affairs than he was and both they and I hoped that before long we would be able to do something about it. This explanation appeared to mollify Ambedkar, and the fixed stare became less unfriendly. For my part, I not only sympathized with his question but knew why he had asked it with so much feeling. Not only was the President of the Maha Bodhi Society a Bengali Brahmin, but that Brahmin was also a former President of the Hindu Mahasabha, a right-wing Caste Hindu organization.


We met in his office on the top floor of Buddha Bhuvan, and on entering the book-lined room I found him seated behind his desk,
with Mrs. Ambedkar standing beside him. He did not look very well and apologized for receiving me sitting down. He was suffering from arthritis, he explained, and this made standing up difficult. Whether because he was in pain, or for some other reason, he was much quieter and more subdued than he had been on the occasion of our first meeting, and seemed to have lost much of his belligerence. In the course of our discussion, in which Mrs. Ambedkar also joined from time to time, mainly in order to reinforce a point made by her husband, Ambedkar explained to me at length his plans for the revival of Buddhism in India, adding that he intended to devote the rest of his life to Buddhism. But though he had, as it seemed, made up his mind that he and his followers should embrace Buddhism, he appeared to be uncertain as to exactly how this was to be done. At any rate, he questioned me closely on the subject and I explained that formal conversion to Buddhism consisted in ‘going for Refuge’, as it was called, to the Three Jewels, i.e. the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, and in undertaking to observe what were known as the Five Precepts, or five basic principles of ethical behaviour. It was as simple as that. One could ‘take’ the Refuges and Precepts from any Buddhist monk.

By this time Ambedkar and I had been talking a good while, and a feeling of warmth and confidence had sprung up between us, as though we were members of the same family. I was therefore not surprised when he asked me if I would be willing to administer the Three Refuges und Five Precepts to him and his followers. To this I replied that I would certainly be willing to administer them, but that their conversion would probably be taken more seriously by the Buddhist world if it took place at the hands of the oldest and seniormost monk in India, who to the best of my knowledge was U Chandramani of Kusinara, from whom I had received my own Shramanera ordination. At the time Ambedkar seemed not to pay much attention to this suggestion, but he must have given it further thought, for it was from U Chandramani that, ten months later, he took the Three Refuges and Five Precepts. Before we parted he did, however, ask me to write to him recapitulating everything I had said on the subject of conversion. He also asked me to speak to his followers and explain to them what conversion to Buddhism really meant.

Bei der dritten Begegnung Anfang November 1956 in New Delhi wirkte Ambedkar schon so hinfällig, daß Sangharakshita sich nicht vorstellen konnte, wie sein Gegenüber zu der Konferenz der WFB nach Kathmandu (vgl. S. 96) noch reisen könne.

I found a crowd of some 2,000 excited ex Untouchables waiting on the platform to receive me. After being profusely garlanded I was escorted to the house of the friend with whom I had arranged to stay and then left to rest there and recover from my journey. Less than an hour later, when I was still settling into my new quarters, there was a sudden disturbance outside and three or four members of the Indian Buddhist Society burst into my room with the news that ‘Baba Saheb’ - as Ambedkar’s followers respectfully and affectionately called him - had died in Delhi the previous night. The speakers seemed utterly demoralized. What was more, they reported that the Society’s downtown office was being besieged by thousands of grief-stricken people who, knowing that I had arrived in Nagpur, were demanding that I should come and speak to them. Pointing out that it would be impossible for me to address so many people without a microphone and loudspeakers, I told my visitors to organize a proper condolence meeting for seven o’clock that evening. I would address it and do my best to console people, who from the accounts that now started coming in were frantic with grief and anxiety at the sudden loss of their great leader.

A condolence meeting was therefore held in the Kasturchand Park at the time indicated. When I arrived it was quite dark and the long columns of mourners were still converging on the place from all directions. They came clad in white - the same white that they had worn for the conversion ceremony only seven weeks earlier - and every man, woman, and child carried a lighted candle, so that the Park was the dark hub of a wheel with a score of golden spokes. Partly because of their demoralized state, partly because there had been so
little time, the organizers of the meeting had been able to do little more than rig up a microphone and loudspeakers. There was no stage and, apart from a petromax or two, no lighting other than that provided by the thousands of candles. By the time I rose to speak - standing on the seat of a rikshaw, and with someone holding a microphone in front of me - about 100,000 people had assembled. By rights I should have been the last speaker but as things turned out I was the first. In fact I was the only speaker. Not that there were not others who wanted to pay tribute to the memory of the departed leader. One by one, some five or six of Ambedkar's most prominent local supporters attempted to speak, and one by one they were forced to sit down again as, overcome by emotion, they burst into tears after uttering only a few words. Their example proved to be contagious. When I started to speak the whole of the vast gathering was weeping, and sobs and groans rent the air. In the light cast by the petromax I could see grey-haired men in convulsions of grief at my feet.

It would have been strange if I had remained unaffected by the sight of so much anguish and so much despair, and I was indeed deeply moved. But though I felt the tears coming to my eyes I realized that for me, at least, there was no time to indulge in emotion. Ambedkar's followers had received a terrible shock. They had been Buddhists for only seven weeks, and now their leader, in whom their trust was total, and on whose guidance in the difficult days ahead they had been relying, had been snatched away. Poor and illiterate as the vast majority of them were, and faced by the unrelenting hostility of the Caste Hindus, they did not know which way to turn and there was a possibility that the whole movement of conversion to Buddhism would come to a halt or even collapse. At all costs something had to be done. I therefore delivered a vigorous and stirring speech in which, after extolling the greatness of Ambedkar's achievement, I exhorted my audience to continue the work he had so gloriously begun and bring it to a successful conclusion. 'Baba Saheb' was not dead but alive. He lived on in them, and he lived on in them to the extent to which they were faithful to the ideals for which he stood and for which he had, quite literally, sacrificed himself. This speech, which lasted for an hour or more, was not without effect. Ambedkar's stricken followers began to realize that it was not the end of the world, that there was a future for them even after their beloved 'Baba Saheb's' death, and that the future was not devoid of hope.
In the course of the next four days I visited practically all the ex-untouchable ‘localities’ of Nagpur and made more than forty speeches, besides initiating about 30,000 people into Buddhism and delivering lectures at Nagpur University and at the local branch of the Ramakrishna Mission. Wherever I went I repeated, in one form or another, the message that I had given in Kasturchand Park: Ambedkar was not dead and his work - especially the work of conversion - must continue. When I left Nagpur I had addressed altogether 200,000 people and the members of the Indian Buddhist Society assured me that my presence at such a critical juncture was a miracle and that I had saved Nagpur for Buddhism. Whether or not I had saved Nagpur for Buddhism it was difficult to tell, but there was no doubt that during those five memorable days I had forged a very special link with the Buddhists in Nagpur and, indeed, with all Ambedkar’s followers.

In den folgenden zehn Jahren war Sangharakshita immer wieder für die Neo-Buddhisten als Lehrer tätig. Als er sich am 10. Jahrestag des Todes von Dr. Ambedkar in Nagpur von ihnen verabschiedete, kamen einhunderttausend Anhänger, um ihn noch einmal zu hören (S. 170): „In future, I told them, I would be dividing my time between England, the country of my birth, and India, the country of my adoption, and hoped to spend six months in each of them alternatively.“


Traveling across India, he arrived in Nagpur, quite by chance, on the day of the twenty-first anniversary of Ambedkar’s conversion. Immediately drafted by some of Sangharakshita’s ex-Untouchable friends to join the speakers at a memorial service, he soon found himself addressing a half-million new Buddhists who had converged at the diksha-bhumi site. That experience and the enthusiasm for Buddhism that Lokamitra experienced among the ex-Untouchables over
TEACHING HALLS IN CITIES
Most Buddhists live in appalling slum conditions and Buddhist activities have to be held in small overcrowded rooms, in the corridors of slum tenements, or in the open air. Karuna has already provided funds to build a Buddhist meeting place in Pune and urgently seeks money for a similar project in Bombay, where conditions are particularly difficult.
the next few days had a profound effect, he reports, leading rapidly to his decision to commit his life to Dharma work among the Ambedkarites. Within a matter of months after arriving back in England he had settled his affairs there, and he soon returned to India to begin working with the ex-Untouchable Buddhists. TBMSG was officially inaugurated a few months later by Sangharakshita on a visit to India that also included the ordination of several of his earlier Indian followers into the Trailokya Baudhha Mahasangha (TBM), the new Indian wing of the WBO. Although Lokamitra began his work as a saffron-robed anagarika, after his first several years as a TBMSG organizer he found the monastic persona increasingly limiting, both socially and administratively. This led him to give up his monastic vows and eventually to marry into the ex-Untouchable community, a change of status he found personally as well as culturally more appropriate since most of the new Indian order members were also married householders.


So förderlich und hilfreich wie diese Maßnahmen in jedem einzelnen Fall gewiß sind (BELTZ 1997), langfristig noch wichtiger für die Vertiefung und Ausbreitung buddhistischer Lehrinhalte unter den indischen Neo-Buddhisten ist nach Selbsteinschätzung der Ordensmitglieder die schrittweise Ausbildung von Männern und Frauen zu buddhistischen Sozialarbeitern, von denen die Maßnahmen im Gesund-
NAMO BUDDHAYA:
Vademecum mit DREIFACHER ZUFLUCHT und FÜNF SILAS
heitsdienst, in den Kindergärten und Hostels, bei Alphabetisierungs-
kampagnen und in den Laienspielgruppen zur Entwicklung neuer
kommunikativer Kompetenzen inzwischen meist hauptberuflich getra-
gen werden. TBMSG unterscheidet drei Stufen der Annäherung an
diesen inneren Kreis von zur Zeit etwa 180 „Dhammacharis“ bzw.
„Dhammacharinis“:

– Als SAHAYAK („Helfer“) steht man der Arbeit von TBMSG nä-
he, kommt unregelmäßig zu verschiedenen Veranstaltungen und
hat meist auch nicht die Absicht, sich weitergehend zu binden.

– Als DHAMMA MITRA („Dhamma-Freund“) erklärt man sein tie-
feres Interesse an der Arbeit, nimmt regelmäßig und auf gezielte
Einladungen hin an Schulungskursen teil und besucht auch schon
Meditationskurse.

– Als DHARMACHARI bzw. DHARMACHARINI ist man unter
der Anleitung von zwei „Kalyana Mitras“ („edlen Freunden“) meh-
rere Jahre lang geschult worden und hat spezielle „retreats“ für
Kandidaten besucht. Die Aufnahme schließlich als Ordensmitglied
mit eigenem Ordensnamen konnte bis vor einigen Jahren nur Ven.
Sangharakshita vornehmen, doch seit er sich aus den Tagesge-
schäften der direkten Ordensleitung zurückgezogen hat, gibt es ein
„team“ von (englischen) Ordensälteren, die das Aufnahmeritual
durchführen können.

– Vier indische Ordensmitglieder sind einen Schritt weiter noch ge-
gangen und haben die Gelübde eines ANAGARIKA auf sich ge-
nommen, sie leben zölibatär und widmen sich „ganz und gar“ der
Ordensarbeit.

Die innere Struktur der inzwischen weltweit verbreiteten Bruder- und
Schwesternschaft des WBO und die besonderen Formen und Proble-
me ihrer Wirksamkeit im TBM hat Dh. LOKAMITRA (1997:7) in
einem Seminar an der Universität von Pune kürzlich so skizziert:

The heart of the TBMSG is a Sangha, the Trailokya Bauddha Maha-
sangha (TBM). It is not a monastic Sangha, but nor is it a lay Sangha
in the usually understood sense of the word. It is based on going for
Refuge to the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha and ten precepts or

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principles of skilful action, speech and mind. Some live in communities and work in right livelihood situations, while others live at home with their families and work in worldly jobs. Members come from about 30 different countries. Of about 700 members world-wide about 180 come from India and these come from about 9 different caste backgrounds. Whilst most of the members in the West come from U.K., and most of those in India come from the ex-Mahar community, the TBM is beginning to provide a situation in which one's predominant experience of oneself and others in the Sangha is not in terms of caste or nation, but in terms of a human being going for Refuge to the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha.

TBMSG cannot be a mass movement in that there is so much emphasis on training and individual commitment, and anyway, although it is open to all who want to make that commitment, not all are going to want to do so. That does not mean to say others will not be benefitted by the Sangha. Venerable Sangharakshita defined it as the nucleus of the new society. The members of the Sangha need to keep up contact with the wider group who, being receptive to the Dhamma will be influenced by its teaching. From the wider group come support and new members. We are not as active as we perhaps could be in this way, held back by some of the constraints that hold back the rest of the Buddhist movement, especially the increasing consumerism and old caste conditioning. Increasing consumerism seems to lead to less mobility and less inspiration. The young need to be approached in different ways. In India TBMSG is predominantly made up of one community and this seems to have a perpetuating effect in that few outsiders are inclined to join, and we tend to stick to people with whom we are familiar. It is only when we get many more members from other communities that we will be able to effectively break down the old caste identity.

Gleiche Erfahrungen über die spezifisch indischen Grenzen eines kastenübergreifenden Gemeinschaftsansatzes macht die TBMSG auch bei den Kursen in ihren beiden Meditationszentren (LOKAMITRA 1997:5):

Dhamma shibirs concentrating on meditation and study in ideal surroundings are conducted from two large retreat centres at Bhaja near Pune, and at Bor Dharan near Wardha. There is a publications wing known as Triratna Grantha Mala which besides books on Buddhism (mainly by the Venerable Sangharakshita) brings out quarterly magazines known as Buddhayan in Marathi, Hindi and Gujarati. Most of
those who participate in Maharashtra are from the ex-Mahar community, although in Kolhapur a number of people from the Matana community have converted to Buddhism and are involved in TBMSG activities. Elsewhere members of other dalit and backward class communities have shown some interest but this has not so far been taken far. Recently in Mumbai and Pune, attempts have been made to contact members of other communities who are interested in Buddhist meditation.


The sad fact is that many Buddhists still worship the old gods, thus unwittingly maintaining the old religious conditioning. In the last 12 years perhaps several thousand people have attended Dhamma shibirs organised by TBMSG, where they both learn meditation and study a Buddhist text or something written by Ambedkar on Buddhism (the atmosphere is far from „restrictive“ as implied in Gopal Guru’s note, but is pervaded by a joy and a sense of meaningfulness that few have experienced before). Perhaps the most universal experience for those who have attended such a shibir for the first time is understanding how Ambedkar could say in the 22 vows, „Now I have taken a new life“. Buddhism becomes meaningful to them as never before. They begin to understand how through Dhamma practice they can lead much more creative lives than hitherto they had thought possible, and thus develop a confidence in it that many did not have before. Most of them will go home and throw out the pictures and murtis of the old gods, having eradicated their psychological dependence on them.

Abzuwarten bleibt, ob die Organisation einmal in der Lage sein wird, ihre vielfältigen Programme und die dabei anfallenden Personalkosten aus Eigenmitteln zu finanzieren. Doch ist dies ja nicht nur ein indisches Problem; Sozialarbeit trägt sich nicht selbst, sie wird allenthalben von außen gestützt: Auch der in der damaligen Erwachsenenbildung tätige frühe Bettelorden („Bhikkhu/ni“ = Bettler/in) des Buddha war für Nahrung, Kleidung, Medizin und Unterkunft (allerdings
nur zur Regenzeit, im übrigen sollten „leere Behausungen und schattige Bäume“ genügen) auf die Unterstützung der Gesellschaft angewiesen!


Abschließend ist aber zusätzlich hervorzuheben, daß von der TBMSG inzwischen mehr als 180 Dharmacharis/charinis ausgebildet wurden, die einen an westlichen Erfahrungen der FWBO orientierten neuen Typ des „buddhistischen Missionars“ repräsentieren. Daß es auch diesen „in der Welt“ wirkenden „Missionaren“ bislang nicht gelungen ist, die Grenzen der eigenen Herkunft überschreitende Kommunikationsstrukturen zur ganzen indischen Gesellschaft aufzubauen, muß nicht gegen den Ansatz und die Arbeit von TBMSG sprechen, sondern verweist einmal mehr auf die besonderen Integrations- und Beharrungskräfte der indischen (Kasten-)Gesellschaft.
Education Index
47 kindergartens for 1400 children
7 after-school study classes for 240 children
4 literacy classes for 80 women and girls
Creche for 30 children
School for 200 children of Tibetan refugees
19 hostels in 5 Indian states allowing 915 boys and girls to continue their education.

Health Index
Primary health care in 8 of Pune’s slum districts serving a population of 12,000
Clinic in the Dapodi district of Pune treating 30 patients a day.

the karuna index
Projects currently supported by karuna

Costs Index
Some examples of expenditure in 1995:
Construction of purpose-built hostel for 80 boys or girls: £70,000.
Direct cost of supporting a child at a hostel: £8 a month.
Direct cost of supporting a kindergarten for 30 children: £240 a year.

A number of Karuna supporters agree for part of their donation to go towards Buddhist activities. These include 2 Rural Retreat Centres and Meditation and Buddhist Classes within urban slum communities.
Sports and Cultural Index
7 karate classes for 240 boys and girls
Asvagosha cultural project
After-school sports and arts activities
Library in Dapodi, Pune.

Sustainability Index
9 sewing classes for 145 women
3 shops
Handicrafts business
2 horticultural/agricultural projects
Social work training schemes for up to 40 men and women each year.

Map showing principle sites of Karuna projects in India
If you'd like to find out more about the Karuna Trust and its work, you may like to consider these videos and books, which are available from the Karuna office:

**Videos**

- **A Peaceful Revolution**
  Introduces the social and Buddhist background to the projects supported by Karuna in India.

- **For the Welfare of the Many**
  Highlighting Karuna's educational work, particularly the hostels, and the opening of the major Mahavirha complex in Pune.

- **With the Snow Lions of Tibet**
  An uplifting and entertaining view of the ITBCI school for Tibetan refugee children in Kalimpong, which Karuna supports.

   All £9.95 including post and packing.

**Books**

- **Jai Bhim**
  Dispatches from a Peaceful Revolution
  by Terry Pichock, £5.95
  A colourful and moving account of the work and the people that Karuna is involved with in India.

- **Ambedkar and Buddhism**
  by Sangharakshita, £5.95
  The social, religious and personal background to Dr Ambedkar's 'peaceful revolution', which has transformed the lives of millions in modern India.

- **But Little Dust**
  by Hilary Blakston, £5.95
  Hilary tells how she helped set up Bahujan Hitay's health care projects in Pune and taught 'ex-untouchable' women about their newly adopted religion – Buddhism.