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3/29/67

Ruth -

Per our telephone
conversation.

Helen Guest

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

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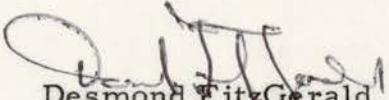
21 APR 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Walt W. Rostow
Special Assistant to the President

SUBJECT: The Asia Foundation Buddhist Study

The attached study, "Buddhism and Buddhist Programming of The Asia Foundation," was prepared by The Asia Foundation as an operational background paper for use within the Central Intelligence Agency. This copy is provided at Mr. Rostow's request for his personal use.

Because this study is written very much in terms of The Asia Foundation as an instrument of United States policy, it warrants handling as a classified and sensitive document and should receive no further distribution outside the Agency.


Desmond FitzGerald
Deputy Director for Plans

Attachment:
Study

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6 E.O. 13526
E-NLJ 22-42 NW 79057
By BP Date 12/13/2024

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Special
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Deputy Director for Plans
Department of Defense
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Deputy Director
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staff of the Central Intelligence Agency.
by the State Department as an operational requirement
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that the Agency is to be advised that the Agency is to be

SUBJECT: The State Department requires copy
Special Assignment to the President
MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable W. M. Rostow

21 APR 1966

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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Declassified Case: NW#
79057 Date: 12-13-2024

A STUDY OF BUDDHISM AND THE BUDDHIST
PROGRAMMING OF THE ASIA FOUNDATION

GENERAL SUMMARY

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BUDDHISM AND THE BUDDHIST PROGRAMMING
OF THE ASIA FOUNDATION
IN CONTINENTAL SOUTHEAST ASIA AND CEYLON
AND WITH
THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF BUDDHISTS

A general summary, in the form of a series of questions and answers, of the findings of studies of six countries and the World Fellowship of Buddhists made by the staff of The Asia Foundation; together with recommendations for action.

San Francisco, California
February 1966

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FOREWORD TO THE BUDDHIST STUDY

A staff study of Buddhism and the Foundation's programming in the field of Buddhism in Asia was undertaken early in 1965 at the request of Dr. Haydn Williams, President of The Asia Foundation. In a trip through Asia in late 1964, Dr. Williams had been impressed by the number and variety of country programs related to Buddhist institutions and organizations as well as by the increasing evidence of a revitalization of Buddhism. The events in Vietnam in 1963 and 1964 and the evidence that monks were active in the effervescent politics of Ceylon had also created a wide interest in the tenets and goals of modern Buddhism which seemed to call for a reassessment by any concerned organization, such as the Foundation, of its policies and activities in the general Buddhist field.

The study was undertaken, therefore, with the following goals: first, to identify those aspects of Buddhism which make it a significant ethical, religious, social, and political force; second, to examine the Foundation's relevant programming with a view to determining the validity of its present role and the lessons it has learned; and, third, to establish guidelines for the future.

At the direction of Dr. Williams, a staff task force of the then Review and Development (now Research and Development) Department was appointed to undertake the study. This task force has been directed by Harry H. Pierson and at various times has included James J. Dalton, Richard G. Heggie, Clare Humphrey, Richard Koontz and Frank E. Dines.

Buddhism has been described as "an old and strongly rooted tree that has developed its numerous branches through centuries of growth" and as "important for our understanding of many peoples since it is an integral component in their cultures."¹ Buddhism has also demonstrated an amazing capacity for adaptation to the cultures of the lands to which it has spread. For this reason, the study task force adopted the approach of making individual country studies of Buddhism, using as a guide a previously approved general outline, plus a separate study of the World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB).

The task force agreed on the following method for carrying out the study:

1. One staff member was to be principally responsible for each study and would do the major collection of data and the writing on the basis of the outline.
2. Consultants from the academic world would be employed as advisable and possible to provide additional information and judgments and to criticize early drafts of the papers.
3. Each field office of the Foundation would be asked to write a short paper of its own covering the major points of the outline for integration into the staff study.

¹Clarence H. Hamilton, "Buddha and Buddhism," in Collier's Encyclopaedia, d., vol. 4, p. 658.

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Foreword to the Buddhist Study

4. The studies would be criticized in their first circulating drafts by the respective field Representatives of the Foundation and the preliminary findings would be discussed at a field conference.
5. Additional critiques by knowledgeable colleagues in the Foundation would be obtained whenever feasible.
6. The final drafts would embody the results of the foregoing steps for submission to Dr. Williams, and a General Summary would bring together the salient findings and include recommendations for further action.

Each country study is divided into two major parts: (1) an overview of Buddhism as an ethical-religious, political, and social force, and (2) a résumé of Foundation objectives and programming. The WFB study parallels the country studies in reviewing, first, the organization's development and activities, and, second, the Foundation's programming with the WFB. These two principal parts of each study are followed by conclusions of an evaluative nature and by recommendations for appropriate policy revisions and programming directions.

Because of limitations of time and personnel, it was decided at the outset to concentrate major attention on the countries in which Buddhism has penetrated deeply and in which it is a pervasive way of life today. These countries are: Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. Buddhism has also strongly influenced the way of life in the northern Asian countries, but prudence counseled the postponement of consideration of those areas until a later date. Intriguing signs exist that a revival of Buddhism, which deserves further study as soon as possible, is taking place in Japan and Korea and among free Chinese; and that on the Chinese mainland itself the regime has been compelled to exercise great care in its treatment of Buddhism so as not to alienate the people.

Principally, the study was designed to look critically at the issues and problems in regard to the role of Buddhism, the types of organizations involved, the monk and lay Buddhist leadership, the objectives and activities of the Foundation (and others where pertinent) in programming in the field of Buddhism, and the current position and influence of the Foundation as a result of its activities. It was recognized that the Foundation had had through its field personnel a broader experience and more intimate connection with Buddhism in the Theravada countries and Vietnam than any other private philanthropic organization or any American government agency; and that between its extensive, unculled archival resources and its access to much of the recent literature and thought it was in an advantageous position to make a study of this kind.

No attempt to make a comprehensive appraisal of "Living Buddhism" and its relationship with Foundation programming has ever before been undertaken, so that in blazing a trail the authors of the study inevitably found themselves at a loss in some respects, while obstacles and unforeseen delays were frustrating

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Foreword to the Buddhist Study

in others. It is worthy of note, in this connection, that few American scholars working today regard Buddhism in all its aspects, and particularly in its modern manifestations and relationships, as their field of study. Indeed, it is a broad and complex subject. Excellent studies have been made by specialists on separate aspects of the field, but even if these approaches are added up they leave much to be desired in terms of the breadth of scholarly work. Fortunately, some promising steps are under way to remedy this situation.

As Dr. Williams has said, this present study cannot be considered definitive since it has been written in the midst of a rapidly changing situation, and its value will be found more in the guidelines it provides for future policy planning and program action than in the recounting of history. One of the recommendations emerging from the whole study has to do with the need for the Foundation to assure itself of better facilities to keep up to date on Buddhist developments through further acquisition of data and subsequent re-examinations of the situation in order to assure itself that programming continues to be relevant and productive in terms of the Foundation's interests and goals. For instance, the Vietnam study presented some last-minute difficulties because important new information became available after the working draft of the study had been completed. A good deal of recasting of the material was required to make that study more relevant to the purposes of the whole study.

In the case of the Burma and Cambodia studies, the closing of those countries to most foreign scholars and the cessation of Foundation activities there will make the continued accumulation of data difficult and prevent Buddhist and other programming for the foreseeable future. The lessons learned from the Foundation's experience in both countries, while substantially different in nature, nevertheless provide valuable guides for policy and programming in other areas as well as for the time it is hoped that Foundation may once again work with the Burmese and Cambodian people and governments in helping them achieve social goals relevant to modern conditions and needs.

The members of the task force are especially indebted to:

Dr. Williams and other senior staff members, for their constant support and interest and the understanding they have shown in the face of unforeseen length of time it has taken to complete the studies.

Professors Paul Mus, Lucian Pye, Richard L. Park, Michael Ames, and Arthur Niehoff, and Research Fellow Holmes H. Welch, who served as Consultants;

William J. Klausner, Program Specialist in Rural Programming and Buddhism, attached to the Thailand office of the Foundation, who spent a week in San Francisco consulting with the task force and gave valuable assistance in the organization of the field conference in Bangkok in November 1965 and in commenting on the Thailand, Laos, and WFB studies;

Leonard Overton, who advised on the study while assigned to the home office of the Foundation and later provided comments as Representative in Vietnam;

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Foreword to the Buddhist Study

and William Eilers, now Representative in Malaysia, whose academic study at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1964-65 as holder of the President's Study Award led inter alia to a very helpful paper on the Sangha and Politics which he presented at the Bangkok conference;

Graham J. Lucas, William D. Evans, John Bannigan, Ernest M. Howell, Richard G. Heggie, and Edgar N. Pike, Representatives, and James A. Kokoris, Acting Representative, who provided very useful essays on Buddhism in the countries to which they were assigned;

Cho Tong-jae, Jake Chang, and T.S. Foo, of the Foundation's Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong offices, respectively, who drafted the essays concerning those countries;

Douglas Murray, Representative in Singapore, who served as rapporteur at the Bangkok conference;

James L. Stewart, Robert S. Schwantes, Walter Mallory-Browne, Edith S. Coliver, Peter Glick, Davidson Ream, Frank Dines, and Mary Gray, as colleagues in the home office, for reading and commenting on various studies; and, last but not least,

Mortimer Fleishhacker, Jr., Trustee of the Foundation, for his attendance at the Bangkok conference and the helpful comments and suggestions he made there.

A word about terminology: We have used the words bhikkhu, monk, and priest interchangeably, although we recognize that each has a somewhat different connotation, and bonze in the same way in the studies of the countries of former Indochina. One reason for this is that "bhikkhu" (and its French equivalent, "bonze") has no exact translation in English, and "monk" and "priest" are equally valiantly and logically defended by different authorities. Similarly, sangha, the Order of Monks, the priesthood, and the monkhood, as well as the Buddhist Church and the hierarchy, have been used more or less synonymously on occasion to avoid tiresome repetition. "Religion" and "philosophy" are said to be inexact descriptions of Buddhism, but have been employed for want of better terms.

The footnotes of the seven studies show that about 100 books and pamphlets, 200 journals and articles, and 400 Foundation memoranda of various origins are cited. These figures do not include the numerous publications and memoranda consulted which did not provide material for citation.

The shortcomings of the study are acknowledged by all who have participated in the effort. Some of them are due simply to lack of information. Others are due to the fact that none of the authors claims any special scholarly training or competence in research in Buddhism; that the accumulation of data, from both scholarly and other outside sources, as well as from the

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Foreword to the Buddhist Study

Foundation s files presented many difficulties which need not be detailed here and that work assignments at times had to yield more immediate requirements within the Foundation which inevitably affected the pace and thoroughness of individual studies

In a broader sense the study has suffered from a time lag in having access to the latest theoretical thinking and research although to some extent this has been overcome by discussions with the Consultants Papers of conferences held two and three years ago on relevant subjects are just beginning to appear in print--too late to allow them to be carefully related to the study However the fact that several scholarly conferences have been held in the past two or three years and that more are planned for the future which discuss especially the interplay of religions and modernization is evidence that the question of Buddhism its role today and its need for greatly increased attention from the scholarly community is on many minds

The task force is most grateful for the opportunity given to it to explore a fascinating subject in some depth It is hoped that the results will prove well worth the time and effort invested although we doubt that the study will answer the need for a model of how Buddhism adapts to modernism which Dr Lucian Pye has noted Perhaps some of the information in the study can serve as raw material for the development of such a model by more scholarly hands than those of the task force

It is our belief that the study brings the Foundation s Buddhist programming into better focus The results should help to articulate and better understand why the Foundation has been so heavily involved in programming with Buddhist leaders institutions and organizations--in what ways to push the point a little further the Foundation has been serving the broad interests of the United States in undertaking what to many may seem to be an unusual and even unorthodox type of activity

We also believe the study shows that the Foundation has a unique role in Asia and one which is at the same time a complex one for many reasons Programming in Buddhism exemplifies this role better than work in any other field In addition it illustrates a fundamental operating philosophy of the Foundation that is to have a purpose clearly in mind and work toward that purpose through programming that is sensitive to conditions in the Asian countries and always prepared to meet new situations as they develop

Respectfully submitted

James J Dalton Richard G Heggie
Clare E Humphrey Richard W Koontz
Frank E Dines

Harry H Pierson Chairman of the Buddhist Study
Director Research and Publications
The Asia Foundation

San Francisco February 1966

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PREFACE

This General Summary of the Foundation's Buddhist study is cast in the form of a series of questions and answers which have been made as pointed as possible in order to bring out the most important points of the findings. In this way we have tried to synthesize three man-years of work by staff members of the Foundation during 1965 and early 1966 in compiling information and the results of experience with regard to Buddhism in Asia today. The studies now being completed and summarized here cover the countries of continental Southeast Asia and Ceylon as well as the World Fellowship of Buddhists. It is hoped that additional studies may be undertaken later on Buddhism and the Foundation's Buddhist programming in the countries of Northeast Asia, Malaysia and (East) Pakistan where interest in Buddhism appears to be growing.

In answering these twenty-nine questions we have relied on separate studies as well as on occasional additional information of a general nature which did not appear in any one study. Nevertheless we do not wish to give the impression that we think the study has by any means found all the answers. A number of questions have been answered only in part because reliable information cannot be obtained at this juncture in time. For instance, Question 8 on the challenges of the modernization process to Buddhism necessarily contains a good deal of speculation since the world is in the midst of tremendous changes the effects of which on ancient ways of life are still far from clear. Extensive research on trends in this field is urgently needed to supplement the rather scattered work done to date so that we may better understand developments in this crucial area of concern.

The background and situation of Vietnam being sui generis the generalizations of this summary do not always apply in the case of that country. However every effort has been made to represent the salient findings of the Vietnam study without noting so many exceptions as to make their repetition tiresome. A separate brief essay on Buddhism and politics in Vietnam is included under Question 11 and Question 23 has a section on the goals and results of Foundation programming there.

The reader may note a few instances of overlap of information in the answers to different questions. While we have tried to keep this to a limit it seemed better in some cases to give as complete answers as possible and thus avoid asking the reader to refer to other answers.

The director of the study takes sole responsibility for the contents of the General Summary. At the same time he is greatly indebted to his colleague and supervisor James L. Stewart for the thoughtful policy guidance willingly provided during the latter part of the study and the writing of this summary to his colleague and then supervisor James J. Dalton for his support and guidance during the early days of the study as well as for assuming responsibility for producing the Burma and World Fellowship of Buddhists studies to Richard G. Heggie for assuming responsibility for the Ceylon study on short notice to Clare E. Humphrey for writing the original versions of the Vietnam and Cambodia studies to Frank E. Dines for recasting the Vietnam study when

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Preface

vital new information came to light and for contributing the essay on Vietnam in the summary to Richard W Koontz for drafting the Buddhism in Burma section of the Burma study to Nancy Okada for compiling the data in the program summaries of each study and in Chart IV of the General Summary to Patricia Wells for developing the statistical and graphic summaries in Charts V and VI to Marilyn Grimstad Mary Bunce Barbara Ashley Laura Roderick Kathleen Kay Fifi Westerland and Irene Graves for their cheerful help in typing the drafts and final versions of the separate studies and this summary and particularly to Marilyn Grimstad for managing the complicated typing and assembling jobs involved to Barbara Ashley also for Chart VII and to Sanders Murry who put the whole study so efficiently through the multilith machine

To all of these colleagues go the warm thanks of

Harry H Pierson
Director of the Buddhist Study

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NOTE Questions 26-29 have been omitted since they deal with internal Foundation matters of staff procedure etc

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Question 1 What is Buddhism?

Aside from nationalism and perhaps certain animistic inheritances of the peoples of Asia Buddhism is the most pervasive force in non-communist Southeast Asia and Ceylon today It is a life-guiding force which has developed for and from an agricultural way of life It influences the basic ideas and actions of some 60 million people in the area of immediate concern and affects the lives of about 20 million more who are governed by the majority groups In most countries it is a strong but quiet ally of nationalism

Buddhism as a Religion

Although pure Buddhism recognizes no Supreme Being or supernatural forces it is generally classified as a religion because of its system of thought and its influence on its adherents It is essentially a way of life based upon and realized through perfected human wisdom In doctrine but not always in practice it is a humanistic cultural philosophy of the present and not a revealed or suprahuman religion concerned with the past or with the future

In Buddhism the realization of the basic meaning and purpose of life is the personal experience known as Enlightenment (Bodhi) which leads to Perfect Freedom (Nirvana) from all conditioning factors of life and in which the ultimate aim of life is fulfilled A fundamental tenet of Buddhism holds that these conditioning factors known collectively as karma have been acquired through good and evil deeds in past existences and affect one's status and well-being in his current existence It illustrates the Buddhist concept that every action has its effect The current existence can therefore be used to improve or to damage one's karma by one's own acts of will Consequently while a person cannot be responsible for the conditioning factors with which he is born he is solely responsible for his behavior in this existence and has a moral obligation to pass on the life to its next existence in an enhanced condition Thus in time the chain of rebirths and suffering will end in Nirvana

Buddhism as a whole is personified by the life of the Buddha (the Enlightened One) and the lives of those who follow him as Buddhists Gautama Buddha was born Prince Siddhattha in Kapilavastu capital of an ancient Indian Shakya warrior caste state on the slopes of the Himalayas in 7563 B C and died in 7483 B C After marriage and the birth of a son Prince Siddhattha became disillusioned with the vanities and sufferings of the world and left everything to seek the truth as a mendicant and hermit After his Enlightenment he taught the way to his disciples who later spread the Buddha's ideas far and wide

How to live by correctly understanding and experiencing ever-changing reality (both animate and inanimate experience) is the subject of the Buddha's teachings the cultivation of life or the actualization of the Buddha's teachings

*Some of the material in this section is based on memoranda written by Dr Richard A Gard while he was an employee of the Foundation

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Question 1
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is the task of his followers collectively Hence traditionally Buddhism has been compounded of three treasured elements (Triratna) the Buddha the Dhamma (the Law) and the Sangha (the Order of Monks)--the "Triple Gem

Buddhism teaches that since all existence is bound up with pain the ultimate aim of religious man is to escape into blissful non-existence (Perfect Freedom or Nirvana) To attain a higher stage in the approach to Nirvana one must live by the teachings of the Buddha One starts with the Four Noble Truths which were revealed to the Buddha during his Enlightenment existence is suffering the origin of suffering is desire suffering ceases when desire ceases and the way to attain cessation of suffering is to follow the Noble Eight-Fold Path

The Path prescribes (1) right view or belief (2) right resolve (to renounce sensual pleasures to harm no living creature) (3) right speech (4) right conduct or action (5) right occupation or livelihood (6) right effort (to keep the mind free from evil and devoted to good) (7) right mindedness and (8) right concentration (to achieve by meditation selfless contemplation) But the average man can live by ten simple rules Five are restraining refrain from taking life take nothing that is not given never lie avoid drugs and drink and refrain from unnatural lusts and five encourage good actions be pure patient and brave give alms and seek knowledge

The Spread of Buddhism

Buddhism died out in India centuries ago but some of its most venerated relics remain It was the Emperor Asoka (274-236 B C) who as a convert is said to have sent missionaries into Ceylon (his son Mahindra) and Southeast Asia Actually the southern branch of Buddhism seems to have spread gradually from South India by sea and land via present-day Burma to the Mons Burmans Shans Khmers Thais and Laos as well as to Indonesia While Mahayana (Greater Vehicle) Buddhism from northern India was predominant for some periods Theravada (Doctrine of the Elders) Buddhism prevailed in the long run This doctrine (sometimes called Hinayana--or Lesser Vehicle to the annoyance of its adherents) is considered by Theravadins to represent a purer form of the Buddha's teachings than the Mahayana which evolved into more esoteric forms in northern Asia

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Question 2 Why is Buddhism Important?

Briefly stated Buddhism is important in the countries of continental Southeast Asia and Ceylon because

--It is the professed religion of the majority of the people

--It is an intimate and substantial part of the national culture of all those countries

--It provides the ethical and moral rules for personal and interpersonal conduct

--It provides psychological security for the people

--It sanctifies the monarchy in the kingdoms and is often called upon to help legitimize political power in the other nations

--It is a rallying point for political action against oppressors foreign or domestic

--It provides an organizational structure for social action

(These ideas are elaborated in other parts of the study)

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Question 3 Who Are the Buddhists in Southeast Asia and Ceylon?

Chart I Religions in Mainland Southeast Asia and Ceylon (following) summarizes the estimated number and percentages of the various religions observed in Southeast Asia. Buddhism is at least the nominal belief of 84% of the people of which Theravada Buddhism is professed by almost 58 million or some 71%. Christians follow far behind with a total of about 3 200 000 or less than 3%. Thailand has the highest proportions of Buddhists (93.4%) and Laos the lowest (50%).

An important point to remember in defining Buddhists in Southeast Asia and Ceylon is that a Buddhist is anyone who says he is. Though most of the elite urbanized sector may appear to be only nominal Buddhists, both urban dwellers and villagers see Buddhism as their way of life and a symbol of the nation. They will never be anything but Buddhists; will observe the rituals which involve Buddhist monks in state functions at important dates in the Buddhist calendar and will cling to other Buddhist rituals at specified points during their life.

The urban Buddhist is the innovator--the one who takes the lead in applying modern discoveries and developments to the Buddhist way of life and seeks to keep in touch with reality in understanding the applicability of Buddhism to modern needs. Furthermore, he is a member of the growing middle class on which Buddhist strength will more and more be built for both national and international Buddhist cooperation and action. In Vietnam, while the Sangha appears largely responsible for the recent revitalization of Buddhism, the process of revolution and reform has rekindled the interest and participation of the laity.

In the villages, popular Buddhism is a richer mixture of Buddhist precepts and rituals, animism, Taoism, Confucianism, and pseudo-scientific systems such as astrology (in varying degrees and combinations in the different countries). Pure or not, this mixture is considered by its adherents to be Buddhism or in any event not incompatible with it.

Court Buddhism in the remaining Buddhist kingdoms is complemented by many Brahmanistic survivals which serve to reinforce the Buddhist element in the eyes of the people, attach the people to the king and the Order of Monks, and provide an atmosphere of psychological security within which the Buddhist has the fullest opportunities to perform merit-making acts.

The tolerance of the average Buddhist should not be taken as lack of interest or conviction. His religion emphasizes tolerance and he has been able to see, as in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Burma, that Christian missions, if not given a privileged position by the government (as happened in Vietnam under the French), have made little headway against the bland confidence of Buddhists that their historic way of life is best for them. In Vietnam, the issues which have divided the Catholics and the Buddhists are mainly social and economic, not religious. The Buddhist view is that Christianity will eventually fade in Asia as it is foreign to the traditions and psychology of the people.

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Question 3
Page 2

Many leaders also believe Buddhism has the key to international peace. Communism is looked upon by most modern Buddhists as being an alien destructive force which will not prevail against the built-in strengths of their religion.

From the side of a nation's rulers there is great dependence in the Buddhist countries on the charisma of Buddhism and the respect in which members of the Sangha are held. In the Theravada countries Buddhism is often cited as one of the basic elements of nationhood. It has a powerful appeal when national unity is threatened as one of the two or three most cherished symbols of the nation which must be protected.

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CHART I
RELIGIONS IN CONTINENTAL SOUTHEAST ASIA AND CEYLON

(Most figures are estimates as statistics are not available in many countries)

(Question 3)

	Theravada Buddhists		Mahayana Buddhists Taoists, Confucianists		Christians				Muslims		Animists		Hindus and Others	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Burma (21 650 000)	18 403 000	85	Less than 1%		150 000	1	350 000	2	430 000	2	800 000	4	1 097 000	5
Cambodia (5 100 000)	4 250 000	85	250 000	5	20 000				100 000	2	250 000	5	?	
Ceylon (10 300 000)	6 590 000	64			618 000	6	412 000	4	600 000	6	trace		Hindus 2 600 000	20
Laos (2 000 000)	1 000 000	50	few		few						1 000 000	50		
Thailand (28 000 000)	26,152 000	93	476 000	2	75,000 max	1	75 000 max	1	1 412 000	5	Hill tribes 100 000?		few	
South Vietnam (14 600 000)	292 000	2	10 126 000	70	1 500 000	10	?		?		Hill tribes 146 000?		Cao Dai 1 500 000 Hoa Hao 1 000 000	10 7
TOTALS (81 650 000)	56 687 000	69	10 852 000	13	2 363 000	3	837 000	1	2 542 000	3	2 296 000	3	Hindus, etc. 3,697 000 VN Sects 2,500,000	5 3

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Question 4 What Do the Buddhists Want?

In answering this question we are considering Buddhists generally in their role as conscious adherents of a faith which gives them a particular view of the world and of life

There are psychological problems in responding to the point raised as the second teaching of Buddhism is that suffering is caused by desire. Therefore a good Buddhist will not want anything (even Nirvana) lest his seeking lead to suffering for himself and for others. In Thailand for instance where the Foundation's letters of agreement are signed occasionally with Buddhist monks it is considered good form to refer to an expressed need of a Buddhist institution rather than to its request. Devout laymen ask only guidance from the monks and feel gratitude to the monks for providing opportunities to make merit. Within certain limitations however it is possible to speculate on what motivates the Buddhists in their attitudes towards the world.

Today it is only realistic to accept the fact that in all the Buddhist countries nationalism is a stronger force than Buddhism when needs are considered. This understood the psychological and social needs of the Sangha, urban laymen and villagers obviously differ in several respects.

The Sangha (Order of Monks)

For the world members of the Sangha sincerely hope that peace and brotherhood, tolerance and freedom can be achieved. For their country the advanced elements of the Sangha see the need for national security and for physical, social and spiritual progress if it is to maintain its political and cultural independence for Buddhism they see the need to adapt it to new conditions if it is to survive. With few exceptions monks in general hope the Sangha can keep and be kept out of politics. For the Order loss of status, diminution of the high level of respect in which it is held or vitiation of its relationship to the Crown (in Cambodia, Laos and Thailand) could lead to efforts to restore the status quo ante. This motive was a strong part of the Buddhist revolt in Vietnam. For the individual monks it is necessary to distinguish between temporary and permanent members of the Order. A temporary member may appear to use the prestige of a brief period in the priesthood to enhance his professional status when he returns to lay life. Hierarchies may create in the career monk an ambition to climb the ladder but any signs that such goals are sought would quickly be labeled un-Buddhist in the Theravada countries.

The Urban Buddhist Layman

The urban Buddhist layman is a new kind of Buddhist. He is in the forefront of the modernization process and thus must often make decisions on problems created by the changes the world seems to be demanding in his way of life. He too hopes for world peace and brotherhood in a climate of freedom and tolerance but always provided the security of his country is protected. For historical and

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cultural reasons he is likely to see national unity under a Buddhist king as the most desirable situation for the welfare of all. But being a modern man he also increasingly feels the need to join persons with mutual interests in forming societies and organizations to achieve non-religious functional and professional goals. Finding his ethical moorings adrift because of the loss of old cues he is likely to be a strong supporter of any program which will revitalize, strengthen and purify the Buddhist way of life and tenets. He will be the leading critic of the monks who are lax in their observance of the vinaya (rules) of discipline and an advocate of clerical reform. In short the educated urban Buddhist is someone to be reckoned with in any consideration of the present state of Buddhism in the area studied.

The Villager

The villager may well have no coherent wants as far as his Buddhism goes. What he calls Buddhism is a mixture of several systems of belief which he does not necessarily distinguish clearly in his own mind. He thinks in terms of the security of his family and himself and for them he wants to continue to enjoy the psychological satisfaction he gets from paying respect and making gifts to the monks and contributing money to the village wat (temple) to make merit. He will want his period in the monkhood to assure the status of his family and improve his karma. In some areas he will expect the abbot of the wat as the most learned man in the village to be his guide during the time of change which he sees impinging on him as roads are opened, radio communications are improved and education outside the wat becomes more widespread.

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In sum and generally speaking the Buddhist like everyone else will continue to seek security for himself, his family and the area within his view of the outside world. Contrary to some Western cultures the concept of status relationships will loom large in his security pattern. Any events which radically upset these time-honored customs and habits may well be looked upon as dangers to the Buddhist way of life and defended accordingly.

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Question 5 What Are the Buddhists Assets and Liabilities?

It is assumed that this question refers essentially to the assets and liabilities of the Buddhist Sangha (Order of Monks) in respect to their role in the modern world which in turn is related to Foundation programming. Perhaps a brief annotated list will suffice to answer the question.

Assets

- 1 A respected position The Sangha occupies an honored and respected position which since ancient times has involved a closely interwoven relationship with the monarchy at the top and with the people at the bottom. It still has lines of influence to the crown and/or government in most of the countries studied. The ordinary monk receives indications of respect from Buddhist lay citizens no matter what their station (except in Vietnam where there appears to be no general custom regarding this subject but where the rural monk probably is accorded more deference than his urban confrere).
- 2 An object of merit-making The way to Nirvana can be shortened a bit each time merit is made and one important way to make merit is to give to the monks or the temples. This concept is important for the psychological security it provides to the believer and the stability it thus helps lend to life.
- 3 A social force with important potential Given the influence of the monks among the people social development can be accelerated when it is approved and supported by the monks as compatible with the Buddha's teachings. Furthermore the monks can serve as examples in certain social service and community development activities. The preaching monk can be an important force for change if he is considered wise and well-informed and understands the process of change which is taking place.
- 4 A moderating influence in politics Some politicians seek the support of the Sangha others are subject to their influence in the role of personal advisers still others recognize the importance of keeping the monks out of partisan politics and thus gain respect among the people. Monks exemplify the Buddha's basic teaching about moderation and constantly remind the people of this truth as expounded by the Buddha. However if they allow themselves to be drawn into political action they can become a liability. For instance should the Buddhists organize to oppose the present government in Saigon the Foundation might have to suspend its programming with them.
- 5 A channel for upward social mobility In the Theravade countries where a man resigns from the Order at will with no stigma attached a channel of upward social mobility outside the regular social system is provided particularly for the intelligent poor person who might otherwise be lost in the social system. For instance in Cambodia and Thailand a poor man can obtain a complete education in Buddhist

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monk-run schools through the university level at practically no expense. When he finishes he can resign and obtain a good position worthy of his talents. This is also true in Laos except that his education would stop at the high school level unless he went to Thailand or Cambodia for higher education. Had he not climbed this educational ladder he might never have obtained better than a fourth-grade education.

- 6 A tradition as educators Education in the Buddhist countries has traditionally taken place in the Buddhist temples with the monks as teachers. This tradition has been considerably vitiated for the general public with the introduction of government-run educational systems but in several countries the monks have been called upon to teach in primary schools because of a lack of qualified lay teachers. Furthermore the Sangha has not been slow in improving its educational system for monks and Buddhist universities have been established in all the countries studied except Laos where a plan for one is now being implemented and Burma. The growing emphasis on scientific and technical training in some countries has left the fields of the humanities pretty much to the educational institutions of the Sangha. The progressive members of the Sangha in Cambodia, Ceylon, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam are concerned that the education of monks and Buddhism itself be adapted to modern needs.

Liabilities

- 1 Attrition of leadership It is questionable whether the most intelligent and dynamic persons stay in the monkhood for the simple reason that if they are strongly motivated toward a professional career as more and more are they will probably not find it in the Sangha. In those countries such as Vietnam and Ceylon where it is customary to remain in the monkhood for life dynamic persons are likely to seek outlets for their energies in some way within the Sangha and the Sangha actually appears to be more conscious of social action as an outlet for energies in those countries. (In Burma the voluntary principle is said to exist but resort to it by adults is frowned upon at the same time the dynamic monk may try political rather than social action.)
- 2 Traditionalism The Sangha tends to attract and hold the more insecure, introspective and traditional personalities and thus always has within it a large number of monks who are a brake on progressive trends.
- 3 Organizational weaknesses In Ceylon, Burma, and Vietnam there is no unified hierarchy which makes the social organization of the Sangha more diffuse and complex and creates difficulties for foundation programming. Also in countries where there are hierarchies

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there are sects which lend themselves to divisive tendencies which the Foundation must be careful not to aggravate

Result of the Balance Sheet

If the major assets and liabilities have been substantially identified it appears that the assets of the Buddhists considerably outweigh the liabilities and that numerous advantages for Foundation programming with them exist. In programming with the Sangha the Foundation is aware that while it is not always dealing with the most intelligent sector it is dealing with the most generally respected sector.

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Question 6 How Are the Buddhists Organized?

The most fundamental division among Buddhists is that which exists between monks and laymen. The original Buddhist movement was a movement of monks, who lived either in communities or as hermits. This brotherhood of monks and hermits is called the Sangha. In the true sense of the word members of the Sangha or Order of Monks, are the only true Buddhists. They are the Buddhist élite. They have always formed a small minority of the Buddhist community and now are estimated to comprise not more than 1% of the Buddhist population of continental Southeast Asia and Ceylon. Obviously, their influence is far out of proportion to their number.

The Sangha

The contemporary scholar in Buddhism, Edward Conze notes in his book, Buddhism that the continuity of the monastic organization has been the only constant factor in Buddhist history. Life in the monasteries is regulated by the rules known as the Vinaya, of which the Theravadins count 227. Extraordinary importance is attached to the observance of these rules which come down from ancient times and never seem to be changed (who has the authority to change them?), although they may be reinterpreted to suit changing conditions. Sectarian divisions in Southeast Asian Buddhism have been formed on the basis of what monks consider to be the correct observance of the Vinaya.

Monks in the Theravada countries are not required to take a vow of life long adherence to monkhood. Nor are they required to take any vow of obedience to superiors. All are equal, with due allowance for seniority and the degree of spiritual advancement. The head monk (or abbot) of a monastery is first among equals.

Thus, technically speaking Buddhist tradition does not provide for a hierarchy of any kind yet hierarchies of one sort or another are found in all Theravada Buddhist countries. They grew up originally as part of the growth of nation states and within the dyarchy in which the head of the Sangha shared spiritual power with the monarch and exercised temporal power over the monks. The positions of the King as Protector of the Sangha and of the Sangharaja as the disciplinary and judicial officer controlling the Sangha through a hierarchy became an accepted part of Buddhist organization.

The organization of the Sangha is an important subject of study for the Foundation because Buddhist programming depends for its success on a thorough understanding of the structure of the Order in each country. Such understanding is fundamental to the establishment of appropriate contacts and relationships looking to the acceptance of programming in the Buddhist field. However as in so many other aspects of Buddhism it is difficult to generalize about this subject as there are major and minor differences which cause each country to have certain unique features in its Sangha organization. The only exceptions are Thailand and Laos whose Orders are set up on more or less parallel lines. Cambodia might be included here but for one important difference. Ceylon and Burma reflect colonial rule which divided the Sangha and neglected it. Vietnam is a case apart, also.

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Briefly hierarchies exist in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. These hierarchies extend from the head of the Sangha down through provincial, district and commune heads to the village temples. In Thailand and Laos, the Sangharaja is named by the king. In Cambodia, the king (temporarily replaced by the Chief of State) is head of the Sangha. However, these hierarchies are not entirely monolithic as in each country the Sangha is divided into two sects: the majority Mahanikaya (Cambodian=Mohanikai) and the more prestigious minority Dhammayut (Cambodian=Dhommayut). The latter was founded in Thailand by King Mongkut and spread to Laos and Cambodia by the Thais. Within each hierarchy, each sect has its own hierarchical organization. In Thailand and Laos, a Council of Elders made up of senior members of both sects acts as a kind of board of managers for the Sangha, while in Cambodia each sect has its own assembly.

In Burma, a similar hierarchy existed for hundreds of years but it was quickly and inadvertently destroyed by the British who carried their governing principle of separation of church and state into a country in which the two were inseparable in the eyes of the people. This attitude of the British was an important factor in the subsequent decline of the Sangha as it lost its essential control factor. With the coming of independence, efforts have been made to unite the Sangha again but political considerations both within the monkhood and in the civil authorities have prevented the reestablishment of a hierarchy. The nearest approach to systematic organization is found in the three nikayas or sects, which differ only in minor matters of discipline and ritual.

Ceylon also has a divided Sangha, and three principal sects. Efforts to form a united hierarchy have been unsuccessful and the causes are somewhat similar to those in Burma, even predating the Burmese experience. Subjects also exist as a reflection of the paradoxical extension of the caste system into the Sangha.

In Vietnam, there has apparently not been a hierarchy in the last six hundred years. The majority Mahayana monks have taken the lead in forming a Unified Buddhist Church (or Congregation) (UBC) with equal Theravada participation at high levels (even though Theravadins are less than 10% of the total Buddhist population) to unite the interests of the Buddhists for solidarity purposes and to serve as a means of generating social action. The UBC is made up of monks and laymen but the monks occupy all important posts. The General Buddhist Association is a rump group of monks and laymen in Southern Vietnam which may have political objectives. Leadership of these groups, which the government has considered associations only and not churches, is chosen by the organization itself.

In Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Burma, the government's relations with the Sangha are handled through a cabinet or sub-cabinet office of religious affairs. No such arrangement exists in Ceylon or Vietnam, although the Ceylonese Department of Cultural Affairs has a Buddhist Advisory Council.

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The degree of legal control exercised over the Sangha by government varies from country to country. At one extreme is Vietnam, which has no regulations regarding Buddhism as such. At the other extreme is Laos where every letter between Buddhist officials must be cleared through the Department of Religious Affairs. The governments' policies in regard to control differ, depending on how political needs are viewed. In Thailand, for instance the government (police) can step in to see that the rules of discipline are enforced in extreme cases. Special protocol attends the defrocking of monks for civil crimes.

Another complicating feature about the Sangha has to do with the temporary and permanent monks. Temporary monks usually spend only a brief time (a few days to a few weeks) in the Order while permanent monks are those who stay in the Order for a number of years or for life. Differing concepts exist about the so-called voluntary principle, which has ancient historical validation. Under this principle a person can resign from the Order at any time and return to lay life. In Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia such a person gains merit and prestige by having been in the Order. In Ceylon and Burma on the contrary the voluntary principle is not generally observed and a person leaving the Order tends to lose prestige. This inflexibility probably helps to explain why some monks get into politics; they cannot leave the Order without losing status so they exercise their ambitions within the Sangha. In Cambodia, Laos and Thailand, the hierarchical and sect organization of the Sangha is further complicated by the two categories of monks but even the permanent monks can leave the Order at any time (as did Prince Monkut of Thailand when he became King) without loss of prestige.

Lay organizations

While the Sangha achieved relatively early a degree of organization which helped preserve it as an institution, lay organizations are a fairly recent phenomenon. Their appearance seems to parallel the rise of the middle class (see Question 8). In Laos, for instance, no lay Buddhist association has ever been formed as there is feeling that such an organization is not needed between Sangha and people, government and people, or Sangha and government. The general purpose of lay organizations, where they exist, is to supplement the work of the monks in spreading the Dhamma. At times, as in Burma, they have become involved in political action to protect Buddhist interest or advance Buddhist causes.

Ceylon and Thailand have both had active lay organizations led by prominent government officials. Judges seem to be especially adapted to leading such groups. The Buddha Sasana Council (Burma) is a government-created organization which is headed entirely by laymen. In Cambodia, Laos and Thailand, it is not thought proper, under the rules of the Vinaya, for monks to join lay organizations. Lay organizations are also very useful to governments for action in the international field in regard to Buddhism which does not require or is not appropriate for formal government participation, such as the World Fellowship of Buddhists or they may be used to express government's views on international problems - e.g. the Tibetan problem and the Vietnam Buddhists' political action.

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Mixed organizations

As mentioned above the Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam is made up of both monks and laymen, although monks have taken the major leadership roles. It appears that such organizations can exist, however, only where there is a relatively numerous middle class.

International organizations

The World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB), an international organization which by its constitution is supposed to have lay and Sangha participation actually is run by laymen. It is the only organization of its kind at present. Theravada Buddhists have dominated it since its founding in 1950. So far it has not gone much beyond holding periodical meetings at which pious and sometimes over ambitious resolutions are passed with little action taken afterward. This role has been considered only proper, however for a Fellowship by some of its members. Steps are now under way, with Thai leadership, to strengthen the WFB.

Recently, however dissatisfaction with the inactivity of the WFB fed by nationalistic feelings in Ceylon and Vietnam, has led to proposals for the creation of an international Sangha organization to be known as the United World Buddhist Association (proposed by Ceylonese monks) and of a mixed Sangha lay organization known as the World Buddhist Order (proposed by Vietnamese monks). The Republic of China Government has also been instrumental in founding an international Chinese Sangha association which will have members in Southeast Asia and which is seen as a means of tying overseas Chinese closer to that government.

Summary

The total picture of Sangha and lay organization is a rather confused one because of differences which have developed in each country over the centuries. Where hierarchies exist the tendency is for them to be purified and made relevant to the modern needs of the state and the people where they do not exist the more traditionalist groups promote their reestablishment. Governments view them with mixed feelings but make every effort to control the Sangha and keep it from becoming a political liability, usually by trying to keep it out of politics. Lay organizations are growing in strength as the middle class develops and may be expected to play a larger role in the future as organizations become more and more specialized. Strong international organizations of laymen are a possibility but in view of the feeling in some countries that organizational activity is inappropriate for monks similar organizations for the Sangha only are not likely to find universal appeal in Southeast Asia.

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An interesting facet of this question is the conscious attempt of Ceylonese and Vietnamese monks to emulate Roman Catholic organizational patterns patterns which they believe have worked for the benefit of the Catholic Church This view is considered to be somewhat naive in the light of the manner in which Buddhism has been adapted to local needs, as well as of the real difficulty which surely would ensue should an effort be made to name a Buddhist Pope If a Christian parallel is to be drawn, the present and future situation is more likely to resemble Protestantism

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Question 7 What is the Influence of the Sangha (Order of Monks)?

While the influence of the Sangha has been touched upon in answers to several other questions it is useful to bring the findings on this subject together here. The short topical form of reply seems best suited to highlight the eleven roles of influence which have emerged from the study. This is followed by some speculation on the question of whether the Sangha is losing its roles of influence.

1 The Sangha as the way to Nirvana

- The only true Buddhist is the monk
- Although Nirvana may be thousands of existences away one cannot achieve it without passing through the stage of monkhood
- The monk is highly respected (and thus is listened to) because he is closer to Nirvana than the layman. He is one component of the Triple Gem in which all good Buddhists take refuge.

2 The Sangha as the propagator of Buddhism

- As a student of the Dhamma, the teachings of the Buddha, the monk is the one who passes on knowledge of the Buddhist way to salvation (the elimination of suffering). He thus has influence as the interpreter of the Dhamma, which is the anchor of society.

3 The Sangha as a vehicle for change

- The monk must keep up with the times or lose the respect of the people.
- The monk must interpret the meaning of change to the people in terms they will understand which will make Buddhism relevant to modern needs.
- In the villages, the monk must often take a leadership role in community development and other activities designed to soften the blow of change, else change might come violently. The monk is thus a balance wheel in times of storm.

4 The Sangha as educator

- From time immemorial until relatively recently the Sangha was in control of education and thus shared with parents the responsibility for formation of the character of the young. In the village, the abbot of the wat is still the wisest man. The wat is the center of education, even government-sponsored education when school is not available.

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--The Sangha feels an obligation to modernize its educational system in some countries and thus preserve its influence

5 The Sangha as legitimizer of crown and government

--The ancient and influential role of the Sangha as sanctifier of the crown has carried over into modern times and the people are uneasy if the head of the country is not in a comfortable relationship with the Sangha Good relationship thus gives them psychological security

--Constitutional-type government feels need for legitimization by Sangha which thus obtains discreet influence over government assuring respectful treatment

6 The Sangha as moral guide

--As counselor to the people on observance of the precepts (code of conduct) Sangha can exercise moral and ethical influence

--As arbiter of disputes in the village Sangha administers ethics of interpersonal relationships

--As adviser to young Buddhist movements Sangha has strong moral influence

--As patron of Sunday schools in wat grounds Sangha exercises moral influence

7 The Sangha as a molder of public opinion

--U Nu Good Buddhists make good democrats and to strengthen and perpetuate democracy in a country the surest way to proceed is to strengthen the influence of Buddhism on the individual as well as the state

--Sihanouk sees the Sangha as a very influential segment of society which must be catered to He quite often makes political speeches at wats with monks present

--The Sangha has influence in helping to create a healthy climate for political affairs and in pacifying and restraining the administration of political authority especially in the village (see Question 11)

8 The Sangha as channel between people and government

--Depending on the nature of the political system and the relationships between Sangha and governing authority the Sangha can provide an effective channel of communication of people's views and needs to the government

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9 The Sangha as leader and conservator of village life and culture

--Abbot of village wat hears people's troubles often performs function of small banker has village library provides shelter to wayfarers or homeless gives advice on public health leads community development effort

10 The Sangha as oracle

--Many people entrust important decisions to monks knowledge of astrology

11 The Sangha as a vehicle for social mobility

--In some countries the religious hierarchy provides major opportunities for individuals to rise in society

Is the Sangha losing its role of influence?

In certain tangible and intangible ways the Sangha stands to lose its role of influence in Buddhist societies of Southeast Asia and Ceylon. Some of its losses are inevitable and permanent other losses may be countered by measures taken within the Sangha itself.

Education has been officially taken away from the Sangha in most countries and made a subject for state control and administration. The change-over is slow however because of lack of teachers schools etc and the Sangha is still relied on for the largest part of village education (except in Vietnam). At the same time the monks are usually allowed to keep their schools as private institutions but in this case they are gradually coming to realize that they must raise standards. As free education becomes more available wat influence in that field will probably diminish unless the quality of education given by the monks is vastly improved to compete with government schools.

Banking functions of wat abbots (safekeeping and moneylending) which actually contravene the Rules of Discipline against the handling of money are highly appreciated (and rationalized) in the villages of Southeast Asia. Government savings banks may take away some of these functions by offering interest but low- or no-interest loans should remain a function of the wat for a long time.

Community development often led by monks who are able to get the participation of villages as a merit-making endeavor are being secularized by some governments. In Laos and Thailand however community development is more successful if it is undertaken with the approval and active assistance of the abbot. Social service activities by monks are on the increase by and large.

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In propagation of the Dhamma the position and influence of the monk would appear to be unassailable. However with the rise of the middle class and the assumption of some propagation functions by Buddhist organizations there may be some slight diminishing of the influence of the Sangha unless it adapts itself to the situation and cooperates closely with such organizations.

The advent of constitutional government and particularly republican systems has threatened the Sangha's role as legitimizer of power and in some cases destroyed the relationship of influence the Sangha has had in the past with the absolute monarch. Even in a constitutional monarchy it has been necessary to find new ways of legitimizing the monarch's reign by reviving or inventing ceremonies involving the Sangha. This is a grave problem long-range and difficult of solution. Its effect on the role of influence of the Sangha depends on the strength and authenticity of measures taken to counteract it.

The development of science teaching at all levels may throw doubt on the validity of the Sangha's role as oracle in making astrological forecasts but this kind of service and influence is so deeply ingrained in the mores of the people that it may be resorted to even by people who have good scientific training.

As democratic systems bring more effective communication between government and people the influence of the Sangha with government as a channel with the people may well disappear. This relationship is of interest to the government so the initiative lies in its hands.

To sum up there is little doubt that in the over-all picture the various kinds of influence exercised by the Sangha on government and people are under negative pressures of varying degrees of intensity. How these pressures are to be met depends partly on the extent of proliferation of government services and partly on the efforts of the Sangha itself to keep itself relevant to the most important needs of government and people. Furthermore if the monks exhibit poor behavior as living examples of the Buddha's teachings they will lose the respect of the people.

In view of the moral and ethical influence of the Sangha and the latter's role in helping bring about non-violent change it would seem to be a matter of concern of any organization interested in peaceful change and progress in Asia to support and strengthen those roles of the monk which are most likely to contribute to that goal and to help the Sangha find new ways for Buddhism to be meaningful to the people.

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Question 8 How is Buddhism Meeting the Forces of Change?

All the country studies show that there are leadership elements among the Buddhists in Southeast Asia and Ceylon who are keenly aware that their traditional way of life is increasingly subject to the influx of non-Buddhist and principally Western influences. Many of them realize that a Buddhist withdrawal from society would not alter these influences and that Buddhism must therefore correctly understand them if it is to preserve itself as well as help guide a changing society toward the solution of life's problems. Their general attitude is that Buddhism can be made relevant to changing conditions on a foundation of unchanging principles.

What are these challenges to the Buddhist way of life? Some of the earliest arrived in Asia with the Western explorers and colonizers. At that time the pace was slow. New ideas and methods could be carefully selected. During the Nineteenth Century the pace picked up and today the bombardment of challenges is constant and intense. As far as Buddhism is concerned, the forces of change have pressed most heavily on (1) the relationship of Buddhism to the state (2) the relationship of the Sangha to the people (3) the relevance of Buddhist doctrine itself to the new needs.

1 The relationship of Buddhism to the state In the realm of the basic psychological security which Buddhism with its Brahmanistic and other accretions has provided the most obvious breakdown and rearrangement of forces is occurring in the ancient symbiotic relationships between the crown and the Sangha. Those relationships provided a balanced and harmonious dyarchy of crown and Sangha under which the kings supported the Sangha and protected the people, the Sangha sanctified the kings and guided and educated the people and the people enjoyed the fruits of this arrangement by receiving the protection of the kings and gaining merit for themselves through giving to the Sangha and in the case of men joining the Order.

Chart II (Symbiotic Relationships in Transition) represents a crude attempt to diagram a theory of what has been happening to these symbiotic relationships since the colonial era began. Divine royal authority first found colonial governments (except in Thailand) and later independent constitutional governments interposing themselves between king and Sangha and king and people. The colonizers were obviously more powerful than the kings. The Sangha could not sanctify the foreign lords. In Ceylon and Burma hierarchies were reduced to a shambles from which they never recovered. In Laos and Cambodia hierarchies were subjected to foreign supervision. In Vietnam foreign missionaries were introduced and given special privileges and the sense of identity enjoyed by the Sangha was badly damaged.

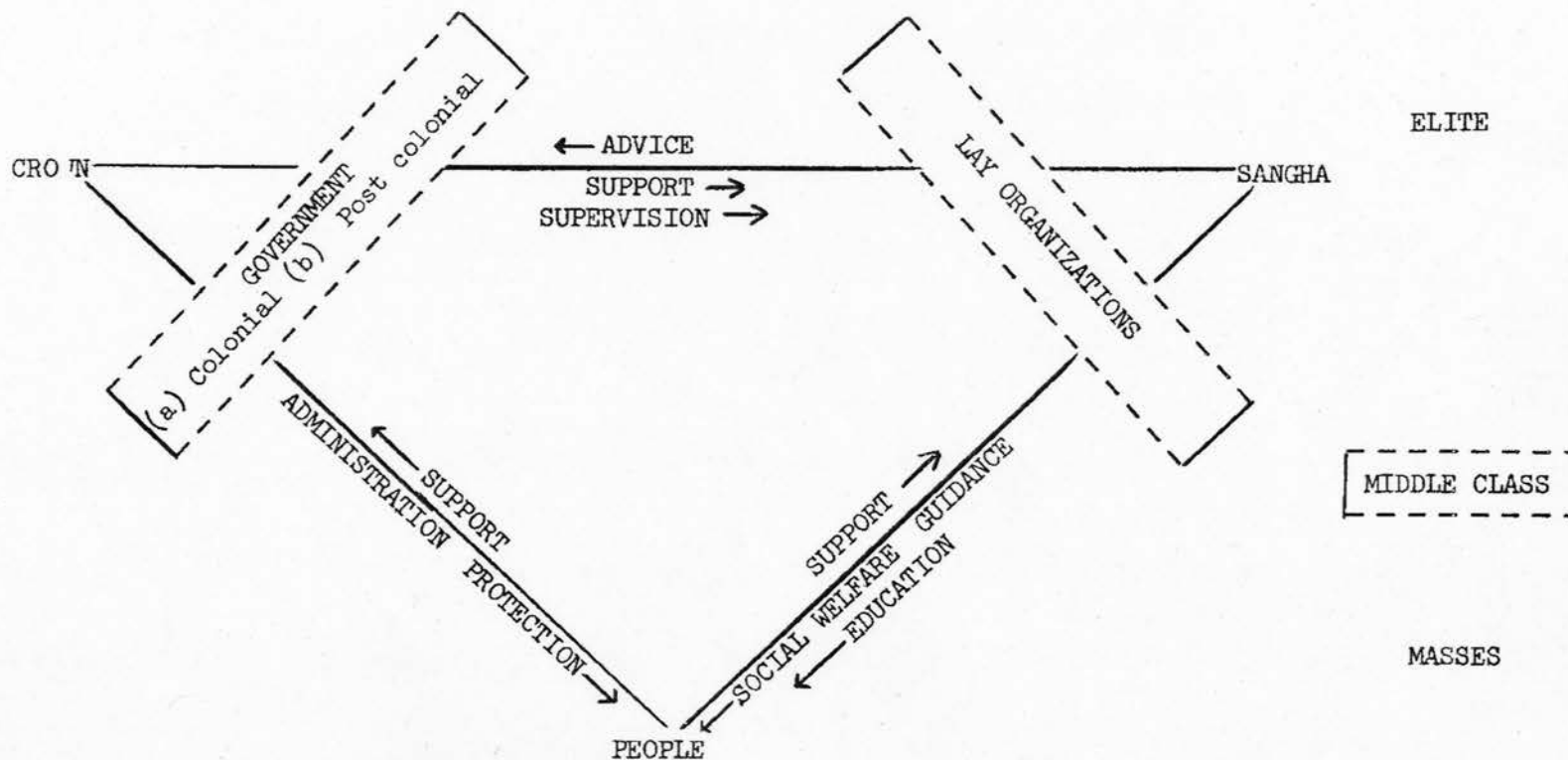
The attainment of independence created additional problems. Where the king was retained the form of the symbiosis was preserved although the king was no longer divine and the power of running the country was in the hands of a bureaucratic elite representing an incipient middle class. In ideal situations the holders of this power were elected by the people. The Sangha could not sanctify the real ruling power.

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CHART II

SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN TRANSITION



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The situation is still unstable in Ceylon and Burma and to some extent in Laos. Government after government in the first-named countries has sought to reach a modus vivendi with the Sangha. has sought to win the Sangha's favor which would appear as a kind of sanctification but without noticeable progress. Parties have vied for the smile of the Sangha and its open and behind-the-scenes support thus dragging some elements of the Sangha into politics and tarnishing the Sangha in the eyes of the people. The sense of security derived by the people from a comfortable relationship between crown and Sangha was reduced or jeopardized. (The stubborn insistence of villagers in Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos on continuing to regard their King as a semi-divine person may represent a subconscious effort to retain the dyarchy and thus their sense of security.)

Governments in constitutional monarchies have found it difficult to receive sanctification from the Sangha as there are probably no rules for this situation. The result has been a spate of revivals of traditional ceremonies and even the development of new ceremonies which emphasize the dyarchy of king and Sangha and from which the government derives merit which causes it to look good in the eyes of the people. Such an event occurred recently in Thailand when a new ceremony for the investiture of the Sangharaja (Supreme Patriarch) was devised to show special honor to the new head of the Sangha. In Ceylon also this general trend has been noted.

The case of Vietnam is of course somewhat different. There the achievement of independence did nothing to remove the feeling of oppression suffered by the Sangha as the President was a Roman Catholic and paid little attention to the psychological needs of the Buddhists. The result is described under Question 11 below.

In summary the situation today is one of flux. Countries without their own kings such as Ceylon and Burma have not been able to find a satisfactory relationship between government and the Sangha. In Thailand and Laos the interposition of constitutional governments has cast a shadow over the dyarchy without producing a basically acceptable formula for good government-Sangha relationships although Thailand shows some promise of success. Cambodia by retaining the God-King (Sihanouk in reality) also as Chief of State and head of the Sangha has solved the problem quite well. The weakness of the arrangement is that that one person indulges in political maneuverings with the Sangha as Chief of State which confuse both the Sangha and the people about his role as God-King and head of the Sangha. Vietnam has been mentioned above.

These various somewhat parallel situations obviously make programming by a foreign philanthropic organization difficult at times as they are charged with emotion. For the sense of security of the people it would appear that anything done to strengthen the relationship between crown and Sangha or ameliorate relations between government and Sangha without getting into the political realm would contribute to the stability of the country. Close

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attention to developments in this general area of Buddhist relationships would probably be repaid in deeper understanding of the forces which motivate Buddhist kings governments and people today

2 The relationship of the Sangha to the people This part of the question is probably best considered in its two aspects of (a) urban relationships and (b) village relationships

Actually relatively little seems to be known about the place of the Sangha in the life of the urban dweller in Southeast Asia and Ceylon Most studies touching on Buddhism have involved research into village life One thing does seem clear however and that is the effect on Sangha-city dweller relationships of the growing urban middle class This theory is also diagrammed on Chart II It is based on the thought that middle classes possess the urge and genius of organization and that the Buddhist urban middle class which is made up for the most part of bureaucrats professional people businessmen and students is increasingly evolving Buddhist organizations for the purpose of seeking the reality of pristine Buddhism and applying Buddhist principles to the problems of urban life This middle class is more dynamic than the Sangha and can organize itself on various functional lines which would not appeal to nor be needed by the village masses Thus while on the one hand the middle class organizations come between the Sangha and the people on the other hand they would appear to have the possibility of making a major contribution to the purification and preservation of Buddhism and its adaptation to modern needs Examples of this are the active Young Buddhists Associations in Thailand and the many functional Buddhist organizations in Ceylon It should be added that the new lay Buddhist organizations are also providing an outlet for the constructive energies of women

Much more research has been done on village Buddhism The work of a Foundation employee William J Klausner on popular Buddhism has received international recognition In most villages of Southeast Asia and Ceylon Buddhism is highly treasured but to define it one would have to refer also to the animistic Brahmanistic pseudo-scientific Taoist and Confucianist not to mention--in Vietnam--Christian accretions which woven together form the systems of beliefs of the masses of humble villagers The chances are that as the Sangha is better and better educated these accretions will tend to fall away in the face of the more pristine Buddhism which will be preached as well as a result of better secular education which is pushing out rapidly to the hinterlands

New economic and social problems may well serve to reinforce the role of the village monk as counselor and guide of his fellow-citizens This also will require better education Where the relationships of the Sangha may be weakened is in regard to the service functions of the abbot of the wat who has come to be (in some countries) also a banker librarian inn-keeper public health practitioner and community development adviser and leader but whose functions may gradually be taken over by government workers

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with modern methods and trained hands. Therefore while the practical relationship between monk and villager may be attenuated the spiritual relationship may well grow and fully support a continuing intimate relationship between Sangha and villager.

3 The relevance of Buddhist doctrine itself to the new needs

The preservation of the doctrine and its adaptation to modern needs obviously is primarily the responsibility of the Sangha. The Sangha educates itself and propagates the Dhamma. The monk must interpret the meaning of change to the people in intelligible terms and show how the Buddhist principles are relevant to new situations. If the monk should not keep up with the times he would fail in his duty, lose the respect of the people and contribute to the disappearance of Buddhism as a social force and thus to the possible instability of his country. There is little difficulty in finding the answer to this problem: it is to provide more and better education to the monks and motivate the monks to undertake appropriate leadership roles in community service.

In every country of our study there is a concern among the Sangha for the education of monks through the university level and even at the graduate level in some. Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam already have at least one Buddhist university each for the training of monks not only in advanced Buddhist studies but also in secular subjects which will prepare the monk for his advisory role with the people during what will clearly be a long and difficult period of trial. Furthermore in Ceylon, Thailand, and Vietnam there is a leadership group in the Buddhist universities which understands the importance of motivating the younger monks (and nuns in Vietnam) for community service in the villages so that they may work with the people on problems of community development and social readjustment. The spread of the Buddhist secondary school movement in Ceylon and Thailand and to a lesser extent in Laos and Cambodia finds part of its motivation in this same factor.

Finally there is the motivation of missionary work among minority tribal groups which has helped stimulate the rise of higher education in Thailand and to some extent in Laos and Cambodia. Nationalism and the feeling of monk leadership for the importance of national unity also serve to motivate the education of monks.

Summary In summation we have discussed three principal areas of concern where Buddhism is meeting the forces of change and trying to find ways to deal with them. The most difficult is at the elite level and here many serious problems remain which may in the long run, if not solved, undermine the psychological security of the people. This responsibility appears to lie in the hands of government. At the middle class level (broadly construed) urban Buddhism may find its greatest strength in the functional organization and Buddhism will probably be purified and propagated to the benefit of both urban and village dweller by a better educated clergy. The relevance of

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Buddhist doctrine to the changes which are taking place is in the hands of the Sangha and the signs are good that by and large the Sangha leadership is awake to the need and is doing something to meet it

In the long run Buddhism should be stronger provided the intellectual attainments and leadership qualities of the Sangha keep pace with new developments

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Question 9 Is Buddhism Something that Really Transcends National Borders?

Buddhists feel an affinity and respect for all sentient beings but especially for persons who they consider observe Buddhist principles and precepts whether they are Buddhists or not. At the same time Buddhism as a salient feature of local cultures in Southeast Asia and Ceylon is more and more becoming an adjunct of nationalism.

The manner in which Buddhism spread through Asia and adapted to local cultures helped preserve it for the present day but it also brought about enough differences to make it an easy companion of nationalism with the rise of modern nation-states. When excessive nationalism leads to antagonism between Buddhist countries Buddhists appear to be more nationalist than they are Buddhist (a not uncommon phenomenon with other religions also). This only tends to confirm the often heard opinion that nationalism is the strongest force in Asia today.

In doctrine Buddhists in different countries have much in common in practice they have some major sectarian differences. But they all look back over 2 500 years to the Buddha and no thinking Buddhist seems to doubt the ability of the Buddha's way to meet the psychological needs of the modern world if given a chance.

Buddhists feel a natural sympathy for and understanding of Buddhists of other countries although that sympathy and understanding is diminished to some extent when the Theravada countries consider the Mahayana countries (and perhaps vice versa). In view of their tendency to view politics as separate from Buddhism Buddhists may not intervene actively in international political quarrels unless the country itself is threatened. (For instance in Thailand and Cambodia whose Buddhism has not prevented wars between Thais and Khmers over the centuries Buddhist leaders have been silent in the face of current political antagonism.) However Buddhists are beginning to bring Buddhist principles to bear on international problems. It is conceivable that some day a concerted effort will be made to put these principles into action not by passing resolutions in an organization but by the personal participation in conciliation of a representative of modern Buddhist thought.

In many affirmative ways therefore Buddhism does transcend national borders. Its positive values might be more effective internationally were they given a chance to do so in Asia. Buddhism has the potentiality of mitigating excessive nationalism by increasingly winning the respect and sincere adherence of Asian leaders who now are likely to try to use it to reinforce their own positions. The long-range interests of the United States would seem to require that it do what it discreetly can to make Buddhism a stronger ethical guide for the leaders and peoples of Asia.

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Question 10 Does Buddhism Produce or Promote a Community Among Nations?

The World Fellowship of Buddhists and the proposed new international organizations of Buddhists are a response to two general trends first an uneasy sense that Buddhism is being threatened by outside events and that Buddhists should unite to protect the faith and second and perhaps more important a growing feeling that modern conditions require joint action to spread knowledge and understanding of Buddhism and to develop Buddhist social action and mutual support among the Buddhist laity and clergy These organizations hold the germ of a Buddhist internationalism They are significant in that they come from within Buddhism in Asia even though they seek to emulate in some cases--and rather naively--such historical international structures as the Roman Catholic Church Perhaps it is significant that these latter initiatives come from Buddhist countries with substantial Catholic minorities (Vietnam and Ceylon) Other Buddhists (in Thailand Laos and Cambodia and Burma under more normal conditions) seem content to limit international activity to fellowship and exchange of opinions and information in the hope that somewhat vague and idealistic international objectives may be achieved by those means

The missionary movement should not be overlooked in a discussion of international Buddhism There are many Buddhists who feel that Buddhism has a message for the world While they have not formally agreed on what that message is it seems to be pristine Buddhism the Four Noble Truths the Noble Eightfold Path and the Five Precepts However each of the Theravada countries feels that its Buddhism is the best or the most firmly rooted Individual efforts are thus being made by Theravada countries (Ceylon and Thailand especially) to establish Buddhist outposts in Western countries Also there seems to be some opinion that similar outposts should be set up in Mahayana countries if only to open a dialogue with them In Vietnam where the Theravada and Mahayana traditions come together a number of monk leaders see for Vietnamese Buddhism a role in building unity

The goals of Buddhist universities and training institutions in Southeast Asia and Ceylon usually give a prominent place to missionary work both within and outside the national borders Attempts to have jointly sponsored Theravada missions for example in Washington D C have not however been successful

If the devout and intellectual Buddhists could have their own way stronger forms of international cooperation might conceivably be achieved We cannot expect them to be noticeably aggressive about promoting their point of view This attitude is perhaps not only inherent in the nature of Theravada Buddhism which teaches by example rather than persuasion but also derives from the fact that international activities are usually subject to government sanction and thus any animosities or suspicions existing between governments have a way of nullifying the best intentions of the Buddhist leaders

The constant fumbling attempts at international cooperation as exemplified by the World Fellowship of Buddhists have kept a small spark of international Buddhist activities alive but lack of experience and nationalist

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feelings abetted at times by the Cold War have often stood in the way of real accomplishments

Buddhism is not at this time tangibly producing a community of nations even among Theravada countries. On the other hand it is gradually increasing its international network of contacts among clergy and laity. Its tenets (as with Christian tenets) could help promote a community among nations if the most important goal of Asian nations today were not their non-dependence, secure boundaries, and individual economic development. Our conclusion is that nationalism is still stronger than the ability of Buddhism to bring about certain genuine forms of international political cooperation and will probably remain so until a more relaxed climate comes about.

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Question 11 Does Buddhism Have a Relationship to Politics?
Why Do Buddhist Monks Get Involved in Politics?
What Happened in Vietnam with Regard to Monks in Politics
in 1963 and 1964 and What is Happening Today?

a Does Buddhism have a relationship to politics?

Buddhist conceptions of and relationships with political authority have traditionally constituted an integral part of the development of Asian political and social thought and institutions. In Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Laos, and Thailand, Buddhism generally avoided direct interference in politics but at the same time has been a pacifying and civilizing force in the administration of political authority.

In the past, Buddhism and the political authority of the ancient Asian states were intimately related at the top through reciprocal legitimization and support. Vestiges and memories of those times have carried over into some of today's constitutional situations, not always successfully. Usually, Asian governments have patronized or at least tolerated Buddhist monasticism. At times, however, they have interpreted certain Buddhist doctrines and utilized the Sangha for political ends, e.g., to enhance their own social control, economic wealth, cultural prestige, and conduct of diplomacy. In considering this question, therefore, it is important to distinguish between political authority and partisan or factional politics.

Buddhism has a healthy relation to politics to the extent that it contributes to responsible participation of laymen in the body politic. It is also in a healthy relationship if it fosters and participates in social development which has broad political objectives (such as raising standards of education and social service) and effects. Buddhism, therefore, can help in subtle and indirect ways to create a healthy climate for the conduct of political affairs.

b Why do monks get involved in politics?

Monks have historically become involved in politics for three reasons: first, to protect the Sangha from oppression, they have taken leadership in independence movements; second, to regain their special status, they have resorted to political action which actually violates the Rules of Discipline; and third, they have been involved in partisan politics by unscrupulous politicians seeking their support with the people and have allowed themselves to be drawn into such action in contravention of the Rules of Discipline.

There appears to be a direct correlation between the monks' participation in politics and the political organization of the country, e.g., in the two former British territories, Ceylon and Burma, one now a dominion and the other a republic, the destruction of the native monarchy led to oppression of the Sangha and the political reaction of the monks, and in Vietnam, under the French, a somewhat similar situation occurred earlier which, although milder in tone, led to the neglect of the Sangha and the ultimate efforts to regain status.

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- c What happened in Vietnam with regard to monks in politics in 1963 and 1964, and what is happening today?

(The answer to this question was prepared by Frank E. Dines former Assistant Representative of the Foundation in Vietnam)

Vietnam - Buddhism and Politics

Consideration of the political aspects of Vietnamese Buddhism is handicapped by the almost complete lack of Western scholarship on Buddhism in Vietnam. Vietnamese sources are little more revealing as the chief Buddhist protagonists are still active and most have not recorded their histories or chosen not to reveal their thoughts. However, certain broad trends have become apparent to the Foundation through its diverse programs with Buddhist organizations and leadership.

Prior to 1963 the few scholars who devoted attention to Vietnam wrote Buddhism off as a moribund religion and largely ignored it as a force in society. Yet the Buddhism which began to reveal itself in 1963 was anything but anachronistic. It displayed organization, tenacious leadership and a sense of purpose and direction. The emergence of social and political dimensions in Vietnamese Buddhism has often been ascribed to the struggle against Diem. The explanation is in fact much more complex. The new vitality of Vietnamese Buddhism has roots which go back twenty or thirty years. The anti-Diem cause merely crystallized elements of change which were already in motion.

The origins of socially-concerned, politically-active Buddhism lie in internal reforms which were begun in the 1930s. The reform movement has not been systematically documented or studied, but its broad outlines can be discerned. Historically, Buddhism has been identified with the high tide of Vietnamese culture and power ten centuries ago. Buddhism of recent times seemed sterile and corrupt. The nationalism which arose from the independence movement against France at once increased the Buddhists' pride in their heritage and deepened the feeling of shame that their religion had declined. They began to think of rebuilding Buddhism. Influences were also present from China where Buddhism had already undergone a period of reform and revitalization under the aegis of the great Abbot T'ai-hsu. Gradually and unnoticed, Vietnamese Buddhists altered their traditional patterns: regional associations were created, education for monks was improved, social service programs were initiated. There is no evidence that an overall plan or program for reform existed. But over a period of time the cumulative effects of education and increased social involvement, plus influences from abroad, encouraged new thinking about Buddhism and its role in society. The process of change was further facilitated by the nature of Mahayana Buddhism, which lacks strong hierarchical control and permits doctrinal diversity, and by the absence of government regulation of Buddhism.

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The impelling force behind reform was the desire to restore Buddhism and Buddhist ideals to a position of predominance in Vietnam. This reflected the strong and sincere conviction that the message of Buddhism is relevant to the needs of the modern world. The same factors which facilitated change in the beginning also encouraged the growth of diverse viewpoints and competing factions. Traditional monks were suspicious of the efforts of their younger colleagues to restate Buddhism in contemporary terms. Divergent positions were taken on the nature and extent of Sangha involvement in the social and political spheres. Disagreements arose between the Sangha and the laity and the rift widened as the monks gradually assumed greater responsibility and control of Buddhist affairs. It was in this setting of intellectual ferment and incomplete reform that the revolution against Diem occurred.

The Buddhists' struggle against Diem began as a defense of Buddhism. All evidence points to the fact that they reacted to circumstances without a preconceived plot or plans. They felt threatened and their grievances, whether real or imagined, were emotion-charged and deep. As the Buddhists gained strength and unity, the nature of the struggle changed. Conditioned perhaps by the new thinking on Buddhism's role in society, the cause to defend Buddhism was transformed into a crusade to restore Buddhism to its proper place. In the end, Buddhism was successfully defended, but it did not prevail.

Several conclusions can be drawn from Buddhist involvement in the revolution and in the disorders of the post-Diem period.

The Unified Buddhist Congregation embraces extremely diverse viewpoints and factions, and the Buddhists appear to have recognized that their unity is still only superficial. New attention is being given to strengthening organization, both nationally through the Institute for the Execution of the Dharma and locally through the growing numbers of Buddhist groups. The Institute is first an instrument of control. Although it has been used in attempts to overthrow governments, more recently it has served to moderate extremism within its ranks. As a representative body which functions at least partially on a democratic basis, the Institute is becoming increasingly important as a means of achieving compromise and consensus.

A constant theme which runs through current Buddhist thinking is the need for new and better leadership. Experience has demonstrated that the limited and traditional education of monks is inadequate for the growing responsibilities the Buddhists are assuming in the country. Some of the excesses of the Buddhist leadership in 1963 and afterward were undoubtedly committed out of ignorance of the implications and consequences. Encouragement is being given to advanced education, both secular and religious, for monks and nuns as a means of improving leadership caliber. It is worthy of note that a majority of the small number of university-educated monks in Vietnam have moved into responsible positions in the Institute for the Execution of the Dharma.

Faith in the validity of Buddhist ethics and doctrines for Vietnam has not diminished, but there still is a broad spectrum of thinking on the

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precise role of Buddhism and its institutions. Extremes run from advocacy of militant political action to traditional withdrawal from the world. Probably a majority of the Sangha more or less accepts the thesis that Buddhism has social responsibilities. This middle group generally shuns extremes but it does not have a clear idea of how these new responsibilities should be met. A small group of monk intellectuals led by the visionary Thich Nhat Hanh is attempting to meet this need through reinterpreting and restating Buddhism in terms of the contemporary world and problems. Nhat Hanh looks upon Buddhism as a regenerative force which has the potential to rehabilitate society, restore confidence, break down passivity and heal the wounds of war and division. He proposes action programs based on love, non-violence and the voluntary spirit. Nhat Hanh's theories are widely read and discussed and his following, while still largely among young monks and laymen, is rapidly growing.

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Question 12 What Are the Communists Doing, Especially the Chinese, About Buddhism?

Prior to the Sino-Soviet split delegates from communist bloc countries supported each other in attempts to use the general conferences of the World Fellowship of Buddhists for Cold War purposes. This usually consisted of the offering of resolutions carrying the communist ideological line. Communists did not attend conferences held in unfriendly countries such as the Bangkok meeting in 1958.

Since the split however delegates from the Soviet Union, Mongolia and the Eastern European countries have continued to participate in the WFB and generally followed an increasingly unobtrusive and conciliatory line. The Chinese communists on the other hand did not attend the Sarnath (India) conference in 1964 nor did the North Vietnamese. In a manner of speaking they thus ceded the field to the Russians.

The moving of the headquarters of the WFB to Bangkok in 1963 was greeted by the Chinese with shrill cries of protest over the illegality of the action even though fifty centers out of over sixty had approved. The Russians accepted the move and soon afterward two secretaries of the Soviet Embassy in Bangkok called on Prince Poon Pismai Diskul, President of the WFB to inquire courteously about the activities of the Fellowship. It is believed that they may have been testing the wind with the ultimate goal of the possible addition of a Russian to the secretariat staff. Invitations were later issued to Princess Poon to visit Mongolia and the Soviet Union. If such a visit is made the reception Princess Poon receives in the Soviet Union and Mongolia will probably contrast quite sharply with the casual welcome accorded her during her visit to the United States in 1965.

The Soviet policy thus seems to be to build up a good image at the WFB headquarters with the objective of increasing Russian influence later.

The Chinese have rationalized the continued existence of Buddhism on the mainland despite the basic ideological antipathy toward any religion by recognizing that even though a Socialist society may be against religion it cannot control entirely the natural forces in the world that foster belief in a religion. They observe that religion has existed for a long time in the history of man and it still wields considerable influence over the thoughts and actions of people even in a Socialist society. They say they do not propose to use force which may dislocate the lives of the people who still believe in religion. Eventually they believe the rising cultural level of the masses and the increase in scientific knowledge will cause religious beliefs to disappear.¹

1 Kenneth Chen, Chinese Communist Attitudes Towards Buddhism in Chinese History, The China Quarterly, April-June 1965, pp 14-30.

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The communist Chinese have made a great show of protecting Buddhist monasteries and historical sites and inviting Buddhists from other Asian countries to visit those shrines to see for themselves that the People's Republic of China is not oppressing the Buddhists. Despite the fact that the policy regarding freedom of religious belief (not activity) was counterbalanced by the statement that everyone has the freedom not to believe in a religion which Chinese Communist commentators have interpreted to include the freedom to engage in anti-religious propaganda.² Buddhism has generally been treated with great caution because of its long history in China besides it provides an important and useful tool for the political penetration of Southeast Asia.³ However the reactionary nature of all religions including Buddhism was pointed out with increased frequency in 1963-64 and it was reiterated that the Chinese government intends to eliminate all religious activity as soon as possible not by administrative fiat but by eliminating its causes. Thus the government has a systematic policy of showing two faces one to the people at home the other to Buddhists abroad.⁴

In 1963 and 1964 the Chinese tried out the idea of organizing a communist-dominated rival to the World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB) but were obviously restrained from final action by the awareness that it would be difficult to bring many devout Buddhists under such an umbrella. For the moment they seem to have suspended their efforts to take over the WFB. They continue their occasional propaganda attacks against the organization however but without noticeable effect. The WFB secretariat in Thailand has taken a firm stand against allowing the organization to be used by any government for propaganda purposes.

The Chinese have occasionally tried to use subversive methods to win over the Buddhist monks in the Theravada countries but seem to have been frustrated in most cases as careful inquiry by the Foundation has not developed any hard evidence of current activity on that front. This is not to say that Buddhism will not be used whenever convenient to serve the Chinese communists purposes. The important lesson for the Theravada countries is the necessity of strengthening their knowledge of the doctrine through education and exchange of information so as to build stronger bulwarks against any communist efforts which may be made in the future.

It is well to remember that the guerrilla warfare taught by the Chinese and the North Vietnamese is adapted to the rural areas which emphasizes the fact that the raising of bulwarks among the Buddhists in Southeast Asia cannot be confined to the cities but must also receive intense backing in the countryside. There is evidence for instance that Hanoi has made some strong

² Ibid

³ Holmes H. Welch, "The Reinterpretation of Chinese Buddhism," The China Quarterly, April-June 1965, pp. 143-153.

⁴ Ibid

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efforts to persuade the South Vietnamese Buddhist monks to become passive co-belligerents of the Vietcong. An article by C. L. Sulzberger in the New York Times of March 14, 1965, describes Ho Chi Minh's policy toward Buddhists as one of discouragement and control within the country and of playing up to Buddhist groups elsewhere in Indochina. The article speaks of the North Vietnamese efforts to infiltrate South Vietnamese Buddhists and takes a pessimistic view of the capacity of certain of the latter's leadership to resist communist ideas. However, in the year that has passed since that time, the situation has clarified to some extent and the Foundation's representatives with recent experience in Vietnam believe that the leading monks are overwhelmingly more nationalist than they are neutralist or pro-communist.

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Question 13 What Are the Prospects for Buddhism in the Next 15 to 30 Years?

Having existed and profoundly influenced the history and culture of Ceylon since the 3rd Century B C and of continental Southeast Asia since the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism is not easily going to be rooted out of any country especially during the next generation which will probably not live to see the effective modernization of all the Buddhist countries

As long as Buddhists believe that merit-making and membership in the Sangha confer ultimate benefits on all sentient beings the structure of Buddhism will be needed and catered to

Buddhism is an essential ingredient of nationalism in all continental Southeast Asian countries and Ceylon It is the religion of the ruling elite which will use Buddhism to reinforce its position if it can The protection of Buddhism is something on which king and/or government Sangha and all followers of the Buddha see eye to eye with few and then only partial exceptions

The Sangha may find that in some ways its influence diminishes as modern government tends to take away some of its functions particularly in the villages To meet this situation the Sangha needs and by and large understands that it needs a better-educated membership Thus motivations for the improvement of the education of monks are being created and answered

Urban Buddhism and scientific knowledge will have the effect of chipping off the animistic and other supernatural accretions of Buddhism but the Brahmanistic associations with divine kingship will probably remain The Brahmanistic factor may even be reinforced in the Buddhist kingdoms as governments seek to strengthen their relations with monarchs by supporting the latter's role in auspicious ceremonies which help legitimize the monarchy in the eyes of the people Furthermore a government which supports the Sangha unselfishly while keeping it out of politics gains much stature with its citizens

The pseudo-scientific accretions on Buddhism and notably astrology practiced by monks will probably remain because they are strongly believed in satisfy subconscious wants and help people make important decisions which they do not feel equipped to make on the basis of their own knowledge and experience

At the same time under modern pressures it is quite possible that Buddhism will become more pristine in the cities Conceivably it will attract the organizational genius of the incipient middle class and be strengthened thereby because an educated intelligent and more prosperous laity will concern itself with the fundamentals of Buddhism Many more persons especially young persons and more especially women will have the tenets of Buddhism preached to them in story and sermon and will tend to increase the relative degree of devotion and education among the followers of the Buddha

In sum the next generation may see

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- A Buddhism being freed of its accretions at a more rapid pace than up to now
- A Buddhism being propagated by a better educated clergy to a better educated public
- Some falling off of the number of career monks as wider vocational opportunities open for the educated
- The new middle class therefore taking over some of the teaching functions of the Sangha and setting up Buddhist special-interest organizations
- Strong efforts to preserve the position of respect and veneration which the Sangha has enjoyed for centuries and which enables the people to make merit by offering gifts to the monks
- A Buddhism whose lack of first quality in the clergy will balance that lack with the respect due a monk by educating him to a higher level than before
- A Buddhism attempting to extend its radius of influence to non-Buddhist areas at home and abroad and finding some acceptance among the secularizing West
- In Vietnam and perhaps in other areas a dynamic Buddhism with clear social goals which it will attempt to achieve through better education and common efforts under the leadership of an enlightened clergy

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PART TWO

THE ASIA FOUNDATION S PROGRAMMING IN BUDDHISM

Having attempted in answering the first thirteen questions to determine the principal features of Buddhism in continental Southeast Asia and Ceylon we turn to the important questions regarding the Foundation s rationale and activities in Buddhism Questions in this part bring out the pros and cons of programs in this field and the significance of past programming in terms of both the substantive accomplishments as well as the Foundation s image and the degree of access its presence in those Asian countries has achieved From these data we attempt to extract evaluative conclusions regarding results obtained changes in rationale needed and action which appears to be required to serve the rationale in the most effective way at minimum cost

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Question 14 How Are U S Interests Involved with the Buddhists?

It is in the long-range interest of the United States to have as partners in the United Nations and as friends in Asia countries in Southeast Asia which are stable progressive democratic in orientation and effective. As the predominant way of life Buddhism is an integral part of the culture of those countries. To understand them Americans must have a general understanding of Buddhism and a friendly rapport with Buddhists.

United States interests are involved with the Buddhists therefore to the extent that the latter influence the character and quality of their governments. Furthermore the Buddhists provide the ethical backbone of private and public life.

It is in the United States national interest that the Buddhist countries make a peaceful transition during the modernization process. This can best be done under the leadership of educated and dedicated men. Buddhism is fully capable of providing such men and giving them the motivation to adapt their religion to modern needs.

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Question 15 What Are the Roles Played by Buddhism in Each National Society
Which Make it a Subject of Interest to the Foundation?

The response to this question has been analyzed and systematized
for quick reference in Chart III on the following page

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CHART III
ROLES PLAYED BY BUDDHISM IN NATIONAL SOCIETIES
OF SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES WHICH MAKE IT A
SUBJECT OF INTEREST TO THE ASIA FOUNDATION

SYMBOLS
 ? = Probably true or not sure
 P = Potential exists

(Numbers opposite countries match the numbered statements in boxes immediately above)

	LONG-RANGE ROLES	MEDIUM-RANGE ROLES	SHORT RANGE ROLES
	1 Propagation of purified doctrine and moral precepts (raises moral/ethical tone) 2 Creation of secure psychological climate ((a) merit making (b) crown Sangha relations) 3 Adaptation of values to modern needs 4 Integration of minority groups observing animistic beliefs into national polity 5 Cooperation with and understanding of other communal groups	1 Sangha is leadership development channel 2 Relieves pressures of potential discontent by giving positive outlet to energies of young monk leadership through social service 3 Sangha is alternative social mobility ladder for underprivileged youth 4 Constructive role for monks in social service and community development 5 Inexpensive educational medium for poor children in wat education 6 Buddhist organizations give leadership role to women 7 Generally resists communist ideas	1 Sangha has access to authority and government officials (astrological role <u>inter alia</u>) 2 Increased supply of educated monks 3 Increased supply of monks dedicated to community service 4 Adult and child education in part the Buddhism (Sunday schools) 5 Advisory role of Sangha in villages 6 Sangha is discreet channel between people and government
BURMA	1 2a - 3 4(P) 5?	1? 2 3 4? 5 7	1? 2(P) 3(P) 4 5
CAMBODIA	1 2a 2b 3? 4(P)	1? 3 5 7	1 2 3(P) 5 6?
CEYLON	1 2a 3 5(P)	1? 2? 3 - 4 5? - 6 7	1 2 3? 4 - 5? 6?
LAOS	1 2a - 2b 3(P) 4(P)	1 2(P) 3 4(P) - 5 7	1 2 - 3(P) 4(P) 5 6
THAILAND	1 2a 2b 3 4 (P) 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 - 6
VIETNAM	1 2a - 3 4? - 5	1 2 3? 4 5? 6 7	1? 2(P) 3(P) 4? - 5?

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Question 16 What Are the Foundation s Advantages and Disadvantages
in Dealing with the Buddhists?

1 Briefly stated the advantages are

- The Foundation is non-governmental
- The Foundation respects local views and initiatives
- The Foundation has a low-key sympathetic approach
- The Foundation does not attempt to take credit away from the people who develop and manage projects
- The Foundation makes merit for itself and its employees by making gifts to Buddhist institutions
- The Foundation is flexible and makes grants suited to the ability of the recipient to make effective use of them

2 The disadvantages are

- The Foundation is Western white Christian
- The Foundation s methods sometimes seem to require prying into the affairs of the Sangha and Buddhist organizations
- The Foundation s reporting methods may seem to mean that grantees are not trusted to spend grants correctly
- There have been rumors that the Foundation has a political purpose that it is a Cold War instrument

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Question 17 Should the Foundation Help Spread the Dhamma?

To a certain extent this question is academic. The Foundation is already helping spread the Dhamma. Up to now the Foundation's Buddhist programming has avoided any projects in which propagation of the Dhamma is known to be the sole purpose. It has taken the position that its funds should not be used to promote missionary or similar efforts to spread the teachings of the Buddha. In some cases this policy has extended to assistance to Buddhist Sunday schools. However, when the charters of the Buddhist universities are studied, one soon learns that the first stated goal is often the preparation of missionaries to tell the story of the Triple Gem (Triratna) among non-Buddhists. Thus, in assisting Buddhist universities for its own objectives, the Foundation is helping prepare missionaries.

The studies show that to serve Foundation purposes related to (1) national unity and (2) the inculcation of moral principles through teaching pristine Buddhism in order gradually to erode the animistic and other accretions which so many of the rural masses profess, the Foundation could consider that its funds are being appropriately used when they help strengthen Buddhism as a faith within the country in which the project is located.

At the Bangkok meeting in November 1965, Representatives present agreed that the Foundation does in fact support the propagation of Buddhism within Buddhist societies. Such diffusion, which was the word preferred, takes place largely through education and social service and is not designed to support evangelical work per se. However, the Laos study suggested that the Foundation's basic objectives might be served by a carefully planned program within Laos which would provide teaching of pristine Buddhist principles through Sunday schools to Buddhist young people whose knowledge of Buddhism is weak, as well as experimental work by well-trained Buddhist monks among the hill tribes in order to help bring them into the body politic. The basic difference to be kept in mind is that between supporting an ideology and supporting a social force.

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Question 18 Are There Risks for the Foundation in Identifying with a Religio-Social View?

There is no doubt that in sending resident representatives and in programming in Buddhist countries (or any country for that matter) the Foundation runs the risk of evoking an emotional response to its mere presence or more particularly to types of programming which may be considered injurious to basic values and beliefs. This risk is actually greater for an American organization which can easily be projected by ill-willed persons as a manifestation of American power and interference in the affairs of other nations. It is not difficult to understand how religious leaders of a country might be wary of American assistance as motivated by a desire to convert recipients to a different moral or religious point of view--one more compatible with American ideas about the most desirable values a people should have.

Fortunately as the study shows the Foundation has built-in protection against fears and charges of attempting to change a people's values and that is the program principle of insisting on local ideas, initiative, and sponsorship of projects. In other words projects are assisted when values and objectives are compatible. Local sponsorship by responsible persons gives the Foundation strong assurance that local values have been taken into account in the development of the project. Avoidance of publicity of what the Foundation has done and emphasis on what the local sponsor of the project is doing means that some of any onus for disruption of local values would be shared by the initiator who will usually protect himself in advance against such charges.

There is an important point to make about the religio-social view and values in Buddhist countries. Since Buddhism is a way of life which permeates the whole social fabric of the society in which it is predominant its values do not necessarily have a strictly religious and thus potentially emotional content. By and large Buddhist values are considered to be basic values which apply to anyone and Buddhists thus tend to look for similarities between their values and those of others rather than differences. Added to this is the traditional Buddhist tolerance for others' points of view and the instinctive avoidance of confrontations which might be disagreeable. This tolerance is seen in some Theravada countries in the confidence of Buddhists that Buddhism has nothing to fear from religions which include a place for the supernatural in their ideology.

A further consideration in regard to this question is the observed fact deriving from the accepted relevance of Buddhism to all aspects of life that many Buddhists reason that foreign help to a country can be expected to include help to Buddhism as an organized system and as an integral part of the culture--otherwise such help might be considered to be not completely responsive to the needs of the country.

In short while it is conceivable that politically-minded individuals might stir up trouble for the Foundation on grounds of interference with religion the chances of this happening are minimized both by the attitudes and values of Buddhism itself as well as by the Foundation's operating principle of relying on local initiative in its programming.

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Question 19 How Has the Foundation s Presence and Programming in a Country Enabled it to Identify and Work with New Buddhist Leadership

This question although it goes to the heart of Foundation programming is not easy to answer Working with existing Buddhist Sangha and lay leadership is one thing but identifying and working with new leadership is another

The problem stems from the leadership selection customs of the Buddhist countries In each country there are different factors but in general it can be said that seniority tends to determine leadership and leadership tends to hang on beyond its prime In Ceylon caste factors still enter into the choosing of Sangha leaders in addition to seniority in Burma Sangha organizations are weak and seniority tends to rule but in recent years the Burmese Government s attempts to organize the Sangha so as to enable the government to exercise closer control have resulted in the selection of amenable monks to leading if not leadership posts In Thailand seniority and the amount of merit a monk is thought to have work through consensus to the selection of Sangha leaders and similarly in the selection of leaders for the lay Buddhist organizations These same principles are thought to apply also in regard to the hierarchy in Laos and Cambodia although in the latter case the head of the hierarchy is the king or as now the Chief of State (Prince Sihanouk)

The situation is quite different in Vietnam Lacking a Sangha the Vietnamese have recently organized the Unified Buddhist Church whose leadership was chosen from among the most respected and intelligent monks Seniority played some role but not necessarily a dominating one

This brief review of leadership selection patterns shows that in practically no country is there an opening in the leadership pattern where the Foundation can have any immediate influence on the selection of leadership However this is the short term view

Over the long run merit wisdom (education) and seniority will combine to bring out the leaders The Foundation can do little about merit or seniority but in education it can exercise considerable influence in the future choice of leadership The way it can do this (and the method is certainly not original with the Foundation or limited to Buddhist leadership) is twofold (1) provide as many opportunities as possible for young monks and young laymen and laywomen to participate in organizational activities (if possible those which are not run or dominated by senior persons) and (2) select those who show leadership potential and arrange for them to obtain relevant advanced education and experience

Organizational activities for monks are looked upon askance in the Theravada Buddhist countries as a rule Therefore it is necessary to observe the social behavior and educational achievements of monks in the temples and in the secondary schools and universities set up for Buddhist monks Through the donation of scientific laboratory equipment books for libraries textbooks

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and teaching materials language teaching equipment and similar methods it is possible through visits and reports to ascertain which monks are showing the most progress and initiative By providing teachers in secondary schools and universities for monks it is also possible for the Foundation to obtain confidential reports on students which provide another index to leadership potential A further method of identification is to visit temples with few elder monks in residence and observe the younger monks or to ask villagers for their judgment of the leaders among the younger element of the local monkhood In this way the first steps in leadership identification and preparation begin

If the Foundation Representative makes it a point to visit and pay respect to the senior monks fairly early in his period of tenure word soon gets around that he has done so and his entree to monks at lower levels is facilitated There are numerous devices of this kind which vary from country to country and which are passed on from one representative to his successor to ease his way with the monks

Once potential leaders have been identified among the younger people the Foundation Representative takes steps to see that they are given opportunities to receive higher education at home or abroad or to have an experience which will increase their sophistication in dealing with modern problems Eventually provided the young men among them do not leave the priesthood these young people should begin to show up in the lower leadership positions and over time they should rise to positions of influence where their earlier sponsorship by the Foundation should give the latter s representatives a relation of confidence which would redound favorably to the position and influence of the Foundation

Buddhist lay organizations of consequence exist in Ceylon Thailand and perhaps in Burma Laos and Cambodia are not yet into the national development stage where there is a middle class to provide organizational timber In Vietnam monks and laymen participate jointly in many Buddhist organizations Since the ancient organizational forms within the Theravada monkhood did not provide any real role for women it is significant that the lay Buddhist organizations for young people provide almost equal opportunities for men and women to show and exercise leadership ability This is a new phenomenon and one which given women s relatively greater adherence to the Precepts opens an interesting possibility for dedicated and socially conscious women to exercise a salutary influence on the affairs of their countries

A very real problem in the selection and nurturing of monk leadership has been alluded to above namely that in Burma Thailand Laos and Cambodia a man may leave the monkhood whenever he wishes to do so--the voluntary principle Through this practice the Foundation has already lost several promising young leaders who even after receiving advanced education and perhaps in a way because of that have returned to lay life The loss is not necessarily complete however as such persons may become leaders in lay educational or organizational spheres or continue to lend their services to

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Buddhist educational institutions So far it has not been possible to find a way to overcome this difficulty It would appear to be the better course in those countries to select monks who have just started up the hierarchical ladder This would however only reduce the risk not eliminate it

To summarize the Foundation has developed a number of ways to identify and cultivate the younger Buddhist leadership both lay and clerical More consciously directed experience in this field needs to be undertaken however and it is hoped that the field Representatives will continue to work on this problem

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Question 20 What Has Its Ten Years or More of Work Meant for the Image of the Foundation?

The studies show that over all the image of the Foundation in the Buddhist countries is a generally very favorable one. In international Buddhist circles it is also viewed favorably for its assistance to the World Fellowship of Buddhists and the projects it has assisted which involve foreign visits by Buddhist leaders. In the United States the Foundation is increasingly becoming favorably known in academic circles for its knowledge and understanding of Buddhism and its ability to deal constructively with the Sangha and prominent lay Buddhists.

The Buddhist looks at the motive. If he feels the motive for helping Buddhist monks and organizations is good he will silently applaud. If he feels there is an ulterior motive he will discount the assistance as not meritorious. Since its image in a country can depend in great measure on how meritorious its acts appear to be it is most important that the Foundation not do anything that bespeaks or implies wrong motivation. This is of course a most crucial point in countries which are especially sensitive to the vaguely understood and often vaguely expressed motives of foreign organizations.

It is not necessary to dwell here on the damage to the Foundation's image which resulted from early programming in Burma (even though it was well motivated) and by assistance to monks in Ceylon which was rightly or wrongly unmaliciously or maliciously ascribed by some to wrong motivations, i.e. to use the monks for political purposes. In both cases there was suspicion as to motives. As a result the Foundation never gained sufficiently favorable acceptance in Burma to permit it to program without deep concern about its image among Buddhists and in Ceylon the left-wing attempts to ascribe political motivations to the Foundation caused some slowing down of programming with pirivenas.

In Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam the image of the Foundation appears to be in good condition. Although there are conservatives in both Thailand and Laos who do not agree with higher education for monks, they are in a minority and their criticism tends to center on the monks rather than on the Foundation which they understand is trying to help and which they appreciate. In Vietnam, in view of the relatively little programming carried out among Buddhists in the past, the image of the Foundation is just being formed as the result of the new programming stance, but indications are that the Representative has chosen a constructive and good image-building line of activity. The Foundation's image among the Buddhist hierarchy in Cambodia was very good up to the time its office there was closed. In fact, it was reportedly said by one Cambodian that the Foundation's favorable image with the clergy was one cause of the annoyance felt toward it by some of Prince Sihanouk's associates.

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Question 21 How Much Has the Foundation Spent on Buddhist Programming and for What Purposes?

Chart IV shows the amounts spent in each country program for Buddhist projects from July 1952 through July 1965. The total is EO50x1. This total does not include small expenditures in the Northeast Asian countries and other areas outside of mainland Southeast Asia and Ceylon.

In rank order program expenditures by country were (1) Thailand (2) Burma (3) Ceylon (4) Cambodia (5) San Francisco-administered projects (e.g. the World Fellowship of Buddhists and a Consultant) (6) Laos and (7) Vietnam.

Chart V shows expenditures by category field of Buddhist programming by countries 1953-65.

Chart VI shows the relative scale of total expenditures of all countries by category fields 1953-65. Education of monks is by far the largest category (38%).

It has not yet been possible to break down the expenditures for Buddhist programming by type of aid because the records have not been kept in such a way as to make this easy. However, these types appear most frequently:

- Buddhist universities
- Buddhist secondary schools
- Study and travel abroad by monks
- Buddhist lay organizations
- Buddhist social welfare organizations
- Buddhist libraries
- The World Fellowship of Buddhists

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CHART IV

(Question 21)

BUDDHIST PROGRAMMING IN CONTINENTAL
SOUTHEAST ASIA AND CEYLON
(including the World Fellowship of Buddhists)
1952 1965

<u>Countries</u>	<u>1952/53</u>	<u>1953/54</u>	<u>1954/55</u>	<u>1955/56</u>	<u>1956/57</u>	<u>1957/58</u>	<u>1958/59</u>	<u>1959/60</u>	<u>1960/61</u>	<u>1961/62</u>	<u>1962/63</u>	<u>1963/64</u>	<u>1964/65</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Burma	EO50X1													
Cambodia														
Ceylon														
Laos														
Thailand														
Vietnam														
SF Administered														
Totals														

* All figures in U S \$

NOTE Thailand expenditures for fiscal years 1958/59 1964/65 include one half of salary and expenses of William J Klausner Adviser on Rural Development and Buddhism Laos expenditures for fiscal year 1959/60 include one half of that portion of the salary and expenses of William J Klausner which was charged to the Laos program allotment SF Administered includes for fiscal years 1956/57 1962/63 salary and expenses of Dr Richard A Gard Adviser on Buddhist Affairs

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CHART V
 BUDDHIST PROGRAM EXPENDITURES
 (1953 65) BY CATEGORIES

CHART V 1
 (Question 21)

Country	Higher Education	Secondary Education	Educ Undes igned (1)	Economic	Rural Dev elopment	Profess ional	So Sci & Research	Law and Government
Burma								
Cambodia								
Ceylon								
Laos								
Thailand								
Vietnam								
COUNTRY TOTALS								
San Francisco								
GRAND TOTALS								

E050X1

(1) Expenditures shown only as for Buddhist Education'

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CHART V
 BUDDHIST PROGRAM EXPENDITURES
 (1953 65) BY CATEGORIES

CHAR™ V 2
 (Question 21)

Country	Civic and Community	Social Welfare	Undesig nated (2)	Youth and Students	Students	Writing & Publishing	Books and Libraries	Communica tions
Burma								
Cambodia								
Ceylon								
Laos								
Thailand								
Vietnam								
COUNTRY TOTALS								
San Francisco								
GRAND TOTALS								

EO50x1

(2) Expenditures shown in records as relating to both Social Welfare and Youth and Students

CHART V
 BUDDHIST PROGRAM EXPENDITURES
 (1953 65) BY CATEGORIES

CHART V 3
 (Question 21)

Country	Undesignated (3)	Culture	Philosophy & Religion	Buddhism (5)	World Affairs	Development (4)	New Objectives	TOTALS
Burma								
Cambodia								
Ceylon								
Laos								
Thailand								
Vietnam								
COUNTRY TOTALS								
San Francisco								
GRAND TOTALS								

EO50x1

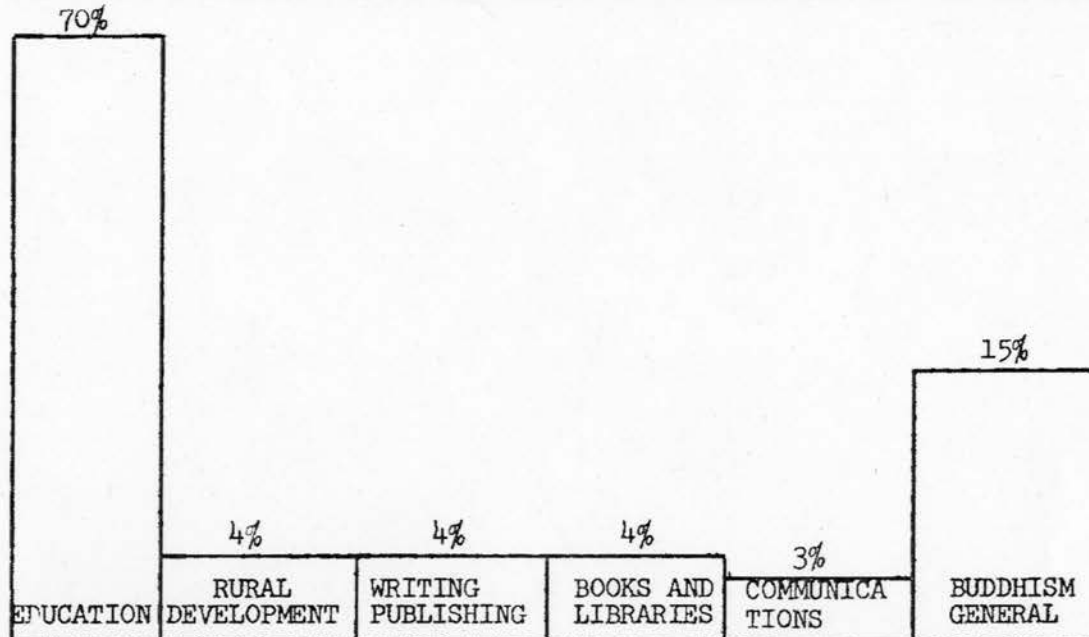
- (3) Expenditures shown in records as relating to both Communications and Culture
- (4) Expenditures from Development funds which have not been distributed to relevant categories
- (5) See attached breakdown (Chart V 4)

CHART V
 BREAKDOWN OF EXPENDITURES IN THE BUDDHISM CATEGORY

CHART V 4
 (Question 21)

Country	Education	Rural Development	Writing & Publishing	Books and Libraries	Communications	Buddhism General	TOTALS
Cambodia (1959-63)							
Ceylon (1959 64)							
Laos (1959-65)							
Thailand (1959 62)							
SUBTOTAL							
San Francisco (1959)							
TOTALS							

EO50X1



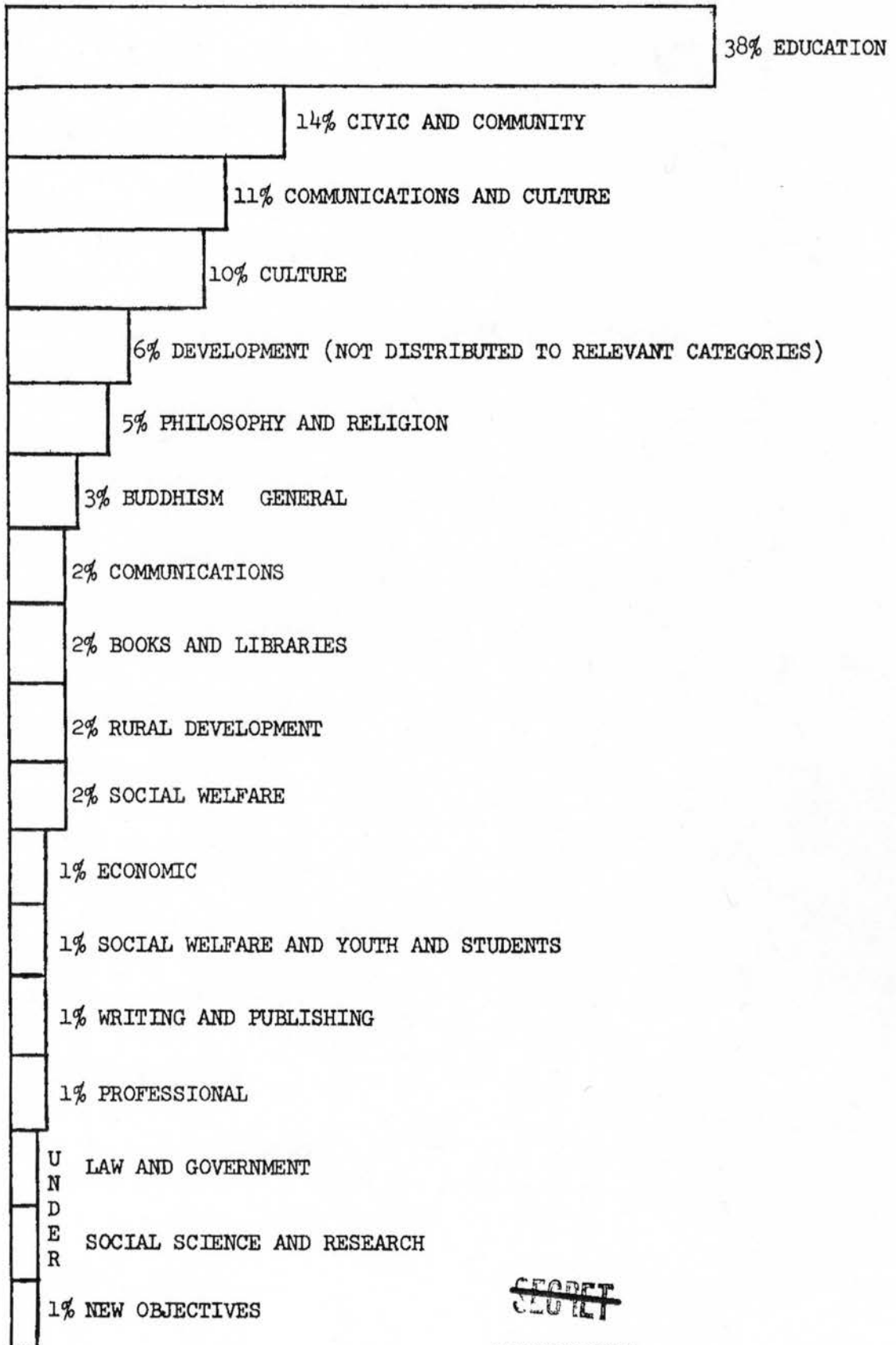
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BUDDHIST PROGRAM EXPENDITURES (1953 65)
(TOTAL FOR CONTINENTAL SOUTHEAST ASIA CEYLON, AND SAN FRANCISCO ADMINISTERED)

CHART VI

PERCENTAGES BY PROGRAM CATEGORY



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Question 22 Country by Country, How is the Foundation Doing with the Buddhists?

The following summary of relations and general program results covers the six countries of the study

BURMA

Total spent, 1952-62, EO50x1

After starting with Burmese government concurrence on an anti-communist tack in an emergency situation the Foundation's office in Burma began to develop a long-range approach to Buddhist programming stressing solely educational and social service projects. Although the phasing out of politically-oriented Buddhist projects took a long time and some success with non-political programming was being achieved the Foundation had not entirely recovered from its earlier identification as a politically activist organization by the time the Burma office was closed at the request of the Ne Win government in 1962. As of that time fully acceptable programming areas in Buddhism--in education and social service projects--had been identified and the prospects for improved relationships with the Buddhists looked good.

CAMBODIA

Total spent, 1955-1965, EO50x1

Foundation programming with Buddhists in Cambodia is considered to have been very successful in the context of the total milieu. It has been reported that one of the reasons the Foundation came under subtle harassment in late 1965 and early 1966 leading to its withdrawal was the irritation felt by some Cambodian leaders over the success of the Buddhist programming Project activities in Cambodia involved principally secondary and higher education of monks, English teaching at Buddhist institutions and Buddhist publications. All these projects are felt to have been successful in terms of fulfilling Foundation objectives and in meeting the expressed needs of Cambodian Buddhists.

CEYLON

Total spent, 1955-1965, EO50x1

In Ceylon the Foundation is generally viewed favorably by both the up-country and low-country leadership of the Sangha as well as by most prominent devout lay Buddhists. Close government control is however exercised over Foundation programming thus injecting a partisan political judgment into consideration of its projects by the officials concerned. In the latter stages of Mrs. Bandaranaike's government the control personnel was very uneasy about the Foundation's program relationships with monks and Sangha educational institutions fearing that political influence in favor of the opposition (the center and right wing) and of U.S. policy was being subtly exercised. The fact that

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some monks and lay leaders associated with projects assisted by the Foundation did participate overtly or behind the scenes in the electoral campaign of 1965 only tended to confirm the negative view of the government. However programming with Buddhists was not brought to a halt partly because government party members had monk or lay friends from their constituencies whom they wished the Foundation to help partly because it was difficult to fault the quality and objective nature of many of the Foundation's activities but most importantly because there would have been a strong reaction against such a decision from Buddhist groups.

There has been criticism of the Foundation from usually friendly Buddhist circles of what was felt to be an inordinate amount of assistance to a leading temple which has had particularly close connections with the Bandaranaike government's power structure.

Programming itself generally has met stated objectives although in the important field of education not much progress has been made because of the lack of Ceylonese and especially monkish managerial ability the dissipating effects of personal rivalries and the low quality of most Buddhist educational institutions. It must be noted that most of the Foundation programming in the field is fairly recent and more time must pass before a fair assessment can be made.

At the present time the Foundation is in a very good position with the Sangha and has built a solid base on which to construct some significant programs in line with country objectives. It is holding back temporarily on all but a few projects however because of uncertainty about the government's policy regarding Buddhist education. In any case stress is being placed on help to Buddhist educational institutions which contribute to social and economic development. It is hoped that as soon as possible a carefully planned series of clearly non-political projects may be developed which will take account of political sensitivities, Sangha goals and needs and Foundation objectives and capabilities.

LAOS

Total spent, 1956-1965, EO50x1

The Foundation's Buddhist program in Laos is very favorably received by both neutral and right-wing factions in the government and has never been singled out for attack by the Pathet Lao. Cordial relations are maintained with the Department of Religious Affairs. Leaders of the Sangha and many devout Buddhist laymen (who are mostly in government) show a friendly appreciation of the Foundation's work. The King is of similar disposition.

Programming in any field in Laos is slow in getting started and long in showing results principally because of Laotian values and attitudes and lack of organizational skills. However the Foundation's Buddhist projects some of

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which have been going on for as long as seven years are by their consistency and continuity beginning to have favorable results in terms of an increase of educated monks and of the influence of those monks in rural areas. They are strengthening relations between government and the Sangha. Only the lack of ability of the Laotians to handle sizeable projects has limited the amount of programming the Foundation could profitably undertake with Buddhists in the field of education, publications, and conservation of cultural objects.

THAILAND

Total spent, 1954-1965, [EO50x1]

At the present time the Thailand program appears to be in a very favorable position in terms of its history, ramifications, potentialities, and local relationships. It has shown considerable results in Buddhist secondary and higher education, social service, and community development, lay Buddhist youth organizations, and Buddhist research and publications.

Relations of close confidence have been developed and are maintained with both high Sangha and lay Buddhist leaders, as well as with the Department of Religious Affairs, and a position of considerable influence in many areas of activity has been achieved. Many thousands of Thais know and appreciate the Foundation's work and look upon it as well motivated and carefully managed. A salient factor in this record has been continuity of programming under three representatives: the friendly attitude of Thais toward Americans, and most significantly, the close supervision of relationships and programming provided by the Program Specialist on Rural and Buddhist Affairs.

At one time the Foundation, through poor advice, overstepped the bounds of discretion and attempted to control certain aspects of the curriculum and administration of one of the Buddhist universities, which led to a brief period of tension. This episode has long since receded into history, and it may be credited with opening the eyes of the Foundation to its place as a foreign organization in Thailand, and the eyes of the Buddhists to the Foundation's confirmed, sincere desire to help without trying to exercise control.

The Foundation also enjoys a relationship of confidence and understanding with the Headquarters of the World Fellowship of Buddhists located in Thailand.

VIETNAM

Total spent, 1957-1965, [EO50x1]

The Foundation's relations with Buddhists in South Vietnam appear to be on a firm basis of friendly acceptance and appreciation of the limited help which has been extended up to now. However, it is only within the past three years that the Vietnam program has been consistently researched and developed.

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Government approval is not involved and there is no office which handles religious affairs which concerns itself with Foundation projects

During the past year or two a wide and cordial relationship unique for a foreign organization has been built up among Buddhist Sangha and lay leaders by the Foundation's representatives and some programs of great promise have been developed. These center largely in the training of the younger Buddhist leadership of greatest potential both monks and nuns, the development of the Van Hanh Buddhist university, assistance to social service activities of monks and nuns, and the encouragement of better relations with the Catholics.

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Question 23 Is Foundation Programming Getting Results in Terms of the Goals? What Problems Has It Encountered? What Failures Had It Had? What Lessons Has It Taught for the Future?

Partial answers to these key questions have been given in replying to Questions 12 (work with new leadership) 20 (the image of the Foundation) and 22 (the country-by-country appraisal of the Foundation's position) This section will attempt a more comprehensive response First however a brief explanation of how goals are developed may be useful

How goals are developed

Because of the country-centered character of most of the Foundation's programming it is difficult to measure long-range over-all progress except in very general terms and in attempting to measure results in general terms the Foundation is basically dealing with conditions which change slowly and with problems whose solution will require years of effort by many minds and hands The Foundation's Country Objectives are now stated as long-range constructive goals which are related to the achievement of certain optimum political and social conditions in a country These statements of long-range goals are developed by comparing current country political and social conditions with optimum conditions and with U S foreign policy objectives and deriving through this process generalizations about the needs to which Foundation programming should be addressed The results can be thought of as embodying nation-building goals

Are these goals valid for the Asians concerned? We believe that the need for optimum political and social conditions and the validity of the aspirations which guide American foreign policy and thus the Foundation's programming goals are recognized by all Asian governments except those of the communist countries We believe further that these motivations are shared with the non-communist Asian nations who reject the solution of communism which directly contradicts such ideals as voluntary national unity (the antithesis of dictatorship of the proletariat national wars of liberation and consensus achieved by coercion) the strengthening of the moral and intellectual fabric of society (the antithesis of materialism atheism and thought control) and evolutionary social progress (the antithesis of dogmatic violent and destructive revolution)

Program Objectives take the goal-development process one step farther and identify medium-range aims These aims are derived from judgments made in the field and in the home office as to which specific categories of programming and types of activity are most likely to contribute to the achievement of the long-range goals within the funding and management capabilities of the Foundation and consonant with the latter's character as a foreign private philanthropic organization This process can also be thought of as identifying institution-building aims To the best of its ability the Foundation assures itself through research and local rapport that these aims are shared by responsible persons in the country concerned

Project Objectives represent the last step and express the short-range purpose of the individual projects undertaken to serve the aims and goals

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already selected These purposes are derived from a determination which generally takes place in the field of the best means of achieving institution-building aims It usually centers on the needs of institutions (broadly construed) and individuals within the categories of medium-range aims most likely to facilitate institutional development After funding political and other limitations are taken into account a series of facilities-building purposes are developed

Measuring the results

Since the Foundation is helping to build enduring facilities for the future and works within a milieu which unites its own efforts and methods with those of local institutions and individuals and sometimes of international and other foreign organizations as well it is patently unwise to assume that its programming can be solely responsible for the progress of a country toward long-range goals If it makes sure that its medium-range aims are as directly relevant to long-range goals as both theory and experience can make them and that its short-range purposes are soundly addressed toward the achievement of medium-range aims the need for attempting to measure long-range progress in quantitative terms lessens and evaluation of results more usefully centers on medium- and short-range objectives There the occurrence or lack of both qualitative and quantitative factors is easier to observe and measure Objectives at those levels can also as a rule be used more readily for public description of the Foundation's reasons for working in a country than can the long-range goals valid as they may be

Through the project purposes and program aims runs the thread of the influence exerted by Foundation programming and presence in a country Influence factors are of equal importance with the social goals sought All programming has as an objective the development of a role of access and influence for the Foundation among predetermined sectors of the leadership Therefore in evaluating project and program results the Foundation attempts to measure the location and extent of influence the support of the projects has created

A significant and identifiable ingredient of the Foundation's influence in Buddhist programming is the immediate value which arises from its demonstration of interest in Buddhists as Buddhists and as Asians as provided by its presence and activities At the same time it should not be overlooked that Buddhists as Buddhists and as Asians are not as demanding of results as are those trained in Western empiricism The Foundation's show of interest may often be more important psychologically than tangible programming results

For the empiricist it is satisfying to know that Foundation influences can rise suddenly to the surface from time to time to justify long-range and medium-range programming goals as occurred in the rapid spread within a three-year period of university-educated monks to the remote areas of Thailand

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(particularly the Northeast) to engage in educational social service and religious propagation activities which provided direct evidence of social progress (Chart VII) But by and large there must be a large element of faith that the positive influence of American foreign policy goals as interpreted into Foundation goals will be reflected in the long-range effects of Foundation programming

Evaluating the Buddhist program

Of the stated Country Objectives or long-range aims of the six programs reviewed in this study only three now contain direct reference to Buddhism Yet the history of the development of objectives many field reports and home office memoranda and the expressed aims of individual program categories and projects of all six countries attest to the long held opinion of the Representatives the home office of the Foundation and program consultants and specialists that Buddhism should be a fundamental and critical object of Foundation programming--that it has a salient role in the achievement of the Foundation s goals

With medium- and short-range goals as yardsticks it is progressively easier to distinguish program results Within a ten-year period it is possible to experience the positive development of the Foundation s acceptability to see younger monks rising to positions of more responsibility in the hierarchy to witness the growth in size and influence of a Buddhist organization to observe curriculum changes at Buddhist universities resulting from Foundation-assisted pilot projects--all of which may be termed medium-range At short-range graduate studies are completed research projects are finished study/observation tours are made buildings are put into use books are published equipment is purchased and installed and teachers are employed Intellectual input and output are assessed to the fullest possible extent

These are the positive indicators of progress toward predetermined goals Naturally at times problems are encountered which plague the effort for unforeseen reasons unsatisfactory results are obtained and there may be negative indicators showing that goals are not being properly achieved or that they were probably ill-conceived or insufficiently researched in the first place It is from these also and not only from the successes that lessons are learned

In the next pages of this section an attempt is made to identify the Foundation s Buddhist medium- and short-range programming goals and influence objectives in the countries covered in this study and extract evidences of satisfactory or unsatisfactory results examples of problems and lessons for the future For the busy reader a summary evaluation appears at the end of each country section

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BURMA

The Early Period

Objectives

At the outset of the Burma program objectives tended to be medium- and short-range. The activist anti-communist approach taken to programming was motivated by the purposes of the Committee for Free Asia, the urgency of the situation and the acceptability of methods all of which were compatible with the view of Prime Minister U Nu and other high officials. Goals centered on building up resistance to communism among the Burmese through projects designed to help strengthen the Sangha's understanding of the basic tenets of Buddhism and through them influence the people and to enable anti-communist monks to call the attention of the rural and urban masses to the evils of communism.

Evaluation

Burmese Buddhism successfully resisted communist domination and has continued to do so. Foundation programming is believed to have contributed to this resistance through the work of the Buddha Sasana Council press in publishing the Tripitaka as well as through the monk preaching missions which helped make the Burmese aware of the dangers of communism. Programming also may have helped to reinforce Burma's choice of neutralism as a keystone of its foreign policy. It is doubtful that Burma would have lined up with the United States but it might have opted for a more pro-Chinese policy than it did given its common border with mainland China and the pressure exerted by that country had this programming not been undertaken.

An important point about early programming is that it gained entree for the CFA and the Foundation and is considered to have pleased Prime Minister U Nu. Further programming with the Buddha Sasana Council yielded great dividends. It pleased the leading monks and Buddhist laymen of Burma because in their eyes the funds and equipment were donated in order to assist in bringing about a better understanding of the Lord Buddha's teachings among both the populace and monks. It pleased political circles in Burma because the Buddha Sasana Council was regarded as non-political and all shades of political opinion were associated with the Council except the communists.

On the negative side the study shows that the overt anti-communist programming supported by the Foundation tended to antagonize Burmese who were opposed to the intervention of monks in what they considered to be political matters. The contention was that such activity caused the Foundation to violate Buddhist precepts and the monks to violate the rules of discipline.

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Burma (continued)

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Problems Grants to political monks created difficulties for programming in other fields

- Failure to continue supporting other Buddha Sasana Council activities and projects caused a loss of opportunity to influence long-term educational social welfare and other developments in Buddhism through the best-situated institution available

- Consistent emphasis upon short-range goals in Buddhist programming in Burma tended to eliminate any opportunities for research and exploration among Buddhist circles on matters concerning long-term development in education social welfare work etc

Lessons Built-in resistance to communism appears to be best achieved through long-range constructive programming stressing the positive role of the monk and devout Buddhist layman who in turn can use their influence to inculcate the principles of Buddhism and reinforce their observance. An anti-communist rationale should be avoided and an over-all rationale should be developed covering long-range medium-range and short-range programming goals

The Later Period

Objectives

With the passage of time the accumulation of experience and the increased policy emphasis on long-range goals the Burma program shifted its stated These became

Long-range goals Revitalization of Buddhism emphasizing religion as a stabilizing force within the nation the growth of effective Buddhist leadership and the development of the voluntary effort idea

Medium-range aims Development of Buddhist social welfare institutions education of the Sangha and strengthening of monastic and lay Buddhist organizations

Short-range purposes Social welfare training for monks encouraging Buddhist institutions to set up pilot semi-skilled labor vocational schools and diffusion of the Pali Canon

Influence factor To maintain the position of the Foundation in Burma and its good relationships with Burmese political and Sangha leadership

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Evaluation--Medium-Range Aims

1 Development of Buddhist social welfare institutions This area second to the Buddha Sasana Council project brought the Foundation the most rewards in terms of acceptance and appreciation among the Burmese populace

However neither the CFA nor the Foundation ever developed a significant area of programming designed to encourage the Sangha to play a larger role in meeting the social welfare needs of Burma

Problems Budget limitations delicate position because of earlier programming a small exploratory grant for a school for the blind run by a monk was widely hailed in Burma as the forerunner of more grants but the home office criticized the development as opening the way to scatteration

Lessons Efforts suffered from political label assigned to the Foundation in the minds of government officials responsible (under the Executive Agreement of 1958) for approving or rejecting Foundation proposals Further the necessity of steadily developing a number of other major projects in other fields caused an inability to expend staff time on the necessary research and development measures preparatory to doing any subsequent programming in this field

2 Education of the Sangha No positive results reported Neither the CFA nor the Foundation discovered a way to be of significant assistance to educational development of the Sangha

Problems General popular attitude that monks should meditate and be isolated and not be active teachers Also the political atmosphere made it impossible to program with monks close to U Nu

Lessons The same experience cited in the development of Buddhist social welfare institutions applies here

3 Strengthening monastic and lay Buddhist organizations No positive results reported The Foundation never developed any significant programming with Buddhist lay organizations

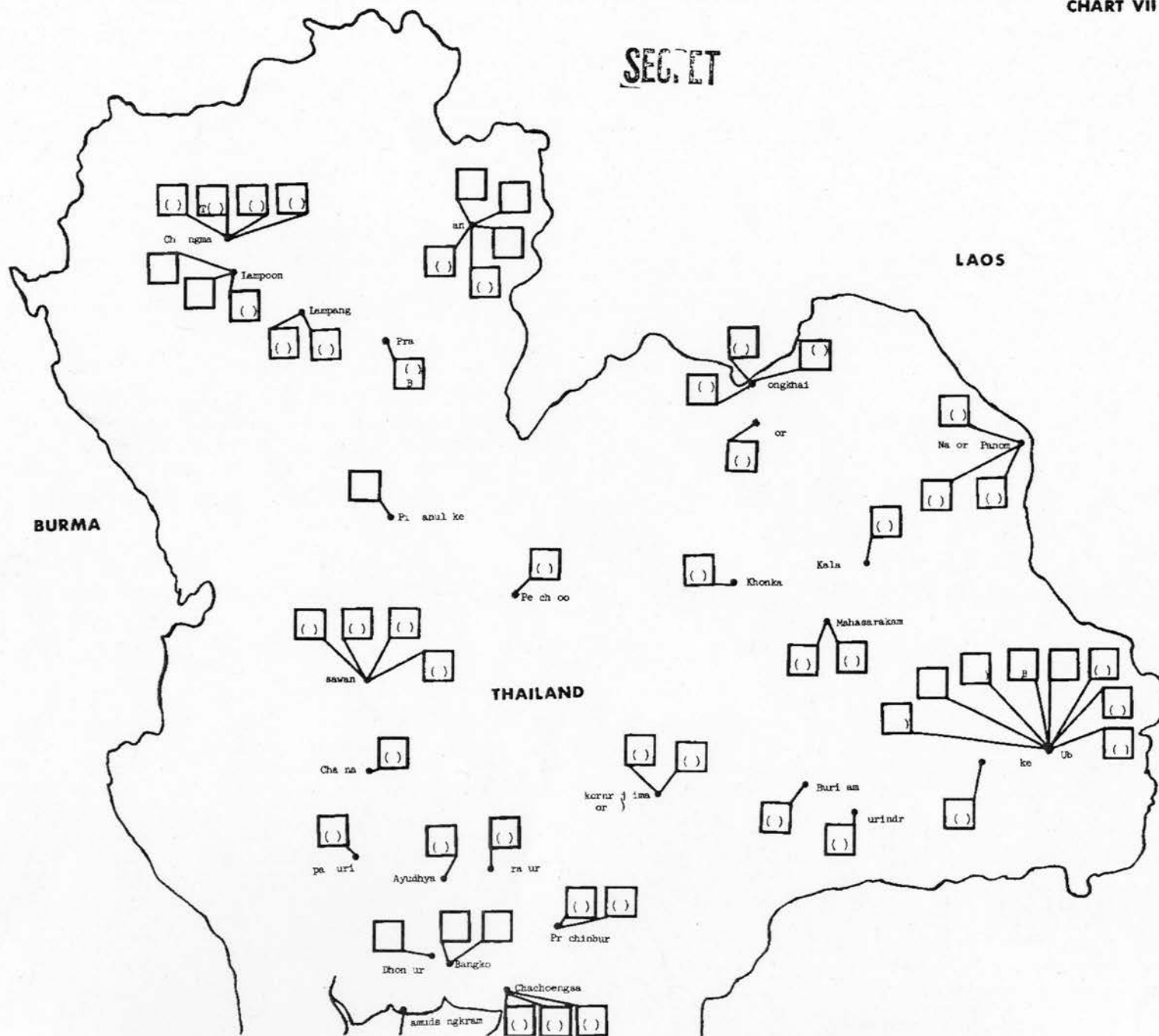
Problems Anxiety of politicians regarding organizations of monks organizational deficiencies and the lack of cohesion needed to operate a program successfully

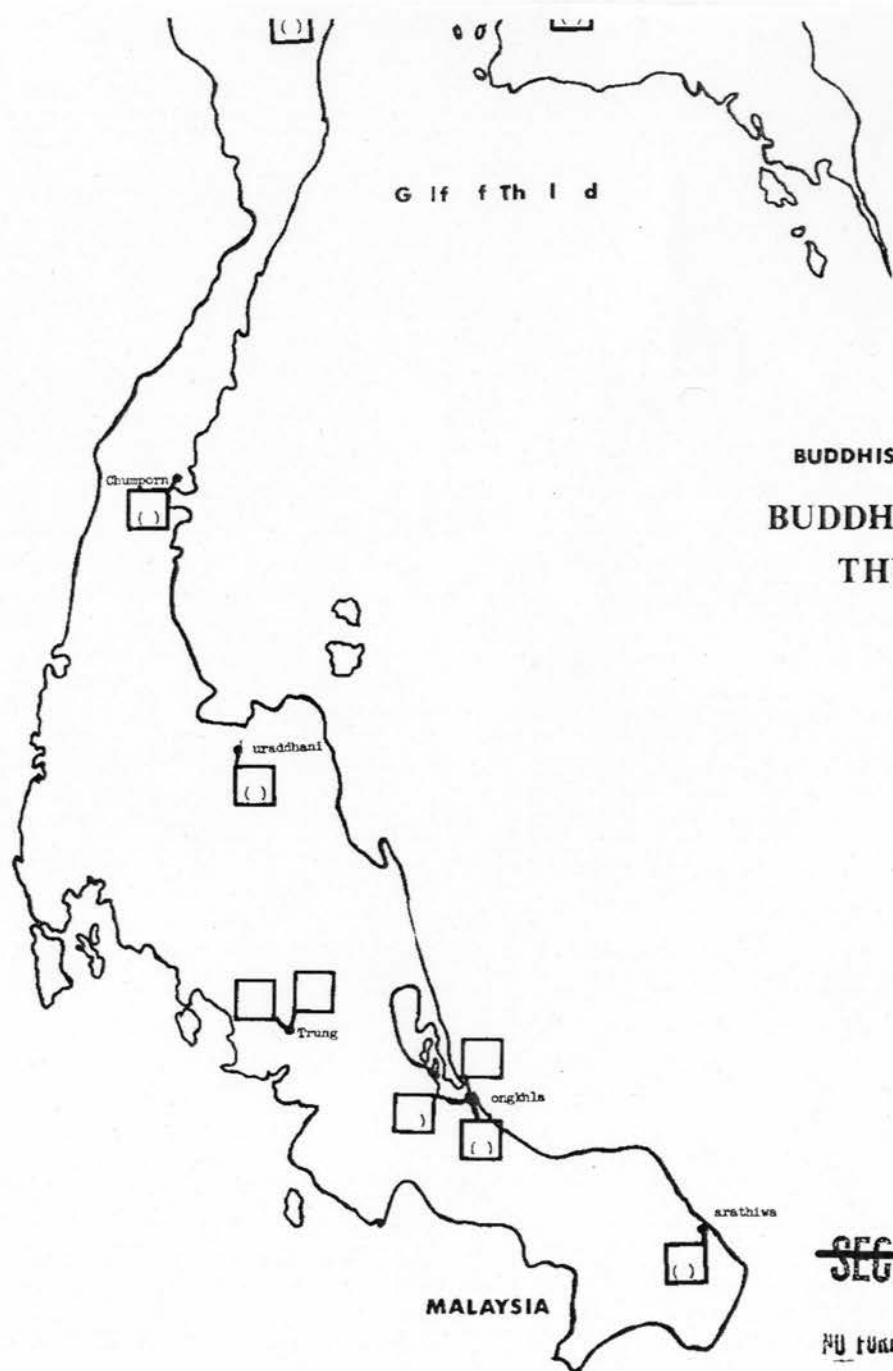
Lessons Organizations in the sense of large formally established structures simply do not prosper among Buddhist Sangha and laity in Burma The Foundation expected too much should have assisted monastic associations preaching the Dhamma (U Nu's advice) if it had done so it would have been better understood and trusted

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CAMBODIA

Gulf of Thailand

**BUDDHIST PROGRAMMING IN THAILAND
 BUDDHIST WATS ASSISTED BY
 THE ASIA FOUNDATION**

1959 1965

LEGEND

- Theravada (en ra)
- Tenakhari extension
- Museum
- Monastery
- University
- Private museum

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Evaluation--Short-Range Purposes

1 Social welfare training for monks Project received support and approval of both U Nu and Ne Win governments "The only significant project developed No unsatisfactory results no problems no lessons

2 Semi-skilled vocational schools operated by monks 300 youth trained during a three-year period in semi-skilled trades but the school ceased operation after three years This project was sponsored by the Young Mens Buddhist Association which refused or was unable to provide or raise any funds in the local community to support continuation proposal to transfer to Tiger School was vetoed by YMBA No specific lessons are noted in this study

Influence Factor

Early influence with U Nu and other government leaders and access to these leaders continued until advent of second Ne Win government Influence among and access to some Sangha leaders also achieved but others questioned Foundation s methods and goals

Evaluation--Summary

In evaluating the Burma program it is important to bear in mind the early character of the CFA the temper of the times in Burma and the series of communist-supported rebellions active in Burma First programming brought the CFA Representative into touch with two distinctly different approaches to the problem of how Buddhism might be encouraged to stand as a barrier to the spread of communism On the one hand there were the traditionalists among senior monks and Buddhist laymen who felt that once a purified account of the Lord Buddha s writings was made available to monks and laity alike revivalist Buddhist forces throughout the society would be strengthened Insidious communist doctrines and dangers would thereby be circumvented simply because the people would better understand their religious heritage On the other hand there were the activists (a minority) among the Sangha These were anti-communist monks who welcomed that kind of programming which gave them the tools to go out and lecture to the populace about the evils of communism

The CFA Representative for a time backed both approaches but relatively early in the programming less and less attention went to supporting the gradualist long-term approaches of the Buddha Sasana Council and far more to the work of the activists Communist efforts did not prosper some of the anti-communist political leaders won seats in parliament and some of the leading lay members of the Buddha Sasana Council won widespread acceptance and acclaim throughout Burma as devout Buddhists but the extent to which the anti-communist members of the Sangha were responsible for the election of some parliamentarians and the extent to which the prudently exercised leadership of a number of the Buddha Sasana Council diminished the influence of the communists among the countryside will always remain a subject for debate

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Burma (continued)

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On the other hand the possible resentment of many Burmese monks and laymen against politically-minded monks probably lessened their respect for the Sangha and their commitment to Buddhism. The problem of political activities of Sangha members and groups was intensified because their actions helped make them more effective politically and were of doubtful benefit to the nation. Finally the Foundation became vulnerable to attack from almost all Burmese quarters on the grounds that it was a foreign group trying to politicize the Sangha even though it had assisted monks loyal to the particular politicians who were criticizing the Foundation. The Foundation gave no help that was not officially approved or acquiesced in but it was later criticized by the same officials for having done so. It could not get objective advice from the Burmese regarding the use of Buddhism as an anti-communist vehicle.

The lessons of this experience are that there is possible danger in Buddhism programming for any foreign organization even when assistance is not for political purposes and not given to political recipients. The danger is almost inevitable when assistance and the granting organization are politically motivated. Programs should therefore be carefully researched before programming begins and Buddhist projects should be measured against the following test: (1) do they have support of government? (2) do they honor the Sangha and the Lord Buddha? (3) do they violate the Rules of Discipline or help the monks do so? and (4) do they strengthen the capacity of the Sangha as protectors and interpreters of the Dhamma? There should be a Buddhist adviser on the local staff as the Foundation needs acquaintance and rapport with the traditionalist members of the Sangha and laity as proof of its sincerity.

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CAMBODIA

Objectives

Long-range goals To stimulate feelings of national pride and unity to facilitate the flow of new ideas and the adaptation of techniques suitable to Cambodian requirements to promote the development of skills necessary to the raising of economic and social standards to work for the development of non-governmental approaches to the solution of socio-economic problems

Medium-range aims To encourage the modernization and strengthening of the Buddhist educational system to make Cambodian culture and civilization better known and understood in the outside world to stimulate social service activity among monks and Buddhist laymen to decrease the insularity of Cambodian Buddhists

Short-range purposes To help prepare Buddhist leaders for their roles of influence on the moral and intellectual fabric of a modernized Cambodian society to promote English as a second language in the Buddhist educational system to support research and publication activities of the Buddhist Institute and others to provide lay and Sangha Buddhist leaders with facilities to participate more actively in community service projects and to assist Cambodian monks and lay leaders to travel to other countries

Influence factor To gain entree for the Foundation and access to Sangha and lay Buddhist leaders to create a favorable climate for the Foundation's programming as a whole

Evaluation--Medium-Range Aims

1 To encourage the modernization and strengthening of the Buddhist educational system Foundation programming has provided the "progressives" in the Sangha with the resources to introduce badly needed curriculum reforms. Teaching standards have been raised in the only area of Buddhist activity in which modernizing trends have appeared.

Problems In general problems have centered around the attitudes of conservatives in the Sangha and the limited capacity of the Sangha to germinate ideas itself.

Lessons See below Evaluation--Summary

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Cambodia (continued)

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2 To make Cambodian culture and civilization better known The Buddhist Institute has been enabled to produce numerous worthwhile studies of Cambodian civilization which otherwise might never have appeared. Quality of research has also been raised because of Foundation assistance and interest in and knowledge of Cambodian culture have been enhanced both inside and outside the country. Other research projects outside the Institute have helped preserve cultural artifacts and enabled an important and influential monk to undertake the first full-scale professional research endeavor ever undertaken by a Cambodian monk. A number of Buddhist publications have also been assisted for use within the country.

Problems Other than having to cope with Cambodian inadequacies of research and publication standards programming in this field appears to have met with a relative degree of success.

Lessons See below Evaluation--Summary

3 To stimulate social service activity among monks and Buddhist laymen This aim appears not to have been achieved for the most part.

Problems Cambodians monk and laymen alike are not as yet motivated in this direction.

Lessons See below Evaluation--Summary

4 To decrease the insularity of Cambodian Buddhists A number of members of the Buddhist elite and potential elite have been exposed to the outside world with mixed results. Programming has not appreciably broadened intellectual horizons or lessened conviction that Cambodian Buddhist has little to learn from others.

Problems Low academic and professional qualifications of grantees.

Lessons See below Evaluation--Summary

Evaluation--Short-Range Purposes

1 To help prepare Buddhist leaders for their roles of influence on the moral and intellectual fabric of a modernized Cambodian society Through aid to the development of the Buddhist educational system Buddhist monks have been receiving education of a higher standing in which non-secular subjects have had a more prominent role than previously and English teaching has prepared many to read English-language materials and travel abroad. Many innovations in the education program could not have been implemented without Foundation support e.g. purchase of textbooks and laboratory equipment publication of textbooks on non-religious subjects for the first time in the national language and introduction of English as a second language.

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Problems Same as those for Medium-Range Aims

Lessons See below Evaluation--Summary

2 To promote English as a second language in the Buddhist educational system Foundation-sponsored American teacher established well-organized English courses and prepared new Cambodian-English language manuals the first English language texts written in Cambodian As a result the Buddhist monks have a higher English language competence than any other group in Cambodia Objective of training competent group of monk teachers of English was not achieved

Problems No special problems other than those already mentioned above

Lessons See below Evaluation--Summary

3 To support research and publication activities of the Buddhist Institute and others Grant to train English language editor-translator not overly successful but limited English language facilities thus provided Foundation aided calligrapher in Ministry of Education has been copying and preserving palm leaf-written sutras from pagodas around the country monk influential as scholar and with younger monks was enabled to spend two years in India in the first full-scale research project ever undertaken by a Cambodian monk preparing a book on the spread of Buddhism and development of Buddhism in Cambodia numerous Buddhist publications journals and brochures have also been published with Foundation help

Problems The editor-translator turned out to be a poor choice

Lessons See below Evaluation--Summary

4 To provide lay and Sangha Buddhist leaders with facilities to participate more actively in community service projects Grants for vehicle salary support of provincial organizer equipment for monk ward of government hospital and first-aid training course for monks

Problems Lay organizations never showed much enthusiasm or talent for social service projects one of groups assisted engaged in anti-American political activities Sangha is as yet uncommitted and unconvinced in realm of social action

Lessons See below Evaluation--Summary

5 To assist Cambodian monks and Buddhist lay leaders to travel to other countries Scholarships were provided for monks English teachers were trained outside the country grants were made for conference attendance and observation tours (including head of Mohanikay sect) Inspector General

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Cambodia (continued)

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of Buddhist Education sponsored on observation tour in nearby countries Evaluation of these grants not reported except in general terms as stated under Medium-Range Aims paragraph 4 above

Problems See Medium-Range Aims paragraph 4 above

Lessons See below Evaluation--Summary

Evaluation--Influence Factor

The Foundation has had good relations with important officials of majority sect and of educational institutions Contact with monk leaders in provinces has been more sporadic because of highly centralized nature of the Sangha Gard s visits were valuable in relations with influential monk leaders Left-wing efforts to detract from the Foundation s reputation have been discounted or ignored by the top leadership of the Sangha As reported elsewhere Foundation s successful programming with Sangha may have helped lead to negative attitude of Prince Sihanouk and his advisers

Evaluation--Summary

While the pace of programming with the Buddhists in Cambodia has been slow because of intellectual and attitudinal obstacles gradual progress has been achieved in the education of monks in promoting English language study among the monks and in developing a heightened appreciation and use of research Efforts to motivate monks and lay Buddhist organizations in social service action have been unsuccessful However in the process the Foundation has gained considerable knowledge of Buddhist affairs and a relation of confidence within certain limits with prominent monks and laymen

Problems In general conservative attitudes have at times created obstacles and the low quality in general of the human material available has impeded quality programming

Lessons The gradualness of progress does not minimize the importance of the total effort The program must be of a long-range nature--small grants should be employed to probe continually for openings in the wall of intransigence and inaction The degree of sophistication of program devices and techniques must be adapted to local circumstances and the Foundation understands local conditions in Buddhism and can respond to local aspirations and requests better than any other foreign organization The important point about Buddhist programming in Cambodia is that it has given entree and a basic quality to the whole effort of the Foundation and as such is directly relevant to Foundation goals The fact that there is doubt that the basic thinking and attitudes of the monks can be influenced to any profound extent that to push them too far would hamper cooperation does not detract from the value of the programming in respect to its extensive and favorable influence on the position of the Foundation in Cambodia

(NOTE This study was completed before the Foundation closed its office in Cambodia The withdrawal does not in any way invalidate the above findings)

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CEYLON

Objectives

Long range goals To encourage Ceylonese efforts to apply Buddhism as a force for economic and social development to enable Buddhist leaders to participate more fully in activities which will broaden their vision of their country and the world

Medium range aims To further the development of a Buddhist educational system of high standard fully responsive to changing needs to encourage and develop a scientific approach to the problems and goals of the nation to assist Buddhist organizations to contribute constructively to social and economic growth

Short range purposes To encourage the diversification of the curriculum of Buddhist pirivenas (temple schools) to support foreign study and travel by leading monks to support efforts to introduce instruction in practical science and technology in Buddhist educational institutions

Influence factor To gain entrée for the Foundation and access to Sangha and lay Buddhist leaders to create a favorable climate for the Foundation's programming as a whole

Evaluation Medium Range Aims

- 1 To further the development of a Buddhist educational system of high standard Little dent was made on the objective regarding Buddhist education For problems and lessons see summary below
- 2 To encourage and develop a scientific approach to the problems and goals of the nation No evaluation made because of lack of corroborating data For problems and lessons see summary below
- 3 To assist Buddhist organizations to contribute constructively to social and economic growth The Foundation can take some credit for giving encouragement to the expansion of Buddhist activity in the social science field Its assistance hastened the pace

Evaluation Short Range Purposes

- 1 To encourage diversification of the curriculum of pirivenas Purposes have been achieved to some extent For problems and lessons see summary below

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Ceylon (continued)

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2 To support foreign travel and study by leading monks Purposes have been achieved to some extent For problems and lessons see summary below

3 To support efforts to introduce instruction in practical science and technology in Buddhist educational institutions Purposes have been achieved to some extent For problems and lessons see summary below

Evaluation Influence Factor

The Foundation has been able to work with Buddhist organizations and institutions whose major figures are increasingly the important men in politics and social service in Ceylon Its friendship identification with these major figures in Buddhism carries over into other functional areas of programming to the benefit of the Foundation s objectives for the country program as a whole

Evaluation Summary

Generally speaking it appears that the Foundation s Buddhist programming in Ceylon has been primarily effective in establishing the Foundation s position as a friend of Buddhism and of Ceylon and enabling it to gain access to Buddhist leaders who are rising in importance in the political structure or are influenced by leading Buddhist monks The attacks of extreme left wing politicians may be considered as evidence that the Foundation s programming has had results good enough to draw opposition fire

In terms of long range goals and medium range aims progress has been slow There has been inadequate commitment from local sources lack of intimate knowledge of project principals (as contrasted with friendship with the leadership) overly grandiose planning of the Buddhist leadership without having available the practical talents to follow through and finally real or implied pressure on the Foundation from political leaders to give unwarranted support to Buddhist monk friends or their temples

Lessons The lessons learned from this experience to date are that the Foundation should avoid being in the vanguard of Buddhist educational reform but discreetly support it from the background avoid partisan political involvement and not get involved in questions regarding the organization of the Sangha relations between the Sangha and the government and relations between the Sangha and lay bodies

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LAOS

Objectives

Long range goals The revitalization of Buddhism to arrest and reverse its decadent condition which could open it to communist directed infiltration and subversion to help Buddhism play a dynamic role in the social progress of the nation to support the role of Buddhism as a cohesive national non political force and major source of moral and intellectual strength for the people

Medium range aims To reform and strengthen Buddhist education at all levels to create a wide comprehension of the basic philosophy rules of discipline and history of Buddhism throughout Laos to improve the administrative techniques and internal communications of the Sangha to help dramatize to the Sangha the positive interest of the government in Buddhism and combat the growing rift between Sangha and government to foster Buddhist civic and community action and revitalize the social role of the Sangha in Laos to revitalize the commitment of the elite and people alike to the precepts of Buddhism and their application to modern life

Short range purposes To identify and train Buddhist leaders religious and lay, to improve Buddhist educational facilities to assist activities designed to bring a modernized Buddhism and leaders closer to the masses to encourage and help monks to fulfill intelligently and capably their roles as religious non political leaders in their communities to handle programs with the Sangha through the government to revive interest in and application of Buddhist art

Influence factor To gain entree for the Foundation and access to Sangha and lay Buddhist leaders to create a favorable climate for the Foundation s programming as a whole

Evaluation Medium Range Aims

For most of the aims listed progress has been slow but steady Lack of evaluative date makes more precise evaluation difficult except in the field of government Sangha relations where the Foundation s Buddhist projects handled through the government have caused the monks to see their relationships with the lay authorities in a better light Rural projects are believed to have had some effect in increasing the commitment of villagers to Buddhism

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Laos (continued)

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Problems Generally speaking the lack of human material with which to work successfully presents one of the greatest problems. The state of Buddhist education does not provide even the base to which Thai monk education had to be built before the rural social service concept could be translated into action. The motivation and skills needed for social service have not yet developed among the Buddhist monks. Committing the masses to Buddhism is the most difficult area in which to work.

Lessons It is important to keep the monks out of politics by providing alternatives in education and social work. The monks should have a broad beneficial effect on political and social thinking and action but should not be supported in projects which involve them in partisan politics. The role of the King vis a vis the Sangha should be discreetly reinforced when appropriate projects are developed.

Evaluation Short Range Purposes

1. To identify and train religious and lay Buddhist leaders Training of monks in Thailand, U.S. and India has not proved successful either because of low quality of individuals or because (as in one case) the monk left the order on departing from Laos and returned to work for an American government office. No progress can be noted in regard to the training of lay Buddhist leaders although tentative plans have been made to assist the Young Buddhists Association.

2. To improve Buddhist educational facilities Over 600 monks and laymen have received training for teaching in village schools. A monk run typing school for bhikkhus is now providing its own teachers from among its graduates. Extensive material assistance has been given to Pali schools from elementary to high school level and to the Pali Institute. Problems have included especially the low honoraria paid to Pali school monk teachers which caused them to lose interest but discreet pressure from the Foundation has partially solved the difficulty through higher honoraria. Also the Foundation has not been able to find a foreign adviser for the Pali Institute. For lessons see summary below.

3. To assist activities designed to bring a modernized Buddhism and its leaders closer to the people The Puttavong magazine is popular among hierarchy monks and lay readership and is one of the most widely read of available Lao language materials. It carries articles on Buddhist thought and present day problems. Distribution to the outlying areas has not however been as effective as desired.

4. To encourage monks to fulfill their roles as non political community leaders No information available.

5. To handle programs with the Sangha through the government All programming with the Sangha is now handled through the government usually the office of the Director of Religious Affairs. This does not limit contacts with the clergy as program discussions are held with them in both development and execution of projects. There appear to be no major problems in this method.

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Laos (continued)

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6 To revive interest in Buddhist art A project under this heading is contributing to the preservation of Lao art in Luang Prabang and teaching monks the essentials of painting sculpture and decoration It helps maintain a close tie between the Foundation and the royal family

Evaluation Influence Factor

The Foundation has been programming in Buddhism in Laos since even before an office was opened and has established a reputation as a non political organization interested in the progress of Buddhism and its relevance to modern conditions Access to Sangha and lay Buddhist leaders is easy and confident and the King is aware of and friendly to Foundation programming Buddhist programming in fact sets the tone for the whole operation in Laos and points up the Foundation's bona fides

Evaluation Summary

At the psychological and public relations level the Foundation appears to have made a very favorable impact through its Buddhist programming Program development is an agonizingly slow process in Laos and even more so in Buddhism than in more worldly fields The evaluation of projects is however difficult because of the lack of detailed information on the results The impression is gained that some earlier projects were undertaken for impact rather than long term results which has allowed for only limited follow up but increasingly in recent years both impact and sound standards have been considered Sound program planning and careful choice of participants continues to be a need among the Buddhists Still the Buddhist field is very sensitive because it is so pervasive and so close to the hearts of the masses and it is important that the Foundation not jeopardize its long range non political program stance for short range purposes

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THAILAND

Objectives

Long range goals Social stability national unity

Medium range aims To strengthen the ability of the monks to help people cope with modern problems to help guide the intellectual energy of monk project leaders into positive educational and social activities as a strong buffer against subversive influences to strengthen urban rural relationships and a cooperative relationship between the capital and the provinces

Short range purposes To provide qualified lay teachers and other assistance to Buddhist universities and secondary schools to train young people in Buddhist principles to assist in the placement of trained monks in rural villages for purposes of education social service and community development

Influence factor To gain entree for the Foundation and access to Sangha and lay Buddhist leaders to create a favorable climate for the Foundation's programming as a whole Statement is made that early Buddhist programming was intended to provide entree for Chinese programming but this purpose was later abandoned

Evaluation Medium Range Aims

1 To strengthen the ability of the monks to help the people cope with modern problems As a result of Foundation programming monks are increasingly conscious of their social economic and political environment and their influential position as community leaders Furthermore the government has come to work with the monks on a massive basis as they are in direct touch with the people, whose opinions and needs are thus ascertained This should increase the government's respect for the Sangha and strengthen the position of the Buddhist universities No problems of major import have arisen So far the approach taken by the Foundation seems to have been correct so that the principal lessons to come from programming concern the importance of careful planning and execution which take into account the Thai way of life and of doing things and the opinions and preferences of the Buddhist clergy

2 To help guide the intellectual energy of monk project leaders into positive educational and social activities Evaluation of Aim #1 also applies here Furthermore the educational horizons of Pali schools all over the country have been widened because of programming assisted by the Foundation the recent reform of Buddhist secondary education is believed to reflect the success of the Pali Mathayom movement which the Foundation encouraged and helped

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Thailand (continued)

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the radiating effect of the educational and social service training program is creating a leadership group to back up the development efforts of villages and a base has been established for sending Buddhist monks into the hill tribes areas for similar work

Problems There has been some criticism from conservative Buddhist sources of the whole idea of modernizing the usefulness of the monk in society but such criticism is usually directed at the monks themselves and not at the Foundation whose help is looked upon more as an act of merit Also the growth of the Pali Mathayom schools seems to have been one of the principal motivations for the reform of all temple education instituted by the Ecclesiastical Minister of Education

Lessons Same as for Aim No 1 The Foundation learned from experience that the placement of its personnel as consultants in the Buddhist universities in order to achieve administrative and curriculum reform was not successful because of the sensitivities of the monks

3 To strengthen urban rural relationships The same programs discussed in Aims Nos 1 and 2 have also helped to strengthen relationships between the capital and the villages as the country born monks educated in the capital have returned to their homes The problems apparent now have to do with the growth of the program to the point where it goes beyond the resources of the Foundation to assist

Evaluation Short Range Aims

1 To provide qualified lay teachers and other assistance to Buddhist universities and secondary schools The Foundation program expanded from assistance to one university to a second university and then into secondary education The two Buddhist universities are now regarded as institutions of relatively high standard The educational horizons of the Pali schools have been widened Most of the younger educated priests in the country have benefited from the Foundation s help

Problems The criticism of monks mentioned above centered especially on one of the Buddhist universities Furthermore it did not help matters when the secretary general of that university was disrobed and arrested for subversive activities (he was later released), and the abbot of the temple where the university is located was also demoted disrobed and arrested However the Foundation by maintaining detachment during this period was able to continue and even expand programming Finally there was evidence recently that the Foundation was looked upon by some persons in Bangkok as engaged in anti communist activities perhaps a holdover from the early days of programming

Lessons Policy of detachment should be continued but with sympathetic attention to the needs of Buddhist universities and schools Study in depth of present policies and practices of universities is needed Training of two monks in the United States resulted in both leaving the order

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Thailand (continued)

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2 To train young people in Buddhist principles The number of chapter members of the National Council of Young Buddhist Associations has grown from six when the Foundation went to Thailand to about 36 today. These chapters are found all over the country and they are seriously concerned with training their members in modern interpretation of the Dhamma. They are also leadership training channels. They sponsor Sunday schools for younger children. Large numbers of laymen and laywomen as well as children have been influenced by the YBA's. The National Council also influenced the government to install courses in moral training in the schools. The impact of the YBA program country wide is believed to be unique for a private organization. In addition to this program the Foundation assisted Buddhist student study groups in two of the universities which have helped to raise the moral tone of student life.

Problems Better understanding of the effect of the YBA chapters cannot be achieved because of a lack of data.

Lessons The student study group ideas could probably be proliferated to other universities and perhaps to secondary schools with good results.

Evaluation Influence Factor

While Chinese programming started soon after the Foundation's establishment in Thailand it is doubtful that Buddhist programming had much to do with the lack of criticism, as the two spheres were quite separated. Of course had the Foundation begun Chinese programming without undertaking Buddhist or any other programming suspicion might have been raised as to its motives. As it was, the Foundation quickly gained a reputation for assisting Buddhism in the ways the monks thought best and it is now widely accepted as part of the Thai scene. Easy access is provided to high government officials as well as to the King and Queen who are fully informed of what the Foundation is doing.

Evaluation Summary

Foundation programming with Buddhists in Thailand appears to have been generally on the right track from the beginning. After a period of testing on both sides easy program relationships developed which have been maintained up to this day not only with the monks but also with Buddhist senior and youth organizations.

The education program has fulfilled its goal in the following ways (1) monks are prepared to carry out a community leadership role (2) teacher training programs provide qualified teachers for service in rural areas (3) rural areas are provided with educated teachers who will carry out programs directly related to the social stability of the areas concerned (4) seminars have upgraded the quality of the training and guided it along productive lines (5) rural schools now provide stimulating work and opportunities to the young socially concerned monk group (6) the support of research has provided an outlet for the capabilities of the urban intellectual monk group and (7) the divisive tendencies between the two sects of the Sangha have been reduced.

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The Foundation's satisfactory position is due in substantial part to the presence of a program specialist for the past seven years who has provided continuity and sophisticated guidance to the program. The visits of Richard A. Gard helped establish the Foundation as an organization sincerely interested in Buddhism, but program operations did not gain real momentum until a Buddhist had been employed as program specialist.

Problems which have arisen have concerned largely the amount of information to which the Foundation is entitled, but they have not been great. The Foundation has learned that it must allow the monks to manage things for themselves and not attempt to interfere in management or teaching programs. Its advice is willingly heard, however, and often acted upon. One important lesson that seems to come out of this experience is that the Buddhist program has been its own publicity and that the Foundation's policy of not issuing publicity itself has been widely appreciated.

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VIETNAM

Objectives

Long-range goals To assist the growth of responsible and effective leadership to assist the solution of social and economic problems which feed the insurgency to foster unity of ethnic religious and regional groups within a framework of mutual cooperation respect and equal rights to improve Buddhist understanding of the United States to increase built-in resistance to communism

Medium-range aims To help educate trained leadership in the Sangha through assistance to educational institutions within Vietnam to assist the development of substantive improvements in Buddhist social service activities to strengthen Buddhist lay and monastic organizations to encourage the improvement of inter-faith relations

Short-range purposes To support study and training abroad for monks and nuns who will return to leadership positions in the United Buddhist Church and its educational and social service institutions to provide books and equipment to Buddhist educational institutions to assist travel of Buddhist monks and laymen abroad for study/observation tours conference attendance etc

Influence factor To obtain access to Sangha and lay Buddhist leaders to create a favorable climate for the Foundation's programming in Buddhism and other fields

Evaluation--Medium-Range Aims

1 To help educate trained leadership in the Sangha through assistance to educational institutions within Vietnam Too early to evaluate fully but preliminary indications are that young monks and nuns selected by the hierarchy for advanced education are of high caliber and leadership potential the Buddhist university is in the hands of educated monks who are seriously trying to build it into a first-rate institution

Problems Educated monks tend to be given high leadership positions in the Institute for the Execution of the Dhamma but long-range personnel planning among Buddhists is still weak Buddhist educational administration and planning in the past has been weak but it is gradually improving

Lessons The Buddhists are putting great emphasis on developing new and competent leadership for which the Foundation is in a unique position to assist

2 To assist the development of substantive improvements in Buddhist social service activities Existing and planned assistance to the School of

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Vietnam (continued)

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Youth for Social Service and other groups working in social service and rural development fields is mostly of long-range nature--training of the first generation of professional leadership

Problems Planning and administration of social services are weak but Buddhists are aware of this and are trying to effect improvements. Buddhists tend to be weak on evaluation

Lessons The Foundation should concentrate on raising professional standards and training

3 To strengthen Buddhist lay and monastic organizations The trend toward social service has been accelerated and organizations appear to have benefited from assistance in general however it is too early to evaluate achievements. There have been no unsatisfactory results so far

Problems Lack of competent Vietnamese on the Saigon staff of the Foundation to handle evaluation of grants with Vietnamese-speaking organizations

Lessons Individuals involved in some of the groups with which the Foundation works are politically oriented and active. The Foundation must be very careful to avoid activities which could be construed as political

4 To encourage the improvement of inter-faith relations One project undertaken involving joint travel to U S of Buddhist monk and Catholic priest seems to have been reasonably successful but too early to see full results. Exchange of professors between Catholic and Buddhist universities proposed

Problems Foundation has taken initiative so far (as in trip mentioned) and it is difficult to find appropriate projects. Joint trip received little publicity in Vietnam

Lessons There are moderates on both sides who are willing to work together

Evaluation--Short-Range Purposes

1 To support study and training abroad for monks and nuns Program has just started in earnest so it is too early to evaluate. However the hierarchy attaches high priority to foreign training for future leadership of the Unified Buddhist Church. An earlier grant to monk who became first to receive U S advanced degree was successful as monk appointed to high position in IED on return and acts as interpreter for senior monks at times. On the other hand this monk was unable to go on for doctorate because of lack of intellectual capacity furthermore he is politically oriented and seems to lack good judgment. was involved in 1965 peace petitions

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Problems Political orientation of monk makes relationships with him difficult

Lessons Experience with this grant points up importance of careful selection of grantees and close administration of scholarship programs by San Francisco

2 To provide books and equipment to Buddhist educational institutions Grants encouraged the newly emerging Buddhist concern for education in the late 50 s and were useful in relation to influence factor No problems were noted

Lessons Grants of this nature were useful in the early stages of development of the Buddhist program programming now should increasingly be channelled through national bodies created after 1963 Foundation must also be careful of regional factionalism particularly southern groups which do not fully support the Unified Buddhist Church

3 To assist travel of Buddhist monks and laymen abroad for study/ observation tours, conference attendance, etc Twelve grantees were assisted over a six-year period Five were not evaluated by field and seven were successful in varying degrees Four successful grantees were active in the Buddhist Student Association one is prominent nun in the hierarchy and pushes lay education and development of social welfare activities for nuns one s position was made stronger among Buddhist educators and another was strongly influenced by trip to Philippines in setting up curriculum of School of Youth for Social Service

Problems The value of one grant was diminished by its last minute nature which prevented fully effective programming in India furthermore grantees did not always keep to schedule and one of them came to the U S shortly afterward

Lessons Vietnamese generally are abysmally ignorant of the United States and observation tours are useful for carefully selected individuals careful attention must be given to the problems of scheduling visits to the United States and to other countries Ability of the Foundation to move rapidly enables it to provide experience or training for monks in fields or areas of activity which they are just entering and for which they are not trained The existence of an educated and sophisticated Buddhist leadership both lay and clergy is an advantage to the Foundation in developing programs

Evaluation--Influence Factor

The earlier grants to Buddhist educational groups and lay associations were effective in developing contacts for the Foundation with Buddhist leaders and built a favorable image of the Foundation among Buddhists Travel grants established good relationships with several leading monks nuns and

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laymen One grant to a leading Buddhist educator to visit the U S appears to have been an important factor in the Buddhists acceptance of the U S as training ground or Vietnamese clergy

Evaluation--Summary

After a slow start and some uncertainty Buddhist programming has recently picked up with confidence concentrating on the development and training of selected leadership in the United States Early program was successful in establishing a favorable image for the Foundation and valuable contacts among clergy and laymen while later program is too recent to evaluate Much evidence points to Buddhist awareness of communist suppression or use of religion However the Buddhists are often critical and suspicious of U S government agencies The Foundation is acceptable to Buddhists because of its educational non-political disinterested image To engage in anything smacking of politics would destroy the Foundation s ability to work with the Buddhists It is not entirely clear how deeply the new ideas on the social role of Buddhism have penetrated into the Sangha While encouraging the intellectual leaders of the Buddhist reform movement the Foundation should at the same time be on guard not to identify itself exclusively with monks who might be considered radical by conservative elements in the Sangha

Some general problems run through all programs the political orientation of some monks and the need for the Foundation to avoid involvement with them the care that must be taken not to antagonize the Catholics through heavy Buddhist programming the need to improve the Foundation s knowledge of all aspects of Buddhism in Vietnam

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Question 24 On the Basis of the Foundation s Past Experience and Other Relevant Data, What Forms of Program Activity with Buddhists Hold Greatest Promise of Advancing Foundation Objectives

In a few words

--The education of monks

(Teacher training teaching materials simple laboratory equipment special courses in social service and community development activities teachers meetings inspection tours by university administrators library development qualified lay professors at universities)

--Support of social service and community development activities by monks

(Special training courses honoraria to encourage placement in rural areas professional conferences inspection tours)

--Assistance to lay Buddhist youth organizations

(Office and administrative expenses during formative period funds for national meetings special activities such as work camps Sunday schools travel to international Buddhist youth meetings)

--Assignment of program specialists for Buddhist affairs to selected field offices

(The prototype is William J Klausner whose presence in Thailand and Laos has provided highly sophisticated programming approaches continuity of programming and of relationships with Buddhist leaders and coordination between the two countries and with activities in other countries)

--Encouragement of international exchange of ideas and information and the promotion of international Buddhist solidarity

(Observation tours by Sangha leaders to other Buddhist countries encouragement of non-political organizational efforts by Sangha and laity such as the World Fellowship of Buddhists)

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Question 25 How Has Foundation Buddhist Programming Served U S Interests?

Foundation programming in Buddhism has served U S interests in the following ways (refer also to Question 12)

<u>The Interest</u>	<u>How the Foundation Serves</u>
<u>Social and political stability</u> in the sense of non violent transition during the modernization process (Buddhism provides psychological security for its followers They feel they are in tune with reality (Buddhists are moderates they seek the middle way (Buddhists abhor needless killing (Buddhists prefer consensus to division and confrontation)	1 Through increasing emphasis on social service which enables the masses to achieve social goals or to overcome social ills non violently 2 Through program specialists who provide continuity of interest which is visible and reassuring to the people 3 Through rural programming which contributes to national unity by bringing urban and rural Buddhists into direct relationship 4 Through helping improve communications within the Sangha by fostering provincial travel conferences spread of educated monks
<u>Progress</u> in the sense of material development (Buddhism is not dynamically progressive in Southeast Asia except possibly Vietnam but it accepts change as inevitable and seeks to develop theories which show how precepts support innovations (Buddhist attachment to reality provides pragmatic approach to development encourages adjustment and adaptation to new situations)	1 The Foundation is visible evidence of the interest of world s most progressive country in concerns and needs of Buddhist countries 2 Through fostering and supporting Buddhist education as greatest single factor in helping bring to Buddhists the knowledge they need to effect adjustment 3 Through support of Sangha social service which makes adjustment process easier

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The Interest

Use of the democratic process in the sense of freedom of thought freedom of will freedom of expression

(Ideologically Buddhism supports free choice respect for others abhorrence of violent means of governing

(In the Sangha Buddhism has an example of democratic processes)

Effective government in the sense of good relations between governing and governed honest and dedicated civil servants a responsive public

(A good mutual relationship between the Sangha and the crown or government showing that each respects the other is reassuring to the people

(Buddhist precepts include several admonitions which are relevant to government servants such as prohibition of stealing and killing)

How the Foundation Serves

1 Through encouraging and supporting research in fundamental Buddhist thought and precepts

2 Through education of Buddhist monks which helps to free their minds

3 Through assistance to Buddhist youth organizations which provides opportunities for learning how to work together for common objectives

4 Through help to Buddhist lay organizations which give scope to women's activities on behalf of Buddhism not previously available

1 Through projects which enable government to show Sangha it is concerned for their welfare and education

2 Through education of monks and their spread throughout the country for purposes which include diffusion of the basic tenets of Buddhism

3 Through indirect help to Buddhist Sunday schools at which tenets of Buddhism are inculcated in youth

4 Through close relationship with government departments concerned with religious affairs which can result in increased stature and influence for the departments

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The Interest

Effective government (continued)

International cooperation and understanding in the sense of helping nations understand others points of view and join together in programs for the common good of mankind

(Buddhism teaches respect for others especially older and wiser persons

(Buddhism supports international cooperation for commendable purposes

(Buddhism appreciates moderation and restraint in dealing with others)

Special interests, in the sense of representing the United States presence and acquiring information of assistance in formulation of foreign policy and solution of foreign policy problems

How the Foundation Serves

5 Through strengthening Buddhism which provides a bulwark against communism

6 In general through the whole implication of the Buddhist program which is to strengthen the ethical backbone of the people

1 Through visits by Sangha and lay Buddhist leadership to other countries particularly those with similar interests

2 Through education about South east Asian and world affairs in Buddhist universities

3 Through assistance to international Buddhist organizations and conferences

4 Through support of research which uses international resources

5 Through program specialists who facilitate exchange of experience at the international level

1 Through demonstrating the interest of the U S by its presence and programming in Buddhism in the Asian countries which helps retain their interest in the U S and its citizens

2 Through its private character and philanthropic activities which have permitted the Foundation to program effectively and represent the best American interests even after suspension of diplomatic relations (Cambodia) or the suspension of AID programs (Ceylon)

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The Interest

Special interests (continued)

How the Foundation Serves

3 Through its relations of confidence with a number of Buddhist lay and Sangha leaders who are in direct touch with policy makers in government

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