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(Phramaha Somboon Uddhikaro, Dr.)

Dean of Graduate School

Dersertation Examination Committee

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(Prof. Em. P. D. Premasisri)

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Member

(Phramaha Somboon Uddhikaro, Dr)

Member

(Phramaha Surasak Paccantaseno, Dr)

Member

(Asst. Prof. Dr. Iromi Ariyaratne)

Dersertation Supervisory Committee

(Phramaha Surasak Paccantaseno, Dr) Chair Person

(Asst. Prof. Dr. Iromi Ariyaratne)

Member

Resercher

S.M.U.T.S. Subasibnghe

Dersertation Title : Management of Governance for Social Happiness  
with Special Reference to the Pali Canon

Researcher : S.M.U.T.S.Subasinghe

Degree : Doctor of Philosophy (Buddhist Studies)

Dersertation Supervisory Committee

: Phramaha Surasak Paccantaseno, Ph.D.  
Pali VII, B.A. (Pali and Sanskrit)  
B.A. (Thai Studies), M.A. (Buddhist Studies)  
M.Phil. (Buddhist Studies), Ph.D. (Buddhist Studies)

: Asst.Prof. Dr. Iromi Ariyaratne  
B.A. (Hons Peradeniya), PhD (Peradeniya)

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### **Abstract**

Sri Lanka has suffered two youth insurrections and a 30 year internal war within the past 5 decades. She was named as one of the most dangerous places to visit in the world, with poverty, unrest, unhappiness, killing and abductions. She is now in search of happiness to overcome problems created by political party leaders. According to literature, problems of governance result in social disorders, disequilibrium, exploitations, and suffering, ultimately destroying; social peace, harmony and development. This is extremely relevant to Sri Lanka where Theravada Tradition of teaching of the Buddha prevailed for 25 centuries, and the constitution admonishes the government to 'foster and protect the Buddha Sasana'. This study investigated whether the teaching of the Buddha on governance was practiced in the governance process for the happiness of all the people. The study was a desk research using existing literature, and analysis was done as a case study. No clear cut definition of governance was found, however, the study unearthed from the teaching of the Buddha that governance is mainly concerned with leader's human qualities and human qualifications to make decisions for the happiness of all the people in all the societies in the global village. The root and the true meaning of governance was

uncovered from the Teaching of the Buddha, which the study named as the ‘indigenous knowledge treasure’ and the new terms ‘management/ mismanagement of governance’ and the ‘decision making center states of mind,’ ‘Universal Basic Fundamental Standard Qualities of Great Human Values of human being’, ‘Universal Basic Fundamentals of Happiness’, ‘Human Qualities and Human Qualification for making decisions’ were introduced to explain the role of the leadership in any organization for the happiness of all the people of the global village with the concept of global leadership. Buddha was the first person to suggest the concepts of global village and the global leadership for global happiness with the concept of *Cakkavattirājā*. In the Sri Lankan context, practice of mismanagement of governance by political leaders, lacking the above mentioned qualities and qualifications has created riots, insurrections, and internal war for about 35 years that killed more than two hundred thousand youth. The thesis found ‘management of governance’ solely depends on the decision makers’ human qualities and human qualifications for the happiness of all the people. It is suggested these Human Qualities and Human Qualifications to be amended to the constitution to foster and protect the “Buddha Sasana” and happiness of the all people. This can also be extended to leadership practices in global organizations.

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### List of Abbreviations

AN.	Āṅguttara Nikāya (Ven. Bhikkhu Bodhi translation)
AA.	Āṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā (PTS)
Abhdh A.	Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha
BPS.	Buddhist Publication Society
CS.	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana version of Tipiṭaka (using online text available from Vipassanā Research Institute)
DN.	Dīgha Nikāya (Maurice Walsh Translation)
Dhp.	Dhammapada (various translations used)
It.	Itivuttakapāli
M.	Majjhima Nikāya (Ven. Bhikkhu Bodhi translation)
Mp.	Manorathapūraṇī (Āṅguttara Nikāya-aṭṭhakathā)
Mp-t.	Manorathapūraṇī-ṭīkā (Sāratthamañjūsā IV-ṭīkā)
MV.	Mahāvagga of Vinaya
PED.	Pali -English Dictionary (Rhys-Davids version)
PTS	Pali Text Society
Pṭs.	Paṭisambhidāmagga (or listed as Ps in some references)
SN.	Saṃyutta Nikāya (Ven. Bhikkhu Bodhi translation)
Skt.	Sanskrit (language)
Sn.	Suttanipātapāli
Ud.	Udānapāli
Vbh.	Vibhaṅga
Vin.	Vinaya Piṭaka
Vsm.	Visuddhimagga

# Chapter I

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background and Significance of the Problem

Sri Lanka was known for its treasures and happy people since ancient times. "This country is an oasis, prosperous and happy; its people are well-to-do; they all have received the faith, and find their amusement in religious music."<sup>1</sup> However after centuries under the domination of European powers, it has changed, and changed for the worse after the independence. Seventy years after independence, and 30 of those fighting a civil war, along with two internal civil disturbances, Sri Lankans are still in search of happiness from the programs of the governments that they have elected to help them to be happy. The word 'happiness' is not used in the society during the period of war. It is very important to find happiness in the society, since happiness had moved so far away from the society at the commencement of war. Both have happened because of the mismanagement of the governance. Mismanagement of governance creates all problems in every society. "Governance, broadly speaking is the functional manifestation of authority for achieving particular objectives; and problems of governance generally result in Social disorders, disequilibrium, exploitations, and sufferings and ultimately destroy the social peace; harmony and development (Ahmad, A.F 2004)."<sup>2</sup> It is obvious from the above that happiness can never be achieved by people as a result of mismanagement of governance. Therefore, it is very important to carry out a research on Management of Governance in order to gain happiness of the people in the post-conflict period in Sri Lanka. The teaching of

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<sup>1</sup>James Legge (1877) A record of Buddhistic kingdoms; being an account by the Chinese monk Fâ-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon, A.D. 399-414, in search of the Buddhist books of discipline. Translated and annotated with a Cornea recession of the Chinese text. Project Gutenberg e-text.p.121.

<sup>2</sup>Ahmad A F (2004), Problems of governance in South Asia, Under the auspices of Center for policy Research, New Delhi, Konark Publishers Pvt Ltd. p.287

the Buddha has explained that “when the king is ethical and moral, the citizens of the whole country are happy. When the king is unethical and immoral, citizens of the whole country are unhappy.”<sup>3</sup> Especially, after the independence of Sri Lanka, the mismanagement of governance has created two internal civil disturbances (1971, and 1987-89) and a civil war (1983-2009) against the government that killed more than 200,000 (1971- around 15000<sup>4</sup>, 1987-89- around 100,000<sup>5</sup>, 1978-2009 – around 100,000<sup>6</sup>) people, among them, most were in the prime of their youth. Causing the deaths of so many of their citizens, who have trusted their power over to the governments to ensure their happiness shows that there is a major problem with the management of governance prevailing in the last seven decades.

According to the constitution of Sri Lanka, it is a Democratic Socialist Republic.<sup>7</sup> If so, in the decision making process, the democratic and socialist features of the government should be apparent in the functioning of the government. Independence from the British had been granted by the Ceylon Independence Act of 1947.<sup>8</sup> But it had the features of a dominion state. The sovereignty had been granted in 1972 and the country was established as the Republic of Sri Lanka by the 1972 Constitution. After six years, in 1978, a whole new constitution was established. Here the country was renamed as the ‘Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka’ According to both constitutions it is the “Legislative power of the people” which is mentioned in Articles 5 (a) and 4 (a) respectively.<sup>9</sup> Article 9 (1978) of the Constitution states; “the Republic of Sri Lanka shall give Buddhism the foremost place and accordingly, it shall be the duties of the state to protect and foster the

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<sup>3</sup>*Addhammika Sutta, Aṅguttara Nikāya 4, Catukka Nipāta VII. Pattakamma Vagga, Tipiṭaka, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series. Pp.140-142*

<sup>4</sup>Ales A.C (1978). 71 Karalla (Riot). Lakehouse Co. Limited Publishers. p.212

<sup>5</sup>Owen Bennett (2013), *The Patriotic Struggle of Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna: A Reappraisal*, Thesis Submitted to School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University-jvpthesis.weebly.com/uploads/2/6/9/5/26951649/jvp\_thisis\_final\_1.pdf 22.4.2017

<sup>6</sup>United Nations Secretary report 2012.

<https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N12/460/01/PDF/N1246001.pdf>  
21.11. 2016

<sup>7</sup>Article I of the constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka; Revised Edition – 2015 Published by the Parliament Secretariat, Colombo, p.1

<sup>8</sup>Ceylon Independence Act of 1947  
[http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1947/7/pdfs/ukpga\\_19470007\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1947/7/pdfs/ukpga_19470007_en.pdf) 14.10.2017

<sup>9</sup>Article 4 & 5 of the constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Revised Edition – 2015 Published by the Parliament Secretariat, Colombo, pp.1-2

Buddha *Sāsana*, while assuring all religions rights granted by the Articles 10 and 14 (e).”<sup>10</sup> The Buddha *Sāsana* means; “the Buddha discipline, a term embracing the practice and teaching of the Buddha, thus is a name for Buddhism”.<sup>11</sup> The message, according to the Buddha should be opened and practiced for it to foster. “...*vivato virocati nopaticchanno*”.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, to protect and foster the Buddha *Sāsana* it should be practiced by the representatives of people, such as the President, Cabinet of Ministers (who are selected from the Members of Parliament), Members of Parliament, members of Provincial Councils and *Pradesheeya Sabhas* in their decision making process. It is very important to practice teaching of the Buddha on governance by the government for the well being of the citizens and also to make them happy. Not only in the present time but also in the past Buddhism was the religion of the state, “Devānampiyatissa is believed to have followed Aśoka’s example when he made Buddhism the state religion of Ceylon in the particular orthodox form of Theravada.”<sup>13</sup>

The article 148 of the constitution has provided control over public resources (finance) to the Parliament.<sup>14</sup> The public resources are managed by the government through public management. The new public management of a government is considered as the governance to use resources for happiness of all citizens of the country. One of the most important articles of the constitution on management of resources (finance) is on the duties of the Auditor General; “...the Auditor General shall audit the accounts of all departments of the Government, the Offices of the Cabinet Ministers, the Judicial Service Commission, the Public Service Commission, the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration, the Secretary-General of Parliament and the Commissioner of Elections, local authorities, public

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<sup>10</sup>Article 9 of the constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Revised Edition –2015Published by the Parliament Secretariat, Colombo, p.3.

<sup>11</sup>Bowker John (2000) The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions. Oxford University Press p.62

<sup>12</sup>*Ninth Sutta, Bharanduvagga, Tikanipata, Anguttara Nikāya, Tipiṭaka*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, Sutta 09

<sup>13</sup>Rahula, Walpola (1956), History of Buddhism in Ceylon: The *Annurādhapura* Period, M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd, Colombo, Sri Lanka. p. 62.

<sup>14</sup>Article 148 of the constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Revised Edition – 2015 Published by the Parliament Secretariat, Colombo, p.114

corporations and businesses or other undertakings vested in the Government under any written law.”<sup>15</sup> The Auditor general has to report to the people of the country how effectively and efficiently each public office has used its resources in order to make them happy. It is the article 148 which has been put in place to check and ensure the practice of management of governance. It gives guidance to the government that resources of the country are used legitimately to achieve goals of citizens.

There have been 19 amendments to the 1978 Constitution during the past 38 years. These changes in constitution caused to worsen the mismanagement of governance practiced by governments i.e. the decision makers. Mismanagement of governance during the past four decades, by all governments’ led to the main slogan of the 2015 Presidential Election manifesto to become ‘to establish Good Governance.’<sup>16</sup> Instead of governance, the citizen’s group led by influential community leaders thought that it is sufficient at least to achieve the conditions of the good governance for the country as an initial stage. The public has pointed the finger even at the first citizen of the country and his family that they have misused the public resources and are accountable, for this mismanagement of governance. All members of the cabinet, parliaments, provincial councils, Pradeshiya Sabhas, municipal councils, are answerable for the mismanagement of governance by misuse of public resources in numerous ways by the elected representatives of people. The public are of the view that the representatives have amassed wealth of more than ten thousand times more than what they had, when they were elected. All the citizens of the country severely suffer. The representatives do not intend to solve the problems of the people. It is only when people protest, that the legislators and administrators of the country come to know about the problems of the people although it is their duty to make sure all the barriers to the wellbeing and happiness of the people are removed.

The topic of this study “Management of governance for happiness with special reference to teaching of the Buddha in the Pali Canon” is selected because Sri

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<sup>15</sup> Article 154. of the constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Revised Edition – 2015 Published by the Parliament Secretariat, Colombo.p.118

<sup>16</sup> Political manifesto of the opposition candidate of the presidential election 2015  
5.12.2015

Lanka is a Buddhist country and the Constitution states that the Buddha Sāsana should be protected and fostered,<sup>17</sup> and Sri Lanka has a history of following the teaching of the Buddha for over 2500 years. In this society, it is very important to study and understand how to use the societal resources for development and practice of management of governance according to the teaching of the Buddha. It is the local indigenous cultural knowledge found within the society itself. It is of utmost importance to conduct research to bring forth the local knowledge that has been in existence for more than 25 centuries, to enable and encourage the decision makers and policy makers to awaken and start to put into practice local or indigenous governance knowledge for the policy making to create happiness of all the people.

Mismanagement of governance leads to create problems which are prevailing in a democratic and socialist system of government is caused by the decision makers of the main decision making bodies such as Cabinet, Parliament, Provincial councils, and other local government institutions.<sup>18</sup>

Teaching of the Buddha on governance should be practiced by the decision makers in main government forums. “Buddhists in Ceylon are widely engaged in many causes, such as social welfare, culture, education, and so forth, thus giving benefits to the state, society and even the masses in the world. This marks a great spirit of compassionate love in Buddhism.”<sup>19</sup> The great spirit of compassionate love of teaching of the Buddha on governance should be studied by the decision makers and to overcome mismanagement of governance practices, decisions should be made at the highest level bodies in Sri Lanka. This is the appropriate time to study and practice the teaching of the Buddha in Sri Lanka after ending a 30 year civil war. According to Richard F. Gombrich of Oxford University, “...the Buddha was one of

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<sup>17</sup>Article 9 of the constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka; Revised Edition – 2015 Published by the Parliament Secretariat, Colombo, p.3

<sup>18</sup>Anti-corruption movement and other complaint against all level political position holders.

<sup>19</sup>Tai Xu; Dasgi Quanshu(The Works of Venerable Tai Xu)Vol. 35, pp26-30 as quoted in Ananda W.P. Guruge (2001), Buddhism and Society: Reinforcement of Humanistic Buddhism through Social Involvement, Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism, University of the West. Canada. pp 11-30

the most brilliant and original thinkers of all time.”<sup>20</sup> These also justify conducting research on the teaching of the Buddha of governance to solve the problems created by mismanagement of governance.

The concept of Governance has been developed in management discipline in order to fulfill sustainability of decisions made by the managers. Peter F. Druker, in his book, ‘Practice of Management’, has commented that the word management has a broader meaning. “It means making use of social resources and fulfills the society’s required needs, sustainability and wellbeing. The word ‘management’ has been misused by industries and societies. They just misuse the word management for profit making for individualism, and selfishness; this word is more suitable to the Marxist societies.”<sup>21</sup> He has also stated in the book that the meaning of word management includes meaning of governance. “The word “management” is a singularly difficult one. It is, in the first place, especially American and can hardly translate into any other language, not even into British English.”<sup>22</sup> It has become a fashion to use the word management along with every discipline, without really understanding its true meaning. The liveliness of the word management has dropped from the original word as it has been used out of context.

In the present society, the word governance has been narrowed down only to good governance. Even in the society, the real meaning of the word governance is removed from its original meaning. The word ‘governance’ has a broader meaning and also it is a broader concept. However, it has been deeply narrowed down to suit each and every purpose in all disciplines according to the subject; it is used as a suffix. Rhodes had stated that there are at least six separate uses of governance: as the minimal state, as corporate governance, as the new public

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<sup>20</sup>Richard F. Gombrich (1998), *Theravada Buddhism: A social history from ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*. Routledge, Taylor, & Francis Group; London and New York .p xi

<sup>21</sup>Peter F. Druker, ‘Practice of Management’; as quoted by Brech, E. F. L., Aldrich, R. M, Betham, H. E., Field, A. W., Lagden, R. G. (1963), in *The Principles and Practice of Management*, Longman Group Limited London. p.14.

<sup>22</sup>Druker, Peter F., (1973), *Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices*, Allied Publishers, Pvt Ltd. p.34.

management, as ‘good governance,’ as a socio-cybernetic system and as self-organizing networks.<sup>23</sup> Further there are even more uses in different fields of study.

Three centuries after the industrial revolution, the words ‘Management’ and ‘governance’ are being used more and more in day to day practices. Presently the happiness is discussed by global citizens such as United Nations. According to their ‘World Happiness Report,’ “In the great pre-modern traditions concerning happiness, whether Buddhism in the East, Aristotelianism in the West, or the great religious traditions, happiness is determined not by the material conditions of an individual (wealth, poverty, health, illness), but by the moral character of an individual. Aristotle spoke of virtue as the key to “*eudaimonia*”, loosely translated as “thriving.” Yet that tradition was almost lost in the modern era after 1800, when happiness became associated with the material conditions, especially income and consumption.”<sup>24</sup> It is time to carry out research on Happiness, through management of governance with moral aspect of the Buddhist perspective in the East. Most of the global organizations encourage developing management of governance practices to gain happiness for every human society. Europe has consultancy firms for developing happiness of employees in their organizations.<sup>25</sup>

Buddha’s contemporaries were making an individual effort to find happiness using various methods and these methods are available in the present with different facades even today as it was in the past. Since he found that none of them were successful, he endeavored to find Happiness by himself. The utmost happiness thus found by the Buddha is ‘*Nibbana*’, which “is being described as an intellectual state. ...*Nibbana*, appears to be recognized as a state of happiness, indeed one which could be the proper goal for man. ...At the time of the Buddha, according to the *Nikaya*’s, the good for man, or that desirable state at which one should aim, was generally thought of as “*sukha*”, which may be translated as “happiness”, in a rather

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<sup>23</sup>Rhodes (1996) The new governance: governing without governance, Political Studies, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. pp. 652-667

<sup>24</sup>Sachs Jeffrey D (2013). Restoring Virtue Ethics in the Quest for Happiness, World Happiness Report 2013 United Nations (eds) John Helliwell, Richard Layard and Jeffrey D Sachs. pp. 80-97

<sup>25</sup>Happiness-consulting.com, <https://www.happiness-consulting.com> 19.09.2017

formal Aristotelian sense. Within this conception there were three main views on happiness, held by the theists, the ascetics and the materialists. Each of them regarded happiness as a sort of feeling without pain, to be achieved in various ways.”<sup>26</sup>

The first mode of achieving happiness is by pleasing a God; “ The theistic view, according to the *Nikaya*’s, is that happiness cannot be achieved in this world; a person becomes happy only when his soul is freed from his body and this can be done by pleasing God.”<sup>27</sup> In this method, happiness will never be achieved by a living person but only after death.

The second method of searching for happiness is through asceticism<sup>28</sup> (*atta kilamatānuyogo*). That is, by giving up all desires and especially those sensual pleasures, in order to reach happiness. As the Buddha has found out in his research (*ariya pariyesana*) for happiness, this method too is not successful.

The third method of obtaining happiness is with materialism is through extreme sensual pleasures<sup>29</sup> (*Kāmasukhallikānuyogo*). This too was rejected by the Buddha since he had already experienced it in his lay life. This is why he left all the luxuries that one can imagine of, and went in search of happiness. It is important to emphasize that leaders are searching for happiness in this manner by misusing public resources with mismanagement of governance in order for them to indulge in materialistic luxuries.

It is essential to bring forth the importance of management of governance for the happiness of people of the country. In this regard, the culturally bonded indigenous knowledge will be more suitable to make development strategies of management of governance in public decision making bodies for the happiness of the people of the country. It is because of this reason that leaders and policy makers should be made aware of the management of governance as found in Pali Canon as the teaching of the Buddha.

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<sup>26</sup>Reginton Rajapaksa (1985), Happiness and the Self: a Philosophical investigation of the ethical hedonism and theory of the self implicit in the Pali Nikāyas, Published by Sri Lanka National Library Services Board. p.53

<sup>27</sup>Ibid. p.53

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

The teaching of the Buddha has been preserved in writing in various means. This teaching should be taken out from indigenous Pali canon to develop new models with modern governance practices. It is teaching of the Buddha on governance. The study has focused on culturally established written local indigenous knowledge to solve existing problems in the public sector decision making bodies. The members in these bodies should be made aware of the locally available indigenous knowledge for making decisions for the happiness of all the people.

The most important *Sutta* in this regard is the *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, where the Buddha takes apart the views prevailed as a net (*jāla*) during the period. It mentions that Buddha attained enlightenment by realization of truth through wisdom (*paññā*) and he came to realize for himself that this was the reality.<sup>30</sup> This is elaborated in the Pali Canon that the Buddha stated he has attained enlightenment by himself, through his own effort. The teaching of the Buddha can be practiced by anyone and one can see the results of it by practicing as the Buddha did.

Here, it is very important to find out the teachings of the Buddha on Governance to be practiced for management of governance for the happiness of people of the country and also to develop awareness of teachings of the Buddha found in the Pali Canon, which is actually indigenous knowledge, to be practiced by policy decision makers in Sri Lanka.

‘King or leader must promote happiness of all the people of the kingdom’ “*janam ranjetī’ti rājā*”<sup>31</sup>; When the researcher formed the topic for this study, the above Pali quotation was used to develop a relationship between Management, Governance and Happiness. This happiness arises as a result of making decisions with management of governance. In this study, the word Management is used to denote decision making on resource allocation for happiness.<sup>32</sup> To accomplish

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<sup>30</sup>“... *yathābhūtam viditvā anupado vimutto bhikkhave tathāgato*” and “*ime kho te bhikkhave dhammā gambhīrā duddasā duranubodhā santā panītā atakkāvacarā nipunā panditavedanīyā, ye tathāgato sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti, yehi tathāgatassa yathābhuccam vannaṃ sammā vadamānā vadeyyūṃ.*” *Brahmajāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.2-80*

<sup>31</sup>Cakkavattim sutta Vannana, Rathakāravaggo, *Anguttara Nikāya, Chatthasangayana* internet version 4.0. 12. 07.2017

<sup>32</sup>Peter F. Druker, (1973), *Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices*, Allied Publishers, Pvt Ltd. p. 54.

happiness, management has its basic principles and actions that are to be practiced by the leaders. Those are planning, organizing, coordinating and controlling.<sup>33</sup> Governance, according to this study, is also resources used for the benefit and happiness of the beneficiaries. Governance is based on decisions made by the leaders to use the resources that are owned by the people/beneficiaries for their benefit but not for the benefit of the leaders. Since the leaders are also members of society, they also enjoy the same benefits. Yet, Governance, as practiced today, is based on decisions made by the leaders to use the resources that are owned by the people/beneficiaries for the benefit of the leaders/and not the people. Therefore as long as they perform their duties, to make people happy the same benefits will fall on them too and there will be no need for them to look for other ways to get rich. When they make decisions, the decision makers have to fulfill general rules which have been introduced by the management process to maintain the public awareness of the decisions taken by the decision makers in public decision making bodies. So the decision makers have to obey, practice and maintain these rules.

The suffering of the people of the globe increases day by day in a consumerist, material gathering world. It has been widely spread in Sri Lanka as an imported concept from the other countries after the industrial revolution, and it was after the industrial revolution that people searched for happiness through income and consumption.<sup>34</sup> But it is very important to obtain the local or indigenous knowledge which has been prevailing for more than 2500 years in the Sri Lankan society. It is teaching of the Buddha in Pali Canon. It is using of resources for the happiness of the society according to modern management practices. This will be moral rather than material.

The moral concept of teaching of the Buddha is deeply expounded along with the origin of the governance especially in *Sigāla*, *Aggañña*, *Kūṭadanta* and *Chakkavatti Suttas* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. To overcome problems such as the

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<sup>33</sup>Kreitner Robert (1986) Management: A problems solving process, Published by Houghton Mifflin. p.34.

<sup>34</sup>Sachs Jeffrey D (2013). Restoring Virtue Ethics in the Quest for Happiness, World Happiness Report 2013 United Nations (eds) John Helliwell, Rechar Layard and Jeffrey D Sachs. pp. 80-97.

insurrections and internal wars, mentioned above, and which may crop up again in the future of the Sri Lankan society, this study will definitely provide a basis for the policy makers to practice more and more local or indigenous knowledge in their decision making by preventing mismanagement of governance and by practicing management of governance.

According to Buddhist scholar Walpola Rahula, "...Buddhism in Ceylon has not yet been critically examined or sufficiently studied."<sup>35</sup> This statement still holds true to a large extent. Therefore the society will benefit from the indigenous knowledge of the early teaching of the Buddha gained from this study to practice for teaching of the Buddha of governance especially in the field of public management and its practices. It is time to discuss the culture, customs, and value systems with respect to the indigenous knowledge of the country to solve the problems of the mismanagement of governance, which has become an unbearable burden to the people of the country. It is well illustrated by the following; "...Asian values create the need for exploring alternative forms of governance within the changing political economy of Asia in general, and East Asia in particular."<sup>36</sup> Some countries have introduced teaching of the Buddha for real practices in their governance such as Bhutan which has introduced 'concept of Gross National Happiness' and Thailand which 'Sufficiency Economy'<sup>37</sup> in which the leaders are practitioners of teaching of the Buddha.

Yet, it is not so in Sri Lanka because the leaders are not selected for their human qualities but only as political party leader to lead the country. It has a history of leaders promising to create an utopia and not delivering their promises. In 1970, elected government had promised to create a 'Socialist State' when coming into power through her coalition government with original leftists, and was responsible for the 1971 youth insurrection occurring after broken promise; in 1977 new government

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<sup>35</sup>Walpola Rahula (1956), History of Buddhism, M.D. Gunasena & Co. LTD, Colombo. p. xi.

<sup>36</sup>Fahimul Quadir, Sandra J. Maclean and Timothy M. Shaw (2001), Pluralisms and the changing Global Political Economy: Ethnicities in Crises of Governance in Asia and Africa, Crises of Governance in Asia and Africa, Ashgate Publishing Limited England. p.20

<sup>37</sup>Ananda W. P. Guruge (2000) Buddhists Economics- Myth and Reality, Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism.7, pp.71-129.

came into power by defeating previous government in a landslide victory which gave him an unprecedented five sixth majority, by promising to establish a “a just society”<sup>38</sup> and broken it by practicing the opposite by establishing democratic violence against the people first by using private thugs with police turning a blind eye with the blessing of the leader, and finally using the countries own police and armed forces who were sworn to protect the people to torture, make people disappear and kill outright; these undemocratic practices of violence by the leader against the people had created the thirty year civil war in the North and East and the second uprising in the South. All these deceptions of the people with broken promises have resulted in over 200,000 casualties of the cream of the youth from the voters from different parties who were all Sri Lankans and who would have been the contributors for the future (some would have been in the present) development of the country.

As suggested by Quadir and others above, and as practiced by Bhutan and Thailand, this study endeavors to find the solution to the problem of mismanagement of governance from the indigenous knowledge in the country, existing as the teaching of the Buddha preserved in the Pali Canon.

The most important application of this study is found in the global businesses that allow free consumption of their resources to all the people in the globe without any discrimination. Companies such as Google, Facebook, Skype, and Yahoo knowingly or without knowing the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance, provide facilities free of charge for all the people of the globe. People use these facilities and become happy. This is an example the author has observed on the use of resources for the happiness of all human beings. These web pages can be used by anyone in the world as a human being. Humans are made happy by using these web resources without knowing who made them or where it was made. Those are the examples of real teachings of the Buddha on governance to be practiced in the worldwide businesses. It is known that the resources are not owned by any person, any society or any country. The resources are not only for human beings but for all beings. It is necessary to mention here that above mentioned products and services of

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<sup>38</sup>De Silva K.M and Wriggins H (1998) J. R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka - A Political Biography, Published JR Jayewardene Cultural center, Sri Lanka. p.555

global companies and global supply organizations practice management of governance by giving access to their products and services to all human beings in the globe.

## **1.2 Objectives of the Research**

The main objective of this research is to study the way to apply the management of governance for happiness of the people of the society as found in the teaching of the Buddha.

Sub objectives are to;

1. Illustrate how to utilize Buddha's teaching in the context of happiness.
2. Bring forth practical management of governance in the teaching of the Buddha as found in the indigenous knowledge of Sri Lanka.
3. Illustrate the mismanagement of governance in Sri Lanka due to deviation from the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance for happiness of the people.

## **1.3 Statement of the Problems Desired to Know**

The research problem is to find out whether the management of governance leads to happiness and mismanagement of governance leads to unhappiness.

Are these decision makers making decisions to make people happy? Do they need to be special to make people happy? Do they consider the local or indigenous knowledge of teaching of the Buddha on governance and apply them in their decision making?

## **1.4 Scope of the Research**

The management of governance for happiness encompasses a vast area of knowledge. The management of governance has extended its subject area from both sectors i.e. state sector and the private sector. At first, this study will narrow down the scope of research only to the state sector or government sector decision makers of decision making bodies, and intends to look especially into the local

knowledge which has been prevailing in Sri Lanka for more than 25 centuries.<sup>39</sup> It is the teaching of the Buddha practiced by people that helped to develop the main culture and the Sri Lankan society in past. The literature for early teaching of the Buddha will be taken up from the *Pali* canon; *Tipiṭaka* with special reference being made to *Sutra Piṭaka* and *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

The time period considered for this study will be from 1970 to the present. The main internal disturbances, especially in the south of 1971, 1987/89 and north 1978-2009, will be analyzed.

### 1.5 Research Hypothesis

In this study the following hypotheses are developed:

1. The roots of governance can be found in teaching of the Buddha
2. Teaching of the Buddha on governance can be used to regain happiness.
3. Teaching of the Buddha shows that there is a relationship between leaders' decision making and the cause of problems.

### 1.6 Definition of the Terms used in the Research

While management, governance, management of governance, decision making and happiness are the main terms in this study the word management is the most important term. According to Peter Drucker, "Management means the decisions which are made to use resources for the benefit of all human beings by the decision makers."<sup>40</sup> In this research, the term management is used to denote resource allocation for happiness of all the stakeholders.

The term governance means making decisions on resources, using the power handed over by the people for common good and services for the benefit of the people for their happiness by the leaders. The resources and power are not owned by decision makers (agents/trustees) by the people (beneficiaries). The decision makers

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<sup>39</sup>Walpola Rahula (1956), History of Buddhism in Ceylon, M.D.Gunasena & Co LTD Colombo.p.64

<sup>40</sup>Peter Drucker (1973), Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices, Allied Publishers Private Limited, India.p.37

receive remuneration or compensation for the effort they make in carrying out their duties. Governance, according to this study, is power and resources used for the benefit and happiness of the beneficiaries.

Management of governance is a broader term to be developed for the first time in this study, on the concept of happiness of all human beings in relation to decision making leaders who have been appointed by the resource owners and the power owners as to how the decision makers carry out their management and governance processes to develop happiness in all human beings in the society.

People, all over the world are in search and researching about the happiness using various approaches to overcome suffering. Not only during the present time but also in the past especially, people from East as well as West were in search of happiness. The decision making leadership makes decisions for the happiness of citizens by using resources owned by them and their power, to produce goods and services used in common. The Pali canon has elaborated that the meaning of word leader or king '*janam rañjetiti rājā*'<sup>41</sup> means one who makes all the people happy. Leaders or kings do not make decisions for their own happiness. The leaders become happy by looking at the people who were made happy by them. There are decision making leaders in every organized society, to make decisions for the happiness of the common citizen. This is called the management of governance. In this study happiness is considered as the happiness of all the people who are satisfied as a result of management of governance by decision making leaders.

There is a Leadership in every organized decision making body. Decision making leaders are given different designations as; President, Prime minister, Speaker, Minister, Member of Parliament, Chief Executive officer, Director, Manager, General, and Commander or even in a basic household organization as the father or the mother. The household is the smallest decision making body and the first decision maker in a society. There are main decision making bodies in all public sector and private sector organizations. The study considers only the leadership in

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<sup>41</sup>*Cakkavattim Sutta Vannana, Rathakāravaggo, Anguttara Nikāya, Chatthasangayana TiPitaka*,4.0. 12.6.2017

public sector or government decision making bodies. All laws and regulations related to private sector has also been developed by the decision making bodies of the government.

## 1.7 Review of Related Literature and Research Work

In the study it is significant to extract details from existing discussions on governance in various approaches. The phrase ‘management of governance’ is not mentioned in the literature.<sup>42</sup> There are only discussions on governance and also on management separately.<sup>43</sup> The exiting definitions and meanings of the two terms management and governance will be used to derive a definition for management of governance. The true management will result in the happiness of the beneficiaries, not only for the employees or employers.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, it is very important to carry out a research on happiness in relation to management of governance. Three centuries after the industrial revolution, people are in search of happiness without material development.<sup>45</sup> The industrial revolution had given people income and the luxury of consumption,<sup>46</sup> but not lasting happiness. This study will discuss the relationship of management, governance and happiness. The literature regarding this topic where all these three terms are taken in to consideration together is very rare in every discipline to the best of the knowledge of the researcher. Therefore, the information of this topic will be gathered in different fields for governance, management and happiness separately.

There is discussion taking place on happiness and practices for gaining happiness for the employees of organizations in Europe using Psychological perspectives.<sup>47</sup> The company, Happiness-Consultancy, was established in Europe and

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<sup>42</sup>[https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&as\\_sdt=0%2C5&q=management+of+governance+&btnG=](https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=management+of+governance+&btnG=) 12.08.2016

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Peter Druker (1973), Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices, Allied Publishers Private Limited, India. p.23

<sup>45</sup> Sachs Jeffrey D (2013). Restoring Virtue Ethics in the Quest for Happiness, World Happiness Report 2013 United Nations (eds) John Helliwell, Recharad Layard and Jeffrey D Sachs. pp. 80-97.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Happiness-consulting.com, <https://www.happiness-consulting.com> 19.09.2017

they propose to lead people towards happiness in the areas of Business, Education and Governance. In education, they promote developing happy mindsets to build human qualities that can be learned by anyone through exercise. That has elaborated “Happy Mindset development consists of information and skills that can be learned by everyone, and human qualities that can be obtained through exercises”.<sup>48</sup>

In the area of business, they use happy mindset tools to improve happiness of employees by improving job contentment, employee engagement, and employee well-being, because, “bottom line numbers show that happy leaders are more successful, and happy employees perform much better”.<sup>49</sup>

Their philosophy on happiness in governance is explained as, Governance leaders have the highest impact and power-effect on people’s life, and therefore it is very useful when they have a happy mindset. Happiness Consulting carries secular and apostate values, which have the main aim of human quality development and overall happiness.<sup>50</sup>

According to Pradeep Sahni the concept of governance is as old as the human civilization and governance is related to the relationship between the government and the people whom it serves and protects.<sup>51</sup> Myungsuk Lee elaborated that although there are various explanations and interpretations, found in the discussion on governance in the literature, still there is no concrete definition.<sup>52</sup> The researchers discussed with the ultimate aim of the governance as “... an enlightened society in which happiness and well-being of all people and sentient beings is the ultimate purpose of governance (Ura 2008)”.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Happiness-consulting.com, <https://www.happiness-consulting.com> 19.09.2017

<sup>49</sup> Ibid

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Pradeep Sahni (2003), Governance for development: Issues and Strategies, Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi. p.42

<sup>52</sup> Myungsuk Lee (2003), Conceptualizing the New Governance: A New Institution of social Coordination, Mini-conference on Institutional Analysis and Development by Indiana University, USA. p.3

<sup>53</sup> Tashi Wangmo and John Valk (2009), Under the Influence of Buddhism : The Psychological well-being indicators of Gross National Happiness, Journal of Bhutan Studies. p.53

These explanations have shown the relationship between happiness and governance. Here, it is clear that governance is for happiness and well-being of all the people of the society or country.

There is no separate literature on governance of teaching of the Buddha however there is literature related to good governance. P. D. Premasiri, a scholar who has contributed to Theravada tradition of Sri Lanka, has discussed good governance related to the teaching of the Buddha in detail.<sup>54</sup>

The article explains that the Buddha and his disciples were keen on reforming the society and politics for the well-being of all beings of the entire world and the Pali canon mentions several encounters the Buddha had with the rulers of the time, providing them with guidance for good governance.<sup>55</sup>

Premasiri further explains how Buddha instructed the political leaders using myth, fiction, anecdotes and allegorical stories to teach extremely significant and meaningful ethical principles<sup>56</sup>

He also mentions that the Buddha taught immoral acts are harmful to oneself and others as general members of the society and in addition to the general moral and ethical rules accepted in the Order, similar to a doctor already skilled in the profession, needs to have moral and ethical values as well to become a good doctor. He has paid special attention to those engaged in the activity of governance.<sup>57</sup> Here it should be noted that he had not elaborated on how these affect the governance and what exactly these moral and ethical values are. This gives an opening for further studies in this regard, as... Good governance is also a human affair, and consequently, good governance is required to conform to certain standards of morality”.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Premasiri P. D. (2013) ,Traditional Buddhist Insights Regarding Principles of Good Governance Seminar on principles of Good governance, Society for the Integration of science and human values, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. p.3

<sup>55</sup>Ibid. p.1

<sup>56</sup>Ibid. p.2

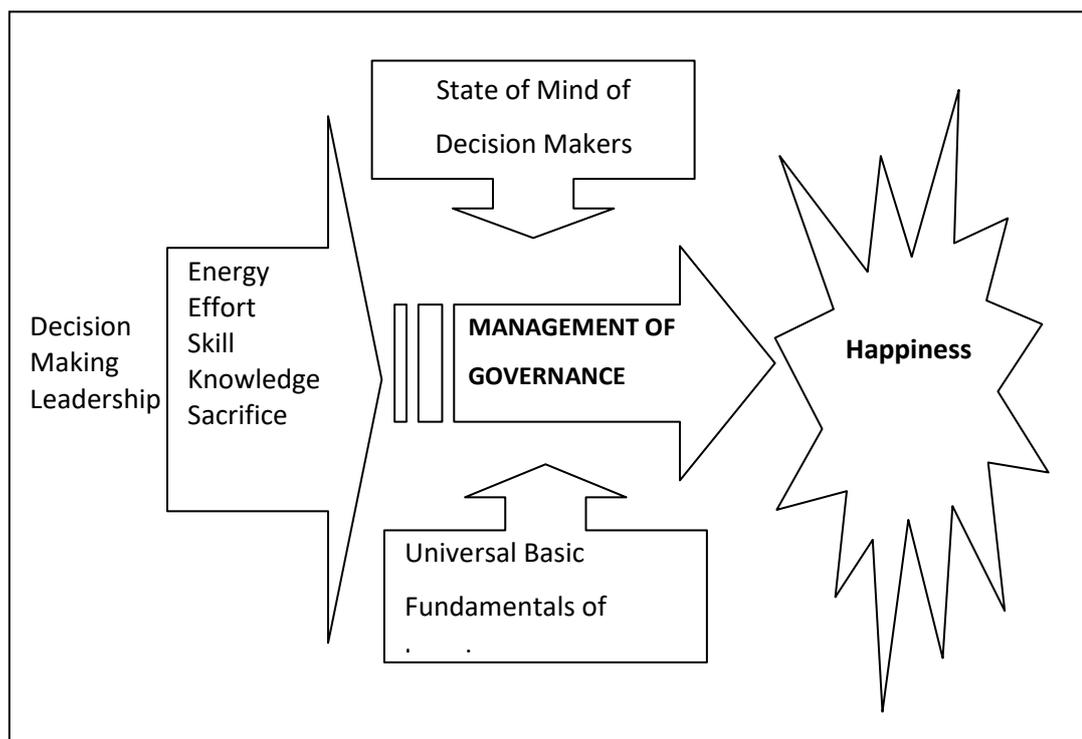
<sup>57</sup>Ibid p.3

<sup>58</sup>Ibid. p.2

The origin of political authority and a system of governance to fulfill a human need is also mentioned here too.<sup>59</sup> The first ruler was ‘elected’ by the consensus of common people and was called ‘Great Elect’ (*Mahāsammata*), showing the power to rule is given by the people, in a democracy. In addition, according to Padmasiri, the *Rājā* or King has a meaning given by the Buddhists as the ‘one who delights the people with just and righteous governance.’“In comparison with other contemporary notions of kingship and governance Buddhism obviously stands out as being unique in its affirmation of a democratic principle of governance.”<sup>60</sup>

## 1.8 Conceptual Framework

**Figure 1.** Main framework of the research



<sup>59</sup>Premasiri P. D. (2013) ,Traditional Buddhist Insights Regarding Principles of Good Governance Seminar on principles of Good governance, Society for the Integration of science and human values, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.p.5

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. pp.5-6.

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

The research was carried out as a desk research and the methodology was qualitative method. Since the study is a desk research, library books, journals, magazines, resources from internet etc. were used. The collection of data for research was mainly from secondary data, with special reference to the teaching of the Buddha in sources found in the Pali Canon, mainly *Sutta* and *Vinaya Piṭakas*.

The analysis was carried out as a case study analysis.

## **1.10 Advantages Expected to Obtain from the Research**

This study will open new avenues to apply indigenous knowledge from teaching of the Buddha on governance for social happiness that would be more suited and applicable to any country in the globe. The arguments made in this study can be further developed for policy makers, decision making leaders to be put into practice in their decision making. Teaching of the Buddha on governance can be explored further to be opened up to both public and private sector decision makers to improve their decision making states of mind, using the qualities found in the research in their decision making. New research avenues will open up to carry out research on governance in other disciplines and management discipline as well for other scholars to carry out more researches.

This study will show how to achieve happiness all over the globe using teaching of the Buddha on governance, and a path for decision makers to cultivate qualities in their decision making state of mind to make people happy.

In addition the research will provide a theoretical basis for the global leaders in global organizations for governance according to the teaching of the Buddha.

## **Chapter II**

### **Governance and Management of Governance for Happiness**

Management of governance is a new phrase that is coined together by the author and introduced in this study with the rationale of deriving an explanation to this new phrase. To achieve this end, as many definitions, interpretations, explanations, descriptions, practices and usages as found in the literature will be considered in this chapter in order to compare their meanings with those found by researching the teachings of the Buddha in Chapter III of this dissertation and to find whether there is a practicable and comprehensive meaning given in the existing the literature individually for management, governance and happiness.

Before the Industrial Revolution, people searched for happiness and prosperity through governance. However, it had changed with the Industrial Revolution, since people had moved to obtain happiness through material and physical development.<sup>1</sup> Three centuries after Industrial Revolution, now in the twenty first century, people are again attempting to find happiness through other means, because people are realizing that there is no happiness with only material development. For this reason, it is time to discuss management of governance for that happiness of every person in the globe. In this regard it is especially important to find out, how the teaching of the Buddha's management of Governance is leading to make every human being happy through overcoming suffering. Everywhere in the world there are problems mainly created through mismanagement of governance. However, research on this topic is very scarce in the literature.

#### **2.1. Relationship of Governance and Management**

Concept of governance has been developed in management discipline in order to overcome sustainability of decisions made by managers. Peter F. Drucker, in

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<sup>1</sup>Sachs Jeffrey D (2013). Restoring Virtue Ethics in the Quest for Happiness, World Happiness Report 2013 United Nations (Eds) John Helliwell, Recharad Layard and Jeffery D Sachs. pp. 80-97

his book, 'Practice of Management', has commented that the word management has a broader meaning. Therefore, "the meaning of the word 'management' is making use of society resources and fulfilling the society's needs and sustainability and overall wellbeing. Management word has been misused by industries and societies. They just misuse the word management for profit making for individualism and selfishness; this word is more suitable to the Marxist societies." Regarding the meaning of management he further mentions in his book, "The word 'management' is a singularly difficult one. It is, in the first place, especially American and can hardly translate into any other language, not even into British English."<sup>2</sup>

The word management itself includes the responsibility of governance. Almost all the societies have used management for making profit. But profit making is an economic activity.<sup>3</sup> According to him, real meaning of management had been given up by these decision makers to focus on the narrow concept of profit maximization. These societies focused on profit making have faced severe problems due to the above reason. These include resource allocation problems, poverty, global warming, environmental imbalance, manmade wars and other natural disasters. Industrial society's managers and labor forces are facing stress, trade union actions, and increased suicide rates, in addition to hiring and firing problems. Ultimately all over the world there is war against the human being. Presently it is happening in different ways by destroying resources of the universe without using those resources for the happiness and prosperity of all human beings.

The relationship between management and governance is elaborated in the excerpt below taken from a UNESCO publication on the concept of governance. This makes it overly simple to imply that both management and governance are the same, but there in reality, there is a subtle difference. However, in this study, these two are

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<sup>2</sup>Peter F. Drucker (1954). Practice of Management, Publish by Harper & Row New York. p. 24

<sup>3</sup>Peter F. Drucker (1973). Management -Tasks, Responsibilities Practice, Sixteenth Reprint 2004 Allied Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi. p.72

combined as management of governance; it will fulfill the expectation of happiness of all the stakeholders in the society.

Management encompasses processes, structures and arrangements that are designed to mobilize and transform the available physical, human and financial resources to achieve concrete outcomes. Management refers to individuals or groups of people who are given the authority to achieve the desired results. Governance systems set the parameters under which management and administrative systems will operate. Governance is about how power is distributed and shared, how policies are formulated, priorities set and stakeholders made accountable. Table below summarizes the difference between governance and management:<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>[www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/quality-framework/technical-notes/concept-of-governance/](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/quality-framework/technical-notes/concept-of-governance/) 21.3.2016

**Table 2.1** Difference between governance and management<sup>5</sup>

Governance	Management
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Set norms, strategic vision and direction and formulate high-level goals and policies</li> <li>-Oversee management and organizational performance to ensure that the organization is working in the best interests of the public, and more specifically the stakeholders who are served by the organization's mission</li> <li>-Direct and oversee the management to ensure that the organization is achieving the desired outcomes and to ensure that the organization is acting prudently, ethically and legally.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Run the organization in line with the broad goals and direction set by the governing body</li> <li>-Implement the decisions within the context of the mission and strategic vision</li> <li>-Make operational decisions and policies, keep the governance bodies informed and educated</li> <li>-Be responsive to requests for additional information</li> </ul>

The appearance of management and governance seem to be equal in the decision making process. Within the governance process there is management practices to ensure proper completion of the process. Within the management system there are built in governance bodies to inform the system about the limitations and boundaries it has to follow to complete the work properly. According to the above detail there is a relationship between governance and management. When these two words are taken together as 'management of governance', it will give more living reality of sense to these two words. This includes happiness of the beneficiaries or all stake holders too.

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<sup>5</sup>[www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/quality-framework/technical-notes/concept-of-governance/](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/quality-framework/technical-notes/concept-of-governance/) 21.3.2016

## 2.2 Definitions of Governance

Governance is one of the most used words in every society of the globe at present. The academia in different disciplines is studying it at depth now. Every organization whether it is a multinational, national, domestic, local, rural and even a household also have to use the word governance.

### 2.2.1. Governance in the History

According to English literature the word governance is first found as explained by Mark Bevir,

The word ‘governance’ occurs in English history. For example, the mediaeval poet Geoffrey Chaucer (1332- 1400) wrote of ‘the gouernance of hous and lond’ [the governance of house and land]. The word ‘governance’ evokes more plural, moral and empirical visions.<sup>6</sup>

The governance occurs in the history in the above reference of by Geoffrey Chaucer, who had influenced to establish the political governance in Scotland where he mentions the governance of land and house. His influence to establish political governance in Scotland is made clear from “In other words, the relationship these poets establish with Chaucer deliberately upholds an image of Chaucer’s superiority, in order that these poets might incorporate that authority into their own works. ... Significantly, it is also consistent with wider attitudes towards social and political governance in fifteenth-century Scotland ...”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Mark Bevir (2003). A de-centered theory of governance, , in Henrik P. Bang (ed.) Governance as social and political communication, Manchester University Press. Manchester & New York. pp.200-220

<sup>7</sup>Chelsea Victoria Honeyman (2009). Literary and Political Governance in Scottish Reception of Chaucer, 1424-1513, A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. pp.19-20.  
[http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/webclient/StreamGate?folder\\_id=0&dvs=1513097603272~225](http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/webclient/StreamGate?folder_id=0&dvs=1513097603272~225)  
 21.08.2017

In the English literature the poet had influence, since Chaucer was in close relationship with the king. Therefore, his writings are more open without any fear therefore most of the poems by him paved the way to established political governance in Scotland. When he had used the phrase “the governance of house and land” with reference to politics he may have meant governance related to resources of people. This point is further elaborated in this study as the governance relating with resources and the power to control the resources which has a broader meaning of more plural, moral, and empirical vision. This emphasizes the point endorsed in this study that governance relates with resources and power to control the resources. Therefore governance cannot be used for selfish, unethical ends by the decision makers to make decisions on power and resources of the stakeholders.

### **2.2.2. Plato and Aristotle on Governance**

Plato’s definition of Philosopher king refers to one who is going to seek the truth; and truth can only be won by knowledge and wisdom. The best government for him is the one, which has a philosopher in power. The other virtue, which is stressed by Plato, is justice. He says that justice is the whole duty of man. He further explains that it is justice when each class does its own proper work.

Plato mentions that political justice exists among people who are associated in a common life with a view to self-sufficiency and who enjoy freedom and equality. Justice must be administered not merely for a private group but for the whole world. Aristotle explains that government will be best if it serves the common good for the people. The political thinkers emphasize the moral virtues of the ruler who should do justice to all and bring good to all, a government working for the public good.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Edward N. Zalta (2013.Principal Editor) Plato's Ethics: An Overview. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy organizes scholars from around the world in philosophy and related

In this instance, Plato emphasizes the governance, by mentioning moral virtue of the ruler who should ‘do justice to all and bring good to all’. In a common life, with a view to self- sufficiency, this statement gives the meaning of governance for utilization of common resources for the common good of the citizen. Western philosophers developed their principals of governance as Plato’s ideas as the basis. In this sense of the most important concept of governance is the quality of the decision maker. Plato wanted the ruler to be of moral virtues and justice. The justice must be for the whole world. This kind of decision maker must have special qualities of values (cf. qualities of a leader in *Cakkavatti Sutta* in Ch III). In this study, those will be emphasized as the Universal Great Human Qualities of Values.

Aristotle (Born 384 B.C) wrote how the powers of government should be expressed. According to him, the government would be best if it worked in the interest of the community as a whole. And on the contrary it would be bad if it worked for the governing body and for selfish purposes. Aristotle focused on the practitioner of government who, by his power would make the common good, good of life for all.<sup>9</sup>

The governance concept had been explained by Plato and Aristotle as a responsibility of government. Aristotle focused his ideas towards the qualities of the Leaders. It is very important to consider that governance depends on the qualities of the leader (both good as well as bad).

### **2.2.3. Governance and Problems at Present**

Mark Bevir in his Book ‘Governance: A very short Introduction’ wrote;

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disciplines to create and maintain an up-to-date reference work. <https://plato.stanford.edu/index.html>. 14.8.2016

<sup>9</sup>Edward N. Zalta (2013.Principal Editor) Plato's Ethics: An Overview. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy organizes scholars from around the world in philosophy and related disciplines to create and maintain an up-to-date reference work. <https://plato.stanford.edu/index.html>. 14.8.2016

Present-day the uses of the word ‘Governance’ arose out of these two challenges to the idea of State. At first, however, many people thought that a hierarchic bureaucracy could insulate policy from politics. Bureaucracies began to arise in Europe as part of the process of promoting centralized authority and social homogeneity. Now, in the early twentieth century, people began to appeal to the administrative state as a counterweight to democratic corruption and populist excess. They argued that the bureaucracy could bring neutral scientific thinking to bear on policy-making. Government, conceived as the administrative state, remained apart from markets, networks, and society. Present-day uses of the word ‘governance’ thus arose initially in discussions of the organization not of public affairs but of corporate affairs. It was not until 1970s and 1980s that the crisis of the state destroyed faith in hierarchic bureaucracy. Policy-makers then tried to reform the public sector by spreading market and network forms of organization. The result has been the rise of the new governance at the local, national, and global levels. As modernist theories changed the way people saw and made the world, so government changed into governance.<sup>10</sup>

The above paragraph has clearly shown that the word ‘governance’ is most important in governing a state market mechanism. The democratic system of government is for public or people. Then the governance is people governing themselves to achieve all their common needs and requirements. Further the problems of government and the system of bureaucratic administration of the public sector has stagnated with mismanagement of governance without any innovation within the systems. The mismanagement of government has resulted in disregarding of the concept of government and the replacement of it with governance for the happiness of people. Especially in developing countries, such as Sri Lanka the governments have suppressed all the people in the country by mismanagement of governance to destroy their common trust in the democratic system; with misuse of power, corruption, and

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<sup>10</sup>Mark Bevir (2012). Governance- A short Introduction. Oxford University Press p.14

misuse of resources of the public. Therefore, during the past five decades the country was inundated with internal riots, war, human rights violations, killing, disappearing people, youth unrest, especially in universities, inflation, unemployment, since the mismanagement of governance by the government authorities.

It has opened a new field for the researchers to carry out research for realization and practice of governance all over the globe. A clear definition of governance is also very vital in this regard. 21<sup>st</sup> century is about how government has changed into governance and to what extent it has happened.

According to Mark Bevir, with the deteriorating trust of the state and hierarchic bureaucracy, people are starting to discuss about governance. It has shown that the first time in history the use of governance in English literature also implies problems with governing body of kingship. People are more open for governance but not for government. They are more concerned about the qualities, attitudes and values of the actors in governance. Therefore, the study on qualities of actors in management of governance is mainly on the resources and power of the people.

Other examples of problems of governance are shown from the following.

There is today a broad agreement that governance is critical for development but much of the consensus about how governance matters is still very deficient. The liberal revolution in development economics and policy thinking that took place in the 1980s had a critical effect on the debate about the role of the state and therefore about the governance capabilities that developing countries should aim to achieve.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Mushtaq H. Khan (2010). Governance, Growth and Development: [www.academia.edu/26177118/Governance\\_Growth\\_and\\_Development\\_ARI](http://www.academia.edu/26177118/Governance_Growth_and_Development_ARI) 12. 11.2016

This is important in the Sri Lankan context since the country is now debating the role of state, without, in the opinion of the author, properly considering the management of governance and governance capabilities. To put this into practice, one has to have a good grasp of both these concepts -management and governance. Since we have not arrived at that level yet, we are incapable of putting it into practice properly. Not having a consensus about the meaning of governance is a serious disadvantage and a hindrance in conducting research studies as well as achieving management of governance.

#### **2.2.4. Areas of Practice of Governance**

Different disciplines have discussed governance in different manner in different fields.

Nonetheless if the social sciences at large are considered as a reference point, Williamson's paper (1979) is probably the best representative. The paper examines the preoccupation of the new institutional economics with the origins, incidence and ramifications of the notion of 'transaction costs' and only indirectly with the concept of 'governance'. To explain how actors try to minimize transaction costs he links the characteristics of investment and the frequency of transactions and distinguishes four types of governance: market, unilateral, bilateral, and trilateral. The three non-market governance structures (or institutional frameworks as he defines them) require some form of hierarchical governance (for him the internalization of production in "firms"). There are different definitions for uses in Governance.<sup>12</sup>

Institutional economics involve transaction costs; whenever a transaction occurs, resources are involved; where resources are involved, governance comes into play. However, since there is no proper and correct definition of governance, there is a lot of probing in the dark. Williamson (1979)'s reference to the types governance

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<sup>12</sup>David Levi-Faur (2011) From Big Government to Big Governance? Jerusalem Paper in Regulations & Governance Working Paper No.25 July 2011. p.6

above is a clear example of this situation. Management of governance relates primarily to economics, and the term 'management' was developed based on economics. Each economic transaction is a transformation of resources. None of the people who do these economic transactions bring any resource to this world with them when they were born, and they use available resources in the society, and this is where the responsibility to consider the management of governance in decision making comes in.

### **2.2.5. Some Direct Definitions of Governance**

Let us now consider some definitions found in the literature for governance. The Oxford dictionary defined governance as; "The act or manner of governing of exercising control or authority over the actions of subjects and a system of regulations"<sup>13</sup>.

The above definitions of governance mostly relate with rules and regulations also with general use of management and governance. Specially, it deals with the responsibilities of decision makers on their decisions with the given task and the results. All the above definitions focus on power, players and decisions.

### **2.2.6. Deficiencies of Existing Definitions of Governance**

Rhodes, who is one of the foremost scholars in the field of political science, specializing in governance, agrees here, that there is a vacuum for the definition of governance and goes on to say that 'Governance is a fashionable concept with various meanings', which means most of the disciplines use the governance concept without having a grasp of the proper meaning. His idea is that governance it is not clearly defined. He stated that "It is very difficult to find definition of

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<sup>13</sup>New Oxford American Dictionary (2001), Oxford University Press, p.734

Governance. The governance is also ill defined. However, Governance is a fashionable concept with various meanings’’.<sup>14</sup>

The following is excerpted from the Sri Lanka Journal of Governance;

We have to take into consideration the difference in meanings of ‘Government’ and ‘Governance’. The two words do not mean the same thing. “Governance is the process whereby, within accepted traditions and institutional frameworks, interests are articulated by different sectors of society, decisions are taken, and decision-makers are held to account”. While “government” is now thought of as an institution or a set of institutions, “governance” is seen as a process, and this is perhaps the fundamental difference between the two terms today.

Governance is about the way in which power is exercised: who has influence, who decides, and how decision-makers are held accountable. Governance also is crucially concerned with how organizations relate to each other, how they relate to citizens, and the ways in which citizens are given a voice.<sup>15</sup>

The above used definition holds true in the context of Sri Lankan situation, where it also has emphasis on rules and regulations, in addition to the relationship between stakeholders of the society. It is also stated as, “Governance is in essence a relational concept as it includes relationship among a number of stakeholders or actors, which are shifting, situation specific, and must be considered in the light of their history and tradition.”<sup>16</sup> It has continued in the historically and traditionally bounded trends of the actors. The definition does not emphasize what kind of, and how to develop relationship of each actor of the society. There is no proper

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<sup>14</sup>Rhodes, R. A. W. (1997). *Understanding Governance*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press. p.54

<sup>15</sup>Dassanayake T. K. (2003). Some thoughts on Government and Governance, *Governance Journal* Vol. No. 02, 2003, Sri Lanka Institute of Local Governance. pp.32-42.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

governance system established for public good here, and only a relational concept, and since the relationships are shifting, this would inevitably lead to chaos.

### **2.2.7. Evaluation and Measurement of Governance**

Apart from definitions, evaluation of good or poor governance in any country is indeed important. In this regard, Rehman Sobhan suggests five major measures to evaluate the state of governance:

1. The extent of deprivation
2. The representative nature of institutions
3. The level of decentralization of governing bodies
4. The realization of fundamental and basic rights
5. The protection of security of life and liberty”<sup>17</sup>

Rehman attempted to elaborate the criteria of governance to exhibit only some areas where the management and governance are linked. Here Rehman tries to circumvent the lack of a proper definition to fulfill function of state governance by use of a set of evaluation criteria. This too reinforces the need for a proper definition and opens opportunities for new research.

### **2.2.8. Definitions of Governance Based on Actors and Features**

Bob Jessop, in his article “Governance and Meta-governance” elaborates on governance,

There has been growing interest in the past twenty years ... This interest is reflected in growing ambiguities about the meaning of governance. For the purpose of this, however I adopt a relatively narrow definition of governance. Thus governance is defined as the reflexive self-organization of independent actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal interdependence, with such self-organization being based on

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<sup>17</sup>Syed Imran Sardar (2016) Good Governance: The Achilles’ Heel Of South Asia — Is There A Way Forward? -<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/267946293>.

continuing dialogue and resource-sharing to develop mutually beneficial joint project and to manage the contradictions and dilemmas inevitably involved in such situations.”<sup>18</sup>

Here, Bob goes back to the basis of governance and how actors or decision makers make decisions on sharing resources (which are not brought to the world by individuals when they are born). When there is a need for the people, then they have to organize to fulfill their needs. Then, they have to work as an interdependent body so that no single individual can get benefits for his own selfish purposes. This is where the notion ‘the resources are not for the selfish benefits of the individual, but for the benefit of the whole society’ comes in. Bob tries to emphasize that governance just not come into play without something behind as the basis, - common, mutually beneficial, managing contradictions and dilemmas are very important to consider this as it opens an avenue for a broader, real definition of governance.

Sammy Finer defines government as: “the activity or process of governing’ or ‘governance’, ‘a condition of ordered rule’. ...those people charged with the duty of governing’ or ‘governors’, and ‘the manner, method or system by which a particular society is governed’”.<sup>19</sup>

Here, he tries to define governance as a function of government which can be seen in the process of government and rules and regulation for the actors of the government.

RAW Rhodes attempts to define the Governance in his article as,

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<sup>18</sup>Bob Jessop (2003), Governance and Meta-governance: On reflexivity, requisite variety and requisite irony, in Henrik P. Bang (ed.) Governance as social and political communication, Manchester University Press. Manchester & New York. pp.101-116

<sup>19</sup>Sammy. E. Finer (1970). Comparative Convenient, (London, Allen Lane Penguin Sidney Low, The Governance of England (London. Fisher Unwin 1904) pp 3-4,

The term governance is popular but imprecise. It has at least six uses, referring to; the minimal state; corporate governance; the new public management; good governance; socio-cybernetic systems; and self-organizing network. I stipulate that governance refers to self-organizing, international networks and argue these networks complement markets and hierarchies as governing structures for authoritatively allocating resources and exercising control and co-ordination. I defend these definitions.<sup>20</sup>

Rhodes tries to show that resources are given or handed over to authoritative representatives to use them not for their own benefit, but for the benefit of all. He has shown six different uses of governance for management of interrelation with each other. Governance comes to play with the use of resources, which are for the common use or benefit. Power too is also for the common benefit; not for personal benefit. It implies that somebody has handed over the power and resources for the benefit of the whole. Authority to the governing body come thorough power handed over by the people.

### **2.2.9. Definitions of Governance Based on Users**

Rhodes (1996) stated that there are different users of governance, “there are at least six separate users of governance:

1. As the minimal state,
2. As corporate governance,
3. As the new public management,
4. As ‘good governance’,
5. As a socio-cybernetic system,

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<sup>20</sup>Rhodes RAW (1996). “The new governance: governing without government” , in Political Studies, Vol. 44, p. 652

#### 6. As self-organizing networks.<sup>21</sup>

Rhodes above tries to show users of governance where all six users use common resources for the benefit of common people. i.e. Common resources for common good.

Rhodes tries to show that governance in his article as, “Governance signifies a change in the meaning of government, referring to new processes of governing; or changed conditions of ordered rule; or new method by which society is governed”<sup>22</sup> This has proven his first argument that there is no clear definition of governance. Yet it is valid to consider that governance is a developing area of every discipline of study.

#### **2.2.10. Governance and the Ability of the Leader to Empower the People**

On the other hand, difficulties of research on governance arise due to the absence of literature on underlying organizing principles of governance, as stated by Carver;

Most governance research to date has consisted of descriptions of various types of governance arrangements. Absent from the literature is an underlying organizing principle, a conception of the fundamental purpose of governance. Without this underlying principle, attempts to assess effectiveness will fail. ...This conception of the purpose of governance can serve as an underlying principle to guide research on the effectiveness of governance,<sup>23</sup>

Carver (1997) further stated,

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<sup>21</sup>Rhodes R.A.W. (1996)“The new governance: governing without government” , in *Political Studies*, Vol. 44, pp. 652-67.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>John Carver (2003). A new basis for governance effectiveness research, *Journal: Board Leadership- Innovative Approaches to governance Issues* 67 May/June 2003.- <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/bl.38620036703/full>.

Successful strategic leadership demands powerful engagement with trusteeship, obsessive concern over results, enthusiastic empowerment of people, bigness in embracing the farsighted view, and the commitment to take a stand for dreams of tomorrow's human condition.<sup>24</sup>

The above statements by Carver show that the most important fundamentals of governance are the qualities of the successful leadership. Governance fundamentals developed and practiced by the leadership will open up these qualities of decision makers in everyone. Here, the most acceptable qualities of leadership are the universal great human qualities of values with the aim of benefiting all human beings in the global society will be discussed in Chapter III in detail.

#### **2.2.11. Governance in Terms of Tasks**

The other perspective of governance can be better understood by considering the tasks of governance. "The tasks involved in local governance are to:

1. Identify local problems and ascertain the felt needs and aspirations of the people;
2. Take an inventory of locally available manpower and natural resources and assess the development potential of the sub-regions in the light of the availability of these resources;
3. Estimate the financial resources required to promote regional development in view of the local problems identified and carry out the inventory of the available resources;
4. Set out a strategy of resources mobilization, both financial and physical, and implement projects and programs that promote the development of the sub-region;

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<sup>24</sup>George E. Potter, Daniel J. Phelan, *Governance over the Years: A Trustee's Perspective*, p. 212

5. Decide on the location of projects in different village and hamlets, accordingly allocate financial resources for their development;
6. Determine the implementation and monitoring procedure such that there is no let-up in the implementation of the project and programs taken up by them; and
7. Evolve appropriate rules and regulations regarding the use of community resources such as common property resources, community assets like irrigation tanks, community buildings, schools and hospitals, and take appropriate action in the case of misuse of these resources.”<sup>25</sup>

The above tasks of local governance clearly show that the task of governance consists of various kinds of resource allocations to fulfill various kinds of needs of the community. Here, in this context it is very clear that the decisions are made for resource allocation by representatives/agents/managers/ board members or whoever makes decisions on allocation of resources for the benefit of the stakeholders. Here the stakeholders mean the common society. It is also elucidated that governance uses for resources allocation decisions are made by those who are not resource owners but temporary holders of resources for the benefit of resources owners.

#### **2.2.12. Problems of Not Having a Proper Definition of Governance**

Meaning of governance also differs and is abused by substituting their (decision makers) own meanings to fulfill their own desires and not the desires of the public. It will lead to mismanagement of governance and most of the problems are created in every society because of that. It poses a danger to the whole society, not only where these practices are taking place, even to the lives of people in it.

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<sup>25</sup>Abdul Aziz and David D. Arnold (1996) Decentralized Governance in Asian Countries- Introduction, Sage Publication New Delhi /Thousand Oaks/London p.15

Obviously governance means different things to different people. Despite some overlaps, it has one meaning for the economists of the World Bank and another for the political scientists engaged in the Local Government and Whitehall programs.<sup>26</sup>

As we suggested earlier, however, the most prominent alternative to neo-liberalism come from political scientists who define governance in term of networks, which are conceived as the unintended consequences of the neoliberal policies that aimed to establish the minimal states, marketization and the new public management.<sup>27</sup>

This statement is also emphasizing that political scientists also developed a narrative definition to governance. Governance concept has come up with the failure of economic model and mismanagement of environment natural resources. These models and mismanagement leads to develop individualism. It may be individual human being or individual institution, individual state or unions.<sup>28</sup>

Here they are forgetting the fact that all environment resources are for all human beings. No natural resources are made or brought to this world by human beings. However, individuals try to use natural resources for their individual selfish benefits. It leads huge danger to all human beings, such as global warming, environmental pollution, air pollution, damage to the space, drug trafficking, and war. These again lead to reducing human beings' happiness and their prosperity while increasing misery and unrest paving the way backwards towards an uncivilized society. All-natural disasters are happening because of failure of governance. It means mismanagement of natural resources by the different groups of people.

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<sup>26</sup>Rhodes R. A. W. (1996). *The New Governance: Governing without Government*, Political Studies, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne UK. pp.652-667

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

### 2.2.13. Definitions of Governance by International Organizations

The UNESCO (2002) defines governance as,

... a process by which individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It refers to the interaction between the public sector and civil society for collective decision making. Initially the concept of governance emerged and was applied in the urban context to cope more efficiently with local problem solving. In subsequent decades, the governance model was gradually applied at the central government level. It was also extended to transnational problem, as global governance.

...In the development context, international organizations have attributes to governance features which concern efficiency (fiscal rigor, market oriented practices, reduced state intervention) and democracy (accountability, transparency, equity, promotion of the rule of law, decentralization). Various adjectives have been adjoined to the term 'good' 'governance', sound governance and democratic governance.<sup>29</sup>

As the UNDP (1997) states, Governance is seen an encompassing institutions, as well as, the broader laws, regulations, policies and actions with which natural resources are managed, as well as the network of influence beyond just government, such as civil society, private sector actions, and non-governmental organizations'. Management on the other hand, is concerned with the application of these rules and operationalization of the policy visions with the practical aspects of water allocation, protection, prevention of harm from extremes.

Conceptualizing modes of governance," Founded on a reinterpretation of the discourse from government to governance', we argue that only a multi-

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<sup>29</sup>Ali Kazancigil (1998).Governance and science: market-like modes of managing society and producing knowledge, ISSJ155/1998 □ UNESCO 1998. Published by Blackwell Publishers, USA.

dimensional approach giving consideration to political processes (politics), institutional structures (policy) and policy content (policy) adequately captures the complexity of governance phenomena.

Without reference to a universal standard for governance, the notion of what is good is thus defined by the desired outcome, which varies from one situation to another. Nonetheless, two broad governance issues can be discerned. The first pertains to institutions of governance, including public administration and public services connected, in particular, with the sound management of resources, delivery of and equitable access to public services, responsiveness to the views of citizens and their participation in decisions that concern them. Strategies adopted in response – including better personnel management, transparency in public finance, a curb on corruption, citizen participation and enhanced accountability – have since become common currency in public administration dialogue.<sup>30</sup>

The above paragraphs indicate that in governance, decisions are made on utilization and management of resources for the benefit of the people by governing bodies such as governments, institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

#### **2.2.14. Decision Making and Problems of Governance**

The existing decision making methods have given rise to enormous problems which don't have any solution from exiting method, and they have also become a burden to every society or state either capitalistic, socialistic or hybrid. In the developed world decisions are made to increase efficiency by hollowing-out, but this would result in their citizens facing unemployment problems this is an example of a governance problem where resources are used only the benefit of only a small group of the society- the employers.

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<sup>30</sup>Some pertinent UN resolutions include General Assembly res. 50/225, 55/61, 66/209 and Economic and Social Council res. 2011/22

Governance, on many accounts, thus has a profound relationship to a neoliberal narrative that emphasizes the inefficiencies of bureaucracy, the burden of excessive taxation, the mobility of capital, and competition between states. A hierarchic model of the provision of public services is condemned here as inherently inefficient. The state reasonably might make policy decisions, but instead of delivering services itself, it should promote an entrepreneurial system based on competition and markets- “less government” and “more governance.”<sup>31</sup>

Before developing into the details of our response, we first note that Marcus Kurtz and Andrew Shrank definition of governance is in our view convoluted and ultimately too narrow. In the opening sentence they refer broadly to “political corruption and mal-governance”. By the next paragraph they have shifted to a much narrower concept of the quality of public administration.”

The agency theory also includes the relationship between principal and agent. Jenson and Mackling in 1976 explained, “Agency theory involves a contract under which one or more persons (shareholders) engage another person (the director) to perform some services on their behalf which includes delegating some decision making authority to the agent. If both parties to the relationship are utility maximizers there is good reason to believe the agent will not always act in the best interest of the principal.”

This explanation has given more elaboration on decisions made on other’s behalf. The agent-principle relationship is also an important concept in governance since the agent is making decisions on behalf of the principal (shareholder) for the benefit of the principal. The government includes all levels of local, provincial, and national. At all these levels decision makers are representatives (politicians-who hold

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<sup>31</sup>Bevir, Mark and Rhodes, R. A. W. (2001) A Decentered Theory of Governance: Rational Choice, Institutionalism, and Interpretation, Working Paper 2001-10, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, USA. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0bw2p1gp> 8.04. 2016

their positions only for a short period) of the citizens or agents of the citizens. Public administrators (permanent civil servants) are also agents of citizens. These two parties have more responsibilities on practicing governance using citizens' own resources for the benefit of the citizens.

The citizen's resources are misused, due to malpractice, corruption and mismanagement by all authorities of the government. The citizens are troubled and burdened by the decisions they make. This is failure of governance. Then lots of problems have been created and citizens are made to suffer a lot and they are not happy at all.

Iain Gow 'Governance is sometimes an analytical concept and at other times normative one, and in its normative sense it seems more of a slogan than a concept.

Barry Knight 'finds governance a persuasive word that is used by people to convey something slightly different from government.

'Vincent Lamieux 'find a consensus on two facets of governance. First is that 'governance is a new form of governing'. Second is that governments role in governance is not the same as in traditional forms governing. There are six roles that he identifies that government could play in governance-entrepreneur, symbol manager, referee, supervisor, one of several actors and instrumental and finds that these can vary from one process to another. Hence a clear understanding of the process of governance would depend on the relations between the government and actors.

'Daniel Wolfish and Golden Smith have a different perspective on governance process they focus on power centers,

1. States actors government structure operations in an official role.
2. Global city regions or economic zones.

3. Inter governmental organization created by the state.
4. Non-state actors – NGOs and firms.
5. Quasi-state institutions.
6. Transnational communities.<sup>32</sup>

In the above explanations of governance have more about actors and the powers of actors also the type of acting method to govern by government. In this context it is the actors who are making decisions and these decisions have an effect on all the citizens of a state.

#### **2.2.15. Need for a Proper Definition**

However the exact meaning of governance is difficult to find. Mark Bevir (2008) explains in his article very clearly about the issues with the meaning of governance.

Although social constructivists analyze governance in terms of meanings, there is little agreement among them about the nature of such meanings. The meanings of interest to them are variously described, for example, as intentions and beliefs, conscious or tacit knowledge, subconscious or unconscious assumptions, systems of signs and languages, and discourses and ideologies. Social constructivists often explore many of these varied types of meanings both synchronically and diachronically.<sup>33</sup>

This is given the freedom to find the meaning and definition of governance. It is very clear that governance is still open for discussion and practical research needed to find an exact meaning. It is very obvious that the meaning of governance is described as intentions and beliefs that serve the vested interests of the

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<sup>32</sup>Dassanayake T.K. (2003). Some thoughts on Government and Governance, Governance Journal Vol. No. 02, 2003, Sri Lanka Institute of Local Governance. p.34

<sup>33</sup>Mark Bevir (2003). A Decentered Theory of Governance, pp.200-220, in Henrik P. Bang (ed.) Governance as social and political communication, Manchester University Press. Manchester & New York.

parties involved. It means that in most of the societies the governance is used only as a slogan to deceive each other especially on south Asian countries, such Sri Lanka, meaning to implement it and without having the real meaning themselves. That is why there are so many problems of governance in every society in the globe.

#### **2.2.16. Searching for Broader Perspective on Governance**

... ‘pluralism’ is apt, if somewhat elusive, concept with which to grapple if we are to understand the present process of governance, especially if at the start of the twenty-first century,...<sup>34</sup>

... Most of the proponents of pluralism argue that in a democratic setting, political resources are widely distributed among different interest groups. Such a situation allows various association to play a critical role in decision-making behind the formal and institutional structures of state on the one hand, and creates the condition necessary for limiting the power of the state, on the other (Almond 1990 ). In other words, pluralism is defined as a system of governance in which socio-political groups freely interact with each other and the state in informal and uncontrolled ways.<sup>35</sup>

...Similarly optimize, Nzomo asserts that strongly held ethnic identities need not be a source of tension in a society, instead, ethnic pluralism may even be a source of democratic strength if governance mechanisms allow for the

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<sup>34</sup>Fahimul Quadir, Sanda J. Maclean and Timothy M. Shaw (2001) ‘Pluralisms and the changing global political Economy: Ethnicities in crises of governance in Asia and Africa, ed. by them Crises of Governance in Asia and Africa, The International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series, Ashgate Publishing Company USA.p.18

<sup>35</sup>Fahimul Quadir, Sanda J. Maclean and Timothy M. Shaw (2001) ‘Pluralisms and the changing global political Economy: Ethnicities in crises of governance in Asia and Africa, eds. Fahimul Quadir, Sanda J. Maclean and Timothy M. Shaw .Crises of Governance in Asia and Africa, The International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series, Ashgate Publishing Company USA. p.19

free expression of ideas and the equitable distribution of assets among the various groups.<sup>36</sup>

...We attempt to define governance as a process of building a just, equitable and prosperous world for all groups and communities-not just for dominant ethnic and/or economic groups and individuals. In doing so, our research initiatives attempt to identify the impediments and strategies to movement towards the development of a more plural, more secure and more humane world builds on the ideals of democracy, participation, transparency, accountable, human rights, justice and equity.<sup>37</sup>

The notion of 'governance' used to be understood as government officials and institutions (exercising) power in the management of a country's economic and social resources.<sup>38</sup>

With the above understanding of governance, it is very clear that they focus on resource allocation to all human beings in a just and equitable manner, because resources are to be used for the benefit of all human beings. It should be understood with the knowledge of the human birth. Does every human bring resources to this world when they are born? The discrimination of people as groups is not suitable to any society to practice governance. The discrimination of any form negatively affects the management of governance practices and it leads to mismanagement of governance which brings unhappiness to the society.

The concept of 'governance' at the end of the twentieth century increasingly means sharing power and responsibility among three broad groups of actors: state, market and civil society. Its emphasis is no longer limited to 'the

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p.25

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p.28

<sup>38</sup> Maznah Mohamad, Cecilia NG and Tan Beng Hui (2001) Globalization, Industrialization and Crisis : The Coming-of-Age of Malaysian Woman Workers? Sandra J MacLean, Fahimul Qadir and Timothy M. Shaw (ed.) Crises of Governance in Asia and Africa, The International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series, Ashgate Publishing Company USA. p.72

management of development resources' by the state along. Interest is shifting away, albeit gradually, from the 'successful' implementation of structural economic reform programs as the means to promote sustainable democratic development. Instead many development agencies now realize that 'good governance' cannot be achieved without ensuring an equitable distribution of power and resources within and between societies and without creating an environment for popular participation in decision-making....<sup>39</sup>

The above paragraph gives the most important concept of governance in relation to power and resources which are at the root of governance. The most importantly it has emphasis that there are three kind of actors in the governance practices in every societies.

Broadly following Newman (2001:24), one may summarize the literature on governance as involving:

1. A move away from hierarchy, competition and solidarity as alternative models for delivering services towards networks, teams and partners traversing the public, private and voluntary sectors.
2. A recognition of the blurring of boundaries between public and private state and civil society, and national and international and thereby of responsibilities for handling political, social and economic issues.
3. The recognition and incorporation of issue networks and policy network into processes of governing.
4. The replacement of traditional modes of hierarchical control command by 'governing at a distance.'
5. The development of more reflexive and responsive policy tools.

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<sup>39</sup>Fahimul Quadir, Sanda J. Maclean and Timothy M. Shaw (2001) 'Pluralisms and the changing global political Economy: Ethnicities in crises of governance in Asia and Africa, ed. by them Crises of Governance in Asia and Africa, The International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series, Ashgate Publishing Company USA. pp.27-28

6. The role of government shifting to a focus on providing leadership building partnerships, steering and coordinating, and providing system-wide integration and regulation.
7. The emergence of ‘negotiated self-governance’ in communities, cities, and regions, based on new practices of coordinating activities through networks and partnerships.
8. The opening-up of decision-making to greater participation by the public.
9. Innovations in democratic practice as a response to the problem of the complexity and fragmentation of authority, and the challenges presents to traditional democratic models.
10. A broadening of focus by government beyond institutional concerns to encompass the involvement of civil society in the process of governance.<sup>40</sup>

Defined by the Bank as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development’ World Bank, 1992b:3), ‘governance becomes the policy response to growing development problems facing many countries in the region: ...<sup>41</sup>

Governance is also about the institutionalization and naturalization of procedures of decision making. We can also benefit from a distinction between five major mechanisms of decision-making via: monetized exchange, non-monetized exchange, command, persuasion and solidarity. Monetized exchanges are usually market exchanges and are characterized by minimal or moderate transaction costs. Nonmaterial exchanges involve resources that are hard or impossible to monetize or

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<sup>40</sup>Henrik P Bang (2003) Governance as social and political communication-Introduction. Manchester Press Manchester and New York. p.239

<sup>41</sup>Fahimul Quadir, Sanda J. Maclean and Timothy M. Shaw (2001) ‘Pluralisms and the changing global political Economy: Ethnicities in crises of governance in Asia and Africa, ed. by them Crises of Governance in Asia and Africa, The International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series, Ashgate Publishing Company USA. p.12

otherwise assign value. In both cases of exchange - the monetized and the non-monetized – decision-making involves deciding whether to exchange or not, as well as where, when and how. Command is a decision-making mechanism that involves rule making with the expectation of compliance from the subject being commanded. It is an authoritative and hierarchical mechanism of decision-making which often is associated with the state but of course is not confined to it. Persuasion in decision making involves the elaboration of values, preference and interest as well as the rationalization and framing of options for action and the exchange of ideas and information in a deliberative manner. Finally, solidarity is a mechanism that rests on loyalty rather than voice, love rather than interest, faith rather than critical thinking, and group identity rather than individualism.<sup>42</sup>

Governance, of course, largely depends on the nature and attitude of state, and the instrumentalities that it uses in the day-to-day governance. While there are several ways of characterizing the state, one important way is to look at the instrumentalities, particularly the administrative instrument, which is in constant interaction with and influences the lives of the people in various aspects.<sup>43</sup>

as well as the effects of empirical governance activities in the conceptual evolution of the term. The central argument is that the current governance framework has evolved to incorporate the values of various actors, notwithstanding the dominance of market values. Importantly, new trends in governance suggest a slow but increasing acceptance of the underlying principles of the current framework. The apparent evolution of the concept seems to reflect the process of increased interaction between actors and the sum of total of their experiences.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>David Levi-Faur (2011) From Big Government to Big Governance? , Jerusalem Paper in Regulations & Governance Working Paper No.25 July 2011.

<sup>43</sup>Haragopal G. (2003). Governance Through Participative Development: The Role of People's Movement (ed) Pardeep Sahni and Uma Medury Governance for Development – Issues and Strategies.p.72

<sup>44</sup>Alpha Diedhiou (2007). Governance for Development: Understanding the concept/Reality linkages, Journal of Human Development Volume 8, pp.23-28.

The most important feature of defining governance is contained in the above paragraphs as ‘the value of various actors’ ‘depends on the nature and attitude of state’. This means in the context of governance, the most important factor is the decision makers who are involved in the decision making process, and their qualities of values and the actors attitude. It is the factor to be considered in this study as the main factor of governance with reference to the Pāli canon.

### 2.3. Common Characteristics of the Definitions of Governance

The above Governance Definitions and descriptions have several important characteristics of governance.

**Table 2.2** Common characteristics of governance

Decision making	Resources Natural/ manmade	Personnel Involvement of Decision makers  Leadership/Board/King/Cabinet/ executive president	Beneficiaries  All the People
The universal great human qualities of values of the Decision makers.			

It is necessary to discuss the governance as a process. This process consists of mainly Beneficiaries, Decision makers, Resources and Decision making. The beneficiaries are depending on the decision making organization, it may be a government, company, NGO, and community organization. Some examples of these separate organizations, decision makers and beneficiaries (who are affected) are listed in the following table.

**Table 2.3** Example of Practice of governance

<b>Organization</b>	<b>Beneficiaries</b>	<b>Decision makers</b>	<b>Resources</b>	<b>Decisions</b>
Government	People	The President, Cabinet, members of parliament	Properties' of Government (People's property)	To build a national road
Company	Shareholders/ Stakeholders	CEO and Board of Directors	Shareholders capital	To manufacture cars
NGO	Street Children	Managers and Trustees	Fund trustees	Safe children's village
Local Government	Local people	Local Government Members and Administrators.	Public fund for local development	Local water supply project

According to all definitions of governance, main characteristic is decision making for the benefit of third party/beneficiaries. On the other hand the decision makers are only the holders of resources and not the owners of resources. The meaning of the word Governance begins with making use of resources for the common benefit. Governance has to be considered by decision makers. All the existing governance practices including corporate governance, public governance, political governance, network governance, system governance, global governance, good governance, and local governance are currently being used.

Decision makers have to have qualification to make such decisions. These qualifications have to be considered in governance. In addition, capacity and scope, which are considered to be important in making decisions, are also needed to be treated in governance. These are included in each and every organizational written document. When it is government or state, the constitution is the relevant written document. Likewise in corporate governance, the document is the Companies Act and amendments to it. In Local Governance, it is the relevant local government Act and its amendments. NGOs are also under the government regulating Act for them in addition to constitution of the NGO.

The above mentioned documents are prepared to make governance practices easier for the decision makers and to uphold the position of wellbeing or happiness of the beneficiaries. It is the function of the governance systems to help decision makers to practice their universal great human qualities of values for the benefit of the beneficiaries.

Decision making actors who are making use of common resources are to be considered. Accordingly, the actors', beliefs and perceptions lead to proper management of governance in every society. Thus whatever document is prepared for governance would not be expected produce completely (hundred percent) proper governance in that government or state or a company or NGO. It is dependent on qualities of the people who are involved in the preparation practice of the documented procedures, rules and regulations in the governing society. If the actors' beliefs, perceptions and moral values are in proper alignment on management of governance, there is really no need of guiding documentation. This is dependent on the quality of beliefs, perceptions and moral values of the society at large.

**Table 2.4** Decision making actors and Qualities

Actors of the decision making bodies in a society	The Qualities of these people involved in positions
<u>Government –Central and local</u> 1. Permanent employees of the governmental organizations 2. Representative of the citizen in central and local governments (citizens are responsible)	1. Practice the basic fundamentals accepted by every human society. Not killing, not taking anything that is not given, not telling lies to cheat people, respect of dignity of others loved ones. 2. The Universal great human qualities of values
<u>Companies or corporate bodies</u> 1. Board of Directors (responsible to shareholders) 2. Employees of the body corporate	1. Practice the basic fundamentals accepted by every human society. Not killing, not taking anything that is not given, not telling lies to cheat people, respect of dignity of others loved ones. 2. The Universal great human qualities of values
<u>Non-Governmental Organizations</u> 1. Chairman Committee members (responsible to community leaders) 2. Employees	1. Practice the basic fundamentals accepted by every human society. Not killing, not taking anything that is not given, not telling lies to cheat people, not practicing sexual misconduct. 2. The Universal great human qualities of values

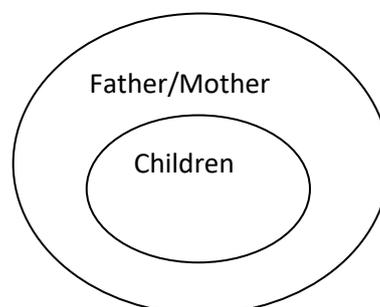
#### **2.4. Governance and Decision Making in a Household (Family)**

Decision making is involved in the smallest segment of the society, the family. The family leader may be mother/father or both. All decisions are for the benefit for all members of the family or one member or group of members. It depends on what the decision is made. The father and mother treat every child equally.

Therefore the base organization or smallest organization in the society has made decision with the accepted norm of that the society. This is general situation of Sri Lankan society. Resources available of the family are made use for equal benefit of family members. All family members sometimes sacrifice resources for the benefit of one member of the family. It is also accepted as a norm of the family. The mother and father sacrifice for their children's benefit. Whatever method practice by family decision makers, i.e. father and mother, there are rules and regulations to safeguard the children of the society. As an example, every child has to have basic education.

As parents are making decisions for the benefit of children, they must have the quality of parent to sacrifice for their children. The parent's only expectation is to help the children to develop to become the best person in the society. At this point the common family resources are used for every person of the family. The resources are owned by the family members but none of the members bring resources to the society. All resources are gathered from the environment and the society, thus bringing governance into play. Whoever makes use of resources of the society must consider governance. The present study is based on governance; it is about everybody having to consider making decisions on the use of resources to the benefit for everyone. The basis of management is also the same<sup>45</sup>.

The family unit has a structure. It is a very simple structure.



**Figure 2.1** The family unit

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<sup>45</sup>Peter F. Drucker (1954). Practice of Management, Publish by Harper & Row, New York. p.24

Here it is very simple structure of a family as an organization. The father and mother were in children circle. These children also become father or mother in turn. When family organizations go smoothly no problems will be created. If the parents are not protecting their children, there are many ways to protect them; child protection acts. Separate government department is also established for the purpose of child protection. Father and mother are applying accepted governance when they make decision on family. This we can call family governance. When there is failure of family governance, the family members are discriminated. Then the Child safe Authority will take action against the parent. This may happen other way around too, when father and mother are discriminated by children. Then legal action will be taken by authorities against children. It can be seen that governance is the basic kind of moral responsibility of a person who is in a decision making capacity.

The failures of governance takes place because of the decision maker's state of mind when the decision is made. Decision makers must have the universal great human qualities.

The objectives of governance are more important when decision makers move away from basic governance. The main problem here is the conflict of interest of decision makers and beneficiaries, where they make decisions for the sake of their own interest. On the other hand, the objective of governance is to prevent the decision makers moving away from their responsibilities where their inherent habits come to the fore.

Decision makers are knowledgeable of their responsibilities and are aware of their scope of decisions. They play the role of agent for their capacity and best interest of principal. When the decisions are made at the board or decision making table, the decision makers have to consider that their main activity is to make decisions on behalf of beneficiaries or principal.

When the agents or representatives move away from the objective, the governance come to the discussion. This is relevant to every organization's decision makers at the decision table.

Governance aim is to keep decision makers alert with their respective tasks and scope.

**Table 2.5** Governance and decision maker's respective tasks and scope

Decision makers; Agents/ representatives/ managers/ parent	Keep on their Scope and task	Maximum benefit with sustainable resources utilization.
The universal great human qualities and value of the decision makers in a society as a whole.		

Governance of management is relevant to decisions on resources gathering, resources allocation, utilization, and resources maintenance, safeguarding the resources, to abolish conflict of interest, decision makers' self management, assets management, and liabilities management. All these kinds of management of governance are for every beneficiary's happiness. The basic management principles are developed to practice the governance properly. The basic principles are Planning, Coordination, Directing, and Control. Resources are consisting of natural resources, all other various kinds of assets, liabilities, human resources, and so on.

The governance depends mainly on the human qualities of the decision makers. The quality of knowledge, education qualifications, developed skills and training, trustworthiness, integrity, reliability, courage, encouragement, enthusiasm, passion, compassion, self-motivation, generosity, kindness; especially the great human qualities as a human being in the global society.

## 2.5 Introduction to Happiness

In the history late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century Buddha is the first person who has taught about happiness to overcome suffering by human itself in the lifetime of the human. People were expecting happiness after death or joining with the god after death. It was also between 469-399 BC in the west Socrates was the first person who has talked about happiness which can be obtained through human effort. Before that

eastern and western people searched for happiness from outside of them. It has literature as “Socrates has a unique place in the history of happiness, as he is the first known figure in the West to argue that happiness is actually obtainable through human effort.”<sup>46</sup>

There were information of Socrates come to India and learn doctrine existed in India. Then he got some kind of doctrine from Buddha’s teaching, that the doctrine of *Ācārya Sukṛteśa* (Socrates) has much resemblance to the Buddhist doctrine, but that the belief in a soul has not been disavowed in it. ...<sup>47</sup>.Happiness was deemed a rare occurrence and reserved only for those whom the goods favored.<sup>48</sup>

One of the most influential works is the Nicomachean Ethics, where he presents a theory of happiness that is still relevant today over 2,300 years later. The key question Aristotle seeks to answer in these lectures is “what is the ultimate purpose of human existence?” what is that end or goal for which we should direct all our activities? Everywhere we see people seeking pleasure, wealth and a good reputation. But while each of these has some value, none of them can occupy the place of the chief good for which humanity should aim.<sup>49</sup>

According to the above the people seek pleasure wealth and a good reputation to happy. The most important concept is the values of these. The happiness should come with the human values and there should be humanity. The most important concept of happiness is aim for humanity. The humanity can be maintained with moral practice qualities by the decision makers.

### **2.5.1 Ancient Sri Lankan Way of Happiness**

The happiness is considered in many definitions in many ways. It is very important to take from inscription from the past, how the ancient people expect

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<sup>46</sup>[www.pursuit-of-happiness.org/history-of-happiness/socrates](http://www.pursuit-of-happiness.org/history-of-happiness/socrates)

<sup>47</sup>Paranavitana Senarath (1971). *The Greeks and The Mauryas*, Lake house investments Limited, Colombo, Sri Lanka. p.46

<sup>48</sup>Ibid

<sup>49</sup>Paranavitana Senarath (1971). *The Greeks and The Mauryas*, Lake house investments Limited, Colombo, Sri Lanka. p.46

happiness in Sri Lanka it was in inscription specially Kuccaveli Rock Inscription. It is twenty one miles away from Trincomali. The translation is following,

By this merit, may I be able, in every succeeding rebirth, to relieve all the suffering of the world and to bestow complete *happiness* (on humanity). ( May I also always) be full of forbearance and compassion.

By this merit, may I vanquish the foes, Māra ... and sin; and having attained to that supreme state of Buddha Hood, may I, with my hand of great compassion, deliver suffering humanity from the extensive quagmire of saṃsāra.<sup>50</sup>

It is the way that the ancient Sri Lankan expected happiness. In above this emphasis that people working for not happy in this life and will be in next life.

### 2.5.2 Ways of Happiness According to King Aśoka

The Buddha had given guidance to his first disciple that disseminate this message for all human beings happiness and overcome suffering.

I am delivered, *O Bhikkhus*, from all fetters, human and divine. You, *O Bhikkhus*, are also delivered from all fetters, human and divine. Go ye now, *O Bhikkhus*, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of gods and men. Let not two of you go the same way. Preach, *O Bhikkhus*, the doctrine which is glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate, perfect, and pure life of holiness.<sup>51</sup>

The following paragraphs are extracted from Lamotte E., ‘History of Indian Buddhism’, which gives more practical governance as a first person of the country. The Asoka introduced the method for ruling for happiness of the human beings.

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<sup>50</sup>Kuccaveli Rock Inscription, Epigraphica Zeylanica, Vol. III (London, 1933), p. 161.

<sup>51</sup>Hirakawa Akira (1974) A History of. Indian Buddhism. From Sakyamuni to Early Mahayana. Translated and Edited by Paul Groner. Asian studies at Hawaii published by Shunjusha of Tokyo.:p.32- Vinaya V.1 p.20.

The Dharma is only an expression, in its most universal form, of the great principles of natural law; it teaches “proper conduct according to the ancient rule”, a rule which kings in the past had already tried to promote. To avoid sin, practice virtue and perform the duties of human solidarity, such is the essence of Asoka’s Dharma. Therefore, its parallels are not to be found in Buddhist sutras devoted to the exaltation of the religious life, but in the *Dharmasastras*, the descriptions of lay morality scattered throughout the ancient anthologies of universal wisdom, *Dhammapada*, *Suttanipāta*, as well as the Advice to *Upāsakas* dispersed throughout the canonical writings, *Lakkhanasuttanta*, *Singāla* and the various *Gahapativagga* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Samyutta Nikāya* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. As we have seen in the first chapter, this advice to the laity merely promotes the general rules of moral life, under the aegis of the Buddha.<sup>52</sup>

The most important factor of governance of ruler or king or president or prime minister or decision maker for everyone benefit, is moral life with open universal wisdom. This accepts every human of the globe. This emphasis the human behavior and attitude lead to all the action of a person. Therefore, it has emphasized that every decision maker must have morality to enlighten wisdom. The wisdom will help to person make universally accepted decision for the benefit of everyone in the globe. This decision making quality in this study expound as the universal great human Qualities of values of a decision makers.

For Asoka, all men were his children, and he worked for their welfare and happiness in the order to ensure them bliss in this world but especially in the heavens of the other world. Happiness in this world and beyond is the reward promised to *upasakas* by the *Itivuttaka*: “Whoever desires joy, may he aspire to heavenly joys or may he yearn for human happiness.

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<sup>52</sup>Lamotte E., ‘History of Indian Buddhism’ – translated from the French by Sara Webb-Boin under the Supervision of Jean Dantinne, Institut Orientaiste de l’Université Catholique de Louvain, Peeters Press Louvain- Paris. p. 249

In order to achieve his ideal, Asoka concerned himself personally with public affairs and displayed extreme zeal in doing so: “At every moment, whether I am at table, in women’s apartments, in my room, on the farmlands, in a vehicle, in the garden, anywhere, informants must acquaint me with public affairs... The main thing is to work and to bring affairs to a successful conclusion”. Not content with being kept informed, he organized Dharma tours (*dharmayatra*) with audiences and the distribution of gold to the Brahmins, *sramanas* and the aged, instruction in the Dharma and questions on the Dharma to the people of the provinces”. He expected his family, sons, grandsons and the other princes, sons of his queens, to follow his example. He was assisted in his task by officials “appointed for the welfare and happiness of the people” : envoys (*dūta*) who carried his message throughout the empire and among the foreign kingdoms ; district officers (*yukta*), inspectors (*rajuka*), and local governors (*pradesika*) who, every five years, set out on tour with his special edict ; overseers (*mahamatra*) in Kalinga, entrusted with winning the affection of the people ; overseers of the Dharma (*dharmamahamatra*), charged with care the religious, the elderly, the wretched and prisoners, and who were eventually to be concerned separately with the various sects : the Buddhist *Saṅgha*, the Brahmins, *Ājīvikas*, *Nigranthas*, etc.<sup>53</sup>

Governance practice by King Asoka Magadha had shown that he wanted to make every one of the citizen happy. As a king of the country if there were problems which has to attend the king to solve the problems then he has to attend it make decision for the problems. Therefore he cannot be away from the decision making situation. Since he has to inform, his supporter to make aware of him every time where he has to participate in the decision making table at every time. No matter where he is no secret personnel life as a king then he has to serve for people in every time, no matter early morning, morning, day or night.

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<sup>53</sup>LaMotte E., ‘History of Indian Buddhism’ – translated from the French by Sara Webb-Boin under the Supervision of Jean Dantinne, Institut Orientaiste de l’Université Catholique de Louvain, Peeters Press Louvain- Paris. P.252

The distribution of work has done by Asoka to smooth function of the governance practice to keep everyone happiness forever. When there are problems in the county everywhere keep agent of the king to solve the problems properly. Asoka practice of governance has made happiness of every citizen of the country and leads to make happy all people in the globe. The lessons are very important to take as examples from the east.

### **2.5.3 Utility of Great Happiness**

The happiness has been measured with the utility of using resources for human benefit. This utility theory goes with human interest; not only for one person but also all human beings. That has emphasized by Bentham, Mill and others.

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) out line an ethical system based on a purely hedonistic calculation of the utility particular actions with a view to greatest happiness of all, a view later to be defined in modified from Mill and others.

Bentham supposed, is to consider the extent of this pleasure, since the happiness of the community as a whole is nothing other than the sum of individual human interests. The principal of utility, then, define the meaning of moral obligation by reference to the greatest happiness of all greater number of people who are affected by performance of an action.<sup>54</sup>

Bentham the greatest happiness of people is dependent on not the individual happiness but whole society happiness. In this point it complies with human are in society as group. The individual cannot be live as its own life without the society. Therefore Bentham emphasized that the greatest happiness of all greatest number of people. If it is a family, all members of the family: village all every member of the village: province all members of the Province: country all members of the country live: region all the members of the region: global all the human being

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<sup>54</sup>[www.philosophypages.com/dy/b2.htm#bent](http://www.philosophypages.com/dy/b2.htm#bent) 5.47 am, 2015.02.01

living in the globe: should be happy by using resources. This can be achieved with who has developed the universal great human qualities of values for decision making.

Mill fully accepted Bentham's devotion to greatest happiness principle as the basic statement of utilitarian value: actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain, and the privation of pleasure. What motivates people to do the right thing? Mill claimed universal agreement on the role of moral sanctions in eliciting proper conduct from human agents.

Mill granted that the positive achievement of happiness is often difficult, so that we are often justified morally in seeking primarily to reduce the total amount of pain experienced by sentient beings affected by our actions. ...Mill argued that social applications of the principle of utility are fully consistent with traditional concern for the promotion of justice. Justice involves respect for the property, rights, and deserts of individual citizens, along with fundamental presumptions in favor of good faith and impartiality. All of these worthwhile components of justice are adequately preserved by conscientious application of the principle of utility, Mill supposed, since particular cases of each clearly result in the greatest happiness of all affected parties.<sup>55</sup>

Mill has further taken Bentham the greatest happiness concept to give benefit to all the members of every society. He further took this, to whom has to do this, to whom has to start this, he emphasized that the human agents has to do this. Human agents are who are actively participating in the decision making. Therefore everyone should participate the decision making and also who has opportunity to put the representative on behalf. They have responsible for representative action to make decision as they did. Then moral and justice have kept for everyone in the society.

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<sup>55</sup>John Sturt Mill, <http://www.philosophypages.com/hy/5q.htm> 6.12 am 2015.02.01

The societies where there representative decision makers making decision not one cannot refrained from decision making process.

#### **2.5.4 Other Types of Happiness**

The happiness was also discussed in different ways. Generally happiness is felt by each person in different ways. This difference is shown in various types, mainly three different sets of happiness. These are: “demographic and personality factors, such as age, gender and family circumstances, as well as nationality, education and health; economic factors, in particular unemployment, income, and inflation; political factors such as the extent of possibilities for citizens to participate in politics and the degree of government decentralization.”<sup>56</sup>

It is very important to understand the happiness some words are related with happiness and practical research done. The happiness are being measure with the people perception of kind of happiness. People use wellbeing as happiness. They measure it as happiness given number of level and above the level and below the level. It has name as thriving, struggling, and suffering. The level put to get some idea of people perception on happiness in general life.

Gallup formed three distinct (and independent) groups, for summery purposes: Thriving: Wellbeing that is strong, consistent, and progressing. These respondents have positive views of their present life (8+). They report significantly fever health problems, fever sick days, less worry, stress, anger and more happiness, enjoyment, interest and respect.

Struggling: Wellbeing that is moderate or inconsistent. These respondents have moderate views of their present life situation or moderate or negative views of their future. They are either struggling in the present or expect to struggle in the future. They report more daily stress and worry about money than

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<sup>56</sup>Bruno S. Frey and Alois Stutzer (2002), Economics of Happiness, World Economics-Vol. 3 No.1 January-March 2002.

the “thriving” respondents, and more than double the amount of sick days. They are more likely to smoke, and less likely to eat healthy.

Suffering: Wellbeing that is high risk. These respondents have poor rating of their current life situation (4 and below) and negative views of the next five years (4 and below). They are more likely to report lacking the basics of food and shelter, more likely to have physical pain, a lot of stress, worry, sadness, and anger. They have less access to health insurance and care and more than double the disease burden, in comparison to “thriving” respondents.<sup>57</sup>

The above levels shown that the people’s basic needs fulfillment without any problems. This is also related with subjective wellbeing. It means people try to evaluate life in various factors. The following has shown that; “Subjective wellbeing (SWB) refers to how people evaluate their lives and includes variables such as life satisfaction and material satisfaction, lack of depression and anxiety, and positive moods and emotions.”<sup>58</sup> The component of “Components of subjective well-being: There are three primary components of SWB; Satisfaction, pleasant affect, and low levels of unpleasant affect.”<sup>59</sup> “Diener et al (1999) argued that if theory in this area is to progress, researchers must study the separable components of Subjective Wellbeing- “Happiness” is not a single thing.

In 1949, Henry Murray and Clyde Kluckhohn claimed that “Aristotle’s assertion that the only rational goal of goals is happiness has never been

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<sup>57</sup>Cantril H (1965). The pattern of human concerns. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. –gallup.com/poll/122453/understanding-gallup-uses-cantril-scale.aspx 14.7.2016

<sup>58</sup>Headey, B., and Wearing A. (1993). Understanding Happiness: A theory of subjective well-being. Melbourne; Longman Cheshire.

<sup>59</sup>Ed Diener, Eunkook Suh, and Shigehiro Oishi (1997) (ed.) Recent Finding on Subjective Well-Being, Indian Journal of Clinical psychology.

successfully refuted as far as we know, but, as yet no scientist has ventured to break ground for a psychology of happiness.<sup>60</sup>

### **2.5.5 Happiness and Moral States of Mind**

The word happiness philosophically has been explained that as the state of mind of a person. Happiness cannot be achieved an individual with his own way. The concept of happiness is practically based in different ways. However C.A. Richardson (1944) guided that happiness can be expressed in three different states of mind.

In a first place happiness is characterized by a sense of inner harmony and freedom from strain (not effort) and conflict. This is accompanied by a sense of satisfactory adjustment to the environment, physical and social. These two elements in happiness are complementary, and one can hardly conceive either existing without the other.

Secondly, happiness includes the element of activity and effort- especially creative activity- in which it is felt that all one's abilities and potentialities are being called into play and developed to a continually increasing degree.

Thirdly, there is a relatively more passive element which involves contemplative and appreciative attitudes of mind, often combined with a sense relaxation.<sup>61</sup>

Most importantly that people use some words related with happiness. He explains it as.

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<sup>60</sup>Ed Diener, Richard E. Lucas, & Shigehiro Oishi (2002). Subjective Wellbeing- The Science of Happiness and life Satisfaction. C.R. Snyder, Shane J. Lopez (ed) Handbook of Positive Psychology Oxford University Press.

<sup>61</sup>Richardson C A (1944) Happiness Freedom and God, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, London.pp.28-29.

It is important to emphasize the difference between happiness and certain other states associated with it, especially pleasure, joy and contentment. These three are all elements in happiness, but they are not identical with it.

He further states,

...it seems a tenable hypothesis that there is on the whole a fairly steady, if slow, increase in those characteristics of the human mind which we call 'intelligence' and 'enlightenment'. These, again, are terms the exact meaning of which it is extremely hard to define but they do so, I think, connote something real, the development of which is an important factor in increasing the possibility of achieving happiness. Unfortunately, the world has largely failed to take advantage of this improvement in conditions by harassing them to increase the happiness of individuals and the community as a whole. Moreover, it is painfully obvious that, in certain limited portions of the world at any rate, the movement has been in a direction leading to the very reverse of enlightenment.

... on the contrary, we should regard the existence of such factors in the achievement of happiness as a challenge to us for their removal, the ultimate aim being the achievement of happiness without the payment of such an unfortunate price. We might then take as a criterion of progress the degree of diminution in the amount of pain, conflict, and their associated conditions necessary to achievement of happiness. ...<sup>62</sup>

Generally when people use happiness as philosophical or moral happiness and they are entirely different. They use words such as joy, pleasure, contentment, satisfaction and so on,. The happiness is related with morally for every human being. The happiness cannot be achieved with conflict or any type of destruction of anyone in the society. The ultimate aim of happiness is that every person's happiness means that there is no payment of price for happiness.

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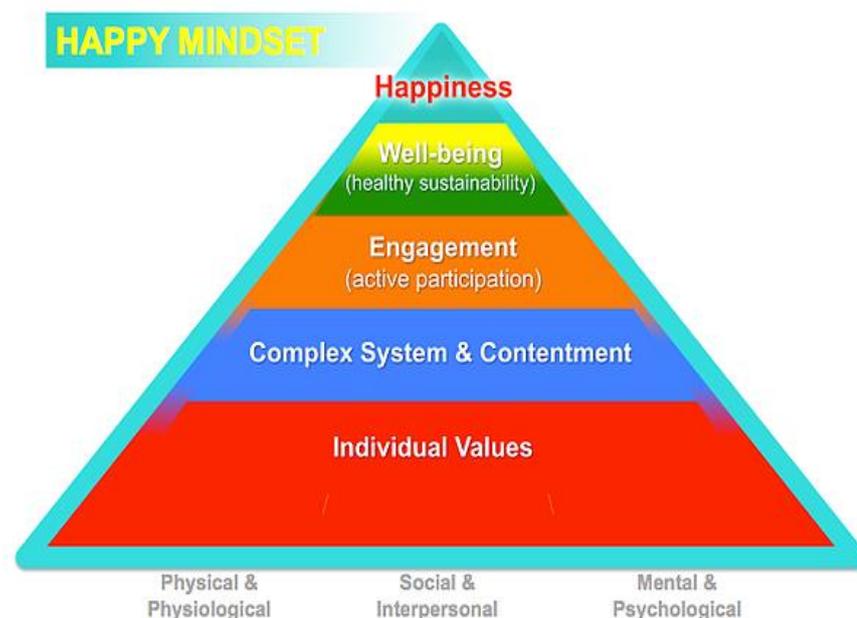
<sup>62</sup>Richardson C A (1944) Happiness Freedom and God, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, London.pp.28-29.

## 2.5.6 Development and Practice of Happiness



**Figure 2.2** Three areas of happiness<sup>63</sup>

The key elements of happiness are: mental & psychological views and processes involving happy mindset, happiness that appear within empathic and smart social & interpersonal interactions, and happiness generated by our actions.



**Figure 2.3** Happiness Pyramid<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup><https://www.happiness-consulting.com/happinessandhappy mindset12.8.2016>

The above pyramid<sup>65</sup> shows that the how happiness base on broader environment physical and physiological, Social & interpersonal and mental & psychological. More important one is individual values to act in the complex system and contentment, with engagement for active participation to earn well-being, succeed happiness depends on all in the pyramid.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> <https://www.happiness-consulting.com/happinessandhappymindset> 12. 8. 2016

## Chapter III

### Teaching of the Buddha on Governance

In this chapter, the roots of governance are researched from the teaching of the Buddha, as found in the *Pali Canon*, *Sutta* and *Vinaya Piṭakas* of the *Tipiṭaka* with emphasis on the personal attributes of the decision makers. The main *Suttas* used to extract personal guidance for governance from teaching of the Buddha for social happiness, and the results found here will be used as the basis to consider analyzing the problems on governance.

The Buddha teaches in the *Sigāla Sutta* about the interrelationships that an individual has with society, and since relationships are important in make decisions at all levels of decision making, the *Sutta* is specially included in this chapter, in addition to other relevant *Suttas* to governance will be used in relevant discussions.

#### 3.1 Teaching of the Buddha on the Importance of Relationships in the Society for Decision Maker According to *Sigāla Sutta*

The *Sigāla Sutta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* of the *Pali canon*, *Tipiṭaka* guides on how to interact with the society as an individual living in that society. The *Sutta* is also called the laymen's discipline.<sup>1</sup> Therefore automatically a leader in a decision making position in the society has to practice these. Thus it can be taken as the decision making individuals' guideline and as the standard for decision making in the society. Firstly, that *Sutta* states what the social environment should be, in order to keep each individual of the society in a happy state of mind. It can be shown from the following stanza from the

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<sup>1</sup>Valigama Ñāṇaratana (1996) *Gihi vinaya Mallikārāmaṣṭha Dharma Pracāraka Kamiṭuva*, 1996. p.2

*Sutta*, where the Buddha lists the four practices regarding the social environment that will guarantee the happiness of each individual. These practices would form the framework for everyone to have a happy and comfortable life in the society, so that the citizen will be free to enjoy life with full of freedom.

What are the four vices in conduct that has to eradicate?" Killing, stealing, lying and dishonoring the dignity of other's loved ones; these four evils the wise never praise.<sup>2</sup>

The opposites of these four that the wise will always praise are considered as the qualities that a decision maker has to develop for the happiness of the society. These are: respect all the others' right to life as well as safeguard everyone's life as his/her own life; safeguarding others resources as one's own, not telling lies or being always truthfull and respect for the dignity of others' loved ones.'

### **3.1.1 Four Qualities of a Leader for Management of Governance**

For a person living in a society, it is very important to consider that happiness of everyone, which depends on safeguarding the lives of everyone in the society. In the *Dhammapada*, the Buddha stresses this as, 'all fear death. All hold their lives dear. Putting oneself in another's place, one should not beat or kill others'.<sup>3</sup>

In a society every individual should respect all the others' right to life. If a normal person in a society is to live happily, he/she should safeguard everyone's life as his/her own life. The assurance of safety of life is the most important basic need that a society can give towards the happiness of its members. This is because the most basic requirement for happiness is the survival or the right to life of the human being. The society becomes truly a human society only when this is accepted as the norm by the

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<sup>2</sup>“*Katamassa cattāro kammakilesā pahīnā honti? “Pānātipāto adinnādānaṃ, musāvādo ca vuccati; Paradāragamaṇaṅceva, nappasaṃsanti paṇḍitāti.” Sigāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.288-310 .*

<sup>3</sup>“...*sabbe bhāyanti maccuno sabbesam jivitam piyamattānam upamam katvā na haneyya na ghātaye*” Verse 129 and 130 *Danda Vagga Dhammapada; Kuddaka Nikāya.*

*whole* society. This has to come from the leadership down to all the members of the society. Thus this is a universally accepted norm, It should be treated as universal basic fundamental standard quality of life of every individual in the society for the happiness all the people in the society.

It is also important that everyone sustain their lives only with the resources that they have kept for themselves. When someone steals from a person who keeps resources for their own usage, then the happiness of that second person will vanish. It should not be taken by others without permission of the person who keeps those resources. If the whole society is practicing this, none of the members of the society will have to worry about their resources. This will completely eradicate the loss of happiness pertaining to resources, from that society. Non violation of this factor will ensure the prevention of the loss of happiness through stealing. This will prevent the loss of human life in two ways: when the resources are safe, people can consume them for their sustenance; when the resources are safe, the interpersonal conflicts in the society will be reduced vastly, thus stopping the threat to lives of both parties. Therefore, safeguarding others resources as one's own is another universally accepted basic quality of a human being to live happily in the society.

Telling lies with the intention to cheat each other will result in loss of happiness of the person due to the loss of intra-societal trust. Trust is the essential ingredient in any relationship and it is what holds together a society and it plays an important role in social development in the society as a whole. Buddha had emphasized this in the *Dhammapada*, as; "...vissāsāparamāñāti..."<sup>4</sup> This can be translated as 'Trust is the best relatives.' When there is no mutual trust in the society, it poses a threat to life too, leading to unhappiness. When the leadership is trustworthy, trust will spread throughout the society, ensuring the safety of life and happiness of the people of the society. This will prevent lying and cheating in the society creating happiness. This not

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<sup>4</sup>Verse 204, Sukha Vagga- Dhammapada, Kuddaka Nikāya.

telling lies is the third universally accepted basic quality of a human being to live happily in the society.

Similarly, misconduct through adultery can also take away happiness of a person. When a man and a woman are united in marriage the purpose procreation, this unification, as well as children being born to that family unit are causes of happiness in the family unit of the society, contributing to the happiness of the society at large. When misconduct through adultery occurs, happiness of the whole family is destroyed. If this results in the separation of the parents, it will make the whole future of the offspring unhappy. There is a natural and powerful biological attraction between a man and a woman is put in place by nature for the purpose progeny,<sup>5</sup> as emphasized in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* of the teaching of the Buddha. Thus ‘respect for the dignity of others’ loved ones’ is the fourth universally accepted basic quality of a human being that is required to live happily in the society.

These first four instructions of the Buddha to *Sigāla*, can be considered as the basic fundamental behavior required of a normal person in a society to live happily. This has shown that the teaching of the Buddha on governance is based on each individual in every society. The living happiness of a person is interdependent on all the other individuals in the society. Therefore the person who is compelled to become a decision maker in a society, in whatever decision making capacity, s/he should be established in the four universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being to live happily as a societal being. These are the minimum basic fundamental human qualities that every human being; not only the leaders in the society should have, for their happiness and the happiness of the society at large. It will help to keep everyone happy on an equal basis. This will be the basic fundamental standard great human qualities of values of a person. Without these great human qualities of value within the person, happiness of living in the society will not be there. Thus, for the

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<sup>5</sup>*Cittapariḍāna vagga, Ekakanipata, Anguttara Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanthi Tipiṭaka Series. pp.2-4*

management of governance in a society, these four universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being are essential for a person to become a decision maker at every level in a society.

### **3.1.2 Four Qualifications of a Leader for Management of Governance**

The *Sigāla Sutta* goes on to explain the most important four factors that qualify a person to be a decision maker. “In which four ways does one commit no evil action? But in as much as the noble disciple is not led by extremes of desire, anger, ignorance, and fear, he commits no evil.”<sup>6</sup>

All the individuals make decisions, irrespective of their level or position and where they live. These decisions lead to manage the society as a whole. This is where the governance arises. The above four qualifications are the basis for making decisions for the happiness of the society, by avoiding evil actions. All the above are states of mind and the leader’s state of mind when the decisions are made are important. Therefore in the following paragraph a new term for this is introduced.

#### **3.1.2.1 Decision Making Centre States of Mind**

The new phrase “decision making ‘centre’ states of mind” will be introduced in this study for the purpose of clarification and analysis, in order to delve in deeply into the psyche of the leader during the process of decision making in the decisions made by political party leaders. Decision making is of utmost importance in all cases related to resources and power both of which may be given, or taken- by inheritance or any other method to the decision makers in every decision making table in the society.

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<sup>6</sup>“*Katamehi catūhi ṭhānehi pāpakammaṃ na karoti? “Yato kho, gahapatiputta, ariyasāvako neva chandāgatim gacchati, na dosāgatim gacchati, na mohāgatim gacchati, na bhayāgatim gacchati; imehi catūhi ṭhānehi pāpakammaṃ na karoti’ti.” Sigāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.288-310.*

Decisions as well as the state of mind that the decision maker is in- at the time the decision is being -made are very crucial in every society. "...it is to be expected that decisions may also be influenced by the state of mind of the respective decision-makers in the moment of decision, defined here through two characteristics: mood and variability of short-term preferences".<sup>7</sup> All decisions are made with mind. Mind has different states. States of mind play a major role by coming to the forefront in decision making. The study introduces adding the term 'centre' to the states of mind in decision making as the foremost state at the time of decision making. The "centre" is most important part in decision making process of a person in this study. Then the new phrase is completed as 'decision making centre state of mind'. All these states are not used all at once; there is always one dominant centre during the actual decision making, which may be one or a combination of several. However, a dominant state can always be distinguished.

When the leaders are making decisions with extreme center states of mind of desire, anger, ignorance, and fear, it will, according to the above *Sutta* in teaching of the Buddha, definitely end up in evil action creating suffering for every person in the society, leading to unrest and unhappiness. When the leader refrains from making decisions with these four extreme center states of mind, it will lead to happiness of all the people in the society. Opposite of these could be considered as sacrifice (desire), kindness (anger), wisdom (ignorance) and happiness (fear) or SKWH -center states of mind. These can be considered as basic qualifications for a person to become a leader to make people of the society happy.

When the above mentioned qualifications of opposites of the four extremes are not in the society, people will make decisions based on extremes of desire, anger,

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<sup>7</sup>Dobre, I., Popescu, C. (2011). Brief considerations on the impact the decision-maker's state of mind has on decisions. *Metalurgia International*, 16(10), p. 95.

ignorance and fear. Decisions made while being trapped in these four extremes will disturb the smooth functioning of the civil society, and will harm the society with various kinds of disturbances, since the result of those decisions will end up being evil. These four factors lead to the bewilderment of the decision maker and will prevent the achievement of common goals in the common society. Those who make decisions based on these four factors are neither accepted by common people nor by the society universally. Those factors will lead to decision makers to turn back on the society to commit evil actions which lead to mismanagement of governance. Each of the extremes will be discussed in detail below.

All individuals make decisions to fulfill desires of an individual or a group of individuals. Ideally, the desire should be to fulfill all the individuals' expectations in a society. It is not happening when the desire of the decision maker is narrowed down to self interests or group interests of particular group. This happens with the leader's extreme desire center state of mind, which leads these evil actions. When these kinds of decisions are made in a society, it will lead to mismanagement of governance. It will lead to make the society unhappy, creating unrest and suffering in the people of the society. Then the basis of unhappiness in the society arises due to making decisions with the extreme desire center state of mind which results in lying, stealing, killing, and dishonoring the dignity of others' loved ones prevailing in that society. Especially decision making leaders are also involved directly or indirectly in destroying the above mentioned basic fundamentals leading to unhappiness and unrest. Then the leaders move away from common goals and they start to steal society's resources by lying, killing those who are against them, dishonoring the dignity of others' loved ones, victimizing and abusing people making them unhappy. When the decision makers are making decisions based on extreme desire center state of mind, the society will shift from the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values to animal like behavior. It is mismanagement of governance. It creates primitive and prehistoric society status. Then discriminated people will be more unhappy, leading to unrest and creating

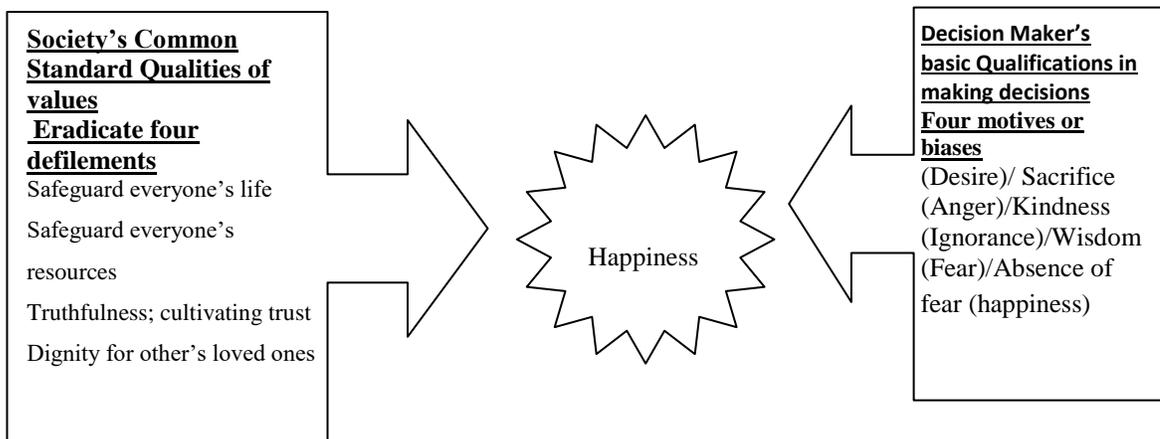
uncertainty in their lives to live in that society. When the decision maker becomes free from the extreme desire center state of mind, he can make the people happy with the opposite 'sacrifice' center state of mind.

When a decision maker makes decisions on the basis of extreme anger, those decisions will not be up to the decision making standard of a decision making person. The extreme anger center state of mind of the decision maker has created many problems in the society. It will lead to mismanagement of governance in a society. The society will always be unhappy and create unrest in all individuals. It also puts that society in danger. The extreme anger based decision making societies are always led to riots, war, other internal disturbances etc. which will lead to everyone being in unrest and unhappy because uncertainty and danger threatens everyone's life. This is because with this state of mind, the leader can only perform evil actions which lead to social unhappiness. To overcome this extreme anger center state of mind, the leader should make decisions with kindness center state of mind, to cultivate happiness and freedom from all disturbances for all the people of the country.

Those who make decisions based on extreme ignorance center state of mind will lead to spoil the society's living standards. All the decisions that have been made will lead to unhappiness and unrest in all the individuals of that society. Mainly ignorance leads to mismanagement of governance in every society. Those who make decisions based on ignorance will make an unlawful precedent in that society. The decision makers of this kind always create a chain of problems to that society and the word happiness is never used in that society. Unrest and unhappiness will prevail in that society. Even the solutions created through ignorance will also become problems in that society due to their evil nature. Ultimately these problems created by evil actions will be accepted by the society through ignorance center state of mind, which is more dangerous to the society. The extreme ignorance center state of mind in making decisions will be changed by cultivating the opposite 'wisdom' center state of mind for the happiness of all the people of the society, eliminating the accepted evil actions from the society.

When the decision making leaders' center state of mind is in a fear (bhaya) center state of mind, then their decisions are leading to move away from common standard of decision making prevailing in that society. The fear based decisions will always threaten everyone's life because the suspicious nature developed due to insecurity will create lots of problems to individual's lives of the society. The vary danger of fear develop unrest and unhappiness in leaders creating lots of problems to the people of that society. The opposite of this state is happiness, and decisions made in this center state of mind will lead to happiness in the people of the society

These bases of qualifications of decision makers in the society are essential to make decisions without extreme desire, anger, fear, and ignorance center states of mind in making decisions. The quality of the decisions depends on the center state of mind of the person making the decisions. In the *Sigāla Sutta*, it is explained that how an individual in a society who makes decisions can keep the society happy and peaceful. Especially the management of governance depends on decisions made with the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values by decision makers with the above basic qualifications according the teaching of the Buddha.



**Figure 3.1** Bases of guidance for management of governance for happiness of teaching of the Buddha

The *Pali* canon of teaching of the Buddha in the *Sigāla Sutta* further explains how people who are associated/linked with the decision makers can influence the decisions he/she makes. The decisions are mostly affected by people around the decision maker. The nature and qualities of these people can affect the decision maker, since they are colleagues who always accompany the leader thus influencing the behavior of the decision maker, and his decisions.

### 3.1.3 Influence of Different Type of Friends on the Leader for Management of Governance

How are the decisions affected by colleague or companionship? A person, who has become a decision maker regarding the use of common resources for common benefit, is affected by his/her colleagues who are divided in the *Sutta* according to their good and bad actions with respect to the friend.

The *Sutta* has shown the kinds bad friends as follows. “These are the four non friends who pretend to be friends that should be known, the taker, the talker, the flatterer, and the reckless companion.”<sup>8</sup>

It also shows the good-hearted friends in the *Sutta*; “The helper, the friend who endures in good times and bad, the mentor, and the compassionate friend.”<sup>9</sup>

The *Sutta* explains that everyone’s decisions are affected by companions. The companions’ behavior is divided into two groups as good and bad. There are different people around the decision maker, affecting his decisions with their influence. All these can be clarified as internal and external. Internally, as a person in a society, one

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<sup>8</sup>“*cattārome, gahapatiputta, amittā mittapatirūpakā veditabbā. aññadatthuharo amitto mittapatirūpako veditabbo, vacīparamo amitto mittapatirūpako veditabbo, anuppiyabhāṇī amitto mittapatirūpako veditabbo, apāyasahāyo amitto mittapatirūpako veditabbo.*” *Sigāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.288-310.*

<sup>9</sup>“*cattārome, gahapatiputta, mittā suhadā veditabbā. upakāro mitto suhado veditabbo, samānasukhadukkho mitto suhado veditabbo, atthakkhāyī mitto suhado veditabbo, anukampako mitto suhado veditabbo.*” Ibid

has to maintain the internal process of acting as a society member, taking into consideration the self control process. It has shown how to behave in the society. The person uses wealth or resources to fulfill his/her needs and wants. It is very important that the ways and means of using resources, especially as decision makers are there for the benefit of the society.

In the society there are ways of spending time unnecessarily while spending resources unwisely. These are listed in the *Sutta* as; heedlessness caused by intoxication, roaming the streets at inappropriate times, habitual partying, compulsive gambling, bad companionship, an laziness (Figure 3.2, Box A). These actions are negatively correlated with the behavior and attitudes of the decision maker as well as his/her the decision making pattern. These actions of the friends will influence the decision maker to make decisions with only his self interests in mind to continue the aforementioned harmful actions. These will lead to change the leader's center states of mind to extremes, making him loose his great qualifications, and since he will be breaking the great qualities in these center states of mind, resulting in suffering for all the people affected by his decisions.

On the other hand it is very important to be aware of what kinds of persons are kept as companions around any person in the society, especially the leaders. These persons' behaviors are categorized in the *Sutta* as bad and good friends. Bad friends are named as the taker, the talker, the flatterer, and the reckless companion. These four kinds of companions influence in a negative way to change the decisions made by the decision maker. The *Sutta* names these kinds of persons as enemies pretending to be friends (*amittā mittapatirūpakā veditabbā*). These companions push the leader towards mismanagement of governance since the leader will be making decisions only for the benefit of those bad companions causing unrest and unhappiness leading to suffering for the other people in the society who are also suppose to be benefitting from his/her decisions.

The *Sutta* also names as good friends; the helper, the friend who endures in good times as well as bad times, the mentor, and the compassionate friend. These friends are called compassionate friends (*mittā suhadā*). These friends will positively change the decision maker's attitude towards good decisions to fulfill all members' needs and wants, as opposed to fulfilling their own needs. Companions of this kind will give more encouragement to make better decisions guiding the leader to become a societal decision maker or a common leader for the society. These latter kinds of friends are the companions the leader should associate with to make decisions for management of governance for the happiness of all the people in the society.

### 3.1.4 Influence of Parents and Other Relationships on the Leader

The societal person has to have various kinds of affiliations with the society. These relationships are very important to make decisions as a member of the society. The main theme of this *Sutta* is how actions of the decision maker as a societal member would be influenced by his actions as well as the people around the decision maker.

In this *Sutta*, *Sigāla* is person who worships all directions following his father's last words to him. But the Buddha had redirected him to consider the directions as relationships with persons outside of him and how to associate with them as a person in the society to make his life, his family as well as the society happy.<sup>10</sup>

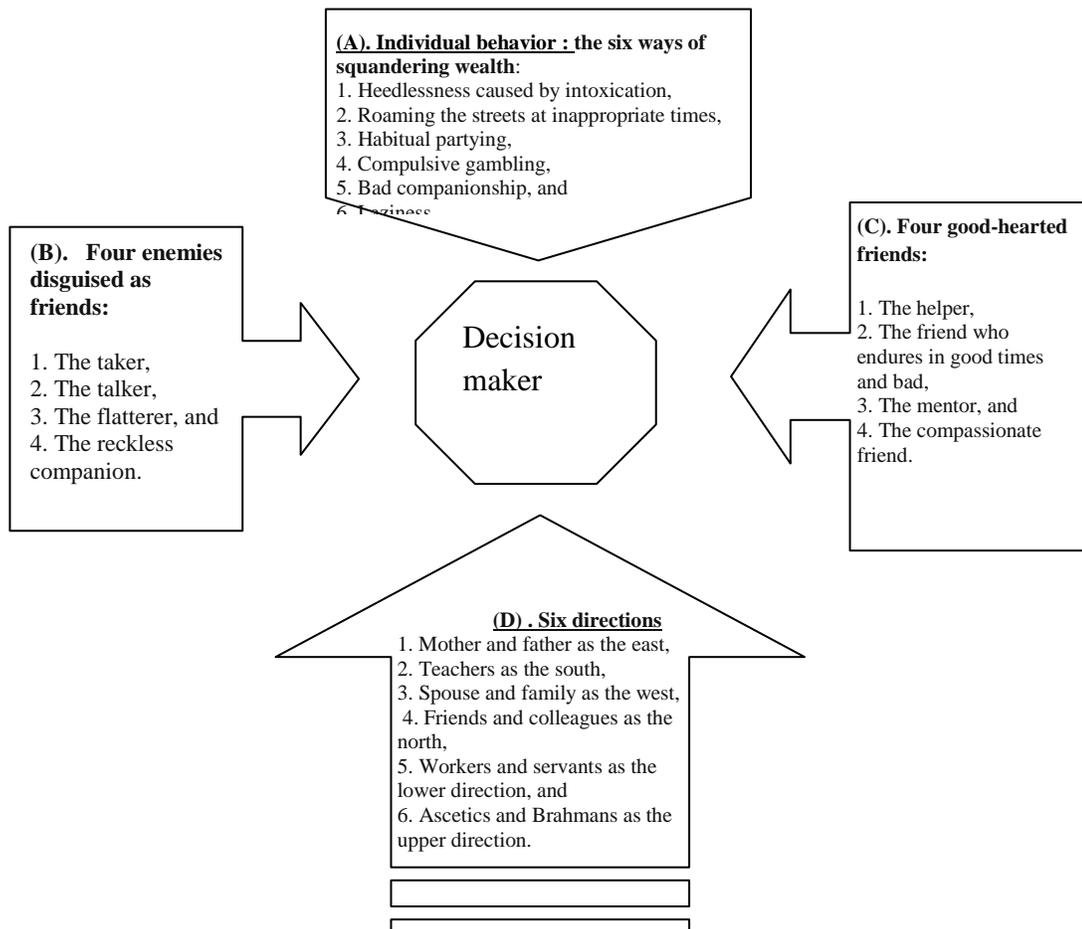
The Buddha goes on to explain to *Sigāla*, the meaning of worshipping East side is not to worship that direction, but to look after one's mother and father when they are in need. "Mother and father as the eastern direction should be known".<sup>11</sup> It is very important that as a person, one should consider the parents who have given life to that

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<sup>10</sup> "na kho, gahapatiputta, ariyassa vinaye evaṃ cha disā namassitabbā" 'ti. "yathā katham pana, bhante, ariyassa vinaye cha disā namassitabbā? sādhu me, bhante, bhagavā tathā dhammaṃ desetu, yathā ariyassa vinaye cha disā namassitabbā" 'ti. ..." *Sigāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.288-310.*

<sup>11</sup> "...puratthimā disā mātāpitāro veditabbā," Ibid.

person. They are also the person's first associations with the human society. Therefore Buddha explains that the child and parent have associated with each other. It is the basis of the human society as a family. It has shown that every person has responsibility for his own parent and there should be individual responsibility for the parent's needs. It will create a person able to associate with the people in the society, not only the same society but also outside societies in the globe. When a person becomes a decision maker of a society s/he should consider that parent is the most important to a person in the society. But when someone becomes a decision maker for the whole society it should be considered that his parent is also a member of that society. Therefore when the decision maker practices management of governance for the benefit of everyone in the society, then s/he should consider the decision to be affecting the whole society, including his parent. This fact gives him more responsibility to make decisions for the management of governance for the benefit of all the people in the whole society. It should be emphasized that decision maker has been influenced by the parent from his/her childhood from him/her to be in a position to make decisions. However when the decision makers make decisions upholding the universal great human qualities of values with happy center states of mind, his decisions will cover every aspect of universal standard.



**Figure 3.2** Internal and External forces that influence the decision maker; Lessons from *Sigāla Sutta*

The Buddha also explains that next most important association with the human society after the parents is with the teacher, it is not to worship south side but how to treat and worship the teachers. “Know the south as the teacher;”<sup>12</sup> they are giving all sorts of guidance to learn and develop self discipline as a society member with decision making qualities. The *Sutta* has stated that by “training in self-discipline, ensuring the teachings are well-grasped, instructing in every branch of knowledge, introducing their

<sup>12</sup>“...dakkhiṇā disā ācariyā vedītabbā.” *Sigāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.288-310.*

friends and colleagues, and providing safeguards in every direction.”<sup>13</sup> This is how teachers help a person to become a decision maker with management of governance as an open minded decision making leader in an organization or a state. Especially the decision maker is most influenced by the teachers and their ideology. The ideologies given by the teachers may be used by the decision maker as their basic decision making quality of values. It means sometimes teachers may influence a decision maker more than the parents.

The Buddha explains that every householder in the society lives with a spouse and family, which is normal life of every individual. Therefore every individual becomes a decision maker, under the influence of the spouse and family. They, husband, wife and family, mostly are living under the same roof. When they are living in the same house the decision maker will be influenced by them. Since they are his/her immediate colleagues all their actions can influence him/her heavily. In every society the basic organizational unit is the family. This implies that family members’ individual behaviors also influence the decision makers’ decisions in an organization or a state. Therefore Buddha explains that; “West should be known by the spouse as representing the wife/husband. Respect, do not ill-treat him/her; refrain from wasting family wealth; keep him/her foremost, and adore him/her with presents.”<sup>14</sup>

The decision maker’s relationship with the spouse strongly influences his/her decisions. When there is a strong relationship with the spouse and family, he will always make the decisions to safeguard the family. Since the family is the basic building unit of the society, the society will automatically benefit. Furthermore, when there is a strong relation with the spouse and family, the decision maker comes to the society with a

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<sup>13</sup>“*suvinītaṃ vinenti, suggahitaṃ gāhāpentī, sabbasippassutaṃ samakkhāyino bhavanti, mittāmaccesu paṭiyādentī, disāsu parittāṇaṃ karonti,*” Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>“*thānehi sāmikena pacchimā disā bhariyā paccupaṭṭhātabbā – sammānanāya anavamānanāya anaticariyāya issariyavossaggena alaṅkāraṇuppadānena.*” *Sigāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Tipiṭaka.* Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.288-310.

free, undisturbed and a balanced mind conducive to better decision making. In contrast if there is no strong relationship, then the opposite will be true, increasing the likelihood of decision maker making decisions for mismanagement of governance with extreme center states of mind.

In this *Sutta* the importance of friends and associates living in the society too is stressed as the North. Sometimes they may be more influential than the family members. Attitudes and values of the friends and associates living with a person may change the decision maker with their influence. Therefore it is emphasized in this *Sutta* by the Buddha to consider how these friends and associates impact decision makers' decisions. The decision maker makes decision without considering anything other than what the friends and associates want and their expectations. When they become extremists or cult-like, things may become much worse. Therefore Buddha explains in this *Sutta* "In five ways, young householder, should a clansman minister to his friends and associates as the North: by liberality, by courteous speech, by being helpful, by being impartial, by sincerity."<sup>15</sup> Here it is shown how a person should treat friends and associates. This emphasizes, as a person what kinds of qualities of values should a person have as a human being in the society. The quality of values consists of words, liberality, courteous speech, being helpful, being impartial, and sincere. Those words give standard great human quality of values that a person should have in association with outside people. In general those qualities of values will help in developing the universal great human qualities of values in decision makers. Therefore their influence creates the decision makers patterns and attitudes of decision making. The *Sutta* emphasizes that "the friends and associates thus ministered to as the North by a clansman show their compassion towards him/her in these five ways."<sup>16</sup> Thus is the North covered by him/her and made safe and secure. It should be considered that decision maker has been severely influenced by friends and associates. These associates and friends will guide him/her to

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<sup>15</sup>*Sigāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya* III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka* Series, pp.288-310.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid*

overcome four extreme center states of mind to make decisions for the management of governance.

The Buddha explains that even though workers and servants are represented by the lower direction not to worship but to treat them accordingly. It emphasize show to treat them in the *Sutta* as,

In five ways should a master minister to his servants and employees as the Nadir: by assigning them, work according to their ability, by supplying them with food and with wages, by tending them in sickness, by sharing with them any delicacies, by granting them leave at times. The servants and employees thus ministered to as the Nadir by their master show their compassion to him in five ways: they rise before him, they go to sleep after him, they take only what is given, they perform their duties well, they uphold his good name and fame. The servants and employees thus ministered to as the Nadir show their compassion towards him in these five ways.<sup>17</sup>

These employees are the ones who support with their labor in various activities and contribute to their employer's main income. It may be in economic activities. These economic activities are affecting the whole society. In addition their skills are more important to complete these activities in a proper manner affecting the basic needs of the society. These employees also influence the decision maker. Employees are the main force in every economic activity in a society. Without the employee, economic activities cannot be fulfilled. Therefore when a person becomes a

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<sup>17</sup>“*pañcahi kho, gahapatiputta, thānehi ayyirakena heṭṭhimā disā dāsakammakarā paccupaṭṭhātabbā – yathābalaṃ kammantasamvidhānena bhattavetanānuppadānena gilānupaṭṭhānena acchariyānaṃ rasānaṃ samvibhāgena samaye vossaggena. imehi kho, gahapatiputta, pañcahi thānehi ayyirakena heṭṭhimā disā dāsakammakarā paccupaṭṭhitā pañcahi thānehi ayyirakaṃ anukampanti – pubbuṭṭhāyino ca honti, pacchā nipātino ca, dinnādāyino ca, sukatakammakarā ca, kittivaṇṇaharā ca. imehi kho, gahapatiputta, pañcahi thānehi ayyirakena heṭṭhimā disā dāsakammakarā paccupaṭṭhitā imehi pañcahi thānehi ayyirakaṃ anukampanti*”*Sigāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.288-310.*

decision maker in a state, every employee is important and everyone influences decision maker. However as persons who are at the top of the decision making table should consider the importance of employees of the society as a whole and their contribution to the society, since employees are the main actors of each economic activity of a society.

The upper direction is considered as ascetics and Brahmins in the *Sutta* “In five ways should ascetics and Brahmins as the upper direction be respected: by kindly actions, speech, and thoughts, having an open door, and providing material needs.”<sup>18</sup> During the time of the Buddha the lay person had close connection with the ascetics and Brahmins, who may be comparable to the religious leaders in the society today. A person can be influenced by religious leaders of the religion s/he belongs to. A person’s religious beliefs also affect his/her decision making pattern and decisions. With the decisions, based on religious beliefs, the society as a whole will be affected.

Figure 3.2 above has shown many influences to a person that would be affecting the decisions of a decision maker of the society which also holds true for any person living in the society. When it is a special person making a decision in a special position in a society, it will be more and more important for this leader to be in possession of the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values to make the decisions for the benefit of all the people in the society. This shows that the leader’s decisions are influenced by his social relationships, whereas his decisions affect the whole society, for management or mismanagement of governance -leading to happiness or unhappiness of the people respectively.

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<sup>18</sup> “*pañcahi kho, gahapatiputta, ṭhānehi kulaputtana uparimā disā samaṇabrāhmaṇā paccupaṭṭhātabbā – mettena kāyakamma mettena vacīkamma mettena manokamma anāvaṭṭadvāratāya āmisānuppādānena.*” *Sigāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.288-310.*

### **3.2 Root of Governance according to the *Pali Canon***

Teaching of the Buddha explains that every person in the society is responsible for its own relationship with each other. This was elaborated in the above section (3.1). It is there even in a normal person of the society. If it is so, then what kind of qualities should be there with the person who is responsible for the state or who becomes a ruler of a country? It means that who governs the society should make everybody happy in the society. For him to make this a reality, he should be happy by sacrificing to make others happy. This sacrificing to make others happy, forms the basis of management of governance, and this is the reason why the ruler or the leader of the state or any other organization should have certain fundamental standard minimum set of qualities that makes a great human being, to be accepted universally as a leader. In this study, it is attempted to show how these values can be elicited from the *Pali Canon*. The *Pali Canon* has elaborated more on governance using historic myth, which shows that governance is not made by an invisible hand, a creator or a god; but by people themselves.

The fundamental position in Teaching of Buddha on governance is explained deeply in the *Aggañña Sutta*, in the *Dīgha Nikāya* of *Sutta Piṭaka*. There are other supportive *Suttas* such as *Cakkavatti Sutta* and *Kūṭadanta Sutta* that explore management of governance. These will be discussed with relation to management of governance below. In addition, there are many other *Suttas* related to teaching of the Buddha on governance.

#### **3.2.1 Basic Grounds of the *Aggañña Sutta***

*Aggañña Sutta* has explained the fundamental roots of Governance as well as how the process of resource ownership has been developed in the society. Then because of private or individual ownership how the governance has been created. In addition how the decision making process was handed over by the people to an agent, king, representative of people or a government, to establish the rule by a king. Main

theme of this *Sutta* is how the common resources and power are handed over to an agent, representative, or the king. The *Sutta* explains this using a mythological story but it has shown the basic roots of the progressive development of management of governance process. The *Sutta* explains this through a mythological story on evolution of world and its elements.

The *Sutta* begins with the discussion between the Buddha and two Brahmins, *Bhāradvāja* and *Vāseṭṭha*, who left their families and caste to be ordained as monks under the guidance of the Buddha. It is very clear that the Buddha started his discussion with the contemporary social system in the sixth century B.C in mind. The Buddha used to take examples from the society exclusively in his teaching. Both *Bhāradvāja* and *Vāseṭṭha* were from the Brahmin cast considered to be the highest level of the society, getting access to everything first. According to Brahmin tradition, they had been born from God Brahma's mouth. This cast system in that society had been developed by Brahmins themselves according to the creation theory by Brahma. Before the Buddha, it seems that nobody was brave or rational enough to challenge this theory of the Brahmins. The Buddha explained how the Brahmin is born biologically from their mother.

It appears in the following *Sutta*.

Lord, what the Brahmins say is this, "The Brahmins caste is the highest caste—other castes are base; the Brahmin caste is fair, other castes are dark; Brahmins are purified, non-Brahmins are not, the Brahmins are the true children of Brahma, born from his mouth, born of Brahma, heirs of Brahma. And you, you have deserted the highest class and gone over to the base class of shave-ling petty ascetics, servants, dark fellows born of Brahma's Foot! It's not right, it's

not proper for you to mix with such people!" That is the way the Brahmins abuse us, lord.<sup>19</sup>

The *Sutta* begins with *Vāseṭṭha* and *Bhāradvāja* engaged in a friendly discussion with the Buddha. It is very important to note that both friends wanted to join the order. When they came to the Buddha to join the order, their relatives insulted and denigrated them, since they were Brahmins, who were believed to be born from the mouth of the God Brahma. Brahmins maintain that the Brahmin caste is the best, as the Brahmins are of high social status and authority, pure-bred, have radiant complexions. The friends and relatives were asking from both friends how dare they leave this good caste and status, and join together with fraudulent ascetics with shaven heads who go on begging for their food, from other castes who have among them even from the lowest in status as they are born from the feet of the God Brahma. When this is reported to the Buddha by both friends the Buddha opens up their minds with what is really happening in the society, and how the Brahmins are really been born?

Then, *Vāseṭṭha*, the Brahmins have forgotten their ancient tradition (porāṇam) when they say that. Because we can see Brahmin women, the wives of Brahmins, who menstruate and become pregnant, have babies, and give milk. And yet these womb-born Brahmins talk about being born

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<sup>19</sup>“taggha no, bhante, brāhmaṇā akkosanti paribhāsanti attarūpāya paribhāsāya paripuṇṇāya, no aparipuṇṇāyā”ti. “yathā kathaṃ pana vo, vāseṭṭha, brāhmaṇā akkosanti paribhāsanti attarūpāya paribhāsāya paripuṇṇāya, no aparipuṇṇāyā”ti? “brāhmaṇā, bhante, evamāhaṃsu – ‘brāhmaṇova seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīnā aññe vaṇṇā. brāhmaṇova sukko vaṇṇo, kaṇhā aññe vaṇṇā. brāhmaṇāva sujjhanti, no abrāhmaṇā. brāhmaṇāva brahmuno puttā orasā mukhato jātā brahmajā brahmanimmitā brahmadāyādā. te tumhe seṭṭhaṃ vaṇṇaṃ hitvā hīnamattha vaṇṇaṃ ajjhupagatā, yadidaṃ muṇḍake samaṇake ibbhe kaṇhe bandhupādāpacce. tayidaṃ na sādhu, tayidaṃ nappatirūpaṃ, yaṃ tumhe seṭṭhaṃ vaṇṇaṃ hitvā hīnamattha vaṇṇaṃ ajjhupagatā yadidaṃ muṇḍake samaṇake ibbhe kaṇhe bandhupādāpacce”ti. vaṃ kho no, bhante, brāhmaṇā akkosanti paribhāsanti attarūpāya paribhāsāya paripuṇṇāya, no aparipuṇṇāyā”ti. *Aggañña Sutta*, *Dīgha Nikāya* III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.

from Brahma's mouth...These Brahmins misrepresent Brahma, tell lies and earn much demerit.<sup>20</sup>

The Buddha expounds how human beings are born since the world began (porāṇam), and if Brahmin knows it, there is no need to think about how the world began, but only how the Brahmins are born. He reminds them that in real life how Brahmin ladies become pregnant and have babies, and when they feed the babies and the babies grow up. It is a natural process of expansion of human development in the human society. Not from the mouth of the God Brahma. It is obvious that how the baby is born, the Buddha guides to open up people's wisdom to see reality as it is. "There are, *Vaseṭṭha*, these four castes: The *Khattiyas*, The Brahmins, the merchants and the artisans."<sup>21</sup>

The Buddha explains that the structure of the existing society at the time was created and developed only by the Brahmins. The Buddha has expounded that the cast structures of the society is not determined by birth, but by fundamental standard of behavior of a person. It is a human society. It depends on mutual behavior of each other. The mutual behaviors are based on the basic fundamental values. If these fundamentals are broken by someone it will destroy the society's happiness and peacefulness. Those who break these basic fundamentals are categorized as different people of lower quality of unacceptable behavior, no matter if they are from Khattiya or Brahmins, merchants, and artisans -as four classes structured by Brahmins. If they are breaking basic

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<sup>20</sup> "taggha vo, vāseṭṭha, brāhmaṇā porāṇam assarantā evamāhaṃsu – 'brāhmaṇova seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīnā aññe vaṇṇā; brāhmaṇova sukko vaṇṇo, kaṇhā aññe vaṇṇā; brāhmaṇāva sujjhanti, no abrāhmaṇā; brāhmaṇāva brahmuno puttā orasā mukhato jātā brahmajā brahmanimmitā brahmadāyādā'ti. dissanti kho pana, vāseṭṭha, brāhmaṇānaṃ brāhmaṇiyo utuniyopi gabbhiniyopi vijāyamānāpi pāyamānāpi. te ca brāhmaṇā yonijāva samānā evamāhaṃsu – 'brāhmaṇova seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīnā aññe vaṇṇā; brāhmaṇova sukko vaṇṇo, kaṇhā aññe vaṇṇā; brāhmaṇāva sujjhanti, no abrāhmaṇā; brāhmaṇāva brahmuno puttā orasā mukhato jātā brahmajā brahmanimmitā brahmadāyādā'ti. te brahmānañceva abbhācikkhanti, musā ca bhāsanti, bahuñca apuññaṃ pasavanti." *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

<sup>21</sup> "cattārome, vāseṭṭha, vaṇṇā – khattiyā, brāhmaṇā, vessā, suddā..." *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

fundamentals everyone says it is wrong. It is shown in the following excerpt from the *Sutta*.

...And sometimes a *Khattiya* takes life, takes what is not given, commits sexual misconduct, tells lies, indulges in slander, harsh speech or idle chatter, is grasping, malicious, or of wrong views. Thus such things as are immoral and considered so, blameworthy and considered so, to be avoided and considered so, ways unbecoming an *Ariyan* and considered so, black with black result and blamed by the wise, are sometimes to be found among the *Khattiyas*, and the same applies to Brahmins, merchants, and artisans.<sup>22</sup>

‘Sometimes too, a *Khattiya* refrains from taking life, does not take what is not given, refrains from sexual misconduct, speaks truth, shuns slander, harsh speech or idle chatter, is not grasping, malicious, or of wrong views (*micchā ditthi*). Thus such things are moral and considered so, blameless and considered so, to be followed and considered so, ways befitting an *Ariyan* and considered so, bright with bright results and praised by the wise, are sometimes found among the *Khattiyas*, and likewise among Brahmins, merchants, and artisans.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>“*khattiyopi kho, vāseṭṭha, idhekacco paṇātipātī hoti adinnādāyī kāmesumicchācārī musāvādī pisuṇavāco pharusavāco samphappalāpī abhijjhālu byāpannacitto micchādīṭṭhī. iti kho, vāseṭṭha, yeme dhammā akusalā akusalasaṅkhātā sāvajjā sāvajjasaṅkhātā asevitabbā asevitabbasaṅkhātā naalamariyā naalamariyasaṅkhātā kaṇhā kaṇhavipākā viññugarahitā, khattiyepi te idhekacce sandissanti. brāhmaṇopi kho, vāseṭṭha...pe... vessopi kho, vāseṭṭha...pe... suddopi kho, vāseṭṭha, idhekacco paṇātipātī hoti adinnādāyī kāmesumicchācārī musāvādī pisuṇavāco pharusavāco samphappalāpī abhijjhālu byāpannacitto micchādīṭṭhī. iti kho, vāseṭṭha, yeme dhammā akusalā akusalasaṅkhātā...pe... kaṇhā kaṇhavipākā viññugarahitā; suddepi te idhekacce sandissanti.” Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

<sup>23</sup>“*khattiyopi kho, vāseṭṭha, idhekacco paṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti, adinnādānā paṭivirato, kāmesumicchācārā paṭivirato, musāvādā paṭivirato, pisuṇāya vācāya paṭivirato, pharusāya vācāya paṭivirato, samphappalāpā paṭivirato, anabhijjhālu abyāpannacitto, sammādīṭṭhī. iti kho, vāseṭṭha, yeme dhammā kusalā kusalasaṅkhātā anavajjā anavajjasaṅkhātā sevittabbā sevittabbasaṅkhātā alamariyā alamariyasaṅkhātā sukkā sukkavipākā viññuppatthā, khattiyepi te idhekacce sandissanti. brāhmaṇopi kho, vāseṭṭha...pe... vessopi kho, vāseṭṭha...pe... suddopi kho, vāseṭṭha, idhekacco paṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti...pe... anabhijjhālu, abyāpannacitto, sammādīṭṭhī. iti kho, vāseṭṭha, yeme dhammā kusalā kusalasaṅkhātā anavajjā anavajjasaṅkhātā sevittabbā sevittabbasaṅkhātā alamariyā alamariyasaṅkhātā*

The Buddha has detailed here in this first section of the *Aggañña Sutta* the basic standards of living; such as safeguarding the life of others, not taking what is not given and so on (as mentioned in the above excerpt) that is required of a person for the proper existence and continuation of a happy and peaceful society. The members who break or deviate from these standards are considered to be low by their behavior and not by their birth as believed by the Brahmins. It is also that as a human being whoever practices these fundamentals are universally accepted by everybody and praised by the wise irrespective of their cast.

The Buddha explains that in the society everyone has to refrain from doing unacceptable things towards everyone else. If a person does accept fundamentals of human qualities of values then whoever in that society, Brahmin, *Khattiya*, merchants and artisans will accept that as good. There whoever does these morally accepted fundamentals, everyone admires them and that will not depend on the caste structure (*Brahmin, Khattiya, Vessa, and Sudda*) but only on the person him/herself and his/her deeds.

...become emancipated through super knowledge—he is proclaimed supreme by virtue of *Dhamma* and not of non-*Dhamma*. *Dhamma* is the best thing for people. *Dhamma* is for one's own self as well as for others.<sup>24</sup>

The Buddha enlightens people with the idea that every people can be called by virtue of *Dhamma* not by caste or other names used by the society. It is very important to define *Dhamma*. Certainly everyone is made of *Dhamma*. Then every person is equal with *Dhamma*. The Buddha expounds that people are made by *Dhamma*. The *Dhamma* is

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*sukkā sukkavipākā viññuppasatthā; suddepi te idhekacce sandissanti.*” *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

<sup>24</sup>“...so nesam aggamakkhāyati dhammeneva, no adhammena. Dhammo hi, vāseṭṭha, seṭṭho janetasmiṃ, diṭṭhe ceva dhamme abhisamparāyaṅca.” *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

the smallest dust (electron and proton) of the body. The world was made of dust.<sup>25</sup> One person's *Dhamma* is not different from others. Therefore people are the same and not different by birth or so called caste. Therefore caste cannot be established as such. In this part of the *Sutta* it is very important to establish that people are completely made of *Dhamma*. The Buddha explains in this *Sutta* that every person's body and mind are created based on *Dhamma*.

...He whose faith in the *Tathāgata* is settled, rooted, established, solid, unshakable by any ascetic or Brahmin, any *Deva* or *Mara* or Brahma or anyone in the world, can truly say: "I am a true son of the Blessed Lord, born of his mouth, born of *Dhamma*, created by *Dhamma*, an heir of *Dhamma*." Why is that? Because, *Vāseṭṭha*, this designates the *Tathāgata*: "The Body of *Dhamma*," that is "The Body of Brahma," or "Become *Dhamma*," that is "Become Brahma."<sup>26</sup>

The Buddha enlightens people in this part of the *Sutta* on how one is born with the *Dhamma*, created by *Dhamma*. It is clear that Buddha wanted to enlighten everyone with this reality. It is because that everyone is created through the *Dhamma*. Even the Buddha himself points out that how the *Dhamma* created him. This section of the *Sutta* is very important with the contemporary society structure established at the time of the Buddha. Everyone is born through *Dhamma* therefore everyone is the same in body and mind, but whoever has done something to destroy happiness of the society by killing, taking anything that is not given, taking part in sexual misconduct, lying, slandering,

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<sup>25</sup>Richard Dawkins (2011), *The Magic of Reality- How we know what Reality true*, Illustrated by Dave McKean. p.123

<sup>26</sup>"...yassa kho panassa, vāseṭṭha, tathāgate saddhā niviṭṭhā mūlajātā patiṭṭhitā dalhā asaṃhāriyā samaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā devena vā mārena vā brahmunā vā kenaci vā lokasmiṃ, tassetam kallaṃ vacanāya – 'bhagavatomi putto oraso mukhato jāto dhammajo dhammanimmito dhammadāyādo'ti. taṃ kissa hetu? tathāgatassa hetam, vāseṭṭha, adhivacanam 'dhammakāyo' itipi, 'brahmakāyo' itipi, 'dhammabhūto' itipi, 'brahmabhūto' itipi." *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka* Series, pp.136-165.

speaking rough words or nonsense, being greedy, cruel, and having wrong beliefs (*micchā ditthi*). Those are causes which develop unhappiness and unrest in all societies. Then everybody knows that they all are created with the same *Dhamma* (the smallest part of the dust) but differences are in their actions and thoughts (eventually converted into actions). Decisions are based on thoughts and actions. This is related with the decision makers' qualities of values of great human being. The decision maker has to consider each decision for everyone's benefit not for a special group or a cult.

In this part of the *Sutta* the Buddha explains some misconceptions used by the contemporary people of that time on 'who would be the creator of the world?', who guides the people? Those ascetics or Brahmins used, *Māra* (devil), *Deva* (god) or some other concept as the creator. However, here the Buddha completely rejected this point saying that there is no creator or controller, but the person itself becomes everything with the Dharma. Only the *Dhamma* means whatever it is means to be the reality. If a person is enlightened with this reality this will lead to beginning of a real human society. Then there will not be any discrimination at all, by caste, class, religion, language, color, wealth, race, tradition, or any other form. This means that all human beings are equally respected for their dignity.

### **3.2.2 Evolution of Earth, Circle of Food Chain and Happiness and Unhappiness**

After that the Buddha reveals how it is that people appeared in the world and how the society was developed. It is revealed using a mythological story, but it has clearly illustrated how ownership to the resources and power was developed.

They floated above and around the Earth. At this time, there were not yet seen the Moon and the Sun, there were not yet Night and Day, there were not yet names and identity or female or male. The creatures were only known as creatures. At that period, *Vāsetṭha*, there was just one mass of water, and all was darkness, blinding darkness.... And sooner or later, after a very long period of time, savory earth spread itself over the waters where those beings were. It looked

just like the skin that forms itself over hot milk as it cools. It was endowed with color, smell, and taste. It was the color of fine ghee or heated butter and it was very sweet, like pure wild honey.<sup>27</sup>

The Buddha wanted to show the root of people's behavior as well as change of their actions and behaviors while imitating others. The Buddha here explains how the world is established. How people came to the society. This part of the *Sutta* emphasizes that every person is born the same way. Even there were no basic differences as female or male in the beginning. No different human beings; only the creatures. It has shown that all are human beings. All creatures/human beings were shown in the same color.

However, these creatures started to grow with their actions with their curiosity and greed<sup>28</sup>. They taste the savory Earth substance out of curiosity and greed;

Some of the creatures of light (the *Ābhassaras*) who had curiosity and a greedy nature began to dive and taste the savory Earth's substance. At that moment, the creature found out that it tasted so delicious. Thus, greed started to seep in and it ate the substance voraciously, greedily, also calling its comrades (who were flying above and on earth) to join in the feast. Not long afterwards, the creatures began to eat greedily, and due to the huge amount of the mud substance they could feed on it for a very long time.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> “*ekodakābhūtaṃ kho pana, vāseṭṭha, tena samayena hoti andhakāro andhakāratimisā. na candimasūriyā paññāyanti, na nakkhattāni tārakarūpāni paññāyanti, na rattindivā paññāyanti, na māsaḍḍhamāsā paññāyanti, na utusaṃvaccharā paññāyanti, na itthipumā paññāyanti, sattā sattātveva saṅkhyāṃ gacchanti. atha kho tesāṃ, vāseṭṭha, sattānaṃ kadāci karahaci dīghassa addhuno accayena rasapathavī udakasmim̐ samatani; seyyathāpi nāma payaso tattassa nibbāyamānassa upari santānakam̐ hoti, evameva pāturahosi. sā ahosi vaṇṇasampannā gandhasampannā rasasampannā, seyyathāpi nāma sampannaṃ vā sappi sampannaṃ vā navanūtaṃ evaṃvaṇṇā ahosi. seyyathāpi nāma khuddamadhuṃ aneḷakam̐, evamassādā ahosi.” Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

<sup>28</sup> “*lolajājiko, ambho kimevidaṃ bhavissatī’ti* “ Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165

<sup>29</sup> “*...Atha kho, vāseṭṭha, aññataro satto lolajātiko – ‘ambho, kimevidaṃ bhavissatī’ti rasapathaviṃ aṅguliyaṃ sāyi. tassa rasapathaviṃ aṅguliyaṃ sāyato acchādesi, taṇhā cassa okkami. Aññepi kho, vāseṭṭha, sattā tassa sattassa diṭṭhānugatiṃ āpajjamānā rasapathaviṃ aṅguliyaṃ sāyimsu. Tesāṃ*

While these creatures were doing this for a long time, their self-illuminating status had gone out and they started to appear differently. This was where people's differences started to appear.

And those beings continued for a very long time feasting on this savory earth, feeding on it and being nourished by it. And as they did so, their bodies became coarser, and a difference in looks developed among them. Some beings became good looking, others ugly. And the good looking ones despised the others, saying: "We are better looking than they are." And because they became arrogant and conceited about their looks, the savory earth disappeared. At this they came together and lamented, crying, "Oh, that flavor! Oh, that flavor!" and so nowadays when people say, "Oh, that flavor!" when they get something nice, they are repeating an ancient saying without realizing it.<sup>30</sup>

This part of the *Sutta* explains how people started to appear differently and how they behaved with delicious food, and that the habit is not new; it is as old as the human being. Automatically people still show their true nature when they have delicious food. The habit is not just their behavior that has just started but it comes through genes of the people from the beginning. Also it has shown that when people have favorable things they behave like "oh, that is very good", "very delicious", and this too comes from

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*rasapathaviṃ aṅgulyiā sāyatam acchādesi, taṅhā ca tesam okkami.*" *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

<sup>30</sup> "Atha kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā rasapathaviṃ paribhuñjantā taṃbhakkhā tadāhārā ciraṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. yathā yathā kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā rasapathaviṃ paribhuñjantā taṃbhakkhā tadāhārā ciraṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu, tathā tathā tesam sattānaṃ (rasapathaviṃ paribhuñjantānaṃ) kharattañceva kāyasmim okkami, vaṇṇavevaṇṇatā ca paññāyittha. Ekidaṃ sattā vaṇṇavanto honti, ekidaṃ sattā dubbaṇṇā. Tattha ye te sattā vaṇṇavanto, te dubbaṇṇe satte atimaññanti – 'mayameteḥi vaṇṇavantatarā, amhehete dubbaṇṇatarā'ti. tesam vaṇṇātimānapaccayā mānātimānajātikānaṃ rasapathavī antaradhāyi. Rasāya pathaviyā antarahitāya sannipatimsu. Sannipatitvā anutthunimsu – 'aho rasam, aho rasa'nti! Tadetarahipi manussā kañcīdeva surasam labhitvā evamāhaṃsu – 'aho rasam, aho rasa'nti! tadeva porāṇaṃ aggaññaṃ akkharaṃ anusaranti, na tvevassa atthaṃ ājānanti." *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

beginning of people. How people express their happiness when faced with something that satisfy their greed. Even today when people become happy they use expressions such as 'it is delicious' or 'good,' and many other phrases to express their happiness to others. In addition, to release positive and negative stress people still do the same thing.

While people were eating the savory of earth it disappeared when they became arrogant and conceited about their looks. When it disappeared, another kind of food like mushrooms appeared.

And then, when the savoury earth disappeared, a fungus cropped up, in the manner of a mushroom. It was of good colour, smell, and taste. It was the colour of fine ghee or butter, and it was very sweet, like pure wild honey. And those beings set to and ate the fungus. And this lasted for a very long time. And as they continued to feed on the fungus, so their bodies become coarser still, and the difference in their looks increased still more. And the good looking ones despised the others...and because they became arrogant and conceited about their looks, the sweet fungus disappeared. Next, creepers appeared, shooting up like bamboo...and they too were very sweet, like pure wild honey.

And those beings set to and fed on those creepers. And as they did so, their bodies became even coarser, and the difference in their looks increased still more...and they became still more arrogant, and so the creepers disappeared too. At this they came together and lamented, crying: "Alas, our creepers gone! What have we lost!" and so now today when people, one being asked why they are upset, say: "Oh what have we lost!" they are repeating an ancient saying without realizing it.

"Their body was still coarse and roughly shaped. Thus, after a very long time, the mud-like substance began to be exhausted. Then, mushroom-like plants began to grow so fast that they replaced the mud-like ocean. The creatures began to

devour them as well, and they also found it delicious, like sweet honey and milk. Their body hardened more and details began to turn finer.<sup>31</sup>

When people were eating whatever appeared on the earth, their appearance also changed. This is the same when a baby is born. All babies are born the same, and they all look the same. When the babies first start to drink mother's milk they change their appearance. When their food and environment are different, the appearances are also changed in the society. It is like that when the baby started to grow, its food and living conditions also change then automatically its appearance also changes. Then the baby changes from easy- to feed mother's milk into solid food, similar to those first human creatures mentioned in the *Sutta* that inhabited the earth who had changed from licking the savoury earth into eating mushroom like fungus. Similarly, when the living conditions and food changes, the appearance of the baby starts to change.

After another very long time, the mushrooms also began to be exhausted, replaced by cassava or turnip-like plants. They also began to devour them night and day, and thus they began to notice differences amongst them. As the changes of their bodies varied between each other, the concept of difference arose. The concepts of the beautiful and the ugly were born. The beautiful scorns the ugly and they became arrogant because of their appearance.'

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<sup>31</sup> “*Atha kho tesam, vāseṭṭha, sattānaṃ rasāya pathaviyā antarahitāya bhūmipappaṭako pāturahosi. seyyathāpi nāma ahicchattako, evameva pāturahosi. so ahosi vaṇṇasampanno gandhasampanno rasantampanno, seyyathāpi nāma sampannaṃ vā sappi sampannaṃ vā navanītaṃ evaṃvaṇṇo ahosi. seyyathāpi nāma khuddamadhuṃ aneḷakaṃ, evamassādo ahosi.* “*atha kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā bhūmipappaṭakaṃ upakkamiṃsu paribhuñjituṃ. Te taṃ paribhuñjantā taṃbhakkhā tadāhārā ciraṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Yathā yathā kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā bhūmipappaṭakaṃ paribhuñjantā taṃbhakkhā tadāhārā ciraṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu, tathā tathā tesam sattānaṃ bhiyyoso mattāya kharattañceva kāyasmīṃ okkami, vaṇṇavevaṇṇatā ca paññāyittha. Ekidaṃ sattā vaṇṇavanto honti, ekidaṃ sattā dubbaṇṇā. Tattha ye te sattā vaṇṇavanto, te dubbaṇṇe satte atimaññanti – ‘mayametehi vaṇṇavantatarā, amhehete dubbaṇṇatarā’ ti. Tesam vaṇṇātimānapaccayā mānātimānajātikānaṃ bhūmipappaṭako antaradhāyi.*” *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

And those beings set to and fed on those creepers. And as they did so, their bodies became even coarser, and the difference in their looks increased still more...and they became still more arrogant, and so the creepers disappeared too. At this they came together and lamented, crying: "Alas, our creepers gone! What have we lost!" and so now today when people, one being asked why they are upset, say: "Oh what have we lost!" they are repeating an ancient saying without realizing it.<sup>32</sup>

After mushroom like substance is exhausted, due to arrogant (atimāna) behavior based on their appearance, a turnip like plant appears.

When people lose something they still have the habit of saying automatically "Oh what have we lost!" It is so even today when people say the same thing when they lose something. It is how people express their unhappiness about losing something to others.

Here it is obvious that happiness and unhappiness depend on some resource external to the human being. Even today, when people lose the resources, they become unhappy. In contrast, when they get more resources, they are happy.

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<sup>32</sup> *“Bhūmipappaṭake antarāhite padālatā pāturahosi, seyyathāpi nāma kalambukā, evameva pāturahosi. Sā ahosi vaṇṇasampannā gandhasampannā rāsasampannā, seyyathāpi nāma sampannaṃ vā sappi sampannaṃ vā navaṇṇitaṃ evaṇṇavaṇṇā ahosi. Seyyathāpi nāma khuddamadhuṃ aneḷakaṃ, evamassādā ahosi.*

*“Atha kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā padālatā upakkamiṃsu paribhuñjitum. Te taṃ paribhuñjantā taṃbhakkhā tadāhārā ciraṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Yathā yathā kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā padālatā paribhuñjantā taṃbhakkhā tadāhārā ciraṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu, tathā tathā tesāṃ sattānaṃ bhīyosomattāya kharattañceva kāyasmīṃ okkami, vaṇṇavevaṇṇatā ca paññāyittha. Ekidaṃ sattā vaṇṇavanto honti, ekidaṃ sattā dubbaṇṇā. Tattha ye te sattā vaṇṇavanto, te dubbaṇṇe satte atimaññanti – ‘mayameteḥi vaṇṇavantatarā, amhehete dubbaṇṇatarā’ ti. Tesāṃ vaṇṇātimānapaccayā mānātimānajātikānaṃ padālatā antaradhāyi.*

*“Padālatāya antarāhitāya sannipatiṃsu. Sannipatitvā anutthuniṃsu – ‘ahu vata no, ahāyi vata no padālatā’ ti! Tadetarāhipi manussā kenaci dukkhadhammena phuṭṭhā evamāhaṃsu – ‘ahu vata no, ahāyi vata no’ ti! Tadeva porāṇaṃ aggaññaṃ akkharaṃ anusaranti, na tvevassa atthaṃ ājānanti.”* Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.

When people appear different to each other, they compare and discriminate others based on appearance; this caused the Earth's substance to disappear and caused the appearance of mushroom like substance. When people change their actions along with the qualities of values, the environment automatically changes, causing a change in people's appearance. Here the Buddha wanted to show the reality as opposed to concepts made up by humans that were predominant at the time. It is very clear that how people are showing different appearances to each other in the society not because of cast structure as explained by the Brahmins.

And then, after the creeper had disappeared, rice appeared in open spaces, free from powder and from husks, fragrant and clean grained. And what they had taken in the evening for supper had grown again and was ripe in the morning, and what they had taken in the morning for breakfast was ripe again by evening, with no sign of reaping. And these beings set to and fed on this rice, and this lasted for a very long time.<sup>33</sup>

After the turnip like plant disappeared, rice appeared in open places without the need for any labor of farming. They just had to pluck what they wanted and just eat. It was free from husk and ready to eat. When they pluck rice in the morning it automatically appeared again in the evening without having to expend any labor.

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<sup>33</sup>“*Atha kho tesam, vāseṭṭha, sattānaṃ padālatāya antarahitāya akaṭṭhapāko sālī pāturahosi akaṇo athuso suddho sugandho taṇḍulapphalo. Yaṃ taṃ sāyaṃ sāyamāsāya āharanti, pāto taṃ hoti pakkam paṭivirūḷham. Yaṃ taṃ pāto pātārāsāya āharanti, sāyaṃ taṃ hoti pakkam paṭivirūḷham; nāpadānaṃ paññāyati. Atha kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā akaṭṭhapākaṃ sālīm paribhuñjantā taṃbhakkhā tadāhārā ciraṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu.*” Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.

### 3.2.3 Appearance of Male-female Differences, Origin of the Family and Building Houses

The *Sutta* explains origin of male and female differences as follows.

And as they did so, their bodies became coarser still, and the difference in their looks became even greater. And the females developed female sex organs and the males developed male sex organs. And the women became excessively preoccupied with the men, and the men with the women. Owing to this excessive preoccupation with each other, passion was aroused, and their bodies burnt with lust. And later because of this burning, they indulged in sexual activity. But those who saw them indulging threw dust, ashes, or cow dung at them, crying: "Die, you filthy beast! How can one being do such things to another?" Just as today, in some districts, when a daughter-in-law is led out, some people throw dirt at her, some ashes, and some cow dung, without realizing that they are repeating an ancient observance. What was considered bad form in those days is now considered good form.<sup>34</sup>

While eating rice their bodies became different, male and female features became prominent. It is very important to note how males and females are attracted to each other after looking at each other for a long time, leading to sexual activity. Different

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<sup>34</sup> "Yathā yathā kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā akaṭṭhapākaṃ sālīṃ paribhuñjantā taṃbhakkhā tadāhārā ciraṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ aṭṭhamsu, tathā tathā tesam sattānaṃ bhiyyosomattāya kharattañceva kāyasmīṃ okkami, vaṇṇavevaṇṇatā ca paññāyittha, itthiyā ca itthiliṅgaṃ pāturahosi purisassa ca purisaliṅgaṃ. Itthī ca purisaṃ ativelaṃ upanijjhāyati puriso ca itthiṃ. Tesam ativelaṃ aññamaññaṃ upanijjhāyataṃ sārāgo udapādi, pariḷāho kāyasmīṃ okkami. Te pariḷāhapaccayā methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭiseviṃsu. "Ye kho pana te, vāseṭṭha, tena samayena sattā passanti methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭisevante, aññe paṃsuṃ khipanti, aññe seṭṭhiṃ khipanti, aññe gomayaṃ khipanti – 'nassa asuci, nassa asuci'ti. 'Kathañhi nāma satto sattassa evarūpaṃ karissatī'ti! Tadetarahipi manussā ekaccesu janapadesu vadhuyā nibbuyhamānāya aññe paṃsuṃ khipanti, aññe seṭṭhiṃ khipanti, aññe gomayaṃ khipanti. Tadeva porāṇaṃ aggaññaṃ akkharaṃ anusaranti, na tvevassa atthaṃ ājānanti." Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.

cultures and societies act differently towards this activity. Some consider it as a bad form to indulge in this activity in public. Therefore people move away from other people when they do this activity. This is why people go on honeymoon after their wedding. Sri Lankan society sexual activity is not discussed openly but when a couple is getting married no one teaches them and when they are going away after the wedding, parents and relatives put flowers on them. But some friends of the couple do many different things to newly wedded couple. This illustrates the last part of the above excerpt, where the Buddha says what was bad form at the time is considered to be good form today, which is true for even today.

And those beings who in those days indulged in sex were not allowed into a village or town for one or two months. Accordingly those who indulged for an excessively long period in such immoral practices began to build themselves dwellings so as to indulge under cover.<sup>35</sup>

The *Sutta* has shown that they wanted a dwelling to cover their sexual activity. It is mainly due to other people not accepting them indulging in this activity. It is practiced in present societies some practices which may happen in some societies. Even today people indulge in sexual activity in private. The sexual activity originated through greediness of people starting with the eye contact. How they look at each other can make them excited about each other. Eye to eye contact can communicate a lot of things even today. Not only sex through eye contact but also other things anger, hatred, satisfaction, gratitude and happiness can be communicated through the eyes as well.

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<sup>35</sup> “*Adhammasammataṃ kho pana vāseṭṭha, tena samayena hoti, tadetarahi dhammasammataṃ. Ye kho pana, vāseṭṭha, tena samayena sattā methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭisevanti, te māsampi dvemāsampi na labhanti gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā pavasiṭuṃ. Yato kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā tasmim̐ asaddhamme ativelaṃ pātabyataṃ āpajjimsu. Atha agārāni upakkamimsu kātuṃ tasseva asaddhammassa paṭicchādanatthaṃ.*” *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

### 3.2.4 The Resource Ownership and Quality of People

The *Sutta* is very important to look into how the behavior and quality of people are changed, leading to respective changes in the outside environment and developing a society according to those changes. It is how the individual quality develops and it influences the society's development. This depends on how others react to the single individual's behavior by imitating that individual. Especially the primitive societies are affected with blind imitation of others. There was no innovation by an individual with his/her own capacity. The main important factor to note in these kinds of primitive societies is the imitation of others. It also creates problems in the society. Even today without considering whether it is good or bad people blindly imitate other.

This imitation of others led to the development of the cast system of the society. When the father of a family is engaged in an economic activity, such as a job to earn a living in order to live happily, the son also starts doing the same thing by imitating the father. This may be how the cast system has been developed. This way, different casts appeared according to respective occupations.

Now it occurred to one of those beings who was inclined to laziness, "Well now, why should I be bothered to gather rice in the evening for supper and in the morning for breakfast? Why shouldn't I gather it all at once for both meals?" And he did so. Then another one came to him and said, "Come on, let's go rice-gathering." "No need, my friend, I've gathered enough for both meals." Then the other, following his example, gathered enough rice for two days at a time, saying, "That should be about enough." Then another being came to that second one, "Come on, let's go rice gathering." "No need my friend, I've gathered enough for two days." (The same went on for four, then eight days.) However, when those beings made a store of rice and lived on that, husk-powder and husk began to

envelop the grain, and where it was reaped it did not grow again, and the cut place showed, and the rice grew in separate clusters.<sup>36</sup>

The *Sutta* shows that the ownership of resources has started with people's laziness and greediness. These are qualities of human actions and behavior. The human qualities of values and attitudes are changing with their actions. The environment also reacts in kind to these actions. One person of the society has started to bring the food for both morning and evening. Then others of the society imitated that person's action to collect food for both of morning and evening. This imitation then turns into competition with each other and this would develop into the storing of food by one person for two days, another for four days, and another for eight days. This has shown that laziness and greediness of people developed the storage of food, and common food sharing behavior of people has gone out from that primitive society. The imitation of peoples of food gathering behavior has changed a lot of characteristic of the society. When this thinking behavior of the people has changed, the environment of their outside food supply chain also changed. With the change of their behavior the rice also changed into having a cover

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<sup>36</sup> “*Atha kho, vāseṭṭha, aññatarassa sattassa alasajātikassa etadahosi – ‘ambho, kimevāhaṃ vihaññāmi sāliṃ āharanto sāyaṃ sāyamāsāya pāto pātarāsāya! Yaṃnūnāhaṃ sāliṃ āhareyyaṃ sakimdeva sāyapātarāsāyā’ti!’ ‘Atha kho so, vāseṭṭha, satto sāliṃ āhāsi sakimdeva sāyapātarāsāya. Atha kho, vāseṭṭha, aññataro satto yena so satto tenupasaṅkama; upasaṅkamitvā taṃ sattaṃ etadavoca – ‘ehi, bho satta, sālāhāraṃ gamissāmā’ti. ‘Alaṃ, bho satta, āhato me sāli sakimdeva sāyapātarāsāyā’ti. Atha kho so, vāseṭṭha, satto tassa sattassa diṭṭhānugatiṃ āpajjamāno sāliṃ āhāsi sakimdeva dvihāya. ‘Evampi kira, bho, sādhu’ti. ‘Atha kho, vāseṭṭha, aññataro satto yena so satto tenupasaṅkama; upasaṅkamitvā taṃ sattaṃ etadavoca – ‘ehi, bho satta, sālāhāraṃ gamissāmā’ti. ‘Alaṃ, bho satta, āhato me sāli sakimdeva dvihāyā’ti. Atha kho so, vāseṭṭha, satto tassa sattassa diṭṭhānugatiṃ āpajjamāno sāliṃ āhāsi sakimdeva catuhāya, ‘evampi kira, bho, sādhu’ti. ‘Atha kho, vāseṭṭha, aññataro satto yena so satto tenupasaṅkama; upasaṅkamitvā taṃ sattaṃ etadavoca – ‘ehi, bho satta, sālāhāraṃ gamissāmā’ti. ‘Alaṃ, bho satta, āhato me sāli sakideva catuhāyā’ti. Atha kho so, vāseṭṭha, satto tassa sattassa diṭṭhānugatiṃ āpajjamāno sāliṃ āhāsi sakideva aṭṭhāhāya, ‘evampi kira, bho, sādhu’ti. ‘Yato kho te, vāseṭṭha, satta sannidhikāraṃ sāliṃ upakkamimsu paribhuñjitum. Atha kaṇopi taṇḍulaṃ pariyonandhi, thusopi taṇḍulaṃ pariyonandhi; lūnampi nappaṭivirūlhaṃ, apadānaṃ paññāyittha, saṇḍasaṇḍā sālāyo aṭṭhaṃsu.’ Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

with husk. Here the Buddha teaches that everyone's actions will effect changes of environment through its reaction.

It is very important to note here in this *Sutta* that when people change their thinking pattern, behavior also changes, effecting respective changes in the environment. The other most important characteristic of the people is imitating others without question. This is also a basic characteristic of a primitive society. The Buddha demonstrates why contemporary people did not have rational thinking at all. Therefore they accepted what the Brahmins explained about the cast system and its creation.

And then those beings came together lamenting, wicked ways have become rife among us: at first we were mind made, feeding on delight....and the rice grows in separate clusters! So now let us divide up the rice into fields with boundaries. So they did so.<sup>37</sup>

The people gathered and discussed how the food chain has changed with their changes. The rice started to grow in separate clusters. Therefore they decided to divide common rise clusters of land with boundaries for individual plots of rice land. By then, the common food chain concept was gone. It has shown that people themselves decided that they would get more benefits from ownership of rice clusters. The first Individual land ownership has originated from the ancient times with the people's decisions and actions based on laziness and greediness. Gone are the days of sharing common resources of food chain. This was replaced by people gathering and making group decisions about the food chain and the environment. According to the *Sutta*, it was the first group decision that has been made. The Buddha enlightens that group decisions

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<sup>37</sup> “*Atha kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā sannipatiṃsu, sannipatitvā anutthuniṃsu – ‘pāpakā vata, bho, dhammā sattesu pātubhūtā. Mayañhi pubbe manomayā ahumhā pītibhakkhā sayampabhā antalikkhacarā subhaṭṭhāyino, ciraṃ dīghamaddhānaṃ aṭṭhamhā....’* “...*Yaṃnūna mayaṃ sālīṃ vibhajeyyāma, mariyādaṃ ṭhapeyyāma’ti! Atha kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā sālīṃ vibhajiṃsu, mariyādaṃ ṭhapesuṃ.*” *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

are dangerous coming from a lazy and greedy decision making center of states of mind of the group of people. The Buddha expounds that the center state of mind state of mind is the determining factor that mostly affects the decisions people make. It has shown that even in the mythical story the people's first decision was made with the common consent of all the people in order to fulfill the basic needs of the people to manage the existing resources for the benefit of all individuals in the society. This decision, based on lazy and greedy decision making center states of mind of the group, has lead to create all the suffering for people at the time. The basic root of suffering is the conversion of resource ownership from sharing common resources to private ownership. The quality of the decision depends on the quality of center state of mind state of mind of the people when they make that decision.

### **3.2.5 Communal Resources to Individual Ownership: Creation of Social Problems**

The quality of values of people has changed with the laziness and greediness. Their decisions depend on the center state of mind state of mind where it is decided what the quality of the people will be. The people's laziness and greediness had changed the utilization of common resources from sharing to individual ownership. Most of the people's qualities of decision making even today are based on laziness and greediness. The common use of resources has changed with the quality of values of people. The quality of decisions has been made with society's need to fulfill their individual expectations as opposed to common expectations. In this situation when people are separately dividing the rice land then the quality of values of people also changed. It has shown in the *Sutta* that the decision making behavior based on the quality of values of the people has changed the social order of common use of resources into individual ownership of resources. This change has revolutionized commonality of entire social system to selfish individuality. In this concept the Buddha expounds where the suffering comes from, evolution of suffering, why people are suffering.

It also has shown in the *Sutta* that happiness moves away from the people when they are developing ownership of resources as individual ownership. The Buddha enlightens us with causes of suffering and how happiness moves away from the people. The basic root of suffering is changing of basic quality of human values in making decisions. The social system also changes because the change in behavior of quality of values of people and their thinking pattern has also been changed. It has changed the decision making attitudes of the people. It is shown that decisions are dependent on decision maker's qualities of human values. Therefore every decision that has been made depends on the quality of value and the center state of mind state of mind.

It can be shown in the following excerpt of the *Sutta* which shows how decisions made in a greedy center state of mind state of mind had given rise to stealing; "Then, *Vāseṭṭha*, one greedy-natured being, while watching over his own plot, took another plot that was not given to him, and enjoyed the fruits of it."<sup>38</sup>

The first people divide the rice land into their own individual plots. After getting own plots they are not satisfied with their own and try to look after and safeguard their own plot without consuming it. Then they try to take rice from other's land which is not given to them. In the *Sutta* it has shown the development of greedy nature of people to divide the land to separate individual ownership from the common resources of people. After that they want to safeguard their own and look at other plots of land, and after seeing the grown rice and take them without informing the owner, which is how stealing has started. This is shown the importance of the quality of decision making center state of mind state of mind of the people. Then happiness of people moved away from them and their suffering started. The greedy nature was developed by looking at other's plots of

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<sup>38</sup>“Atha kho, vāseṭṭha, aññataro satto lolajātiko sakaṃ bhāgaṃ parirakkhanto aññataraṃ bhāgaṃ adinnaṃ ādiyitvā paribhuñji. ...” *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka* Series, pp.136-165.

rice land. Then they wanted to have other's fruits than from their own land. Even today one can see how people think this way safeguarding their own and wanting to use others resources, leading to suffering through stealing. It shows that the people's happiness depends more on sharing common resources than having one's own resources. The Buddha expounds how important people's center states of mind of decision making and the quality of values had changed the entire social order while changing the social system.

It is obvious that no one brings resources to the society when they are born. However, when they make decisions on resources they make them as if they are taking those resources with them when they die.

When people started to steal rice from others' land then those owners wanted to find who was doing this. They started to suffer from worrying about it and people tried to catch the person by watching their plots. As a result they caught the thief and they warned him not to do that ever again. The *Sutta* shows how people react to the first time offender; giving opportunities to that person to refrain from doing things of that kind and trusting that the person will not do it again, which is still practiced by societies even today. Then the person promised that he will not do it again.

...So they seized hold of him and said, "You've done a wicked thing, taking another's plot like that! Don't ever do such a thing again!" "I won't," he said,<sup>39</sup> The Person did the same thing a second and a third time. Again, the person was seized and rebuked, and some hit the person with their fists, some with stones, and some

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<sup>39</sup> "...māssu, bho satta, punapi evarūpamakāsi'ti. evaṃ, bho'ti kho, vāseṭṭha, so satto tesam sattānaṃ paccassosi. ..." *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

with sticks. And in this way, Vāsetṭha, taking what was not given, and censuring, and lying, and punishment took their origin.<sup>40</sup>

The person who was safeguarding his own rice and stealing others' rice also did the same thing a second time; and a third time. After the third time, people started to punish the person as a group with fists, some with stones and some with sticks. This has become a problem to the society. It is people's origin of common punishment. The most of the social problems have started with the laziness and greediness of the people's actions with the land ownership. The *Sutta* explains that origin of the social problems is with the transfer of common resources to individual ownership of resources. It is the ownership of resources that has created all the problems in every society.

When a person did start taking what is not given, others started censuring the person, when others do so that person started to tell lies, punishment started. It has shown that all the problems originated with the transformation of common resources to individual ownership. So the people of the society are suffering with various forms of actions taken by people, (such as protecting and nurturing their own plots while neglecting those of others, thus creating comparison leading to jealousy and stealing) utilizing resources based on egocentric values.

### 3.2.6 Origin of Governance According to Pali Canon.

The Buddha explains in this *Sutta* most important details of the origin of governance. When the problem began with stealing, there was unorganized common group reaction as described above. This was not an organized, systematic approach,

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<sup>40</sup>“...dutiyaṃpi kho, vāsetṭha, so satto...pe... tatiyaṃpi kho, vāsetṭha, so satto sakaṃ bhāgaṃ parirakkhanto aññataraṃ bhāgaṃ adinnaṃ ādiyivā paribhuñji. tarenaṃ aggahesuṃ, gahetvā etadavocuṃ – ‘pāpakaṃ vata, bho satta, karosi, yatra hi nāma sakaṃ bhāgaṃ parirakkhanto aññataraṃ bhāgaṃ adinnaṃ ādiyivā paribhuñjasi. māssu, bho satta, punapi evarūpamakāsī’ti. aññe pāṇinā paharimsu, aññe leḍḍunā paharimsu, aññe daṇḍena paharimsu. tadagge kho, vāsetṭha, adinnādānaṃ paññāyati, garahā paññāyati, musāvādo paññāyati, daṇḍādānaṃ paññāyati.” Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.

which did not work, taking away their time and energy from looking after their own affairs, thus creating unhappiness. The transformation of common resources to individual based resources has led to the creation of various kinds of social problems. The Buddha goes on to explain how the first decision maker for society was selected by common consent to safeguard resources (which are now divided for individual consumption from thieves) and to solve the problem of stealing. This problem solving process was progressed up to electing a common leader as the decision maker for everyone. This is how a king, or a representative, was elected in a democratic manner and handing over of people's resources and power to an agent of their choice occurred for the first time.

Then those beings came together and lamented the arising of these evil things among them: taking what was not given, censuring, lying, and punishment. And they thought: "Suppose we were to appoint a certain being who would show anger where anger was due, censure those who deserved it, and banish those who deserved banishment! And in return we would grant him a share of the rice." So they went to the one among them who was the handsomest, the best-looking, most pleasant and capable, ablest, most likeable, and most intelligent person and asked him to do this for them in return for a share of the rice, and he agreed.<sup>41</sup>

People's Choice" is the meaning of *Mahā-Sammata*, which is the first regular title to be introduced. "Lord of the Fields" is the meaning of *Khattiya*, the second such title. And "He Gladdens Others with *Dhamma*" is the meaning of *Rājā*, the

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<sup>41</sup> "atha kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā sannipatiṃsu, sannipatitvā anutthuniṃsu – 'pāpakā vata bho dhammā sattesu pātubhūtā, yatra hi nāma adinnādānaṃ paññāyissati, garahā paññāyissati, musāvādo paññāyissati, daṇḍādānaṃ paññāyissati. yaṃnūna mayaṃ ekaṃ sattaṃ sammanneyyāma, yo no sammā khīyitabbaṃ khīyeyya, sammā garahitabbaṃ garaheyya, sammā pabbājetabbaṃ pabbājeyya. mayaṃ panassa sālīnaṃ bhāgaṃ anuppadassāmā'ti'.

"atha kho te, vāseṭṭha, sattā yo nesam satto abhirūpataro ca dassanīyataro ca pāsādikataro ca mahesakkhataro ca taṃ sattaṃ upasaṅkamitvā etadavocuṃ – 'ehi, bho satta, sammā khīyitabbaṃ khīya, sammā garahitabbaṃ garaha, sammā pabbājetabbaṃ pabbājehi. mayaṃ pana te sālīnaṃ bhāgaṃ anuppadassāmā'ti. 'evaṃ, bho'ti kho, vāseṭṭha, so satto tesam sattānaṃ paṭissuṇitvā sammā khīyitabbaṃ khīyi, sammā garahitabbaṃ garahi, sammā pabbājetabbaṃ pabbājesi. te panassa sālīnaṃ bhāgaṃ anuppadaṃsu.' Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.

third title to be introduced. This, then, *Vāseṭṭha*, is the origin of the class of Khattiyas, in accordance with the ancient titles that were introduced for them. They originated among these very same beings, like ourselves, no different, and in accordance with *Dhamma*, not otherwise.<sup>42</sup>

The Buddha expound that for the creation of the leader for the first time, everybody got-together and agreed to appoint a person (of people’s choice) to solve the problems created after the established resources ownership, who was “the handsomest, the best-looking, most pleasant and capable, ablest, most likeable, and most intelligent person” more capable of sacrificing for everyone’s benefit. This is the first set of qualities and qualifications for a elected king as recorded in the *Pali* Canon according to the teaching of the Buddha.

He was expected to show anger where anger was due, censure those who deserved it, and banish those who deserved banishment. And in return he would granted a share of the other’s rice. This is the description of duties of the first elected king, and how he would be compensated by voluntary taxation of the people. It is important to note that capital punishment, or taking away life was not mentioned as a form of punishment here. Since he was appointed to make others in the society happy, he was not given the power to kill an offender. He would not be able to honor the third title of ‘*Rājā*’ by killing another person, since this would induce fear into the minds of others, taking away their happiness.

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<sup>42</sup>‘mahājanasammattoti kho, vāseṭṭha, ‘mahāsammato, mahāsammato’ tveva paṭhamam akkharam upanibbattam. khettānam adhipatīti kho, vāseṭṭha, ‘khattiyo, khattiyo’ tveva dutiyam akkharam upanibbattam. dhammena pare rañjetīti kho, vāseṭṭha, ‘rājā, rājā’ tveva tatiyam akkharam upanibbattam. iti kho, vāseṭṭha, evametassa khattiyamaṇḍalassa porāṇena aggaññena akkharena abhinibbatti ahosi tesamyeva sattānam, anaññesaṃ. sadisānamyeva, no asadisānam. dhammeneva, no adhammena. dhammo hi, vāseṭṭha, seṭṭho janetasmim diṭṭhe ceva dhamme abhisamparāyaṅca. Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.

It is also the concept of selecting representative leader for everyone's benefit and happiness, since he was expected to end the suffering caused by stealing and telling lies. On the other hand the most practiced concept of management is to give one person the responsibility to fulfill the task of leadership to coordinate resources for the benefit of the resource owners. Every organization has a leader; usually a manager, a president, a chairman, a prime minister or a king. In the *Sutta* person who is elected is getting rice from everyone as he is sacrificing ownership of his land and as remuneration for his commitment. In the *Sutta* it has explained as all the people's great choice (*Mahā-Sammata*).

Then the practice continued for a long time, it was automatically changed as 'Lord of the Fields' (*Khattiya*), since the person was responsible to look after every field of land to solve the personal problems arising from stealing of others' rice. It was experienced that the person who became the lord of fields started to make everyone in the society happy. It was people themselves who named him as *Rājā* to mean who is making people happy with *Dhamma*. Here the *Sutta* explains that at first, he was elected to solve the problems, next he was given the power over the resources (land) and thirdly he was given the power in addition to resources, to make all the people happy. This is the evolution of management of governance in the teaching of the Buddha in the *Pali Canon*.

It is very significant that the Buddha expounded that the *Rājā* is person who makes all the people in the country happy. The person who makes everyone happy has to have the universal great human qualities of values. In a society to make happy everyone of that society is very complicated. The expectations of a society of people are more complex than a single person's expectations. It is very obvious that to fulfill everyone's expectations the *Rājā* has to have specific qualities and qualifications to maintain the happiness of all the people.

In this study it is endeavored to elucidate the Universal great human qualities of values of the person who is making decisions to make everyone happy should

posses. Even at present there are people who are given the responsibilities of making decisions on using other's resources for the other's benefit and for their happiness. It is something that everyone can experience in practicing management of governance for an organization. Even a small organization such as the family also has to practice management of governance to make every family member happy. The decision maker of the family whether it is mother or father or both- have to have universally accepted human qualities of values in making decisions to make every member of family happy. Similarly, the same thing holds even in organizations such as companies, corporate bodies, NGOs and Governments, where all these organizations are managed not by resource owners but by the managers who were handed over the resources and the power to be used for the benefit of the resource owners.

The person, who was elected as king or leader or manager to give solutions of peoples' problems, was offered rice, since the person had to work for others and had no time to look after his own rice land. Everyone of the society agreed to give a portion of rice for the elected person. It is a wage paid by collection of taxes from the people. Later, this portion of rice for the king was developed into a tax for the king or the government for the services rendered to the citizenry. Even today every leader of the society who is elected as President, Prime Minister, Manager, Director, Chairman or Coordinator is given an allowance or a salary with lots of other perks and benefits. It was started as the common salary system for those who make decisions for others' benefit. This had further developed into giving a salary/ payment for the services rendered by a person using their skills. Thus according to the Buddha, it is not the cast that determines the value of the person, but the skills and the services given by that person. Thus skilled labor is more important to the management of the society, not the cast of the laborer. The skilled laborers are having more impact on the society, contributing more to the society, taking more responsibilities. This is true for every society in the globe.

The teaching of the Buddha is significant in that no person in the society brings in resources to the society when they are born. In order to become a decision

maker for the benefit of common people that person has to have special human qualities, since they are handed over the resources and power to make decisions on behalf of the owners of those resources and power to make them happy.

As at present, in the system of governing bodies, the decision makers are elected by common resource holders, the people. In the *Sutta* the main theme is that resources are not owned by an individual. The common resource is for everyone's use. The system has changed with the human behavior with the advent of individual resource ownership. The resource ownership leads to conflict of interest with each other with stealing and using another individual's resources by others. The common resource system does not have these conflict of interest problems created with resources stolen by others. The first problem of the society is stealing rice of others, created in the society along with changing the common resources to individual ownership of resources. The Buddha enlightens that common resource system creates no suffering for people. The suffering is started with the disappearance of common resource system in the society. The Buddha expounded that happiness of the people disappears with individual resource ownership of people. To gain or establish the happiness again to the society, people have elected a person to solve the problems in the society.

The *Sutta* at first named the person as Mahā-Sammata, then secondly as Khattiya, finally as Rājā. The *Sutta* explains the third name as “*Dhammena pare rañjetīti kho, vāsetṭha, ‘rājā,’*”<sup>43</sup> ‘One who makes others happy with Dhamma is the Rājā’- by giving solutions to problems that people created. It is very important that the Buddha has expounded that *Rājā* is a person who makes people happy in the ‘individual resource ownership society’. In the *vannañā* of *Cakkavattim Sutta* of *Anguttara Nikāya* clearly shows this as “*Janaṃ ranjetīti Rājā*”<sup>44</sup> *Rājā* is the one who makes all the people happy in

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<sup>43</sup> *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.136-165.*

<sup>44</sup> *Cakkavattim Sutta vannañā Anguttara Nikāya, Sutta Piṭaka, Internet version of Chattha Sangayana 4.0*

the society. The responsibility of the leaders of every organization is making the beneficiaries happy. In this Study the topic “Management of Governance for Happiness with special reference to Pali canon” was developed on the basis of this phrase, which was heard and read by the Author in some books, but the original source could not be found; however it was fortunate that the original source was found in the *Tipiṭaka* during the course of this study.

According to the *Aggañña Sutta*, governance is first established to solve problems created after transfer of the common resources to individual based resources in the society. It leads to the creation of problems to the society people. These problems have created suffering and unhappiness in the society. The person, who was elected to overcome this suffering and unhappiness of the people, was called the *Rājā*. The resources and power to solve problems were handed over to *Rājā* which was established as a common standard practice in the society. It is clear that Buddha expounded that governance is created with the handing over of power and resources to *Rājā*. The *Rājā* has to have sustained his quality of justice and reasonability to solve these problems without any conflict of interest with *Rājā*'s own interests. It is the basic quality of values required of the *Rājā*. It is not the rules and regulations but the universal great human qualities of values of *Rājā* himself to sustain the governance for justice and reasonable equity for all people in the society with management of resources and power of the people. When the *Rājā* is managing people's resources and power to make all the people happy in the society, it is the management of governance for happiness of the people of the society.

In the context of the teaching of the Buddha governance is established when the people handed over the resource and power to *Rājā* and the *Rājā* does not use the resources and power for his own benefit or misuse the resources and power which was handed over by the society for societal benefit. This is reinforced in the *Sutta* by the Buddha in saying “*pare rañjetīti*”; here the word ‘pare’ means all the other people in the society, other than oneself. Therefore in the verse it clearly states that the *Rājā* is

responsible for the happiness of all the people of the society, without any self interest. The Buddha explained that king attains (and retains) his kingship only as long as he maintains the happiness of the people. (*pare rañjetī'ti kho vasetṭa rāja rājatveva*).<sup>45</sup> If not he may just be a nominal king. Furthermore according to, the commentaries on the above *Sutta*, the decision making King or leader must make others in the kingdom happy, *and* give them comforts, pleasure and enjoyment.<sup>46</sup>

In order to fulfill these practices, the leaders should have great universal human qualities. When they maintain great universal human qualities they can effortlessly obey all the rules and regulations. Therefore, the governance entirely depends on the great universal human qualities of decision makers of all the governmental decision making bodies. In Pali Canon it is emphasized as the King possessing the great universal human qualities will make not only the people in the country he lives but also people in the whole world happy.<sup>47</sup>

The main theme of governance teaching of the Buddha is based on the quality of the person who is elected for the purpose of making people happy. The *Aggañña Sutta* has explained in depth that governance is created with the election of *Rājā*. It also explains that how unhappiness of the people was created with ownership of resources. The main theme of all teaching of the Buddha is how to gain happiness after overcoming suffering. It is the reason that Buddha guides the non-ownership of resources in the monastic life. Resources are for consumption only and not for ownership. The Buddha established common resource consumption systems in the monastic order. The monastic life is for overcoming suffering and not for gathering more suffering through ownership of resource. This will be discussed in more detail in the *Cīvarakkhandaka* of *Mahāvaggapāli* later in this Chapter.

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<sup>45</sup> *Aggañña Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya* III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka* Series. pp.137-165

<sup>46</sup>“*pareṣaṃ rañjēti sukhetī pinēti*” *Aggañña-sutta Vannana*, D. XXVII 24.

<sup>47</sup>“*tenaca dhammena sakalalokaṃ rañjētī dhammaraja*” *Aggañña-sutta Vannana*, D.

In every society, after the baby becomes an elder once he/she is handed over the ownership of resources by the parents, then all the suffering begins. There is less suffering when they are babies and children consuming parent's resources. It is pertinent to note here that, according to the teaching of the Buddha, the power and resources of the people are handed over to the king or representative or agent to fulfill the needs of beneficiaries in other words, for the people's benefit and happiness.

### 3.2.7 Practice of Governance in the Cakkavatti Sutta

In the *Cakkavati Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* also the Buddha explains with a mythical story. In this explanation, the Buddha talks with monks about the “refuges” of a person. “Monks, be islands unto yourselves, be a refuge unto yourselves with no other refuge. Let the *Dhamma* be your island; let the *Dhamma* be your refuge, with no other refuge.”<sup>48</sup>

The Buddha explains how a person takes refuge in knowing *Dhamma*. When a person knows *Dhamma* it can be a refuge by itself. The Buddha wants to emphasize that person itself has to realize this refuge. When a person is making decisions, those decisions will lead to actions and the actions will give results. These results are created by that person itself, and not by another.

The mythical story starts with a *Rājā* (king) with the name of *Dalahanemi*, who governs the country without giving punishment and without using arms. But the King had seven royal treasures that are manifested to a *Cakkavattim* King, as a special privilege because of his virtuous deeds and righteous life. The seven precious treasures, belonging to the *Cakkavattim* kings are: the Wheel treasure (*Cakkaratana*), the Elephant

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<sup>48</sup>“Attadīpā, bhikkhave, viharatha attasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā, dhammadīpā dhammasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā. Kathañca pana, bhikkhave, bhikkhu attadīpo viharati attasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo, dhammadīpo dhammasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo?” *Cakkavatti Sutta Dīgha Nikāya* III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.96--134

treasure (*Hattiratana*), the Horse treasure (*Assaratana*), the precious Gem treasure (*Maniratana*) the Woman treasure (*Ittiratana*), the Householder treasurer (*Gahapatiratana*); the Councilor treasure (*Parinayakaratana*).<sup>49</sup>

The *Cakkavattiṃ* King explains to his sons that the Wheel Treasure is not his heritage or a hereditary possession, but that his sons must earn it through their cultivated virtue.<sup>50</sup> It shows that the king earns these by practicing the universal great human qualities of values. In this statement the king had shown that the *Cakkavattiṃ* kingship is not a private property of the king. It also implies that resources are not owned by the kings and these are related with *Cakkavattiṃ* kingship, and not his heritage as king's property. The King gets all these for his universal great human qualities of values reflected in his actions and for the benefit of all the people of the country.

It is also emphasized that the *Cakkavattiṃ* king never uses arms to attack other countries. He only uses the basic fundamental qualities of human values in the society; i.e. not killing, not taking what is not given, not lying to cheat others, not committing sexual misconduct and not taking intoxicants. When he goes to other states and offer these fundamentals to them, those kings accept them and they become friends with *Cakkavattiṃ* king. The other kings come to mutual agreement with the *Cakkavattiṃ* king. *Cakkavattiṃ* king expects all the people of every country to be happy as the people of his kingdom.

The agreement with others kings are supposed to keep every citizen happy. The Sutta the duties of the *Cakkavattiṃ* king as;

But what, sire, is the duty of an Ariyan wheel-turning monarch?' 'It is this, my son: Yourself depending on the Dhamma, honouring it, revering, cherishing it,

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<sup>49</sup> "...na hi te tāta, dibbaṃ cakkaratanaṃ pettikaṃ dāyajjaṃ." *Cakkavatti Sutta Dīgha Nikāya* III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.96--134

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

doing homage to it and venerating it, having the Dhamma as your badge and banner, acknowledging the Dhamma as your master, you should establish guard, ward and protection according to Dhamma for your own household, your troops, your nobles and vassals, for Brahmins and householders, town and country folk, ascetics and Brahmins, for beasts and birds. Let no crime prevail in your kingdom, and to those who are in need, give property. And whatever ascetics and Brahmins in your kingdom have renounced the life of sensual infatuation and are devoted to forbearance and gentleness, each one taming himself, each one calming himself and each one striving for the end of craving, if from time to time they should come to you and consult you as to what is wholesome and what is unwholesome, what is blameworthy and what is blameless, what is to be followed and what is not to be followed, and what action will in the long run lead to harm and sorrow, and what to welfare and happiness, you should listen, and tell them to avoid evil and do what is good. That, my son, is the duty of an Ariyan wheel-turning monarch.<sup>51</sup>

The duty of Cakkavattiṃ king is to make every citizen of the country happy. He guides the society to make good things happen. The king himself makes sure that all the citizens are well taken care of and are happy. If a person does not have wealth, he/she is given wealth. Not only every citizen is cared for, but also the beasts and birds are also cared for. The society does not have any bad practices (*adhamma*) at all. The society free

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<sup>51</sup>“*katamaṃ pana taṃ, deva, ariyaṃ cakkavattivatta’nti? ‘tena hi tvaṃ, tāta, dhammaṃyeva nissāya dhammaṃ sakkaronto dhammaṃ garuṃ karonto dhammaṃ mānento dhammaṃ pūjento dhammaṃ apacāyamāno dhammaddhajo dhammaketu dhammādhipateyyo dhammikaṃ rakkhāvaranaguttiṃ saṃvidahassu antojanasmim̐ balakāyasmim̐ khattiyesu anuyantesu brāhmaṇagahapatikesu negamajānapadesu samaṇabrāhmaṇesu migapakkhīsu. mā ca te, tāta, vijite adhammakāro pavattittha. ye ca te, tāta, vijite adhanā assu, tesaṅca dhanamanuppadeyyāsi. ye ca te, tāta, vijite samaṇabrāhmaṇā madappamādā paṭiviratā khantisoracce nivīṭhā ekamattānaṃ damenti, ekamattānaṃ samenti, ekamattānaṃ parinibbāpenti, te kālena kālaṃ upasaṅkamitvā paripuccheyyāsi pariggaṇheyyāsi – ‘kiṃ, bhante, kusalaṃ, kiṃ akusalaṃ, kiṃ sāvajjaṃ, kiṃ anavajjaṃ, kiṃ sevitabbaṃ, kiṃ na sevitabbaṃ, kiṃ me karīyamānaṃ dīgharattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāya assa, kiṃ vā pana me karīyamānaṃ dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya assā’? tesam̐ sutvā taṃ akusalaṃ taṃ abhinivajjeyyāsi, yaṃ kusalaṃ taṃ samādāya vattheyyāsi. idaṃ kho, tāta, taṃ ariyaṃ cakkavattivatta’nti.” Cakkavatti Sutta Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.96--134*

from crime since the *Cakkavattiṃ* king has closed all the needs and avenues for committing crime in the society.

When the *Cakkavattiṃ* king practices wholesome activities, every citizen in the county is happy. It leads to increase the life span of the people. The Sutta elaborates this in the following way.

It is through having taken to wholesome practices that we have increased in life-span and beauty, so let us perform still more wholesome practices. Let us refrain from taking what is not given, from sexual misconduct, from lying speech, from slander, from harsh speech, from idle chatter, from covetousness, from ill-will, from wrong view; let us abstain from three things: incest, excessive greed, and deviant practices; let us respect our mothers and fathers, ascetics and Brahmins, and the head of the clan, and let us persevere in these wholesome actions.<sup>52</sup>

The *Cakkavattiṃ* king makes everyone wealthy in the society. The poverty is eradicated by practicing management of governance as the resources are allocated for all human beings in the society. If a person is in poverty, as a subject of the king, it is the duty of the king to help that person to eradicate poverty. The responsibility of the king (government) is to guide to practice governance accordingly. The Sutta implies that the failure, or mismanagement of governance leads to an increase in poverty. When there is proper distribution of the resources to all the citizens in the country, there will not be poverty in that country. The king's basic function is to eradicate poverty from the country. A very important phrase for an Ariyan Wheel Turner is “*ariye cakkavattivatte*

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<sup>52</sup>“*atha kho tesam, bhikkhave, sattanam evam bhavissati – ‘mayam kho akusalanam dhammanam samadanahetu evarupam ayatam natikkhayaṃ pattā. yaṃnūna mayam kusalam kareyyāma. kiṃ kusalam kareyyāma? yaṃnūna mayam paṇātipātā virameyyāma, idaṃ kusalam dhammam samādāya vatteyyāma’ ti. te paṇātipātā viramissanti, idaṃ kusalam dhammam samādāya vattissanti. te kusalanam dhammanam samadanahetu āyunāpi vaḍḍhissanti, vaṇṇenapi vaḍḍhissanti. tesam āyunāpi vaḍḍhamānānam vaṇṇenapi vaḍḍhamānānam dasavassāyukānam manussānam vīsativassāyukā puttā bhavissanti.*” *Cakkavatti Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.96--34*

vatti”<sup>53</sup>. If the king wants to become Ariyan Cakkavatti king his main duty is to practice governance properly to eradicate poverty of the people of the country. After practicing management of governance by the king, every citizen becomes happy with that, and they are satisfied with the income generated through resources as coordinated by the king. Happiness of a society is mainly based on its economic stability facilitated by the leader. When they are economically stable, they are happy, and they want to sustain, extend, and expand that happiness through practicing the universal great human qualities of human values as prescribed by the *Cakkavattiṃ* king. When other states see how the Cakkavattiṃ king has developed his country by eradicating poverty, thus making people happy, they too want to willingly accept the universal great human qualities of human values as prescribed by the *Cakkavattiṃ* king.

The *Sutta* has shown the sources of mismanagement of governance that has created all the problems in a society. It is detailed that when resources are not distributed among the citizen of the country there will be increased poverty among the people. There were many *Cakkavattiṃ* kings in the line of the rulers of that country. But at one time all the *Cakkavattiṃ* practices have vanished and then there was a king called *Muddhābhisitta* and he asked his advisers what the practices of a *Cakkavattiṃ* are. Then he was told wrongly what they are, the king listened to them and the king kept all the resources for himself -as he was advised -without giving the poor the wealth to eradicate poverty. Then the poverty has increased among the people seriously then one person has started to take from another person, which was not given to him.

In this part of the *Sutta* it is explained that how people imitate others’ behavior. The one who has stolen was in fact poor and he did not have any resource to live, when he was asked by the king why did he take what was not given, he begged for his life and told the king why he did so. Then the king understood that due to the poverty, he faced difficulties of living with his family. Then the king gave him

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<sup>53</sup>*Cakkavatti Sutta Dīgha Nikāya III*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.96--134

wealth to live happily with his family and relatives. Then the person accepted it and lived happily. Another person who has faced poverty also took what was not given, stolen. Then king did the same thing he did with the previous person. Then this same thing happened with many poor people. People heard about this practice of the king, and even though they were not in poverty, they too started to take which was not given. In this way people imitated others and happened to steal as a habit in reaction to king's practices. The king thought that this imitation of the practice of stealing should be stopped, where people were pretending as they were poor and started to steal from others' property that which is not given. This way, theft also increased. The king thought that this should be stopped by giving capital punishment by beheading.<sup>54</sup>

The king wanted to stop theft by people pretending to be poor by giving them capital punishment. When the capital punishment was started by the king, he used weapons; then people also started to give punishment with weapons. People started making sharp weapons and whenever they caught a thief in the act of stealing, they attacked the thief with weapons and killed him. This way, people were imitating the king in punishing thieves. Then the thieves started to tell lies since people were afraid of the punishment. When the king started making sharp weapons the people also started making sharp weapons. Here, people were imitating the king. This is a clear example of mismanagement of governance and this can be contrasted with the people imitating the management of governance of *Cakkavattiṃ* king and improving their wealth and happiness. Even today the happiness of a society depends a lot on its leaders; when the leader sets the example, irrespective of whether it is good or bad, people will imitate him. This has been prevailing in every society up to now.

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<sup>54</sup>“...evamidaṃ adinnādānaṃ pavaḍḍhissati. yannanāhaṃ imaṃ purisaṃ sūnisedhaṃ nisedheyyaṃ mūlachejjaṃ kareyyaṃ, sīsamassa chindeyya'nti.” *Cakkavatti Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.96--134*

The Buddha explains in the above part that when the poverty is increased, all other problems in the society are automatically increased similar to a chain reaction leading to a cascade of events, ending up in misery. When the king does not give wealth to poor thieves to overcome poverty, theft has increased when the theft increases sharp arms holders increase, then the killing increases, then life span of the people is reduced, and people's complexion is also reduced. This goes on in cycles, until the life span is reduced to just ten years.<sup>55</sup>

When People's life span is reduced down to ten years, then they behave like animals not like humans, and they do not distinguish between teachers, mothers, wife or sister etc. When people life span is ten years they behave like animals such as chicken, pigs sheep, dogs, fox. They mix with each other and there is no human culture seen in their behavior, no resemblance to human nature.<sup>56</sup> The people's behavior has lead to the reduction of their life span. The root cause of all these problems is the wrong decisions made by the king, based on the wrong advice of his advisers.

It is also when people's behavior is good, everyone accepts basic human living fundamentals of not killing, taking what is not given, not telling lies, not committing adultery, and when they accept those, automatically life span is increased and the *Cakkavatti* king also comes to power. Then the society will become happy and peaceful again.

The *Sutta*, the *Cakkavati Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, explained how a powerful ruler makes people happy with management of governance with proper

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<sup>55</sup>“...iti kho, bhikkhave, adhanānaṃ dhane ananuppadiyamāne dāḷiddiyaṃ vepullamagamāsi, dāḷiddiye vepullaṃ gate adinnādānaṃ vepullamagamāsi, adinnādāne vepullaṃ gate satthaṃ vepullamagamāsi, satthe vepullaṃ gate pāṇātipāto vepullamagamāsi, pāṇātipāte vepullaṃ gate tesam sattānaṃ āyupi parihāyi, vaṇṇopi parihāyi. Tesam āyunaṃ parihāyamānānaṃ vaṇṇenapi parihāyamānānaṃ asītivassasahassāyukānaṃ manussānaṃ cattārīsavassasahassāyukā puttā ahesuṃ....” *Cakkavatti Sutta Dīgha Nikāya* III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.96--134

<sup>56</sup>“dasavassāyukesu bhikkhave manussesu na bhavissati mata ti vā matuccha ti vā matulanī ti vā ācariyahariyā ti vā garūnaṃ dāro ti vā sambhadaṃ loko gamissati yatha ajeḷakā kukkutasūkara soṇasigālā.” *Cakkavatti Sutta Dīgha Nikāya* III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.96--134

guidance with very basic fundamentals of human values, in that society, and then everyone is happy and peaceful. The *Sutta* also emphasizes that when the ruler practices mismanagement of governance, whole society becomes unhappy leading to social unrest. It has shown that when the leader of the society is obeying the basic society fundamentals, everyone obeys and it can be said that, this particular society has management of governance. The lesson from the *Sutta* is that all human happiness or unhappiness is dependent on the quality of the leader. The Universal Great Human Qualities of Values of the leader will lead to management of governance for happiness of all human beings in the society. Thus the governance is rooted in qualifications and qualities of the decision makers. These Universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values which extracted from the *Sigāla* and *Cakkavatti* Suttas in this study name as universal Basic Fundamental of Happiness.

Poor qualities of values and poor qualifications in the decision maker lead to mismanagement of governance, making all human beings in that society unhappy, leading to unrest and suffering. These will eventually lead to insurrections and even war in the long run with small time disturbances such as rumors, anonymous letters, posters, picketing, protest rallies, work stoppages, rioting preceding these.

### **3.2.8 The Qualities of the Decision Maker for Management of Governance According to *Kūṭadanta Sutta***

The *Kūṭadanta Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* starts with explaining about quality of *Kūṭadanta* Brahmin and the Buddha. The Buddha went to the village called *Khanumata* where Brahmin *Kūṭadanta* lived. *Kūṭadanta* got to know that the Buddha has come to his village. He heard that the Buddha knows that the three modes of regret of

sacrifice and sixteen kinds of accessories of instruments<sup>57</sup> since he wanted to perform a great sacrifice complete with all kinds.

When *Kūṭadanta* wanted to see the Buddha, another Brahmin has pointed out that he should not go to the Buddha because he has superior qualities than the Buddha, saying that *Kūṭadanta* is “*Ubhato Sujāto*” (meaning that from both mother’s and father’s sides were ethically clean for seven generations), is wealthy, has enormous treasures, educated in every Veda and their commentaries, is handsome, attractive, speaks kindly, teacher of others, is elderly but healthy and so on. Furthermore, both king *Bimbisara* and *Pokkasāti* Brahmin had bestowed honors upon him based on his good qualities as a person, is well accepted by the contemporary society. That Brahmin went on explaining why he is not suitable to go to the Buddha but the Buddha has to come to him.

After listening to that Brahmin, *Kūṭadanta* has explained him the Buddha’s qualities. The Buddha also is “*Ubhato Sujāto*” “*akkhitto anupakkuṭṭo jātivādena*” both father and mothers generations are ethically clean for seven generations. He gave up all these relations and his claim to the throne of the kingdom and became a monk. It is very important that the Buddha has given up gold on the earth and in the earth. He is young. In his young age he became a monk. He gave up parents’ expectations and he is also very handsome with golden complexion. He is morally good, of kind speech, is a teacher and adviser for many people, foreigners come to get advice from him, has thirty two special body features, when he meets a person, Buddha is the first to speak to him and starts the discussion, various people praise him, honor him. Around him fear disappears. Many people, such as kings *Bimbisara*, *Kosol*, and *Pasenadi*; Brahmins such as *Pokkarasāti*, has become followers.

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<sup>57</sup>“...samano gotamo tividham yaññasampadam soḷasaparikkhāram jānāti ...” *Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series.pp.248--332*

When the Buddha comes to our village, as guest we have to meet him and honor him and so on. He said that “... *no ca kho so bhavaṃ gotomo ettakavaṇṇo, aparimāṇvaṇṇo hi so bhavaṃ gotamo ’ti.*” Meaning the Buddha has uncountable number of universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of a human being.

Hence after praising and enumerating Buddha’ Brahmin *Kūṭadanta* came to see the Buddha. After the friendly discussion with the Buddha, Brahmin *Kūṭadanta* asked from the Buddha about three modes of sacrifices and sixteen kinds of accessories of instruments for great sacrifice.<sup>58</sup> This means that even though the Brahmin was older than Buddha, *Kūṭadanta* knew that the Buddha knows the answer to these two questions. *Kūṭadanta* Brahmin was the most wealthy and learned person in that village.

The Buddha started with an ancient story; there was a king called Mahāvijita, he also was the wealthiest person in the country. While he was thinking about his wealth, he wanted to live more comfortable and a long life. For that he wanted to perform a *Yāga* (great sacrifice). When he thought so, he asked for advice on how to do it properly, from his chief advisor.

Long ago, O Brahman, there was a king by name *Mahāvijita*, mighty with great wealth and large property; with stores of silver and gold; of aids to enjoyment; of good sand corn; with his treasure-houses and his granaries full. Now, when King Wide-Realm was once sitting alone, the following thought occurred to him: ’I have in abundance all the good things a mortal can enjoy. The whole wide circle of the earth is mine by conquest to possess. It

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<sup>58</sup>“...sutaṃ metaṃ bho gotama nsamano gotamo tividhaṃ yaññasampadaṃ soḷasaparikkharaṃ janāti’ti. na kho panāhaṃ janāmi tividhaṃ yaññasampadaṃ soḷasaparikkharaṃ. ...” *Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

would be well if I were to offer a great sacrifice that should ensure me well-being and welfare for many days.<sup>59</sup>

The king had with him all the comforts to live a happy life. When they are living a comfortable life people are without any kind of problems. Then the person starts to think innovatively, and innovative ideas arise. This king thought that if he does this great sacrifice, it will safeguard and extend his wealthy position as well as his happiness and welfare for many more years. Here, the king considered only his own happiness forever. However this king did not make decisions alone, so he informed his chief advisor what he had in mind.

So I would wish, O Brahman, to offer a great sacrifice—let the Venerable One instruct me how—for my happiness and my welfare for many days.<sup>60</sup>

The king's chief advisor understands the king's expectation and he was intelligent enough to guide the king properly. In this context although the king has lots of knowledge, well read, and even intelligent enough to make the decision alone, king asked from his adviser about his idea of this great sacrifice. Then his advisor explained how he can perform the great sacrifice towards his own happiness and well-being forever. Even though the king collected all the wealth as taxes from the people, they were unsafe, they were not happy. They were harassed by robbers, even whole villages as well as towns were affected.

It is shown in the following paragraph from the Sutta.

Thereupon the Brahman who was chaplain said to the King, 'The king's country, Sire, is harassed and harried. There are robbers abroad who pillage the villages and townships, and who make the roads unsafe. Were

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<sup>59</sup>*Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*

the king, so long as that is so, to levy a fresh tax, truly His Majesty would be acting wrongly. But if His Majesty might think, “I’ll soon put a stop to these scoundrels’ game by degradation and banishment, and fines and bonds and death!” their crimes would not be satisfactorily stopped. The remnant left unpunished would still go on harassing the realm. Now there is one method to adopt to put a thorough end to this disorder. Whoever in the King’s realm devote themselves to farming and keeping cattle, to them let His Majesty, the King, give food and seed-corn. Whoever in the King’s realm devotes themselves to trade, to them let His Majesty, the King, give capital. Whoever there be in the King’s realm who devote themselves to government service, to them let His Majesty, the King, give wages and food. Then those men, following each his own business, will no longer harass the realm; the king’s revenue will go up; the country will be quiet and at peace; and the populace, pleased one with another and happy, dancing their children in their arms, will dwell with open doors.<sup>61</sup>

The king was enlightened by his chief advisor with the real situational analysis of the country; villages, suburbs, and urban areas all over the country. After properly analyzing it, he informed the king that people were unsafe, they were not happy. They were harassed by robbers, and that mere punishment of robbers will not eradicate the threat from them. He explained to the king to find what these people’s qualities and qualifications for them to find their own occupations, such as farming, herding cattle, trade, and government service, to satisfy their own expectations. King has to provide them what they needed to make those successful.

The king did according to advice given by his chief advisor, so then the subsequent changes that occurred in the country were explained as following;

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<sup>61</sup>*Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

Then King Wide-Realm, O Brahman, accepted the word of his chaplain, and did as he had said. And those men, following each his business, harassed the realm no more. And the king's revenue went up. And the country became quiet and at peace. And the populace, pleased one with another and happy, dancing their children in their arms, dwelt with open doors.<sup>62</sup>

The king got more revenue from the people. King was happier and the whole country became happy without harassment from robbers and thieves, people could even leave their house doors open, and people were happier. Then, since the problems from robbers were eradicated from the country, the king wanted to perform the great sacrifice again. Again he asked from his chief adviser. The advisor did not make the decision all by himself and informed the king that king has to ask all the stakeholders from all over the country -ministers and officers, respectful householders, Brahmins, *Khattayas* from villages and cities. In other words, he wanted to get information from all the respected leaders from different strata in the society from all the villages and suburbs, and cities – in whom the general public would confide and hence would have information about the real situation prevailing in the country. This gives an equal opportunity for the general public to participate in the decision making process. This is one of the most important and essential characteristics in the management of governance. In addition, it is important to note here that he has used a scientific method of sampling for information gathering for decision making.

The country looked to be functioning well after the problems were solved. People seemed to be happy on the surface. However, the king's wise advisor was not satisfied with this general picture and wanted to scan deeper and find out the real situation of the country. He went about finding the real situation by scientific analysis.

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<sup>62</sup>*Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

Then let His Majesty, the King, send invitations to whomsoever there may be in his realm who are Khattiyas, vassals of his, either in the country or the towns; or who are ministers and officials of his, either in the country or the towns; or, who are householders of substance, either in the country or the towns, saying, “I intend to offer a great sacrifice. Let the Venerable Ones give their sanction to what will be for me happiness and welfare for many days.”<sup>63</sup>

The great sacrifice proposed by the king requires enormous amount of resources. Therefore king or his advisor cannot spend that much of resources at their own will, since it would have a big impact on all the people in the country. Therefore, king has to ask from fellow citizens. Only the king and adviser do not understand the effect of this huge spending from the king’s treasury. Therefore he has to ask from the stakeholders, who are living in village, urban areas, suburbs, mostly affected people -including Businessmen, respectful householders, Brahmins, ministers and officers. These four kinds of people are considered as consisting of four out of the sixteen accessory instruments of the proposed great sacrifice.

On the other hand king had to check whether all citizens of the country are prosperous enough to sustain their current living condition in a stable manner, with the existing resources that they have. These four kinds of citizens get informed from other citizens of their problems or their happiness with the available resources from every part of the country. In this point, king cannot depend on the information only from his advisor, ministers and officers. The king should not depend only on the information furnished by people surrounding him. When the king makes decisions, he should get accurate and complete information before his decisions are made. On this point king should have universal great human qualities of values for decision-making to make the correct decision. A king’s decisions will affected the whole country.

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<sup>63</sup>*Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

After getting confirmation from the four kinds of people the king can do his great sacrifice. “...*Khattiyas*, ministers, Brahmans and householders—made the same reply, ... et His Majesty, the King, celebrate the sacrifice. The time is suitable, O king!”<sup>64</sup>

The all four different people accepted the suitability of the great sacrifice of the king.

According to the *Sutta* king has to fulfill sixteen criteria before his great sacrifice decision has been made. The king fulfills eight accessory instruments. “*rājā mahāvijito aṭṭhahi aṅgehi samannāgato*”<sup>65</sup> In this event the king has fifty percent of criteria for fulfilled for the great sacrifice.

He was well born on both sides, on the mother’s side and on the father’s, of pure descent back through seven generations, and no slur was cast upon him, and no reproach, in respect of birth.

He was handsome, pleasant in appearance, inspiring trust, gifted with great beauty of complexion, fair in color, fine in presence, stately to behold.

He was mighty, with great wealth, and large property, with stores of silver and gold, of aids to enjoyment, of goods and corn, with his treasure-houses and his granaries full.

He was powerful, in command of an army, loyal and disciplined, in four divisions (of elephants, cavalry, chariots, and bowmen), burning up, I think, his enemies by his very glory.

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<sup>64</sup> *Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya* I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

He was a believer, and a generous giver, a lord of gifts, keeping open house, a flowing spring from where Samaṇas and Brahmans, the poor and wayfarers, beggars, and petitioners might draw, a doer of good deeds.

He was learned in all kinds of knowledge.

He knew the meaning of what had been said, and could explain, this saying has such and such a meaning, and that such and such.’

He was intelligent, expert and wise, and able to think out things, present or past or future.<sup>66</sup>

The *Sutta* has established that person’s birth and genes are important in decision-making. The generation to generation, it will develop and help a person to make decision with open centre of state of mind. “Ubhato Sujāta” means not from the cast base one but ethical base one. The ethical bases of generation of the decision makers affect their decisions. The past generations’ features affect the appearance of a person. When a person want to become decision making leader there should be good appearance to every person in that society. The second quality of king was charisma or the attractive appearance of the person. In decision making process, that will be the quality of leader’s outside appearance, not necessarily the size of the body. Other most important characteristic to fulfill is the economic success of a decision maker. Then the decision maker will not go after gathering wealth for self. If not, there may be misuse of the leadership to earn wealth through mismanagement of governance. When the leader faces economic problems it will lead to mismanagement of governance to make all beneficiaries unhappy.

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<sup>66</sup>*Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

Next quality of the king was the ability to control and give command for everyone to accept all commands. With his personality, every citizen of the country will accept the leader's command. Another internal quality is generosity of the leader. The leader will not make decisions to ensure that resources are distributed among everyone in an equal manner if he does not have generous quality and economic prosperity. When king becomes generous, then there will not be any beggars in the country, everyone's economic condition will be sufficient to live happily.

The most important quality of king is his learning in various subjects with knowledge in different kinds of fields. This emphasizes that when a person becomes a leader, he should have every kind of knowledge to make good decisions. Making decisions blindly or by getting advice from advisers without one's own knowledge would create problems with the decisions that the leader makes. When the leader has quality of knowledge it will be easy to make decisions by using one's own knowledge, as well as understanding good counsel.

Seventh one is that what he says has meaning and knows the meaning of what he is saying. When making decisions he should be clear about the meaning of the decision that has been made. The king can explain what he has said and what he has done. Last quality is very important to every decision maker. King has enough intelligence to make decisions but when he is making decisions for the country, he asks from suitable people who have knowledge and an understanding of the gravity of the problem, although the king has enough knowledge to be an expert. He is also an open minded wise person to make decisions and he can forecast the impact of his decisions for future development and analyze past and present situations. His intelligence, wisdom, and expert knowledge guide him to get enough information from various sources before making decisions.

These eight internal and external qualities of the king are taken from sixteen accessories of instruments for great sacrifice. Now twelve accessories were

shown. There are four more other qualities of accessories to be shown. These four qualities come from the king's chief adviser.

In every decision that king makes for the country, to benefit from his adviser, the advisor should have four qualities suitable to give advice to the king. With respect to these four points the king's adviser is not just any person from the society. He should also be more qualified than the king, in order to advice the king. When these four qualities of accessories are not satisfied by the advisor then the decisions made will lead to suffering for the whole country.

He was well born on both sides, on the mother's and on the father's, of pure descent back through seven generations, with no slur cast upon him, and no reproach in respect of birth.

He was a Vedic scholar who knew the mystic verses by heart, master of the Three Vedas, with the indices, the ritual, the word-analysis [the Atharva Veda as fourth, and the legends as fifth], learned in the idiom and the grammar, versed in Lokāyata [nature-lore] and in the marks on the body of a great man.

He was virtuous, established in virtue, gifted with virtue that had grown great.

He was intelligent, expert, and wise; foremost, or at least the second, among those who holdout the ladle.

Thus these four gifts of his, too, became accessories to furnish forth that sacrifice.<sup>67</sup>

Similar to the king's first quality, the chief adviser should also be an ethically born family member of the society. This leads to a person with inherent genes to

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<sup>67</sup>*Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

strengthen the advice the person is giving. The past seven generations have shown agreement with ethical norms of the society.

Next quality is a personal quality of the adviser. The adviser should have vast knowledge of world analysis. The advice given by the chief advisor will even have a global effect. The vast knowledge should be in the more important areas where the advices are given. At that time in the past, four Vadās were prevailing in the society. All their interpretations must be known by the advisor. In the present the language expertise is more important in communication to work in affairs of the world. On the other hand, excellent knowledge in the proper use of language is also very important to give advice to the leader of the country.

The adviser is virtuous enough to work with everyone in the society. The adviser gets more opportunities to break morally accepted fundamentals of the society and he needs enough restraint to overcome those tempting situations. Other enemies or parties will try to spoil the country's smooth functioning by giving immoral bribes to the chief adviser. These bribes may come in various modes. These immoral activities will be overcome by virtuous qualities of the adviser. This is a good instance where the importance of the leader/ decision maker having good grounding in universal great human qualities of values is illustrated.

The most important qualities of the adviser are the intelligence, expertise, and wisdom, when that person comes to public service to become at least the second in that rank of the whole country. It means the adviser should be the most important person to the society with opening up of intelligence through wisdom. Also everyone of the society can accept him as person to be in the rank of advisor of the king, president, prime minister or chief executive officer of the society. The advices given by the chief adviser will lead to make all the people happy.

The most important modes of regret of the great sacrifice are shown by the chief adviser of the king.

Then, prior to the sacrifice, the Brahmin chaplain taught the King the three modes of regret. "It might be that Your Majesty might have some regrets about the intended sacrifice: "I am going to lose a lot of wealth," or during the sacrifice: "I am losing a lot of wealth," or after the sacrifice: "I have lost a lot of wealth." In such cases, Your Majesty should not entertain such regrets.<sup>68</sup>

According to basic principles of management, there are main stages in a management process. The planning stage, implementation and results/feedback, when a person is planning to do something he should consider, what would happen in the future if I do so, the forecasting. This means that before doing, it is important to consider first what will happen after making this decision. After planning, next step will be the implementation stage where resources are actually being utilized. After implementation, in the analysis of results and feedback, people compare the difference between the forecast and the actual results to see if there is a gain or a loss, or in other words if there is an increase or decrease of resources.

In the context of this great sacrifice, there will not be any increase of resources or income or profit generated. So, that king has to consider this seriously with the huge amount of resources involved. This is not an investment, as the king, he is only spending resources collected from public in the form of taxes. This is why the king will think in the planning stage that "I am going to lose a lot of wealth," or during the

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<sup>68</sup>“*siyā kho pana bhoto rañño mahāyaññaṃ yīṭhukāmassa kocideva vippatisāro ‘mahā vata me bhogakkhandho vigacchissatī’ti, so bhoto rañño vippatisāro na karaṇīyo. siyā kho pana bhoto rañneo mahāyaññaṃ yajamānassa kocideva vippatisāro ‘mahā vata me bhogakkhandho vigacchiṭṭi. so bhoto rañño vippatisāro na karaṇīyo siyā siyā kho pana bhoto rañño mahāyaññaṃ yīṭhassa kocideva vippatisāro ‘mahā vata me bhogakkhandho vigato’ti, so bhoto rañño vippatisāro na karaṇīyo’*”ti. *Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

sacrifice, in the implementation stage; "I am losing a lot of wealth," or after the sacrifice in the results/feedback stage; "I have lost a lot of wealth." Kings advisor is admonishing the king not to have such regrets when he is finally performing a great sacrifice.

When the king performs a great sacrifice he cannot discriminate between those who come and consume and participate in it or who get benefited from it. The beneficiaries may be good or bad according to the norms of the society. Therefore the adviser has explained who will be the participants that would accept the great sacrifice. He goes on to describe ten different kinds of people that can be participating in the great sacrifice. These ten include people who are practicing as well as people who are breaking the four basic fundamental of human qualities of values.

The Sutta explains it as following,

...before the sacrifice had begun, in order to prevent any compunction that might afterwards, in ten ways, arise as regards those who had taken part there in, said: 'Now there will come to your sacrifice, Sire, men who destroy the life of living things, and men who do not; men who take what has not been given, and men who do not; men who act evilly in respect of lusts, and men who do not; men who speak lies, and men who do not; men who slander, and men who do not; men who speak rudely, and men who do not; men who speak about vain things, and men who do not; men who covet, and men who do not; men who have ill-will, and men who do not; men whose views are wrong, and men whose views are right. ...<sup>69</sup>

The above ten different kind of people include both good and bad people in the society. When a public decision maker is making decisions on common resources, he has to consider every citizen of the country only as a human being, irrespective of who

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<sup>69</sup>*Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

they are. In other words, he should never discriminate between human beings in this regard. This should be considered as one of the universal great human qualities of values. When a person becomes a common decision maker in a public accepted organization, the decision maker is making decisions for the benefit of everyone in the society. Then the person should not consider specifically who will benefit from the decisions since he is using common resources that belong to all human beings. The greatest people are making decisions for the benefit and happiness of all the people in the globe. There will not be any discrimination of sharing benefits for every person in the globe. Even today some examples can be found in the World Wide Web.

The Sutta has given that when leaders make decisions the beneficiaries of decision should be everyone in the society. The society consists of all those kinds of people. All the people whoever taking part in the great sacrifice, will be accepted as people in good form. And you consider them with your pure internal heart without any judgment. Every decision made by leaders will affect everyone in the society. The leader has to think that every human being will be benefited. This attitude has to be in every decision maker in every society. But the above ten qualities (accepted as good and bad) of the people have been created through personal resources ownership and inequality of resources distributing.

Then the King started to perform the great sacrifice after completely fulfilling all the above criteria. The four kinds of people, whom the king had asked about the great sacrifice, also brought cartloads for the great sacrifice asked the king to accept those as their contribution.<sup>70</sup> In the Sutta it is explained clearly as,

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<sup>70</sup> "... amaccā parisajjā ... brahmaṇasālā ... gahapatineciyikā ... pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ ādāya rājānaṃ mahā vijitaṃ upasaṅkamitvā evamāhaṃsu: "idaṃ deva pahūtaṃ sapateyyaṃ devaññeva uddissa ābhataṃ. taṃ devo patigaṇhātū'ti." Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332

This has shown that how people behave with king's action or leader's action. The people wanted to donate with the king. This has also shown that the imitation of the king or the leader. But in the story king said that he had earned his resources from proper ways according to Dhamma and they can take his resources too and be happy.<sup>(71)</sup> People like to imitate the king and they wanted to get a good word from the king and wanted to get closer to the king.

After the king refused their offerings and offering them his, the four kinds of people decided to offer what they brought as a great sacrifice, and they were performing the sacrifice in the four sides of the king's palace while the king was conducting his great sacrifice in the palace.

This emphasizes that when the king has and practices the universal great human qualities of values, people also imitate that according to the king or the leaders. When the king or leaders practice something, people also do that irrespective of whether it is done with good or bad qualities of values. Generally most of the time, people blindly imitate others, and this is a habit, starting from their birth. This the source of all the present day trends where people follow whatever the popular celebrities do, which is exploited by the industry, politicians, and other interest groups who want to manipulate people's opinions.

According to the *Sutta* after hearing this story *Kūṭadanta* asked from the Buddha whether there are other kinds of sacrifices. The Buddha said "yes there are". This requires no planning, is less difficult, less troublesome, more fruitful, more advantageous than the above great sacrifice.<sup>72</sup> *Kūṭadanta* asked the Buddha what it is Buddha said"

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<sup>71</sup> "... alam bho. mamapi idam pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ dhammikena balinā abhisankhataṃ. tañca vo hotu ito ca bhīyyo haratā'ti." *Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

<sup>72</sup> "atthi pana bho gotama añño yañño imāya tividhāya yaññasampadāya soḷasaparikkhārāya appaṭṭhataro ca mahapphalataro ca mahanisaṃsataro cā'ti." "katamo pana so bho

Give it to the moral ascetic; build dwellings for ascetics coming from all four directions.”<sup>73</sup>

Likewise Buddha said that there are many different kinds of actions less troublesome and less difficult than this. In this it is very important that the Buddha teaches here when someone can accept the basic fundamentals of human values in a society, it is also a great sacrifice without spending huge expenditure which can lead to the achievement of happiness and well being. In the *Sutta* the Buddha explained many kinds of great sacrifices that develop human qualities of values, without spending physical resources.

The Buddha emphasizes that without spending any resource as was used in the great sacrifice; people can achieve same happiness and wellbeing and increase their life span while living happily. On the other hand the Buddha explains that people misuse resources unnecessarily for their happiness and well-being. Even the leader or the king cannot spend resources for any other purposes that do not benefit the masses and cause their happiness. He emphasizes that in using the other way resources will not be used for people’s happiness but with the practice of basic fundamental human qualities of values will automatically increase happiness for all the people in the society. Their well being will also increase as well as their lifespan. The Buddha emphasizes that the more important great sacrifice is taking as precepts, the basic fundamental human qualities of values, which is better than performing this kind of great sacrifice. The reason for this is people seeking happiness only go for things that they can see and perceive, all of which are obviously outside of, or external to them. Before the Buddha these great sacrifices were done by misguiding people with misusing resources. Buddha showed that happiness

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gotama ...” “... *sīlavante pabbajite uddissa dīyanti, ...*” *Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.248--332*

<sup>73</sup> “...*pasannacitto... pānātipātā veramaṇiṃ addinnādānā veramaṇiṃ kamesu micchārā veramaṇiṃ musāvādā veramaṇiṃ surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇiṃ, ...*” Ibid.

can be achieved within oneself by developing the universal great human qualities of values, where ‘human’ includes all human beings in the globe.

The *Kūṭadanta Sutta* elaborates different types of human qualities of values in order to fulfill the universal great human qualities of values. The *Sutta* really emphasizes that the treasury is taxes collected from the people and it really contains resources of the people and they are not kings own property. Even when he wants to use this he has to go through sixteen checks and balances listed in the *Sutta*, involving his advisors and sample representations of the people of the whole country. On the other hand these are sixteen restrictions imposed on the king against the use of public resources for his personal benefit and for his personal agendas. This is really a process of auditing to ensure that king does not spend resources on his own and for his own benefit, even though it is the resources of the treasury that is collected for him. This shows that the leader cannot use resources inappropriately at his will.

The *Sutta* also has explained that people’s misuse of expending resources unnecessarily for happiness, does not lead to real happiness. On the other hand there will not be happiness with resources but happiness is gained without resources. Management of governance leads to every person being happy in the society with the broader perspective of developing the universal great human qualities of values of every person in the society, especially the leaders of a society. The Buddha in the *Sutta* expounds that developing moral qualities of behavior in everyone will lead to happiness and well being of the whole society, while increasing the life span as well.

### **3.3 Governance Practices in Monastic Order in Vinaya Pitaka**

In the *Cīvarakkhandhaka* of *Mahāvaggapāli* of *Vinaya Piṭaka* of *Tipiṭaka*, the Buddha guides his followers that they consume four kinds of resources just to maintain body and mind healthy. These four kinds are clothing, food, place for sleeping,

and medicine for sickness.<sup>74</sup> All these four should only be used as resources just for the maintenance and upkeep of a healthy body and mind. The Buddha explains careful and intelligent use of resources for this purpose. It should be noted here that he did not preach deprivation of the body of the resources.

In this study, in order to illustrate the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance, out of the four consumable resources permitted for the *saṅgha* by the Buddha, only the clothing or *cīvara* is taken for deeper analysis.

According to the teaching of the Buddha, as seen in the following analysis of the management of governance regarding the use of *cīvara* by the *saṅgha*, is a problem solving process with management of governance, in utilizing common resources while guaranteeing happiness for all the users, completely avoiding conflicts and conflict of interests, maximizing the resource utilization, and minimizing the damage to environment. The process of management of governance from the time the *cīvara* is donated to the *saṅgha* to the disposal of the *cīvara*, with zero damage to the environment will be discussed in depth.

### 3.3.1 Management of Governance Practice in Type of Clothing

In initial stages, the Buddha permitted monks to use robes made of cloth from cemeteries (*pāṃsukūla cīvara*<sup>75</sup>). Later, the Buddha accepted his physician Jeevaka's request, to donate the Buddha, a valuable cloth gifted to Jeevaka by king of Kasī State in gratitude for medical treatment. From that day the Buddha permitted another robe offered by householders (*gahapati cīvaram*).<sup>76</sup> In this time the Buddha permitted robes made out of six varieties of clothing; plant fibers, cotton, silk, animal hair

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<sup>74</sup> “*Cīvara piṇḍpāta senāsa gilānapatyya*,” *Mahāwaggapāli II Vinaya Piṭaka III*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka* Series, pp.672--754

<sup>75</sup> *Cīvarakkhandhaka*, *Mahāwaggapāli II Vinaya Piṭaka III*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka* Series, pp.672--754

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

(e.g. wool, but not human), hemp, and a mixture of some or all of them.<sup>77</sup> The six varieties of clothing permitted by the Buddha, because their differences in value (some not valuable and some valuable) to cover all types of donors to be received by the monks.<sup>78</sup> In this situation the Buddha expounds that there will be people of different wealth who will be offering different types of clothing.

Here the Buddha practices management of governance with the *saṅgha* by solving problems then and there as they arise and preventing potential problems in the future.

### 3.3.2 Appointment of a Robes Acceptor (*cīvarapatiggāhakaṃ*)

When the Buddha permitted the six kinds of householders' robes, then there were many robes for monks offered by people by coming to the monastery. Sometimes there were no monks to accept robes; then people went back with robes. The Buddha heard that there were no monks to accept the robes, and then Buddha permitted to appoint a monk to accept robes. The monk was named as robes acceptor (*cīvarapatiggāhakaṃ*).<sup>79</sup>

There is an important point to consider here; the Buddha did not just appoint any person for that job but he has approved and established certain qualifications and skills for this 'robes acceptor.' This appointment was for a special situation to accept robes; not for his benefit but for all the monks' benefit. The Buddha here considers the fact that robes were accepted not for acceptor's benefit but for usage of all the monks. Then the Buddha admires the first person volunteered to accept robes for others, when people came to offer. The qualification set by the Buddha was that monk should not be in extremes of desire, anger, ignorance, and fear, with the ability to keep account of what is

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<sup>77</sup> “*anujānāmi, cha cīvarāni: khomaṃ kappāsikaṃ koseyyaṃ kambalaṃ saṇaṃ bhaṅga’ nti.*” *Cīvarakkhandhaka, Mahāwaggapāli II Vinaya Piṭaka III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.672--754*

<sup>78</sup>“*tena kho pana samayena saṅghassa uccavacāni cīvarāni uppajjanti. ...*” Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

accepted and what is not accepted.<sup>80</sup> The qualifications of common action for common benefit are to make judgment without discrimination with these unacceptable extremes of desire anger ignorance and fear. These qualifications, not being in the extremes of desire, anger, ignorance and fear, and the skill of being able to account for all the robes (book keeping and accounting ability), were established so that the acceptor can make decisions in a just and equitable manner. The decision makers of common resources and common benefits should have basic qualifications as a human being as mentioned above. These factors affect the transparency of his decision. In *Cīvarakkhandha* of *Mahāvaggapāli* and *Sigāla Sutta* both have elaborated these four extremes. These have name as Qualification for decision making for the benefit and happiness of others. The qualifications can be considered as universal basic fundamental for making others happy.

### 3.3.3 Appointment of a Robes Keeper (*cīvaranidhānaṃ*)

Once the robes acceptor was appointed, there were more robes accepted and those robes were kept everywhere. The Buddha heard this then he permitted to appoint a robes keeper (*cīvaraniddānaṃ*)<sup>81</sup> to keep robes safely. Here too, the Buddha establishes four qualifications for the robes keeper, same as the robes acceptor (not being in the extremes with desire, anger, ignorance, and fear) with the additional skills for robes keeping, and the ability to account for what is kept and what is not kept.

### 3.3.4 Establishment of a Warehouse (*bhaṇḍāgāraṃ*) to Stock Robes

Then the robes keeper kept robes in different places then those were destroyed by rats and termites. This prevented them from wearing those robes, which were donated by the people for their consumption. Then the Buddha heard this and

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<sup>80</sup>“...yo na chandāgatim gaccheyya, na dosagatim gaccheyya, na mohāgatim gaccheyya, na bhayāgatim gaccheyya gahitāgahitañca jāneyya.” *Cīvarakkhandhaka, Mahāvaggapāli II Vinaya Piṭaka III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.672--754*

<sup>81</sup>*Cīvarakkhandha, Mahāvaggapāli part II Vinaya Piṭaka III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.672--754*

permitted the establishment of a warehouse<sup>82</sup> to store excess of received robes and safeguard them from animals such as rats and termites.

### 3.3.5 Appointment of a Store Keeper (*bhaṇḍāgāraḥ*)

When the warehouse was there but sometimes the robes were not safeguarded. The Buddha heard this and permitted to appoint a store keeper<sup>83</sup> with four qualifications plus skills to account for the safety of robes and to know if the robes are safe or unsafe. The main basic qualifications of any person to become a worker for others include not being in extremes with desire, anger, ignorance, and fear. Not only the main qualifications, but the person should have additional special skills relevant to the work to perform the job he is recruited for.

### 3.3.6 Appointment of a Distributor (*cīvarabhājakā*)

Then there were problems of distribution of robes among the monks by themselves. The Buddha heard of that distribution problem and then permitted to appoint a ‘robes distributor’<sup>84</sup> who should have four common qualifications of a public worker mentioned for the previous positions above, and special skills for this job, for he should account for and have a knowledge of distributed and undistributed robes; in addition to knowing the monks who have received/ not received the new robes.

Here the Buddha establishes the qualifications that a public worker should have. He sets up four basic qualifications that every public worker should have in order to perform a just and reasonable job for all the beneficiaries. These are, being free from the four extreme behaviors of desire, anger, ignorance, and fear which would get in the way of making unbiased correct decisions on the job. In addition to the above general

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<sup>82</sup> “*anujānāmi bhikkhave bhaṇḍāgāraṃ sammannitum, ...*” *Cīvarakkhandha, Mahāwaggapāli II Vinaya Piṭaka III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.672--754*

<sup>83</sup> “*anujānāmi bhikkhave, pañcahaṅgehi samannāgataṃ bhikkhuṃ bhaṇḍāgāraikaṃ.*” Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> “*anujānāmi bhikkhave, pañcahaṅgehi samannāgataṃ bhikkhuṃ cīvarabhājakaṃ*” Ibid.

qualities, the person should possess specific skill(s) to be competent to administer to the public, the services required of the particular job.

### **3.3.7 System of Raffle Draw for Equal Opportunity Distribution of Robes**

The robes were in different values, color, appearance, and there were six kinds of robes to distribute (3.3.1above). In addition there was the problem of giving priority to elders as opposed to distributing them on a first come first serve basis. The robes distributor faced problems of distributing the correct number of robes (which were of differing value) to the correct monk, who were of different ages, coming for the robes at different times. He also had to have knowledge of distributed and undistributed robes and know the monks who have received/ not received the new robes. In order to overcome this complex matrix problem, the Buddha permitted to introduce a lottery system with a raffle draw,<sup>85</sup> to decide who is getting what robe in a random manner.

Then every monk will get an equal opportunity to get robes according to the tag attached to each robe without any kind of discrimination depending on age, time of arrival, quality of the robe, etc. This has shown that the resources can be shared with an equal opportunity to everyone without any discrimination, irrespective of any differences. This is the method to get everyone a mutual opportunity agreed by consensus to get their own robes according to the raffle system given.

The clothes are meant, according to the Buddha, only for safeguarding the body from cold, insects in addition to cover the naked body in a culturally accepted manner for everyone. Therefore monks should not worry about such things as color and appearance of the robe, as long as the above mentioned requirements are met. Here the Buddha emphasizes the importance of knowing -and also using – resources for the real purpose of what they are meant for. This is a very basic and important principle in

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<sup>85</sup>*Cīvarakkhandhaka, Mahāwaggapāli II Vinaya Piṭaka III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.672--754*

management of governance, since management of governance is utilization of resources (gained from the environment, not brought to the world by anyone when they are born,) to fulfill the needs of all the members of the society without discrimination, for their maximum benefit.

### **3.3.8 Prevention of Resource Gathering; Limiting the Robes just to satisfy the Need**

When the Buddha was travelling from *Rājagaha* to *Vesālī*, on the long road from *Rājagaha* to *Visāla*, he could see monks carrying bundle of robes. Some monks were carrying them on heads, some on their shoulders, some carrying on their hips. The Buddha has seen that the monks had become robes collectors, and how foolish they looked carrying those bundles of robes. These monks behaved as if their purpose of joining the order was to collect robes. It occurred to the Buddha that a limit should be set on the number of robes a monk can keep for his own use.<sup>86</sup>

That same night, while resting, the Buddha was getting colder with light frost. Then the monks had put one robe to protect him from heavy cold, which was found to be not enough, then two, three and four robes. Then the Buddha could bear the cold with those four robes. The Buddha explained that three robes for a monk are sufficient to live a simple life. The Buddha permitted only three robes<sup>87</sup> for every monk. This permission to keep only three robes for the monastic order is to limit resource usage for clothing by monks. Otherwise monks will become robes collectors; this stops misuse of resources as human being.

It is very important to note that the Buddha has put this limit on resources usage only after personally experiencing the limiting conditions that required the maximum amounts of resources required to fulfill the need. He made his decisions on the

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<sup>86</sup>“...cīvare sīmaṃ bandeyyaṃ” *Cīvarakkhandhaka, Mahāwaggapāli II Vinaya Piṭaka III, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.672--754*

<sup>87</sup>“...ticīvaraṃ anujāneyya’nti” *Ibid*

field. This shows that the leaders should possess firsthand knowledge, skills and experience in many fields to be a decision maker with the universal great human qualities of values.

### 3.3.9 Maximum Usage of Robes (Resources)

The Buddha after seeing a monk sewing his torn robe by putting a patch to the robes, permitted to repair a torn robe by putting a patch to the robes. To maximize the use of robes, the Buddha permitted to limit three robes as well as putting patches to robes to maximize the use of resources obtained through people's offerings. Not only limit the number of robes for the monk but also if robes are damaged then the Buddha permitted to sew the damaged robes. Also two damaged robes were permitted to be mended together<sup>88</sup> to make one robe in order to maximize usage of robes offered by the people.

The Buddha permitted to use robes to protect the body, and once they cannot be worn he permitted to use them to protect other robes. The robes first can be used to protect the body from the environment: from cold and insects. The main use of cloth is that. After using to safeguard the body when the robes cannot be used to protect the body, they can be used to safeguard new robes from various kinds of dust and other damages, to extend the life of new robes. When they are further degraded, they were permitted to be used as curtains to cover their dwellings for protection from wind and insects. Furthermore, when they are deteriorated even more they were permitted to be used as bed sheets or mats to be used for a comfortable sleep when sleeping on the floor.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>“...aggalaṃ acchupesī'ti” *Cīvarakkhandha, Mahāwaggapāli II Vinaya Piṭaka III*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka Series*, pp.672--754

<sup>89</sup>“...anujānāmi Bhikkhave, kāyaguttiyā cīvaraguttiyā senāsanaguttiyā nisīdana'nti” *Cīvarakkhandhaka, Mahāwaggapāli II Vinaya Piṭaka III*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka Series*, pp.672--754

The Buddha permitted other uses to maximize the usage of robes, not only for the main purpose as clothing, but also to cover the sleeping place or bed for a comfortable sleep. Until the robes are more worn out, they can be used for comfortable sleep. When it is torn even more, it can be used for making carpets to keep the feet or wipe the feet clean.<sup>90</sup> The Buddha permitted to cut the robes into small pieces to use for different purpose into one and half feet long and six to eight inch wide pieces.<sup>91</sup> This makes it possible to use even the smallest part of robe, after cutting it into usable size, as serviettes or handkerchiefs.

### 3.3.10 Management of Governance of Resources

When it cannot be used as carpets it can be used to protect the monastic dwelling places. At the end, when it cannot be used for any other thing, it can be put into the walls of the monastery, mixed with the plastering material for maximum utilization of cloth, while completely preventing the possibility of polluting the environment (zero pollution). The Buddha has expounded that the resources cannot be wasted, misused or underutilized. The Buddha has given guidance to management of governance of resources for the maximum utilization of each resource which have been temporarily borrowed from the environment. When people take resources from the environment they should ensure the maximum utilization of resources with management of governance. The management of governance of resources means: resources cannot be underutilized, should be utilized to the maximum, resources cannot be stocked unnecessarily, they cannot be put back into environment as pollutants, therefore it can be mixed with environment again without polluting the environment, the resources should only be used for the purpose of use and cannot be used in excess.

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<sup>90</sup>“*paccattharaṇaṃ kātu'nti.*” Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>“*...anujānāmi bhikkhave āyāmena aṭṭhaṅgulaṃ sugataṅgulaena caturaṅgulalavithaṃ paccima cīvaram vikappetu'nti.*” Ibid.

However, to maximize the usage for the benefit of the many, he has permitted innovatively finding new uses for used and underused resources. The Buddha has shown that no one can under utilize resources and after using, none can damage the environment and the resources, since resources are not brought by anyone when they are born. Furthermore it should be emphasized that no one takes any resource with them when they depart from this world. This is why we need management of governance of decision making on resources. No one has the right for the ownership of resources. This will lead to real happiness of the people. Then the society will also be a happy society.

The people offer all kind of robes for use. These robes should be utilized to the maximum for the benefit of each and every monk in monastic order.

Sources	Usage	Management	Management of Governance	General Qualities	Special Qualities
First Only paṃsakūla cīvara	No excess	Some monks does not got enough cīvara for use	Maximum utilization (no action required)	N/A	N/A
Then gahapati cīvara the Buddha permitted the offering robes from people in addition to	Immediate after permitted no excess	Fulfill all the requirements of robes for all monk	Maximum utilization	N/A	N/A
	People offer more excess	No person to accept; donors taking back robes	Underutilized –	N/A	N/A
		Robes acceptor	Underutilized – eaten by rats	-Without extremes of desire, anger,	Has to know what is accepted and

paṃsakū la cīvara		and termites	ignorance, and fear	what is not accepted
	Establishment of a warehouse to stock robes safely	To protect and safeguard the robe	N/A	N/A
	Robes Keeper	Maximum utilize	Without extremes of desire, anger, ignorance, and fear	must know what is kept what is not kept
	Stock keeper	Maximum utilize	Without extremes of desire, anger, ignorance, and fear	to know the safe and unsafe of robes
	Distributor	Maximum utilization	Without extremes of desire, anger, ignorance, and fear	knowledge of distributed and undistributed robes
	Limitation of the number of robes allowed per person to three	Maximum utilization	N/A	N/A

**Table 3.1.** Development of *cīvara* (robes) management of governance for maximum benefit of the *Saṅgha* community

### **3.3.11 Problems Created in the Society with Mismanagement of Governance of Resources**

In consumer societies at present resources are underutilized due to problems with the variety of designs of different types. The producers and the marketing community wants to maximize their profits by selling more and more of their products, while the consumers are concerned only with satisfying their unlimited desires with wants and not necessarily the needs. Both parties are not concerned at all about the damage to the environment from which all the resources are borrowed and which is sustaining both parties without any discrimination. Therefore there will be more wastage and damage to the environment with heavy pollution. This destruction of the environment with mismanagement of governance in utilization of resources will block the continual and sustainable usage of the resources from the environment while concurrently adding to the burden of repairing and saving the environment -which will require the use of more and more resources, leading to poverty and all the other related problems.

One instance where this pollution directly affects the society is the deterioration of health of the members of the society even leading the loss of their lives. This will lead to reduction of productivity of labor force through several ways. When a working person falls ill there is the direct loss of his contribution. All his close relatives who are having a stake in his well being are indirectly affected since their resources (including time and money) are required to get the person well again according to the Sri Lankan culture.

This is not maximum utilization of resources; hence there is no management of governance. With underutilized resources and misuse of resources, problems are created in the society due to imbalance of resource sharing. This automatically creates lots of problems to everyone in the society. The main problem of this underutilization of resources is the creation of poverty in every society. Poverty creates all other problems in every society.

In Sri Lanka the poverty is created with underutilized, misused and abused resources, for everyone in the society. The management of governance of clothing in the teaching of the Buddha can be extended to the utilization of three other types of resource mentioned above; food, dwellings, and medicine. The garbage or waste problems created through underutilized resources, mainly since people underutilize resources, and discard them to the environment, creating mountains of garbage, endangering people's lives. They can utilize the resources more until it is mixed with the environment again, as the Buddha expounds in the *cīvarakkhandhaka* of the *Mahāvaggapāli*, above. Recycling of garbage can be practiced by people themselves, starting at individual level.

When people underutilize resources and put half used resources back into the environment, it creates lot of problems to every society. Therefore if they can practice as a Buddhist society, what the Buddha taught, in their day-to-day lives and use resources wisely to the maximum, and discard them without harming the environment, the garbage and waste management problems will be nonexistent in Sri Lanka.

### **3.4 *Kula Sutta* and Management of Governance for Sustainability of Happiness**

Teaching of the Buddha in the *Kula Sutta* of *Anguttara Nikāya* directly discuss about the sustainability of happiness of family. However the *Kula Sutta* can be elaborated to enlighten more about the society and country as a whole or even global village. Especially management of governance for the happiness of all the people of the country or the globe can also be taken into account as scope of the explanation given by the Buddha. The Buddha taught in this *Sutta* about maintaining and cultivate happiness of family maintaining with sustainable manner. Most importantly the Buddha elaborates some desirable qualities and morality that the family leadership has to fulfill. As discussed in this Chapter above leadership is the most affected by every group or family as a group or country or globe as the followers are imitating the leader as taught by the Buddha.

### 3.4.1 Loss the Great Wealth of Happiness According to *Kula Sutta*

First section of the *Sutta* mentions inability to maintain the sustain and development as great wealth which is taken in this study as maintaining and cultivating happiness of the family, society, country, globe or global village. The decision makers are not considering, things that are depreciated, repair things that have gotten old, immoderate in consuming food and drink, most importantly in leadership, woman or man does not possess desirable qualities and morality. When these four characteristic are lost in a family, society, country, or the globe, that has led to loss of the great wealth of social happiness which cannot be sustained and cultivate immediately. Thus has remained the suffering in the whole society.

In every case where a family cannot hold onto its great wealth for long, it is for one or another of these four reasons. Which four? They don't look for things that are depreciated. They don't repair things that have gotten old. They are immoderate in consuming food and drink. They place a woman or man of no virtue or principles in the position of authority. In every case where a family cannot hold onto its great wealth for long, it is for one or another of these four reasons.<sup>92</sup>

### 3.4.2 *Kula Sutta* and Innovative and Creative Moral Leadership

Teaching of the Buddha enlightens people that by strengthening the family unit in society with innovation and creativity as rational person will be for the sustainability and cultivation of happiness for all the people of the global village. This *Sutta* has guidance for management of governance of a family unit for the happiness of all the members of the family. The *Sutta* is giving example of a family unit but this

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<sup>92</sup> *Yāni kāni ci bhikkhave kulāni bhogesu mahantataṃ. Pattāni na ciraṭṭhitikāni bhavanti, sabbāni tāni catūhi ṭhānehi, etesaṃ vā aññatarena. Katamehi catūhi? Naṭṭhaṃ na gavesanti, jiṇṇaṃ na paṭisaṅkharonti, aparimitapānabhojanā honti, dussīlaṃ itthiṃ vā purisaṃ vā ādhipacce ṭhapenti. Kula Sutta, Abhiññāvagga, Aṅguttara Nikāya II, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanthi Tipiṭaka Series. pp.478-479*

concept can be extended for a society, a country, a region, and a global village as a whole.

Second part the Sutta explained requirement of maintaining and cultivating the great wealth of happiness of all the people in the society, irrespective of the size of the organization. The things which are depreciated should be deeply look into, as well as things that are old. This can be considered as system, method and goods. These have promoted the innovation and creation in every organization for novelty products and services or new system for the happiness of all the people. As mentioned in the *Aggañña Sutta* for regaining happiness there should be new methods and systems with innovation and creativity. Because the most important to continues of the organization as well as its functions of the organizations are depended on the existing thing which are depreciated or finished and old things to renew or rebuild that are outdated or expired. And food and drink should be taken in moderation for the health and happiness. When a person is overloaded with food and drink she/he will become unhealthy and unfit as human decision making ability goes down. When moderate in food and drink that -will provide a healthy happier person to make proper decisions.

The most influential factors mentioned are morality and virtue of the leadership of the family or society of country or region or the globe. This section of the *Sutta* is of utmost importance for the happiness of all the people that decisions affected to people of the country or family or region or globe. According to the Sutta leadership has to have ability to make decisions to innovate and creative system for the benefit and happiness of all the people of the society. The leadership is become the change agent of the society. These qualities should be with the leadership to solve the accumulated problems in any society. The *Sutta* explains that the ability of the leadership with human qualities for making decisions for the happiness of all the people affected by leader's decisions. The second part of the Sutta explains for happiness the link with leader's

morality and human qualities in making decisions for social happiness. The second part of the Sutta shown as follows,

In every case where a family can hold onto its great wealth for long, it is for one or another of these four reasons. Which four? They look for things that are depreciate/lost. They repair things that have gotten old. They are moderate in consuming food and drink. They place a virtuous, principled woman or man in the position of authority. In every case where a family can hold onto its great wealth for long, it is for one or another of these four reasons.<sup>93</sup>

### 3.5 Teaching of the Buddha on Happiness

The Buddha's main and basic theme of teaching is how to overcome suffering and keep happiness forever. What is supreme happiness? The *Nibbāna* is the supreme happiness (*nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ*).<sup>94</sup> Pali word 'Sukha' is defined in the Encyclopedia of Buddhism as 'happiness'.<sup>95</sup> There are ninety five different types of happiness included in the Tipiṭaka.<sup>96</sup> There are two types of happiness, both physical and mental mentioned in the *Palicanon* ("*sukhanti dve sukhani, kāyikaṅca sukhaṃ, cetasikaṅca sukhaṃ*").<sup>97</sup> '*Nibbāna*' appears to be recognizably a state of happiness, indeed one which could be the proper goal for a man."<sup>98</sup> *Nibbāna* should actually be the goal of every human being.

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<sup>93</sup>*Yāni kānīci bhikkhave kulāni bhogesu mahantataṃ pattāni ci raṭṭhitikāni bhavanti sabbāni tāni catūhi thānehi, etesaṃ vā aññatarena. Katamehi catūhi? Naṭṭhaṃ gavesanti, jiṇṇaṃ paṭisaṅkharonti, parimitapānabhojanā honti, sīlavantaṃ itthiṃ vā purisaṃ vā ādhipacce thapenti. Kula Sutta, Abhiññāvagga, Anguttara Nikāya II, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanthi Tipiṭaka Series. pp.478-479*

<sup>94</sup>Verse 203/204, *Sukhavagga, Dhammapada, Khuddaka Nikāya*

<sup>95</sup>Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Vol. -V, Ed; Malalasekara, G P.,(1992) p.408.

<sup>96</sup>Iromi Ariyaratne (2014), A comparative study on Happiness in Early Buddhism and its relationship with ethics, PhD Thisis. p.37

<sup>97</sup>*Mahāvagga Khuddaka Nikāya*

<sup>98</sup>Rejinton Rajapaksa (1985), Happiness and the Self, - A philosophical investigation of the ethical hedonism and theory of the self implicit in the Pali Nikāyas published by Sri Lanka National Library Services Board.p.93

In most of the contemporary Buddhist countries people expect to attain the so called “Nibbāna” in a future birth, sometimes even with a future Buddha, which is completely in contrast to what the Buddha taught, who advocated attaining supreme happiness in this very life. In fact, it should be stressed here again that the Buddha is the first person to declare in the history of mankind that the happiness is something to be found inside the person himself, in this very life, and not something outside, or something that one has to expect or beg from a supreme God or other gods. Since everyone strives to be happy in this life, supreme happiness, which is “Nibbāna” should automatically become the goal of every human being. This means, that it should be the birthright of every human being, at least in the countries that profess to be Buddhist. Here in Sri Lanka, when a person dies, people wish that he/she “may attain Nibbāna”. This has led to the association of “Nibbāna” in people’s minds with death. Therefore if a person greets another with the wish “may you attain Nibbāna” he/she would take it as if the person is wishing death upon him/her. For the above reasons the supreme happiness, taught by the Buddha has become a distant reality for people in these countries. People in Sri Lanka are reluctant even to talk about Nibbāna, let alone conduct research about it. It has gotten so far from people of Sri Lanka so that if a person claims that he had attained *Nibbāna*, they would think that he is a fool who has gone out of his mind.

The Buddha, in his first sermon to the first five disciples (*pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū*), the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*, has explained that, what people mostly desire in sensual happiness (*kāmasukhallikhānuyogo*) is not real happiness. On the other hand nor is self-torture or self mortification (*attakilamathānuyoygo*), the path to attaining the goal of real happiness (“*dve me Bhikkhave, antā ... kāmasukhallikhānuyogo ... attakilamathānuyoygo ... anariyo anatthasamhito. ...*”).<sup>99</sup> These two extremes are not for achieving the real goal of supreme happiness. Then the Buddha explained in the Sutta

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<sup>99</sup>*Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, Sacca Saṃyuktaya, Saṃyukta Nikāya V-1. Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.270—275*

that suffering is an ‘Aryan truth’ (*dukkham ariyasaccam*”),<sup>100</sup> which means that this can be seen only through wisdom and only by the person himself.

When a person interacts with environment after he/she is born, it is very important to note that there are internal as well as external changes taking place. These internal body changes are taking place every moment along with the outside appearance. One can see clearly that when a person starts to use environment (meaning everything other than the person) with attachment and not just utilize it. According to *Aggañña Sutta* discussed earlier it was described that when they are born, people do not have any attachment to anyone. But when they are attached to environment as discussed above, people change their appearance as well as their life span. When the person is attached to the environment, the suffering is started. However if a person just utilizes environment to maintain the life in the society to live happily, without making any attachment with the environment he is sure to enter through the door to supreme happiness.

In the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*, it is clearly explained how the Buddha achieved the supreme happiness; “Colleagues, I have achieved the greatest achievement of self achievements; the Buddha hood I have realized for certain. I have realized this through wisdom. I do not keep any relationship with environment through thought. I gave up and stopped thought completely such that never again will it come to use. Hereafter I will never be born of thought again in future”.<sup>101</sup> Thoughts have given rise to every relationship of the person’s internal five senses with the external environment. When the thought stops through wisdom then there will not be any suffering throughout the life of a person. The *Sutta* makes it clear that attachment comes

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<sup>100</sup>*Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, Dhammacakkappavattanavaggo, Sacca Saṃyuktaya, Saṃyukta Nikāya. V-1. Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.270--275*

<sup>101</sup>“*athāhaṃ bhikkhave, ...annuttaram sammasambodhiṃ abhisambuddho paccaññāsiṃ. ñāṇaṇca pana me dassanaṃ udapādi, akuppā me ceto vimukti ayamantimā jāti nathidāni punubbhavoti.*” *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta Sacca Saṃyuktaya, Saṃyukta Nikāya. V-1. Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.270--275*

through thought, and that this can be realized by only who can do it the way the Buddha did it. The most important expression is ‘this only can be realized through wisdom’ (“*ñāṇaṅca pana me dassanaṃ*”). The Buddha has removed both extremes mentioned above through opening of his wisdom. Then only the Buddha said that the happiness can only come through a person him/herself. When a person has thoughts, the thoughts make every attachment with environment through senses. Supreme happiness is the ultimate goal of any human being on the earth, which a person can experience while living.

All the thoughts are made using the eye, ear, nose, tongue, skin and also mind. These faculties change throughout one’s life time. When these changes are taking place, happiness will not be there. In the history, for the first time the Buddha enlightens people with the admonition; “your happiness can be found by yourselves within yourselves” (“*attāhi attano nāto...*”<sup>102</sup>). In the contemporary society, and before the Buddha, all teachers holding different views, tried to explain happiness as something achieved when joined and attached with an unknown God or a Brahma. In the present too, every person could achieve happiness through his/herself opening of the wisdom.

The theistic view, according to the *Nikāyas*, is that happiness cannot be achieved in this world; a person becomes happy only when his soul is freed from his body and this can be done by pleasing God.<sup>103</sup> The Buddha told someone who was talking about god, “the teachers, who claim that there is a God, do not have knowledge of him. No one in the Vedic generation claims that he saw God face to face, or saw in which direction or in which place he lives”.<sup>104</sup> “The Buddha’s view, which we could derive from his criticism of asceticism, is that such an

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<sup>102</sup> Verse 160, *Attavaggo, Dhammapada, Kuddaka Nikāya*

<sup>103</sup> Rejinton Rajapaksa (1985), *Happiness and the Self*, - A philosophical investigation of the ethical hedonism and theory of the self implicit in the Pāli Nikāyas published by Sri Lanka National Library Services Board. p.52

<sup>104</sup> *Tevijja Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya I*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka* Series, pp.594--642

ascetic life does not lead one to true well being or happiness”.<sup>105</sup> “He (the Buddha) asserts, of even that restricted form of the ascetic way of life which advocates the giving up of sensuous pleasures, that if it is right, then the blind and deaf should be happier than a person having sight and hearing”.<sup>106</sup> The Buddha divides people into four types and chooses one as the best:<sup>107</sup>

1. He who is bent neither on his own happiness nor on the happiness of others.
2. He who is bent on the happiness of others but not his own.
3. He who is bent on his own happiness but not on that of others.
4. He who is bent on the happiness of himself as well as others.

The best of the four types is the person is the fourth type according to the Buddha. These are the type of qualities that should be expected in a decision making leader of any organization, who is a great human being with universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human of values of a great human being should consist of these kinds of values. *Santutthi Sutta* in the *Uruvela vagga* of the *Catukkanipata* in the *Anguttara Nikāya* explains how the monk is happy with less robes, food, dwelling and medicine.<sup>108</sup>

The Buddha further explains how to make his disciple/ followers happy while fulfilling his basic needs. Here the Buddha is explaining how his disciples and

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<sup>105</sup>Rejinton Rajapaksa (1985), Happiness and the Self, - A philosophical investigation of the ethical hedonism and theory of the self implicit in the Pāli Nikāyas published by Sri Lanka National Library Services Board.p.66

<sup>106</sup>Ibid

<sup>107</sup>*kippanisanti Sutta, Asuravaggo, Catukkanipata, Anguttara Nikāya II., Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.184--186*

<sup>108</sup>“*yatho kho bhikkhave bhikkhu appena ca santuttho hoti sulabhena ca.*” “*...pansukūlaṃ bhikkhave cīvarānaṃ appaṅca sulabhaṅca, ...piṇḍiyalopo bhikkhave bhojanānaṃ ...rukhamulaṃ bhikkhave senāsanānaṃ ..., pūtimuttaṃ bhikkhave bhesajjānaṃ ...*” *Santutthi Sutta, uruvelavaggo, catukkanipito, Anguttara Nikāya II, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.184--186*

followers can be happy while utilizing only the minimum sufficient amounts of external resources taken from the environment.

In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, “How O King, are the monks made happy with the received resources from the people?”<sup>109</sup>

Monks wear robes only to maintain and safeguard body, food just to maintain the body, how a monk is satisfied with food and cloth.<sup>110</sup> In the only monk can happy. The Buddha explains that is how the monk is happy with simple life for maintaining the body by utilizing what is given by people. The disciple of the Buddha always lives happily without attachment to the food, clothing or dwelling. The Buddha encourages the simple life to maintain a healthy life while living close to the environment.

In the following paragraph the discussion between the Buddha and his son Rāhula, shows how the Buddha explained the happiness of the action of a person.

The Buddha’s conception of duty is clearly and succinctly expressed in his admonition to his own son. Rāhula:

But if you, Rāhula, while reflecting thus should find, that deed which I am desirous of doing with the body is a deed of my body that would conduce neither to the harm of myself nor to the harm of others nor to the harm of both; this deed of my body is skilled, its yield is happy, its result is happy.”- a deed of body like this, Rāhula, may be done by you:<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> “*kathañca mahārāja bhikku santuṭṭo hoti ?*” *Sāmaññaphala Sutta Dīgha Nikāya I, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series*, pp.82--148

<sup>110</sup> “*idha mahārāja bhikku santuṭṭo hoti kāyaparihāriyena cīvarena kucciparihāriyena piṇḍapātena.*” Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> David J Kalupahana (1987). *The Principles of Buddhist Psychology*, Published by State University of New York. pp.99-100.

As a person what kind of deed that you should do for the happiness of everyone in the society. All the people in the society should develop their skills for the happiness of all the people in that society. Then every person in every society should mutually work for every one's happiness. The teaching of the Buddha says that no person in the society lives alone. Therefore every person has to behave skillfully with each other being cautious not to harm self or others. Then the whole society will be happy. Therefore, happiness has to emerge from every person him/herself in every society. This clearly shows that Buddha's teaching of governance leads to everyone's happiness and for that they should have the qualities of values. In this study this was elucidated from the teaching of the Buddha as the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being to be accepted by all the people in the society. In this context every human has to have the above qualities of values to make everyone mutually happy.

According to the teaching of the Buddha, every person should have skills to make people happy. When one becomes a decision maker who uses resources of all human beings for the benefit of all human beings then this leader has to be skilled in the "universal great human qualities of values" to make everyone happy with his/her decisions.

Buddhist governance has individual or personnel self-management as guidance for each and every decision a person makes. Governance of self-management is very important in every relationship where a decision is made as a personal responsibility towards the society for every individual in any society in the globe. It is also a guide to realization of personal interconnection with the resources, and once that realization is achieved, how it affects happiness of the individual. Importantly how personal realization of resources utilization –as opposed to personal ownership of resources -will lead to personal self actualization as human beings with responsibility towards the society. Happiness depends on his/her responsibility to the society in utilizing resources, without getting attached to resources through ownership.

## **Chapter IV**

### **Management of Governance for Social Happiness with Reference to the Teaching of the Buddha in the Pali Canon**

Teachings of the Buddha on management of governance and its practice will be discussed in this chapter for the social happiness of the people of the society. Special attention will be paid in this study to the Cases of two insurrections and the 30 year war in Sri Lanka which had negatively affected the social harmony and social happiness within and after these disturbances. The facts and incidents on the cases have been taken from available sources for the analysis of management of governance for the social happiness and social harmony according to teaching of the Buddha. As discussed in Chapter III, teaching of the Buddha on management of governance will be used to analyze facts and incidents of the cases with the focus on leaders' decision making human qualities and human qualifications for the management of governance for the social happiness, peace and harmony.

Concept of the leader, according to the teaching of the Buddha as elucidated in Chapter III, is the one who facilitates social happiness and sustains social harmony and peace while maintaining and sharing resources for all the people in all the societies of the globe. In this discussion, both people's representative elected leaders as well as the leaders involved in insurrections and the war will be considered as decision making leaders. The requirement for social happiness of the people in the globe according to the teaching of the Buddha is that leaders for management of governance have cultivated human qualities and human qualification, and most importantly that they should possess sufficient knowledge and wisdom to make decision for the happiness of all the people in the globe.

## 4.1 Independence and Governance for Social Happiness

As discussed in Chapter III, Teaching of the Buddha found in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*, clearly explains that leaders must have all-round knowledge, a clear vision with wisdom to govern the state and the leaders' advisors also should have similar knowledge to give solutions to the problems created in the country and regain happiness in the society. Sri Lanka became independent in 1948. The main reason to give independence to Sri Lanka was that the British found it difficult to maintain the country, since it was becoming a welfare state. This has been emphasized with the following.

One remarkable feature of the last phase of the transfer of power in Sri Lanka was the emergence of a rudimentary welfare state. ... The politician of the day confronted greater pressure for increase expenditure on social welfare, and had a more realistic understanding than the British Officers of State of the political importance of responding generously to these demands than they- the politicians-themselves had done in the 1930s.<sup>1</sup>

Teaching of the Buddha in *Kula Sutta* emphasizes that the leader should have knowledge about the existing systems as they are and the systems which are depreciated and finished. Also old things in the system which are renewed and rebuild or reproduced or replaced as needed. The post independence leaders did not have a good grasp of the financial and economic reality the country was facing at the time. They did not have experienced were never given the opportunity for top level decision making positions in the government to gain knowledge. Thus, they did not have knowledge of the real financial status prevailing in the country and the gap that existed between the available government reserves and funding required for social welfare. However, the British officers were well aware that the government could not afford to run the country as a welfare state. Thus, the British wanted to give up the colony. The economic dilemma

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<sup>1</sup>De Silva K. M. (1981) A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.462

thus created led the British rulers to establish a government run by the natives and to leave the country, before this economic problem reached the limit of explosion.

In the *Kula Sutta* emphasizes to renew existing systems or introduce new systems and methods as required to sustain social happiness. Teaching of the Buddha explains the importance of knowledge and wisdom of the leaders in making decisions. However the British investors invested predominantly in plantation, and did not invest in absorbing the native labour force, by starting other industries that would gainfully occupied them. Due to the Great Depression of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the income generated from plantations was also in grave trouble, reducing the income for the government. The two major sources of income for the country were hit badly by the depression as shown below; "... The response to these problems was much the same in the both the tea and rubber industries, although the depression in the rubber market was far worse than in tea".<sup>2</sup>

This was against the lessons found in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* where the Buddha taught that problems of the people cannot be solved by giving free food and this would further increase social disharmony, unhappiness within society. Further the *Sutta* says that the leaders should have the vision with wisdom to empower the people by providing opportunities for them to earn, using their particular skills and capabilities. The *Sutta* explains that after providing earning opportunities to the people, government income automatically will be increased with taxes from the people's income and that will lead to establish social happiness in the country. It was difficult to maintain the colony after the main income sources of the country were badly affected while the country was being turned into a welfare state. In this event, it should be emphasized that the local politicians of the state were also trying to increase the welfare facilities given to the people even more. Teaching of the Buddha explains that to govern the country, one must have wisdom to find out ways and means to find solutions for the problems for the happiness

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<sup>2</sup>De Silva K. M. (1981) A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.462

of all the people in the country. But British civil servants working under their financial secretary understood the existing financial position of the state treasury at the time.

According to teaching of the Buddha, this poverty and insecurity lead to the destruction of social happiness as stated in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*. Also the universal basic fundamentals of happiness will be broken with poverty as stated in the same *Sutta*. A survey had found out that from 1945 to 1947 the economy of the country had gone down. This was reflected in the country's balance of payment, which fell consistently from 'a handsome surplus in 1945 to a heavy deficit in 1947'.<sup>3</sup> This emphasizes that the economy had gone down from 1945 to 1947. The country depended on export of material such as tea and rubber, and the import of basic foods. It is important to note here that what the country was importing were essentials for the country whereas what is exported were non essential raw materials. Due to this reason, the country could not bargain for higher prices for its products during a period of economic depression. For a country which particularly lives by foreign trade, a contemporary economic survey pointed out, "no economic indices could be more significant. It represented a fall in national income and a march towards greater poverty and insecurity".<sup>4</sup>

The following example also shows why it is important for the leaders to have wisdom and sufficient knowledge about the situation of the country and how it affects the social happiness to make decisions according to teaching of the Buddha for the social happiness of all the people. It has shown that the country was facing unemployment problems for Sri Lankans as well as for immigrant plantation workers from India. In the contemporary situation, there were problems created by income reduction from export as well as due to unemployment and imports. Between 1947 and 1970 the quantity of tea exported rose by over 60 per cent but the yield in foreign exchange increased by a mere 10 percent, while rubber and coconut, the two other major

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<sup>3</sup>Das Gupta B.B. (1949) A Short Economic Survey of Ceylon, Colombo. p.9

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

sources of foreign exchange have not fared much better either.<sup>5</sup> This is an illustration of the, cause and effect cycle, *Paṭiccasamuppāda*,<sup>6</sup> or dependent origination in the teaching of the Buddha, where one cause creates a chain of events, leading to suffering.

According to the Teaching of the Buddha in the *Aṇaṇa Sutta*, being debtless is one major factor to make everyone in the society happy.<sup>7</sup> Thus country's increased debt contributes to social unhappiness leading to destroy the harmony within the society. Most of the country's requirement in rice and subsidiary foodstuff was imported and accounted for more than half the total imports.<sup>8</sup>

According to teaching of the Buddha leaders should have cultivated innovation and creativity to develop new system and renew exiting system, when they make decisions. This shows that the governments could not facilitate the production of one of the most basic needs of its subjects, rice. Leaders did not have strategies in place to produce sufficient rice for the country, and most of the problems faced by the country from independence can be traced to this failure by successive governments. When a country has to import the main staple food for its people, and when there is not enough income through exports, there surely is an economic trade imbalance.

After 133 years of colonial rule by the British, the country was given independence along with problems created by their system of mismanagement of governance. The expansion of the social welfare system was based not on a sustained growth momentum of the economy but on what was left of the historically accumulated resources, which formed its initial economic conditions.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>De Silva K. M. (1981) A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.534

<sup>6</sup>*Paṭiccasamuppāda Sutta, Buddha Vagga, Abhisamyasamuttaya, Saṃyutta Nikāya II Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka, Series. p.2*

<sup>7</sup>*Aṇaṇa Sutta, Pattakammavagga Aṅguttara Nikāya II. Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka, Series, pp.392-394*

<sup>8</sup>De Silva K. M. (1981) A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.504

<sup>9</sup>Abeyratne Sirimal (2014), economic Roots of Political Conflict: The Case of Sri Lanka, citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.195.246&rep=rep1...pdf 23.08. 2017

Teaching of the Buddha in the *Kula*<sup>10</sup> and *Kūṭadanta Suttas* says that the leader should have a vision and make innovations and changes as required for social happiness and harmony. The most important factor to be considered is vision of leadership or qualities of decision making pattern of the country. "...and it was also true that the political leadership of the day was reluctant to make changes in an economic system with which their own interests were identified. The result was that in the economic structure, as in the political, there was an emphasis on the maintenance of the *status quo*"<sup>11</sup>. It looks like that the leaders at the time were reluctant to become change agents, even during times when it was optimal for changing the economic structure. They just wanted to keep their power by keeping people on their side through maintaining the welfare state but according to *Kula Sutta* if the state has not created new avenues and maintained existing avenues it will lead to problems, disturbing the social happiness. May be they did not understand the gravity of the situation or they did not have the vision for the future and true welfare of the country and its people as explained by the Buddha in *Kūṭadanta Sutta* the leaders and their advisers should have sufficient knowledge and wisdom in the society in making decisions required.

Political leadership still comes from this English-speaking class. Though the indigenous intelligentsia is now a powerful force, it has not yet thrown up an articulate leadership with a style of its own. The English-educated political elites therefore play a complex role. They are split into rightists, conservative-minded democratic socialists, centrists, left wingers, and ethnic- and religious-oriented protagonists of the Sinhalese, Tamil or Roman Catholic positions. Generally, however, the English-speaking elites have succeeded in preventing Sri Lanka from going in the direction of a theocratic or a Sinhalese Buddhist-oriented polity.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>*Kula Sutta*, AN, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti *Tipiṭaka*, Series, pp.392-394

<sup>11</sup>De Silva K. M. (1981) *A History of Sri Lanka*, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.505

<sup>12</sup>Wilson A J (1979) *Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-1979*, The Macmillan Press Ltd London.

The main idea was to maintain the prevailing system left by the British administration. The education system was established by the British was to fill the clerical positions in the British administration and also to maintain the prevailing system.<sup>13</sup> The native political leadership has developed within this system itself. There was no leadership training given to improve the existing or to create an innovative system to be established as change agents, as explained in the *Kula Sutta* of teaching of the Buddha, since the British education system was developed in Sri Lanka for purpose of maintaining the British administrative system as it was. The requirement of the innovative development of the country and economic and political system had not been created with British administered education, which did not produce innovative and creative leaders to the newly established independent country. They only attempted to maintain the prevailing system. People of the country had gotten a taste of each kind of elite, without proper plan to diversify the income from raw materials to more profitable export oriented industrial product. Every kind of leaders of the decision making bodies did not attempt to expand the income generation production industries and increase number of the jobs for the unemployed employable and future youth generation as taught in the *Kula Sutta*.

... From the inception of British rule the education system had been used to consolidate the political framework by creating small local *elite* who would be the purveyors of western culture, and by training personnel to man the lower ranks of the administration as inexpensively as possible. This functional -cum-normative role ascribed to education had led to the development of institutions patterned largely on the model of those in England.

Structural changes to this system in the early twentieth century were necessarily limited because the objectives of nineteenth century policy makers continued to

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<sup>13</sup>De Silva K. M. and Wriggins W. H. (1988) J.R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka: 1906-1956 University of Hawaii Press. p.346

dominate official thinking while nineteenth century education policies had also created attitude which affected the implementation of new policies. ...<sup>14</sup>

The education system has produced leaders to stagnate the economic and political system and to maintain as it was. According to *Kūṭadanta* and *Kula Suttas*, leaders have to guide the people to make innovative products skills and the ability to create new things to improve the economy and to do that, they should have sufficient knowledge and wisdom as well as supportive advisers with similar capacity, for the social happiness and harmony in the society. The contemporary party leaders were all educated to maintain the system. They were educated not to run organizations but only to hold lower ranked positions while the higher ranking decision making positions were held by the British. The decision making higher ranking positions gave the strategic decisions for organizational development and expansion, but local elite did not have the experience of making such decisions. The education of the country did not produce innovative and creative personnel to take off the economy with production industries for necessary items which had been imported to the country. The education policies did not match the country's needs and requirement of the day. According to teaching of the Buddha leaders do not have sufficient knowledge and wisdom for the guidance society towards development with needs of the people will lead to social problems in the society.

## **4.2 Election of 1970 and People's Expectations**

The cumulative problems of mismanagement of governance had erupted in 1971 for the first time in the democratic history of Sri Lanka, specially, after independence and after ending the colonial period. The leaders have not completely understood the problems of the country which had been developing from the British period up to 1969. Their level of understanding of the prevailing problems was also within the British Education system itself which had not given them the opportunity to

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<sup>14</sup>Jayaweera, Swarna (2009). Education Policy in the Early Twentieth Century, University of Peradeniya History of Ceylon, Vol. 3. Chatura Printers, Colombo.p.461

think innovatively and creatively as taught by the Buddha in the *Kula Sutta*.<sup>15</sup> The conceptual leadership was not developed enough to fulfill the requirements of the country to solve prevailing developed and accumulated problems even before the independence.

The 1970 election is important since the propaganda of that election campaign the speeches and manifesto had given the promise to make fundamental changes in the country for the establishment of people's socialist republic government.<sup>16</sup> After the election, people expected the establishment of such a government with fundamental changes, since the main leftist parties had also joined with SLFP. Because there were problems already created within the system through mismanagement of governance by the leaders of the government under British rule.

In their election campaign of 1970 the parties of the United Front- the S.L.F.P., the L.S.S.P. and the Communist Party (Moscow wing)- had held out, through their manifesto and speeches, the assurance of purposeful, systematic and fundamental changes in every sphere of activity. The euphoria, reminiscent of 1956, which greeted the U.F.'s decisive victory seemed to suggest that it was a just reward for the skill with which its leadership had responded and given expression to the inchoate desires and feeling of the people.<sup>17</sup>

For the youth of the country the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna constituted the only radical alternative to the UNP, since to prepare for the 1970 general election Sirima Bandaranaike had formed a coalition in 1968 with the LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaja Party) and CP (Communist Party). The new three-party United Front (Samagi Peramuna) announced it would work towards a 'people's government' under the leadership of Bandaranaike and that it would follow a so-called Common Program

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<sup>15</sup> *Kula Sutta, Sonavagga, Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka, Series, pp.392-394

<sup>16</sup> De Silva K. M. (1981) *A History of Sri Lanka*, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.540

<sup>17</sup> Ibid

that promised radical changes, including land reform, increased rice subsidies and nationalization of local and foreign banks.<sup>18</sup>

The Buddha explains that extreme desire, anger, fear and ignorance center states of mind will not sustain the social happiness in the society as person living in the society or as a person performing duty for the benefit of others. People and all the leaders were gathered together for radical changes in the management of governance with extreme desire and ignorance decision making center states of mind. Also they did not have sufficient knowledge to make radical changes in the management of governance for the social happiness as stated in teaching of the Buddha. People were delighted with the promises and expectations given by the propaganda of the 1970 election campaign with extreme desire and ignorance center states of mind. The youth movement also gave their support to the new coalition to win the 1970 election.<sup>19</sup> Immediately after the election, people expected that the promises made during the election campaign would be honored and implemented by the newly elected government.

They did not do radical change; these changes did not create the expected social happiness since they could not solve the accumulated problems with their inadequate knowledge and wisdom as explained by the Buddha in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*. With the leaders' knowledge and their ability, all they could do after winning the election was to make a decision to modernize the diplomatic system. This was the most important action taken immediately after winning, by the new coalition established government with over 117 seats out of total of 157.<sup>20</sup> This majority had shown the expectation of most of the people to regain social happiness with management of governance and radical changes.

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<sup>18</sup>Wickramasinghe N (2006). Sri Lanka in the Modern Age- A history of Contested Identities, Vijitha Yapa Publications p. 234

<sup>19</sup> Alas A C (1978). 71 *Karalla, (Sinhala)* Lake house Investment Ltd Colombo. p.27

<sup>20</sup> Wickramasinghe N (2006). Sri Lanka in the Modern Age- A history of Contested Identities, Vijitha Yapa Publications p. 235

The JVP initially supported the government, but after ten months dissatisfaction mounted against the slow rhythm of the reforms. By the early months of 1971 the JVP had thousands of members and fellow travelers among academics, students, schoolchildren, workers and *bhikkhus*. The monks, who since the 1940s had been used by all parties as vital support groups, had turned to the JVP in large numbers, attracted by their egalitarian Sinhala Buddhist ideology.<sup>21</sup>

People, in extreme desire center states of mind, expected that after the new government came to power they would do the reforms immediately. But the government did not fulfill the expectation of the youth who were consisted of rural educated unemployed unoccupied peasant children. In this situation there is a very important point to be considered, that *bhikkhus* were supporting every politician who promised that they will work for the benefit of all which is the duty of the leader as taught by the Buddha. From 1940s they had helped politician whoever came looking for their help assuming that leaders would keep their promises to create social happiness and harmony.

All these are taught in *Kūṭadanta*, *Cīvarakkhandhaka* in *Mahāvaggapali* and the *Kula Suttas* by the Buddha as human qualities and human qualifications that a leader should have to create social happiness which was lacking in the society. On the other hand, real problems of the country had continued on with new government, same as its predecessor faced. The main problems were unemployment, rising prices and scarcity of essential items of consumption, people not been occupied with a feeling of self respect, dignity and satisfaction.<sup>22</sup> This gives a clue to what really is the quality of the decision making ability and innovative decision making ability of the leadership. One reason for this may be again is the British system of education which is not meant to develop entrepreneur's skills and abilities.

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<sup>21</sup>Wickramasinghe N (2006). Sri Lanka in the Modern Age- A history of Contested Identities, Vijitha Yapa Publications p. 235

<sup>22</sup>Ibid. p.271

The gap between people's expectations and leaders' capacity of decision making had created social unhappiness because the leaders did not have sufficient knowledge to solve accumulated problems from and even before the independence, as stated in teaching of the of *Kūṭadanta* and *Kula Suttas*. Also leaders were making decisions with fear and ignorance center states of mind which led to social unhappiness according to the *Sigāla Sutta* and *Cīvarakkhandhaka* in *Mahāvaggapāli*. The politicians usually give their word to the people and agree to solve these problems immediately after establishing their respective governments. However, when they come to make decisions on the planning and implementation of the promises made by them, then they face problems. Since, they did not have the experience of the strategic decision making to increase income generation methods of the country. The British had developed only their material products. They did not establish industrial production. Even they did not plan to develop to increase the rice production within the country which can be done and which is still being imported.

Yet the irony is that it is the promises of the candidates that make the difference at elections. The election history of Sri Lanka has recorded many celebrated promises. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party-led alliance won the 1970 parliamentary elections on the strength of a promise that every person would get two measures of free rice per week. When asked how they would implement the promise, the leaders of the alliance said they would even go to the moon and get the rice. But once in office, they only saw stars because there were not enough funds in the treasury to implement their promise.<sup>23</sup>

The theme of the government was to give free food for people. "The state as the supreme alms giver is not very different from the Buddhist view of gaining merit through the performance of good deeds."<sup>24</sup> In other words, people expect the prime

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<sup>23</sup> Ameen Izzadeen (2005). <https://www.khaleejtimes.com/editorials-columns/sri-lanka-poll-the-impossible-promises-politicians-make> 20.08.2017

<sup>24</sup> Wilson A J (1979) Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-1979, The Macmillan Press Ltd London. p.78

minister to become mother of the all the people of the country to feed them. It means, people of the country had made decisions in ignorance and desire center states of mind. As mentioned earlier, this is a big hindrance to the social happiness according to the teaching of the Buddha in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*. This sounds very good but everyone was expecting to get two measures of rice per week from the government with extreme desire and ignorance CSM. They never got what was promised, since the leaders were breaking UBFH according to the teaching of the Buddha. Every person did not have enough food to maintain the life that was a basic need of everyone. The people were economically facing problems with increased poverty, which was the root of almost all the problems in the society as taught by the Buddha in *Kūṭadanta Sutta*.

The following led to develop social unhappiness within the contemporary society as explained by the Buddha in *Kūṭadanta* and *Kula Suttas*. This resulted in the Commission on Social Services to give welfare service to every person of the country. "... Having dealt at length with the extent to which the existing apparatus for achieving unemployment and economic distress had been effective, the Commission spelled out social welfare measures which were desirable and for which the government should make statutory provision."<sup>25</sup> The commission deeply analyzed the situation of the country. The government tried to maintain the welfare of the people. The problem that required deep consideration was the income of the government and to fulfill welfare need of the country.

The decision making leaders and their adviser must have enough and sufficient knowledge with wisdom to innovate and create new ways and means to solve the problems as explains in the *Kūṭadanta* and *Kula Suttas*. The Commission on Social Services "... points out that social welfare schemes were a means of distributing wealth rather than of creating it and that the national income should be wisely distributed

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<sup>25</sup>Wickramaratne L. A. (2009). The emergence of welfare policy, History of Ceylon, University of Peradeniya, p.483

between expenditure on consumption and expenditure on development.”<sup>26</sup> Whatever explained in that report they had not at least mentioned the development of agriculture for the self sufficiency for consumption of the country’s requirement. They had imported from outside the country. They only distributed wealth they did not have. This has been the problem even today.

The teaching of the Buddha gives exact solutions to remove this gap and to cultivate wisdom and sufficient knowledge in the leaders in order to innovate and create a new method and to modify or remove the old method as explained in the *Kūṭadanta* and *Kula Suttas* to cultivate social happiness and harmony. In the event of election campaign most of the politicians in Sri Lanka had not analyzed the situation after getting into the position of the government. They fool the people in their political campaigns and fool them even more after winning the election and coming to power, which the people elect to give to them. This power to elect the politician is something that the general public holds. However they are not fully aware of this power to exercise it to the full extent and on the other hand the politicians easily forget that once they are elected. The above promises and post-election behavior of the ministers and prime minister and members of parliament is something amusing.

Both leaders and their advisor did not have sufficient knowledge and wisdom to solve the problems for social happiness with new system as explained in the *Kūṭadanta* and *Kula Suttas*. Leaders of new government wanted to do good for the people, but they did not have innovative ideas with brave action to be taken against British system which is a requirement of a leader according to the *Kula Sutta*. The leftist party leaders gave up their responsibility of solving the problems of rural peasantry and unemployment of educated youth. Also, they did not try to change the education system to develop employable graduate to suit the local job market and the needs of the country.

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<sup>26</sup>Wickramaratne L. A. (2009). The emergence of welfare policy, History of Ceylon, University of Peradeniya, p.483

On the other hand, they did not start industrial development to increase the number of jobs to increase educated population to increase wealth of the nation.

The following gives a clear picture of the poverty of the village youth along with their situation and environment similar to the explanation given in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* that poverty leads to create problems even riots or insurrections. According to the teaching of the Buddha in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*, the first insurrection was created by the accumulated poverty from the independence and none of the leaders created innovation with knowledge and wisdom to eradicate poverty for the social happiness and harmony. Most of the suspected insurgents were from rural schools and this show the high participation of village youth in this first insurrection.<sup>27</sup> No minority communities were represented in its leadership and in 1971 membership was 97 per cent Sinhala and 94.3 per cent Buddhist.<sup>28</sup> The rebel leaders has considered that rural village problems were not attempted to solve propaganda was to do major changes in the society as social republic. But the leaders of the old left parties were with government offices. Old left parties have moved to towards increase urban membership only.<sup>29</sup> The youth uprising had taken place with the support of the rural youth. This increased the social unhappiness and disharmony by stopping the development of the country as explained in the *Kula Sutta*.

The first uprising occurred only ten months after the election of the new government. "... By the middle of March 1971, it was evident that the government faced a deadly threat from Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, an ultra-left wing organization dominated by educated youths, unemployed or disadvantageously employed."<sup>30</sup> The origin of the JVP has generally been read within the context of class formation in Sri

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<sup>27</sup>Keerawella, Gamini B. (1980). The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and the 1971 Uprising, Social Science review 2, 1980 pp 1-55

<sup>28</sup>Samaranayake Gamini (1987). 'The Changing Attitude towards the Tamil Problem within the Janata Vimukti Peramuna' in Charles Abeysekara and Newton Gunasinghe (eds.), Facets of Ethnicity in Sri Lanka, Colombo. p.282

<sup>29</sup>De Silva K.M. (1981). A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.541

<sup>30</sup>Ibid

Lanka's rural society.<sup>31</sup> Many works emphasize the importance of the class that came onto being in the agrarian sector under the colonial economic system, namely the rural petite bourgeoisie.<sup>32</sup> The first uprising did not happen suddenly. But it has been developed from the independence. Under the British rule there were economic problems with the poverty of the people of the country. After 1948 independent government up to 1970 government, the problems of the people in the country had been accumulating especially in rural areas. All the leaders of the country were the elite from urban and villages. This has shown that the poverty of people of the villages have been developing from the independence when the poverty is there according to the teaching of the Buddha it creates a chain of problems to destroy social happiness and the harmony in the society, which Sri Lanka actually experienced in the first insurrection.

The teaching of the Buddha gives exact solutions to remove this gap and to cultivate wisdom and sufficient knowledge in the leaders in order to innovate and create a new method and to modify or remove the old method as explained in the *Kūṭadanta* and *Kula Suttas* to cultivate social happiness and harmony. In stark contrast to the other main political parties, membership of the insurgents consisted of young men from non-elite Sinhalese Background.<sup>33</sup> The cadres of first insurrection were all less than 30 years old.<sup>34</sup>

The decision makers did not have sufficient knowledge and wisdom as taught by the Buddha to realize the real situation and underrated the real situation of the country to management of governance for the social happiness and harmony. After independence, leadership of the government was not practicing proper management of governance for sustainable development of economic income for the sharing resources for everyone of the society to cultivate social happiness and to live in social harmony.

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<sup>31</sup>Wickramasinghe N(2006). Sri Lanka in the Modern Age- A history of Contested Identities, Vijitha Yapa Publications p. 230

<sup>32</sup>Gunasinghe Newton (1996). Land Reform, Class Structure and the State in Sri Lanka 1970-1977, in Sasanka Perera (ed) (Colombo 1996) Newton Gunasinghe: Selected Essays, pp.53-76

<sup>33</sup>Wickramasinghe N (2006). Sri Lanka in the Modern Age- A history of Contested Identities, Vijitha Yapa Publications p. 233

<sup>34</sup>Keerawella, Gamini B. (1980). The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and the 1971 Uprising, Social Science review 2, 1980 pp 1-55

The above brief explanation has given that what had really happened after independence with all of the political elected the leaders of the governments. They have not implemented development programs to absorb the unemployed and unoccupied youth from the rural poor areas in an effective manner through management of governance for the wellbeing and happiness of all the people in the society. The peasant farmers were not considered as employed and contributing to the economic system of the country and were been ignored by most of the governments.

### **4.3 Teaching of the Buddha on Qualities and Qualifications of Leaders for Social Happiness**

The human qualities and human qualifications were derived using the teaching of the Buddha found in *Cakkavatti*, (as a global leader) *Sigāla* (as a lay person living in society) *Suttas* and *Cīvarakkhannadhaka* in *MahāvaggaPali* (as a person who was selected or elected to do a specific job) as discussed in detail earlier (Chapter III) for the social happiness and social harmony of the society. When those human qualities are broken by any member or a leader of the society, that society does not have the basis of happiness fundamentals and that will lead to social unhappiness as the *Sigāla Sutta* mentions, that society is called as an animal society. Therefore it is necessary to have all the members and the leaders of the society to cultivate human qualities, also named in this study as Universal Basic Fundamentals of Happiness (UBFH) and human qualification also named in this study as Universal Basic Fundamentals of Decision Making Center States of Mind to Make Decisions for others' Happiness (UBFDMCSMMDOH) or Universal Basic Fundamentals for Other's Happiness (UBFOH) to cultivate social happiness and the social harmony in all the societies in the globe.

According to teaching of the Buddha, people imitate leaders than a common person in the society. In *Cakkavatti Sutta*, *Cakkavattirājā* is imitated by all other leaders in the global village. The leader's decision making human qualification and human qualities therefore seriously affect social happiness and the social harmony. It is of

paramount importance that all the members of the society should have these qualities to enhance the social happiness and social harmony. As a general person living in the society has to have these qualities and qualifications for the social happiness and social harmony. When the person becomes a leader of the society that person must have cultivated these qualities and qualifications for the social happiness and social harmony, since even leaders are also members of the society. But leaders are more influential in the society, and when leaders break human qualities and human qualifications that would affect the social happiness seriously.

The leaders of the newly elected government were in extreme desire, fear, and ignorance center states of mind in making decisions without the human qualifications to make decisions with wisdom to cultivate social happiness of all the people and harmony living with every community in the society as taught by the Buddha. They were educated to fulfill British ruler's expectation to maintain the country to fulfill their aim. The government income was not sufficient to fulfill the promises given. In order to offer free rice or a rice subsidiary, it is important that there should have been enough rice to give. They did not have plans to fulfill promises that they have given. This has shown that the leaders had broken the universal basic fundamentals of happiness of telling lie by breaking promises when they agree to come government to take people power from the election.

The anticipation of the youth from the new government was to establish a socialist government.<sup>35</sup> They may have thought that a socialist system of government can solve all these problems immediately after it was established. This was expected from the new alliance, since they were a socialist movement. The Parties of the alliance emphasized a socialist system in the country. They wanted to share resources among all peoples of the country in order to achieve self-sufficient status for the country. These parties had deeply put into people's mind in their election campaign that they will establish a socialist government when they come to power. Especially with educated

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<sup>35</sup>De Silva K.M. (1981). A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.541

frustrated unemployed youth in the villages had expected that they would be given opportunity to support the country's development by recruiting them to produce common goods and services. Here, both leaders of the government and the youth leaders were making decisions with extreme desire center states of mind to fulfill the promises made by the leaders, and on the other hand youth and people waiting to have radical changes in the policies to form a socialist government. The leaders did not have sufficient knowledge to make radical changes on the other hand people and the youth did not have sufficient knowledge to understand the leaders' position in failing to fulfill the promises according to teaching of the Buddha. When people and the leaders make decisions with extreme center states of mind the social happiness and the social harmony cannot be achieved.

The leaders of insurrection did not have any resources to fight with the government. The youth had only their expectation to have a socialist government for the peoples of the country.<sup>36</sup> They did have only the visionary objective to fulfill. To fulfill the visionary objective they imagined that they could achieve. For that they have to have organization, resources, existing organizations to act on their decisions, and the general public accepting their ideology. They had made decision to go against the old left. This has shown that they were ready to put themselves under a high risk situation, since the youth of the country had made the decision to capture the government by attacking the police stations and other major government offices. They did not have any resources or organization or people but they only had the idea of it. They did not have support from their parents' wealth since they were from rural poor peasant families. The youth leaders did not realistically estimate their abilities to capture the government with their extremes decision making center states of mind as explained by the Buddha, ultimately increasing the social suffering affecting all the people in the society.

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<sup>36</sup>Kearney Robert N (1980). Youth protest in the politics of Sri Lanka, *Sociological Focus*, Vol.13 No.2 Special Issue: Youth Protest in the 60's, Taylor & Francis Ltd. pp. 26-39

### 4.3.1 Qualities of Leaders in Making Decisions for Happiness of the People

When leaders practice human qualities when making decisions people also follow them by imitating the leaders according to teaching of the Buddha as discussed in Chapter III. The elected leaders of society were cheating the people by telling lies or giving false promises. This will lead to people also started to do same thing. From 1970 May election they leaders say to the people will get beneficiaries from establishing state ownership of public wealth to develop the country. But at the end of 1975 the government leaders change their stand immediately. The peoples therefore act accordingly.

The two budgets (November 1975 and November 1976) presented by Felix Dias Bandaranaike, an anti-Marxist who succeeded N. M. Perera as minister of finance, indicated a policy mainly 'to ensure adequate incentives to work, investment and risk-taking in that part of the economy which is not directly state-controlled'. Foreign investors were provided encouragement and incentives. All this was a far cry from the pronouncement in the U.F.'s 1970 manifesto 'to re-structure the economy through state control of the entire economy in such a way that the public sector would be considerably extended'. None of these eleventh-hour efforts, however, had the desired impact. Even the discontented middle classes were hardly impressed, because they now perceived a suitable alternative in a reformed U.N.P.<sup>37</sup>

People of the country had faced those non-visionary leaders who were telling them lies from the beginning of independence people of the country had led to suffering. People had been cheated by these political party leaders. They did have some trust on leftist leaders and had given them an opportunity by electing them members to the National State Assembly. However these party leaders only had wrong views, without wisdom and sufficient knowledge to make proper decisions for the social happiness and harmony among all the communities in the society.

Political parties and their leaders have throughout the period tried to be paternalistic, made extravagant promises, raised the bidding at each succeeding election only to disillusion the electors. The most cynical of such reversals of promises was the step-by-step measures taken to dismantle the welfare state in the post-1970 years, especially during 1973-7.<sup>38</sup>

The leaders of the parties try to take government power by telling lies to people at all the elections held after independence up to 1970. Then people had rejected them in the subsequent election. The real economic situation of the country was not understood by them. Therefore the leaders' only option was to tell lies to the people. Both the left and all the other party leaders were telling lies to the people of the country and youth thus cheating them, who took arms to attack the party leaders. As explains by the Buddha when leaders have broken UBFH when interacting with people in telling lies people also imitate the leaders by telling lies, also destroying social happiness by breaking trust among each other.

By telling lies the leaders had broken the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human beings. That led to the whole society being misled and rural educated unemployed unoccupied youth taking arms to take power from the cheating leaders. This is the mismanagement of governance and after promising to carry out changes in the government to come into power, they have broken that promise. This is because their leader loses his quality after lying to the people, their principle whom they are supposed to be working for, making the leaders the agents of the people.

The leaders of government and rebel leaders both had different attitudes and qualities of decision making center states of mind to solve the problems prevailing in the country. The government leaders had been handed-over the power by the people, who voted them into power for a temporary period of five years. However the youth had not

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<sup>38</sup>Wilson A J (1979) Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-1979, The Macmillan Press Ltd London.  
p.58

even contested the election, but they wanted to capture the power by attacking police stations. The leaders of the government did not keep the promises they made to the people during the election campaign to get their votes. After the insurrection the government extended its term for two more years. When leaders make decisions with four extreme center states of mind, the social happiness could not be achieved and social harmony could not be maintained according to the teaching of the Buddha as discussed in Chapter III.

...Moreover, through the process of constitution-making the ruling coalition used its overwhelming majority in the Constituent Assembly to give itself an extended term of two years (to May 1977) beyond the original period for which it had been elected in May 1970.<sup>39</sup>

This action of the government was to close the opportunity to exercise of people's voting power for two years. These were the two years' of abuse of power by the leaders of the government by taking away the power of the people. These actions reflect the decision making qualities of the leaders of the then government. First they had lied to the people by breaking their election promise; then they were taking what was not given to them (stealing) by extending the power to rule given by the people for two more years, without the permission of the people. This has shown the breaking UBFH, trust or truthfulness and taking what is not given then social happiness moves away from the society as explains by the Buddha. Thus doing they have broken two of the 'Universal Basic Fundamental Standard Qualities of the Great Human Values of Human Beings' (UBFSQGHVHB) since they made decisions from center states of mind of extreme fear and desire, of losing power and desire to stay in power respectively. The power handed over by the people to establish a people's government. The leaders wanted to keep the power to stay in the elected government offices as prime minister, ministers and members of parliament. The extreme desire center states of mind when the leaders make decisions, their minds will be closed to alternative paths. This study names this as 'One view

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<sup>39</sup>De Silva K.M. (1981). A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.542

extremism.’ Then they don’t know what kind of decision they should take to keep and maintain the social happiness of the society. This is a dangerous situation according to *Kūṭadanta Sutta* where the leader is admonished by the advisor to look at all the facets of the problem.

The decision making leaders have broken the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human beings by telling lies. The extreme center of state of mind of decision making was in -fear, desire, anger and ignorance. They request to obtain the power to take government leadership position in the National Assembly such as Prime Minister, Minister, and Members of Parliament post, which are directly involved in making and increasing people’ happiness through management of governance of the country. They should have helped to establish the society’s universal basic fundamental standard qualities of the great human values of human beings’ by telling the truth of the economic conditions of the country. They had to have a plan on how to develop the economic condition of the country which can be practiced and make it a reality. It was established that they have broken the society’s universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of the great human values of human beings, by cheating the people by lying while stealing the power (that is not given) from people and abusing it. They should have united the people by telling the reality and truth; making every person responsible of developing his/her country with everyone’s concerted effort. As explained by the Buddha, leaders should have wisdom and sufficient knowledge to openly share the reality with the people and get the support to some extent with people’s participation for the social happiness and harmony. When this is not done, a gap is created between the elected decision making agents and the people; the principals who have elected them. This is the first point, where, after electing a government, the mismanagement of governance is taking place in Sri Lanka. The party leaders of the government, both leftist and capitalist did not have that quality of decision making of using democratic system to give solutions to problems that had been accumulated since the independence.

All the governments after independence had ruled by using a state of emergency although the system was purported to be democratic. The people were put under pressure by putting them into an extreme fear center state of mind by imposing a state of emergency and the problems of people which are thus suppressed temporarily, keep on accumulating without solutions. It is noteworthy that the government too is imposing the state of emergency through an extreme fear center state of mind. Whenever decisions are taken with an extreme fear center state of mind, the result is suffering for all concerned and the happiness of the society is lost. In short, this is what happened in Sri Lankan politics in the post independent era. Up to now we have discussed breaking of two of the ‘universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of great human values of human beings’ by the leaders. Hereafter, people, especially the youth, who are quick to react, since they do not have inhibitions and restrictions compared to adults, started to protest the injustices. In the first stages, the government reacted to this by imprisoning and torturing the leaders of the JVP. This would escalate and will eventually culminate in killing of the rebelling youth by the government. Here, the decision makers of the government had broken another of the ‘universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of great human values of human beings’, by killing the youth. When the UBFH are broken both by the government and the rebel leaders, social happiness and harmony of the common people is destroyed. In contrast suffering is spread over all the corners of the society as explained in the *Sigāla* and *Cakkavatti Suttas*.

According to the Buddha’s teachings of governance as discussed earlier in *Kūṭadanta Sutta* in Chapter III, due to the mismanagement of governance that had been taking place in the country, the people started stealing, and robbing, and the king did not know what the reason was for these actions of the people. The king started to punish these people and people started lying, then king started killing the people, Then the king produced weapons and for the capital punishment. The people also started to produce weapons. Ultimately the whole society started killing each other. The king was imitated by everyone in the country. The real reason behind the stealing was economic problems created through poverty of the people as found by the king’s chief advisor. After

correctly identifying the problem, the king took appropriate actions to solve it by providing facilities to use peoples' skills to start gainful occupations thus eradicating poverty. People became happy and even left their doors open without worrying about being robbed. Here it should be noted that that the king was humble enough to get and follow the advice given by his chief advisor, and the advisor was wise enough and had enough courage to tell the king the about the true situation. They were both free of the 'four extremes of center state of mind' in making decisions and thus could make people happy through their actions to sustain the social happiness. As stated in the *Sutta* the government leaders and adviser did not have sufficient knowledge and wisdom to understand gravity of the accumulated problems.

In contrast, neither the Sri Lankan leaders nor the advisors were in possession of the above mentioned qualities. As described in the discussion on *Cīvarakkhandhaka* of *Mahāvaggapāli* in Chapter III, both the leaders and advisors did not have the proper qualifications for their respective positions, since their only required qualifications were being a party leader and being a close associate of him respectively. When the leader was making wrong decisions from the day he/she is elected, the advisors did not have enough knowledge and wisdom as taught by the Buddha in *Kūtadanta Sutta*, to prevent the leader from breaking promises; when he was imprisoning and torturing the youth leaders; when he was making decisions to kill the rebelling youth. They too did not understand the problem or see a solution to correctly advice the leader to guide him towards making the right decisions with the real solution. This is the reason why they were breaking the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human beings in making decisions to solve the problem unsuccessfully, creating more problems and allowing the situation to escalate, cultivating unrest and unhappiness in people.

In the same vein, when the government was unfairly extending their term without the consent of the people, the advisors were also responsible, for not guiding the leaders in the right direction. This action of the government resulted in their utter defeat in the 1977 election, where the party leader was not even been able to become the leader

of the opposition. People showed their unhappiness, unrest, their opposition against the democratic violence, in the next election by voting them out of power and allowing the new government to come into power with a landslide win in the election with five sixths of the seats in the parliament. People were acting here with the extreme anger, ignorance and desire center states of mind, which eventually caused more suffering to all with an insurrection and the development of the 30 year war, destroying further the social harmony and happiness in the country.

As mentioned in Chapter III, according to teaching of Buddha on management of governance, the king or the leader should adopt, uphold and foster ‘the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human beings’; safeguarding everyone’s life, safeguarding everyone’s resources, truthfulness; trust, dignity for everyone’s loved ones. According to the *Chakkavatti Sutta*, the *Chakkavattim* king was putting the teachings of Buddha on management of governance into practice by advocating the above mentioned ‘universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of great human values of human beings’. He was using his fame to get people to follow ‘the universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of great human values of human beings’. People respected him and accepted these and followed his example of success. Even though he had a huge arsenal along with the armies to go with it, he was not using those or the threat of power to get the people to follow him.

Here the king was not killing or breaking other great qualities of great human values, even though he has all the capabilities to do so; he uses only his cultivated qualities to get others to follow him. It should also be noted that when the king is killing or hurting the people, they were imitating him in that too, as seen in both *Aggañña* and *Kūṭadanta Suttas* discussed in Chapter III. In the events leading to the first insurrection, when the government started to kill, the youth also followed suit. This is in complete contrast to the actions of the *Chakkavattim* king mentioned above. The leader’s cultivated qualities are the most important factor that was missing in Sri Lanka at the time.

In this *Sutta* the Buddha introduces the concept of *Cakkavattirājā* to enlighten people all over the globe with global leadership to expand his social happiness all over the globe as global happiness of global society. Also the globe is considered as global village to sustain social happiness and harmony for all the people in the global village; if not happiness cannot be sustained with the all human beings living on earth. The Buddha wanted to extend further with UBFH for all the people of happiness the global village, with the society being expanded to a global society. The Buddha does not narrow down his teaching to particular cult or group or particular society but for human beings living all over the globe. The Buddha has initiated his concept of management of governance for happiness of all the human beings living in the global village. When UBFH have been practiced social happiness will be extended to all the people in every society all over the globe or in the global village. The main roots of the problems should be eradicated with the cooperative effort by the leaders as well as all the members of the societies in the global village for social happiness of the societies in the global village.

#### **4.3.2 Qualifications of People Reflected in Their Decision Making**

People also were in the extreme desire center state of mind when they believed that the leaders of the new government would fulfill their desires immediately after coming into office, voted them into power. The decisions made in the extreme desire center state of mind would not support for the happiness of every person in the society. After election it had shown that government did not fulfill their main promise of giving food subsidiary to them. The extreme desire center state of mind could not understand the problem to perform a real situation analysis of the problem to be solved. Then it could not make a proper decision to make everyone happy in the society. Then it will increase the suffering of the people and more suffering will be created due to the elected leaders' decisions on people's problems of suffering. Both the elected leaders and people had made decisions in the extreme desire center state of mind, which would increase the suffering of the people destroying social happiness and harmony in the society. The ultimate results led to the first insurrection which led to the country losing thousands of young lives.

The extreme desire center state of mind, persisting during the times of election was eventually replaced by the extreme fear center state of mind after the election. Due to the extreme ignorance center state of mind, voters forget the fact that they are the principals who elected the members of parliament to office as their agents, to represent them and solve their problems. This implies that the voters are also directly responsible for the actions of the leaders, since they are passively watching the wrong decisions taken by the leaders. The reason for this is the extreme fear center state of mind they are in at the time and the voters don't see clearly in this state to think clearly with wisdom. Thus they don't see that the leaders are doing wrong and they put the whole responsibility on the leaders and do not see that they are also responsible for the leaders' wrongdoings. Thus while the problems are left unsolved and allowed to grow, into catastrophic levels, they think that the solution is changing the leaders without solving the problem, again due to the extreme of ignorance. This is what happened with most governments since independence. As explained in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* the leaders as well as their advisors must have sufficient knowledge and wisdom and also the people who are living in that society because people are the principals of the leaders. This is the extreme of ignorance center of state of mind. When these happen both parties are frustrated when they are not getting what they want, leading to the fourth extreme of anger center state of mind. Therefore, the people, on their part, are not acting in this regard with the opposites of four extreme center states of mind; happiness, kindness, sacrifice and wisdom.

#### **4.3.3 Decisions Made with Extreme Fear Center State of Mind**

After independence the government leaders were elected through democratic process by election. But they ruled the country with fear center of state of mind of losing the power. This is shown in the following paragraphs.

...the most 'democratically' elected government has to rule with the most unprecedentedly brutal dictatorial powers. Bourgeois democracy in Ceylon had always been a farce. Beginning as far back as the 1956 MEP government of the late Mr. Bandaranaike, rule by state of emergency had become a rule. Both the

1960 government of Mrs. Bandaranaike, and the 1965 government of Dudley Senanayake competed with each other as to which government shall rule under a state of emergency for a longer period. The UNP beat the SLFP by a small length. Anyway, both governments ruled for the greater part of their period under a state of emergency. That was democracy – *a la* Ceylon.

But the record has been improved under the present United Front government of Mrs. Bandaranaike. Coming to power with an unprecedented parliamentary majority of over two-thirds, it could not complete one year of its life without proclaiming a state of emergency. ...<sup>40</sup>

The ‘extreme fear’ here originated from an extreme of ignorance center state of mind, created by lack of realization through analysis about the real situation and related solutions as stated in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*. The democratically elected governments continued under a state of emergency to stop people participating in the democratic process by voicing out their problems to be solved. When the state of emergency was declared, general rule of law as well as democracy could not prevail in the country. The leaders had practiced dictatorship by giving up democratic system after taking power using the democratic system. This is a main facet of democratic violence by the party leaders of the government against the people. In the cover of democracy, they abuse all the power of the people, against the people to politicization all the institution of the government.<sup>41</sup> The state of emergency had become the government “democratic process” in Sri Lanka. Even though the government had a two-thirds majority, it also had declared a state of emergency even before completing one year. These imply that the leaders of the government since independence took decisions based on an extreme fear center of state of mind to safeguard their power. The decision to declare a state of emergency, made in the extreme fear center state of mind eventually became general law

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<sup>40</sup>Sanmugathan N. (1971) JVP Insurgency of April 1971 Revisited, [http://sangam.org/2011/04/1971\\_JVP.php?uid=4306](http://sangam.org/2011/04/1971_JVP.php?uid=4306) 12.11.2017

<sup>41</sup> Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p. 9

of the country. The leaders and peoples were both under the extreme fear center state of mind and both mutually accepted this undemocratic system of government, or mismanagement of governance- of suppressing the problems without attempting to find solutions. This is the main reason for both uprisings and the internal war which led to the lost thousands of lives of the youth of the country who had the energy to drive country towards prosperity.

When a person makes a decision with the extreme fear center state of mind it will lead to destroy social happiness and create suffering as stated in the *Sigāla Sutta*. The Buddha wanted to eradicate this suffering from the society as a person living in the society as well as the leader who makes decisions for the benefit and the happiness of all the people in the globe, free from extreme fear center states of mind. The old leftist leaders, who preached about socialism, were also allied with the government, just stood by watching other people die fighting expecting to establish a socialist society for the country. Here the difference between the old left who were just preaching socialism, and the socialist youth, who were fighting for socialism is clearly seen. The old leftists were actually from the elite and were involved in socialism only as a pastime. Even when they had the opportunity to put what they were preaching into practice when they formed the new government, they failed, and failed the youth who had put their trust on these leaders.

The leaders abused the power and the resources of the people with extreme fear and desire center states of mind even though they did not know -through extreme ignorance center state of mind, that they came to the government office for the temporary period of five years to work for the happiness of the all people of the country as taught by the Buddha in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* that the leaders must have wisdom and sufficient knowledge to realize the real situation of the society. In the fear center state of mind, people could not understand the real problems, while government leaders did not know that they were given power only for temporary period, to use the public resources for the benefit and happiness of the people of the country. The leaders of the government are the agents of the people. The people are the principal of the agent. The power and the

resources are handed over to the agents (government leaders) only for a temporary period for the happiness and wellbeing of the principal.

The apparent threat to power from these two parties, both the opposition and youth movement, had worsened the extreme fear and desire center states of mind in decision making. These center states of mind of leaders used for decision making would not be conducive towards proper decision making for the happiness of the people. The extreme desire and fear center states of mind would not open the clear decision making minds of the decision makers, but an ignorance center state of mind instead. Then the leaders could not realize the problems of the people and focus only on the threat to their power and they try to make decisions to escape from the imminent threat, leaving the problems as they are, without solving them. Then the decisions made by the leaders had led to create more problems leading to suffering for the people, making their youth get involved in insurrections even at the sake of their lives.

The leaders of government had made decisions from the extreme fear center state of mind. When they made decisions in that center state of mind all those decisions would create a lot of suffering for the people. First the government leaders started to abuse power and resources of the government for party politics.<sup>42</sup>

Another instance where the government is practicing democratic violence in an extreme fear center state of mind is, government's discrimination of opposition parties by cutting down on various types of their freedom. Oppositions did not get media access. Freedom of the press was severely curtailed.<sup>43</sup> At that time all media were under government control, including the government as well as all other private media. There was no opportunity for opposition parties' to run their campaign propaganda in the news media. Both extreme fear and extreme desire center states of mind had led to propagate their propaganda while indirectly banning opposition's propaganda which led to destroy the social harmony and social happiness. This extreme fear and desire centre states of

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<sup>42</sup>De Silva K.M. (1981).A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p. 549

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

mind in decision making had caused them to lose some by-elections. On one hand the country had developed and accumulated a chain of problems and on the other hand government itself was faced with safeguarding their existing power, which had been deteriorating at a rapid rate with mix of extreme desire, fear and ignorance center states of mind in making decisions. The government, opposition and people all were in an extreme fear center state of mind created and developed more fear and had to face more and more problems by losing even the opposition leadership in the 1977 parliamentary election. Most importantly, the leaders should be free from ‘single view extremism’ of the problems. They should have opened their minds with wisdom center state of mind based on happiness, kindness and sacrifice center states of mind, to overcome the four extreme center states of mind, with the ability to see more possible alternative solutions for the problems.

#### **4.3.4 Decisions Made in the Extreme Desire Center State of Mind**

The leaders of the left parties worked with extreme desire center state of mind by breaking trade union demands. The leftist parties had broken workers demand as a trade union action, taking their private desires with extreme desire center state of mind in making decisions. They also had fulfilled their desires by taking ministerial portfolios from the existing government since 1964.<sup>44</sup>

The extreme desire center of state of mind of the rebel leaders, coupled with extreme ignorance, did not allow them to achieve their visionary objective and make it a success. It has given a lesson that extreme desire center of state of mind would not fulfill whatever the objective, even if it is common goals that need to be achieved for the benefit of the society without sufficient knowledge and wisdom, according to the teaching of the Buddha. The main problem of extreme center states of mind is closing the reality of the problems and seeing the possible alternative decisions to be made. It has become ‘single view extremism’. The strategic decision making for common goals should have an open

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<sup>44</sup>De Silva K.M. (1981).A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p.549

forum for discussion, with individuals having open minds not narrowed down to 'single view extremism'. The common problems were used by leaders of leftist parties for their private gain with extreme desire center state of mind while breaking the common expectation of the people of the country.<sup>45</sup> These types of extreme desire center states of mind of decision making behavior of the leftist leaders in the vacuum had been filled by the establishing of new youth movement. The movement has shown that they were in an extreme desire center state of mind to work for the common benefit of the people. Also the leaders could not afford to fulfill their own desires, since the party was established to fulfill common desires of the people of the country. Their personal desires had to be sacrificed to achieve the common goals of the party. They organized youth to raise funds to develop the country as a socialist state for sharing resources for the benefit of all people of the country.

The narrowed down single view extremism had closed down all the alternative strategic paths to the achievement of goals. The extreme desire center state of mind closes all the avenues of the strategic path of the goal to be achieved, and also hides the real sides and size of the problem. This can be called the 'single view extremism', and it would never achieve happiness for every citizen of the country. It would lead more towards cultivating unhappiness and unrest in the society ending with more suffering for the people. According to teaching of the Buddha four extremes decision making center of mind will end with suffering and destroy social happiness and harmony of the society.

Furthermore, people who were with the members of new youth party as party members were discriminated on political grounds with decisions made by the party leaders of the government, under influence of extreme desire center of state of mind and ignorance, which mutually enhance each other disturbing the social harmony and peace. This was started with preferential treatment of supporters of the government in recruitment and promotions within the state service that had always been a feature of the

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<sup>45</sup>History of the JVP (1965-1994), <http://www.jvpsrilanka.com/english/about-us/history-of-1965-1994/> 18.11.2017

process of government in Sri Lanka since independence, but now, for the first time, preferential treatment of government supporters was ‘institutionalized’.<sup>46</sup> The bases of appointment were political affiliation, personal connections, or still more dubious considerations. It had led to both inefficiency and corruption, with the latter serving the function of mitigating the worst effects of this system of open discrimination against employment of children and closer relatives of opposition activists and supporters, and the former serving the equally important one of softening the harsher and more repressive features of the authoritarianism which the new government established and encouraged.<sup>47</sup>

The shame of the extreme desire center state of mind of the leaders coupled with ignorance had developed more problems in the society and destroyed the social happiness. The Members of the opposition parties of the society were not well treated at all; they were ill-treated and considered as if they were not the people of the country.<sup>48</sup> Their problems were not treated the same as the problems the government supporters. These decisions were made with the extreme desire center state of mind which created and developed problems with discriminated people seriously suffering a lot. On the other hand when the ruling party is changed the opposition becomes the ruling party and the new opposition is discriminated in turn, thus all people seriously suffer creating problems to every citizen. Neither party sees this clearly since they are both in extreme center states of mind, and keep on blaming the other side for their and the country’s suffering.

The government was practicing democratic violence by abusing the power of the people which was given to them, not to be abused to achieve their own desires with extreme desire center state of mind. This has happened with ‘single view extremism’ and the result was suffering for every person in the country not only at that time, but for future people as well. That what Sri Lanka has experienced teaching of the Buddha explains that the danger of making decision with four extremes center states of mind.

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<sup>46</sup>De Silva K.M. (1981).A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p. 549

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p. 7

After the first insurrection, government has prohibited public gatherings for security reasons. These restraints affected only the opposition parties, but not the meetings sponsored by the government parties.<sup>49</sup>

The government leaders could not make innovative and creative strategic decisions to fulfill promises made to the people. The extreme fear and desire center states of mind which automatically couple with extreme ignorance, would not give any opportunity to think freely or independently for innovation and creativity. When leaders make decisions in free, open and independent center states of mind, without extreme fear, desire, ignorance and anger in the center states of mind in decision making, (in happiness, kindness, sacrifice, and wisdom center states of mind) it would help them to develop innovative and creative solutions to make all the people happy. Ultimately people of the country suffer a lot losing their children, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters as happened in the internal disturbances as insurrections and war. The society has shown how uncivilized and inhumane they are. The leaders of the country safeguarded only their lives by strengthening security forces but the extreme fear and desire center of state of mind would not be escaped.

The results of the extreme fear, anger, desire and ignorance of the center of decision making state of mind had lead to winning only eight seats and had lost even the opposition leadership position in the parliament. Also, in that election of 1977, every candidate of the Marxist left was defeated.<sup>50</sup> Most of the major political figures from the independence were thrown out from the decision making which affected the whole country. On the other hand, it had developed another group in northern and eastern side of the country, and the leader of the main minority political party became the Opposition Leader of the parliament. This was a practical situation clearly demonstrating the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance that leader must have sufficient

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<sup>49</sup>De Silva K.M. (1981).A History of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press Delhi. p. 549

<sup>50</sup>Russell Jane (1978), 'Sri Lanka Election Turning point', The journal of Commonwealth and Comparative politics, XVI (I), 1978, pp.79-97

knowledge and wisdom to make decisions free from four extreme for the social happiness.

#### **4.4 Social Happiness Affected by First Insurrection**

Teaching of the Buddha, especially in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* explains that social disorder and disturbance take place when people's living condition goes below the poverty line. When the society is in serious poverty social disorders occurring automatically shown in many ways as theft problems, conflicts, struggle to overcome poverty with other ways as armed group to find short paths find resources and power. In Sri Lanka poverty level increased accumulatively even before independence, the problems have been developing due to the mismanagement of governance by the British and after independence the continuation of problems was accelerated with the decision makers' pattern of decision making with extreme anger, fear, ignorance and desire center of states of mind leading to the continuation of mismanagement by local leaders in a democratic system. The result was the increase of poverty in the society to an unbearable level. People of the country attempted to find solutions by changing leaders at five year intervals in the elections with desire and ignorance center states of mind but the problems have been accumulating after independence.

While the British gave up the colony by giving independence to a Sri Lanka (Ceylon), burdened with landless villagers as well as unemployed, unoccupied people in the country. Poverty level among the people was increased. In an agricultural country such as Ceylon the policies pertaining to the use of land were naturally of great consequence to its people.<sup>51</sup> Before the independence the features of a welfare state were visible when they started giving free food for the people. That was a patched up effort to make up for the mismanagement of governance which was practiced by the British. This too was another example of mismanagement of governance, leading to more problems

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<sup>51</sup>Roberts Michael (2009), Land Problems and Policies, 1832 to 1900, History of Ceylon Vol. 3, University of Peradeniya, Chatura Printer, Colombo, Sri Lanka. pp.56-68

and more suffering for the people with the social happiness moving away from the society.

The leaders of government did not realize the real problem and roots of problems, and could not analyze it, because they did not have sufficient knowledge and wisdom to find proper solution for the social happiness of the people as explained in the teaching of the Buddha, and also they were making decisions based on ignorance, fear and desire center states of mind. So, the solutions they applied were temporarily touching the surface of the problems, and this is similar to trying to keep a balloon down under water. When Sri Lankan leaders took the leadership of government they continued mismanagement of governance practices could not start to make decisions to solve the accumulated problems of unemployment, landlessness, and unoccupied people, from British period, while the food subsidiary given was also continued which was a further financial burden to the government treasury. The leaders promised in the election campaign that they would do basic changes to the government with proper governance or management of governance in the country. The youth believed that the promises would be started with the first speech of the prime minister of the elected government.<sup>52</sup> Not the main changes they promised, but they could not fulfill even the basic needs of the people.

The important factor that needs to be considered that time was that the people were facing lots of problems dealing with the government,<sup>53</sup> institutions. When they go to police, hospital, school, or any public office, they had to face problems, since those institutions did not have the management of governance. All the institutions were politicized<sup>54</sup> at the time and they practiced mismanagement of governance. The people had developed anger towards the government. The people could not do anything to the government in retaliation, but anger and hatred had been continually increased day by day. The old left parties joined with the government. None of the parties or organizations

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<sup>52</sup>Alas A C (1978). 71 *Kerralla, (sinhala)* Lakehouse Investment Ltd Colombo. P.208

<sup>53</sup>Disanayake Wasantha, Fanando Pratricks, Silva De Sarath and Kumara Ranjith (1994). *Javipe (JVP) Prabhavaya, Vikashaya ha Deshapalanaya, Diyasa Prakashana* no.2 p. 42

<sup>54</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p. 7

talked about these oppressed people to solve their problems. The youth of the country organized in secret, most of the youth were affected directly and immediately joined with the new youth movement and within five to six years many youth were taking active member roles in the organization. Ultimately the government's mismanagement of governance practices had paved the way to the first youth insurrection in the country, which led to a youth rebellion in southern and central Sri Lanka that was swiftly defeated by the security forces at a reported cost of some fifteen thousand lives.<sup>55</sup>

The youth involving as activists of the first insurrection have written in their book clearly what happened during the crisis faced by the peoples of the country.<sup>56</sup>

The youth made decisions based on extreme fear, anger and desire center states of mind which have closed analytical and rational thinking of the leaders. In addition, they did not have sufficient knowledge and wisdom for making decisions free from four extreme or with human qualities and qualification as explained by the Buddha. The leader of the youth movement has stated to the Commission that the cadre wanted was to establish socialistic government; they wanted to see people in the country overcome those prevailing economic burdens.<sup>57</sup> He also further stated that what the government plans were for. Their six year old organization was facing problems which have been created through two decades after independence by governments who had practiced mismanagement of governance. Thus government leaders did not realize the real problems and the real root to the problems for the youth unrest.

The government leaders of the country are the people who have to practice and foster the universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of the great human values of human being to safeguard everyone's life, safeguard everyone's resources,

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<sup>55</sup>Roberts Adam Sir (Ed) (2012). *Democracy, Sovereignty and Terror*: Lakshman Kadiragamar on the Foundations of International Order, I. B. Tauris London New York. p.243

<sup>56</sup>Disanayake Wasantha, Fanando Pratricks, Silva De Sarath and Kumara Ranjith (1994). *Javipe (JVP) prabhavaya, vikashaya ha deshapanaya*, diyasa prakashana no.2 p.42

<sup>57</sup>A Lost Revolution: The JVP Insurrection 1971-  
<http://www.lankalibrary.com/pol/jvp1971.htm>, 20.11.2017

truthfulness; trust, dignity for everyone loving ones. The sole power of the people was handed over to leaders of government with the trust in them that they would use it for the happiness of the people. The precedent is that a government would practice the management of governance towards making all the people happy. The people expect the government to fulfill that precedent as it is. When the leaders of the government break the precedent of the universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of the great human values of human being, people become helpless because parties who are breaking the promises are the very people that they have elected to the office, to look after their interests. Then automatically people also have practiced which the government leaders practiced. They too try to deceive and attack to get the power given to the leaders back; especially youth who were more advanced than others.

Nearly all the members of the first insurrection were under 30 years of age. They were young. They were eager to see the justice and equality for all people in the country and they had trusted government leaders as decision makers of the country that they would do what they promised in the election campaign. The youth are the people who had responded first after encountering the problems as their own which they feel. The universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of the great human values of human being of precedent that should have to practice by leaders of the government, when they have broken promises had lead the young cadre to threaten government to activate promises made before coming into office of the government to use the power and resources of the public. The government leaders' misconduct of lying or breaking promises behavior had lead to create all the problems of unhappiness, stress, unrest, in the society. The organized educated rural (most of them) Buddhist youth had attacked to catch the power of the people which was handed over by vote to elected government.

#### **4.4.1 Breaking the Universal Basic Fundamentals Standard Qualities of the Great Human Values of Human Being (UBFSQHVHB)**

The government leaders were telling lies by giving promises to people that they are going to break. The youth had attacked them with arms to capture the power to

fulfill their expectation by themselves. They attempted to capture power by killing or capturing the leaders of the government. This killing is breaking of the universal basic fundamental standard quality of human values of human being. In the contemporary society of the day, every person is under the threat of being killed by someone, government or the youth. By killing another there is not happiness for everybody. The killing of youth who attacked government did not create happiness for those who were living after the insurrection. The reasons for the insurrection were not examined deeply. This is made clear when one examines why the government had declared a state of emergency, further crippling the democratic system and closing peoples' avenues for protest, suppressing the people even more and creating more suffering for the present and the future.

The mismanagement of governance had led to cultivate frustration, unrest, unhappiness of rural youth in that contemporary society. They did not have sufficient resources to fulfill their basic needs. They expected newly established government would fulfill their promises with immediate effect. The government did not satisfy youth expectation of fulfilling what was promised to people especially to the youth. The youth are very eager to achieve their expectations immediately without any delay. The youth were educated, unemployed, and unoccupied and hence, frustrated. Due to the deficiencies in the education system inherited from the British, they were not made aware of their objectives of the life for the country or global society. The university students as well as school children were not properly guided about their responsibilities as human beings. They should be guided to transform themselves to become human beings with universal basic fundamentals standard quality of human values of human beings, to live happily. The existing education system was not guiding them properly. The education system has created competition with each other, not teaching how to live with responsibility to the society as societal human being.

The youth movement collected resources in many ways, since they did not have any resources when they started, especially by robbing banks. They had broken UBFH by stealing money from others. Then they started to get the people's power first

by breaking UBFH, destroying the social happiness in the society. The robberies and thefts were increased in that society. The arms were produced by the youth. These developments in the society had shown that when the leaders start to breaking promises by lying parallels are seen in the society when people start to imitate them in kind as explained in teaching of the Buddha. Ultimately Government has to face the threat from newly organized youth who were working for socialist society for justice and equality. The justice and equality were originally expected from the government by the frustrated youth creating unrest, but they didn't have resources to make justice and equality since they have already given that power and resources legally through the election, to the elected leaders. Therefore, required resources especially money was collected from robbery with the long term goal of taking the power by the use of force. This can be shown on the other hand that they had made decisions without human qualities and human qualifications as derived from this study from the teaching of the Buddha thus disturbing the social happiness, harmony and peaceful environment of the society.

The following Table shows the process of Breaking of UBFSQHV leading to the first insurrection.

**Table 4.1** Instances where the UBFSQHV were Broken leading to the first insurrection

<b>UBFSQHV Broken by leaders of the government</b>	<b>UBFSQHV Broken by youth of JVP</b>	<b>UBFSQHV Broken by Both Parties</b>
Breaking Promises made in the Campaign; not telling lies	Youth did not have any resources try to capture power and resources- not taking what is not given	Both government and youth Threaten each other in fear center state of mind-- UBFSQHV had broken – not killing
Continuing to Break Promises made in the Campaign; not Telling lies	Robbery and theft to buy/make arms- taking what is not given	Threat each other-
Catch the people	Attacking police stations	Killing each other; not killing
Continued killing of insurgents after subduing the insurrection; not killing	Not admitting the crimes; not telling lies	Loosing of Trust
Suffering	Suffering	Suffering
No Happiness	No Happiness	No happiness at all
The Universal Basic Fundamentals Standard Quality of Great Human Values (UBFSQGHV) of human being, are based on the main theme of happiness of the peoples of the country. The UBFSQGHV first have to be practiced by the leaders of government setting a precedent for the peoples to follow.		

With the attack of youth, work force including police, government offices, civilian, as well as youth themselves (who died due to accidental detonation while making bombs without proper training) all had died, which had led to make the society imbalanced in their living condition by destroying the happiness, peace and harmony of the people in the society.

Table 4.1 above shows that both leaders destroyed the universal basic fundamentals of happiness. They had broken first fundamental by killing people depriving them of the right live for all the humans in the society. When the leaders

broken these UBFH the followers also imitate leaders and break these fundamentals according teaching of the Buddha, the society became inhumane or animal. Then happiness word is no more in the society only the suffering moving to every corner of the society. Teaching of the Buddha in *Cakkavatti Sutta*, these universal basic fundamental of happiness should be maintained in the society to keep every person happy by safeguarding life of every person in each corner of the globe. Threat to life should be eradicated by leaders in every society to regain happiness of the people to stop the root of insurrection of society as explained in the *Sutta* in the concept of *Cakkavattirāja*. The root of the problems created with the resource ownership as explained in the *Aggañña Sutta* and stealing is the first problem of the society after that chain of problems was created in the society as happens in all societies.

The origin of insurrection has taken place with a frustrated group of youth who did not have resources; that means they were poverty. They started to steal to find money by breaking universal basic fundamental of happiness. On the other hand they destroyed the social happiness. Teaching of the Buddha explains the importance of the eradication of poverty to sustain the social happiness and harmony in societies in the globe. Economic sustainability is the basis for social happiness and to sustain universal basic fundamentals of happiness in societies in the globe.

It has shown that Sri Lankan society does not consider the right to life of all human beings in the society even today. The youth complained about severely being tortured by forces while giving evidence in front of the Criminal Investigation Commission. However the Criminal Investigation Commission did not consider this at all.<sup>58</sup> This indifferent attitude of the responsible parties towards the inhumanities perpetrated towards the youth of the insurrection had further encouraged the law enforcement authorities to keep on doing these practices. After the insurrection, there were several insurgents in custody of police who were tortured and killed. This is an example of imitation of the leaders' bad precedence by the people in the society

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<sup>58</sup>Alas A C (1978). 71 *Kerralla*, Lakehouse Investment Ltd Colombo. p.200

according to teaching of the Buddha which even continues to happen today. Sometimes peoples have decided the punishment by themselves and killed people as punishment. There is no consensus between the leaders and peoples about the right to life of every human being in the society. The society considers physical punishment as the only solution for the prevailing problems in the society. But no one understood the real problems of the country at the time.

For a normal person living is better than dying, but for the insurgents it was 'dying is better than living'. With this kind of decision made by youth, it cannot be imagined how they felt about their frustration. They were in extreme desire, anger, fear and ignorance center state of mind, thus they could not see clearly since they were in what is introduced in this study as 'single view extremism', and the decisions made with this always leads to more suffering and loss of peace and harmony for the society. In this point the most important basic fundamental standard quality of human values of human being is broken by the youth. The teaching of the Buddha explains the basic root of the problems in every society; also every decision maker should have sufficient knowledge and wisdom for making decisions for the happiness of all the people of the societies of the globe.

Leaders of the government are only the agents of the people and peoples are the principal. The prime minister, ministers, members of parliament, and president are the agents of the principal. They never think that all people have same justice and equality according to the constitution of the country. This can be achieved by fostering and protecting the teaching of the Buddha with practicing management of governance for the happiness of the people all the people of the society. Every human being in the country should have 'the right to live' universal basic fundamentals standard quality of human values of human being. The democratic government has the responsibility to establish these fundamentals in the country. All the leaders of the society should have these universal basic fundamentals standard quality of human values of human being as a prerequisite to becoming a leader. If not there it is like not a developed human society it has become an inhumane uncivilized cult society.

#### 4.5 Social Happiness Affected by the Second Insurrection

With the experience from 1970 selection of leaders to the government, where people with extreme desire and ignorance centre states of mind gave the new government a two thirds majority, which led to the loss of social happiness during the period from 1970-77. People selected another set of leaders for the government with desire, ignorance, and anger states of mind with five sixth majority to government in 1977 which came to power with the slogan of “*a just society (dharmista samajayak)*<sup>59</sup>”. However, under this leadership after 1977, the Tamil youth of north and east had started an internal war against government, as well as the second insurrection of the southern youth from 1987-89. According to teaching of the Buddha when the leaders are lacking sufficient knowledge and wisdom to make all the people happy to maintain harmony, and this resulted in destroying happiness and harmony of the society. It is very clear that second youth insurrection was started with decisions made in extreme desire, fear, and ignorance center states of mind. When people make decisions with these four extremes, the results of these decisions will bring forth suffering with a chain of problems to that society.

Teaching of the Buddha stipulates that the leaders should have sufficient knowledge and wisdom for management of governance for the happiness of all the people of the country. The roots of the first insurrection were not realized by the leaders in the perspective of management of governance to eradicate the problems that lead to insurrection, and the reasons behind it. Without doing that leaders made decisions to expand the exchange control law and regulations by repealing CJC Act. Then all the prisoners under this law were released including the first insurrection leaders who were also imprisoned under that same act. The new leaders in extreme desire and ignorance center states of mind made decision to release them led to suffering of all the people of the country destroying social happiness and harmony.

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<sup>59</sup>De Silva, K.M., Wriggins, H.,(1998) J R Biography; Volume 2, J.R. Jayewardene Centre in Colombo, Sri Lanka, p.555.

#### **4.5.1 Breakdown of Youth Aspirations; Leaders and Members Search for Social Happiness through Insurrection**

All the facts below will illustrate that all these insurgents joining with the insurrection with broken aspirations were trying to find happiness through the insurrection. Teaching of the Buddha has emphasized that either as a person living in the society or a person doing a job for the benefit of others, should not make decisions with four extremes center states of mind. Also according to the teaching of the Buddha, when leaders make decisions they must have sufficient knowledge of each and every word they use, every activity they organize and wisdom to regain social happiness or maintain the social happiness and harmony.

Most of the leaders of the second insurrection were mainly from universities. They got experience by involving in the protests against the education white paper. Some punishment meted out to university students suspended students for life and three of them joined as full time members of the insurrection.<sup>60</sup> After the great sacrifices made by their parents, the students were reluctant to return to their villages without completing their studies. All these developments led to frustration, anger and hatred against the authorities.<sup>61</sup>

All these incidents made people support and join the insurgents with decisions made in extreme anger, desire, fear and ignorance decision making center states of mind. When they were in extreme center states of mind in making decisions the results would be more suffering and destruction of social happiness and harmony experienced by all the people in the society according to teaching of the Buddha. As a result of the July 1980 general strike, as much as 40,356 employees were fired from public and private sector employment by using the law under the state of emergency over the general rule to

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<sup>60</sup>Wickramaratne Dharman (2016). *Javipe deveni keralla*, author publication, Colombo. p.630

<sup>61</sup>Gunaratne Rohan (1990). *Sri Lanka: A lost revolution? The inside story of the JVP*, Institute of Fundamental Studies Sri Lanka. p.61

fire these strikers after making their services compulsory.<sup>62</sup> Some insurgent members lost their jobs and joined as fulltime members. The other trade union activities were drastically reduced because of the government's drastic unethical action against the trade unions.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, insurgents as a radical leftist party had the opening to enter more deeply into the trade union activities.<sup>64</sup> In 1987, government has banned May Day rallies. In defiance, the second insurrection insurgents had organized a May Day rally and police shot and killed two people.<sup>65</sup> After the Indian intervention in Jaffna, Indo-Sri Lanka agreement was signed by government even without informing some cabinet ministers.<sup>66</sup> The incidents and facts elaborated above stimulated people to become members of the second insurrection and to increase membership in various ways.

All the above incidents helped to develop membership as well as increase various activities related to insurrection, that affected to break human qualities or universal basic fundamentals of happiness such as increasing theft in the society everywhere in the country destroyed social happiness with the killing that had taken place in various places in the country.

The first referendum in the country was a very special incident. Insurrection leader filed a case against government and referendum, with desire and anger center states of mind. This has changed the history of Sri Lanka led to start second insurrection and internal war.<sup>67</sup> This also led to create Black July one year after the referendum. It created war with international support and insurgents went underground with fear, anger and ignorance center states of mind getting ready for the second insurrection. With these

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<sup>62</sup>Gunaratne Rohan (1990). Sri Lanka: A lost revolution? The inside story of the JVP, Institute of Fundamental Studies Sri Lanka. p.61

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Disanayake Wasantha, Fanando Pratricks, Silva De Sarath and Kumara Ranjith (1994). Javipe (JVP) prabhavaya, vikashaya ha deshapanaya, diyasa prakashana no.2 p.47

<sup>65</sup>Wickramaratne Dharman (2016). Javipe deveni keralla, author publication, Colombo. p.167

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>Gunasekara, Prins (1998) Sri Lanka in Crisis A Lost Generation The Untold Story, Author Publication Sri Lanka. p.153

center states of mind they made decisions to break universal basic fundamentals of happiness by; stealing, killing, telling lies, and disrespecting others loved ones.

#### **4.5.2 The Leaders Realize the Futility of Violence and Attempt to Stop the Violence**

First both the government and rebel armed groups had threatened each other as well as the people of the country with extreme anger and ignorance center states of mind. Then they were killing each other with desire, anger, fear and ignorance center states of mind breaking universal basic fundamental of happiness destroying social happiness, peace and harmony. On the other hand this has stopped development and increased poverty. Killing, abduction, theft, telling lies, disrespect of dignity of others loves ones were taking place in the country, which was shown as an animal society as discussed in the Chapter III.

The period between 1987-89 was a terrible time with every person in the country undergoing a lot of suffering. There was no happiness at all, but everyone was in extreme fear center of state of mind with the threat of life, as the right to life was under attack. It was breaking the basic fundamental standard quality of human values of human being, of not killing. Even the President as the first citizen of the country, and every citizen of the country were in extreme fear center of state of mind. The decisions made in the extreme fear center of state of mind would result in suffering for everyone in the society.

For the first time, first president was running after the rebels to settle problems through discussion to urge by giving big offer to insurgents to stop violence and joint the interim government that more than matched their demand. However leaders of the insurgents did not accept the offer with extreme desire anger and ignorance center states of mind in making decisions and insufficient knowledge and lack of wisdom to make proper decisions on time, first time they missed the valuable opportunity to establish social happiness and harmony in the country.

Newly elected second president urged and invited rebels both from the north and the south to stop violence and come to discussion to solve all the created problems.<sup>68</sup> North rebels had discussions with government. But southern insurgents did not participate with fear, anger, desire and ignorance center states of mind and without sufficient knowledge and wisdom of gravity of the problems. However, after one year, the southern insurgents tried to initiate discussions through a minister of the government to settle the problems.<sup>69</sup> It was too late and all the leaders of second insurrection were captured and killed. This has shown the example of futility of insurrections without sufficient knowledge and wisdom destroying social happiness, harmony and peace.

The prevailing situation had shown the reality of the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance which was not practiced by leaders involved in decision making, free from four extreme or without human qualities and qualifications. In the second insurrection people could not engage in a job, since their own lives were under threat by the insurgents. By breaking UBFH to disrespect of other loved ones by killing them. The threatening to kill government forces' families triggered the extreme anger center state of mind in the members of armed forces, and coupled with the extreme fear center state of mind for their families, resulted in the capture of all the main leaders of the insurrection and killing all of them by the armed forces.<sup>70</sup>

The above discussion confirms that not killing is the most important universal basic fundamental standard quality of human values of a human being. When killing is absent, or 'safeguarding others' lives' has disappeared from that society, it becomes an inhuman, uncivilized, cannibalistic society, involving almost everyone in that society. The breaking of the universal basic fundamental standard quality of human values of human being – of not killing everyone- leads to making decisions with the extreme fear

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<sup>68</sup> Gunasekara Prins (1998) Sri Lanka in Crisis A LOST GENERATION the Untold Story, Author Publication Sri Lanka. p.608

<sup>69</sup> Ibid

<sup>70</sup> Dissanayake Wasantha, Fernando Prattrick, Silva De Sarath and Kumara Ranjith (1994). *Javipe (JVP) Prabhavaya, Vikashaya ha Deshapalanaya, Diyasa Prakashana* no.2 p.127

and desire center states of mind. Then those decisions definitely would not produce happiness for all people in the society and the society would not cultivate the universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of the great human values of human being to behave in a civilized nature. The leaders should make decisions to improve and maintain the social happiness, peace and harmony in the society. The mismanagement of governance has established in every government institution as well as private institutions towards developing unhappiness and violence. The mismanagement of governance is accepted and considered as the rule of law of the country, corrupting the executive, judicial and legislative branches of the people's power. Most of these problems are created by the party leaders who are in power, by breaking of the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of the great human values of human being, leading to mismanagement of governance and making decisions in extreme fear, desire, anger and ignorance center states of mind, which will be imitated by every person of the country.

#### **4.6 Discoveries of the Presidential Commission on Youth**

The second insurrection had completely crippled the government and brought it to the brink of surrender. Immediately after the second insurrection, the president had appointed a commission, Presidential Commission on Youth in 1990, consists of seven members, and a report had to be produced.

According to the report, "... the Commission has attempted to analyze in some detail the causes of youth unrest in the country. We have gone further and made some recommendations which, we feel, will contribute to alleviating some of the problems underscored by youth in the representations they made before us."<sup>71</sup> The Commission wanted to give their open opinion with the gathered information from all over the Island, provide guidance to overcome problems and alleviate poverty and

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<sup>71</sup> Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p.8

overcome suffering of the people of the country to re-establish social happiness in the country.

As mentioned in the *Kula Sutta*, innovative and creative changes are needed for the social development, social harmony and social happiness. Which has not been attempted by any government which was deceiving people with lies and this is not enough to stop insurrections. According to *Kūṭadanta Sutta* leaders also were lacking sufficient knowledge and wisdom to maintain the social happiness and social harmony in the country. Further because the leaders were making decisions in extreme center states of mind they could not and would not see the problems and implement these solutions that were suggested by the presidential Commission on Youth in 1990, immediately after the insurrection. In the preface of the report they mentioned, “the Commission is of the view that the crisis of the last few years has, itself, brought about the conditions in which fundamental changes required for the establishment of a fair and equitable social equilibrium can be effected. If this can be achieved, then, those many thousands who have sacrificed their lives in the bitter confrontations of the last decade would not have died in vain”.<sup>72</sup> Within these two decades two internal riots or wars were started both in South and the North. The commission has found some of the roots of the problem and what fundamental changes needed to establish, in the first insurrection as well as second insurrection; it also asked for a fair and equitable social equilibrium for the social happiness and harmony of all the people in the country.

The above emphasized that the government of the country could have established social equity and justice by practicing management of governance without sacrificing thousands of lives of young people of the country. According to teaching of the Buddha it is clearly emphasized that social happiness and social harmony can be established by the leaders of the state making decisions free from the extreme center states of mind with wisdom and knowledge as well as practicing human qualities and human qualification.

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<sup>72</sup> Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p.11

#### 4.6.1 The Report of the Commission and Barriers for Social Happiness

People who were involved in state decisions making tables did not have the universal basic fundamental qualities of great human values of human being and decision making center states of mind of happiness, kindness, sacrifice and wisdom. The leaders of government did not show to the youth that they were trustworthy, by keeping their promises (by telling what they do and doing what they say), being transparent , showing kindness to the general public; but they were not showing their qualities of not telling lies or not killing people of the country. The main problem of mismanagement of governance was lack of trust since they had broken the universal basic fundamentals quality of human values of human being. When leaders of the government did not have these values people cannot trust them. The other reason for loosing trust is the party leaders' extreme fear, desire, anger, and ignorance decision making center states of mind. These will not maintain the social happiness in the society.

The commission recommended, "It is therefore time for the Nation as a whole to engage in a search for consensus, without arrogance self-righteousness or acrimony, but in the hope of building a better future for the next generation of our youth."<sup>73</sup> It is clear that the Commission has been established to find solution to prevailed problem of mismanagement of governance in the country. The mismanagement of governance has created problems by those leaders who did not search for a national consensus, who did not look for solutions without party or personal agendas, who did not have patience to deal with the youth problems to be solved, who according to the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*, were also lacking sufficient knowledge and wisdom to maintain social happiness and social harmony. The members of the Commission understood that the existing system of giving solutions to the youth unrest was wrong. The youth had lost trust of government due to the mismanagement of governance by leaders of government decision makers. Further the Report, goes on to mention, "... That search is only meaningful if peace and

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<sup>73</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p.12

normalcy return. As preliminary gesture, the Commission urges the government to create, in a spirit of generosity, a climate of confidence so that many of those young people who have taken up arms against the State will feel the moral compulsion to respond.”<sup>74</sup> This statement has shown that lack of practice of management of governance by the State, as well as the decision making bodies such as the cabinet, the parliament and so on.

The report goes on to say, “... it appear that the State must place emphasis on the need to respond with a measure of compassion and genuine goodwill, and manifest an unflinching resolve to make appropriate changes in systems, procedures and attitudes. ... Unless there is an urgent effort to alleviate suffering and to arrest the denial of basic amenities and opportunities for rural youth, the cycle of violence is very likely to recur with even greater frenzy and cause an even more real threat to the survival of democracy and the spirit of freedom.”<sup>75</sup> The democracy and the spirit of freedom are for all members of society to live peacefully and happily in a just and reasonable society. Then there will be democracy and freedom for the youth to enter their lives with education and future stability with an equal opportunity to find an occupation to live happily, which is the way to social happiness of the society, as mentioned in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* in the teaching of the Buddha. All the trust was broken by the leaders by breaking not killing, not telling lies, not taking what is not given, not honoring the dignity of others’ loved ones - the universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of great human values of human being.

In the process of reconciliation, government has to play a vital role. The most important factor in the process of reconciliation is the qualities of the leaders of the government. The public should always keep in mind that they are the principal and that government leaders are the agents of the public and act accordingly. Therefore public also has to play a big role to cultivate the qualities of the decision making based on universal basic fundamental standard qualities of the great human values of human being

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<sup>74</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p.12.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid p.12.

and human qualifications, free from four extreme in making decisions. To establish that “the Commission is also of the opinion that, in this process of reconciliation which must be initiated without delay, the State as well as all members of the public must play a vigorous and spontaneous part.”<sup>76</sup> This opinion shows that the establishment of democracy and freedom is the responsibility of all people of the country and the state. After independence the government leaders had been destroying the democracy by putting state emergency as the rule of law in the country. The democratic system was not practiced in the country by the party leaders. Therefore youth did not trust the prevailed system of democracy. Therefore government has to practically show that they are practicing management of governance properly with democratic characteristic of decision making.

Teaching of the Buddha on governance, does not allow the party leaders to acquire the power to take others’ resources for their own benefit or to kill people of the opposition, taking their resources in an uncivilized and inhumane manner, by breaking UBFH. The teachings clearly support the establishment of management of governance to make all the people of the society happy. The democratic system has been converted for the winning party to become a cult to involve in uncivilized inhumane practices in the society showing to the world that Sri Lankan society is uncivilized and inhumane. In the long run, this has led to sacrifice the lives of the youth by taking arms against government of the country. It is a shame that almost all the people practice a religion and most of them say that they are Buddhist.

The Commission has written in their report about the worst results of politicization of the society. “... These victories not only give rise to an unprecedented level of post-election violence but also to the perception that the “winner takes all.” As one representative before the commission put it, “the winners always acted in a manner so as to give the impression that the supporters of the losing political parties ceased to be

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<sup>76</sup> Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing.p.12

people of this country.”<sup>77</sup> These attitudes served, and continue to serve, to polarize civil society at all levels, giving rise to the belief that members of the ruling party and their supporters have the exclusive right to all the rewards and benefits the society has to offer. As a result, political divisions at the local level are at times attended by great acrimony, with the children of supporters of losing political parties suffering discrimination and victimization at the hands of government officials and state institutions, leading to the spread of discontent, disquiet and even unrest among youth”.<sup>78</sup> The democratic system in Sri Lanka has become a license for the winning party’s members to kill the losing party members and their children, and destroy their houses and properties. The government and public enterprise employees of the opposition parties were not allowed to enter their office premises with death threat, insults, and sometimes even killing them. These inhumane practices were started by the party leader collectively.

The name of the country is Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.<sup>79</sup> The country has democracy only to select the members of the parliament, president, and local government representatives while selecting representative from the election that was also with election violence by killing each other. After winning the violence becomes worse. When the winning party came to work in the office then they start to discriminate the losing party member employees in the government offices. All the systems of the country were politicized. The people of the country have suffered each time the governing political party is changed by the election. The universal basic fundamentals standard quality of human values of human being did not prevail in the Sri Lanka society. The government has become only winning party people’s organization, working mainly for their party, development of the party and the party members.

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<sup>77</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p.13

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.p.21

<sup>79</sup> The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka article one.  
<https://www.parliament.lk/files/pdf/constitution.pdf> 28.11.23017

The minimum quality of a leader for management of governance must be the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being, not killing, not telling lies, not taking what is not given, and not honoring the dignity of others' loved ones. The management of governance and mismanagement of governance depend on the qualities of the leaders, or the representative of the people of the decision making bodies, i.e. Parliament, President and Judiciary officers. The potential candidates who aspire to become the President, Members of Parliament, and Members of Judiciary should all have the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being as the minimum required human qualities and human qualification, for us to expect management of governance from them. When there is management of governance in the country, there is happiness in the society, and it will extend to the whole world as explained by the Buddha. The Constitution of Sri Lanka has shown the power of the people in: article 3 (a) "the legislative power of the People, (b) the executive power of the People and (c) the judicial power of the People".<sup>80</sup> The Constitution does not mention the power of the winning party but it is the people's power. The power exercised for the happiness of the people of the country by the Parliament, President and the Judiciary. This system is the management of governance. The most important factor to be considered to correctly use these powers, or to practice management of governance, is the leader's human qualities and human qualifications according to teaching of the Buddha.

The Sri Lankan Society has cultivated not these standard human qualities and qualifications, but inhumane, uncivilized characteristics of killing the opposition, telling lies to cheat people, stealing power and resources of the people, using positions and power for sexual misconduct, and before decision making in the official table, having uncivilized drunken parties with lobbying interest groups. The finally mentioned activity forces the leaders to make decisions for the interest groups, although they are to make

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<sup>80</sup>The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka article one.  
<https://www.parliament.lk/files/pdf/constitution.pdf> 28.11.23017

decisions for the whole country. However these decisions are affecting the whole country, and while making the interest groups happy, the citizenry of the whole country has to suffer. This has been accepted by almost all the people in the country; by so called academics and professionals, such as; religious leaders, educated teachers, government and private administrators, security personnel, in addition to the civil society because they all are making decisions with four extreme decision making center states of mind. This was the main cause for the failure in development of the country from the independence and for social happiness moving away from the people in the society.

The politicization has been taken place since the leaders did not have sufficient knowledge and wisdom about the democratic system according to the teaching of the Buddha in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*. The mismanagement of governance has led to politicization of all the institutions and the public administrative officers of the government, permanent positions in the ministries, local government offices and also the public enterprises. The presidential commission on youth has shown four type of over-politicization. “ the abuse of political power in the recruitment of personnel to the public services, misapplication of political power in the granting of public contracts and licenses to the supporters of the ruling party, the abuse of political power in the undermining of existing democratic institutions, and political interference in the day to day administration of government institutions.”<sup>81</sup> This is still true for the country. The personnel in the institutions were recruited as political appointees not based on their experience or qualifications required to manage the institutions. Those government institutions have become places for resting, enjoying places for political party members, and places for fostering the political party, not working places supporting the people to sustain social happiness in the society. When losing party members come to get work done by these institutions they are discriminated and ill-treated, and if they open their mouth to protest according to the constitution, they would lose their lives, and that is how the inhumane

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<sup>81</sup> Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing.p.16

uncivilized qualities of the society were developed through mismanagement of governance. The Commission findings have given the barrier to social happiness and harmony.

The article 9 of the constitution states “to protect and foster the Buddha *Sasana*”. The government leaders should have to practice the Buddha *Sasana* to protect and foster it in Sri Lanka by cultivating the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being, first within themselves so that they can make decisions free from four extreme or human qualifications. When they practice these, the management of governance would be practicing to the society automatically by people imitating the leaders of the country as explained in teaching of the Buddha. The politicization of the system had resulted in the loss of faith and confidence not merely in individual leaders but in the democratic system itself. The Commission report emphasizes that reality of the democratic system as practice of mismanagement of governance in the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.

The above standard qualities would help to cultivate highest human qualities of values such as the four divine state of mind<sup>82</sup> loving-kindness or benevolence (*mettā*), compassion (*karunā*), empathetic joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekkhā*). These four great qualities could be achieved after cultivating the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being by safeguarding everyone’s life, safeguarding everyone’s resources, truthfulness; trust and dignity for everyone loving ones. These can be accepted universally for all human beings without any discrimination, just by considering humanity, for every society to regain social happiness of all the people in the country. These would make and cultivate happiness in every human being. When these are lost in the society there could not be happiness at all in that society. The Presidential Commission on Youth realized that the democratic system became confusing

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<sup>82</sup>*Tevijja Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya, Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.5 94-642*

for every human being in the country. Reason was the breaking of the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being in living and in making decisions with human qualifications. It was the mismanagement of governance by elected party leaders guided to develop to make decisions in extreme desire, fear, anger and ignorance center states of mind which has led to social unhappiness and disharmony.

The Commission has recommended de-politicization of the civil society and de-politicization of recruitment, promotions, transfers and dismissals in the public services, especially the Nominations Commission.<sup>83</sup> The politicization has been built up with the decision making leaders' extreme desire and ignorance center states of mind. Also leaders do not have sufficient knowledge and wisdom to practice the democratic system to sustain social happiness, peace and harmony according to the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* in the teaching of the Buddha and leaders must make decisions free from four extremes and human qualities with sufficient knowledge and wisdom. However the report has suggested the following commissions recommended in their report were to establish the democratic system for management of governance for the happiness of every person in the country.

1. The public services Commission
2. The Educational Commission
3. The Human Rights Commission
4. The Board of the National Youth Service Commission
5. The Public Corporation Services Council
6. The Official Language Commission
7. The University Grant Commission

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<sup>83</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p. 6

8. A Commission responsible for appointments to the Security Forces
9. The Salaries Standardization Commission
10. A Commission on National Educational policy
11. A Commission on Human Resources Development
12. A Commission on Health Policy
13. A Media Commission

The importance of establishment of the Commissions is to create equal opportunities and reasonable justice for every citizen of the country to reestablish social happiness and harmony. The power cannot be abused by winning the parliamentary election to kill the losing party members and their children. This cannot happen in any human society, let alone a democratic society, especially a Buddhist society at all.

The leaders lacked the capacity or a need to cultivate the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of the great human values of human being. Because they made decisions in extreme desire, fear, anger and ignorance center states of mind. These extreme center states of mind are not conducive for the analysis of the problems according to the reality. These center states of mind had broken the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of the great human values of human being. It has shown that the mismanagement of governance had taken place by destroying democratic system creating suffering for all citizen of the country by making decisions in extreme fear, desire, ignorance and anger center states of mind of party leaders of the government. These extremes do not provide opportunity to realize the real problems in the society, making them see only the surface of the problems like the tip of an iceberg. When they apply mismanagement of governance to make wrong decisions that would increase suffering for all the people of the country.

The objectives of the Parliament should be known by every parliamentarian. There is no special qualification to become a parliamentarian or members of parliament

in Sri Lanka. The every qualified voter<sup>84</sup> can be a member of parliament. This means that there are no required qualifications and qualities for the most important and critical elected positions in the country, where the executive and legislative members are in the above category requiring no qualifications and thus elected representatives were appointing the members of the Judiciary! Buddha's views on qualifications and qualities required for a particular honorary position are discussed in Chapter III on Buddha's Teachings on Governance for Happiness, by using the *Cīvarakkhandhaka in the Vinaya Piṭaka*.

The Commission found out and emphasizes the dangers of political party system at village level "Party politics at the village level may further divide the village".<sup>85</sup> This fact is very important at village level because they are fighting with each other to get jobs from their winning party which led to destroy social happiness as well as social harmony. The villagers become enemies of each other belonging to different political parties. The winning party people do not allow the losing party members to get job. Even if they have enough qualifications, and were selected for the job, and their names were on the recruiting list of the government, as soon as they see it, the winning party members immediately go to their party office and cut down their names from the list. Therefore the villagers get involved in party politics as war competing with and even killing each other.

The Buddha explains that poverty leads to create chain of the problems in the society by destroying social happiness and harmony. All the family problems were created through economic problems. The family economic problem has created all other problems of youth unrest and gave rise to unhappy lives of the youth in the family. The most important person of the Sri Lankan family, mother is working to solve the economic problems. The Commission's paid especial attention to 'family' economic problems and

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<sup>84</sup>The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka article one. <https://www.parliament.lk/files/pdf/constitution.pdf> 28.11.2017

<sup>85</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing p.20.

problems of broken families were considered deeply. The mother or father or both leaving for jobs in other countries and having working women in the families also contributes for youth unrest. “These are some of the hidden reasons behind youth unrest. Evidence was placed before the Commission by the Commissioner of Prisons and the coordinating Officer, Anuradhapura that a large number of youth involved in rebellion came from broken homes”.<sup>86</sup> The Commission has proposed that more attention should be given to the family institution. “... the family has to be strengthened. It is the primary, nurturing institution of our society and often provides a child with role model behavior and value patterns which will deeply affect him in later life. ... Even when women go to the Middle East as housemaids, it is often with the ambition of bettering the lives of their families, though sometimes on their return they find that the institution which they cherish the most has been destroyed.”<sup>87</sup>

Human qualifications are the most important factor in decision making for the benefit and happiness of all the people of the society. That is, to be free from four extremes to offer equal opportunity, equal facility, and equal service to all the affected people. On the other hand one concept of human qualities is not taking what is not given, should be considered for every job holder of the society. If a society moves away from these qualifications and qualities it will lead to create problems for that society. The Commission made recommendations to reduce youth unrest developed with corruption taking place in public institutions. “...the commission is of view that a Permanent Commission on Corruption must be set up under the constitution and that it should be vested with wide-ranging powers, including a special investigative unit which should have certain police powers. ... sitting judges at High Court level. ... In addition to a Permanent Commission ... special all party committee of Parliament should be set up to

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<sup>86</sup> Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing p.20.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. p.16

investigate ... with regard to the conduct of politicians and public servants.”<sup>88</sup> The corruption and bribery are also a reason leading to unrest of frustrated and unhappy youth. When they go to get work done to a government office or their member of the parliament, due to their poverty, youth from rural areas are not able to bribe the corrupt officials. This is a kind of ‘taking what is not given’ will lead to destroy happiness of the people in the society.

The Commission has recommended very important broad and powerful post of Youth Ombudsman and it has the power to take the problem up to the Appeals Court. It was also recommended to set up a youth forum under the National Youth Council. It is also to overcome problems of youth unrest to regain happiness of the youth in the country.

The Commission has deeply analyzed youth frustration, unrest and unhappiness. There were many recommendations on political parties, political system, education, public institutions, corruption, agriculture, self-employment, capital formation for small and medium scale industries in the rural areas with less interest and encouragement with capital allowances to increase more job opportunities in the country, as export oriented as well as import substitutes.<sup>89</sup> Then all decisions are to be taken in central and local governments by the representatives of the people including youth.

The Commission warned that if these recommendations are not implemented in the future, accumulation of youth problems will threaten the peace and happiness of the society. The purpose of appointment of this Commission was to obtain information with respect to disquiet, unrest and social discontent among a section or sections of the youth and the related factors. The Commission found out that the societal, educational, economical, agricultural areas where youth unrest created led to insurrections. These

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<sup>88</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing..p.22.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid.

have shown that as state or government entity failure in management of governance will develop mismanagement of governance. This has led to frustration, unrest, discrimination, and unhappy future youth of the country towards future insurrection.

Teaching of the Buddha has elaborated in the *Cakkavatti Sutta* the concept of *Cakkavattirājā* not only for the national leadership but also a global leadership for happiness of all the people in the globe. In addition to that, *Kūṭadanta Sutta* more attention has given to sufficient knowledge and wisdom of the leader for making decisions for the benefit and happiness of others. It is also emphasizing the important of advisers to the leaders should have enough knowledge and wisdom to advice leaders in proper way to management of governance for the happiness of all the people of the society. However political party leaders became the executive presidents, prime ministers, ministers, and elected members of parliaments. In addition to these, parties are allowed to nominate national list members of the parliament in order to get experts in different fields to be represented in the parliament, but these opportunities were also given to political party members who have only worked for the party and not the experts of different fields to get involved deeply in debates on special topics in the parliament. Opposition is also working for winning their next election. The Speaker of the Parliament is also a political party leader. This is supposed to be a neutral position, and even he too works for the future of his own party. The problems are prevailing and accumulating with new problems as chain of problems day by day in the politicization of public institutions. This cycle created by the political party leaders is propelled by the politicization of the society, taking the country and its people in a downward spiral can only be stopped by depoliticizing the society by a national leader.

Because of the insufficient knowledge and wisdom, the main power of the people, the legislative power of the people is abused and misused by the political party leaders for their own as well as their political party's development, the executive power is abused by the political leaders for their own and their political party development. They have been practiced mismanagement of governance with the people's power and the

resources for their party's development and not for the country's development at all. The power and the resources belong to the people of the country. The people should get equal opportunity to access the public resources to get a suitable job for their qualifications that are acquired from the society's existing system of education. From the independence people's power and resources have been used by the party leaders to develop party members and the party. They did not consider the main problems faced by all the peoples of the country. Therefore all the people of the country suffered as a consequence.

The southern and northern insurrections had taken place since the mismanagement of governance by the political party leaders' single view extremism'. The single view of extremism' has not developed national leaders to the country from the independence. None of the party leaders could get an opportunity to overcome 'single view extremism' to become a true national leader. Therefore the Sri Lankan society does not have national leader who work for the benefit of all the people of the country.

Teaching of the Buddha explains innovation and creativity for the development of new methods and systems to sustain social happiness and harmony. Accordingly, the Commission suggested the de-politicization of government institution 27 years ago but there is no different. The most important suggestion of the commission was to establish Manpower Unit and a Commission on Human Resources Development to occupy all the youth of the country. These will lead to finding occupations for all the youth in the country. If not Commission stated that there could not be stopping youth unrest leading to future insurrections in the country since mismanagement of governance is practiced by 'one view extremist' political party leaders and administrators in the public management who support to practice mismanagement of governance. The party leaders work for the benefit of their parties; not for the benefit of all peoples but they try to make their party members happy, main public management positions of the civil administration are also filled with the party members, not by qualifications, but by party connections. The administrators who are neutral or work for the benefit of all peoples are punished by

assigning them to the national pool or forcing early retirement.<sup>90</sup> The public administration has also become politicized with the political party supporters of the governing parties.

The political party leaders had made even wrong decisions, and society was misguided to believe that they should be making all the decisions, even if those decisions are wrong for the country. The “winner gets all” “loser lost even citizenship”<sup>91</sup> this situation was the country’s prevailing in the past. It is also in the present, not after election but before the election, the ruling party attack and does inhuman acts to the candidates of opposition. This has created social unhappiness and disharmony among people in the society.

The Buddha explains the importance of human qualities and human qualifications in management of governance to make decision for social happiness. Peoples do not know and realize –and also they are made to forget that they are the owners of the power and resources of the country. If they are educated to realize that they are the real owners of power and resources of the country though leaders also come from among people, which will create happiness of all the peoples.

#### **4.7 Loss of Social Happiness and the 30 Year War**

The explanation from the following shows that the decision made by short sighted political party leaders with extreme desire and anger center states of mind created all the problems and stopped development, destroyed the peace, happiness and harmony of all the people irrespective of race or religious of all the members in the society as stated in the *Sigāla Sutta*. The Buddha explains in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* that leaders and their advisers should have sufficient knowledge and wisdom to make decisions to sustain social happiness and harmony. The roots of the 30 year war can be traced back to 1943

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<sup>90</sup> Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing. p.23

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. p.20

and 44, a Bill on Language which was approved by the government. The government at the time commented that the implementation of this legislation should be in ‘slow and measured steps’.<sup>92</sup> However it was seen by the then prime minister as something not suitable at the time, stating that it would break the delicate coalition of the nation brought together with great difficulty.<sup>93</sup>

With extreme fear, anger, desire and ignorance center states of mind the Tamil leaders reacted to these developments by firing the first political shots for the separation of north and east from independence. Forming the Sri Lanka Tamil State Party Illankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi in 1949, just one year after independence, it had called for a federal political structure and regional autonomy for the Tamils, and the demand for Tamil separatism in Sri Lanka was begun.<sup>94</sup>

According to teaching of the Buddha, decisions made with extreme desire center state of mind will always lead to social unhappiness, which can be seen below. The ‘Sinhala only as the official language’ in 1956 was passed at the 4<sup>th</sup> Sri Lanka Freedom Party, (SLFP) convention with the extreme desire center state of mind and mixed with ignorance decision making center state of mind to face the election and they agreed to use this as main slogan of the SLFP in the election of 1956. On the other hand, United National Party (UNP) also agreed in their 8<sup>th</sup> convention to establish only Sinhala language as the official language after coming into power<sup>95</sup> with extreme desire center state of mind to come into power, mixed with ignorance decision making center state of mind. This was the point of initiation for the creation of the 30 year war. Singapore’s founding father Lee Kwan Yew who used Sri Lanka as his development model, “was very disappointed with the developments in Sri Lanka, which had performed brilliantly

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<sup>92</sup> De Silva, K M and Wriggins, H (1988). J R Biography Volume No.1 First half century, Published by J R Jayawardhana Centre in Colombo, Sri Lanka. p.297

<sup>93</sup> De Silva, K M and Wriggins, H (1988). J R Biography Volume No.1 First half century, Published by J R Jayawardhana Centre in Colombo, Sri Lanka. p.297

<sup>94</sup> Bandarage Asoka (2009). The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka; Terrorism, ethnicity, political Economy, Vijitha Yapa Publications. p. 67

<sup>95</sup> Malalgoda Banduthilake (1999) S W R D Bandaranayaike, publish no.38 by government Printing Corporation Colombo Sri Lanka. p.247

only until 1956. Unfortunately, Sri Lankan leaders played ethnic and religious politics, seeded hatred and division and the country was dragged back 30 years”.<sup>96</sup>

Here, the political leadership by breaking promises had broken human qualities of not telling lies. They were cheating both the people and the Tamil leaders by breaking the trust placed on them. This alienated the Tamil leaders who were in the ‘United National’ party coalition government since the ruling party political leadership had broken promised agreement by the existing government to establish both Tamil and Sinhala language as common official languages. Tamil leaders, seven Tamil speaking members of the ruling party all had resigned from their posts in protest. For the first time after democratic process was established they threatened to form a separate state for the Tamils.<sup>97</sup> These Tamil leaders also with the extreme fear, desire, anger, and ignorance center states of mind had made the decision that led to the killing of hundred thousand youth that blocked their contribution to develop the country with their innovative and creative efforts. In 1956 newly established government passed the ‘Official Language Act 1956’ making Sinhala the only official language and this was the main root cause that created the 30 year war. In this way leadership of both major parties’ had contributed to create 30 year war in the initial stage by making decisions in extreme desire, anger, fear and ignorance center states of mind lead to mismanagement of governance by breaking qualification in making decision.

The tactics of using ethnicity and religion in politics is done by the political party leaders with extreme desire, anger, fear and ignorance center states of mind losing human qualification which leads to breaking of human qualities as well. The majority of the people of the country as well as the leaders of the government were Sinhalese and at that time two major political party leaders were also Sinhalese. Thus the leaders were

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<sup>96</sup>Gunaratna, Rohan (2018) Sinhala Only Act destroyed peaceful Sri Lanka:  
<http://www.ft.lk/opinion/Sinhala-Only-Act-destroyed-peaceful-Sri-Lanka--Prof--Rohan-Gunaratna/14-650183> 29. 01. 2018

<sup>97</sup>Malalgoda, Banduthilake (1999) S W R D Bandaranayaike, publish no.38 by government Printing Corporation Colombo Sri Lanka. p.258

making decisions with extreme desire center state of mind to take the power using the majority Sinhalese vote. This was the reason that both parties separately agreed to establish Sinhala the only official language. The leaders did not know that consequences of that decision, made with extreme desire, fear and ignorance center states of mind to create the 30 year war and loss of hundred thousand lives of the youth energy to the country. The Buddha has given guidance the leaders must have sufficient knowledge and wisdom to make decision to solve the problems to sustain the social happiness and the social harmony with peace in the society.

#### **4.7.1 Youth Loosing Opportunities for Happiness through Education Policy**

Teaching of the Buddha had given attention to innovation, creativity as change agent leaders of the society to sustain social happiness. Further when introducing new methods and systems, the leaders and advisers should have a clear idea about how to implement the plan according to *Kūṭadanta Sutta*. After independence, for the first time in the history, the Tamil youth were gathered for the struggle to safeguard their future societal status and jobs, but not for a separate state. By the early 1970s, at least some Tamil youth, who were particularly hard hit by the new restrictions on university entrance, “felt that peaceful political agitation by the old men had got nothing for the Tamils and that it was the boys turn to secure Tamil rights,”<sup>98</sup> through more radical means if necessary. In this regard, Tamil youth formed the Tamil Student League (TSL). It was the first group of Tamil youth organized to protect their main income generation process of obtaining a good job through university education. These facts and incidents emphasize that roots of the youth uprising was to safeguard economic opportunities through free education to eradicate poverty to entering the elite group of the society such as doctors, engineers, lawyers, administrators. The youth had made these decisions with extreme desire, anger, fear and ignorance center states of mind. When they were in these

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<sup>98</sup> Gunaratna Rohan (1998) Sri Lanka’s ethnic Crisis & National Security, South Asia Network on Conflict of Research. p.109

four extremes they could think openly without single view extremism in their decision making center states of mind.

The Tamil youth first organized to protest the loss of their economic opportunities which occurred through closing of their only and main opportunity open for them through free education. Thus it is obvious that this was primarily an economic problem. The youth, who had talent and courage to face the government university entrance examination or Advance Level Examination, were frustrated that they would lose the opportunity to enter the university by this limitation of the numbers entering from their region through the quota system. 'Residing in areas where land was scarce and infertile, Ceylon Tamils focused on education as a means of advancement'.<sup>99</sup> Therefore Tamil parents encourage their children to achieve the highest level of education for the advancement of their future life with an elite job and elite status. This was partly because they were unable to pursue large-scale agricultural activities but was also partly attributable to the availability of the widespread missionary schools especially in the north. Owing to their English literacy, the British government favored the Ceylon Tamils who held 60 per cent of the professional positions employed by the state at independence in February 1948.<sup>100</sup>

Most importantly youth could foresee that they would lose the future jobs and they were uncertain of getting future stable income through free education. Although the Tamil elite was struggling for Tamil Eelam since before the independence, the Tamil youth started to protest as a group to safeguard their future advancement for an elite life with economic prosperity. When that opportunity for future prosperity was lost, they may have thought that after establishing the Tamil Eelam, as promised by their elite aging leaders, they would get the opportunity to freely enter their Universities in Tamil the

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<sup>99</sup>Richards Joanne (2014), An Institution History of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) CCDP working paper.

<sup>100</sup>Chattopadhyaya, H.P. (1994) Ethnic Unrest in Modern Sri Lanka: An Account of Tamil-Sinhalese Race Relations, M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd. p.15

Eelam. The main reason for the evolution of LTTE was the search for reestablishing the lost economically stable future by the youth.

The Tamil youth also in single view extremism had made decisions with extreme desire, anger, fear, and ignorance center states of mind. The first Tamil Youth movement started against the quota policy with the extreme fear center state of mind that they lost the opportunity for free higher education. The Tamil political party leaders with the extreme desire and fear center states of mind published Vaddukoddai Resolution for independent Tamil Eelam. There the Tamil leaders openly requested the youth to join to establish the separate Tamil state, Tamil Eelam with sacrificing all their effort to win a separate state where they could get for free education.

#### **4 .7.2 Beginning of Militancy in Search of Happiness**

With decisions made with extreme desire, anger, fear and ignorance center states of mind the Tamil elite had implicitly handed over to the Tamil youth, who were in single view extremism, also blinded by these extreme states of mind, the arms struggle for a separate state.<sup>101</sup> Thus the Tamil youth had formed many youth organization to overcome their future problems. According to teaching of the Buddha, social happiness cannot be achieved by decision making in these extreme center states of mind. The years from 1973 to 1977 can be read as the dawn of Tamil militancy. Violence and political murders became part of the struggle when the SLFP organizer in Jaffna, former parliamentarian for Jaffna and former mayor the most prominent of the Tamil supporters of the government, was assassinated by a group of Tamil youth.<sup>102</sup> This takes on a special significance as the first political assassination associated with the future leader of the LTTE, and then only a youth of seventeen.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>Bandarage Asoka (2009) *The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka; Terrorism, ethnicity, political Economy*, Vijitha Yapa Publications. p.83

<sup>102</sup>Wickramasinghe N(2006). *Sri Lanka in the Modern Age- A history of Contested Identities*, Vijitha Yapa Publications p.280

<sup>103</sup>De Silva K M. (2012). *Sri Lanka and The defeat of the LTTE*, Vijitha Yapa Publications Colombo. p.26

The separatist leader of 30 year war had broken a Universal Basic Fundamental of Happiness by killing. Thus, the leader starts his struggle, searching for social happiness for the Tamil youth with this action of destroying happiness of the society. After this murder, on the other hand, the major turning point was Black July 1983 that killed about 2000 Tamils from the other parts of the country<sup>104</sup> Tamils had supported to expand the LTTE activity with the support and propaganda of the worldwide Tamil Diaspora receiving international status and also compelling the university students to join the Tamil youth groups.<sup>105</sup>

On the other hand after the independence the decision making extreme center states of mind of the two major party leaders and resulting actions show their loss of human qualities and qualifications as shown from the following paragraph.

Thereafter for over 20 years the two largest parties, usually called the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), vied with each other in their attempts to placate, even foment, Sinhalese nationalist sentiment. Though their bark when in opposition was sometimes worse than their bite when in power, there can be no doubt that many of their policies and actions were politically inept, some of them unjust. The Tamil opposition remained firmly within the rules of parliamentary democratic politics until the beginning of the 1980s, though sporadic violence by small separatist groups began in the 1970s. In 1981 Sinhalese thugs burnt down the Jaffna Public Library, a famous institution, while the police did nothing. Nobody was ever punished for this appalling act of vandalism. Terrorist activity began to increase.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>Bandarage Asoka (2009) *The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka; Terrorism, ethnicity, political Economy*, Vijitha Yapa Publications.p.82

<sup>105</sup>Hoole Ranjan (2016), *University of Peradeniya- May 1983: When Majesty stoops to Folly*. <https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/university-of-peradeniya-may-1983-when-majesty-stoops-to-folly/> 3.12.2017

<sup>106</sup>Richard Gombrich (2006) *Is the Sri Lankan War a Buddhist Fundamentalism?* (ed) Deegalle Mahinda *Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka* published by Routledge. p.24

The following paragraph has shown leaders had made decisions with extreme anger and desire center states of mind, going against the teaching of the Buddha, which contributed to create the 30 years of war with the accompanying loss of social happiness.

The beginning of both the civil war and large-scale Tamil terrorism can be dated to July 1983. A jeep carrying thirteen Sinhalese soldiers was blown up in a combat area in the north by a Tamil landmine, and their remains were brought to Colombo for cremation. This sparked off terrible riots in Colombo. Initially the President, J.R. Jayewardene (1906–1996), was not unhappy that Tamils should be ‘taught a lesson’, but he lost control of the situation and even seems to have feared for his own life. The riots spread to Kandy and other predominantly Sinhalese areas. Many Tamils were murdered and there was a vast amount of arson and looting of Tamil property.<sup>107</sup>

This has shown that the leaders had contributed for the 30 year war and the 1987-89 insurrection with the extreme desire, anger, fear and ignorance center states of mind that led to killing of two hundred thousand youth by the government by abusing the people’s power. That has broken universal basic fundamental of happiness of safe guard the life of the all the people of the country. This violence against Tamil to ‘teach a lesson’ to them was not a correct decision of a leader of a country according to teaching of the Buddha. The teaching of the Buddha emphasize that violence is not a good the problem solving method. “Physical torture, verbal abuse and written accusations are forms of violence. On the whole, the Pali canon gives clear indications that physical violence cannot be accepted even as a means of solving human and social problems.”<sup>108</sup>

Buddha explains in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* that leaders and their advisers should have sufficient knowledge and wisdom to make decisions to sustain social

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<sup>107</sup>Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>Deegalle Mahinda (2006) Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka, Published by Routledge p.5

happiness and harmony. The most important characteristic of party leaders were that they did not understand the problems and did not have analytical ability analyze the problems. The reason is that the party leaders are trained and groomed to be only that; i.e. only to be a party leader; when they acquire people's power through the election process, they get into the tribal mentality with single view extremism and become tribal leaders, and start ruling the country, by only focusing on their particular cult. This is why the elected party leaders never became national leaders since the independence.

The leaders of both the government and the rebels made decisions without human qualities and qualifications according to teaching of the Buddha. The insurgent leader had broken the human qualities by killing, stealing, breaking trust by telling lies, disrespecting dignity of other loved ones by killing and threatening them. This was also done by the leaders of the government too. The country became the most dangerous place to live during the war. The only path had been chosen to capture the North and East with the single view extremism was war. That had destroyed social happiness, harmony and peace simultaneously in the whole country. Especially when leaders make decisions with four extremes, the other alternative paths will be closed. Therefore they try to find happiness by breaking UBFH, which can never be achieved.

#### **4.7.3 Futility of War Breaking the Universal Basic Fundamentals of Happiness**

Basically resources as money for development for the militants of north and east were collected from robbing the government banks and later when the organization was established, funds were taken from internationally established organizations. Then for the large scale the robberies of banks in the country, in addition to smuggling arms and drugs worldwide. This breaking of the universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of great human values of human being will not give happiness to people at all that lead to destroy social happiness and harmony. Thirty years of wars in north and east have taught the lesson that destroying universal basic fundamental standard great qualities of great human values of human being will not achieve social happiness. Four extremes center states of mind have closed all alternative avenues to solve the problems.

Only ‘single view extremism’ has opened up so that only one narrowed down path is seen. It has created chain of problems in the society.

While militants spread the violence Island wide by destroying happiness and harmony of all the people in the society. March 2004 is also notable as the date the militants experienced its first significant split, when their Eastern leader broke away with between 3,000 and 6,000 of his cadres.<sup>109</sup> At this point, the militants possessed roughly 25,000 cadres overall.<sup>110</sup>

In regard to these actions, while the United Nations Panel of Experts found credible evidence to suggest that the LTTE violated Article 3, the Panel did not find sufficient evidence to suggest that the LTTE violated international humanitarian customary law on the use of “human shields.”<sup>111</sup> The armed struggle has turned Sri Lanka into ‘one of the most dangerous places on the earth.’<sup>112</sup>

Within the cease fire agreement LTTE had broken the agreement many times, government also tried to uphold and honor the cease fire agreement. The governing coalition did not have a majority in the legislature, thus making it vulnerable to pressure from some parties in the coalition that urge to end the Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) and called upon the government to embark on an “all-out war”.<sup>113</sup> To put pressure on the government, the militants – who were under pressure from hungry Tamil farmers - closed the sluice gates of the Mavil Aru anicut (dam) on 20 July 2006.<sup>114</sup> This action had initiated an all-out war with the government in the east, eventually losing it, showing

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<sup>109</sup>Human Rights Watch (HRW) 2009 War on the Displaced: Sri Lankan Army and LTTE Abuses Against Civilians in the Vanni. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/02/19/sri-lanka-after-tigers> 4.12.2017

<sup>110</sup>Jeyaraj, B.D.S. (2004) ‘Tiger Vs Tiger,’ Frontline, Vol. 21, Issue 7, March 27-April 9, 2004. <http://www.frontline.in/static/html/fl2107/stories/20040409004501700.htm>. 1.12.2017

<sup>111</sup>Richards Joanne (2014), An Institution History of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) CCDP working paper.

<sup>112</sup>Voorde Van de Cecile (2005). Sri Lankan Terrorism: Assessing and Responding to the Threat of the LTTE; Policy Practice and Research Vol.6 No.2 p.195

<sup>113</sup>De Silva K M. (2012). Sri Lanka and The defeat of the LTTE, Vijitha Yapa Publications Colombo. p.67

<sup>114</sup>Richards Joanne (2014), An Institution History of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) CCDP working paper.

their incapability of fighting against the government for a separate Tamil State. The government was able to fight using full strength, since closing the sluice gate gave them humanitarian grounds to do that without worrying about international pressure. This battle was the first step in the final war against north militants, ending up in total annihilation of them.

In the year following the Mavil Aru blockade, the LTTE lost thousands of its military cadres in confirmed battle deaths, several hundreds were seriously injured, and there were also surrenders to the army.<sup>115</sup> The Sea Tigers also sustained cumulatively devastating losses during engagements in 2007, and in 2008.<sup>116</sup> During this period, the Sri Lankan Navy had severely damaged the Sea Tigers.<sup>117</sup> Their weapon transport ways had been also closed. The fall of Kilinochchi - previously their administrative centre - was both a military and psychological turning point and, afterwards, the militants' fighting capacity and morale declined rapidly before the larger and better equipped SLA.<sup>118</sup> Finally, on 19 May 2009, a day or two after the death of their leader, and, the Sri Lankan President addressed the nation and formally announced the military defeat of the militants.<sup>119</sup> On May 19, 2009, the Sri Lankan government declared victory, marking an end to a 26-year-long armed conflict that had caused between 80,000 and 100,000

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<sup>115</sup>NORAD (2011) *Pawns of Peace: Evaluation of Norwegian Peace Efforts in Sri Lanka, 1997-2009*. Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation. P.61

<sup>116</sup>Povlock, P.A. 2011 'A Guerrilla War at Sea: The Sri Lankan Civil War,' *Small Wars Journal*.pp.1-51

<sup>117</sup>De Silva K M and Ranasinghe, S.( 2010) 'Strategic Analysis of Sri Lankan Military's Counter-Insurgency Operations,' *Strategic Analysis Paper, Independent Strategic Analysis of Australia's Global Interests*. p.14

<sup>118</sup>Hashim, A.S. 2013 *When Counter insurgency Wins: Sri Lanka's Defeat of the Tamil Tigers*. University of Pennsylvania Press.pp.132-196

<sup>119</sup>Jeyaraj, D.B.S. (2009) "Pottu Amman" and the Intelligence Division of the LTTE. <http://dbsjeyaraj.com/dbsj/archives/1073> 22..08.2017

deaths<sup>120</sup> and according to another report, it is estimated that from 70000 up to as many as possibly 100000 people died in the period due to the virtual ‘civil war’ of 30 years.<sup>121</sup>

The 30 years of war or armed struggle for a separate Tamil Motherland has ended by killing all top level militants leaders by the Sri Lankan government. This was a tragedy of Tamil youth that their main aim was to establish sovereign socialist republic people’s state. But they ended with sacrificing lives of about hundred thousand of people for the country especially youth. It was named as the most dangerous terrorist group in world with all the strength of arms with their own Army, Navy, Air force, Police. Not only that, they had administrative group with judiciary powers developed over 30 years. Their defeat was a lesson for every armed group in the world that by breaking the universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of great human values of human beings of not killing, not stealing, not telling lies, not abusing loved ones of others.

The indigenous knowledge of the society has guided to make real decision to accept for the globe that universally accepted basic fundamentals standard qualities of the great human values of the human being, of safeguarding the lives of everyone in the society. Those are the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of the great human values of human beings and to accept them is to live happily. All these great values apply equally to all the peoples of the society and more so to the leaders of the government and the leaders of the society. Then automatically their followers will follow it by imitating the leaders of the country as taught by the Buddha. Then the society would love each other as human beings and this will leave no room for conflicts and wars, will lead to social happiness and harmony. If this is broken by a human it creates problems for the human society as a whole this had experienced seriously by all the human in Sri Lanka during the 30 year war. As mentioned above even though the knowledge was there in the country to begin with, the existing education system established by the British does not

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<sup>120</sup>Human Rights Watch, World Report 2010, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2010/country-chapters/sri-lanka> 10.09..2017

<sup>121</sup>Roberts Adam Sir (Ed) (2012). Democracy, Sovereignty and Terror: Lakshman Kadiragamar on the Foundations of International Order, I. B. Tauris London New York. p.243

allow the search and use of indigenous knowledge in any field. The indigenous knowledge has shown that social happiness can be experience by practicing human qualities and human qualifications for management of governance of social happiness of all the societies in the globe.

This has created almost all the problems in the country by political party leaders who come to power to make decisions only for their party members' benefit. They did not know about the indigenous knowledge treasure of the country. Therefore, none of the political party leaders attempted to find the solution for the created problems from the teaching of the Buddha even though the constitution admonishes the government to 'foster and protect the Buddha *Sāsana*'. The relationship between violence and teaching of the Buddha is shown in the following excerpt;

Though various forms of violent activities in Sri Lanka have no direct link with Buddhist teachings, the phenomenon of violence in Sri Lanka has challenged and tested the sustainability of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and its continuing influence in Sri Lankan society. No Buddhist can ignore the implication of violence on Buddhist monks, Buddhist laity, Buddhist institutions in Sri Lanka and the daily practices of Buddhists. The unhealthy and violent conditions in modern Sri Lanka have caused all Sri Lankans – irrespective of their ethnic or religious boundaries – to suffer.<sup>122</sup>

According to the knowledge treasure these is no room for conflict. This has states as “In general, Theravada Buddhism holds the opinion that extreme violent activities, for example, war and conflict among groups, arise due to sensual desires. The *Mahadukkakkhandha Sutta*, in particular, identifies sensual desires as the leading factor in creating disputes among various segments of society”.<sup>123</sup> This facts are given more requirement of analysis of the desires who has, where it come from, how it works in the society, in this research fulfilling the gap between exiting discussions and the reality

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<sup>122</sup>Deegalle Mahinda (2006) Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka, Published by Routledge p.4

<sup>123</sup>. Deegalle Mahinda (2006) Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka, Published by Routledge p.6

extracted from the teaching of the Buddha; the decision making extreme desire center states of mind has led to conflict of war lose hundred thousand of youth of the country who could contribute to the society innovative and creative decision for the happiness of all the people in the society. The youth were not guidance with the indigenous knowledge for the happiness to become societal person by contributing the happiness to the society.

Rebellion leaders and the political party leaders who were contributed to the created internal war were made decisions with extreme desire center state of mind to keep the power of the people with them, on the other hand rebellion leaders firmed in their decision to capture the North and East part of the country as separate state with extreme desire center state of mind which is not lead to make people happiness. This has experience by the people of the country throughout the 30 year war which has created death threat of all the people of the country including rebel leaders as well as political party leaders who run the government. The right to live of a person in every place in Sri Lanka has been face threat during the 30 year war. The society leaders who are representing political parties do not know the requirement of the safe guard the lives of all the people of the country to make everyone happy. The foremost universal basic fundamental of happiness has solely depended on safe guarding lives of every person in the society.

The first universal basic fundamental of happiness has been broken by the political party leaders of the society with the extreme desire center state of mind by killing people. The people of the society had imitated by the both party members of the society. Political party Leaders and rebel leaders were not considering the human qualities and human qualification to make all the people happy. The indigenous knowledge has not been study in depth by the existing system of leaning process of education. Both rebel and power holding political party leaders do not have consultant that expertise of indigenous knowledge. This has led to created problems more complex like a spider net. According to teaching of the Buddha as explain in the Chapter III, leaders and their consultant paramount important to have solution with realizing the

reality and root of the problems, with sufficient knowledge and wisdom for decision making to happiness of all the people of society.

#### **4.7.4 Militant Leadership and Decision Making Center States of Mind**

The extreme desire, fear, anger and ignorance center states of mind in making decision has not given the option of finding alternative solutions by single view extremism. The militant leadership involved with all the youth leagues started to fight for the higher education rights of Tamil youth, from the beginning. However, his leadership was instrumental in destroying and absorbing all the other groups involved in fighting separate state for Tamil with extreme desire, anger, and ignorance center states of mind since the single view extremism he was in, did not distinguish between Tamil or Sinhalese. The leaders guided to develop all the administration-both martial and civil. The leader was instrumental in expanding the militant activities worldwide. The 'single view extremism' had been practiced by him in killing with an extreme desire center state of mind, closing his open mind from seeing all the options, through ignorance.

The leader started his work by killing an eminent leader of the Tamil community. As Hindus, the Tamil community was reluctant to take that kind of step to break universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of the great human values of human beings. The leader had broken the universal basic fundamental standard great qualities of the great human values of human being to establish separate Tamil Eelam State for Tamil people by killing an eminent Tamil leader in the country. The mode of real problems of the youth (Tamil) was understood by the leader at the age of seventeen only as the Tamil elite had presented it. He may have thought that by killing those eminent leaders, the problems can be solved, and this decision was made in the extreme desire center state of mind, in which he could not take into account of the alternative solutions for the problems. After killing the prominent Tamil leader by himself he makes decision with extreme fear center state of mind to flee the country.

#### **4.7.5 Final Analysis of the 30 Year War**

The problem solving ability and analytical skills covered with extreme fear and ignorance center states of mind did not allow them to make decisions on realization of an opened mind as the youth. The ignorance, desire, fear and anger center states of mind did not allow them to think of what will happen to them. The militants were involved in worldwide illegal activities to increase the funds for the future Tamil of State with the name of socialist republic people state. As they got help from other countries, they were obliged to fulfill these helpers' expectations which were always not aligned with their main objectives. They had established all the requirement for a separate country by getting money illegally, and also they got by government servants who were working in the north and east, paid by the government to get there administrative work done. They made decisions with extreme fear, ignorance, anger and desire center states of mind, while breaking universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of great human values of human beings by killing, stealing, telling lies, abusing others' loved ones through misconduct. The question is how can one offer others salvation and happiness while breaking the great human values. It is also a problem of thinking that making decision to kill with extreme fear, anger, and ignorance center states of mind is entirely correct. Next, they would be killing more to fulfill their desires with same decision making extreme, desire center state of mind person.

The problems of the youth had developed first with the closure of future economic opportunities by introducing quota system to enter to universities. The problems of the youth of Tamil was that they lost the future expectation of the free education system to get jobs in the society to become an elite member of the society where people accept them, irrespective of cast or class with no discrimination. Their children are also not discriminated as they are considered as elite children, and not the children of rural farmers'. They even marry with Sinhala elite educated families. This opportunity has been closed and it had severely affected the Tamil youth especially in the North who had worked hard to pass the university entrance examination. That has actually affected all the youth in the country, creating problems of future economic

opportunities for everyone, especially Sinhala and Tamil medium students in the contemporary society. The real problem of education is not that but not having available education opportunities by expanding opportunities as they could have and as they can.

The leaders did not understand this was happening since they were in the extreme fear, desire, anger and ignorance center states of mind. They have released the written constitution, saying that they are going to establish the socialist republic people state for the Tamil people. On the other hand youth of the south were also going to establish a socialist republic people state for the people who only support for them, by killing who oppose them. The LTTE gave the JVP members arms training but did not discuss face to face about the end solution for either party, since they were both blinded by 'single view extremism' focusing only on their particular extreme desires. Ultimately when he killed all the Tamil party leaders the militants leader became sole leader for Tamil Nation fighting for Tamil Eelam state. In order to claim the land for the separate Tamil state, the Sinhala and Muslim innocent people living there who were Tamil speaking people too, doing their own business, having their own properties, were killed or compelled to leave their own properties by the militant and became refugees in the government controlled areas.

Both the youth of South and the youth of North have broken the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being and make decision with extreme desire, fear, ignorance and anger center states of mind destroying social happiness and harmony of the country. The aforementioned mentioned three parties attacked the government of Sri Lanka, to establish socialist governments, or to establish separate Tamil State as 'socialist republic people state' respectively. The main problem of both ends was mismanagement of governance without sharing public resources equally due to politicization of government institutions by the party leaders of the government. The mismanagement of governance by party leaders of the government led to the attacks on the government by the youth. Actions by all these three parties did not cultivate the happiness of the people.

The decisions have been made on extreme fear, anger, desire and ignorance center state of mind would not help everyone becoming happy and in the long run no one will be happy. That was the reason that southern and northern insurrection leaders did not talk about their vision and objectives of each other. These four extreme center states of mind have closed all the alternatives of solution for their destinations with 'single view extremism'. Then their decisions narrow down to 'single view extremism' what they see only in their extreme center state of mind is 'single view extremism'. They could not see reality with extreme fear and desire center states of mind and therefore they were misused and misguided by others to achieve others' objectives indirectly. That was what happened in the initial stages when India supported the militants and all the other Tamil youth organization with arms training and funding with the ulterior motive of using them. A case in point is when India wanted to interfere by forcing militants to come to discussion to a final solution, where the militants group stood their ground and refused to discuss, while all the other parties had given in to the pressure from the neighbor.

The extreme fear center state of mind the leadership wanted to have discussion with government through a mediator in the last stages of the war at Nandikadal. Earlier, when he made decisions in extreme desire and ignorance center states of mind, he did not want to agree to continue ceasefire and have discussions for a settlement. Militants had broken the ceasefire agreement more often than the government. In five years, the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission found the LTTE guilty of 3,830 violations, while holding the Government responsible only for 351.<sup>124</sup> The LTTE, during last stages of war, sent letters to EU, US, Japan to invite again into discussion and ceasefire agreement which was broken by them in desire and ignorance center states of mind. Then they sent invitations with fear center state of mind to stop the war, which was completely ignored by the government. At the time of that invitation, the war was seeing almost the tail end. Both warring parties had broken the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human beings many times. Also they made

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<sup>124</sup><http://www.peaceinsrilanka.lk/negotiations/ceasefire-agreement-20028> 02.10.2017

decisions in the extreme fear, desire, anger and ignorance center states of mind. Then there would not be any discussion or agreement or humanitarian activity at all. The result was that all the LTTE leaders were killed in the all-out war. They were so blinded by those states of mind, that they could not foresee the tragic end they encountered. They were so ignorant to think that international community and India would come to their rescue at the end, which ultimately resulted in the loss of youth and leaders from the society. The society has remained at the end with suffering for all.

#### **4.8 Poverty and Loss of Social Happiness**

Teaching of the Buddha explained that leaders and their consultants should have sufficient knowledge and wisdom to maintain social happiness in *Kūṭadanta Sutta*. The political party leaders did not have human qualifications to analyze problems clearly to give solutions and public administration officers also become under control of the political party leaders, most of the appointed administration officers were also appointed since they were supporting the same political party and they also didn't have the capacity and skill to solve the problems created from the independence. The worst was that the public administrative officers had to work under political party leaders, if there is a creative and innovative public administrative officer in the post that officer will be given political punishment since the political party leaders could not control the officer as they wished.

The youth of the south and north had started their agitations due to unrest because of the inadequate opportunities to obtain a good job through the free education system with the available resources in the area where they are living. The main cause of the insurrection was developed through economic problems of poverty. The free education system has given an opportunity to get higher education even for the poor village peasants' children. They did not have sufficient resources, schools and wealth, to study science scheme which would open doors to Engineering and Medicine professions with more job opportunities immediately after completing the university education. They only had the opportunity to follow arts scheme for university education through less

expenditure and with the schools available to the place where they lived and only opportunity they had with the poverty in the people living in the society (sometimes they did not even hear about other schemes). They enter the university by mortgaging their (in some instances) the only property they had for their day to day living and expenses.<sup>125</sup>

Because of the inability of the leaders to solve the problems of poverty with wisdom and knowledge by giving opportunities to the youth to gainfully occupy while empowering them according to their expectations, skills and talents to fulfill the needs of the society, by eradicating poverty as taught by the Buddha in *Kūṭadanta Sutta*. Almost all the insurgents of; the insurrections of 1971 and 1987-89 as well as those youth who started the 30 year war were faced with future uncertainty to escape poverty and uplifting their economic condition using the existed education system and opportunity to get a good job to live comfortably. This implies that the problems of economy and attempting to find solutions for that through education were the main causes for all the above problems. The education should ideally match the economic needs of the country and has to be geared towards improving the overall economy of the country.

The government of Ceylon (after independence the government of Sri Lanka) did not develop a concrete program to eradicate poverty and economic development through opening opportunities for the innovative and creative youth to begin to support economic activities in an effective and efficient manner. As found in the *Kula Sutta* in the teaching of the Buddha, the leaders should also have to be creative and innovative to develop new methods and systems to sustain social happiness. In contrast, the leaders of governments expanded democratic violence against the peoples of the country to keep their created problems under control. When people were facing problems the government did not give real solutions, other than misusing resources and abusing the power democratically obtained from the people who elect them by people's votes. Political party

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<sup>125</sup>Keerawella, Gamini B. (1980). The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and the 1971 Uprising, Social Science review 2, 1980 pp. 1-55

leaders of the democratically elected government did not have capacity to find solutions to problems created through the system itself.

A war, one of the most intense internal armed conflicts in the contemporary world, has co-existed for nearly two decades with institutions and practices of modern democracy. In that context, the traditional distinction between agencies of democracy and agencies of counter-democratic violence has become almost totally blurred. In fact, one of the most remarkable developments of Sri Lanka's politics in recent decades has been the breaking up the monopoly of coercive violence earlier enjoyed by the state. In 1971 and again in 1987-89, the JVP emerged as a parallel site of coercive violence, challenging the state. Then in the early 1980s, a host of Tamil nationalist groups successfully broke up whatever that was left in the state's monopolistic hold of violence. Then, the transformation of the LTTE into a combination of guerilla and conventional army saw another peculiar situation in Sri Lanka where a state in the making began to exist side by side with the state proper.<sup>126</sup>

From the independence democratically elected government had abused power of the people after winning the election by perpetrating “democratic” violence against the people with extreme desire, ignorance and fear center states of mind of the decision making leaders. The people did not retaliate against the government, even when people had problems and government was solving these problems with democratic violence by using security forces and thugs created by the governing party. The democratic violence was started by the government after winning the election. The people’s problems increased at the end of every five years. The political party leaders took the power by giving lots of promises to give the solution for the existed problems of the day but they did not have the capacity and skill to complete given promises.

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<sup>126</sup>Uyangoda Jayadeva (2000). The Context of the Sri Lankan Societal Conflict, pp.6-7.  
PDF file [repository.forcedmigration.org/pdf/?pid=fmo:1968](http://repository.forcedmigration.org/pdf/?pid=fmo:1968)

People make decision with an extreme fear center state of mind that they afraid to go against the government. The youth did not have enough patience to accept government's democratic violence turned against them. They made decision with extreme anger, desire and ignorance center states of mind and organized with arms to attack the government which created suffering for the all the people of the society. The 1983 Black July helped to nurture the two disturbances of 1987-89 and 30 year war.

many will say this; many will say that ... But the truth remains that President Jayewardene proscribed them because the JVP had become a powerful political party during the last five years, and he was convinced by his top aides that very soon the JVP would be a threat to be government. ...Further the whole country knew that the JVP had not taken part in the July 1983 communal riots....<sup>127</sup>

The Black July was created by the government supporters. They exhibited bad animal-like behavior with inhumane action taking place in the country in July 1983 with the brutal attack against Tamils that tarnished the good image of Sri Lanka internationally and changing the international opinion about the people of the country. It is clearly seen in the following excerpt how the first executive president, using the executive power of the peoples, took decisions on extreme anger and ignorance center states of mind to create riots against Tamil peoples living in the country and sometimes who might have even voted to become president. This clearly shows the then president's center states of mind, although this incident was directly related to the second insurrection.

It was in this background that, in December 1987, President Jayewardene pronounced his most celebrated call "crush them like animals"- the criminal, infamous appeal to the security forces "to kill and kill brutes". It was clear to the security forces who the animals, the brutes were, whom their Commander in Chief wanted crushed and killed. The bestiality of the statement corrupted the soul of

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<sup>127</sup>Gunaratna Rohan (1990). Sri Lanka A lost Revolution? The inside story of the JVP, Institute of Fundamental Studies Sri Lanka. p.202

during administration. It was left for his successor to faithfully carry out the wishes of the first Executive President.<sup>128</sup>

The above paragraph shows, that the first executive president after seeing the problems had attempted to solve the problems of the people by killing, breaking the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being, with decision making center states of mind of anger, fear, desire and ignorance. The 1983 Black July had clearly shown the President's decision making center states of mind in allowing attacks against Tamil people like animals while withholding law enforcement.

The leader's extreme fear, anger, desire and ignorance center states of mind in decision making had created the 1983 Black July to suppress the emergence of the JVP leader as a major political party leader, giving leadership to the youth of the left, allowing them a voice in the mainstream politics. He was not hesitant to use violence against one ethnic group of his own peoples, for the narrow extreme desire center states of mind of keeping power, which was government leader single view extremism developed through extreme fear, desire, anger and ignorance center states of mind.

The leader's actions were imitated by his party followers. This president was a party leader and his extreme fear, anger, desire and ignorance center states of mind decision making was followed by his party members. It has shown that decisions made with party leader's extreme desire, fear, anger and ignorance center states of mind had created democratic violence practiced by party leaders of the government since independence, had eventually led to civil riots and war against the government by two separate groups of peoples of the country. It was to change politics of the country, its moral and ethical values, its historical reputation as a land of a compassionate, peace

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<sup>128</sup>Gunasekara Prins (1998). Sri Lanka in Crisis A lost Generation –The untold Story, S. Godage & Brothers, Colombo. p.101

loving people, its very existence as one united country.<sup>129</sup> Ultimately those decisions had destroyed the social happiness and the social harmony.

In this event this has shown that the leader had influenced to break the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being and leaders decision making with extreme fear, anger, desire and ignorance center states of mind had created democratic violence and this practice of the leader was imitated by the peoples of the country as whole. The decisions and actions taken by leader breaching the trust/contract between the principal (people of the country) and the agent (elected government leaders) in perpetrating democratic violence against the principal was imitated by the followers. In Sri Lanka the elected leaders of the government with minds clouded by negative center states of mind had taken the resultant resistant and protests by the people (trying to find solutions for their problems) as the problem, and gave the solution through democratic violence, ignoring the real problem, and the real roots of the problem.

According to teaching of the Buddha in *Kūṭadanta Sutta* when leaders do not have sufficient knowledge and wisdom to understand to problems the results will be increase the problems as chain. The economic problems of the people increased and accumulated during the five year election cycles. This had affected the village youth more, who were facing serious economic problems with the unemployable education that they got from the existing British education system. This education system had given inadequate resources to village schools, making it possible for them to learn only arts/humanities subjects without adequate knowledge of English. This led to increased unemployment and they did not have enough agricultural land to start agriculture. The youth of village were more frustrated with no hope for their future economic condition for living comfortable life.

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<sup>129</sup>Gunasekara Prins (1998). Sri Lanka in Crisis A lost Generation –The untold Story, S. Godage & Brothers, Colombo.p.164

The government led by political party leaders who did not have educational qualifications that are relevant and applicable to the country, to develop diverse industries to open employment opportunities for the youth of the country. The British education system did not provide knowledge to cultivate top level decision making leaders for the country. “The inception of education system by the British rule had been to fulfill the need to consolidate the political framework by creating small local elite who would be training personnel to man the lower ranks of the administration as inexpensively as possible”.<sup>130</sup> The political leaders, the whole line of leadership of the government from the independence, did not have expert knowledge of economic and industrial development for reasons explained previously, they had to obtain advice from experts who did not have knowledge about the Sri Lankan context.

The government has started to provide free education for every child in the country, giving more resources to urban areas and fewer resources to rural areas.<sup>131</sup> There was no plan to develop education system to provide expert suitable for the economic, social and political development of the country. The ineffectiveness of the education system is described in the following paragraph of the Report of the Presidential Commission on Youth 1990.

Awaiting entrance into university he had accepted a teaching post in a school three miles away from Anuradhapura town. The school has no well and therefore there is no drinking water for children or for the staff. There are no sanitary facilities... The school has only one lock for the room of the principal, but it can only be operated from inside. Every morning a child climbs in through the corridor and unlocks the door for the principal to come in. School attendance has improved since the midday meal primarily because parents send their children to collect Rs.3 every day to be used by the family. School books are rarely given on time,

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<sup>130</sup>Silva De K.M (Ed) (2009). History of Ceylon Vo. III University of Peradeniya, Printed by Chatura Printers. p.461

<sup>131</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing.

sometimes delayed for months after school began, dumped by lorries in a central location awaiting distribution. There are not enough desks and benches, so that the children are forced to share or sit on the floor.<sup>132</sup>

The poverty of the people shown that Rs.3 paid for midday meal for the child was also collected to cover their family expenses. This is the real situation of the poverty level of the poor people in the country. These poor people are abused and misused by the political party leaders to rob their power from them. The political party leaders treat poor people as their power keeper to milk them for the every coming election and political leaders do not want to help them to overcome their poverty and economic problems.

The north and south youth of the villages had faced same economic problems, increasing their poverty an unbearable level. The education system also did not provide proper opportunities to overcome the poverty to increase their income to make their living condition better to escape poverty. The poverty had made them face lots of problems to get an education even though it is a free education system; they still have to make arrangements for their day to day expenses at the university. The university students also send their bursary or Mahapola to their parents to be used for their family expenses, in addition, they try to find employment as security officers in security firms or another job, making the university education for part time education.<sup>133</sup> Their dream is for a better life in the future, acquired through the existing free education system. When they have to go back to the village without even a job, after going through all this trouble to attain a better future as they were dreaming when they entered the university, and when that final opportunity for a better future is lost, they develop unrest due to the resulting frustration. Section 4.5.1 above mentions a similar example of the fate of university students and poverty. These unrest and unhappiness lead to insurrections and social disturbances as explained in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* of teaching of the Buddha.

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<sup>132</sup>Report of the presidential commission on youth, Sri Lanka Sessional Paper No. 1-1990 printed at the department of government printing.

<sup>133</sup>Author interview of university student to find out the reason not participate in lectures regularly.

## **4.9 Teaching of the Buddha on Management of Governance and Reality in Sri Lanka**

The Buddha's teaching on management of governance has mainly focused on accepting the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being to safeguard everyone's life (not killing), safeguard everyone's resources (not stealing), truthfulness (not telling lies); trust and dignity for everyone loving ones (good conduct of behaviour with others' loved ones) to be practiced by the leaders of the government or by decision making leaders of every organization where decisions are made. These standards of human qualities or UBFH are effective to keep the whole society in peace and happiness. The leaders of the country have to make decisions with human qualification happy center states of mind based on wisdom, kindness, and sacrifice or free from four extremes of center states of mind in making decisions. Maintaining these center states of mind make it comfortable to make decisions for the social happiness and of every person in the society.

The Sri Lankan indigenous knowledge was not applied to the democratic representative system for the process of selecting the representatives by electing from within the people of the country. The teaching of the Buddha or *Pali* canon, the indigenous knowledge, should have been applied in the process of selection of electing representative from the people by the vote. Most importantly the teachings of the Buddha emphasis that the leaders should have to accept the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being, in order to cultivate happiness in the people. The leaders who are elected from the votes of the people, must have satisfied the basic qualification of the teaching of the Buddha as a human being as mentioned above. These qualifications of the leaders can be seen by the people in the country through the leader's behavior of safeguarding everyone's life (not killing), safeguarding everyone's resources (not stealing), truthfulness (not telling lie); trust and dignity for everyone loved ones (good conduct of behavior with others' loved ones).

#### 4.9.1 True Meaning of the Word Raja and Function of the Leader According to the Teaching of the Buddha

As discussed in Chapter III “*Rājā*” or “leader” means make every person happy (*janam ranjeti'ti rājā*) with the decisions made for distributing benefits to all the peoples for their happiness. This leads to management of governance for the happiness of every human being in the society. When the leader makes decisions with free from four extreme positive center states of mind or human qualification and with actions human qualities or UBFH, great human values, then leaders sacrifice all their lives for the betterment of the people of the country. With these characteristic, leaders automatically become national leaders working for every person of the country without discrimination with the only condition being; to be a human beings living in the country. In other words, the Buddha’s teaching on management of governance lead to promote national leadership for the country which is essential to the development of the country leading to the established theme of happiness for every human being living in the country since leader or Rājā or decision maker ‘s happiness is making the people happy. The national leader should have characteristic of human qualities and human qualification as discussed in Chapter III to make decisions for the social happiness, harmony and peace. Because according to teaching of the Buddha Rājā or leader origin of the society to regain happiness of all the peoples loss happiness with created problems through communal resources transfer to individual ownership in society.

The word “*Rājā*” is developed in *Pali* canon to mean a leader of the country or a state so that the “*Rājā*” had cultivated happiness for all people living in the country by dedicating his/her life for serving the people. This cultivation of happiness started with safeguarding the lives of every person living in the country by the “*Rājā*” or leader establishing that there is absolutely no threat to their lives at all by the others including the “*Rājā*” or the king. Every person has a sense of assurance that their lives are safe in every corner of the country safeguarded by the leader or “*Rājā*” by providing security for every people’s life without any discrimination. The leader is cultivating that every human being in the country is a people of the country, leaving no room open for any

discrimination. The “*Rājā*” or leader is providing every person who is born and living in the country resources to share with the ability to fulfill their needs, to maintain life. Thus the “*Rājā*” concept is fulfilling with human qualities and human qualification for the management of governance for happiness of all the people in the country. The Buddha introduces concept *Cakkavattirājā* not only happiness of all the people in the country but also happiness of all the people of the globe.

#### **4.9.2 Management of Governance: An Example from the History of Sri Lanka**

In the history of Sri Lanka there was a “*Rājā*” or king had cultivated the country to self-sufficiency. Then automatically country safeguards lives of others as well as safeguarding others resources. The following paragraph has shown the reality of the king as he provides for all the people happiness. The king had fulfilled all the needs of the people and provided the facility for development of agriculture by his style of management of governance, sharing resources with every person of the country. During his reign, the *Rājā* made every person happy and content so that even a beautiful lady wearing sixty four kinds of jewels can move all over the country.

The thirty-three years of his reign were indeed among the most flourishing in the history of the Island. A Civil Service was carefully organized in its various departments; the ancient edifices at Anuradhapura were restored; numerous parks were laid Out with fruit trees and flowers; over six thousand image houses and seventy-three great dagobas were erected; and thousands of tanks were repaired in addition to the One thousand four hundred and seventy-one reservoirs which were newly constructed while hospitals and libraries were established in various parts of the country. So efficient was his administration that it was said ‘Even a woman might traverse the length of the Island with a precious jewel, and not be asked what it was’. The great King died in the year 1197; Ceylon never again produced his like.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup>Pieris P.E. LITT. D. and Naish R.B. (1902). Ceylon and the Portuguese 1505- 1658, American Ceylon Mission Press, Tellippalai, Ceylon. p.18

#### 4.9.3 Problems with the Present Mismanagement of Governance and Solutions

In the present Sri Lanka, management of governance was practiced through representative democratic system according to written the constitution from 1978. From the independence the political party leaders are elected as leaders of the country as representative of the people. This “*Rājā*” or leadership is replaced with the people’s power used to make decisions in presidency, parliament, and judiciary for the happiness and harmony of all the peoples in the country. These three decision making institutions lead by people who are elected by the peoples’ votes since the present democratic representative system has represented representative of the people to use people’s power and resources for the happiness and harmony of all the people in the country. According to the Constitution of the country all these institutions executive power, legislative power and judiciary power are owned by the people of the country. These representatives are the decision makers for the people of the country. They are the leaders of the country, they are equal to means of “*Rājā*” in the *Pali* canon or the teaching of the Buddha. This *Pali* canon is embedded in the indigenous knowledge of Sri Lanka which has existed for more than 25 centuries.

The Sri Lankan indigenous knowledge was not applied to the democratic representative system for the process of selecting the representatives by electing from within the people of the country. The teaching of the Buddha or *Pali* canon, the indigenous knowledge, should have been applied in the process of selection of electing representative from the people by the vote. Most importantly the teachings of the Buddha emphasis that the leaders should have to accept the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being, in order to cultivate happiness of all the people of the country. The leaders who are elected from the votes of the people, must have satisfied human qualities and human qualification as basic qualifications according to teaching of the Buddha. These qualifications of the leaders can be seen by the people in the country through the leader’s behavior of safeguarding everyone’s life (not killing), safeguarding everyone’s resources (not stealing), truthfulness (not telling lie); trust and dignity for everyone loved ones (good conduct of behaviour with others’ loved ones).

The people of the country should know the behavior of who they have been casting their votes to, when they go to elect them as the leader or their representative. Not only this the leaders' decision making center of state of mind should be known by the voters to make sure that their leader is like a father or a mother for every person in the society with decision making center of states of mind of happiness, kindness, sacrifice and wisdom. With these decision making center states of mind, basic behavior of the representative leaders should reflect universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being and this should also be considered in the process of selecting of electing the people representatives leaders of the country.

#### **4.9.4 Constitution of Sri Lanka and the Teaching of the Buddha**

The constitution of the country represents and has gives an important place to “Buddha *Sasana*” with provisions for protection and fostering by the government. This indigenous knowledge should be applied in selecting the representative leaders from the democratic system, by setting up standards for their human qualities and human qualifications to become a representative leader elected as representative of the people for the presidency and parliamentarians. Similarly, the same qualifications should be applied as the above two institutions in the selection of judiciary too. The protection and fostering the Buddha *Sāsana* can be achieved automatically by applying its principles in electing the suitable candidature with the above mentioned qualifications. The leaders with these qualifications would make communal decisions to achieve communal goals for the happiness of all the people of the country.

These common characteristic of human being of the leaders' is the main guidance given by the Buddha. This common characteristic of the leader is not only for a society of a country but it can be applied to the whole world where human beings are living. The common characteristic of the leaders' basic qualifications are named as the Universal Basic Fundamental Standard Qualities of Great Human Values of Human Being (UBFSQGHVHB) also it is name as Universal Basic Fundamentals of happiness (UBFH). Only the leaders who have UBFH can make decisions with Happiness, Kindness, Sacrifice, and Wisdom (HKSU) center states of mind. When the leaders are

cultivating UBFH and HKSU and making decisions with those, for all the people happiness, and when all the people are happy, the leaders' goodwill will spread throughout the country at national level as well as internationally all over the world according to teaching of the Buddha.

The teaching of the Buddha of *Pali canon* or the indigenous knowledge has given practicable solution to overcome all the problems prevailing in the country to elect representatives with qualifications of UBFH and HKSU who can make decisions for happiness of every human being in the country. This makes him a nationally accepted human being, thus a national leader, and not just a party or a cult leader.

All the activities of the government administration have a specific job or a task to fulfill, and selected people for that job have to have specific qualifications to be selected for every job. It is outrageous to elect leaders as the President and MPs to handover all the power and resources of the people to make decisions for happiness of all the peoples of the country without considering their qualifications or not even considering if they possess basic qualities to be considered as a human being. As already discussed in Chapter III, the Buddha, himself clearly established the qualifications to become or select a person for a job or a position working for the benefit and happiness of all members of the society, the minimum qualification being, to refrain from extremes of desire, fear, anger and ignorance in the decision making center states of mind. In other words the Buddha established that who is to become a public worker or work for all people benefit, should have decision making center states of mind of HKSU. A person, who has UBFH, only can have HKSU in decision making. These basic minimum qualifications can be taken as the standard for all public jobs not only in the government but also any other organization, even for the family, the smallest organization in the society.

The most importantly the indigenous knowledge that we have in the teaching of the Buddha or *Pali canon* can accept as common standard for common decision making table in every corner of the country. This standard qualification can be accepted as National Standard Qualification (NSQ) to select a person for the specific job

or the position of the country all the more, the representatives of the people (selected to leadership positions). This automatically will cultivate a national leader who will emerge to make decisions for the happiness of the people of the country. The National Standard Qualification (NSQ) to elect a person for the post of President and MPs and to select persons for the post of the Administrative Service should consider the UBFH and HKSU. The NSQ of Sri Lanka to select should be UBFH and HKSU in every decision making table for management of governance for the happiness of every person living in the country.

According to the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance the leadership or kingship does not come from heritage of parents or handed over by someone. It should be achieved with self-establishing and practicing of the UBFH and HKSU center states of mind of decision making. The Buddha's teaching in the *Cakkavatti Sutta* (discussed Chapter III) the universally accepted leadership does not come as heritage of father,<sup>135</sup> it has to be achieved by cultivating UBFH and HKSU within the society of the country by a person him/herself within his/her life time. The basis of accomplishing national leadership of the society is also not an inheritance from the father or mother. It is obvious that it should be achieved through cultivating UBFH and HKSU for the person life time to become the national leader of the country.

Sri Lanka is practicing democratic system by electing representative of the people to use people's power and resources in decision making in the parliament to make decisions for every people's benefit and happiness. The elected representative automatically becomes the leaders of the country. The elected leaders are members of the society; the society should know about their elected representative members' qualifications of UBFH and HKSU by accompanying them living in the society. The teaching of the Buddha in the *Cīvarakkhandhaka* of Vinaya Piṭaka (as discussed in Chapter III) emphasis that for the management of governance selecting a person to job or

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<sup>135</sup>“*na hi te tāta dibbaṃ cakka ratanaṃ pettikaṃ dayajjaṃ*” Cakkavatti Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya 3, *Tipiṭaka* of the *Theravāda* tradition. Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series, pp.96--134

special duty to benefit and happiness of other people should have with qualifications of standard of refraining from four extremes of anger, desire, fear and ignorance, which means HKSW and with special skill to complete the duty. This was a simple case of the teaching of the Buddha's monastic followers on how the Buddha had guided the sangha to select a monk for the post of the robes keeper based on the qualities, qualification, and specific skill for keeping accounts. It is necessary to use the best selection for the National Assembly or the Parliament as the representative of the peoples to make decisions on behalf of the people on how to use peoples' power and resources for the benefit and happiness of the people. These people representative should have the basic and the minimum qualification of UBFH or human qualities and HKSW or human qualification for becoming eligible to sit at national decision making tables. If they have center states of mind of HKSW of decision making will lead to decisions that would make every person happy with benefitting them by sharing resources for offering a real education and poverty alleviation which is base for all the problems of the country.

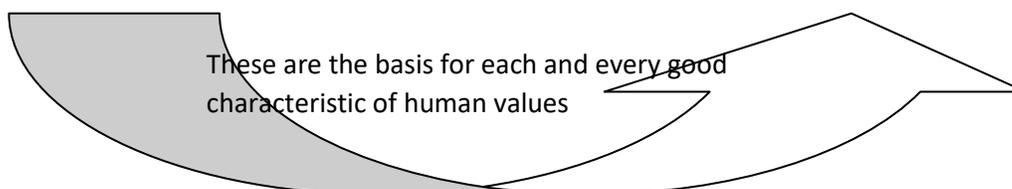
Sri Lanka is famous for practicing *Theravada* tradition of teaching of the Buddha. Therefore, in Sri Lankan society, these teachings of the Buddha can be put onto practice to select candidates as representatives of the people for the management of governance of the power and resources of the people of the country. The practice of the teaching of the Buddha's management of governance can be applied to select the members to the parliament with basic qualifications of UBFH and HKSW. The representing members of the parliament should have the UBFH and keeping decision making center states of mind of HKSW for happiness of all the peoples of the country. The members of parliament, local councils, provincial councils and presidency are the representatives of the people of the country. As stated in the constitution of the country to protect and foster the Buddha *Sāsana*, the people of the country should have applied and practiced the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance to select suitable candidature with human qualities and human qualifications to represent the people of the country of the decision making for happiness of every person of the country.

The Buddha guided his followers of the commonality of the usage of resources and power of the people of the society for practicing management of governance for the happiness of every person in the society. The Buddha explains by using a mythical story in the *Aggañña Sutta* (discussed in Chapter III) that has emphasized the team spirit of the people in electing a leader by common consent, for communal action for communal benefit and for communal happiness of the people - selected within the society, who could act as a National leader chosen by common consent (*mahāsammata rājā*) for decision making for every person's happiness. Teaching of the Buddha of the management of governance is guiding to establish leadership to share resources for social happiness and harmony. This sharing of resources does not mean giving everything free for all the peoples.

It is the responsibility of the government in management of governance to empower its peoples by giving equal opportunity to participate at least in an economic activity by every people, making an effort to contribute to the economy of the country with their capability and skill. The *Kūṭadanta Sutta* in Chapter III discussed that the *Rājā* or the king should first make decision for the peoples' benefit and happiness before his thinking about his own. In that *Sutta* Buddha explained that *Mahāvijita Rājā* wanted to perform a great sacrifice, but people of the country have been facing problems with rampant theft and robberies in every village, suburb and urban areas of the country. His chief advisor had guided him to give solutions to theft and robbery that was spread throughout the country first.

**Table 4.2** Buddha's teaching of management of governance

<p>The practice of the universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being, Safeguard everyone's life, Safeguard everyone's resources, Truthfulness; trust, Dignity for everyone's loving ones (UBFH)</p>	<p><u>Characteristic of Every person</u></p> <p>Four divine characteristics- mettā (loving kindness), karunā, muditā, and upekkhā(equanimity)</p> <p>Fourteen characteristic of simple life of person- Dexterity (<i>SAKKO</i>), Uprightness (<i>UJŪ CA</i>), Perfect uprightness (<i>SŪJU</i>), Obedience (<i>SUVA CO C'ASSA</i>), Gentleness (<i>MUDU</i>), Humbleness (<i>ANATIMANī</i>), Contended (<i>SAṀTUSSAKOA CA</i>), Easily Supportable (<i>SUBHARO CA</i>), With few responsibilities (<i>APPAKICCO CA</i>), Of Simple livelihood (<i>SALLAHUKAVUTTI</i>), Controlled in Senses (<i>SANTINDRIYO CA</i>), Prudent (<i>NIPAKO CA</i>), Courteousness (<i>APPAGABBO</i>), Not Hanker After Associations With Families (<i>KULESU ANANUGIDDHO</i>) Not get blamed by wise people (<i>NA CA KHUDDHAM SAMACARE (VIÑÑO PARE UPAVADEYYUM VIÑÑOHĪTI)</i>)</p>
<p>Decision making with happy, kind, sacrifice and wisdom (HKSU) center states of mind (After Overcome from <i>satara agati</i> )</p>	



The *Rājā* himself realized that the punishment does not provide solutions for the existing problem. Then he could find that the real root of the problem is the theft and robberies since the people did not have sufficient income to maintain day to day living by fulfilling basic needs. King had found the capabilities of the each person with abilities and ambitious to start their own business, and provided them with capital and facilities to start and run them. Land and facilities were given for those who wanted to do agriculture; who wanted to do business were given capital and facilities; who wanted to supply

services to the government were provided with opportunities and given sufficient wages. In this way according to their capabilities and skills opportunities were arranged to gainfully occupy every people, and the country could overcome theft and robberies making all the people happy and they could even leave their doors open.

The main cause of youth unrest and frustration was loss of economic opportunities matching their capabilities and skill. The future youth unrest will create more insurrections unless economic opportunities are created to occupy all the youth in the country.

The Buddha's teaching of management of governance always emphasizes that the resources should be shared by opening up opportunities for every person of the country to participate in economic activities, contributing to the society to develop the economy of the country. All peoples should realize that they must contribute both individually and collectively to help take off the economy of the country. Each people should be provided opportunities to understand his/her capabilities and realize his/her responsibilities for the society as the societal member of the country. This has to be realized by every person by management of governance through education as well as from the birth and while growing up with the family members. The society will guide every person towards management of governance and every person lives with the leaders' attitudes cultivated through management of governance practices with the UBFH. These would develop through equal sharing of resources for everyone fulfilling basic needs to live happily. In this concept applied in the Sri Lankan context, the capacity and skill of decision making with center states of mind of the HKSW and the UBFH, should be cultivated in every person by changing their attitudes of through the development of education system. The teaching of the Buddha on management of governance to cultivate leaders of the society to make every person happy has not been applied or attempted to apply in the Sri Lankan context.

By breaking the UBFH starting by telling lies, then stealing, next killing, after destroyed dignity of their loved ones, leaders of the country have made decisions based on the extreme ignorance center state of mind with automatically switching to fear,

anger and desire towards mismanagement of governance of people's resources and power for their own and party benefit. The leaders of the society are practicing inhumane uncivilized activities hiding behind the democratic system by abusing democratic power and resources of the people and perpetrating democratic violence throughout past seven decades. This democratic violence has been committed from the independence by the party leaders. This democratic violence is the basic root of all the insurrections and the internal war in the country.

Sri Lankan leaders of the society did not consider applying the indigenous knowledge of the teaching of the Buddha which has been in existence for more than twenty five centuries, to solve the prevailing problems since the independence of the country. However they had tried to give free food for every person in the country, which had created more problems to the country's economy. Since they lacked wisdom and knowledge, according to the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*, the leaders could not understand basically where the food will be coming from, for giving it for free, and they did not open opportunities to occupy people in economic activities which could cultivate the economy to a state where food can be given for free. The leaders of the government did not consider that the decision of giving free food would be creating a serious problem to the country in the future without a continuous proper income to fulfill expenses to give free food. They did not have a plan to accelerate economic activities through occupying all the peoples to cultivate the economy to fulfill the basic needs of the country according to the *Kula Sutta* in the teaching of the Buddha.

The problems of the country could not be understood with the extreme fear, anger, desire and ignorance center states of mind of the leaders, with breaking the UBFH. Then they see and consider the problem as something else; a personal attack against them as leaders. The real problem is youth unrest, frustration and dissatisfaction due to the uncertainty about the future of their lives, put in danger with the mismanagement of governance by the party leaders who have become the decision making leaders of the country. It was the future uncertainty of economic situation of the

lives of the youth and uncertainty of their future lives with discrimination as human beings.

The party leaders of the government, who get their power only for a temporary period, had planned for their party supporters benefit only. The youth in the south and north both had faced the same problems of having their future life in danger with the actions of the political parties' running the government, to benefit their party without drafting and implementing national policies to expand the economic participation for the youth by creating more opportunities for sufficient jobs for all employable youth. The independent educated youth without any party affiliation, could not get jobs to match their education qualifications since they are not members of the political parties. They have to have the extra qualification of political party membership which is a qualification for every government's job to get into the party job list. Those who had multi qualifications for the job would not get the job but a less qualified people from the same village would get the job, since they are the party members of the ruling government party.

The party leaders did not solve the problems of each person of the country since they did not have a national policy to be applied for all the nationalities living in the country. Therefore those groups, who had problems to be solved in Sri Lanka, established their own political parties to solve their own problems. This was a result of oppression felt by the people, due to letting the problems ferment without providing proper solutions for them by the political party leaders. This has happened since political party leaders who are having single view extremism, do not have open center states of mind (HKSW) in making decisions. At present, there are seventy registered political parties functioning in Sri Lanka.<sup>136</sup> This makes it roughly one party per each year since independence! These include minority problems, and many others to solve their problems by themselves to take power from the people by being elected as representatives of the country.

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<sup>136</sup><http://www.elections.gov.lk/web/index.php/si/recognized-political-parties> online access 2017.10. 28.

These minority party leaders also work with extreme desire, fear, anger and ignorance center states of mind in making decision they could not understand the real problems of the country, with the single view extremism which allows them only to see and focus on problems faced by their minority group, although in reality people from all the ethnic groups, including the majority, are facing the same set of problem of suffering according to the teaching of the Buddha. They have created another problem of creating inhuman uncivilized activities in the country through this ethnic division. Especially they want to get power of the people to keep their leaders in power to destroy the legal system of Sri Lanka and to share democratic violence with the other existing party leaders as has being practiced since independence.

The leaders and advisors do not have sufficient wisdom and knowledge to understand and solve the problems as taught by the Buddha in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*, and in addition they could not innovate and be creative with new methods and systems according to the *Kula Sutta*. Therefore, within the 70 years since the independence up to today, there is no national policy on education, economy, and society in general and so on. In the existing education policies there is discrimination towards some groups and preferential treatment to other groups, not treating all the students of the whole country the same way. Therefore same problems are created many times in the country. Especially with the youth unrest there were two insurrections and internal war three times in the country within the past seven decades after independence. National policies have not been set up in the country since every party leader was making his/her policies for education, economy and the society after coming into power. There is no national policy independent of party politics, and when the ruling party is changed, so did the policies. Only the party leaders' knowledge and party advisors knowledge is used to develop policies for the country.

These hundreds of thousands of peoples sacrificed their lives because of the mismanagement of governance taken place with decisions made by the party leaders during the last seven decades in government decision making top tables of Sri Lanka. All the decisions were taken by the leaders of the political parties becoming the President and

MPs without appropriate qualifications according to the teaching of the Buddha. The indigenous knowledge has not been considered to select leaders to the government decision making tables from the people's representation. The study is based on the teaching of the Buddha of Pali canon. This can be considered as indigenous knowledge in the country of Sri Lanka which existed for more than 25 centuries. This indigenous knowledge was not put into practice for the management of governance in Sri Lanka for the happiness of the people of the Island. The two insurrections and the internal war were created by the mismanagement of governance by unqualified, inhumane, uncivilized leaders elected by the people.

Therefore, by practicing the teaching of the Buddha as elaborated above, those conflicts could have been avoided, and by putting those into practice even at present, future insurrections of similar nature can definitely be avoided. This indigenous knowledge has given guidance on how to select a leader to make all the people happy with the basic human qualities and human qualifications required to be the leaders of the society for the happiness of all the people of the country as well as the globe.

## **Chapter V**

### **Conclusion**

“Management of governance for happiness with special reference to teaching of the Buddha of *Pali* canon” was the topic of this study. The concept, management of governance has been introduced and discussed in depth with existing definitions and practices in separate disciplines of management and governance. Management of governance with reference to teaching of the Buddha has been analyzed in depth to extract the knowledge found in the *Pali* canon. The practice of management and mismanagement of governance in Sri Lankan context since the independence has been detailed out, with special reference to civil disturbances occurring after 1970 general election. This includes two insurrections in the South and the 30 year war in the North and East.

The concepts of management and governance have been used in most of the disciplines including the areas of public management and administration, political science, information technology and corporate management. It can be concluded that the concept of governance does not have a clear definition to be found. Researchers are continuously conducting research to find a clear definition of governance. The different definitions for governance have been discussed in relation with tasks, capabilities, responsibilities, processes, decision making actions, measurement, users, usage etc. It was found in the literature that the definition of the governance that has been developed up to now is only about the actors involved in the decision making process but not their decision making states of mind in making decisions. The study unearthed from the teaching of the Buddha that governance is mainly concerned with actors' human qualities and human qualifications to make decisions for the happiness of all the people in all the societies in the global village. These were elucidated in this study.

The study mainly focused to discuss with new phrases the “management of governance” and “mismanagement of governance” according to the teaching of the

Buddha as available in the *Pali* canon, the *Tipiṭaka* in Sri Lanka where it has been prevailing for more than twenty five centuries. Thus, the study found that teaching of the Buddha of the Pali canon can be considered as a treasure of indigenous knowledge of Sri Lanka. So far this treasure of indigenous knowledge has not been opened to be utilized in practice to solve prevailing problems of the country that were created through problems of governance. This study has found this indigenous knowledge treasure of teaching of the Buddha can be used to find clear-cut lasting solutions with management of governance for the existing problems accumulated from the independence to regain the happiness of the people in the country.

‘Management of governance’ entirely depends, according to teaching of the Buddha, on the human qualities and human qualifications of the leaders in decision making tables for the happiness of the all the people of the country. ‘Mismanagement of governance’ means in this study where the human qualities and human qualifications are not practiced by the leaders in decision making tables, which created problems in that society that lead to all kinds of disturbances in that society develop unhappiness and poverty.

After the independence, problems of governance were developed as a chain of problems with “mismanagement of governance” created through not practicing human qualities and human qualifications of teaching of the Buddha by the political party leaders during seven decades. It was found that these problems have been created as a result of mismanagement of governance by the decisions made by the elected political party leaders, oppressing people using democratic violence to commit crime, and these gave rise to two insurrections (in 1971 and 1987-89), and one internal war or 30 year war (1978-2009). These three internal disturbances prevailed nearly for 35 years killing over two hundred thousand young people by government in the country. Over two hundred thousand youth had sacrificed their lives to overcome the democratic violence which had been perpetrated by the elected political party leaders as leaders of the government of Ceylon and Sri Lanka. The democratic state violence has been taking place in the country because of the mismanagement of governance due to misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the problems by the political party leaders. The study found the reason to be that the party leaders are of

poor human quality and not qualified enough to understand the real problem and analyze the problem because of their education, lack of knowledge and narrow thinking with closed mindedness to keep power forever.

The mismanagement of governance practiced by the political party leaders of the country led to the creation of economic problems which affected seriously the rural youth of the country and initiated internal disturbances prevailing for about 35 years. This mismanagement of governance has been wrongly understood as management of governance which has been practiced by the political party leaders of the country similar to democratic system being converted into democratic violence using the state of emergency by the political party leaders.

When the insurrection had taken place then only that they took actions just to solve the results of the problems, not treating the roots of the problems to eradicate root of the all problems. After the two insurrections of 1971 and 1987-89, government had appointed two commissions, Criminal Justice Commission and Presidential Commission on Youth, 1990 respectively to find the causes. Especially, the findings and recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Youth in 1990 have not been implemented yet by the government throughout last 18 years. At the end of 30 year war, the government appointed 'The Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission', (LLRC) to find the reasons for breaking ceasefire agreements, particularly incidents occurred in the period of 21<sup>st</sup> February 2002 to 19<sup>th</sup> May 2009 -for the duration of the international community's involvement in the process of ceasefire agreement. However, this LLRC did not dig into the root causes that initiated the war between the government and the LTTE.

The political party leaders of the government did not understand the real problem, which is basically an economic problem, and they tried to decentralize the power by introducing provincial councils by bringing in the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment to the constitution in 1987, and the Provincial Councils Act No 42 of 1987 to establish provincial councils. However, the war, which continued up to 2009 for 22 years more, was not stopped by this devolution of power through establishing the provincial councils. The war was ended by the use of military power, which actually did not solve the root problem, which was really an economic problem and it continues to

hurt the people even at present. It had proved that the establishment of provincial councils as a solution was not the real solution to the problems of the country. This is how political party leaders who only understood the surface of the problem; not the real roots of the problem and did something else as a solution which is not the real solution for the existing problems and this has created other problems in addition to putting more economic burden on the people with the huge expenditure on the provincial councils which became a white elephant to the people of the country. This unnecessary expenditure on provincial has increased poverty even more in the society.

## 5.1 Conclusions of the Study

It was found in the study, from the teaching of the Buddha in the Pali Canon it can be derived that;

1. *Aggañña Sutta* has given details about the root of management of governance in conjunction with the evolution of the people parallel to changes in the world food gathering process. Thus according to the *Sutta*, management of governance was established in the society for the benefit as well as to regain happiness of all the people, giving solutions to the problems created through the transformation of communal resource utilization to private resource ownership by introducing the first person to become the decision maker named *Mahāsamata* or ‘great elected person’ with the power to solve the problem of theft; progressing to the second decision maker named as *Khattya* or Lord of the Fields with added authority over land, and finally the third named *Rājā* or the person who makes all people happy, with authority over both power and resources of the people. The *Sutta* emphasizes that the power and resources are of the people and for the people and it has shown that resources are not owned by an individual or group of individuals but for all the human beings in the globe and when the resource ownership was changed from common to individual ownership, problems were created for all the people in the society causing loss of happiness. The most important concept that can be derived from this *Sutta* is that the “the power” and “resources” of the people, are handed over to representative(s) of the people for a short pre-agreed period of time for the sole purpose of reestablishing happiness in that society. This can be generalized and

extrapolated to governments, in addition to private companies or any other democratic institution. It should be emphasized here that the power” and “resources” of the people are not meant for the use of those in governmental decision making positions, (both the representatives and the administrators), who are also generally included in the term ‘people’ without any special consideration. This is where the creation of the concept of “governance” occurs in the teaching of the Buddha in *Pali* canon. Main theme management of governance in the teaching of the Buddha is that leaders are making decisions to regain the lost happiness of all the people in the society including the decision makers. The concept of management of governance in the teaching of the Buddha expounds that all the people including the leaders are to be made happy with power and resources of the people.

2. The *Sigāla Sutta* analyzes the interpersonal relationships within society and how it affects decisions of the leader made as a societal person and the results of those decisions to the society. The *Sutta* introduces four kinds of bad actions that the wise will never praise (killing, stealing, telling lies and disrespect of the dignity of other’s loved ones) that will lead to a person becoming unhappy. When people refrain from these, it will make all the people in that society happy. Thus, as a societal person, one has to; safeguard lives of all the others, safeguard the resources of others, establish trust by truthfulness in interacting with others, and respect the dignity of others’ loved ones while involved in working relationship with others. These basic four fundamentals will establish a happy personal relationship to live free from suffering as a societal person in every society. This makes these universally acceptable.

It is also mentioned in this *Sutta* that decision making in extreme states of mind with desire, anger, ignorance and fear will lead to unjust decisions leading to unrest and unhappiness of the people. In contrast to these, decisions made with four non extremist states of mind will be fair and just decisions leading to the happiness of the people. This will help to keep the relationship with the society for maintaining happiness for the lifetime for all the people in the society. The relationships regarding overall aspects of living in the society of a person are also explained by the Buddha in this *Sutta*.

3. In the *Cakkavatti Sutta* the Buddha has developed the concept of *Cakkavattirājā* required to establish the global governance in the world for the benefit and happiness of all the people in the global village. As discussed previously in the *Aggañña Sutta*, concept of *Rājā* for a state or a country was established for the benefit and happiness of all the people of the country. Here, the concept of *Cakkavattirājā* was introduced to establish global standard of leadership for management of global governance for the happiness of all the people in the globe with power and resources of all the people in the Global Village. It is worth noting here during the study it was found that with the concept of *Cakkavattirājā* the Buddha was the first person to suggest the concepts of global village and the global leadership also global happiness. This emphasizes that all the human beings of the globe are liberated from suffering which was created by transformation of communal resource utilization into private resource ownership and the lost happiness reinstated. To become the *Cakkavattirājā* the leader has to cultivate the universally accepted qualities of great human values by himself within his lifetime. It was emphasized in the *Sutta* that the leadership or kingship is not the heritage of a person, not handed over by invisible divine authority, not from merits of a previous life, but this leadership has been earned by cultivation of a set of specific universally accepted qualities of great human values; safeguarding lives of all the others, safeguarding the resources of others, establishing trust by truthfulness in interacting with others, respecting the dignity of others' loved ones while involved in working relationship with others and refraining from becoming intoxicated.

4. The *Cīvarakkhandha* of *Vinaya Pitaka* has introduced resources management of governance with regard to the consumption of the required basic needs of a monk. The study takes as an example of *Cīvara* (or the robes worn by the monks) to illustrate management of governance for the maximum usage of the clothing with the complex process of receiving robes given to the monks by the donors. The management of governance process started with the created problem of the people; after being permitted to accept offering of robes by donors, who have brought the robes to offer the monks. However, there was no monk there to accept the offered robes. Then for facilitating management of governance for maximum

utilization of received robes, the Buddha first introduced the position of the acceptor then a robes keeper, store keeper, distributor.

While introducing it, the most important concept introduced was that each and every selected or elected person for the job must have the basic qualifications with human qualities and human qualifications in addition to having special skills for dispensing the duties of the job. The position holder must have to be free from four extremes of desire, fear, anger, and ignorance of mind as a decision maker in making decisions. The Buddha established the management of governance process for maximum utilization of robes while keeping the robes safe with an equal opportunity distribution system with a raffle draw to get robes to all the monks without discrimination and to remove the bias in status due to the dress. The robes were utilized until finally discarded without causing any damage to the environment.

5. The study has developed a definition for the management of governance form the teaching of the Buddha existed for twenty five centuries in Sri Lanka considered as treasure of indigenous knowledge. In order to make decisions for using resources and power for the communal wellbeing and happiness, the *Rājā* or king or leader (or even individual person in a decision making position) has to cultivate the universal qualities of UBFSQGHVHB, as a human being in human society, he should cultivate the decision making center states of mind with happiness, kindness, sacrifice and wisdom (HKSJ) as qualifications for decision maker. The management of governance solely depends on the cultivated standard qualities and qualification of values of leaders as human beings and decision making center states of mind with great thinking for the wellbeing and happiness of all the people of the societies in the globe. These qualities have to be cultivated by decision making leader him/herself, not come through parent heritage. In selecting the leaders for decision making positions of the society even for such a basic and small organization in the society as a family and all the way up to the government, the most important qualities and qualifications respectively are the UBFSQGHVHB and the HKSJ center states of mind for the wellbeing and happiness of the all the people in the society. According to the teaching of the Buddha Management of “governance” can be defined as “to make decisions using communal resources and communal power by the communal leader

having qualities of universal basic fundamental standard qualities of great human values of human being or UBFSQGHVHB means human qualities in making decisions and qualification of making decisions with center states of mind of happy, kind, sacrifices and wisdom or HKSW for the wellbeing and happiness of all the people of all the societies in the globe.

The study has found that not having a National Leader/ leaders for the country possessing the requirement to become a leader for the whole country and acceptable to all the people, who would work for all the people without any discrimination, as the cause of all the problems discussed in Chapter IV of the above, that the political party leaders have developed for 70 years since independence. To become a national leader, a person must have cultivated the human qualities and human qualification of having the decision making center states of mind, suggested for the leaders below. For the last 70 years since independence, there has not been any “National Leader” in the country but there were; and still there are party leaders and racist leaders who are there in the leadership positions, not for the development and happiness, but for creating problems and making unrest and unhappiness among the people of the country. The political party leaders’ objective is to keep the power by expansion and development of their party membership using the powers of Premiership, Presidency, Prime Minister, and Membership of the Parliament that decision making with four extreme desire, anger, fear and ignorance center states of mind which are leading to unrest, unhappy, destroy peace and harmony. The ulterior motive of the party political leaders in promoting their party politics for getting the power from the people is to give opportunities to their children and relatives as well as their supporters. Because they don’t have cultivated the human qualities for safeguarding everyone’s life, safeguarding everyone’s resources, Truthfulness, trust, and dignity for everyone’s loved ones -to become a national leader. Since they do not have the decision making center states of mind of human qualifications when they make decisions, they make decisions with the extreme ignorance center state of mind based on desire, fear, anger and they have broken the universal basic fundamentals standard qualities of great human values of human being by telling lies, then stealing, next killing after destroying dignity of other’s loved ones. Therefore to become all the

people accepted person a “National Leader” should have those standard qualities of values, qualification and skills to lead to happiness of all the people in the country irrespective difference again the human being. According to teaching of the Buddha with human qualities and human qualification leader can be develop as national leader as well as global leader for happiness of all the people in the globe.

## 5.2 Suggestions

Some of the solutions found in the study are given below as suggestions.

1. Based on the results of the study, it is suggested to amend the constitution to include the process of selecting and electing representatives of the people of the country for the top level decision making table of management of governance in Sri Lanka, with a set of standard human qualities of values, human qualifications and skills required to be elected for people’s representations for presidency, members of parliament etc., so as to ensure them making decisions for the well being and happiness of all the people of the country. The management of governance is starting with the election of the leaders for the positions of leadership to ensure the communal practices of using power and resources of the people of the country through the democratic system in Sri Lanka.

The practical situation of the management of governance in Sri Lanka is starting with mismanagement of governance in the process of selecting the leaders such as the president and MPs by election through the democratic process, without considering a set of minimum human qualities and human qualifications for these posts as derived from this study of teaching of the Buddha. The democratic selection procedure of the leaders does not take into consideration the basic human qualities, human qualifications and skills of the person who is selected as their representative leader to fulfill their expectation of regaining happiness. The constitution of Sri Lanka has no provisions established stipulating specific qualifications to ensure that they have capabilities and skills to do the tasks related to these posts of the President and MPs and other leaders. The Sri Lankan process of selecting a leader for the presidency and MPs has not considered those qualifications at all, but considered only having the voting right though the Constitution establishes to foster and protect the Buddha

*Sāsana*. The main decision making positions of the country of the government of presidency or even the MPs do not require any specific qualifications. Therefore as an outcome of this study it is proposed, that according to the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance, the selection of the leadership should start with checking human qualities, human qualifications and skills of the persons to be selected as the leaders for the country's decision making tables. The most important factor derived from the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance is the lesson for the democratic process of selection of elected persons representing people for the Presidency and MPs. This can be done by having the above mentioned characteristics and human qualities of values as the accepted human qualities, human qualifications and skills, as a requirement to apply for those positions by adding this as an amendment to the constitution of the country.

Possession of the human qualities of values, human qualifications and required skills for the specific position to make decisions, should be made compulsory for decision making leaders elected through the democratic process for the happiness of all the people of the country. In the selection process, the potential leaders should be scanned for human qualities of values and human qualifications by the people (voters) to make sure that potential leaders have cultivated within their lifetime, while living in the society, 'The Universal Basic Fundamental Standard Qualities of Great Human Values of Human Being' (UBFSQGHVHB) as shown by following practices by the potential leaders with; safeguarding life of the others (not killing), safeguarding others resources (not stealing), truthfulness or trust with interacting other (not telling lies), respecting the dignity of others' loved ones (disrespecting the dignity of others' loved ones). These four are proposed as the four universal basic fundamentals of happiness.

2. The human qualifications to elect leaders for decision makings tables should include; refraining from four extreme center states of mind, i.e. extremes of desire, anger, ignorance, and fear. The study suggests to establish as qualifications of the electing leaders should practice in their lifetime center states of mind of Happiness (instead of fear), Kindness (instead of anger), Sacrifice (instead of desire) and Wisdom (instead of ignorance) (HKSU) in making decisions for the happiness of all

the people of the country. These are proposed as universal basic fundamentals for the happiness of others in addition to qualities suggest in the above amendment. Implementation of this amendment and establishment will solve the problems of mismanagement of governance by breaking UBFSQGHVHB and decision making center states of mind of extreme desire, anger, ignorance and fear with decisions made by political party leaders which affected to develop unrest, unhappiness and created insurrections and internal war of the country from the independence.

In the management of governance, skills are required to analyze, develop, and implement the decisions made by the leadership. For this the leader needs to have skills gained in knowledge, experience, training in addition to developed inherent skills. In this regard, special skill that is required of the leader is that the leader should have wisdom to realize the validity and gravity of advisors' suggestions and recommendations as found in the teaching of the Buddha in *Kūtadanta Sutta*. These four human qualifications of the elected or selected leaders' center states of mind: Sacrifice (instead of desire), Kindness (instead of anger), Happiness (instead of fear) and Wisdom (instead of ignorance) (SKHW) are proposed as universal basic fundamentals of decision making center states of mind for the happiness of others. With these HKSU four human qualifications the leaders will automatically possess the above.

3. The study has found the need for a National Leader for the country possessing the requirement to become a leader for the whole country and acceptable to all the people, who would work for all the people without any discrimination that the political party leaders have developed politicization with extreme decision making desire, anger, fear and ignorance center states of mind, for 70 years since independence. To become a national leader, he must have cultivated the qualities of UBFSQGHVHB and have the qualification of having the decision making center states of mind of HKSU (happiness, kindness, sacrifice and wisdom) cultivated through the practice of the qualities of UBFSQGHVHB. Therefore to become accepted person by all the people, "a National Leader" should have those standard qualities of values, qualification and skills for happiness of all the people in the country.

4. To foster and protect the Buddha *Sāsana*, the study will suggest in developing programs for cultivating “National leaders” with these qualities, qualifications and skills found in the teaching of the Buddha, acceptable for all the people of the country to make decisions with management of governance for the wellbeing and happiness of all the people of the country, giving solutions through management of governance. It is suggested that the potential leaders with the qualities and qualifications be cultivated by inculcating the qualities of UBFSQGHVHB and qualifications of HKSJ in all the children in all the schools aimed at creating a universal great human being working for the wellbeing and happiness of all the people in the globe, according to the teaching of the Buddha who wanted to create a global human being to think globally and act locally. This global leadership will eradicate all kinds of discrimination against and among human beings of all the societies in the globe.

5. It is noted by the author that companies such as Google, Facebook, Skype, and Yahoo knowingly or without knowing the teaching of the Buddha on management of governance, provide facilities free of charge for all the people of the globe. It is suggested that further in depth studies to be carried out on the management of governance as well as human qualities and human qualifications of the leaders of these institutions in the perspective of teaching of the Buddha.

6. Further suggestion of this study is the elucidation of a standard of qualifications from the teaching of the Buddha as the indigenous knowledge of the Sri Lankan society, of having the UBFSQGHVHB and HKSJ, cultivated throughout their life, to be applied in selecting as representative of the people, the President and MPs. Based on the findings of this study, it is suggested that the amended constitution contain a National Standard of Qualities and Qualifications (NSQQ) as the minimum requirement to be nominated for candidacy of an elected position.

7. As an innovative extension, to the indigenous knowledge of teaching of the Buddha, a Management of Governance Monitoring Body representative of the whole country, covering all the districts is suggested to be established to ensure management of governance for the happiness of all the people of the country. This should not in any way further burden or become a white elephant for the people.

Therefore this will be a completely costless body, made of honorary, voluntary positions.

8. It is suggested that in order to establish a Global Leadership for the wellbeing and happiness of all the people of all the societies of the globe, make awareness and promote in the lines of the concept of *Cakkavattirājā* according to the teaching of the Buddha to organize a UNIVERSAL HUMANITY FORUM for the happiness of all the people of the global village.

9. With further research, the qualities and qualifications found in this study can also be included as the basis for the Bhutan Gross National Happiness and world Happiness indices.

It is also recommended that teaching of the Buddha as treasure of indigenous knowledge of Sri Lankan society should be studied and researched more and more to extract and distill the wisdom found in it to be made more practically accessible in finding solutions for the problems prevailing in the country and the world. This can be introduced to the constitution of the country for protecting and fostering the 'Buddha *Sāsana*,' since by finding through meticulous research, and by correctly practicing what the Buddha has taught, the 'Buddha *Sāsana* is automatically fostered and protected. Then the management of governance will be practiced by the government elected leaders, government administrative officers, non-governmental organization directors and manager, every employee of the society, even by each individual in the society extended to the globe. With the concept of '*Cakkavattirāja*' or the global leadership in the teaching of the Buddha a global village can be created with people, including leaders, practicing the four universal basic fundamentals of happiness for all the people of the globe.

When the society consist of members and leaders with human qualities and human qualifications it will be a society where a beautiful lady wearing sixty four kinds of jewelries can walk without any harm one corner of the country to the other, as stated in the history.

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## **BIOGRAPHY**

**NAME** Thilak Sandaruwan Subasinghe  
(S.M.U.T.S.Subasinghe)

**Date of Birth** 1964.03.30

**Nationality** Sri Lanakan

### **EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS**

1. MBA in International Business at Asian Institute of Technology in Thailand (1999-2001)
2. Bachelor of Commerce First Class honors (1986-1992).
3. Finished course work (Post Graduate Diploma in Management completed) leads to MSc in Management, University of Sri Jayawardenapura Sri Lanka (1996-99).

### **Prizes**

1. University scholarship on meritorious performance of the Bachelor of Commerce degree.
2. Kundanmal Scholarship for Commerce on the result of the B.Com degree

### **PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS**

1. Licentiate Certificate (No.L-2764 licentiate of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Sri Lanka)
2. Passed Professional Part 1. (Stage 111) held by Institute of Chartered Accountants of Sri Lanka (Final is to be completed.).

### **WORKING EXPERIENCE**

1. Senior Lecturer from 20.04.02 at Department of Management Studies University of Peradeniya.
2. Working as a Visiting Lecturer at the Faculty of Science, University of Peradeniya.  
Management (200 level) I & (300 level) II.
3. Working as a Visiting lecturer at the faculty of Engineering, University of Peradeniya,  
Subject: Management in Case studies, Engineer as entrepreneur,
4. Working as a Visiting Lecturer at the Police Training School (in Service) in Kandy,  
Subject: Management.
5. Conducting Lectures for Branch Managers at Peoples bank to prepare the promotional exam for Area Managers' grade.
6. Advance Level Examination Marking Panel Chief Examiner for ACCOUNTANCY and BUSINESS STUDIES from 2000.
7. Lecturer 30.3.1996 from 19.04.2002 at the department of Economics, Commerce & Statistics, University of Peradeniya
8. Assistant Lecturer 15.3. 1993 to 29.3.1996 at the department of Economics, Commerce & Statistics, University of Peradeniya
9. Working as a Senior Consultant for Sasiri Associates Chartered Accountants, from December 2003.
10. As an Audit Trainee at Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants, Kandy Branch. - 1½ Years
11. Worked with UNDP Training Program 1996-1998.
12. Academic sub-warden of male-hostel four years (1993-1997).
13. Was Assistant Secretary of Alumni Association of University of Peradeniya 2001.
14. Working as an Assistant Treasurer of Alumni Association of University of Peradeniya 2002 to up-to-date.

15. Chair Person of External Affairs Masters Student Union At AIT in Thailand 2000\2001.

### **Published work**

Open Door for Wisdom (Sinhala) Investigative Book.

Jointly Published (tr) Saddamma Pundareeka Sutta (Sinhala) (Lotus Sutta) With Prof. W.M.Gunathilake

Unpublished-

1. "Marketing and its environment" Dissertation for fulfillment of the Bachelor of Commerce degree.

2. "Performance Evaluation of listed companies in the Colombo Stock Exchange" Thesis for fulfillment of the MBA in International business.

### **Other Experience Seminar & Work shops**

1. Two Days workshop on "Markets and Insurance" organized by Securities and Exchange Commission of Sri Lanka on June 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> in Colombo 2005.
2. One Day Workshop on "Corporate Strategy and Balanced Scorecard" organized by Merchant Bank of Sri Lanka on 15 March 2005.
3. Four days work shop on "Training of Trainers program on Formal and informal sector human rights teaching methods" organized by Center for the study of Human Rights University of Peradeniya, on October 25<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup>, 28<sup>th</sup>, and 29<sup>th</sup> 2003.
4. Three days work shop "Training program for human rights educators" organized by Center for the study of Human Rights University of Peradeniya, on June 19<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup>, and July 3<sup>rd</sup> 2003.
5. Two-day workshop on "Using Counseling Skills in Higher education" conducted by Staff Development Center, University of Peradeniya, on May 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2003.

6. One-day workshop on “Emerging Strategies for Current Business Environment” held by the MBA Association of University of Peradeniya on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2002.
7. Five-day Residence workshop on “Social Responsibilities of Managers” Organized by Faculty of Graduate studies of the University of Jayawardenepura on 22<sup>nd</sup> to 27<sup>th</sup> August 1997. at Tangerine Beach Hotel Kalutara.
8. Two months “Second Country Exposure Trip to Indian Universities, University of Pune, University of Chandrigagh, and Javahal Lal Neru University ” with seminars, workshops, industry field trip organized by Faculty of Graduate studies of the University of Jayawardenepura, September and October in 1997.
9. “Nuclear Power and Energy Planning” Co- Sponsored by the Energy Conservation Fund of the Ministry of Power and Energy held by Atomic Energy Authority at Institute of Engineers, Sri Lanka from 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> February 1994.
10. Five day Advanced Training Workshop on “ RESEARCH METHODOLOGY” held from 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> October 1992 at the University of Peradeniya funded and facilitated by National Youth Service Council, Sri Lanka under the programe of “University Youth”.

**Present Address**      S.M.U.T.S.Subasinghe  
 Dept. of Business Finanace, Faculty of Managment, University  
 of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

**Contract**

E.Mail: [ssuba@pdn.ac.lk](mailto:ssuba@pdn.ac.lk)  
 Telephone : 94-724511845/ 94-81234008