

A New Model towards Sustainable Socio-Economic and Political Stability: Case Study Based on the Experience of Sri Lanka

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Abstract: *The concepts of economic growth, development and sustainable development in the contemporary world are subjected to criticism mainly because of the problems and issues being faced by both developed and developing countries. The rapid development efforts of both developed and developing countries have also generated global environmental problems and natural and manmade disasters with serious threats for the existence of the globe and the survival of its biological beings. Therefore, redefining the concepts of economic growth and development is a common interest of both professional and academic communities in the contemporary world. Assuming “sustainable socio-economic development and political stability” as a replacement for sustainable development, this paper discusses the historical transformation of Sri Lanka, against its socio-economic and political problems and prospects with a focus on developing a new model for sustainable socio-economic and political stability. The study based on interpretivism uses qualitative research methods in dealing with the research questions of the chosen problem. In studying the socio-economic and political transformation of Sri Lanka, institutional logics perspective and cosmopolitanism perspective of historiography are used as the guiding principles. Through the historical analysis of centuries of foreign invasions and dominations over the life of local inhabitants of the island, the study attempts to trace the root causes that have led to the present plight of the people of the island nation, the large majority of whom are living in the marginalized rural/peasant communities. On the basis of the findings, the study develops an alternative model for sustainable socio-economic and political stability in combination of principles of the pristine Buddha dhamma that targets emancipation from eternal suffering with the principles of Marxist ideology that targets equality and equanimity through a classless society.*

Keywords: Socio-economic and political stability, institutional logics perspective, historiography, cosmopolitanism, Marxism, pristine Buddha dhamma

1. Introduction

The majority of the developing countries are comprised of rural communities, and therefore, the country-level conventional development achievements are dependent upon the progress of their rural communities. Most of the developing countries have been subjected to colonialism, neo colonialism or both, and therefore, the rural communities have been structurally affected in their transformation because of the external interferences. In the meantime, during the post-colonial and in neo-colonial periods, development efforts of rural communities and developing countries on the whole mostly depended upon the help of the world super powers, international organizations such as the World Bank, IMF, UNDP, IRDB, Asian Development Bank, and so on. According to the liberal and neo-liberal economic policies of these donor countries and organizations, there is a tendency of hegemonic domination towards liberalization through the implementation of development programs that are designed by either foreigners or scholars trained within western interests. Therefore, contextual features as well as historical tendencies of these countries have been either ignored or not adequately considered. In these circumstances, the burning issues of development of these countries continued to have either been unaddressed or inappropriately addressed, and

finally the development programs have not been successful. In the meantime, on the one hand, socio-economic vulnerability of the majority population of developing countries and liberal and neoliberal expansionism centered policies of donor countries and their influence on the efforts of development programs have been trapped in the globalization without attainable solutions for their burning developmental issues. In these situations, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as well as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that have replaced certain traditional development assistance also have witnessed inadequate achievements in many of the Asian, African and Latin American countries including Sri Lanka. Therefore, MDGs and SDGs are subjected to criticism. In these circumstances, addressing on counter arguments against externally imposed policies, and appropriately addressing on inclusive indigenous models of sustainable development is a timely requirement.

Under the above circumstances, redefining conventional concepts of economic growth and development is important. Addressing on this important preconditions for research, in this paper, the authors interpret sustainable development as “socio-economic and political satiability”. In this scenario, individual country-level studies are important in searching for a model that addresses on sustainable socio-economic

and political stability. Here, the authors focus on the case of Sri Lanka addressing on institutional logics perspective analysis and historiographical analysis as the theoretical base with special attention to the transformation of society particularly in rural communities. Thereafter, the study discusses the Marxist economic approach popularly known as a model for alleviating the suffering of the poor by minimizing the gap between the rich and the poor, and subsequently discussing on the *Buddha dhamma*, which has come down from generation to generation over about 3000 years as a path for liberation of individuals from incessant human suffering, the study proposes a model for sustainable socio-economic stability for Sri Lanka. The proposed model would be shedding light on parallel research in other countries as well.

1.1 Case of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is an island nation with over 3000 years of recoded history. Further there are enough evidences of prehistoric civilizations based on archeological excavations of “Balangoda Manawaya” and “Pahiyangala” habitations, other excavations¹; and legends and other mimpathical analyses passed down from generation to generation. Among them “*Siv Helaya*”; *Yakkha Helaya*, *Naga Helaya*, *Dewa Helaya* and *Kumbanda Helaya*, the legend of Sumana administration in Sabaragamuwa at country-level administration during the time of Gothama Buddha, the 6th century BC, are live stories supported by historical places worshipped by inhabitants of the island (*Mahawansa* and *Deepawansa*). *Mahawansa* (the great historical cannon) records the arrival of prince Vijaya deported from India, and as per the prehistoric facts, the colonization followed by Vijaya’s arrival is the first invasion that hegemonized the traditional habitations and their structures. As per the historical records thereafter, the island habitations have been exposed to foreign interferences initially by the Southern Indians such as *Chola*, *Pandya* etc. and thereafter by Westerners, starting from the Portuguese and followed by the Dutch and the English (Silva, 1981).

In spite of the external interferences, the indigenous habitations, especially among rural communities with inherited life structures have been resisting with emphasis on their own structures, and it has enabled them to sustain some core values that have diffused to the future. In spite of threats, these inherited structures have continued with their unique features among such communities in isolation. Geographical and historical factors, inherent nature-friendly living and spiritual patterns based on strong philosophies have influenced in the formation of an identity with the diversity originated from the four clans, *Yakkha*, *Naga*, *Dewa* and *Kumbanda* (the *Siv Helayas*) habituated in different regions of the country, then known as *Hela Deepa* in the early stages and thereafter with some changes along with transformations as articulated in institutional logics perspective analysis.

During the colonial administration in the 16th century to 20th century, society in the island nation was structurally

changed, and gradually the rural community was segregated as a sidelined community due to their difficulty in merging with externally imposed cultures because of their nature-friendly, traditional system of life. These sidelined communities were initially comprised of about 90%, and they were labeled as rural community. This particular tendency has been further worsened because of the migrated marginalized populations such as Indian Tamils and Muslims, which has been an outcome of externally and internally hegemonic motives of the stakeholders. Chronic backwardness and socio-economic vulnerability against modernization are the accumulated outcome of such changes in the mass population in Sri Lanka. This has been experienced both during and after the colonial administration. Main reasons for such backwardness and socio-economic vulnerability are the discrepancy of the inherent features of rural community and the targeted objectives and the expectation of externally hegemonic administrative authorities and other intervened parties both local and foreign. This tendency has continued throughout the long history of these island inhabitants as a thread in the socio-economic and political transformation despite the difference in its impact from region to region and from time to time.

In considering the contextual features of the rural community on a par with historiographical analysis and Institutional logics perspective analysis, transformation can be articulated towards a new model in which inclusivity is assumed to be considered as a necessary prerequisite in dealing with the development issues of traditional rural community as well as those of the overall development of the country. In this process, accumulated historical information is filtered while making necessary undoing with association and disassociation of historical facts in searching for appropriate conditions on a par with Marxism and *Buddha dhamma* for developing the new model. In such an effort, the hegemonic influences on traditional systems can be corrected and thus the new model would be inclusively cultured enabling the model to be fleshed out with necessary ingredients for a nature-friendly socio-economic and political transformation that would enable society to enjoy socioeconomic and political relief at individual level, based on *Buddha dhamma*, and at the collective level, based on Marxist principles and thus society can be directed towards liberation along with inclusive transformation.

As per the model, leaders as well as followers are volunteers in their functional role and thus they are mutually benefitted and fitted with the direction of society towards an optimum level of achievement both at individual level and at society level. Therefore, the new model would enhance the philosophies of original knowledge and practices that had originated and been nurtured within the local community with a long history that is compatible with the respective environment as well as the other appropriate articulations available in the world history. The pristine *Buddha dhamma* found in Sri Lanka in the traditional society is one such inclusively indigenous path that cannot be matched with any other alternatives for human survival that is beneficial for everyone in society. On the other hand, Marxism as one of the most appropriate articulations in economic relations of the world history is going to be revisited and applied in the

¹ Attanagoda Alulena, Maniyangama, Beli lena, Krivita Batadomba lena etc.,(Deraniyangala,1992)

analysis of socio-economic and political issues of Sri Lanka as a developing country. Therefore, the proposed model is going to be a unique path that will be a guiding principle for socio-economic sustainability that would bring relief to the communities in Sri Lankan society.

1.2 The Research Problem

In the contemporary world, on one hand, the countries labeled as developed countries are struggling for survival within their competitive players. In certain instances, the competition has developed to the levels of great rivalries, leading to wars and cold wars. In these circumstances, the globe is also threatened as a whole with both natural and manmade disasters such as the great depression, global warming, pandemics such as the COVID 19 etc. Further, there is a tendency for bargaining with the agendas of the developed countries for their survival with hegemonic influence on the rest of the world, both their competitors and the countries labeled as developing countries. In the meantime, the countries labeled as developed countries influence “the developing countries” to follow their prescriptions such as Washington Consensus, which is a part of their bargaining efforts for their own survival. Within this background, “the developing countries” are forced to follow these prescriptions despite their failures in the local setup as they are trapped with the guidance of developed countries and their allied forces such as the World Bank, IMF etc. This global pattern is observed both at inter- and intra-levels in societies in “developing countries” without a proper solution, and this aggravates the already adverse conditions in these countries, more specifically the rural communities in this part of world. Therefore, there is a dilemma in the development programs of rural communities as well as of the country as a whole, and thus the need to revisit all such scenarios and to influence decision makers both country level leaders and trendsetters in the world as well. In this situation, relevant countries need to find their own paths to resolve their chronic socio-economic and political problems, especially “the developing countries” and more particularly their rural communities while redefining the development concept. Sri Lanka as a developing country has been struggling within this dilemma without a successful direction.

1.3 Research Questions

- 1) What are the identical features of rural communities of Sri Lanka?
- 2) What is the impact of external intervention on the evolving pattern of rural community in Sri Lanka?
- 3) What are the most applicable philosophical bases of Sri Lankan society to ensure its socio-economic and political stability?
- 4) What are the lessons that can be learned from the historical transformation of rural community of Sri Lanka for ensuring its socio-economic and political stability?
- 5) Is the traditional definition of development substantial to find solutions for the issues of developing countries?
- 6) What kind of model can we propose for the development of Sri Lanka?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- 1) Identify traditional knowledge and its guidance towards human behavior as social beings.
- 2) Assess the impact of foreign interference in socio-economic and political transformation in Sri Lanka.
- 3) Identify and discuss the lessons learned from development efforts of Sri Lanka.
- 4) Assess the application of Marxism and Pristine *Buddha dhamma* in socio-economic and political sustainability of Sri Lanka.
- 5) Develop a model to achieve socio-economic and political stability of Sri Lanka.

1.5 Methodology

The core of this paper is on socio-economic transformation. Therefore, interpretivism is the most suitable philosophical base in which the data and other facts can be grounded for making conclusions. Here, there is a certain amount of important information which are not disclosed due to the fact that writers and authors of artifacts and other recordings are subjected to personal interests and the influence of the power of involved parties. Therefore, untold stories behind such historical facts need to be fleshed out.

According to interpretivism, psychology of the individuals involved with the information flow and their role in expressing and interpreting actions and reactions are crucial in the research process. Therefore, the theoretical base of mind and its behavior is important in the determination of the quality of the data as well as the outcome of the data analyses of the research (Jayawardena and Amaratunga, 2019, p1637).

In order to identify a new model for socio-economic stability of Sri Lanka, it is necessary to interpret historical facts, views and interferences of external and internal powers of their own interest. Therefore, it is required to select a broader approach right from the philosophical base to research methods and analytical tools where the researchers can cut across the facts and other information to derive the untold stories from so called authorized material that are highlighted because of the power of the authorized people and groups in respective cross sections of societies. According to Foucault (1926-1984) human drives are dependent on power and therefore, knowledge creation is also on par with the power holder's interest (Gerald Turkel, 1990).

Based on social science research methodology/methods, it is the view of the authors that pluralism, where information coming from various sources is taken into account with an open view for deriving conclusions, is the most suitable way in dealing with the research questions in this study. A critical analysis of historical information of Sri Lanka as a nation and the socio-economic and political transformation, specifically in the rural community as different historical episodes based on institutional logics perspective and historiography, are therefore used as the theoretical bases of the research methodology. Any researcher who is

comfortable and knowledgeable in working with *patichcha samūppāda dhamma* (principle of cause and effect) and the mechanism of relieving oneself from mutual bonds of debts on self, others, and environment in which all internal and external activities take place, such researchers are adequately equipped with skills to call on any situation and make decisions based on *yōnisō manasikāraya* to the satisfaction and benefit of the vast majority. Therefore, in articulating the model for sustainability of society of the rural community as well as in the overall economy, the causal relationship of different stages of the different layers of the model positions and the respective variables that indicate the elements of the identified components of the respective scenarios are appropriately considered in the discourse of the identified questions. Thus the methodology adopted in this study is critical analysis addressing on pluralistic approach.

2. The Background of the Research Problem

There are different stories of human settlements on the earth, and there have been continuous attempts to explain the reality of such episodes of human settlements through conventional, scientific, religious or some other approach. Despite arguments, it is true that present habitations of diversity in different parts of the earth are true and experiential and are undergoing ups and downs without concrete solutions for their problems. In the meantime, there are dichotomies such as powerful and powerless, privileged and unprivileged, rich and poor, etc. In these circumstances, there is an ongoing vulnerability in different circles such as socio-economic and political arenas, which are subjected to argument. Here, in order to engage in in-depth analyses of the research questions focusing on the identified objectives, it is required to create the background sufficiently, addressing on the world history, concept of development, different philosophies on human behavior, the concepts of religion and culture, the teaching of Marxism as a solution for economic duality and *Buddha dhamma* as a solution for the duality of human behavior including economic, social, cultural and religious dualities. With this overview background, the case of Sri Lanka is analyzed in-depth in the light of historiographic and Institutional logics perspective analysis.

In a historiographical analysis, historical and archeological reporting and research findings of accumulated studies are important in grasping the reality. There can be subjective conclusions on the personalities and events in the identified authoritative history as there is a possibility of exaggerations and biased reviews due to personal interests and glorified form of mentality of historians. Therefore, historical recordings supported by archeological evidences and other factual information of socio-economic and political inferences along with mimpathical analyses would be important in deriving more realistic information that are useful in historiographical analysis. In such investigations, stories behind archeological facts and other historical reviews are important.

When considering Sri Lanka, the prosperity of the country in the past before the clash of civilization witnessed through the archeological and historical records, the status as well as

the sustainable living pattern of the Sri Lankans had been stable and at a comparably higher plane, in terms of either eastern or western perspectives of development. However, along with time, during the early period of the history, and during and after the transition from the prehistoric to the historic era, the external intervention, especially Indian invasions of armed powers such as Vijaya's and South Indians' as well as those of the soft powers during Asoka period etc. have interrupted the smooth transformation of the island habitations along its natural transformational tracks on a par with the inherent conditions within the habitations to reach the saturated point, which have been distorted with external hegemonic motivations. This distortion due to hegemonic influence has been exponentially increased and the habitations have been affected along with the European invasions in the post 15th and 16th centuries. The migrated new forces were totally opposite in all kinds of ways of the island inhabitants, and thus they clashed with the external forces and ultimately the local habitations were encroached by the invading forces. In a few centuries later, it has created the background for the followers of colonial masters to proceed with their rule even after the nominal freedom which we generally call independence. As a consequence, continuation of this pattern in decades, as far as the development trend in the country is concerned, especially during the post 1980s; the rural community of Sri Lanka is gradually trapped in socioeconomic and political vulnerability.

Further, in the present regional and global context, Sri Lanka is placed below many of the Asian countries, which were far behind Sri Lanka's position in the early 1950s. Therefore, why Sri Lanka has failed in its economic progress and in what ways that Sri Lanka can redeem itself from this chronic condition are topical issues for further investigation. However, stakeholders are with different views with regard to the present socio-economic status of the country. In such a circumstance, the decision makers, both in political and administrative hierarchies become vulnerable in their decisions, and thus Sri Lankan scholars and professionals of different fields are still struggling to find its development path in its national, regional and global settings.

3. Theoretical Background of the Study

Institutional logics and historiographical analyses are the theoretical bases used in grounding the causes and effects of socio-economic and political transformation in society. They help in searching the socio-economic and political reality, which is the ground for the suggested model for sustainable socio-economic and political stability of the rural community and the country as well.

An institutional logics perspective is an evolving atmospheric condition which is an outcome of the totality of existing institutions and their transformational process. Input output relationship, increment of GDP along with vertical and horizontal scope of resources, different types of socio-economic, political, legal, technological and other factors that are entangled with the decision makers of different layers of production process in the economic system which are closely associated with institutional conditions that affect the socio-economic network of institutions (Douglas, 1990;

Jayawardena, 2012). Political economy related factors at local, national, regional and global levels are also interconnected with institutional formations. Therefore, institutional logics perspective needs to be dynamically analyzed in assessing the impact of institutional logics perspective on economic development.

Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights) (North, 1991).

According to institutional theory, institutional logic is the procedure of socio-economic and political behavior of an identified unit of mankind, which is determined by social constructions such as schemes, rules, norms, and routines that become established authoritative guidelines for social behavior. Institutional logic is a dynamic mechanism as the elements are created, diffused, adopted, and adapted over space and time; and they fall into decline and disuse (Scott, 2008).

Institutional logic is closely associated with socio-economic and political transformation. In order to achieve economic growth and development, institutional logic should be conducive and compatible with the socio-economic and political transformation followed by economic growth and development. According to Acemeglu et al. (2005), there are three types of institutions, namely economic, political and power that are interconnected as a system and closely associated with economic development.

There are tremendous cross-country differences in the way that economic and political life is organized. A voluminous literature documents large cross-country differences in economic institutions, and a strong correlation between these institutions and economic performance. (Acemeglu and Robinson, 2008).

The different levels of economic standards of countries are difficult to be justified in terms of the quantity of the respective determinants alone. There, the difference in terms of the institutional difference of these countries needs to be addressed.

United States differs from Nigeria, Kenya, and the Dominican Republic in its social, geographic, cultural, and economic fundamentals, so these may be the source of their poor economic performance. In fact, these differences may be the source of institutional differences themselves. (Acemeglu and Robinson, 2008).

Political institutions must be self-sustaining and they survive and function only if they continually generate outcomes that are preferred to the use of force by each and every group that could impose itself by changing the institutional order. More precisely, (1) there is no institutional logic that peacefully processes. (2) Conflicts may be possible when a country is poor and less influential in regional and global

affairs, (3) If any such system is feasible given the historical conditions, it must be organized in such a way that the outcomes that it generates, whether the distribution of incomes or division of rents or realization of some non-material values, must reflect the distribution of the “brute”, pre-institutional power, including the military force of different groups, and (4) Such institutions must counteract increase in returns to incumbency, since otherwise forward-looking outsiders would prefer to fight immediately rather than wait for their power to be eroded (Acemeglu and Robinson, 2008).

In the literature, how these institutional logics transform and the way such transformation contributes to the socioeconomic progress was not theoretically explained well until the appearance of the theory of institutional logics perspective of Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury. Institutional logics of a particular identified social entity, irrespective of the size, is linked with different layers at inter and intra country level. Institutional logics perspective² developed by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury will enable us to understand the dynamism of the institutional logics that helps in identifying a compatible direction to achieve economic growth and development or the progress of society. According to the concept of institutional logics, the determinants of institutional logic are the market, the corporations, the professionals, the state, the family, and the community as a whole of the respective entity (Thornton, 2004; Friedland Alford,1991). This particular theorization witnesses that the multiple interactions, i.e. conflicts and consensus will hybridize the institutional system that creates a compatible and conducive institutional environment for sustainable development.

The hegemonic role of institutions significantly influences on the direction of socio-economic progress of countries (Jennifer and Przeworski,2007). More recently, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012), in their study with a comprehensive literature survey, have fully fleshed out a productive discussion of the institutional logics perspective, and they have added community as another key institutional order. The institutional logics perspective explained here is a meta-theoretical framework for analyzing the interrelationships among institutions, individuals, and organizations of social systems. It provides a mechanism to understand how individuals and organizational actors are influenced by the situation in multiple locations in an inter-institutional system frontier to the particular market, the corporations, the professions, the state, the family, and religions of referred unit. Here, interactions of institutional systems in regard to horizontal and vertical aspects are considered. According to Thornton, Ocasia and Lounsbury, institutional logic will enable to generalize the logics both vertically and horizontally (Thornton, Ocasia and

² “An institutional logic is the set of material practices and symbolic systems including assumptions, values, and beliefs by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences. This approach affords significant insights, methodologies, and research tools, to analyze the multiple combinations of factors that may determine cognition, behavior, and rationalities” (Thornton, Ocasio and lounsbury, 2012)

Lounsbury, 2012). There, the cultures, religions etc. are important. In line with this rationale, in order to understand the current institutional logic of a country and its implications, there is a need for analyzing the transformation of the institutional logics of the particular country.

In an analysis of socio-economic and political transformation of a country, historiography is also important. In the case of developing a compatible model for development of a country especially in a situation where development efforts have continuously failed both the institutional logics perspective and the historiographical analyses need to be used together keeping the both comparable to each other as they are mutually beneficial in discovering the root causes of development issues. In such analyses, there is a possibility of association and disassociation of the historical facts in searching the reality. In discovering the history, recorded history, archeological facts, mythical literary stories, legends and other pedagogical augments etc. are used. Most of these sources have ended up with perceptual³ conclusions despite arguments. Therefore, in searching for the reality, it is necessary to see the things in one's own way making oneself free from all such conclusions, and again it is necessary to allow others to handle the external world in their own scope in the same way that is free from all other perceptions. In these circumstances, things need to be taken as a continuity of thoughts rather than taking them as static conclusions. Therefore, the historical facts need to be analyzed and perceived without prejudices, and they need to be associated and disassociated depending on the extent to which they have contributed to the continuity of the process.

Finally, in building of the model for sustainable socio-economic and political stability, two philosophical approaches, namely Marxist theses and *Buddha dhamma* are going to be embedded with each other depending on their compatibility. Marxism was introduced by Karl Marx in the mid-19th century based on dialectical materialism, whereas *Buddha dhamma* was introduced in the 6th century BC by Gothama Buddha, which focuses on spiritual life with the aim of purification of mind irrespective of the class that an individual belongs to. In this study, as both approaches address the alleviation of human suffering, both are used in building the model, despite their differences with regard to interpretation of suffering. While Marxism which emphasizes on materialistic suffering is an approach that has to be introduced to society with some kind of force with the collective participation of the working class, the *Buddha dhamma* emphasizes on mental suffering, and it is a path to be followed individually and voluntarily.

4. Marxism and its Applicability for Socio-Economic Stability of Developing Countries

Marxism is one of the theoretical explanations with regard to liberation of society based on dialectical materialism, historical materialism and conflict of interest between "bourgeoisie", the capitalist class and proletariat, the working class (Karl Marx, 1959). At the time of Karl Marx, functioning of society and economy including the political

economy explained by scholars were available to policy makers in their decision making. Among them, socio-economic and political analyses of Adam Smith led classical economists are important, and they have influenced the transformation of the capitalist centric society. In this background, in the 19th century, the working class and the peasant community, which were the mass compared to factory owners and land owners who downplayed them, became the unprivileged social class. Karl Marx has started presenting his thoughts on conflicts of interest between rich (privileged) and poor (unprivileged). According to Karl Marx in a capitalist society the capitalist class exploits the working class or the labor and earns extraordinary profit. The capitalist class reinvests such profit and further exploits the labor making the rich richer and the poor poorer. In a capitalist society, economic crises are inevitable. The Working Class becomes victims of such a crisis situation because of the domination of the capitalist class in society. Therefore, Karl Marx in his theses proposes the working class to come forward and defeat the capitalist class collectively. As per the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx (1848), which says that at the end society will reach to be a Communist society where there is no class difference, in terms of income, consumption, individual rights or freedom. As per Karl Marx, the capitalist class does not allow the working class to take over the controlling power and thus the working class needs to get the control of the production of agriculture and manufacturing and other commodity production collectively through a revolution and establish a working class government. As per Marxism, the socialist government would be initially authoritative of the working class and then it would gradually transform to form a communist society where everybody becomes a member of the working class who contributes to the production on par with his or her ability and consumes only what he or she needs for living.

Marx divides the communist future into halves, a first stage generally referred to as the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and a second stage usually called "full communism." The historical boundaries of the first stage are set in the claim that: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat (Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," *Selected Writings II* (Moscow, 1951), p. 21)

In a communist society, there will not be a discrepancy between rural and urban or privileged and unprivileged, and there will be guarantee for equanimity among all as all members of society are equally important in the overall balance of society. As per Marx, country people need city people and city people need country people, and at the end of the day, both country and city are mutually benefitted by each other.

"The abolition of the antagonism between town and country is one of the first conditions of communal life." (Karl Marx. p. 44)

³ Based on *Kalama Sutta* in *Thripitaka*

According to Karl Marx, on a par with the communist manifesto, all the members in society are employed and they contribute to the national production. Everybody in society enjoys his or her basic needs and is satisfied with the available.

Those who don't work don't eat: "Apart from surplus of labor for those who on account of age are not yet, or no longer able to take part in production, all labor to support and those who do not work would cease." (Karl Marx p826)

Even though, the thesis of Karl Marx originated within the Western Europe, with the experience of Germany, England and France etc., the thesis was applied in finding solutions to the conflicts of the society in Eastern Europe and China and later in Latin American countries like Cuba. Despite the criticism of Marxism, China and Russia were benefitted by the Marxist theory in their development journey. Among others, China is currently leading towards being the wealthiest nation by defeating the capitalist giant countries. However, as per the evidence from the post Marxian period, why communism is beyond reality is because the necessary conditions for socio-economic revolutions have not been fulfilled in countries with conflicts of interest. Further, because of the ontological drives of human beings coupled with the strategic approaches of capitalist societies for their benefit Marxism faces problems. However, as far as developing countries are concerned, Marxism and its recommendations are important because on the one hand the rural community in those countries cannot be converted to city life without a cost to the society and the country and this rural community is subjected to exploitation continuously on the other. Therefore, bringing everybody in society to a simple life style with basic needs is important. In such a situation, transformation of the majority rural community on a par with Marxist thinking, need to be tailor-made with a focus on contextual and identical features of society. Therefore, embodiment of Marxism with that of *Buddha dhamma* would be more practicable and result-oriented as far as the identical features of Sri Lanka as a developing country is concerned.

5. *Buddha Dhamma*: A Discourse towards a Seamless Society

Buddha dhamma referred to here is not the same as traditionally known Buddhism. Modern day Buddhism is fractioned into various fraternities at inter and intra levels among traditional Buddhists, even though they represent an insignificant percentage of the total world population. The *Pristine Buddha dhamma* that is being discussed within this thesis is applicable to all human beings regardless of their religion, ethnicity, race, cast or creed. This particular characteristic of the *Pristine Buddha dhamma* remained hidden throughout the centuries past because of this inherent unique feature. Though the world at large remained unaware, since the passing away of Gothama the Buddha (the great sage), the *Pristine Buddha dhamma* survived in isolation and continued to the present here in Sri Lanka. In the contemporary Sri Lanka ongoing ethnic, religious, and other conflicts of interest lead even to militant activities, and

Buddha Dhamma would be the most suitable philosophical base for such communities. In order to comprehend the *Pristine Buddha dhamma*, it is cardinal requirement to gain a historic overview of the *Buddha dhamma* with special attention to *Theravāda* tradition, which contributed immensely toward the survival of the pristine *Buddha dhamma*.

According to *Theravāda* tradition, the *Tripitaka dhamma* is believed to have been recited at the 1st *Sangāyanā* (Conference) by Venerable Ananda as heard from Gothama the Buddha when he attended the Buddha as the *Agra Upasthāyake* (Chief Attendant to Buddha). This event is recorded as the most important undertaking in the *Buddha* history because of its contribution to secure enlightenment by numerous *Buddha Srāvaka* after the *Mahā Parinibbāna* (passing away) of Gothama the *Buddha*. According to historic records on *Pristine Buddha dhamma*, *MahāPragñāya Arahamth Theros* lead by *Mahā Pragñāya Arahamth* Ūpali shared the responsibility to classify and formulate the entire body of the *Buddha dhamma* into Magadhi lines (phrases) known as “*pela dahama*” (*dhamma* into Magadhi lines), an organized system for easy memorization as “wanapoth”, which could be passed down uninterruptedly by oral tradition from generation to generation without allowing any distortion to occur to what had been recited by *Mahā Arahamth* Ananda three months following the passing away of Gothama the Buddha. *Mahā Arahamth* Ananda, who reached enlightenment shortly after the *Mahā Buddha Parinibbāna* had a unique memory to recall all *Buddha* elucidations he directly heard from the *Buddha* Gothama. The *Buddha dhamma* as “wanapoth” had been passed down as an oral tradition as stated earlier until it was recorded using Hela alphabets (Sinhala alphabet) in Ola leaves (Palm Leaves) at Māthūla Alū Lena⁴ in the Malaya Rata 456 years after the *Mahā Buddha Parinibbāna*. The *Buddha dhamma* recorded at Māthūla Alū Lena became the *Theravāda Buddhism* and it is believed that this *Theravāda Tripitaka* represents the pristine unadulterated *Buddha dhamma* (Meewana Palane Siri Dhammalankara, 2019). It is also said that Gothama the *Buddha* elucidated *Dhamma* in *Magadhi language* which was a tonal language. The *Buddha* language always remains a tonal language to circumvent the transformations that a living language would usually go through over time. The *Magadhi language* is a unique language, which remains the only language that can precisely teach the path to enlightenment⁵ History shows that prūthagjana individuals inept in the *dhamma* and have not reached any stage of enlightenment interpret and impart selected brief segments of the *dhamma* not only to satisfy secular interests of the population but also for the adoption by their collective consciousness for various reasons. With the passage of time, these adopted distortions in the *Theravāda* Buddhism became commonplace due to their popularity and compatibility with anticipations in a mundane

⁴ It is accepted that this recorded *Tripitaka* were bought by George Turner, the Assistant Government Agent of Kegalle in the 1850s and he took them to UK when they departed *Helabima*. Currently the original *Tripitaka* is preserved at the British Museum of London, UK and is accessible to scholars.

⁵ Many world languages in modern times do have alphabets. They evolve as individuals evolve with collective socio-economic and cultural-consciousness.

secular life. These adaptations and distortions turned original pristine *Buddha Dhamma* into an organized religion, which had been wholeheartedly accepted by mundane *Hela* citizenry. However, the pristine *Buddha Dhamma* as taught by Buddha Gothama remained buried in the sands of time until its rediscovery around 2009 AD (Meewanapalane Siri Dhammalankara, 2019).

Theravāda traditions later coalesced with *Mahāyāna* traditions and other Vedic religious practices, values and beliefs. In subsequent eras, the *Theravāda traditions* have been impacted by governing interventions paving the path to political interference with the affairs of Buddhism for their worldly interests. Therefore, Buddhism was politicized while *Buddha Dhamma* and the path to enlightenment faced alienation. Emperor Asoka and his intervention led to the development of Buddhism that had been exported to other countries in the Middle and the Far Eastern Asia, and it is a prime example for the above indicated politicization of religions. Similar interventions could be observed during the reigns of King Walagambā, Gotābaya, Mahasen etc., in Sri Lanka. Under these circumstances, pristine *Buddha dhamma* had been pushed into oblivion while a religion known as *Mahāyāna* Buddhism found its way into the social and spiritual mainstream portrayed by secular lifestyles. Thus, *Mahāyāna* Buddhism became popular not only in the Indian subcontinent but also throughout Asia.

The conventional Buddhism practiced and followed today seems to be infused in both theory and practice as it enshrines *Mahāyāna* beliefs and traditions along with other religious practices from Hinduism, Jainism, Ūpanishad and Veda religions because of the interest in secular worldly affairs of those who hold religious authority in respective societies. For example, the arrival of *brahmin* Buddhagosa and the presentation of 17 *atīvās* including *Visūddhi Magga*, depict a juncture where the *Buddha dhamma* had been presented with distorted interpretations due to his impecunious knowledge not only of the *dhamma* but also of the *Magadhi* language. His interpretations were quite restricted to a range of thought of a *prūthagjana* individual inept in the *dhamma*. More surprising is that there appears to have no attempt made to question his transgressions in the *dhamma*. In this manner, *prūthagjana* individuals with differing perceptual backgrounds while being inept in the *dhamma* had promoted their opinions and interpretations that catered not only to influence religious beliefs but also to suite the mundane needs of secular societies as had been the case with interpretations provided in the *Visūddhi Magga*. (Meewana Palane Siri Dhammalankara, 2019, Marasinghe, 2019).

Under these circumstances, conventional religions have failed to offer lasting sustainable and reliable solutions to alleviate human afflictions caused by chronic social, cultural, political, economic or personal challenges driven by secular world views except the relief provided through provisional patch work mostly to individuals of the lower social echelons. Though Sri Lanka has a historically favorable environment for socio-economic and political stability, there appears to be a lot of confusion within the majority of the population (70%) caused by unnecessary religious interventions in worldly affairs of the polity as well

as in the teaching of super normal (*lōkōththara*) life. In this background, despite a favorable socio-cultural environment, due to accumulated historical mistakes Sri Lanka is still struggling to achieve socio-economic and political stability. Sometimes in other religions, the followers do not have this confusion in their secular life as those religions do not extend their lives this kind salvation from the secular life which is a suffering/resentment (*Dukkha*) as far as the guidance for super normal life is concerned. Within this environment of disappointments, the interpretation of *Buddha dhamma* in present-day society has drawn attention of some of the community members genuinely interested in pristine *Buddha dhamma* as well as in the liberation of the mankind including the communities around them in Sri Lanka.

A certain segment of the Sri Lankan intellectual community and a segment of Buddhist monks who were frustrated by the aspects and the outcomes of secular lifestyle have been searching the path to liberation from such afflictions as opposed to their counterparts ensuing conventional Buddhism while entertaining supremely luxury lifestyles. This new trend among the Buddhist elite in Sri Lanka has historical roots and it appears as if history repeats itself as it happened during the time of the Buddha Gothama in the 6th century BC. This analysis presents pristine *Buddha dhamma*, a teaching based on cognitive transformation, as rediscovered by Mahā Pragñaya Meevanapalāne Siri Dhammalankāra *Āryanvahanse* using the knowledge imparted through etymological (*artha*), phenomenological (*dhamma*), defining (*nirūtthi*) and configurations of collective meaning for phrases (*patisambhidhā*) in *Magadhi* language to articulate the “model for sustainability of societies in the developing world” with special reference to Sri Lanka.

Thus, the *Buddha dhamma* analyzed in this paper is “never before heard *dhamma*” (*pūbbe ananūssūthæsu dhammesū*) as opposed to what is generally imparted by conventional Buddhism whether *Mahāyāna* or *Theravāda*. Contrary to the conventional interpretations, this rediscovered *dhamma* presents a more palatable approach toward its understanding and practice of *patichcha samūppāda dhamma* (principle of causes and effects), *chatū ariya saḥca* (four immovable truths), and the basic tenants of *Buddha dhamma*- the *thilakkhana* (the basic tenants of nature) among others. As opposed to the conventional understanding of Buddhism - the religion, these new insights about *Buddha dhamma* make it a path that can be trodden by all humanity irrespective of their color, creed, ethnicity, or religious beliefs to resolve their afflictions that dominate the human psyche across all nations.

The model presented in this paper is aimed to help all humans to understand this “never before heard *dhamma*” for their own benefit. Though the erudite and the scholarly may interpret this knowledge through their own lenses, the paper attempts to discuss these theories through the lens of causes and effects and the language of *Magadhi* as portrayed by Mahā Pragñaya Meevanapalāne Siri Dhammalankāra *Āryanvahanse*. The authentic *dhamma* interpretations imparted by the above *Āryanvahanse* as opposed to conventional interpretations portrayed by Buddhism the

religion are not only tangible in terms of results and applications but also easy to understand and envision cognitively based on the ground reality of an individual. For example, the elucidation of *san desana* (*san* as affiliations based on passion, resentment, and comparisons based on passion and resentment) and, *thilakkhana* (*anichcha*, *dukkha* and *anaththa* nature of all experience) providing *artha*, *dhamma*, *nirūthi* and *patisambhidhā* knowledge is derived from various *Buddha desana* from the *Tripitaka*. This is a departure from erroneous interpretations that not only lead to confusions and assumption-based expectations but also away from realistic approach to solving problems arising in the human psyche. For example, presentation of *thilakkhana* of the pristine *Buddha desana anichcha*, *dukkha* and *anaththa* explained as impermanency (*anithya*), suffering (*dukkha*) and soullessness (*anathma*) respectively is a total distortion of pristine *Buddha dhamma* elucidated by Buddha Gothama. These distortions are a result of Vedic - Upanishad religious intrusions into *Buddha dhamma* via *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. The precise interpretations of *thilakkhana*, namely the inability of the mind to sustain mental objects as one hopes for (*nichcha* turns into *anichcha* = 1st guise), inability to sustain hope (*sukha* feeling) for good ends up in resentment (*dukkha* = *dvesha* = 2nd guise) and one's extension of the sphere of influence to own others and activities both animate and inanimate for continued sustenance of *sukha* feeling (*aththa*). *Nichcha*, *sukha* and *aththa* are inherently conditioned mental states that get prompted by the six sense spheres upon contact with the external world as well as from one's memory impressions. This is the precise interpretation of *thilakkhana* in the authentic *Buddha dhamma*.

Based on the knowledge imparted, the theories of duality/dichotomy (*dwathavaya*) and three-dimensional nature of life experience (*tiparivatta*) can be promulgated as the undercurrents that must be experientially comprehended for tangible results in liberating oneself from inevitable vicissitudes and afflictions in life. Life cannot be understood without dichotomies of grace and disgrace, loss and gain, sadness and happiness, fame and obscurity, which are considered 8 inevitable worldly conditions. *Tiparivatta* is three-dimensional nature of life experience within the world that one creates for oneself for comfort (*sanvatta*, the zone created based on passion, dispassion, and comparative properties). Enduring life in this self-created world, one's psyche gets conditioned to its dynamics (*parivatta*). The third dimension would be *vivatta*, a new world that one must create by breaking down the conditioned old world if one sincerely seeks relief from afflictions. It is a balanced new world liberated from *san* associations and related bondages while being able to take on life affairs with evolving equanimity that lead to freedom from afflictions. Another example for *tiparivatta* can be explained through *patichcha samūppāda dhamma*. Ignorance based arising of *samudaya dhamma* associated with deep desires (*Avidyā* *patichcha samūppāda dhamma*), Ignorance severing *samudaya* terminating *dhamma* (*Avidya nirodha patichcha samuppada dhamma*) and Mental purification oriented *samūppāda* terminating *dhamma* (*Kūsalamūla patichcha samūppāda dhamma*). However, this new explanation of *Buddha Dhamma* based on *Magadhi artha*, *dhamma*, *nirūthi* has become a serious threat to the conventional

Buddhism because the true *dhamma* challenges conventional teachings. Yet, those who tread the path to liberation from afflictions know that this kind of resistance from rank and file is natural and would continue with the process of transformation by disregarding unnecessary and unjustified resistance.

The pristine *Buddha dhamma* has become a novelty in the modern world after having been buried in the sands of time for over 1900 years. The conventional Buddhism based on *Visuddhi Magga* has never been potent enough to fully outcast pristine *Buddha dhamma*. Pristine *Buddha dhamma* will fade away for good once the enlightened beings no longer exist on planet earth. Until such time it cannot be destroyed by any superpower or supernormal powers. Since conventional Buddhist religion lacks result orientation it is easy to manipulate a religion by means of rewriting its narrative, translations and presenting personal opinions by erudite and religious scholars. These scholars use different set of words burrowed from Sanskrit and other commercial languages, which are not akin to *Magadhi* while knowingly or unknowingly transforming the meaning of *Buddha dhamma* to suite their level of education and opinions. For example, the *Magadhi* term *Nibbāna* has been substituted by the Sanskrit word *Nirvana* in the Buddhist religion. *Nibbāna* means being liberated from passion) (*rāga*, resentment (*dvesha*) and comparison (*moha*) bondage. *Nirvana* does not convey anything close to pristine *dhamma*. If an opportunity is given to a conventional Buddhist to define *Nibbana*, perhaps no one will produce the right definition. For those who are sincerely interested in comprehending pristine *Buddha dhamma*, it could be quite confusing.⁶ However, by following the *dhamma* elucidated by the *Āryanvahanse*, it becomes quite obvious that what the Buddha taught is deep but easy to understand if one commits a sincere effort to listen to the *dhamma* message, which is clear, organized and comprehensible to an average *Hela* citizen even in the absence of higher education. If one comes to the understanding of the *dhamma* taught by this teacher with *artha*, *dhamma*, *nirūthi* and *patisambhidhā*, one can even comprehend *Patisambhidhā magga- prakaranaya*, a *dhamma* book with pure *dhamma* theory.

Though there are thousands of *sutta* elucidated by the Buddha Gothama, each and every *sutta* in the *Tripitaka*, whether *Sūta Pitaka*, *Vinaya Pitaka* or *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, each and every *sutta* communicates the same message in a myriad of ways to suite the personality of the intended audience. Therefore, if one perfectly understands one *dhamma* talk by the teacher, one will be able to comprehend all the *sutta* *desana* in the *Tripitaka* at varying depths. Thus, the following the path of the *dhamma* after listening to *dhamma* talks becomes easier if one is serious in one's attempts. When one is knowledgeable in the pristine *dhamma* (*janatho*), experiences it from within (*passatho*), able to establish the required mental environment through achieving mental calmness (*araññyagathovā*), further protecting the achieved mental calmness (*rūkkhamūlagathovā*), preventing the calmness form re-

⁶ The authors warn that translating *Buddha Dhamma* into English pose a lot of challenges when choosing terminology. Therefore, the authors request the reader to be open minded as recommended in the *Kālāmā Sūta*.

agitation by *san* associations (*sūṅyāgāragathovā*) while bringing one's vanity to the lowest level possible and maintaining a steadfast attitude to appraise any mental objects that crisscross the mind, then one is said to be ready with a mind full of *yonisomanasikaraya*. This is a mental skill of highest order enabling the recognition of mental objects when gaining momentum toward generating *viñāna* energy. If one operates with *yonisomanasikaraya*, one will not get involved with affliction generating grasping of *samūdaya dhamma*. Such a person is grounded in true reality who is able to comprehend *anichcha*, *dukkha* and *anaththa* experientially.

Pristine *dhamma* when learnt from a *Kalyāna Mitta* (a person who knows how to rid mental defilements through own experience), the practitioner will be skillful in an appraisal of *kāye-kāya* both from within (*ajjathhāvā*) and without (*bahiddāvā*) and perform dissociation (*passa*) as and when mental objects gain momentum toward generating *viñāna* energy/*akūsala dhamma* and association (*assa*) if the mental objects floating are contributory to *paññā kūsala dhamma*, respectively. This type of association and dissociation based on an appraisal of causes and effects and debt relationships is known as *chatūrārakkhā*, which is comprised of *satara kamatahan* or *mettānūssathi*, *asūbānūssathi*, *maranānūssathi* and *buddhānūssathi* toward the liberation from existential afflictions. In light of this knowledge, it is quite interesting to consider the *Mahā Satara Sathipattāna Sutta* (DN.22⁷) elucidated in the 6th century BC and documented as a lengthy discourse in the *Sutta Pitaka* of the *Tripitaka* as it offers a model for human behavior that could be quite meaningful to the modern secular world. Conventional Buddhism whether Theravāda or *Mahāyāna* has a different approach to the practice of *Maha Satara Sathipattana* process with distorted interpretations. As a result, the attainment of freedom from existential afflictions have never been reached for the last 1800 years since Buddhagosa wrote his *Visuddhi Magga* derailing authentic *Buddha dhamma* aimed for the attainment of mental purity.

Mahā Satara Sathipattāna Sutta (DN. 22) constitutes a comprehensive theoretical foundation for the entire *Dhammānūddhamma Patipadā* with guidance to practice including defined time ranges to achieve results if followed to the letter as recommended by the Buddha Gotama. This is the only *sutta*, where the Buddha emphasizes at the beginning and at the end, a definite timeframe as minimum seven days and maximum 7 years to complete this cognitive transformation and achieve results in this life itself. One of the other defining features of this *sutta* is that it addresses mundane and *supramundane* psychological needs toward achieving utmost mental purity devoid of passion (*rāga*), resentment (*dvesha*) and *moha*, a mental state characterized by *avijjā* or ignorance while securing freedom from existential afflictions.

Through this *sutta*, the Buddha proclaimed unequivocally that this is the “only path to liberation from existential afflictions (*ayan ekāyano ayan bhikkhave maggo sattānan vimūththiyā*)”. Though it is impossible to translate the

Magadhi phrase “*Mahā Satara Sathipattāna Sutta*” accurately into English, a close approximation would sound like the “*sutta* of the four great stages to condition the mind to appraise mental objects on cause and effect and inherited existential debts and indebtedness while associating (*assa*) what promotes *kūsala* generation and dissociating (*passa*) what supports *akūsala* generation”⁸.

The *Mahā Satara Sathipattāna Sutta* is organized into four *anūpassanā* providing details for 21 steps complementary from theory to practice. Out of these 21 complimentary steps, 14 steps come under *kāyēkāyānūpassanā*. One does not need to follow all 14 steps in any order to attain results as explained, but one must engage in *kāyēkāyānūpassanā* with *āna-pāna sathi* as the one *dhamma* that must be practiced and practiced often. If one completes the first step of *āna-pāna sathi* successfully, one attains results and all other stages, if *anūpassanā* get fulfilled as specified. Therefore, the Buddha declared that *āna-pāna sathi* as “*eka dhammo bāvithā bahūliekathā chattāro sathi pattāne paripūrenti*”. Precise practice under the guidance of a *Kalyāna Mitta* (one who is competent in *Buddha dhamma*) will help one to attain the utmost mental purity void of mental defilements as stated earlier through engaging in *kāyēkāyānūpassanā* and all other stages of *Vedanāsūvedanānūpassanā*, *citte-cittānūpassanā* and get fulfilled gradually if *kāyēkāyānūpassanā* is performed as recommended.

Kāyēkāyānūpassanā is a cognitive process practiced appraising what impressions are entering the mind through the six sense spheres (*rassavā*) and from inherited memory (*deeganvā*) need attention and subject to mental purification. This mental purification is implemented through *āna-pāna sathi*, a cognitive process to associate what is justifiable and dissociate what is unjustifiable dependent on cause and effect (*hethū-pala*) theory and the mechanism of relieving oneself from all bonds of debts and indebtedness (*naya-vinaya*) to self and others including the natural environment. If mental objects entering the mind gain momentum in association with *san* attributes (*rāga*, *dvesha* and *moha*) then these mental objects/impressions are to be dissociated (*passa*) and fill the mental void with exactly opposite thoughts as appropriate (*alobha*, *advēsha* and *amoha*) to the respective mental impression. In this process *āna-pāna sathi* constitutes four phases known as four protections (*chatūrārakkhā*) namely *mettānūssathi*, *asūbānūssathi*, *maranānūssathi* and *buddhānūssathi*. *Mettānūssathi* is the process by which feelings of resentment (*dvesha*), which could develop into any extreme, can be terminated by dissociation (*passa*) and associate empathic and friendly thoughts toward self and the mental object that triggered the momentum. *Asūbānūssathi* is the process to practice when thoughts related passion (*rāga*) gain momentum; these thoughts are to be dissociated (*passa*) by reflecting on the *asuba* nature of the object and associate *alobha* thoughts as an antidote to fill the mental void. *Maranānūssathi* is the

⁸ The principle author in this article has participated in the seven day *Bawana Programme* run by *Meewanapalane Siri Dhammalankara Thero*. *Maha Satara Sathi Pattaana* is the core *sutta* in the *Buddha Bāvanā Programme* along with other complementary *Sutta deshana*.

⁷DN= *Deega Nikaya* in *Tri pitaka*

process by which any thought based on *moha* (thoughts that cannot be categorized as *rāga* or *dvesha*) is to be dissociated (*passa*) for its unrealistic nature as *nichcha*, *asukh* and *aththa* and to be associated (*assa*) its realistic antidote *anichcha*, *dukkha* and *anaththa* (*thilakkhana*). Subsequent to *mettānūssathi* and *asūbānūssathi* when the mind gets settled from commotion, *maranānūssathi* must be practiced without leaving too much room in between. If these three steps are carried out in the sequence as recommended when a thought based on *rāga* or *dvesha* or *moha* matrix gains momentum in the mind, *buddhānūssathi* gets fulfilled. *Buddhānūssathi* can be described in words as *nibbidā/sabbūpadi patinissaggo* or complete abandonment of causes for existential afflictions with insight.

It shall be noted that *assa* and *passa* in *Magadhi* language can be represented by several different terms such as *basissami/bhāsisāmīthi*, *bāvēthabbancha* *bāvitan* for association (*assāsa = assa*) and *pahāthabbancha* *paheenan* for dissociation (*passāsā = passa*). If one has successfully followed and engages in *kāyēkāyānūpassanā*⁹, *vedanāsūvedanānūpassanā* is fulfilled and ready to proceed with, *ċitte-ċittānūpassanā* and *dhammēsūddhammānūpassanā* (refer to foot note 8) and get them fulfilled. Therefore, *Kāyēkāyānūpassanā* is the one step that the Buddha recommended to carry out diligently as and when defiling thoughts crisscross the mind while gaining momentum toward generating *viñāna* energy or *samūdaya dhamma*. Once they are terminated at their nascent stage (*anūppāda niroda*), there is nothing left to continue toward *samūdaya dhamma* while rest of the process gets fulfilled experiencing total serenity and one pointedness leading to *paññā vimūththi* enabling the mind to comprehend reality as is with *yathābhūta gñana dassana* or ultimate wisdom. Even if one has reached ultimate liberation from afflictions, this cognitive process must be followed as long as life prevails. However, the practice becomes second nature through conditioned mental purity.

In *Vedanasu vedadanau passana*, the practitioner comprehends the three types of *vedanā*-feelings of contentment, resentment or the floating in between the two under *amisa vedana*, which are mundane feelings such as happiness or sweetness etc. whereas *niramisa vedana* are supra mundane feeling. When practicing *kāyēkāyānūpassanā* there are 36 cyclical (refer to the foot notes 9 and 10) experiences generating *samūdaya dhamma* for the practitioner to recognize and terminate. *Kāyēkāyānūpassanā* and *vedanāsūvedanānūpassanā* are mostly physiological/psychological causes and effects. *Kāyēkāyānūpassanā* describes what the practitioner needs to do and *vedanāsūvedanānūpassanā* describes what the practitioner experiences as a result of the practice of *kāyēkāyānūpassanā*.

⁹ Just as *ana pana pabba* phase as explain above the practitioner can extend the *Kāyē Kayanu passana* to other *pabbas*, namely *Iryapatha pabba*, *Sanpajanna pabba*, *Dathumanasikara pabba*, and *Nasivathika pabba* (9pabba), Where a practitioner can accomplish the required conditions to proceed with *vedanāsūvedanānūpassanā*, *ċittēċittānūpassanā* and *dhammēsūddhammānūpassanā*.

Once the practitioner fulfills *kāyēkāyānūpassanā* and *vedanāsūvedanānūpassanā*, *ċittēċittānūpassanā* would enable to complete. In *ċittēċittānūpassanā* the practitioner experiences (i). *Sarangawa Cittan* as *Saranga Cittanti Pjanathi*- realistic recognition of passionate thought as passionate thoughts (ii). *anuththaranwa chiththan* as *anuththaran cittanti pjanathi*, supramundane feelings as supramundane feelings, (iii). *Sankittanwa cittan sankittan Chittanti Pajanathi*- complex mind as a complex mind, (iv). *Vikkittanwa cittan Vikkittan Cittanti Pjanathi*- confused mind as a confused mind, (v). *Vimutan Cittan* as *Vimukthan Cittanti Pjanathi*, unliberated mind as an unliberated mind (vi). *Avimuktanwa Cittan Avimuktan cittanti Pjanathi*- fully liberated mind as a fully liberated mind. Therefore, the final stage of *ċittēċittānūpassanā* is securing the path to complete liberation or in other words there is nothing in mind to liberate (totally purified mind= *pna* (wisdom).

Once a *srāvaka* (practitioner) experiences *ċittēċittānūpassanā* the *srāvaka* (the practitioner) experiences the fulfillment of all the phases of *dhammēsūddhammānūpassanā*. There are 5 complementary phases in *dhammēsūddhammānūpassanā*. They are; **1. The Neevaranan Pabba** (The stage in which things that sheath enlightenment) (i) *Kamachchanda* (ii) *Vyāpāda* (iii) *Thienamiddha* (iv) *Ūddachcha* *kūkkūchcha* (v) *Vichikichchithā*-All 5 types of sheathing are liked to each other like a stratum. **2. Skanda Pabba**: Comprehension of the five (5) aggregate - (i) *Rupa*, (ii) *Vedana*, (iii) *Sanna*, (iv) *Sankara* (v) *Vinana* that lead to exist with secular life with suffering and the comprehension of the cessation with the detachment of this five aggregate. They are also in a bundle together just as *neewarana*. **3 Ayathana Pabba**- based on the stimulus of six organs and their corresponding ((i) *Chakkuncha* (ii) *Sothancha* (iii) *Ganancha* (iv) *Jivhancha* (v) *Pottabbancha* (vi) *Manancha*) that influence in generating *Dasa Sanyojana* Ten *kilesa* (roots of attachments) (*skkayaditti*, *vichkichchita*, *seelabbathaparamasa*, *rupa raga*, *arupa raga*, *Mana*, *Uddachcha*, *avjja*). With this *Dasa Sanyojana* individual is passionate with the secular world. As per *Ayathana Pabba*, there are **4. Bojjanga Pabba**: the ways from which the practitioner can remain without allowing to generate three different *Bhawa* (natural phenomena) – *Kama Bhawa*, *Rupa Bhawa* and *Arupa Bhawa*. There are seven such *Bojjanga* from which a practitioner can get guaranteed the status of the liberation of *samudaya*. These seven *Bojjanga* are (i) *Sathi Bojjanga* (ii) *Dhamma Vichaya Bojjanga* (iii) *Preethi Bojjanga*, (iv) *Passadi Bojjanga* (v) *Viriya* (vi) *Samadhi Bojjanga* (vii) *Upekkah Bojjanga*. **5. Sachcha Pabba** – This is the last phase of *Dhammēsūddhammānūpassana* or the 21 st *Pabba* in *Maha Sathara Sathi Patthana*. *The Sachcha Pabba is the concised theory of Buddha dhamma*. It includes the Four Immovable Truths which is the core principle of *Buddhadhamma* at the end of *Maha Sathara Sathi Pattaāna* as the conclusion. The details of *Sachcha Pabba* : (i) *Dukkha* The truth that envisages three types of *vedana* that ended up with frustration or *Dukkha* the joyfulness, sorrow and the floating in between the two all that make frustration (ii) *Samudaya* – the truth that envisages generating of desires-covetousness/passion (*raga/Loba*), *Dweshā-Dosa* displeasure (2nd disguise) including resentment/anger

(*dvesha*) and the ignorance/delusion (*moha*). (iii) Nirodha – Stopping the wheeling of desires, emotions and floating in between desires and emotions (iv) *Nirodhagamini Patipada* – Eight phases of enlightenment. Here the Eight fold Path is also a triangle (i) The wrong (*Michcha*) (ii) the secular or the worldly (mundane) and (iii) The supreme (*supramundani*) or (*lokoththara*).

Here in *Maha Maha Sathara Sathi Patthana* the interpretation is taken as supreme or in terms of *supramundani* as the eightfold path here is the fulfilment of for the enlightenment. However the practitioner needs to comprehend the triangle possibilities of Eightfold path. Here it is given the supreme eightfold path. They are i. *Sanmaditti*- leaving away from all attachments (ditti) ii *Samma Sankappa*-the thoughts of detachments iv *Sammavacha*-the vocal use for the detachments v *Samma Kammantha* cessations of actions of attachments vi *Sammakammanatha* –detached living vii *Samma sathi* –full grown competency for the detachment (*Sathara Sathi Patthana*) viii *Samma Samadhi* (DN22)- Full grown concentration/transcendence for the detachments- the four *jhana*.-different levels of transcendences extend up to full grown transcendence and continue with the detachment until to the *Parinibbana*.-the extinction of *Manomaya Kaya*, *Chiththaja Kaya* and *Karaja Kaya*.

Throughout 21 st *pabba* in this *sutta*, the Buddha summarizes as “*attikāyothivā panassa sathi pachūppattithā hothi yāvadeva gñaya matthtāya patissathi matthtāya anissithocha viharathi nacha kinchi loke ūpādiyathi*” what needs to be done in each every present moment. Therefore, Magadhi phrase “*attikāyothivā panassa sathi pachūppattithā hothi yāvadeva gñaya matthtāya patissathi matthtāya anissithocha viharathi nacha kinchi loke ūpādiyathi*” emphasizes the following message 21 times: “There is nothing in this world either internally or externally to grasp as *nichcha*, *sūkha* and *atthā* because everything is *anichcha*, *dukkha* and *anaththa* in nature. If everything that crisscross the mind generating momentum (*vāga*) are being cognitively appraised (*paññā*) in the present moment itself through the theory of cause and effect (*hethū – pala dhamma*) and weigh against debt and indebtedness (*naya-vinaya*) then, there is nothing worthwhile to grasp within one’s clouded mind. This is the concise message of *Buddha dhamma* which is important in getting conditioned with *mettānūssathi*, *asūbānūssathi*, *maranānūssathi* and *buddhānūssathi*. *Mettānūssathi* and *MahaSathara Sathi Pattaāna* for cessation of passion/desire and then life suffering from *bawa* to *bhawa*.

According to the pristine *Buddhadhama*, if one doesn’t practice the recommendations given in the above para, he or she makes the *bawa* (the seeds or the tendencies) through the grasping of five aggregate *Rupa* (the bodily components), *Vedana* (feelings) *Sangga* (the signal) *sankara* (desires actions) *Vingana* (concioussness) followed the *kilesa*– the three fetters (the mental tendencies), i.e. *Lobha/Raga* (covetousness/desire/psion), *Dvesha/Dosa* (2ⁿ disguise/displeasure/resentment/emotions), *Moha* (ignorance/floating in between the two) which are raised from the individual’s attachment. These activities are three types. (i) *Pungnabi Sankara* – cyclical intensive meritorious

actions (ii) *Apungnabi Sankara* – cyclical intensive sins and (iii) *Anijjambisankara*- Non-physio mental tendencies as consequence of taking *jhana* as pleasure (Meewana Palane Siri Dhammalankara,2019). The outcomes of all these *sankara*- the fetters get settled in the *Manomaya Kaya* – psychic bodying as *bawa* of *rāga*, *dvesha* and *moha* in the process of *patichcha samūppāda dhamma* until to reach the full enlightenment (refer to **Figure 1**). Once formed *bawa* or seeds of *kamma* become lasting properties in the *manomayakāya* (mental sphere) that have the potential to traverse for up to 91 eons (Meewana Palane Siri Dhammalankara,2019). These *bawa* or properties if remain unexhausted becomes the root cause for attitudes and specific behaviors of beings upon birth. The *bawa* is also valid with regards to emotional (*ĉittajakāya*) well as upon future new The term *bawa* (seeds of *kamma*) or attitudinal mental properties are a result of grasping five aggregates (*rūpa*, *vedanā*, *sañña*, *sankhāra* and *viñāna*) through the three fetters or defilements (*kilesa*) comprised behaviors of beings in current life as births.

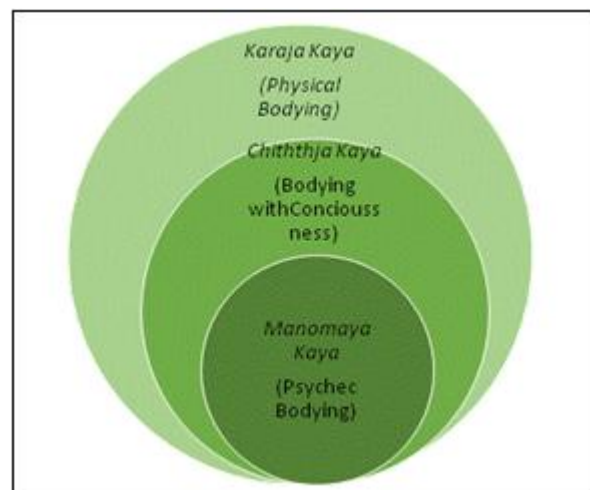


Figure 1: *Trijakaya* (Life Functioning)

Source: Based on Jayawardena and Amaratunga (2019)

Most worldly beings are on a trajectory of continued infinite existence experiencing innumerable births, deaths, and afflictions at ad libitum with the *trijakaya* as depicted in **Figure 1**. However, due to ignorance (*avijja*) the vast majority of beings remain unaware of this phenomenon while adhering the anticipation of uninterrupted contentment and its sustenance forever. This is far from reality and as such this view of existential survival as *nichcha*, *sūkha* and *atthā* is explained as *michchā ditty* whereas comprehension of *anichcha*, *dukkha* and *anaththa* nature of reality as *sammā ditty*.

One who operates with *michchā ditty* operates with inherited *ayonisomanasikāraya* (governed by *viñāna*) whereas one who has comprehended reality possess *samma ditty* operate with *yonisomanasikāraya* (governed by *paññā*-wisdom). If beings can condition themselves to operate with *yonisomanasikāraya*, attainment of full liberation from all existential afflictions such as the Buddha and all those who attained various stages of mental purity *soṭāpaththi*- stream winner or comprehension of four immovable (noble) truths; *sakadagami*-once returner, *anāgāmi* - non returner and *arahant*- (ultimate liberation). Out of the above four phases,

in the state of stream winner, one comprehends the *Patichcha Samūppāda*, the four immovable truths (*chatū ariya saṅga*) and have the experiential knowledge of the four phases of full liberation for existential maladies. Therefore, the one who completes *sothapatthi*¹⁰ phase, receives experiential comprehension which is an outcome of *athindriya gñana* along with the cessation of *saṅcāya ditty* – purified erroneous view on existence, *vichikichchitāvaya* – corrupt desires of *viñāna* and rites and rituals – *seeelabvathaparāmāsa* (Meevanapalāne Siri Dhammalankara, 2018, 2019; Jayawardena and Amaratunga, 2019).

The attainment of *sothapatthi* enables one to reflect on one's own actions and reactions as a *srāvaka* located on the *dhammānūddhamma patipadā*. With this experiential knowledge one who fulfill the conditions of *Sothapatthi* comprehends the nature of *yonisomanasikāra* with skills to follow up *Kūsalamūla Patichcha Samuppādadhamma* (path of the cessation of grasping and attain *nibbida*). The one who operates with *ayonisomanasikāra* mind, treads a path born of *avidyāmūlapatichcha samūppāda* (grasping with *san* associations) while prolonging the traversing in infinite existence on par with the *bawa* of their own.

One who has gained comprehensive wisdom as detailed in the *Mahā Satara Sathipattāna Sutta* is truly capable of grasping the reality and of being adequately skillful to define social context based on ground reality appraised by causes and effects and debt and indebtedness unlike an individual who goes out only equipped with subjective and qualitative data analyzed through personal opinionated measuring sticks rather than through an unbiased error free cause and effect in conjunction with debt and indebtedness appraisal. Those who achieve the bottom line level of the spiritual path can proceed towards the higher levels as described above, and they can help others to accomplish these levels or can help them to enter the path. Therefore, *Mahā Satara Sathipattāna Sutta* of *Buddha dhamma* is the comprehensive theoretical and practical guidance for individuals to get disciplined by themselves with simple life. This is applicable for everybody regardless of distinctions such as caste, creed and class, and therefore, *Buddha dhamma* can be used for sustainable socio-economic and political stability keeping society with the direction towards spiritual achievement.

6. Institutional Logic Theory and Historiographical analysis of Cosmopolitanism: Historical Transformation of Sri Lanka

As discussed in institutional logic theories and historical analyses based on cosmopolitanism, integrating cultures, races, immigrants, technologies etc. is beneficial for all

¹⁰ In order to accomplish the *Sothapatthi* phase, the following conditions need to be fulfilled. 1. The association of *Kalyana Mitta* - One who has been accomplished the minimum of *Sothapatthi* 2. Listen to unadulterated *Siri Sadhdharma* 3. *YonisoManasikāra* thinking ability as per *Kusala Moola Patichcha Samuppāda* or in other words overpower the consciousness 4. Treading *Dhammanudhammapatipada* (follow with the comprehended path)(Meevanapalane Siri Dhammalankara, 2019)

interacting parties. Similarly, capitalism, liberalism, neo-liberalism, as well as globalization are also claimed to ensure economic and other benefits for all parties. However, Marxists, neo-Marxists and philosophers like Foucault argue that such tendencies are always subject to conflicts of interest and therefore, the powerful exploit the rest. This paper inquires whether Sri Lanka's society has been benefitted from migrated populations and other externally imposed cultures etc. In this discussion, the impact of external stimulus needs to be compared with the assessment of the benefits of transformation of the existing system with own identities towards socio-economic stability consistent with appropriate shift on a par with the core values. In the case of Sri Lanka, the core value that has come from the past is *Buddha dhamma*. Therefore, as far as Sri Lanka is concerned, the transformation along with the *Buddha dhamma* needs to be assessed against the advantages and impact of institutional logics perspective and cosmopolitanism.

Further, geomorphologic diversity, long history that existed within a period of over 10,000 years, the civilizations referred to in the *Gothama Buddha's* visit to *Lankapura* and other places at the invitation of *Saman*, a local king of *Kururata* – presently in *Kuruvita*¹¹ are also examples for early history prosperity in the country. In the meantime, the special reference given to *Buddha dhamma* and *Gothama Buddha* in *Deepawansa*, and *Mahawansa*, also cannot be ignored in assessing the value of inclusive system rather than depending on externally superimposed systems for the development of Sri Lanka. Therefore, more than the theories of development and other externally proposed models, deriving a system that addresses on indigenous factors and the living pattern based on *Buddha dhamma* is important.

Unlike Marxism, *Buddha dhamma* guides human beings to follow instructions individually, and once an individual achieves the primary level of attainment that is *Sammaditti*, he or she knows the absolute way for detachment from desire (*rāga*), feelings of displeasure/displeasure (*dōsa*) and comparing between the two or ignorance/delusion (*mōha*). He or she also knows how to detach from all types of mental illnesses. Once an individual achieves this level, he or she can help others to do the same while continuing the practice to reach higher levels. This *Buddha dhamma* is neither harmful to the individual nor to the others including the environment. This system is based on self-discipline and it trains the individuals for a simple life where they can be satisfied with whatever available for consumption and with the basic needs. Therefore, one who enters the path shown by the *Buddha dhamma* will not be captivated by consumerism. Those who are on the path to enlightenment are consistent with the above qualities at relatively a higher level even before they achieve the primary level. A particular society with a high percentage of such disciplined members protects the environment, which in turn protects the individuals in a mutually beneficial process (Please refer to the *Buddha dhamma* explained in section 5).

¹¹ Prehistoric excavations in *Batadomba Lena* in *Kuruvita* prove civilizations prior to the arrival of *Vijaya* (*Deraniyagala*, 1992)

Sri Lanka is the country that has been preserving this *Buddha dhamma*, the living path introduced by Gothama Buddha without distortion, through which the practitioner can attain the full enlightenment as explained in the section 5 of this paper. Therefore, *Buddha dhamma* is the most valuable soft power that can be used to cease the suffering of the world and to get relief with stability as individuals and also as a society. In order to develop the model based on this discussion, it is required to analyze the historical episodes of Sri Lanka to comprehend the past mistakes and the potentials in the system.

6.1 Prehistoric Communities in Sri Lanka

According to Siran Deraniyagala, the history of human existence in Sri Lanka goes beyond 100,000 years as per the archeological findings. Further, archeological excavations have revealed human settlements in different parts of Sri Lanka (Deraniyagala, 2007; Kulathilake, 2016, pp 426-427). As per Deraniyagala and Kenady, from time to time people have migrated from India and suburbs to Sri Lanka as the sea levels were low. They also believed that there was a land bridge between the island and the Indian subcontinent (Deraniyagala, 1992 and Kenady, 2000). In the meantime, since Sri Lanka was situated at the southern tip of India, where there is no country beyond Sri Lanka to the south, the geo-oceanic location of Sri Lanka had been important for trade, security etc., and therefore, immigrant influence had been there even in the prehistoric period. As per Deraniyagala, the archeological excavations along with geo morphological information, the prehistoric settlers are closer to the present day *Vedda* community (the oldest indigenous community in Sri Lanka) than to the others. As per Deraniyagala, the *Vedda* community is also referred as *Yakka* (Deraniyagala, 2007). This proves that there had been early human settlements in the country before the arrival of Indian migrants (Deraniyagala, 1958; Kenady, 1972). It has also been argued that agriculture may have been developed in the country 13000 years ago (Prematilake, 2000). Between 900 to 600 BC, evidently there had been rice paddy cultivation, and horses and domesticated cattle had been used for day to day requirements of the settlers who are close to the *Vedda* community (Deraniyagala, 1992). Though the *Vedda* community at present is insignificant, in the prehistoric period and in early historic period, this community may have been extensively spread over the island and enriched with a good philosophy and diversified skills in maintaining a nature-friendly life style. Probably, the *Sivu Helaya* referred to in the history might have been linked with this community in the past¹².

Kennedy KAR. 2013. To what extent were prehistoric Sri Lankans isolated from the Indian mainland?

Biotic and archaeological considerations. In: Abraham G, Raczek TP, Rizvi UZ, editors. Connections and complexity: new approaches to the archeology of South Asia. Walnut Creek (CA): Left Coast Press. pp 35–45.

Kennedy KAR, Deraniyagala SU.

The roots of the Sinhala language are linked with *Magadhi/Pali*, which is a tonal language. (Kulathilake, 2016, p 431). With this information, it can be argued that before the exodus of Indian migrants, the *Vedda* community may have been the major settlers with some regional variation due to natural geographical variations in the country. Along with the Indian migrants, the indigenous community may have gradually dwindled along with their life patterns. Further, based on Oceanic Investigation, there are evidences to prove the loss of land mass in the Eastern part of the country due to natural disasters, for example the legendary sea risings in the history. As per institutional logic analysis and the cosmopolitanism (Rebecca R. Darley, 2017), the outcome of a hybrid system is mutually beneficial for migrants as well as for indigenous people. However, due to the influence and hegemony of migrant communities, indigenous communities become marginalized along with their interaction with the migrants in the new social system. Along with the time, the indigenous inhabitants get mixed up with the migrant community, and consequently they become victims within the system because, with the passage of time, they do not belong to either the indigenous or the migrant communities. This general pattern in the prehistoric era has extended to later periods as well. However, as the indigenous community is marginalized, the practicing systems that transform within their own environment become less compatible and less beneficial in nature for their sustainable survival. In the Sri Lankan context, the present *Vedda* Community can be identified as the remnants of such marginalized native inhabitants who may have had a deep-rooted and vibrant life pattern compatible with nature.

The *Maghadhi* language used by Gothama Buddha indicate some similarities with the *Vedda* language. Both languages are tonal and they have no scripts. Therefore, there can be a close linkage between the *Vedda* community in the 6th century BC and the pristine *Buddha dhamma* in its early period. This linkage may have faded away because of the hegemonic influence of the Indian interventions. As per the historical records, *Buddha dhamma* had existed in the country before the establishment of the *Buddha Agama* or the religion called Buddhism, which became institutionalized as a result of the intervention of Emperor Asoka of India. However, along with the arrival of Buddhism with strong religious traditions more akin to secular life, the Pristine *Buddha dhamma* was gradually alienated from society inclined towards secular life. The stories related to *Arahant* Mahinda and Sangamitta are yet to be cleared in spite of the recording in the *Deepawansa* and *Mahawansa* as son and daughter of the Indian monarch Asoka. The Indian influence of soft and military powers has evidently been crucial in jeopardizing the course of Sri Lanka's socio-economic and political transformation compatible with nature-friendly Sri Lankan identity embedded in *Buddha dhamma*. Presumably, this may have been the root cause for the socioeconomic and political problems that have developed in the country in the later periods.

6.2 Early Period of Sri Lanka

¹² There are historical evidences of the use of Brahmin scripts in Anuradhapura during the period between 500-600 BC (Deraniyagala, 1992, p 71)

In the history of Sri Lanka, Vijaya's arrival is a significant event mainly because of its hegemonic influence on the recording of the history in the later period. As per the chronicles of *Deepawansa* and *Mahawansa*, Vijaya's arrival in the island has coincided with the *Parinibbana* of Gothama Buddha. Even though, we can dismiss it as a mythical story created by *Mahanama Thero*, at the time of writing the *Mahawansa*, the hidden fact behind this statement is that migrant influence was very forceful and prominent, and it signifies a clear intent on the part of the historian to promote Indian migrants. At the same time, such promotions degrade the indigenous communities and negate the historically rightful place of the native communities. It is evident that the *Mahawansa* has promoted the Indian migrants through various stories while at the same time degrading the indigenous community. For instance, as per *Mahawansa*, Vijaya had married Kuveni, a *yakka* princess initially and established a kingdom, and after some years of their marriage, Vijaya had chased away Kuveni and the two children from the kingdom. In the same source, it is mentioned that the *Vedda* community descends from these two children abandoned in the jungle after Kuveni's death. This story is not consistent with the fact that the indigenous community had descended for generations prior to Vijaya's arrival in the island. Even though this story could be factually wrong, because of the Indian hegemony and the resultant biased historical records, it has not been sufficiently questioned by the concerned parties. Instead, the historical records continued with their emphasis on the descendants of the Indian migrants while purposely disregarding and degrading the indigenous community. Therefore, reading and interpreting the available historical records need to be done in a deconstructive perspective and they need to be reassessed by resorting to alternative sources of history for making fair and accurate conclusions. Even though the *Deepawansa* seems somewhat reasonable in recording the history, *Mahawansa* has added influential stories in support of the newly created community at the cost of a justice towards the indigenous community and their prospective transformation. In this backdrop, It can be argued that the Pristine *Buddha dhamma* and Gothama Buddha strongly associated with the indigenous community have not been properly recorded or have been purposely ignored or sidelined in the distorted recordings of Sri Lanka's history because of the Indian hegemony. In this background, the positive impact on the communities, through integration of cultures and philosophies of both indigenous and migrated communities and cultures as argued in institutional logics analysis and cosmopolitanism under historiography are biased towards the migrated community and the externally induced culture, and their power relations. Therefore, the indigenous values, cultures, philosophies that would have transformed prospectively towards sustainable socio-economic stability might have faded away while the sidelined indigenous community and those who were mixed with the migrated communities have become the victims of the new systems, and issues of such a community may have been relayed to the future resulting in an array of complexities to be sorted out.

6.3 Anuradhapura Period of Sri Lanka

Anuradhapura period is the most prosperous and the longest period in the history of Sri Lanka. During this period, the Indian influence was turned into a military threat in a different form compared with the prehistoric period. This tendency has started with Sena and Guththika and followed by Elara in the later period. At this stage, there was a civilization developed from the Indian hegemonic influence. In this background, the contribution by the indigenous community has been undermined because of the biased views of the writers of Indian origin. At this juncture, the indigenous migrant mixed community has created a hybrid culture, religion, and an economic and political system along with other hybrid social activities in the process of transformation while enjoying the benefits from the new system mainly because of the successful integration of the indigenous community and the migrated community during the periods of King Pandukabhaya and King Dutugemunu. Therefore, unlike during many of the episodes of Sri Lankan history, during Pandukabhaya and Dutugemunu periods, the advantages of institutional logistic cosmopolitanism were in favor of Sri Lankan society on the whole. However, due to unknown reasons, there had been no recording of the prosperity of indigenous *Sivu Helaya* in other parts of the country in which there is a possibility of a linkage with *Buddha dhamma*. Instead, the local leaders seem have knowingly or unknowingly subjugated to the Indian influence and their hegemonic agendas allowing the alien socioeconomic and cultural systems to take root in local soils.

With this background, it is apparent that a new civilization has been established with the Indian intervention, which was an outcome of the Emperor Asoka's influence on Sri Lanka. This is another episode of Indian intervention that was materialized after King Pandukabhaya. The subsequent reign of Elara which lasted for about 40 years had created the conditions for the Dutugemunu Elara war (Silva, 1981). Despite his victory over Elara, King Dutugemunu was not able to fully deviate from the Anuradhapura culture influenced by Indian traditions and relations. Instead, King Dutugemunu, gradually brought in to Anuradhapura the indigenous socio-economic stability and the prosperity that prevailed in the South and in the East in the form of establishing a united country. However, it should be noted that this prosperity was devoid of the values of the indigenous socio-economic and political systems that had evolved in line with the philosophy and practice of the *Buddha dhamma* which prevailed during that time in isolation in the east and south of the country (*Mahawansa* and *Deepawansa*).

As per historiographical analyses, the changes mentioned above have negatively influenced on prospective changes of the island nation that missed the pristine *Buddha dhamma* and other indigenous value systems. If indigenous systems had been protected and reinstated, the nature-friendly transformation compatible with pristine *Buddha dhamma* might have led the able king Dutugemunu towards propagating in the whole country the age-old simple life style of the country with socio-economic stability, which would, in turn, have led the masses towards cessation of unending life suffering instead of being overwhelmed by the culture of huge constructions related to secular life. The

Indian introduction of Buddhism in place of the *Buddha dhamma* and the subsequent politicization of Buddhist thoughts that was initiated during the time of Dewanampiyatissa with the intervention of emperor Asoka may have influenced the Sinhalese kings to be inclined towards emotion-oriented consciousness rather than towards wisdom. Continuing this system further, King Dutugemunu started huge religious constructions that have led to the confinement of Buddhists to a more secular religious framework, which compelled them to postpone the cessation of human suffering through pristine *Buddha dhamma* to an unseen future. In the meantime, because of the life confusions that came in the wake of Buddhism, firstly it was difficult for Buddhists to sustain the simple life style associated with pristine *Buddha dhamma*, and secondly it was not possible for them to maintain a sustainable socio-economic and political stability compatible with *Buddha dhamma*.

During the reign of king Walagamba, after a short period of Indian control, Buddhism in Sri Lanka was integrated with Mahayana traditions along with the *Abhayagiriya* tradition which was an alternative to *Mahavihara* tradition. Thereafter, the most significant impact on Sri Lankan society was made along with the arrival of the Indian monk, Buddhagosha who composed *Visuddhimagga*, which had a harmful and a lasting influence on the Buddhist practices, which in turn obscured the *Buddha dhamma* and the path for Enlightenment. As per *Visuddhimagga*, *Seela*— virtue, *Bhavana/Samadhi*— *jhana*-meditation and *Panna* – wisdom are shown as the purification path. It was not consistent with pristine *Buddha dhamma*. Along with the new disciplinary procedures of Bhikku society, there had been significant changes in society as the practices including *samasathali bhavana* (40 types of meditations), which include *kashina bhavana* too, and those of the Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism got intergraded with *Buddha dhamma* and Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Here, the Buddhagosha intervention which was an outcome of a series of interactions between *Mahayana* traditions introduced as a procedure for the Bhikku of *Mahavihara* Sri Lanka. The new Buddhist traditions were supported by the kings, and therefore, the original *Buddhadhamma* had gradually faded away. After Buddhagosha's *Visuddhimagga*, as a result of newly introduced *seela* (virtue) the procedure based on *Visuddhimagga*, for the *Bhikku* society as well as the lay society, just as the Brahmin in the Hindu society the *Bhikku* society started to be superficially alienated as Brahmins under Hinduism on a par with instructions in *Visuddhimagga*, and therefore, relationship between *Bhikku* society and lay society was further broadened. However, the *Bhikku* society was able to influence the king and his administration just as in the past. The changes in the Buddhism and the social culture that grabbed Buddhists towards *Mahayana* traditions were combined with *Theravada* and as a consequence a new form of *Theravada* tradition was created along with the *Visuddhimagga*. This new tradition misled the Buddhists of the country and drove them away from the pristine *Buddha dhamma* and subsequently from the path to enlightenment. Since then, the Pristine *Buddha dhamma* survived in isolation in remote areas in the country where there is less connection with the king and others in Anuradhapura.

6.4 Medieval Period of Sri Lanka after Anuradhapura Kingdom

In the medieval period, the threat of Indian invasions was at the peak level, and this threat compelled the Sinhalese kings to shift the kingdom to Polonnaruwa. The Polonnaruwa kingdom established by Vijayabahu the 1st in the 11th century continued for a period of about two centuries. During the last century of the Anuradhapura period to the end of the Polonnaruwa period, the Indian influence, especially that of south India had been very prominent. Establishment of Hindu temples can be observed in Polonnaruwa during the rule of Chola and Kalinga Magga. (Silva, 1981 pp 20-26, p 61)

During this period, even under Sinhalese kings, there were Hindu temples despite Tamils/Hindus being a minority. In this period, there was a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism, and this particular development was not resisted by the Buddhists as Buddhism was already integrated with *Mahayana* traditions. This particular feature could be observed even during the two prominent Sinhalese kings, i.e. Vijayabahu the 1st (1055-1111) and Parakramabahu the Great (1153-1186). The Indian influence on the administration, economy and culture during this period had been an outcome of the accumulated actions and reactions in the past. The exposure of Sri Lankan kings to countries such as India and Burma, especially that of the king Parakramabahu the Great, brought in advantages and disadvantages to the country in the long run (Silva, 1981).

After the Polonnaruwa period, the Sinhalese kingdom shifted to Dambadeniya (1220-1345), Gampola (1345-1412), and Kotte (1412-1597). As a whole during these periods, institutional logics perspective and cosmopolitanism as explained in the theory could be witnessed. Therefore, the history has recorded prosperity in the country during the periods of Vijayabahu the 1st (1055-1111) and the Parakramabahu the Great (1153-1186) and few other periods of the kings in Dambadeniya and Kotte with the focus on literary work. However, because of the accumulated hegemonic influence and its outcome, there had been no socio-economic and political transformation which is combined with simple life. Therefore, socioeconomic and political stability with favorable and appropriate transformation was not available. As far as *Buddha dhamma* is concerned the existing gap between Buddhism and *Buddha dhamma* had been further widened and the confusions among practitioners were continuously widening. In this background, power struggles among local leaders in many occasions can be observed.

6.5 Socio-Economic Transformation during the Period of European Invasions

Until the beginning of the 16th Century, Sri Lanka as a whole had virtually been enslaved by India, the major power in the Indian subcontinent with some exceptions due to a few extremely visionary leaders who were trying to keep the nation under the control of the indigenous system at least within their reign. In the 16th century, the story of “the pearl of the Indian Ocean”, which indicates the value of this island was spread over the Europe. Therefore, starting from the

Portuguese then the Dutch and the English encroached the island within a few centuries. Initially they took over the control of the coastal belt of the island. At the time of the Kotte Kingdom, though the king was having the power of the whole island, there was no control of such administration as the king was not having an appropriate strategy, and therefore, the Sinhalese king played into the hands of the Portuguese.

Furthermore, as discussed above there had been no focus or readiness that passes from generation to generation against prospective external threats. Instead, what had existed was the internal power struggles during most periods of administration. Therefore, the prevailed conditions in the Kotte kingdom facilitated for the invaders' success in taking over the control of the coastal line of the country. The same conditions helped the Englishmen to take over the whole country in 1815. In this background, unlike during the time of Indian hegemony the whole country underwent a structural conversion in all aspects, i.e. economically, socially and culturally to the level that the prospective leaders could not turn the other way around even if they had the inclination to do so. During the Portuguese and the Dutch periods, the Sinhalese in the upcountry were resistant to the European threat partly because of the naturally protected environment. During this period, the cosmopolitanism argument of Historiographers and the institutional logistic perspective argument were totally invalid as the European invaders forced the Sinhalese to accept the Royal British system. In this background, it was a golden opportunity for the British to find the ingredients/raw material that were required for their industrial revolution in the Europe, in the 19th and 20th centuries. Initially the British were satisfied with spices such as cinnamon, cardamom etc. and later on, they started growing coffee, tea, rubber and coconut that were profitable and useful for them in Europe. The cultivation of the plantation crops was harmful for the Sinhalese during the time of colonization as well as in the postcolonial period because of its negative impact on the domestic cultivation and in the life style of the domestic community. The exodus of Indian migrant labor as slaves, the road network, railway network, extensive encroachment of crown land for cultivation have negatively affected the peasants as well as the traditional self-sufficient production system during the colonial period as well as in the later period after independence. One may here argue favorably just as the institutional logic perspective experts and as cosmopolitan historians, yet, these structural changes during the colonial period have further aggravated the negative impact on the nature-friendly sustainable socio-economic stability for prospective Sri Lanka especially in the rural community life.

The impact of structural changes introduced in the colonial era has not been able to be negated even to date, even after seven decades of post-independence. At the time of the independence, Sri Lankans received some second hand socio-economic structures, commodities of plantations, the road network and the railway network etc. But the most critical damage caused to Sri Lanka by the European presence is the socio economic, political and cultural change in the attitudes of the mainstream Sinhalese community as well as of the minority communities. This damage is

twofold, i.e. (i). The exponential suppression of local history and culture including the *Buddha dhamma* as well as Buddhism (ii) The effort of converting the leaders towards their culture while keeping the rest as the slaves in the system by using the technology and the western type education that could provide brainwashed intellectuals with western thoughts. Within this background the traditional knowledge written and restored on palm leaves and other valuable things were taken away on their departure either as royal property or as private property. Among these the *Tripitaka* writings on palm leaves believed to have been taken away by George Turner in the latter part of the 19th century is notable. In this background, the *Buddha dhamma/Buddhism* which had been the life guiding principles for the practice of the Buddhist *Bhikkus* and the general public in all parts of the country was segregated from the local communities. For instance, there were few occasions that the Sinhalese Buddhist monks could not have the *Upsampada Seela* because of the unavailability of the required number of *Upasampada Bhikkus* to continue the particular practice among Bikkhu society. On all such occasions, the *Bhikkus* of Sri Lanka had to seek the support of Burma to reestablish this *Upasampada* tradition in the country.

In the meantime, because of the intervention of the Europeans, especially the British, the history of the country as well as the findings in archeological excavations were interpreted in line with the European knowledge framework. A country with a long history which was subjected foreign influence cannot be properly investigated with conventional European knowledge system because the indigenous system based on *Buddha dhamma* as explained in **Figure 1** in section 5 is quite different from the western system. Therefore, there is a tendency for confusions and a resultant difficulty in discovering the reality. The European, especially the British hegemonic influence was energized with the outcome of their divide and rule policy (Jayawardena, 2008), and thus the community initially, and then the leaders such as strategic planners, governments and religious leaders were easily brought under their control. Thereafter, the whole system of Sri Lanka had been gradually trapped in British/western cultural perspectives that made socio-economic and political confusions in decision making at all levels. This damage was very crucial for Sri Lanka in its future because of the British policies and the western biased scholarly interventions in the interpretation of Sri Lankan history on the one hand and because of the translation of *Tripitaka* into English and other western languages on the other. In this background pristine *Buddha dhamma* has further been confused to Sinhalese as well as to the rest of the interested communities of the world until the recent past.

6.6 Independent Sri Lanka Since 1948

As discussed in the above, during the colonial period, the leaders were trained to obediently follow the western form of thinking through their education, usage of the economic "roots" of the country as a strategic plan of the colonial administration, and the principles of western liberalism in the 20th century. Institutional logics analyses as well as the cosmopolitan views are part and parcel of liberalism (Kant,

1991), and therefore, during the colonial period in Sri Lanka, society was embedded with the primary conditions for liberalized market economy. However, if visionary leaders were there at the time of independence, the socio-economic and political system could have been restructured while addressing on historical mistakes of different eras. Yet, because of the strong socio-economic structures based on western liberal thoughts coupled with British administrative strategies (Jayawardena, 2008) on one hand and the failure of the leadership in comprehending the prospects of the island nation that has been alienated in many of the historical episodes, on the other, it has not been possible to place the country on the right track (Jayawardena, 2011).

In the meantime, there was a section of Sri Lankan youths educated in Britain and returned to Sri Lanka with a knowledge on Marxism, and they made an attempt to intervene into the local politics with a view to introducing principles of Marxism and communism to the Sri Lankan political system. However, they were neither fully aware of the historical events and strategies of external forces to keep the pristine *Buddha dhamma* under the carpet nor did they have the understanding of the application of Marxism that they had learned in the West. Yet they were keen on eradicating the poverty, and they sincerely wished they could help the unprivileged community who were the victims of colonization. They established Socialist and Communist parties depending on their understanding of Marxism and wanted to change the socio-economic system of Sri Lanka. These leaders as well as the followers of such progressive thoughts resisted the liberal economic policies of consecutive governments since independence and finally ended up with failure because of the missing piece of the understanding of the fundamentals mentioned above.

With this background, the policy efforts based on conventional mode of economic growth and development were continued in the country right from the independence in the mid-20th century with inadequate outcomes. In the meantime, the post independent governments of Sri Lanka have been facing various types of conflicts and struggles that are rooted to the history especially during the British period and have become socio-economic problems in society that interrupt prospective efforts of different governments (Jayawardena, 2011). Among such struggles, the minority problem coupled with the North and East, JVP struggles that focused on the poverty of underprivileged rural communities that have continued from generation to generation can be cited as examples. These struggles have cost to the nation enormously neither with success nor with an ending to the problems. The two JVP struggles have cost to the nation over 60,000 youth whereas the LTTE struggle cost over 200 billion US\$ and over 100,000 men and women of government forces, militants and ordinary civilians. (Jayawardena, 2011) With this background, even though Sri Lanka has introduced the open economic policy in 1978 as the 1st country in the South Asia to do so, the country still remains with lower economic standards entangled with chronic socio-economic and political issues. Socio-economic efforts with external resources since independence have cost to the country in terms of property ownership of government. For example, the government property

ownership at present is very much lower in comparison with the status at the time of independence. Further, the amount of borrowing from world organizations and other countries in the world at present is close to the amount of GDP of Sri Lanka and the debt service ratio is very high, and it cannot be managed with the prevailing exchange earnings (Behuria, 2018). Therefore, the way that the consecutive governments of Sri Lanka have proceeded would not bring prosperity to the nation. Despite our governments' efforts under Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as well as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and with other development efforts, it has not been able to guarantee the expected achievements because of the fundamental mistakes in the past and then because of the strategic failures in the context of liberalization and globalization, which are favorable for the developed countries and not for the developing countries like Sri Lanka (Jayawardena, 2011). In this situation, Sri Lanka needs to change the development policies with a higher attention to the Indigenous policies rather than following the policies favorable to globalization and liberalization. Closed economic policies with less intervention from foreign parties may help Sri Lanka to resort to new socio-economic structures that would guarantee a sustainable socio-economic stability in the country.

The contemporary society of Sri Lanka is struggling with socio-economic and political problems generated by society. Some of these problems are due to historical mistakes in getting the society transform towards an appropriate system. These historical mistakes are not precisely known and corrected, and therefore, consecutive governments or the administrators have not been able to find sustainable solutions for these problems. As a consequence, the problematic conditions have continued with civil disturbances, unrests, and militant activities etc. that have caused a huge cost to the society, which has both short term and long term impacts. It may be true that in certain periods under certain leaderships there had been some reliefs because of temporary solutions. Apart from the internal problems, there have been issues and problems generated within the global competitive environment and power struggles that have appeared in different forms.

In the contemporary era, these external interferences are part and parcel of liberalization and globalization. According to Karl Marxian analysis, liberalization and globalization are outcomes of the crises of capitalism, which have been strategically generated by powerful capitalist countries. Under these circumstances, the revolution explained in Marxism has not taken place in respective societies. The capitalist countries have been able to transfer the crisis situations to developing countries strategically by using their power. Here, the concept of power and knowledge explained by Foucault is useful in understanding why there is no crises followed revolutions in capitalist countries and how these capitalist countries transfer the crisis situations to poor, unprivileged and developing countries. Therefore, the Marx's predictions of capitalist crises are true, but his predictions on revolutions against the capitalist classes are not always true. The capitalist classes holding power and use it for the knowledge to redirect the outcome of crises to others and to survive with the capitalist domination and to

continue with capitalism. Here the victims of such crises are the poor and the poor countries in the world identified with the label of developing countries like Sri Lanka and their rural/peasant communities. The 1996 crisis in the NICs and Wall-Street Crisis of 2007/2008 in USA can be considered as instances of such redirection of crises. Also the survival of the USA with capitalism during the last few centuries is another example for transferring the cost of capitalist crises to developing countries. Therefore, eventually, the burden of crises are not absorbed by the capitalist countries, but by the developing countries.

In this background, during the last 7 decades after independence, Sri Lanka was victimized against internal and external exploitations because of the economic policies based on above explained internal and external socio-economic political framework that includes numerous conventional development models. Therefore, even though policy makers as well as people in the country expect to develop the country through the policies based on the referred conventional models with the support of developed countries and regional and global institutions such as IMF and World Bank that are consistent with liberal economic policies, it has not been successful. As witnessed in the history, with the continuation of the same policies with the same conventional economic theories, the country will remain with unfulfilled dreams. Therefore, the concept of economic growth and development need to be redefined and the policies and approaches also need to be reformulated.

The COVID -19 pandemic is the latest world crisis that has opened the eyes of the whole world irrespective of the dichotomy of the status of being developed or developing. However, in this crisis the developing countries would be the worst affected as they are dependent on developed countries. In the case of Sri Lanka, with the accumulated crises of foreign exchange, debt payment, and stagnated domestic production etc. the negative impact of COVID 19 may lead to a collapse in the economy with unmanageable challenges. Therefore, it is the time to revisit the economic history of Sri Lanka to find alternative solutions for the economy to be sustained at a tolerable level of production and consumption.

As we have discussed in the above, the arguments of institutional logics perspective as well as the cosmopolitan arguments of historians have not been able to find empirical solutions for the socio-economic and political problems of Sri Lanka because of the hegemonic interferences of external parties with biased, externally imposed systems used to suppress the less authoritative indigenous thinking forces until they get such a system under their control. The post independent period of Sri Lanka has experienced two youth struggles based on Marxism and one ethnic problem that culminated in a thirty-year old war against terror. Therefore, it is worthwhile for responsible leaders in Sri Lanka to observe the disastrous history focusing on socio-economic and political stability in a creative and novel way that could guarantee sustainable solutions for burning issues of both internal and external origin as explained above. Here, we cannot ignore the fact that throughout the history, the sidelined community is the majority affected by the power balance against the hegemonic influence of the

migrated systems during different historical episodes that have continued from generation to generation. In the contemporary society, the affected community is identified as the rural/peasant/unprivileged community of the country.

As per the historical analysis, there is special relevance of *Buddha dhamma* for Sri Lanka in its transformation. However, the conventional thinkers do not see the difference between Buddhism and *Buddha dhamma*, and therefore, they use the two terms interchangeably and for the last 2000 years or so the settlers could not reap the benefits of the *Buddha dhamma* except in some isolated alien communities of closed relations. The radical thinkers argue that Buddhism is a mixture of other religions by making changes on a par with the secular world and with a focus on better existing life. (Meewanapalane Siri Dhammalankara, 2019; Marasinghe, 2019). Therefore, we can articulate that even though Buddhism in contemporary Sri Lanka is labeled as *Therawada* but practically it is also a *Mahayan* tradition..

The interesting trend that we can observe in the contemporary era is questioning of traditional economics, politics and religious traditions referring to the applicability and practicability with the existing pattern. Even though it is difficult to get out from the traditional perceptual modes, there is a significant change in the thinking pattern towards alternative solutions for the existing socio-economic and religious confusions in the contemporary society of Sri Lanka. In this case, in finding solutions to the accumulated problems, it is important to rethink about the concepts of economic growth and development on par with innovative ways giving priority to the socio-economic and political sustainability. In this sense, it is important to give attention to Marxism, *Buddha dhamma* and the knowledge and power of Foucault along with the experiences in the 20th century. With this understanding it is possible to drive society for a simple life patterns that enable people to be satisfied with basic needs and finally can achieve sustainable socio-economic and political stability. Both *Buddha dhamma* and Marxism referred to optimum levels where people and the society can reach to the best direction as prescribed by Marxism and *Buddha dhamma*. *Buddha dhamma* concentrates on individual optimum levels whereas Marxism refers to a collective optimum level of a communist state. In building the model we can get these core messages from *Buddha dhamma* and Marxism.

7. A New Model for Socio-Economic and Political Stability of Sri Lanka

The conventional theories of economic growth and development have not been able to give solutions to the burning issues of the people in many of the developing countries including Sri Lanka. Therefore, while questioning these traditional theories, searching for innovative approaches that provide sustainable solutions for the socio-economic and political problems of developing countries is a concern of all countries.

As per the world history, the powerful countries have always exploited resources from poor countries and less influential yet resource-rich countries in diverse ways depending on the circumstances negating the opportunity for such victimized

countries to evolve with the best systems appropriate for their specific contexts. The end result of this historical behavior is that all the time these poor countries are compelled to seek support from the developed and affluent countries. Here, Sri Lanka is not an exception. In this situation, it is necessary to understand that every country should respect the freedom of other countries and leave them to have their own way, without interference. They should be allowed to decide their own policies and plans for their short run and long run directions, on a par with rooted unique knowledge and the potential along with collective consciousness and the respective historical inferences which will ultimately help them to have sustainable socio-economic and political stability. This is the presumption of the new model proposed for Sri Lanka in this research paper.

Sri Lanka as an island nation was having favorable conditions for transformation of a compatible socio-economic and political system as explained above. However, the fact remains that right from the prehistoric period, there had been hegemonic influences of external migrants on the indigenous community. These conditions have exponentially increased along with the time, and therefore, the socio-economic and political issues have also increased. Under these circumstances, there is a need for a process of undoing the historical mistakes along with an innovative plan that includes short term and long term programs to compensate such impact while addressing on relevant causes and effects. The most important thing here is that the stakeholders of socio-economic and political affairs of Sri Lanka need to understand the implications and intended outcomes of the short term and long term plans as prescribed in the model. In this case, drawing attention to *Buddha dhamma* and other relevant knowledge that concerns the rural/poor/underprivileged communities and their stagnated life, i.e. Marxism etc. are also important in building this model.

The historical analysis witnessed that the intellectual contributions of scholarly work on economic growth and development, cosmopolitanism based historiographical analysis, and institutional logics analysis have been in support of the powerful countries and their missions, i.e. liberalization, globalization etc. as most of these theories end up with the justification of interventions by affluent countries in the activities of developing countries.

In this paper, attention was drawn to two approaches in which human sufferings have been discussed. Even though these two approaches are different from each other as far as the theory and the practices related to poverty issues are concerned. Yet, as far as the objectives and the final destinations of these two approaches are concerned, there are similarities. In Marxism, the few who hold the power are the capitalists and the masses represent the powerless, working class whose labor is exploited by the capitalists. Therefore, according to the Marxism, the working class needs to unite and fight against capitalist exploitation to establish a government of the working class in which every body become workers. In such a classless state, every individual contributes to the production on par with his or her abilities and interest, and they get the benefits equally. Thus the collective effort is the power in communism.

Therefore, in a communist state, along with the time, the working class government will facilitate the extinction of government by creating a full grown communist state. It is the optimum level of achievement in society. In such a situation, everybody would be on the path to enlightenment which is explained in *Buddha dhamma*.

As discussed earlier, the achievement of this ideological state expected in a full grown communist state would be practically impossible as far as the ontological base of human beings is concerned. It is apparent that the Marxian analysis has not paid attention to the difficulty of sustaining the power that was taken away from the capitalist class for the benefit of the working class. Apparently, the ignorance of the ontological factors of human beings linked with psychological drives followed the difficulty of maintaining the working class power, which go beyond Marx's scope of analysis only on materialism, because of which Marxism became a practical failure. With this difficulty of keeping the power with them sustainably to create necessary conditions for society to evolve to be a communist state, the capitalists and the capitalist countries of the contemporary world have entangled the poor countries as well as poor masses in a consumerist trap. Therefore, Marxism, despite its superiority faces problems in its application. Yet the lessons that can be learnt from Marxism in developing the new model is the simplicity in production and consumption, which is the only viable solution for socio-economic and political issues of this world, and if the world is concerned about sustainable development or sustainable socio-economic and political stability, simple consumption and a production that matches with such consumption should be the order of the day. Here in building the model with Marxism embedded with *Buddha Dhamma*, it is possible to adjust the systems with counter measures, and therefore, the application failure of Marxism can be minimized (refer to the mutual relations between Marxism and *Buddha dhamma* in **Figure 2**).

Buddha dhamma which covers all materialistic properties, psychological properties of consciousness as well as properties of psychic process (*manōmayakāya*) which together compose an accumulated *Bhawa*-life, which is a collection of activities based on pleasure/passion, displeasure/resentment and comparisons between pleasure and displeasure, is more relevant in building the model to find solutions for the burning issues of the victimized communities of Sri Lanka. This approach is applicable for all communities irrespective of their religion, cast, creed etc., and therefore, the proposed model would an overarching protection for all racial, religious and other conflicts in society. Therefore, on the one hand, *Buddha dhamma* is more important in diminishing the existing conflicts of interests among different communities in contemporary Sri Lanka that cost to the society and on the other hand to get the whole hearted support of all communities in establishing socio-economic and political stability in the country that bring relief for all communities in the country.

As was explained earlier, in this analysis *Buddha dhamma* is differently identified from Buddhism, which has been developed as a more secularized version of *Buddha dhamma*

(refer to section 5). Even though the model developed in this paper goes beyond secular life, it has not ignored the nature of *prathajjana* (inept) who are totally controlled by the consciousness¹³. In other words, accepting the secular life and supernormal life, *Buddha dhamma* is compatible with all people. Therefore, on a par with *Buddha dhamma*, even *prathajjana* (inept) with simple life along with basic consumption that matches production mentioned above would enable to have a tendency towards the path to enlightenment. Therefore, in the proposed model, *Buddha dhamma* is more precise and the prescribed layers of the model are achievable. Here, understanding the secular life and the spiritual life together with a focus on cessation of all desires by getting the life settled with its stable point where there are no expectations or in other words the detached life is the most practicable way for the betterment of everybody including the particular individual. Here the *Maha Sathra Sathi Patthāna* explained in *Buddha dhamma* is the prescribed universal path for the liberation of human being. Therefore, it is the most recommended theory and practice for all human beings who are ready or the cessations of *Bhawa* – the life tendencies that lead to suffering. When somebody comprehends the prescribed theory and the practice as described in section 5, he or she can step into the other layers given in the **Figure 2** gradually. One who achieves a certain level of self-discipline can proceed along path to enlightenment. He or she is also competent enough to help the others to reach the different levels as per the model, and therefore, even though it does not refer to a collective liberation here, it is understood that once the individual liberation is there, the direction towards collective liberation as described in Marxism would be automatically available.

According to *Buddha dhamma*, there are five universal principles that are applicable for each and every event of the beings in this universe. They are *kamma*– actions with attachments, *dhamma*– nature, *irthu*– seasonal change, *beeja* – seeding, *chiththa*– mind. Out of them, *kamma* and *dhamma* are the main two universal principles. As per *Buddha dhamma*, one who is in the path of enlightenment is protected by *dhamma*. Detachment is the pre-condition for the protection of *dhamma*. However, it does not imply that one has to stop doing things. As per *Buddha dhamma*, one has to do everything without mental attachment. This can be applied in secular life as well as in spiritual life. When one does something with an attachment, one expects something as an outcome. On the contrary, when one is detached in the activities, one does not expect an attached outcome, but as per the theory of cause and effect one may get an outcome on a par with the cause and effect which is different from the outcome of an attached action. In *Mahā Sathara Sathpattāhāna*, everything is discussed completely in a complimentary manner.

The analyses given above along with the sections 4 and 5 identify both Marxism and *Buddha dhamma* to be useful in building the model despite some specific problems of

application as discussed above. **Figure 2** given below indicates the model that explains how people enter into a track to reach sustainable socio-economic and political stability at individual level as well as at societal level. Here, the primary layer of the model indicates the human nature and it is identified as the ontological base. It is common for both Marxism and *Buddha dhamma*. The next layer here is identified as the stage where epistemological filtering takes place. This layer is also common in *Buddha dhamma* and in communism. The third layer indicates the discipline of society. Here, it is assumed that there is a difference as far as *Buddha dhamma* and Marxism are concerned. As per *Buddha dhamma*, discipline can be established individually and as per Marxism, discipline is possible collectively. According to *Buddha dhamma*, once individuals are disciplined, society will automatically be disciplined. Further, the *Buddha dhamma* states that it is impossible to force a person to be disciplined, instead it states that when the necessary condition of detachment of a person is fulfilled, he or she would be a disciplined person, and whether one is ready for such detachment and for resultant discipline depends solely upon oneself. Therefore, an individual himself or herself has to take necessary actions to become self-disciplined and as a true follower of the dhamma. However, a disciplined individual can assist others to come into the path irrespective of their religions.

As per *Kamma Niyāma* and *Dhamma Niyāma*, the individual needs to undergo the outcome in accordance with the theory of cause and effect (*pattichasmuppāda*). Therefore, individuals need to get into the path by reflecting upon their own lives. Based on this argument, the left side of the third layer of the model is labeled as self-decline on a par with *Buddha dhamma*. This level in *Buddha dhamma* is identified as *Sothāpanna*¹⁴ – the state of a stream winner who has comprehended the four immovable truths. Depending on the comprehension level, individuals are automatically protected or penalized, or they receive merits by *Kamma* or protection from *Dhamma* respectively. Herein, as both Marxism and *Buddha dhamma* address the issue of discipline complementarily, the differences of their levels of discipline would not matter, and internally-driven self-discipline of *Buddha Dhamma* and externally-driven collectivistic discipline of Marxism would supplement each other in a mutually beneficial and harmonizing model. Therefore, once an individual is disciplined, he or she can step into the path of enlightenment. In the same way, once a society is collectively disciplined such society can step into the path of a communist society where social equality and equanimity will prevail at the highest level. When somebody is on the path to enlightenment, he or she is also with simple life and thus he or she contributes to socio-economic and political sustainability.

Under Marxism, people are ethically responsible to agree with others and behave in the society as per the agreed rules. Unlike in *Buddha dhamma*, here, society is forced to be

¹³ In secular life individual behavior is based on the consciousness. However, once an individual completes the epistemological filtering as per the diagram, he or she would gradually changeover to be an individual with wisdom. Also see section 5 of this paper.

¹⁴ As per *Buddha dhamma* the path of enlightenment is comprised of *Sothapathi* (comprehends the nature of *yonisomanasikāra* with skills to follow up *Kūsalamūla Patichcha Samuppada dhamma*, *Sakaddāgāmi* (one returner), *Anāgāmi* (non-returner), and *Arahath* (the ultimate level of salvation or emancipation).

disciplined. As per Marxism, epistemological filtering is also forceful to prepare society to fit in with collective discipline. However, here as Buddha dhamma and Marxism are mutually interacting with each other as depicted in the diagram, practicability of Marxism can be maintained. Once society is with collectivistic discipline, it is said that society is transformed towards a communist state without government. In such society all members consume with the

level of their contribution to production. Therefore, in this society, socio-economic and political stability would prevail at a very high level. Therefore, as prescribed in the model, *Buddha dhamma* and Marxism mutually associate at each level ensuring a simple life style and a sustainable socio-economic and political stability directing towards the highest level of spiritual development.

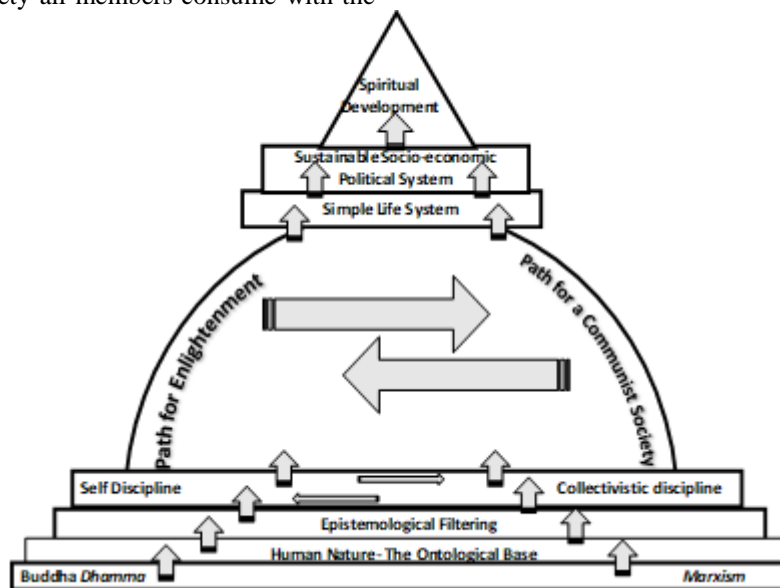


Figure 2: New Model for Sustainable Socio-Economic and Political Stability based on *Buddha dhamma* and Marxism

Source: Authors of the Paper

8. Conclusion

The study on sustainable socio-economic and political stability based on historiographical analysis and institutional logic analysis of the history of Sri Lanka addresses on two selected paths prescribed by the Marxism and *Buddha dhamma*. According to the study, the conventional approaches of development have not been useful in finding solutions to the socioeconomic problems of Sri Lanka. Therefore, it needs to search for innovative approaches to settle the socio-economic and political issues. The study suggests replacing the concepts of economic growth and development with that of sustainable socio-economic and political stability. As per the study, especially for countries like Sri Lanka, rather than the economic growth and development, the most suitable terms in finding solutions for socio-economic and political problems is socio-economic and political stability. This interpretation is further valid when one looks at the failure of MDGs and SDGs recommended by the UNDP.

Based on the conventional definition of economic development, Sri Lanka has failed in its development journey during all historical phases except in few historical periods. There, also the success has been limited only for a short period and thus in the subsequent periods the issues have been aggravated. During the period of the post-independence, Sri Lanka has failed in its development both in terms of sustainable development as well as sustainable socio-economic and political stability. Therefore, this study suggests revisiting the conventional approaches of economic growth and development by considering “sustainable socio-economic and political stability” as the vision of Sri Lanka.

The study also suggests paying attention to sustainable socio-economic and political stability it needs to review planning, implementation as well as in monitoring of all socio-economic and political programs with a focus on the proposed model.

The proposed model based on the core messages of *Buddha dhamma* and Marxism which are two of the most important philosophies of Human history. *Buddha dhamma* addresses on fundamentals of human suffering and has presented the path for enlightenment. This is applicable at all times. Marxism which has addressed on evolving of society while emphasizing on the capitalist society after the industrial revolution suggests defeating the capitalist society and establishing a communist society where everybody becomes workers. In such society, all members in society consume goods and services on a par with their contribution towards production. Both *Buddha dhamma* and Marxism recommend a simple life that saturates at the optimum level where individuals followers of *Buddha dhamma* reach to the supreme spiritual level. Even though Marxism referred only to collective action and collective achievement, the authors of this paper believe that individual achievement referred to above is also implied by the ultimatum of Marxism. Therefore, the use of *Buddha dhamma* and Marxism in building the model is justifiable. The authors suggest doing in-depth studies on selected areas of the proposed model along with the other aspects addressed in this study. It is also suggested to develop this model addressing on the issues of other developing countries and global development issues.

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