Dr. Wijeyadasa Rajapakshe,
President’s Counsel,
Minister of Buddhasasana and Minister of Justice, Sri Lanka

THE BUDDHIST PATH TO WORLD PEACE

Most Venerable Members of the Buddhist Clergy
Distinguished Guests and Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset I wish to refer to the oldest source of information regarding the origin of civilization as expounded by the Buddha in Agganna Sutta in Dighanikaya of the Tripitaka canon. The transformation of Abassara which was a form of celestial status drawing sustenance from the consumption of immense joy, got debased to a lower level of a human being, as a consequence of greed which infiltrated into their minds. This transition marked the commencement of the history of mankind which includes the formation of state governance, tax policy and public coffers.

Since then there have been a multitude of sagas regarding the evolution of human civilization. Although historians project these developments in the light of civilization, the grim reality that remains, is the outbreak of constant conflicts and violence which have eaten into the vitals of the bedrock of civilization.

Throughout the spectrum of mankind there have been two divisions of it, the Dhamma (righteous) and the Adhamma (non-righteous) which have subordinated each other varyingly from time to time and from place to place. Philosophers and the erudite in the Orient were engaged in interpreting and re-interpreting this phenomenon, and took pains to draw the line between Dhamma and Adhamma as reflected in the oldest scripts such as Mahabharata, Vedas, Baghawath Gita, Ramayanaya etc.

The philosophers and the erudite of the contemporary times in the Occident were engaged in analysing the concept of justice and elucidating their version of what justice ought to be. They believed that the Code of Hammurabi, otherwise known as the Babylonian Law Code of ancient Mesopotamia which is considered the oldest written legal inscription traceable to 18th Century BC, was based upon the concept of justice. According to their comprehension of justice, the society was consisting of three categories namely, land owners, free men and the slaves upon whom law was administered unevenly. For instance, if a free man was killed, the killer's hand was cut-off whereas if the killed happened to be a slave, financial restitution was considered justiciable. Even at the primitive stages of evolution of Dhamma, the philosophers viewed that that practice was vindictive as much as demanding a tooth for a tooth. Mahathma Gandhi has said that an eye for an eye only ends up making the whole world blind.

During the period when Prince Siddhartha was born, there prevailed many superstitious beliefs regarding the true meaning of Dhamma. It were the discourses of Buddha which enlightened the world as to the true meaning of Dhamma, 26 centuries
ago. His discourses dispelled the darkness shrouding the people and helped them extricate themselves from the quagmire of the three defilements of greed (lobha), malice (dvesha) and ignorance (moha). The Four Noble Truths are the vehicle that enables man to achieve emancipation.

In the Four Noble Truths (catur-aryasatya) the first one dukkha satya discerns suffering while the second one samudaya satya helps realize the cause of suffering. The third one nirodha satya describes the cessation of suffering while the fourth one margha satya indicates the way to the cessation of suffering.iv

In many Sutras the Buddha, the One who was awakened to the cosmic reality, has described expounding four basic mental faculties metta (loving kindness), karuna (compassion), muditha (sympathetic joy) and the upekkha (equanimity) which are known as Brahmiyers (divine abiding) alias appamanacetovimutti (immeasurable deliverance of mind).v

The main purpose of Buddhism is to lead people towards an eternal peace which is called nibbāna, thereby eradicating all defilements rooted in greed, hatred and delusion in the human mind.vi

According to Buddhism, world is not what we consider as the material world. Once the Buddha mentioned that the world, its origin, its destruction, and the path leading to its cessation, exist in the fathom – long body endowed with mind and perception.vii

"Apicahan avuso imasmin neca byamamatthe kalebare sasangnimhi samanake lokanca pannapemi. Loka sumudhayanca, loka nirodhanca, loka nirodhagami patipadhan.viii

Peace, in the final analysis of Buddhism is nibbāna, which is also the final goal of the Buddhist path. Buddhist canons attribute the following meanings to the term nibbāna namely; Spiritual well-being, security, emancipation, victory, peace, salvation and bliss.ix

A cardinal truth is that world and peace are nothing but two mental aspects. Mind cannot be developed alone because it is a phenomenon connected to potentials such as:

I. Form – human body with five senses – faculties and the sense-objects in the external material world.
II. Feelings – as a result of contact between senses and sense-objects
III. Perceptions – memories of feelings
IV. Dispositions – memories transformed into concepts as a result of reflection over them for a long period of time.
V. Consciousness – personality view built up on the basis of body, feelings, perceptions and dispositions.x

One has to discipline the above mentioned five aggregates in order to achieve genuine world-peace. For this purpose, Buddhism recommends a path which consists of three gradual stages:

Moral behaviour acquired through discipline (sīla)
Mental discipline (samādhi)
Development of wisdom (*Paññā*)

These three gradual stages of discipline should be applied to the above mentioned five aggregates. The way of application should essentially be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>moral discipline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>feelings</td>
<td>mental discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perceptions</td>
<td>development of wisdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dispositions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consciousness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In brief, the above three-fold discipline indicates behavioural therapy, mental therapy and cognitive therapy in psychological aspects. By this discipline one can obtain physical well-being, mental well-being, social well-being and also spiritual well-being.

One has to apply this three-fold discipline system at different levels in the fields of education, economy, politics, etc. in order to establish world peace. Ven. Dharmākara was able to become Buddha Amitābha and create a world of bliss (*Sukhāvati*) because he was determined to follow the above mentioned path under 46 conditions, millions of years ago at the time of the Buddha Lokeśvararāja.

When it comes to the subject of peace, Buddha Himself was the unsurpassable personification and embodiment of it. He unmistakably exemplified that it was only by achieving inner peace that one could achieve world peace. When one follows the Eight Noble Path, *samma ditti* (right vision), *samma sankappa* (right thought), *samma vaca* (righteous speech), *samma kammantha* (righteous action), *samma ajiva* (righteous livelihood), *samma vayama* (righteous efforts), *samma sathi* (right mindfulness), *samma samadhi* (righteous concentration).

Although the Buddhist political philosophy introduced the concept of Sakvithivath with ten categories of rules, its objectives are concentrated on four noble principles, viz:

i. defence (of the State and citizenry),
ii. the hedging of illegal and anti-social activities (*adammakaro*),
iii. minimizing of economic anomalies thereby accommodating the poorer segments of the society to have a reasonable earning for their living,
iv. the administration of the State with the advice of the virtuous and the wise.

Chakkawaththiseehanada Sutta describes the close affinity between the Dhamma and the State governance. When there was a ruler who did not adhere to Sakvithivath, ministers and counsellors gathered and admonished the King as follows;

"O’ Noble King, we the ministers, counsellors and other people who are living in your kingdom expect you to consult us in matters relating to ten-fold Sakvithivath. We are ready to guide you."

It was expounded by Buddha that when resources are not equitably distributed among people, it leads to inevitable social upheavals. All human beings are supposed to be endowed with Four-fold Attributes (*sathara sangraha vasthu*) namely, charity, refined speech, disciplined life and equality.
In Madhupindika Sutta\textsuperscript{viii} and also in Mahanidhana Sutta\textsuperscript{xix} Buddha admonished that when the resources of a country are inequitably distributed, there arise conflicts between the Haves and the Have-nots, which lead to anarchy.

Buddha in His Kalahavivada Sutta\textsuperscript{xx} preached as follows;

"\textit{Piya pahutha kalahavivadha - parideva soka saha maccaraca}
\textit{mathani matha shajesunaca - maccariya yuththa kalahavivada}"

It means that those who possess their coveted treasure and also those who wish to acquire their desired objects, tend to be bellicose and the final consequence will be warfare.

In the Buddha's analysis of the causes of conflict, He said that;

"\textit{Jayan veran pasawathi - dhukkan sethi parajitho}
\textit{upasantho sukan sethi -hithwa jaya parajayan}"

It means that victory begets hatred and defeat begets grief. The one who realizes this truth and also covets peace avoids both victory and defeat and live blissfully.

Similarly in Sangrama Sutta\textsuperscript{xi} Buddha admonished that the one who has triumphed would be pursued by another seeking to eliminate him. In a war, there is nothing called victory, but a mass of murders and destruction of properties.

In Wasala Sutta\textsuperscript{xii} He preached that those who cause harm to the living and create unrest in the society are despicable villains.

Buddha in His wisdom had advised His disciples in Brahmajala Sutta,\textsuperscript{xxiv} to refrain from talking about 32 subjects which are impediments on the way to the realization of nibbana. Three of these proscribed subjects are pertaining to war, namely those on war, armed forces and aggressive adventures. In Dhammika Sutta He referred to five occupations which should be avoided, one of which is the sale of armoury.

When King Ajasatta’s two ministers Sumedha and Wassakara approached the Buddha to indicate the King’s intention to invade the Kingdom of Lichchevi, Buddha admonished them that the rulers who follow the Saptha Aparihani Dhamma cannot be defeated.\textsuperscript{xxv}

They are also called as Seven Noble Principles to ensure Non-degeneration, namely;

i. King/ruler should meet his governors/subordinates frequently.

ii. They should assemble, discuss and disperse peacefully.

iii. Rulers shall not impose new laws unless there is a genuine need for them and shall not breach the existing laws.

iv. Rulers should honour, pay respect and foster senior citizens/elderly persons.

v. Rulers shall give protection to women and children.

vi. Rulers shall pay respect to and honour all religious dignitaries and institutions in the country.
vii. Rulers shall invite Arahants living outside the country and treat all Arahants in a respectful manner.

The definition of a righteous person is that he shuns defilements and lives in a righteous manner without falling into four prejudices, namely;

i. Prejudice by will (*candhagathiya*). If one resorts to doing favours for someone for the purpose of allowing him to take undue advantage or a gain on the basis that he belongs to one’s ethnicity, caste, clan or a friend or as a loyalist etc, such a person is committing the defilement of prejudice by will.

ii. Prejudice by malice (*dveshagathiya*). If one prevents somebody from gaining certain things which are due to him on the basis that one has hatred against him, is the second prejudice.

iii. Prejudice by ignorance (*mohagathiya*). The prejudice that can be caused due to ignorance is devastating.

iv. Prejudice by fear (*bayagathiya*). If one does not perform his duties and obligations according to law and Dhamma thinking that that person concerned is a powerful man or has the support of government, then he suffers from the prejudice of fear.xxiv

Sangeethi Sutta in Deeganikaya describes the qualities of a righteous ruler as follows;

i. *Atthannu* - intelligence to distinguish the good from the bad,

ii. *Dhammannu* - righteous governance of the State,

iii. *Mattannu* - proper understanding of his capacity,

iv. *Kalannu* - timely actions,

v. *Parissannu* - establishment of cordial relations with the ruled. (subjects).xxvil

In Chakkawatthi Seehanadha Sutta, the Buddha has described as to how righteous society could prevail. It is found very often that the Buddha has chosen the word "Dhammadha Raja" which means a ruler should rule a country based on dharmic principles. Although one cannot win the hearts of the people by hatred or weapons, it could be achieved by Dhamma.xxviii

There are several discourses (suttas) of the Buddha which contain valuable guidance towards a righteous society such as Mangala.xxix Parabhava,xxx Wasala,xxxi Karaniyametta,xxxiii Singalovada,xxxiiv Maharahulovada to mention a few. Those Suttas have defined what ought to be done and from what ought to be abstained from, by any member of any given society. Singalovada Sutta enunciates the duties to be performed and the responsibilities to be borne by individuals to ensure co-existence and coherence among the members of the society.

Metta Sutta states that when one extends loving kindness, he shall do so in equal measure to all living beings in the world, unlike in any other religion or philosophy. xxxv
Vyagghapajja Sutta comes into prominence. There are practices that should be observed by a person, viz.

1. **Uttana Sampada** - perseverance
2. **Arakkhaka Sampada** - protection
3. **Kalyana Mittawava** - the association of virtuous friends
4. **Samajeevikathava** - righteous livelihood

The Enlightened One has also preached four factors which would ensure the happiness of one’s next world, they are;

1. **Saddha sampadha** - endowment of faith
   One who possesses faith, believes in Buddha and trust that Buddha has nine qualities as indicated in the stanza, "Ithipiso bhagava................"

2. **Sila sampadha** including **Panchasila** - the observance of the five precepts, they are;
   i. abstaining from the killing of living beings
   ii. abstaining from stealing
   iii. abstaining from sexual misconduct
   iv. abstaining from lying
   v. abstaining from taking intoxicants

3. **Tyaga sampadha** - endowment of generosity
   This means offering alms and donations free from any kind of avarice.

4. **Panna sampadha** - endowment of wisdom

One who is endowed with the wisdom of realising the composition of the human body, its impermanence, and the way leading to the cessation of sorrow, is considered wise.

Although Prince Siddhartha was a fine exponent of the martial arts at his very young age, with the passage of time, he was disillusioned with the futility of mundane world. One of the causes for his renunciation of the world was his antipathy towards war and to its attendant evils.

The fact that Buddha visited only Sri Lanka and that too thrice, could well be interpreted as His realization was that Sri Lanka was destined to conserve and preserve Buddhism in its pristine glory for the longest period. It is significant that His first visit to Mahiyangana was to resolve a battle between two tribes known as Yakka and Naga. Ironically, even His 2nd visit to Kelaniya was to quell a similar conflict between Chulodara and Mahodara.

Four years after the enlightenment of the Buddha, a war was about to commence between two city states Kapilawastu and Vaishali on conflictive claims over the waters of Rohini river and the Buddha went there and appeared in the middle of the battle field. Warriors of both sides calmed down and the Buddha asked them which they considered more valuable, water or human life. That question helped the warring parties to understand the fatality of war and also of their ignorance. When truth dawned upon
them, hostility ceased, thereby ushering peace.\textsuperscript{xli} It is a historic event whereas the highest number persons, running into 1,000 attained to the status of margapala in one sermon of the Enlightened One.

Accordingly the ethical conduct propounded in Buddhism has two facets namely hatred as opposed to loving kindness and extinction as opposed to rebirth, re-existence.

Digithi Kosala Jathaka story in Jathaka Pali of Kuddhaka Nikaya states that;

\textit{”Nahi verena verani - summatidha kudhacanan
averenaca sammanti - esadhammo sanathanothi”}\textsuperscript{xlii}

Hatred begets hatred. Hatred could be conquered only by loving kindness. This the eternal truth in the world. From Buddha’s point of view hatred and desire with the accompaniment of other cankers, such as pride, delusions, suspicion, and jealousy create war.\textsuperscript{xliii} As Ernest Hemingway said that no weapon has ever settled a moral problem, it can impose a solution, but it cannot guarantee it to be a just one.

Whether Buddha had discovered or not there is a stark reality based on law of karma operating eternally in the universe known as dependent origination which means that nothing in the universe can exist without the cause of its existence and once the cause ceases the thing caused by it also disappears.

\textit{”Imasmin sathi idan hothi - imassuppada idan uppaccathi
imasmin asathi idan na hothi - imassa nirodha idan niruccathi”}\textsuperscript{xliv}

It was Buddha who expounded to the world that the main cause of conflicts which could aggravate even up to a world war is first conceived in the deep recesses of human mind and not in the battlefield. Two world wars in the last century which caused immeasurable devastation which took a heavy toll including human lives as much as 18 million and 60 million respectively originated in the minds of those overwhelmed by greed and craze for power. The one time war-crazy Chandasoka underwent a complete transformation and emerged as the most righteous ruler in the world and came to be known as Dharmasoka having come under the benign influence of Buddhist teaching.

The history of mankind is indeed a melancholy record of strife and conflicts originating from the germ of greed rooted in the human mind. It has been demonstrated that peace achieved by means of machinations and manipulations in any part of the world was fated to be short-lived, whereas peace gained through inner peace of mind underpinned by Dhamma had been long-lasting. Whatever the interpretations jurists and the philosophers had given to war, Benjamin Franklin in his wisdom said that there was never a good war or bad peace that the world has experienced. It is appropriate to mention that Sir Arnold Toynbee, a world renowned historian observed that the longest period the world has remained without a war in any part of it, has been confined to 14 years. It may be in that context, Herodotus said that the harsh reality of war is that in peace sons bury their fathers and in war, fathers bury their sons.
Sir Hari Singh addressing the World Congress of Faith at Kensington, London said that the one solution to the problem of man verses man lay in the use of only universal love. What was required was that we should see that we are all members of the universal self that constituted the universe. The practical value of Buddhism was demonstrated by the fact there had never been a war in the name of Buddhism.

The world leaders blessed with wisdom having witnessed the devastation caused by the Second the World War set up the United Nations' Organization to ward-off the outbreak of a third world war. Albert Einstein has expressed his prediction as follows;

"I know not with what weapons World War III will be fought, but World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones".

If there be a third world war it is certain that there won't be any one left for the recording of the number of casualties.

Albert Einstein has paid a tribute to Buddhism saying that,

"Buddhism requires no revision to keep it up to date with recent scientific findings. Buddhism need not surrender its views to science because it embraces science as well, as it goes beyond science. Buddhism bridges between religious and scientific thoughts by stimulating man to discover the latent potentialities within himself and his environment. Buddhism is timeless".

Nobel Prize winner Bertrand Russell said that if there is one religion which can withstand the onslaught of science it is Buddhism because it is based on the mind whereas all others are based on mere faith.

It has been predicted by Sir Arthur C. Clarke, a world renowned scientist in his book "Deep Range" that Buddhism, which is not a religion but a philosophy and the only philosophy with religious flavor and not originated from divine preaching, would fill the vacuums of religions based upon divine preaching which would be scattered and disappear with the hammers of the scholars and erudite in time to come. It will be the only philosophy which can stand the test of time.

One of the main reasons as to why people get entangled in every kind of conflicts could be viewed with the insight of the meaning of this stanza in Dhammapada;

"Asare saramathino - sare vasaradassino

   te saran nadhigadjjanti - maccasankappa gocara"

There are futile things in the world. Some see them as worthy things. They discern *sila*, *Samadhi*, *panna* etc., as things of futility as they are immersed in greed, *(lobha)* malice *(dwesha)* and ignorance *(moha)*. They never get anything worthy.

It is no exaggeration to mention that Theravada Buddhism had been preserved for millenniums, thanks to astute and adroit Sri Lanka monks who scripted them in ola leaves, centuries ago.

The world famous Panadura Debate held in 1873 ably led by Venerable Migettuwatte Gunananada Thero laid the foundation for the revival of Buddhism through many parts
It paved the way for the emergence indefatigable leaders such as Colonel Henry Olcott and Anagarika Dhamapala.

I will be shirking a very important duty if I do not remind you of the fact that the idea of celebrating the Vesak festival globally originated with the establishment of the World-Fellowship of Buddhists in 1950 in Sri Lanka to which the leadership was provided by late Professor G.P. Malalasekera. We hold him in the highest esteem as a revered leader because he was in the forefront in the struggle to salvage our country and the Buddhist culture from the shackles of western materialism.

It is my bounden duty to gratefully commemorate late Lakshman Kadiragamar, our Foreign Minister who successfully moved a resolution in the United Nations to internationally recognize the Day of Vesak as the most sacred and the most celebrated for Buddhists all over the world.

I also take this opportunity earnestly to suggest to you to accept our request to hold the 2017 conference in our beautiful Island.

May I, on behalf of our country express our heartfelt gratitude to the organizers for offering this opportunity to deliver this address on this significant and historic occasion.

If I have provided you with some food for thought I believe that my address to you today is more than rewarded.

May the blessings of the Triple Gem be upon you forever!

---

i Dighanikaya, Agganna Sutta, Dhamma Chakra Child Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan, 2006 p.137
ii 15-10 Century BC
iii 4th-2nd Century BC
v Anuruddha Sutta, Majjimanikaya III, Dhamma Chakra Child Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan, 2006 p.332
vi Vinaya,III, Pali Text Society (PTS), London, p. 93; Dighanikāya, II, PTS, p. 353
vii Āṅguttaranikāya, II, PTS, p. 48; saṇīyuttanikāya, I, PTS, p.62
viii Samyukthanikāya, I, Rothassa Sutta, Buddha Jayanthi Print, Colombo, Sri Lanka , p.120
ix PTS Dictionary, see Nibbāna
x Sāṇīyuttanikāya, III, PTS, pp. 47, 101; S. Galmangoda, A Practical guide to Buddhist Āyurvedic Counselling and Psychiatry, Sri Lanka, 2015, Pp. 2-4
xi Āṅguttaranikāya, I, I, PTS, P. 23
xii S. Galmangoda, A Practical Guide to Buddhist Āyurvedic Counselling and Psychiatry, Sri Lanka, 2015, p. 4
xiii Dhammapada, PTS, p. 204; ibid
xli  Sumangalavilasiniya, II, Buddhist Cultural Centre, Nedimala, Sri Lanka, p.48
xlii Kuddakanikaya, Jathakapali, Dhamma Chakra Child Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan, 2006, p.234
xliv Sanyutthanikaya, II Assuththawaththu Sutta, Buuddha Jayanthi Print, Colombo, Sri Lanka, p.150
xlvi Religion in a Scientific Age, Ven. K. Sri Dhammanada Thero
xlviii Dhammapada, Yamakawaggha, stanza 11
Dr. WIJEYADASA RAJAPAKSHE, M.P.
President’s Counsel,
Minister of Justice and Buddhasasana
Contact Details
No.17, Wijeyaba Mawatha, Nawala Road, Nugegoda, Sri Lanka. 10250.
Tel: 0094-112852841, 0094-777447252, Fax- 0094-112827208
E-mail: rajapakshew@gmail.com

Educational qualifications
• PhD, University of Colombo, Constitutional Law
• PhD, University of Kelaniya, Buddhist Philosophy
• M. Phil, University of Sri Jayewardenepura,
• Master of Art, University of Ruhuna
• LLB University of Colombo
• Diploma, Fri Burge University, Switzerland, on the subjects of conflict resolution and power devolution, 2007

• Enrolled as a Lawyer in 1984 and appointed as a President's Counsel in 2001

Awards
• National Apex Award 2013, conferred by the Organization of Professional Association of Sri Lanka (for life time achievements)
• Sri Lankan of the Year - 2007 (As the person who rendered the most valuable service to the nation during the year 2007 by LMD Media Services)
• TOYP (The Outstanding Young Person) Award Winner in the field of Legal Affairs in 1998
• Gandhi Peace Award 2011, conferred by Gandhian Movement and International Youth Conference
• Dharma Neethi Visharadha Sashana Vibooshana conferred by the Shayamopali Asgiri Maha Vihara Chapter
• Deshabimani Sri Lanka Janaranjana conferred by Amarpura Mulawansika Chapter and Anagarika Dharmapala Foundation

Present Positions
• Minister of Justice and Buddhasasana, Member of Parliament, Colombo District
• Member, Constitutional Council (representing the ruling UNP )
• Member, High Post Committee of the Parliament
• Member, Leadership Council of the United National Party
• Chairman, Policy and Research Unit, United National Party
• United National Party Chief Organizer of Maharagama Electorate, Colombo District
• Member of Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC)
• Secretary, Sri Lanka - Switzerland Parliamentary Association
• Member of Commonwealth Parliamentary Group
• Member of the Parliamentary Group of the United Kingdom
• Life Member of the Bar Association of Sri Lanka

Positions held previously
• Minister of Labour, 2015
• Minister of Prisons Reforms, 2015
• Minister of State Banks Development, 2005/2006
• President, Bar Association of Sri Lanka 2012/2013
• Vice President of the World Association of Press Councils, 1999-2002
• Chairman, Sri Lanka Press Council from 1998 till the end of 2002
• Chairman, Rent Board of Review from 1995 to 1999
• Chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Public Enterprises (COPE)
• Member of the Parliamentary Select Committee of Public Accounts (PAC)
• Member of the Law Commission
• Legal Advisor to the Ministry of Fisheries 1997-2001
• Director, National Film Corporation from 1998 till 2001
• Managing Director, Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. 2003/2004
• Director, Sri Lanka Rupavahini Corporation
• Vice Chairman, Colombo Law Society 1990/1991
• Mediator/Conciliator, Human Rights Commission
• Chairman, Olympic Doping Committee, 1998-2008
• Examiner in the Faculty of Law, University of Colombo from 1984 to 1991
• Visiting Lecturer, in the University of Colombo in Mass Communication Diploma

Participations in International Studies, Workshops, Conferences and Seminars
• Hong Kong University, Hong Kong on the subjects of conflict resolution and power devolution, 2007
• Vienna Institute and UNDP, Austria, joint workshop on the subjects of conflict resolution and power devolution, 2010
• Bangkok University, Thailand, on the subjects of conflict resolution and power devolution, 2005
• La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia, Parliamentary oversight on public finance and good governance, 2006
• Dhaka, Bangladesh, Workshop on the subject of good governance and anti-corruption tool in public finance, 2009
• Hong Kong, Workshop on the subject of good governance and anti-corruption tools in public finance, 2009
• Kathmandu, Nepal, Workshop on the subject of good governance and anti-corruption tools in public finance, 2010
• Washington USA and Hawaii on the subject of disaster management in 2007
• Inter-parliamentary Organization Conference in 2013 held in Geneva

13
• **International Conference to Celebrate 800 years of Magna-Carta**, held in London, February 2015 and many others

• **International Law Conference held in St Petersburg, Russia** in May 2015

• **UNODC Conference** held Qatar in April 2015

• **13th High Level event at the 13th United Nations’ Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice** in Doha, Qatar, in 2015

• **54th Annual conference of Asian-African Legal Consultative Conference in Beijing**

• **6th Ministeria Conference on Illegal Migration** held in Bali February 2016

• **Led delegations as the Chairman of the Press council of Sri Lanka and the Vice Chairman of the World Association of Press Councils to the following international conferences and delivered lectures.**
  
  New Delhi, India in (1997)  
  Brisbane, Australia (1998)  
  Cairo, Egypt (1998)  
  Istanbul, Turkey (1999)  
  Kuala Lumpur (2000)

**Delivery of Landmark lectures**

• American day speech 2009 in the Embassy of the United States of America in Sri Lanka

• Guest lecture on anti-corruption laws, the Senate of the University of Peradeniya, 2009

• Professor Nandadasa Kodagoda Commemoration lecture 2011

• Professor Nandasena Ratnapala Commemoration lecture 2011

• Dr. P.R. Antony’s Memorial Lecture 2013

• Delivered over 100 lectures at seminars, attended by Lawyers and other professionals and media personnel.

**Text Books Authored**

**English medium**

i. Media Freedom and Responsibility  
ii. Case Law on Civil Procedure Code  
iii. Practice and Law of Banking  
iv. The Law of Property, Volume 1- Ownership  
v. The Law of Property, Volume 11- Ownership  
vi. The Law of Property, Volume 111- Actions  
vii. The Law of Property, Volume 1V- Landlord and Tenant  
viii. Beyond the Horizon (poems)  
ix. The Majestic Chronicle of Sri Dalada  
x. Civil Appeals  
xi. Essays on Law  
{xii. Concept of Righteousness and the Concept of Justice  
xiii. Democracy under Executive Presidency  
xiv. The Law of Banking and Finance  
xv. C. P. De Silva, *Minneri Deviyo*  

**Sinhalese medium**

xvi. Buddhist Temporalities Law
Milestones in his tenure as President of the Bar Association of Sri Lanka

- He was elected as the President of the Bar Association of Sri Lanka with an unprecedented majority and the Association was consisting of over 13,000 members. He was the first Member of Parliament who contested for the said prestigious office, but the Bar had unambiguous confidence in his integrity, impartiality and ability to lead them on the right path steering clear of political ideology and affiliations.
- He as the President of the Bar Association of Sri Lanka launched a series of mass protests against several incidents which took place undermining the independence of the judiciary.
- He gave leadership to the Association which consists of over 13,000 members and organized a series of protest campaigns and initiated several litigations including the proceedings for Contempt of Court against the said Cabinet Minister. Protest included 6 days of boycott of court work. He led the Bar to boycott the Ceremonial Sitting of the newly appointed Chief Justice. Authoritarian rulers threatened and initiated a heinous media campaign through the State media and finally his house also was shot at by unidentified gunmen on 20th December 2012.

As a Legislator

- As the Minister of State Bank Development recovered over Rs.4 billion which were due and outstanding from errant customers of the State Banks.
- He was an agitator for the establishment of good governance in the public sector and fought against Government being a member of it. Finally he resigned from his Ministry and crossed over to the opposition and contested from the opposition party for the Colombo Electoral District and won in 2010 April and 2015 August. While the previous ruling coalition consists of over 60 members who have crossed over from the opposition to the Government rank, he is the only member who crossed over from the Government rank to the opposition rank.
- When he was the Chairman of the Committee on Public Enterprises (COPE) he presented two reports respectively on 12.01.2007 and 24.08.2007 by making a startling revelation of corruption in the public sector to the tune of a sum Rs.300 Billion whereas the Government's annual revenue (then) was around Rs.800 Billion.
- Although he was a member of the ruling party, the Executive made every possible attempt to prevent his presentation of reports. One night his house came under Army surveillance in which over 80 Army Cadres were deployed for the purpose of preventing him from going to Parliament. Notwithstanding life threats that he faced he went to the Parliament and did
render his duty towards the country. He blazed a new trail by adopting a new parliament tradition and got both his reports unanimously approved in the House.

- Since the executive refused to implement his recommendations, he initiated to institute public spirited litigation by way of two fundamental rights violation applications in the Supreme Court in which the Court endorsed the said reports and their recommendations. Based on the findings of the reports the Court directed to reacquire the privatized Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka and a land in extent of 8.2 Acres at the Colombo Port which had been conveyed to private sector in a corrupt dealing in the privatization of the shares of Sri Lanka Insurance Corporation and Lanka Marine Services Co. Ltd. In consequence, Apollo Hospital, private banks shares as well as Shell Gas Company (Litro) were acquired by the State.

- As a result of his initiatives the State was able to re-acquire a wealth over Rs. 200 billion which undoubtedly helped raising the living standard of the general public.

- He introduced several Private Member Bills which are of National importance. They include:
  ii) 19th Amendment to the Constitution to abolish the Executive Presidency and to restore parliamentary democracy in 2005,
  iii) 20th Amendment to the Constitution to reform electoral system and thereby to minimize corruption and abuse of power in 2005,
  iv) A Bill to provide a fair trial to Superior Court Judges in case of any impeachment and thereby to ensure independence of the judiciary restricting arbitrary exercise of executive powers wielded by the President, in January 2013. For the first time in the history of Sri Lankan Parliament, the Government outvoted the said Bill even without entertaining it by resorting to unfair and unethical majoritarian powers.

- He has appeared in a large number of cases on human rights violations without charging any fees and he never charged for his appearances in cases to claim compensation for victims in accidents.

Social Services
All what he received by way of salaries, allowances, remuneration as a Member of Parliament in the first 6 years tenure amounting to Rs.3.3 Million, and with added personal money amounting to another sum of Rs.1.7 Million (Total Rs.5 Million) purchased an operation theatre and donated it to National Cancer Hospital at Maharagama in 2009.
He donated a Ransivigeya , a silver casket to the Temple of Tooth relic in Kandy to deposit the sacred Tooth Relic when taken in the annual pageant and the public exposition which cost about Sri Lankan Rs. 87 Million.