

# **Constitutional Provisions for Peace Building: A Qualitative Inquiry of the 1978 Constitution of Sri Lanka**

**M. S. Dimuthu Kumari**

*University of Sri Jayewardenepura, Sri Lanka*

*samamaleed@sjp.ac.lk*

## **Abstract**

The term ‘peace’ encompasses various meanings, from denoting ‘the absence of war’ to representing ‘the establishment of equity’. Societies pursue peace through action-oriented endeavors, institutional mechanisms, and constitutional reforms. Among these, constitutional provisions are crucial in establishing a stable foundation for peace. Consequently, authorities conscientiously incorporate peace-related clauses when formulating or amending constitutions, a widespread global practice in post-conflict contexts. In contrast, despite being a nation marked by conflicts, Sri Lanka has faced criticisms for perceived neglect of ‘constitutional peace provisions’ even after the civil war. Hence, this paper focused on exploring the coverage of the concept of ‘peace’, including its comprehensive categories (negative peace, positive peace, and structural peace) within the articles of the 1978 Constitution of Sri Lanka. Commencing with an exploration of critiques surrounding Sri Lanka's post-civil war peace building efforts, the paper proceeds to explain the concept of ‘peace’, focusing on its broad categories. Finally, each facet of peace is examined through the lens of available constitutional provisions. This paper relies predominantly on secondary data and adopts a document review method. The study concludes that the Constitution of Sri Lanka encompasses numerous clauses targeting ‘positive’ and ‘structural’ peace building while remaining silent on ‘negative peace’. Consequently, critics who appear uninformed about the broader aspects of the peace concept may be unjust in their assessments of the overall constitutional peace provisions in Sri Lanka. However, the effectiveness of implementing these provisions warrants a separate and detailed analysis.

**Keywords:** Negative Peace, Positive Peace, Structural Peace, Constitutional Provisions

## **1. Introduction**

Peace is a term connected with many goals and visions of an honorable society (Linda, 2018). People highly recognize it by its absence (Barash & Webel, 2016).

Peace can be defined in a narrower or broader sense (Rummel, 1981). Regarding its conceptual extension, 'peace' indicates 'negative peace,' 'positive peace,' and 'structural peace'. To fully understand the concept, one should understand these different aspects of the term. First, negative peace refers to the 'absence of war or fear of direct violence' (Galtung, 1969), the most fundamental approach. Second, positive peace implies the presence of desirable states, like attitudes, institutions, and systems that create equity and a sustainable, peaceful society (Barash & Webel, 2016). The third category, structural peace, is often merged with positive peace in academic discussions as 'structural positive peace,' denoting the absence of all kinds of indirect discriminations created by the society's culture, systems, and structures (Rummel, 1981).

John Locke described a society where peace and security naturally exist (Munro, 2023). There is, however, no longer a possibility of natural peace in modern complex societies. Social conflicts radically weaken peace (Press.un.org), so the authorities deliberately implement various institutional reforms, constitutional arrangements (Edirisinha, 1998), and action-oriented projects (Chapman et al., 2009) to maintain peace and stability, particularly in post-conflict contexts. Reconstruction efforts at the ground level in war-torn societies, like disarmament, resettlement, and rehabilitation projects, can be identified as action-related peace building projects (De Zeeuw, 2001). In contrast, the formation or modification of institutions that support transitional justice, such as Truth-Revealing Commissions (TRCs) and Human Rights Commissions (HRCs), can be identified as institutional reforms (Dukalskis, 2011). The inclusion, modifications, or exclusions of provisions/chapters of the Constitution can be identified as constitutional reforms (Wahiu, 2011). In the case of deliberate peace efforts, it is indeed imperative to strike a balance among the different reforms mentioned above. When a country lacks such a balance, it usually faces many far-reaching repercussions.

This matter can adequately be understood in Sri Lanka's scenario. Despite many ground-level projects and institutional reforms taken toward peace after the civil war, the international community and some local groups criticize Sri Lanka for the imbalanced nature of its peace building endeavors (Uyangoda, 2007). Being a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country, Sri Lanka has undergone various conflicts, including ethno-nationalist conflicts (1918, 1950, 1983-2009) and ethno-religious conflicts (2014, 2018, 2019) in different parts of the country. Among them, the ethnic conflict between the Tamil minority separatist group and Sinhalese (1983- 2009) was a hard-hit peace and stability in Sri Lanka (Uyangoda, 2007). In response to that prolonged ethnic clash, different ruling parties in Sri Lanka have tried various action-related peace attempts and institutional reforms to bring national unity back (Edirisinha, 1998). Though the effectiveness of those efforts remains questioned, and the commitment is diverse across different ruling regimes, it is necessary to showcase

the efforts that Sri Lanka has taken. For instance, numerous institutional reforms have been introduced in Sri Lanka after the civil war (Keerawella et al., 2022), such as the Lessons Learned & Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) (2010) (Wedagedara, 2012), the Office of Missing Persons (OMP) (2018), the Office of National Unity and Reconciliation (ONUR) (2015), the Bureau of the Commissioner-General of Rehabilitation, the Consultation Task Force on Reconciliation Mechanism. Moreover, numerous rehabilitations, resettlement, disarmament, land release, cultural, and educational projects (Keerawella et al., 2022) are evident for the 'action-oriented peace building attempts' after the conflict in Sri Lanka.

However, there are growing debates about the need for more constitutional reforms to establish peace in Sri Lanka. For instance, Goodland (2010) mentions that many peace building attempts in Sri Lanka are mere political promises. The national peace building and reconciliation process in Sri Lanka has primarily focused on limited institutional reforms and political reformations (Wakkumbura & Wijegoonawardana, 2018). The psychological well-being of individuals traumatized during the war has yet to be tackled (Jayawickreme et al., 2012). The grievances of minorities have not been adequately dealt with in the Sri Lankan peace building process (Hoglund & Orjuela, 2013). Sri Lanka's peace building process has been detached from the mainstream political process and has remained unregulated (Uyangoda, 2013). Further, seven years after the war's end, reconciliation and accountability issues still need to be addressed in Sri Lanka (International Crisis Group, 2016). These critiques imply that it is necessary to simultaneously keep working on action-oriented peace projects, institutional reforms, and 'constitutional solutions' to establish stable peace in post-conflict societies.

There is a devoted relationship between 'peace' and 'law' in any society (Dulles, 1959; Rummel, 1981). The Constitution and its articles are prominent among all other laws since it is considered the supreme law of any country (IDEA, 2011). The design of the Constitution, the constitutional making process, and its provisions are integral parts of the peace and security of a State (Dulles, 1959). Particularly in post-conflict societies, the Constitution has become the cornerstone of all peace building efforts (Alif, 2014) to unite and secure the different social groups. As the Bergh of Foundation (2020) the issues regarding constitutional provisions lie at the heart of many internal conflicts in the countries. This situation can be further confirmed by highlighting the constitutional issues that affected the peace processes of countries such as Bosnia, Burundi, Guatemala, the Central African Republic, South Africa, and Nepal (Bergh of Foundation, 2020; Bell & Fulscher, 2016).

However, the constitutions of many countries contain statements related to peace, often emphasizing national and international peace, stability, and conflict resolution.

principles. To illustrate, Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan, renounces using war to settle international disputes and declares that Japan will never maintain military forces for aggressive purposes (Constitution of Japan, 1947). Article 12 of Costa Rica's Constitution abolishes the country's army. It declares that Costa Rica will forever quit using force to settle disputes between nations, and they are committed to maintaining a peaceful nation with the principle of demilitarization (Constitution of Costa Rica, 1949). The preamble of South Africa's Constitution emphasizes principles of peace, justice, and reconciliation following the end of apartheid, and it sets the tone for the entire Constitution and highlights these principles (Constitution of South Africa, 1996). The Preamble to the Irish Constitution also expresses a desire to promote the common good, intending to secure the welfare and dignity of individuals and the nation's unity (Constitution of Ireland, 1937). Section 2 of Article II of the Constitution of the Philippines includes provisions that reject war as an instrument of national policy and promote the peaceful settlement of international disputes (Constitution of Philippines, 1987). Article 9 of the Austrian Constitution emphasizes the country's commitment to peace and international cooperation, stating that 'Austria declares her permanent neutrality and will not join any military alliances nor permit any foreign military base in her territory' (Constitution of Austria, 2004). The examples above are merely a few, but many more have attempted to maintain peace and stability through constitutional provisions.

The additional examples below showcase how various countries embed peace-related principles within their constitutional frameworks, reflecting commitment to peaceful relations, stability, and conflict resolution in the national and international arena. However, whether the constitutional provisions can help 'peace' is an open question; thus, controversies exist. Nonetheless, writing a new constitution or amending the existing articles has been popular advice of many international organizations and a common practice in many conflict-affected countries. The table below exhibits a few examples.

**Table 1: Countries adopted new constitutions/ amended constitutional provisions after political or social (ethnic/religious) conflicts.**

Country	Year	Reason/s	New/ Amendments	Reforms Focused
Germany	1949	After World War II, Germany adopted a new constitution- the Basic Law (Grundgesetz), in 1949 (Spevack, 1997).	New Constitution	To prevent the emergence of authoritarianism and promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.
Liberia	1986	Liberia adopted a new constitution after years of civil war and conflict (Amnesty International, 1997).	New Constitution	To address issues with governance, democracy, and human rights.
Sierra Leone	1991	After a brutal civil war, Sierra Leone adopted a new constitution (IDEA-Constitution Net, 2016).	New Constitution	To promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.
Cambodia	1993	After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime and years of conflict, Cambodia adopted a new constitution. UN Peacekeeping (1993).	New Constitution	To establish a liberal democracy, protect human rights, and promote national reconciliation.
Bosnia	1995	Bosnia adopted a new constitution as a part of the Dayton Agreement, aiming to establish a complex power-sharing arrangement to promote peace and	New Constitution	To establish a complex power-sharing arrangement to promote peace and stability.

---

		stability (Tzifakis, 2007).		
East Timor	2002	East Timor adopted a new constitution after a long struggle for independence and conflict. Garrison, 2005).	New Constitution	To establish separation of powers, Protect and promote human rights, and reconciliation.
Rwanda	2003	Following the genocide in 1994, Rwanda adopted a new constitution (IDEA-Constitution Net, 2016).	New Constitution	To emphasize power-sharing mechanisms and prohibit hate speech.
Iraq	2005	Iraq adopted a new constitution after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime and subsequent conflicts (Phillips, 2005).	New Constitution	To establish a democratic, federal state that protected various religious and ethnic groups.
Nepal	2015	After a decade-long civil conflict, Nepal adopted a new constitution (UN Constitutional, 2016).	New Constitution	To address representation, identity, and federalism issues.
Indonesia	1999 - 2002	The amendments reinforced Indonesia's national identity, religious pluralism, and regional autonomy (Suharto, 2020).	Amendments	To reinforce Indonesia's national identity, religious pluralism, and regional autonomy.
Pakistan	2010	Apart from other reforms, Pakistan addressed long-	Amendments	To reflect the linguistic and cultural diversity of those regions better.

---

---

		standing linguistic and cultural diversity issues in some regions (Ahamad, 2010).		
Afghanistan	2004	After decades of conflicts with the Taliban group, Afghanistan amended its constitution, highlighting ethnic and regional balances through power sharing (Adeney, 2008).	Amendments	To establish post-Taliban reconstructions, which included ethnic and regional balances through power-sharing.
Thailand	1991 - 2007	After a series of political conflicts, Thailand revised its constitution in several years: 1991, 1997, 2006, and 2007 (IDEA-Constitution Net, 2016).	Amendments	To enhance the democratic principles and political issues. Changing the structure of the Senate and the electoral system was the focus.
Myanmar	2008	These amendments focused on transitioning from military to civilian government and addressing long-standing ethnic conflicts (IDEA-Constitution Net, 2016).	Amendments	To create a transition from military to civilian government and to address long-standing ethnic conflicts.

---

*Source: Based on the literature*

The above table shows that many countries have tried to adopt a new constitution or amend the existing one to respond to the root causes of conflicts. However, being a conflict-affected country, Sri Lanka's approach was different. Instead of constitutional revisions, Sri Lanka has tried many action-oriented peace efforts and

institutional reforms. Hence, it has been criticized for lacking constitutional treatments to address future ethnic issues (Wakkumbura & Wijegoonawardana, 2017; Høglund & Orjuela, 2013; International Crisis Group, 2016).

However, the term 'peace' is a more profound and vast spreading concept than it appears on the surface. It encompasses many ideas, from the 'absence of war' to the 'establishment of equity'. Though the post-conflict constitutional revisions are lacking, the initial constitutional provisions in the Constitution of Sri Lanka might cover those implicit aspects of the peace concept (positive peace, negative peace, and structural peace) from the beginning. Therefore, it is worthwhile to deeply examine how far the broad meaning of the 'peace' concept is reflected through the constitutional provisions in a particular country. Since Sri Lanka is already subjected to many criticisms about the absence of direct constitutional amendments focusing on peace, this paper attempts to understand how the initial constitutional provisions support the concept of 'peace' in a broader sense referring to the Constitution of Sri Lanka. Accordingly, the study tries to answer the following research questions: To what extent do the initial provisions of the Constitution of Sri Lanka reflect the concept of 'Peace' (with its broader categories)?

## **2. Literature Review**

Peace, like many other social conditions, is difficult to define. It is a fluid concept connected with many goals and visions of an honorable society (Linda, 2018). The famous peace scholar Galtung (1976) coined the term 'peace' in his work titled, 'Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding'. Since then, this has been philosophically, religiously, culturally, and politically taken in literature (Webel, 2007), yet the precise meaning of peace and its constituents is unclear (Anna et al., 2010). Some people find the 'philosophy' of peace is still in its infancy (Webel, 2007).

The concept of peace is often explained along with the idea of 'conflict,' usually known as the conflict perspective of peace (Galtung, 1996; Rummel, 1981; Richmond, 2010). Boulding (2002) describes peace as a situation where humans coexist nonviolently, creatively fulfilling all their potential. Ceadel (2003) explains peace as an armed truce. However, some authors have tried to identify this concept holistically. Lederach (1997) identifies peace as a dynamic social construct, and he considers it as a continuing process moving from negative to positive situations in terms of relations, behavior, attitudes, and structures. In support of his idea, Anna et al. (2019) recognized peace as a complex, dynamic process rather than an end state. According to Miller and King (2003), peace is a political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices, and norms. However, the most popular Western view of peace is the absence of violence, whereas many Eastern works of literature identify peace as the highest value of humanity (Rummel, 1981).



In contemporary academic discourses, the meaning of peace has been altered into the realms of ‘peace education’ (Bar-Tal, 2002; Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Navarro-Castro & Nario-Galace, 2019; Galtung, 2008; UNESCO, 2008; Davies, 2005), ‘peace organizations’ and ‘peace aid’ (Mearsheimer, 1995; Martin & Simmons, 1998; Rosenau & Ernst-Otto, 1992; Rosenau & Czempiel, 1995 cited by Boehmeret al., 2004; Aoi, 2007), ‘peace culture’ (Boulding, 2002; Bonta, 1993; UNESCO, 1996), and many more. Some scholars have discussed various categories of peace, like negative or positive, at macro and micro levels, and inner and outer peace (Smoker & Groff, 1996). While all categories have their unique contextual value, the following section briefly outlines details, particularly on the negative, positive, and structural peace.

### **2.1. Understanding of Negative, Positive, and Structural Peace**

Peace can be understood either in a narrow sense or a broader sense. As noted by Paul (2016), ‘negative peace,’ the narrow understanding, lessens the meaning of peace to merely an absence of war, while ‘positive peace,’ the broader understanding, widens the meaning of peace as a lack of war often supplemented by additional elements which make peace constructive, just, and democratic. Galtung (1969, 1976, 1990) has repeatedly emphasized points in peace literature to validate this distinction between negative and positive peace. Peace is regularly defined or determined negatively. Negative peace describes peace in terms of ‘what is not rather than what is’. Hence, negative peace is shown to be pessimistic (Grewal, 2003). It has historically been defined as the absence of war and other forms of violent human conflicts (Galtung, 1969, 1976, 1996; Galtung et al., 2002). Negative peace is interpreted as the absence of bloodshed and war (Leshem & Halperina, 2020). It is also known as the absence of the fear of violence (Webel, 2007). This is a very primary level understanding of peace, but peace in the real world is a much broader concept than this. Some people call it weak peace; at times of weak peace, peace is a background condition for social existence in general and personal happiness; something is taken for granted – until it is no longer present (Webel, 2007). Hence, negative peace can be understood as ‘peace without justice’. In this context, the term ‘positive peace’ is vital to realize the holistic idea behind peace. Positive peace attempts to achieve peace peacefully (Galtung, 2007). It is preventive and optimistic (Grewal, 2003) and promotes attitudes, institutions, and structures to build peace (IEP, 2020). Hence, positive peace is identified as a situation that is created with friendship, solidarity, and harmony (Leshman & Helparin, 2020). ‘Positive’ peace denotes the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind and society, such as harmony, justice, and equity. Positive peace is not a static state but a dynamically conceived aim of international and national communities (Galtung, 1996), and it is characterized by the

presence of harmonious social relations and the integration of human society (Galtung, 1969). Due to this, some authors have claimed that the perfect realization of positive peace is just a utopia. However, when negative peace is considered, the absence of direct violence widens the meaning of peace as the ‘absence of both direct and indirect violence created by the society and culture. However, Anna et al. (2019) explain that positive and negative categories of peace can no longer explain the different real-world situations of peacebuilding in post-war societies. In support, some literature (Christie et al., 2001; Tatshushi, 2015; Jason, 2015) discusses positive peace as structural peace, emphasizing the indirect violence created by social structures, systems, and culture. With this tendency, the term ‘structural peace’ is often used in literature yet highlights the socially constructed indirect violence. As noted by Christie et al. (2001), structurally peaceful social systems are marked by equitably distributed decision powers in the production, allocation, and utilization of economic, political, and cultural resources, and they describe a properly ordered socio-political context. Therefore, the term ‘structural peace’ is necessary to understand the broader meaning of peace.

### **3. Methodology**

This qualitative study used the document review method. This paper is mainly based on the Constitution of Sri Lanka and selected a few other countries. Some other printed and electronically stored materials (books, research articles, newspaper articles, and policy documents) were also reviewed and used as additional documents to extract meaningful insights into the research objective. In selecting the documents, the author carefully observed their alignment with the research focus, considering the criteria of relevance, being recent, and credibility of the document. For example, in selecting the constitutions, the conflict-affected countries were considered since they are highly relevant to this study; also, the researcher tried to find the constitutions officially published by each country's government to ensure data credibility. The main steps of the document review method suggested by Bowen (2009), data skimming (rapid general review of selected documents), data scanning (rapid, thorough reading to find specific facts), and interpretation of data were applied in this study, too. The researcher immersed herself in the texts in all three stages to understand underlying meanings, themes, and contradictions. During interpretations, the researcher identified, extracted, and categorized the documents' codes (chapters, passages, and articles of the Constitution) to support their arguments. The article write-up is arranged based on the key themes of the study, ‘the negative peace, positive peace, and structural peace’ and the status of their reflections within the Constitution of Sri Lanka. The abstracted articles of the Constitution supported each section. In preparing the final narrative of the paper, the selected document contents were synthesized with the researcher’s explanations and arguments.

## **4. Analysis and Discussion**

### **4.1. Constitutional Amendments of Sri Lanka after the Civil War**

The Constitution of Sri Lanka, officially known as the ‘Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka,’ has undergone significant transformations since gaining independence from the British Empire. The country adopted two constitutions in 1972 and 1978, respectively, with the latter, the 1978 Constitution, currently in practice. Remarkably, as of February 2023, it has been formally amended 21 times. After the end of the civil war in 2009, four amendments to the Constitution were made, respectively, in 2010 (18th Amendment), 2015 (19th Amendment), 2020 (20th Amendment), and 2022 (21<sup>st</sup> Amendment) (Parliament of Sri Lanka, 2023).

However, ethnic matters were directly considered only on one occasion during the constitutional amendments in Sri Lanka after the civil war. That was through the 19th Amendment in 2015, which focused on enhancing national reconciliation. However, the many constitutional provisions introduced by the 19th Amendment, including ‘national reconciliation,’ were repealed by the next government by introducing the 20th Amendment. Hence, none of the above four amendments discuss peace or reconciliation-related provisions. Although no direct peace-related clauses were included in constitutional amendments after the civil war, the following section discusses how the initial constitutional provisions support the negative, positive, and structural peace in the Sri Lankan context.

### **4.2. Negative Peace and Constitutional Provisions**

Negative peace is interpreted as the absence of bloodshed and war. It is also known for the absence of fear of violence (Galtung, 2008). This is a very primary level understanding of peace. In some countries, the state’s bearing on the negative peace is directly expressed by its constitution, as explained in the introduction section of this article. By glancing at the constitutional statements, one can decide whether that country is oriented towards pacifism, militarism, or defencism. Pacifism refers to one’s commitment to peace while opposing war (Fiala, 2006). Thee (1977) states that militarism is a political ideology that uses military methods to gain power and achieve its goals. Defencism usually justifies using military forces to protect their country from external invasions and undue influences. For instance, Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan clearly expresses that they reject all kinds of war and violence within and outside the country. Article 9 refers actively and explicitly to negative peace as the absence of organized state violence, which shows their orientation towards pacifism. Unlike militarism or defencism, pacifism often claims that all kinds

of disputes should be settled peacefully, and that war is unjustifiable by all means. However, no direct and clear statements regarding ‘negative peace’ can be found in the Constitution of Sri Lanka relating to local or international contexts. The Constitution has 24 chapters, yet, except for some indirect statements (Article 33, Chapter VII), no specific area explains the constitutional provisions regarding war or peace. Therefore, this constitution is silent about the State’s orientation towards pacifism and militarism ideologies. However, one can claim that Sri Lanka is in the interest of ‘defencism’ by quoting the implicit meaning of the article below.

*Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is a Free, Sovereign, Independent, and Democratic Socialist Republic. - (Article 1, Chapter I)*

Because, in the case of defencism, the countries’ war efforts are considered fair and just, focusing on the defense and safety of their own country. Such countries, who highly admire internal sovereignty, do not hesitate to admit war and violence to protect their state from its enemies. The Constitution has stated that ‘committing to the national interest’ and ‘fostering national unity’ are among the fundamental duties of the Sri Lankan people. Therefore, one can claim that citizens must support the war if the state decides to fight against enemies, particularly in the case of protecting the country from external threats.

*It is the duty of every person in Sri Lanka.....(b) to further the national interest and to foster national unity. - (Article 28, Chapter VI)*

However, some constitutional provisions stated that Sri Lanka supports international peace and security. The following article will be a sound example of that.

*The State shall promote international peace, security, cooperation, and the establishment of a just and equitable international economic and social order and shall endeavor to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in dealings among nations. (Article 27 (15), Chapter VI)*

Although the Constitution of Sri Lanka contains provisions promoting unity and harmony, it does not extensively cover the concept of ‘negative peace’. There is no explicit guidance regarding disarmament or a defined military policy. Discussions about violence prevention are not directly included in the Constitution. However, it does grant the Executive President the authority to declare war and peace, as mentioned in the below article.

*‘The President shall have the power to declare war and peace’.*  
*(Article 33, Chapter VII)*

Hence, it empowers the President to make situational decisions regarding declaring war or peace. In this context, ceasefires serve as a tool to establish negative peace. In Sri Lankan history, former leaders have practiced this granted power regarding war and peace in different situations. For example, using Article 32 of the Constitution, in 2002, President Chandrika Kumaranatunga declared a ceasefire with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) terrorist group. Further, a peace movement known as “Sudu Neluma” was launched by President Kumarathunga to reach ethnic reconciliation between Sinhalese and Tamil Communities at the grassroots level. Moreover, utilizing this constitutional power, in 2008, President Rajapaksha declared continuous battle until the end of the war in 2009. However, it is noteworthy that different political parties have different agendas for peace and reconciliation in Sri Lanka. For instance, the government made by the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) alliance introduced ‘national reconciliation and ethnic integration’ as one of the functions of the Executive President through the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution (Article 33(1) (b) in the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution). However, the next government (Sri Lanka Podujana Peramuna - SLPP), which came to power in 2019, repealed that entire article by introducing the 20<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution. Accordingly, promoting national unity and reconciliation no longer remains one of the duties of the Executive President after the 20<sup>th</sup> Amendment. The behavior of some political parties shows that they are rather ethnocentric, and ‘reconciliation and integration’ are not on their priority list.

#### **4.3. Positive Peace and Structural Peace and Constitutional Provisions**

Positive peace refers to the state of societal harmony characterized by the absence of structural violence and the presence of conditions that foster justice, equity, and well-being. It goes beyond the absence of conflict, emphasizing the creation of a positive and inclusive environment. In the Sri Lankan context, numerous indirect statements of the Constitution contribute to the control of structural inequalities, thereby aiding in establishing positive and structural peace. The following article helps establish positive peace where friendship and brotherhood are promoted. The Constitution has recognized ‘freedom of speech, assembly, association, and movements’ as the fundamental rights of the Sri Lankan people. Therefore, this provision might support creating friendship, brotherhood, and unity among the different groups in society.

*Every citizen is entitled to – (a) the freedom of speech, (b) the freedom of peaceful assembly, (c) the freedom of association, (h) the freedom of movement (Article 14, Chapter III).*

Structural peace requires avoiding ‘structural violence,’ which can be posed through economic, gender, health, and racial disparities. Since Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic nation, establishing equality through the law by avoiding various system disparities is extremely important. Hence, the Constitution seems to have provided adequate provisions to enhance structural peace rather than the other two types of peace. The right to equality has been recognized as one of the fundamental rights of Sri Lankan people under Chapter III (Abeysekara, 2010). It has prohibited discrimination against demographic differences among the people. The following constitutional articles provide evidence for the attempts to establish structural peace.

*All persons are equal before the law and are entitled to the equal protection of the law. - (Article 12 (1), Chapter III).*

*No citizen shall be discriminated against on the grounds of race, religion, language, caste, sex, political opinion, place of birth, or any one of such grounds. - (Article 12 (2), Chapter III).*

The above articles try to provide equal legal protection to the people where the people will feel the protection of the law similarly. However, these articles seem like just statements in the documents and politicians and elite people taking special privileges over ordinary people. Though constitutional provisions exist, ordinary people hardly receive their protection.

*No person shall, on the grounds of race, religion, language, caste, sex, or any one of such grounds, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction, or condition concerning access to shops, public restaurants, hotels, places of public entertainment and places of public worship of his religion. (Article 12 (3), Chapter III).*

However, the laws and provisions regarding religions could be more straightforward since the Constitution mentions some contradictory clauses. In one aspect, articles mention that no discrimination should exist based on religion, race, caste, etc. However, some other articles argue that ‘Buddhism’ (the religion of the dominant ethnic group) should have priority over other religions.

*The Republic of Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the foremost place, and accordingly, it shall be the duty of the State to protect and foster the Buddha Sasana, while assuring to all religions the rights granted by Articles 10 and 14(1)(e) - (Article 9, Chapter II).*

Sri Lanka is a multilingual country where different ethnic groups use their languages. However, after gaining independence, only the Sinhala language (the Sinhalese people's language) was considered the country's official language, and minority people suffered a lot due to this barrier posed by the 'Sinhala-Only Act' in 1956. Hence, in 1987, by amending the Constitution (13th Amendment), the Tamil language was recognized as one of the country's official languages, and English was introduced as the linking language. This law also affected providing justice to the deprived people due to the minority languages.

*The Official Language of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala. (Article 18 (4), Chapter III). Tamil shall also be an official language. (Article 18 (5), Chapter III) - 13th Amendment, 1987*

*The National Languages of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala and Tamil. (Article 19, Chapter III) - 13th Amendment, 1987*

By broadening this privilege further, the Constitution was amended for the 16th time, enabling the usage of both Sinhala and Tamil languages for administrative and legislative affairs in the country.

*Sinhala and Tamil shall be the languages of administration throughout Sri Lanka, and Sinhala shall be the language of administration and be used for the maintenance of public records and the transaction of all business by public institutions of all the Provinces of Sri Lanka other than the Northern and Eastern Provinces where Tamil shall be so used. - (Article 22, Chapter IV).*

Further, the Constitution has provided directions to the President, Parliament, and Cabinet for establishing a just and free society in Sri Lanka. The following articles provide evidence for that.

*The Directive Principles of State Policy herein contained shall guide Parliament, the President, and the Cabinet of Ministers in the enactment of laws and the governance of Sri Lanka for the establishment of a just and free society. - (Article 27 (1), Chapter VII)*

The articles below show that the Constitution has attempted to establish economic and social justice within society.

*The Democratic Socialist Society has the following objectives including. the establishment of a just social order in which the means of production, distribution, and exchange are not concentrated and centralized in the State, State agencies, or in the hands of a privileged few but are dispersed among and owned by all the People of Sri Lanka; - (Article 27 (2 f), Chapter VI*

*The State shall eliminate economic and social privilege and disparity and the exploitation of man by man or by the State- (Article 27 (7), Chapter VI.*

However, these articles are often criticized just as statements since politicians and elite people are taking special privileges over ordinary people. All the above articles show how far the Constitution of Sri Lanka has attempted to protect positive and structural peace in society, either directly or indirectly. However, critics exist about their adequacy, significance, and implementation success.

## **5. Conclusion**

As explained above, while subtly incorporating specific provisions that indirectly contribute to peace building, the Constitution of Sri Lanka does not explicitly address the 'negative' peace. Despite lacking a definitive stance on the state's policy concerning peace or war, it adequately touches upon 'positive peace,' encouraging friendship and brotherhood among the people. Additionally, the Constitution features many provisions dedicated to fostering 'structural peace' within society, prohibiting systemic disparities and discrimination.

A comprehensive understanding of peace is crucial for practitioners and academics involved in constitutional reforms. Criticisms of a state's peace building efforts may need more fairness with this broader perspective. Articulating a country's position on war and peace through constitutional provisions is essential. The Constitution of a state should sufficiently address all aspects of peace-negative, positive, and structural. An expert panel should review constitutional provisions that may disrupt peace and harmony, with necessary modifications implemented in conflict-affected and vulnerable societies, including Sri Lanka. Among all, a genuine commitment of politicians and favorable public attitudes towards peace is of utmost importance, transcending the written provisions of the Constitution.



## 6. Further Research Insights and Limitations

Constitutional provisions represent just one aspect of establishing and maintaining 'peace and stability' in a society. Numerous other legal factors also contribute to this goal. A more in-depth examination is suggested to explore a comprehensive framework of laws, commission regulations, institutional circulars, and other legal documents promoting peace and their effectiveness in the Sri Lankan context. Additionally, conducting comparative studies on constitutional peace provisions in countries facing similar or different ethnic issues would provide valuable insights. It is essential to acknowledge the inherent limitations of the document review method, including reliance on textual data, selection bias, interpretation subjectivity, and limited contextual understanding due to the absence of fieldwork during the study.

## References

- Abeyssekara, T. B. (2010). The Need to Expand Sri Lanka's Fundamental Rights Jurisdiction: A Comparative Analysis of the USA, India and Trinidad and Tobago. *Sri Lanka Journal of International Law*, 22, 59. <https://jil.law.cmb.ac.lk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Vol22-1-3.pdf>.
- Adeney, K. (2008). Constitutional Design and the Political Salience of Community Identity in Afghanistan: Prospects for the Emergence of Ethnic Conflicts in the Post-Taliban Era. *Asian Survey*, 48(4), 535–557. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2008.48.4.535>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- Ahamad, Z. S. (2010). Tension and Clashes over Renaming the NWFP, *Peace Insight*, Peace Direct. <https://www.peaceinsight.org/en/articles/clashes-over-renaming-nwfp/?location=pakistan&theme=>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- Alif, S. M. (2014). Peace Building in Post War Societies. *Journal of Social Review*, (2)1. Department of Social Sciences. Eastern University, Sri Lanka. [https://www.seu.ac.lk/researchandpublications/social\\_review\\_fac/V2N1/4%20Article%20Pages%20from%2037%20to%2050.pdf](https://www.seu.ac.lk/researchandpublications/social_review_fac/V2N1/4%20Article%20Pages%20from%2037%20to%2050.pdf).
- Amnesty International. (1997). Liberia-Time to Take Human Rights Seriously - Placing Human Rights on the National Agenda, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/afr340051997en.pdf>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- Anna et al. (2019). Three Approaches to Peace - A framework for describing and exploring varieties of peace, *Umea Working Papers in Peace, and Conflict Studies*, (12). Umea University, Swe den.
- Aoi, C. (2007). Peace Support Operations: Contemporary Challenges and the Role of Japan, *RIPS Policy Perspectives* (3). Research Institute for Peace and Security [.https://www.rips.or.jp/jp/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/RIPS\\_Policy\\_Perspectives\\_No.3.pdf](https://www.rips.or.jp/jp/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/RIPS_Policy_Perspectives_No.3.pdf).

- Barash, D. P. & Webel, C. P. (2016). The Promise of Peace & the Problems of War. *Peace and Conflict Studies* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed), 3-18. Sage Publications. [https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/55624\\_Chapter\\_1.pdf](https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/55624_Chapter_1.pdf). Retrieved on 10.02.2023.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2002). Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World. *The Elusive Nature of Peace Education*. In G. Salomon & B. Nevo. Eds. 27–36. Taylor and Francis.
- Bar-Tal, D., & Rosen, Y. (2009). Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Direct and Indirect Models. *Review of Educational Research*, 79(2), 557–575. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654308330969>.
- Bell, C. & Fülcher, K. Z. (2016). Sequencing Peace Agreements and Constitutions in the Political Settlement Process. *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*. Sweden. <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/sequencing-peace-agreements-and-constitutions-in-the-political-settlement-process.pdf>.
- Berghof Foundation. (2020). Constitutions and Peace Processes -A Primer (online) Berlin: Berghof Foundation. [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/2021\\_ConstitutionsPeaceProcessesPrimer\\_EN.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/2021_ConstitutionsPeaceProcessesPrimer_EN.pdf).
- Boehmer, C., Gartzke, E. & Nordstrom, T. (2004). Do Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace? *World Politics* (57), 01–38. <https://pages.ucsd.edu/~egartzke/publications/57.1boehmer.pdf>
- Bonta, B. (1993). Peaceful Peoples: An Annotated Bibliography. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.
- Boulding, E. (2002). Toward a Compassionate Society, Afkhami, M. (Eds). *Women Learning Partnership*, Bethesda, MD 20814, USA. <https://learningpartnership.org/sites/default/files/resources/pdfs/copanthology.pdf>.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method, *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2). 27-40. RMIT. <http://www.rmitpublishing.com.au/qj.html>. Retrieved on 7.11.2023.
- Britannica Dictionary. (N. D). Militarism, In Britannica.com Dictionary. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/militarism>.
- Ceadel, M. (2003). The Quaker Peace Testimony and its Contribution to the British Peace Movement: An Overview, *Quaker Studies*, 7 (1). <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol7/iss1/2/>.

- Chapman, N., Duncan, D., Timberman, D., & Abeygunawardana, K. (n.d.). *Evaluation of Donor-Supported Activities in Conflict-Sensitive Development and Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka Main Evaluation Report*.  
[https://www.oecd.org/countries/srilanka/44138006.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2AichbG9qGp-hb5wVZGWrR9xU2IaQPJxTnt5x57\\_KdMioVFaVmDk1rIs](https://www.oecd.org/countries/srilanka/44138006.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2AichbG9qGp-hb5wVZGWrR9xU2IaQPJxTnt5x57_KdMioVFaVmDk1rIs)
- Christie, D. J., Wagner, R. V., & Winter, D. A. (Eds.). (2001). *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2002-17740-000>.
- Davies, L. (2005). Teaching About Conflict Through Citizenship Education. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 1, 17–34.
- De Silva, K. M., & Wriggins, H. (1998). Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: Changing Dynamics. Available at <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/35338/PS032.pdf>
- De Zeeuw, J. (2001). Building peace in war-torn societies: From concept to strategy. [https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20010800\\_cru\\_paper\\_dzeeuw.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1Q9DTUEIUGChuBixqoXGoaHNgW22P0kV0YF5zrJyqGALdNyeFCoHgC4uQ](https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20010800_cru_paper_dzeeuw.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1Q9DTUEIUGChuBixqoXGoaHNgW22P0kV0YF5zrJyqGALdNyeFCoHgC4uQ).
- Dukalskis, A. (2011). Interactions in Transition: How Truth Commissions and Trials Complement or Constrain Each Other. *International Studies Review*, 13(3), 432–451. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23016717>.
- Dulles, J. F. (1959). The Role of Law in Peace. *Section of International and Comparative Law Bulletin*, 3(2), 15–21. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25743184>.
- Edirisinha, R. (1998). Trying times: Constitutional attempts to resolve armed conflict in Sri Lanka. *Conciliation Resources*. <https://www.c-r.org/accord/sri-lanka/trying-times-constitutional-attempts-resolve-armed-conflict-sri-lanka?fbclid=IwAR1I8oSln4HQPFXYZcy-CUaPVhOf7GRXUp2U3UIjTgDw8UwMzPFILih74p4>.
- Fiala, A. (2006). Pacifism, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2023 Edition), Edward N. Zalta & Uri Nodelman (eds.). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2023/entries/pacifism/>. Retrieved on 07.11.2023.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336900600301>
- Galtung, J. (1976). Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding, *Peace, War and Defense: Essays in Peace Research*, 2, 297–298.

- Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), 291–305. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343390027003005>.
- Galtung, J. (1996). Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446221631>.
- Galtung, J. (2008). Form and Content of Peace Education. In *Encyclopedia of Peace Education*. Teachers College, Columbia University; *Encyclopedia of Peace Education*, Teachers College, Columbia University. [https://www.tc.columbia.edu/epe/epe-entries/Galtung\\_ch6\\_22feb08.pdf](https://www.tc.columbia.edu/epe/epe-entries/Galtung_ch6_22feb08.pdf). Retrieved on 10.02.2023.
- Galtung, J., Carl, G., Jacobsen, Fritj, K. & Jacobsen, B. (2002). *Searching for Peace: The Road to TRANSCEND*. London: Pluto Press.
- Garrison. (2005). The role of constitutional building processes in democratization- Case study – East Timor, Democracy Building and Conflict Management, IDEA. [https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/cbp\\_timor-leste.pdf](https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/cbp_timor-leste.pdf).
- Goodhand, J. (2010). Stabilizing a victor's peace? Humanitarian action and reconstruction in Eastern Sri Lanka. *Disasters*, 34(3). DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-7717.2010.01212.x. Retrieved on 10.02.2023.
- Grewal, B. S. (2003). Johan Galtung: Positive and Negative Peace, Building Peace Forum. [https://buildingpeaceforum.com/no/fred/Positive\\_Negative\\_peace.pdf](https://buildingpeaceforum.com/no/fred/Positive_Negative_peace.pdf)
- Hoglund, K., & Orjuela, C. (2013). Friction and the pursuit of justice in post-war Sri Lanka. *Peacebuilding*, 1(3), 300-316.
- IDEA-Constitution Net. (2016). Constitutional history of Rwanda. <https://constitutionnet.org/country/rwanda#:~:text=It%20was%20adopted%20in%20a,fight%20against%20the%20genocide%20ideology>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- IDEA-Constitution Net. (2016). Constitutional history of Thailand. <https://constitutionnet.org/country/thailand>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- IDEA-Constitution Net. (2016). The Constitutional Implications of Myanmar's Peace Process. <https://constitutionnet.org/news/constitutional-implications-myanmars-peace-process>.
- Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP). (2020). *Positive Peace Report 2020: Analyzing the factors that sustain peace*. <https://www.economicsandpeace.org/>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- International Crisis Group. (2016). Sri Lanka: Jumpstarting the Reform Process, Peace Justice and Reconciliation. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/278-sri-lanka-jumpstarting-reform-process>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.

- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). (2011). *Constitution Building After the Conflict*, Bulls Graphics, Sweden. <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/constitution-building-after-conflict.pdf>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- Jason, A. (2015). Structural and Cultural Violence in Religion and Peacebuilding, in Atalia Omer, R. Scott Appleby, and David Little (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Religion, Conflict, and Peacebuilding*, Oxford Handbooks Online. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199731640.013.0006>, Retrieved on 3 Mar. 2023.
- Jayawickreme N., Mooto C., Fountain C., Rasmusen C., & Jayawickreme A. (2017). Post-conflict struggles as networks of problems: A network analysis of trauma, daily stressors, and psychological distress among Sri Lankan war survivors, *Social Science Methods*, (190), 119-132. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2017.08.027. Epub 2017 Aug 24. PMID: 28858697; PMCID: PMC5607106.
- Keerawella, G., Sarjoon, A., Menik, W., Ramasamy, R., Jayathilake, N., Silva, S., & Ramesh, A. (2022). Post-war Democracy Building Initiatives in Sri Lanka (2015-2019)- Lessons Learned. *Regional Center for Strategic Studies*. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/362468884\\_Post-war\\_Democracy\\_Building\\_Initiatives\\_in\\_Sri\\_Lanka\\_2015-2019\\_Lessons\\_Learned](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/362468884_Post-war_Democracy_Building_Initiatives_in_Sri_Lanka_2015-2019_Lessons_Learned).
- Lederach, J.P. (1997). *Building peace: sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*, 20 (75), 84-85. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press. <https://pestuge.iliauni.edu.ge/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/John-P.Lederach-Building-Peace.-Sustainable-Reconciliation-in-Divided-Society.pdf>.
- Leshema, O.A., & Halperina, E. (2020). *Lay theories of peace and their influence on policy preference during violent conflict*. *PNAS*. 117 (31). <https://www.pnas.org/doi/pdf/10.1073/pnas.2005928117>.
- Linda, G. (2018). What is Peace, how have Our Concepts of Peace Evolved, and what is a Holistic Vision for the Twenty-First Century? *The Routledge History of World Peace Since 1750*. CRC Press. <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315157344-35>.
- Miller, C., & King, M. (2003). A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies. *University for Peace*, Costa Rica. <http://maryking.info/wp-content/glossaryv2.pdf>.
- Munro, A. (2023). Social contract. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-contract>. Retrieved on 9 November 2023.

- Navarro-Castro, L., & Nario-Galace, J. (2019). *Peace Education: A pathway to a culture of peace* (3rd ed.). [https://www.peace-ed-campaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/PeaceEducation\\_3rdEdition\\_2019.pdf](https://www.peace-ed-campaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/PeaceEducation_3rdEdition_2019.pdf). Retrieved on 12.02.2023.
- Parliament of Sri Lanka. (2023). *The Constitution of Democratic Socialistic Republic of Sri Lanka (1978) - (As amended up to 29th October 2020) Revised Edition – 2021*. <https://www.parliament.lk/constitution/main>. Retrieved on 9 December 2023.
- Paul, D. (2016). Exploring Peace: Looking Beyond War and Negative Peace. *International Studies Quarterly*, 60, 1-10. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304576881\\_Exploring\\_Peace\\_Looking\\_Beyond\\_War\\_and\\_Negative\\_Peace](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304576881_Exploring_Peace_Looking_Beyond_War_and_Negative_Peace).
- Phillips, D. L. (2005). Power Sharing in Iraq, *CRS6*, Council of Foreign Relations. [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/14813/2005-04\\_Iraq\\_CSR.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/14813/2005-04_Iraq_CSR.pdf). Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- Press.un.org. (2021). Addressing Root Causes of Conflict Vital for Sustaining Peace as COVID-19 Reverses Peacebuilding Gains, Facilitates Intolerance, Speakers Warn Security Council, UN Press (online). [https://press.un.org/en/2021/sc14659.doc.htm?fbclid=IwAR2YIHAI0b31qaYCl-8EH1VtT\\_b2Y5ZXbWW7XVpb3FzRbioganbdyOKgoqc](https://press.un.org/en/2021/sc14659.doc.htm?fbclid=IwAR2YIHAI0b31qaYCl-8EH1VtT_b2Y5ZXbWW7XVpb3FzRbioganbdyOKgoqc).
- Richmond, O.P. (2010). *A Genealogy of Peace and Conflict Theory*. In: Richmond, O.P. (eds) *Palgrave Advances in Peacebuilding*. Palgrave Advances. Palgrave Macmillan, London. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230282681\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230282681_2). Retrieved on 07.11.2023.
- Rummel, R. J. (1981). Understanding Conflict and War, *The Just Peace*. 5. Sage Publications, California. <https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TJP.CHAP4.HTM>.
- Smoker, P., & Groff, L. (1996). Creating Global-Local Cultures of Peace. *Peace and Conflict Studies*. <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/pcs/vol3/iss1/3/>.
- Spevack, E. (1997). American Pressures on the German Constitutional Tradition: Basic Rights in the West German Constitution 1949. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 10(3), 411–436. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20019899>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- Suharto, R. B. (2020). Strengthening the Law in order to keep existence the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, *International Journal of Law Reconstruction*, (4)1. file:///C:/Users/MSII/Downloads/9680-21242-1-PB%20(2).pdf.
- Symonides, J. & Singh, K. (1996). From a culture of violence to peace: *Peace and Conflict Issues*. UNESCO Publishing. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000105029>.

- Tatsushi, A. (2015). Toward a Buddhist Theory of Structural Peace: Lessons from Myanmar in Transition, *Peace and Conflict Studies*. 22 (1). DOI: 10.46743/1082-7307/2015.1272.  
<https://nsuworks.nova.edu/pcs/vol22/iss1/3>. Retrieved on 10.02.2023.
- The Constitution of Austria. (2004). Government of Austria, Available at [https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/Austria%20\\_FULL\\_%20Constitution.pdf](https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/Austria%20_FULL_%20Constitution.pdf).
- The Constitution of Costa Rica. (1949). Government of Costa Rica, Available at <https://wipolex-res.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/cr/cr110en.pdf>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- The Constitution of Ireland. (1937). Government of Ireland, Available at <https://assets.gov.ie/6523/5d90822b41e94532a63d955ca76fdc72.pdf>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- The Constitution of Japan. (1947). Government of Japan, Available at [https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution\\_and\\_government\\_of\\_japan/constitution\\_e.html](https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html). Retrieved on 10.02.2023.
- The Constitution of the Philippines. (1987). Government of Philippines, [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Philippines\\_1987](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Philippines_1987).
- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. (1996). Government of South Africa, <https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/saconstitution-web-eng.pdf>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- Thee, M. (1977). Militarism and Militarization in Contemporary International Relations. *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, 8(4), 296–309. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44480611>.
- Tzifakis, N. (2007). The Bosnian Peace Process: The Power-Sharing Approach Revisited. *Perspectives*, 28, 85–101. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23616212>
- UN Peacekeeping. (1993). Cambodia UNTAC, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/untacbackgr2.html>. Retrieved on 20.08.2023.
- UNESCO. (1996). UNESCO and a Culture of Peace: Promoting a Global Movement, In from a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace. Paris: UNESCO, 251-268.
- UNESCO. (2008). UNESCO'S Work on Education for Peace and Non-Violence, Building peace through education (2008). UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000160787>.
- Uyangoda, J. (2007). *Ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka: Changing Dynamics*. East-West Center Washington, Cop. <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/35338/PS032.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1I8oSlN4HQPFXYZcy-CUaPVhOf7GRXUp2U3UIjTgDw8UwMzPFILih74p4>.

- Uyangoda, J. (2013). *Healing after war: thinking beyond solitude*. In D. Herath & K.T.Silva (Eds.), *Healing the Wounds-Rebuilding Sri Lanka after the war*, Sri Lanka, 18-22. International Centre for Ethnic Studies.
- Wahiu, W. (2011). *A Practical Guide to Constitution Building*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/chapters/practical-guide-to-constitution-building/a-practical-guide-to-constitution-building-chapter-1.pdf>.
- Wakkumbura, M. & Wijegoonawardana, N. (2018). A study on reconciliation of post-war peacebuilding in Sri Lanka, *Colombo Journal of Multi- Disciplinary Research*, 03(1), 23-38. <https://cjmr.sljol.info/articles/10.4038/cjmr.v3i1.25>.
- Webel, C. & Johansen, J. (2012). *Peace and Conflict Studies: A Reader*. In Charles Webel and Johan Galtung, (Eds). *The Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Routledge, New York.
- Webel, C. (2007). *Toward a philosophy and metapsychology of peace*, In Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (Eds). *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*. Routledge, New York.
- Wedagedara, A. (2012). *Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Committee Report: A Valuable Process*, *IDSA Issue Brief*. Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/144050/IB\\_LLRCsriLanka.pdf?fclid=IwAR2CkIvIFdAyC9MdR2WHtDcAAMKuQfl-Pp4NLHXghTxSCi\\_gevy-kUdG7T0](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/144050/IB_LLRCsriLanka.pdf?fclid=IwAR2CkIvIFdAyC9MdR2WHtDcAAMKuQfl-Pp4NLHXghTxSCi_gevy-kUdG7T0).