

Makale Türü: Olgu Sunumu

## SRI LANKA'DA SİVİL SAVAŞ VE NEGATİF BARIŞ SÜRECİ: POSİTİF BARIŞ NEDEN İMKANSIZ?

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Öz

Sri Lanka sahip olduğu eski geçmişinde çok derin acılar yaşadı, önce İngiltere tarafından işgal edilerek sömürgeleştirildi ve bağımsızlık sürecinde ve sonrasında çok fazla sivil savaş ile yüzleşti. Ve sonunda 2009 yılında, Tamil Eelam Kurtuluş Kaplanları (LTTE) ayrılıkçı örgütünün merkezi hükümet tarafından yenilmesi ile iç savaş sonlandı. Tüm bu süreç boyunca ve sonrasında pek çok insan hakları örgütü tarafından aktif olarak takip edildi, bu sivil toplum örgütleri ile STK'lar henüz Sri Lanka'da savaşın sonlanmadığını, buna karşılık iki etnik taraf arasındaki uçurumun derinleştiğini savunuyorlar. Buna karşılık merkezi hükümet tüm bu argümanları reddetmekte, savaşın bittiğini ve barışın geldiğini deklare etmektedir. Burada ki temel soru barışın kapsamı ve kimin için olduğudur. Çalışmanın amacı, Sri Lanka'da gerçekleşen iç savaşın nedenlerini, gelişimini ve sonuçlanmasını kısaca açıklamak ve Galtung'un barış ile ilgili teorilerini kullanarak negatif barıştan pozitif barışa neden geçilemediğini ortaya koymaktır. Ayrıca teorik arka plan ve Sri Lanka'daki savaşın nedenleri açıklarak negatif barışa neden olan kök nedenler ortaya konulacaktır. Çalışmanın sonunda pozitif barış için gerekli olan dört ana koşul açıklarak, Sri Lanka'da yaşanan süreç ile ilgili önermeler ortaya konacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yapısal Şiddet, Pozitif Barış, Negatif Barış, Sri Lanka, Şiddetin Dönüşümü

### CIVIL WAR IN SRI LANKA AND NEGATIVE PEACE PROCESS: WHY IS POSITIVE PEACE IMPOSSIBLE?

Abstract

Sri Lanka has bearded much of the pain in his long history, he captured by Britain and after the colonial time so many time civil war occurred in there. Finally, the civil war was ended in 2009, the Tamil's separatist group, which called Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), was defeated by the central government powers. Some human rights organizations and NGOs followed to a process of the peace after the civil conflict in Sri Lanka and they believe that neither civil war nor violation in Sri Lanka did not finish, moreover gaps between two ethnic sides is widening. On the contrary Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) rejected all claims and arguments, and declared to peace and ended of the war. But still, a question in there: What kind of peace or peace for whom? The purpose of the study is to explain how the civil war has occurred in Sri Lanka and why negative peace did not transform to positive peace, which is taking by Galtung's peace theory, after the end of the war. The historical background of the war and theoretical analysis is using to evaluate what was a problem in Sri Lanka, and sustainability of the negative peace in there without any accountability and with identity politics. This research concluded that four main congestions to positive peace.

**Key Words:** Structural Violence, Positive Peace, Negative Peace, Sri Lanka, Conflict Transformation

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## 1. Introduction

After the colonial time, that was the late nineteenth century, most of the new nation states and regions have led to some intrastate conflicts. This conflict is occurred mostly heterogeneous nations, like a Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka has consisted of two main ethnic groups, which are Sinhala- Buddhist majority and Tamil-Hindu minority, and other minorities. In this country, the devastating civil war was started after the British rule between two main ethnic groups, and the conflict ended in a government victory in May 2009. The post-war period did not bring equality between the sides or create positive peace; on the contrary, their peace perception was extremely vulnerable and far from the positive peace contains. Also, ethnocentric nationalism has been kept Sri Lanka divided.

The ethnic problem in Sri Lanka was started with the British granted the state's independence in 1947. After this time, major ethnic groups of the country being dominate power and took to governments. Their nationalistic governmental structure passed many articles and laws that disadvantaged and discriminated minorities. The Sinhalese government did not give any equal opportunities the Tamil youth generation, as like educational or social equality, and non-educational Tamil's did not find a job or keeps their current jobs. The separationist policy was escalated to tensions between Tamils and Sinhalese governments, and especially cultural divide created "the other" in the country. From then on, violence and riots between these two ethnic groups outcropped throughout the end of the 1970s and early 1980s. Tamil separatist group wanted to divide their homeland from another side the country and found their nation-state, which was the main goal of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The civil war was broke out in 1983, and after the 26 years, Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) lasted the war.

Within the framework of the Galtung's peace theory, the purpose of the research is to analyses the Sri Lanka's civil war from beginning to end of the war, and evaluate the continuous negative peace process in the country after the war and what is the cause of the prevent positive peace. Also, this paper will examine the cultural and structural violence that is running-on unrest and violence from war. I aforementioned before, the theoretical background of this paper is based on Galtung's peace theory, as is practicable to the incident of Sri Lanka. This study is organized into four chapters. In the first chapter, Galtung's peace theory and the different classifications of peace and violence will define. This chapter is the shows the theoretical background of the research and at the same time gives the idea about the limits of the study. The second chapter aims to understand the historical background of Sri Lanka's ethnic problem and intrastate conflict. The third chapter of the study shows to the British role in the Sri Lanka's ethnic divided after the independence time, and identity-based policy analyses in this chapter, which will be based on main principal Galtung's theory. And the last chapter, all of the findings of the research will analyze with based on the questions of this research. Final chapter also includes some suggestions and advice for future research.

## 2. Theoretical Framework of Peace and Violence

On account of discuss peace and violence, it is essential to explain what peace and violence mean as it appertain to this study. In this study violence will be discussed as structural violence and peace will be discussed as both of negative and positive peace. To the evaluate peace, Galtung's peace theory will be fundamental assumption. Galtung's peace research led him to find main problem of peace, and giving dimension to him for understand the role crucial role of violence in peace. According to Galtung, violence classified three sub-categories, as like cultural, structural and direct violence. Direct violence defines as a violence

that comes directly from a person to other person without any intermediary. Principally, peace categorizes the absence of direct violence. But Galtung said that absence of direct violence reveals negative peace, not fully peace. This means, negative peace does not be ultimate goal of the peace process, it comes with ceasefire between sides, and it can be only passing process for the positive peace. This part of the study will briefly explain terms of structural violence, negative peace and positive peace, and create a link with Sri Lanka's conflict case.

### **2.1. Structural Violence**

Johan Galtung set forth the main point of structural violence in his works, which called Violence, Peace and Peace Research, in 1969. Galtung explained the locution of violence that occurred into a social environment of people and elicited unequal power, social class, and wealth and life chances between the people who live in the same society (Galtung, 1969, p.171). Galtung's founded the base of the structural violence and other continues to expand his research with some adding. According to Galtung, structural violence is showing exactly injustice and inequality into the social life that basis of wealth power, social class, ethnicities nationalities and genders. Structural violence is seen mostly capitalist system, and some other political system, as like patriarchy (Hathaway, 2013)

Recognize and identify structural violence is important to understand the problem into society and resolving it without any conflicts, and also building peace. Structural violence is different from direct violence. Direct violence could be psychological or physical, and people can do it other people without any purpose but with some deliberation. Direct violence most of the time receives more caution than structural violence, because of its visible and instant structure (Galtung, 1969, p.172). Galtung said that the harm caused and suffering by direct violence and structural violence shall not be compared with disservice act to man (Galtung, 1969, p.185). But the problem is their harm and suffering that the results of structural violence are not taking importance as direct violence.

Structural violence can be realized before or after the conflict. This means, structural violence can be a result of the direct violence, or direct violence can be a result of the structural violence in society. Rowson establishes an important connection between the occurrence of structural violence and development. He noted that the development of the Western countries with the industrial revolution, and how they became healthier and wealthier (Rowson, 2012, p.12). But history showed that structural violence most of the time occurred after important changes in political, social and economic area (Rowson, 2012, p.11). On the other hand, structural violence does not just do by the hand of local forces. Colonization had utmost influence via developing countries. Especially Western colonizer states impacts and effects over these states changed their internal dynamics and revealed many conflicts in the states. For instance, Rwanda, Sri Lanka and Kenya all problem and suffer owing to Westernism against specific ethnic groups (Rowson, 2012, p.88). The causes of inequality and poverty in society would describe structural violence in the state.

### **2.2. Cultural Violence**

Galtung defined to cultural violence as any aspects of a cultural aspect, like a ideology, religion, language and etc. that used to legitimize or justify structural or direct violence (Galtung, 1990, p.291). Galtung assumed that cultural violence defines to societies with "moral color" and giving to justify and normality to acts of direct or structural violence. Cultural violence is becomes invisible, as like structural violence, and racism, nationalism and other types of discrimination used to justification of violence (Fischer, 2007, p.188).

### 2.3. Negative Peace

Negative peace can be defines basically lack of direct violence, as like physical and psychological, but this is not means to absence of structural or cultural violence in there. According to Galtung, negative peace does not have fully peaceful meaning, but it is preferable than any kind of war or conflicts (Galtung, 2011, p.1). From then on, negative peace is not having meant of ideal peace. But when the mass violence or conflict would reach to end, negative peace may help to normalize of social life for major parts of the country. On the other hand, there is other part of society that would never return to their everyday lives and they continue to live social injustice with limited access of basic human needs.

Negative peace is normally a passing phase of the state from abnormal times to livable and healing/curative phase. After the conflict and during the negative peace, behavior of the present state is important. If the state would analyses what specific actions and events occurred during this time and identified the problem, cultural and structural violence show decreasing tendency. This is important to peacebuilding process after the conflict and aid to prevent new war which will occur in the future.

### 2.4. Positive Peace

Positive peace is defined the ideal peace, and the end of violence and conflict with social justice and peace. Positive peace is means absence of cultural, structural and direct violence. Galtung noted that six tasks is important to reach and sustain positive peace: “ completely remove to direct violence that causes conflict, eliminating political, social and economic inequality, do not give importance to cultural or ethnic differences in the society, and other three task are related with creating cultural, structural and direct peace between citizens (Galtung, 1996, p.173).

Positive peace does not occurs in a short time, it is a long term purpose and this need some process, as like changing and transforming social structural and perspective of people, to achieve successful peace in a society. Positive peace is important to society, because big amount of people suffering with conflict and war, positive peace understanding will help to reduce suffering in the world. But there is a important question, how would positive peace establishing after the completed Galtung’s six task for peace? Because, some scholar said that, positive peace is unrealistic and hard to reach exact peace in a society (Maley, 1985, p.582).

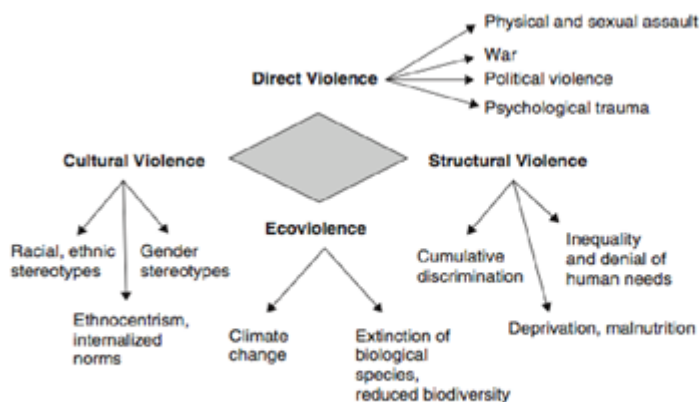


Figure 1. The Violence Diamond. Source: Kurtz & Kurtz (2015: 2); Galtung (1990)

### 3. Historical Background of Civil Conflict in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, which is small island in Asia, was ruled colonial power almost 500 years, and this colonial history shaping Sri Lanka in many ways, as like Sri Lanka introduced a new culture, language, religion, class system and so on. Especially the British rule via country, government policy started to divide people. Understanding to these historical roots of identity based conflicts in Sri Lanka will give a perspective to evaluate why positive peace is impossible in there.

#### 3.1. European Colonization in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka was colonized first time by Portuguese in 1505. When the Portuguese arrived there, the island has formed Sinhalese (Buddhist), Tamil (Hindus), Malay and Moor (Muslims). The Portuguese established castle and port in Colombo and after that started to expand his ruling area, especially coastal areas. The Portuguese did not show any tolerance to indigenous of Sri Lanka, and they used to power to convert people religious. Because of the Portuguese pressure, the big amount of Muslim changed his religions and accepted to Catholicism. In 1602, Dutch arrived in island and took to control from the Portuguese. After that time, the table was changed for Catholics, because the Dutch were Protestant and they did not like Catholics. A new transformation started to country, and the Dutch tried to shaping island how they wanted to govern. Either the Portuguese or the Dutch used a material power and military force to increase their influence and population in the island and converted to population. All of these things showed that both of the European states shaped Sri Lanka for their purpose and created to others. On the other hand, Europeans invasion in Sri Lanka that occurred new ethics, which was occurred from Sri Lankan and European marriages. These new ethnicities, which named Burghers, rapidly adapted to western culture and English language.

Britain was the last colonizer of Sri Lanka. When the British power came to the island, they took to control of almost all the country. France occupied to Netherland in 1796 and this event sparked some concern for the British government to protect their benefits in India. The British power started to war with initial state Kingdoms in Sri Lanka, and finally, they associated all of the countries under one rule. After the founded united Ceylon Islands, Britain started to classified people with using their identities and ethnic roots (Peebles, 2006, p.53). Furthermore, Britain was started to assimilation program to rule the country without any gaps from the British policy. To realizing assimilation program, the British government support many elite elementary and high school to created English based programs (Peebles, 2006, p.63). From then on, Britain took to control of plantations, because of tea production. Sri Lanka was the most important tea producer in Asia, and Britain gives the importance to the country for using their plantations. Actually, all of these things have a connection and present the Britain policy for Sri Lanka.

#### 3.2. Independence Period of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has gained his independence from Britain in 1948. After the independence, both major ethnic groups, which are Tamils and Sinhalese, created a British style parliamentary democracy. Newly independence states declared to equal suffrage and political rights, and free elections. But this is not a case. Because, power still controlled by the feudal elites and the British rooting peoples, and they did not want to give up their status quo (Sivanandan, 2010, p.60). According to Sivanandan, colonial capitalism was responsible for imperfect democracy that was the result.



With the declared of independence identity based nationalist politics gained to importance in Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan Democracy Party (SLDP) and the United National Party (UNP) was the main political actor and they dominated the state's policy. Both of these political parties represent the secular political posture, owing to the policy of winning elections by Sinhalese groups. Either SLDP or UNO was demonstrated to Sinhalese benefits and also oversee balance between both Tamils and Sinhalese (DeVotta, 2010, 117). These two political parties used to ethnicity, religion and language to gain support from the mass. During the British rule via Sri Lanka, most Sinhalese were felt socially and economically disadvantaged against Tamils supported by Britain. But independence recognized too many rights for Sinhalese, because of their major ethnic position among other ethnicities. Moreover, Tamils practiced a great deal of marginalization and discrimination. Sinhalese's these actions composed ethnic tensions into the island and caused to insecure and frustrated for most of Tamils.

### **3.3. Civil War**

The civil war began with willing of both sides. Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) wanted to provide control all around the country and kept the United Island and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) wanted to take control of the Tamils homeland by the central government. In the beginning, Tamil groups followed to non-violent tactics against GOSL politics, but they were unsuccessful and conflict started to sides across the country. The civil war between Sinhalese and Tamils was aforethought to have been beginning during the 1983 revolts. At the beginning of riots, the government declared to the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and gives the police exceptional rights, as like arrest to a person for up a year. Tamils, especially Tamil youths, has become a main target of police and they behave almost all the Tamil like LTTE members, and moreover, journalist became a second targeted of the GOSL after the LTTE in this period. The war between the GOSL and LTTE continued for 26 years, and almost 60,000 people died during the civil war with a direct or indirect way. The GOSL and LTTE have committed for war crimes, and both of side committed of offence against their people. Throughout the war, the LTTE used to children like a soldier and suicide bomber and gave them order to attacked military targets, and sometimes their own people. The LTTE did not show any respect holy place and attacked to their many times with suicide bomber. On the other hand, the GOSL power committed to war crime with realized mass direct violence and breaking human rights against innocence people of Sri Lanka (Orjuela, 2009, p.265).

### **4. The Building of Negative Peace After the Civil War**

The GOSL declared to the end of the violence and conflict in Sri Lanka after 26 years, and a new peaceful future for citizens. A few days later formal presidents of Sri Lanka, who is President Rajapaksa, was giving a speech addressing to hopeful future for all people without any exception and injustice. His speech and behavior after the long-war period in this country are important. Because, he has been maintaining the peace process successfully, and international actors support him in building peace.

Many factors shape the complication of society after a post-war period. As aforementioned before, demobilization, accountability, resettlement, power-sharing and democratization process needs to include reconciliation and reconstruction. Absence of these elements into the peace process after the post-war period reveals the failure to the country; further negative peace will build rather than positive peace owing to deficiency. This paper will display the cultural and structural violence that still continue during Rajapaksa's presidency. This part of the study will evaluate the Government's failure to show address basis issues to lead conflict in Sri Lanka from past to now, and the failure of dialogue between

sides during the peacebuilding process. Overall, peace progress in Sri Lanka will describe into this chapter.

#### **4.1. Peace Process After the Civil War**

Serious military entities in the East and North regions have been continuous and the GOSL has been using military power in these regions since the end of the civil war. This created fear between the minority communities. Security powers did not need to any reason to interrogate or detain any citizens. The GOSL was concerned about militarization of state and new civil conflict, and for that reason they are claiming their military presence, especially minority regions, to provide national security goals (International Crisis Group, 2012, p.51). This kind of securitization issues and high level of military presence is a main reason of negative peace in there. Why governments use military forces after the civil war? Because of military forces are hero in mind of Sinhalese people, and they want to continue peaceful environment in Sri Lanka with majority rule. On the other hand, both of minority, which are Tamils and Muslims, are feeling threatened and losing freedoms. For them, military presence was an obstacle for their everyday freedoms (Harris, 2015). Whereas the Tamils are trying to rebuilt their lives, and they do not want to feel any fear neither Sinhalese groups nor government military powers.

#### **5. The Principle of Positive Peace and Analysis of Sri Lanka's Situation**

Peacebuilding process in Sri Lanka has included complexity after the post-war period. Some NGOs and the states, which are played important role in ceasefire negotiations, were providing support to build peace between sides in there, the international community has felt concern about the GOSL and President Rajapaksa's act of centralization power and their internal policies which were regarding war crimes and human rights. The GOSL believed that this war won with military power and they want to the continuation and enabled a power to unbalance. Mainly, the GOSL wanted to portray sustainable economic growth and peaceful environment in Sri Lanka. But reality has different than their assertion. The GOSL built negative peace and signed ceasefire with minorities which were ended the civil war, but the main problem of revealing war does not resolve yet. Moreover, government's policy obstacle positive peace and all of the acts show that Sri Lanka kept its sustained negative peace. To understand what is wrong in Sri Lanka, this section will analyze the main principle of positive peace and situation of Sri Lanka.

##### **5.1. Political Stability and Rule of Law**

Political stability and the well-functioning government are important to continuous peace in the country. The international community and NOGs have expected from central government to respect people's rights and rule of law all of the country. Every state has responsibility against their citizen to protect their lives and rights during the war and also after the war. In Sri Lanka, talking about the rule of law and the well-functioning government is a bit difficult. As aforementioned before, this island became united under the British colonization, and when states gained independence Sinhalese used the majoritarian position and took to power under his hands without showing any tolerance to other minorities.

With independence, Sri Lanka founded democratic states, as like other post-colonial states, but this democratization process has been gone to a more authoritarian one. Especially, President Rajapaksa is taking to control under Sinhalese based government and centralization of power without enabling to other minorities and Tamils. Their current policies against minorities do not give to chance peace of society. They do not give to the importance of a

minority's civil rights and their human rights. Other ethnicities do not represent equally in government and all of these things creating impossible environment for build positive peace.

### **5.2. Relations With Neighbors and Good Business Environment**

After 26 years with past wars, Sri Lanka's foreign relations and economy have taken injury. Long war period increased the public debt and this requires a big amount of investment to build state infrastructure and well-functioning economy. The European Union and the United Nations have sustained unsuccessful policies and sanctions for imposing human rights due to India and China's interest in regional forces. If the sanctions used successfully it would be pressure the GOSL for changing something in the country, maybe it had given a direction of political reform and accountability. The increased political and economic influence of China via Sri Lanka has been strained relations with other neighbours, as like India, and it creates a concern to the European Union and the UN. On the other hand, the main focus of the GOSL is economic development and increase to GDP and withdraws foreign investment to the country (Wheeler, 2012, p.25). The government provided to good relations with either China or India to flowing capita from their country and investment. After the civil war unemployment rate reached a high level, and the government started to security program for tourist activity and business. But the gap between North and East part of the country and the GOSL's unequal development program, which is giving the importance where Sinhalese people live, do not give to chance to build positive peace in Sri Lanka.

### **5.3. Human Capital**

Human capital is showing importance after the post-war period for every state. In Sri Lanka, the biggest problem of increasing human capital has been fighting inequality. This unequal situation was also the main cause of the civil war. But, President Rajapaksa did not find any solution to youth problems, as like education and finding jobs. Especially, education is the main problem in the country. If grow high-quality society, good education must be there. Nevertheless, the GOSL does not give equal chance to people taking the same education as other parts of the state. Rural areas and Tamils province have not been finding enough material or resources to give education peoples. This inequality education is the rising unemployment rate of the country. According to the UN Development Program, the unemployment rate of Young's has been reaching 40% in 2014 (The UN, 2014).

Without reconciliation and full political participation, Sri Lanka will not be united and development country. Civil society has worked to increase their ability with educated youth to provide political participation, conflict prevention, anti-corruption and mechanism of human rights. If the GOSL had supported to civil society and encourage them, Sri Lankan educate human capital will be much higher than current case.

### **5.4. Minority Rights and Equitable Dispersion of Resources**

Inequality has been keeping people unhappy and divided. Racial discrimination and economic disparity have been limiting the level of access to employment and education. The central government has taken the power of news and media all the country, and it is giving advantage do better or worse of the social divide. Nevertheless, the GOSL did not solve any problem between sides, moreover using to power dividing their people. After the post-war period, cultural and structural violence continued. Suspicion, prejudice and distrust have spread within society. The GOSL promoted militarization, nationalism and economic development without giving equal chance to minorities. Especially radical wings of Sinhalese nationalist and the GOSL did not promotion acceptance of minority rights and equal dispersion of information and resources in a suitable light.



## 6. Barrier to Positive Peace

After the post-war period and during the ceasefire process, a transformation of negative peace did not occur. As aforementioned before the principles of positive peace, centralization of power in the majority that has revealed poor governance and high level of corruption. The absence of all these factors is continually blocked building positive peace in the country. This part of research will reveals to some obstruction of transformation to peace process in Sri Lanka.

### 6.1. Fear of the LTTE

During the civil war, almost all the Sri Lankan facing suffering and its psychological effects over them. For the Sinhalese people, the biggest fear was the LTTE. Approximately two decades, LTTE ruled the North part of the country and realized many attacked and suicide bombing against the GOSL and Sinhalese civilians. Also, Tamil people did not obey LTTE most of the time, and the majority of Tamils feared the LTTE, as like others. At the end of the civil war, President Rajapaksa has been starting new security policy and using military forces to provide and sustain the peaceful environment with giving them to important rights, like a prejudice, suspicion, etc. The increasing of military control over the country seems to be the source of the post-war fear in the island. Both of the sides could be the target of security forces, they faced violence and harassment from them. This fear influence people negatively, and they did not spend any effort to change society. Moreover, the militarization of the state increased tension and stress Tamils that survived from the authority of LTTE.

Peacebuilding process will be unsuccessful if reconciliation cannot provide and people of both sides bring voice to society's problem and they continue live in a fear of war. The transformation of positive peace will not realize if this fear sustain in island.

### 6.2. Common Language

The language problem in the island has been an ongoing question in Sri Lankan history. Without a mutual language on the island, interaction and integration of Tamils and other minorities have extremely hard. The language problem is the biggest issue for Sri Lanka, because of limited access to information, news, education, and etc. for minorities. Most of the time, Tamils use a translator to understand Sinhalese people and doing business with them. This issue divided the country. On the other hand, the GOSL and President Rajapaksa are using this issue to divide people and control them when they take news outside. Sri Lanka has a chance to provide a common language, because of his colonial history. If the English language accepted to third official language in a country, communication and free-flow of information without any barrier provide united country, and this will assist to transformation positive peace in island.

### 6.3. Liberalization

Sri Lanka has a close relationship with illiberal states, which are Russia and China, they protecting to the GOSL from the external intervention (Höglund and Orjuela, 2012, p.91). Both of these states have supported to the GOSL to finding solution their problem internally. Especially China does not give to permit the UN Security Council for any intervention and both of Russia and China using their veto rights when Security Council wanted to solve a problem in the island and judge war crimes. Liberalization process did not occur successfully in Sri Lanka and illiberal policies of government has blocked to way of transformation positive peace (Lindberg, 2011, p.39).

## 7. Conclusion

To reaching the purpose of positive peace, Sri Lanka should investigate the new perspective of the peacebuilding process after the post-war period. In this meaning, this research concluded that as a “winner” of the war, the GOSL’s post-war behavior and efforts are providing negative peace to the innocent victim of this war when will compare to the LTTE period. Since 2009, LTTE does not realize any violence, and negative peace has been existing in the country. As a result, Sinhalese people support the GOSL and they reveal the majority of the country. Whence, most of the GOSL activities are nationalized to conciliate all sides on the island.

In the peacebuilding process in Sri Lanka, the GOSL has been using Sinhalese strategies as like represent all sides of country and practicing of this policies did not give to chance to the transformation of negative peace to positive peace. Most of the activities in the peacebuilding process aim to solve superficial of existing problems. These activities and military based state policies do not aim to reach the eventual purpose of positive peace. Lack of any reliable mechanism to bring accountability, social justice and reconciliation for all sides while military-based policies are in place. For this reason, the GOSL has been accomplishing multiple challenges during the peacebuilding process both in internationally and internally.

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