

# BUDDHISM, POLITICS AND THE LIMITS OF LAW

It is widely assumed that a well-designed and well-implemented constitution can help ensure religious harmony in modern states. Yet how correct is this assumption? Drawing on ground-breaking research from Sri Lanka, this book argues persuasively for another possibility: when it comes to religion, relying on constitutional law may not be helpful, but harmful; constitutional practice may give way to pyrrhic constitutionalism. Written in a lucid and direct style, aimed at both specialists and non-specialists, *Buddhism, Politics and the Limits of Law* explains why constitutional law has deepened, rather than diminished, conflicts over religion in Sri Lanka. Examining the roles of Buddhist monks, civil society groups, political coalitions and more, the book provides the first extended study of the legal regulation of religion in Sri Lanka as well as the first book-length analysis of the intersections of Buddhism and contemporary constitutional law.

BENJAMIN SCHONTHAL is Senior Lecturer in Buddhism and Asian Religions at the University of Otago. He received his Ph.D. in the field of History of Religions at the University of Chicago. His research examines the intersection of religion, law and politics in South and Southeast Asia, with a particular focus on Buddhism.



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# BUDDHISM, POLITICS AND THE LIMITS OF LAW

The Pyrrhic Constitutionalism of Sri Lanka

BENJAMIN SCHONTHAL

University of Otago





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## A NOTE ON TRANSLATION AND LANGUAGE

This book draws upon sources written in English, Sinhala, Tamil and occasionally Pali. Unless otherwise specified, the non-English words contained in this book are Sinhala and transliterated according to the standard conventions outlined in Gair and Karunatillake, with the exception that I use ae instead of ä. Tamil words are transliterated according to the standard conventions described in Paramasivam and Lindholm. Pali transliteration follows standard practices used by the Pali Text Society. Where the reader might be confused about the source-language of the non-English term, I use the following abbreviations to clarify: S: for Sinhala terms, T: for Tamil terms and P: for Pali terms.

In certain cases I use the anglicized versions (without diacritical marks) of Pali, Sinhala or Tamil words in order to replicate the conventions of the texts with which I am working. For example, the reader will encounter words like sangha, Eelam and Sasana. I also provide the anglicized names (without diacritics) of organizations that make legal or political submissions using their own English transliterations of their names (e.g., Bauddha Jathika Balavegaya).

When referring to Buddhist monks I use the standard convention of placing "Ven." before the name, meaning Venerable. In some cases, depending on how the name is referenced in the sources that I use, I also place "Thero" or "Thera" after the name. Thero and Thera are different forms of a Pali word that means elder monk. All of the monks mentioned in this book are fully ordained Buddhist monks, whether or not Thero or Thera is suffixed to their name.

As it relates to the name of the island, I use both Ceylon and Sri Lanka. Chapters 2 and 3 default to Ceylon, whereas all other chapters default to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> James W Gair and W S Karunatillake, Literary Sinhala Inflected Forms with a Transliteration Guide (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1976).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> K Paramasivam and James Lindholm, A Basic Tamil Reader and Grammar (Evanston, IL: Tamil Language Study Association, 1987).



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Sri Lanka. In general I refer to the island using its official name during the period under analysis.

For the sake of standardization, no diacritics have been used in the index of the book or in the list of abbreviations.



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**ABBREVIATIONS** 

ACBC All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress ACHC All-Ceylon Hindu Congress

BBS Bodu Bala Sena (Army of Buddhist Power)

BJB Bauddha Jatika Balavegaya (Buddhist National Force)

BTS Buddhist Theosophical Society
CBA Commissioner of Buddhist Affairs
CMT Commissioner of Motor Traffic
CNC Ceylon National Congress

CP Communist Party
DBR Draft Basic Resolution

DWC Democratic Workers' Congress

FP Federal Party

INC Indian National Congress

JHU Jathika Hela Urumaya (National [Sinhalese] Heritage Party) LSSP Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Lanka Equal Society Party)

LTTE Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

MEP Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (United People's Front)

MSV Mavbima Suraekima Vyaparaya (Movement from the Protection of the

Motherland)

SLFP Sri Lanka Freedom Party SLNA Sri Lanka National Archives

SUCCESS Secretariat for Upliftment and Conservation of Cultural, Educational

and Social Standards of Sri Lanka

UF United Front

UKNA United Kingdom National Archives

UNP United National Party

YMBA Young Men's Buddhist Association

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