

Civil Military Relations under Democracy with Special Reference to the Countries of Facing Internal Conflicts: A New Model Based on Sri Lanka's Experience

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Abstract: *A civil military relation towards sustainable peace and development in democratic countries is a current topic, and as per the views of different stakeholders, the role of Military as a component of government in socio-economic development, especially in developing countries, has been questionable. The availability of gaps in civil military relations as evidenced in both theoretical and empirical literature as well as in the experiences of different countries is one of the major concerns of peace and national development. Having reviewed the literature on civil military relations and the experience of Sri Lanka as a democratic country under both peace and conflict environments, a new model of social transformation and civil military relations is developed. Here, the social transformation of a country is explained in line with Contextual Formations (CFs) that are available both retrospectively and prospectively. The CFs are identified as conflicted CFs and normalcy CFs. Both CFs are formed against the socio-economic, political, technological, cultural and other factors that are possible to be engineered and reengineered via ontological, epistemological and ethnological forces. The conflicted CFs interrupts socio-economic relationships and prevent a country from achieving peace and development. In order to convert conflicted CFs to normalcy CFs there should be civil military relations that are compatible with the security challenges in the respective country. Such civil military relations is possible only when the particular nation is equipped with a constructive philosophy that is compatible with socio-economic and cultural conditions of the particular country. The philosophy referred here could be generated by exploiting the same factors aligned with ontological, epistemological and ethnological forces as referred in CF formation. When such conditions are in place, the continuity of the normalcy CF can be ensured and the result would be sustainable peace and development in the country. In the case of Sri Lanka, the absence of such a philosophy acceptable for the stakeholders of the nation was the main reason for the prevalence of conflicted CFs in most part of its post-independent period. This was clearly observed during the period under LTTE threat. The available information reveals that during the period from 2006-2009, the basic conditions for the nation to integrate its stakeholders for a common goal against the LTTE threat were available for the government to engineer and reengineer its military and civilian apparatus to defeat terrorism. Yet, the country was not able to maintain such national integration in the post conflict era, and the normalcy CF created by the nation was challenged by the subsequent socio-economic and political developments in the country. The empirical evidence of Sri Lanka in relation to civil military relations that ushered to defeat terrorism during the peak period of LTTE threat and the evidence of lost opportunity in the post conflict era as explained in the experimentation of the new model on social transformation and civil military relations illustrate lessons for other countries to tailor-make conducive strategies for those countries to defeat national security threats, and to usher in necessary conditions for sustainable peace and development of those countries.*

Keywords: Ontological, epistemological and ethnological forces, civil military relations, Contextual Formations (CFs), sustainable peace and development, philosophy of a nation

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to develop a new model to streamline civil military relations towards sustainable peace and development as a democratic country. As per the views of different stakeholders, the role of Military as a component of government in socio-economic development, especially in developing countries has been questionable. Both the theoretical and empirical literature and experience of different countries witness gaps in civil military relations, and it is one of the major concerns in peace and national development. This paper addresses the existing conceptualization of civil military relations in the context of Sri Lanka's experience and proposes a new model to contextualize the civil military relations to achieve sustainable peace and development.

Sri Lanka as a developing country has been facing challenges in maintaining its representative democracy throughout the period of its independence. Under democracy

the role of the military is restricted and civil administration that is based on "system development" is given priority. However, like many other developing countries, Sri Lanka has been subjected to colonial invasions and subsequently there has been no proper transformation of systems to guide the civil administrations, and this is the predominant feature under democracy in the post second world war period [Until the second world war the ruler and the military were interdependent and therefore as per the earlier writing military demonized as a ruler's arm (Jayawardena et al ,2013)]. As a consequence, society has been affected by conflicts and disputes which interrupt the smooth social transformation and discipline of the society. The distorted transformation has affected the socio-economic development of the country. Under these conditions military apparatuses are supposed to play a substantial role in the government against the civil struggles and conflicts. This tendency was stimulated by liberal and neo liberal market conditions which are the prescriptions of world organizations led by the powerful countries in the world. In this environment, on the

one hand, military apparatuses have become prominent and on the other, the country has been struggling for socio economic development. This is applicable for many of the developing countries. Therefore, what kind of civil military relations that these countries have to maintain is an issue to be supported with new knowledge of both theoretical and empirical domains while considering the contextual features of these countries.

2. The Focus of the Paper

As Sri Lanka failed in establishing sustainable peace and development (Jayawardena, 2011; Jayawardena et al, 2013). Therefore, there is a need of a new model to guide civil-military relations that could usher in sustainable peace and development in the country. Here the paper tries to derive a model while addressing on the historical transformation of Sri Lankan society against the socio-economic and political challenges. Thereafter the validity of the model is tested against Sri Lanka's experience. Based on the findings, other countries facing similar conflicts can also be aligned with the new model to find solutions for such conflicts depending on the socio-economic and political conditions of those countries.

3. Theoretical Background

The military outfit is a part of government. According to the theory of state, the social contract between people and the government based on the power (Jayawardena, 2011). As per the writing prior to the Second World War military outfit is the power of the ruler (Jayawardena et al, 2013). During the post second world war period it was professionalized and transformed under the democratization of societies. Here the power includes the people's power and the government power. The government power is intertwined with the military as it is an apparatus of government (Jayawardena, 2011) whereas the people's power is democratically transferred to government.

In a democratic country, the government is elected by the people. The elected government runs its regime through the civilian sector and the military sector, no matter who is elected. Here, these two sectors behave in two different ways. The military service basically runs its activities in line with commands + regulations whereas the civilian sector runs its activities with systems + regulations. Which one is better? The answer depends on the contextual features of the country. However, in any country, civil military relations is important in creating necessary conditions to accomplish the tasks of identified activities under democracy.

In order to run a democratic society smoothly people's power and the government power should mutually coexist. In order to have such mutually coexisting power balance, there should be smooth civil military relations. In the literature, there are large amount of scholarly contributions to civil military relations during and after the period of cold war. Among such literature Samuel P Huntington's, Morris Janowitz's and Feaver Peter's analyses are more outstanding among others. All these analyses have concentrated on countries dealing with conventional military threats (Feaver, 2003; Huntington, 1957; Janowitz, 1964; 1960).

Many of the developing countries face complicated domestic conflicts based on historical and cultural disputes. Therefore, in dealing with such conflict pragmatic civil military relation is a prime need (Jayawardena, 2013). The experimentation of the new model in the current study is performed addressing on different historical episodes of Sri Lanka with special attention to both pre and post military operations against Tamil militants who had been fighting for a separate state. Here, the new model of civil military relations for Sri Lanka as a developing country is proposed against the analyses of Huntington, Janowitz, Feaver Peter and the validity of the new model is assessed in the context of Sri Lanka's experience.

4. Civil Military Relations: The new Model

Samuel P Huntington's "The Soldier and State" and Morris Janowitz's "The Professional Soldier" are two well-known analyses that have explained civil military relations in detail. Both these theorists have drawn their attention to the gap between the civil and the military. Huntington has proposed 'professionalism' as a model to bridge the gap whereas Janowitz has proposed 'convergence between military and civil' as his model. According to Janowitz, it is required to militarize the civilian sector while civilizing the military (Janowitz, 1964). Both Huntington and Janowitz models have addressed on situations in developed countries where military is one of the major industries with a dualistic role in their national and international economy. As per the countries like the USA, there are no issues with respect to civil military relations (Eliot, 1997). The existing models are applicable to the developed countries and not to many of the developing countries. As far as developing countries are concerned military service is not an industry, and these countries do not have externally imposed security challenges like those faced by developed countries. In developing countries internal conflicts are the major determinants of the size of the military service (Jayawardena, 2011). Furthermore, these conflicts on the one hand are intertwined with internal socio-economic and political conditions and on the other hand with regional and international factors that these countries are entangled with. Furthermore, these countries are contextually different from one another, unlike in the case of many of the developed countries. Therefore, there is a need for a new approach for developing countries, especially those struggling with internal conflicts to make cohesive the civil military relations. Thus, in this paper, I am proposing a new model to formalize civil military relations to enable the establishment of sustainable peace, essential for ensuring sustainable development.

4.1 Theoretical Presumptions of the Model

Here, Social Contract Theory is taken as the base for the presence of the military as an essential component of government. It is important in protecting national interests, sovereignty and integrity of the country. If there is no threat in the country, the military's role is minimal and civil military relations become normal. Under such circumstances, government is basically run by the civilian sector. However, in order to run such a system there is a need of forward defence policies to give the guarantee for a consistent national security in a sustainable manner. If a

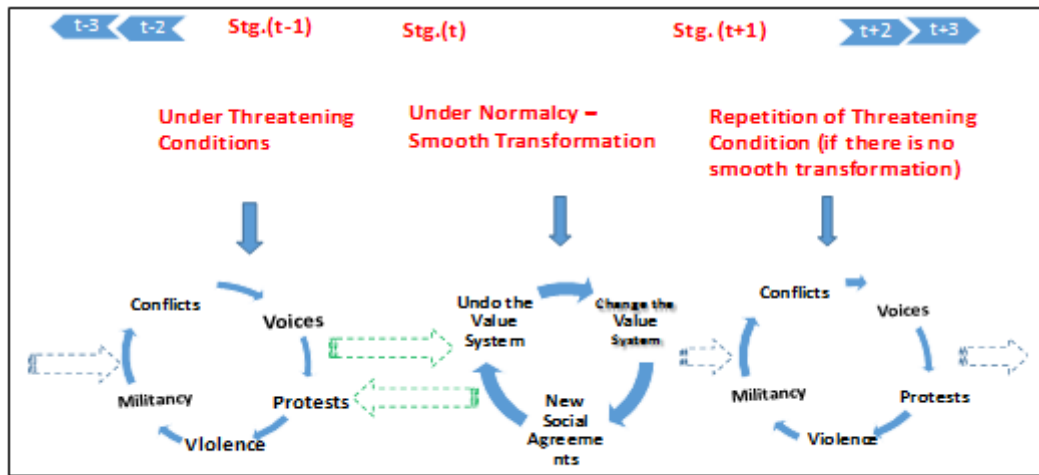
country can maintain such a system sustainably, the country will smoothly proceed towards the development with the required efficiency and effectiveness. On the other hand, if there is a threat on national security the military has to play a crucial role in the government over the civilian sector. If the military is not able to keep the threat under control the military dominancy would continue, and as a result the economy would become inefficient as the military gives priority to effectiveness (Jayawardena, 2011). Thus civil military relations and social transformation are closely associated with each other.

Social transformation is an inherent feature of society. In the process of social transformation, government and its components also evolve depending on the socio-economic and political challenges of the respective society. In this process civil military relations is an intervening factor that effects on the functions of the components of government as well as on the social transformation. Therefore, understanding civil military relations and allowing for smooth civil military relations will enable the society to evolve smoothly while enhancing effectiveness and efficiency of direct and indirect focuses of government, the private sector as well as the society as a whole so that it would lead towards sustainable development.

4.2 The Relationship of Conflicts, Military and Social Transformation

Conflicts in a society are cyclical in nature and they rotate as a process in line with cause and effect. Here the process is subjected to the control of the government and private sector

as centrally controlled systems. Here, the government comprises of military and civil components whereas the private sector comprises of civilians with multiple relationships. Both the central components as well as the conflict process are influenced by socio-economic, political, environmental, technological and other factors that are open for reinforcements of ontology, epistemology and ethnology which are fundamentals of human beings in a society. Depending on actions and reactions of the identified variables and systems, the Contextual Formations [Here Contextual Formation (CF) referred to aggregate picture of the systems and the variables] (CFs) of the respective society is positioned. Here, the contextual formation also shifts from one to another depending on the circumstances along with time and space. In a society there are “n” number of such contextual formations. These Contextual Formations (CFs) can be observed retrospectively as -1 stage, -2 stage etc. and prospectively as +1 stage +2 stage etc. (Jayawardena et al, 2013). The CFs here also can be identified as smooth CFs and conflicted CFs, and whether a society is with a smooth CF or not depends on the reinforcements (negative and positive) of the variables and systems with a focus on objective target. The objective target of the society depends on the relative values of the society. The values as well as the variables and the systems can be engineered and reengineered by the people within and outside the scope depending on the openness decided by the public. Thus the CFs referred here are highly dependent. The following diagram indicates a cross section of CFs of a society where we find both smooth CFs and conflicted CFs.



Source: Author

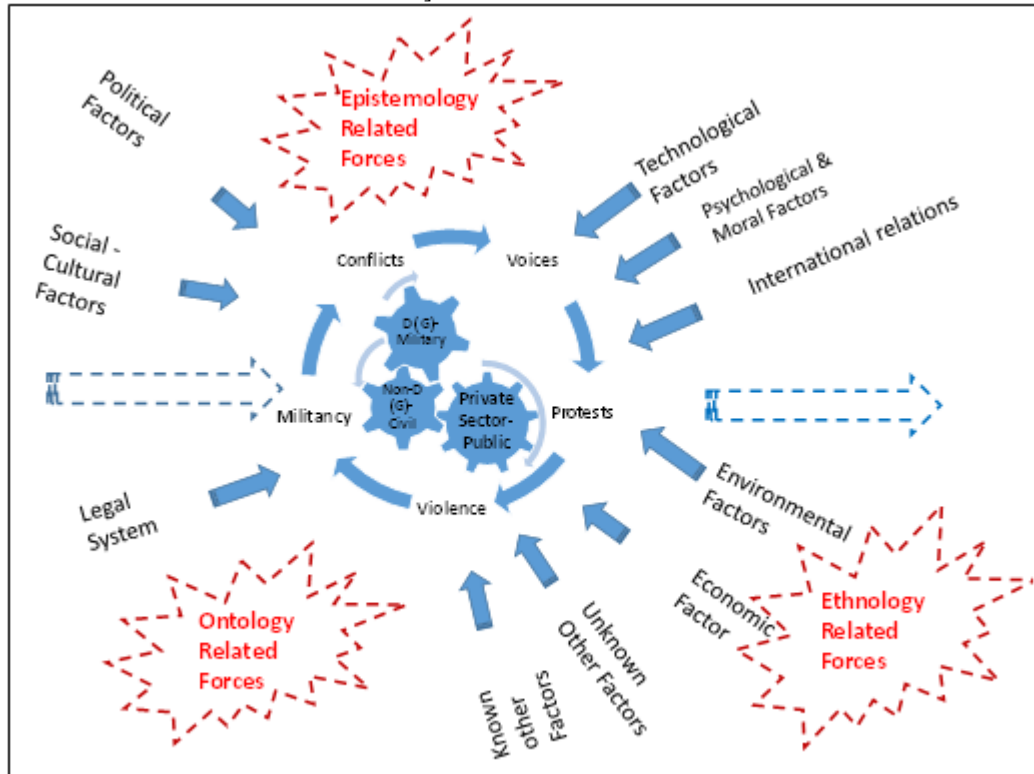
Figure1: Cross Section of Process of Social Transformation under Threatening Conditions

In this diagram, we can observe two types of CFs. They are conflicted CFs and normalcy CFs. Under a threatening condition conflict CFs are possible, and they are aroused when a society ignores democratic voices and fails to exploit the socio-economic, political, technological and other factors that surround the particular society, which could be engineered and reengineered through epistemological, ontological and ethnological forces [Here epistemological forces are the knowledge creating capabilities of human beings. Ontological forces are the nature of human beings inherited at the birth. Ethnological forces are the nature of

the group behaviors as human beings under different modes cultures etc] that are inherent features of human society to find solutions for the democratic voices.. On the other hand if a particular society listens to the democratic voices and exploits the above mentioned society surrounded factors to find an acceptable settlement as a democratic society, the conflicted CFs in that particular society can be converted into normalcy CFs. Further, if a country continuously faces conflicted CFs, the particular society suffers with social unrest and continues with socio-economic and political problems leading towards marginalization among other

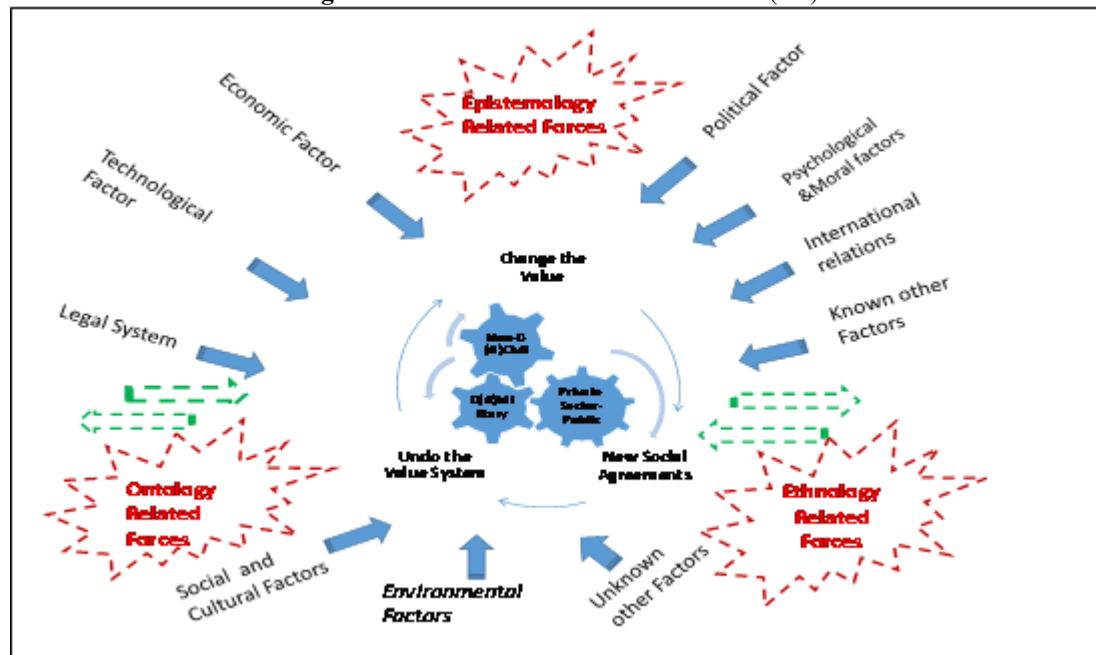
countries. Under such circumstances military dominance is inevitable. If a country could create national integration with an appropriate philosophy acceptable for the stakeholders of the society, peace can be restored. In such a society, it is necessary to comprehend the causes and effects of experiences of the retrospective CFs. It is also required to have 'undoing' [Making the correction by going back to the historical contexts. This is possible by doing confessions by the respective stake holders of the conflicted nation] while

going back to the past and the present society has to be restructured with new social agreements while exploiting society surrounded factors (socio-economic, political etc.) as well as the fundamentals (ontological, epistemological, and ethnological forces) referred above. The types of CFs and the process of mechanisms of such CFs explained above can be further comprehended by referring to the Figure 2 and 3 depicted below.



Source: Author

Figure 2: Conflicted Contextual Formation (CF)



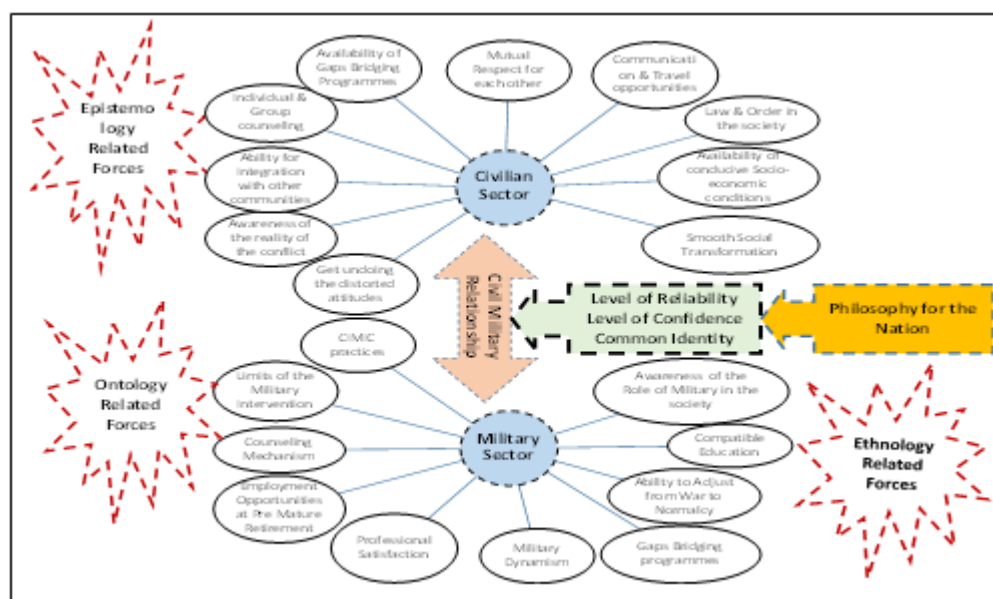
Source: Author

Figure 3: Contextual Formation (CF) towards Normalcy

4.3 Civil Military Relations and Social Transformation

In a democratic society, in order to play the role of military service depending on the requirement of the particular stage of Contextual Formation, there is a need for appropriate civil military relations conducive for the military service as well as the government to run their activities and achieve their objectives. In order to create such civil military relations the society should be formed with the most fitting and dynamic philosophy for the nation. In the context of developing countries it is very important as these countries have not yet transformed with stabilized systems as in the developed world. As far as developing countries such as Sri Lanka are concerned as a consequence of the diffused effects of military's features prior to the second world war [As per the scholarly writings on military with regard to the period prior to second world war such as political philosophers like Machiavelli, Voltaire and Samuel Adams have respectively

construed that "a military man cannot be a good man", military is "the manifestation of brute force in rationalized form" and military "is always dangerous to the liberties of the people" (Karabelias, 1998)] and the distorted features of civil society due to colonial and neo-colonial impact and current globalization in the context of development there are some chronic dualistic features in the society (Jayawardena, 2008; 2015). Therefore, there is a need for systemizing the society just as developed countries in achieving societal goals of these countries. In this regard creating a philosophy for the nation is a requirement. The following diagram indicates how such a philosophy can be developed. Here, in the diagram, the surrounding factors of the society and the nature of the society play, a similar role in generating a compatible philosophy for the nation just as in Contextual Formation.



Source: Author

Figure 4: A New Model for Civil Military Relations in the Contextual Formations (CFs) towards Sustainable Peace

As per the Figure 4, in order to have a conducive environment for the military sector as well as the civilian sector of the government to play their roles with a tendency for Contextual Formations (CFs) towards normalcy, there should be smooth civil military relations. If not peace in the society cannot be established and the targets of military as well as civilian sectors cannot be achieved as conflicted CFs continue to be. Therefore, peace and economic development in the particular society can be hindered. In order to prevent such conditions and to create conducive conditions to run the systems effectively and efficiently, a guaranteed philosophy that enables smooth civil military relations is a necessary condition. In order to continue such civil military relations based on a strong philosophy, it is required to create a necessary and conducive atmosphere of civilian and military sectors that are surrounded by socio-economic factors, political factors etc. Here, the conduciveness can be maintained through the reinforcements of the forces of epistemology, ontology and ethnology in line with a dynamic philosophy for the nation [Here the philosophy for the nation refers to a long term theme of a nation that bring all stake holders under one umbrella. Such a theme can be

derived from society itself while addressing on national interest of the particular nation while addressing on the historical roots and their transformation. The philosophy for the nation should be acceptable for all stake holders] that is filtered through reliability, confidence and identity as figured in the above diagram. Therefore, if a society can generate a philosophy for the nation by looking at different socio economic and political conditions in the society as depicted in Figure 4, while exploiting reinforcements of epistemological, ontological and ethnological forces, the civil military relations of such a society can be maintained smoothly and necessary conditions can be created not only for civil military relations but also for the sustainability of peace and development of such a society. Here, the philosophy for the nation should be acceptable to all segments and all stakeholders of the society. National interest, heritage, culture and other common characteristics such as the like-mindedness of the countrymen and their historical transformation should be geared for such dynamic common philosophy. Here the differences should be allowed for extinction while encouraging the like-mindedness to continue with strong integration. This can be done through

epistemological inputs while capturing appropriate features of ontological and ethnological forces. If the philosophy for the nation is identical to that of the society and guarantees the reliability for the public in the society, there will be a confidence of the people towards such philosophy for the nation and create conducive collectiveness with the approval of the nation for common goal/s. Such conditions will enable the establishment of smooth civil military relations and they will help the government with its military sector and civilian sector to achieve any target and create necessary conditions for peace and economic development.

5. Civil Military Relations in Sri Lanka: A Review of the Proposed Model

Along with the independence in 1948, Royal Army, Navy and Air Force were established in Sri Lanka (then Ceylon). At this point, the security issues were under the purview of the British as the country was still a British dominion though independent. Hence, there were no serious issues for the military forces of Sri Lanka to deal with. The first military experience of the Royal Armed Forces was the “1953 *Harthal*” where military forces kept alert to prevent further spreading of the struggle and brought the situation under control within a few days’ time. This was the 1st military appearance of Sri Lanka after its independence and there was no issue for civil military relations in the country. In 1962 and 1966 there were two military coups. With these incidents the civilian sector of the government as well as the public were concerned about military and its role in the society (Jayawardena, 2011). Yet there had been no constructive and consistent approach to address issues of the future, based on national policy towards the role of the civil and military apparatus of government against the socio-economic and political challenges of the country with appropriate civil military relations that aligned to country’s way forward.

The country’s situation was exploited by the JVP, a group separated from Sri Lanka’s Communist Party, and they launched a rebellion attack against the government in 1971. This is popularly known as “the 1st JVP insurgency” or “1971 Insurrection”. Here, the military forces had to fight against the youth involved and they had to kill 5000-15000 of youth of the rural community in the country (Gunaratne, 1990). The rebels were occupying certain rural and semi-rural areas of the island under their control for several weeks. Even though the armed forces were able to control the insurgency within a short period of time, the civil military relations were interrupted and the effect continued for years since 1971 especially because of the heavy assault against the rebels in the eyes of the general public. After the control of the insurrection, “Criminal Justice Commission” was appointed to convict the offenders. Subsequently, the government initiated some progressive steps to give justice to the society. As a consequence, in the post 1971 period, the government incorporated the progressive policies such as 1972 Constitution, Land Reform Act, Agrarian Reform Act etc. that had not been specifically given in the election manifesto in 1970. However, as a whole, there was no comprehensive consideration for forward looking policies to restructure the society with a philosophy for the nation against possible threats and challenges for the nation as a

democratic country. Under this historical background, the issues in the North of Sri Lanka that were floating for decades in the political arena gradually developed to be an organized threat to the democratic government as well as the public. Here, the Tamil Militants and the forces behind them have learned lessons from the Youth Insurrection and the government actions and reactions to rebels during the period of post 1971 insurrection (Jayawardena, 2011).

The first militant activity by the organized Tamils in the north was the assassination of Alfred Duraipappa; the Mayor of Jaffna, in 1975. Since, after independence, the island nation was not able to find a Philosophy for the nation as a democratic country acceptable for its citizens seriously addressing the racial issues, pressure groups in the Tamil community brought the attention of the Tamils across the world to the “Wadukkodei Resolution in 1976” as their motivational drive for a future struggle. Thereafter, along with the “Black July” in 1983 the conflict was turned into strong militancy with a serious threat on national security by taking the advantages of helping hands at regional and global levels. The Government also expanded the military in the North and East, where Tamils are the majority community. The situation could have been controlled if Sri Lanka had had a national policy as proposed in Figure 4 to integrate the fractional thinking of the people of Sri Lanka along the lines of socio-economic, cultural and racial mind sets both at individual and collective levels.

In the meantime, because of the failure in comprehending a compatible and integrated socio-economic and political culture for the country’s prosperity, which was signaled by the 1971 Insurrection, the youth in the South with the experience of 1971 Insurrection and the experience of Tamil uprising in the North took the advantage of the country’s situation created by Tamil militants to achieve the objectives of JVP as a revolutionary party and tried to repeat their revolutionary effort in a different form in the late 1980s. Here the JVP took the advantage of the mass scale protest against the Indo Lanka Accord signed by the governments of Sri Lanka and India in 1987, which was an agreement forced upon the government of Sri Lanka more than a bilateral agreement (Jayawardena, 2011; 2012). As a result of this new development, the Armed Forces of Sri Lanka gradually intensified its activities in the south. As the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) took over the North and East, the Sri Lanka Forces were able to have the manpower for the South. The second JVP insurgency (1987-89) was a severe threat on the national security of the country just as in the north and the security forces assaulted the rebels intensively (the total killed during this period is estimated to be 40,000 – 60,000 (Jayawardena, 2011), and as a consequence civil military relations were seriously disturbed both in the South and the North, and it took a long time to recover. When one closely observes the incidents of the North and East rebellion, the ‘Indian factor’ and the southern uprising against the government, it seems that there is some association with all these incidents. Yet, Sri Lanka could not comprehend a counter strategy to fight against all the forces of anti- Sri Lanka prosperity because of the nation’s failure of exploring constructive philosophy for the nation.

Along with the time, Tamil militant groups who were fighting from different flatworms against the Sri Lanka forces and the IPKF began to change their strategies indicating a transformation in the rebel forces. As a result, at the beginning of the 1990s, the militants were concentrated around the LTTE as the major group and they developed to strong political and military front with the support of the Tamil majority in the area against the government of Sri Lanka and placed a serious threat to the country repeatedly by putting both the government and the public vulnerable (Jayawardena, 2011). During the first stage of the war/struggle and prior to the IPKF intervention, which is known as Elam War 1, decisively, there was a defeat for the LTTE as its leader was about to be captured/killed in the Waddemarachchi Operation. However, after the arrival of the IPKF, the rebel were able to rephrase their strategy against the Sri Lanka forces and the Sinhalese. Later, with the experience of fighting against the Indian forces for about 2-4 years, the LTTE became stronger in their 2nd stage against the Sri Lanka forces after the departure of the IPKF in 1990. Here, neither the Majority of the Tamil community nor the Sinhalese comprehended their past present or the future as a nation along with the shift of socio-economic and political paradigms. This was mainly because the historical roots that extended to the bipolar politics of both majority parties and minority parties. Here the external parties such as powerful nations including India with their geopolitical interests have influenced the conflicts in Sri Lanka. The economic liberalization (Open Economic Policy) as a prescription for under development also has influenced the intensity of the conflict. Thus, Sri Lanka's conflict has been an issue that is intertwined with multiple factors, and therefore, the North and East conflict which was initially a guerrilla war was transformed to a conventional war within a two decades of time. The LTTE launched massive suicide attacks, claymore attacks, surprise bomb blasts and other inhumane and unconventional methods to attack the government forces, the public in the North as well as in the South, and they became the world's most destructive and ruthless terrorist outfit. The LTTE has made a huge damage to the lives of the people of all communities and to their properties. It has also given bad lessons to the future terror outfits as well (Jayawardena, 2011). The government forces also used heavy weapons to attack the militants causing damage to properties and lives of the public under certain unavoidable circumstances. At the initial 20 years of the war, the number of combatants killed in the war was 55,734, (Gunaratne, 2003). With the number of soldiers killed in the government forces, the combatants, and the civilians in the North and South the total number killed is estimated to be over 100,000. (Jayawardena, 2011), and this indicates a heavy casualty to the nation. Therefore, the guarantee of smooth civil military relations became difficult for the government as well as for the public as it was an unparalleled and complicated situation based on contextually restricted conditions for Sri Lanka as far as historically rooted Tamil issue is concerned.

During the 3rd stage of war, as the LTTE failed to accept the proposal made by the government of President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga in the post 1994 period, the LTTE was attacked by the government forces, and subsequently the LTTE had to leave Jaffna, the capital of the

North Province. They called it a strategic withdrawal and settled down with their loyal community in Kilinochchi, Mullaitive and Mannar. Therefore, the gap between the Tamils as a community and the government forces both in Jaffna which was a government controlled area as well as in the Vanni which was an LTTE controlled area tremendously increased, and the civil military relations weakened since 1995. The failure in establishing a smooth civil military relations was observed throughout the period until 2005 despite the limited recovery during the period of Tsunami in 2004 where military played a significant role to help the tsunami affected people. Civil military relations in the country have been damaged, on the one hand, because of the Tamil militancy in the North and East and on the other due to the strained relationship with the Sinhalese community during the second JVP insurgency, especially, during 1987-89 period. Even though the government forces were trying to execute Civil Military Cooperation (CIMIC) it was not substantially successful until 2005 as there was no compatible foundation for stable civil military relations in the absence of a sound philosophical base. Different government policies (E.g. Policies up to 1987 and 1987-1990 – UNP leadership under the President JR Jayewardene (1990-1994) UNP leadership under the President R Premadasa (1994-2001) UPFA led by the SLFP under the leadership of President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga and (2002-2005) UNP leadership under the CFA led by Prime Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe) against the Tamil issue has been another area where it has affected in preventing a constructive base for civil military relations to usher in necessary conditions for a viable solution for the ethnic problem that affected the peace and development of the country.

In this situation, in the early period of the war civil military relationship was weaker and as a result the tasks of the military as a component of a democratic government were not able to be accomplished. Therefore, terrorism in the country spread with an impact on peace as well as the development. There was no constructive support from Tamils as well as from Sinhalese because there was no common motivational drive for the Tamils and Sinhalese to come under a one umbrella as citizens of Sri Lanka supported with a counter strategy. Later in the post 2006 period after the with presidential election followed by the general election the majority Sinhalese got set to a common front and the majority of Tamils who were exhausted with the LTTE killings of democratic leaders of their own and the civilians along with continuous pressure by the authoritative militant leadership under Prabhakaran made them either neutral or with moderated views. These conditions were conducive for productive civil military relations especially in the context of offensive operations against the militants at peak points of terrorist movement. The CIMIC of Sri Lanka military forces also enhanced with the military professionalism and that helped in the creation of a compatible environment to bring the democratic forces together against terrorism during the period from 2006 to 2009. Under these circumstances the public in the country felt that terrorists should be defeated and therefore, the majority of the general public gathered together as a common front which was a necessary condition for a nation to develop its fundamentals towards peace and sustainable

development. The military operations were supported with supplementary programmes of the civilian sector of the government as well as voluntary services of the public and other professional bodies (for example there were civil organizations to protect the community from suicidal attacks, further the parents and teachers were organized to protect schools and their children). Under these conditions civil military relations were improved towards the defeat of the terrorism and as a result the tasks of the military in a democratic country have been able to accomplish the task. However, as far as the long-run scenario is concerned there was no guarantee of strong civil military relations as there was no proper foundation for a philosophy to address the issues of the conflict as a nation where the ground conditions that prevailed at national and international levels could have been integrated for the interest of the people and the development of the country. Therefore, yet, as a whole, Sri Lanka has not been able to go into the roots of the issues that dragged the country to a war; they could not be traced and ironed out as depicted in the Figure 2. As a consequence the opportunity created by the defeating of terrorists to undo the mistakes could not be exploited for sustainable peace and development of the country.

The UPFA government led by President Mahinda Rajapaksa could not maintain the same momentum they gathered during the period from 2006-2009. During the period of war in Sri Lanka, with the conducive environment of civil military relations, the military enjoyed socio-economic and political authority. During the post 2009 period the government was trying to exploit the same military momentum while using government friendly military and civilian personnel who were picked in their own way to execute its own authoritative plan that they believed as a solution for all the burning issues. The weakness of this plan was that it has not addressed fundamentals as depicted in figure 4. As per the program, the government was trying to continue the rehabilitation of LTTE combatants, housing construction, infrastructure development of the war affected areas in the North and East as well as in the other parts of the country while giving the upper hand to the military. Herein, probably, the victory of the military was over projected against the ground reality both at national and international levels. The policies of both government and the military have exploited the 30 years of suffering and the victory for fractional interests rather than for the nation's interest, which is also a possibility as per the literature (King, 2007). Under these circumstances, there was a tendency to transform the government towards military dominancy with inter and intra controversies [Here inter controversies are the disputes and other conflicted views of different races and classes as stake holders and intra controversies are such difference within a race or class] among the stakeholders of the government as well as the opposition.

Because of the military domination, the government took major risks in socio-economic and political activities which were not consistent with the theories and concepts of military and socio-economic development as well as civil military relations and conditioned to achieve effectiveness without efficiency (Jayawardena, 2012; 2013). Under these circumstances the leadership was not able to comprehend the

difference between the civilian and military sector of the government and also the difference between socio-economic behavior under threatening conditions and under normalcy. Therefore, the government failed to introduce a consistent government policy with the support of the people, and it was forced to manipulate the political authority and reschedule the presidential election as well as general election in the post 2009 period followed by provincial council election in the North in 2013. Under these circumstances President Mahinda Rajapaksha had to declare a presidential election in 2014, two years prior to the completion of His Excellency's term of office as the President.

In the presidential election, Mr. Maithripala Sirisena was able to defeat the former President with the support of fragmented opposition due to the fact that Mr. Mahinda Rajapakse lost his government's political control over military control. Yet neither President Maithripala Sirisena nor the new Prime Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe and their government have been able to bring the stakeholders to the track of the journey for sustainable peace and development as they have not been able to architect the philosophy and get the people focused as a nation even without a terrorist threat. Here, the main reason for such failure is the absence of comprehending the philosophical bases of Sri Lankan society that addresses the interest of the people just as the UPFA government failed to do so in the post 2009.

As per the historical analysis, the best option was with the President Mahinda Rajapaksha during and after the war in the post 2006 period. Unlike in 2005, the formation of a new front in 2014 was merely to defeat the misguided leadership of the then government but not to implement an alternative policy for the failed policy of post 2009 period of President Rajapaksha's military biased government that addressed on the fundamentals of social transformation. Under these conditions even after general election, the government has not been able to form a public front to gear up the government programmes. The missed opportunities would cost to the nation perhaps either decades or generations of the life of Sri Lanka in the future as the current socio-economic and political conditions could lead to conflicts among the stake holders and prevent the conditions of compatibility in creating philosophy for the nation.

6. Concluding Remarks against Civil Military Relations in Sri Lanka in Line with the New Model

As per the social transformation model depicted in Figure 1, the civil military relations matters in a conflicted CF. Under normalcy as military is limited to its bottommost contribution there is no such importance place for military as a government apparatus. However, it is only if the military's role is played effectively and efficiently, the particular bottommost contribution can be continued (Jayawardena, 2011). Therefore, even under normalcy both the civilian sector as well as the military sector should be aware of their scopes to prevent development of militancy or rebellious activity against legitimate government in democratic society while creating necessary conditions to diagnose and mitigate affected society with necessary precautionary measures. In

that sense it can be concluded that in the context of Sri Lanka, until the 1971 military experience, the military in the government has failed in maintaining necessary conditions for civil military relations. That is why the democratic voice in the society is not properly identified and it has not been able to prevent the incidents that led for conflicted CFs. Based on the ground conditions in Sri Lanka with respect to civil military relations, the youth in the North also gradually organized to achieve the objectives of Tamils who were fighting for Tamil separation (Example: assassination of Alfred Durraipappa and 1976 *Waddukodei* Resolution). Thus the failure in civil military relations against the conflicted CF in 1971 has cost to the country in terms of extensive number of lives and development opportunities of the country both in the short run and in the long run.

The subsequent government elected in 1977 had comprehended neither the conflicted CF nor the exploitation of the youth uprising in the South as well as the rise of militancy in the North towards sustainable development. Instead the government focused on economic growth without focusing on all the factors and forces depicted in Figure 2, and as a consequence, people of the country had to face a dualistic conflicted CFs aroused both in the North and in the South. This failure was observed in all governments led by the UNP until they were defeated in 1994. If a better civil military relationship focused on a Philosophy for the nation had been established as depicted in Figure 4, many of the misleading national policy decisions that led to the continuation of CFs could have been prevented. In 1994, the SLFP led UPFA government experimented to find a solution to the conflicted CF without a consistent alternative strategy. It ended up neither with a solution to the Tamil issue nor with an economic growth and was finally defeated in the general election of 2001. Thereafter, the UNP government led by Ranil Wickramasinghe signed a Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) with the LTTE with the support of the International Community. In signing this agreement, the government had ignored the majority community that is inherently the main stakeholder in the process of social transformation (See Figure 4). During this time the LTTE struggle became internationalized. With these changes, domestic forces of all communities came onto one platform and therefore, the majority voice was able to generate a public front in the political movement to defeat the UNP government in the Presidential election in 2005 proving that neither the CFA nor the internationalization of the problem would enable the government to find a solution for the problem. However, the CFA and internationalization of the Tamil issue have been initiated ground conditions to satisfy necessary conditions for prospective civil military relations with a focus on nation's interest as depicted in Figure 4, and as a consequence the domestic forces of pro- and anti-militants were brought under one umbrella that created necessary conditions to form a distinguished political front. Subsequently, the elected government was reinforced by the political forces that supported with conducive civil military relations, which is a close condition as per Figure 4. When one compares with the earlier strategies of the government and its forces without such national integration enables to understand the importance of civil military relations based on national integration in the post 2005 period that helped in defeating the LTTE as an established terrorist outfit. Yet,

during the post 2009 period the government was not able to keep all the forces together to engineer a total recovery from the conflict era to normalcy as explained earlier. This was mainly because of the non-comprehension of the individual components and their inter relationships with a focus on smooth civil military relations as depicted in Figure 4 that would usher in sustainable peace and development in the country. Instead, since 2009, without addressing on the issues as a whole the government forces focused individually and professed on short term targets giving temporary solutions to the socio-economic and political problems that could not satisfy most of the stakeholders' issues. As a consequence the government as well as its counterparts was trapped in socio-economic and political miscalculations that led to the defeat of the President Mahinda Rajapaksha initially and subsequently the government in 2014 and 2015 respectively. Thereafter, the new President Maithripala Sirisena and the UNP led government were trying to form a political front in the country to recover the country from the vulnerability of the post 2009 period. Yet, the recovery has not been made mainly because of the missing "philosophy for the nation" for national integration cum civil military relations that would usher in necessary conditions for sustainable peace and development. Instead, the political leaders of both the government and the opposition including the minority parties are trying to secure their present political targets and as a consequence what could be foreseen is the instability of the country in the future as well.

The defeat of the military dominated government [As per the civil military relations given in the in the new model military dominated government with appropriate civil military relations is a requirement. However, once peace is restored the military dominated government should transformed into civilian sector dominated government. Here, since 2009 after defeating the LTTE terrorism it was not witnessed of such transformation] which was able to deliver necessary conditions to defeat the militants (LTTE) as per the new model is mainly because of political front that is acceptable to the majority. It was an outcome of civil military relations based on the philosophy which addressed the national interest as depicted in Figure 4. However, the failure in establishing such constructive civil military relations in the post 2009 period has cost to the nation in terms of ill development in the areas of socio-economic and political conditions in the country that continued to be as causes and effects. If there had been a philosophically sound civil military relationship that would have ushered in a transition from a military dominated government to a civilian sector dominated government, along with democratic values, there could have been a continuation of a normalcy CF as explained in the Figure 3. Under such an environment there would have been compatible conditions for undoing the causes and effects that led to conflicted CFs and establish new social agreements consistent with the nation's interest upon the consent of the pressure groups that supported with a majority political front aligning with a philosophy for the nation.

7. Lessons for Countries Facing Internal Conflicts as National Security Threats

The lessons for other countries based on the experience of Sri Lanka in its military intervention against the violence and militancy that forced a threat to its national security depend on the contextual features of the particular country.

Herein, it is necessary to assess the historical transformation of the past, present and future process of the CFs as depicted in Figure 1. Once the existing CF is identified it is necessary to decide on what kind of government (either a military dominated government or a civilian sector dominated one) and the civil military relation mechanism required to create a normalcy CF as depicted in Figure 3. Here, the decision with respect to the government and the civil military relationship should be in line with the Figure 4. Before architecting the philosophy for the nation, there should be a mechanism to make the stakeholders of the nation understand the retrospective and prospective CFs of the country. The philosophy for the nation as well as the civil military relations referred about should be identified by the country itself with the participation of the stakeholders of the nation by looking at its historical background and the socio-economic and cultural background. Here, the role of the civilian and military sectors need to be identified and the necessary conditions including civil military relations to execute the assigned activities that are aligned with the philosophy for the nation depicted in Figure 4 should be created. In doing so the civilian sector as well as the military sector should in no way be politicized because such politicization could spoil the CFs in the long run mainly because of the authority held by the civil and military personnel could lead to deviation from objective consideration of nationally concerned issues. The extent of such politicization especially of military personnel will cost to the nation as the military naturally holds authority. Subjected to these conditions the new model explained in Figure 4 can be recommended for the countries facing internal conflicts to build appropriate civil military relations that usher in sustainable peace and development.

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