Table of Contents

Prefa	ace and	Acknowledgements		10
Abo	ut the	Editors		12
Intro	oductio	n		14
EAF	LY E	XPRESSIONS OF THE FEDERAL IDEA, 1926 - 1938		25
1.0		R.D. Bandaranaike's Advocacy of Federalism (1926)		26
	1.1	Six letters to the Ceylon Morning Leader and Lecture in Jaffna, by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike (1926) Full Text	/	28
2.0		Donoughmore Constitution (1931) mentary		54
	2.1	Report of the Special Commission on the Ceylon Constitution (Donoughmore Report) (1928) Extracts		. 60
3.0		Memorandum of Leonard Woolf (1938) mentary		98
	3.1	Memorandum on the Demands for Reform of the Ceylon Constitution, by Leonard S. Woolf (1938) Full Text		100
POV	VER-S	HARING PROPOSALS FROM THE LEFT, 1944		105
4.0		nosals by the Communist Party of Ceylon (1944)	ossa ede 125° v G. – modeli	106
	4.1	Ceylon Communist Party's Resolutions and Memoranda to the Ceylon National Congress (1944) Full Text	1 1 2 75 T	110
5.0		neman - Vaidialingam Memorandum for a Federal Constitution (1944)	unnu garigili gara puad dan da	116
	5.1	Memorandum on a Federal Constitution Submitted to the Working Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party by Pieter Keuneman & A.Vaidialingam (1944)		120

Contents

STUDY OF HEMAN RIGHTS

6.0 Board of Ministers' Draft Constitution (1944), the Report of the Soulbury Commission (1945) and the Soulbury Constitution (1946-47) 128 Soulbury Commission (1945) and the Soulbury Constitution (1946-47) 138 6.1 Ceylon National Congress Sessional Paper XIV (1944) 164 Full Text 164 6.2 The Soulbury Commission Report (1947) 182 Full Text 184 6.3 The Ceylon Independence Act (1947) 184 Full Text 186 6.5 The Soulbury Constitution (1946 - 1948) 186 Extracts Extracts 186 7.0 The Protection of Minority Rights under Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1947) 198 Commentary 2.1 7.1 Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1948) 204 THE FEDERAL DEMAND AND FAILED AGREEMENTS, 1951 - 1965 207 8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) 208 6.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) 212 Pull Text 216 Dualley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) 2	COL	AINC	L RULE TO INDEPENDENCE, 1944 - 1948	127
Full Text 6.2 The Soulbury Commission Report (1945) Extracts 6.3 The Ceylon Independence Act (1947) Full Text 6.4 The Independence Order (1947) Full Text 6.5 The Soulbury Constitution (1946 - 1948) Extracts 6.6 The Marathon Crusade for 'Fifty-Fifty', Speech by G.G. Ponnambalam (1939) Full Text 7.0 The Protection of Minority Rights under Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1947) Full Text 7.1 Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1948) Full Text THE FEDERAL DEMAND AND FAILED AGREEMENTS, 1951 - 1965 8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)	6.0	Soul	bury Commission (1945) and the Soulbury Constitution (1946-47)	128
Extracts 6.3 The Ceylon Independence Act (1947) Full Text 6.4 The Independence Order (1947) Full Text 6.5 The Soulbury Constitution (1946 - 1948) Extracts 6.6 The Marathon Crusade for 'Fifty-Fifty', Speech by G.G. Ponnambalam (1939) Extracts 7.0 The Protection of Minority Rights under Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1947) Full Text THE FEDERAL DEMAND AND FAILED AGREEMENTS, 1951 - 1965 8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)		6.1	Ceylon National Congress Sessional Paper XIV (1944) Full Text	138
Full Text 6.4 The Independence Order (1947) Full Text 6.5 The Soulbury Constitution (1946 - 1948) Extracts 6.6 The Marathon Crusade for 'Fifty-Fifty', Speech by G.G. Ponnambalam (1939) Extracts 7.0 The Protection of Minority Rights under Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1947) 198 Commentary 7.1 Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1948) Full Text THE FEDERAL DEMAND AND FAILED AGREEMENTS, 1951 - 1965 8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)		6.2		164
Full Text 6.5 The Soulbury Constitution (1946 - 1948) Extracts 6.6 The Marathon Crusade for 'Fifty-Fifty', Speech by G.G. Ponnambalam (1939) Extracts 7.0 The Protection of Minority Rights under Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1947) 198 Commentary 7.1 Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1948) Full Text THE FEDERAL DEMAND AND FAILED AGREEMENTS, 1951 - 1965 8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)		6.3		182
Extracts 6.6 The Marathon Crusade for 'Fifty-Fifty', Speech by G.G. Ponnambalam (1939) 7.0 The Protection of Minority Rights under Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1947) 198 Commentary 7.1 Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1948) Full Text THE FEDERAL DEMAND AND FAILED AGREEMENTS, 1951 - 1965 8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)		6.4		184
THE FEDERAL DEMAND AND FAILED AGREEMENTS, 1951 - 1965 8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Logonamentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)		6.5		186
7.1 Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1948) Full Text THE FEDERAL DEMAND AND FAILED AGREEMENTS, 1951 - 1965 8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)		6.6	The Marathon Crusade for 'Fifty-Fifty', Speech by G.G. Ponnambalam (1939) Extracts	190
THE FEDERAL DEMAND AND FAILED AGREEMENTS, 1951 - 1965 8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)	7.0	The Comm	Protection of Minority Rights under Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (19	947) 198
8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)		7.1	Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution (1948) Full Text	204
8.0 The Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) Commentary 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)	TUE	FFD		
208 8.1 ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text 9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 216 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)				207
9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)	8.0	The Comi	Federal Idea and the Federal Party (1949-51) mentary	
9.0 Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Commentary 9.1 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text 220 10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)		8.1	ITAK Resolutions passed at the First National Convention (1951) Full Text	212
10.0 Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Commentary 10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)	9.0	Ban Com	daranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact (1957)	216
10.1 Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)		9.1	Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) Full Text	220
· • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	10.0	Dud Com	lley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (1965)	224
		10.1	Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact (1965) Full Text	228

O	NILATI F SEPA	ERAL CONSTITUTION-MAKING AND THE EMERGENCE RATISM, 1970 - 1978	n. Writing wa	23
П	ior	e Federal Party's Memorandum and the Model Constitution a Federal State (1970)		232
	11.1	I.T.A.K. Memorandum on the Constitution & Model Constitution of the Federal Republic of Ceylon (1970) Full Text		238
	11.2	The Constitution of Sri Lanka (1972) Extracts		248
12.		Vaddukoddai Resolution (1976) Imentary		254
	12.1	Political Resolution adopted at the First National Convention of the TULF (Vaddukoddai Constituency) (1976) Full Text		256
13.0		Amirthalingam Trial-at-Bar (1976) mentary		260
	13.1	Trial-at-Bar No. 1, The Republic of Sri Lanka vs. Appapillai Amirthalingam (1976) Extracts	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	266
	13.2	Trial at Bar No. I, The Attorney General of the Republic of Sri Lanka vs. Appapillai Amirthalingam (1976) Extracts		270
DEC	ENTR	ALISATION VERSUS SELF-DETERMINATION, 1980 - 1987		275
14.0	The I	District Development Councils Act (1980) nentary		276
	14.1	Development Councils Act, No. 35 of 1980 Extracts		280
	14.2	Development Councils Report (1980) Extracts		290
15.0	The T	himpu Principles: Before and After (1983-1987)		330
	15.1	Annexure 'C' (1983) Full Text		342
	15.2	The Thimpu Principles (1985) Full Text		
	15.3 J	oint Response of the Tamil Delegation to the Thimpu Talks (1985)		346

4DI	AN IN	TERVENTION, 1987 - 1988	35 I
6.0		ndo-Lanka Accord (1987) entary	352
	16.1	Indo-Lanka Accord (1987) Full Text	356
7.0		Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution and the Provincial Councils Act (1987)	360
	17.1	Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka (1987) Full Text	368
	17.2	Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka (1988) Full Text	400
	17.3	Provincial Councils Act No 42 of 1987 Extracts	404
тн	E APE	X COUNCIL IDEA, 1993	409
18.		e Mangala Moonesinghe Proposals (1993) nmentary	410
	* 18.	Parliament of Sri Lanka Report No. 47 (Mangala Moonesinghe Report) (1993) Extracts	414
ID	EAS F	ROM CIVIL SOCIETY, 1994 - 1997	445
19		oposals of the Movement for Constitutional Reform (1994) mmentary	446
	19	.1 A Democratic Constitution for Sri Lanka, by the Movement for Constitutional Reform (1994) Extracts	450
2		Framework for the Constitution of the Union of Ceylon (1995) ommentary	472
	2	O.1 A Framework for the Constitution of the Union of Ceylon by Bates, Wells and Braithwaite, Solicitors (1995) Full Text	474
	A NE	W CONSTITUTIONAL PROJECT, 1995 - 2000	479
		Attempts at Constitutional Reform (1995 - 2000) Commentary	480
		The Government's Proposals for Constitutional Reform (1995) Commentary	482
		22.1 The Government's Devolution Proposals (1995) Full Text	486

(

23.0		Government's Proposals for Constitutional Reform (1996) mentary		494
	23.1	The Government's Draft Provisions of the Constitution (1996) Extracts		498
24.0		Government's Proposals for Constitutional Reform (1997) mentary	The State of the contraction	518
25.0		Government's Proposals for Constitutional Reform (2000) mentary		520
	25.1	The Government's Proposal for Constitutional Reform (1997) and the Sri Lanka Constitution Bill (2000) Extracts		522
26.0		Interim Report of the Sinhala Commission (1997)		586
	26.1	Sinhala Commission Interim Report (1997) Extracts		590
EXP	LORII	NG FEDERALISM AND INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS, 200	2 - 2003	641
27.0		Oslo Communiqué (2002) nentary		642
	27.1	Statement of the Royal Norwegian Government (2002) Full Text		646
28.0		Provisional Administrative Council (2003) mentary	ela ellaste ellaste Ligitationes	650
	28.1	The Sri Lanka Government's Proposal to the LTTE regarding a Provisional Administrative Council (2003) Full Text	The standard of the Committee of the Com	654
	28.2	creation of an Apex Body (2003) Full Text		
29.0		TTE'S ISGA Proposal (2003)	er i se en en en i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	662
	29.1	The LTTE's Proposal for an Agreement to Establish an Interim Self-Governing Authority for the Northeast (ISGA)(2003) Full Text	Victorian Indiana (1965) Transport of STIL (1985) Transport	668
MUSI	IM P	ERSPECTIVES, 2002 - 2007		677
30.0		- SLMC Joint Communiqué (2002) entary		678
	30. I	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam – Sri Lanka Muslim Congress Joint Communiqué (2002) Full Text		

31.0	The O	eluvil Declaration (2003)	682
		Oluvil Declaration (2003) Full Text	684
32.0	The S	LMC Policy Paper on the Peace Process and Constitutional Reform (2006)	688
	32.1	Sri Lanka Muslim Congress: Peace Process and Constitutional Reform (2006) Full Text	690
33.0		LMC's GSEAA Proposal (2008) entary	696
	33.1	The SLMC's Greater South East Autonomous Area Proposal (2008) Full Text	700
NEA	R AGI	REEMENT, 2005 - 2006	713
34.0		P-TOMS Agreement: The Supreme Court Determination (2005) nentary	714
	34.1	Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for the Establishment of a Post-Tsunami Operational Management Structure (P-TOMS) between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (2005)	718
	34.2	The P-TOMS Determination: Wimal Weerawansa and Others v. The Attorney General and the Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation (2005) Full Text	724
35.		e Merger of the North and East:The Supreme Court Determination (2006)	740
	35.	The Determination on the Merger of the North and East: Jayantha Wijesekera and Others v. Attorney General and Others (2006) Full Text	744
U	NCER	TAIN FUTURES, 2006 - 2008	761
3	6.0 LT C	TE Statement on the 5th Anniversary of the Ceasefire Agreement (2007)	762
	36	5.1 LTTE Statement on the Ceasefire Agreement (2007) Full Text	766

37.0		APRC Process (2006 -) mentary	772
	37.I	All Party Representative Committee, Report of "Group A" (2006)	784
	37.2	Full Text All Party Representative Committee, Interim Report of Sub-Committee B (2006) Extracts	. 810
	36.3	Tissa Vitharana Report to the APRC (2007) Full Text	856
Мар	of Sri	Lanka - Administrative Districts and Provinces of Sri Lanka	878
Statis	tics		881
Popula	ition b	y Religion, 1881 - 2001	882
Popula	tion b	y Ethnic Group, 1881 - 2001	883
•		y Ethnic Group and District, 1981	885
Popula	tion b	y Ethnic Group and District, 2001	886
1700		y Ethnic Group and Province, 1981	887
		y Ethnic Group and Province, 2001	887
		hange in Ampara District, 1921 - 1981	888
		hange in Trincomalee District, 1921 - 1981	889
Biblio	graph		891

.