### **CONTENTS**

INI	RODU	CTION	* *	• •		1
	Geogra	phic Location	• •	• •		1
	117.0	al Society		• •		1
	Comm	unal Groups		• •	• •	2
	Religio	ns and Langua	ges	• •	• •	7
	Popula	tion, Area, Lite	eracy and Conne	cted Problems	• •	8
	Educat	ion and Welfar	e Services	• •	• •	9
	Politica	al System	•	••	• •	10
		PAR	T I 1796-19	<i>1</i> 8		
			CHAPTER 1	•		
A	SUR	VEY OF C	OLONIAL C	CONSTITUT	101	NS
1.1	THE	CONSTITUTI	ONAL CONSE	QUENCES OF	•	
		G A COLON				15
	1.1.1		Campbell v. Hall			15
		Colonial Legi		• •		16
		The Governor				18
		The Executive		••	• •	20
1.2	CONI	STITI ITIONIA I	L DEVELOPMI	FNT		
1.2			C DEVELOTIVI	2111		20
	1.2.1		••	(10) ●		20
	1.2.2		• •	• •	• •	21 22
		1910-1931		•• •••a==1	• •	24
	1.2.4		s of the Constitu	ttionai		22
	105	Structures 183		 n 1021 1046	• •	24
	1.2.5	Ine Donough	more Constitution	on 1931-1940	••	24
1.3	DOM	INION STAT	US	••	• :•	29
	1.3.1	The Constitut	ion of 1946	• •		29
	1.3.2	The procedure	e followed in pro	omulgating		
			ence Constitution		• •	31
	1.3.3		ndependence Ac			34

#### PART 11 1948-1972 CHAPTER 2

THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION

2.4	THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER, THE CEYLON INDEPENDENCE ACT AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE UNITED		
	KINGDOM PARLIAMENT	••	35
2.5	THE STRUCTURE OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION		41
	<ul><li>2.5.1 The term 'Constitution'</li><li>2.5.2 The underlying principles of the Constitution</li></ul>	••	41 44
2.6	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION		46
	2.6.1 The differences between the two Constitutions 2.6.2 British Constitutional Law as a source of the	·	46
	Constitutional Law of the Independence Constitution	. •	48
2.7	THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION		49
	<ul> <li>2.7.1 The Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council</li> <li>2.7.2 The Sovereign and the Governor-General</li> <li>2.7.3 The Legislature</li> <li>2.7.4 The Executive</li> </ul>	••	49 50 55 56
	2.7.5 The Judiciary	• •	58
	CHAPTER 3 OPERATIONS OF CONVENTIONS INTERPRETATIONS OF CONVENTIONS INTERPRETATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF SRI LANKA	N OF	
3	CONVENTIONS OF THE BRITISH		60
	3.8.1 Classification of the conventions of the British Constitution		. 60

	3.8.2	The relationship between		
		Law and Conventions		62
	3.8.3	The distinction between		
		Law and Convention	٠.	62
	3.8.4	The purpose served by Conventions		64
	3.8.5	How conventions become established		64
3.9	THE	OPERATION OF CONVENTIONS		
	UNDI	ER THE 1948 CONSTITUTION		64
	3.9.1	The reception in Sri Lanka of the conventions		
		of the British Constitution		64
	3.9.2	The distinction between 'Law' and 'Convention	1,	67
		Section 4(2) of the Constitution	_	67
		The effect of local conventions		70
3.10	THE	APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS IN		
		CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF		
		ANKA		71
	3 10 1	Vacancy in the office of Prime Minister	-	71
		The choice of a Prime Minister in July 1960		_
		The appointment of a Prime Minister in	• •	12.
	5.10.5	March 1960 and the dissolution of		
		Parliament in April 1960	200	75
	3.10.4	The defeat in Parliament of the government	151015	
		in December 1964		98
	3.10.5	The election results of March 1965 and		
		the conduct of the Prime Minister		105
	3.10.6	An attempt to formulate conventions in		
		written form	٠.	108
	3.10.7	Conventions in the Republican Constitution		112
		CHAPTER 4		
		PARLIAMENT UNDER THE		
	INI			
	11/	DEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION		
<b>4</b> 11	THE	DOCTRINE OF PARLIAMENTARY		
7.11		REIGNTY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM		116
	4.11.1	The concept of 'Sovereignty'		116

4.11.2 Th	e growth of the powers of Parliament	۸٠	118
4.11.3 Th	ne traditional doctrine of Parliamentary		118
4.11.4 Pa	arliament and Commonwealth and		123
4.11.5 T	reign jurisdictions he Scottish view about 'Parliamentary		123
	overeignty' ecent views regarding 'Sovereignty'		124
CEYLON	WERS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF UNDER THE CEYLON		
COUNCI	ITUTION) ORDER IN		126
4.12.2 I	The relevant Constitutional provisions Limitations on the powers of Parliament Taxation without the consent of Parliament		126 128 138
	HE PARLIAMENT OF CEYLON		138
NOTICE IN THE	THE COURTS HAVE TAKEN OF THE PROCEDURE FOLLOWED E ENACTMENT OF LATION?		142
	Constitutional provisions relating to the	• •	
	procedure of legislation prior to 1971	. • •	142
	provisions relating to the procedure of legislation  Courts may insist that mandatory		145
	constitutional provisions relating to procedure be followed	. 1	. 148
4.15 AMPU	TATION OF A LIMB OF PARLIAMENT	•	. 151
4.15.1	The Senate in the Constitutional framework		. 151
4.15.2 4.15.3	Efforts to prevent grant of Royal Assent	•	. 155
	to the Ceylon Constitution (Independence and Amendment) Bill		15

## xiii.

	4.15.4	The procedure by which the Ceylon Constitution (Independence and Amendment) Act could have been brought before		
	4.15.5	the courts Was the Ceylon Constitution (Independence and Amendment) Act : valid exercise of	•	165
	4.15.6	legislative power?	••	166
		the date of the abolition of the Senate	••	173
		CHAPTER 5		
	-	THE JUDICIARY UNDER THE DEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION		
5.16		RELEVANT CONSTITUTIONAL ISIONS		176
5.17	THE !	APPOINTMENT OF PERSONNEL OF LOWER COURTS AND STATUTORY UNALS BY THE JUDICIAL SERVICE		
190	COM	MISSION	• •	176
5.18	THE	MEANING OF JUDICIAL POWER		180
5.19	_	VESTING OF JUDICIAL POWER IN JUDICATURE		187
	5.19.1	Tribunal cases were decided by		
		reference to constitutional provisions		187
		The decision in Queen v. Liyanage	• •	187
	5.19.3			189
	5.19.4	Approximation of the second se	٠.	
	5.19.5	Analysis of the 'Judicial Power' cases	• •	196
5.20		ER OF PARLIAMENT TO ALTER AND 'NE THE JURISDICTION OF		
	THE	COURTS		200

# xiv

5.21 EXERCISE OF JUDICIAL POWER BY	201
THE PRIVY COUNCIL	201
5.22 COULD PARLIAMENT ACTING UNDER SECTION 29 (4) HAVE EXERCISED JUDICIAL POWER OR CONFERRED JUDICIAL POWER ON THE EXECUTIVE?	
5.23 CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS WHICH	
DID NOT ADEQUATELY SAFEGUARD	
THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY	204
CHAPTER 6	
SEPARATION OF POWERS	
6.24 THE DOCTRINE OF THE SEPARATION	
OF POWERS	207
6.25 THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE	
SEPARATION OF POWERS EXISTED	208
6.25.1 The Legislature and the Executive	209
6.25.2 The Judiciary and the Executive	219
6.25.3 The Legislature and the Judiciary	222
6.26 IS A SEPARATION OF POWERS	
ATTAINABLE AND DESIRABLE?	223
6.26.1 Criticisms of the Doctrine	223
6.26.2 Not 'separation of powers' but	
checks and balances	225
6.26.3 Separation or checks and balances	00
within a particular organ  6.26.4 Conclusion	22:
0.20.4 Conclusion	22

# PART III THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION

#### CHAPTER 7

## A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR SRI LANKA - 1972

7.27 THE SUMMONING OF A CONSTITUENT

	ASSEMBLY	231
7.28	WHY A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY	233
	7.28.1 Two Methods of Constitutional Reform	233
	7.28.2 Reform within the legal order	233
	7.28.3 Autochthony	237
	7.28.4 Reform by Revolution	238
	7.28.5 The Constituent Assembly of Sri Lanka -	
	A Legal Institution?	243
•	7.28.6 Conclusions	247
7.29	THE FUNCTIONING OF THE	
	CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY	248
7.30	LEGAL VALIDITY OF CONSTITUENT	
	ASSEMBLY CHALLENGED	256
7.31	SRI LANKA REPUBLIC ACT 1972	260
7 32	THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE	:
	REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION	262
7 33	A STATE OF EMERGENCY AND	
7.55	SECTION 134 OF THE CONSTITUTION	265
	•	
	CHAPTER 8	
FUN	NDAMENTAL RIGHTS, JUDICIAL RE	VIEW
	AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL COUR	
	THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND	070
	THE POWER OF JUDICIAL REVIEW	270

## xvi

8.35 THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION, JUDICIAL REVIEW AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS	272
8.36 THE FUNCTIONING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT	279
8.37 THE ORDERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT	282
<ul> <li>8.37.1 Places and Objects of Worship Bill</li> <li>8.37.2 Bribery (Special) Jurisdiction Bill</li> <li>8.37.3 Sri Lanka Press Council Bill</li> <li>8.37.4 Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Limited</li> </ul>	282 283 285
(Special Provisions) Bill 8.37.5 Companies (Special Provisions) Bill 8.37.6 Administration of Justice Bill	295 298 299
8.37.7 Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Limited (Special Provisions Amendment) Bill 8.37.8 Interpretation (Amendment) Bill 8.37.9 National Prices Commission Bill	303 303 305
8.37.10 Church of Sri Lanka (Consequential Provisions) Bill 8.37.11 Pirivena Education Bill 8.37.12 Licensing of Traders and Regulation of	307
Internal Trade Bill  8.37.13 Parliamentary Pensions Bill  8.37.14 References to Constitutional Court during the prorogation of the National	312
State Assembly 8.37.15 The functioning of the Constitutional Court (July 1977 - May 1978)	319
8.38 JUDICIAL POWER UNDER THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION	328
<ul> <li>8.38.1 Attempts to assassinate the doctrine of a separate power vested in the judiciary</li> <li>8.38.2 Vesting of judicial power</li> <li>8.38.3 Exercise of or an interference with judicial power</li> </ul>	328
8.39 CONCLUSIONS	334

#### xvii

#### CHAPTER 9

# JUDICIAL REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION RESTRICTED

9.40	THE F	RULE OF LAW AND		
	EXEC	UTIVE POWER	• •	340
9:41	JUDIO	CIAL REVIEW OF EXECUTIVE	Ε	
	ACTIO	ON IN SRI LANKA		345
	9.41.1	The basic principles governing jureview of executive action		345
	9.41.2	The judicial remedies against excaction available prior to 1972		348
	9.41.3	The grounds for issue of Preroga Writs prior to 1972		348
	9.41.4	The grounds for the issue of the Declaration prior to 1972	.:	351
	9.41.5	The grounds for the issue of the Injunction prior to 1972		351
	9.41.6	Statutory devices for excluding of the Courts		n 353
9.42	(AME)	NTERPRETATION ORDINAN NDMENT) LEGISLATION AND HE ISSUE OF THE PREROGA DECLARATION AND INJUNC	ITS EFFECT	
	9.42.1	The effect of the amending leg issue of the writs		354
	9.42.2	The effect of the amending leg issue of the Declaration		336
	9.42.3	The effect of the amending legis issue of injunctions and specific p		357
0 43	ANAS	SERTION OF JUDICIAL IND	FPFNDENCE	
,.TJ		LEGISLATIVE RETALIATION		

### xviii

9.44	THE FUTURE AND ADEQUACY ROGATIVE WRITS AS COMPAR DECLARATION AND THE INJUNCTION	ED TO		363
9.45	RATIONALE FOR RESTRICTING A OF JUDICIAL REMEDIES AGAINS' ACTION		TIVE	364
9.46	RESTRICTIONS ON THE 1991JE OF HABEAS CORPUS	F THE		369
	TABLE OF CASES		•••	376
	CONSTITUTIONAL COURT ORDE	ERS	• •	379
	TABLE OF STATUTES	¥ 5.		380
	BIBLIOGRAPHY			383
	INDEX		••	388