

ADDRESSING THE CRISIS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ANTI-CORRUPTION BILL AS A RESPONSE TO THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN SRI LANKA ¹

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ABSTRACT

The growing public displeasure towards the political institutions in Sri Lankan society in the year 2022 resulted in dire consequences that almost dragged the society to the verge of anarchy. With the political crisis in Sri Lanka far from over, the Ranil Wickremasinghe-led government attempted several methods to end the political and economic crisis. One such method to resolve and mitigate public distrust is to search for changes within a statutory framework. This study explores the manner in which the Anti-Corruption Bill is introduced to reduce public displeasure and distrust of political institutions. The research question of this study is as follows: Amidst the public distrust and dissatisfaction with the political bodies in the country, how has the Anti-Corruption Bill been used by Ranil Wickremasinghe and the SLPP-led coalition government to mitigate the political and economic crisis in Sri Lanka? This study employs a qualitative method to explore the manner in which the government revised statutory frameworks to reduce public displeasure and distrust in political institutions. 'Collecting Documents as Data' is used as the method of data collection. Qualitative Content Analysis is used as the method of data analysis. This study analyzes the Anti-Corruption Bill in light of the conceptual frameworks of the preconditions for eradicating corruption and factors that determine the effectiveness of the Anti-Corruption Agencies (ACAs). Using six broad dimensions of the incorruptibility of the organization, independence and impartiality, clear and comprehensive legislation, adequate staff and funding, political will and support, accountability, and relationship with the citizenry and media, it presents the manner in which the Ranil Wickremasinghe government uses ideological means to stabilize and gain public trust back towards the democratic framework of the country and the hitherto existing political culture.

Key words: *Anti-Corruption Bill, Political crisis, Corruption, Sri Lanka*

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1. INTRODUCTION

“Go Home Gota” and “Go Home Rajapakshas” were the main slogans of the chain of protests that took place in 2022. These slogans, among many others, showed public displeasure towards the ruling party and the government. The later developments of the establishment of protest spaces ‘Gota Go Gama’ and ‘Myna Go Game’ demanded the resignation of the President and the Prime Minister and the dissolution of Parliament (De Silva and Perera, 2022). Certain major events, such as the events that took place on May 9, 2022, suggest that these protests were not isolated incidents of protests, which can be categorized as either trade union actions or other professional or occupation-related protests, like the protests of the farmers or teachers of 2021. Rather, the events on May 9th and July 9th, 2022 are manifestations of the political crisis in Sri Lanka. The resignation of the former President Gotabhaya Rajapaksha (Parliament of Sri Lanka, 2022a) only intensified this crisis.

The appointment of Ranil Wickremasinghe as the new President for the newly vacated office of the President of Sri Lanka (Parliament of Sri Lanka, 2022b; Presidential Secretariat, 2022c) did not resolve the crisis. Although political stability was established to some extent, the political crisis is still at large. President Wickremasinghe has taken steps to

resolve some of the issues that pose a threat to the government by dissolving the ‘Gota Go Gama’ protest site and arresting student leaders as terrorists (Officer in Charge, Terrorist Investigation Department vs. Wasantha Mudalige and Galwewa Siridhamma). Further, he took the path of reformation to find solutions for the crisis. He introduced new tax reforms by amending the existing law by Inland Revenue Act No. 45 of 2022. It can be argued that President Wickremasinghe attempted to introduce more legislation in order to consolidate his power while mitigating the political crisis. Examples of such legislation are the proposed Anti-Corruption Bill, which is the focus of this study, and the Anti-Terrorism Bill. Both are criminal in nature, but the objectives of each of these laws differ in that the new Anti-Terrorism Bill of 2023 is introduced to prevent further uprisings, while the proposed Anti-Corruption Bill (referred to as the Bill in this paper) is introduced, as argued in this study, to mitigate the political crisis by reducing public displeasure with political institutions.

Slogans such as ‘No need for all 225’—a slogan rejecting all representatives of the parliament—provide evidence for the larger displeasure with political institutions. One of the purposes of the introduction of the Bill is to

draw people back towards and make them believe in public institutions. The role of the judiciary has often been under scrutiny, and its role left the public with mixed feelings. What is important to note is that this bill was not the first legislation of its nature. Several laws of this nature already exist. They are the Bribery Act No. 11 of 1954, the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption Act No. 19 of 1994, and the Declaration of Assets and Liabilities Law, No. 1 of 1975. Therefore, the question that has to be raised is: why is legislation of this nature introduced at the present historical moment? An exploration of this question points to the slogans to eradicate corruption that were an integral part of the 2022 protests in Sri Lanka as the catalyst for this change. There were obvious reasons for the people to experience a crisis of faith in relation to the process of the courts. One of the best examples to illustrate this public displeasure is a judgement delivered by Honorable High Court Judge Manjula Thilakarathne in 2022. Minister Prasanna Ranatunga was found guilty of extortion under Section 372 of the Penal Code, which is punishable under Section 373 of the Penal Code (State vs. Prasanna Ranatunga and Two Others, 2022). However, the sentence was suspended. After the judgment, a convicted felon who was found guilty continued to hold a ministerial portfolio. This is a classic example of the corruption that prevailed in the country, and this situation

indeed gives legitimacy to the statement of Lindberg and Orjuela (2011), that “what could be called ‘corrupt practices’ are hence part of the political system, rather than a breakdown of the system” (p.213).

The objective of this study is to understand the manner in which the government attempted to use law and statutory frameworks (specifically the Anti-Corruption Bill) to stabilize the political crisis in Sri Lanka. To this end, this study explores the following research question: Amidst the public distrust and dissatisfaction with the political bodies in the country, how has the Anti-Corruption Bill been used by Ranil Wickremasinghe and the SLPP-led coalition government to mitigate the political and economic crisis in Sri Lanka? This study argues that Ranil Wickremasinghe and the SLPP-led coalition government used the Anti-Corruption Bill to address the issue of corruption, one of the major concerns of the people’s uprising in Sri Lanka in 2022, and to maintain the status quo amidst the political crisis with minimum statutory reforms instead of bringing larger structural changes.

This paper is organized as follows: In the first part, it surveys the literature on conceptual and theoretical aspects of corruption, corruption in Sri Lanka, and the political and economic crisis in Sri Lanka. The method is described in the second section. The last section presents the findings of the study. This part starts by giving a brief

overview of the bill, and then presents the findings by expounding on the dimensions at length. The six broad dimensions of incorruptibility of the organization, independence and impartiality, clear and comprehensive legislation, adequate staff and funding, political will and support, accountability, and relationships with the citizenry and media will be discussed at length in this paper.

2. CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND : CORRUPTION, CORRUPTION IN SRI LANKA AND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS IN SRI LANKA

Literature on corruption looks at it in relation to other social, economic, and political processes. Hellman (2013) tries to understand corruption in the context of democracy. He states that corruption needs to be addressed because it is contrary to the understanding the public has of democracy. Therefore, corruption should not exist in any form of democracy (Hellman, 2013, p. 1396). Thus, corruption is positioned within the discourse of democracy. One of the purposes of the United Nations Convention Against Corruption is to promote integrity, accountability, and proper management of public affairs and public property (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004). The overarching purpose of the

convention that is quoted above also falls within the ambit of the discourse of democracy. This literature allows this study to position itself within the discourses of democracy and corruption.

Several empirical, conceptual, and theoretical studies have been conducted on anti-corruption throughout the world. One of the concerns raised in the literature on corruption is the reduction and the ways in which corruption can be reduced. Thompson (2013) argues that it is the West that needs to take the initiative to take action against corruption before moving on to the less-developed nations (p.130). This line of argument can be critiqued as Euro-centric and patronizing towards underdeveloped and/or less developed countries. This argument carries the idea that underdeveloped or less developed countries do not have the potential to resolve their own issues. Contrary to the argument of Thompson (2013), this study explores the manner in which Sri Lanka attempts to address the issue of corruption as a developing country.

There is other literature on the agencies that work towards the eradication and minimization of corruption. Among those, the studies of Quah (2007) and Dixit (2018) stand out. Quah (2007) outlines six preconditions that anti-corruption agencies must satisfy to be effective in minimizing and eradicating corruption after careful examination of the Anti-Corruption

Agencies (ACAs) in four Asian countries, namely Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand, and South Korea. Dixit (2018), on the other hand, traces corruption from pre-modern Europe and then shifts his attention to the attempts to prevent corruption in the United States of America, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Italy and presents factors that determine the effectiveness of Anti-Corruption Agencies (ACAs). These two studies provide the necessary framework to critique and analyze the Bill.

Apart from theoretical and conceptual studies in relation to corruption mentioned above, there are empirical studies conducted to understand the nature of the corruption that prevails in Sri Lanka. Lindberg and Orjuela (2011), commenting on corruption in Sri Lanka, show how corrupt practices are a part of the political system and the manner in which nepotism is prevalent in the country during the post-war peace-building period. Further, Sivakumar (2014) examines different mechanisms that are already in place in Sri Lanka to prevent corruption and discusses some of the existing statutory provisions in relation to eradicating corruption.

The political and economic crisis was the subject of study by several researchers. Jayamaha (2022) focuses on the political crisis and an individual incident of violence (the Rambukkana incident). George et al. (2022) used the keyword research

method to uncover the causes of the Sri Lankan crisis, found five main reasons as the cause of the crisis, and discussed the impact of those reasons on the crisis. Sebastian (2022) and Sahni (2022) also survey the reasons for the political and economic crisis. DeVotta (2023) analyzes contemporary political history that led to the current crisis. None of the aforementioned studies focus on the solutions attempted by the government. The reason for that is the contemporaneity of the studies with the people's uprising occurring in Sri Lanka. The government had not taken any decisions during the time period when these studies were conducted. It is this research gap this present paper seeks to fill.

3. METHOD

This study employed a qualitative methodology to inquire into the manner in which the Bill is used to mitigate the political crisis. This study used qualitative data because statistical and quantitative data are unable to provide in-depth and descriptive insights into the Anti-Corruption Bill and the manner in which the government used the Bill as a solution to the political crisis. Moreover, the existing research conducted in this field has also employed qualitative methodology in their research.

The data collection method utilized in this is 'Collecting Documents as Data' proposed by Rapley and Rees (2018). The data collection process

in this study is simple and straightforward. The units of analysis in this study are the sections of the proposed and tabled Anti-Corruption Bill. The Bill was collected as a document, and the Sections of the Bill are treated as the units of analysis and the data for the study.

Qualitative content analysis was used for the data analysis. In-depth steps given by Schreier (2012) and Schreier (2014) were used for the building of the code frame. The coding frame was built using concept-driven/based main categories or dimensions. The Coding frame was framed by the concepts proposed by Quah (2007) and Dixit (2018). The six preconditions proposed by Quah (2007) are: (1) the ACA must be incorruptible; (2) the ACA must be independent from the police and political control; (3) there must be comprehensive anti-corruption legislation; (4) the ACA must have adequate staff and funding; and (5) the ACA must enforce the anti-corruption laws impartially. (6) Political will is crucial for minimizing corruption. The factors that determine an ACA's effectiveness, as proposed by Dixit (2018), are "(1) political support from the country's leadership, especially in appointing good heads for the agency and giving them secure terms of tenure; (2) a clear and comprehensive framework of legislation that delineates its powers and relationships with other policy agencies; (3) a guarantee of adequate

resources and independence; and (4) accountability and relationships with the citizenry and the media." (Dixit, 2018, p. 28) were used to build the coding frame. Based on those 6 main categories or dimensions. Those dimensions and subcategories are given in Table 1.

Table. 1 – Main categories (Dimensions) and Sub Categories used for coding and data analysis.

Main Category/ Dimensions	Sub- Category	Sub- Category	Sub- Category
	1	2	3
(1) Incorruptibility of the Organization and Independence and Impartiality	Working	Appointment	
(2) Clear and Comprehensive Legislation	Offences	Punishment	Procedure
(3) Adequate Staff and Funding	Recruitment	Finance	
(4) Political will and support	No interference	Equality	
(5) Accountability	Reporting	No secrecy	
(6) Relationship with citizenry and media	Education	Publications	

4. FINDINGS

As mentioned earlier, there are several other legislations existing in relation to the control of corruption. Therefore, the question that has to be asked is: how does this Bill differ from the already existing legislation in the country, and how will it mitigate the political crisis by reducing public displeasure? Those questions will be answered after the following overview of the Bill.

4.1 Overview of the Bill

Published in the Government Gazette on April 3, 2023, and tabled in Parliament on April 27, 2023, the new bill (which will be an Act and law after passing in Parliament², subject to the directions of the Supreme Court if necessary [1]) will repeal the Bribery Act, the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption Act, No. 19 of 1994, and the Declaration of Assets and Liabilities Law No. 1 of 1975. The Bill is comprised of five Parts and seven Chapters.

Part I contains five chapters, as follows: Chapter I: Establishment of the Commission; Chapter II: Director-General and Staff of the Commission; Chapter III: Finance; Chapter IV: Powers and Functions of the Commission; and Chapter V:

²As mentioned earlier, on July 19, the Bill was passed without a vote. This law is now in force as Anti-Corruption Act No. 09 of 2023.

Protection of Informers, Whistleblowers, Witnesses, and Other Persons Assisting the Commission. Also, Part III contains two chapters, as follows: Chapter I: Offenses Relating to Bribery or Corruption, and Chapter II: Procedural Offenses. The findings of this research will be presented in the following sections of this article. This is tabulated and can be seen in the following Table 2.

Table 2 – Parts and Chapters of the Bill³

Anti- Corruption Bill	
Part I	
Chapter I	Establishment of the Commission
Chapter II	Director-General and the Staff of the Commission
Chapter III	Finance
Chapter IV	Powers and Functions of the Commission
Chapter V	Protection of Informers, Whistleblowers, Witnesses, and other Persons Assisting the Commission
Part II	
Declaration of Assets and Liabilities	
Part III	
Chapter I	Offenses Relating to Bribery or Corruption
Chapter II	Procedural Offenses

4.2 Incorruptibility of the Organization, Independence and Impartiality

The first dimension that will be discussed is the incorruptibility of the organization, independence, and impartiality. The organization established under this Bill is the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption. The integrity, independence, and impartiality of the organization are ensured in two main ways. Firstly, titled the

³There were no amendments made to this scheme when it was enacted as an Act of the Parliament

‘working’ subcategory, it can be argued that the organization (which will be referred to as the commission hereafter) is given freedom and independence to operate. According to Section 15 of the Bill, the Commission, the Director-General, and the staff are required to follow a certain code of conduct. Further, the staff of the commission should not be corrupt. Quah (2007) states that the public image and legitimacy of the Commission are at risk in such an instance (p.82). The corruptibility of the personnel of the Commission also hinders the impartiality of the Commission (Quah, 2007, p. 82), which also affects the investigations

conducted by the Commission. This aspect is covered by Section 19(2)(a) of the Bill which reads as follows: "A person shall be disqualified from being appointed or continuing as the Director-General if such person has been convicted of a criminal offense other than any offense punishable with only a fine." (Anti-Corruption Bill, 2022) Yet, it can be argued that there is a possibility of an appointment of a previously convicted person as the Director-General of the Commission, which might tarnish the public image of the Commission.

Moreover, the Commission is given wider powers to exercise its power independently. Some of the powers of the Commission are as follows: According to Section 41, the Commission has the power to hold preliminary inquiries and conduct investigations; obtain information from service providers according to Section 57; unlock data and information according to Section 59; and intercept communication with the authorization of the High Court according to Section 58. According to Section 64 of the Bill, the Commission has the power to issue summons on people like a judicial organization.

Apart from these powers, the Commission has to be independent of the police and political control. Police involvement can only be seen when assistance to an investigation is sought under Section 60 of the Bill. However, independence from political control must be there to

ensure the independence of the Commission.

The data coded under the subcategory appointment is useful for the discussion of the independence of the Commission. According to Section 4 of the Bill, the President appoints members of the Commission on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council. Conceptually and ideally, the Constitutional Council is an institution introduced to curb the power of the executive president of the country, and it is the constitutional duty of the Council to maintain the independence of the Commission under which they are to make appointments. According to Section 21, the President has the power to remove the Director-General with the approval of the Constitutional Council, which can hinder the impartiality and independence of the Commission.

A question can be raised: why is there new legislation for a process that already exists? There was a commission that was established under the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption Act, No. 19 of 1994, to investigate the allegations against corruption. In the backdrop of massive distrust and displeasure of the public regarding the institutions, the legislation provides a new hope to people. The government proposed a new legal mechanism for the people who distrust the older mechanism and law enforcement..

4.3 Clear and Comprehensive Legislation

The second dimension discussed in this study is Clear and Comprehensive Legislation, which is further coded into the subcategories of Offenses, Punishments, and Procedure. Offenses are set out in Chapter I of Part III. Sections 93 to

138 set out the offenses. The offenses ranged from bribery by several classes of people, acceptance of gratification, illegal access to the electronic asset declaration system, use of threats or fraud to influence the vote of a member of a local authority, of a scheduled institution, or of the governing body of a scheduled institution, trading in influence, failure to declare conflicts of interest, corruption, and offenses relating to sporting events, etc. The substantive and penal sections relating to the offenses are covered by the Bill itself.

The sole analysis of the Punishment prescribed by the Legislature for this Bill is unable to provide an in-depth understanding of government policy. The data coded as Punishment provides limited insight as it only provides descriptive details. Fines and rigorous imprisonment are the modes of punishment proposed by the legislature. The majority of the offenses are punishable by a fine not exceeding one million rupees and a term of rigorous imprisonment not exceeding seven years, and only a few offenses, such as those under

Section 129, are punished with a term not exceeding six months or with both a fine and imprisonment.

The data coded as Procedures can also be discussed in brief. The offenses set out in this Bill are non-bailable offenses. According to Section 149, the magistrate has to remand the person or persons until the conclusion of the trial, and the magistrate has the discretion to release a person on bail in exceptional circumstances and for reasons that have to be recorded. According to Section 132, all the offenses set out in this Bill are cognizable offenses, which means that a peace officer can arrest a person who has committed any offenses under this Bill without a warrant.

However, it is the common law of the country that the Legislature cannot determine a sentence for offenses. It is the duty, power, and discretion of the judiciary to determine the sentence for an offender. Justice Wanasundera, following the previous decision of the Supreme Court, stated, "...[t]hat part of the law with the minimum mandatory sentence acts as a bar to judicial powers in sentencing or punishing the wrongdoer. (*Ambagala Mudiyanseleage Samantha vs. Hon. Attorney General*, 2015, p.) and "...[s]entencing is the most important part of a criminal case, and I find that provision in any law with a minimum mandatory sentence goes against the judicial discretion to be exercised by the

judge (Ambagala Mudiyansele Samantha vs. Hon. Attorney General, 2015, p.9).

In the broader sense of the political situation of the country, the above mentioned legal analysis fails to capture the government policy adopted by the Sri Lankan government. As mentioned earlier, the political stability of the country is expected to be achieved through several other legislations as well, and one such is the Anti-Terrorism Bill. A seemingly powerful bill contains the following punishments, as set out in Section 4 of the Anti-Terrorism Bill: "...upon conviction by the High Court, be punished with death." (Anti-Terrorism Bill, 2022), "...upon conviction by the High Court be liable to rigorous imprisonment for a term not exceeding twenty years and to a fine not exceeding rupees one million." (Anti-Terrorism Bill, 2022), "...the court shall impose for such offense, forfeit to the Republic all property movable and immovable of that person" and "...any alienation or other disposal of property effected by such person after such conviction shall be deemed to have been, and to be, null and void"(Anti-Terrorism Bill, 2022) are the offenses set out in the Anti-Terrorism Bill. What is evident in the comparison of the two punishments is that there is a distinct difference in the approach to the sentencing policy of the two Bills.

4.4 Adequate Staff and Funding

The third dimension under discussion is Adequate Staff and Funding. According to Section 31 of the Bill, the Commission has to prepare annual budget estimates, which will be incorporated into the national budget with any modifications that Parliament thinks fit. Further, Parliament shall ensure the availability of any offense conducted by the Commission that has an adverse impact on the national or public interest. The funding of the Commission is one of the instances where the commission loses its independence. The Parliament possesses the sole power in relation to finance, and that power, coupled with Section 31, hinders the independence of the Commission. It is also worthy to note that the so-called 'offence of adverse impact on the national or public interest' can be interpreted in a wide and narrow manner, which will affect the impartiality of the Commission based on the lack of an objective test to determine what constitutes the so called 'offence of adverse impact on the national or public interest'.

4.5 Political will and support

The fourth dimension is the political will and support. The two subcategories of No interference and Equality will be discussed together. According to Section 13 of the Bill, the Commission is responsible and answerable to Parliament for the discharge of its

functions. The political interference in matters relating to the Commission is not avoidable by having such a broad section. Indeed, it is answerable to the Parliament on matters relating to finance and bookkeeping, but even that kind of power can be used to influence the Commission. What is visible in relation to equality is that the Members of Parliament and persons from other political institutions are considered equals and fall within the ambit and jurisdiction of this Bill. Yet, the practice of such provisions is a matter of concern that cannot be discussed in this paper.

The political will and support to eradicate corruption should be visible in the actions of the government as well. The attempt by the government to mitigate the crisis through reforms can be seen as a way of maintaining the status quo without addressing the issues. What is visible from the government is not a will to mitigate corruption. As mentioned above, Prasanna Ranatunga continued to be a minister of the government even after he was convicted (and suspended). Although the government attempts to show its will through the legislative means of maintaining the independence of the Commission, the will and support do not reflect in their behaviour.

4.6 Accountability

The fifth dimension is Accountability and the subcategories of Reporting and No secrecy will be discussed. According to Section 151,

the Commission has to prepare reports of its activities as often as it may consider necessary, and it has to prepare at least one report in each calendar year. This reporting process will hold the Commission accountable, and the publicity of such reports will make it more accountable. Further, according to Section 44, a complainant has the right to know the progress of the investigation. These steps are taken to make sure that the Commission will be held accountable.

It is also important to mention that steps are taken to make sure that the Commission is accountable. The significant feature of that step is that while the Commission is held accountable, funding and other aspects of its independence are not ensured. What is expected and required from the Commission is that the Commission, as a body, has to be accountable and independent without creating the proper environment for it to carry out the objectives it is entrusted with.

Investigation and an audit against the corrupt politicians, persons, and corporations were two of the main demands of the 'Gota Go Gama' people's uprising. They also demanded accountability and the recovery of the necessary assets. In the legislation, provisions for accountability are there, and it makes sure that the government ensures the demands of the people.

4.7 Relationship with citizenry and media

The final dimension that will be discussed is Relationship with citizenry and media and their subcategories of Education and Publications. According to Section 2 (g) of the Bill one of its objectives is to conduct and coordinate educational activities on the prevention of bribery and corruption. This is a task entrusted to the Commission to carry out. Further, according to Section 28 of the Bill, the Director-General can disclose information as the Commission considers necessary in the public interest for the purposes of publication in the press, media, and social media with a view to enhancing the transparency and accountability of the Commission towards the public. This makes sure that the relationship with the public is maintained properly.

The close relationships of the Commission between the citizenry and media are important, as they show that steps are being taken against corruption and that the government does not encourage corruption. It will make sure that the people can see that the Commission and other law enforcement agencies are actively present in the process of fighting against corruption. Moreover, it will paint a positive picture of the government in its attempts to take steps against corruption. However, attempts at this behaviour will not be able to cover up the real intentions of the

government, as was reflected when Minister Prasanna Ranatunga was kept in the Cabinet of Ministers even after he received a suspended sentence.

Finally, a question can be asked: why were these laws introduced? President Wickremasinghe stated, "They accused me of coming to protect thieves. But we are bringing the best anti-corruption bill in South Asia in consultation with the IMF." (Steps will be taken to pass the best anti-corruption law in South Asia in Parliament this year.) This statement was made to reduce public displeasure and distrust in the political institutions and earn public trust back towards the democratic framework of the country and the hitherto existing political culture.

5. CONCLUSION

The growing public displeasure towards the political institutions in Sri Lankan society in the year 2022 resulted in dire consequences that almost dragged the society to the verge of anarchy. With the political crisis in Sri Lanka far from over, the Ranil Wickremasinghe-led government attempted several methods to end the political and economic crisis. Answering the research problem amidst public distrust and dissatisfaction with the political bodies in the country, how has the Anti-Corruption Bill been used by Ranil Wickremasinghe and the SLPP-led coalition government to mitigate the political and economic crisis in Sri Lanka? This

study presented the findings by expounding on the six dimensions in length.

Drawing on Quah's (2007) and Dixit's (2018) studies, this study examined the selected themes of the Anti-Corruption Bill. Incorruptibility of the organization and the independence and impartiality of the organization were discussed in relation to the appointments and working of the Commission. It is safe to state that in this dimension, no major changes were introduced by the new Bill as opposed to the already existing legislation.

Clear and comprehensive legislation is visible in the introduced Bill. Multiple offenses were created with the new Bill and the punishments were more or less uniform in nature. The penal sections were not as lethal as the proposed Anti-Terrorism Bill, as the objectives of the two Bills differ, although both legislations were brought to resolve the political crisis prevailing in the country. The dimensions of adequate staff and funding, political will and support, accountability, and relationships with the citizenry and media were discussed as means for the government to use ideological means to stabilize the political crisis, reduce public displeasure and distrust in the political institutions, and earn public trust back towards the democratic framework of the country and the hitherto existing political culture.

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