

Table of Contents

<i>Table of Cases</i>	xv
<i>Table of Legislation</i>	xix
Introduction: Building Constitutionalism in Fragile Democracies	1
I. Courts, Constitutional Politics, and Statecraft	4
II. Situating Constitutions and Courts in Context	6
III. Book Schema	13

PART I SETTING THE SCENE

1. Rights Rhetoric	21
I. Introduction	21
II. False Dichotomies	22
A. Universalism and Relativism	22
B. Individualism and Communitarianism	24
C. Civil-Political Rights and Economic Development	25
III. Rights Rhetoric and Practice	27
A. "Asian Values" and Rights Discourse	27
B. Emerging Rights Consciousness	28
IV. Constitutionalism in Context	31
V. Conclusion	33
2. Constitutional Adjudication and Constitutional Politics	34
I. Introduction	34
II. Setting the Stage	35
A. Malaysia: The Birth of a Nation and the Independence Constitution	35
1. <i>Historical Background</i>	35
2. <i>Malaysia's Constitutional System</i>	37
B. Singapore: Separation and Statehood	39
1. <i>Historical Background</i>	39
2. <i>Singapore's Constitutional System</i>	40
III. Constitutional Adjudication and Judicial Review	41
A. Constitutional Adjudication	41
B. Judicial Review	44
IV. Interpreting the Constitution in Malaysia and Singapore	46
A. The "Four Walls" of the Constitution	46
B. Strict Formalism and Literalism	49
C. The Basic Structure Doctrine: Unconstitutional Constitutional Amendments?	53

V. Courts and Constitutional Politics	57
A. Judicial Review in Political Context	57
B. The Judiciary's Uneven Journey So Far	62
VI. Conclusion	65

PART II A FRAMEWORK FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ADJUDICATION

3. Constitutional History	69
I. Introduction	69
II. Constitutional Foundings	70
A. The Making of Malaysia's <i>Merdeka</i> Constitution	70
B. The Singapore Constitution's Pragmatic Origins	75
III. Constitutional History and the Original Constitutional Framework	78
A. The Constitution's Original Framework	78
B. Constitutional History and Constitutional Change	80
IV. Constitutional History in Practice	81
A. Malaysia's Article 3(1) Constitutional Religion Clause	81
B. Singapore's Originalist Case Study: <i>Yong Vui Kong v. Public Prosecutor</i>	86
V. Conclusion	91
4. The Separation of Powers	92
I. Introduction	92
II. Conceptualizing the Separation of Powers	93
III. Separation of Powers in Context	95
A. Malaysia's 1988 Constitutional Amendment	95
B. The Judiciary's Response to the 1988 Constitutional Amendment	96
IV. Restoring the Separation of Powers	98
A. The Malaysian Judiciary's Constitutional Moment: <i>Semenyih Jaya</i>	98
B. Singapore's Emerging Jurisprudence on the Separation of Powers	105
V. Conclusion	106
5. The Rule of Law	107
I. Introduction	107
II. Contextualizing the Rule of Law	108
A. Conceptualizing the Rule of Law	108
B. Rule of Law Rhetoric in Practice	109
C. Locating a Basis for the Rule of Law	112
III. Developing the Rule of Law	113
A. <i>Indira Gandhi</i> : Entrenching the Basic Structure Doctrine in Malaysia	113
B. Singapore: "All Power has Legal Limits"	117
IV. Judicial Power and Judicial Strategy	119
V. Conclusion	122

6. Courts in Transition	123
I. Introduction	123
II. Courts and Judicial Review in Evolving Democracies	125
A. In Judges or Legislatures We Trust?	125
B. Deconstructing Dialogue	127
C. Judicial Empowerment and Judicial Role	131
III. Strategic Assertions of Judicial Power	133
A. <i>Semenyih Jaya</i> : Malaysia's <i>Marbury</i> Moment?	133
B. Judicial Entrenchment of Power: <i>Indira Gandhi</i>	137
IV. Forward: A Framework for Constitutional Adjudication	140
A. The Basic Structure of the Constitution	140
B. Purposive Interpretation of Constitutional Rights	147
C. Proportionality Analysis	149
V. Conclusion	153

PART III APPLYING CONSTITUTIONAL ADJUDICATION IN PRACTICE

7. Judicializing Religion	157
I. Introduction	157
II. Constitutionalizing Religion	159
III. Politicizing Religion	163
IV. Judicializing Religion	165
A. Jurisdictional Deference and Religious Authority	167
1. <i>Apostasy Cases: Individuals Seeking to Leave Islam</i>	167
2. <i>Child Conversion and Custody Cases</i>	171
B. Judicial Islamization of the Article 3(1) Constitutional Clause	173
V. Application: Adjudicating Religion and Rights	179
A. Judicial Power of the Civil Courts Inherent to Constitution's Basic Structure	180
B. Interpreting Religion and Rights Purposively	184
C. Operationalizing Proportionality	187
VI. Conclusion	187
8. Balancing Security and Liberty	189
I. Introduction	189
II. Emergency Powers and Security Laws	190
A. Constitutional Emergency Powers	190
B. Preventive Detention	192
C. National Security and Public Order Laws	194
III. Judicial Review and State Power	197
A. Confrontation	197
B. Retreat	200
C. Resurgence	200

IV. Application: Judicial Balancing of Security and Liberty	204
A. From Deference to Proportionality	205
B. Protecting the Constitution's Basic Structure	210
V. Conclusion	212
Conclusion: Beyond Sisyphus and Hercules	214
<i>Bibliography</i>	221
<i>Books and Articles</i>	221
<i>Government Publications</i>	231
<i>Reports</i>	232
<i>Index</i>	233