

CONTENTS

Preface page xi
Table of statutes and executive instruments xiv
Table of cases xviii

Introduction: Australia as a federal commonwealth 1

PART I Federalism 15

1 Conceptualising federalism 17
 The conventional approach 17
 Federal or national? 21
 Compact or constitution? 24
 Federation or confederation? 28
 Avoiding sovereignty 32
 Conclusion 37

2 Reframing the analysis 39
 Integrative and disintegrative federalism 40
 The formation of integrative federations 41
 Representation and amendment in federal constitutions 46
 Formation, representation and amendment 52
 Formation, representation and configuration of power 61
 Conclusion 62

PART II Federating Australia 65

3 Models and sources 67
 James Madison 73
 James Bryce 78
 Edward Freeman 87
 A. V. Dicey 92
 John Burgess 96

4	Australian appropriations	101
	Thomas Just	103
	Andrew Inglis Clark	108
	Richard Baker	111
	Samuel Griffith	114
	John Quick and Robert Garran	119
	Charles Kingston	128
	Isaac Isaacs and H. B. Higgins	130
5	Constitutional foundations	134
	The formative preconditions of Australian federation	135
	The conference of 1890	149
6	Formative institutions	158
	The convention of 1891	158
	The Commonwealth Bill of 1891	161
	The parliaments and the peoples	164
	The Enabling Acts	167
	The convention of 1897–8	172
	Ratification and enactment	176
	Conclusion	180
	PART III Australian federation	185
7	Principles of representation	187
	Parkes’s resolutions – consensus and division	191
	The presuppositions of federalism – autonomy and equality	193
	Responsible government and the powers of the Senate	200
	Barton’s resolutions – conceptions of democracy and federalism	206
8	Representative institutions	215
	The composition of the Senate	217
	The composition of the House of Representatives	224
	The relative powers of the two houses	237
	Conclusion	244
9	The states and the Commonwealth	247
	Statements of fundamental principle	247
	The continuing states	255
10	Configurations of power	272
	Distributing competencies	272
	Configurations of power	282

11	Amendment procedures	299	
	Amendment by state conventions	301	
	Amendment by state referendums	308	
	Amendment by unanimous consent	323	
	Conclusion	332	
	PART IV Conclusions	335	
12	A federal commonwealth	337	
	Federative logic	337	
	Interpretive implications	345	
	Final remarks	368	
	Select provisions	371	
	Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900 (UK)	371	
	Statute of Westminster 1931 (UK)	381	
	Australia Act 1986 (Cth)	384	
	<i>Bibliography</i>	389	
	<i>Index</i>	411	