

SECOND EDITION



GEORGE WILLIAMS DAVID HUME

HUMAN RIGHTS

under the

AUSTRALIAN CONSTITUTION

SECOND EDITION







Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.

It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries.

Published in Australia by Oxford University Press 253 Normanby Road, South Melbourne, Victoria 3205, Australia

© George Williams and David Hume 2013

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted.

First published 1999 Second edition 2013

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, by licence, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organisation. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this work in any other form and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication data

Author: Williams, George, 1969- author.

Title: Human rights under the Australian constitution / George

Williams, David Hume.

Edition: 2nd edition.

ISBN: 9780195523119 (paperback)

Notes: Includes index.

Subjects: Constitutional law-Australia. Human rights-Australia. Civil rights-Australia.

Other Authors/Contributors: Hume, David, author.

Dewey Number: 342.94085

Reproduction and communication for educational purposes

The Australian *Copyright Act 1968* (the Act) allows a maximum of one chapter or 10% of the pages of this work, whichever is the greater, to be reproduced and/or communicated by any educational institution for its educational purposes provided that the educational institution (or the body that administers it) has given a remuneration notice to Copyright Agency Limited (CAL) under the Act.



For details of the CAL licence for educational institutions contact:

Copyright Agency Limited Level 15, 233 Castlereagh Street Sydney NSW 2000 Telephone: (02) 9394 7600 Faccipile: (02) 9394 7601

Facsimile: (02) 9394 7601 Email: info@copyright.com.au

Edited by Joy Window Cover design by Josh Durham Text design by Norma Van Rees Typeset by diacriTech, Chennai, India Proofread by Roz Edmond Indexed by Julie King Printed by Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

HUMAN RIGHTS under the AUSTRALIAN CONSTITUTION

Table of Statutes

Commonwealth	Ch III, s /1 121
Acts Interpretation Act 1901	s 2 60, 127
s 7 353	s 6 128
s 15AB 22, 26	s 7 13, 116, 126–7, 143, 168,
s 15AB(2) 26	171, 175–7, 185, 218, 220,
Administrative Decisions (Judicial Review)	230-1, 235, 239, 244-5, 247, 249-51
Act 1977 14	255
Age Discrimination Act 2004 14	s 8 126
Australia Act 1986 102	s 9 231
s 15 101	s 24 13, 126-7, 143, 168, 171, 175-7,
Australian Capital Territory (Self-	185, 218, 220, 223, 230-1, 235, 239,
Government) Act 1988	244-5, 247, 249-51, 255
s 23(1)(a) 12	s 25 71, 74, 126, 223-4
s 28 16	s 28 126
Australian Human Rights Commission Act	s 30 126, 235-6, 244
1986 14	s 41 53, 72-3, 89-90, 111-12, 126,
	222-3, 225-30, 274, 284
Banking Act 1947 310	s 44 111
Broadcasting Act 1942 165	s 44(i) 259
s 95B 165	s 44(ii) 234
3 / / D 10 /	s 49 128, 162
Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 250	s 51 68, 81, 302
Commonwealth Electoral Act 1962 222, 232	s 51(ii) 112, 274, 284, 306
Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902 222, 232	s 51(v) 166
226, 228–9	s 51(vi) 61, 135, 269-70, 331
s 4 73	s 51(xiii) 106
Commonwealth of Australia Constitution	s 51(xvii) 306
Act 1900 21, 101	s 51(xviii) 306
Communist Party Dissolution Act 1950 331	s 51 (xix) 345
Constitution 7–8, 12, 14, 34, 38, 48–54,	s 51(xx) 94, 106, 129
57–62, 65–8, 71, 74–89, 91–8, 100–4,	s 51(xxii) 111
106–10, 112, 114–15, 117–21, 124–5,	s 51(xxiiiA) 105, 112, 321–4
127–9, 131–3, 135–6, 142, 162, 178–9	s 51(xxix) 15
Ch I, s 1 121	s 51(xxvi) 70–1, 73–4, 106
Ch I, Pt II 252	s 51(xxxi) 53, 89, 106, 108, 112, 142,
Ch I, Pt III 252	151–2, 258–9, 284, 309
Ch II 252	s 51(xxxiii) 306
Ch II, s 61 121	s 51(xxxv) 106, 165
Ch III 11, 325–8, 330–6, 338–40,	s 51(xxxviii) 94
344–5, 349–51, 353–6, 360,	s 52 68, 302
365-6, 368-9, 371-9	s 53 332

Constitution Alexander (Cont. 1 Cont.)
Constitution Alteration (Social Services)
1946 73
Criminal Code 155
s 104.4(1)(c)(i) 374
s 131.1(1) 115
Disability Discrimination Act 1992 14-15
s 13 17
Electoral and Referendum Amendment
(Electoral Integrity and Other Measures)
Act 2006 237
Equal Employment Opportunity
(Commonwealth Authorities) Act 1987 14
Evidence Act 1995 14
Fair Work Act 2009 14
Health Insurance Act 1973 323
s 16A 322
s 16B 322
s 16C 322
Historic Shipwrecks Act 1976
s 21 286
Human Rights (Parliamentary Scrutiny) Act
2011 20–1
s 4 20
s 7 20
s 8(2) 20
s 8(3) 20
s 8(4) 22
s 8(5) 20-1
s 9(1) 20
s 9(3) 22
Human Rights (Sexual Conduct) Act
1994 17
s 4(1) 25
Immigration Restriction Acts 1901 38
s 3(a) 39, 52
Industrial Relations Act 1988
s 299(1)(d)(ii) 165
\$ 255(1)(d)(ll) 105
I-1:-: 1002
Judiciary Act 1903
s 23(2)(a) 162
s 30 25

s 68 364 s 70 355 s 70A 355 s 30(a) 329 s 39B(1A)(b) 329	Sex Discrimination Act 1984 14–15 s 10 17 s 11 17 Statute of Westminster Adoption Act 1942 102
Legislative Instruments Act 2003 s 26(1A)(f) 21	War Crimes Act 1945 340
s 26(2) 21	Australian Capital Territory
Life Insurance Act 1945 17	Discrimination Act 1991 17
Migration Act 1958 26, 347 s 189 348 s 196(1) 348, 350 s 198A(3)(a)(i)–(iii) 26 s 474(1) 333 Migration Amendment Act 1992 347 Military Justice (Interim Measures) Act (No 2) 2009 342–3 Native Title Act 1993 s 7 19 Native Title Amendment Act 1998 19 Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act 2007 19 Northern Territory (Self-Government) Act 1978	Human Rights Act 2004 20–1 s 30 10 s 31(1) 10 s 32(2) 10 s 32(3) 10 s 32(4) 10 s 33(3) 10 s 40 10 s 40B(1) 10 s 40B(2) 10 s 40C(4) 10 s 40C(5) 10 Human Rights Act 2004 8–9 s 37 9 s 38 9
s 50 12	s 39 9 Human Rights Amendment Act 2012 s 27A 9
Parliamentary Privileges Act 1987	\$2/A)
s 5 162 Pharmaceutical Benefits Act 1947 s 7A 322 Political Broadcasts and Political Disclosures Act 1991 165	Legislation Act 2001 s 6(2) 42 s 170 42 s 171 42
Public Service Act 1999	New South Wales
s 10 14	
s 18 14	Anti-Discrimination Act 1977 17
Racial Discrimination Act 1975 14–15, 19 s 6A(1) 17 s 9 17 s 9(1) 14	Constitution Act 1902 8 s 5 8 Industrial Relations Act 1996 336
s 10 14 Representation Act 1905 250	World Youth Day Act 2006 40 s 58 40

s 28 9

Northern Territory	s 29 9
Aboriginals Ordinance 1918	s 30 9
215, 347	s 31 9
Anti-Discrimination Act 1992 17	s 32(1) 10
	s 32(2) 10
Northern Territory National Emergency	s 36(2) 10
Response Act 2007	s 36(6) 10
s 60(2) 286	s 37 10
Northern Territory (Self-Government) Act	s 38(1) 10
1978 16	s 38(2) 10
OF M.C. IN D.	s 39(1) 10
Queensland	s 39(3) 10
•	s 66(5) 10
Anti-Discrimination Act 1991 17	Crimes Act 1958
	s 321(1) 115
South Australia	
Equal Opportunity Act 1984 17	Equal Opportunity Act 2010 17
Juries Act 1927	Transport Accident Act 1986
s 7 364	s 35 280
South Australian Constitution	Victorian Constitution 13
s 77 13	
3 / / 13	
s 88(2) 13	Western Australia
s 88(2) 13	Western Australia Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform)
s 88(2) 13	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform)
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5 s 123 24–5	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5 s 123 24–5 Criminal Code Amendment	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252 Constitution Acts Amendment Act
S 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 S 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 S 122 24–5 S 123 24–5 Criminal Code Amendment Act 1997	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252 Constitution Acts Amendment Act 1899 251
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5 s 123 24–5 Criminal Code Amendment	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252 Constitution Acts Amendment Act
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5 s 123 24–5 Criminal Code Amendment Act 1997 s 4 24 s 5 24	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252 Constitution Acts Amendment Act 1899 251 Constitution Amendment Act 1893 s 12 221
s 88(2) 13 Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5 s 123 24–5 Criminal Code Amendment Act 1997 s 4 24	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252 Constitution Acts Amendment Act 1899 251 Constitution Amendment Act 1893 s 12 221 Electoral Districts Act 1947 251
Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5 s 123 24–5 Criminal Code Amendment Act 1997 s 4 24 s 5 24 Tasmanian Constitution Act 1934	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252 Constitution Acts Amendment Act 1899 251 Constitution Amendment Act 1893 s 12 221
Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5 s 123 24–5 Criminal Code Amendment Act 1997 s 4 24 s 5 24 Tasmanian Constitution Act 1934 s 41A 12 Victoria	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252 Constitution Acts Amendment Act 1899 251 Constitution Amendment Act 1893 s 12 221 Electoral Districts Act 1947 251 Equal Opportunity Act 1984 17 Goldfields Act 1895
Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5 s 123 24–5 Criminal Code Amendment Act 1997 s 4 24 s 5 24 Tasmanian Constitution Act 1934 s 41A 12	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252 Constitution Acts Amendment Act 1899 251 Constitution Amendment Act 1893 s 12 221 Electoral Districts Act 1947 251 Equal Opportunity Act 1984 17 Goldfields Act 1895 s 14 70
Tasmania Anti-Discrimination Act 1998 17 Constitution Act 1934 s 46 12–13 Criminal Code Act 1924 s 122 24–5 s 123 24–5 Criminal Code Amendment Act 1997 s 4 24 s 5 24 Tasmanian Constitution Act 1934 s 41A 12 Victoria	Acts Amendment (Electoral Reform) Act 1987 251 Betting Control Act 1954 s 24(1aa) 318 s 27D(1) 318 Constitution Act 1890 13, 252 s 73(2)(c) 252 Constitution Acts Amendment Act 1899 251 Constitution Amendment Act 1893 s 12 221 Electoral Districts Act 1947 251 Equal Opportunity Act 1984 17 Goldfields Act 1895

s 4 70

Western Australian Constitution 12

s 73(2)(c) 12

s 73(2)(f) 12

s 73(2)(g) 12

United Kingdom

Australia Act 1986 102

Canada Act 1982 113, 327 Colonial Laws Validity Act 1865 110, 330 Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900 58 s 9 56–7, 99 Constitution Act 1867 60

Human Rights Act 1998 11, 155 s 4 10

Magna Carta 1215 2

Statute of Westminster 1931 102

Canada

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms s 7 327 s 24(1) 10, 155 Canadian Constitution 57–8, 60

New Zealand

Bill of Rights Act 1990 10

South Africa

South African Constitution 53

s 26(1) 6

s 26(2) 6

s 27(a) 7

s 28 7

Switzerland

Swiss Constitution 57

United States

United States Constitution 15, 54, 58–9, 63, 65–6, 69–71, 84, 100, 117, 127, 311 art I § 9 340 art III § 2 cl 3 355, 364 art IV § 2 273 art VI § 3 259

Preface

The first edition of this book was published at the end of a particularly active period for the development of rights protections in the Australian Constitution. In the 1990s, the High Court discerned in the Constitution an implied freedom of political communication (*Nationwide News Pty Ltd v Wills* (1992) 177 CLR 1 and *Australian Capital Television Pty Ltd v Commonwealth* (1992) 177 CLR 106), constraints on the functions which could be exercised by state courts (*Kable v Director of Public Prosecutions (NSW)* (1996) 189 CLR 51) and possible constraints on the Commonwealth's power to detain without judicial imprimatur (*Chu Kheng Lim v Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs* (1992) 176 CLR 1), while also holding that the Constitution recognised a form of native title (*Mabo v Queensland (No 2)* (1992) 175 CLR 1). Decisions such as these saw the High Court criticised for judicial activism and for creating rights, rather than simply interpreting the Constitution.

The 14 years since the first edition have not seen the High Court hand down decisions attracting the same public attention and criticism as those in *Mabo* and *Australian Capital Television*. The Court has nevertheless gone about entrenching and expanding the rights developed in the 1990s, while also discerning still more rights. The implied freedom of political communication has been accepted and applied in a number of cases. The principle in *Kable* has been applied in novel ways to impose significant constraints on the ability of states and territories to deny due process to those whose rights and interests can be affected by decisions made by judges. The principle articulated in *Lim* has formed the basis of many challenges to executive detention, particularly of asylum seekers. At the same time, the High Court has discerned what is effectively a constitutional right to vote (*Roach v Electoral Commissioner* (2007) 233 CLR 162) and has increasingly applied fundamental rights and freedoms in the process of statutory construction. These developments have taken place alongside the enactment of statutory charters of rights in Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory.

When you tell people that you are writing a book on human rights under the Australian Constitution, the standard retort is that it must be a short book. It is commonplace to observe that the Australian Constitution does not contain a Bill or Charter of Rights. A purpose of this book is to demonstrate that, even absent such an instrument, many of the values and interests protected by human rights have still found protection in the Australian Constitution, often in surprising ways. Nevertheless, the human rights protection afforded by the Constitution is far from comprehensive, and human rights advocates continue to call for a national instrument such as a Bill of Rights or human rights Act.

In this book, we provide an overview of how the Australian Constitution safeguards and protects many of the values and interests protected by human rights. We do so in a form which we hope will be of use to students, academics and practitioners in Australia and overseas. The book intersperses discussion and analysis of existing doctrine with critique and, where appropriate, suggestions for possible development of

the law. This second edition updates the material in the first edition to reflect subsequent developments and expands the discussion of areas, such as judicial power, which have increasingly drawn the High Court's attention in human rights contexts. Our overall aim is to render this important area of the law more accessible and more coherent.

We thank our colleagues who reviewed early chapter drafts. We also thank Rafe Andrews, Lisa Burton and Lyndon Goddard for their research assistance. We also owe a considerable debt to the scholars whose arguments and analysis have inspired many of the ideas expressed in this book.

This book states the law to July 2013.

George Williams

David Hume

Acknowledgments

Extracts from Commonwealth Law Reports published by Thomson Reuters in the Commonwealth Law Reports. For all subscription inquiries please phone, from Australia: 1300 304 195, from Overseas: +61 2 8587 7980 or online at www.thomsonreuters.com. au/catalogue. The official PDF version of this article can also be purchased separately from Thomson Reuters.

Contents

Ta	ible o	of Cases	X		
Ta	ible d	of Statutes	xxv		
Pr	reface		XXX		
Аc	knoi	wledgments	xxxii		
1	Hı	uman rights in Australia			
	1	Introduction	1		
	2 What are human rights?				
	The legal protection of human rights in Australia				
		3.1 State and territory law	8		
		3.2 Federal statute law	14		
		3.3 Commonwealth parliamentary processes	20		
	4	International law	24		
		4.1 Shaping the interpretation of statutes	26		
		4.2 Informing the development of the common law	29		
		4.3 Providing extra-legal facts which can have legal consequences	31		
		4.4 Affecting procedural powers and obligations?	31		
	5	The common law as a source of rights and freedoms	33		
		5.1 Statutory construction and human rights	34		
		5.2 Statutory construction: the principle of legality	36		
		5.2.1 Overview	36		
		5.2.2 Breadth and depth of the principle of legality	41		
		5.2.3 The future of the principle of legality	44		
		5.3 Are there 'fundamental rights and freedoms' which			
		cannot be abrogated?	47		
		5.4 The common law and the Constitution	48		
	6	The state of human rights protection in Australia	49		
2	Th	e drafting of the Australian Constitution	51		
	1	Introduction	51		
	2	The making of the Australian Constitution	53		
	3 The influence of comparative models				
	4	Human rights at the constitutional conventions	60		
	5	Andrew Inglis Clark's draft constitution	62		
	6	Clauses 46 and 81: freedom of religion	62 64		
	7 Clause 65: trial by jury				
	8	Equal protection of the laws, and due process of law	65		

	9	The framers, human rights, and cl 110	66	
		9.1 Responsible, not republican, government	67	
		9.2 Maintaining discriminatory laws	69	
	10	The issue of race in other clauses	70	
	11	The rights of women	71	
	12	Constitutional amendments and human rights	73	
	13	Underlying principles	74	
3	Constitutional interpretation			
	1	Introduction	76	
	2	Literalism and the Engineers Case	78	
		2.1 The Engineers Case	78	
		2.2 Literalism, legalism and human rights	79	
		2.3 Challenges to the <i>Engineers Case</i>	85	
		2.3.1 Extrinsic factors in constitutional interpretation	85	
		2.3.2 Substance, not just form	87	
		2.3.3 Inconsistent applications of literalism	88	
		2.3.4 Literalism and the construction of express		
		constitutional guarantees	89	
	3	History and constitutional interpretation	91	
		3.1 The Convention debates as an aid to interpretation	92	
		3.2 Limiting constitutional rights by use of the Convention debates	94	
		3.3 Originalism and dynamic development	98	
	4	Popular sovereignty	99	
	5	'Abstraction' from power by constitutional guarantees	105	
	6	Human rights principles in constitutional interpretation	107	
4	Th	e text and structure of the Australian Constitution	111	
	1	Introduction	111	
	2	Rights protections in the Australian Constitution	112	
	3	Federalism	116	
		3.1 Federalism as a human rights protection	116	
		3.2 Implications from federalism	119	
	4	The separation of powers	121	
		4.1 Limits on 'legislative power'	122	
		4.2 Limits on executive power	122	
		4.3 The separation of judicial power	124	
	5	Representative government	124	
	6	Responsible government	127	
		6.1 The nature and constitutional basis of responsible government	127	
		6.2 Responsible government and the protection of rights	128	
	7	The rule of law	131	
		7.1 Implications from the rule of law	133	

	8	8 Proportionality			135
		8.1	Factors bearing	on proportionality	137
	9	'Free	doms' or 'immur	nities' and 'rights' or 'individual rights'	142
		9.1	Consequences		148
		9.2	The doctrinal ba	asis	152
	10	Rem	edies for 'breach'	of the Constitution	155
5	Fre	eedom	of political com	munication	161
	1	Intro	duction		162
	2	The	levelopment of tl	he implied freedom of political communication	163
		2.1	The Murphy su	pernova	163
		2.2	The High Cour	t discerns and develops the freedom	164
		2.3	Securing the bas	sis of the freedom	168
		2.4	Post-Lange deve	lopment of the freedom	174
	3	The s	ystemic basis of 1	the freedom and its consequences	176
		3.1	Narrower basis	than other free speech protections	176
		3.2	Not an 'individ	ual right' to speak	180
		3.3		idence is of limited assistance	181
		3.4	Operates at leas	t as a 'vertical' immunity	182
		3.5	The status of the	e person who expresses the communication	183
		3.6		he burden on receipt of information is relevant	183
	4	Polit	cal communicati	ons: 'coverage' of the implied freedom	184
		4.1	Exclusions: non	-political communications	184
		4.2	Exclusions: non	-federal communications	186
		4.3	Inclusions: com	munications on federal political issues	188
		4.4	Categorical excl	usions?	191
		4.5	Are some politic	cal communications more important than others?	192
	5	'Effe	tive burden' on t	the implied freedom	193
		5.1	A greater role fo	or this limb?	194
		5.2	Is there a need f	or a pre-existing common law or	
			statutory freedo	m?	195
		5.3	Direct and incid	dental burdens	199
	6	'Con	patible ends'		202
		6.1	Laws advancing	interests other than the constitutionally	
			prescribed system	ms	203
		6.2	_	the constitutional systems	205
				lvancing aspects of the constitutionally prescribed	
			•	other than freedom of communication	206
				lvancing the constitutionally prescribed systems by	
			enhanci	ing freedom of communication	207
		6.3	Incompatible er	nds	210
	7	Prop	ortionality		212
	8	8 Derivative freedoms: political movement and political association			214

6	Th	e right to vote and equality of voting power	219	
	1	Introduction	219	
	2	Commonwealth Parliament's power to prescribe the franchise		
	3	Could s 41 protect a right to vote?	222	
	4	'Directly chosen by the people' and universal suffrage	230	
		4.1 The development of ss 7 and 24 as the basis of universal		
		suffrage	232	
		4.2 Conditional exceptions to universal suffrage	237	
		4.3 Fundamental debates about judicial review and rights	243	
	5	Equality of voting power	250	
7	Civ	vil rights	256	
	1	Introduction	256	
	2	Religious rights	256	
		2.1 Overview of s 116	256	
		2.2 The 'making of law'	259	
		2.3 'For'	260	
		2.4 'Establishing' any religion	264	
		2.5 'Prohibiting the free exercise of any religion'	268	
		2.6 'Religion'	271	
	3	Rights of out-of-state residents	272	
		3.1 Section 117 and equality protections	272	
		3.2 The narrow approach to s 117	274	
		3.3 The broad approach to s 117	276	
		3.4 The future of s 117	281	
8	Ec	onomic rights	283	
	1	Introduction	283	
	2	Acquisition of property on just terms	284	
		2.1 Overview	284	
		2.2 'Acquisition': taking	287	
		2.3 'Acquisition': acquisition of an interest in property	291	
		2.4 'Property'	296	
		2.5 'Just terms'	300	
		2.6 'For any purpose in respect of which the Parliament		
		has power to make laws'	301	
		2.7 Application to the states and territories	302	
		2.8 Laws which acquire property but are not covered by s 51(xxxi)	304	
	3	Freedom of interstate trade, commerce and intercourse	309	
		3.1 The rise and fall of the 'individual rights' approach	309	
		3.2 The post-Cole v Whitfield approach	314	
	,	3.3 The freedom of interstate intercourse	318	
	4	Civil conscription	321	

9	Juo	dicial	power		325
	1	Introduction			325
	2	Judicial review		328	
		2.1	Judicia	al review of constitutional validity	328
		2.2	Judicia	al review of Commonwealth public power	333
		2.3	Judicia	al review of state public power	335
	3	Excl	usively j	udicial powers	338
		3.1	Punish	nment consequent on a determination of guilt	340
		3.2	Deten	tion authorised otherwise than by judicial order	344
		3.3	Overti	urning an exercise of Commonwealth judicial power	351
		3.4	Retros	pective criminal laws	353
	4 Trial by jury				355
		4.1	Overv	iew of s 80	355
		4.2	'Trial .	on indictment'	357
		4.3 'Trial by jury'		360	
		4.4	4.4 'Shall' be by jury		363
		4.5	4.5 'Offence'		364
	5	'Due process' in the exercise of judicial power		365	
		5.1	Indepe	endence and impartiality	369
		5.2 Processes or functions repugnant to Ch III			372
			5.2.1	Reasons for decision	372
			5.2.2	The open court principle	373
			5.2.3	그 그 그 이 이 이 아이는 그 그 이 아이는 그는 그는 그는 그는 그를 보고 있다.	373
			5.2.4	Procedural fairness	375
Ind	'ex				380