## Contents

1	Introduction: comparative constitutional law – history and			
		ours	1	
2	Cons	stitution-making	10	
	2.1	Why make a constitution?	10	
	2.2	The foundation of constitution-making: the		
		constituent power	13	
	2.3	The processes of constitution-making: questions		
		about inclusiveness	19	
	2.4	The substance of constitution-making: scope and		
		comprehensiveness	24	
	2.5	Why comply with the constitution?	36	
	2.6	Conclusion	38	
3	The structures of constitutional review and some			
	implications for substantive constitutional law		40	
	3.1	Introduction	40	
	3.2	Establishing constitutional review	41	
	3.3	Political constitutionalism as an alternative to		
		constitutional review in the courts	44	
	3.4	The classical issues in the structure of constitutional		
		review	48	
	3.5	New structures of constitutional review	56	
	3.6	The relation between structures of constitutional		
		review and second- and third-generation		
		constitutional rights	63	
	3.7	The structure of constitutional review and third-		
		generation rights	67	
	3.8	Conclusion	69	
4	The structure of rights analysis: proportionality, rules and			
	inte	rnational law	70	
	4.1	Introduction	70	

*	4.2	Balancing, proportionality and rules compared	71
	4.3	Explaining the difference	83
	4.4	A different alternative to proportionality review	88
	4.5	The role of international law in domestic	
		constitutional law	91
5	The structure of government		
	5.1	The classical enumeration of the branches of	
		government and its modification	94
	5.2	An emerging fifth branch of government?	96
	5.3	Beyond the fifth branch – or modifying the three-	
		branch model	108
	5.4	Conclusion	112
6	Conclusion		114
	6.1	Forms of constitutionalism other than liberal	
		constitutionalism	114
	6.2	Constitutions for modern and highly divided nations:	
		contradictory definitions of "thin" constitutions	116
Ret	erences		122
Index			127