ISRAEL’S CONSTITUTIONAL TRAGEDY

Menachem Lorberbaum

Sanford Levinson’s dithering between constitutional faith and lack thereof is on target with regard to the promise extended by a written constitution. My comments will not touch upon the mechanics of the American constitutional system that he has so masterfully analyzed. Rather, I will respond to the question of Israel, mentioned but not developed in Levinson’s essay. Constitutional theorists have at least enough faith to maintain the proposition that a written constitution is better than none at all; and Israel, it would seem, serves as a proverbial example of the failure to embrace one. However, the case of Israel deserves a closer examination. In fact, I will argue it is the attempt to foist the constitutional machinery of judicial review upon the legal and political system in Israel that can serve as an example of a lack of dexterity in constitutional politics.

In 1948, the newly founded State of Israel adopted the outgoing British Mandatory Law as the law of the land, basic to its own legal system. Although this structure lacks a single constitutional document, it has developed, in time, a body of Basic

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Laws and a robust tradition of court rulings on constitutional issues.\textsuperscript{4} With regard to its political structure, Israel’s parliamentary system is a proportional one that is designed to be inclusive.\textsuperscript{5} However, due to a threshold that is too low, the Knesset has often been plagued by political fragmentation.\textsuperscript{6} The particular division of powers in the Israeli polity has thus led to legal strictures (e.g., Basic Laws and court precedents) on the one hand, and pragmatic principles (e.g., the infamous “Status Quo” on religion and state) enabling coalition forming and governmental stability on the other.\textsuperscript{7} Over the past few decades, the two prongs of the system have balanced each other in the overall public character of the polity.\textsuperscript{8}

The two important axes that inform constitutional strife in Israel are:

(1) The relation between the Jewish majority and Palestinian minority.\textsuperscript{9} This axis has been further acerbated since the de facto inclusion of the territories occupied in 1967 in the life of the Israeli polity.\textsuperscript{10} Of the entire Palestinian population under Israeli rule, only a portion of these Palestinians are citizens of Israel.\textsuperscript{11}

(2) The relation between the secular majority and religious minority within the Jewish population.\textsuperscript{12}

In their pull and push, these two axes define the fundamental challenge of Israeli constitutional work.\textsuperscript{13} A constitution seeking to

\textsuperscript{4} Id. at 35.
\textsuperscript{5} See SAGER, supra note 2, at 45 (describing Israel’s proportional system).
\textsuperscript{8} See Gelpe, \textit{supra} note 6; Wald & Shye, \textit{supra} note 7 (discussing both aspects of the legal system).
\textsuperscript{12} Wald & Shye, \textit{supra} note 7, at 160.
\textsuperscript{13} Gelpe, \textit{supra} note 6, at 23-24.
be inclusive of the Arab minorities would be seen to downplay the role of Jewish cultural and national hegemony in the constitution.\footnote{See Wald & Shye, supra note 7, at 159-60 (discussing the conflicting views regarding the implementation of Jewish law on the state).} Inclusivity among the Jewish population between its secular and religious groups may seek to thicken their common Jewish values, which could further alienate non-Jewish components from civil society.\footnote{Nadim Rouhana & Asad Ghanem, The Crisis of Minorities in Ethnic States: The Case of Palestinian Citizens in Israel, 30 Int’l J. of MIDDLE E. STUD. 321, 323 (1998).}

In terms of their substantive values, both Arab and Orthodox Jewish citizens may share a suspicion or questioning of the legitimacy of secular nation-state sovereignty.\footnote{Id. at 328.} But, in terms of parliamentary coalition-making, their status has been dramatically different; Arab parties (though not Arab members of the Knesset) have almost always remained in the opposition.\footnote{See, e.g., Martin Edelman, The New Israeli Constitution, 36 MIDDLE E. STUD. 1, 8 (2000).} The Arab citizens, though a significant ethnic and cultural minority, have still never been able to transcend this fact politically as a partner in government.\footnote{Rouhana & Ghanem, supra note 15, at 328-29.} On the other hand, Jewish religious—Orthodox—parties have for the most part preferred to join the coalition, whatever principled reservations they may have about the secular Zionist enterprise.\footnote{Edelman, supra note 17, at 3-4.} In fact, the Orthodox parties have often been the tiebreakers in the system.\footnote{Id. at 10.} Therefore, the Israeli parliamentary system has yielded a tradition of government whereby the Arab population has never succeeded in translating its numbers into governmental power, while the Jewish Orthodox parties have been advantaged in it.\footnote{See, e.g., Rouhana & Ghanem, supra note 15, at 323 (discussing the purported lack of equality resulting from the proportional system).} Cast in liberal terms we can say that the Israeli system has encouraged a curious mixture of tyranny by the Jewish majority with regard to certain civil rights of the Arab minority as well as tyranny by the Orthodox minority vis-à-vis the larger secular Jewish populace (especially with regard to personal status and marriage, which is overseen by the Orthodox state rabbinate since
there is no civil marriage in Israel). These characteristics of Israeli polity set the stage for its unique constitutional politics. The role of the Supreme Court in such a political system has traditionally been to serve as the arbitor by representing the overlapping consensus among the various elements of civil society. The court here does not give voice to the foundational moment; instead, it is a voice of equity and fairness. Rather than dictate a revelatory moment of constitutional decisiveness in legal space, it lends guidance in a highly politicized agora.

In 1992, the Knesset passed the important Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom. Chief Justice Aharon Barak declared this event a “Constitutional Revolution” and then proceeded to argue that judicial review is analytically implied by the very concept of a “Basic” law. Barak’s opponents argued that the hard-earned parliamentary consensus enabling this legislation would actually be used by a bench typified by liberal judicial activism to undo the particular cultural and religious character of the Jewish public space of Israeli society. In terms of the politics of constitutional law in Israel, Barak’s self-proclaimed revolution seemed to have played into the hands of his opposition.

The attempt to utilize the Basic Laws to found an American style practice of legal supremacy came at the expense of marking the court as a side in the agora. Barak’s liberal activist rhetoric rendered the court no longer eligible to serve in its traditional role as supreme arbiter. In 2000, the intifada undermined the court’s role when most needed to help heal the fracturing of the polity’s

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22 See, e.g., id.; Edelman, supra note 17, at 18-19.
23 Edelman, supra note 17, at 10.
24 Id. at 12.
25 Id. at 10-12.
26 Id. at 15.
27 Id. at 16-17 (quoting Aharon Barak, The Constitutionalization of the Israeli Legal System as a Result of the Basic Laws and Its Effect on Procedural and Substantive Criminal Law, 31 ISRAEL L. REV. 3, 3-4 (1997)).
28 Edelman, supra note 17, at 19-20.
29 Id. at 13.
31 See Jeffrey M. Alpert, Constitutional Adjudication Without a Constitution: The Case of Israel, 82 HARV. L. REV. 1245, 1249 (1969) (identifying the Knesset as “the state’s supreme legal body”).
The state of Israel’s most serious problem is the weakness of its political will due to its fractured coalitional politics. The ongoing “tyranny of the [Orthodox] minority” including its disproportional access to goods in terms of distributive justice (e.g., draft exemption and institutional funding) and its dramatic turn to nationalist, and at times markedly racist, sentiments has contributed dramatically to an erosion of Israel’s civil society. Until this past Knesset, the only serious infringement of personal rights in Israeli law was that of mandated religious marriage and that could easily be amended by legislation enabling civil marriage. However, this significant minority has no interest in the liberal constitutional insurance of its right because the Knesset has proven the best purveyor of its privileges. The coalition between racist nationalism and Orthodoxy is the powerful drive of the present day Israeli right and has resulted in a flood of legislative initiatives strengthening nationalist indoctrination and curtailing freedom of speech. On the other hand, it is plausibly arguable that Barak’s judicial activism, acting as though there was a constitution when there was none, undid the crucial role of the court in a polity founded on a significant overlapping consensus. Tragically in its wake, we have witnessed the emergence of anti-liberal and racist legislation in the heart of the right’s agenda in Israel and not only or even primarily the religious right. The old issue of the status of halakhah in secular Israel has

34 See Joshua Mitnick, Israel’s Unity Government: A Bid to Represent the Majority, THE CHRISTIAN SCI. MONITOR (May 9, 2012), http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2012/0509/Israel-s-unity-government-a-bid-to-represent-the-majority (discussing the issues created by proportional representation); see also Bazelon, supra note 30 (exemplifying the tension between Orthodox and democratic principles in several court rulings).
37 Bazelon, supra note 30.
38 See Woods, supra note 1, at 811 (discussing Barak’s view that “every issue—including the political—is justiciable”).
given place to a much more pernicious undertaking of unraveling its civil society. The neo-con Likud Party is very weak in its face and there is no longer a supreme court to act as a break.

Still, we recently have witnessed the court striking down the law addressing the exemption of ultra-Orthodox students from military service as unconstitutional. This might point to a reassertion of the court’s stature as supreme legal interpreter, even if no longer moral arbitrator, of Israeli civil society.

40 See Albert, supra note 31, at 1261 (“[T]he short term prospects for broad invocation of Hebrew law as a source of constitutional principle are probably dim.”).
41 Mitnick, supra note 34; Cook, supra note 32.