

Unit 2

Rule of Law

Introduction

In the previous unit, you learnt about democracy, basic principles of democratic system, and the two ways of exercising democracy. You have also studied about the state structure, your rights and obligations, role of the government and its limits in exercising its power. In this unit, you will have a discussion on constitution, rule of law, power of government, the role of rule of law in combating corruption and about Ethiopia's foreign relations. As supreme law of a country, the activities, decisions and practices of the governors and the people as well as the domestic and foreign affairs of the country all are guided by the law. And the law and policies that serves as guideline for exercising internal and external affairs of the country are derived from the constitution.

Lessons

1. Constitution
2. Rule of Law
3. Power of Government
4. Rule of Law and Corruption

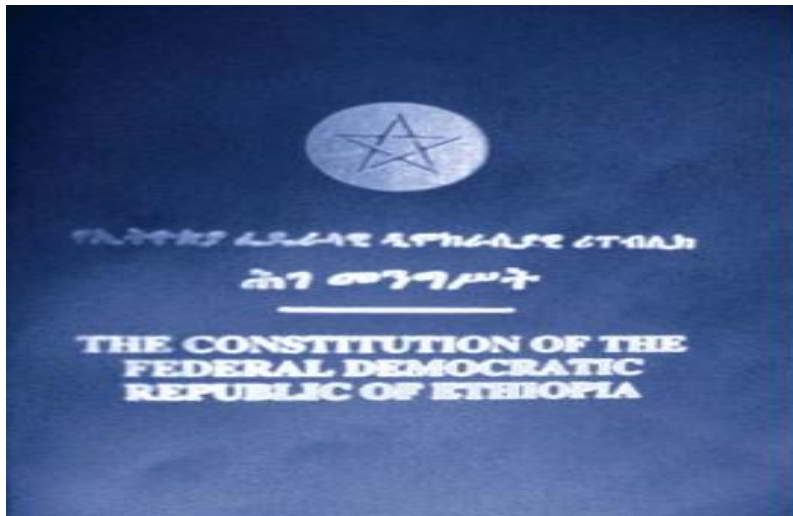
Chapter Objectives

At the end of this unit students will be able to:

- ☞ Recognize the essence constitution and of rule of law.
- ☞ Realize the different variety of laws.
- ☞ Describe rule of law in relation to combating corruption.
- ☞ Discuss Ethiopia's foreign relations

Key words and concepts

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| ▪ Abuse of power | Nepotism |
| ▪ Accountability | Rules |
| ▪ Constitution | Rule of law |
| ▪ Corruption | Rule of men |
| ▪ Domestic laws | Limited government |
| ▪ Embezzlement | Unwritten constitution |
| ▪ International | Written constitution |
| ▪ Convention | |
| ▪ Limited Government | |



ACTIVITY

What is a constitution?

What is the importance of a constitution?

1. CONSTITUTION

Everyone including students and family members cannot act and behave as they desired. Everything has limit; at home, at school and in the wider society there is rules, regulation that guides each of us to behave and act in a desired and appropriate manner. When every member of the society acts in appropriate manner law and order and peace is maintained for wellness of every one. At country level too, there are policies, regulations, customary laws to guide our activities and lives in different contexts. Each of the laws, policies and principles and etc are derived from the constitution and or should not be contradictory it. Thus, before studying about rule law, it is important to define constitution which serves as the sources and basis of rule of law.

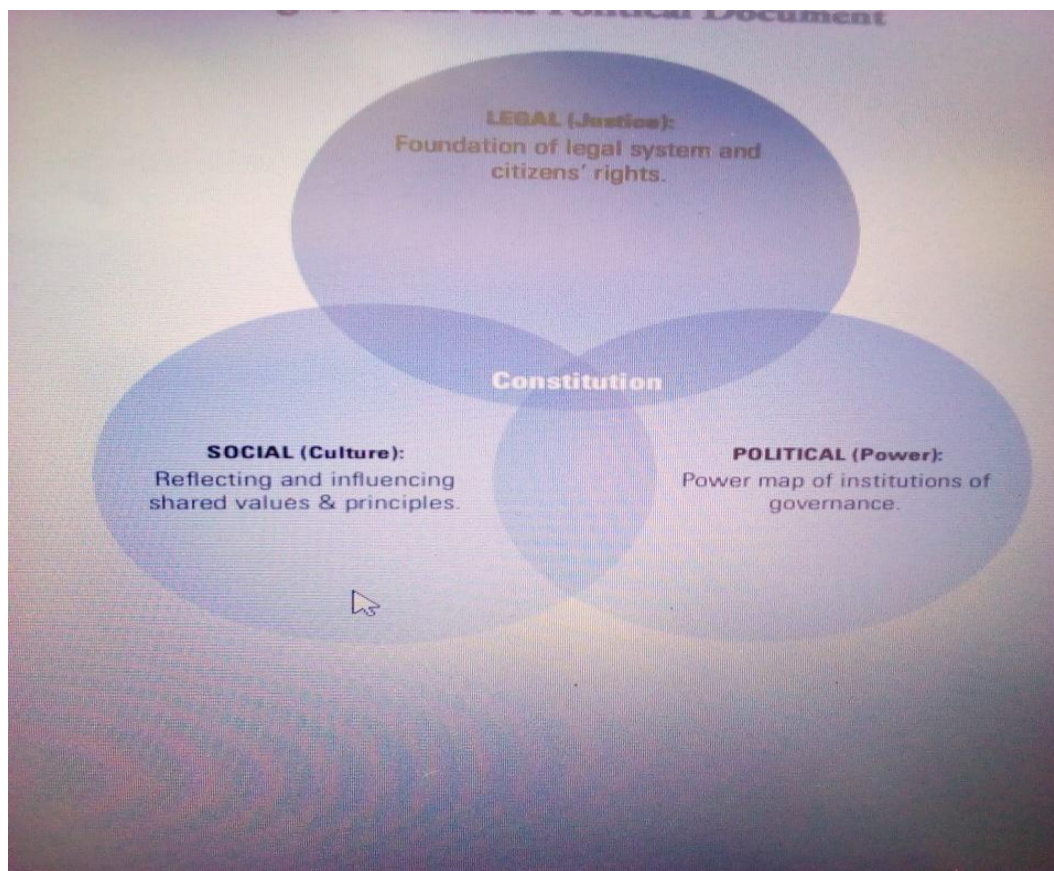
#. What is Constitution?

Constitution is the **supreme** law of the land. As supreme law, constitution describes the basic principles of the state, the structures and processes of government and the fundamental rights of citizens that cannot be unilaterally changed by an ordinary legislative act. It is the basic document which reflects the will and interest of the people of one country. It is used as a general frame work for the government to act and rule the country. It is not only a **legal** document but also a **political** document of one country. A constitution is a document that contains the basic principles, customs and rules by which a group of people or state is governed.

The constitution explains the duties, responsibilities and rights of all people living in a country. Citizens, the government bodies and all other laws, rules and regulations are subordinate to the basic principles of the constitution. You and your parents and people whose mother or father is Ethiopian, are citizens of Ethiopia.

You, your parents, government officials like **police, judges, teachers, directors** and all other people living in the country have rights, duties and responsibilities which are clearly written in the constitution. Therefore, everyone living in the country must respect and act in accordance to the provisions the country's constitution. In this regard, the constitution as a document embodies legal, social and political principles to guide the legal, social and political life of citizens.

Fig. 1: A Constitution as a Legal, Social and Political Document



In democratic countries, the constitution is the embodiment of the will of the people. That means, it guarantees the basic rights, duties and responsibilities of citizens and governs the relationship between the government and the people.

For example, a constitution describes the duties and responsibilities of government officials, such as the president and the **prime minister**, or government bodies such as the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. It also defines the election system of the government bodies. The constitution also sets the basic principles of the structure of the government and the distribution of state power.

Generally the basic functions of the democratic constitution include:

- ✓ Protecting the rights of citizens;
- ✓ Limiting the power of officials/elected individuals;
- ✓ Stating the obligations of citizens;
- ✓ Maintaining peace and security in the country.

In Ethiopia, the constitution is the law of the land which contains basic principles and values that direct the internal and external affairs of the country.

There are two forms of modern constitution. Though Ethiopia has a written constitution, some countries like England do not have their constitution in a written and documented form.

ACTIVITY

What is the difference between written and unwritten constitution?

List three basic traditional legendary documents which used as constitution of Ethiopia?

A **written constitution** is a compiled document that is **handy** and **easy** to read.

Example: Ethiopia

Unwritten constitution refers to a set of **rules, regulations, declarations** and **laws** passed by either a parliament or another competent government body at a different time. They are not compiled in a single document and legislations, decrees or proclamations that set at different times are taken as part of the constitution. And all the citizens abide by the basic rules adopted as constitutional laws.

Example: **Great Britain, Israel** etc

2. History and development constitution in Ethiopia

The need for a constitution came into effect with the conviction that there should be a governing code by which governments could rule. Constitutional practices have passed through centuries in various countries. In the following section, you are going to learn about the emergence, nature and development of constitutions in Ethiopia under different regimes.

In Ethiopian history, monarchs claimed to be elected by God since election was considered as a divine process. This helped the monarchs to establish absolute power over their subjects by monopolizing **legislative, executive and judiciary** powers.

Monarchs also used religious institutions, like churches as a source of their ideology to support their claim and narrations written in different documents as instruments for legitimizing and maintaining their power. Documents such as **Kebre Negest** (Glory of Kings) and **Fetha Negest** (Law of Kings) that state the divine power of Ethiopian monarchs are used as evidence.

This idea continued even after the introduction of the first written constitution in 1931. With the introduction of a modern political system, the first constitution was written in 1931. This constitution kept the unquestioned and unlimited power of the emperor. Though not applicable, the 1931 constitution introduced a

parliamentary system. However, a constitutional monarchy that can limit the power of the monarch or the emperor was not introduced and parliamentarians had only advisory role. Indeed the constitution granted freedom of movement and security.

The monarch had absolute power to appoint members of the legislative body (the Chamber of Senate or [Ye-Hig Mewesegna Mekir Bet](#)); appoint or dismiss high-ranking civil and military officials including [ministers; declare and end wars](#). The first constitution was revised in 1955, partly to accommodate the Eritrea, after its reunion with Ethiopia in 1952 in federation. It also made some other small adjustments including the introduction of freedom of speech and freedom of the press and the people's right to elect or be elected as members of the [Chamber Senate](#). Though a few ideas of liberty, freedom of expression and assembly were included in the revised constitution, it was an open secret that they were not supposed to be implemented in practice.

In both constitutions of 1931 and 1955, the different nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia were considered mere subjects of the Emperor. The suppression of the people's economic, social and political rights, however, provoked nationwide opposition against the monarchy. [Students, soldiers, peasants and workers, teachers and](#) other members of society, joined together to fight for their rights. This led to the downfall of the imperial system and its replacement by a military council called 'Derg'.

After taking power in 1974 as result of the popular revolution, the military government ruled the country for thirteen with no constitution. In 1987 the Derg introduced a constitution called PDRE constitution. The PDRE constitution gave the Workers party of Ethiopia, the only socialist party established by the military [government, unlimited power](#). On the basis of the PDRE constitution, the country declared as Socialist republic. In this constitution, another major shift or progress

in the fact that state and church was separated. By doing so, the Derg ended the myth of transfer of power through bloodline. However, this constitution allowed only one party rule and, quite naturally, did not lead to a political transformation towards a truly democratic system. **Fundamental questions** of the different nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia were, however, left unresolved. Again, the absence of democracy and denial of basic human rights led to an armed struggle that ultimately led to the downfall of the military Derg and the emergence a new system. After the fall of the Derg, a Transitional period charter was introduced and served as an constitution for the Transitional period (1991-1994)

The 1995 Constitution differs from the previous ones. It established a federal state structure and a parliamentary system of government that included **civil, social and political** rights of groups and individual rights—the rights of nations, nationalities and peoples.

The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

- Serves as the **supreme law** of the nation;
- Establishes the **Federal** and **Democratic state structure**;
- States the powers and functions of the federal and regional states;
- Outlines the **economic, social, political and cultural rights** of citizens;
- Outlines the principles of **external relations**;
- States the sovereign authority of the **state** and its **peoples**;
- Limits the **power** of government

Activity

- ☞ How constitutions limit the power of government?
- ☞ Both Emperor and the Derg had constitution. But their power was not limited, so what is the importance of constitution, do you think?
- ☞ What makes the FDRE constitution different from the former three

3. Rule of Law

ACTIVITY

What do you know about rule of law?

What do think the relationship is between rule of law and constitution?

What are the sources of law?

Rules are prescribed standards, or a guide, for our conduct in a society or in an organization, like school. Rules are principles and they help us to follow basic values.

#. What does it by Rule of Law mean?

The rule of law means ruling in accordance with law or on the basis of the law of the country. Rule of law is important because it regulates the use of powers and bare government and its officials from ruling arbitrarily or as they wish. Indeed rule of law makes both the governors and the governed to act and decide in accordance with the provisions and principles of the law. It means that both government and the governed are and must be subject to the laws of a country when they make decisions and take actions instead of doing so arbitrarily. The state is a protective agent with the monopoly role of enforcing the rule of the game. Under the rule of law, everyone is bound by rules, including the government.

ACTIVITY; list five rules of school you are learning in?

Law: is a system of rules created and enforced through social or governmental institutions to regulate behavior or action. It is usually made by legislative (parliament).

Sources of Laws

Sources of law mean the origin from which particular laws derive their authority or force. Such sources can be custom, supreme being, or sovereigns.

I. Custom

Custom is a usage or practice of the people, which (by common adoption and unvarying habit) has become compulsory, and has acquired the force of a law with respect to the place or subject matter to which it relates. In this definition, a given practice to be a custom must fulfill the following conditions:

- A. There must be common adoption and acquiescence of that practice by the people;
- B. The practice must be practiced uninterruptedly for a long time;
- C. Due to the above two reasons, the practice must become compulsory and acquire the force of binding a person Custom is the expression and realization of the principles of rights and Justice.

It embodies these principles as acknowledged and approved by the public opinion of the society at large. Custom can be a source of laws issued by government incorporates in its laws.

II. Supreme Being

It is the nature of mankind that people believe in something/somebody as being their creator and protector. It can be GOD or ALLAH or somebody else whom people obey His command in fear of punishment in this world or in the hereafter world. For instance, both Muslims and Christians have their own Holy Book containing divine commands. The standards of rights and wrongs in the Holy Books are laws that believers should respect.

III. Sovereigns

Sovereign is a person, body or entity in which independent and supreme authority is vested. Sovereignty is the supreme power by which independent state is governed. Sovereign has the power to make and execute laws; to impose and collect taxes; to make war or peace; to have relations with foreign nations.

Varieties of Laws

A. Divine Law

Divine law is a law given by a divine being containing what is right and what is wrong. It is more of religious depending upon whether a given action is commanded or forbidden by GOD or ALLAH.

B. Common Law

The common law comprises the body of those principles and rules of action relating to the government, security of persons and property, which derive their authority from two main sources:

- A. Solely from usage and customs of immemorial antiquity; or
- B. From the judgments and decrees of courts recognizing, affirming and enforcing such usage and customs.

C. Statute Law

Statute law is a **formal written** law enacted by the legislative body declaring, commanding or prohibiting something. So, it is the opposite of common law. Statute law derives its authority from the declaration of the will of the legislature.

D. International Law

International law is the body of customary and treaty rules, which are considered legally binding by states in their relation each other. At international level customs evolve through the practices of and usage of nations and their recognition by the community of nations.

Rule of law: Is a legal and political practices that treats every individual equally and fairly. Under rule of law no one is above the law. Everybody is equal before the law.

Article 25

Right to Equality

All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall guarantee to all persons

equal and effective protection without discrimination on grounds of race, nation, nationality, or other social origin, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property, birth or other status.

Laws and regulations, on the other hand, are written standards of action endorsed by authority. They are binding and you will be punished if you break them. In our example above, the school rules are the law of the school because they have been endorsed. Every member of the school has to respect the school rules and act in accordance with the standards set by them. In a country the same principle works. Every citizen of Ethiopia should obey the laws and, if he/she fails to do so, be punished equally, as prescribed by the law. The government body which sets the laws is parliament and members of the parliament are also expected to follow the law just as you or your teacher and family do.

Therefore, the main feature of the basic principles of the rule of law is that society is governed according to widely known and accepted rules, followed by both the citizens and authorities. The sources of rule of law include constitution, domestic laws and international laws. Constitution, as stated earlier, is a supreme law of a nation. In democratic countries constitutions are the basic sources of rule of the law.

Collections of **specific laws** that are used to regulate social and economic interaction of a given people are referred to as Domestic Laws. They are very important for the maintenance of rule of law.

Domestic laws include:

Civil codes (laws that govern the relationships between people)

Criminal laws (laws that deal with crime)

Family law (laws that are concerned with family issues)

Commercial (relating to business) and

Administrative laws (dealing with employment issues). Equality before the courts is one of the manifestations of the rule of law

4. Power of Government

Power

Is the ability to influence others to do what the power holder wishes? It is the source for authority.

Activity

- ☞ What is the difference between power and authority
- ☞ What is government?
- ☞ List down the organs of government and explain their functions
- ☞ Is government essential? How

Government

Government is an agent of state that deals with **domestic** and **external** affairs of the country. It makes, implements, and interprets laws on behalf of the state. Government refers to a group of institutions authorized to formulate public policies and conduct the affairs of the state. It is the elements of state which acts on behalf of the state. As a result, the decisions and actions of the government are binding that governs the activities of every citizens.

In democracy, government comes into power through election or consent of the peoples. But in undemocratic systems, the source of government power could be either force or claim of divine power or tradition. Military governments rely on force or coercion to govern the people.

Organs of Government

Government has different organs. The main organs are termed as the **executive**, the **legislative** and the **judiciary**. More often these **three** organs are termed as branches of modern government. These are:

1. **Legislative branch**: represents the body which is entrusted with law making.
2. **The Executive Branch**: It is the body which executes, enforces, or administers

policy within a state.

3. **The Judiciary branch**: This is the third important branch of government which is supposed to be independent from other government branches. It is the body in charge of interpreting or adjudicating of laws.

Based on how restrictions implemented on its power; government can be **limited** and **unlimited**.

When the power of the government limited, checked in line with the democratic principles, such kind of government is called **limited** government. Democratic governments have direct relation with limited government.

REMEMBER- The ultimate source of power of limited and democratic government people directly or indirectly.

Unlimited governments are those governments which power is not checked restricted in line with values and principles of democratic system. The sources of their power are not people. People considered as their subjects.

Example **Military dictatorship**, **Authoritarian** and **Totalitarian** governments

Activity
☞ How is corruption and rule of law related?
☞ what should the government, the society including you as young members of the society , do minimize corruption
☞ Some scholars, say corruption can be minimized through preventive and curative mechanism? (Ask an anti-corruption and ethical officer, and try to list out and describe preventive and curative mechanisms/ways/ to minimize or stop corruption?

Corruption and Rule of Law

Corruption may be defined as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. It is a form of criminal activity undertaken by a person or organization entrusted with a position of authority, often to acquire illicit benefit. Corruption undermines economic development and threatens state security. It also undermines democratic values. Corruption is one of the factors that affect the prevalence of rule of law. Corruption consequences many **social** and **economic** problems. Among other things:

- ☞ It creates inequality among citizens.
- ☞ It causes lack of faith and disregard for the law.
- ☞ It allows government officials to extract public money for themselves and their families.
- ☞ It affects economic growth and reduces the social services that citizens receive from government.



5.1 Common forms of Corruption

a. Bribery

Bribery involves the improper use of gifts and favours in exchange for personal gain. Bribery occurs when a person with entrusted authority accepts or asks for an undue advantage (money, but also other material or immaterial valuables) to exercise a function, or to exercise it in a particular way. The types of favours given are diverse and may include money, gifts, sexual favours, company shares, entertainment, employment and political benefits. The personal gain that is given can be anything from actively giving preferential treatment to having an indiscretion or crime overlooked.

b. Nepotism

Nepotism involves the favouring of someone related to them, such as a friend, family member or member of an association. Examples would include hiring or promoting a family member or staff member to a role they are not qualified for, who belongs to the same political party as you, regardless of merit.

c. Embezzlement

Embezzlement is one kind of property theft. It occurs when someone who was entrusted to manage or monitor someone else's money or property steals all or part of that money or property for the taker's personal gain. Embezzlement occurs when someone steals or misappropriates money or property from an employer, business partner, or another person who trusted the embezzler with the asset. Embezzlement is different from fraud or larceny (theft). The embezzler has permission to handle the property in a certain way (but not to take it). Instead, the wrongdoer uses the position of trust granted by the owner to convert the property to the embezzler's possession and control (to take it

Activity
What are international relations?
What are the actors in international relations?

5. Ethiopia's Foreign Relations



International Relations: It is the totality of all relations traversing (crossing) state boundaries. The relations can be economic, political, legal, cultural, etc through peaceful and/or non-peaceful mechanisms. It also includes all human behavior originating on all side of state boundary and affecting human behavior on the other side of state boundary. **International Relations** refers to a combination of studies of the foreign affairs of two or more states which have contact with them and sufficient impact on one another's decisions to cause them to behave as parts and parcels of the whole. It also includes the study of international society as a whole and of its institutions and processes. The field of international relations concerns the relationships among various governments of the world. These relationships linked with other actors such as international organizations (IOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), transnational corporations (TNCs) and notable individuals make them interdependent. Indeed, no nation can live in isolation of other

nations.

6.1 Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is the strategy used by governments to guide their actions in the international arena. Foreign policies spell out the objectives that state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation as well as those objectives. Foreign policy, also called foreign relations or foreign affairs policy, consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations.

Foreign policy is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete course of action to attain these objectives and preserve interests. So foreign policy is the bundle of principles and practices that regulate the intercourse of a state vis-à-vis other states.

Through foreign policy a state seeks to achieve a variety of objectives. The objectives sought to be attained by a state are of different types and categories, yet there are certain objectives which are uniformly pursued by all states i.e. political independence, territorial integrity, economic wellbeing, and prestige.

Activity

What is the significance of foreign policy?

Try to design an alternative foreign policy which can be used to defend the national interests of Ethiopia and discuss in the class.

Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of states. It usually refers to international diplomacy, the conduct of international relations through the negotiation of professional diplomats with regard to a full range of various

issues.

Diplomatic mission

A diplomatic mission or foreign mission is a group of people from one state or an organization present in another state to represent the sending state/organization officially in the receiving state. Diplomatic mission refers to a foreign body which is set up by mutual agreement of states to deal with foreign relations. The objective is to maintain constant official contacts and to act on all political and other questions arising from the interrelationship of states.

Diplomatic missions could be for state to state relations and state's relations with regional and universal organizations.

Brain Storming
Do you want to be a diplomat? Why?
What is embassy?
Form two groups, then after, negotiate and make a debate on behalf of the state that you represent by assuming that you are a diplomat.

Diplomats

Diplomats are trained to be able to negotiate with governments and people in the other countries. They are persons appointed by a national government to conduct official negotiations and maintain political, economic, and social relations with another country or countries. A diplomat forms and maintains international relations with regards to issues of peace and war, trade and economics, culture, the environment, and human rights, and are also the ones who negotiate treaties and international agreements before they are officially

endorsed by any politicians.

A diplomat also has the ongoing responsibility of collecting and reporting information that could affect national interests, and is often in a good place to give advice about how the home country should react. He or she should also do their utmost to represent the views of the home government to the government of the country in which they are posted, and convince these governments to act in ways that the home government would prefer.

Ambassador

An ambassador is the head of mission in the host country. An ambassador is an official envoy, especially a high-ranking diplomat who represents a state and is usually accredited to another sovereign state or to an international organization as the resident representative of their own government appointed for a special and often temporary diplomatic assignment.

An ambassador is a diplomatic representative that attends international meetings, banquets and parties and acts as a figurehead for their country of origin. Ambassadors are also known as diplomats, a more general term describing those that work in a foreign country while retaining citizenship in their home country. The foreign country, known to ambassadors as the host nation, serves as their base of operation for promoting international relations while concentrating on specific areas of government, including trade, military involvement and cultural relationships.

Embassy

Embassy is one country's main diplomatic office in another state usually in the capital city of the host country where the highest diplomatic officer is the ambassador. Embassy is the main office of a country's diplomatic representatives to another country or the building in which they work is called an embassy. Embassy premises and its entire diplomatic staff fall

under the sovereignty of the ambassador's home country and are protected under the concept of diplomatic immunity by the host country.

UNIT SUMMARY

In democratic countries, the constitution is the embodiment of the will of the people. That means it guarantees the basic rights, duties and responsibilities of the whole population equally. Therefore, the concept of the rule of law is based on the principles of constitutionalism. In democratic states the power of the government is limited as per the constitution. Society is governed according to a set of well-known rules, the law, which ordinary citizens as well as the authorities have to obey. It is this fact that we call rule of law. Everyone is subject to the country's laws. Everyone is equal in the eyes of the law. The principle of the rule of law is very important for the prevalence of democracy. In most Cases rule of law and democracy are interrelated concepts.

In many countries of the world rule of law and democracy are affected by corruption. Since corruption is a very dangerous act against the well-being of the society, we all have to combat against corruption and its manifestations like abuse of power, embezzlement, nepotism, and other wrong doings on the property of the public. International Relations refers to a combination of studies of the foreign affairs of two or more states which have contact with them and sufficient impact on one another's decisions to cause them to behave as parts and parcels of the whole.

GLOSSARY

Accountability: Is answerability of an elected government for its wrongdoing.

Constitution: A document containing fundamental laws: a document or statute outlining the basic laws or principles by which a country or organization is governed (ruled).

Corruption: Wrong-doing of government officials, political officials or employees who seek unjust personal gain through actions such as bribery, nepotism, patronage and embezzlement.

Dishonesty: Is acting without honesty, cheating, lying or Being deliberately.

Domestic law: Law at the national, state, provincial, territorial, regional or local levels.

Embezzlement: Dishonestly appropriating goods, usually money, by one to whom they have been entrusted.

International convention: International laws, treaties, agreements or consents of different nations that govern the relationship of countries.

Limited government: A government that functions according to the law and is accountable to the people.

Nepotism: Showing of favouritism towards relatives and friends, based upon that relationship, rather than on an objective evaluation of ability or suitability.

Rules: Principles governing conduct to guide behaviour or action.

Rule of law: The principle that no one is above the law.

Unlimited government: A government that has one dictator that makes up all the laws and the citizens have no power over him/her.

Unwritten constitution: A fundamental set of rules, regulations, declarations and laws Passed by either a parliament or other competent government body at different time which are not compiled in a single document.

Written constitution: A statement of written fundamental laws outlining the basic laws or principles by which a country or organization is governed.

UNIT REVIEW EXERCISES

Write ‘True’ if the statement is correct and ‘False’ if the statement is incorrect

2. Having a democratic constitution is a sufficient condition to ensure and bring peace and stability in one country.
2. Diversity means accepting a person, group or community based on worth, merit, dignity and honor.

3. Ethiopia is termed as a “museum of nation” because we have enough natural resource.
4. Encouraging interference in the internal affairs of other states is one objective foreign policy of every country.
5. The constitution of the country states only the rights of citizens.
6. Unlimited government promotes both political and economic freedom.
7. Federal state is a kind of state structure where all authorities and powers are exclusively in the hands of the central government.
8. Human right is the right that one can have as a result of being member in political community.

Choose the best answer for the following questions

9. Which one of the following is the quality of diplomat?
A. Negotiation B. Communication skill C. Tolerance D. All of the above
10. In relation to foreign relation among or between sovereign states, the center of focus is:
A. National interest B. Mutual benefits C. Mutual understanding D. All
11. ____ Is to force others to do what a power holder wants is:
A. Authority B. Power C. Influence D. Interference
12. The fundamental law of country, which established basic Organs of government and defines the structure, power, function is known as
A. Constitution C. Justice system
B. Rule of law D. Legislature
13. A democratic system is characterized by all **except**:
A. Dependency of the judiciary C. Supremacy of the constitution
B. Popular sovereignty D. Free, fair and periodic election
14. A form of corruption that is often committed by individuals engaged in auditing And supervision is:
A. Embezzlement B. Abuse of power C. Nepotism D. Bribery

ESSAY AND SHORT ANSWER PART

15. List and explain major function of Ethiopian ambassador to different countries?
16. Mention common forms of corruption around your locality?
17. List three characteristics of limited and unlimited governments?
18. What are the disadvantages of unwritten constitution?

