

https://dspace.org/

Improving human rights through constitutionalism and socio-economic reforms in Ethiopia

Abraham, Kinfe

1999-02-12T08:55:20Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/7504

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

ABRAHAM

Ethiopian International Institute for Peace and Development (EIIPD)

Improving Human Rights Through Constitutionalism And Socio-Economic Reforms in Ethiopia

By Dr. Kinfe Abraham
President of EIIPD and
Director of Political and Humanitarian Affairs
Division of Inter-Governmental
Authority for Development (IGAD)

P.O.Box 18529
Addis Ababa
Ethiopia

A Paper Presented at on Commissioning the past by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, The University of Witwaterstrand, Johannesburg South Africa, June 11-14, 1999

A Lecture Delivered By
Dr. Kinfe Abrahan
On the conference commissioning the past by the Truth and Reconciliation commission at the University of Witswaterstrand in Johannesburg
June 11- 14, 1999.

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Distinguished scholars, Other Invited Guests, Ladies and Gentlemn

First of All I would like to express my profound gratitude for the invitation to speak on the theme of *Commissioning the Past* Which is an issue of great importance and historical significance .

I feel both honoured and humbled by the opportunity. Honored because the rise and legal dismantling of the ideology of Apartheid, which was an extended arm of the metropolitan colonial enterprise, was one of the great challenges of the 20th Century.

It is, therefore, a source of pride and great jubilation not only to south Africa, Africa at large and the black diaspora, but also to humanity as a whole.

But, I also feel humbled and challenged by the opportunity because of the daunting complexity and sensitivity of the issue under review.

The complexity of the issue of commissioning in the past is underpinned by various factors They include the fact :-

1. **That the legalization of apartheid in 1948 was a *historical anomaly* in that it took place against the background of the decolonisation process in Africa and elsewhere.**

2. **That Apartheid took firm root at a time when the allied countries, or the western victors of world war II had adopted the slogan of egalitarianision and that of *making the world safe for democracy.***

3. **That apartheid as a political, economic and social movement was still born was clear as it had to sail against the global wind of modernity and democratization.**

4. **Yet, there is no doubting the fact that apartheid had factor inspite of the above caused immense damage and destruction to the political, economic and social fabric of the South African Society and to the psyche and attitudes of South Africans in general, and the blacks in particular.**

It is these factors which underscores the necessity of reconciliation. They involve forgiveness with the knowledge of the truth for creating a speedy healing process by commissioning the past which are pregnant with various implications.

The key and most controversial questions surrounding the issue are:-

1. Should the Supremacist ideology of racism engendered by Apartheid be put on trial.
2. If so, is it rational and feasible as it becomes a trial of a race.
3. If the whole system was at fault, can the individuals who committed offenses with official sanction of the state be tried as individuals?
4. Or are they viewed as victim of the official state or ideology?
5. Further, as it is difficult to rule in favour of one action instead of the other, should a compromise be sought in the interest of social sanity and harmony for the present and future generations.

Thus, the most difficult and controversial issue here is one of striking a balance between:

a) Serving interest of Justice which demands that those who commit offense be made to answer for their action.
b) Serving the interest of the larger society, which does not want to be bogged down in the past in order to improve the human condition in South Africa at present and in the future through reconciliation and the restoration of societal reconciliation harmony.
c) Serving the interests of the individual victimized by the system and its supporters, who demand retribution and individual justice.

To my mind what the Truth and Reconciliation commission has been trying to do is seek a *verdict of conscience* through reconciliation and a healing process outside of the parameters defined by the conventional courts of law. It is the above non-conventional nature of the work of the TRC which distinguishes it from the process that has been applied in Ethiopia in the treatment of offenders of human rights including those who committed crimes against humanity. In the rest of this peper I shall dwell on the challenges, limitations and strengths of the Ethiopian process of Law on genocide and the constitutional and other reform measures taken to improve the human rights situation.

Ethiopia: From Genocide to Constitutionalism

When EPRDF took power in 1991, Ethiopians were apprehensive about what the change might bring with it. They were afraid that the blood bath of the Derg era might be repeated. They had a good reason to feel so because the Derg started its rule promising to administer the country "without blood." But, soon after it unleashed the "red terror."

In this paper we will examine the atrocities committed by the Derg, the attempts made by EPRDF to bring to justice those government officials who were responsible for human rights violations, and the legislative reforms which have led to era of Constitutionalism.

The Period of the Derg 1974-1991

Haile Selassie's rule came to an end in 1974. It was followed by three years of acute conflict. There were labour strikes and urban unrest. These were contained through draconian measures of military reprisal.

To consolidate his power Colonel Mengistu first removed the royal dynasty and political aristocracy linked with the Empire. Second, he executed prominent leaders of the Derg including General Andom, General Teferi Banti, and second chairman of the PMAC. Third, Mengistu eliminated the ideological left by playing one faction against the other – EPRP vs. MEISON.

To contain the attacks by the left against the Derg, Mengistu unleashed the "Red Terror" which claimed 100,000 lives of educated Ethiopians.

After eliminating his opponents, Mengistu established the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) in 1984. However, the extravagant celebration of the new republic was overshadowed by famine in Wello and Tigray. It signaled the regimes inevitable disintegration.

The 1980s were difficult years for the Derg. The 1984 famine made the regime abandon development programs in 1985 and 1986. Then another famine threatened Ethiopia in 1987. Moreover, the nationality conflict escalated in the late 1980s. Mengistu never tried to address the nationality question meaningfully. He opted for military solution. This brought the downfall of the military regime.

As indicated above when EPRDF took power in 1991, Ethiopians were apprehensive. They did not believe the various ethnic groups will cooperate to usher in an era of peace

and democracy. They judged the present by the past. The Derg regime never fulfilled its promises. So Ethiopians did not believe EPRDF will behave that differently.

However, the EPRDF was favored by three factors. First, the people were happy that the civil war was finally over and their children do not have to be sacrificial lambs. Second, there was a longing among many for democracy. The third crucial factor was the international approval which EPRDF, coalition received in London and the speed with which the EPRDF restored calm and order in the country.

The Challenges to the EPRDF

The immediate challenge which the EPRDF faced was making a decision on whether to prosecute or not and its decision was in favour of prosecution. This decision was assisted by two factors. One was its commitment to justice which was a position taken by it before it over threw the Derg. A second reason which boosted this commitment was that the defeat of the Derg was complete and resounding and that the risk of the return of the Derg was virtually non existent Hence, the Special Prosecutor's Office (SPO) was established in 1992. When EPRDF took power, it detained 2000 former government officials, including kebele leaders, on suspicion that they authorized or were in some way involved in the brutality of the Mengistu government. In September 1992, the TGE appointed Ato Girma Wakjera to lead the SPO.

The SPO has had a daunting task of bringing to account hundreds of Derg officials for the genocide committed during the rule of the military regime. The campaign of genocide include:

1. The 2,500 young, educated people killed in Addis Ababa during the first four months of the "Red Terror,"
2. The 3,000-4,000 people killed from August to October 1977 in Addis Ababa,
3. The 5,000 people killed in Addis Ababa from December 1977 to February 1978,
4. The 10,000 merchants, and uneducated peasants killed outside Addis Ababa when the Red Terror stretched outside Addis Ababa. In addition, the Mengistu regime

was engaged in mass killings of villagers to stamp out insurgents that opposed the military government.

For example in Hawzen market bombing in Tigray in 1988, 2,500 market-goers were killed. Moreover, the forced relocation policy left 100,000 people dead. In addition the government's manipulation of relief aid, had turned the drought of the early 1980s into a sever famine. Over half of the 40,000 deaths during the famine are attributable to these government policies.

The SPO had to do immense amount of paper work to bring Derg officials to account for the above mentioned criminal activities. And yet at the same time the SPO had to deal with Habeas Corpus proceedings. Many of those taken to custody were released because of insufficient evidence about their alleged crimes.

Some Derg officials claimed that what they did was accomplished according to law and that those whom they killed were enemies of the country. Another controversy was whether to apply international law or domestic law. However since the domestic law also incorporates international law it could be used for the trial. Yet, the SPO indicated that it intends to apply "those rules of international humanitarian law which are beyond any doubt part of customary law."

The Judicial Issues

As indicated earlier, the first issue to be addressed was the "duty" to prosecute. This was made facile by the fact that both international law and domestic law permit a government to prosecute officials guilty of human rights violations such as genocide.

The decision to prosecute was also assisted by the decision of the Rome Meeting on criminal code which does not require a statute of limitation and advocated investigation followed by trial. The second issue to be settled was whether to apply the death penalty. There is no clear consensus in international law whether to apply the death penalty. The domestic law, however, allows the death penalty. The SPO have settled the debate and

chosen to charge the detainees under the domestic Penal Code, thus allowing the possibility of death sentence.

One issue which made the decision on this was that the adoption of death penalty might discourage the extradition of absentee defendants.

The EPRDF decision to prosecute was also boosted by the public support for it and the fact that it did not stop at prosecuting war criminals. Instead it engaged in ushering in an era of constitutional rule. A constitution drafting committee was established, preceded by the convention of nationalities held in July 1991.

At the July convention the debate focused on the formation of a multinational parliament, the creation of a transitional government and multinational cabinet, a new administrative division of the country based on language and nationality, replacing the command economy by one that gives freedom to the private sector, political pluralism, and the holding of regional elections aimed to pave the way for nationwide election scheduled for 1993.

The July conference produced the Charter of the Transition Period which served as interim constitution until a government was elected and a permanent constitution drafted and adopted. The first article of the Charter states, "based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations ... individual human rights shall be respected fully, and without any limitation whatever." The Charter also mentions specifically "freedom of conscience, expression, association and peaceable assembly" and "the right to engage in unrestricted political activity and to organize political parties, provided the exercise of such rights does not infringe upon the rights of others."

The Charter created the Council of Representatives as the governing body. Which held exclusive legislative and executive authority during the interim period with the Head of State, Prime Minister, and a smaller Council of Ministers. Further elections of a constituent assembly occurred in June 1994, and the body adopted a new constitution in December 1994.

Since then an era of democracy, the rule of law, and the respect for human rights have prevailed. These blessings were what the Ethiopians were longing for and which they did not enjoy under previous governments.

The Record Recent Reforms in Governance and other Sectors

Rationale Behind the Constitutional Refroms

Some of the attributes which the new Government wants in the emerging federal democratic state as articulated in many documents are that:

1. *A state becomes a paragon of justice only when certain essential conditions are met. One such condition is that governments become more desirable because they govern less.*

2. *A second condition is that the governed expect less government by becoming more conscious of their obligation than their rights. These two attributes have been badly wanting in Ethiopian history.*

One of the *quintessential pillars* of the new constitution is that it attempts to define the terrain of accountability of governments and the rights and obligations of the citizenry. This act, at once, qualifies Ethiopia to join the ranks of a community of civilized nations' which uphold the supremacy of law.

The spirit and content of the new constitution also provides a refreshing diversion from the law of the jungle of the past.

Measures of Strengthening the Process

1. Constitutional Remedies for the healing process

To realize the above, constitutional remedies have been put for the healing process of past religious and national conflicts which have plagued Ethiopia for decades, if not centuries. These include the provisions made on:

1) *The recognition of the equality of nations and nationalities including the right to determine their status.*
2) *Acceptance of the process and praxis of elected representation including the concept of an elected government with a defined tenure of office and briefs of accountable mandate.*
3) *Freedom of the individual to practice the religion of his/her choice without any form of discrimination.*

The core concept in this is the acceptance of the notion of federal government which accommodates the aspiration of the various regions and/or nations which make up Ethiopia while simultaneously retaining the central authority which prevents the centrifugal forces which can pull the country in different directions and lead to disintegration and anarchy.

The TGE, through its proposals, and the parliament through its collective wisdom have also done an admirable job by way of convincing the citizenry of the merits of federalism as a rational choice for a multi-national and multi-religious country like Ethiopia.

They have propagated and promoted the notion through open public debate at different levels and tried to convince the citizens that federalism can and will address their socio-economic needs and their needs of human rights including socio-economic justice and self-government more effectively than the unitary state. Various arguments were used to do this.

2. Advocacy for Federalism

One argument put forward for the federal formula is that the unitary state is *intrinsically ill-equipped to be democratic.* It cannot be reformed and is therefore inappropriate if the equality of all nations and their human rights are to be guaranteed.

There are also other reasons put forward to justify why the federalism is a logical and rational choice. One reason is that both power and responsibility will be farmed out to the regional self-government units. Regional autonomy in turn will gradually promote local democracy, a sense of neighborhood, spirit of self-reliance *competition*, and capacity for organized action.

A third factor is that it makes it possible to adapt public services to local needs and that it promotes and safeguards freedom, democracy and responsible government.

Fourthly, it can stimulate socially beneficial inter-community competitiveness innovation and experimentation with new forms and methods of government. This in turn can foster progress.

Finally, federalism can also promote political stability and reduce the burden of the national government which may then devote its time, energy and resources to issues of multi-national concern.

Nevertheless, while the above are some of key arguments of the EPRDF-led government, many had cautioned about the danger of excessive decentralization. Power should be delegated in the right doses and in a staggered fashion. Such cautionary measures are important to:

a) prevent inefficient management by local affairs.

b) minimize the risk of local autocratic rule by petty officials and powerful minority groups which are prone to foster parochialism and produce national and regional disunity and anarchy.

c) ensure a standards of public service and protect the civil rights of minorities in regions.

d) mitigate the inertia and extreme rigidity in the organization and management of local government.

e) reduce the burden on national security.

3. Guaranteeing the Ownership of the Constitution

Proposal of the Transitional charter

The ownership of the constitutions is also important. Here, it is worthy of note that, although aspects of the document of transitional charter were proposed by the EPRDF, it was subsequently discussed, amended and approved by the all nationalities convention including the Oromo, Amhara, Afar, Tigray, Somali and the Southern People's Movements in July 1991. This group also discussed the pre-conditions and conditions requisite for a peaceful transition to a stable democratic order, based on a new democratic constitution which was drafted and endorsed in 1994.

The Transitional charter AND the Issue of Respect of Human Rights

An important element for the healing process engendered in the transition charter and the new constitution was the rights of all citizens be respected. For instance, one of the pre-conditions demanded was that all institutions of repression installed by the previous regime be dismantled, regional prejudices redresses and the rights and interests of the deprived citizens be safeguarded by a democratic government elected by and accountable to the people. If these rights had not been guaranteed during the

early phase of the transitional period, most of the old liberation movements would have reluctantly opted to continue with their armed struggle. And this would have included the 45 parties in the EPRDF coalition.

The establishment of Constituent Assembly and Endorsement of the New constitution

Divergent views are expressed on the establishment of the constituent assembly But, the election of the Constituent Assembly was necessary to fulfill three paramount objectives – 1) to examine and discuss the draft constitution, 2) incorporate new ideas, including its own, 3) to amend and ratify the constitution which provides a basis for the supranational and federal parliamentary elections which took place in May 1995.

The Constituent Assembly also served as the peoples' forum for discussing the constitution. It gave representatives of the people an opportunity to examine and approve the constitution. That way, they were able to guarantee that effective power rested with the people.

A second justification for the election of the Constituent Assembly is that it provided practical lessons on how elections should be conducted. This was of supreme value for the Ethiopian people who were preparing to participate in the May 1995 election to choose their representatives for the first time.

Thirdly, it provided the electorate and those who stood for election as members of the Constituent Assembly another chanced to stand for parliamentary elections. During the second entry they had been exposed to good democratic practice and hopefully also better equipped with campaign tactics.

Besides, the first election gave those who did not win in the first election an opportunity to do so. Ultimately, the idea is to include the principles of good democratic practice; namely that election is not only about winning, but also about losing and trying once again.

The nation-wide campaign which introduced the constitution for debate and amendments in 1994 was also a good forum. We are given to understand that the debate was conducted at 27,000 kebeles (administrative zones) throughout the country and that some 30 million people participated in it.

Its aims were: 1) to discuss salient and central issues taken up in the constitution such as those on social and political rights and to codify the supremacy of the law, 2) to inculcate the essential values of good democratic practice including the right to elect and be elected for public offices and above all, 3) to remove the anomalies of elitist rule, government by decree and restore the rights of people to run their affairs in a manner which is equitable and just to all. Both the *Constituent Assembly and Constitutional fora* which preceded the federal elections have thus made much desired and very useful contributions to the democratization process.

4. Special Attributes of the New Democratic Constitution

The 1995 constitution was not the first one, for Ethiopia, but certainly it is the first one which advocates democratic federalism. Indeed, Ethiopia has seen other constitutions. In 1931, Emperor Haile Selassie had issued a constitution which defined the power and role of the *imperial state and the divine prerogative which put the crown above the law.*

In 1955, the 1931 constitution was amended to include a bicameral parliament and a cabinet nominally chosen by the premier and approved by the Emperor. But the 1955 constitution also essentially retained the power and discretion of the crown provided in the 1931 constitution.

Similarly, another constitution which emboldened the socialist ideological euphoria of the 1974 upheaval was issued by the military government. But again this constitution failed to address cardinal issues such as the questions of nations and nationalities, power and power-sharing and the concept of representative government and accountability and its concomitant obligations. The 1987 constitution of the workers Party of Ethiopia likewise failed to address these central issues.

It is the courage and readiness to address the above paramount issues which sets of the present constitution from its predecessors. This departure from the past, many believe and fervently hope, will also make a difference by way of paving the path toward an egalitarian society predicated on justice and the rule of law.

One crucial difference is that unlike the past in which the people (if at all consulted had to put a rubber stamp on decisions which had already been made, this time the people were directly involved in decisions affecting them right form the outset.

Furthermore, 1) the present constitution is not gift from above as was the case of the 1931, 1955, 1975 and 1987 constitutions which only enhanced the power of the ruling elite and glorified them for their magnanimity, 2) the people and their representatives are the source of the law and the ones who will amend it in the future, 3) the constitution defines the structure of government and the praxis of good governance, 4) it takes up issues of development and the equitable distribution of national resources. Such issues were tangentially treated in the past.

5. Participation in the Drafting and ownership of the constitution

Admittedly some parties did not participate in the process but we do not think they were willfully excluded. In addition, it is important to note that the 30-people strong constitution drafting commission was composed of members of the EPRDF and a number of other political parties, such as the southern people's organization, and opposition parties such as the monarchist party (Moa-Anbessa), the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), the Ethiopian Democratic Alliance Group (EDAG) and various interest groups and legal bodies in the country.

It had also gathered and incorporated the views of prominent legal authorities on constitutional matters who participated in the various conference and seminars organized inside and outside the country.

Some of the controversial issues had led to lengthy and sometimes acrid debate. But an identity of opinion or a total homogeneity of views should not be expected in a democratic process. The essence of democracy is that it provides rules for accommodating groups of divergent views and hues. That is why radical and conservative parties co-exist in western democracies.

One should also concede that there were genuine difficulties in bringing groups that are hostile to the notion of federal democracy into the political process. The dilemma here was that the ideology of the *unitary state* is antithetical to and irreconcilable with that of a *pluralist democracy*. The most important thing about the new political process is, nevertheless, that it ensures that people are not tried or detained because of views they hold.

6. The Test and Prospects of the New Constitution

The federal election of May 1995 has essentially become the *litmus test* of the strength of the new constitution. Basically, nevertheless, the success of this constitution, like all others, squarely rests not only on the bold principles of egalitarianism and justice it enshrines but also on the dedication and integrity with which they are interpreted and applied in real life. If the TGE and parliament could enact laws which limit their authority and term of office, then there is sufficient motivation to believe that they or any future governments will also have the vision, courage and commitment to make the constitution and the democratic process work.

7. Other Reforms which strengthened the constitutional Transformation

The democratic transformation based on the new constitution was also boosted by reforms in other sectors which included the following:-

1) *A new liberal and market-oriented economic policy.*
2) *Social policy including education and public health and a new policy on housing and construction.*

3) *Alleviation of the acute shortage of urban housing; the government has pledged to distribute land freely to those who wish to build residentia houses.*

4) *Provision of legal and administrative backing to stimulate investments in various sectors by individuals, or groups,*

5) *Attracting foreign capital to boost investment in various sectors such as construction, mining and energy and in the agrarian and industrial sectors.*

To achieve the goals of investment, package of incentives intended to attract domestic and foreign capital have also been introduced. These include:

1) *Exemptions of capital goods from customs duty, exemption from income tax for a given period*
2) *Significant concessions on profit repatriation and expatriate management*
3) *Broader measures on trade liberalization, financial deregulation and,*
4) *Agricultural price reform.*

8. <u>*Differences Between the Ethiopian and South African Experience*</u>

The cardinal differences in the South African and Ethiopia treatment of perpetrators of genocide are that.

1. The Ethiopian process is a result of a graftly away of the old system with minimum risks of relapse.
2. Inview of the above Ethiopian process was risk tree.
3. As a result of this the element of the self – interest of governments was legs problematic.
4. Because of the above decision to prosecute was much easier for the EPRDF – led government.
5. Prosecution process was more than amnesty for the social healing process because of the scale of the crime committees in Ethiopia which involved more than a 100,000 thousand lives as against 22,000 for South Africa.

6. For most Ethiopians healing was unacceptable without the dispensation of Justice.
7. The process was more important than the product as against the SA situation where the product was more important then the process.

9. ***Conclusion***

As indicated above, in the political sphere the salient features of the constitution are that it embodies:-

1) Respect for the national identity of different population groups including their language, culture and other attributes of national worth,
2) Their rights for regional self-government involving devolution of power, administrative decentralization and autonomy in decision making on vital issue of political economic and social nature and fair and representation at the level of federal Government.

The healing process can only be a consequence of a long-term perspective on human rights. Further the approach to human rights should be broadened. To date

human rights is often narrowly defined to refer to the predicament of political prisoners in custody and their treatment in prisons or outside etc. But, the concept is much broader as it is linked to the human condition and human security at large. This vital linkage is elaborated below to show the relationship of the different themes addressed in this document.

Human security like human freedom is often more easily identified by its absence rather than by its presence which is often taken for granted. Thus, absence of stability and national harmony is noticed during wars and conflicts.

Yet, despite the difficulty of pinning down the concept, it is useful to have a more explicit working definition for our purpose. First, it is important to underline that national security is modulated both by domestic and international forces. Domestically, it has to do with what governments do or do not about the human predicament of their citizens.

In this sense, national security is inextricably linked with human security.

Human security involves, at least, safety from chronic threats such as hunger, diseases and repression as well as protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily residential, occupational or communal life. Such threats can exist at national income and development levels.

Human security is in constant motion. The loss of security can be a slow and silent process or an abrupt and loud emergency. It can be human-made due to wrong policy choices. It can also stem from the forces of nature. Or it can be a combination of both as is often the case when environmental Human Security and Human Development are followed by hunger and human tragedy.

It is also important to underline that human security is linked with human development. But human development is a broader concept involving a range of people's choices. Human security prevails when people can exercise these choices safely and freely and when they are relatively confident of the continuity of their opportunities.

The two concepts are also linked because history is replete with success or failure in one area enhancing the chances of success or failure in another.

Failure or limited progress in human development often leads to a backlog of human deprivation: poverty, hunger, disease or ethnic or regional disparity. This backlog in access to power and economic opportunities can, in turn, lead to violence and social disruption, thereby removing the basis for human security.

There is also a cause and effect relationship here because lack of security makes people less tolerant, xenophobic and ethnocentric. The reasons for such reaction are that the basis of livelihood: access to food, water, educational opportunities, etc. get eroded and conflicts ensue. Inevitably, this in turn exerts pressure on the image of a country and its foreign relations.

Characteristics of Human and National Security

Human rights is also linked with the consequences of radical changes and upheavals which affect human security. The overriding universal character of security is its constant state of flux because of changes in the national and universal environment. This was underscored by Albert Einstein who summed up the discovery of the Atomic energy by simply stating that "Everything changed". Former US President John F. Kennedy had a similar view in his speech on the 90th anniversary of Vanderbuild University, about the nature of this age. He stated, "Everything changes except change itself."

The radical shift in the perception and interpretation of the notion of security that took place at the end of the cold war is a vivid illustration of its mutability. Until then security merely meant territorial guarantee from external aggression or the protection of national interests in foreign policy or global security and security from nuclear holocaust.

The concept of national and global security now goes beyond these preoccupations more related to nation-states or to blocs of nations clustered around the superpowers than to people.

The superpowers locked in ideological battles of carving out geopolitical spheres of influence during the cold war were a major factor for the proximity between security and war. That led to the stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. Similarly, most former colonial states were embroiled in conflicts because of real and perceived threats to their fragile national security following independence in the 1950s and 1960s.