

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LAW AND GOVERNANCE
CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

**HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLITICAL PROGRAMS: EVALUATION OF ETHIOPIAN
POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMS IN LIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN
RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS**

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**Human Rights in Political Programs: Evaluation of Ethiopian Political Parties Programs in
light of International Human Rights Instruments**

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Human Rights**

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Declaration

I, Hanna Girma Wedjao, declare that this thesis is my original work. I certify that all material in this thesis that is not my own has been duly acknowledged. I confidently declare that this thesis has not been submitted to any other University or Institution to award any academic degree.

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Abstract

Political parties develop policy alternatives that demonstrate their commitment to solve societal problems before they run for political power. Parties present their policy alternatives through their political programs and election manifestos. So, these are means to provide meaningful choice over policies for electorate and also hold politicians accountable if they fail to implement their programs once elected. It is internationally accepted practice to incorporate human rights issues on parties programs whether a country falls under the category of full democrats states, flawed democrats or authoritarian regimes. As Ethiopia falls under authoritarian regime according to international reports, it affects the programmaticity of political parties in the country. This study has the main objective of evaluating Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos in light of international human rights standards. It examines how human rights issues are included in Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos; and look at the extent to which Ethiopian political parties programs are informed by International Human Rights documents. The research is a type of qualitative content analysis which begins with close reading of political parties programs and manifestos and then assess human rights issues in these documents in relation to internationally recognized human rights instruments. Human rights are among the main issues that are covered by different Ethiopian political parties programs and election manifestos. Though there are some deviations, more or less, Ethiopian political parties programs comply with International Human Rights Instruments.

Key words: Election Manifestos, Human Rights, Political Programs

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AEUO	All Ethiopian Unity Organization
Banjul Charter	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
Blue	Blue Party
CESCR	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
Coalition	Coalition for Unity and Democracy
CoD	Congress of Democrats (Namibia)
CRC	Convention on Rights of the Child
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (Namibia)
EDP	Ethiopian Democratic Party
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Forum	Ethiopian Democratic Unity Forum
HPR	House of People Representative
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
KANU	Kenya African National Union (Kenya)
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (Kenya)

NDMC	National Democratic Movement for Change (Namibia)
NEBE	National Electoral Board of Ethiopia
NUDO	National Unity Democratic Organization (Namibia)
PEDJ	People's Front for Democracy and Justice (Eritrea)
PWD	Persons with Disabilities
SWANU	South West Africa National Union (Namibia)
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization (Namibia)
Unity	Unity for Democracy and Justice Party
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

A political party is a team of men in quest of holding political power by a duly organized election as defined by the famous American political scientist, Antony Downs (Downs, 1957, p. 25). Those free association of persons aggregate and represent social interests and provide policy alternatives (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), 2001, p. 3).

A study done by National Democratic Institute for International Affairs reveals that people will support a political party when a party can demonstrate its care about citizen problems, shares their concerns for a country and has a plan to improve the lives of citizens (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), 2001, p. 14). For this reason, before a party hope to attract large number of supporters and hold the leading power of a country, it must develop an effective policy agenda (Ibid).

Political parties integrate various interests of their members and general public to a political program for which they campaign to receive the support of a majority (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011, p. 16). Hence political parties keep society and politics attuned to one another in which party programs are an important part of this process (Walgrave & Nuytemans, 2009, p. 191). Political programs are also means wherein political parties consciously shape the image that citizens have in mind towards them (Kenneth Janda, 1995, p. 172).

As programmatic political parties provide citizens with meaningful choice over policies by their programs, they give voters a clear perspective of what they are voting for, what the party represents and what they expect once that party is elected (Nic Cheeseman and Dan Paget, 2014,

p. 87). Thus, by informing the public about their program, political parties shape public opinions and fire up support among members and non-members (Oesterdiekhoff & Masime, 2010, p. 8). Moreover, a study done by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) shows that:

'...political parties that exhibit programmatic qualities are thought to better represent different groups in society by aggregating their preferences and acting on their best interests; they are therefore accountable to the citizens on those grounds. When political parties commit themselves to implementing a clear set of policy positions if elected, they make themselves accountable to the people to deliver on their promises' (Cheeseman N. , 2014).

However, to some extent, a party program is different from election manifesto. For every election period, political parties generate manifestos that explain to electorates 'why they deserve a chance to form the government, what the problems of the country truly are, and how the party intends to solve them' (Chege, 2007, p. 46). Hence, a manifesto focuses on specific suggestions for a particular election and redesigned for each election period (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011, p. 40). Thus, a party program has a long-term character comparing to election manifesto that might be changed in every election period so as to encompass current issues.

Political parties programs and human rights are mutually dependent on each other. Human rights are commonly understood as rights which are inherent to human being and are founded on the principle of respect for the dignity and worth of each person (Office Of The High Commissioner For Human Rights (OHCHR), p. 3). As goals and principles set by political parties eventually translated into national goals once they capture government power (Matlosa & Shale, 2008, p. 5),

the way human rights are included in parties' political programs affects their implementation when parties come to power.

As a study conducted by National Democratic Institute (NDI) shows the preamble of political parties program is the place where parties state their 'basic principles and primary goals'. Hence, as indicated on the study, 'the preamble should answer the question, why does the party exist?' that also enables to distinguish one party from the other (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), 2001, p. 6). Thus, whether human rights are basic principle of a party or the fact that they are included explicitly or implicitly on a party program affects human rights protection when a party holds political power.

On the other hand, the actual protection of human rights in a certain country affects the availability of political programs in that country. A study of IDEA reveals that where there are limits on political and civil rights, it restricts the demand for program-based politics as well as politicians' ability to communicate policy programs (Kitschelt & Wong, 2014, p. 48). For instance, Namibia is dominated by a single party. Even though the country is a signatory to various international human rights treaties, DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance of Namibia) and NUDO (National Unity Democratic Organization) are the only parties to explicitly mention human rights on their programs (Boer, 2005, p. 24). It attributes with many factors according to a study that compares Namibia's political party programs. It includes perception of opposition political parties who believe that having a position on every issue is not as important in Namibian politics and elections because the opposition parties are unlikely ever to be able to implement their policies (Ibid p. 54).

Coming to Ethiopian political system, as a report from the Economist Intelligence Unit - Democracy Index of 2012 - shows Ethiopia falls under authoritarian regime by ranking 123rd out

of 167 countries covered by the study (A Report From The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2013). According to the study, Ethiopia scores 0.00 for electoral process and pluralism; 3.57 concerning functioning of government, 5.00 in relation to political participation, 5.63 regarding the advancement of political culture and 4.41 on issues relating to civil liberties and the country overall score is 3.72 out of 10 for each point awarded (Ibid).

As a consequence, the political system of the country affects the programmaticity of parties. According to a research conducted by IDEA on East African political parties and their programs which compares political parties in Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda and Sudan, it is noted that the parties with the weakest programs are those coming out of strong authoritarian traditions - Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan (Chege, 2007, p. 46). Thus, having weak program affects the emphasis given for human rights issues as they are integral part of a political program.

The study also indicates that the size and period of establishment of parties influence the political program they draft. As indicated on the above mentioned study, the smaller a party and the less established it is, the greater the chance that it will not have an elaborate policy and program to offer to the electorate (Chege, 2007). It further states it is evident in Tanzania, Uganda and Ethiopia that the smaller parties lack the capacity to generate party program and policies and market them to the public (Ibid). Hence, having unelaborated political program directly affects the place given for human rights on parties programs.

Moreover, the level of programmaticity and typology of Ethiopian political parties is analyzed by Solomon G. Gebru on his article called *political parties, party programmaticity and party system in post 1991 Ethiopia*. The study was designed to answer whether Ethiopian political parties are programmatic. The researcher uses both descriptive and analytical methods wherein data were analyzed through qualitative approach. The study indicates that although with a varying degree,

major Ethiopian political parties have programmatic platform. Nevertheless, the study indicates that ‘since all Ethiopian political parties have been using ethnicity as the main means of political support, and non-of them emerged out of pre-existing civil society organizations, Ethiopia’s party system is not yet programmatic’ (Gebru, 2014, p. 417).

However, there is no study conducted to assess human rights issues included in Ethiopian political parties programs to the best of the researcher’s knowledge. Thus, this study evaluates Ethiopian political parties’ programs in light of international human rights instruments. It surely helps the existing political parties to re-examine their programs accordingly and to get recognition from the electorate. Hence, it contributes to the democratization process of the Country. As it is unexplored area, it also advances the knowledge in the field.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Seventy nine National and Regional political parties have been registered by the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (National Election Board of Ethiopia, n.d.). It is also mandatory to have political program when parties apply for registration as enshrined in Article 8 (2) (b) of the revised political parties’ registration proclamation (Revised Political Parties' Registration Proclamation No. 573/2008). As further stated under Article 14 of the proclamation, political parties programs should include the objectives of parties and directive of action that describe the methods adopted for achieving its objectives.

Researches indicate that most of national as well as regional political parties in Ethiopia are ethnic based and identified by their top leaders instead of their political program (Gebru, 2014, p. 432). Either because of their ethnic nature or other reasons, they have been criticized ‘for lack of developing credible alternative political programs and clear ideological orientation’ (Ibid, p. 429). In addition, other researches indicate that the chances for ethnic parties to get electoral vote

from non-members is very slight. Therefore, ‘their existence depends on the vote and support they receive from their own co-ethnics’ (Teshome, 2008, p. 796).

Alefe Abeje, on his article on *Party System Institutionalization and the Prospect of Democratic Consolidation in Ethiopia*, mentioned that Ethiopian opposition parties’ chronic weakness attributes to the parties failure to produce coherent and comprehensive policy alternative to voters (Abeje, 2013, p. 325). Even a brief glimpse at the televised coverage of the leading and opposition parties political debates for the 2015 election shows that opposition parties focused on identifying the negative side of the leading party on human rights protection than presenting their political program in relation to human rights advancement in the country (Political parties debate on Multi-party system, human and democratic rights, 2015). In similar manner Abeje explains that:

‘Opposition parties in Ethiopia simply emphasize the weaknesses of EPRDF and argue that they can run the government “better than the EPRDF.” This seriously undermines their social base. Lack of viable policy alternative and strong organization affected their outreach and recruitment activities’ (Abeje, 2013, p. 325).

As the study done by Solomon G. Gebru shows, although all the opposition parties under his study (Ethiopian Democratic Party, Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum, Blue Party) have political programs that are mainly elite driven in the sense that ‘they are prepared by few elite who control their respective parties’ (Gebru, 2014).

As previously mentioned studies indicate, most Ethiopian political parties are ethnic based and they fail to draft comprehensive program or their programs are elite driven. In addition, the researches indicate that most political parties programs are not effectively communicated to the

electorate as opposition political parties focus on condemning the leading party than presenting their alternative policy. Hence, it is necessary that the people should be familiar with political parties programs regarding human rights issues for the fact that people support a political party that has a plan to improve the lives of citizens.

Nevertheless, there is no study conducted that explores Ethiopian political parties programs in light of human rights instruments to the best of the researcher's knowledge. Thus, it is necessary to study the position of human rights in Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos. At the outset, it enables political parties to evaluate their programs and manifestos on human rights issues and to revise the documents according to International Human Rights Instruments. In addition, giving attention for human rights issues enable political parties to be more competitive for the next election by providing alternative means of protecting human rights. It also enables electorate to be familiar with political programs of different Ethiopian political parties.

Therefore, considering human rights as indispensable elements of political programs coupled with their necessity to improve the lives of citizens makes this study relevant.

1.3 Research Questions

The research examined the following questions

- How are human rights issues incorporated in Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos?
- To what extent are Ethiopian political parties programs informed by International Human Rights Instruments?
- Is there any inconsistency between Ethiopian political parties' programs concerning human rights and International Human Rights Documents?

1.4 Objectives of the study

1.4.1 General Objective

- The main objective of this study is to assess Ethiopian political parties programs in light of International Human Rights Instruments.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The research has the following specific objectives

- To examine the place given for human rights in Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos
- To analyze the extent to which existing political parties programs are informed by human rights documents
- To look at any contradiction between political parties programs and international human rights instruments
- To stimulate thinking on human rights issues within Ethiopian political parties

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study serves as a source of insight for those working in Ethiopian political parties. It enables political parties in Ethiopia to re-examine their political programs according to internationally recognized human rights documents. The suggestions also contribute to incorporate strong promises in parties programs and manifestos for better realization of human rights when political parties come to power. Thus, this study adds value on the ongoing democratization process in Ethiopia by enabling political parties to reconsider their programs for better protection of human rights in the country.

The research also gives adequate information to the reader concerning the place given for human rights in Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos as the best of the researcher's knowledge there have not been researches conducted on the area. It also enables one to know the extent to which International Human Rights Instruments are incorporated in parties programs. In short, as it is unexplored area, it advances the knowledge in the field concerning politicization of human rights in Ethiopia context. On the other hand, it promotes other researchers to undertake further studies on the issue.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the study

For the purpose of this research, political party is a political organization that has registered and recognized by National Election Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) as well as currently functioning in Ethiopian political system. However, the scope of the study is limited to assess selected political parties programs who ran for seats in House of Peoples Representatives (HPR) on May, 2015 National Election. Then 7 parties are selected based on the number of candidates they had nominated to the HPR. According to NEBE, the number of political parties' candidates to the House of Peoples Representatives for 2015 National Election is as follows: Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (501 candidates), Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (270 candidates), Ethiopian Democratic Party (165), Blue Party (139), Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (108 candidates), Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (92 candidates), All Ethiopian Unity Organization (78 candidates) (Ethiopian National Election Board (ENEB), n.d.). Hence, the mentioned parties programs and manifestos for 2015 election is evaluated in the study.

The scope of the study extends to civil, political, economic and social rights that are incorporated in selected parties' political programs and manifestos. Accordingly, principle of equality and

non-discrimination, freedom of association, right to education, right to health, right to clean environment and vulnerable groups' rights including women, children, persons with disability and old people as enshrined in selected parties programs and manifestos is deeply discussed in light of International Human Rights Instruments.

Moreover, the study has an exclusive focus on Ethiopian political parties' programs and manifestos on human rights issues. Hence, other issues that are included on their programs are not covered by the study. Besides, as the research fully focuses on evaluating programs and manifestos, gaps in implementation is not be taken into account. The study also assess political programs of 7 Parties in Ethiopia. Hence, its findings is not applicable for all political parties in Ethiopia.

The limitation of the study includes difficulties of contacting representative of selected parties; difficulties of accessing parties programs on time and unavailability of manifestos for 2015 election which might affect the quality of the research. However, the researcher uses the available documents properly.

1.7 Research Methodology

The research is a type of content analysis research. Content analysis is the rational process of 'categorizing qualitative textual data into clusters of similar entities, or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variables or themes' (Given, 2008, p. 120). One of the features of content analysis research is the fact that it helps 'to identify both conscious and unconscious messages communicated by text i.e. what is stated explicitly as well as what is implied or revealed by the manner in which content is expressed' (Ibid).

Among the types of content analysis research, this study could fall as under the category of qualitative content analysis which ‘begins with deep close reading of text and attempting to uncover the less obvious contextual or latent content therein’ (Given, 2008, p. 121). Likewise, the research begins with close reading of political parties programs and manifestos and then attempt to assess the formulation of human rights in these documents in relation to internationally recognized human rights documents.

There are two components of qualitative content analysis that is identification of the corpus of texts and identification of the units of analysis within the texts (Bernard & Rayon, p. 611). Hence, the researcher identifies the body of the texts i.e. Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos for 2015 National election period. So, the research assesses these documents in relation to international human rights standards and principles. Then, the second step is identifying the units of analysis within the texts. The researcher identifies similar entities and categorizes on selected political parties programs and manifestos from each generations of human rights that deeply discussed in every selected political parties programs. The themes include freedom of association, principle of equality and non-discrimination, right to education, right to health, right to clean environment and rights of vulnerable groups.

1.7.1 Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary sources of information are used for the purpose of this study. The primary data source include programs and manifestos of Ethiopian political parties as well as interviews that are conducted with representatives of selected parties. The researcher also uses secondary sources including of International Human Rights Instruments, previously conducted related research papers and journal articles.

1.7.2 Data Collection Techniques and Tools

1.7.2.1 Sampling Techniques

To gather relevant information, the researcher uses non-probable sampling techniques. Specifically, purposive or judgmental sampling is the appropriate sampling method for this study. Among types of purposive sampling, criterion sampling that involves searching for cases or individuals who meet a certain criterion suits best for the study (Given, 2008, p. 697) since it would be difficult to assess all political parties programs unless identified by certain criterion. Accordingly, among political parties registered by the National Election Board, only those who ran for seats in House of Peoples Representatives (HPR) are eligible for the study. Nonetheless, among those who ran for seats in HPR, only 7 parties are selected for the study based on a criterion of the number of candidates they had nominated to the HPR. Therefore the following parties' political programs and manifestos are assessed: Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum), Blue Party (Blue), Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP), Coalition for Unity and Democratic Party (Coalition), Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) and All Ethiopian Unity Organization (AEUO).

Purposive sampling is also applied to select representatives from each political party. Among purposive sampling method, expert sampling is applied specifically to interview key informants because the informants shall have basic knowledge about their party and its program. Expertise in this context is defined as any special knowledge, not necessarily formal training (Garson, 2012). Accordingly, 7 representatives, one from each political party, are chosen based on the special knowledge they have about the parties they represent.

1.7.2.2 Data Collection Tools

Key Informants Interview

Key informants interview is done to gain information from particular and well-informed respondents. The key informant interview is conducted with 6 representatives from each political party who are selected based on purposive or judgmental sampling technique except EPRDF wherein the informant of the party cannot be reached by the researcher. The informants are asked semi-structured questions. This is done by making list of pre-determined questions and also giving a room for the interviewees to explain issues by their own understanding.

Documents

Primary and secondary data documents are analyzed in the study. Selected Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos for 2015 election are primary data documents that are mainly examined and analyzed on the study. In order to set the content and scope of human rights that are incorporated under political parties programs, different international conventions dealing with civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights are also analyzed together with the political parties programs as secondary data documents. Although not binding, Declarations, Resolutions, Principles and Guidelines at the international and regional levels are used as source for interpreting Ethiopian political parties' programs.

1.7.3 Data Analysis Method

When analyzing a certain document by qualitative content analysis method, it can be analyzed across the whole set of data that typically produce 'clusters or codes that translate into themes' (Given, 2008, p. 120). Those themes might be identified into two ways. The themes may have been identified a priori for researchers seek evidence relating to those themes, or the themes may

emerge from the analysis of the transcripts (Ibid). In this study, the themes emerged from the analysis of texts. After close readings of selected political programs and manifestos, the researcher identifies different themes including of first, second and third generations of human rights that appear in every selected political parties programs. The themes include freedom of association, principle of equality and non-discrimination, right to education, right to health, right to clean environment and rights of vulnerable groups. Then, these rights as included in selected parties programs and manifestos are discussed in detail and analyzed in light of International Human Rights Instruments.

1.8 Ethical Consideration

The researcher took the necessary ethical consideration while contacting key informants for the purpose of the study. They were being treated with due respect and dignity while informed that the interview is kept confidential and used only for research purpose. The researcher also informed informants their right of withdrawing from interview at any time if they feel uncomfortable and to skip any questions that they do not want to answer.

1.9 Organization of the study

The paper contains four chapters. The first chapter is an introductory part of the study. Chapter two is the review of related literature for understanding the basis of the subject matter including of definition of programmatic political parties and political programs; nature and functions of political parties programs and the experience of other countries political parties on incorporating human rights issues on their political programs and manifestos. The third chapter includes data presentation and analysis while evaluation of Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos in light of International Human Rights Instruments is the core issue of this chapter. It also

discusses the general overview of how human rights are included in Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos. The last chapter provides conclusion and recommendation.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1 Definition of Programmatic Political Parties and Parties Programs

Political parties are essential associations of society where people share ‘commonly understood values, customs and attitudes to their role in politics’ (Salih & Nordlund, 2007, p. 19). When voters choose parties for political power, there are three considerations according to Herbert Kitschelt. The first one is ‘sympathy with the personality of a party’s candidates’ and this is what Kitschelt called charismatic parties whereas the second key is ‘expected personal and selective tangible and intangible advantages derived from the victory of a party’ which gives rise to clientistic parties. Kitschelt puts the third key consideration as ‘the production of indirect advantages in the form of collective goods if the party of choice wins the election’ that leads to the formation of programmatic parties (Kitschelt, 1995, p. 449). Those programmatic parties provide ‘a rational motivation for citizens’ participation in elections’ as they enable citizens to choose among competing alternatives (Ibid p. 450). Thus, by presenting alternative policies, programmatic political parties make representative democracy a reality (Oesterdiekhoff & Masime, 2010).

As party programs bind all members of a party, they are often approved by party conventions or a representative body within the party (Walgrave & Nuytemans, 2009, p. 193). They are also ‘an official document’ wherein different issues on economy, education, health, foreign affairs and other social policies are included (Laver & Garry, 2000). On similar manner, Election manifestos ‘form the core plans and ideas and contain promises that parties will later be held accountable for’ (Walgrave & Nuytemans, 2009, p. 191).

On a study conducted by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), it is confirmed that previously under-represented communities will have voice to choose among existing policy choices when programmatic politics is developed in a country. As indicated on the study,

'...In Zambia, by 2010, an overwhelming popular consensus had emerged regarding the failure of the ruling party's economic governance and the need for greater state intervention in the economy. Until the rise of the Patriotic Front, however, no political party had sought to represent these views. Instead, the main parties effectively divided their opposition to the status quo by mobilizing support on the basis of ethnicity and the distribution of patronage. It was only after Michael Sata built a populist movement that brought together discontented members of various ethnic communities that Zambians were able to vent their disapproval of the economic policies of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy government.' (Cheeseman & Paget, 2014, p. 89)

Hence the competitiveness of the existing democratic elections in a country affects parties political programs as 'the more intense the competitiveness of democratic elections, the more likely parties are to invest in programmatic appeals, at least in more affluent countries' (Kitschelt & Wong, 2014, p. 66). In similar manner, Kitschelt and Wilkinson study reveals that,

'Programmatic political system require pre-democratic legacies or earlier episodes of democratic competition that enabled political actors to take steps towards solving problems of social choice in the construction of programmatic alternatives.' (Kitschelt & Wilkinson, p. 9)

Nonetheless, the length of time over which party competition has taken place in a country does not predict how programmatic its parties are. Among seven countries covered by another study

of International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), In India, the parties with the longest democratic experience are clientistic. On the other hand, South Korea, the country with the second-shortest democratic track record has the strongest programmatic partisan among the cases compared in the study (Kitschelt & Wong, 2014, p. 49).

Moreover, out of seven countries covered by a study that focuses on programmatic parties and party systems, both countries with the least and most programmatic parties, i.e. the Dominican Republic and South Korea, are ethnically homogeneous, while the ethnically divided party systems, like India, show various degrees of low-to-intermediate programmatic efforts (Kitschelt & Wong, 2014). Kitschelt and Wong further stipulates in this study about the connection between ethnicity and parties program as follows:

'...While ethno-cultural divides are not an obstacle per se to programmatic politics, it is worth noting that our data show that when those divides are deep, politicians tend to make stronger clientistic efforts...In such cases, voters tend to think that their individual success is tightly linked to their group's fate. Thus, they are more likely to be targeted by, and become clients of, political entrepreneurs who present themselves as partial to their kin' (Kitschelt & Wong, 2014, p. 50).

The study conducted to compare Namibia's political parties' programs is also in line with the above assertion. The study affirms that one of the reason why opposition parties' manifestos are short on details is that most of the political parties, at least initially, identified themselves along tribal or racial lines. Thus, 'their positions on certain issues were not as important to voters and party members as were matters like religion, race, ethnicity, and party personalities' (Boer, 2005, p. 5).

As Kitschelt and Wong affirms in their study, voters are less likely to demand policy-based politics in less affluent countries. The researchers reach on a conclusion that ‘as countries become more affluent, there is an increasing chance that politicians will also create programmatic parties that obtain mass support’ (Kitschelt & Wong, 2014, p. 50). However, there is no consensus among scholars concerning the relationship between programmatic efforts and economic development. On another study, it is noted that ‘while development is an enabling factor for programmatic tendencies, it is not sufficient’ (Molleda, Sample, & Stoak, 2014, p. 104).

On a different research conducted to examine the impact of programmatic politics on the quality of policymaking, it is distinguished that countries in which political parties have a stronger emphasis on consistent political commitments have higher-quality policymaking and better provision of public goods (Molleda, Sample, & Stoak, 2014, p. 101).

2.2 Nature and Functions of Political Parties Programs

Unless and otherwise political parties’ play intermediary role between citizens and their government policy making, democracy risk losing legitimacy and significance (Cheesman, 2014). Hence, policy choices should reflect popular will as ‘the issues that get political actors’ attention must react to the societal agenda i.e. the things people care about’ (Walgrave & Nuytemans, 2009, p. 190). Thus, depending on their substantive preferences included in their program and manifestos, citizens vote for a party that will safeguard their interest in many aspects (Luna, Rosenblatt, & Toro, 2014, p. 2).

When political parties entrust themselves to implementing a clear set of policy positions if elected, they are most likely accountable to citizens (Cheesman, 2014). However, it is not to say that programmatic politics always results in more responsible government. As the study

conducted by IDEA reveals that ‘the emergence of more policy-based political competition creates a context in which policy and competency become the deciding factors in how people vote, and in which leaders are more likely to be held accountable if they fail to implement their programs’ (Cheeseman N. , 2011, p. 7). This more likely promotes good-governance that address corruption, poverty and other development issues (Cheeseman & Paget, 2014, p. 93).

Hence, parties offer distinct programmatic programs and, while in office, they govern according to those programs. However, if they do not comply with what they have said on their program, they are held accountable in the next electoral round (Luna, Rosenblatt, & Toro, 2014, p. 2). In other words, they are less likely to be elected for next election period as they did not keep their promises. Hence, parties can not deviate from terms listed on the manifesto and ‘parties’ leaders can be charged with failure to implement published manifesto pledges when given the chance to do so’ (Laver & Garry, 2000).

On the other hand, when parties give attention to particular issues on their manifestos, it is more probable that ‘chances are high that government spending on policies related to the issue will go up’ (Walgrave & Nuytemans, 2009, p. 191). This is clearly seen in National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) party in Kenya. The party program of 2002 contained a detailed analysis of problems that Kenya faced under the rule by Kenya African National Union (KANU) and what to do about them. Once the party came into government in 2003, NARC administration used the manifesto to craft its development blueprint for the next four years, *The Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation: 2003–2007* (Chege, 2007, p. 47).

2.3 The Practice of Including Human Rights Issues on Political Programs

This part discusses the experience of other countries political parties relating to incorporating human rights issues on their programs and manifestos. According to Democracy Index of 2012,

Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom and United States of America are categorized as full democratic states by having the 1st, 2nd, 16th and 21st rank respectively. On the other hand, Namibia falls under flawed democrats by having 72nd rank while Eritrea categorized under Authoritarian regimes by having 153rd rank out of 167 countries covered by the study (A Report From The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2013). These states are non-randomly selected by convenience sampling method from each category to show that it is a practice to include human rights issues on political parties programs whether they are full democrats, flawed democrats or authoritarian. Some human rights issues that are frequently appear on selected countries political parties programs are discussed including of principle of equality and non-discrimination, right to education, right to health and right to clean environment.

2.3.1 Principle of Equality and Non-discrimination

Democratic Party of America puts the principle of equality and non-discrimination at the core of its principles mentioning that no one should face discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, language, religion, gender, sexual orientation or disability status (Moving America Forward: 2012 Democratic National Platform).

Having similar assertion on principle of equality, People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PEDJ) of Eritrea further mentions that a society which does not respect the rights and equality of women cannot be a truly liberated society (PEDJ National Charter, 1994). Likewise, The Norwegian Labor party set a target of 40 per cent for executives at the highest levels in the central government to be women (Moving Norway Forward: The Programme of the Norwegian Labour Party, (2013 - 2017)).

However, the idea of 'positive discrimination' is not acceptable by all. Even though US Republican Party believes in equal opportunity for all citizens irrespective of race or gender, it is

reflected on the party program that ‘affirmative action casts doubt on minority achievement, making such achievement as seemingly unearned’ (State Republican Party Platform, 2014). Rather than supporting affirmative action for historically disadvantaged groups, the party believes that a demand for personal responsibility, accountability, and competitive excellence is a means to achieve true minority advancement (Ibid).

As regards persons with disabilities, the principle that no one should face discrimination based on disability status is boldly marked on political program of Democratic Party of USA (Moving America Forward: 2012 Democratic National Platform). The program also includes the commitment of the Party to expand access to employment for people with disabilities and removing barriers to work (Ibid).

Concerning sexual minorities, ‘there is no hidden exemption clause that might allow a state to guarantee full rights to some withhold them from others purely on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity’ on any international human rights instruments (International Human Rights Law and Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity). However, LGBT groups (Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) are one of marginalized groups who are highly discriminated because of their sexual orientation. The program of Democratic Party of US points out that the party is committed to ensure all Americans are treated fairly. Hence, the party strives to ensure same-sex couples can visit each other in hospital as it is the belief of Democrats’ that all Americans deserve the same chance to pursue happiness, be safe in their communities and take care of the ones they love (Moving America Forward: 2012 Democratic National Platform).

On the other hand, for Republican Party of US, homosexuality is a chosen behavior that is contrary to the fundamental truths that have been designed by God in the Bible and hence family should not be defined to include homosexual couples (State Republican Party Platform, 2014).

Their program visibly emphasizes that there should be no granting of special legal entitlements or creation of special status for homosexual behavior (Ibid).

In relation to old people, The Conservative Party Manifesto of UK marked that ‘Our pensioners have made this country what it is, and we believe that, in return, younger generations owe it to them to ensure they have dignity and security in their old age’ (The Conservative Party Manifesto of UK, 2015). That is why, the party states that it is building a Britain where everyone who has worked hard and done the right thing can enjoy security in retirement (Ibid).

2.3.2 Right to Education

Democratic Party of USA includes on its program that getting an education gives all students the opportunity to fulfill their dreams and contribute to the economy and democracy of America (Moving America Forward: 2012 Democratic National Platform). The party focuses on the performance of teachers to raise standards in the education sector and to realize the right to education of children including recognizing and rewarding good teaching, and retaining good teachers (Ibid). In similar manner, Social Democratic Party of Sweden focuses on the need of the educational sector to work with varying methods that social and sex related patterns can be broken. The program further states that school environments must be free from bullying, sexual harassment, racism and hostility to foreigners (Party Program of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, 2001).

The progressive realization nature of right to education does not impede political parties in developing countries to include this right on their political programs. As stated on a study that compares Namibia’s political parties programs, for instance, South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) declares its commitment of trying to improve access to schooling and to bridge the disparities that remained between schools in respect of the quality of teaching and the

facilities they offer. The study further describes, Congress of Democrats (CoD) incorporates in its program that education should be genuinely free i.e. from pre-primary up until first degree University level. In a very similar manner, it is National Unity Democratic Organization's (NUDO) position that the first 12 years of education has to be free and compulsory. On the other hand, South West Africa National Union (SWANU) propose introducing pre-primary education to prepare learners for basic education and that will be fully funded by the government as indicated on the study. The place of education in National Democratic Movement for Change (NDMC) program is not far from other opposition parties in Namibia. As the study indicates the party shows its commitment to ensure that no child shall be denied education simply because she/he is unable to pay school fees (Boer, 2005, p. 41).

In the same way, the political program of the leading party of Eritrea - PEDJ - states that providing equal educational opportunity means to provide equal opportunity for development. In the program, the party points out its commitment to expand education to the rural areas of the country where educational opportunity has so far been inadequate (PEDJ National Charter, 1994).

2.3.3 Right to Health

The minimum obligations towards the realization of the right to health is reflected on Namibia's political parties programs. As indicated on the study that compare Namibia's political parties Programs, SWAPO states that it sought to improve and maintain health services by focusing on children, women, and providing greater access to prenatal and post-natal care. SWANU believes that access to health is a right and not a privilege. Hence, as the party confirms on its program, it should be free, efficient, and available to all (Boer, 2005, p. 39).

Concerning provision of essential drugs, The Labor Party of UK articulates in its program that it will create a Cancer Treatments Fund so that patients have access to the latest drugs, surgery and radiotherapy (The Labour Party Manifesto, 2015). On similar manner, the Conservative Party of UK focuses on implementing the findings of innovative medicines and medical technology by increasing the use of cost-effective new medicines and technologies, and encourage large-scale trials of innovative technologies and health services (The Conservative Party Manifesto of UK, 2015).

In addition, the right to health extends to fundamental determinants of health such as access to health-related education and information, including of sexual and reproductive health (CESCR General Comment No. 14, 2000). Accordingly, PEDJ of Eritrea states that to spread health education for all Eritreans, whether in rural or urban areas, is important aspect of the health service (PEDJ National Charter, 1994).

As violence against women is a widespread cause of physical and psychological harm or suffering among women, it is considered as violation of their right to health (Fact Sheet No. 31). Likewise, The Norwegian Labor Party consider violence in close relationships as a public health problem that causes personal as well as social costs. As their program demonstrates, the health service in Norway must become better at preventing and identifying violence and abuse (Moving Norway Forward: The Programme of the Norwegian Labour Party, (2013 - 2017)).

Right to health also includes both physical and mental health. Norwegian Labor Party considers good physical and mental health as having decisive importance to the life quality of individuals and the ability of society to create and gives main concern for both types of health (Moving Norway Forward: The Programme of the Norwegian Labour Party, (2013 - 2017)). The party seeks to ensure that the municipalities have drug and alcohol-free recreational programs for

young people (Ibid p.70). Similarly, Conservative Party of UK tightly indicates mental and physical health conditions are given equal priority wherein the party propose to go further and plans to increase funding for mental health care (The Conservative Party Manifesto of UK, 2015).

2.3.4 Right to clean environment

Many of the political parties in Namibia highlight the importance of safeguarding the environment as indicated on the research conducted to compare Namibia's political parties programs. The CoD declares on its program that the extraction of Namibia's natural resources should be allowed only after environmental impact assessment studies had been conducted. The study also indicates that SWANU (Swanu of Namibia) shows its commitment on its political program to outlaw of toxic waste being dumped in Namibia's as that would pollute the environment (Boer, 2005, p. 37).

Similarly, The Social Democratic Party of Sweden includes environmental rights on its program. The party even calls itself 'an environmental party' as it has a core principle that 'for the sake of their own welfare today's generations do not have the right to impoverish the natural resources and physical environment that form the basis also for the life of coming generations' (Party Program of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, 2001).

Chapter Three

3. Data Presentation and Analysis

This chapter presents an analysis of selected political parties' programs and manifestos for the 2015 national election in light of International Human Rights Instruments. The first part discusses the general overview of how human rights are included in Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos. In this part, the place given for human rights on selected political parties programs is assessed in detail by focusing on the parties' objectives and goals. The second part assesses the parties programs in light of specific human rights principles and rights. Under this part, the manner in which principle of equality, freedom of association, right to education, right to health, right to clean environment were dealt with in Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos is evaluated in accordance with International Human Rights Instruments. The consideration given for the rights of vulnerable groups including children, women, persons with disabilities and old people is also discussed in relation to internationally recognized human rights instruments.

3.1 Background of Political Parties and their programs

- I. **Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF):-** EPRDF is the ruling political coalition in Ethiopia. It is an alliance of the Oromo Peoples' Democratic Organization (OPDO), the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), the South Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Front (SEPDM) and the Tigrayan Peoples' Liberation Front (TPLF) which is established in 1989 (Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Party, n.d.). The party program was ratified on the fourth congress of the party in 2001 (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001).

II. **Ethiopian Democratic Unity Forum (Forum):-** The party was first established in 2009 as a ‘Unity’ of 8 political parties. But it has been re-established as ‘Forum’ in 2010 by 4 political parties including Oromo Federalist Congress, Ethiopian Social Democracy and Southern Coalition Party, Unity of Tigrians for Democracy and Sovereignty and Sidamo Liberation Movement. The party program was endorsed in 2008 by representatives from all member parties. Each member party arranged general meetings to discuss on the draft program. Then it was presented to founders of the party (representatives from all member parties) for ratification. When the party program was drafted, international human rights documents took vital role for the party program development. The program was revised in 2011. It was first called ‘mini program’. When it was improved, the term ‘mini’ was removed and other slight changes were made which did not include human rights (Alemu Koyera, Personal Communication, April 15, 2016).

III. **Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP):-** The party was established in October 1999 by youngsters who were members of All-Amhara People’s Organization. The party program was passed the same year after 2 years of discussion over it. As the party is a member of African Liberal Network and World Liberal Network, it is mandatory to include human rights on the party program. Hence, Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (Banjul Charter), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) are among the most important documents that were taken into account during the drafting process. The party has general meetings every 3 years. Before the general meeting, there will always be discussion forum throughout the country for 4 months on different issues. At whatever time the committee believes in reviewing

the program, it will go under this process and bring the final outcome of the discussion to the general meeting wherein it should be ratified by majority vote. The program was revised in this way in 2003 and 2008 with slight improvement on its content. Human rights issues were not improved (Waseyehun Tesfaye, Personal Communication, April 11, 2016).

- IV. **Blue Party (Blue)**:- The party was established in December 2011. It took more than 2 years to draft the party program. There was a committee established for the purpose of drafting the party program which include different people from different professional backgrounds. The committee considered many international and regional human rights documents and incorporate them on the party program. Then the proposal of the committee was ratified by founders' general meeting on the same year of establishment (Endashaw Emeshaw, Personal communication, April 12, 2016).
- V. **Coalition for Unity and Democracy (Coalition)**:- The party was established in 2004 as a coalition of four political parties including All Ethiopian Unity Party, Ethiopian Democratic League, Rainbow Ethiopia: Movement for Democracy and Social Justice, and United Ethiopian Democratic Party – Medhin Party. However, the Party was disintegrated and lost its legal personality after 2005 election. Then, the party was established again in 2006 by former members of the 4 parties. The party program was first enacted in 2005. It incorporates all international human rights instruments ratified by Ethiopia. It was also improved in 2009 and 2014. The program reviewed in a way that focus on peaceful transition of political power. Human rights part of the program is not revised. Whenever the program is reviewed, there will be consultation program among executive parts of the party. Then it will be ratified by Central committee who is directly

responsible for the general meeting (Demak Ayalew, Personal Communication, April 14, 2016).

VI. **Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity):-** The party was one of the founding members of Ethiopian Democratic Unity Forum. But it had its own independent legal personality in 2007. The drafting process of the program took 2 years. There was a committee established for the purpose of drafting the program. All international instruments ratified by Ethiopia were taken into consideration by the committee. Then it is ratified by founders meeting in the same year of its establishment. When the party merged with Berihan for Democracy and Unity in 2011, it was necessary to improve the program. There was slight modification concerning federalism, government structure and privatization. But none of human rights provisions were reviewed. There is also a new program currently developed by the party but it is not yet ratified by the general meeting. Once again, there is nothing improved concerning the concept of human rights (Tigistu Aweleu, Personal Communication, April 15, 2016).

VII. **All Ethiopian Unity Organization (AEUO):-** The party first established as All Amhara People's Organization in 1992 which was ethnic based party. But it becomes multi-national party and established as All Ethiopian Unity Organization in 2002. The program was drafted by founders of the party. All international human rights documents ratified by Ethiopia were taken into account during the drafting process. Then forum discussion was held in different levels for criticism and brought to the general meeting wherein it ratified by majority vote on the same year of its establishment (Mulugeta Abebe, Personal Communication, April 1, 2016).

3.2 Human Rights in Ethiopian Political Parties Programs: General Overview

Human rights are among the main issues that are covered by different Ethiopian political parties programs and election manifestos. In this part, the place given for human rights on selected political parties programs is deeply discussed in conjunction with assessing whether they are included as a primary or subsidiary issue.

EPRDF Program clearly points out the political objective of the party in the following way:

‘The EPRDF’s strategic political objective is to put in place a stable multiparty democratic system whereby the human and democratic rights of citizens, upheld in the constitution, are fully respected...’ (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 8)

It is a good point to list human rights issues as an objective of the party. It shows the party’s intention to attain them at the time of exercising political power. However, human rights issues do not get as much importance as economic development in the party’s program as the fundamental objective of the party is stipulated as follows:

‘.....Economic development, the major objective of our organization, is the foundation and pillar of all our goals.....It needs to be underlined that the clarion call of the EPRDF is to work for rapid growth.....’ (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 4) (Emphasis added)

Hence, the program makes economic growth a strongly expressed demand of the party and cited as its fundamental objective as well as a foundation and pillar of other goals. However, human rights is not stated as a foundational objective. So, it can be inferred that human rights issues are considered as long as it does not contradict with economic growth for the latter mentioned as the

foundation of the earlier. Therefore, the wording by itself shows that economic growth has higher prominence for the party than human rights issues. Such kind of framing has to be considered seriously for it affects parties' commitment in the enforcement of human rights.

Coming to EDP, its main goal includes establishing Ethiopia whereby both individual and group rights of every citizen is respected (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 3). The party categorizes its priority areas into three levels wherein economic issues come at the front of the party agenda. Issues relating to the right to employment has deeply discussed in this category. Social issues are the second main concern of the party where it focuses on right to education and right to health. The third priority area for EDP is political issues under which the party will ensure peace and security and safeguard rule of law so as to protect human and democratic rights (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, pp. 8 - 9). By giving priority order in which the party will lay emphasis on whenever it comes to power, the party creates hierarchy among different types of human rights. As human rights are interdependent each other and one could not fully be realized without the protection of the other, creating such kind of hierarchy might hamper the realization of human rights in the fullest sense.

EDP also includes human rights as a means to achieve economic goals and not as an end by themselves. On its Manifesto for 2015 election the party promised that,

'...By promoting human rights situation in the country, by strengthening democratic system and by solidifying transparency and accountability at all levels, on the following 5 years, the Party will strive to increase loan and aid that the country get from foreign organizations and governments to 300%' (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 14). (Translation mine and emphasis added)

In this manifesto, human rights are mentioned as means to achieve economic goals proposed by the party than an end by themselves. Thus, inclusion of human rights as means of achieving other objectives instead of as an end to pursue will decrease the commitment of the Party for their fullest realization.

The fundamental principle of Forum party program also includes respecting human rights in its fullest sense so as to create Ethiopia wherein human and democratic rights are respected and social justice is achieved (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 10). The program also reflects the party's commitment of respecting individuals' rights as well as group rights of nation, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia (Ibid). It is also the vision of Coalition party to create Ethiopia wherein citizens' human and democratic rights are fully respected (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Manifesto, 2015, p. 1).

Similarly, the vision of Unity includes creating Ethiopia wherein citizens' human and democratic rights are respected (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 7). Safeguarding the rights of children, women, old people, persons with disabilities and other vulnerable groups of the society is also included under the goals of the party (Ibid, p. 8). Unity party further believes that:

'Material development should be considered in line with human development. Unless human development is achieved, material development alone could not achieve development of the country' (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 10). (Translation mine)

Hence, Unity gives almost equal value for human rights protection of citizens and economic growth in order to achieve development in its fullest sense. This assertion gives the impression that economic growth that is achieved by the cost of violating human rights is not complete unless it goes in line with protecting human rights.

Human rights are also included as the main objective on the rest political parties programs. For instance, one of the vision of AEUO is to create Ethiopia wherein freedom of association, freedom of assembly and other human rights are respected (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 12). Human rights are also clearly mentioned under the general goals set by the party. Accordingly, ensuring equality of citizens and nationalities, safeguarding individual rights and freedoms are among boldly remarked goals of the party (Ibid, p. 13). In the same way, creating Ethiopia wherein human and democratic rights of citizens are fully respected is among the vision of Blue party (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 3).

On the other hand, recognizing International Human Rights documents could serve as a baseline for their implementation at the country level. Most of selected political parties give recognition for International Human Rights Instruments on their programs. For instance, AEUO gives credit for Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and other international as well as regional human rights instruments that are ratified by the country (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 19). The party further illustrates that it will strive for the practical implementation of those rights (Ibid). Forum political program also recognizes international and regional human rights documents ratified by Ethiopia and indicates that the party will strive for their implementation at the ground level claiming that they are paper works for the leading party (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 11). The party's manifesto further

mentions that the party will struggle to bring perpetrators of human right violations before the court of law (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Manifesto, 2015, p. 5). The same recognition of those human rights instruments is also included in Blue party's program by adding that these instruments become integral law of the land (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 8). Such recognition is also incorporated under EDP political program (Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) Political Program, 2009, p. 3).

Moreover, different organizations working on human rights issues play significant role for the protection of human rights in the country. Forum political program underscores the independence of Ethiopian Human Rights Commission so as to enable the Commission to handle human rights violations without any interference from the executive branch of government (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 12). EDP also mentioned on its manifesto that it would give different privileges for those who work in Office of Ombudsman and Human Rights Commission and they would be paid under special salary scale that is very sufficient for their means of livelihood (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 24). It gives the impression that, as these institutions strive to protect the rights of different parts of the society, they have to be 'a voice for the voiceless' in every situations. Hence, if they are not paid well, they might be tempted to engage in corruption and turn their face for human rights violations. Nevertheless, the punishment that would be imposed on them would be severe if they act in a way that contradicts their responsibility (Ibid p. 24). Hence protecting institutions working on human rights issues plays significant role for the promotion of human rights.

Exceptionally, Blue party extends human rights protection to Ethiopians outside of their country alleging that there are still Ethiopians wherever they are (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 4). Moreover, the program mentions that Government shall follow up their situations

and protect their human rights including of their right to property (Ibid, p. 11). Forum program also highlights the need of ensuring human rights protection of Ethiopians who live in different parts of the World. The program further mentions that there shall be specific organ that have a mandate of controlling this issue (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 40). As stated under Article 2(1) of ICCPR Government has the obligation of respecting and ensuring to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the Covenant without distinction of any kind (International Covenant on Civill and Political Rights (ICCPR)). Hence, extending protection for those who are out of their home land will broaden the human rights arena.

Coalition party also puts human rights at higher status on which only specific rights shall be derogated even at the time of state emergency. According to Article 93(4) (C) of FDRE Constitution, prohibition against inhuman treatment, right to equality and right to self-determination cannot be suspended even at the time of state emergency (Constitution of The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclmation No. 1/1995). As stated on Coalition manifesto, in addition to those rights, basic human rights such as right to life, right of the security of person, right to liberty, right of thought, opinion and expression shall not be suspended or limited (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Manifesto, 2015, p. 2). By broadening the base of non-derogable rights, the assertion of Coalition Party goes in line with the standard enshrined under Article 4(2) of ICCPR.

3.3 Evaluation of Ethiopian Political Parties Programs in Light of International Human Rights Instruments

3.3.1 Principle of Equality and Non-discrimination

The principle of equality and non-discrimination is the core principle of international human rights treaties and declarations. As explained under Article 2 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms without distinction in any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status (Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)) .

Principle of equality is also boldly remarked in Ethiopian political parties programs. For instance, Blue party's political program highlights that all citizens have the right to equal participation in political, social and economic spheres irrespective of their ethnic affiliation, color, language, culture, sex and religion (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 9). Though different factors are mentioned which shall not be grounds of discrimination, the list seems exhaustive as it does not include 'other' forms of discrimination. To the contrary of such kind of framing, AEUO political program mentions that every person is equal before the law and have equal protection of law irrespective of his/her ethnic group, skin color, language, religion, sex, political thought, level of income or any other grounds (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 19). Likewise, Unity party program underlines the point that no one should be subject of discrimination based on his religion, political view, sex, ethnic affiliation, language, skin color and other grounds (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 12). EDP also mentions the same on its program (Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) Political Program, 2009, p. 8).

Including the word ‘other’, as stated under UDHR, could be a good approach of framing non-discrimination principle since it makes other grounds that might lead to discrimination of individuals or groups prohibited. If people face any kind of discrimination based on grounds that are not listed under this category, they will still have legal protection. For instance, sexual minority groups are not included in this list. If people are discriminated and not treated equally by the mere fact of their sexual orientation, they might be covered under the principle of non-discrimination as the word ‘others’ is open to include different factors. Hence, framing the principle of equality and non-discrimination in broader sense gives wider protection for everyone who are subject of discrimination on different grounds other than the mentioned grounds.

On the other hand, Forum political program includes the principle of non-discrimination from the point of political views, employment opportunities and religion claiming that no one shall be discriminated because of his religion and shall not be subject to torture or any maltreatment by the mere fact of his political view (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 13). Narrow discussion of the principle of non-discrimination in such sense will lessen the realization of the principle of equality as other factors such as sex, language, ethnic group affiliation, skin color and other grounds of non-discrimination are not included.

In contrast, there is a positive discrimination mentioned in many international conventions as affirmative action. The main purpose of affirmative action is to remedy past discrimination and injustice as a result it puts individuals and groups on equal track. Ethiopian political parties also include the concept of affirmative action on their programs and manifestos.

As the political program of EDP clearly illustrates, there shall be equality between female and male both in legal framework and in practice (Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) Political Program, 2009, p. 7). However, the party propagates affirmative action for women so as to

broaden their involvement on education, employment and politics (Ibid). Blue party also extends the concept of affirmative action to language, culture and religious minority as included in Blue party's program (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 9). There is similar assertion on AEUO program which gives special protection for ethnic minorities concerning their economic and political rights (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 20).

On the other hand, once recognizing equal opportunity to work, Coalition party manifesto applies 'positive discrimination' principle by giving priority for vulnerable groups of the society including dependent youths, women, PWD, street children, commercial sex workers, and children who lost their parents by HIV/AIDS (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Manifesto, 2015, p. 5).

3.3.2 Freedom of Association

Freedom of Associations are enshrined under different International Human Rights Instruments including UDHR (Article 23(4)), ICESCR (Article 8) and ICCPR. Article 22(1) of ICCPR clearly stipulates that 'everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests'.

Freedom of Associations also accords core place under Ethiopian political parties programs. It is one of the goal of EPRDF to ensure 'the development and vibrancy of professional, civic and other non-governmental organizations, essential for a dynamic democracy' (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 9). The party's program further states the rights of citizens to freely organized 'trade and civic associations' in which it is the goal of the party 'to ensure that these associations are democratic, and to enable citizens to advance their entitlements and interests' (Ibid, p. 10). As the program specifically mention the role of associations i.e. to exert effort on the advancement of citizens' rights, it could be

considered as a milestone for the recognition of associations working on promotion of human rights within the country at least at theoretical level. Similar provision with EPRDF's program also included on EDP's manifesto. It states that any political, professional and non-profit associations that undertake their mission on peaceful manner, there shall be enabling environment to realize their freedom of association and to support them to operate their charge (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 28).

Freedom of association is also one of the basic human rights concepts deeply discussed under AEUO political program. The program recognizes freedom of association of workers both in private and government institutions so as to protect their rights; and further gives recognition for professional associations that strive for the protection of the rights of their members (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 22). Interestingly, the program mentions that so as to enable women to be free from cultural influence that they encounter based on their sex, they could freely form associations for the protection of their rights (Ibid). Freedom of association of youth in sport, art and different innovative grounds has get recognition under the party program that has greater impact on the protection of the rights of different groups of the society (Ibid). All these entitlements concerning associations also enshrined in Unity party political program with a very slight change in wordings (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 15).

Freedom of associations of different developmental and non-profit organizations is also recognized by AEUO program (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 22). Nevertheless the party program states that every Ethiopian has freedom of association (Ibid, p. 20). It seems that the program limits freedom of association only to Ethiopians and implies that

freedom of association of Foreign Non-profit Organizations or Associations is at stake. This is also in contradiction with Article 22(2) of ICCPR which states that:

'No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others...'

As Foreign Non-profit organizations play role for the protection and realization of human rights, framing freedom of association only from the perspectives of nationals might risk their involvement in human rights aspect.

To the contrary, after giving recognition for international human rights instruments ratified by Ethiopia, Blue's political program recognizes freedom of association of private, governmental and non-governmental organizations for implementation of those human rights documents (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 8). The party's program further encourages international organizations which work on promotion of human and democratic rights (Ibid). When different organizations take part in awareness creation and promotion of human rights concepts throughout the country, people will not keep silent in case of human rights violations. Hence, such kind of scheme will enable people to defend their and others rights.

Forum political program also recognizes freedom of association and underlines that any associations shall be independent and free from the interference of leading political party (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 16). Besides inclusion of freedom of association as a basic right, giving independence for associations has significant role for the realization of the right at its fullest sense.

3.3.3 Right to Education

3.3.3.1 Basics of Right to Education

CESCR General Comment No. 13 defines education as a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realizing other human rights (CESCR General Comment No. 13 : The Right to Education (Art. 13)). Further, Article 13(1) of ICESCR stipulates that:

'The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.' (Emphasis added)

The aim of education which is emphasized on ICESCR is reflected on different Ethiopian political parties programs. For example, program of AEUO mentions that the goal of the party is to create visionary generation who loves its country, equipped with good moral standards, pride with its identity, and have a great innovative mind (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 36). It is also stated under EPRDF political program that secondary education is designed in such a way that 'generates productive, duty-bound citizens who are well aware of their rights and duties and promoting democratic attitudes' (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 24). On the other hand, EDP believes that the education system shall be free from any influence and interference of any political

parties (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 21) which will contribute for the full development of human personality.

3.3.3.2 Obligations towards Right to Education

Concerning obligation of state parties to the covenant, Article 2 of ICESCR illustrates that primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all; whereas secondary education including technical and vocational secondary education, and higher education shall be made available and equally accessible to all by every appropriate means (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights). The convention further obliges member states to progressively introduce of free education even at secondary and higher education level. In a manner that goes in line with States' obligation under the covenant, Ethiopian political parties also clearly mention what should be the role of government in advancing right to education.

For EDP and Blue parties, the education system of the country shall have 6 + 2 + 4 arrangement wherein the primary school extends from grade 1 to 6; junior secondary school is from grade 7 to 8 and higher secondary school will be from grade 9 to 12 (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015; Blue Party Political Program, 2011). As stated on EDP manifesto, at least primary and secondary education shall be for free depending on the economy of the country (Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) Political Program, 2009, p. 15). EDP further promised that Technic and Vocational trainings will be promoted by increasing its quality (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 22). Similarly, AEUO, Unity and Blue parties' programs note that primary, secondary as well as technical and vocational schools shall be provided for free (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 37).

Blue party's program further mentions it is compulsory that parents should send their children to school at least till the end of primary education (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 12). As the party makes primary education compulsory, it goes in line with ICESCR that makes primary education both compulsory and available free for all. However, 6 + 2 + 4 class arrangement might decrease the obligation of government. For instance, when parties decrease the primary education scheme from grade 8 to 6, it means that the compulsory characteristics of primary education will decrease by 2 grades. Thus, the level of the compulsory characteristics of education might affect the literacy rate of the country.

The convention further obliges member states to progressively introduce free education even at higher education level. Concerning cost of attending higher education, the political program of EPRDF points out that the party effect 'cost sharing system' to support higher education learning financially 'without giving rise to school dropouts in consequences of financial difficulties' (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 25). The same is provided under Unity party program (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013). With slight improvement, Blue party's program makes cost-sharing system optional in the way that 'students might share cost of higher education if it is necessary' (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 12).

On the other hand, though Forum program support cost sharing system to cover cost of higher education, it further mentions that it shall not be a barrier for students not to pursue other trainings or opportunities if they cannot pay because of unemployment or other factors (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 59). On the other hand, Coalition's manifesto stipulates that it is unrealistic to implement cost-sharing system as majority of the people lives under poverty line. Hence, the party proposes other means

of income generating for government so as to make higher education free for all including broadening the tax base, avoiding corruption and effective use of development loans and aids on the advancement of the education sector (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Manifesto, 2015, p. 9).

By broadening the rights of higher education students, EDP promised to balance the payment given for non-fee students in relation to the current inflation rate (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 10). This consideration could be one of determinant factor for the right to education as students could focus on their study and will not be concerned about how to cover their living expense.

Apart from the regular program, EDP program states that there shall be special education for adults (Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) Political Program, 2009, p. 15). Likewise, AEUO program recognizes the need for adult education and emphasizes in rural areas to enable farmers and pastoralists at least to read and write (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 38). EPRDF program also mentions that the party will expand informal and specialized education as much as possible (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 25).

It is also one of the goals of EPRDF to increase nursery schools through the involvement of the public and investors (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 25). As indicated on Blue party's program, nursery school programs enable children to be prepared for primary school education and enable them to strengthen their language ability (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 12).

Coming to Girls' education, it has an extensive coverage on selected political parties programs and manifestos. AEUO program elaborates that access to school shall be guaranteed throughout the country in urban and rural areas and the party gives further consideration for girls' education (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 37). More specifically, Coalition party encourages rural girls' education and strives to avoid barriers by providing access to clean water; constructing schools close to main roads and providing electricity to rural villages (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Manifesto, 2015, p. 11). Constructing schools by itself is not enough unless other external barriers are avoided. Hence, the party frames right to education in broadest sense.

Similarly, EDP gives especial consideration for girls' education and for students who are from economically marginalized family and are at the verge of dropping out of school (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 21). Inclusion of students from economically disadvantaged family as vulnerable groups of the society, irrespective of their sex, will enable to realize the right to education of students from economically disadvantaged family.

In addition, the role of private investment on the education sector is recognized on selected parties programs. For instance, EDP promises to empower private sectors so as to have vital role for the improvement of right to education (Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) Political Program, 2009, p. 15). Similar provision also included under AEUO political program. However, it further takes account of continues follow up on the quality and standard of education provided by the private sector (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 37). On the same manner, EPRDF program mentions the commitment of the party to encourage the participation of investors and non-governmental organizations at all levels of the educational sector. However, they have to operate within the range of the curriculum set by the government (Ethiopian Peoples

Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 25). There are also related articulations in Forum and Blue programs by highlighting the need of following up the quality of education provided by the private sector while providing the necessary support (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum, 2012; Blue Party Program, 2011).

3.3.3.3 Educational Curriculum Development

EPRDF political program repeatedly mentions that the education program shall be oriented towards the party's development strategy. For instance, one of the strategic social objective of EPRDF is

'To enable citizens who have had primary and secondary education actively engage in the ongoing development activities, especially in our efforts to rapidly bring our farming technology to highly improved state...Design a broad vocational training system oriented towards our development strategy that qualifies citizens to extensively participate in the aforementioned activity...' (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 24). (Emphasis added)

Having educational curriculum that 'oriented towards development strategy' of specific party might affects students' right to learn what interests them. Besides that, development strategy of the country might be changed when another political party holds power. Hence, educational curriculum shall be free from any influence of leading political party ideology to realize right to education in its broadest sense.

To the contrary, Forum political program opposes the existing categorical system on which 70% of higher education students shall be from natural science stream and the rest from social science stream. Rather, the party proposes that the education system shall be designed based on the need

of the society and the interest of students (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 58). Opposing 70% and 30% arrangement for natural and social science stream, Blue party's manifesto also states that natural science stream will not be productive alone unless the social science stream is strengthened (Blue Party Manifesto , 2015, p. 24). Similarly, Coalition party believes that educational curriculum of the country shall be designed in a way that is free from the interest of leading party so as to create citizens who think independently (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Manifesto, 2015, p. 9). Thus, different faculties and departments shall be opened as much as possible and it should be left for students' choice to identify on which stream they want to be engaged in. Unless, it might affect their creativity and they could not come up with a better development strategy than the existing one.

Coming to drafting and implementation process of educational curriculum, EPRDF program states that ensuring the direct involvement of teachers, students and the public in school administration is one of the objectives of the party (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 25). In the same way, teachers, students, parents and professionals shall have significant role as indicated on EDP, AEUO and Blue parties' programs (Ethiopian Democratic Party Political Program, 2009; Blue Party Political Program, 2011; All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003)).

Education is also a tool to solve societal problems. For this reason, EDP states on its manifesto that Higher Educations should be free from any political party interference and focus on researches that can solve societal problems (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 22). On similar manner, EPRDF political program mentions that higher institutions shall extensively engaged in researches essential for the economic, social, and political development of the

country (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 24). By underlining the role of higher educations to solve societal problems through diverse researches, Unity party program also states that Higher Educations found throughout the country shall provide educational service that can be competent at international level by upgrading the skill and experience of its personnel (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 38).

3.3.3.4 Factors Determinant to Right to Education

Different parties programs consider determinant factors that are related to right to education. One of the contributing factors to right to education is having skilled teachers. For this end, EPRDF program stipulates that there shall be extensive training to upgrade teachers' capacity and professional ethics (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 25). On the other hand, EDP manifesto states that teachers will be paid high salary and shall be beneficiary of other privileges (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 22). Likewise, the necessity of having favorable conditions to improve the lives of teachers and to safeguard their rights is included under EPRDF Program (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 25). Such kind of treatments will make teachers not to shift their profession because of earnings.

Moreover, a budget allocates for the education sector also affects the quality of education. On its manifesto, EDP promised that the education sector budget will increase by 20 % in every year for the coming 5 years (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 22). The manifesto further stated in every *kebeles* of the country, there shall be one library and information center (Ibid, p. 27). It requires financial power to construct schools, to hire teachers and other

personnel, to build libraries, to provide teaching and other related materials and so on. Hence, allocating sufficient budget for the education sector is among detrimental factors for the realization of right to education.

3.3.4 Right to Health

3.3.4.1 Responsibility towards Right to Health

Paragraph 43 of CESCR General Comment No. 14 lists out the core responsibility of States towards the realization of the right to health which is not depend the economic status of a country. It includes the following obligations:

- A. To ensure the right of access to health facilities, goods and services on a non-discriminatory basis, especially for vulnerable or marginalized groups;
- B. To ensure access to the minimum essential food which is nutritionally adequate and safe, to ensure freedom from hunger to everyone;
- C. To ensure access to basic shelter, housing and sanitation, and an adequate supply of a safe and portable water;
- D. To provide essential drugs, as from time to time defined under the WHO Action Program on Essential Drugs;
- E. To ensure equitable distribution of all health facilities, goods and services;
- F. To adopt and implement a national public health strategy and plan of action (CESCR General Comment No. 14, 2000)

These core obligations also appear on Ethiopian political parties' programs. Concerning vulnerable groups, EPRDF program focuses on the rural population for the party believes that rural areas had been denied of this service so far (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic

Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 26). In expansion of health centers, AEUO also gives priority for mothers, children and elders to have access for health services (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 39). On the other hand, Blue party program points out that citizens shall access health service in which majority of the cost is covered by government while providing free service for those infected by epidemic diseases (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 13). In the same way, Coalition's political program points out that pensioners, children, mothers and economically disadvantaged people shall access health service free of charge (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Political Program, p. 20).

Regarding equitable distribution of health facilities and services, EDP manifesto underlines that distribution and access to different medication throughout the country will be controlled by trained professionals wherein the price of medication shall be affordable (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 24). Besides, EDP promised to fulfill medication, personnel and other medical equipment if it would have won the last election (Ibid, p. 23). The party also proposed to train health workers continuously with comprehensive and good quality (Ibid). In the same way, EPRDF political program states that it shall build hospitals of varied status as much as possible. Further, the program mentions the objective of the party to 'hire and maintain highly qualified professionals' by improving and updating the health system consistently (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 26). By encouraging the production of modern medical equipment and medicines locally, AEUO also plans that any importation of medical equipment to the country either shall be free of tax or subject to low amount of tax (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 39).

Concerning provision of essential drugs, it is indicated on the manifesto of EDP that the party gives weight for diseases that significantly affects man power of the country such as HIV/AIDS.

For this reason, the party promised that HIV/AIDS patients would get medication on the place they are and those who have economical problem would be provided sufficient food by the government (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 23). EPRDF political program similarly focuses on the need for having ‘continuous and constant participatory anti-AIDS campaign’ by taking into account of its impact on social and economic development of the country (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) Political Program, 2001, p. 26). AEUO program also mentions that there shall be special privilege for persons living with HIV/AIDS to have the necessary medicine and medial service (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 43). Besides giving special attention for HIV/AIDS, political program of Unity party further stipulates that the party gives primacy for Tuberculosis, malaria and other diseases that increases mortality rate in the country (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 40).

Moreover, in relation to advancement of traditional medications, most of selected political parties recognizes their role on the health sector. For instance, EDP and Blue political programs state that traditional medications will be available to the public after checking their result in scientific method (Ethiopian Democratic Party Political Program, 2009; Blue Party Political Program, 2011; All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003). By encouraging traditional medications on the same way, Coalition’s program stresses the need of discontinuing traditional medications prescribed in common sense without having the appropriate knowledge (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Political Program, p. 31).

On the other hand, providing education and access to information concerning the main health problems in the community, including methods of preventing and controlling them, is among obligations of comparable priority towards States as enshrined under Para 44 of CESCR General

Comment No. 14. In this regard, right to health information appears in different political parties programs. Blue party's program, which advocates prevention strategy, underscores the need of disseminating health related information (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 13). Correspondingly, Coalition's program recognizes the role of media on disseminating health information and stipulates that there shall be continues awareness creation programs on health issues (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Political Program, p. 31). Besides giving special attention for HIV/AIDS, Forum program mentions that there shall be continuous awareness creation programs and prevention strategies (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 61).

In relation to the role of private investments on health sector, EDP proposed that it would give different incentives for private investors who would like to involve in the health sector while there would be strict control and follow up over their service (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 23). Similarly, Unity program recognizes the need of controlling the affordability and the quality of service they have provided (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 39). Likewise, AEUO and EPRDF political programs encourage private and non-governmental organizations to have active role in providing health service (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003; Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front Political Program, 2001). But these programs fail to recognize the role of government on controlling the service provided by private sectors (Ibid). Failure of having supervisory mechanisms might results in non-affordable or poor service.

3.3.4.2 Determinants of Right to Health

The right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health is protected under Article 12(1) of ICESCR. As stated on Para 1 of CESCR General Comment, the highest attainable standard of health should enable every human being to live a life in dignity (CESCR General Comment No. 14, 2000). That is why the right to the highest attainable standard of health, as defined by the committee, takes account of the holistic approach including health care and social conditions as being important determinants of health status. These include provision of safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, health-related education and information.

Important determinants of health also get recognition under Ethiopian political parties programs and manifestos. EDP promised that there would be reduction in tax rate on foods for economically marginalized groups of the society (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 11). As food is included under one of the basic factors for right to health, reduction in tax rate and price will help economically disadvantaged groups to access food easily and to protect their health. The party also gives prominence for children to have balanced diet and to provide clean water and lavatory for every citizen (Ibid, p. 23).

Concerning right to clean water, the program of Unity and Forum state that there shall be provision of clean water for millions of people who lack access to clean water (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party, 2013; Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum, 2012). Forum further promises to work on creating clean environment both in urban and rural areas in order to protect the environment from different pollutants that can affect the health of the people (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 60).

Additionally, one of the means that help to protect disease in advance is to keep the society mentally and physically healthy. It is stated on EDP manifesto that there shall be expansion of children and youth recreational centers (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 27). On similar manner, so as to keep youth and children healthy and to involve them in productive activities, Unity program focuses on the advancement of youth recreational centers (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 41).

EDP manifesto also stated that City plan shall include sufficient number of public recreational centers and sport fields that support 'prevention' strategy of the party (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 27). As well, Forum program promotes the construction of youth recreational centers alleging that it enables youths to develop both mentally and physically (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 64). The same thing is provided under Blue's program by giving recognition for the importance of sport on creating citizen who is strong in mind and body (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 15).

In addition, Unity party believes in having special salary scale for Doctors and other health workers that helps them to have adequate standard of living (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 39). Similar point is mentioned in Coalition's program in which it underlines the need of giving incentives for health workers to decrease brain drain on the area (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Political Program, p. 30). Providing such kind of privileges for health workers indirectly affects right to health. Because, if they left their country for better earnings, the proportion of number of physicians per patients will decrease and that declines the quality of service.

3.3.5 Rights of Vulnerable Groups

3.3.5.1 Rights of Children

As children are not in a position of deciding which is good or not, governments protect their rights by enacting different laws. It is stated on the manifesto of EDP that there shall be a law that strictly prohibits the sale of any drugs and alcohols for children under the age of 18 and impose serious punishment for those who violate this law (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 27). Specifically, EDP political program states that there shall be strict control to stop drug and alcohol shops around school premises (Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) Political Program, 2009, p. 17). This is in line with Article 33 of CRC which imposes obligation on States Parties to take all appropriate measures to protect children from the illicit use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances as defined in the relevant international treaties (Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC))

Furthermore, AEUO political program points out that children who lost their parents and street children need special protection and hence different researches shall be done so as to enhance their rights (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 42). Forum and Unity party also states that special strategies will be designed to take care of children who lost their parents (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 65).

3.3.5.2 Rights of Women

Equality of men and women is boldly remarked on different political parties' programs. For instance, as included under AEUO political program, without discrimination based on their sex, women shall play significant role in the society (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political

Program, 2003, p. 21). However, the party believes in the need of applying affirmative action so as to increase the participation of women in political leadership, education, social and economic affairs (Ibid). Likewise, by recognizing equality of women and men, Unity political program gives affirmative action for women alleging that there was deeply rooted culture of giving inferior position for them. So as to ensure their full participation, the program states the need of having special privilege for women in the economy, health, education, politics and other issues (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 17).

Concerning the role of women in politics, Forum program promises that they will have practical and significant decision making role (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 63). EDP also mentioned on its manifesto that every steps of poverty reduction process shall include and gives emphasis for the full participation of women (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 18). Besides including equality of men and women, Unity political program further states that there shall be extensive training and awareness creation programs concerning equality of women and men (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 41).

Even among women, there are double vulnerable groups. For instance, AEUO program categorizes prostitutes under vulnerable groups of the society and states that different researches shall be done to provide special privilege for them (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 42). Special privilege also given to single mothers to decrease different challenges they face on the political programs of Unity and Forum (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party Political Program, 2013; Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum, 2012).

Regarding women right to health, Coalition party manifesto demonstrates to decrease migration of women to work in conditions that will affect their health (Coalition for Unity and Democracy

Party (Coalition) Manifesto, 2015, p. 11). Sexual and reproductive freedom is also one of the elements of the right to health. As defined by CESCR General Comment, reproductive health includes the following points.

- Women and men have the freedom to decide if and when to reproduce and
- The right to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice
- The right of access to appropriate health-care services that will, for example, enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth (CESCR General Comment No. 14, 2000, p. Para 14)

In line with the Committee's view, Coalition's manifesto confirms that there shall be effective implementation of health packages to provide reproductive health service for mothers (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Manifesto, 2015, p. 11). Even though Unity and Forum party programs specify that there shall be strong distribution of family planning service, it is stipulated as a means of controlling the ever increasing population rate not as a reproductive rights of women (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party Political Program, 2013; Ethiopian Democratic Unity Forum Political Program, 2012). On similar manner, Blue party's program emphasizes the necessity of family planning. But it is mentioned as a means to achieve economic development by controlling population rate (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 22). Similar provision is included in Coalition manifesto which relates family planning with safeguarding food security (Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (Coalition) Manifesto, 2015, p. 4). Nevertheless, women's have a freedom to access family planning of their choice as of right irrespective of the population rate.

In addition, harmful traditional practices are also included under determinants of health status. As stated under paragraph 22, CESCR General comment puts emphasis on the need of adopting effective and appropriate measures to abolish harmful traditional practices affecting the health of children and girls including early marriage, female genital mutilation, preferential feeding and care of male children (CESCR General Comment No. 14, 2000).

In line with this international standard, Unity party proposes that varied strategies shall be drafted to eradicate different beliefs and cultures that cause physical and psychological harm on women (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 41). Specifically, Forum program points out that the party extremely oppose child marriage, female genital mutilation and other harmful traditional practices that cause serious bodily and psychological harms on women (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 63). Similarly, EDP program mentions that there shall be strong commitment to eradicate harmful traditional practices by changing societal perceptions towards these practices (Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) Political Program, 2009, p. 18). Similar stand is reflected on Blue's political program (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 16). As harmful traditional practices cause physical and psychological harm on women, inclusion of these commitments on parties' programs will contribute for realization of women's right to health.

It is also noted on para 21 of CESCR General Comment that there is a need to develop and implement a comprehensive national strategy for promoting women's right to health and a major goal should be protecting women from domestic violence (CESCR General Comment No. 14, 2000). However, eradicating violence against women is not cited as right to health under Ethiopian political parties programs.

3.3.5.3 Rights of Persons with Disabilities

Persons with disabilities (PWD) are among vulnerable groups. AEUO believes in having special attention for PWD and states that different researches shall be done so as to give special privilege for them (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 42). However, the program frames disability as inability. For instance the program states that:

‘The party shall create an environment wherein persons with disability learn, work and support themselves as their potential and situations permits them to do so.’ (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 43). (Translation mine and emphasis added)

There is similar assertion on Blue party program. It states that Persons with both physical and mental disabilities, helpless children and old people shall be beneficiary of different protection depending on the economic condition of the country (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 14). As it is not framed on a manner of creating enabling environment or providing affirmative action to redress past wrongs, the framing of the party gives an impression that PWD are in similar position with children and old people who are not self-dependent due to age.

Forum also proposes that there shall be supporting environment for PWD to support themselves by engaging in income generating activities. Further, the program states there shall be subsidy given for them in every aspect meant for their livelihood (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 62). Though the program seems showing empathy for PWD, the idea of giving aid for their continued existence gives the impression that they are always in need of help which is not true. Similar provision is included in Forum’s manifesto as follows:

'PWD shall be provided with educational and vocational trainings that take into account of their problems, with the necessary educational materials' (Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Manifesto, 2015, p. 19). (Translation mine and emphasis added)

Though the manifesto shows the commitment of the party to realize the right to education of PWD, it considers disability as problem. Hence, drafting the rights of PWD from human rights perspective by the mere fact of their humanity will enable to treat them with dignity.

Concerning the rights of PWD, Unity and Forum party have similar position. Their programs state in similar terms that PWD shall not be treated differently in case of employment because of their disability and there shall be enabling environment to make them equally competent with other citizens (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party Program, 2012; Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum, 2012). The framing of the parties' programs seem promoting formal equality that shall not be applied if there is historical disadvantage that certain groups of a society faced. PWD are among vulnerable groups of the society and treating them equally in case of employment might not achieve equality in its real sense. Thus, so as to achieve substantive equality, there shall be affirmative action in case of employment that enable to rectify past wrongs towards them.

On the other hand, the manifesto of EDP states that PWD participates in every poverty reduction actions by firming up their social and economic strength (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 18). In this sense, the party recognizes their participation in the economy by giving affirmative action and safeguarding their social and economic rights. Hence, it gives protection for PWD in its fullest sense.

EDP manifesto further states that cities plan shall take into account the interest of PWD on constructing roads (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 27). Unity and Forum also believe that at the time of undertaking different constructions, the interest of PWD shall be taken into account (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party Political Program, 2013; Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum Political Program, 2012).

Similarly, creating enabling environment for PWD to engage in income generating activities is among the social security objectives of Unity party (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity) Political Program, 2013, p. 40). Besides, Forum and Unity programs state that there shall be provision of different learning materials that create suitable environment for PWD to attend school (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party Political Program, 2013; Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum Political Program, 2012).

3.3.5.4 Rights of Old People

As old people had good endeavor for the country, giving special attention for them when they are vulnerable because of their age is boldly incorporated under AEUO political program. As stated on the program, there shall be continuous researches on how to improve the living conditions of old people (All Ethiopian Unity Organization Political Program, 2003, p. 42). The program further states that pensioners shall be beneficiary of pension system which will be designed by taking into account of existing inflation rate and living expense (Ibid). There is similar assertion on EDP program and it further states that there shall be especial privilege for old people in relation to economic situation of the country (Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) Political Program, 2009, p. 18). By mentioning the same for pensioners, Blue party further adds that they have to be treated with dignity (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 14).

Unity and Forum programs also include different points that could raise the protection of old people. The programs encourage Non-profit organizations that support old people who have no one to take care of them. Besides, the program states different centers will be constructed for old people. As old people are rich in life experience, the program also proposes that there shall be different programs that facilitate transfer of knowledge from them to the next generation (Unity for Democracy and Justice Party Political Program, 2013; Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum Political Program, 2012).

3.3.6 Right to Clean Environment

Among international instruments that include environmental right, The Banjul Charter is one of them (African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights). Under Article 24 of the charter, it is clearly stipulated the rights of all people to a satisfactory environment favorable to their development. In line with the charter, Ethiopian political parties also include the concept of right to clean environment on their programs as well as on their manifestos.

So as to protect the environment, EDP proposes that there should be environmental impact assessment before the implementation of any development projects proposed by government and private investors (Ethiopian Democratic Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 26). Hence, the party does not treat development as an end by itself. Focusing on development without taking into consideration of different factors might results in violation of other human rights including the right to clean environment. Therefore, the way EDP includes the right to clean environment on its manifesto could be an exemplary act to protect the right as manifestos are standards that political parties follow after taking political power.

The other point that is proposed by EDP to ensure environmental protection is to use renewable source so as to shift the consumption of wood and fuel to electric sources (Ethiopian Democratic

Party Manifesto, 2015, p. 26). Extending its protection to clean environment, the party further proposed that any vehicles who have been more than 10 years after its manufacturing date would not have permission to enter into the country (Ibid). Further, the party stressed the need to have continuous afforestation project based on research (Ibid).

On the other hand, Blue party program deeply discusses environmental protection on which it underlines that every stakeholder shall actively participate on drafting policies concerning the environment. More importantly, the program encourages individuals and non-profit associations working on environmental protection issues (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 16). Moreover, Blue party program states there shall be reduction, extension or exemption of tax for those organizations who keep the environment from pollution (Ibid, p. 23). Such kind of incentives encourage industries or other organizations to take active role on protecting the environment which finally contributes for the realization of the right to clean environment.

The party also puts down its commitment to create favorable conditions for investors to take part in sewage disposal investment while reminding that the main obligation is on Government and the society (Blue Party (Blue) Political Program, 2011, p. 21). Recycling sewages to generate power; avoiding sewages without causing harm on the environment through different technologies; and controlling industries not to cause serious harm on the environment are among main points included in Blue's program concerning environmental protection (Ibid, p. 16).

On the contrary, Forum includes environmental protection in its program because desertification negatively affects the development of the country instead of the aim of protecting the environment for the purpose of realizing right to clean environment. As desertification exposes the land for erosion, it affects the productivity of farmers. That is why the party proposes alternative sources of power for daily consumption instead of charcoal and wood (Ethiopian

Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Forum) Political Program, 2012, p. 38). As environment is essential for the well-being of everyone and also a means for the enjoyment of other human rights, right to clean environment shall be incorporated as an end by itself.

Chapter Four

4. Conclusion and Recommendation

4.1 Conclusion

Before a party expect to attract supporters and hold political power, it develops policy alternatives that demonstrate its commitment to solve societal problems as people want a political party that cares about their problems and their future as well. Parties present their policy alternatives into two basic ways. At the outset, parties communicate their positions through their programs. Hence, political programs are ‘official documents’ which include basic principles and positions of parties on different issues including of economy, social and political aspects. On the other hand, election manifestos have relatively a short term character that reflects the position of parties on current issues for a specific election period. As a result, political programs and election manifestos are means to provide meaningful choice over policies for electorate. Nevertheless, political programs and manifestos are also means to hold politicians accountable if they fail to implement their programs once elected.

Political parties programs and human rights have mutual impact on each other. Even though the content and emphasis given for human rights issues is different, it is common to see human rights issues in various political parties programs around the world. On the other hand, the implementation of human rights in a certain country affects the availability of political programs in that country as limits on those rights restrict the demand for program-based politics.

Human rights are among the main issues that are covered by different Ethiopian political parties programs and election manifestos. Though human rights issues are mentioned as the core principles and goals of selected political parties, in some cases they have accorded less emphasis

comparing to economic growth. On other cases, human rights are treated as a means to achieve economic growth than an end by themselves. But others give equal importance for economic and human development. On the other hand, almost all political parties covered by the study give recognition for international human rights instruments on their programs. However, except few political parties, human rights protection of Ethiopians outside of their homeland is not recognized.

Principle of equality is boldly remarked in Ethiopian political parties programs. However, some of them describe the principle in an exhaustive way which will not give a space to include other forms of discrimination. Freedom of association is also deeply discussed under selected political parties programs and manifestos. Even some political parties recognize freedom of association in relation to non-governmental and international organizations working on human rights issues. Nevertheless, some others depict freedom of association in relation to Ethiopians.

Even though parties design different class arrangement, all parties recognize that primary and secondary education shall be available free to all. Concerning higher education, there are three positions held by Ethiopian political parties. The first group supports cost-sharing system to cover higher education cost. The second group totally rejects the idea of cost-sharing system as it is unrealistic comparing to economic situation of the society. The third group holds middle ground and argues that cost-sharing system is necessary but it shall not be a barrier to pursue other trainings or learning opportunities if students cannot pay because of different factors.

Different parties programs consider factors that are related to right to education including having skilled teachers; having favorable conditions to improve the lives of teachers and to safeguard their rights; and budget allocation. Many political parties covered by the study also mention their commitment to encourage the participation of investors and non-governmental organizations at

all levels of the education sector. Though some emphasize the need of following up the quality of education provided by private sectors, some others fail to mention about the need of follow-up mechanisms. Girls' education also has extensive coverage under different political parties programs. It is also reflected on a party program that education curriculum shall be oriented towards development strategy of political party while others seriously oppose this strategy.

Regarding right to health, selected political parties have almost similar positions concerning prevention strategy, equitable distribution of health facilities, advancement of traditional medication, and inclusion of important determinants of health such as right to food, clean water and sanitation. Though most political parties recognize the involvement of private investors on the health sector, some fail to recognize the role of government on controlling the service that might results in non-affordable or poor service. In addition, though the need of having recreational centers has recognition in most parties programs, there is nothing stated about treatment and curing of mental health.

Children and women are among vulnerable groups of the society that accord special treatment in all selected political parties programs. Elimination of harmful traditional practices and beliefs is one of the central issue covered by many parties programs. Though family planning is stated on some political parties programs, it is mentioned as a means to achieve economic development by controlling population growth rate instead of being a means to realize reproductive health of women. On the other hand, elimination of violence against women is not cited as right to health under selected political parties programs.

Evenif most political parties recongize equality of PWDs and believe in having special privilege for them, the way the programs frame their rights give the impression that disability is inability. Concerning rights of old people, it is stated on some political parties programs that they are

among vulnerable groups of the society and need special protection to increase their living condition.

So as to protect the environment and ensure right to clean environment, different political parties underline the need of environmental impact assessment, use of renewable sources and providing incentives for industries that are taking active role to protect the environment. Nonetheless, it is also incorporated as a means to achieve development.

Finally, even if parties revise their programs rarely, the researcher could not find any political party that revise human rights issues on its program.

4.2 Recommendation

Based on the findings of the study and so as to be in line with International Human Rights Instruments, the researcher recommends political parties under the study to revise their programs in the following way:

- ✓ Principle of equality and non-discrimination shall be framed in an inclusive way to protect the rights of individuals and groups subject of non-discrimination on any grounds.
- ✓ Freedom of association shall be extended to nationals and foreigners.
- ✓ Educational curriculum shall be free from parties' development strategy.
- ✓ Mental health shall accord equal place with physical health.
- ✓ Reproductive rights shall be included as women's right to health not only as means of controlling population rate.
- ✓ Protecting women from violence shall be identified as protection of their right to health.
- ✓ The rights of PWDs shall be safeguarded in relation to their rights as human being and should not be treated as incapable.

- ✓ Environmental right shall be recognized as independent right instead of only as a means for achieving development objectives.

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Annex

Interview Guiding Questions for Key Informants from each Political Party

1. When was the party established?
2. When did the party program enacted? By whom?
3. Can you please tell me the ratification process of the program?
4. Is the program improved after its first enactment or not? Why?
5. How human rights are included on the party program? Have you taken into account of the rights of vulnerable groups?
6. Have you referred to international human rights instruments when you draft the program?
7. What makes your party different from other political parties in relation to the concept of human rights?

Profile of the Respondents

No.	Name	Political Party	Position
1	Ato Waseyehun Tesfaye	Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP)	Member of Executive Branch of The Party and Research Officer
2	Ato Tigistu Awelu	Unity for Democracy and Justice Party (Unity)	Chairman
3	Ato Demak Ayalew	Coalition for Unity and Democracy (Coalition)	Public Relation and Chair Secretary
4	Ato Alemu Koyera	Ethiopian Democratic Unity Forum (Forum)	Chair of the Main Office
5	Ato Mulugeta Abebe	All Ethiopian Unity Organization (AEUO)	Public Relation
6	Ato Endashaw Emeshaw	Blue Party (Blue)	Chair of the Secretary