ORIGINAL ARTICLE

An Analysis of The Presentation of Human and Democratic Rights Abuses in AMELMAL’S YÄLTÄKOÄCHE GUZO (1974-2018)

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Abstract

The main objective of the study is to examine the depiction of democratic and human rights abuses in Amelmal’s, Yältäkoäche Guzo [Unfinished Journey]. One of the considerable importances of literature all over the world is its use of sympathetic and attractive literary language to expose basic human right abuses since human rights are also part of human life. Therefore, analyzing the roles of literatures that are written in Amharic language in portraying basic human rights violations is paramount. However, literatures written in Amharic language are not well studied from human rights violation perspectives. This article, therefore, explores how the violations of basic human right are depicted in the selected novel. Because there was no computable data used, the study considered qualitative research method. Regardless of the system by which a country is ruled, human rights are inviolate because they are innate. The analysis of the novel, however, depicts that the inviolate human and democratic rights of human beings have been violated. The finding of the study showed that the depiction of human and democratic rights violations was explicit. It showed that people’s rights to life, rights to equality, rights to liberty, and rights to election were abused during the two political regimes.

Keywords: Reading, new historicism, basic rights, abuses

Introduction

Literature plays a great role in exposing issues which are related to basic human rights. Concerning this, Hezam (2016) argues that literature echoes the ills of the society with a view to making the people to realize their mistakes, and to project the virtues to amend them. According to Hazem, literature is a powerful instrument that goes deep into readers’

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heart and evokes the feel people have regarding their rights. He says that literature has a unique power to touch the hearts and minds, and to engage readers in a way that is distinctly different from other texts. It has the capacity to drive change and to motivate people to take action. Regarding this, Hazem says:

*Literary works can be seen as a powerful instrument to correlate the concept of human rights as both literature and human rights always go hand in hand for the betterment of society. No one can deny the role of literature to create awareness among people of their rights (Hezam, M. 2016).*

Similarly, literary works written in Amharic have the power to touch the hearts and minds of the readers, to engage them emotionally, and to help them understand basic human rights handlings. Although literatures written in Amharic have long history in comparison to other literatures written in other Ethiopian languages, there are few researches done on them from the point of view of representing basic human rights abuses in various Ethiopian regimes.

Anteneh (2014) conducted his study on the title: *The representation of politics in some selected Amharic novels from 1930 until 2010.* The study approved that novels represent the historical and political events with more details and from different perspectives than the historical and political documents, and there is a possibility to witness that the fictional novels have the power to show historical facts, human and class relationships implicitly, through the interactions of characters, story developments, and organization of the whole work. Not only he focused on the representation of politics in literatures written in Amharic, Anteneh also didn’t include *Yältäkoäche Guzo* in his list of samples for the study. Anteneh’s study confirmed that novels exhibit so much aspects of human life implicitly through the interactions of characters which are not exposed explicitly by political and historical documents. Unlike this study which discusses the representation of human and democratic rights in *Yältäkoäche Guzo* (*ያልተቋጨ ጉazzo*), Anteneh’s research showed the political arena of the Ethiopian regimes from Hailasellase to the EPRDF governments.

The other article published by Anteneh (2016) was an article on Dagim Nibab Ballewolledim (*ዳጆም ንባብ በአልወለድም*). In this study, he analyzed the novel from the point of view of: the spirituality of the author, the political system of the time and historical facts of the time in which the novel was written. However in his analysis, Anteneh didn’t mention the issue of fundamental human rights abuses as they are portrayed in *Allewolledim* (*አልወለድም*) (*I refuse to be born*). Although Anteneh’s research mentioned the solid stand *Abe Gubegna* had on human rights, his study didn’t show how these human rights are represented in *Allewolledim!* This again showed that Anteneh’s study is broader in scope than the current research. In the analysis of *Allewolledim* (*አልወለድም*), Anteneh focused on: the authors’ great passion for writing, his awareness about the political situation of Ethiopia, his firm stand
for human rights, and his need for change in the country. During the analysis of the novel, authorial intention which may negatively affect the timelessness of the literary product is considered in Anteneh’s article.

The other researcher, Michael (2016), conducted his study on Literature and Human Rights: A Study on the Role of Literature in Promoting Human Rights. This article has explored the representation of the relationship between literature and human rights. It argued that literature can play paramount role in promoting human rights in two ways:- First, as a reflection of reality. Literature can expose the various human rights violations and abuses which are done against humans around the world. Secondly, it can promote human rights using its unique power to touch the hearts and minds of people. Literature can help people become more sympathetic towards those people who are suffering, and who are living in pain as a result of the violations of their rights.

This study, however, focused on the depiction of basic right abuses in the novel Yältäkoäche Guzo. To show how literature portrays basic human and democratic rights handlings in Ethiopia, the study focused on Amharic novel. In doing so, the following research questions were posed: What are the basic elements of human and democratic rights depicted in the novel? How is the abuse of such basic human and democratic rights reflected in the selected novel? In exploring the depiction of the basic human rights abuses in the novel, the researcher used descriptive research approach. Similarly, he used New Historicism literary theory to analyze the extracts which were taken from Yältäkoäche Guzo. New Historicism is an approach to literary criticism based on the premise that a literary work should be considered as a product of its time, place and circumstances of its composition (Greenblatt S, 1986). Yältäkoäche Guzo is a novel which depicts human rights abuses during the historical times Ethiopia has passed through. Sharma (2014) says that New Historicists’ main motive is to find out the subversive voices in literary texts so that society may be awakened regarding the exploitation of marginalized community. Yältäkoäche Guzo has a vibrant relationship with the society it is about, Ethiopia. The novel was selected using purposive sampling technique because the novel clearly depicts the basic human rights abuses during the two consecutive Ethiopian regimes (the Darg from 1974-1991 and the EPRDF from1991-2018). The extracts were translated into English language from Amharic2. Therefore, both the English version and the Amharic version were presented for the analysis to cross check the similarity of the two versions.

Human and Democratic Rights Abuses as Depicted in Yältäkoäche Guzo (from 1974-1991)

Yältäkoäche Guzo, which is in its literal translation, “Unfinished Journey” shows the ways how human rights were being abused during the Dargue regimes. In the story, Tirufat, the

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2 The extracts were translated by author of the article.
The major character of the story tells us the continuity of human rights violations in Ethiopia. The novel shows the perpetuation of human rights abuses since the imperial regime. The perpetual human rights abuses since feudal regime is shown in the novel as follows:

Tirufat cheerfully accepted the revolution because she thought that her aim came true. However, the killing of the sixty ministers panicked her. They were excruciatingly killed and buried in mass grave; this highly annoyed her, made her sad. (pp. 142).

The Dargue’s merciless killing of people irritated the major character, Tirufät, to struggle against the Dargue. The sixty former officials surrendered; therefore, they deserve respected right to life, but the Dargue killed them without trial. Yältäkoäche Guzo shows that there was a system change from Monarchial system to Military dictatorship. The violation of the rights of people to life, however, persisted. According to the novel, the violation of people’s right to life has no legal basis during the Dargue regime.

Consequently, Yältäkoäche Guzo depicts that the more people strengthen their struggle to fight against the violations of their rights, the more the dictator government strengthens its violation of human rights to life. Counter-revolutionary groups who were revolting against the Dargue were exposed to extrajudicial executions, and Yältäkoäche Guzo clearly shows that the killings were arbitrary. Regardless of any differences, people become the victims of free killings. The novel shows the sufferings the people faced during the Dargue as follows:

“The people of Gonder were killed in mass in the name of free measure. Regardless of age, sex, ethnicity and language, everybody was killed everywhere” (pp. 145).

The military dictatorship continued the killing of people indiscriminately although youths were the focal point of the killing. The way soldiers run here and there to kill the people they come across showed that the Dargue and its cruel soldiers committed the abusing of people’s rights to crimes in Ethiopia.

This means in its English translation—“The soldiers acted as they were told not to leave anybody in Gonder alive. With the help of automatic weapon, and running here and there just like a mad dog, the soldiers shot and killed everybody they come across” (pp. 147).
No soldier was sympathized with the victims being killed everywhere. Mothers who run to save their children were killed, and their corpse were left on the street. Yältäkoächhe Guzo argues that the victims were being killed because of their need to see a well developed country. They need to see a country in which justice is flourished, and they need to see a country in which democracy is blossomed; however, the Dargue stands against their need and it denied their rights to life.

Yältäkoäche Guzo shows the continuation of arbitrary arrest of people by the Dargue officials. Normally, people should know the reason why they are under control. The Dargue, however, arrests people indiscriminately which is against people’s rights to liberty, and this is represented in the novel clearly. The youths who are fighting for democracy are exposed to the Dargue’s arbitrary arrest and detention. The character Mekbib who is imprisoned by the Dargue does not know the reason why he is taken to the prison, and this character represents the people who were arbitrarily imprisoned by the military regime. The character even wants to know why they imprison him.

"መጀመሪያ የታሰርኩት ምን ስላደረኩ ነው? ምን ወንጀል እንደ ሰራው እኮ አላወኩም፡፡ ከቤቴ ይዛችሁ አመጣችሁኝ፡፡ ምንም ጥያቄ ሳልጠየቅናጥፋቴ ሳይነገረኝ እコミュው ይህ ሁሉ ድብደባ የደረሰብኝ" አለ መክብብ በደከመ ድምጽ፡፡

Mäkbib with his tired sound says, “First of all, what is the cause for my imprisonment? I don’t know why I am imprisoned. You brought me here from my home. You are beating me to this extent without telling me what I did.” (pp. 203)

The right to liberty is represented in Yältäkoäche Guzo negatively. The novel shows that people’s right to liberty is abused by the Dargue’s armed groups. Mekbib knows nothing about the cause of his imprisonment which implies the violation of people’s rights to liberty was rampant during the Dargue. Some times people usually face injustice without their faults, but due to the people they have relationship with. In fact anybody who is suspected of any crime should be informed the reason why he/she is imprisoned. Imprisoning somebody because of his/her close relation with somebody else is illegal. The illegality of this phenomenon is represented in Yältäkoäche Guzo. Wägä who is a close friend of Mäkbib is imprisoned:

“ዋጋ የታሰረችው በመክብብ ሰበብ ነው እንጂ ያገኙባት መረጃ አልነበረም፡፡” This means in its English translation “Wägä is imprisoned because of her relationship with Mäkbib, but they get no evidence against her” (pp. 204).

The fact is that the Dargue arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned the people whom it suspected of different political view of the time. People who were suspected of supporting EPRP (Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Party) are indiscriminately arrested, and they were imprisoned. In the novel, there are mass arrests of people who were suspected as
EPRP supporters, and many of them were arrested are subjected to torture, and many others were “disappeared” after spending some time in detention. Yältäkoäche Guzo clearly shows this historically proven fact.

In addition to depicting the violation of people’s rights to liberty, Yältäkoäche Guzo goes further, and it shows the violations of people’s rights to equality. Tirufät’s determination to be served equally with ‘ordinary’ people in the Hospital shows people’s determination to fight for the right to equality, and how much the Dargue regime and its system were cruel. The extract of the novel shows that farmers were mistreated by the Dargue. They (the farmers) were not equally treated with those who were not farmers:

“ለምን ገብተሽ አልታከምሽም ነበር? ገበሬውን እየረገጡ ያለወረፋ መግባት በአንቺ አልተጀመረ” እን ይነበብ

Yinäbeb asks Tirufät, “Why didn’t you enter and get treatment? Leaving the farmers on the queue and entering the hospital to get treatment is not extraordinary.” (pp.140)

Farmers were mistreated at various times in history even if they have been the backbone of the country. Neither the urban dwellers nor the educated part of the society gave them consideration. The equality they have with other social strata of the Ethiopian people is violated. That is why Tirufät, the major character of the story, tries to break this chain of inequality. Tirufat wants to respect others’ right to equality because unless she starts it today, others may not start respecting it. She says:

“የመንግስት ሰራተኛ የሆኑ ሁሉ እንደ አመጣጡና አመዘጋገቡ የሚከራይ የቀበሌ ቤት የገኛል፡፡ ምን ግዜም ቅድሚያው ግን ለባለሥልጣናቱ ነው፡፡”

“ወስጡን በጥያቄ በመወጠር ላይ ነበረች፡፡”

“Why are we underestimating them because of their dirty cloth and the substandard language they use? When shall we stop overestimating ourselves because of our level of education?” Tirufat asks herself (pp. 139).

In fact, being educated person should not be the source of inequality! In contrast, it must be a source of humanity! The novel, however, depicts the educated people as those who violate human rights and the uneducated as the abused people. Yältäkoäche Guzo also shows the inequality between the government officials and other ordinary employees. The right government employees enjoy and the right ordinary people enjoy various. The two parts of a community are treated inequitably in the novel.

“የመንግስት ሰራተኛ የሆኑ ሁሉ እንደ አመጣጡና አመዘጋገቡ የሚከራይ የቀበሌ ቤት የገኛል፡፡ ምን ግዜም ቅድሚያው ግን ለባለሥልጣናቱ ነው፡፡”

“Every government employee gets house based on the time when he/she comes to the area and based on their order of registration. However, priority is always given to government officials (pp.149)."
This is an indication of the violation of the rights to equality between the government authorities and other employees which novel depicts.

_Yältäkoäche Guzo_ is not only about depicting the representation of human right abuses; it is also depicting the representation of democratic rights abuses during the_Dargue_. Regarding the 1974 to 1991 representation of democratic right violation, _Yältäkoäche Guzo_ explicitly depicts that the _Dargue_ abused people’s rights to movement. The right to movement is a democratic right that a person has to enjoy because he/she is a citizen of the country. From the dialogue between Getähun and Yinäbeb, it is understandable that people were hindered from moving from place to place in their own country. Getähun argues that the situation becomes the worst:

“ይቀውልህ ጌታሁን እንደ ልብ ከቦታ ቦታ መንቀሳቀስ እንኳ አልተፈቀደልንም፡፡ በጣም አስቸጋሪ ጊዜ ደርሰናል” እስ ይነበብ ቤቁጭት፡፡ This means in its English translation, “Look Getähun, we are not allowed to make movement from place to place in our country. We are in serious time” says Yinäbeb angrily (pp.163).

In _Yältäkoäche Guzo_, Tirufat remembers what Zemedkun always says: “አምባገነን መንግስት በሕዝብ አመፅ መደምሰስ አለበት” “A dictator government should be removed by the voice of the people” (pp. 147).

Tirufät, the character who represents the people, and who struggle for people’s rights, has been struggling to bring democratic system in Ethiopia for a long period of time. The continuation of human rights violations in _Yältäkoäche Guzo_ shows that there were perpetual human rights abuses in the successive regimes. The novel shows that the change from Aristocratic system to military dictatorship brings the worst human rights violations in Ethiopia. Detention, torture, killing and other form of basic rights abuses continued- in The Unfinished Journey!

Human and Democratic Rights Abuses as depicted in _Yältäkoäche Guzo_ (from 1991-2018) The only change that took place according to the novel is the Dargue was overthrown, and another group with different system came to power, but it continued human rights violations. Tirufät, the major character of the novel, sees Gonder with no change. She sees people suffering from the ill-treatment they were suffering during the Dargue. Yältäkoäche Guzo depicts the vicious circle people live in. Tirufat and Yinebeb were outside Gonder for a long period of time, and they came back home. The following extract depicts the continuation of human rights violations:

“ትሩፋትና ይነበብ ጎንደር ከተማን ያገኟት ልክ እንደ ደርግ ጊዜው ዛሬም ጭንቀት ውስጥ ሆና ነው፡፡ አሳሪ የነቡርት ታስረው የእነሱም ቤተሰቦች ያስንቅ በማመላለስ እየተገላቱ ይገኛሉ፡፡” Literally, “Tirufat and Yinebeb find Gonder town just as it was during the Darg regime-still in depression. Those who used to imprison people are being
imprisoned; their families started bringing them food supplies.” (pp. 314).

Tirufat and Yinebe usually visit Gonder, and they find Gonder experiencing the worst problem which is taking place. As usual, the inviolable rights of people were also abused during the EPRDF government. Therefore, the change in government system could not bring change regarding human right violations. According to Yältäkoäche Guzo, killing people is continually performed by the EPRDF government too. The following extract indirectly shows the perpetuation of the violation of human rights to life:

“To make you sure about his presence, I can bring one of the materials he handles. I am doing this taking the risk losing my life.” (pp. 20)

This obviously shows that the arrested people could also be killed in prison. The phrase “to make you sure about his presence” indicates that there are people who are exposed to extra-judicial killings in prison which is against the rights to life. Yältäkoäche Guzo shows the representation of human right abuses that were committed on the arbitrarily arrested and detained people.

Yinäbeb is arbitrarily arrested and put in prison. He knows nothing why he is arrested. Therefore, Yinäbeb’s arbitrary arrest shows that there was abuse of people’s rights to liberty.

“Dargue’s arbitrary dismissal of human being comes to her mind the second time.” (pp. 15).

The novel depicts that, like during the Darg, people are suffering from arbitrary arrest by the government’s armed forces. What the military dictator was doing to her people comes to Tirufät’s mind. She remembers the violations of her people’s right to liberty by the Dargue. She perceived EPRDF the way she perceived the Dargue regime. The armed government’s forces arrest innocent people simply because they suspect them.

“I saw the armed forces pushing him into a white car with no plate number, and taking him away” Not only her, but everybody knows who those armed people may be. (pp. 25).

The character’s disagreement with what the armed forces of the EPRDF were doing depicts that there were gross violations of human rights during this government system. The armed forces denied what the rule of law says about people’s rights to liberty, and they kidnapped Yinäbeb when he was on the way to his home. The following extract depicts how the EPRDF armed forces violated Yinebeb’s right to liberty disregarding what Ethiopian constitution says about people’s rights to liberty.
“መንግሥትና ሕግ ባለበት አገር እንደ ሌባ ለምን ታፍኑናልችሁ? ጥፋት ካለብኝ ለምን በሕግ አልጠየቅም?” እስ ᨐንበብ የትም አግኝቷቸው አያውቅም፡፡ የትም የመጡ ጠላቶች እንዳልሆኑ አውቋል፡፡

In a country where there are government and rule of law, why are you kidnapping me? If I did something wrong, why can’t I be asked legally?” says Yinebeb. He never knew them.

Yältäkoäche Guzo indicates that the government’s armed forces kidnapped Mr. Yinäbeb. They asked him no question when they arrest him. Therefore, Yältäkoäche Guzo indicates that EPRDF did this when it suspected any body who is opposing its system, or who tried to oppose its system. In a normal condition, the arrested person has the rights to be informed why he/she is arrested, but there are times when an arrested person face inappropriate handling of his/her rights. According to Yältäkoöyle Guzo, EPRDF violated the rights of arrested people by denying their rights to be informed why he/she is arrested, and the rights to see his family.

The government and its security agents used such kinds of punishments which violates the rights of the arrested people. Arrested people are expected to know why they are arrested, and they have the right to see their families.

Besides, Yältäkoöyle Guzo shows the continuation of democratic rights violations since 1991. It shows that the democratic rights are being violated by the EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) government. The EPRDF fought the military dictatorship to bring democracy to Ethiopians although things started changing after they overthrew the Darg. The novel says:-

“ለወዎት ያተለምታ--የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ የተመኘውን ዓይነት አመራር ያገኘ አይመስልም፡፡ የአገሪቱ አብዛኛው ሕዝብ የሚያሰማው ቅሬታና ብሶት ብቻ ነው፡፡”

Don’t you think that they seem to compensate the time they spent to bring democracy, justice--freedom for Ethiopian people?” (pp. 315).

People Ethiopian people got disappointed by what the EPRDF was doing. They couldn’t enjoy the democratic government they were fighting for. Ethiopians expected democratic government though what they faced was the contrary.
“Even if the Dargue government was overthrown, and the new government came to power, the society doesn’t seem to get the better government. Majority of the people is complaining”(pp. 316).

Many parts of Ethiopia experienced the same kind of situations post Darg. People were being imprisoned.

“ትርሁትና ይነበብ ጎንደር ከተማን ያገኟት ልክ እንደ ደርግ ጊዜው ዛሬም ጭንቀት ውስጥ ሆና ነው፡፡ አሳሪ የነበሩት ታስረው የእነሱም ቤተሰቦች የስንቅ በማመላለስ እየተገላቱ ይገኛሉ፡፡

“Tirufät and Yinäbeb find Gonder just the way they found it during the Darg regime; people live in anguish. Those who used to imprison people inturn become prisoners”(pp. 314).

Therefore, Yältäkoäche Guzo shows the continuity of dictatorial government in Ethiopia. Yinebeb says:- “አንዱ አምባገነን መንግሥት ለመሸጋገራችን ከዚህ በላይ ማረጋገጫ ሊኖር አይችልም፡፡ ትግል እንዳገና 'ሀ' ብሎ መጀመር አለበት የምላችሁ ለዚህ ነበር” አለ ይነበብ፡፡ 

No good evidence than this for the change from one dictatorial government to the other dictatorial government. That is why I say we have to start the struggle as new.” (pp. 329). Like during Dargue, Yältäkoäche Guzo visualizes democratic rights abuses during the EPRDF. The Unfinished Journey (Yältäkoäche Guzo), as it can be understood from its name, the violations of human rights have continued.

The other democratic rights the EPRDF government abused, according to Yältäkoäche Guzo, is the right to election. EPRDF abused people’s rights to election by denying the promise it had with the people. Regarding this, The Carter Centre (2005) says the following:

The election of 2005 was different in that there was a stiff competition among different political parties, for the first time in the history of Ethiopia. The people of Ethiopia were very much pleased with the situation and millions of people voted for their favorite parties and leaders at different levels. However, the situation was changed overnight when both the EPRDF government and the opposition parties claimed victory which led to demonstrations in some big towns of the country, and it caused the arrest and killing of many people (The Carter Centre, 2005).

Similarly, Yältäkoäche Guzo shows the hopeful election being preached by EPRDF in 2005 although it was unsuccessful. የኢህአዴግ መንግሥት “ትክክለኛ የሕዝብ ምርጫ ለማካሄድ ቆርጨ ተነስቻለሁ” አለ፡፡ የለውጥ መንፈስ በኢትዮጵያውያን ልብ ውስጥ እንደገና ነፍስ ዘራ፡፡ …በህዝብ ልብ ዉስጥ ሙሉ ተሰፋ ተጥሎበት የነበረዉ ምርጫ ዘጠና ᓯትር መክኖ ቀራ፡፡

EPRDF government says, “I decided to conduct democratic election which is free from any drawback.” The spirit of change becomes alive once again in the hearts of Ethiopians! …the election that was hopefully expected was aborted (pp. 354). Believing the government’s propaganda, the people expected free and fair election to take place.

Yältäkoache Guzo depicts that the 2005 election surprisingly turned bad because the
election Ethiopians expected was curtailed by the government itself. Bare handed people who came to street with their sentiments were summarily killed. Due to the aborted election agony continued everywhere in Ethiopia. Therefore, the novel shows that torture, killings and detainment continued during the EPRDF government too.

**Conclusion**

*Yältäkoäche Guzo* depicts the violation of basic rights of human beings with the help of its imaginary characters. The visualization of merciless killing of innocent citizens during the *Dargue* regime indicated that there were fundamental human rights violations during the *Dargue*. The ministers who were not protesting against the *Dargue* were killed, and this merciless killing of the sixty ministers has historical basis. With the change of the system from Monarchical system to Military dictatorship, the violation of the right of people to life persisted. The novel *Yältäkoäche Guzo* also depicts the situation of the violation of the right to equality during the military dictatorship. This fact makes the study possible to analyze the extracts based New Historicism which examines the ways in which a cultural product (especially a literary text) interacts with and participates in its historical context. Like the *Dargue*, EPRDF government is also characterized in the novel by gross basic rights violations. The violations of people’s right to life, to equality and to liberty are clearly visualized in the novel. The armed government’s forces arrest, torture and kill the innocent people simply because they suspected them of supporting the previous regime, or having different political view. *Yältäkoäche Guzo* indicates that the EPRDF government violated the rights of arrested persons by denying the people their right to be informed why he/she is arrested and their rights to see his/her family. Generally, *Yältäkoäche Guzo* depicts both human and democratic rights violations by the *Dargue* regime and the EPRDF government from 1974-2018.

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