

PalArch's Journal of Archaeology
of Egypt / Egyptology

POST REVOLUTION DISILLUSIONMENT IN THE ETHIOPIAN
REVOLUTION OF THE 1974: A NEW HISTORICIST READING IN *TOWER
IN THE SKY*

Dawit Girma

Lecturer of Literature, Debre Birhan University

Dawit Girma: Post Revolution Disillusionment in the Ethiopian Revolution of the 1974: A New Historicist Reading in *Tower in the Sky* -- Palarch's Journal Of Archaeology Of Egypt/Egyptology 18(1). ISSN 1567-214x

ABSTRACT

This study addresses major subjects of post-revolution disillusionment through new historicist approach in `Tower in the Sky` of Hiwot Teffera. It is seen in the study how the then generation welcomes Western education and ideologies which treads into a way which diverts the country's fate. Qualitative way of analysis is applied in the study through New Historicism literary theory which frames the work. As it is investigated in the article, the leftists failed to understand the general context of their society. Their understanding of modern education and blind adoption of Western ideologies has completely changed the history of the second half of the 20th century Ethiopia. The study shows the clash between the spiritual and material structure of the people and the revolutionary youth of the 1970s. The generation's perception of their own country, the reaction between individual and communal identity, the overall `sprit of the era`, and how they perceived and practiced socialism are explored in the study. The research confirms that although the revolutionary youngsters have very strong interest in seeing better Ethiopia, majority do not seem to understand enough of the overall cultural, religious and traditional environment of the people. The research reflects on the socio-political impacts and the new dimension in historical reconstruction during the Ethiopian revolution of 1974. A new disordered political atmosphere has reshaped Ethiopian society after the demise of the feudal system. The violent political theater of the 1970s redefined the Ethiopian political and social tradition in the light of new revolutionary ideologies imported from abroad; mostly not suitable to the context of the country. Beyond its nature of nonfiction, the text has great literary value and aesthetics as good as the issue it holds. The study looks at missing points of the `YaTiwld` on their search for the dream realm of `Tower in the Sky`. The findings may help to investigate the autopsy and possible influences of the lefts over the present generation.

Keywords: Revolution; New Historicism; Disillusionment; Novels of Revolution

1. Introduction

Ethiopia has a long history of civilization and system of government. This long history of the country is accompanied by many ups and downs. One of the most significant developments in the country's latest history is the 1970s revolution. There are many major and minor reasons for the rise of the revolution. The oppression and exploitation of the majority of the Ethiopian people was believed to be the cause of widespread violence and subsequent uprising in February 1974. However, the popular movement for social justice and equality has failed to ensure the rights of the people. As a result, ideological differences and civil strife has led to the massacre of tens of thousands of young people. Contrary to positive popular expectations, revolution and war are likely to rob people's visions unless and otherwise they have get a good leadership.

Disillusionment is a disappointment that one feel when something is not as good as one had expected or thought to be. When the pre-revolutionary bread of hope is a post-revolutionary nightmare, there appears a Post-revolution disillusionment. On the other hand, revolution refers to a movement, often violent, to overthrow an old regime and effect complete change in the fundamental institutions of society (Tewodros, 2009). Revolution, in social and political science, a major, sudden, and hence typically violent alteration in government and in related associations and structures. It is an overthrow or repudiation and the thorough replacement of an established government or political system by the people governed. Revolutions are the great turning points of history. A revolution is a tumultuous and transformative event that attempts to change a nation, a region or society, and in some cases even the world. Sociologically, a radical and pervasive change in society and the social structure, especially one made suddenly and often accompanied by violence.

Purpose of this study is to answer question like, what did the Ethiopian people gain from the multifaceted revolutionary movement from the late 1960s to the early 1970s? What did they lose? What was really there inside the revolutionary movement beyond what we heard screaming? Additionally, it explores the consequences of the struggle for justice in those days. Primary and secondary data sources are used in this study. Primary source of data is the first hand text, *Tower in the Sky*, which is intended to be subject of the research. The secondary sources on the other hand are written materials that are going to be utilized for review of previous researches and theoretical and conceptual framework. The research consequently, employs textual analysis through descriptive research method. Issues of post-revolution disillusionment will be explored applying New Historicism. New Historicism helps to analyze a historical work by referring to events and documents in terms of the historical setting in which it was written. The study focuses a novel of revolution, *Tower in the Sky*, and analyse preoccupations of disillusionment applying a New Historicist reading.

There are compelling reasons for this study. When I read the book *Tower in the Sky* of Hiwot Teffera, I was reminded of a different understanding of the 70 revolutionary movement and its protagonists, commonly named as “The Generation”. This book focuses on the revolutionary participation of the young freedom fighters of the time, centered on the life of the revolutionary youth, Getatchew Maru. In contrary to the “I paid” sacrifice for the cause of social justice, I learned that they have followed a wrong path that has resulted the short-lived death of many innocent people and the failure of visionary revolutionaries. Hence, it is a fact that can be studied independently. This hypothesis is one of the reasons which have inspired this research.

This study, therefore, is based on the hypothesis that there is a big gap occurred to the current political condition inherited from ‘that generation’; which are, current political turmoil, hatred, genocide, segregation, vague understanding of nation building, subsequent dictatorship, intellectual prostitution, and so on. The events of that period, though its controversial intriguing nature has potential to grab researchers’ attention, have got little concern to make it subject of research. The second half of the 20th century, as to Bahru Zewde (2010), did not receive much attention of researchers, when compared to the first half one. Especially, from the literary point of view, it is difficult to confidently say enough researches are conducted on. Therefore, I have really motivated to make the area my centre of study.

The Ethiopian revolution of the 70s is one of the debatable issues in the historical dialogues of Ethiopia. Major actors of the revolution wrote from the point of view of their sides and their own truth. Many issues are stayed confidential and controversial. To explore and investigate fact among the multifaceted debates, conducting this study based on a New Historicist theory has irreplaceable significant role. This point can be taken as inspirational background to conduct the research. In addition to this, we cannot confidently say that the revolution and its aftermath are not well studied in a literary perspective. Due to the discourse’s controversial nature and lots of secrecy, the attempts are not enough, so that I inspired to explore this rich area.

2. Literature Review

Most of the works revolve around the Red Terror, political violences, social and political life in urban and rural Ethiopia, pre-revolution socio-political contexts, cause, process and autopsy of the revolution, crisis, national questions and the like dynamics of the time. Many Ethiopian and expatriate scholars have examined the causes of the revolution, its tumultuous early years, and the devastating consequences. Another point, most of them are books narrating mere history, and some others researches of no-literary nature. Some selected papers which have somehow close relation with my area are reviewed.

A research work which can be mentioned and reviewed here as a literary study with the subject of disillusionment is Tewodros Gebre’s *የአግርኛ የርዕይ መነጠል ሰላዶች* (Novels of Disillusionment in Amharic). This work took some Amharic novels written in the 70s and 80s and make

analysis based on the concept of disillusionment. Although the study well examined the issue of disillusionment in selected Amharic novels, it has not done it in relation with revolution. Therefore, the current work is different by making its analysis of disillusionment in related with that of the Ethiopian revolution of 1970s. In addition, the texts selected for analysis are different from the current one, the present study is done on *Tower in the Sky* which is written in English.

On the other hand, a research mainly contain historical and philosophical analysis and has some relation with my title is Messay Kebede's *Radicalism and cultural dislocation in Ethiopia, 1960–1974*. This work is a highly critical analysis of the movement, emphasising its negative dimensions and tracing the radicalism of the late 1960s and early 70s to the blind adoption of the western education and the cultural dislocation that it entailed. The objective circumstances that bred that radicalism, to wit the repressive and exploitative nature of the imperial regime, are assigned secondary significance. The other one is, Balsvik's *Haile Selassie's students: The intellectual and social background to a revolution, 1952–1977*. In this work, Balsvik has done a pioneering study of the student movement. Based on a comprehensive reading of student publications and extensive interviews of some key actors, her work constitutes an invaluable guide to determine the major contours of the movement and its formative stage. Descriptive rather than analytical, her narrative has the added drawback of ending when the saga assumes a more critical phase.

The other one is Bahru Zewde's *Documenting the Ethiopian student movement: An exercise in oral history*. It is an oral history presentation compiled in 2010 by recording panel discussion reflections of the actors of the movement. In the discussion, twenty four people are participated and their story has presented in six different chapters. This was about Ethiopian students' movement both at home and abroad which started in the late 1950s. The movement could be said to have gone through three successive stages: self-awareness, reformism, revolutionary commitment. This is the focal point of this study. For it constitutes the crucial period that forms both the backdrop and the essence of the changes that have come to affect fundamentally the Ethiopian state and society- changes that are yet far from over. Another scholar who studied much on the Ethiopian student's movement is Paulos Milkias. In his work titled *Haile Selassie, Western education, and political revolution in Ethiopia*, the author attempts to explain the contradictions between modern education, which promoted Western cultural and political values, and the modernizing attempt of the Haile Selassie government. In the 1940s, the King recruited French-Canadian educators to expand modern education and produce loyal intellectuals who could run the government bureaucracy and manage the economic enterprises. Analyse the role of modern education in Ethiopia, the penetration of Western cultural influences, and the rise of Western-educated intellectuals; and the rise of the radical student movement. Examine the challenges posed by the students and teachers to the Haile Selassie regime, political protests that engulfed the feudal government, and the rise of the Derg.

The other Ethiopian scholar who studied the revolution in detail is Addis Hiwet. As it is expressed in *Analysing the Ethiopian revolution*, Ethiopia has in fact experienced, ignored or denied by the Left internationally- because it was not made by an organised mass movement. It is indeed a 'revolution' in that it represents an irreversible change from the absolutist state; it has involved a fundamental social transformation, chiefly with respect to the rural relations of production, and has thereby created a vastly expanded internal market of petty producers. These revolutionary outcomes are not to be denied because of the nature of the regime, which is indeed repressive, and incapable of solving the two basic issues now facing the revolution: the nationalities issue and political democracy. But it must be recognised that the regime and form of the state are themselves results of the revolutionary upheavals but also the inheritor of the ideas and policies of the Ethiopian Left.

To mention some more, Edmond J. Kellir's *Ethiopia: Revolution, Class, and The National Question*; J. Markakis and Nega Ayele's *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*; Fentahun Tiruneh's (1990) *The Ethiopian students: Their struggle to articulate the Ethiopian revolution*; Shehim, K.'s (1985) *Ethiopia, revolution, and the question of nationalities: The case of the Afar*; Bahru Zewde's (2015) *The Quest for Socialist Utopia: The Ethiopian Student Movement*; Stefano Bellucci's *The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution at 40: Social, Economic, and Political Legacies*, and John M. Cohen's *Analysing the Ethiopian Revolution: A Cautionary Tale* can be noted.

The above mentioned works are not literary studies; mine is literary which intends to explore based on a New Historicist reading. The area is not well researched from a literary lense, and this is an advantage for the current researchers to do on.

3. Theoretical Framework: New Historicism

New Historicist theory will be applied in the research as a theoretical framework. New Historicism allowed the researcher to refer to historical facts to evidence discourses entertained in the text. New Historicism is developed in the 1980s, primarily through the work of the critic Stephen Greenblatt. New Historicists aim simultaneously to understand the work through its historical context and to understand cultural and intellectual history through literature, which documents the new discipline of the history of ideas. For Tyson (2006), New Historicist Criticism argues that every literary work is a product of its time and its world. New historicist critics often compare the language in contemporary documents and literary texts to reveal cultural assumptions and values in the text. New Historicism provides background information necessary to understand how literary texts were perceived in their time. It shows how literary texts reflect ideas and attitudes of the time in which they were written (Tyson, 2006).

We will never look at a text strictly from one standpoint or another, ignoring all other views. That is antithetical to what we are trying to do. We should always keep our focus on the text and use these critical approaches to clarify our understanding of a text and develop an

interpretation of it. The theory focuses on the text as part of a larger social and historical context and the reader's interaction with that work. New Historicism attempts to describe the culture of a period by paying attention to many dimensions of a culture (political, social, economic, aesthetic, etc) (Tyson, 2006). For White (1982), New Historicism seeks to find meaning in a text by considering the work within the framework of the ideas and assumptions of its historical era. It is concerned with the political function of literature and with the concept of power. It examines actual historical setting context; historical critics see works as the reflection of the characters' life and times. It plays an active role in the social and political conflicts of an age; acknowledges and explores various versions of "history;" the history on which we choose to focus is colored by our present perspective. According to New Historicism reading the work is a reflection of the author's or characters' life and times. It is necessary to know about the author and the political, economic and sociological context.

According to Tyson (2006), a new historicist would read the same account of that battle and ask, "What does this account tell us about the political agendas and ideological conflicts of the culture that produced and read the account in 1944?" New historical interest in the battle itself would produce such questions as, "At the time in which it was fought, how was this battle represented (in newspapers, magazines, tracts, government documents, stories, speeches, drawings, and photographs) by the American colonies or by Britain (or by European countries), and what do these representations tell us about how the American Revolution shaped and was shaped by the cultures that represented it?" For Lois Tyson, "Traditional historians ask, "What happened?" In contrast, new historicists ask, "How has the event been interpreted? and "What do the interpretations tell us about the interpreters?" (2006).

New historicists, in contrast, don't believe we have clear access to any but the most basic facts of history. We can know, for example, that George Washington was the first American president and that Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo. But our understanding of what such facts mean, of how they fit within the complex web of competing ideologies and conflicting social, political, and cultural agendas of the time and place in which they occurred is, for new historicists, strictly a matter of interpretation, not fact. The theory has confined itself largely to studies of the author's life, in order to discover his or her intentions in writing the work, or to studies of the historical period in which the work was written, in order to reveal the spirit of the age, which the text was then shown to embody (White, 1982). Stephen Greenblatt and Michael Foucault are most prominent figures of this theory along with others.

Paradigms of New Historicism: *Textuality of History and Historicity of Texts:* From a New Historicist perspective history is understood as embedded in texts that texts represent history. The focus here is literature in the context of history. The other paradigm is *intertextuality*. This aspect of New Historicism emphasizes that literary texts are read and understood in relation to other literary and non-literary texts and other documents of the same time bound. *Self Fashioning* is the last one. For New Historicists, the

self is not autonomous, but it is constructed by discourses in the culture. Likewise, individual authors consciously or unconsciously reflect what they gain from other related discourses, texts or the culture. Therefore, both the author and the text are not autonomous (Greenblatt, 1980).

4. Post-Revolution Disillusionment in Tower in the Sky

Protagonists of the Ethiopian students' movement tread the people's vision into a wrong way. The honesty of this statement can be tested by a number of factors presented following.

Imported Education and Ideologies

The way 'the generation' welcomed Western education treads the country into a way which determines the country's fate negatively. The socialist ideology inherited by the time of mid 20th century was the fashion of the era and become a phenomenon that has determined the destiny of the country to this day. Direct adoption of foreign ideologies into a completely different culture will have bloody consequences. This was exactly what happened in our country.

The leftists failed to understand the general context of their community. As it is cited in Bahru Zewde, Mesay Kebede has produced a highly critical analysis of the movement, emphasizing its negative dimensions and tracing the radicalism of the late 1960s and 1970s to the blind adoption of the western educational system which entailed cultural dislocation. Hence, directly adopting Western educational and ideological weapons can be considered a failure for radical revolutionary elites of the 70s. Mesaye looks at the negative impact of the student movement. *"The blind adoption Western education by radical extremists of the late 60s and early 70s adopt led to a cultural dislocation."* Thus, it was the beginning of the fall of elites of the 60s in which they attempt to embrace foreign doctrines and ideologies without customizing them in the context of the society.

Hiwot noted that she has progressed and that new words have been added to her vocabulary.

“... “chauvinism”, “sphere of influence”, “geopolitical interest”, “focoism”, “protracted armed struggle” and “soviet revisionism” had been added to my repertoire. I learned about the French, Russian, Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese revolutions. I picked up names such as Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Trotsky, Narodniks, Decembrists, Kulaks, Soviets, Iskra, Pravda, Jacobins, Roza Luxemburg, ... The Comintern, Koumintang, Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh.” (P. 48-49)

There is nothing wrong with reading and knowing. But it is bad to try to frame the country with doctrines borrowed abroad. The famous names, Zara Yaqob, Gebre Hiwot Bikadagn, Aleka Gebre Hanna, Wolde Hiwot, King Tewodros, King Lalibela, and Kebede Michael are thinkers, revolutionaries, innovators and reformers. It would be better if they try to incorporate the realities of the country along the way. A positive effect can also be imported or used in conjunction with local context.

Acceptance of foreign theory and political ideology that did not take into account the national context was a weakness of the then youth. There were uprisings against oppression in various parts of Ethiopia. The rebels were indigenous in their content and style. The driving force behind is oppression; It was prevalent in all parts of Ethiopia, not on the basis of identity. The riots erupted in Wollo, Gojjam, Sidama, Bale, Tigray, Hararge and other areas. These riots were indigenous in their nature and cause. Implementation of foreign revolutions in this country which has a very different cultural setting was shown ended with bad results.

The question of nationalities (supporting Eritrean and Oromo secession), bourgeois, capitalism, fascism (labeling the Derg), class struggle, feudalism, rural armed struggle, urban unrest, and so on are major experiences and decisions of that generation (especially the EPRP) which shaped the country's destiny, were taken directly from abroad and did not take into account the national context. There are some forms of national protest in Ethiopia; bandit resistance and peasant violence can be taken. There are also national political and social structures. Theories and methods used by students since the late 1960s, however, have been copied directly from the outside and do not include the social context and culture. At the very least, the non-destructive revolutions in the outside world could be associated with the domestic movement. This has allowed us to deal with the national scars that we have gone through in our long history.

The “question of `Nations and Nationalities`”

The question of `nationalities`, was center point to most of the era's organized groups and revolutionary youngsters. The Waleign Mekonen led nations and nationalities cause too is among the pillars on which EPRP bases. EPRP consents nations rights up to self determination. The “question of nations” was a central issue for the struggle of revolutionary youth in the late 60's and early 70's. The "question of nations", which was pioneered by Waleign Mekonnen, was one of the fundamental pillars of EPRP's political programs. The EPRPites also believes that the “question of nations” can be resolved in the long run struggle until secession.

“What is your take on the national question?”Getachew asked, recovering from his bouts of laughter.

“The national question?”

“Yeah, for instance the Eritrean question?”

*Oh my God what is this all about?*I didn't Know there was a question regarding Eritrea. Of course I knew the government has been fighting with ... Eritrean. But I had never conceptualized it as a question.

(P.22)

In mid-1920s, Roman Prochazka in his book titled *Abyssinia the powder of barrel*, argued that the Abyssinians had no respect for whites, that their king was like that, and that European powers should unite to punish it. Near the

end of 1920s, Fascist Italy came. He asserted that the ethnic groups in Ethiopia were ethnically, religiously, linguistically, and culturally separate from Abyssinia and that if they had the right to self-determination, they would be able to break the yoke of Abyssinian rule. This man's advice was immediately performed by the fascists. Italy attempted its best to lay the scepter of destruction on Amhara and Orthodox Christianity. It tried to portray that the Amhara has demonstrated oppression on other nationalities, and that nationalities must rise up against Amhara.

The activities and actions they performed after power, the Tigrayan liberators, the Eritrean liberators, and Oromo liberators (OLF) who entered the jungle in the mid-1970s are similar to those of Roman Prochazka and Italy. In worse, the so called national party, EPRP has similar understanding with that of Prochazka's proposal. Walegn and his counterparts in charge was the Trojan horse for this agenda. Walegn, who was influenced by his Eritrean colleagues, especially his Eritrean lover, was baptized in the name of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, and came to a conclusion that Amhara had colonized the Ethiopian nationalities. Socialism seeks an enemy by nature; when it entered Ethiopia with its stuffs, classified Amhara and Ethiopian Christianity as the ruling class.

Lets examine Walegn's (among the protagonists of the 70s) speech.

...What is this fake nationalism? Is it not simply Amhara supremacy?... Ask anybody what Ethiopian culture is? Ask anybody what Ethiopian language is? Ask anybody what Ethiopian music is? Ask anybody what Ethiopian "national dress" is?... to be a "genuine Ethiopian" one has to speak Amharic, to listen to Amharic music, to accept the Amhara...religion, Orthodox Christianity and to wear the Amhara... shamma in international conferences. In some cases to be an "Ethiopian" you will even have to change your name. In short to be an Ethiopian, you will have to wear an Amhara mask... (Walegn, 1969).

When nationalist groups like TPLF chose gurilla warfare this Walegn's idea was the main point of their extremism. Walegn called it "Fake nationalism" because he believed it was built on Amhara supremacy. There are people who say that the above text of Walegn was taken from Stalin's article on "Nationalities". This article serves as a starting point for the mass massacre and abuse of the Amhara people by extremist separatists, after they took power, as well as for the production of unbalanced documents and institutions they have for Ethiopia and Ethiopians. Whatever it is, the question of ethnicity had an anti-Amhara destination. As we have seen in the excerpt from the above article, they understand that the culture of Amhara and Tigre (which can be referred to as the North) is imposed on the rest of Ethiopia. It was in the first day, Getachew Maru asked Hiwot about the "national question." EPRPites concluded that there was racial oppression in Ethiopia.

Since Hiwot has not yet entered into the political arena, concepts are often stranger to her. For example, she did not know that the national question is

an ideology. Hiwot represents the masses. The mass has obviously known that there is a country called Ethiopia, regardless of whether the so called "nations" have a question or no. Of course, the question was celebrated by the revolution arist elites, not by the mass, irrespective of what they need freedom at a general level. *“It was rumored that her friend, Amleset Kibrom, had joined one of the Eritrean Liberation Fronts”* (Pg. 51). Therefore, the EPRP was encouraged to take Eritrea as an example and to liberate the “nations”. When the nations are believed to be oppressed, the oppressor must be there. When socialism claims to be "oppressed," and hence search for the possible "oppressor." *“Tilahun (Gizaw) spoke about the national question that touched upon the sensitive question of the right of nations to self-determination and up to session”* (Pg. 87). Prominent actors of the movement are believe in secession, they were not as they speak that they strongly believe in unity and equally love the people.

Principal ideas of the five major political organizations of the time are presented briefly in the following table.

Table 1

Party	National question	Oppressive nation	Political ideology	Ruling class	Political culture	Way of problem solving	Stand
EPRP	Unionist/ allows session	Amhara	Leftist	Amhara	Labeling	Force/gun	Dogmatic
Meison		-	Leftist	-	Labeling	Force/gun	Liberal
Derg	Unionist	-	Leftist	System	Labeling	Force/gun	Dogmatic
TPLF	sessionist	Amhara	Leftist	Amhara	Labeling	Force/gun	Dogmatic/ Radical nationalist
EPLF	sessionist	Amhara	Leftist	Amhara	Labeling	Force/gun	Dogmatic/ Radical nationalist

Radicalism and Dogmatism

The problem of radicalism is massive in its kind. The young people have tried to destroy all national realities, values and cultural foundations, and have realized that there is no other way other than the one that came out of the country. This thinking is followed by despair and ended with loss. In the pre-revolutionary period and in the early stages of the revolution, there were reformist actions taken by the King's government to answer questions like the question of fair distribution of land. The revolutionaries have failed to notice this.

“The Marxist theoreticians at Haile Selassie I university scoffed, to put it mildly, at liberals, moderates and reformists, as well as one another. The Marxist-Leninist pen became the means for trashing dissenting voices, just as the gun would later become the weapon of choice for settling scores.” (Pg. 89)

Indigenous values, cultures and religions are officially condemned. Misunderstandings of the real context of the country, cultural conflicts and contradictions have been observed when trying to implement the strange ideologies. They need to look at the reality of their country in the destructive experience of other countries that held revolution.

Getachew Maru is an example of trying to solve problems peacefully. Although Getachew is very positive to discussion as described in the *Tower in the Sky*; most members of the generation were rigid/dogmatic and not willing to give room for ideas rather choose gun. This disease has still continues. They are not willing to ask apology for what they risked the country. Negede Gobeze of the *Meison* argues that the mass youths did not die during the dangerous days of what Derg termed 'searching for anti-revolution' ('አሰላ'). The fact is that in Addis Ababa alone, tens of thousands of people have died during the 'አሰላ' time as mentioned in *Tower in the sky*, and many sources and eyewitnesses share this bold truth. Kiflu Tadessegave Negede a hard hit in this regard (Kiflu, 2017). Hiwot says one of the people killed during the search was EPRP's leader Tesfaye Debesay. The Meison are blamed for this though they deny. Group Thoughts and Beliefs were harmful. Her lover, who she called "my hero", had been killed by his comrades; however, she did not relinquish her belief in her party that they say '*the party would not be mistaken*'. But he eventually said, "*After all, the party was wrong; it was really wrong*". Getachew always says, "*How to talk about killing is a priority?*" (p. 210). The "tower in the sky" has much to teach our country's hateful and hostile political culture and politicians.

In the name of the country, in the name of revolution, in the name of the peasantry, in the name of the proletariat, the Derg massacred the youth. Other organized groups also played a key role in this civil war and killing of each other. They do not care about inheriting virtue for this generation. If they really loved their country then, the generation has determinant power to confess their mistake; they should have apologized and given their full freedom to the current Ethiopia by not trying to overcome their weaknesses. With very few exceptions, it is difficult to find anyone who has deliberately or unknowingly made a mistake. "Tower in the Sky" is a compliment to the experience.

Death is one of the themes of the disillusionment. The Holocaust was a feature of that era. The horrible facts of death have come true. It would not be anyone's dream for a country to go through such a horrible situation, a better "town on the hill" country was protected, targeted, predicted. A vision was snatched away in the middle of nowhere. We can look at an extinction of intellectuals and intellectuals in during the revolution. In the era was witnessed the massacre of thousands of youngsters by political actors of the revolution time, mostly by the Derg. Everyone will be asked as much as they should be accountable; one cannot minimize the sins of oneself, and rationalizing the other, so that everyone bears his own share of crime. As a result of radicalization, the organizations and dogmatic revolutionaries of the time have got bloody fight each other. As a result, there was a huge gap in the country's educated population, and destructive

leftist groups were able to control the future generation's fate in one or other way.

Labeling with the 'feudal' system, the extremists massacred great minded scholars of political elites. It can be hypothesized that the scholars mentioned here were also Amharas and that most of the leftist groups were in the position to hate the Amhara and then motivated to destroy this group of scholars. That is why they do not want the planned structural reform. They shall take this responsibility of to be asked, unfortunately, none of the actors publicly and vividly apologized. They are also responsible for the current generation gap in the country. The intelligentsia has played a key role in negatively changing the course of Ethiopian history for the past four decades. "*... the overthrow of one of the oldest monarchies in the world, the ultimately disastrous experiment in socialist construction, the equally problematical experiment in ethnic federalism, the ideologically couched movements for secession, the dogmatism and self-righteousness with which political positions have been advanced and pushed, and the attendant culture of exclusivism and intolerance.*"(Bahru, 2010).

5. Conclusions

The ideologies and experiences imported abroad without customization have risked us. The newly adopted 'question of "nations"', radicalism, disobedience to winning idea and the like hasve caused the massacre of educated generation of the country. It is an undeniable fact that there is a price paid. The young people of the day had a bright vision for their country. The misguided revolutionary movement, like the rest of the population, has been disillusioned their youth hood dreams too. As one can commend them for their devotion and unwavering commitment to the country, they will be held accountable for their negative, destructive actions too. Leaders of political parties and their organizations in particular are held accountable.

Revolutionary youth wanted to see a better Ethiopia, but they could not understand the cultural, religious and traditional contexts of the people. The 1974 revolution marked a new and unexpected turn on the socio-political life of the Ethiopian people. After the fall of the monarchy, the political climate of the community changed completely. The bloody tragedy has been prevailed. The dream has been snatched away; light changed into darkness; hope is replaced by hopelessness, dream by nighmare, and this is called disillusionment. The original hope, the means they tread, and the ending they doomed was totally different. That generation wandered in search of the dream "tower in the heavens," the "beautiful city built on the hills", though they failed to enjoy it due to wrong path they followed.

References

Addis Hiwet. Analysing the Ethiopian revolution. Pages 32-47. 2007

Bahru Zewde . (Ed.). (2010). Documenting the Ethiopian student movement: An exercise in oral history. Addis Ababa: Eclipse.

Bahru Zewde’s (2015) The Quest for Socialist Utopia: The Ethiopian Student Movement;

Balsvik, R. R. (1985). Haile Selassie’s students: The intellectual and social background to a revolution, 1952–1977. East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University.

Bellucci S. The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution at 40: Social, Economic, and Political Legacies,

Cohen J. M. Analysing the Ethiopian Revolution: A Cautionary Tale

Fentahun Tiruneh. (1990). The Ethiopian students: Their struggle to articulate the Ethiopian revolution;

Greenblatt, S. (1980). Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Henze P. B. (1989).The Ethiopian Revolution: Mythology and History

Hiwot Teffera. (2011). Tower in the Sky. Addis Ababa Unuversity Press Addis Aabab

Kellir E.J. Ethiopia: Revolution, Class, and The National Question;

Markakis J. and Nega Ayele. Class and Revolution in Ethiopia;

Messay Kebede. (2008). Radicalism and Cultural Dislocation in Ethiopia, 1960-1974. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.

PaulosMilkias. (2006). Haile Sellassie, Western education, and political revolution in Ethiopia. Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press.

Shehim, K. (1985). Ethiopia, revolution, and the question of nationalities: The case of the Afar;

Tayson, L. (2006). Literary Theory Today: A Reader Friendly. Routledge

White, H. (1982). The Politics of Historical Interpretation: Discipline and De-Sublimation.

ኪዳነወልድክፍሌ (አለቃ):: (1948
 ዓ.ም)::መጽሐፈ.ሰዋሰውወግስወመዝገቢቃላትሐዲስ::አዲስአበባ:-
 አርቲስቲክማተሚያቤት::

ቴዎድሮስገብሬ:: (2001 ዓ.ም)::በይነዲስፕሊናዊየሥነጽሑፍንባብ::አዲስአበባ:-
 አ/አ/ዩፕሬስ::

ፍቅረሥላሴወግደረስ::(2007)::እኛናካብዮቱ::አዲስአበባ

አሰፋጫቦ:: (2007):: የትዝታፈለግ:: አዲስአበባ

ክፍሉታደሰ:: (2008)::ኢትዮጵያሆይ::የታተመበትባታናአሳታሚያልተገለጸ

ክፍሉታደሰ:: (2006)::ያትውልድ::ቁጥር 1፣2፣3:: የታተመበትባታናአሳታሚያልተገለጸ

ነገደጎበዜ:: (2006)::ይድረስለግንቦትከየካቲት::Aesop Publishers