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## Re-examining the Armenian Question: A Comparative Case Study of Conflicts in Africa and Asia

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### Abstract

The Armenian Question has long been a contentious issue, particularly in light of the events of the 20th century and the ensuing political debates surrounding genocide allegations. This article explores the Armenian Question through the lens of archival documents, with a focus on case studies of mass killings in Africa and Palestine during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. The article begins by providing a comprehensive overview of genocide, its definition, and its historical context. It delves into the legal definition of genocide as established by the United Nations and examines the politicization of the term in Western media and academia. Drawing on case studies from Algeria, Madagascar, and Kenya, the article highlights the complexities of applying the genocide label to historical events, particularly in colonial contexts. In Algeria, the French colonial period and the Algerian War of Independence are examined, showcasing the brutal repression and atrocities committed by French forces. Despite widespread ethnic cleansing and human rights abuses, the events in Algeria are not typically classified as genocide due to the focus on national liberation rather than the destruction of a specific group. Similarly, the article explores the Malagasy Uprising in Madagascar, where French colonial forces brutally suppressed a rebellion, resulting in extensive loss of life. While some characterize the events as uprising, the legal definition of the killing is fully applied here as genocide in this context.

The article then turns to the Armenian deportation of 1915 and the ongoing debate surrounding its classification as genocide. It challenges the prevailing narrative by examining archival sources and historical context, shedding light on the complex dynamics between Armenians and the Ottoman Empire. Ultimately, the article argues for a nuanced understanding of genocide and historical events, emphasizing the importance of archival research and critical analysis in shaping our understanding of contentious issues like the Armenian Question. By revisiting these case studies in Africa and Palestine, the article seeks to broaden the discourse on genocide and challenge prevailing narratives in academia and politics.

**Keywords:** Armenian Question, Ottoman State, Genocide, Africa, Palestine, Uprising.

### Introduction

Genocide is the deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, ethnic, national, or religious group. The term was coined by the Jewish lawyer Raphael Lemkin in 1944, combining the Greek word *genos* (race) with the Latin *cide* (killing).<sup>1</sup> It encompasses a

range of actions aimed at annihilating a group, not just through mass killings but also by inflicting conditions designed to bring about its destruction.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mamdani, M. (2020). *When victims become killers: colonialism, nativism, and the genocide in Rwanda p.* 7-8, (New paperback

edition). Princeton University Press.

<sup>2</sup> Adhikari, M. (2010). *The anatomy of a South African genocide: the extermination of the Cape San peoples.* P.14, UCT Press.



The legal definition of genocide, as established by the United Nations in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, includes the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group. It is strange to see that while the Armenian deportation is called genocide in Western media, similar massacres like those in Madagascar or Algeria are labelled as uprisings or revolts, such as the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya. Thus, Western media have influenced the perceptions in Western academia. Despite this, some renowned scholars like Bernard Lewis, Stanford Shaw, and Justin McCarthy refused to call it genocide in their studies on the Armenian question. This year, after a long political debate, Armenian President Nikol Pashinyan stated that there was no Armenian genocide and that we must stop perpetuating this lie. The Armenian lobby responded, "What will Pashinyan do next, demolish the Genocide Museum?" Before explaining the Armenian question, I would like to discuss some genocide cases in the history of Africa and Palestine that will help readers understand what genocide is and what it is not in history.<sup>3</sup>

### An Analysis of the Algerian Massacre

According to some Western scholars, the term "genocide" is not typically used to describe the events in Algeria, particularly during the French colonial period and the Algerian War of Independence. However, significant atrocities and violent repression did occur, especially during the struggle for independence from French rule, which is called genocide by Algerians despite it not being considered as such by others, showing double standards in academia.<sup>4</sup>

In 1830, Algeria was colonized by France and became an integral part of France. Over the next century, the indigenous Algerian population faced significant oppression, land dispossession, killings, and cultural erasure as French settlers took control of land and resources. Following a pro-independence demonstration in the towns of Sétif and Guelma on May 8, 1945, French colonial forces responded with brutal repression. Thousands of Algerians were killed in what is considered one of the major turning points leading to the Algerian War of Independence. Later on, the war for independence, led by the National Liberation Front (FLN), involved extensive guerrilla warfare, urban terrorism, and severe repression by French military and police forces.<sup>5</sup>

France committed acts of violence, including torture, summary executions, and attacks on civilians. The French military's use of torture against suspected FLN members and sympathizers has been extensively documented and condemned. Methods included electric shocks, waterboarding, and beatings. Several large-scale

massacres occurred, such as the Philippeville massacre in 1955, where FLN fighters killed French settlers, followed by brutal reprisals by French forces that resulted in thousands of Algerian deaths.<sup>6</sup>

The conflict ended with the signing of the Evian Accords in 1962, leading to Algerian independence. The legacy of the war, including the widespread atrocities and human rights abuses, has continued to affect French-Algerian relations. In recent years, there have been increasing calls for acknowledgment and reconciliation. French President Emmanuel Macron, for instance, has recognized the use of torture by the French state during the war and has called for a greater understanding of the historical context. However, still not accepted as genocide by France government. The excuse is that while the violence and atrocities committed during the Algerian War of Independence were severe, they do not typically meet the strict legal definition of genocide, which involves intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group. The conflict in Algeria was characterized more by a brutal struggle for independence and national liberation, accompanied by significant human rights abuses and war crimes. The tragic events in Algeria, especially during the war of independence, were marked by extensive violence and severe repression, but politically however still not commonly classified as genocide.<sup>7</sup>

### French Genocide in Madagascar

Similarly, the term Malagasy Uprising is used to describe the massive killings in Madagascar during 1947-1948. This period involved a significant insurrection against French colonial rule and resulted in extensive violence and loss of life. Again, for the political reasons, while not typically classified as a "genocide" under the strict legal definition, the brutality of the French response and the large number of Malagasy casualties have led some to describe it as genocidal in nature.<sup>8</sup>

Madagascar was a French colony from 1896. The indigenous population faced harsh colonial policies, forced labor, land expropriation, and political repression, fueling discontent and resistance. By the mid-20th century, several Malagasy nationalist movements had emerged, including the *Mouvement Démocratique de la Rénovation Malgache* (MDRM), which sought independence through political and peaceful means. On March 29, 1947, a coordinated uprising began in various parts of Madagascar, primarily led by rural populations. The insurgents targeted colonial infrastructure, settlers, and military installations. The French colonial authorities responded with overwhelming military force, deploying thousands of troops to suppress the rebellion. The response included indiscriminate violence against civilians, mass

<sup>3</sup> *The Armenian Weekly*, What will Pashinyan do next, demolish the Genocide Museum? By Harut Sassounian, <https://armenianweekly.com/2024/04/24/what-will-pashinyan-do-next-demolish-the-genocide-museum/>, accessed in 29 May 2024.

<sup>4</sup> Bedjaoui, Y., Aroua, A., & Aït-Larbi, M. (1999). *An Inquiry into the Algerian massacres*. P. 153, Hoggar.

<sup>5</sup> Gallois, W. (2013). *A history of violence in the early Algerian colony*. P. 28, Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>6</sup> Macmaster, N. (2020). *Burning the veil The Algerian war and the 'emancipation' of Muslim women, 1954-62*. P. 56, Manchester University Press.

<sup>7</sup> Peterson, J. W. (2022). *Sacred rivals: Catholic missions and the making of Islam in nineteenth-century France and Algeria*. P. 166, Oxford University Press.

<sup>8</sup> Rijke-Epstein, T. (2023). *Children of the soil: the power of built form in Madagascar*. P. 38, Duke University Press.

arrests, summary executions, and the destruction of villages. Estimates of the death toll vary widely, but it is believed that between 55,000 and 90,000 Malagasy people were killed out of a population of around four million. Many of these deaths resulted from direct violence, while others were due to starvation and disease exacerbated by the conflict. Reports documented widespread use of torture, rape, and other forms of brutal repression by French forces. The civilian population suffered extensively due to collective punishment tactics, which are ethnic cleansing in nature.<sup>9</sup>

The rebellion and its suppression left deep scars on Malagasy society. It also catalyzed the growing global anti-colonial sentiment and the eventual decolonization movement in Africa and Asia. The Malagasy Uprising has been a sensitive and sometimes contentious topic in France and Madagascar. For many years, it was not widely acknowledged in French official histories. Only in recent years has there been a growing recognition of the atrocities committed. In 2017, French President Emmanuel Macron acknowledged the violent repression of the uprising during a visit to Madagascar but not yet accepted what tragedies had happened in the past.<sup>10</sup>

### British Massive Killings in Kenya 1952

The Mau Mau Uprising, also known as the Mau Mau Rebellion, clearly a genocide case took place in Kenya between 1952 and 1960. It was a militant African nationalist movement among the Kikuyu, the largest ethnic group in Kenya, which sought to end British colonial rule and reclaim land and rights that had been taken by European settlers. The British response to the uprising was marked by severe repression and widespread atrocities.<sup>11</sup>

Kenya had been a British colony since the late 19th century. European settlers controlled the most fertile land, leading to significant displacement and economic disenfranchisement of the indigenous population, particularly the Kikuyu. The Mau Mau movement emerged from growing nationalist sentiments and frustrations over land and labor rights. It was characterized by its use of oaths to bind members to the cause and by its guerrilla warfare tactics. The uprising officially began in October 1952, following years of escalating tensions. Mau Mau fighters targeted European settlers, loyalist Africans, and colonial infrastructure. In response, the British colonial government declared a state of emergency, allowing for extensive military and police actions to suppress the rebellion. The British launched a massive military campaign to defeat the Mau Mau, involving tens of thousands of British and African soldiers. This included aerial bombardments,

<sup>9</sup> Aldrich, R. (2018). *Banished potentates: dethroning and exiling Indigenous monarchs under British and French colonial rule, 1815-1955*. P. 163, Manchester University Press.

<sup>10</sup> ELLIS, S. (2008). The 1947 Anti-Colonial Insurrection in Madagascar - The Many Faces of an Anti-Colonial Revolt: Madagascar's Long Journey into 1947. By Raymond K. Kent. Albany, CA: Foundation for Malagasy Studies, 2007. *The Journal of African History*, 49(1), 158–159.

<sup>11</sup> Shiraz Durrani, 2018, *Kenya's war of independence: Mau Mau and its legacy of resistance to colonialism and imperialism, 1948-1990*, p. 30-32, Vita Books, Nairobi, Kenya.

ground offensives, and the establishment of fortified villages to isolate guerrilla fighters. The British set up a network of detention camps, where suspected Mau Mau supporters and sympathizers were held without trial. Conditions in these camps were harsh, and detainees were subjected to forced labor, inadequate food and medical care, and brutal treatment. Extensive use of torture was documented, including beatings, sexual violence, and other forms of physical and psychological abuse. The colonial forces were responsible for numerous extrajudicial killings and mass executions. Estimates of the number of Kikuyu and other Africans killed during the uprising vary widely, but it is believed that tens of thousands lost their lives, either directly through violence or indirectly through starvation, disease, and harsh conditions in detention camps. The civilian population suffered immensely, with many losing their homes and livelihoods. Over a million Kikuyu were forcibly relocated to "protected villages" which were essentially concentration camps designed to cut off support to the Mau Mau fighters.<sup>12</sup>

Decades later, survivors of the Mau Mau Genocide sought justice for the atrocities committed. In 2013, the British government formally acknowledged and apologized for the torture and abuse. It also agreed to pay compensation to over 5,000 Kenyan victims but did not still accept it as genocide. The Mau Mau Genocide is a significant chapter in Kenya's struggle for independence, symbolizing resistance against colonial oppression.<sup>13</sup>

### Genocide Cases in Europe

During World War II, Nazi Germany systematically exterminated six million Jews, along with millions of others, including Romani people, disabled individuals, Poles, Soviet prisoners of war, and others. During the Bosnian War in the 1990s, Bosnian Serb forces committed genocide against Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) civilians, notably the massacre of more than 8,000 men and boys in Srebrenica in 1995. The international community, through the United Nations and other bodies, has established mechanisms to prevent and punish acts of genocide but did absolutely nothing in Rwanda or Yugoslavia for the victims. It is because genocidal situations remain challenging due to political, logistical, and diplomatic complexities in Western world.<sup>14</sup>

### Armenian Rebellion Against the Ottoman Government

The Armenian people of Anatolia are one of the oldest nations in Türkiye. They are known as talented artisans and loyal subjects of the Ottoman State.<sup>15</sup> Ottoman archival documents show that

<sup>12</sup> Rankin, N. (2023). *Trapped in history Kenya, Mau Mau and me*. P. 88, Faber & Faber.

<sup>13</sup> Van der Bijl, N. (2017). *The Mau Mau rebellion: the emergency in Kenya 1952-1956*. P. 13, Pen & Sword Military: Mamdani, M. (2020). *When victims become killers: colonialism, nativism, and the genocide in Rwanda* (New paperback edition). Princeton University Press.

<sup>14</sup> Haerens, M. (2012). *Genocide*. P. 4, Greenhaven Press.

<sup>15</sup> Karabekir, Kâzım., & Özerengin, F. (1994). *Ermeni dosyası*. P. 59. Emre Yayınları.

Armenians lived under Ottoman rule for centuries in a peaceful society. However, in the late nineteenth century, like many other nations, Armenians began seeking ways to rebel for independence.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from archival documents, African newspapers from 1877 to 1917 highlight several points about the Armenian rebellion in Anatolia. According to some Western scholars, from 1915 to 1923, the Ottoman Empire systematically exterminated an estimated 1.5 million Armenians through mass killings, forced marches, and starvation. However, according to the documents, the Russian government provoked Armenians in 1877 for the first time and used them in the Russian Army against the Ottoman Empire during the Ottoman-Russian War. The Russians occupied an Ottoman province, Kars, with the assistance of Armenian soldiers, and the occupation lasted more than 40 years.<sup>17</sup> Those loyal Armenians became somewhat of an aggressive group within Ottoman society. Radical Armenians even attempted to kill the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid Khan at Yıldız Mosque, an incident that took place on July 21, 1905, in Istanbul, the Ottoman capital. The Times described the incident as "one of the greatest and most sensational political conspiracies of modern times. Belgian anarchist Edward Joris was among those who were arrested and convicted, but he was later released due to political pressure from Western states against the Ottoman Government."<sup>18</sup>

Ottoman tolerance for minorities like Armenians or Greeks could not preserve the unity of the Ottoman Empire. National feelings of minorities became stronger than the multi-national harmony within Ottoman society. Professor McCarthy explains the Ottoman tolerance for minorities as follows:

"When the Ottoman Empire was struggling to reform itself and survive as a modern state, it was first forced to drain its limited resources to defend its people from slaughter by its enemies, then to try to care for the refugees who streamed into the empire when those enemies triumphed. After the Ottoman Empire was destroyed in WWI, the Turks of what today is Türkiye faced the same problems—invasion, refugees, and mortality. Despite the historical importance of Muslim losses, it is not to be found in textbooks. Textbooks and histories that describe massacres of Bulgarians, Armenians, and Greeks have not mentioned corresponding massacres of Turks. The history that results from the process of revision is an unsettling one, for it tells the story of Turks as victims, and this is not the role in which they are usually cast. The Ottomans received little credit for their long and unique tradition of religious toleration. Ironically, they paid a heavy price for it. Foreigners used the excuse of protection of the Christian Millets

and Christian Brotherhood as pretexts for intervention in Ottoman internal affairs. Members of Christian Millets drew upon this sense of religious separation to create an anti-Ottoman nationalism."<sup>19</sup>

As McCarthy explains in his book, national movements caused many conflicts among various nations, such as the Armenians in Anatolia, who sought to establish an independent state. For this reason, after the Ottoman Empire entered World War I and learned that the Armenian committees were cooperating with the enemy and that there were continuous rebellions in Anatolia, the massacres of Armenians against Turkish civilians increased. Minister of Internal Affairs Talat Pasha told Erzurum Deputy Vartkes Efendi that if the Armenians continued to cooperate with the enemy, they would be deported by the state. He warned that precautions would be taken. The Ottoman government tried to prevent the activities of the Armenian committees with various measures until the outbreak of the Van Rebellion. However, the Armenian rebellions in Zeytun region also affected Antep and its surroundings.<sup>20</sup>

While the Ottoman Empire was fighting for its survival, Armenians were carrying out activities that would benefit their enemies behind the front lines. It was evident that they were preparing for an all-out rebellion.<sup>21</sup> Armenians were openly blocking roads, raiding Muslim villages, and massacring people. Since the Turkish army was on the battlefield, it could not prevent the events occurring behind the front lines. As a precaution, the government sent the rebellious Armenians in Zeytun and Maraş to Konya. It was decided that subsequent groups would be sent to the southeast of Aleppo and the Urfa area.<sup>22</sup> Deportations were implemented in areas that would directly impact the confidence of the fronts. After the deportation decision, Armenians began to be transferred to settlement areas by various means. Close roads were chosen for the transportation of Armenian convoys, and care was taken to ensure their safety and preservation.<sup>23</sup>

The deportation decision did not apply to all Armenians in Anatolia, proving that it was not, in essence, a massacre against a particular ethnicity. The sick and the blind Armenians, those from the Catholic and Protestant sects, soldiers and their families, civil servants, merchants, some workers, and craftsmen were not deported. Additionally, those who served in the Ottoman army, those in the officer and medic classes, and their families, as well as Armenian officers working in the Ottoman Bank branches, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and some consulates, were not transferred, considering their loyalty and good behavior. Orphaned children and widows were also not transferred and were placed in orphanages and villages in their localities.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Karabekir, K. (2019). *Ermenilerin yaptığı soykırım: 1917-1920: arasında Erzincan'dan Erivan'a Ermeni mezalimi*. P. 26, Truva Yayınları.

<sup>17</sup> Lewis, B., & Churchill, B. E. (2013). *Notes on a century: reflections of a Middle East historian*. P. 48, Penguin Books.

<sup>18</sup> Güçlü, Y. (2015). *Historical archives and the historians' commission to investigate the Armenian events of 1915*. P. 32, University Press of America.

<sup>19</sup> McCarthy, J. (1995). *Death and exile: the ethnic cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*. P.22, Darwin Press.

<sup>20</sup> Ottoman State Archives, BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.52/282; nr.53/48; nr.53/93; nr.53/129; nr.54/51, nr.54/54.

<sup>21</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.54/308; nr.54/143

<sup>22</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.53/295

<sup>23</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.54/150; nr.54/163

<sup>24</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.53/295; 54/287





It was reported that the shipment was stopped by an order sent to the relevant Anatolian provinces on 25 November 1915 due to winter. Later, it was notified that Armenian shipments were terminated and that shipments would not be made for any reason or on any occasion from now on. However, unfortunately it is understood that the Armenians continued their efforts to establish Armenia even after the deportation ended.<sup>25</sup>

### What Really Happened in 1915?

Turkish historian of Armenian origin Levon Patnos Dabagyan stated that "the Armenian question was created as a Russian policy but supported by almost all Western states against Türkiye before 1915." Indeed, Dabagyan's statement remarkably explains the politicized question known as the –Armenian Genocidell. In fact, in order to establish an independent state in Anatolia, the Armenian nation revolted against the Ottoman State. Turkish police reports indicate that Tashnak and Hincak groups attacked civilians in Van, Muş and Erzurum. During the war, the Ottoman government had to defend Muslim civilians and deported the Armenians to the Damascus province. There was no order for massacre, but it is clearly stated as a deportation for the rebellious.<sup>26</sup>

Archival records are the most valuable sources for understanding the conflict between Turks and Armenians. According to these documents, during the First World War, Armenian soldiers in the Russian Army attacked Turkish civilians on the Eastern Front. Turkish and Kurdish families were massacred by Armenian soldiers. Several Ottoman police reports between 1914 and 1919 documented many Armenian crimes in Anatolia against Turkish civilians. The clashes between Muslims and Armenians damaged the feelings of trust between the two communities.<sup>27</sup>

First of all, the Turkish nation has no history of racial superiority against minorities. There are many Armenians, Greeks, or Jews who served in the Ottoman Empire as commanders, viziers, or medical doctors. At the time of the deportation in 1915, several Ottoman Armenians were living in Istanbul, and many Armenian students were sent to Europe for educational purposes. For instance, Ottoman students of Armenian origin, Aznif Mehderyan, and Aranik Siramarkıyan, studied in Europe with Ottoman bursaries and became teachers in Istanbul in the 1920s. This raises the question: How would a state that has shown tolerance, cared for an ethnic group for centuries, suddenly implement genocide against them? This case of the Armenian Question thus serves as a rhetorical question.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.57/135 and see also: Binark, I., Gültepe, N., Aktaş, N., Altıntaş, A., Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Türkiye), & Türkiye Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı. (1995). *Osmanlı belgelerinde Ermeniler, 1915-1920* (2 baskı). T.C., Başbakanlık, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü.

<sup>26</sup> Halaçoğlu, Y., & Atatürk Kültür, Dil, ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu (Türkiye). (2002). *Facts on the relocation of Armenians (1914-1918)*. P. 11, Turkish Historical Society Printing House.

<sup>27</sup> Shaw, S. J., & Shaw, E. K. (1976). *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Türkiye*. p. 268, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>28</sup> Shaw, S. J., & Shaw, E. K. (1977). *Reform, revolution and republic: the rise of modern Türkiye (1808-1975)*. P. 78, Cambridge

University Press. As explained above, Armenians were never deported from Istanbul despite the Armenian rebellion. More importantly, many Armenian diplomats worked in the Ottoman foreign affairs. They not only continued to work until the decline of the Empire but also worked in the Republic of modern Türkiye. For instance, Ottoman diplomat of Armenian origin Leon Surenyan Effendi received a silver medal when he was working in the secretary of foreign affairs in Istanbul in 1915. He continued to work in the foreign ministry of the Ottoman Empire and received another award, *Şir'ü Hurşid*, in 1919. After the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Leon Effendi started his new job in the Republic of Türkiye on May 3, 1924. Another Ottoman diplomat of Armenian origin, Hrand Abro Bey, who worked in the Ottoman government, was awarded a gold medal in 1917. He retired and died in Istanbul in 1940. Similarly, Azak Effendi or Ohannes Effendi worked in the Ottoman foreign ministry between 1910 and 1920. Apart from Armenian diplomats, many Armenian families were living in Türkiye during WWI and after the emergence of modern Türkiye.<sup>29</sup>

There were plenty of Armenian musicians, artists, and merchants in Türkiye during the conflict between radical Armenians and Ottomans. For instance, the Turkish government sent a donation to Armenia in 1926. According to a Turkish archival document, sixty thousand Armenian people remained homeless due to the earthquake in Gyumri on October 22, 1926. Based on the report of the Embassy in Moscow and the Consulate in Gyumri, it is declared in the report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated November 21, 1926, it was decided to give an amount of timber to the Armenian Government for the construction of dilapidated houses in response to the friendship shown by the Soviet Government. It was seen suitable to give two hundred tons of timber in the report of the Ministry of Agriculture, dated December 25, 1926. Even this attitude shows Turkish humanity towards the Armenian State.<sup>30</sup>

A well-known Turkish classical musician of Armenian origin, Bimen Dergazaryan, was born in 1873 and died in Istanbul on August 26, 1943. He was one of the most popular musicians at the time of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and even received an honorary surname, Şen (meaning cheerful), from Atatürk. Similarly, Turkish opera singer Ruhi Su, Turkish actor Nubar Terziyan, and Turkish photographer Ara Güler were intellectuals of Armenian origin in modern Türkiye. They were always loved by Turkish people, and they rejected the claim of an "Armenian Genocide" in Türkiye. It is probably the most remarkable point made by the Turkish historian of Armenian origin, Levon Patnos Dabagyan, who stated that –the

University Press.

<sup>29</sup> Gencoglu, H. (2018). *Socio-political challenges of marginal religious groups: the Sabbatean movement as a case study*. P. 163, University of Cape Town, Faculty of Humanities, School of Languages & Literatures. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/11427/29498>

T. (2002). *The Armenians in the late Ottoman period* p. 58-59, (4th ed). Turkish Historical Society.

<sup>30</sup> Halaçoğlu, Y. (2008). *The story of 1915: what happened to the Ottoman Armenians?* Türk Tarih Kurumu.









colonial powers continue to shape modern African states and contribute to conflicts and instability.

The plundering and painful traces of France's and English colonial legacy in Africa are still visible on the continent on various fronts. Historically, France and England controlled significant parts of Africa through colonization, with territories stretching from North Africa to sub-Saharan Africa. When it withdrew, it left a bloody history in many African countries from Algeria to Madagascar. France, which erected a statue of the terrorist named Soghomon Tehlirian in Marseille to please the Armenian lobby, keeps the bodies of the African heroes it killed in the Paris Museum of Humanity. Today, France and British acts on the Palestine issue with the same two-faced policy it implemented in Africa. It is silent about the Malagasy soldiers it threw out of planes in 1947 and plays the 'three wise monkeys' about what happened in Algeria, but when it comes to Armenians, France builds a statue in honor of Soghomon Tehlirian, the terrorist who killed Talat Pasha. If so, let France come and compare Talat Pasha's deportation order with the genocide it committed in Algeria. Let England compare it with the Mau Mau Massacre in Kenya. If we talk about the massacres of the West in Africa, it would be absurd to call the Armenian deportation a genocide. Even newspapers in African colonies 150 years ago offer a different history to those who twist the Armenian issue and blame the Ottoman government with tragic lies. If there was a genocide, the Republic of Türkiye did not receive a response despite inviting Armenian statesmen to work with historians in a joint commission.

The expectations of victimized nations in Asia and Africa towards Western policy have changed significantly in the last few decades. Macron's apologetic speeches in Madagascar and Algeria are not just political necessities but a result of the truth being revealed over time. Britain's compensation payment to the families of those it killed in the Mau Mau Genocide is a manifestation of the same obligation.

Today, America, England, and France, who have not only remained silent lately but have also indirectly or directly supported Israel's massacres, are committing a serious crime against the Palestinian people. Undoubtedly, the hypocritical attitude of these Western states toward a genocide that is in full view of the world only reveals that they are unreliable. However, historical matters cannot be distorted for anyone's political interests.

Appendices

<p><b>ARMENIAN ANARCHIST.</b> <b>Captured in Turkey.</b> <b>Bound for Russia.</b> London, April 6th.—Reuter's Constantinople correspondent reports, with reference to the arrest of two men, Kirkar and Simon, on their arrival from Bulgaria with a quantity of dynamite and bombs in their possession, that police investigation shows the explosives were intended for Russia. Simon, who is a Russo-Armenian, deposes that he has frequently conveyed bombs to Russia. Kirkar has been released.—Reuter.</p>	<p><b>BOMB MISSES SULTAN; 40 PERSONS KILLED</b> Missile Explodes Close to the Turkish Ruler. <b>CENSORSHIP HOLDS UP NEWS</b> Attempt at Assassination Made After the Selamlık—Perpetrator Believed to be Among the Dead.</p>
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The Armenian Revolutionary Federation planned the assassination attempt on the Sultan as an act of vengeance. Tashnak members, led by ARF founder Christapor Mikaelian, secretly started producing explosives and planning the operation in Sofia. Twenty-six members of the Sultan's service died, and 58 from his service, as well as civilians in attendance, were wounded.



2. Armenian Hinchak Committee in 1887 (left) and the Tashnak Committee in 1890 (right). Their terrorist activities disturbed the region's security, intensified over time, and already damaged the unity of Ottoman society much before Armenian deportation in 1915.

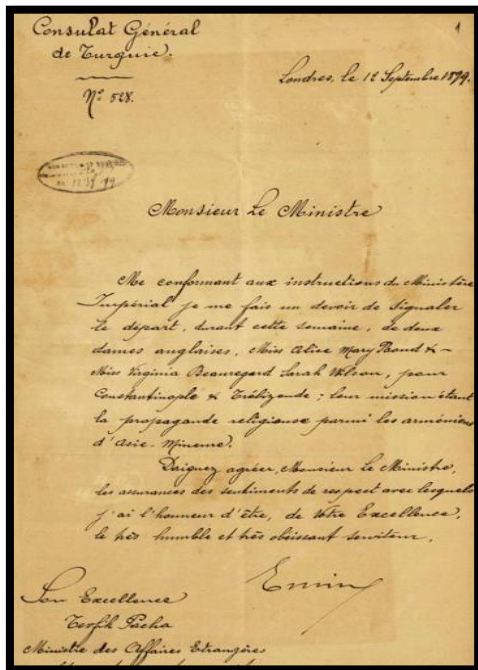


3. Some Armenian Commanders in the Ottoman Army. General Karabet Artin Davutyanyan on the left, 1890s.



4. Ottoman students of Armenian origin, Aznif Mehderyan and Aranik Siramarkhiyan, studied in Europe with the bursary of Ottoman State and became prominent educators in Türkiye in 1920s.





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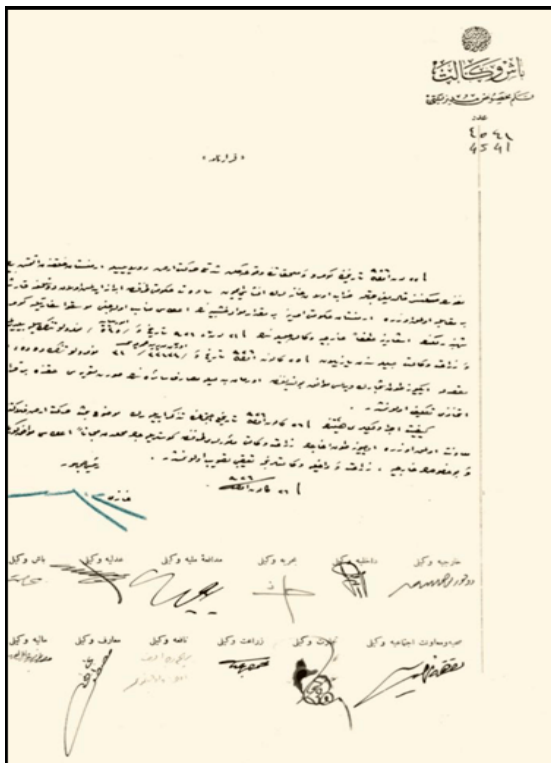
**Ottoman State Archives,**

1. BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.52/282
2. BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.53/48
3. BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.53/93
4. BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.53/129
5. BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.54/51
6. BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr.54/54.
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