

# Bibliography

## Primary Sources

### Case Law

#### European Court of Human Rights

*Dink v. Turkey*, Application No. 2668/07 (2010).

*Dink v. Turkey*, Applications No. 2668/07, 6102/08, 30079/08, 7072/09 and 7124/09. Chamber Judgment, 14 September 2010.

*Altuğ Taner Akçam v. Turkey*, Application No. 27520/07 (2011).

*Perinçek v. Switzerland*, Application No. 27510/08 (2013).

#### France

Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris, 1ère Chambre, 1ère Section, 21 June 1995.

Constitutional Court, Decision No. 2012-647 DC, 28 February 2012.

#### International Court of Justice

Reservations to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1951 ICJ Reports 15, 28 May 1951.

Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua (*Nicaragua v. United States of America*), Judgment of 27 June 1986.

Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (*Bosnia-Herzegovina v. Serbia & Montenegro*) 1993 ICJ Reports 3, Request for the Indication of Provisional Measures Order of Apr. 8.

Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (*Bosnia-Herzegovina v. Serbia & Montenegro*), Preliminary Objections, Judgment, 11 July 1996.

Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (*Croatia v. Yugoslavia*), Application of 2 July 1999.

Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (*Bosnia-Herzegovina v. Serbia & Montenegro*), Judgment of 26 February 2007.

Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (*Croatia v. Serbia*), Preliminary Objections, Judgment, 18 November 2008.

Application of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (*Georgia v. Russia*), Preliminary Objections, Judgment, 1 April 2011.

#### International Criminal Court

Situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, *Prosecutor v. Thomas Lubanga Dyilo*, Judgment pursuant to Article 74 of the Statute, 14 March 2012, ICC-01/04-01/06-2842.

Situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, *Prosecutor v. Germain Katanga*, Judgment pursuant to Article 74 of the Statute, 7 March 2014, ICC-01/04-01/07-3436.

## International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

- Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu*, Case No. ICTR-96-4-T, Judgment, 2 September 1998.
- Rwamakuba v. Prosecutor*, Case No. ICTR-98-44-AR72.4, Appeals Chamber, Decision on Interlocutory Appeal Regarding Application of Joint Criminal Enterprise to the Crime of Genocide, 22 October 2004.
- Prosecutor v. Théoneste Bagosora et al.*, Case No. ICTR-98-41-T, Judgment, 18 December 2008.
- Prosecutor v. Édouard Karemera and Matthieu Ngirumpatse*, Case No. ICTR-98-44-T, Judgment and Sentence, 2 February 2012.

## International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

- Prosecutor v. Karadžić & Mladić*, Case No. IT-95-18-R61, Rule 61 Consideration, 2 July 1996.
- Prosecutor v. Zejnil Delalić et al.*, Case No. IT-96-21-T, Judgment, 16 November 1998.
- Prosecutor v. Anto Furundžija*, Case No. IT-95-17/1  
Judgment, 10 December 1998.  
Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 21 July 2000.
- Prosecutor v. Dragoljub Kunarac et al.*, Case Nos. IT-96-23 & IT-96-23/1  
Judgment, 22 February 2001.  
Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 12 June 2002.
- Prosecutor v. Jelisić*, Case No. IT-95-10-A, Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 5 July 2001.
- Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstić*, Case No. IT-98-33-T, Judgment, 2 August 2001.
- Prosecutor v. Sikirica*, Case No. IT-95-8-T, Judgment on Defense Motions to Acquit, Trial Chamber, 3 September 2001.
- Prosecutor v. Kupreškić*, Case No. IT-95-16-A, Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 23 October 2001.
- Prosecutor v. Miroslav Kvočka et al.*, Case No. IT-98-30/1-T, Judgment, 2 November 2001.
- Prosecutor v. Mićo Stanišić and Stojan Župljanin*, Case No. IT-08-91-T.  
Interview, Branko Perić, 13 December 2001, Exhibit P1361.1.  
Interview, Branko Perić, 10 January 2002, Exhibit P1361.2.  
Testimony, Milenko Delić, 15 October 2009.  
Testimony, Branko Perić, 19 May 2010.  
Testimony, Staka Gojković, 15 June 2010.  
Testimony, 28 June 2010.  
Testimony, 2 and 3 September 2010.  
Statement, Gojko Vasić, Exhibit P1558.1.  
Judgment, 27 March 2013.
- Prosecutor v. Popović*, Case No. IT-02-57-I, Indictment, 26 March 2002.
- Prosecutor v. Brđjanin*, Case No. IT-99-36-T, Decision on Motion for Judgment of Acquittal Pursuant to Rule 9 bis, Trial Chamber, 28 November 2003.
- Prosecutor v. Slobodan Milošević*, Case No. IT-02-54-T.  
Exhibit P549.15.  
Decision on Motion for Judgment of Acquittal Pursuant to Rule 98 bis, Trial Chamber, 16 June 2004.
- Prosecutor v. Blagojević & Jokić*, Case No. IT-02-60-T, Trial Chamber  
Judgment, 17 January 2005.  
Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 9 May 2007.
- Prosecutor v. Tolimir*, Case No. IT-04-80-I, Indictment, 8 February 2005.
- Prosecutor v. Stakić*, Case No. IT-97-24-A, Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 22 March 2006.

- Prosecutor v. Milan Martić*, Case No. IT-95-11-T, Judgment, 12 June 2007.  
*Prosecutor v. Milan Milutinović et al.*, Case No. IT-05-87-T, Judgment, 26 February 2009.  
*Prosecutor v. Popović*, Case No. IT-05-88-T, Trial Chamber, Judgment, 10 June 2010.  
*Prosecutor v. Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-I.  
 Testimony of Mićo Davidović, 29 June 2011.  
 Hearing, 13 June 2012.  
 Trial Chamber, Transcript of Hearing, 28 June 2012.  
 Trial Chamber, Transcript of Hearing, 16 October 2012 (Defence Rule 84 *bis* Statement).  
 Hearing, 17 April 2013.  
 Appeals Chamber, Judgment (Rule 98 *bis*), 11 July 2013.  
*Prosecutor v. Vlastimir Đorđević*, Case No. IT-05-87/1-A, Judgment, 27 January 2014.  
*Prosecutor v. Mladić*, Case No. IT-09-92, Trial Chamber, Rule 98 *bis*, Judgment Summary  
 in the Case of Ratko Mladić, 15 April 2014.  
*Prosecutor v. Stanišić and Simatović*, Case No. IT-03-69, Exhibit P1046.

## Permanent Court of Arbitration

- Lighthouse Arbitration Case* (France and Greece) (1956) 12 R.I.A.A. 155; 23 I.L.R. 659, 24 July 1956.

## Special Court for Sierra Leone

- Prosecutor v. Alex Tamba Brima et al.*, Case No. SCSL-2004-16-A, Judgment, 22 February 2008.

## United States of America

- Cooley v. Board of Wardens of the Port of Philadelphia*, 53 U.S. (12 How.) 299 (1851).  
*Crosby v. National Foreign Trade Council*, 530 U.S. 363, 372 (2000).  
*American Insurance Association v. Garamendi*, 539 U.S. 396 (2003).  
*Movsesian v. Victoria Versicherung AG (Movsesian I)*, 578 F. 3d 1052 (9th Cir. 2009).  
*Movsesian v. Victoria Versicherung AG (Movsesian II)*, 629 F. 3d. 901, 907 (9th Cir. 2010).  
*Deirmenjian v. Deutsche Bank, A.G.*, F. Supp.2d, 2010 WL 3034060 (C.D.Cal.).  
*Davoyan v. Turkey*, Case No. Cv 10-05636 DMG, Amended Order (26 March 2013).  
*Harry Arzoumanian et al. v. Munchener Ruckversicherungs-Gesellschaft Aktiengesellschaft AG*, 133 S.Ct. 404 2795 (Mem) U.S. 2013.

## Domestic Legislation and Governmental Records

### Canada

- Government of Canada, Sessional Papers, Annual Reports of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1920–31.

### France

- Proposition de loi tendant à réprimer la contestation de l'existence du génocide arménien*, National Assembly, No. 3030, 12 October 2006.  
*Proposition de loi portant transposition du droit communautaire sur la lutte contre le racisme et réprimant la contestation de l'existence du génocide arménien*, National Assembly, No. 3842, 18 October 2011.

## Germany

The Reich Citizenship Law, 1935 Reichsgesetzblatt, Part 1, p. 1146, 15 September 1935.  
 German Parliament Resolution, 'Commemorating the expulsion and massacre of the Armenians in 1915', 15 June 2005, [http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.339/current\\_category.7/affirmation\\_detail.html](http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.339/current_category.7/affirmation_detail.html).

## Turkey

Law on Freedom of the Media of 29 July 1881, as amended by Law No. 90-615 of 13 July 1990.

*Resmî Gazete*, 'Decree Having the Force of Law Regarding the Organisation and Responsibilities of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Stockraising' and 'Decree Having the Force of Law Regarding Changes to Certain Laws and Decrees Having the Force of Law', KHK/651, 28038 RESMÎ GAZETE, 27 August 2011.

## United Kingdom

Baroness Ramsey, House of Lords, Hansard, 14 April 1999, Column 826.

Geoff Hoon, House of Commons, Commons Hansard, 7 June 2006, Column 136WH.

## United States of America

Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field, General Order No. 100, 'Lieber Code', 24 April 1863.

*Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution* (2000) 106th Congress, H. Res. 596.

*Resolution reaffirming support of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (2003), 108th Congress, H. Res. 193.

*Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution* (2007–2008) 110th Congress, H. Res. 106.

*Turkey Christian Churches Accountability Act* (2013–2014), 113th Congress, H.R.4347, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/113th-congress/house-bill/4347>.

McCarran–Ferguson Act, 15 U.S.C. §1011 (2009 & Supp. 2011).

## Memoranda

Memorandum Presented by the Greek Members of the Turkish Parliament to the American Commission on Mandates Over Turkey (1919) (New York: The American-Hellenic Society, Inc.).

Memorandum from Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) to Minister Joyce Quin, 8 March 1999, on 'Lord Avebury Letter'.

Memorandum from the FCO Eastern Department to Minister Joyce Quin and others, 12 April 1999, Subject title: House of Lords un-starred question 14 April: Baroness Cox, Armenian Genocide.

Letter to the Eastern Department, the name of the sender is redacted, but it is written on behalf of Joyce Quin, 13 April 1999.

Parliamentary Question Background Document, relating to an oral question in the House of Lords. Answer to be given on 14 July 2005 by Lord Triesman. Question 4: What is HMG's view of the article in Turkey's Penal Code that describes affirmation of the Armenian 'genocide' as a crime against the state?

Briefing Note to Geoff Hoon from Russia, South Caucasus and Central Asia Directorate, FCO, 6 June 2006.

Background document for Geoff Hoon's visit to Armenia in October 2006 headed, 'Armenia: Relations with Turkey, and the 'genocide' of 1915–16 Key messages'.

- Memo from FCO to Foreign Secretary, 15 July 2009, re opposition to private members bill promoted by Andrew Dismore, MP.
- Memo to Minister for Europe from South Caucasus Section, Subject: Geoffrey Robertson QC – ‘Was There an Armenian Genocide?’, 8 December 2009.
- Briefing the Minister for Europe and Baroness Kinnock, for House of Lords debate, 29 March 2010.
- ‘Armenian Massacres 1915–1917’, FCO briefing for Minister of Europe, 17 June 2010, paras. 23–4. FCO, 13 September 2013, correspondence with Kathy Leach.
- ‘Background paper’, appended to FCO, 8 November 2013, Centenary of Armenian Massacres 1915–16.
- FCO, 14 November 2013, to: David Lidington, Centenary of Armenian Massacres. FCO Document titled ‘Background: Armenia 1915–16’ (undated).

## Newspapers and News Services

- ‘2007 Yılı Genel Seçim Sonuçları’, [http://belgenet.net/ayrinti.php?yil\\_id=15&il\\_id=1017](http://belgenet.net/ayrinti.php?yil_id=15&il_id=1017).
- ‘30,000 Killed in Massacres, Conservative Estimates of Victims of Turkish Fanaticism in Adana Vilayet’, *The New York Times*, 25 April 1909.
- ‘430 yıllık tabyanın üzerine “insanlık anıtı” inşaati’, *Hürriyet*, O. Sağsöz, 14 March 2007.
- ‘A Bosnian Serb Denies Genocide Charge’, *The New York Times*, 31 July 1997.
- ‘A “freak statue” and a hiccup of politics’, *Today’s Zaman*, Y. Baydar, 12 January 2011.
- ‘Alçaklar’, *Güneş*, 29 August 1982.
- ‘Allah Dostu Harakanî Hazretleri’, *Zaman*, 14 October 2012.
- ‘Anadolu Kültür-uniting east and west with culture’, *Hürriyet*, 15 November 2008.
- ‘April 24: Can We Start over Again?’, *Today’s Zaman*, M. Esayan, 23 April 2011.
- ‘Armenian Patriarchate files suit in Turkey for property return’, *Hürriyet*, V. Ziflioğlu, 16 March 2012.
- ‘Armenians Have Strong, Legitimate Claim for Reparations’, *Armenian Weekly*, A. De Zayas, 28 October 2010.
- ‘Armenian Women Put Up at Auction’, *The New York Times*, 29 September 1915.
- ‘Assyrian Genocide Claims “Bogus”, Says Turkish Historian’, *The New Anatolian*, 27 December 2006.
- ‘A Tale of Two Monuments: An Extremely Belated Anatomy of Two Radically Understudied Makings and One Unmaking’, *Armenian Weekly*, A. Erbal, 18 May 2012.
- ‘Atatürk heykelleriyle topluma nizam veriliyor’, *Agos*, F. Tosun, 15 July 2011.
- ‘Author Aylin Tekiner says TSK main buyer of Atatürk statues’, *Today’s Zaman*, 16 January 2011.
- ‘Bir insanlık anıtı kadavra yapılınc’a’, *Hürriyet*, S. Ergin, 14 May 2011.
- ‘Bu Kurşunlar Türkiye’ye’, *Tercüman*, 20 January 2007, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=210701>.
- ‘Can Srebrenica Ruling Benefit Turkey on Armenian Issue?’, *Today’s Zaman*, 28 February 2007.
- ‘Comment on the Turkish Apology Campaign’, *Armenian Weekly*, M. Mamigonian, 21 April 2009.
- ‘CHP deputy insists on DNA tests for president’, *Hürriyet*, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/english/domestic/10632139.asp?scr=1>.
- ‘Chirac’tan Demirel’e Fevkalade müteessirim’, *Hürriyet*, 29 January 2001.
- ‘Darfur – overview’, UNICEF, [http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/sudan\\_darfuroverview.html](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/sudan_darfuroverview.html).

- 'Dealing with the ghosts of genocide: Egoyan and Khanjian tell of their passion for Armenia', *The Toronto Star*, R. Ouzounian, 5 September 2002.
- 'Different Reasons to Visit Kars', *Today's Zaman*, J. Lagendijk, 26 January 2011.
- 'En Büyük İhanet', *Sabah*, 20 January 2007, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=210701>.
- 'Erivan'la diplomatik temas', *Cumhuriyet*, 22 January 2001.
- 'Ermeni iddialarına ortak tavir', *Cumhuriyet*, 9 March 2005.
- 'Ermenistan'a Zeytin Dalı', *Radikal*, Ö. Taşpınar, 25 October 2004.
- 'Ermenistan'dan görünecek', *Radikal*, M. Yazıcı, 31 January 2006.
- 'Explaining the Armenian Genocide', *Harvard Magazine*, S. Garlock, 30 January 2015, <http://harvardmagazine.com/2015/01/ronald-suny-armenian-genocide>.
- 'Fransa telasa kapıldı', *Radikal*, 20 January 2001.
- 'Fransa'yla Soykırım bunalımı', *Cumhuriyet*, 19 January 2001.
- 'Genelkurmay: Gökçen Türk Kadını Sembolü' ('Chief of Staff: Sabiha Gökçen is the Symbol of Turkish Women'), *Bianet*, 23 February 2004.
- 'Génocide arménien: la proposition de loi enterrée', *Le Figaro*, 3 December 2008.
- 'Germany and the Armenians', *New-York Tribune*, 14 August 1919.
- 'Gul Entangled in Controversy, Sues MP for Armenian Ancestry Allegation', *Asbarez*, 24 December 2008.
- 'Hass am Bodensee', *Kontext: Wochenzeitung*, J. O. Freudenreich, 26 March 2014.
- 'Hepimiz Türküz', *Tercüman*, 24 January 2007, <http://www.haber10.com/haber/57022>.
- 'Heykelin kaderi bakanın elinde', *Hürriyet*, 19 October 2009.
- 'Hrant Dink İçin Barış Anıtı Dikelim', *Radikal*, Ö. Taşpınar, 22 January 2007.
- 'İçimizdeki Hainler', *Tercüman*, 24 January 2007, <http://www.haber10.com/haber/57022>.
- 'İnsanlık Abidesi 'kare kare' yükseliyor', *NTV MSNBC*, 25 June 2006.
- 'Interview with ahmet Insel: Nationalism a Problem? It is an honor', *Birikim*, 17 May 2010.
- 'İrkci ve Yanlı Karar', *Cumhuriyet*, 19 June 1987.
- 'Kader', *Taraf*, M. Belge, 9 December 2012.
- 'Kahpece Bir Saldırı', *Günaydın*, 8 August 1982.
- 'Kana Doymuyorlar', *Hürriyet*, 18 December 1980.
- 'Kanlı Eller İş Başında', *Vakit*, 20 January 2007, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=210701>.
- 'Kars'a insanlık anıtı', *Yeni şafak*, 14 July 2007.
- 'Kars statue kicks off controversy after PM Erdoğan's "monstrosity" remarks', *Today's Zaman*, 11 January 2011.
- 'Kars'ta Abideye Dur!', *Haber 3*, 26 November 2006.
- 'Katil Ermeni', *Türkiye*, 21 January 2007.
- 'Katil Vatan Haini', *Hürriyet*, 20 January 2007, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=210701>.
- 'Kim Hain?', *Yeni şafak*, A. Bayramoğlu, 26 May 2005.
- 'Kriptolar', *Milli Gazete*, 3 March 2012, <http://t24.com.tr/haber/turkiyenin-en-buyuk-problemi-kripto-ermeni-ve-yahudilerdir-198466>.
- 'Lütfen', *Cumhuriyet*, Hasan Cemal, 20 June 1987.
- 'Maksadını Aştı', *Vakit*, 24 January 2007, <http://www.haber53.com/mobil/haber.php?id=11485>.
- 'Mehmet Aksoy belgeseline bakanlık desteği', *Hürriyet*, S. Yaşar, 13 May 2011.
- 'MHP'li Başkan'dan Başbakan'a suçlama: Kars İl Başkanı Aktaş, Başbakan'ı şov yapmakla suçladı', *Doğan Haber Ajansı*, D. Aktemur, 10 January 2011.
- 'Morgenthau Urges Carving of Turkey', *The Los Angeles Times*, 12 December 1918.
- 'Not Even a Handshake: Erdoğan Spins "Freakish" Debacle in Kars', *Armenian Weekly*, N. Barsoumian, 27 January 2011.

- 'Our mistakes about 1915 started in 1965', *Today's Zaman*, A. Ozinian, 18 June 2014.
- 'Prime Minister Mr Recep Tayyip Erdoğan published a message on the events of 1915' (unofficial translation), Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2014), [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-prime-minister-mr\\_-recep-tayyip-erdogan-published-a-message-on-the-events-of-1915.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-prime-minister-mr_-recep-tayyip-erdogan-published-a-message-on-the-events-of-1915.en.mfa).
- 'Regarding the Torture of Others', *The New York Times*, S. Sontag, 23 May 2004.
- 'Rekabet 5 Gün Kaldı, Dişinizi Sıkın', *Sabah*, ş. Kadak, 26 December 2004.
- 'Reparations as Essential Element of any Just Resolution of Genocide', *Armenian Weekly*, H. Theriault, 23 April 2011.
- 'Retrospective on Trials against Hrant Dink', *Bianet*, 19 January 2007.
- 'Rwanda: Ten years after the genocide', *UNICEF*, [http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/rwanda\\_genocide.html](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/rwanda_genocide.html).
- 'Sabiha Gökçen mi Hatun Sebilciyan mı?', *Hürriyet*, 21 February 2004.
- 'Sanatçılar, İnsanlık Anıtını korumaya aldılar', *Radikal*, 23 April 2011.
- 'Says Turks Advise Christians to Flee', *The New York Times*, 11 January 1915.
- 'Scandal Tails Death of Turkey Journalist', *Washington Post*, 2 February 2007.
- 'Şeytani Avukatı Öldü', *Haberturk*, 17 August 2013.
- 'Sogukkanlılığı kaybetmemek', *Hürriyet*, S. Ergin, 21 January 2001.
- 'Soykırım Bir Endüstri Oldu – Radikal Yorum', *Radikal*, A. Özgürel, 13 March 2005.
- 'Spectacular Documentation from the Architect: Talaat's Widow gave a Turkish Historian a Confidential Report held by Talaat that shows over 1 Million Armenians Disappeared', *Gomidas Institute*, 1 March 2012, <http://www.gomidas.org/press/show/19>.
- Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 5 July 1987.
- 'Taliban Da Buda Heykellerini Sizin Gibi Yikmişti', *Oda TV*, M. Aksoy, 10 January 2011.
- 'Tell of Horrors Done in Armenia: ... Men and Boys Massacred, Women and Girls Sold as Slaves and Distributed Among Moslems', *The New York Times*, 4 October 1915.
- 'The background to the murder of Turkish journalist Hrant Dink', *World Socialist Web Site*, S. İkinci, 27 January 2007, <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2007/01/turk-j27.html>.
- 'Three Were Slain With Nazim', *The New York Times*, 25 January 1913.
- 'Turkey: Minority Religious Congregation Property to be Returned under Historic Measure', *Library of Congress Global Legal Monitor*, W. Zeldin, 6 September 2011, [http://www.loc.gov/lawweb/servlet/lloc\\_news?disp3\\_1205402795\\_text](http://www.loc.gov/lawweb/servlet/lloc_news?disp3_1205402795_text).
- 'Turkey's "100th Anniversary action plan"', *Agos*, 7 January 2015.
- 'Turkey Says EU Report Smacks of Political Bias', *Turkish Daily News*, 6 September 2006, <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr>.
- 'Turks Hang Kemal Bey for Armenian Massacres', *The New York Times*, 14 April 1919.
- 'Turks Proclaim Banishment Edict to 1,000,000 Greeks', *The New York Times*, 2 December 1922.
- 'Two police officers arrested in Dink murder case', *Today's Zaman*, 13 January 2015.
- 'Two Police Officers Arrested Over Dink Murder', *Anadolu Agency*, 13 January 2015.
- 'Ucube', *Soldefter*, S. Altan, 10 February 2011, <http://www.soldefter.com/2011/02/10/ucube/>.
- '"Ucube" İçin Panelde Tek Ses: Yıkamazlar!', *Radikal*, 23 February 2011.
- 'Umumi Harpte Kafkas Cephesi Hatıraları', *Kurun*, A. Samih, 19 April 1935.
- 'UN Body OKs Report on Armenian Massacres', *The Los Angeles Times*, 31 August 1985.
- 'Utanın Köpekler', *Hürriyet*, 11 August 1982, [http://www.turkiyeturizm.com/author\\_article\\_print.php?id=361](http://www.turkiyeturizm.com/author_article_print.php?id=361).
- 'Worlds Apart: Far from Heaven and Ararat', *The New Yorker*, A. Lane, 18 November 2002.

- 'Yine Kanlı Senaryo', *Vatan*, 20 January 2007, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=210701>.
- 'Zuart Sudjian Sues Turkey to Reclaim Her Family Lands, Diyarbakir Airport', *Armenian Weekly*, H. Sassounian, 20 January 2015.

## Telegrams

- US Department of State Telegram, Washington, 29 May 1915 (American Embassy, Constantinople).
- DE/PA-AA/R14094, 1916-A-33457, No. 477, 31 July 1915, telegram from the German Ambassador on Extraordinary Mission in Constantinople, Hohenlohe-Langenburg, to the German Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg.
- DE/PA-AA/BoKon/171, DuA Dok. 190 (re.), 4 November 1915, telegraphic report from the German Vice Consul in Mosul, Holstein, to the German Embassy in Constantinople.
- DE/PA-AA/R14089, DuA Dok. 209 (gk.), 7 December 1915, report from the German Ambassador in Extraordinary Mission in Constantinople, Wolff-Metternich, to the German Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg.
- DE/PA-AA/BoKon/99, 10/12/1916/2934, 1 January 1916, report from the German Ambassador in Extraordinary Mission in Constantinople, Wolff-Metternich, to the German Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg.

## Treaties, Agreements and Records of International Organizations

- Convention with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague II), The Hague, 29 July 1899.
- Convention Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague IV), The Hague, 18 October 1907.
- The Mudros Agreement: Armistice with Turkey, 30 October 1918.
- Treaty of Peace Between the Allied Powers and Turkey (Treaty of Sèvres), 10 August 1920 (unratified), *reprinted in* (Supp. 1921) *American Journal of International Law*, XV, 153–295.
- Treaty of Peace with Turkey, signed at Lausanne, 24 July 1923 (Treaty of Lausanne), *reprinted in* (Supp. 1924) *American Journal of International Law*, XVIII, 1.
- United Nations, Charter of the United Nations, 24 October 1945, 1 UNTS XVI.
- United Nations, Statute of the International Court of Justice, 18 April 1946.
- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 9 December 1948, 78 UNTS 277.
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, opened for signature 7 March 1966, 660 UNTS 195 (entered into force 4 January 1969).
- Summary of the Records of the 150th Meeting, UN Commission on Human Rights, UN Doc. E/CN.4/SR.1520 (16 March 1979).
- Official Journal of the European Communities 20 July 1987; No. C 190/119.
- UN Security Council, Statute of the ICTY (as amended on 17 May 2002), 25 May 1993.
- UN Security Council, Statute of the ICTR (as last amended on 13 October 2006), 8 November 1994.
- The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, 17 July 1998, U.N. Doc. A/Conf.183/9.



Stockholm Declaration on Genocide Prevention, 28 January 2004, <http://www.preventgenocide.org/prevent/conferences/StockholmDeclaration28Jan2004.htm>.  
 European Parliament, Resolution on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, A6-0269/2006, P6\_TA(2006)0381, 27 September 2006.

## Secondary Sources

### Books and Reports

- Acquaviva, G., M. Fan and A. Whiting (2011) *International Criminal Law: Cases and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Adalian, R. (1991–3) *Guide to the Armenian Genocide in the U.S. Archives, 1915–1918* (Alexandria, VA: Chadwick-Healey).
- Aharonian Marcom, M. (2001) *Three Apples Fell From Heaven* (New York: Riverhead Books).
- Ahmad, F. (1969) *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Ainsztein, R. (1974) *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe: With a Historical Survey of the Jew as Fighter and Soldier in the Diaspora* (New York: Barnes and Noble).
- Akçam, T. (2004) *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide* (London: Zed Books).
- , (2007) *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility* (New York: Metropolitan Books).
- , (2012) *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Aksakal, M. (2008) *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Altounian, J. (2003) *Ouvrez-moi seulement les chemins d'Arménie: un génocide aux déserts de l'inconscient* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres).
- Alvarez, A. (2010) *Genocidal Crimes* (London: Routledge).
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso).
- Andonian, A. (1965) *The Memoirs of Naim Bey, the Turkish Armenocide*, Armenian Historical Research Association, Documentary Series, Volume 2, second reprinting (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Printing Office).
- Anastasopoulos, A. (2013) 'Non-Muslims and Ottoman Justice(s)?' in J. Duindam, J. Harries, C. Humfress and N. Hurvitz (eds), *Law and Empire: Ideas, Practices, Actors* (Leiden and Boston: Brill).
- Andreopoulos, G. J. (ed.) (1994) *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Anon. (1917) *Germany, Turkey and Armenia: A Selection of Documentary Evidence Relating to the Armenian Atrocities from German and Other Sources* (London: J. J. Keliher & Co. Ltd).
- , (1971) *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi* (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi).
- Apple, B. (1998) *School for Rape: The Burmese Military and Sexual Violence*, EarthRights International Report.
- Apramian, J. (2009) *The Georgetown Boys* (Toronto: The Zoryan Institute).
- Ardelt, R. and H. Hautmann (eds) (1990) *Arbeitschaft und Nationalsozialismus* (Vienna: Europaverlag).
- Arlen, M. (1975) *Passage to Ararat* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux).

- Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute (2014) *Austrian Documents* (Yerevan: The Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute).
- Art, D. (2006) *The Politics of the Nazi Past in Germany and Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Asher, J., D. Banks and F. J. Scheuren (eds) (2008) *Statistical Methods for Human Rights* (New York: Springer).
- Ataöv, T. (ed.) (2001) *The Armenians in the Late Ottoman Period* (Ankara: The Grand National Assembly of Turkey).
- Atkinson, T. (2000) *The German, the Turk, and the Devil Made a Triple Alliance': Harpoot Diaries, 1908–1917* (Reading, UK: Taderon Press).
- Auron, Y. (2000) *The Banality of Indifference: Zionism and the Armenian Genocide* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- Bähr, A., P. Burschel and G. Jancke (2007) *Räume des Selbst: Selbstzeugnisforschung Transkulturell* (Cologne: Böhlau).
- Bakalian, A. (1992) *Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- Balakian, G. (2009) *Armenian Golgotha* (New York: Vintage Books).
- Balakian, N. (1958) *The Armenian-American Writer* (New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union).
- Balakian, P. (1997) *Black Dog of Fate* (New York: Basic Books).
- , (2003) *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response* (New York: HarperCollins).
- Balancar, F. (ed.) (2011) *Sessizliğin Sesi. Türkiyeli Ermeniler Konusuyor* (Istanbul: Uluslararası Hrant Dink Vakfı Yayınları).
- Bali, R. (2012) *Model Citizens and the State: The Jews of Turkey during the Multi-Party Period* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press).
- Baliozian, A. (1980) *Portrait of a Genius and Other Essays* (Los Angeles, CA: A/G Press).
- , (1982) *Views/Reviews/Interviews* (Los Angeles, CA: A/G Press).
- Barby, H. (1917) *Au pays de l'épouvante* (Paris: A. Michel).
- Baronian, H. (1983) *Barefoot Boy from Anatolia* (Los Angeles, CA: Abril Printing).
- Baronian, M. A. (2013a) *Cinéma et Mémoire : Sur Atom Egoyan* (Brussels: Editions Académie Royale Belgique).
- , (2013b) *Mémoire et Image : Regards sur la Catastrophe arménienne* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme).
- Barton, J. L. (1930) *Story of Near East Relief (1915–1930: An Interpretation)* (New York: The Macmillan Company).
- Bartov, O. and P. Mack (eds) (2001) *In God's Name: Genocide and Religion in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books).
- Bass, G. (2000) *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Baumann, G. and A. Gingrich (eds) (2004) *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach* (Oxford: Berghahn Books).
- Bayraktar, S. (2010) *Politik und Erinnerung: Der Diskurs über den Armeniermord in der Türkei zwischen Nationalismus und Europäisierung* (Bielefeld: Verlag).
- Beck, R. and B. Kortendiek (eds) (2010) *Handbunch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung, Theorie, Methoden, Empirie*, (3rd edn.) (Wiesbaden: Verlag Geschlecht und Gesellschaft).
- Bedrosian, M. (1991) *The Magical Pine Ring: Culture and the Imagination in Armenian-American Literature* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press).
- , (1992) *Crossroads: Short Fiction by Armenian-American Writers*, L. Hamalian (ed.) (New York: Ashod Press).

- Bevan, R. (2006) *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War* (London: Reaktion Books).
- Bloxham, D. (2007) *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- , and A. D. Moses (2010) *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Bobelian, M. (2012) *Children of Armenia: A Forgotten Genocide and the Century-Long Struggle for Justice* (New York: Simon & Schuster).
- Bogomolny, A. (ed.) (1997) *New to North America: Writing by US Immigrants, Their Children and Grandchildren* (New York and Santa Cruz: Burning Bush Publications).
- Bohjalian, C. (2012) *The Sandcastle Girls* (New York: Vintage Contemporaries).
- Bourdieu, P. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Bowman, S. B. (ed.) (2009) *The Agony of Greek Jews, 1940–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
- Bozdoğan, S. (2001) *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press).
- Brandolini, G. V. (2002) *Low Intensity Conflicts* (Bergamo: CRF Press).
- Brown, C. N. and T. P. Ion (1918) *Persecutions of the Greeks in Turkey Since the Beginning of the European War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Brunborg, H., E. Tabeau and H. Urdal (eds) (2006) *The Demography of Armed Conflict. International Studies of Population*, Vol. 5 (Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer).
- Bryce, J. and A. Toynbee (2000) *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916. Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon by Viscount Bryce, Uncensored Edition*, Ara Sarafian (ed.) (London: Gomidas Institute).
- , [1916] (2005) *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916. Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon by Viscount Bryce* (2nd edn.) Uncensored Edition, Ara Sarafian (ed.) (London: Gomidas Institute).
- Bucknill, J. A. S. and H. A. S. Utidjian (1913) *The Imperial Ottoman Penal Code. A Translation from the Turkish Text* (London: Oxford University Press).
- Bulbulian, B. (2000) *The Fresno Armenians: History of a Diaspora Community* (Fresno: California State University Press).
- Çakmak, F. (1936) *Büyük Harpte şark Cephesi Hareketleri: şark Vilâyetlerimizde, Kafkasyada ve İranda* (Ankara: Genelkurmay Matbaası).
- Calonne, D. S. (1983) *William Saroyan: My Real Work is Being* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).
- Campbell, B. and A. Brenner (eds) (2000) *Death Squads in Global Perspective: Murder with Deniability* (New York: St Martin's Press).
- Carzou, J. M. (1975) *Un génocide exemplaire* (Paris: Flammarion).
- Çavdar, A. and A. B. Yıldırım (eds) (2010) *Nefret Suçları ve Nefret Söylemi/Hate Crimes and Hate Speech* (Istanbul: The International Hrant Dink Foundation Publication).
- Çelik, S. (1998) *Verbrecher Staat: der 'Susurluk-Zwischenfall' und die Verflechtung von Staat, Unterwelt und Konterguerilla in der Türkei* (Frankfurt: Zambon).
- , (1999) *Die Todesmaschinerie: türkische Konterguerilla* (Cologne: Mesopotamien Verlag).
- Chaliand, G. and J. Rageau (1995) *The Penguin Atlas of Diasporas* (New York: Penguin Books).
- , and P. Vidal-Naquet (eds) (1984) *Le Crime du silence* (Paris: Flammarion).
- Charny, I. (ed.) (1994) *The Widening Circle of Genocide: Genocide, A Critical Bibliographic Review* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).

- , (1999) *Encyclopaedia of Genocide: Volume I* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO).
- Cherif Bassiouni, M. (2012) *Introduction to International Criminal Law* (2nd rev. edn.) (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff).
- Chitjian, H. M. (2003) *A Hair's Breadth From Death: The Memoirs of Hampartoum Mardiros Chitjian* (London: Taderon Press).
- Chomsky, N. (1999) *Year 501: The Conquest Continues* (Boston, MA: South End Press).
- Chorbajian, L. and G. Shirinian (eds) (1999) *Studies in Comparative Genocide* (New York: St Martin's Press).
- Çiçek, H. (2004) *Dr Bahattin Shakir: İttihat ve Terakki'den Teşkilatı Mahsusa'ya bir Türk Jakobenî* (Istanbul: Kaynak).
- Ciment, J. (ed.) (2001) *Encyclopedia of American Immigration* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference).
- Clark, B. (2006) *Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions that Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Cohen, R. and S. Vertovec (eds) (1999) *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing).
- Cohen, S. (2001) *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (Oxford: Polity Press).
- Cole, T. (2000) *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler; How History is Bought, Packaged and Sold* (London: Routledge).
- Crawley, H. (2001) *Refugees and Gender – Law and Process* (London: Jordan Publishing Ltd).
- Cryer, R., H. Friman, D. Robinson and E. Wilmschurst (2010) *An Introduction to International Criminal Law and Procedure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Dadrian, V. (1995) *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (New York: Berghahn Books).
- , (1996) *German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: A Review of the Historical Evidence of German Complicity* (Watertown, MA: Blue Crane).
- , (1999) *Warrant for Genocide: Key Elements of Turco-Armenian Conflict* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- , (2003) *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (New York: Berghahn Books).
- , (2004) 'The Armenian Genocide: An Interpretation', in J. Winter (ed.) *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 52–100.
- , and T. Akçam (2011) *Judgment at Istanbul: The Armenian Genocide Trials* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books).
- Davis, D. E. and A. W. Pereira (eds) (2003) *Irregular Armed Forces and their Role in Politics and State Formation* (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Davis, L. A. (1989) *The Slaughterhouse Province: An American Diplomat's Report on the Armenian Genocide* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas).
- Dawidowicz, L. (1986) *The War against the Jews: 1933–1945* (10th edn.) (New York: Bantam Books).
- Dawson, G. and S. Farber (2012) *Forcible Displacement through the Ages: Towards an International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Forcible Displacement* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff).
- de Brouwer, A. M. (2005) *Supranational Criminal Prosecution of Sexual Violence: The ICC and the Practice of the ICTY and the ICTR* (Amsterdam: Intersentia).
- , C. Ku, R. Römkens and L. van den Herik (eds) (2013) *Sexual Violence as an International Crime: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Cambridge: Intersentia).
- de Swaan, A. (2015) *The Killing Compartment* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).

- de Zayas, A. (2004) *The Genocide against the Armenians 1915–1923 and the Relevance of the 1948 Genocide Convention*, [http://alfreddezayas.com/Law\\_history/armlegopi.shtml](http://alfreddezayas.com/Law_history/armlegopi.shtml).
- Degni-Ségui, R. (1996) *Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Rwanda*, UN Document E/CN.4/1996/68, 29 January 1996.
- Der Matossian, B. (2014) *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
- Der Yeghiayan, Z. (2002) *My Patriarchal Memoirs* (Barrington, RI: Mayreni).
- Derderian, M. (1996) *Vergeen: A Survivor of the Armenian Genocide* (Los Angeles, CA: ATMUS Press Publications).
- Didi-Huberman, G. (2008) *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press).
- Doria, J., H. Gasser and M. Cherif Bassiouni (eds) (2009) *The Legal Regime of the International Criminal Court: Essays in Honour of Igor Blishchenko* (Leiden: Brill).
- Duncan, G., O. Lynch, G. Ramsay and A. Watson (eds) (2013) *State Terrorism and Human Rights: International Responses since the End of the Cold War* (New York: Routledge).
- Dündar, F. (2001) *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları Iskan Politikası (1913–1918)* (İstanbul: İletisim).
- , (2010) *Crime of Numbers: The Role of Statistics in the Armenian Question (1878–1918)* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- Edgarian, C. (1994) *Rise the Euphrates* (New York: Random House).
- Egoyan, A. (2002) *Ararat: The Shooting Script* (New York: Newmarket Press).
- Einstein, L. (1918) *Inside Constantinople: A Diplomatist's Diary during the Dardanelles Expedition, April–September, 1915* (London: John Murray).
- Elkus, A. I. (2004) *Memoirs of Abram Elkus: Lawyer, Ambassador, Statesman* (London: Gomidas Institute).
- Elmas, E. and D. Kurban (2012) *Communication Democracy—Democratizing Communication* (İstanbul: Tesev Yayınları).
- Erden, A. F. (2003) *Birinci Dünya Harbi'nde Suriye Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları).
- Erickson, E. (2013) *Ottomans and Armenians: A Study in Counterinsurgency* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Erickson, E. J. (2000) *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press).
- Fournet, C. (2007) *The Crime of Destruction and the Law of Genocide* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate).
- Freud, S. (1923) *The Ego and the Id* (London: Hogarth Press).
- Friedlander, S. (1993) *Memory, History and the Extermination of the Jews in Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
- Gaeta, P. (ed.) (2009) *The UN Genocide Convention: A Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Gambetta, D. (1996) *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Gaunt, D. (2006) *Massacres, Resistance, Protectors: Muslim-Christian Relations in Eastern Anatolia during World War I* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press).
- Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books).
- Gegner, M. and B. Ziino (eds) (2011) *The Heritage of War* (London: Routledge).
- Gelenian, H. (Hamastegh) (1924) *Giughe* (Boston, MA: Artsiv).
- Gerhards, J. (2005) *Kulturelle Unterschiede in Der Europäischen Union: Ein Vergleich Zwischen Mitgliedsländern, Beitrittskandidaten Und Der Türkei* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag).
- Gerlach, C. (2010) *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Gerwarth, R. and J. Horne (2012) *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence after the Great War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Geschiere, P. (2009) *The Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Africa and Europe* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press).
- Giannakopoulos, A. and K. Maras (eds) (2005) *Die Türkei-Debatte in Europa: Ein Vergleich* (Wiesbaden: Verlag Sozialwissenschaften).
- Gingeras, R. (2009) *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire 1912–1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Göçek, F. M. (2014) *Denial of Violence: Ottoman Past, Turkish Present, and Collective Violence against the Armenians, 1789–2009* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- , N. Naimark and R. Suny (2011) *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Golomstock, I. (2011) *Totalitarian Art in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China* (London: Duckworth Overlook).
- Greene, F. D. (1985) *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey: The Massacre of 1894, its Antecedents and Significance* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons).
- Griffin, G. and R. Braidotti (2002) *Thinking Differently: A Reader in European Women's Studies* (London: Zed Books).
- Grubsztein, M. and M. M. Kohn (eds) (1972) *Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust: Proceedings of the Conference on Manifestations of Jewish Resistance, Jerusalem, April 7–11, 1968* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem).
- Gust, W. (2013) *The Armenian Genocide: Evidence from the German Foreign Office Archives, 1915–1916* (New York: Berghahn Books).
- Hagopian, R. (1944) *The Dove Brings Peace* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.).
- , (1952) *Faraway the Spring* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons).
- Haig, V. (1930–70) *Hayreni Tskhan* (Boston, MA: Tparan Payk'ar).
- Haley, A. (1976) *Roots* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday).
- Hamalian, L. (1978) *Burn after Reading* (New York: Ararat Press).
- , (1980) *As Others See Us: The Armenian Image in Literature* (New York: Ararat Press).
- Hanioğlu, S. (2001) *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902–1908* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Hassiotis, I. and I. Koliopoulos (eds) (1992) *Modern and Contemporary Macedonia, Vol. II* (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis & Papazisis).
- Henckaerts, J. (1995) *Mass Expulsion in Modern International Law and Practice* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff).
- Herald, L. Serabian (1925) *This Waking Hour* (New York: Thomas Seltzer).
- Herzog, D. (ed.) (2011) *Brutality and Desire: War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Heyd, U. (1950) *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London: Luzac & Company Ltd and the Harvill Press Ltd).
- , (1973) *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, V. L. Ménage (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- High, S., E. Little and T. Ry Duong (eds) (2014) *Remembering Mass Violence: Oral History, New Media, and Performance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).
- Hinton, A. L. (ed.) (2002) *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Hirsch, M. (1997) *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger (eds) (1984) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Hoolboom, M. (2001) *Inside the Pleasure Dome: Fringe Film in Canada* (Toronto: Couch House Books).
- Horton, G. (1927) *Recollections Grave and Gray: The Story of a Mediterranean Consul* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill).
- Housejian, M. (1957) *A Houseful of Love* (New York: Random House).
- Hovannisian, R. (ed.) (1986) *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- , (ed.) (1992) *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics* (New York: St Martin's Press).
- , (1997) *The Armenian People: From Ancient to Modern Times, Volume II* (New York: St Martin's Press).
- , (ed.) (1998) *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press).
- , (ed.) (2003) *Looking Backward, Moving Forward: Confronting the Armenian Genocide* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- , (ed.) (2007) *The Armenian Genocide: Cultural and Ethical Legacies* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- Ihrig, S. (2014) *Atatürk in Nazi Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- İlden, K. Ş. (1998) *Sarkamış: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Başlangıcında Üçüncü Ordu: Kuşatma Manevrası ve Meydan Savaşı: Anı* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları).
- İnceoğlu, Y. and C. Sözeri (2011) *Nefret Suçlarında Medyanın Sorumluluğu: 'Ya sev ya terk et ya da...'* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları).
- International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) (2002) *The Applicability of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide to Events which Occurred During the Early Twentieth Century*, <https://www.ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-Turkey-Armenian-Reconciliation-2002-English.pdf>.
- International Crisis Group (1997) *Going Nowhere Fast: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina*.
- International Centre for the Scientific Study of the Populations (1982) *Multilingual Demographic Dictionary* (2nd edn.) (Liège: Ordina).
- Jackson, M. (2002) *The Politics of Storytelling* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press).
- Jacobsen, M. (2001) *Diaries of a Danish Missionary: Harpoot, 1907–1919* (Reading, UK: Taderon Press).
- Jernazian, E. (1990) *Judgment unto Truth: Witnessing the Armenian Genocide* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- Jones, A. (ed.) (2004) *Genocide, War Crimes and the West: History and Complicity* (London: Zed Books).
- , (2010) *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction* (London: Routledge).
- Jones, H. and E. Jackson (eds) (2014) *Stories of Cosmopolitan Belonging: Emotion and Location* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Karagueuzian, H. S. and Y. Auron (2009) *A Perfect Injustice: Genocide and Theft of Armenian Wealth* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- Karpat, K. (1984) *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Ketchian, B. N. (1988) *In the Shadow of the Fortress: The Genocide Remembered* (Cambridge, MA: Zoryan Institute).
- Kévorkian, R. (2006) *Le génocide des Arméniens* (Paris: Odile Jacob).
- , (2011) *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London: I. B. Tauris).
- , M. Minassian, and L. Nordiguian (eds) (2012) *Les Arméniens de Cilicie: Habitat, mémoire et identité* (Beirut: Presses de l'Université Saint-Joseph).

- , and P. B. Paboudjian (1992) *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman à la vielle du genocide* (Paris: Editions d'art et d'histoire).
- Kherdian, D. (1993) *Asking the River* (New York: Orchard Books).
- , (2007) *Forgotten Bread: First-Generation Armenian American Writers* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books).
- Kloian, R. (1985) *The Armenian Genocide: News Accounts from the American Press, 1915–1922* (Richmond, CA: ACC Books).
- Knowles, V. (2000) *Forging our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900–77* (Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada).
- , (2007) *Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2006* (Toronto: Dundurn).
- Kocahanoğlu, O. S. (1998) *Ittihat – Terraki'nin Sorgulanması ve Yargılanması* (Istanbul: Temel).
- Koepnick, L. P. (1999) *Walter Benjamin and the Aesthetics of Power* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press).
- König, H. and M. Sicking (2005) *Gehört Die Türkei Zu Europa. Wegweisungen Für Ein Europa Am Scheideweg* (Bielefeld: Transcript).
- Korucu, S. and A. Nalçı (2014) *2015'ten 50 yıl önce 1915'ten 50 yıl sonar* (Istanbul: Ermeni Kültürü ve Dayanışma Derneği).
- Krekorian, M. (1989) *Corridor* (New York: Ashod Press).
- Kricorian, N. (1998) *Zabelle* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press).
- Leggewie, C. (ed.) (2004) *Die Türkei in Die Europäischen Union? Zu Den Positionen Einer Debatte* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp).
- Lemarchand, R. (ed.) (2011) *Forgotten Genocides: Oblivion, Denial, and Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Lemkin, R. (1950) *The Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide*, unpublished manuscript (New York Public Library, Raphael Lemkin Papers Collection).
- , (2008) *Raphael Lemkin's Dossier on the Armenian Genocide* (Glendale, CA: Center for Armenian Remembrance).
- Lepsius, J. (1919) *Der Todesgang des Armenischen Volkes: Bericht über das Schicksal des Armenischen Volkes in der Türkei während des Weltkrieges* (Potsdam: Tempelverlag).
- Levene, M. (2013a) *The Crisis of Genocide*, Vol. 1: *Devastation: The European Rimlands, 1912–1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- , (2013b) *The Crisis of Genocide*, Vol. 2: *Annihilation: The European Rimlands, 1938–1953* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Lewis, B. (2014) *Notes on a Century: Reflections of a Middle East Historian* (London: Penguin).
- Lewy, G. (2005) *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press).
- Libaridian, G. (ed.) (1985) *A Crime of Silence, The Armenian Genocide: The Permanent People's Tribunal* (London: Zed Books).
- Lindqvist, S. (1989) *Grabe, wo du stehst. Handbuch zur Erforschung der eignen Geschichte* (trans. M. Dammeyer) (Bonn: Dietz Verlag).
- McCarthy, J. (1983) *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York and London: New York University Press).
- , (1995) *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821–1922* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press).
- , (2010) *The Turk in America: The Creation of an Enduring Prejudice* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press).
- , (2014) *The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923* (London: Routledge).
- , E. Arslan, C. Taşkıran and Ö. Turan (1996) *The Armenian Rebellion at Van* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press).



- Macartney, C. A. (1930) *Refugees: The Work of the League* (London: The League of Nations Union).
- McDonald, G. K. and O. Swaak-Goldman (2000) *Substantive and Procedural Aspects of International Criminal Law, Volume I* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer Law International).
- MacMillan, M. (2007) *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York: Random House).
- Marcus, G. (ed.) (1997) *Cultural Producers in Perilous States: Editing Events, Documenting Change* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press).
- Marx, K. (1867) *Capital, Volume I* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin).
- Matossian, N. (1998) *Black Angel: A Life of Arshile Gorky* (London: Chatto & Windus).
- Mazowiecki, T. (1993) *Report on the Situation of Human Rights in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia*, UN Document E/CN.4/1993/50.
- Melson, R. F. (1992) *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press).
- Meral, Z. (2010) 'Prospects for Turkey', [https://www.academia.edu/2462636/Prospects\\_for\\_Turkey](https://www.academia.edu/2462636/Prospects_for_Turkey).
- Miller, D. and L. T. Miller (1999) *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (2nd edn.) (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Minasian, E. (2007) *Musa Dagh* (Nashville, TN: Cold Tree Press).
- Mirak, R. (1983) *Torn Between Two Lands: Armenians in America, 1890 to World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Morgenthau, H. (1918) *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company).
- , (2000) *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Princeton, NJ: Gomidas Institute).
- Morley, B. (2000) *Marsovan, 1915: The Diaries of Bertha Morley* (Reading, UK: Taderon Press).
- Müderisoğlu, A. (1997) *Sarkamış Dramı* (Istanbul: Kaştaş).
- Müller, I. (1991) *Hitler's Justice: The Courts of the Third Reich* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Najarian, P. (1986) *Daughters of Memory* (Berkeley, CA: City Miner Books).
- Nichanian, M. (2002) *Writers of Disaster: Armenian Literature in the Twentieth Century, Volume I, The National Revolution* (London: Taderon Press).
- , (2009) *The Historiographic Perversion* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Noorigian, P. (1937) *Aykegoutk: The Vintage* (West New York: The author).
- Nora, P. (1996) *Realms of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Nuremberg Military Tribunals (1949) *Trial of the War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Nuremberg, October 1946–April 1949, Germany (Territory under Allied occupation, 1945–1955: U.S. Zone), Vol. 14, Case 11: U.S. v. von Weizsäcker (Ministries case)* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office).
- , (1951) *Trials of War Criminals, Volume III, 'The Justice Case'* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office).
- Ohandjanian, A. (2004) *1915. Irrefutable Evidence: The Austrian Documents on the Armenian Genocide* (Yerevan: National Academy of Sciences, Museum-Institute of the Armenian Genocide).
- Özcan, A. K. (2006) *Turkey's Kurds: A Theoretical Analysis of the PKK and Abdullah Öcalan* (London: Routledge).
- Özdemir, B. (2009) *Süryanilerin Dünyü Bugünü: I. Dünya Savas ı'nda Süryaniler* (Ankara: Atatürk Cultural Center).
- Panayi, P. (ed.) (1993) *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the World Wars* (Oxford: Berg).

- Patterson, O. (1982) *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Pentzopoulos, D. (ed.) (2008) *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece* (London: Hurst & Company).
- Peromian, R. (1993) *Literary Responses to Catastrophe: A Comparison of the Armenian and Jewish Experience* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars' Press).
- , (2008) *And Those Who Continued Living in Turkey after 1915* (Yerevan: Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute).
- Peters, R. (2005) *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Phillips, B. (2012) *Diplomatic History: The Turkey-Armenia Protocols*, [http://hrcolumbia.org/peacebuilding/diplomatic\\_history.pdf](http://hrcolumbia.org/peacebuilding/diplomatic_history.pdf).
- Port, M. van de (1998) *Gypsies, Wars and Other Instances of the Wild: Civilisation and its Discontents in a Serbian Town* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press).
- Powell, J. (ed.) (2005) *Encyclopedia of North American Immigration* (New York: Facts on File).
- Power, S. (2002) *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books).
- Power, S. (2013) *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (2nd edn.) (New York: Basic Books).
- Primoratz, I. (ed.) (2010) *Terror from the Sky: The Bombing of German Cities in World War II* (New York: Berghahn Books).
- Refik, A. (1998) *Kafkas Yollarında: İki Komite, İki Kıtıl* (Istanbul: Temel).
- Renan, E. (1992) *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (trans Ethan Rundell) (Paris: Presses-Pocket).
- Richards, G. L. (ed.) (1923) *The Medical Work of the Near East Relief* (New York: Near East Relief).
- Riggs, H. (1997) *Days of Tragedy in Armenia: Personal Experiences in Harpoot, 1915–1917* (Ann Arbor, MI: Gomidas Institute).
- Risse, T., S. C. Ropp and K. Sikkink (1999) *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Robben, A. (2005) *Political Violence in Argentina* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Robertson, G. (2014) *An Inconvenient Genocide: Who Now Remembers the Armenians?* (London: Biteback Publishing).
- Robins, N. A. and A. Jones (eds) (2009) *Genocides by the Oppressed: Subaltern Genocide in Theory and Practice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
- Rosenbaum, A. (ed.) (2009) *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide* (3rd edn.) (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).
- Ruggiero, V., N. South and I. Taylor (eds) (1998) *The New European Criminology: Crime and Social Order in Europe* (London: Routledge).
- Ruhashyankiko, N. (1973–1975) *Study on the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/416.
- Rummel, R. J. (1994) *Death by Government* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- , (1997) *Statistics of Democide: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900* (Charlottesville, VA: Center for National Security Law).
- , (1998) *Statistics of Democide: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).
- Sanjian, A. (2012) *Celebrating the Legacy of Five Centuries of Armenian-Language Book Printing, 1512–2012* (Dearborn: University of Michigan).
- Sarafian, A. (1994–2002) *United States Official Documents on the Armenian Genocide, Volumes 1–4* (Watertown, MA: The Armenian Review).

- , (2004) *United States Official Records on the Armenian Genocide 1915–1917* (London: Taderon Press).
- , (2011) *Talaat Pasha's Report on the Armenian Genocide, 1917*, Gomidas Institute Studies Series (London: Taderon Press/Gomidas Institute).
- Saroyan, W. (1934) *The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze and Other Stories* (New York: Random House).
- , (1937) *Little Children* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company).
- , (1986) *An Armenian Trilogy*, D. Kouymjian (ed.) (Fresno: California State University Press).
- , (2005) *Essential Saroyan* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books).
- Schabas, W. A. (2006) *The UN International Criminal Tribunals: Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- , (2009) *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes* (2nd edn.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Schwelling, B. (ed.) (2012) *Reconciliation, Civil Society, and the Politics of Memory. Transnational Initiatives in the 20th and 21st Century* (Bielefeld: Transcript, Verlag).
- Sémelin, J. (2007) *Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide* (London: Hurst and Co.).
- Seybolt, T., J. Aronson and B. Fischhoff (2013) *Counting Civilian Casualties: An Introduction to Recording and Estimating Nonmilitary Deaths in Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Shamtanchian, M. (2007) *The Fatal Night: An Eyewitness Account of the Extermination of Armenian Intellectuals in 1915* (Studio City, CA: H. and K. Majikian Publications).
- Shaw, E. and S. Shaw (1997) *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Shaw, M. (2007a) *What is Genocide?* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Shirinian, G. N. (ed.) (2012) *The Asia Minor Catastrophe and the Ottoman Greek Genocide: Essays on Asia Minor, Pontos, and Eastern Thrace, 1912–1923* (Bloomington, IN: The Asia Minor and Hellenic Research Council, Inc.).
- Shirinian, L. (1992) *The Republic of Armenia and the Rethinking of the North-American Diaspora in Literature* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen).
- , (2000) *Writing Memory: The Search for Home in Armenian Diaspora Literature as Cultural Practice* (Kingston, ON: Blue Heron Press).
- Simon, M. (1972) *Ethnic Writers in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich).
- Simpson, Sir J. H. (1939) *The Refugee Problem: Report of a Survey* (London: Oxford University Press).
- Sloan, J. and C. J. Tams (2013) *The Development of International Law by the International Court of Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Smith, M. K. (2009) *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies* (London: Taylor and Francis).
- Sonyel, S. (1993) *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society).
- , (2000) *The Great War and the Tragedy of Anatolia: Turks and Armenians in the Maelstrom of Major Powers* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society).
- , (2001) *The Assyrians of Turkey: Victims of Major Power Policy* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society).
- Sourian, P. (1957) *Miri* (New York: Pantheon Press).
- , (1965) *The Gate* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World).
- Staub, E. (1989) *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Steinweis A. E. and R. D. Rachlin (eds) (2013) *The Law in Nazi Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books).
- Stone, D. (ed.) (2008) *The Historiography of Genocide* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Straus, S. (2013) *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
- Struk, J. (2004) *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris).
- Sturken, M. (2007) *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- Suny, R. (2015) *They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else: A History of the Armenian Genocide* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Surmelian, L. Z. (1945) *I Ask You, Ladies and Gentlemen* (New York: E. P. Dutton).
- Svazlian, V. (2011) *The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors* (Yerevan: Gitoutyoum Publishing House of the National Academy of Sciences).
- Tabeau, E. (2009) *Victims of the Khmer Rouge Regime in Cambodia, April 1975 to January 1979: A Critical Assessment of Existing Estimates and Recommendations for Court, Expert Report for the Extraordinary Chambers of the Courts of Cambodia, Phnom Penh.*
- Tams, C. J., L. Berster and B. Schiffbauer (2014) *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: A Commentary* (Munich: C. H. Beck, Hart Publishing & Nomos).
- Taylor, T. (1970) *Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy* (Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books).
- , (1992) *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials* (New York: Knopf, Inc.).
- Tekiner, A. (2014) *Atatürk Heykelleri, Kült, Estetik, Siyaset* (2nd edn.) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları).
- Theodoratus, R. J. (ed.) (1984–1990) *Series on Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities in the United States and Canada* (New York: AMS Press).
- Tocci, N., B. Gültekin-Punsmann, L. Simao, L. and N. Tavitian (2007) *The Case for Opening the Turkish-Armenian Border*, Study for the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament made under the Framework Contract with the Trans-European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA).
- Tölölyan, M. (1955–6) *Dar me Hay Grakanut'ıwn, Volume 2 (A Century of Armenian Literature)* (Cairo: Husaper).
- Toumani, M. (2014) *There Was and There Was Not* (New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt).
- Totten, S. and P. R. Bartrop (eds) (2009) *The Genocide Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge).
- Tschofen, M. and J. Burwell (2007) *Image and Territory: New Essays on Atom Egoyan* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press).
- Tunaya, T. Z. (1997) *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler* (Istanbul: İletişim).
- Tyler, G. (1962) *Organized Crime in America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Üngör, U. Ü. (2011) *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- , and M. Polatel (2011) *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property* (New York: Continuum).
- United Nations Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992) *Final Report*, UN Document S/1994/674, 27 May 1994.
- United States Government Accountability Office (2006) *Darfur Crisis: Death Estimates Demonstrate Severity of Crisis, But Their Accuracy and Credibility Could Be Enhanced*, Report to Congressional Requesters, GAO-07-24, Washington DC.

- Ussher, C. D. (1917) *An American Physician in Turkey: A Narrative of Adventures in Peace and in War* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin).
- Varandyan, E. (1938) *The Well of Ararat* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran).
- Varese, F. (ed.) (2010) *Organized Crime: Critical Concepts in Criminology* (London: Routledge).
- Walker, C. (1980) *Armenia: Survival of a Nation* (London: Croom Helm).
- Weitz, E. (2005) *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Whitaker, B. (1985) *Revised and Updated Report on the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, 2 July, UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/6 (New York: United Nations).
- Willis, J. (1982) *Prologue to Nuremberg* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press).
- Wilson, E. (2009) *Government of the Shadows: Parapolitics and Criminal Sovereignty* (New York: Pluto Books).
- Wilson, R. A. (2011) *Writing History in International Criminal Trials* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Winter, J. (ed.) (2004) *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Woodward, K. (ed.) (1997) *Identity and Difference* (New York: Routledge).
- Yacoub, Y. (ed.) (2008) *Violence, Realities and Concerns* (Beirut: Notre Dame University Press).
- Yalçın, H. C. (1976) *Siyasal Anılar* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları).
- Yalman, A. E. (1970) *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerimiz ve Geçirdiklerimiz, Volume I: 1888–1918* (Istanbul: Yenilik).
- Yashin, Y. N. (2002) *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Zaroukian, A. (1985) *Men without Childhood* (New York: Ashod Press).
- Zoryan Institute (1997) *Problems of Genocide, Proceedings of the International Conference on 'Problems of Genocide' April 21–23, Yerevan, Armenia* (Toronto: The Zoryan Institute).
- Zurmelian, L. Z. (1950) 98.6 (New York: E. P. Dutton).
- Zwaan, T. (2001) *Civilisering en Decivilisering: Studies over staatsvorming en geweld, nationalisme, en vervolgving* (Amsterdam: Boom).

## Dissertations

- Chahinian, T. (2008) *The Paris Attempt: Rearticulation of (National) Belonging and the Inscription of Aftermath Experience in French Armenian Literature between the Wars* (Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley).
- Dixon, J. M. (2011) *Changing the State's Story: Continuity and Change in Official Narratives of Dark Pasts* (Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley).
- Klein, J. (2002) *Power in the Periphery: The Hamidiye Light Cavalry and the Struggle over Ottoman Kurdistan, 1890–1914* (PhD Thesis, unpublished, University of Princeton).
- Meinecke, Jr., W. F. (1998) *Conflicting Loyalties: The Supreme Court in Weimar and Nazi Germany, 1918–1945* (Dissertation, University of Maryland at College Park).

## Scholarly and Specialist Articles

- Aboul-Enein, H. Y. S. Zuhur (2004) 'Islamic Rulings on Warfare' (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute US Army War College), <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=588>.

- Akçam, T. (2006) 'Deportation and Massacres in the Cipher Telegrams of the Interior Ministry in the Prime Ministerial Archive', *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, Vol. 1(3): 210–11.
- , (2014) 'The Spirit of the Law: Following the Traces of Genocide in the Law of Abandoned Property', *International Criminal Law Review*, Vol. 14(2): 377–95.
- Algan, B. (2008) 'The Brand New Version of Article 301 of Turkish Penal Code and the Future of Freedom of Expression Cases in Turkey', *German Law Journal*, Vol. 9(12): 2237–52.
- Alishan, L. (1985) 'Crucifixion without "The Cross": The Impact of the Armenian Genocide on Armenian Literature', *Armenian Review*, Vol. 31(1): 27–50.
- Alvarez, A. (2006) 'Militias and Genocide', *War Crimes, Genocide, & Crimes against Humanity*, Vol. 2: 1–33.
- Alvarez, J. (2007) 'Burdens Of Proof – Notes from the President', *American Society of International Law Newsletter*, No. 23
- Andreas, P. (2005) 'Criminalizing Consequences of Sanctions: Embargo Busting and its Legacy', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49: 335–60.
- Appadurai, A. (1998) 'Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization', *Public Culture*, Vol. 10(2): 225–47.
- Avedian, V. (2012) 'State Identity, Continuity and Responsibility: The Republic of Turkey, the Ottoman Empire and the Armenian Genocide', *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 23(3): 797–820.
- Ayata, B. (2012) 'Tolerance as a European Norm or an Ottoman Practice? An Analysis of the Turkish Public Debates on the (Re)Opening of an Armenian Church in the Context of Turkey's EU Candidacy and Neo-Ottoman Revival', *KFG Working Paper Series*, No. 41.
- , (2015) 'Turkish Foreign Policy in a Changing Arab World: Rise and Fall of a Regional Actor?', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 37(1): 95–112.
- Bali, R. N. (2006) 'Ermeni Kiyiminin 50. Yıldönümünün Yansımaları', *Toplumsal Tarih*, p. 159.
- Bartrop, P. (2002) 'The Relationship between War and Genocide in the Twentieth Century: A Consideration', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 4(4): 519–32.
- Bayraktar, S. (2015) 'Remembering the Armenian Genocide in Contemporary Turkey', *Testimony between History and Memory*, Vol. 120: 61–9.
- Bazyler, M. J. (2011) 'From Lamentation and Liturgy to Litigation: The Holocaust-Era Restitution Movement as a Model for Bringing Armenian Genocide-Era Restitution Suits in American Courts', *Marquette Law Review*, Vol. 95(1): 245–303.
- Bobelian, M. (2006) 'Vartkes's List', *Legal Affairs* (March/April): 7.
- Bourdieu, P. (1981) 'La représentation politique: Éléments pour une théorie du champ politique', *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, Vol. 36–7: 3–24.
- Brady, H. (2012) 'The Power of Precedents: Using the Case Law of the Ad Hoc International Criminal Tribunals and Hybrid Courts in Adjudicating Sexual Violence and Gender-Based Crimes at the ICC', *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 18(2): 75–108.
- Card, C. (2003) 'Genocide and Social Death', *Hypatia*, Vol. 18(1): 63–79.
- Chester, A. T. (1923) 'Angora and the Turks', *New York Times Current History*, Vol. 17 (February): 758–64.
- Chester, C. (1922) 'Turkey Reinterpreted', *New York Times Current History*, Vol. 16(6) (September): 939–46.
- Dadrian, V. (1989) 'Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law: the World War I Armenian Case and its Contemporary Legal Ramification', *Yale Journal of International Law*, Vol. 14(2): 221–334.

- , (1991) 'The Documentation of the World War I Armenian Massacres in the Proceedings of the Turkish Military Tribunal', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 23(4): 549–76.
- , (1994) 'The Armenian Genocide in Official Turkish Records', *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, Vol. 22(1) (special edition, collected essays).
- , (1997) 'The Turkish Military Tribunal's Prosecution of the Authors of the Armenian Genocide: Four Major Court-Martial Series', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 11(1): 28–59.
- , (1998) 'The Historical and Legal Interconnections Between the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: From Impunity to Retributive Justice', *Yale Journal of International Law*, Vol. 23(2): 503–59.
- , (2003) 'Children as Victims of Genocide: The Armenian Case', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 5(3): 421–37.
- , (2011) 'The Armenian Genocide: Review of its Historical, Political, and Legal Aspects', *University of St Thomas Journal of Law & Public Policy*, Vol. 5(1): 135–94.
- Daponte, B. O., J. B. Kadane and L. J. Wolfson (1997) 'Bayesian Demography: Projecting the Iraqi Kurdish Population, 1977–1990', *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 92(440): 256–67.
- Derderian, K. (2005) 'Common Fate, Different Experience: Gender-Specific Aspects of the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1917', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 19(1): 1–25.
- Der Matossian, B. (2011) 'The Taboo within the Taboo: The Fate of "Armenian Capital" at the End of the Ottoman Empire', *European Journal of Turkish Studies: Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey*, <http://ejts.revues.org/4411>.
- de Swaan, A. (2001) 'Dyscivilization, Mass Extermination and the State', *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 18(2–3): 265–76.
- Dixon, J. M. (2010) 'Defending the Nation? Maintaining Turkey's Narrative of the Armenian Genocide', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 15(3): 467–85.
- Duffell, M. (1998) 'Post-modern Conflict: Warlords, Post-adjustment States and Private Protection', *Civil Wars*, Vol. 1(1): 65–102.
- Dunberry, P. (2014) 'The Consequences of Turkey Being the "Continuing" State of the Ottoman Empire in Terms of International Responsibility for Internationally Wrongful Acts', *International Criminal Law Review*, Vol. 14(2): 274–90.
- Ekmekçioğlu, E., 2013 'A Climate for Abduction, a Climate for Redemption: The Politics of Inclusion during and after the Armenian Genocide', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 55(3): 522–53.
- Elmas, E. (2012) 'Becoming a Nation through Forgetfulness', *Turkish Review*, Vol. 2(3): 122–7.
- Erickson, E. (2006) 'Armenian Massacres: New Records Undercut Old Blame', *Middle East Quarterly* (Summer): 67–75.
- Errante, A. (2000) 'But Sometimes you're not Part of the Story: Oral Histories and Ways of Remembering and Telling', *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 29(2): 16–27.
- Fein, H. (1999) 'Genocide and Gender: The Uses of Women and Group Destiny', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 1(1): 43–63.
- Fishman, J. P. (2010) 'Locating the International Interest in Intranational Cultural Property Disputes', *Yale Journal of International Law*, Vol. 35(2): 347–404.
- Gaeta, P. (2007) 'On What Conditions Can a State Be Held Responsible for Genocide?', *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 18(4): 631–48.
- Galway Buys, C. and G. Gorman (2012) 'Movsesian v. Victoria Versicherung and the Scope of the President's Foreign Affairs Power to Preempt Words', *Northern Illinois University Law Review*, Vol. 32(2): 205–35.

- Göçek, F. M. (2008) 'Through a Glass Darkly: Consequences of a Politicized Past in Contemporary Turkey', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 617(1): 88–106.
- Grove, S. (1951) 'The Problem of "Mental Harm" in the Genocide Convention', *Washington University Law Quarterly*, Vol. 1951(2): 174–80.
- Goshgarian, G. (1985) 'List of Armenian Literary Works Translated to English', *Armenian Review*, Vol. 38(1): 73–122.
- Goy, B. (2012) 'Individual Criminal Responsibility before the International Criminal Court: A Comparison with the Ad Hoc Tribunals', *International Criminal Law Review*, Vol. 12(1): 1–70.
- Groome, D. (2007) 'Adjudicating Genocide: Is the International Court of Justice Capable of Judging State Criminal Responsibility?', *Fordham International Law Journal*, Vol. 31(4): 911.
- Hess, A. C. (1973) 'The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt (1517) and the Beginning of the Sixteenth-Century World War', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 4(1): 55–76.
- Heuveline, P. (1998) "'Between One and Three Million": Towards the Demographic Reconstruction of a Decade of Cambodian History (1970–79)', *Population Studies*, Vol. 52(1): 49–65.
- Hofmann, T. and G. Koutcharian (1992) 'Images that Horrify and Indict: Pictorial Documents on the Persecution and Extermination of Armenians from 1877 to 1922', *Armenian Review*, Vol. 45(1–2): 53–184.
- Inder, B. (2014), 'A Critique of the Katanga Judgment', *Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict*, <http://www.iccwomen.org/documents/Global-Summit-Speech.pdf>.
- İsmet Pasha (1923) 'Turkey Denounces Five Centuries of Calumny', *Current History*, Vol. 17(5): 749–57.
- Kalpakian, J. and V. Ipek (2011) 'The Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement Processes: A Case Study Approach', *Digest of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 20(2): 291–321.
- Kaprielian-Churchill, I. (1990) 'Armenian Refugees and their Entry into Canada, 1919–30', *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 71(1): 80–108.
- , (1994) 'Rejecting Misfits: Canada and the Nansen Passport', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 28(2): 281–306.
- Karamanian, S. L. (2014) 'Economic-Legal Perspectives on the Armenian Genocide', *International Criminal Law Review*, Vol. 14(2): 242–60.
- Kazanjian, D. (2011) 'Re-flexion: Genocide in Ruins', *Discourse*, Vol. 33(3): 367–89.
- Kéchichian, J. A. (2007) 'A Response to Michael Gunter's Review of the Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide (IJMES 38 [2006]: 598–601)', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 39(3): 509–12.
- Kidron, C. A. (2009) 'Towards an Ethnography of Silence: The Lived Presence of the Past in the Everyday Life of Holocaust Trauma Survivors and their Descendants in Israel', *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 50(1): 5–27.
- Kouymjian, D. (1998) 'Confiscation and Destruction: A Manifestation of the Genocidal Process', *Armenian Forum*, Vol. 1(3): 1–12.
- Kuran, T. and S. Lustig (2012) 'Judicial Biases in Ottoman Istanbul: Islamic Justice and its Compatibility with Modern Economic Life', *Journal of Law and Economics*, Vol. 55(3): 631–66.
- Kuyumjian, A. (2011) 'The Armenian Genocide: International Legal and Political Avenues for Turkey's Responsibility', *Revue de Droit Université de Sherbrooke*, Vol. 41(2): 247, 280–7.
- Library of Congress, 'Cyprus: Destruction of Cultural Property', <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/cultural-property-destruction/cyprus.php>.



- Lindquist, D. (2010) 'Guidelines for Teaching the Holocaust: Avoiding Common Pedagogical Errors', *The Social Studies*, Vol. 97(5): 215–21.
- Lous, E. (2003) 'Karen Jeppé: Denmark's First Peace Philosopher', The Danish Peace Academy Online Library, available at: <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/ukjeppé.htm>.
- Lukunka, B. (2007) 'Ethnocide', *Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence*, <http://www.massviolence.org/Ethnocide>.
- Luther King Jr., M. (1963) 'Letter from a Birmingham Jail', *African Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania*, [http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles\\_Gen/Letter\\_Birmingham.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html).
- Mako, S. (2012) 'Cultural Genocide and Key International Instruments: Framing the Indigenous Experience', *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, Vol. 19(2): 175–94.
- Malkki, L. H. (1996) 'Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization', *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 11(3): 377–404.
- Manuelian, S. (1977) 'Armenian Literature: There May Yet be Hope', *Ararat*, Vol. 18(1): 30–2.
- Marboe, I. (2014) 'Compensation and Damages in International Law and their Relevance for the Valuation of Expropriated Armenian Property', *International Criminal Law Review*, Vol. 14(2): 407–26
- Milanović, M. (2007) 'State Responsibility for Genocide: A Follow-Up', *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 17(3): 553–604.
- Miller, D. E. and L. T. Miller (1991) 'Memory and Identity across the Generations: A Case Study of Armenian Survivors and their Progeny', *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 14(1): 13–38.
- Mutlu, S. (2003) 'Late Ottoman Population and its Ethnic Distribution', *Turkish Journal of Population Studies*, Vol. 25: 3–38 (esp. 18–20).
- Obermeyer, Z., C. J. L. Murray and E. Gakidou (2008) 'Fifty Years of Violent War Deaths from Vietnam to Bosnia: Analysis of Data from the World Health Survey Programme', *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 336(7659): 1482–6.
- Öktem, K. (2003) 'Creating the Turk's Homeland: Modernization, Nationalism and Geography in Southeast Turkey in the late 19th and 20th Centuries', Paper for Socrates Kokkalis Graduate Workshop 2003, *The City: Urban Culture, Architecture and Society*.
- Oshagan, V. (1985) 'The Theme of the Armenian Genocide in Diaspora Prose', *Armenian Review*, Vol. 38(1): 51–60.
- Parsons, W. and S. Totten (1991) 'Teaching and Learning about Genocide: Questions of Content, Rationale and Methodology', *Social Education*, Vol. 55(2): 84–90.
- Payaslian, S. (2006) 'The Destruction of the Armenian Church during the Genocide', *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, Vol. 1(2): 149–72.
- Perroomian, R. (1992–3) 'The Transformation of Armenianness in the Formation of Armenian-American Identity', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, Vol. 6: 119–45.
- Porton, R. (1999) 'The Politics of Denial: An Interview with Atom Egoyan', *Cineaste*, Vol. 25(1): 39–41.
- Reynolds, M. A. (2009) 'Buffers, not Brethren: Young Turk Military Policy in the First World War and the Myth of Panturanism', *Past and Present*, Vol. 203(1): 137–79.
- Salt, J. (2014) 'Armenians and Syria: 1915 and 2013', *AVIM Report* No. 1.
- Saroyan, V. (2011) 'A Lesson from the Holocaust Restitution Movement for Armenians: Generate Momentum to Secure Restitution', *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 13(1): 285–311.

- Sautman, B. (2003) '“Cultural genocide” and Tibet', *International Law Journal*, Vol. 38(2): 181–7.
- Scheuren, F. (2007) 'The “Pro Bono” Statistician', *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 102(477): 1–6.
- Schweb, E. (1946) 'Crimes against Humanity', *British Yearbook of International Law*, XXIII.
- Seltzer, W. (1998) 'Population Statistics, the Holocaust, and the Nuremberg Trials', *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 24(3): 511–52.
- , and M. Anderson (2001) 'The Dark Side of Numbers: The Role of Population Data Systems in Human Rights Abuses', *Social Research*, Vol. 68(2): 481–513.
- Shamsey, J. (2002) '80 Years Too Late: The International Criminal Court and the 20th Century's First Genocide', *Journal of Transnational Law & Policy*, Vol. 11(2): 327–83 (378–81).
- Shaw, M. (2007b) 'The General Hybridity of War and Genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 9(3): 461–73.
- , (2011) 'From Comparative to International Genocide Studies: The International Production of Genocide in Twentieth-Century Europe', *European Journal of International Relations* (May): 1–24.
- Shepard, F. D. (1911) 'Personal Experience in Turkish Massacres and Relief Work', *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 1(3): 338–9.
- Shiman, D. and W. Fernekes (1999) 'The Holocaust, Human Rights, and Democratic Citizenship Education', *Social Studies*, Vol. 90(2): 53–62.
- Short, G. (1997) 'Learning through Literature: Historical Fiction, Autobiography, and the Holocaust', *Children's Literature in Education*, Vol. 28(4): 179–90.
- , (1999) 'Antiracist Education and Moral Behaviour: Lessons from the Holocaust', *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 28(1): 49–62.
- , (2000) 'Holocaust Education in Ontario High Schools: An Antidote to Racism?', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Vol. 30(2): 291–306.
- , (2005) 'Learning from Genocide? A Study in the Failure of Holocaust Education', *Intercultural Education*, Vol. 16(4): 367–80.
- Siraganian, L. (1997) '“Is This My Mother's Grave?": Genocide and Diaspora in Atom Egoyan's *Family Viewing*', *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, Vol. 6(2): 127–54.
- Sonyel, S. (1994) 'Turco-Armenian Relations and British Propaganda during the First World War', *Bellesten*, Vol. 58(222): 381–449.
- Spoorenberg, T. and D. Schwegendiek (2012) 'Demographic Changes in North Korea: 1993–2008', *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 38(1): 133–58.
- Sprengling, M. (1916) 'Antonius Rhetor on Versification: With an Introduction and Two Appendices', *The American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 32(3): 145–216.
- Surmelian, L. Z. (1964) 'The American Writer of Armenian Birth', *Ararat*, Vol. 5(2): 53.
- Theriault, H. C. (2014a) 'Legal Avenues for Armenian Genocide Reparations', *International Criminal Law Review*, Vol. 14(2): 219–31.
- , (2014b) 'Reparations for Genocide: Group Harm and the Limits of Liberal Individualism', *International Criminal Law Review*, Vol. 14(2): 441–69.
- Tölölyan, K. (1987) 'Cultural Narrative and the Motivation of the Terrorist', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 10(4): 217–33.
- Toruk, M. Ş. and R. Sine (2012) 'Etnik Kimliklerin Medyada Sunumu: Hrant Dink Olayı Örneği', *Global Media Journal*, Vol. 3: 176–205.
- Totten, S. (2000) 'Student Misconceptions about the Genesis of the Holocaust', *Canadian Social Studies*, Vol. 34: 81–4.

- , and S. Feinberg (1995) 'Teaching about the Holocaust: Rationale, Content, Methodology & Resources', *Social Education*, Vol. 59(6): 323–33.
- Travis, H. (2012) 'On the Original Understanding of the Crime of Genocide', *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, Vol. 7(1): 30–52.
- Üngör, U. Ü. (2008a) 'Geographies of Nationalism and Violence: Rethinking Young Turk "Social Engineering"', *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, No. 7 (online edition, <http://ejts.revues.org/2583>).
- , (2008b) 'Seeing like a Nation-State: Young Turks Social Engineering in Eastern Turkey, 1913–1950', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 10(1): 15–39.
- , (2012) 'Orphans, Converts, and Prostitutes: Social Consequences of War and Persecution in the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1923', *War in History*, Vol. 19(2): 173–92.
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (2008) 'Armed Jewish Resistance: Partisans', <http://www.ushmm.org>.
- , 'Law and the Holocaust', <http://www.ruleoflawus.info/Nazi/Law%20and%20the%20Holocaust.pdf>.
- , 'Nazi Propaganda', <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005274>.
- , 'Plight of Jewish Children' in *Holocaust Encyclopaedia*, <http://www.ushmm.org>.
- , (2012) 'Propaganda', <http://www.ushmm.org/propaganda/>.
- , (2012) 'Why Teach About the Holocaust', <http://www.ushmm.org/educators/teaching-about-the-holocaust/why-teach-about-the-holocaust>.
- Uysal, A. and N. Bozkurt (2008) 'Crime in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1910–1911', *Research Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. III: 49–59.
- Watenpaugh, H. (2014) 'Preserving the Medieval City of Ani: Cultural Heritage between Contest and Reconciliation', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 73(4): 528–55.
- Watenpaugh, K. D. (2010) 'The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920–1927', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 115(5): 1315–39.
- Wergen, K. (2014) 'Problematic Precedents: The Conflicting Legacies in the Genocide Jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia', *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 54(2): 463–500.
- Wimmel, A. (2005) 'Transnationale Diskurse in Der Europäischen Medienöffentlichkeit: Die Debatte Zum Eu-Beitritt Der Türkei', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Vol. 46(3): 459–83.
- Winter, J. M. (1976) 'Some Aspects of the Demographics Consequences of the First World War in Britain', *Population Studies*, Vol. 30(3): 539–52.
- Yee, S. (2004) 'The *Tu Quoque* Argument as a Defence to International Crimes, Prosecution or Punishment', *Chinese Journal of International Law*, Vol. 3(1): 87–134.
- Yumul, A. and U. Özkirimli (2000) 'Reproducing the Nation: "Banal Nationalism" in the Turkish Press', *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 22(6): 787–804.
- Zander, M. J. (2007) 'Tell Me A Story: The Power of Narrative in the Practice of Teaching Art', *Studies in Art Education*, Vol. 48(2): 189–203.

# Index

- abandoned, property 1, 72, 108–9  
*see also* confiscation
- abduction 119, 122, 124, 127, 130–1, 354
- Abdulhamid 15
- abuse 42, 45, 50, 60, 119–21, 123, 128, 144, 152, 158–9, 316, 357
- accession 150, 159, 198, 202, 205–8, 340
- accountability 29, 35–6, 42–3, 84, 87, 89–90, 95, 124, 127, 129, 164, 250, 254, 335, 351
- accused 3, 72, 85, 91, 122, 136, 142, 144, 152, 154, 159, 206, 233, 296
- acquittal 124, 127, 160, 333
- actus reus* 80, 82, 126
- Adana 47, 143, 148, 171, 253, 314, 336
- adjudicating 89, 96, 132, 353, 355
- administration 15, 59, 77–8, 135–6, 138, 146, 240
- admission 65, 72, 90, 137, 248
- advisory 88, 93, 95, 98–9
- affiliation 40, 136, 149, 206, 209
- Agos* 2, 104, 183, 190–1, 193, 195, 199, 205, 216, 224–5, 336, 338
- agreement 80, 82, 111, 116, 130, 208, 214, 240, 251, 339
- agricultural 46, 54, 60, 109, 117, 121, 278–9, 284, 335
- Aintab 47 *see also* Aintep
- Aintep 143
- Akayesu, Jean-Paul 82, 132, 164, 333
- Akhtamar 214, 247
- AKP 204–6, 215–16, 219–20, 247, 253
- Aksoy, Mehmet 212, 216–18, 222, 224–5, 337–8
- Aleppo 45–6, 53, 130, 144, 149, 154
- allegation 18, 76, 78, 88, 93, 104–5, 114, 123, 143–4, 149, 156–7, 159, 161, 167, 171, 176–7, 188, 190, 200–1, 209, 337
- allied 5, 19, 54–5, 85–6, 97, 120, 122, 150, 157, 163, 168–71, 180, 191, 339, 348
- alphabet, Turkish 181, 186, 309–10
- ambassador 3, 24, 71–2, 75, 80, 82, 85, 103, 107–8, 110, 115, 121, 150, 153–4, 161, 168, 177–8, 200, 255, 289, 339, 344, 348
- amendment 114, 142, 160, 244, 249
- America
- Armenian literature 273–83
  - diplomats in Turkey 17–18, 47, 110, 153
  - genocide policy 78
  - missionaries 19, 50, 292
- amnesty 16, 123
- Anadolu 215, 218, 248
- Anatolia 15–16, 19–20, 54, 72, 85, 153, 185–6, 197, 213, 217, 229, 251
- ancestors 1, 137, 185, 206, 238–9, 303, 306–7, 314
- Angora 181, 353
- Ani 24, 346
- Anjar 230, 233, 235–6, 242
- Ankara 109, 144, 150, 177, 200, 203–4, 214
- annihilation 6, 11–12, 45, 69, 91–2, 124, 154, 197–8, 246, 288
- Anzacs 156
- apartheid 84
- apology 5, 102, 207, 211, 213, 336
- appeal
- for assistance 54–5
  - judicial process 105, 111–12, 128, 151–2, 154
- appointed 51, 136, 139–40, 142–3
- appropriation 21, 144, 185, 309
- Ararat* 6, 281–2, 287–300, 305, 310, 312
- archaeological 219, 311
- architectural 173–4, 194, 212, 222, 248, 306
- archives
- images and memory 304–6, 308, 312
  - Ottoman and Turkish 46, 85, 92, 145, 168
  - purge of 92
  - restricted access to 21, 95

- Argentina 77, 86–7, 92  
 Armenia, Republic of 47, 198, 201,  
 203, 290  
 Armenian Relief Association  
 (Canada) 55, 60  
 armistice 46, 64, 121  
 arrest 19–20, 71–2, 104, 134–5, 139–42,  
 192, 310  
 Aryan 137, 159  
 ASALA 183, 189–90, 199, 209, 289, 292  
 assassination 15, 104, 183, 189, 191–2,  
 214–16, 289, 292, 310  
 Assembly 88, 90, 102, 106, 202, 217  
 Assyrian 1–2, 7–8, 27, 41, 71, 149–50,  
 153, 155–6, 159, 162, 185, 259–60,  
 336, 350  
 Atatürk 46, 55, 72, 85, 169–70, 173,  
 180, 186–8, 191, 217–18, 220,  
 224–5, 300, 336, 346, 348, 351  
 Auschwitz 1, 224, 313, 319, 343–4  
 Austria 92, 170, 230–1, 237  
 Austrian 6, 179, 233, 235, 341, 348  
 Austro-Hungarian 149, 153–4, 241  
 authority, State 4, 14, 53, 110, 119,  
 121, 134, 136–7, 140–1, 144–5, 150,  
 156, 167, 170, 174, 176, 178, 184,  
 245, 251, 321  
 Azerbaijan 17, 19, 80, 156, 201, 208,  
 221, 225  
  
 Bagosora, Théoneste 82, 333  
 Balkan 4, 14, 16–17, 19–20, 53, 69,  
 80, 108, 119, 124, 127, 138, 153,  
 185, 259  
 Bardakçı, Murat 34  
 Barton, James L. 47–9  
 Beirut 51, 230–2, 289, 314  
 belief 30, 51, 74, 173, 251, 266, 277  
 beneficiary 109–12, 248  
 betrayal 155, 189, 192, 277, 290  
 Bey, Hasan Fehmi 44–5  
 Bey, Ibrahim 16, 142–4, 148  
 Bey, Jevdet 296, 301  
 Bey, Naim 64  
 Bey, Nusret 123  
 Bey, Tahir Cevdet 18–19  
 Bey, Talaat 91  
 bill 79, 106, 113, 250–1  
 Bitlis 19, 71, 85, 170, 252, 279  
 bombing 157, 163, 189, 349  
  
 Bosnia-Herzegovina 1, 41, 73, 88, 93–5,  
 125, 134, 138–9, 141, 152, 258  
 Bosnian Muslim 88, 90, 119, 128  
 Bosnian Serb 5, 89, 128, 134, 140–1,  
 149–52  
 boycott 177–8, 203  
 brigands 124, 315  
 Britain 16, 81, 85, 92, 169–71, 176, 187  
 Bryce, Viscount J. 30–1, 35, 37  
 Bulgaria 47, 124, 171  
 Bulgarian 14–15  
  
 cabinet, Ottoman 15, 90–1, 123  
 cable 92, 144, 215  
 California 7, 110–12, 175, 274, 279  
 Cambodia 29  
 Cambodian 320, 328  
 Canada 4, 44, 54–7, 59–64, 77, 230, 288,  
 290, 292, 295, 318, 320–1, 326, 328  
 catastrophe 2, 7, 26–7, 40, 207, 243,  
 256, 275, 283, 290–1, 294, 300, 304,  
 306, 308, 310  
 cathedral 245, 253  
 Catholic 187, 231  
 Catholicos 245, 253  
 Caucasus 16–17, 47, 108, 171  
 Cemal 91 *see also* Pasha, Djemal  
 census 32, 36, 38–40, 152, 155  
 centenary 80–1, 183  
 centennial 2, 112–13, 189, 199, 216  
 central authorities 136, 144, 145  
     *see also* leadership, Ottoman Empire  
 Çerkez, Ahmed 20–1  
 chancellor 136, 153  
 charges, criminal 75, 78, 92, 150–2, 170,  
 245  
 chete *see* tchete  
 CHP 188, 209, 224, 336  
 Christians 72, 94, 113, 120, 149, 151,  
 153–8, 169, 175, 185, 188, 205, 232,  
 237, 250–1, 259–60, 265–6, 306  
 church, destruction 6, 18, 71, 102–3,  
 173, 245–7, 250–1, 265, 288, 293, 306  
 Cilicia 47, 64, 170, 245  
 cinematic 287, 291, 297, 301, 308, 311  
 cipher 45–6  
 Circassian 15, 19, 150  
 citizen  
     Armenians in Turkey 187–8, 192, 219  
     in adoptive State 56, 60–1

- labeled as disloyal 135–7
- persecution of own 76, 124, 172
- testimony against a 142
- civilian population 40, 139
- claim, legal process 2, 4, 70, 77, 84, 87–90, 92–6, 103, 108–13, 139–40, 245–51
- cleansing, ethnic 34, 44, 53, 75, 127–8, 152, 155, 159, 260–2
- codifying 124, 167, 244
- coining 3, 114, 188, 280
- collapse
  - Ottoman Empire 12, 14, 184
  - Soviet Union 201, 290
- colonization 65, 157, 180, 213, 334
- command, military principle 13, 16, 128
- commander, military function 15, 18, 119, 128, 171, 245, 321
- commemoration 5, 81, 102–3, 112, 183, 187–9, 198–9, 205, 209, 215–16, 223, 230, 235, 252
- commission
  - investigative 1, 26–7, 77, 90, 103, 110, 124, 143–4, 169
  - liquidation 73, 108, 113
  - mode of liability 88–9, 128
  - truth and reconciliation 84, 204, 230, 241
- commissioner 121, 216
- committee
  - of union and progress 20, 22, 90, 155, 259
  - on foreign affairs (US) 77–8, 110, 150
- community
  - Armenian 5–7, 19, 80, 92, 127, 170, 230, 236, 249, 273, 288, 299, 303
  - European 103
  - international 47, 54, 73, 77, 87, 103, 106, 124, 198, 243, 250
- compensation 77, 102–12
- competence 93, 128, 240
- complaint, criminal 104–5, 142
- concentration camps 47, 153, 317, 319–20
- confiscation 1, 85, 92, 107–8, 113, 172–4, 246, 249–50, 260
- Constantinople 46–7, 50, 71, 75, 143, 149, 155, 170, 172
- constitutional 111, 136
- constitutional court 107, 113
- consulate, foreigners in Ottoman Empire 19, 120, 153–4, 168
- contracting, States 87, 89
- convicted, Ottoman officials 20, 70, 122–4, 126–8
- convicts, release of 16–17, 142
- Corfu 50, 56–7, 63–4
- correspondence 14, 83, 131, 186, 336
- corruption 7, 21, 155
- council
  - League of Nations 96
  - UN Economic and Social 76, 150
  - UN Security 90
- counterinsurgency 12, 16, 22, 149–59
- courthouses 137
- courts *see* International Court of Justice, International Criminal Court, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia *and* International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
- crimes against humanity 3, 69, 73, 118, 122, 124, 230
- criminal code 105, 139, 142, 192, 207
- criminality 3, 11, 118, 122–3, 134, 136
- criminology 12, 23, 349, 352
- Croatia 70, 88, 94–5, 99, 101, 132, 138, 141, 332
- Cumhuriyet* 186, 188, 210–11, 217, 337
- CUP 14–19, 21, 71–3, 90–1, 107, 123, 142–4, 153, 170, 173–4, 245, 249, 259 *see also* committee
- custom 46, 85, 121–2, 124, 164, 173, 188, 276, 292, 295, 298, 339
- customary international law 70, 86, 93–4, 125
- Dardanelles 25, 344
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet 212, 220, 223
- decision (judicial) 69, 74–5, 77, 88, 94, 96, 102, 111–12, 136, 138, 140, 144, 151–2, 158–9, 177, 200, 205–6, 213, 216, 219, 221
- declaration (international treaty) 87, 244, 249–50
- deface 246
- defence (judicial) 70, 91, 136, 151, 157, 167
- defendant 75, 91, 110–11, 123–4, 131, 138, 142

- dehumanize 260, 268, 330
- Deir-Zor 1, 315
- democracy 11, 13, 23, 80, 105, 140,  
167, 190, 195, 200–1, 203, 205–6,  
223, 259, 331–2, 344, 357
- demography 4, 26–9, 35–7, 39–43, 342,  
346, 354–5, 357–8
- denial  
adjudicated 104–6  
as ongoing perpetuation 94–5, 261,  
266, 297  
criminalized 106  
discourse 2, 5, 75–6, 216, 287  
holocaust 106  
in Turkey 3, 73, 86, 167–79, 183–93,  
197–209, 248, 292  
international community 87  
period of 1, 303
- deniability 13, 22
- deportation  
knowledge of leaders 142  
legal standard 158  
of Armenians 1, 18–19, 30, 34–5, 44,  
56, 64, 72–3, 85, 91–2, 103, 119,  
122, 123, 306  
of Bosnian Muslims 69, 151–2  
policy 19, 154, 176, 197, 200
- destruction  
of a population 11–12, 45, 70, 91,  
126, 151–2, 158, 303  
of Armenians 14, 103, 127, 198  
of churches 71, 173, 306  
of cultural heritage 244–5  
of identity 257, 260–1, 265  
of property 107, 122  
of Tutsis 125
- detention 1, 125, 128, 134, 140–2,  
151–2, 200
- diaspora *see also* community  
Armenian identity in 5–7, 261, 264,  
266, 290–2  
collective memory 297  
involvement 2, 197–9, 204  
literature in 273–83  
relationship to Turkey 192, 295  
relationship with Armenia 201, 203
- Dink, Hrant 2, 76, 78, 82, 104–6, 114,  
135, 146, 183, 190–3, 195–6, 199,  
205, 207, 211, 214–16, 224, 332,  
337–8, 341–2, 357
- diplomacy 17–18, 55, 75, 77, 92, 110,  
118, 120, 131, 149–50, 153, 155,  
179, 183, 189, 199, 202, 204, 208–9,  
250, 289, 292, 343, 349
- disappearance 19, 30, 121, 169, 218,  
223, 310, 338
- disciplinary 3
- discrimination 71–2, 94, 100–1, 103,  
105–6, 126, 136, 138, 142, 146, 199,  
279, 311, 332, 339
- disloyal 19, 135, 167
- dismissal 90–1, 94, 105, 111–12, 136,  
138, 140, 144, 152, 170, 175, 192,  
296
- displacement 22, 39, 125, 128–9, 151,  
232, 278–9, 289, 305–6, 308, 310–12,  
343, 346
- diversify 198
- Diyarbakir 1, 6, 50, 117, 144, 153, 155,  
247, 251–2, 339
- Djemaal *see* Pasha, Djemaal
- EC *see* European Community
- ECHR *see* European Court of Human  
Rights
- Edib, Halide 51
- Egoyan, Atom 6–7, 286–302, 304–9,  
312–13, 337, 341, 344, 351, 356–7
- Eichmann, Adolf 70
- election 13, 80, 138, 170, 201, 208,  
219, 221
- embargo 13, 23, 353
- embassy 131, 154–5, 159, 161, 177,  
199–200, 267, 289, 339
- enslavement 119–22, 125, 127, 130
- EP *see* European Parliament
- Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip 78, 114, 184,  
205–6, 212, 219–21, 223–5, 337–8
- Erzerum 1, 16–17, 71, 85, 143, 154,  
170, 218, 260
- Erzindjan 1, 143
- European Community 200
- European Court of Human Rights  
103–7, 114–15, 135, 195, 224,  
249
- European Parliament 200, 202
- execution 20, 115, 119, 149, 154, 212,  
215
- exile 37, 41, 46, 55, 120, 154, 173,  
191, 273–6, 278–9, 283, 285, 347

- expropriation 1, 71–3, 102, 107,  
 112–13, 153, 229, 249, 356
- extermination 23, 25, 43, 69–71, 73–4,  
 119, 124, 151, 153–4, 157, 169, 172,  
 229, 243, 269, 304, 313, 328, 344,  
 350, 354–5
- failure
  - judicial 73, 87–9, 94, 122, 134–45
  - of the international community 54,  
 87, 121
  - to cooperate 88
- famine 156, 320–1
- fascism 221–2, 225, 241, 345
- fatwa 72
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 88, 93–4
- film 6, 97, 176–8, 218, 236, 247,  
 287–300, 303–12
- flagged 77
- footage 152, 292, 305–6, 308
- forcible displacement 1, 71, 85, 125–6,  
 151, 158, 260
- forcibly assimilated 127, 155, 173
- Forty Days of Musa Dagh, The* 5–6, 176–8
- France 16, 56, 63, 77, 85–7, 92, 103,  
 106–7, 169–71, 177, 187, 201–3,  
 320, 332, 334
- Fresno 7, 274, 279
- frontline 17, 19
- FRY *see* Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
- Gallipoli 19
- gendarme 12, 18, 120, 123–4, 153, 170,  
 192
- gender, aspects of genocide 120, 125,  
 129, 260–1
- generational (transmission of trauma)  
 230, 239, 299, 303
- génocidaire 45, 70
- genocidal
  - acts 125–6, 154, 157, 250, 261, 266,  
 316
  - intent 3, 5, 21, 40, 69–72, 89, 92,  
 126–7, 149–53, 159, 256
  - policies 11, 119, 128, 158, 304
- genocide, impact of 2, 6–7, 40, 44,  
 202, 232, 239, 265, 274, 277, 279,  
 282–3, 287
- liquidation of stolen property 1, 72,  
 108–9, 115
- looting 17, 91, 123–4, 143–4, 315
- misappropriation of property 261
- geopolitical 4, 22, 74, 86, 244
- Georgia 17, 94–5
- Georgian, 175, 307
- Germany
  - archives 92
  - judicial system 136–8, 140–1
  - Nazi era 4, 136–8, 157, 229, 316
  - relations with Turkey 143, 170, 177,  
 202
  - responsibility in genocide 73, 108, 145
  - restitution 110
- Gökalp, Ziya 184, 259–60
- Gökçen, Sabiha 191–2
- government
  - authorities 4
  - British 30, 70, 73–7, 79
  - Canada 54–5, 63, 65
  - Ottoman *see* Ottoman Empire
  - United States 29, 178, 250
- governor 14, 18–19, 55, 123, 144, 301
- ground 2, 18, 72, 84, 92, 135, 176,  
 202, 212, 219, 224, 246, 248, 251,  
 259, 279, 351
- guerrilla 16–18, 22
- guilt, legal 45, 72, 77, 90, 104–5, 152–3
- Hague, The 4, 84, 248
- hanged 20, 144
- headquarters 113, 146, 206, 253
- hearing 106, 160–1, 334
- hegemonic 174, 261
- heinous 71
- heirs 109–12, 245, 305
- Hellenic 162, 335, 350
- helpless 91, 124, 157
- historiography 189–90, 213
- Holocaust 1, 7, 79, 84, 86, 93, 103,  
 105–6, 110, 153, 157, 187, 288, 294,  
 316–19, 325, 328
- humanitarian 47, 88, 93, 102, 121–2,  
 236
- hunger 35, 55, 156, 320–1, 325
- Hutus 258, 262
- identity
  - national 1–2, 5–6, 19, 45, 104–5,  
 135, 184–6, 192, 202, 256–67, 274,  
 276–7, 280–3, 298, 307–8, 314, 317



identity – *continued*

- Armenian 5, 45–6, 104, 192, 263–6, 276–7, 308, 314
- ideological 13–14, 22, 140, 158, 170, 186–90, 206, 213, 215, 220–1, 223, 258–59
- ideology (Nazi) 137, 318
- immigration 29, 32, 54–6, 61, 273–82, 290
- impartiality 138, 143
- imperial (powers) 187, 258
- implementation
  - crimes 72, 119, 228, 246
  - laws 113
- impunity 3–4, 11, 18, 20–1, 86, 118–19, 122, 124, 128–9, 135, 144
- indictment 90–1, 122–3, 150, 152
- inhabitants 19, 155, 170, 243, 258
  - see also* population
- inhumane (acts) 71, 114, 125, 134, 152, 158, 172
- inmates *see* detention
- insurgency 5, 149, 159
- insurrection 16–17, 19
- intent (criminal) 3, 5, 27, 40, 44–5, 69–73, 75, 80, 85, 88–90, 92, 95, 107, 125–8, 149–59, 245–6, 249–51, 256–7, 283
- interference 127, 140, 144, 216
- International Association of Genocide Scholars 190
- International Court of Justice 4, 69–70, 73, 78, 81, 84–96, 126
- International Criminal Court 69, 73, 86, 125, 127–8, 158
- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda 3, 69, 74–5, 81, 125–8
- International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 3, 5, 69, 75, 81, 88–90, 125, 127–8, 134, 139, 150–2, 158–9, 250
- intergenerational (dialogue) 229, 238–9, 261, 264–5
- invariably 75
- investigation (criminal) 89, 91, 104, 125, 134–6, 138–9, 142–7, 150, 186–7
- Iran 17–18, 21, 151, 264
- Iraq 37, 176, 264
- Islam, as a religious concept 184, 190, 258–9
- Islamic ethnic group 15, 20, 220
- Islamicization 46, 53, 120–1, 126–7, 155, 168, 172, 185, 252
- Istanbul 2–3, 15–19, 57, 90–1, 100, 104, 141–2, 145, 153, 191, 199, 204, 218, 246, 249
- jihad 155
  - judgement 70, 74, 78–81, 89–90, 92–5, 105, 112, 123, 137, 145, 152–3, 225
  - judiciary 136, 138, 140–1
  - jurisdiction 17, 84, 86–8, 92–4, 104, 111
  - jurisprudence 5, 80, 88, 106, 118, 149, 159
  - jus cogens* 70, 86, 93
- Karabagh, Nagorno 201, 214
- Karadžić, Radovan 5, 72, 135, 139, 151–2
- Kars 5, 17, 47, 201–2, 212, 215–19, 221, 248
- Kemal, Mustafa 32, 34, 46, 315
- Kemalism 186, 217
  - Kemalist 47, 109, 141, 173–74, 206, 247
- Kessab 235–6, 320
- Khmer Rouge 29
- killings
  - Balkans war 140–1, 150–2
  - death toll 28, 35
  - during the Armenian Genocide 1, 18–21, 34, 46, 74, 119–21, 142–4, 153, 168, 172
  - Holocaust 45
  - impact and role 12–15, 256–7
  - legal theory 27, 40, 69, 71–3, 88, 126, 154
  - of Hrant Dink 2, 104, 192, 199, 205, 207
- Konya 18
- Kosovo 75, 125, 128–9, 141
- Kurdish 4, 12, 15, 17–19, 22, 37, 45–6, 51, 53, 119, 121, 149–50, 154–5, 170–1, 174–5, 185, 190, 202
- Kurdistan Worker's Party 22
- labour, forced 46, 143, 152
- Lausanne, Treaty of 46–7, 55, 85, 95–6, 109, 172
- lawsuit 84, 105, 112, 197

- leadership  
   Nazi 136–8  
   Ottoman Empire 1, 4–5, 19, 51, 71, 76, 84, 91, 119, 142–3, 153, 158, 170  
 League of Nations 32, 45, 47, 54, 96, 121  
 Lebanon, First World War 51, 53  
 legality, principle of 106, 138, 142  
 legislation  
   French 107  
   Nazi 136  
   Ottoman 46, 108–9  
 Lemkin, Raphael 3, 124, 155, 158, 243–4, 280  
 Lubanga, Thomas Dyilo 45, 64, 332  
  
 Malatya 50  
 malnutrition 51, 150  
 mandate, colonial 176, 230, 245  
 Mardin 47  
*Mayrig* 297  
 Mesopotamia 156, 175  
 MGM 177–8, 181  
 migrants 38, 108–9  
   migration 28, 36–8, 185, 313  
 military  
   necessity 70, 122  
   documentation 28, 92  
   judicial system 85, 91  
   leadership 22, 69, 134, 145, 152, 191, 214  
   mobilization 12, 21, 172  
   units 17, 119, 127, 143, 156  
 militia 13, 17, 21, 128, 223, 246  
 millet system 172, 258–60  
*Milliyet*, newspaper 186, 191  
 Milošević, Slobodan 1, 75, 138, 152, 257–8  
 minority  
   groups 1–2, 6, 169–70, 172, 188, 197, 259  
   treatment of 5, 95, 109, 145, 174, 184, 199, 202, 244, 249, 251  
 missionary 120, 292, 296  
 mistreatment 60, 95, 119, 125–6, 128  
 Mladić, Ratko 5, 72, 152  
 Morgenthau, H. (Ambassador) 3, 47, 56, 71–2, 75, 85, 103, 107, 110, 121, 153, 168  
  
 mosques  
   conversion into 173, 246  
   destruction of 139  
 Mosul 149, 154, 156, 175  
 Moush 170, 306–8, 310–11  
 murder *see also* killings  
   during the Armenian Genocide 18, 20–1, 45, 55, 120, 126, 135, 143–4, 146, 156, 170, 260  
   of Turkish diplomats 199  
 murderers, groups of 16, 86  
 Musa Dagh, mountain 5–6, 176–8, 229–41 *see also* *Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, *The* (film)  
 Muslim  
   Bosnia 5, 69, 88, 90, 119, 128, 134, 139–41, 151–2  
   Ottoman 14, 17, 46, 108, 142, 150, 153–6, 223  
   Ottoman non-Muslim subjects 109, 113, 184–5, 247  
  
 nationalism 6, 12, 169, 184, 247, 287, 290, 293  
 nationalization 184, 186  
 nationhood 186, 220  
 NATO, Turkey as ally of 78, 197, 200  
 Nazi  
   accountability 86, 157  
   crimes 4, 316–19  
   ideology 135  
   legislation 136–8  
 Near East Relief 47–52, 57  
*nizamiye* courts 141  
 Nuremberg trials 138, 157  
  
 obligation, genocide prevention 73, 86–7, 89, 93–4, 106  
 occupation, First World War 18–19, 22, 121, 157–8, 168–9, 213, 218  
 Odabashian, Reverend Sahag 143  
 officer  
   Ottoman army 16–18, 46  
   police 104, 139–40, 192  
 oppression 230, 279, 319, 329  
 orphans 44–64, 119, 168, 279, 281, 315  
 OSCE 201–2  
 Oshagan, V. 275, 283–4, 286, 356  
 othering 185, 257–60, 268

- Ottoman Empire 1–2, 12, 14–6, 18–19, 21, 27, 30, 38, 46–7, 53, 72–3, 76–7, 84, 92, 102, 122, 135, 141–3, 145, 149, 153, 156, 168–9, 171–2, 175, 184–6, 206, 213, 247, 257–9, 274
- Pamuk, Ohran 78
- paramilitarism 11–22, 134, 138, 141
- parliamentary
- European 103, 150, 200, 215
  - France 106
  - Turkey 44, 188–9, 199
  - United Kingdom 77, 79–80
- Pasha, Djemal 15, 20, 51, 53, 145, 201, 245, 259
- Pasha, Enver 15, 17–18, 21, 145
- Pasha, Ismet 172
- Pasha, Izzet 17, 109
- Pasha, Talat 15–20, 30–9, 45, 71–3, 75, 84–5, 91–2, 107–8, 110, 142–5, 155, 173, 216, 245, 259–60
- passport, for refugees 46, 54
- Patriarchate, Armenian 30–1, 34, 121, 246, 249
- patriotic 20, 45, 122
- penal code 76, 78, 82, 87, 142
- Perinçek, D. 4, 79, 105–7, 216
- perpetration, crimes 12–13, 21, 85, 118, 125–8, 175, 243–4
- perpetrator
- group 12, 20, 45, 70, 85–8, 90, 118, 121, 125, 127, 129, 134, 139–43, 145, 154, 168, 175, 180, 199, 256–7, 260–1, 287–330
  - State 44
- persecution
- as a crime 19, 69, 71, 73, 76, 107, 122, 125, 134, 151, 159, 283, 311, 318
  - campaign 11, 27, 136, 158, 172, 187, 249, 251
- pillage 1, 16, 19, 91, 122–3, 154 *see also* plunder
- PKK *see* Kurdistan Worker's Party
- plaintiff 111–12, 249
- planning, crimes 82, 127, 154
- plunder 18, 20–1, 122, 124, 158
- police, as State institution 21, 69, 104–5, 108, 134–5, 139–41, 153, 167, 192
- policy
- Armenia 201
  - as legal element 126, 151
- France 202
- insurance 110
- Ottoman leadership 19, 34, 45, 85, 107, 142–5, 149, 154–6, 245, 259, 303
- Turkey 79, 169–70, 172, 174, 178, 184, 188, 198, 247, 275, 292
- United Kingdom 73–4, 76, 78, 80–1
- United States of America 111–12
- Pontos 150, 156
- population
- Armenians in Ottoman Empire 84, 102, 107, 119, 127, 142, 171, 185, 229, 288
  - in Turkey 232, 251
  - movement of 6, 109, 184
  - non-Serb 139, 151
  - numbers 26–40
  - Ottoman Muslim 154, 170
- pregnant, victims of the Genocide 121, 298, 315
- proceedings, judicial 4, 77, 104, 108, 139, 141, 200, 209
- prohibition
- alleging genocide in Turkey 76
  - genocide 73, 86, 93, 125, 138, 142
  - of genocide denial 104
  - of rape 122, 125
  - restrictions on freedoms 106
  - laws of Republika Srpska 142
- prohibitions, under Nazi laws 137
- propaganda
- in Turkey 186
  - Nazi 319
  - Western (against Turkey) 188, 296
- proportion 54, 72, 115, 293
- prosecution
- cultural destruction 249, 251
  - genocidal acts 70, 89
  - genocide allegation in Turkey 76, 86, 105
  - independence 134–43
  - political leaders 69, 73
  - sexual violence 4, 118–29
- prospect 121, 202, 210, 274, 348
- protesting, abuses in Ottoman Empire 5, 50, 170
- provinces, Ottoman Empire 16, 19, 34, 47, 144, 174, 258
- provocation, Armenian (in Ottoman Empire) 154, 167, 187–8

- punish  
   failure to 135, 144–5  
   genocide commission 70, 73, 86, 89, 95  
   genocide denial 106  
   Istanbul trials 141  
 purging, of judges 135, 137, 140
- racism  
   Ottoman leadership 73, 184  
   prohibition against 104  
   Turkish leadership 197
- racist  
   education to prevent 316, 329  
   Nazi legislation 138–9  
   stance or policy 3, 200
- radicalism 19–20, 136, 162
- rape  
   during the genocide 46, 121–27, 142, 297–8  
   legal framework 158  
   war in former Yugoslavia 128, 152, 154, 159
- rapprochement, between Armenia and Turkey 75, 203–4, 208, 212
- ratification  
   Genocide Convention 77, 93  
   Treaty of Sèvres 85
- reallocated, property 108
- rebellion *see also* resistance  
   Armenian 5, 17, 149–50, 155–6, 176  
   Jewish (against Nazism) 157  
   non-Serb 138, 141
- recognition  
   Armenian Genocide 2, 4, 74–81, 102–7, 111–12, 149–50, 184, 190, 192, 197–209, 248–9, 251, 266  
   as a principle 7, 213
- reconciliation 6, 14, 80, 84, 104, 194, 204, 212, 230, 241, 247–9, 251–2
- reconstruction  
   buildings 252  
   memory 269, 277, 279, 282, 304–5, 307, 312
- refugee  
   Armenian 46–7, 54–5, 236, 261, 288  
   Bosnian Muslim 128  
   demography 31–5, 37–9  
   Ottoman Muslim 15, 153, 185, 246  
   Rwandan 262
- regulation  
   Ottoman Empire 108  
   Republika Srpska 138
- relief work 47, 51, 57, 85, 121
- religion, discrimination based on 69, 71–2, 126, 251
- religious leaders 19, 53
- religious property 6, 205, 246
- relocation *see also* resettlement, refugee  
   of Armenians 50, 273, 314  
   of Jewish population 319
- remembrance, of the genocide 6, 198–9, 215, 266–7
- reparation, for genocide  
   responsibility 73, 84, 102–12, 235  
   satisfaction, as a form of 102–3
- repression  
   in Turkey 167, 172, 190, 247, 251, 275  
   Ottoman policy of 15, 167, 275
- resettlement, of Armenian survivors 54–5, 108, 230, 235  
*see also* refugees
- resistance  
   Armenian 5–6, 172, 176, 229, 233, 235, 237  
   European Parliament 150, 200, 202  
   Jewish 319–20
- resolution  
   recognition of the Genocide 77–8, 150  
   United Nations General Assembly 102–3, 106
- restitution 6, 102–3, 107, 109, 112, 249–50
- retrospective, application of Genocide Convention 75, 77, 195
- revenge  
   as motive 150–3  
   on Ottoman Armenians 14, 19, 72, 158–9
- Russia  
   genocide recognition 77  
   in First World War 16–19, 21, 85, 153, 155–6, 170–2, 213
- Rwanda  
   genocide 45, 74, 80–1, 87, 124–5  
   tribunal 3, 69, 158
- safeguard, human rights 88, 134, 250
- sanctioned, by governments 13, 21
- sanctions 13, 178, 203, 245
- Sarikamish, battle near 17–19, 218

- Saroyan, William 7, 252, 276–9  
*Sayat Nova* 307  
 Sayyaf, Abu 4  
 scapegoating, minorities 170, 316  
*Schindler's List* 294, 296, 300  
 scorched earth 12, 18, 22  
 screenplay 297  
 sculpture 174, 212–22, 310  
 secret, planning 11, 13, 17, 20, 44, 108  
 secularism, Turkey 169, 259  
 security, national 17–18, 22, 76, 78,  
 134, 171–2, 176, 202, 236, 274  
 Seljuk, architecture 173, 212  
 Semitism, anti- 136, 177, 316, 318–19,  
 323, 325–6  
 sentencing, judicial 91, 104, 123, 136,  
 143, 192  
 Serb, Bosnian 5, 128, 134, 138, 140,  
 151–2  
 Serbia 12, 70, 73, 88–9, 94, 119, 258  
 Serbian, units 12, 14, 75, 141  
 Settlement  
 legal 109, 111, 249  
 refugees 19, 34, 54, 108, 235, 237, 249  
 sexual, violence 4, 118–29, 152  
 Shakir, Bahaeddin 14–18, 25, 343  
 Sharia law 141–2  
 Shepard, Dr F. D. 143, 148  
 significant, destruction of  
 population 11, 73  
 Sivas 320  
 slavery, during the Genocide 46, 119–22,  
 125–7  
 Smyrna 46–7, 149  
 society, Turkish 2, 5, 22, 144–5, 174,  
 179, 183, 186, 189–90, 193, 198,  
 204, 206–8, 213, 231–2, 247–8,  
 251  
 Soviet Union, collapse 201, 290  
 Special Organization 14–20, 91, 143,  
 155, 170  
 Spiegelman, Art 7, 315, 319  
 starvation, means to destroy  
 populations 54, 72, 119, 288, 320  
 statistics, death toll 26–40, 317  
 stereotyping 190, 307, 311, 316, 319,  
 326  
 Stockholm Declaration 87  
 Sublime Porte 145, 170  
 Sunni 237  
 survivor  
 Armenian 46, 50, 54, 56, 72, 87, 92  
 Holocaust 7, 103  
 statistical survey among 3–33, 38  
 suspect, criminal 104, 124, 145, 150,  
 167  
 Switzerland, denial criminalization 4,  
 105–6, 216  
 symbolism  
 Armenian 6, 71, 187, 205, 235–6,  
 245, 255, 290–1, 293, 299–300  
 of violence 257, 260–3  
 Turkey 203, 209, 217, 220–1  
 Syria 11, 34, 47, 50, 57, 85, 175, 235–6  
 taboos, in Turkey 190, 206, 247  
 Talaat, *see* Pasha, Talat  
 Taliban 250  
 tapestries 303, 311–12  
 TARC *see* Turkish-Armenian  
 Reconciliation Commission  
 targeting  
 assassination 104–5  
 for genocidal intent 19, 27, 45, 51,  
 90, 119, 125–7, 129, 136, 149, 158,  
 260–1, 318  
 taxation, of minorities 172, 185  
*tchete* 143, 315  
 telegram  
 Allied nations 5  
 Ottoman leadership instructions 20,  
 31, 33–4, 45–6, 91, 123, 245, 260  
 terrorism, Armenian groups 199–200,  
 289, 292, 297  
 terrorist  
 groups 13  
 regime 85, 119  
 testimony  
 ICTY trials 90, 139–40  
 Istanbul trials 120, 122–4, 142  
 survivors, non-court settings 246,  
 293–6, 298–9, 317  
 thanatourism 229–41  
 Third Reich 136–7, 230  
 torture  
 convention 93  
 during Armenian Genocide 127, 315  
 prohibition 13, 70, 125, 142  
 war in former Yugoslavia 125, 140–1,  
 152

- totalitarianism  
 in general 221  
 in Turkey 173, 179, 222
- Trabzon 16, 91, 104, 122–4, 144, 154, 279
- traitorous, allegations of treachery by  
 victim groups 176, 185, 192–3, 258
- trauma  
 intergenerational 6, 230, 266, 303  
 processing 22, 236  
 survivors 57, 60, 63, 71, 262, 274, 299  
 victims of sexual violence 118–19, 121, 129
- treachery, as pretext 19, 154, 167, 176
- Trebizond *see* Trabzon
- tribes 21, 150, 185
- tribesmen 17–18, 20
- Tsitsernakaberd 213, 222
- tu quoque* (legal principle) 157, 167
- Turkey  
 Turan, identity 259  
 turkic 119, 155  
 turkification 19, 51, 53, 71, 73, 155, 158, 169–70, 173–4, 185, 259  
 turkishness 78, 86, 184–5, 187, 189, 191, 194  
 turkism 259
- Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission 203–4
- Tutsi 125, 258
- Ukraine 321
- ultranationalist 149, 170, 206
- unconstitutional 107, 110
- UNESCO 250
- UNICEF 64, 336, 338
- United Nations Genocide Convention 244–5, 249, 251–2
- unlawful 124, 144
- uprooted 1, 107, 265, 267
- vandalism 173, 243, 246
- Varoujan, Daniel 309–10
- verdict 75, 85, 90–1, 123, 152–4
- victimhood 257–8
- victimisation 2, 26–7, 40, 50
- victimized group 256, 258, 260–1
- vilayet* 47 *see also* provinces
- vulnerability  
 of victims 128–9  
 self-concept 258
- Wangenheim, Ambassador 108, 153
- war 81, 87, 124, 257
- Weimar Republic 135, 258
- Werfel, Franz 6, 176–7, 229, 231, 233, 240
- Whitaker, Benjamin 77, 96, 150
- wholesale killing and deportation 122, 142, 154, 175
- widespread criminality 128, 155
- women, as victims 18, 46–7, 118–29, 152, 154, 168, 315
- xenophobic 104
- Yerevan 47, 204, 214, 313
- Yezidis, 153
- Yozgat 91, 123, 144, 153
- Yugoslavia  
 judicial system 138–41  
 responsibility for genocide 90, 94  
 Tribunal 3
- Zeitoun (also Zeytun) 155, 170