

Contents

Introduction	1
Part I Young Turks and Armenians Intertwined in the Opposition (1895–1908)	
1 Abdülhamid and the Ottoman Opposition	9
2 The December 1907 Second Congress of the Anti-Hamidian Opposition: Final “Preparations for a Revolution”	43
Part II Young Turks and Armenians Facing the Test of Power (1908–12)	
1 Istanbul in the First Days of the Revolution: “Our Common Religion is Freedom”	51
2 Young Turks and Armenians Facing the Test of “The 31 March Incident” and the Massacres in Cilicia	71
3 The Ottoman Government’s and the Armenian Authorities’ Political Responses to the Massacres in Cilicia	97
4 The CUP’s First Deviations: The 1909, 1910, and 1911 Congresses	119
5 Armenian Revolutionaries and Young Turks: The Anatolian Provinces and Istanbul, 1910–12	125
Part III Young Turks and Armenians Face to Face (December 1912–March 1915)	
1 Transformations in the Committee of Union and Progress after the First Balkan War, 1913	141
2 The Armenian Organizations’ Handling of the Reform Question	153
3 The Establishment of the Ittihadist Dictatorship and the Plan to “Homogenize” Anatolia	167
4 Destruction as Self-Construction: Ideology in Command	189
5 Turkey’s Entry into the War	207
6 The Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa on the Caucasian Front and the First Military Operations	217

7	The First Acts of Violence	225
8	Putting the Plan into Practice, and the "Temporary Deportation Law"	243

Part IV In the Vortex of the War: The First Phase of the Genocide

1	The Armenian Population of the Empire on the Eve of the War: The Demographic Issue	265
2	The Ottoman Armenians' Socio-Economic Situation on the Eve of the War	279
2.1	The Eradication of the Armenian Population in the Provinces of the Ottoman Empire: Reasons for a Regional Approach	285
3	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Erzerum	289
4	Resistance and Massacres in the Vilayet of Van	319
5	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Bitlis	337
6	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Dyarbekir	355
7	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Harput/Mamuret ul-Aziz	381
8	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Sivas	429
9	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Trebizond	467
10	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Angora	495
11	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Kastamonu	527
12	Constantinople in the Period of the Deportations and Massacres	533
13	Deportations in the Vilayet of Edirne and the <i>Mutesarifat</i> of Biga/Dardanelles	545
14	Deportations in the <i>Mutesarifat</i> of Ismit	551
15	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Bursa and the <i>Mutesarifat</i> of Kütahya	557
16	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Aydın	567
17	Deportations and Massacres in the Vilayet of Konya	571
18	The Deportees on the Istanbul-Ismit-Eskişehir-Konya-Bozanti Route and Along the Trajectory of the Bagdadbahn	577
19	Deportations from Zeitun and Dört Yol: Repression or Genocidal Program?	585
20	Deportations in the <i>Mutesarifat</i> of Marash	591
21	Deportations in the Vilayet of Adana	593
22	Deportations in the <i>Sancaks</i> of Ayntab and Antakya	605
23	Deportations in the <i>Mutesarifat</i> of Urfa	613

Part V The Second Phase of the Genocide Fall 1915–December 1916

- 1 The Aleppo Sub-Directorate for Deportees: An Agency in the Service of the Party-State's Liquidation Policy 625
- 2 Displaced Populations and the Main Deportation Routes 629
- 3 Aleppo, the Center of the Genocidal System and of Relief Operations for the Deportees 639
- 4 The Camps in Suruc, Arabpunar, and Ras ul-Ayn and the Zones of Relegation in the Vilayet of Mosul 647
- 5 The Concentration Camps along "The Euphrates Line" 655
- 6 The Deportees on the Hama-Homs-Damascus-Dera'a-Jerusalem-Amman-Maan Line 673
- 7 The Peculiar Case of Ahmed Cemal: The Ittihad's Independent Spirit or an Agent of the Genocide? 681
- 8 The Armenian Deportees on the *Bagdadbahn* Construction Sites in the Taurus and Amanus Mountains 687
- 9 The Second Phase of the Genocide: The Dissolution of the Armenian Patriarchate and the Decision to Liquidate the Last Deportees 691

Part VI The Last Days of the Ottoman Empire: The Executioners and Their Judges Face-to-Face

- 1 Grand Vizier Talât Pasha's New Turkey; or, Reanimating Pan-Turkism 699
- 2 The Refounding of the Young Turk Party Shortly Before and Shortly After the Armistice 715
- 3 The Debates in the Ottoman Parliament in the Wake of the Mudros Armistice 721
- 4 The Mazhar Governmental Commission of Inquiry and the Creation of Courts Martial 735
- 5 The Armenian Survivors in their Places of "Relegation" in the Last Days of the War 743
- 6 The Great Powers and the Question of "Crimes Against Humanity" 763
- 7 The First Trial of the Young Turk Criminals Before the Istanbul Court-Martial 775
- 8 The Truncated Trial of the Main Young Turk Leaders 783
- 9 The Trial of the Responsible Secretaries and the Vicissitudes of the Subsidiary Trials in the Provinces 791

10 Mustafa Kemal: From the Young Turk Connection to the Construction of the Nation-State

Conclusion

Notes

Index