

Circassian Genocide Historical Legitimacy Question

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Abstract

In recent years, due to some contemporary political influences in Russia, Circassian activists, and some foreign states have proposed that the Circassian exile (forced deportations) and Russian colonization in the 19th century, might be considered as an expression of the contemporary notion in philosophical politics of ethnic cleansing and the genocide by the Russian Empire. This campaign claims that according to the historical records during these colonization thousands upon thousands of humans were massacred. Hence, the formation of the Circassian Genocide as an international issue is begun to be internationalized, this paper tries to clarify the legitimacy question of the Circassian Genocide based on the ethical dimension and the meaning of genocide under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948. We describe this view about moral epistemology elsewhere, but we will not elaborate on it in the present context.

Another important factor that we will survey in this study, is the recent activities of Circassians to recognize this historical event as a genocide. Nowadays we see a considerable sort of unification and symphonic movement has been developed in Circassian identity around the international recognition of the genocide. Due to a lot of historical information, the aim of this paper is not to demonstrate or to prove the ethnic cleansing and genocide, but is to discuss that it was a genocide or not, according to our knowledge in Eurasian contemporary politics.

Keywords: *Circassian Genocide, Circassian Exile, Winter Olympics of Sochi, History of Circassia*

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Çerkes Soykırımı Tarihsel Meşruiyet Sorunu

Son yıllarda, Rusya'daki bazı çağdaş siyasi etkiler nedeniyle, Çerkes aktivistler ve bazı yabancı devletler, 19. yüzyılda Çerkes sürgününün (zorla yerinden edilmelerin) ve Rus kolonizasyonunun çağdaş siyaset felsefesindeki kavramlarla açıklandığında Rusya İmparatorluğu tarafından etnik temizlik ve soykırım yapıldığı şeklinde ifade edilebileceğini öne sürdüler. Çerkes soykırımı kampanyası, tarihsel kayıtlara göre bu kolonizasyon sırasında binlerce insanın katledildiğini iddia etmektedir. Böylelikle, Çerkes Soykırımı uluslararası bir mesele haline gelmeye başlamıştır. Bu makale Çerkes Soykırımı'nın meşruiyet sorununu, 1948 Soykırımın Önlenmesi ve Soykırım Suçlarının Cezalandırılması Sözleşmesindeki etik ve soykırım tanımına göre sorgulamaktadır. Başka bir yerde ahlaki epistemoloji bakışını tanımlıyoruz, ancak mevcut bağlamda bu konuyu detaylandırmayacağız.

Bu çalışmada inceleyeceğimiz bir diğer önemli faktör ise, Çerkeslerin bu tarihi olayı bir soykırım olarak tanımaya yönelik bugünkü faaliyetleridir. Bugün soykırımın uluslararası tanınması etrafında Çerkes kimliğinde önemli bir tür birleşme ve senfonik hareketin geliştiğini görüyoruz. Bu yazının amacı etnik temizlik ve soykırımı göstermek veya kanıtlamak değil, çağdaş Avrasya siyasetindeki bilgilerimize göre, pek çok tarihsel bilgiye dayanarak, bunun bir soykırım olup olmadığını tartışmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çerkes Soykırımı, Çerkes Sürgün, Soçi Kış Olimpiyatları, Çerkesya Tarihi

Introduction

The Circassian activists have demanded that a part of the Caucasian War in the 19th century - Russo-Circassian Wars - which caused the vanishing of the Circassians from the entire Caucasus by Russians, should be identified as a war crime (Map 1).



Map 1. Russian Expansion in the Caucasus in 1783-1878 by Andrew Andersen

Historically, this tragedy happened as the consequence of the Caucasian War in the 19th century. Regarding the term of genocide, in 1990, the Circassians determined 21 May as the National Day of Mourning, on which they remember the tragedy of the nation and remind them 21 May 1864; the Russian Tsar Alexander II declared that the war had ended with the occupation of whole Circassia. The Tsar authorized a decision to exile the entire Circassians for their rejection to transform to Christianity from Islam and the constant raids they carried out on Russian villages.

We should mention that in 2009, the Congress of Circassians announced the attempt to establish a Circassian State in Exile for highlighting the legitimacy question in the global arena (Khlynina 308-309): *"Circassia should be returned to its status of an independent state and unite all the Circassians. The future government is determined to rely on the Declaration of*

Independence of Circassia of the time of the Caucasian War (1835) and the Declaration of Independence of Circassia issued by the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) in 1996".

In this regard, the Worldwide Circassian Brotherhood (WCB) become manifest with a fresh associateship decided to raise the Circassian historical and cultural phenomena. Additionally, they created ties with other Circassians around the globe in 2004. Zamir Shukhov - the head of this movement - believed that this act could have advanced *the unity of the Circassians in their fatherland but as a sort of Russian integrity* (Shmulevich 2015). Based on this idea, most of the Circassian diasporic institutions followed these purposes:

1. Official recognition of the Circassian Genocide in the Russian Federation and other countries;
2. Formation of political unity to involve all Circassian republics under the Russian Federation;
3. Facilitating repatriation of the origin Circassians to their homeland. (Bubenok 141-143)

One of the primary activities was in October 2006, when the Circassian public organizations sent a request to the European Parliament for recognizing the Circassian Genocide¹ based on the legal protection of human rights. The Georgian Parliament proceeded with a resolution on 21st of May 2011 stating that "pre-planned mass killings of Circassians by Imperial Russia, should be recognized as genocide and those displaced during those events from their homeland, should be identified as refugees and turn back" (Barry 2011).

Walter Richmond the historian, asserts that the term genocide is proper because the wars of 1864 can be one of the primitive samples of social engineering and ethnic cleansing in the modern era. According to international law, clarifies the genocidal intent seeks demolition acts with a specific purpose but are based on anticipated Human Disaster results or corollary of a political course, which could have been avoided by conversion in that political order. He brings up the genocidal events based on the policy of

¹ You see more details: <http://www.unpo.org/article.php?id=5634>

demographic transformation. It means that Russification² in the region was a desirable policy for Russian authorities and they were fully aware of the massive number of deaths by the starvation and the expulsion (Richmond 92-97).

To sum up the introduction, we can see the idea of Maja Catic (2015), why the term genocide has not been applied to express the Circassian destiny since the 19th century:

*"Significant grievances revolving around the brutality not only of the more recent Stalinist, but also of the more distant, Tsarist past, and the struggle for historical truth started playing prominent roles in motivating nationalist mobilization inside the Soviet Union. The struggle for historical truth manifested itself in a clash between the official Soviet history and the 'counter-memory' of the historically repressed groups. In the North Caucasus, this clash concerned the historical relationship between Russia and the Caucasus, as well as the inter-ethnic relations among the peoples of the North Caucasus."*³

For understanding the dimensions of genocide, ethics consultation is a tool that we can use. Apart from that, ethics thought and normative morals as an organ for mental suffering from a traumatic event could be a referral part for determining a feasible model for ethic theories in the human bearing (Filip 83).

Concept of Genocide

It is a simple sentence, but the meaning is deep: Circassians were forced to exile by Russians to Ottoman Empire territories. The deportation was started before 1864 and had been continued by 1867. This information is a historical record and most historians and documents can prove those, but I want to see what the genocide

² Russification is a configuration of social and cultural assimilation procedure based on Russian official policy toward non-Russian societies to give up the indigenous culture and language in favor of Russian culture. It can be mandatory or voluntarily.

³ Main article: <http://circassiatimesenglish.blogspot.com/2016/01/maja-catic-circassians-and-politics-of.html>

means and then again try to identify this historical event in the perceive of a 21st-century person.

On 9 December 1948, the United Nations General Assembly ratified "The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide"⁴ as General Assembly Resolution (Bellamy 2016). The submitted Convention was adopted on 12 January 1951⁵ and describes legal terms of genocide (Chalk 47–63).

The meaning of genocide in the second article defines:

"Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national ethnical racial or religious group, as such: 1. Killing members of the group; 2. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; 3. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; 4. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; 5. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group".

In the third article, it determines the crimes in this course: "genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide, attempt to commit genocide, complicity in genocide"⁶. This convention was approved to proscribe acts analogous to the Holocaust.

Additionally, Raphael Lemkin in his meaning of genocide tries to show a concept of an act. He says:

"By genocide, we mean the destruction of an ethnic group.... Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups,

⁴ Main Text: https://www.un.org/ar/preventgenocide/adviser/pdf/osagg_analysis_framework.pdf

⁵ Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-1&chapter=4&lang=en

⁶ Text of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the website of the UNHCHR. <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html>

*to annihilate the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups*⁷ (Orentlicher 2001).

Now, we can see how the concept of genocide can fit with Circassians. Almost all chapters of genocide meaning in article 2, happened on Circassians. The killing members of the group were ordered by Russian commanders and it creating tense trauma to Circassians in the Ottoman lands. Additionally, the destruction of their villages and cities under the Russian colonization was purposely burdening on Circassian conditions of living, assessed to cause physical vanishing. Even in all sources, we can find forcibly transferring children of Circassian to Ottoman lands. Two examples accepted by the international community based on the meaning of Lemkin can be the Rwandan genocide at the end of the 20th century and the Armenian Genocide at the beginning of the 20th century as the systematic mass murder and ethnic cleanings.

Consequences of Russian Colonization – Historical Background

Russians employed a lethal combination of numerical superiority and systematic reduction of resistance in the forested foothills and mountains after coming to the North Caucasus. In this long war of attrition, the Circassians travailed serious losses in terms of human life, and their land has perished. Many tribes were wiped out completely, for example, the *Ubykh*. Those tragic acts, together with the conspiracy of the Ottomans, terminated in a large-scale exodus that irreparably compromised the demographic equilibrium in the northwest of the Caucasus. It is approximated that at least a million Circassians were compelled to move and only 800,000 were eventually settled in the Ottoman Empire's territory. The difference being the victims of starvation, disease, shipping accidents, and the disordered Ottoman administrative system.

⁷ Meaning of Genocide in Oxford English Dictionary cited by Raphael Lemkin Axis Rule ix.79.

Those who stayed in their homeland were required to resettle in the northern territories of the Caucasus (Richmond 54-75).

In reaction to continuous Circassian persistence and the defeat of constructing fortresses, the Imperial Russian army started using a tactic of asymmetric punishment for ravages. With the purpose of strength position over the Caucasus, Russian armed forces reprised by perishing any sites that resistance movement was running, moreover engaging the assassinations and hanging of warriors' families (King 47–49). Charles King, the historian, says in his book 'The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus' as one of the most important sources of these wars:

"Understanding that the resistance was reliant on being fed by sympathetic villages, the Russian military also systematically destroyed crops and livestock. These tactics further enraged natives and intensify resistance to Russian rule. The Russians began to counter this by modifying the terrain, in both the environment and the demographics. They cleared forests by roads, destroyed native villages, and often settled new farming communities of Russians or pro-Russian Caucasian peoples. In this increasingly bloody situation, the wholesale destruction became a standard action by the Russian army and Cossack units and was adopted by Circassians and other highland groups against Russian or pro-Russian villages" (Ibid 74).

However, the Circassian resistance kept running under this war condition. As well as, the Circassian cause started to awaken sympathies in the West, especially Britain (Ibid 93-94). The once-mighty Circassians had been decreased to a subject people of Russia by the middle of the 19th century. Notwithstanding their failure, the Circassians were on the viewpoint for an external ally to arise against the Russians. This exile, along with the conquest of the Russian army in Circassia (Shenfield 150), has arisen a new movement among immigrants to attempt for international recognition of the Circassian Genocide. Some sources give us the number of hundreds of thousands who died during the exile. Some historians use the course of 'Circassian massacres' for this Russian consequences in Circassia (Levene 299, 302). The following report provided by a Russian who served in the imperial army proves the brutality of the Russian campaign toward the Caucasus:

“The war proceeded with inexorable and merciless severity. We pushed ahead one step at a time, but remorselessly, clearing every patch of land where a soldier set foot on mountaineers, down to the last man. The mountain auls were burned by the hundred. The snow had only just melted away, but it was before the trees had become clothed in their greenery (in February and March); the crops were eaten by the horses or even trampled down. If we managed to catch the inhabitants of the auls unawares, they were immediately led away under military escort to the shores of the Black Sea and then sent to Turkey” (Baytugan 1-38).

The historical statistics of 1897 shows 150,000 Circassians remained in the region after the war. A large number of them died in transmission from the diseases and starving. According to King (96), the remaining Circassians have resettled into the plains and the left bank of the Kuban River (Table 1).

Table 1. Consequences of Russian Colonization – Ethnic population after and before

Tribes	Before	After	Percent Remaining	Percent died or deported
Kabardins	500,000	35,000	7.000%	93.000%
Shapsugs	300,000	1,983	0.661%	99.339%
Abzakhs	260,000	14,660	5.648%	94.362%
Natukhais	240,000	175	0.073%	99.927%
Temirgoys	80,000	3,140	3.925%	96.075%
Bzhedugs	60,000	15,263	25.438%	74.561%
Mamkhegs	8,000	1,204	15.050%	84.950%
Ademeys	3,000	230	7.667%	92.333%
Ubykhs	74,000	0	0.000%	100.000%
Zhaneys and Hatuqways	100,000	0	0.000%	100.000%

Circassian Exile

Circassia was a buffer zone between Russian and the southern states such as Persia and Ottoman (Wood 2007). Subsequently, the first ravage and invasion of the Russian campaign toward Circassia happened approximately in 1763, as a part of the *Russo-Persian War*.

In due term to a required need for the coastal area of Circassia and a sight that an independent Circassia would prevent their plot to expand into the southern lands, The Imperial Russian Army moved to attach Circassia. Tensions and pressures culminated in its later stages and were outshined by the *Crimean War*. Despite a similar war was running in the eastern Caucasus, some Circassians tried to link between the *Circassian War* and *Murad War* by connecting with *Imam Shamil* and Britain to violate the Ossetian alliance with Russians.



Map 2. Circassian Exile to Ottoman Empire*

Animosities peaked in the 19th century and actuated Circassian Genocide, in which its aim was fighting against the Russians to keep their freedom. This armed conflict entangled with *the Russo-*

* Journal Atlas (Istanbul), special issue “Circassians”, No 120, March 2003.

Turkish War at different stages. The first exile was mostly in 1858 when almost 30,000 moved to the territories of the Ottoman Empire (Kasumov 151). Later in 1861, 10,000 Kabardians moved to the south. Simultaneously, the Russians made the *Besleneis*⁸, *Kabardians*, *Temirgois*, and *Abazas*⁹ relocate to the coastal area (Kumikov 10-11) (Map 2).

Undoubtedly, *Paul B. Henze* (111) has highlighted the most considerable perspective of this exile:

“The great exodus was the first of the violent mass transfers of the population which this part of the world has suffered in modern times. Two generations later, the tragedy began to overwhelm the Armenians of Eastern Anatolia. Millions of Armenians, Greeks, Turks, Kurds, and Nestorians were uprooted and hundreds of thousands died, at least during the commotion of the First World War and its aftermath. None of these ethnic disasters is entirely unrelated to the others”.

Additionally, King believes (King 97-98) nearly 1 to 1.5 million Circassians were murdered, by Russians, and another 1 to 1.5 million Circassians were deported to the Ottoman Empire. After 1860, the number of Circassians exiled from their lands to the Ottoman Empire was quickly increased. The Russians were anxious about the contingency of the Ottoman Empire would not accept any more Circassians (Kappeler 301). As a result of the displacing doctrine of the Circassians, most of the Circassians about 90 percent of the population at that time, were dismissed from their homeland in a short period under terrible conditions, and a third of them died pending the deportation from disease and hunger (Richmond 2008). Despite all oppression, dispersion, and suffering, the Circassians have survived and protected their identity during exile. Actually, in our opinion, this period was their historical memory and healing of this exile and their suffering from Russians.

⁸ The *Besleneis* is one of the twelve tribes of the Circassian people.

⁹ The Abaza (Abazin in rus.) is a Caucasian ethnic group, who ethnically linked to the Abkhaz and Circassian people.

Winter Olympics of Sochi

It should be noted that the 2014 Sochi Olympics coincided exactly with the 150th anniversary of the Russian conquest in Sochi. At the opening, a performance held a narrating the Russian thousand-year history without mentioning anything about the Circassians and the northwest Caucasian history. Indeed, Russian authorities tried to use some local artists such as Hibla Gerzmava who is an Abkhazian-Russian operatic soprano, to engage some locals at the ceremony. But, it did not impact at all on the historical fact which hassled the Circassians in Russia and the diaspora.

The most effective contemporary factor on the Circassian Question was the recent winter Olympics where the political propaganda has impacted on choosing the location of the world sports events (Markovits & Rensmann, 2010). Indeed, the Sochi Games have distinguished, as the *pet idea* of Vladimir Putin. He headed the Russian representatives to Guatemala for the IOC meeting in 2007 where Sochi won for arranging the Olympic Winter Games 2014 (Müller 2095).

We should mention that historically Sochi was the last capital of Circassia, and it has a symbolic place in Circassian memory. This reason describes why so many activists criticized the choosing Sochi for the Olympic Games (Bullough 2012). Additionally, the competitions have been organized on *Krasnaya Polyana*, the mountains where the Russians arranged their conquest parade on 21 May 1864. Circassian protected under the slogan: *No Olympics on our ancestors' graves* (Persson 72-94).

The Sochi Games were the occasion for Russia to show off its capability of organizing international games with security and safety in the North Caucasus where it had previously been accused of human rights violation and creating insecurity (Müller 06; Petersson & Vamling 6-7). Russian perspective mostly focused on strategic showcasing themselves to the world and thereby make and account positive national images for internal and international audiences and global media. These pictures can carry senses and values regarding what a nation might stand for and afterwards increase normativity. It has been related to Russian strategies of soft power in the global arena. On the other hand, this Olympic was

once effective when a global consensus was formed by the Circassian Diaspora and activists. These activities included media warfare and bolding the subject in the academic assemblies.

Role of Circassian Activists

After choosing Sochi for organizing the Olympic Winter Games, a debate was raised among European activists on the democracy and human rights situation in Russia, and whether it was proper to arrange this game in an authoritarian regime. On the other hand, during the Olympics, activists had a global audience, where they intercommunicated to prove their historical claims for international recognition of the Circassian Genocide (Hansen, 2014).

Bo Petersson and Karina Vamling (7) in this regards say:

"One item, in particular, has of late become vital for the attempts of attaining global appreciation for the dignity and indeed the identity of the Circassians, namely the striving to have the atrocities of the Russian wars against the Circassians during the mid-19th century recognized as genocide".

Moreover, Zhemukhov (2012) believes:

"Circassian activists form a heterogeneous group. Starting with the most radical sentiments, the Circassian movement could according to him be visualized on a scale ranging from vocal nationalists, who would demand a state of their own for the Circassians, over sovereigntists, culturalists¹⁰, and centrists onto accommodationists¹¹, the latter of whom strive for reaching a common understanding with the Russian authorities".

The most free-hearted patriotism would be keen on the diasporic societies, whilst most accommodationists would join to

¹⁰ In philosophy and sociology, culturalism is the core importance of culture as an arranging force in human relations.

¹¹ Accommodationism is a legal commentary which adopts "the government may support or endorse religious establishments as long as it treats all religions equally and does not show preferential treatment." Accommodationists have the view "religious individuals, and/or religious entities may be accommodated by government in regard to such things as free exercise rights, access to government programs and facilities, and religious expression."

be energetic in their fatherland. Additionally, Zhemukhov mentioned that the recognition of genocide since the end of the *Cold War* has been one of the three Circassian activists' purposes, besides the right of repatriation to Circassia and the unity of all Circassian republics (Zhemukhov 505-506).

In this case, Hansen says (199):

“Genocide recognition has become the new banner of the Circassian revival over the last couple of years. The issue has attained symbolic value and has become a centrepiece of the identity construction of Circassian groups in the diaspora, and has come to make up the nexus of cooperation between the diaspora and the homeland”.

In Turkey, regarding the Turkish-Russian relations and intention of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to travel to Sochi for the opening ceremony, the Circassian actions formed based on protesting specifically in front of Russian institutions such as the Consulate General in Istanbul's city center. One of the biggest ones was the second of February 2014 when Circassians shout slogans during a protest in front of the Russian Consulate in Istanbul¹². In general, the Circassian demands have failed to boycott the event by the Turkish government. It seems that the Sochi question gathered different diasporic groups and even consolidated (Kaya 2014; Hansen 2014). Indeed, it possessed significant international consideration and assert a principle for the Circassian endeavour at creating symbolic policies to boost their motives. However, after 6 years, it is still hard to determine how much international attention has advanced the Circassian Question.

Conclusion

As we mentioned above, many reports from the 19th century demonstrate that the predestinated murdering and forced deportation of the Circassians under exceedingly violent circumstances happened, and it can be summarized below:

- a) numerous records of destroying Circassian residences;

¹² You can see more: <https://time.com/4864/sochi-olympics-russia-circassians/>

- b) many reports of murdering Circassian civilians;
- c) many stories from Russians showing a lot of Circassians died by diseases and starvation in the mountains;
- d) many pieces of evidence showing dead bodies along with coastal areas;
- e) the number of deaths in Ottoman Black Sea ports due to diseases and starvation during passing the Black Sea.

Nowadays, a growing number of researches support the genocide claim. For example, the most recent work by Walter Richmond (2013), gathered all required documents for proving a genocide. It is not the aim of this research, to prove that, but my research shows that we can call it a genocide from the perspective of a 21st-century person. According to Henze, a famous historian, genocide was "clearly attempted" during the colonization (Henze 373). According to another Circassian historian, Hasan Dumanov, Acting Head of Division of Social and Political Studies at the Kabardino-Balkarian Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences: "We cannot say that there was no genocide of the Circassian peoples; however, here again, the point is who is now benefitting from manipulation of this issue"¹³.

Determining the number of victims is part of the documentation and archive studies which helps our perspective toward the event. A number mentioned was that nearly 1 to 1.5 million out of a whole population died as a result of these processes whether (Natho 393; Richmond 2013). It seems all those can be legitimized the Circassian Genocide among historians or the popular opinion. In this case, we should consider the trauma after a century in the community. In this regard, Georgi M. Derluguan has refined the role of the Armenian genocide in ethnic mobilization:

"The trauma of genocide produced among the victims' families, and among their descendants, an exceedingly strong yearning for moral catharsis. Some of the most powerful ethnic mobilizations in the Caucasus occurred precisely in such groups: not only the

¹³ You can see more in Caucasian Knot: www.southosetia.eng.kavkaz-uzel.ru/articles/15233

Armenians but also, to a lesser extent, the Azeris, and then the Chechens, Karachai, and Balkars who had been deported by Stalin, as well as the Abkhazes who felt perennially embattled in the face of the much bigger Georgian nation" (Derlugian 187).

In the background of mediated memorialization and mobilization, international recognition of genocide can answer as an adsorbent quotation to the more public recognition of national tragedy with ethical dimensions and being promoted through social media. Additionally, the narrative on victimization emerges to practice much more sharply when connected to an international agenda (Fassin & Rechtman 2009). However, if we accept and recognize the genocide as an act against Circassians, it helps the survivors and their descendants heal from century trauma. It is a part of reconciliation and justice. Here, I think better to mention Amartya Sen's article where she believes that the idea of justice can bring up a response to the victims (Amartya 155-201). But Alex J. Bellamy and Tim Dunne believe:

"The international practice has seldom lived up to the lofty demands of international law. With concern for human dignity trumped by the global struggle for geopolitical supremacy during the Cold War, genocide and mass atrocities remained quite common" (Bellamy & Dunne 2016).

This can make trust between communities and open the discussion about the past as a Legitimacy Question (Hawley 70-74.). It should be noted that these differences may be due to varying past experiences, to varying importance of the stakes, or just to differences in personality. Naturally, within decisive limits, we can regard quite a large span of different attitudes to trust as both morally and rationally passable about the Genocide. But it does not seem acceptable to modify even within that 'acceptable' range based on attentions of gender, race, or class or even states. Even if it is epistemically allowable to be somewhat mean-minded and epistemically permissible to be justly humanitarian, it is not morally permissive to switch between these doxastic policies based on social identity.

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