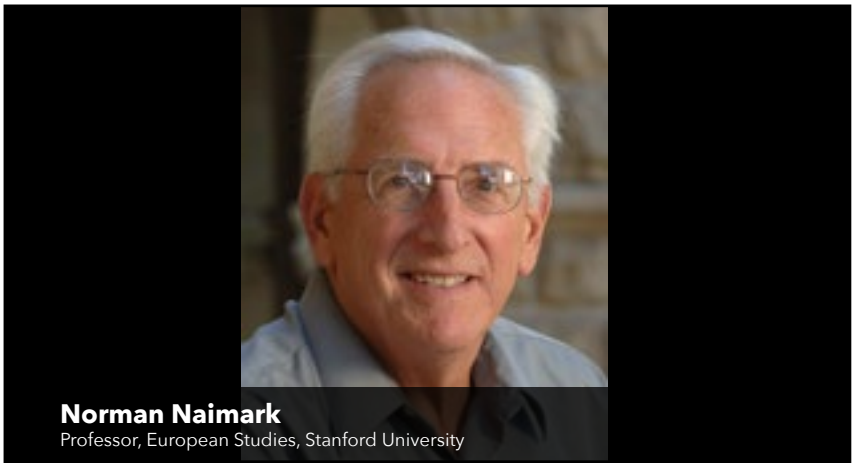
Discussion Guide for "Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide"

a video interview with Professor Norman Naimark, Center for International Security and Cooperation



Organizing Questions

- What is ethnic cleansing?
- What is genocide?
- What is the connection between ethnic cleansing and genocide?
- What is the "Responsibility to Protect"?

Summary

In this video, Professor Naimark explores the relationship between ethnic cleansing and genocide, and how ethnic cleansing can easily turn into genocide. He also places contemporary atrocities (like the Tigray War in Ethiopia and Uyghur conflict in China) into a broader historical context of ethnic cleansing and genocide. He also discusses the international community's role in stopping these atrocities from occurring and the "Responsibility to Protect."

Objectives

During and after viewing this video, students will:

- gain a general understanding of the definition and complexities of ethnic cleansing and genocide;
- examine historical and contemporary occurrences of both ethnic cleansing and genocide; and
- examine the importance and role of the international community and its "Responsibility to Protect."

Materials

Handout 1, *Video Notes*, pp. 4–5, 30 copies

Handout 2, *2005 World Summit Outcome*, pp. 8, 30 copies

Handout 3, *Analyzing Mass Atrocity Crimes*, p. 9, 30 copies
Projection, *Wrap-up Discussion Questions*, p. 11 (optional)
Answer Key 1, *Video Notes*, pp. 6–7
Answer Key 2, *Group Work*, p. 10
Teacher Information, *Video Transcript*, pp. 12–16
Video, "Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide," online at https://youtu.be/qIlQ1kCX9Zs

Note to Teachers:
In Answer Key 1, *Video Notes*, the definitions of ethnic cleansing and genocide given by Professor Naimark in the video, as well as the more formal definition in the defined terms, are different but accurate.

Equipment

Computer with Internet access
Computers with Internet access (for student research on Day Two, and also on Day One if doing research in class and not as homework)
Computer projector and screen
Computer speakers

Teacher Preparation

Instructions and materials are based on a class size of 30 students. Adjust accordingly for different class sizes.

1. Preview video, "Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide."
2. Become familiar with the content of handouts, answer keys, and projection.
3. Make the appropriate number of copies for the handouts.
4. Set up and test computer, projector, speakers, and video before beginning the lesson.

Time

Two full class periods

Procedures Day One

1. Explain to students that they will be viewing a short video that introduces ethnic cleansing and genocide. Professor Norman Naimark, a history professor and Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, is the speaker.
2. Distribute one copy of Handout 1, *Video Notes*, and Handout 2, *2005 World Summit Outcome*, to each student. Give students several minutes to read through the questions, defined terms, and Handout 2 before they view the video.
3. View the video, "Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide." If necessary, pause the video at various points to allow students to respond to the prompts on Handout 1.

4. Once the video has ended, give students several minutes to write their answers to the questions.
5. Organize students into six groups. Distribute one copy of Handout 3, *Analyzing Mass Atrocity Crimes*, to each student. Assign each group one of the three crimes to analyze. You may assign incidents randomly or allow groups to choose their preference.
6. For homework (or in class), have students research their incident and let them know that they will be presenting their findings to the class for Day Two.

Day Two

1. Make computers available for student use and allow time for students to research and address the prompts on Handout 3 in their groups. Students may refer to Handout 2, conduct research on the Internet, and refer to points made in the video to create their presentations.
2. Have each group present their findings to the class and as a class, discuss the outcome of each group's decision.
3. Debrief as a class using the provided wrap-up discussion questions.

Video Notes

You are about to watch a 24-minute video interview with Stanford Professor Norman Naimark, a history professor and Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. In this video, Professor Naimark discusses the difference between ethnic cleansing and genocide. He highlights key historical events that have taken place around the world and discusses the "Responsibility to Protect" and how it has shaped the way the international community responds to such atrocities.

Use the space below to answer each question; you may want to take notes on another sheet of paper as you watch the video.

1. According to Professor Naimark, what is genocide?

2. What other factors should be considered when defining genocide? Give at least two examples.

3. According to Professor Naimark, what is ethnic cleansing?

4. How is ethnic cleansing different from genocide?

5. List three examples of genocide in history.

6. Give an example of when ethnic cleansing turned into genocide.

7. What is the "Responsibility to Protect"?

Reference: Defined Terms (in order of mention)

ethnic cleansing—the practice of forcibly removing a people from a concrete piece of territory, who belong to an ethnic, racial, or religious group that is different from the ruling group in a country or region

genocide—the deliberate killing of people who belong to a particular racial, political, or cultural group with the purpose of destroying the ability of that group to function

reeducation camp—a camp or prison where ideological and national dissidents undergo reeducation or indoctrination

crime against humanity—a very cruel or terrible illegal act that is directed against a group of people, including mass rape, torture, false imprisonment, and/or massacre

sovereign country (nation/state)—a political entity that is represented by one centralized government with power or authority over a geographic area

Wannsee Conference—a meeting of senior government officials of Nazi Germany and *Schutzstaffel* (SS) leaders, held in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee on January 20, 1942

Video Notes

1. According to Professor Naimark, what is genocide?
   - *Genocide, as defined by the December 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment, is the intentional destruction of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group.*
   - *destroying part or all of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group as a way to keep it from functioning—active destruction of a group*
   - *the deliberate killing of people who belong to a particular racial, political, or cultural group with the purpose of destroying the ability of that group to function*

2. What other factors should be considered when defining genocide? Give at least two examples.
   - *political groups—massacre of Indonesian communists (1965–1966)*
   - *social groups—Kulaks, rich farmers in the Soviet Union who were eliminated by Stalin in the beginning of the 1930s*
   - *forced sterilization—Uyghurs in China*

3. According to Professor Naimark, what is ethnic cleansing?
   - *Ethnic cleansing is forcing a group to leave a particular territory. The purpose is to push them out, with methods varying from forced deportation to more violent or murderous tactics.*
   - *It is the practice of forcibly removing a people from a concrete piece of territory, who belong to an ethnic, racial, or religious group that is different from the ruling group in a country or region.*

4. How is ethnic cleansing different from genocide?
   - *Ethnic cleansing does not involve the destruction of a group.*
   - *Ethnic cleansing can turn into genocide fairly easily.*
   - *The distinction in international law is that ethnic cleansing is something that is considered a crime against humanity. It is considered a terrible crime, but still has lesser significance than the "crime of crimes"—genocide.*

5. List three examples of genocide in history.
   - *California genocide (1846–1873) targeting Indigenous Californians*
   - *Armenian genocide during World War I (1914–1918)*
   - *The Holocaust (genocide of European Jews) during World War II (1939–1945)*
   - *Bosnian genocide in 1995*

6. Give an example of when ethnic cleansing turned into genocide.
   - *The Holocaust (genocide of European Jews) during World War II (1939–1945)*
   - *Bosnian genocide in 1995*
   - *Armenian genocide during World War I (1914–1918)*

7. What is the "Responsibility to Protect"?
   - *If you're a sovereign country you must accept the responsibilities of sovereignty, and that is to defend your people against atrocity crimes. And the international community also has a responsibility to step in if they see a sovereign country is not doing their part. It must help countries protect themselves against crimes like ethnic cleansing and genocide and give them whatever is necessary to do so. Sometimes, and as a last resort, that help comes in the form of military intervention.*

2005 World Summit Outcome

The "Responsibility to Protect" is an international norm that aims to ensure mass atrocity crimes of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity never happen again. The concept emerged in response to the failure of the international community to adequately respond to mass atrocities committed in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. The "Responsibility to Protect" was unanimously adopted in 2005 at the UN World Summit.

The responsibility to protect stipulates three pillars of responsibility:

1. Every state has the Responsibility to Protect its populations from four mass atrocity crimes: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing.
2. The wider international community has the responsibility to encourage and assist individual states in meeting that responsibility.
3. If a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take appropriate collective action, in a timely and decisive manner and in accordance with the UN Charter.

The relevant paragraphs are as follows:

138. Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability.

139. The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian, and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities manifestly fail to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. We stress the need for the General Assembly to continue consideration of the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity and its implications, bearing in mind the principles of the Charter and international law. We also intend to commit ourselves, as necessary and appropriate, to helping States build capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity and to assisting those which are under stress before crises and conflicts break out.

Source: United Nations General Assembly

Analyzing Mass Atrocity Crimes

Your group will research one of these atrocities:

1. Tigray War in Ethiopia
2. Uyghur conflict in China
3. Myanmar's Rohingya

Your group is a sovereign nation with the ability and resources to intervene in an international crisis. Conduct research on your assigned atrocity and decide as a group what action (if any) you would take as a member of the international community. You will share your findings with the class tomorrow.

Some questions to help get you started:

1. How would you classify this atrocity (e.g., genocide or ethnic cleansing)? When you're doing your research keep in mind that ethnic cleansing is about cleaning out the territory of a targeted people; genocide is about destroying a people; the former can lead to the latter.
2. Who is being targeted? Is it a social class, religious group, race, etc.?
3. Based on the "Responsibility to Protect," should the international community intervene? Explain why or why not.

Group Work

This Answer Key provides information for the three questions that appear on Handout 3, *Analyzing Mass Atrocity Crimes*, in relation to the Tigray War in Ethiopia, the Uyghur conflict in China, and the Rohingya in Myanmar. There is no right or wrong answer for the third question, but students should support their decision to intervene or not intervene based on the "Responsibility to Protect."

1. **Tigray War in Ethiopia**

   Classification:

   Ethnic cleansing: The Tigray War has killed thousands of people, displaced millions, and led to charges of atrocities like ethnic cleansing.

   Target:

   Ethnic Tigrayans, who make up 6 to 7 percent of Ethiopia's population. The fight for power has resulted in a war, where an estimated one million to two million people have been displaced from their homes, and more than 63,000 have fled to Sudan.

2. **Uyghur conflict in China**

   Classification:

   Genocide: Several countries, including the United States, Canada, and the Netherlands, have accused China of committing genocide—defined by international convention as the "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group."

   Target:

   Turkic ethnic group native to China's northwest Xinjiang region, most of whom identify as Muslims. China has been forcibly mass sterilizing Uyghur women to suppress the population and separating Uyghur children from their families, as well as interning Uyghurs in camps.

3. **Myanmar's Rohingya**

   Classification:

   Ethnic cleansing (with risk of bleeding into genocide): The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has called the conflict a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing." In January 2020, the UN's top court ordered the Buddhist-majority country to take measures to protect members of its Rohingya community from genocide.

   Target:

   Rohingya ethnic group native to coastal Myanmar, most of whom identify as Muslims. Major conflict in 2017 led to killings, rapes and gang rapes, torture, forced displacement, and other serious human rights violations.

Wrap-up Discussion Questions

- What is the connection between ethnic cleansing and genocide?
- What is the "Responsibility to Protect"?
- Should the United States intervene in all or only some world atrocities? Why or why not?
- What are things that citizens can do to prevent such atrocities from happening?

Video Transcript

On-screen text:
Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide
a discussion with Norman Naimark

On-screen text:
What is ethnic cleansing and genocide?

On-screen text:
Norman Naimark
Professor, European Studies, Stanford University

Norman Naimark: Ethnic cleansing and genocide are two different kinds of activities. They're related to one another, but they are essentially different.

Genocide we usually define by the December 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. And there genocide is defined as the intentional destruction of an ethnic, racial, religious or national group, those four groups, comma, "as such." What that means really is—especially the "as such" part—it means destroying the group as a group that can continue to function. In other words, you don't have to destroy all of them. But you have to destroy part or all, as a way to keep that group from functioning. So it's active destruction of a group.

There are two problems with the definition. The first problem has to do with whether these groups—ethnic, national, racial or religious—are the only groups that should be considered in genocide. After all, there were other groups that have been destroyed in history. There have been political groups. There was a big massacre of Indonesian communists in 1965–66. There are social groups, like the Kulaks, supposed rich farmers in the Soviet Union who were eliminated by Stalin in the beginning of the 1930s. So there are other groups, it seems to me, who should qualify for genocide and many scholars have suggested this should be the case as well.

The other question is: does mass killing have to be a part of genocide? And there are differences among scholars and legal scholars about whether this is the case. Usually, we consider mass killing an integral part of genocide. But the actual Convention talks about things like forced sterilization as being part of genocide. The issue really is... [it] comes up, for example, with the Uyghurs in China today, who are being forced to attend these re-education camps. Roughly a million of them. They do forced labor, they're forced to give up their nationality. Should this be considered genocide when there's not a lot of outright murder, there's not mass killing as far as we know? The accusation is, yes, this is genocide. But is it without the mass killing involved? That's an important question.

Let's turn now to ethnic cleansing. The term "ethnic cleansing" came up during the war in Bosnia, mostly, but has been used since and is considered a crime against humanity, not genocide. Ethnic cleansing focuses... the intent of ethnic cleansing is not necessarily the destruction of a group as it is in genocide, but rather forcing a group to leave a particular territory, getting them out, pushing them out one way or another. Ethnic cleansing varies, on one side of the spectrum, from something like forced deportation. You should remember that people don't leave their homes, even when they're told to leave their homes, willingly. Sometimes they fight, sometimes they try to find ways to evade it. Where your ancestors are buried and where your family has lived—there's something that's very close to you. That side of ethnic cleansing

sometimes involves violence as well. On the other [side of the] spectrum of ethnic cleansing, you really see bloody ethnic cleansing, you see murderous ethnic cleansing. The idea, then, is to use murder and rape and mayhem and burning people's homes and villages, to get them to leave a particular territory. On that end of ethnic cleansing, you often see ethnic cleansing bleed, if you will, into genocide. In other words, ethnic cleansing can turn into genocide fairly easily. Once again, the distinction [between them] is there in international law. Ethnic cleansing is something that we put together in connection with a crime against humanity, which is considered a terrible crime, but still of lesser significance than the "crime of crimes," which is considered genocide.

On-screen text:
Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide in History

Norman Naimark: Ethnic cleansing and genocide permeate the history of mankind. It's there from the beginning, all the way up to the present. Everyone needs to understand, this is not something that's foreign to us, or to the world or to world history. Think about it, we live here in California—in northern California, in particular—where genocide took place, especially around the gold rush in 1849 and the establishment of California statehood roughly at the same time. What fundamentally happened [is that] northern California belonged mostly to tribes of Indians and those tribes of Indians lived on a very fruitful land. Once the gold rush came and San Francisco started to grow hugely as a result and economically began to be a boom town, the people needed to be fed. So ranchers then were looking for grazing land for their cattle and for their herds. Pretty soon the Indians who lived on those lands said, "Wait a minute, we live here," and they were then in many cases slaughtered, massacred, forced into reservations, where there was not enough food and where disease was rampant. We think about ten thousand California Indians died in this fashion between roughly 1848 and 1870. In some cases, you can really call this genocide; whole tribes were attacked and destroyed. Genocide is not something alien, in other words, to us.

The major history of genocide in the 20th century, of course, occurs on the European continent. Although it occurs elsewhere, too. The first really big genocide of the 20th century was in the Ottoman Empire, which was at war in World War I against the Armenian people. And the Armenians... about 1.5 million of them expired in this genocide. What happened here is instructive of what I was mentioning about ethnic cleansing and genocide because initially what the Turks said they were doing, and by the way will still say they were doing, is not killing Armenians, but just deporting them. In other words, the idea was to remove the Armenians from their homes in eastern Anatolia, where most of them lived in their traditional Armenian homeland, and pick them up and basically deported them [from] there. They had to march through the plateaus of central Anatolia to the deserts in the south of northern Syria. In that process, in the process of ethnic cleansing, the Ottoman government begins to exercise what you could call genocidal policies, which is to kill the Armenians, rather than just deport them. Many, many of them were massacred. Others were forced to march under conditions in which they would certainly die. Women and children were wandering in the desert, with no food and no water and died. And then, once they got to northern Syria frequently they were massacred, as well, and there was not enough food to feed them. This became a major genocide of the 20th century, but one in which ethnic cleansing in some fashion turns into genocide.

When thinking about the Holocaust, which most people know about, that is, the mass murder of the Jews during the Second World War, primarily by the Germans, people don't tend to think of this as having begun as ethnic cleansing, but in some fashion, it did. In the 1930s, the goal of Hitler was to rid Europe of the Jews, get them out, drive them away. He engaged in various policies in Germany to constrict the life of the Jews, to make it harder for them to live, to try to

get them out. There were even plans to move them all together to Madagascar off of eastern Africa and places like that, where they would go and just be gone from Europe.

Once the war began, ethnic cleansing again turned into genocide, in fact it turned very quickly into genocide. Already, in the summer of 1941, Germans were shooting Jews in very large numbers. First just men, but then men, women, and children. By the fall of 1941 the Germans had pretty much decided they were going to be done with the Jews and plans were made at the famous Wannsee conference in January 1942 to transport them to concentration camps and to find ways to kill them all. In this case, then, you have another situation in which ethnic cleansing in some ways bleeds into genocide, although the genocidal impulse in the case of the Nazis was very powerful even from the very beginning. Certainly among some of the Nazis.

The third case I want to talk about is more modern and this has to do with Bosnia, which takes place in the middle of the 1990s, so it's much more recent. What happens in Bosnia... and this is where the word "ethnic cleansing" originally... not originally was coined, but it became in common usage, because it described what the Serbs mainly were doing to Bosian Muslims. And that is driving them out of territory which the Serbs claimed and wanted to be part of a greater Serbia, and they did it in really brutal fashion. Meaning, they attacked the Muslims, they sometimes beat them up, they raped the women, frequently set fires to their homes, with the idea that they would drive them out. The Muslims fought back and as the fighting became more intense the genocidal character of these Serbian attacks became clearer. In the summer of 1995, in particular at Srebrenica in the eastern part of Bosnia Herzegovina, 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys were taken out, massacred, and then buried in mass graves. There was genocide actually all up and down the Drina River, which was an area claimed by the Serbs and this then became genocide. So once again you have a kind of situation in which ethnic cleansing then bleeds into genocide.

The final case I want to mention is very instructive, because here you have also on the part of the Serbs in 1999 a campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Kosovar Albanians in what is called Kosovo—a region of what was included into Serbia. Today Kosovo is an independent state, though not recognized by Serbia. In Kosovo, the Serbs engaged in a very similar campaign as they did in Bosnia. But the international community became exercised finally by Serbian acts of violence—against, in the case of Bosnia, Bosian Muslims, and now in the case of Kosovar Albanians—and did something. They intervened. And they intervened in good measure to keep ethnic cleansing from turning into genocide. It could well have been that the Serbs would have taken measures of the sorts they took in Bosnia Herzegovina to kill large numbers of Kosovar Albanians. Kosovar Albanians were fleeing to neighboring countries like Macedonia and Albania, wherever they could find respite from the Serbian attacks and from Serbian ethnic cleansing. But it might well have been that the Serbs would have engaged in genocide. Before that happened, we ended up bombing Belgrade and bridges across the Danube River outside of Belgrade and we put together a UN force to occupy Kosovo and the Serbs were forced to back off. You had a case in Kosovo where ethnic cleansing did not turn into genocide, but it may well be in that case that the international intervention made a really big difference.

On-screen text:
What is our responsibility to protect?

Norman Naimark: The "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine actually really comes out of these events of the 1990s that I have spoken about. Also [out of] the genocide in Rwanda, which was in 1994. The genocide in Rwanda was a horrible set of events where within a few months 800,000 people were killed, many of them hacked to death by machetes. It was a really horrible

event. And in that event, the West—the UN, NATO, European Union, all those institutions that one might think would have done something—sat on their hands. Also in Bosnia for a long time. I mean, that war began in 1992. And the West kept making noises [of protest] and doing a few things, but on the whole, we—meaning the West—sat by again and mostly watched as ethnic cleansing and genocide were taking place. After the mass murder in Srebrenica, there was an intervention, which stopped the war in Bosnia, and the Dayton Treaty, which ended it in November of 1995. Kosovo was an interesting example for the international community of, in my view, a successful intervention. In other words, they stopped the Serbs in time. The genocide did not happen. This is the end of the 1990s, and people are thinking, "Listen, we have to find a way to stop these terrible events happening all around the world." People of conscience were essentially against sitting on their hands. They sat on their hands in the Holocaust, they sat on their hands in the Armenian genocide, but the international community—the kind of norms that had developed in the international community—were changing. And these norms were represented by an early document in 2001 called the "Responsibility to Protect" that was then adopted unanimously in somewhat altered form by the UN in 2005. What is the doctrine of the "Responsibility to Protect"? What does it mean? Well, it means several things. First of all, most importantly, what it says is, if you're a sovereign country you have to accept the responsibilities of being a sovereign country. One of those responsibilities is to defend your people against genocide, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. That's your job if you're a sovereign country. And if you don't do it, then the international community is obliged to step in in some way. The first way... the other part of the "Responsibility to Protect" that's important is that the international community is responsible to help those countries protect themselves against these crimes—in other words, to give them whatever means necessary [so] that they themselves can keep their citizens from being overwhelmed by one of these atrocity crimes—again, ethnic cleansing, genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity.

The third part of the "Responsibility to Protect" is [that] if then nothing is happening, the international community has to become engaged. Now the issue of "engaged" means things like sanctions, things like making noises with your ambassadors, things like withholding advantages to these countries. And at the very bottom of this list of "engaged" is the possibility of military intervention on the part of the international community. So, what the "Responsibility to Protect" says—and it's extremely important and a major change in the norms of the international community and international society—is that we cannot sit by and let these atrocity crimes happen.

Let me give you a quick example just to conclude this question. During the Armenian genocide, there was an American ambassador whose name was Morgenthau who wrote back to the Department of State. And he said, "Terrible things are going on there. They are killing all these Armenians. We have to do something." The Secretary of State at the time, a man named Robert Lansing, responded back to him. "There's nothing we can do. It's their business. They're a sovereign country." What's happened now... let's take Syria, or the problem of the Uyghurs in China or the problem of the Rohingya in Myanmar and so on and so forth. What's happening now is that the norms have changed and people are saying "it's our responsibility" now. Because these are sovereign countries—China, Myanmar, Ethiopia, when dealing with the Tigray crisis—because they're sovereign countries doesn't mean that the international community doesn't have a responsibility to do something about it. First of all, these countries have a responsibility to do something about it. Secondly, we have a responsibility to help them do something about it. And, thirdly, if they don't [take action], then the international community has a responsibility to do something.

The issue of military intervention is a very tricky one. It's the last thing that you want to do in the "Responsibility to Protect." But sometimes it's necessary. We saw, for example in Libya, that there was military intervention in order to get Gaddafi to deal with some of the issues that were going on in Libya and Libya's threats to its own people and its inability to stop these threats. But in the end, it didn't work very well, and we didn't really follow through the way the international community needed to follow through. Another big problem was Syria in 2011. When Syria started to fall apart, genocide of the most serious sort took place in various ways, including ISIS's attack on the Azidi Kurds. But there were other cases, too, where Assad himself was committing genocide against his own people. And some of the rebel groups were also committing genocide-like acts in Syria. But in order to get the kind of military intervention you need, you need the UN Security Council to be one with it. And that was almost impossible, and still is impossible to deal with, given the fact that the Russians sit on the Security Council, as do the Chinese, neither of whom are anxious to see any kind of intervention in the internal affairs of external countries, at least not in these cases. Thinking about military intervention—it's not an easy thing. It's a very difficult thing—first of all, to get agreement on; second of all, to carry out; and third of all, to follow up on, as we saw in Libya.