

On the Left's Confusion over US/NATO Intervention in Kosovo

By Tom O'Donnell

Introduction

It appears that there is a good deal of confusion as to what the Left's position should be on the current crisis in Kosovo and US/NATO intervention. Positions in journals and on the net run quite a gamut. These include: warnings about the dangers NATO intervention poses to 'international law and order', insistence that 'no one but the UN' may intervene under 'international law', proclamations that 'only recognition of the right to self-determination' and 'not NATO' will resolve matters, and, even, a denunciation of the Kosovars' movement for being 'cultural-nationalist' and 'as reactionary as' the Serbian movement. Indeed, not a few argue that this ethnic cleansing really 'isn't killing as many' as did this or that other genocide—yet 'no one intervened' in those, etc.

In short, the *common thread* running throughout most Left commentaries is opposition to US/NATO intervention.

Let us be clear. This means that the main thrust of Left discourse in the US at present is NOT denunciation of Serbian national chauvinism—of its systematic 'ethnic cleansing' in Kosovo and of its neo-fascism at home. It means that the main thrust is also NOT denunciation of the US/NATO/UN for many years of appeasing Serbian national chauvinism, abandoning the norms of civil society established with the victory over fascism in WWII.

Undoubtedly it can be agreed that these lessons, these norms of civil society established with the end of WWII, included the resolve that fascism and ethnic cleansing would never be permitted to raise their heads again in Europe. Never would the bourgeois democracies again appease fascism by acting too little and too late against ethnic cleansing and genocide.

However, US-Left opposition to intervention is actually letting the US and NATO off the hook in Kosovo and Serbia. Starting from the facts that (i) current US strategic interests in Eastern Europe, in the Balkans and in the Middle East are reactionary in character, and that (ii) US interventions since WWII have been overwhelmingly reactionary in character, it draws the conclusions that the US and NATO are 'disqualified' from acting in Kosovo, that they 'cannot be trusted,' and thus their intervention must be opposed. A variant of this position does not conclude US/NATO intervention would necessarily, in all cases, be precluded from acting against Milosevic, but opposes *this* intervention with the complaint that 'serious negotiations were not tried' beforehand, and that the US/NATO bombing 'only made things worse'—'provoking' or 'allowing' Milosevic to carry out ethnic cleansings 'on a greater scale than he would have.'

Clearly, these are confusing times for the Left. In recognition of this, the intent here is not to engage in polemics against any particular person or group per se, but to systematically examine the logic behind several key objections to intervention that have come into vogue in the Left, and to explain why it is that the Left in the US and NATO countries should instead *demand* that their governments save the Albanian Kosovars from Serbian ethnic cleansing.

[A list of web sites illustrating representative Left opinions is given at the end.]

1. On the objection that, 'given past behavior' by the US and West European powers, 'they cannot be trusted,' and so any intervention 'can only serve US strategic interests'

It is *all* correct: the lists of facts which are enumerated in the Left press about US reactionary practices and crimes—from Viet Nam to Panama and beyond. And it is always correct and obligatory to remind the American people of this history lest one fall into national-chauvinist apologetics. The issue is, however: what are the conclusions to be drawn from this history?

Left unwillingness to demand the Western powers stop the genocide in the former Yugoslavia arises from a deep and healthy mistrust of the motives of the US and NATO. But the issue is wrongly posed. Who says one has to 'trust' the US and NATO governments? Who says we must pretend that their basic natures have changed, that we must prettify their intentions in order to seek

their intervention? Of course they are doing what they are doing proceeding from their own, narrow self-interests. The way to pose the issue is: Can there be some coincidence of interests in that *both* the progressive peoples *and* the US/NATO—for the present at least—can want Milosevic stopped?

This coincidence, this exploitation of a great power's self-interests by a national-democratic movement, so as to further its struggle against some other local or world power, is certainly not without precedent.

An appropriate historical analogy here would be to imagine the welcome which the world would have given to US, British or French bombing of Royalist forces in Republican Spain in the 1930's. The Left *demand*ed that the bourgeois democracies come to the Republic's rescue—but they did not. Only the Soviets aided the Republican Forces and the Internationalist Brigades in fighting Franco's fascism.

There are other precedents for the Left demanding that the Western powers intervene to preserve the norms of bourgeois civilization. Perhaps the most well-known instance occurred during the early years of W.W.II.

While the war raged in Europe, here, in the US, the powers-that-be were preoccupied with their own narrow economic and political interests vis-a-vis the other great powers. They sat back checking how the wind would blow, and procrastinated. Disgusted by this, progressive people in the US demonstrated to *demand* that the US enter the war in Europe and open a second front against Hitler without delay. When the US finally did open a second front (much too late—by about 3 years—as Clinton himself uncharacteristically admitted in his speech explaining the start of NATO's bombing campaign against Serbia) can anyone doubt that this event was welcomed by the people of Europe and Russia, not to mention by the Jews, Gypsies, Slavs and others in Nazi concentration camps?

US involvement in WWII only started when Japan attacked the US. And then the opening of a second front on the European mainland was still only finally accomplished much later: at a time and in a manner coldly calculated to optimize US power in Europe and in the Mediterranean after the war (at the expense of not only Russia, but particularly of US-ally Britain)—But, still it was a positive event for the European peoples' struggle against German and Italian fascism.

During WWII the bourgeois politicians propagandized the US population with rationalizations for their shameful behavior. So too they have spent the past several years constantly making excuses for not seriously dealing with Serbian ethnic cleansing—first in Bosnia and now in Kosovo. Unfortunately, it seems that the Left has been swayed, in some measure, by this surfeit of bourgeois propaganda.

2. On the objections that 'serious negotiations were not tried' beforehand, and that 'matters were only made worse' by US/NATO bombing

If many in the US Left truly believe that there has been a lack of attempts to negotiate with the Milosevic regime—after an exasperatingly long decade of experience with its crimes in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and with the events of the past year inside Kosovo—then this most probably reflects the pernicious influences of a decade of the mass media's rationalizations for US/UN/NATO inaction. Over the past ten years, the UN, the Western European powers, Russia, and the US, have all had an absolutely atrocious record when it comes to opposing the crimes against humanity committed by the Milosevic regime. If anything, they have negotiated and negotiated again, but have not actually stood up to him. Rather than accusing the US and NATO of acting 'prematurely,' the Left should be condemning them for acting too little and too late!

To begin to see this, let us review at least some recent events.

It is now evident that the plan of Milosevic, et al. to ethnically cleanse Kosovo was in process well before the Rambouillet peace talks began in January 1999, and as early as November 1998. This was only one month after Milosevic signed an agreement in Belgrade, in October, negotiated by the US special representative Richard Holbrooke, to sharply reduce Serbian troops and police in Kosovo and to allow in unarmed observers.

Indeed, in November, "NATO intelligence detected signs of a Serbian military buildup around Kosovo. Western intelligence officials, particularly the Germans, believed that these troops could form the backbone of a military operation to push hundreds of thousands of Albanians out of Kosovo.

"Its code name was Potkova—in Serbian, Horseshoe." ("The Politics: No Will for Troops on

of Election," E. Scioline and E. Bronner, NYT, 18 April 1999 [Title refers to November, 1998 US Congressional elections - T.O'D.])

Clinton, Cohen, Albright and the entire block of Western powers chose to ignore the implications of Milosevic's Operation Potkova which was positioning Serb forces to carry out a massive springtime campaign against the Kosovars. An operation such as Milosevic was preparing was something that bombing alone clearly could not prevent. "Throughout the months of planning for a crisis over Kosovo, a ranking officer in Brussels said today, the allies chose bombing because none of them were willing to take the risk of sending in the 100,000 to 200,000 troops that they thought it would take to keep the Serbs from having their way with the 1.8 million ethnic Albanians in the province." ("NATO Had Signs its Strategy Would Fail Kosovars", C. R. Whitney and E. Schmitt, NYT, 1 April 1999, p. 1).

This NYT article, of 1 April 1999, is one of the most revealing to appear on events leading up to the US/NATO intervention. The article indicts how unwilling the US/NATO were to really stand up to Milosevic, and some of the clear indications they had of his plans. "The Rejection of ground forces persisted despite growing signs of Mr. Milosevic's real intentions, including a remarkable signal from a Yugoslav general last October, one that senior military officials in Brussels now admit they missed."

It seems that, during the negotiations to implement the October agreement which limited Serbian police and military presence in Kosovo, the commander of the Yugoslav armed forces at that time, General Perisic, secretly took aside NATO's two top generals, Naumann of Germany and Clark of the US, during a meeting in the Presidential palace in Belgrade. He whispered to them "that he thought the army was the only democratic institution left in Yugoslavia." And he told them of opposition by the leadership of the army to Milosevic's plans for Yugoslavia, on the basis that "the destruction being threatened by the two Western generals if President Milosevic did not relent" would inflict terrible damage upon the Yugoslav armed forces.

Within a month this general was purged by Milosevic—along with the chief of Yugoslav Internal Security, and of the Yugoslav Air Force "and soon after that Mr. Milosevic began totally disregarding his pledges". "We think now that Perisic was removed because he didn't agree to the plan," [a NATO] officer said. That meant, he added, that the Yugoslav authorities were developing the drastic solution to the Kosovo problem at the same time that they were making their false promises to Mr. Holbrooke."

Incredibly, even after this episode and the reports of massive violations by Serbia of the October troop-deployment agreement, US/NATO politicians and diplomats *still* were not willing to prepare for what would be needed militarily if they were to stop Milosevic's plan.

And, just as importantly, they did not tell the people of their countries the truth which was plain to see. They did not prepare the people of Western Europe and the US for what Milosevic was preparing to do in Kosovo, and for what sort of armed intervention would be needed if a really serious effort to prevent ethnic cleansing were to be carried out. Elementary democratic norms required this information be given to the public and publicly debated, but it was not. Instead, they conducted peace talks that—given Milosevic's continuing military buildup in Kosovo—they knew were likely to come to naught and, with a true sense of urgency, shamelessly squeezed what compromises they could from the Kosovars. In the end, they got nothing from Milosevic.

There is nothing intrinsically wrong in conducting peace talks at a time such as this. What is unforgivable, however, is that the US and NATO *played* at resolving matters, they simply *played* at threatening and calling Milosevic's bluff. This was completely evident to Milosevic—who had Operation Potkova in the works—just as it was to all progressive people who were seriously following these events, who had heard the news reports about a buildup of Serbian troops in violation of the October accord, and who had grown to know that big pushes had always been organized by the Serbs for the springtime fighting season in Bosnia.

Even after almost ten years of his crimes in the former Yugoslavia, the US/NATO politicians *really* didn't face the facts as to what their unpreparedness would mean for the Kosovars; they didn't *really* face the fact that Milosevic is a fascist and a war criminal. This unpreparedness, after so many years of dealing with him, and after clear indications of his wanton violations of the October 1998 agreement—this is their real crime. This is criminal negligence.

What are these bourgeois politicians so afraid of?

On the one hand, Clinton and his NATO cronies were unwilling to face condemnation of the public—after their abandonment of the Rwandan people, and the abandonment of the Bosnians and others in recent years—if they now abandoned the Kosovars and Milosevic carried out a massive ethnic cleansing campaign. So, he couldn't just leave the Balkans and the Kosovars to rot. How would it look on the 50th anniversary of NATO for "US credibility" if a "US-led NATO" couldn't stop a brute like Milosevic from having his way with the Kosovars? But, on the other hand, given their class/moral character, Clinton and his NATO cronies were also unwilling to build up the ground forces necessary to *really* make Milosevic think twice about any final solution in Kosovo, forces which would demonstrate that *they* were not playing. It simply was not worth it to them: Where were the immediate strategic interests to legitimize 100 or 200 thousand ground troops? One might ask: How about an interest in standing up for the norms of civil society established with the victory over fascism in Europe? Or, stopping ethnic cleansing and massive crimes against humanity? No—no profit in *that*!

The fact is that the US and NATO were unnerved by Milosevic, et al.'s undiplomatic marshaling of massive forces in and near Kosovo—a place that just wasn't worth it to them to take a stand and fight. So, the US/NATO simply negotiated and threatened to bomb—not to fight him on the ground. To show its real "resolve," the US preoccupied itself with yet another bombing campaign against Iraq in pursuit of oil hegemony—something in which there is profit.

But, when Milosevic defiantly rejected the US/NATO peace agreement which the Kosovars had signed at Rambouillet, NATO finally had to do something. But NATO was prepared militarily and ideologically only to bomb—their bluff was called, and the Serb chauvinists knew it. Milosevic, et al. had *not* been playing; they were ready and anxious to carry out a final solution for Kosovo while they could, and, as the world knows, they did so with a horrible efficiency.

Of course one cannot ever "prove" that Milosevic would have carried out this plan if NATO had not bombed. Such things can never be proven. But, the fact of the matter is that the Serbian chauvinist regime was COMPLETELY ready and poised to do it. Operation Potkova was being prepared at least as far back as November 1998. What we can also say with some certainty is that, had the US/NATO politicians prepared the public ahead of time for what was very likely needed, if they had had a massive ground force nearby, poised to confront Milosevic's plans, indeed, then, and only then, the 'further negotiations' so many on the US Left wanted to see might have actually taken place, and fruitfully so.

3. On the objection that 'only a UN intervention' is supportable/permisible

Many Leftists have insisted that, since the US cannot be trusted, has ulterior motives, etc., any intervention in Kosovo should be carried out by the UN, not NATO. Much has also been written about international law on these issues.

Yes, all things being equal, determined UN intervention would be preferable.

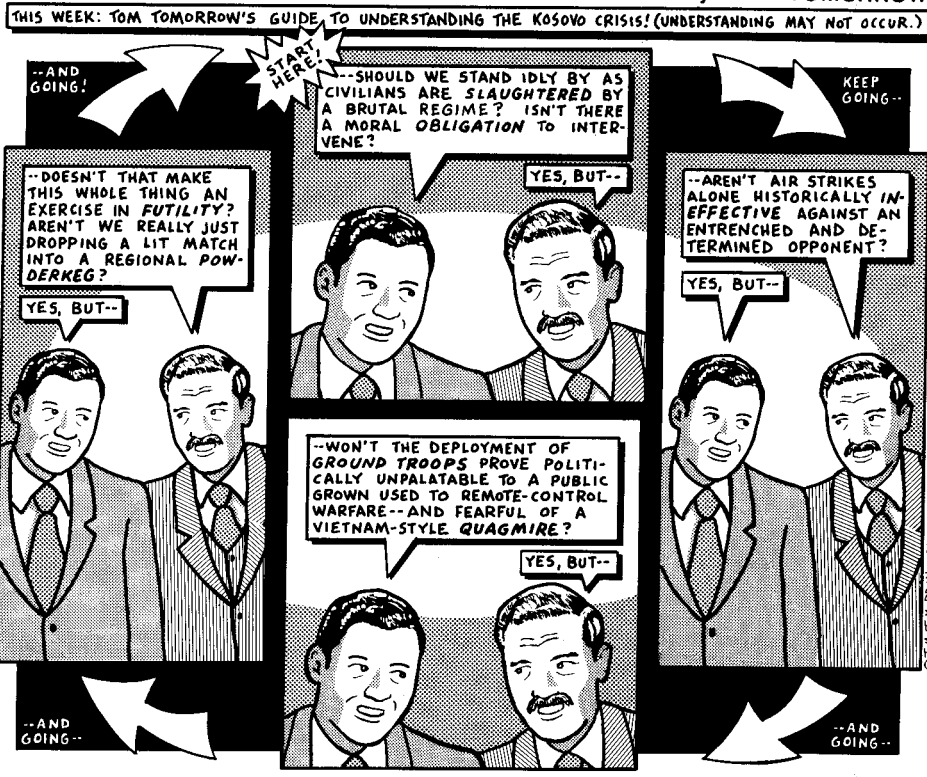
But, what if, instead of bombing, etc., the US (or the Kosovars) *had* taken the Serb aggression of the past several months 'to the UN,' as many Left commentators are insisting—then what?

There can be little doubt that the Chinese and Russian governments were intent on blocking any intervention by the UN. The Chinese government had just vetoed continuance of the mandate for the UN troops that had been stationed in Macedonia in retaliation for Macedonia's establishing diplomatic relations with Taiwan. In London before coming to the US, Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji adamantly opposed NATO intervention into "Yugoslav internal affairs," even for the purpose "of protecting human rights."

As for Russia, for months before NATO's intervention, the Russian government had paralyzed "The Contact Group on Yugoslavia" with constant objections to issuing any ultimatum to Milosevic.

In particular, the Russian and Chinese governments absolutely would not allow any UN measures to be taken unless Milosevic had first agreed to the measures. But, Milosevic had no intention of allowing *anything* to transpire involving troops going into Kosovo to protect the Albanian population (see next section). He simply used the period of Rambouillet negotiations to prepare his springtime final-solution campaign against Kosovo.

Finally, anyone who has been in touch with the developments over the past six to nine years in



the former Yugoslavia knows that the UN completely disgraced itself in Bosnia, by abandoning to slaughter 10's of thousands of people living inside its declared "UN-protected safe havens." This occurred literally in front of the eyes of soldiers under its command. Leftists should realize that, without the unified will or acquiescence of all the members of the Security Council, the UN has no teeth.

4. On the objections that the KLA is a 'creation of the US'; that the Kosovar national struggle is 'illegitimate' and a 'reactionary cultural-nationalist' struggle. (We won't deal with published objections that the Kosovar Albanians are a 'backward people,' as this falls below the threshold of being mistaken as 'Left criticism'.)

The Kosovars know perfectly well whom they are dealing with—just as the Americans did when Ben Franklin went off to the court of Louis XVI in France in the 1770's.

When the Kosovar Liberation Army (KLA, also known as UCK) first began to take significant armed action against the Serbian chauvinist forces in March of last year, the instinctive response of the US representative on the scene was to angrily denounce the KLA fighters as "terrorists." The immediate response of the Serbian national chauvinists was to be overjoyed at this concurrence of Serbian and US policy, and they immediately launched a reinvigorated effort to eliminate the KLA and any civilians that might be nearby. Only after some period of embarrassment over their de facto alignment with Milosevic on this issue, did the US State Department and the White House slowly alter their instinctively reactionary policy against the Kosovars' right to self-defense.

The Kosovars are not idiots. During the past year they did not waste a lot of their time lobbying in the corridors of the UN in New York City. They know where—for better or worse—power resides in today's world. When they demonstrated all over Kosovo and neighboring countries for someone to come to their aid against the violent repression by the Serbian police and military forces, they did so almost exclusively in front of the US embassies and consular offices. And, they also quite correctly sent their Ben Franklins not off to Bonn, or London or Paris—nor, least of all, to NYC—but to Washington, to the court of Clinton, and finally cajoled him into providing their movement with some assistance.

For this, some Leftists actually claim that the KLA is a 'US creature.'

The facts are that representatives of the small nation of Kosovo stood up to the haughty demands of Albright, Cohen et al at the recent peace talks. Indeed they *did* compromise on the issue of independence and on many other onerous demands which the US made upon them—and even agreed to disarming—but not before taking the time necessary to consult the people and fighters at home, and not without insisting on changing and fully clarifying various provisions of the 83-page Rambouillet document before signing.

In doing this while under the guns of the Serbian military, which was daily ferrying men and equipment into Kosovo for their coming final-so-

lution ethnic cleansing, and while under an explicit threat by the Americans that the US would withdraw all support for the Kosovars' struggle if they didn't sign—the Kosovar representatives behaved honorably in the face of both the Serbs and the imperialists.

5. On the prediction that the US/NATO force will only 'end up selling out the Kosovars'

Given the truly feckless track record of the Western powers against genocide in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and elsewhere of late, a complete US/NATO sellout of the Kosovars is perfectly possible. However, contrary to the glib predictions of an unfortunately sizable number of US leftists during the past couple of weeks, it is wrong fatalistically to declare that such a linear, completely one-sided, outcome is preordained. Not only is this wrong theoretically, but this attitude is a complete abdication of responsibility by the Left from working to organize and shape public opinion and to alter the course of events.

Left criticism should be aimed at making it more difficult for them to abandon the Kosovars, as so many thousands were abandoned in Bosnia and other former republics of Yugoslavia before.

The reality which the Left must face is that platitudes about 'inevitable' outcomes are a disservice to the people both here and in Kosovo. We should tell the American people that it is now up to the US and NATO to do what no one else can do: it must send troops to save the Kosovar people, reverse the ethnic cleansing and insure self-determination for the Kosovars to live as they please in Kosovo.

6. On the objections that the US and NATO powers 'did not intervene' in any other ethnic-cleansings/genocides—so 'why do it now?', that they are 'not guiltless in this' or some other genocide, and that this is 'not as bad as' some other genocide.

The calculus of body-counting comparisons, this practice of pitting one nation's calamity vs. another's—the very fact that Leftists engage in these sorts of comparisons—is unseemly. What sort of presumably "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" critique is accomplished by asserting that the relative significance of the Kosovar tragedy is 'less' than others in, say, Guatemala, Colombia, or Rwanda?!

So too, one cannot judge whether *this* intervention is justified or not justified on the basis that, in other nations where there have been atrocities, there 'have not been interventions'—or even because there is direct/indirect guilt on the part of the US and/or NATO in some of those other cases.

Can we all agree that the US and/or NATO and/or the UN *should have* intervened in, say, Rwanda, to prevent some 800,000 people being slaughtered?

And, wouldn't it have been welcomed if the UN—or even just the European Community powers—had presented the US with an ultimatum to end its support for the US-organized death squads in Guatemala, or in Colombia, or its contra war in

And what if, tomorrow, the US or the European Community tells Israel to give the Palestinians their homeland—"or else"? Would the Left say: "Sorry!", the Guatemalan genocide 'disqualifies' the US from defending the Palestinians? Or, "Sorry!", the French were complicit in the Rwandan massacres and so are 'disqualified' from aiding the Palestinians?! Perhaps the Israeli ultra-right would cynically raise such objections to justify its policies, but, please, why should the *Left*?!?

7. On the 180-degree change of attitude of many Leftists in going from Bosnia to Kosovo

During the war in Bosnia, progressive people in Europe and North America denounced the Western powers and the UN for having totally abandoned the lessons of W.W.II, as epitomized by Spain, Munich, Auschwitz, and Nuremberg. But now, suddenly, as soon as these powers begin to finally decide that their interests are so threatened by developments in the former Yugoslavia, that they must begin to act to put a stop to Milosevic—precisely *now* a significant portion of the Left within the US suddenly takes up expounding the rationales which had been expounded previously by their own ruling-class' politicians!

Only a short time ago virtually the entire Left was happy to sarcastically point out how 'unfortunate' it was for the Bosnians that 'they have only apple orchards and no oil fields,' or that 'they are Muslims and not Christians' or else the US would 'intervene immediately' to 'halt Serbian aggression'. They were *completely correct* in exposing this hypocrisy. But given the current Left mood, one may now wonder: If the US *had* sent in troops to halt the Serbian atrocities early on in Bosnia—would the US Left have suddenly changed its mind?

8. What are the central issues raised by the war in Yugoslavia?

Many on the US left do not get the *central* issues concerning the three main forces in this struggle. These are:

(1) Regarding the oppressed:

The Kosovar Albanian people's struggle is a very old struggle. Since WWII they have likely been the most oppressed people of Europe, under both Tito and Milosevic. The Albanian Kosovars' national movement *did* exercise extreme patience and self-discipline, for about 9 years, after their autonomy was arbitrarily taken away. But, finally, they were compelled to act. They were correct in finally arming themselves. The foreboding possibilities for massive ethnic cleansing, and daily oppression by the Yugoslav state understandably impelled a section of the national movement to this decision.

No national movement is without its sins. Some are more progressive than others, and liberation struggles should always be subjected to criticism by progressive people and not romanticized. That having been said, the Kosovars' struggle is both just and necessary.

(2) Regarding the oppressors:

Milosevic is a national-chauvinist and a fascist. He and his movement had already committed ethnic cleansing and mass murder in various republics of the former Yugoslavia before Kosovo. By all appearances, a majority of the Serbian people are, unfortunately, for the present, infected with national chauvinism. While any war to save the Kosovars should not be aimed at the people of Serbia, there will nevertheless be unavoidable consequences for the people of Serbia. Progressive Serbians today should behave honorably, not rally round the flag and Milosevic, taunt NATO bombers with bulls-eye targets and dance in the streets and on bridges at rock concerts organized by the notorious, UN-tribunal-indicted war criminal "Arkan" and his wife. They should stand up for the principles of democracy, for the right of all nations to self-determination, and should insist Milosevic and co. be put on trial for their crimes against humanity.

(3) Regarding the US and NATO:

The US is a hegemonic power. Both the US and NATO are generally very reluctant to save the people of Kosovo from ethnic cleansing and to support their right to national self-determination. If they do become involved with ground troops it will be for their own strategic interests. But, the Left should never give in to fatalistically surrendering the outcome of the situation to the whims of the great powers. Public opinion can certainly influence the outcome of events concerning the degree to which the intervention meets purely the

strategic interests of these powers, vs. the degree to which it accomplishes urgent national-democratic and anti-fascist tasks. Specifically: self-determination for the Kosovar Albanian people and the demise of Serbian fascism.

The old socialist principle that "liberation should be the act of the oppressed themselves" should be followed in so far as possible. But, as long as there is no realistic possibility for the Kosovars to liberate themselves, nor for something akin to internationalist brigades to come to their assistance, then *dogmatically* objecting to the possibility of one or several of the great powers intervening is tantamount to abandoning the oppressed people.

9. What constitutes *really* Left criticism of the US/NATO policy?

Really Left criticism from within the US and NATO countries should be, at the very least, about how ill prepared and unrealistic NATO was before starting the bombing campaign. They were utterly unprepared in spite of the years of genocide and horror already caused by the Serbian chauvinists. Over the past 6-9 years, no honorable person—Left or otherwise—was ever stinting in their denunciations of the horrors caused by the Serbian chauvinists, nor of the way the Western powers refused to effectively alleviate the misery of the victims. This position is still obligatory.

The only consistent and *really* Left position is precisely what it has been all along:

Demand they not abandon the Kosovars like they did the Bosnians, Croats and others before—AND like the US and NATO abandoned the Serb people of the Krajina to removal by Croatia.

Demand that, in the face of ethnic cleansing, ground forces must immediately be built up and used to reverse the situation should Milosevic not first relent, and/or to back up any agreement that is reached. The Kosovars must democratically approve any settlement.

Demand that they assist the Kosovars in returning to their homes and in attaining self-determination to the maximal extent, and that the Serbian national chauvinists who are guilty of war crimes and ethnic cleansing be brought to justice.

It is the responsibility of the left to influence public opinion in the direction of these demands.

10. A final analogy

Finally, let's carry one of the historical analogies raised earlier just a bit farther: Can you imagine the French radicals of the 1770s *not* supporting Franklin's cause because 'Louis cannot be trusted'? Or, worse still, because support for the American revolt 'will only strengthen the French crown'? *That* Left did not have disdain for national-democratic struggles elsewhere, but found inspiration in them. *That* Left—albeit bourgeois—demanded not only the Royal French fleet, but Royal French ground troops sent into the North American colonies. They eventually got these forces sent, and sent in such numbers that they actually outnumbered the native forces under George Washington's command in the battle which finally defeated the British.

At least *that* Left stood for the 'fraternity' of all peoples. And in the end, as we all know, this policy didn't detract a bit from the revolutionary situation brewing at home.

11. Some URL's of representative Left opinion

(i) Some opinions at *Z Magazine* can be found on "Z-NET":

- www.zmag.org/mar24johnstone.htm
- www.zmag.org/ZMag/kosovoqa.htm
- Noam Chomsky's opinion: www.zmag.org/current_bombings.htm
- www.zmag.org/ZMag/chomreplykos.htm

(ii) An Alexander Cockburn piece: www.latimes.com/CNS_DAYS/990408/t000031644.html

(iii) In *The Nation* a piece by Schwartz & Layne in the April 19 issue (they don't tag each article with a URL, so start at their main page): www.thenation.com

(iv) www.commondreams.org has several links to pieces against intervention

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