Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak about the ongoing

military action against Yugoslavia and the reservations that many of us

have concerning U.S. involvement.

Go back with me for a moment to Carl von Clausewitz, who probably has

been quoted as the foremost military strategist in modern history, his

writings were published posthumously on military strategy in 1832, one

year after death, in a book entitled ``On War.'' One of the key

principles advanced by him that I think has relevance today, even

though it was written in 1832, was in regard to military action, what

is the political objective and, more importantly, in regard to military

action against Yugoslavia because he indicated that political objective

is a prime organizer for war. He writes, quote:

What he was saying is that once you state what your political

objective is to be, you then tailor your military strategy in order to

achieve victory according to the original political objective, and this

is the heart of my difficulties with our current military operation.

The President has propagated ever-shifting political objectives. By

my own calculations, he has had at least three different stated

political objectives in Kosovo.

The first stated objective by the administration was to prevent the

ethnic cleansing of the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo by the Yugoslavian

Serbs. So what was the military strategy created to achieve a victory

by President Clinton? They decided we would bomb the Serbs in order to

prevent the wiping out of the Kosovars.

Mr. Speaker, the result has been failure. The administration's plans

set the table for failure, and it resulted in the removal of at least

500,000 Kosovars from their homes and the killing of countless men and

women and children. The sad fact is that intelligence sources have

leaked that they warned

the President and the administration beforehand that the likely result

of bombing would be to trigger the Serbian assault on the Kosovars.

So, did the President and his advisers take into account the advice

of our intelligence services and create a strategy to achieve victory

according to his first objective? No. They ignored their advice and

began the bombing which resulted in the misery that has enveloped the

Kosovars.

Now the second objective, Mr. Speaker, was then to reduce the Serbs'

warmaking ability. Again, the strategy was to continue bombing. Well,

the results have been mixed. The United States Air Force has

successfully punished Serbian forces, destroyed the infrastructure

assets, and attacked political objectives such as a foreign ministry

building in Belgrade. The bombing has yet, however, to weaken the hold

on the power of Milosevic, and it is difficult to tell at this point

how much maximum damage has been done to the Serbian Army. They still

fully occupy the Kosovar province.

Now the third objective was to repatriate the Kosovars back to their

homes. The military strategy to achieve this objective apparently is to

continue bombing. Many of us wonder whether bombing will accomplish

this last objective.

So the results are still to be determined, and to my knowledge the

U.S. Government has not even begun negotiations with the Yugoslav

Government to bring about the return of the Kosovars, end the bombing,

and create some sort of political solution to give the Kosovars a

limited autonomous state.

The lack of diplomacy by this administration during this crisis has

been counterproductive, and it has in addition greatly strained our

relationship with Russia. The administration has even had a chance to

have our three American soldiers released through a limited cease-fire

during the Orthodox Good Friday, but the administration refused even to

allow any discussions to take place to have our men released.

So finally, Mr. Speaker, many in Congress are probably wondering why

people on this side of the aisle are a little hesitant to support the

President during this military conflict. We remember the President's

lack of military service and his written opinion of his dislike for the

American military. Many of us remember when the President denied

American soldiers the proper equipment and placed them under non-

American command in Somalia, which resulted in the gruesome deaths of

18 young Americans.

So, Mr. Speaker, we are unsure that the President knows how to attain

military victory in Kosovo against Yugoslavia.