SR. SPEAKER, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the House, I include the following address of Honorable Joseph M. Martin, Jr., Republican leader of the House of Representatives, at the Lincoln Day dinner of the Kings County Republican Committee at Brooklyn, N.Y., on Sunday evening, February 12, 1951:

It is a privilege to join tonight in this tribute to the great and noble spirit of Abraham Lincoln. It is an essential privilege to do so here in Brooklyn, a community of good will, good people, good homes, good church and the Dodgers. In this great borough of Brooklyn lies a great cross section of families and homes that in themselves are a monument to the freedom and individual dignity for which Lincoln fought and died.

In Lincoln breathed the hopes and prayers of ordinary people like ourselves in all parts of the world. His unprejudiced opposition to human slavery gave birth to a new political party which he served this nation well through generations of constant development and progress.

Today, after 50 years of political service, the Republican Party still is the only party of freedom in these United States. It is still the only party which steadfastly has refused to accept the alien doctrines of socialism and communism, either in part or in whole.

Across the land of our, the American people, wary of the trend toward a total state, have come to realize more and more that the loss of one of the basic freedoms that have made America great is the Republican Party. And they are now relying upon that belief into action and elect a Republican Senate and a Republican President in 1952.

And why shouldn't they? Is there a person within the range of my voice who does not realize deep inside him that something is fundamentally wrong with the Democratic leadership in Washington? Is there anyone within the range of my voice who does not fervently hope that out of the election in 1952 will come an administration possessing the basic characteristics that made Abraham Lincoln great — intelligence of purpose, unflinching devotion to ideals, and, above all else, the courage to carry out what the brain and heart and soul dictate?

It is the great tragedy of our day that in a period of crisis we have an administration in Washington which is so bankrupt in leadership that its first measurement of every undertaking is whether it will help perpetuate those in power. How have become the jurisdiction of their policies.

This is not the true spirit nor the vision of our fine American heritage. And I am proud to stand here and tell you tonight that there are patriotic Democrats in and out of Congress, in and out of government, who tell us with the deepest sincerity that the only way to save America, the only way to establish the leadership we so desperately need, is by a landslide Republican victory next year.

We welcome Democrats and Independents everywhere to this crusade. Our task far transcends party lines.
The great issue before the world today — or seems so vital that it affects every man, woman, and child on earth — is: Which of the forces of freedom is embodied in communism and socialism, or the free principles of liberty and individual dignity of the kind our civilizations have evolved out of 5,000 years of experience? Should it be the godless materialism of Marx, or the idealism instilled in us by the religious teachings of all faiths? Should it be the police state that triumphs, or shall political systems that recognize the essential dignity of man emerge victorious? Should we become the victims of secret policies, or shall we work to achieve freedom for our own but not our own? Shall our homes and our churches be liquidated, or shall the morality of the family and the basic religious teachings survive, mightier than ever? Those are the questions. To meet them we must not only possess the finest qualities of spirit and the maximum of wisdom, but we must be able to translate these qualifications into practical action. Let us apply ourselves tonight to opening the situation we are now in. Here briefly is what we are:

Since the end of World War II, due primarily to the rise of Kim jugnot and the tactics of infiltration, we have also to the incredible decline of which the United States and other free nations have followed, the Soviet Union has managed to extend its domination from 175,000 to 800,000 people to 800,000,000 people. In other words, almost without firing a shot, Communist Russia in five so-called peaceful years has increased its dominion fivefold over the whole continent and has physically controls half of Europe and half of Asia and threatens the other half on both continents. That is fact No. 1.

The free countries, on the other hand, devoid of the guile and immunity with which the Communists previously have been able to produce the political setup necessary to establish the unrestricted influence of the Soviet Union, free, free, free has been defined as a woman, and it has had some success, but it has not been enough by any means. Our governments, a political weapon so effectively used by the Soviet Union, has been long on quantity and pitifully short on quality. Our progress in technical assistance and capital loans have operated in various Nations and have not proved too effective. In short, we have permitted ourselves to be completely outmaneuvered in the employment of political weapons. That is fact No. 2.

Finally, while Russia has spent the last 5 years increasing its armed might, the free countries, and particularly the United States, have been largely engaged in reducing their military strength. In our own country, the record may show that the Republican Eightieth Congress passed laws directing the President of the United States to build up the Air Force to 25 groups, to strengthen the army corps, and to broaden armed strategy by the construction of a super aircraft carrier. But, unfortunately, the administration has done little. Even plans called for the armed service to be reduced, and by the President's own direction amending the action of the Republican Eightieth Congress, the Air Force was held to 12 groups, the Marine Corps was virtually continued to 10 divisions, and construction of the larger aircraft carrier, no under 5,000,000 already had been done, was ordered halted by the White House in 1957.
The Republican Eightieth Congress, by passage of the Bumper crop regulation, laid the groundwork for the military aid program, and the Eightieth Congress also voted funds over administration protests to send arms to the anti-communist Chinese Government of Chiang Kai-shek. The military assistance program was commenced, but unfortunately the military is not the administration permitted to reach the anti-communist Chinese Government of the generalization was for short of what was needed — in fact, it was pitifully small. But that is not all. Because we had flip-flopped, those officials in our security system, the Soviet Union was able to steal the secrets of the abode and the hydrogen bomb. To make up, Russia and its satellites have spent the last 5 years in an enormous arms race while the United States and the other free nations were dissuading. That is Fact No. 3.

So one regrets the Korean conflict more than the American people. But despite its terrible cost, Korea has finally oriented the world and certainly the United States to the fact that the Communist conspiracy is essentially a conspiracy employing deception and crowd night. So, we are reading — reading of slowly increasened cost to the United States and the free nations everywhere. The Air Force is at last being built to 75 groups, and construction of a superordinate carrier has finally been started all over again. The Army is being expanded. The Marine Corps is coming back into its own. The Navy is being taken out of the mudhills.

I ask you — could it be that the Republican Eightieth Congress was right after all?

It's long since learned that no nation can weakly launch a huge rearmament program without threat to its entire economy badly out of joint. Because that is a fact, the administration found it necessary to move, and Congress to vote, the imposition of various economic controls. So, once more America is plagued by arbitrary controls administered by political favorites and main-driven around huge. Once more we are burdened with bureaucratic red tape, high prices, and shortages.

I think I can be excused for what I am about to say. Not the armistice and policies of the Republican Eightieth Congress been followed instead of sabed-goed. The Korean conflict might never have happened, wartime controls and pay-high taxes might not be with us, and the world crisis with which our estates might have been started.

Now, let's examine what we are doing today from a practical standpoint.

We appear to have solidified our position along the Yalu River in the vicinity of the thirty-eighth parallel in Korea. That theater alone-appropriately 50,000 of our troops with Japan as a base of operations.

On Fornica to the north, the renegade Government of China, backed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, still holds out, together with its anti-communist army of 80,000 troops. Despite the fact that the only Government of China that we officially recognize is the communist's government, the administration in Washington refuses to keep therenegade and his fighting forces. In fact, President Truman in his official announcement on Korea on June 71, 1953, declared that we were sending the Seventh Fleet to Fornica to prevent our own vis and verve operations by the renegade's forces against the Chinese Reds, thus inciting the 80,000 troops on the islands.
In the Chinese mainland, anti-Communist guerrilla bands continue to make raids on the Chinese Reds. Approximately 1,500,000 anti-Communist Chinese guerrillas are engaged in these activities.

In French Indochina, a so-called volunteer Communist army, composed substantially of Chinese Reds, engages a French force. The French have approximately 150,000 fighting men operating in that area.

In the balance of Asia, the operations of the Chinese Reds are a constant threat to the security of Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Netherlands, Pakistan, and India.

In Europe the forces of the Soviet Union and its puppet states are comparatively weak. However, military aid is widely available and military cooperation is practically complete in these states. The Soviet Union, with its 200 Red army divisions, could mobilize all the way to the English Channel on the west and to the Pyrenees on the south unless a simultaneous invasion were made by the Free nations of Europe. At the present time, the Free nations of the world combined could not muster more than 50 divisions to stop a Soviet advance in continental Europe.

Two nations in Europe are on the outside looking in. Yugoslavia, a former satellite, has broken with the Soviet Union, and Albania an occupation friendly state at the western powers. Spain, the guardian of the Pyrenees and one of the strongest military powers in Europe today, remains isolated from the Free nations, anti-Communist though the Franco regime is.

That briefly is the practical situation. Just where do we go from here?

Apparently it is the aim of the administration in Washington, as it has been for the past 5 years, to put our eggs in the European basket. In the European market, it is said that American troops should be put on the continent of Europe. We are at this time selling more and more military supplies to the members of the North Atlantic community. We are sending food to them. We are in consultation with the governments of Western Europe and their military leaders.

Everyone knows that we must have an effective aid program for Europe. Everyone knows that we must not, if we can possibly prevent it, allow the businessmen and productive capacity of the Free European nations to fall into Communist control. It is essential to have a program that meets these problems.

In my judgment, with every resource at my command, the formulation of any overall strategy which virtually ignores the focal point of our trouble today -- Europe, and the triumph of Communist countries, myself included, have been permitting our policy, such as strategy, for years. Our protests date all the way back to 1944 when the first secret decisions were reached by the administration in Washington to give its blessing to the Chinese Communists as a political force in the Orient, as opposed to our great ally, the established government of the Republic of China.

How many Americans recall that on December 15, 1945, President Truman publicly announced to the world that unless the Republic of China submitted Chinese Reds to its government measures and aid would be cut off. How many Americans recall that the aid was cut off and that General Marshall was sent to China to make sure that the troops of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek stopped their attacks on the Chinese Reds? How many Americans recall the reports against this policy made by such outstanding leaders as General MacArthur, Patrick J. Hurley, and William E. Bullitt? How many people recall that General MacArthur
declared that our failure to help the Republic of China may be the single greatest blunder in the history of the United States.

Stop and think.

We abandoned the anti-Communist forces of Samora and the Reds took over China. Are we going to lose that same mistake again?

The Reds have suffered 50,000 casualties in Korea.

Mr. Trueman says we are going to stay in Korea.

Are we going to leave 50,000 innocent boys stranded in Korea? Or did a few matter-of-facts words of the President come to mean off them by deploying other forces of thousands of American boys to the area in Europe?

If we really want to take the pressure off our forces in Korea, why do we want to abandon the threat of a Soviet grom across Europe? Why not say to the 1,000,000 anti-Communist Chinese troops in Peking?

There is no question whatsoever about the desire and the eagerness of the generals and the Chinese to join in battle against the Chinese Reds, when the foreign conflict breaks only the generals, within a week, to transport immediately 33,000 troops from Peking to Korea. No turning him down could.

Why?

Our State Department claims we did not want to recognize the Chinese Reds or bring them into the conflict.

Well, the generals’ troops are still on foreign, but our boys have been fighting the Chinese Reds since last November.

The State Department’s reasoning is no longer valid, if we are ever valid.

What could be sound logic, both strategically and militarily, than to allow the anti-Communist forces of the generals in Peking to participate in the war against the Chinese Reds? Why not let them open a second front in Peking?

Let us consider the possibilities:

First, there is good reason to believe that the Chinese Reds could not support a two-front war. They have neither the railroads nor the highways nor the transportation to carry a force fighting in Korea and another on the Chinese mainland, where presumably the troops of the generals would infiltrate if we gave them the necessary strategic aid.

Second, there is excellent reason to believe that if the generals’ 300,000 fighting men reached the mainland of China, however, they would double the size of their army within six to eight weeks by the addition of anti-Communist guerrilla forces already fighting the Reds in South China.

Third, the opening of a second front on the Chinese mainland by the forces of the established government of China, operating from Peking, would not only take the pressure off our forces in Korea, but would reduce the pressure on the French in Indochina and the Communist threat to Burma, Thailand,
Indonesia, Pakistan, India, and Europe.

Fifth, according to responsible military opinion — yes, right in our own Pentagon — the establishment of a second front on China’s mainland by the forces of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is not only feasible and practical with aid from us, but it would be the biggest operation that we could produce in the form of dollars and manpower.

The forces of the Generalissimo are mostly battle-tested, and they are as well trained as the Chinese Reds. Their needs to make a second-front operation successful fall wholly in the categories of ammunition, transportation, planes, tanks, and food. The Generalissimo has planes and tanks, but he would need more. The Generalissimo has a navy, but it needs replacement parts and servicing.

Whether the second front would be opened up by an invasion of the mainland or whether it would be built up by a series of commando raids and night landings would depend on the number and strength of the Chinese Red forces in that area. For such purposes the Generalissimo abroad, has mounted miscellaneous raids, but his operations would be much more successful if the United States provided amphibious craft, landing barges, and PT boats.

In addition, it would be desirable to have American exports to help bring the Generalissimo’s overseas aid and war. Shipsload of coal — a critical item in Asia — would be a prime necessity.

What kind of hope is it that lets our soldiers die in Korea when, by changing the power dynamic to the Generalissimo, a second front could be opened in China without a single GI being sent to stop a flotilla on the soil of the Chinese mainland?

Certainly, if the Soviet Union can employ its puppet states to fight its war even against their will, then the United States can call on its friends who are not only willing but begging for the opportunity.

Certainly we are a united and militarily strong Europe. Certainly we are willing to provide support and possibly some of the manpower necessary to achieve that goal.

Let us remember that we have friends in Japan and that we are fighting a war in Asia at this very moment.

If it is right for American boys to fight Chinese Reds in Korea, what can be wrong with American help to the anti-Communist Chinese fighting the Reds on their own soil?

What are we in Korea for, to win or to lose?

If we are in Korea to win, then we should do everything possible to bring that victory about. If we are not in Korea to win, then this administration should be indicted for the murder of thousands of American boys.

Some persons may ask: If a second front in Asia can be opened at very small cost to ourselves and without employing American troops, why hasn’t our generals done it?

The answer is that we do have military people willing if the employment of the anti-Communist forces of the Republic of China. There is good reason to believe that Generalissimo
Favors such operations. There is good reason to believe that there are people in the Pentagon who favor such an operation.

Why hasn't a second front been opened? The reason is that the State Department is preventing it, the same State Department that cut off aid to the government of China back in 1962, thus allowing China to fall into Communist hands. Can anyone expect the State Department to admit 5 years too late that it was wrong? Can anyone expect the State Department to admit the blame for the fact that American boys are now being killed by Chinese tanks?

Why the State Department, as now constituted, is never going to permit a single soldier from Foremost to participate. Why? Because it would mean that the State Department would finally have to admit that we should have supported Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek all along.

If we want to develop a true global strategy that will stymie the Communist threat of world domination, if we want a strategy that will save Korea and save Asia at the same time, if we want a strategy that will save America from not only Korea, but wherever the next guerrilla action within any area, then I say to you that we must clean out the State Department from top to bottom, starting with Dean Acheson.

The master planners in the Kremlin have had their eye on Asia for a quarter of a century. All agree has to be in in to read the writings of Lenin, Stalin, or the Daily Worker. William E. Butler, the head of the Communist Party in the United States, wrote in the Daily Worker on December 2, 1943, "The war in China is the key to all problems on the international front." Major General Mansfield stated emphatically that Asia was the key to the world situation. Only now that Asia was the key to the world situation. Military strategists of many governments have declared the same thing time and time again.

Almost everybody knows it except our State Department.

Time is running out in Asia. How long do you think 1,500,000 anti-Communist guerrillas can hold out against superior forces? How long will it be before the bottom falls out of China (i.e., she'll fall away)? How long will it be before his guns, tactics, and planes are completely outdated? How long will it be before the Chinese Reds have perfected their defenses to such an extent as to make a second front impossible?

No time is not on our side. If we permit the State Department's bankrupt politics to prevail, there will have run out completely, while new thousands of American boys die on foreign soil.

The people of Greece will never forget that the support of 50 of our boys' bulldozer bombs was their salvation back in 1925. Those 50 planes, together with only three hundred military men to train Greek flyers, and a mere handful of mechanics to teach the Greeks to service the planes, turned the tide against the Communist forces in Greece.

Certainly, if we could afford to go back in Greece and achieve such wonderful results, we can afford to take a chance on Foremost.
A little can go a long way if it is effectively applied. Successful policies are not measured in billions of dollars, millions of fort initials, and thousands of planes. The true measure is how effectively the dollars, the ideas, and the planes are employed. Nor is the measure of good government its multitude of controls and exerts, or the enormity and horribleness it imposes, or the lassitude of its spending and the harshness of its taxes.

Don't you think it is about time Washington learned that?

Yes, in this crisis, we need leadership and sound policies as we have never needed them before. And Americans, everyone of us must act in the full meaning of good citizenship. We must look to the year of 1952 for deliverance. It is up to every American to help obtain this leadership by promoting widespread discussion of the issues and the most careful selection of political candidates in both parties.

Each of us can help; each of us should participate to the utmost.

As we near the end of this day of tribute to Abraham Lincoln, let us bow from his wisdom, his simple principles and his fragility. Let us remember that it was the clear, high-minded thinking of Lincoln that saved this Union, and let us realize that without clarity of thought, without actions based on fundamental principles, without the moral values that he embodied, we cannot save the world we live in.

No more than an opportunity. We have a duty. God grant us the wisdom and the strength to perform it.