Mr. PONTI. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the House, I include the following address of Honorable Joseph W. 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 churches—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 hope and purpose of ordinary people like ourselves in all parts of the world. His uncomprehending opposition to human slavery gave birth to a new political party which has saved this Nation well through generations of constant development and rejuvenation.

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 consistently has refused to accept the alien doctrines of socialism and communism, either in part or in whole.

Across this land of ours, the American people, weary of this trend toward a total state, have come to realize more and more that the loss of freedom of the basic freedoms that have made America great is what the Republican Party. And they are going to translate 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 a person 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. You are the jurist 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 utilize 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, rather, the great issue before the United States today — is: In which will triumph, the forces of freedom as embodied in communism and socialism, or the Free principles of liberty and individual dignity of us which our civilization has evolved out of 3,000 years of experience?

Shall it be the godless materialism of Marx, or the idealism instilled in us by the religious teachings of all faiths?

Shall it be the police state that triumphs, or shall political systems that recognize the essential dignity of man emerge victorious?

Shall we become the victims of secret policies, or shall we walk the earth as free men facing no one but God?

Shall our homes and our churches be liquidated, or shall the sanctity of the family and the basic religious teachings survive, stronger than ever?

Those are the questions. To meet them, we must not only assume the finest qualities of spirit and the courage of vision, but we must be able to translate these qualifications into practical action.

Let us apply ourselves tonight to viewing the situation we are now in. Here briefly is what we are:

Since the end of World War II, due primarily to the use of armed might and the tactics of infiltration, the cause also to the incredible policies which the United States and other Free nations have followed, the Soviet Union has managed to expand its domination from 175,000,000 people to 300,000,000 people. In other words, almost without firing a shot, Communist Russia in five revealed inactive years has increased its dominion fivefold over human beings and now 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 subterfuge which the Communists provide, have failed to produce the political response necessary to meet the unprecedented threat of the Soviet Union. True, N.A.T.O. has been formed as a weapon, and it has had some success, but it has not been enough by my measure. Our underresourced, a political weapon so effectively used by the Soviet Union, has been held on quantity and pitifully short on quality. Our progress of technical assistance and capital have been operated in various fashions 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, particularly the United States, have been busily engaged in reducing their military strength. In our own country, the record most clear that the Republican Eightieth Congress passed laws directing the President of the United States to build the Air Force up to 20 groups, to strengthen the air force, not to broaden armed aviation by the construction of a major aircraft carrier. But unfortunately, the administration had other plans. Those plans called for the armed services to be reduced, and by the President's own directive countermanding the action of the Republican Eighty-first Congress, the Air Force was held to 12 groups, the Marine Corps was virtually cut off, and construction of the major aircraft carrier, to which $500,000,000 already had been spent, was ordered halted by the White House in 1960.
The Republican Eighteenth Congress, by passage of the\nNevada resolution, said the prospects for the military\nassistance program, and the Eighteenth Congress also voted funds\nover administration protests to send men to the anti-Communist\nChinese Government of Chiang Kai-shek. The military assistance\nprogram was welcomed, but unfortunately\nthe military and that the administration permitted to reach\nthe anti-Communist Chinese government of the generalization was\nfor short of what was needed — in fact, it was pitifully small.\nBut that is not all. Because we had fuzzy-headed, peace\nofficials in our security setup, the Soviet Union was able to steal\nthe secrets of the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. To make up, Russia\nand its satellites have spent the last 5 years in an enormous\narmament program while the United States and the other free\nstates were disarming. That is fact No. 3.

So one regrets the former conflict more than the American people.\nBut despite its terrific cost, force has finally ended the war and certainly the United States in the fact that the\nCommunist conspiracy is essentially a conspiracy employing deception\nand armed might. So, we are reading — hoping at long last\nincreased cost to the United Nations and the free nations everywhere.\nThe air force is at last being held in by groups, and construction of a supermarket carrier has finally been started all over again.\nThe army is being expanded. The Navy corps is coming back into\nits own. The Army is being taken out of the wilderness.

I ask you — could it be that the Republican Eighteenth\nCongress was right after all?

We long ago learned that no nation can weakenly launch\na large armament program without threatening its entire economy.\nbody out of joint, because that is a fact the administration\nfound it necessary to see, and Congress to vote, the imposition\nof various economic controls. So, once more America is plagued\nby arbitrary controls administered by political favorites and\nblack boxes around bogus, even worse we are burdened with bureaucratic red tape, high prices, and shortages.

I think I can be excused for what I must say to say.\nBut the circumstances and policies of the Republican Eighteenth Congress\nbe slowly followed instead of submarines. The former conflict might never\nhave occurred, war-time controls and top-high taxes might not be\nwith us, and the world crisis with which now exist might have been\navoided.

But let us examine what we are doing today from a\npractical standpoint.

We appear to have solidified our position along the\nMan River in the vicinity of the thirty-sixth parallel in Korea,\nthat border now temporarily, 20,000 of our troops with Japan\nas a base of operations.

As Fornaster to the north, the recognized government of\the Republic of China, headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek,\nstill holds out, together with its anti-Communist army of\n20,000 troops. Despite the fact that the only government of\nChina that we officially recognize is the generalissimo's govern-\nment, the administration in Washington refuses to back the\ngovernment and its fighting forces. In fact, President Truman\nin his official announcement on Korea on June 7, 1955, declared\nthat he was sending the Seventh Fleet to Fornaster to prevent any\nmore aid and air cooperation by the generalissimo's forces against\nthe Communist Red, thus inciting the 80,000 troops on the\nislands.
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, Pakistan, and India.

In Europe the forces of the Soviet Union and its puppet states are comparatively negligible. However, military aid and general support given by the Soviet Union to its allies in the Warsaw Pact, and to the Poles, and to the Finns on the south unless a similar amount of armament aid were introduced by the five nations of Europe.

At the present time, the five nations of the world combined could not muster more than 90 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. Albania is an unusual friendly guest at the western powers. Spain, the guardian of the Pyrenees and one of the strongest military powers in Europe today, remains isolated from the five 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 3 years, to put our eggs in the European basket. We are told that American forces should be put on the continent of Europe. We are told that more and more military supplies to the members of the North Atlantic community. We are told that this is necessary to the survival of 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 act. If we cannot quickly act, allow the economic and political collapse of the five European nations to fall into Communist control. It is essential to have a program that meets this problem.

But I protest with every reserve as my moved the formulation of any over-all strategy which virtually ignores the focal point of our trouble today -- Iran. And I protest that Republicans in Congress and I myself included, have been there is the problem. And I protest that the administration has been too slow to act. And I protest that the Secretary of State and the President of the United States has been too slow to act.

President Truman publicly announced to the world that unless the Republic of China evacuated Chinese Reds to its government lines it would be cut off. How many Americans recall that the old was cut off as early as 1956, the date that General Marshall was sent to China to make sure that the troops of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek stopped their attack on the Chinese Reds? How many Americans recall that General Marshall
declared that our failure to back 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 Sino-core, and yet
the Reds took over China. Are we going to make that same mistake
again?

North has suffered 30,000 casualties in Korea.

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

Are we going to leave 100,000 American boys stranded
in Korea? Or does our master plan involve the placing of armed
forces on the mainland of Asia?

If we really went to take the pressure off our forces
in Korea, and if we want to diminish the threat of a Soviet
attack across Europe, why? I know, it is not only the
600,000 anti-Communist Chinese troops on Formosa?

There is no question whatever about the centre and
the expression of the generalissimo's and his desire to
both against the Chinese Reds, when the Korean conflict broke
out, the generalissimo, within a week, ordered to transport
immediately 30,000 troops from Formosa to Korea. He turned
us down cold.

Why?

Our State Department claimed that we did not want to
recognize the Chinese Reds and bring them into the conflict.

Well, the generalissimo's troops are still in Korea,
but our boys have been fighting the Chinese Reds since last
November.

The State Department's reasoning is no longer valid
today, if it ever was valid.

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

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 supply a
large force fighting in Korea and another on the Chinese mainland, where
presumably the troops of the generalissimo could infiltrate if we
were not the necessary supplemental aid.

Second, there is excellent reason to believe that if
the generalissimo's 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 Formosa, could not only take the pressure
off our forces in Korea, but could reduce the pressure on the
French in Indochina and the Communist threat to Burma, Malaya,
Indonesia, Pakistan, India, and Europe.

Fourth, 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 last-cast operation that we could promote 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 will vary widely in the categories of ammunition, transportation, planes, trains, 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 surprise landings would depend on the morale and strength of the Chinese Red forces in that area. For such purposes the Generalissimo abroad has mentioned miscellaneous craft, 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 experts to help train the Generalissimo’s officers and men.

Ships of God — a critical idea in Asia — would be a prime necessity.

What kind of dope is it that lets our soldiers die in Korea when, by changing the proper missile to the Generalissimo, a second front could be opened in China without a single GI being forced to place a foot 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 enlist the forces that are not only willing but begging for the opportunity.

Certainly we went a United and militarily strong Europe. Certainly we are willing to provide equipment and perhaps some of the manpower necessary to achieve that goal.

But let us not place all our eggs in the European basket. Let us remember that we have friends in Asia 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 haven’t our generals done it?

The answer is that we do have military people who favor the employment of the anti-communist forces of the Republic of China. There is good reason to believe that Generalissimo
Favors such an operation. 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 crew that cut off aid to the government of China back in 1963, 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 accept the blame for the fact that American boys are now being killed by Chinese tanks?

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

If we want to develop a true global strategy that will win 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 Europe as well, but wherever the most-needed police action may occur, 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 they have to do is 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 5, 1965, The War in China is the Key to All Problems on the International Front.

Miller in Asia News stated emphatically that Asia was the key to the world situation. Why have we not realized this 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 Chiang Kai-shek's small army? How long will it be before his guns, tanks, and planes are completely destroyed? How long will it be before the Chinese Reds have perfected their missile 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 bungled political policies to prevail, we will have run out completely, while more thousands of American boys die on foreign soil.

The people of Greece will never forget that the support of 50 of our Navy's battleship bombers was their salvation back in 1940. These 50 planes, together with only three American military men to train Greek pilots, 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 spend millions in Greece and achieve such wonderful results, we can afford to take a chance on Formosa.
A little can go a long way if it is effectively applied. Successful policies are not measured in billions of dollars, millions of feet, billions of square miles, or percentage points of growth. True success is measured in the effectiveness of those dollars, those feet, those square miles, and those percentage points. If policies are to be effective, they must lead to action. They will be effective only if the public is convinced that the policies are in its interest.

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

Yes, in this crisis, we need leadership and sound policies as we have never needed them before. 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 borrow from his vision, his simple sobriety and his humanity. Let us remember that it was the clear, high-principled thinking of Lincoln that saved this Nation, and let us realize that without clarity of thought, without action based on fundamental principles, without the moral vision that he embodied, we cannot save the world we live in.

We have more than an opportunity. We have a duty. God grant us the wisdom and the strength to perform it.