Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the Report, I inclose 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 Democrats. In this great borough of Brooklyn lies a great cross section of factious 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 progress of ordinary people like ourselves in all parts of the world. His unconquerable opposition to human slavery gave birth to a new political party which has 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 this land of ours, the American people, many of the trend toward a total state, have come to realize more and more that the loss obsession of the basic freedoms that have made America great is the Republican Party. And they are going to translate that belief into action and elect a Republican Congress 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. Yours 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 me with the deepest sincerity that the only way to save America, the only way to retrieve 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 issue so vital that it affects every man, woman, and child on earth -- is: Which will triumph, the forces of freedom or emboldened communism and totalitarianism, or the free principles of liberty and individual dignity of men 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 respect the essential dignity of man emerge victorious?

Shall we become the victims of secret plans, 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 morality of the family and the basic religious teachings survive, neither than ever?

These are the questions. To meet them we must not only assess the finest qualities of spirit and the maximum of vision, but we must be able to translate these qualities into practical action.

But let us apply ourselves tonight to weighing the situation we are now in. Here briefly is what we now:

Since the end of World War II, due primarily to the use of atomic weapons the tactics of infiltration, and due 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 393,000,000 people. In other words, almost without firing a shot, Commissar Raskin in five revealed peaceful years has increased his destructive firepower over those 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, deprived of the gulls and immunity which the Communists enjoyed, have failed to produce the political response necessary to curb the unimpeded tactics of the Soviet Union. True, in has been decided on a measure, and it has had some success, but it has not been enough by any means. Our underestimation, a political reason so effectively used by the Soviet Union, has been kept on quantity and plucked out on quality. Our progress has been one of success, but never any proof of effectiveness. In short, we have permitted ourselves to be completely outnumbered 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 busy engaged in reducing their military strengths. In our own country, the record must show that the Republican Eightieth Congress passed two laws directing the President of the United States to build the Air Force up to 50 groups, to strengthen the fighter groups, and to broadly arm aviation by the construction of a superior aircraft carrier. But unfortunately, the administration has other plans. Thus, plans called for the armed services to be reduced, and by the President's own directive countermanding the action of the Republican Eightieth Congress, the air force was held to 18 groups, the Marine Corps was virtually continued to 25 groups, and construction of the new aircraft carrier, so valued $2,000,000 already had been done, was ordered halted by the White House in 1947.
The Republican Eightieth Congress, by passage of the Submarine legislation, laid the groundwork for the military assistance program, and the Eightieth Congress also voted funds over administration protests to send arms to the anti-Communist Chinese Government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The military assistance program was conceived, but unfortunately the military and the administration permitted to reach the anti-Communist Chinese Government of the generalization was for that of what was needed — in fact, it was pitifully small. But that is not all. Because we had sung the anti-official chime in our security activities, the Soviet Union was able to steal the secrets of the atom 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 dawdling. (Text not legible)

Remember the Korean conflict more than the American people. But despite its terrific scale, Korea has finally restored the world and certainly the United States to the fact that the Communist conspiracy is essentially a conspiracy employing deception and crowd noise. So, we are reading — reading at greatly increased cost to the United States and the free nations everywhere. The air force is at last being built to its proper strength, and construction of a supersecret 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 mudholes.

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

How long ago learned that no nation can weakly launch a huge rearmament program without threatening 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 made down around high. Once more we are burdened with bureaucratic red tape, high prices, and shortages.

I think I can be permitted for what I say about our rearmament program has been followed instead of sabotage. The Korean conflict might never have happened, wartime controls and high-high taxes might not be with us, and this world crisis which now haunts might have been avoided.

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

We appear to have solidified our position along the 38th parallel in Korea. That sector contains approximately 90,000 of our troops, with Japan as a base of operations.

In Formosa, to the south, the renegaded Government of the Republic 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 generalissimo’s government, the administration in Washington refuses to base the generalissimo’s forces. In fact, President Truman in his official announcement in Korea on June 7, 1951, declared that we would met the Seventh Fleet to Formosa to prevent any more aid and any cooperation by the generalissimo’s forces against the Communist Reds, thus blockcaging the 80,000 troops on the island.
On 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, Malaya, Indonesia, Australia, and India.

In Europe the forces of the Soviet Union and its puppet states are comparatively weak. However, military aid is generally in agreement that the Soviet Union, with its 200 Red army divisions, would hold all the way to the English Channel on the west and to the Pyrenees on the south unless a warlike rearrangement were initiated by the free nations of Europe. At the present time, the free nations of the world combined could not muster more than 80 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 Turkey airs occasional friendly flashes 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. If we are told that European troops should be put on the continent of Europe, we are at this very moment sending more and more military supplies to the members of the North Atlantic community. We are sending food to this. 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 resurgence and productive capacity of the free European nations to fall into Communist control. It is essential to have a program that can do this.

But I protest with every resource at my command the formulation of any over-all strategy which virtually ignores the focal point of our national being -- the free and independent Republics in continental Europe. Myself included, I have been promoting such a policy, such a strategy, for years. Our protests date back to 1947, when the first secret decision was reached by the administration in Washington to give its blessings 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 11, 1945, President Truman publicly announced to the world that unless the Republic of China instituted Chinese Reds to its government some 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 protests against this policy made by such outstanding leaders as General Bedell, 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 late once, and the Reds took over China. Are we going to make that same mistake again?

North Korea has suffered 60,000 casualties in Korea. Mr. Truman says we are going to stay in Korea.

Are we going to leave 200,000 American boys stranded in Korea? Or do we want to keep the pressure on the Reds and be taken off them by deploying other armies of thousands of American boys to the scene in Europe?

If we really want to take the pressure off our forces in Korea, and if we want to diminish the threat of a Soviet group across Europe, why not? I say, is not every bit the 800,000 anti-Communist Chinese troops on Formosa?

There is no question whatsoever about the entire and the expenditure of the generalissimo and his armies to join in battle against the Chinese Reds, when the Korean conflict breaks out, the generalissimo, within a week, ordered to transport immediately 33,000 troops from Formosa to Korea. He turned his back on us.

Why?

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

Well, the generalissimo's troops are still on Formosa, 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 would 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 said?

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 force fighting in Korea and another in China. Indeed, whereas previously the troops of the generalissimo would infiltrate if we gave them the necessary support did.

Second, there is excellent reason to believe that if the generalissimo's 800,000 fighting men reached the mainland of China it seems, 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 up of a second front on the Chinese mainland by the forces of the established government of China, operating from Formosa, 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 Korea, Taiwan,
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 mainlands by the forces of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is not only feasible and practical with aid from us, but it would be the smartest operation that we could prosecute in the terms of dollars and manpower.

The forces of the Generalissimos are vastly better tested, and they are as well trained as the Chinese Red. Their needs to make a second-front operation successful fail widely 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 us is an indication of the minimal or whether it would be built up by a series of commando raids and night landings would depend on the manner and strength of the Chinese Red forces in that area. For such purposes the Generalissimo abroad has accumulated miscellaneouscraft, 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. Diamonds of Gold—a critical area in Asia—would be a prime necessity.

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

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

Certainly we want a united and militarily strong Europe. Certainly we are willing to provide equipment and possibly 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 would be indicted for the murder of thousands of American boys.

Some people say: 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 leaders who favor the employment of the anti-communist forces of the Republic of China. There is good reason to believe that General Chiang
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 promoting it, the same State Department that cut off aid to the government of China back in 1949, 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?

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

If we want to develop a true global strategy that will stem the Communist threat of world domination, if we want a strategy that will save lives and save Asia at the same time, if we want a strategy that will save American lives not only in Korea, but wherever the next-greatest battle within my vision, 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 need to do is to read the writings of Lenin, Stalin, or the Daily Mirror. William E. Porter, the head of the Communist Party in the United States, wrote in the Daily Mirror on December 2, 1945, "The war in China is the key to all the problems on the international front."

Khrushchev stated emphatically that Asia was the key to the world situation. Why have we allowed it to happen again? Military strategists of many governments have declared the second time, time and time again.

Almost everybody knows it except our State Department.

This time is running out in Asia. How long do you think 1,000,000 anti-Communist guerrillas can hold out against superior forces? How long will it be before the bottom starts out of Chinese oil—who’s oil? How long will it be before his guns, trains, and planes are completely out of order? How long will it be before the Chinese Reds have perfected their defense 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 policies to prevail, the war will have run out completely, while more thousands of American boys die on foreign soil.

The people of Greece will never forget that the Numerous of our boys’ bulldozer bombers was their salvation back in 1940. These 25 planes, together with only three thousand military men to train Greek fliers, 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 broke 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 foot soldiers, and thousands of planes. The true measure is how effectively those dollars, those men, and those planes are employed. Nor is the measure of good government the multitude of controls and audits, or the minutiae and formalities it imposes, or the slowness 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. As 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 wisdom, his simple principles and his fragility. Let us remember that it was the clear, high-principled thinking of Lincoln that saved this Union, and let us realize that without clarity of thought, without action based on fundamental principles, without the moral values 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.