Mr. Voorhis, 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 especial
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 live a great cross section of families
and homes that in themselves are a monument to the freedom and
traditional dignity for which Lincoln fought and died.

In Lincoln breathed the hopes and dreams of ordinary
people like ourselves in all parts of the world. His uncom-
promising opposition to human slavery gave birth to a new political
cracy which has served this nation well through generations of
constant development and progress.

Today, after 60 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, weary of
the trend toward a total state, have come to realize more and
more that the loss of freedom of the basic freedoms that have made
American 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 himself that some-
ting is fundamentally wrong with the Democratic leadership in
Washington? Is there anybody 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, unfailing
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
blackened in leadership that its first assessment of every unde-
taking is whether it will help perpetuate those in power. Those
have become the yardstick 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 wall 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 issues before the world today — in fact so vital that it affects every man, woman, and child on earth — is whether the forces of freedom are embodied in communism and socialism, or in the free principles of liberty and individual dignity of the Western civilization has evolved out of 5,000 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 it be the political system that recognizes the essential dignity of man which our civilization has evolved out of 3,000 years of experience?

Shall we become the victims of secret policy, or shall we make the earth a free and 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 continue, stronger than ever?

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

Let us apply ourselves tonight to seeing the situation as we are now, as we briefly in what we have.

Since the end of World War II, due primarily to the size of armed might on 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 extend its domination from 175,000,000 people to 400,000,000 people.

In other words, almost without firing a shot, Communist Russia in five years of postwar years has increased the destitute Fifth Field over more 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 strategy which the Communists proudly have failed to produce the political weapon necessary to retain the unprecedented victory of the Soviet Union. True, IRA has been defeated on a woman, and it has had some success, but it has not been enough by any means. Our military strategy, an essential weapon, an effectively used by the Soviet Union, has been based on quantity and militarily short on quality. Our progress in technical assistance and matériel 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 basically engaged in reducing their military strength. In our own country, the record most clearly shows that the Republican Eighty-first Congress passed laws directing the President of the United States to build the Air Force up to 20 groups, to strengthen the fighter groups, and to broaden aerial extension by the construction of a super aircraft carrier. But unfortunately, the administration had other plans. Congress called for the armed service to be reduced, and by the President's own directive, even overruling the action of the Republican Eighty-first Congress, the air force was reduced to 18 groups, the Marine Corps was virtually cut off, and construction of the heavy aircraft carrier, which was already had been begun, was ordered halted by the White House in 1957.
The Republican Eighteenth Congress, by passage of the
Soviet war resolution, laid the preconditions for the military
assistance program, and the Eighteenth Congress also voted funds
over administration protests to send aid to the anti-Communist
Chinese Government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The
military assistance program was continued, but unfortunately
the military aid that the administration promised to reach
the anti-Communist Chinese Government of the generalissimo
was far short of what was needed — in fact, it was pitifully small.
But that is not all. Because we haduang-shand, more official-
ships in our security status, the Soviet Union was able to steal
the secrets of the atomic bomb 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 thinking. That is fact No. 3.

We may regret the Korean conflict more than the American
people. But despite its terrific costs, Korea has finally
angered the world and certainly the United States in the fact
that the Communist conspiracy is essentially a conspiracy employing
defense and armed might. So, we are reading — according to Jolly
increased cost to the United States and the free nations everywhere.
The AEC is at last being told to its groups, and construction
of a superannuated carrier has finally been started all over again.
The Army is being extended. The Korean War is going into
its own. The Army is being taken out of the wilderness.

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

We now know that no nation can weakly
launch a huge procurement program without throttling 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 executives and
made down on national ideas. Once more we are beset with bureau-
cratic red tape, high prices, and shortages.

I think I can be permitted for what I say about to say.
But the arguments and policies of the Republican Eighteenth Congress
were followed instead of substituted. The Korean conflict might never
have happened, wartime controls and sky-high taxes might not be
with us, and the world crisis with which now exists might have been
antedated.

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

We appear to have solidified our position along the
Ko River in the vicinity of the thirty-ninth parallel in Korea.
That sector contains approximately 20,000 of our troops with
Japan as a base of operations.

In Formosa to the north, the reneged Government of
the Republic of China, backed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek,
still holds out, together with its anti-Communist army of
20,000 troops. Despite the fact that the only government
of China that we officially recognize is the generalissimo's gov-
ernment, the administration in Washington refuses to have
the generalissimo's fighting force. In fact, President Truman
in his official announcement on Korea on June 7, 1950, declared
that we were sending the Seventh Fleet to Formosa to prevent
any more aid and rear operations by the generalissimo's forces against
the Chinese Reds, thus inactivating the 20,000 troops on the
island.
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 small. 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 end to the Pyrenees on the south unless a simultaneous intervention were made by the free nations of Europe. At the present time, the free nations of the world combined could not muster more than 60 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 Czechoslovakia has maintained friendship with the western powers. Apart, the guardians 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. As we are told that American troops should be put on the continent of Europe. We are at this time seeing more and more military supplies to the members of the North Atlantic community. We are seeing food to this. So 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 act. If we cannot possibly prevent it, allow the increase and destructive capacity of the free European nations to fall into Communist control, it is essential to have a program that meets this problem.

But I protest with every resource at my command the formulation of any over-all strategy which virtually ignores the focal point of our troubles today — its cause. I might say that the Republicans in Congress, myself included, have been advocating such a policy, such a strategy, for years. Our protest date all the way back to 1943, 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 continued Chinese Reds to its government interior 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 forces of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek stopped their attacks on the Chinese Reds? How many Americans recall the products against this policy made by such outstanding experts as General Deane, Patrick J. Hurley, and William S. 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 South Korea, and the Reds took over Korea. Are we going to make the same mistake again?

North Korea has suffered 50,000 casualties in Korea.

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

Are we going to leave 50,000 Korean boys stranded in Korea? Or does he mean soldier boys when he speaks of being able to take off them by deploying other hundreds 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, I ask, do we not supply the 300,000 anti-Communist Chinese troops on Formosa?

There is no question whatsoever about the desire and the expansion of the Chinese communism and his forces to join in battle against the Chinese Reds. When the Korean conflict broke out, the communists, within a week, started to transport immediately 33,000 troops from Peking to Korea. He turned his guns south.

Why?

Our State Department claimed that we did not want to rearm 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 were ever 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 South China?

Let us consider the possibilities:

First, there is good reason to believe that the Chinese Reds would not support a new-front war. They have built the railroads and the highways for the transportation of their armies, and in South China, where presumably the troops of the generalissimo would infiltrate if we gave them the necessary support, they did.

Second, there is excellent reason to believe that if the generalissimo’s 300,000 fighting men reached the mainland of China sooner, they would double the size of their army within six to eight weeks by the addition of anti-Communist patriot 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 Formosa, Vei-Nga,
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 Allies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is not only feasible and practical with aid from us, but it would be the cheapest operation that we could undertake in the terms of dollars and manpower.

The forces of the Generalissimo are mostly battle tested, and they are as well trained as our Chinese Reds. Their needs to make a second-front operation successful fell easily in the categories of ammunition, transportation, rations, trucks, 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 menor and strength of the Chinese Red forces in that area. For such purposes the Generalissimo's air force, his tank and miscellaneous army, 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 aid to help train the Generalissimo's officers and men. Simpliciter of gold — a critical idea in Asia — would be a prime necessity.

What kind of logic is it that lets our soldiers die in Korea, who, by changing the power relations in the Generalissimo, a second front would be opened in China without a single of being turned to place a foot on the soil of the Chinese mainland?

Certainly, if the Soviet Union can employ its puppet states to fight its wars even against their wills, the United States can call on its friends 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 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 means to force 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 that got off the government of China back in 1943, thus allowing the Chinese 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 Reds?

May the State Department, as now constituted, ever going to permit a single soldier from overseas 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 win out the Communist threat of world domination, if we want a strategy that will save human lives and save Asia at the same time, if we want a strategy that will help save American lives not only in Korea, but wherever the next general battle within any war occurs, 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, 1943, "The war in China is the key to all problems on the international front."

Millionaire Kemp stated emphatically that Asia was the key to the world situation. They knew 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.

This 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 bottoms fall out of Chang Kai-shek's small army? How long will it be before his guns, trucks, and planes are completely outdated? How long will it be before the Chinese Reds have perfected their defense to such an extent as to make a second front impossible?

My time is not on our side. If we permit the State Department's bankrupt 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 success of 50 of our F-86's bulleted bombers was their salvation back in 1956. 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 these planes, turned the tide against the Communist forces in Greece.

Certainly, if we could afford to spend 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 its multitude of committees and orders, or the size and numbers and bandwagons it imposes, or the liveness of its spending and the hardiness 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. Americans, everyone of us
must act in the full meaning of good citizenship. We must look to
the year of 1932 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 humanity and his frailty.
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 vision that he embodied, we cannot save this world we live in.

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