Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the Senate, 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, 1955.

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 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.

Lincoln breathed the hope and promise of ordinary people like ourselves in all parts of the world. His uncompromising opposition to human slavery gave birth to a new political party which has served this nation well through generations of constant development and change.

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

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 is the basic freedom that has made America great is the Republican Party. And they are ready to translate that belief into action and elect a Republican Senator and a Republican President in 1956.

And why shouldn't they? Is there a person within the range of my view 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 view who does not fervently hope that out of the election in 1950 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. Those same are the principles of their politics.

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 talk 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 — we issue so vital that it affects every man, woman, and child on earth — is: Which will triumph, the forces of freedom or emboldened in communism and totalitarianism, or the free principles of liberty and individual dignity of man which our civilization has evolved over 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 which our civilization has evolved over 3,000 years of experience?

Shall we become the victims of secret policy, or shall we act as free men facing up to our own best interests?

Shall our homes and our churches be legalized, or shall the morality of the family and the basic religious teachings survive, brighter than ever?

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

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

Since the end of World War II, due primarily to the size of arms might and the tactics of infiltration, we did also to the incredible isolation which the United States and other free nations have followed, the Soviet Union has managed to expand its domination from 150,000,000 people to 800,000,000 people. In other words, almost without firing a shot, Communism has in five revealed warlike years has increased the destruction it wrought over human beings and now physically controls half of Europe and half of Japan and threatens the other half on both continents. This is fact No. 1.

The free countries, on the other hand, devoid of the gull and immaturity which the Communists previously have failed to produce the political response necessary to meet the unprejudiced tactics of the Soviet Union. True, the U.S. has been divided on a woman, and it has had some success, but it is not strong enough by any means. Our noncommunism, a political weapon as effectively used by the Soviet Union, has been lacking in quantity and pitifully short of quality. Our progress of technical assistance and capital loans have operated in serious fashion and have not proved too effective. In short, we have permitted ourselves to be completely outmaneuvered in the employment of political weapons. This 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 busy engaged in reducing their military strength. In our own country, the record will show 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 units, and to broaden area saturation by the construction of a super aircraft center. But unfortunately, the administration had other plans. First, they 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 7 groups, the fighter groups were virtually cut, and construction of the super aircraft center, to which $500,000,000 already had been spent, was ordered halted by the White House in 1950.
The Republican Eightieth Congress, by passage of the
Nelson-Nixon resolution, said the priorities for the military
_spectrum 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 continued, but unfortunately
the military aid was tied to the administration promised to reach
the anti-Communist Chinese Government of the generalization
was for short of what was needed — in fact, was pitifully small.
But that is not all. Because we had finished, those official-
secret in our security system, the Soviet Union was able to steal the
secrets of the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. To make up, Russia
and her satellites have spent the last 5 years in an enormous
armament program while the United States and the other free
nations were diminishing. That is fact No. 3.

As one regrets the forces committed more than the American
people. But despite its extraordinary force, force had finally
ended the war and certainly the United States is the fact that the
Communist enemy is essentially a conspiracy employing deception
and subterfuge. So, we are reading — reading of greatly in-
creased cost to the United States and the free nations everywhere.
The air force is at last being built to 76 groups, and construction
of a superannuated carrier has finally been started. The enemy is
being surrounded. The forces corps is coming back into
its own. The key is being taken out of the swaddles.

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

We long ago learned that no Nation can weaken launch
a huge rearmament program without threatening its entire
economy. To put it out of action, because that is a fact, the administration
found it necessary to save, and Congress to vote, the imposition
of various economic controls. So, once more America is plagued by
unemployment outside administered by political favors and
make-down around town. Our war is being bunched with bureaucratic
red tape, high prices, and shortages.

I think I am prepared for what I am about to say.
But to the sagacity and policies of the Eightieth Congress
been followed instead of abanoned, the Korean conflict might never
have happened; wartime controls and pay-high taxes might not be
with us, and the world crisis which now exists 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
Eas River in the vicinity of the thirty-sixth parallel in Korea.
That distance equals approximately 10,000 of our troops. In
Japan as a base of operations.

But in answer to the proof, the renounced Government of
the Republic of China, headed 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 government's own,
the administration in Washington refused to help the
generalization and his fighting forces. In fact, President Truman
in his official announcement on Korea on June 30, 1951, declared
that we were sending the Seventh Fleet to Formosa to prevent any
more aid and no cooperation by the generalization's forces against
the Chinese Reds, thus instigating the 80,000 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 efforts.

In French Indochina, a so-called non-Russian army, composed substantially of Chinese Reds, engages a French force. The French have approximately 125,000 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, Ceylon, 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, could hold all the way to the English Channel on the west and to the Pyrenees on the south unless a simultaneous reassessment program were undertaken by the five nations of Europe. At the present time, the five 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 this acts as an excellent friendly gesture at the western powers. Spain, the gardian 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?

Appreciably it is in the aim of the administration in Washington to stick with the laws of the European problem. As we are told that American troops should be put on the continent of Europe. We are at this time some 30,000 men in the United Kingdom ready to be moved to the continent of Europe. We have received word from the United Kingdom and the Belgian government that they are ready to accept the American soldiers.

What is the best practical solution to the problem of the European nations so that they can be made to stick with the United States?

We are in consultation with the French and British governments, 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 a renaissance and progressive democracy of the five European nations to fall into Communist control. It is essential to have a program that meets this problem.

I believe that every resource of our country must be used to support the government of the Chinese Republic. This can be done by providing them with immediate aid in the form of arms, equipment, and military experts. We must also work to strengthen the government of China by supporting its efforts to promote democracy and human rights.

On the other hand, we must be careful not to become involved in another war with China. We must strive to promote peaceful solutions to the problems that arise between China and its neighbors. We must also work to strengthen the government of China by supporting its efforts to promote democracy and human rights.
declared that our failure to drive the Republic of China out of the anti-Communist forces of South Korea and the Red Chinese in Korea was due to the mistake of some important event.

The United States has suffered 60,000 casualties in Korea, our troops are not going to stop in Korea.

Are we going to lose 50,000 American boys stranded in Korea? Do our four million dollars bring the American boys to the front in Europe?

If we really want to take the pressure off our forces in Korea, and if we want to dissuade the threat of a Soviet attack across Europe, why not try to free the 500,000 anti-Communist Chinese troops on Formosa?

There is no question whatsoever about the center and the expansion of the Chinese armament and its troops to join in battle against the Chinese Reds, when the Korean conflict breaks out, the Chinese armament, within a week, trained to transport immediately 33,000 troops from Formosa to Korea. We turned him down cold.

Why?

The State Department argued that we did not want to antagonize the Chinese Reds and bring them into the conflict.

Well, the generalization'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 sound logic, both strategically and militarily, is to allow the anti-Communist forces of the Chinese to participate in the war against the Chinese Reds? Why not let them open a second front in that?

Let us consider the possibilities:

First, there is good reason to believe that the Chinese Reds could not report a second front soon. They have neither the railroads nor the highways nor the transportation to supply a force fighting in Korea and another on the Chinese mainland, where presumably the troops of the generalization would infiltrate if we gave them the necessary supply aid.

Second, there is excellent reason to believe that if the generalization's 500,000 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 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 in Burma, Bali.,
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 K'ai-shek is not only feasible and practical with aid from us, but it would be the best joint operation that we could promote in the terms 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 equally in the categories of ammunition, transportation, planes, tank, 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 command raids and night landings would depend on the morale and strength of the Chinese Red forces in that area. For such purposes the Generalissimo already has ample trained aircrews, but his operations would be much more successful if the United States provided amphibious craft, landing ships, and PT boats.

In addition, it would be desirable to have American experts to help train the Generalissimo's officers and men. Machine of Food — a critical zone in Asia — would be a prime necessity.

What kind of logic is it that lets our soldiers die in Korea when, by changing the power balance to the Generalissmo, a second front could be opened in China without a single GI being called 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 rely on the 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 that administration should be indicted for the murder of thousands of American boys.

Some people 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 General Stilwell...
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 Depart-
ment that cut off aid to the Government of China back in
1960, thus allowing China to fall into Communist hands. One
would 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 bullets?

But the State Department, as now constituted, is never
going to permit a single soldier from Fort Knox 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
win out the Communist threat of world domination, if we want a
strategy that will save Russia and save Asia at the same time,
if we want a strategy that will save America long before it is too
late in Korea, but moreover will save our so-called allies within my
view, 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 anyone has to do is to read
the writings of Lenin, Stalin, or the Daily Mirror. William G.
Buller, the head of the Communist Party in the United States,
write in the Daily Mirror on December 3, 1945, "The war in China
in the key of all problems on the international front."

Killer in Moskva 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 gov-
ernments have declared the new taking time and time again.

Almost everybody knows it except our State Department.

The 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 (kai-shek's small army)? How long will it be before his
guns, troops, and planes are completely destroyed? How long will
it be before the Chinese Reds have penetrated 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 backward politics 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 signpost
of 50 of our Navy's battleship bombers was their salvation back
in 1940. These 50 planes, together with only three German
military men to train these flyers into, and a mere handful of mechanics
to teach the Greeks to operate the planes, turned the tide against
the Communist forces in Greece.

Certainly, if we could afford to goads in Greece and
achieve such wonderful results, we can afford to take a chance on
Fort Knox.
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 controls and statutes, or the strictness and frequency it imposes, or the lawlessness 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 rise to the challenge. It is up to every American to help ensure 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 fullest.

As we near the end of this day of tribute to Abraham Lincoln, let us bow to his vision, his gentle kindness and his humility. 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 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.