SPEECH OF HONORABLE JOSEPH M. MARTIN, JR.

MR. 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 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 citizenship and homes that in themselves are a monument to the freedom and individual dignity for which Lincoln fought and died.

Lincoln breathed the hopes and dreams of ordinary people like ourselves in all parts of the world. His uncompro.

Today, after 90 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 citizenship 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 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, does not realize this: something 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, 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 not been able to elect a leader capable of appreciating the necessity of putting the future in the control of those who have the vision and the courage to see the future. We have the vision and the courage to see the future, but we lack the leadership to carry it out.

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 to me with the deepest sincerity that the only way to save America, the only way to save the Balkans, is by a landslide Republican victory next year.

We welcome Democrats and Independents everywhere to this crusade. Our task is transcends party lines.
The great issues before the world today — or, more accurately, the issues, for there are many — are: Will the United Nations, as envisioned in the United Nations and the United States, or the free peoples of the world, whose combined military and political strength is greater than ever before, be able to safeguard the peace and liberty of the world and the rights of all its peoples? Will the world be able to live in peace and prosperity, or will it be divided by conflict and war? Will the United Nations be able to prevent the spread of communism and maintain the democratic principles that have so far guided the world? Will the United States, as the leading free country, be able to lead the world in this great struggle for freedom and democracy? These are the issues that face us today, and they are the issues that will determine the future of our nation and the world.

In my view, the United Nations is the only hope for the future of mankind. It is the only organization that has the power to prevent war and to promote peace. It is the only organization that has the power to protect the rights of all peoples and to ensure the prosperity of all nations. It is the only organization that has the power to maintain the democratic principles that have so far guided the world. It is the only organization that has the power to prevent the spread of communism and to promote the growth of democratic institutions. It is the only organization that has the power to ensure the safety and security of all peoples.

The United Nations is a democratic organization, and it is the only organization that has the power to maintain the democratic principles that have so far guided the world. It is the only organization that has the power to prevent the spread of communism and to promote the growth of democratic institutions. It is the only organization that has the power to ensure the safety and security of all peoples.
The Republican Eightieth Congress, by passage of the Bushberg resolution, 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 commenced, but unfortunately the military and that the administration permitted 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 had failed, the great official in our security setup, the United States was able to steal the secrets of the atom and the hydrogen bomb. To see 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. That is fact No. 3.

So one regrets the former conflict more than the American people. But despite its terrific cost, force has finally rescued the world and certainly the United States in the fact that the Communist conspiracy is essentially a conspiracy employing deception and Cromwell. So, we are reading — reading an increased cost to the United States on the free nations everywhere. The air force is at last being built to its groups, and construction of a superpower's carrier has finally been started all over again. The Army is being strengthened. The Marine Corps is coming back into its own. The Navy is being taken out of the midshipmen.

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

We long ago learned that no nation can successfully launch a huge war program without threatening its entire economy, be it out of simple because this is a fact, but the administration found it necessary to save, and Congress to vote, the imposition of various economic controls. So, once more America is plagued by wholesale controls administered by political favorites and made down around town. 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. But the administration and policies of the Republican Eightieth Congress have followed instead of sabotage, the Korean conflict might never have happened, wartime controls and any high taxes might not be with us, and the world crisis which now exists might have been averted.

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

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

On Formosa to the north, the recognized government of the Republic of China, headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, still holds out, together with its anti-Communist army of 2,000 troops. Despite the fact that the only government of China that we officially recognize is the government's government, the administration in Washington refuses to keep the government and its fighting forces. In fact, President Truman in his official announcement on Korea on June 7, 1951, declared that we were sending the Seventh Fleet to Formosa to prevent any more aid and our cooperation by the government's forces against the Communist Red, thus inciting the 20,000 troops on the islands.
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, India, 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 ground attack 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 this exerts an occasional friendly gloss 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 to the sin 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 out on the continent of Europe. We are in the same area, needing more and more military supplies to the members of the North Atlantic community. We are seeking food to this. So 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 ruination and prostrateancy of the Free European nations to fall into Communist control. It is essential to have a program that meets this problem.

And I proceed with every measure at my disposal the formulation of any over-all strategy which virtually ignores the focal point of our troubles today -- Asia. Just as I might not that Republicans in congressional caucuses, myself included, have been mounting some policy, some strategy, for years. Our critics date all the way back to 1935 when the first secret document was issued 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, 1943, President Roosevelt publicly committed to the world that unless the Republic of China instituted Chinese Reds to its government American 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 experts as General Bradley, Patrick J. Hurley, and William S. Knudsen? 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... 

If we abandon the anti-Communist forces of South Korea, and the Reds take over China, are we going to make the same mistake twice? 

North Korea has suffered 50,000 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? Can these 200,000 American boys be taken off them by deploying other armies of thousands of American boys to the area 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 sweep across Europe, why not, if we can not satisfy the 800,000 anti-Communist Chinese troops in Formosa? 

There is no question whatsoever about the desire and the eagerness of the Chinese Communists and their troops to join in battle against the Chinese Reds, when the Korean conflict broke out, the Chinese Communists, within a week, ordered to transport immediately 33,000 troops from Formosa to Korea. We turned him down cold.

Why? 

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

Well, the Generalissimo's troops are still in Formosa, but our boys have been fighting the Chinese Reds since last September. 

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 in 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 ordered the railroads and highways for the transportation of supplies a force fighting in Korea and another on the Chinese mainland, where presumably the troops of the Generalissimo could infiltrate if we gave them the necessary support. 

Second, there is excellent reason to believe that if the Generalissimo's 900,000 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 to Burma, Thailand,
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 strongest 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 our Chinese allies. Their needs to make a second-front operation successful fall mainly in the categories of ammunition, transportation, clothes, guns, and food. The Generalissimo has planes and tanks, but we 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 number and strength of the Chinese Red forces in that area. For such purposes the Generalissimo abroad has stationed specialized warships, 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. Supply ships of God — 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 balance to the Generalissimo, a second front could be opened in China without a single GI being faced 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 count on the forces who 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 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, in fact, the Generalissimo's army is to fight Chinese Red forces in Korea, what can be done 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 General MacArthur
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 cut off aid to the government of China back in 1943, 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 Formosa 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 from here to eternity at the same time, if we want a strategy that will help save American lives not only in Korea but wherever the most powerful armies within any region, 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 now hold their eye on Asia for a quarter of a century. All agree how to do it: to read the writings of Lenin, Stalin, or the Daily Worker. William G. McRaven, the head of the Communist Party in the United States, wrote in the Daily Worker on December 2, 1945, "The war in China is the key of all problems on the international front."

Kissinger in The Atlantic stated emphatically that Asia was the key to the world situation. Only now have we seen in the 1945 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 semi-Communist guerrillas can hold out against superior forces? How long will it be before the bottom falls out of China's shaky world army? How long will it be before his guns, tanks, and planes are completely exhausted? How long will it be before the Chinese Reds have performed their division in such an extent as to make a second front impossible?

At this time is not on our side. If we permit the State Department's haphazard politics to prevail, this 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 Army's headquarter bombers was their salvation back in 1945. These 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 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, billions of feet, and thousands of planes. The true measure is how effectively those dollars, those feet, and those planes are employed. Nor is the measure of good government its multitude of commands and edicts, or the enormities and hardships it imposes, or the wastefulness 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 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 wisdom, his simple principles and his frugality. Let us remember that it was the clear, high-minded thinking of Lincoln that preserved this Union, and let us realize that without clarity of thought, without action based on fundamental principles, without the moral will to that end, 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.