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National Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER F. GEORGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, November 8 (legislative day of Wednesday,  
September 18), 1940*

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ADDRESS OF ATTORNEY GENERAL JACKSON

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. Robert H. Jackson, Attorney General of the United States, at the American United program, sponsored by the Council for Democracy, in cooperation with the Columbia Broadcasting System, at Carnegie Hall, New York City, November 6, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Perhaps I may be pardoned for speaking tonight on the ground that I agreed before the election to come here and speak, whether we should win or lose. I agreed to do so because I believe that a sportsmanship which ungrudgingly accepts the decision of the majority is an essential part of our democratic system.

The victors in this election should find humility and a high sense of responsibility in the very magnitude and difficulty of the problems which face our next administration.

This election has vindicated the strength and unity which underlie our political contests—a strength so well described by Lord Balfour when he said:

"Our alternating Cabinets, though belonging to different parties, have never differed about the foundation of society, and it is evident that our whole political machinery presupposes a people so fundamentally at one that they can afford to bicker, and so sure of their own moderation that they are not dangerously disturbed by the never-ending din of political conflict."

The American people are united in defending the fundamental institutions of democracy at home and, short of war, in sustaining democracy abroad. They are united to support national defense, for we have seen that there is no security for a half-defended nation. And we are united to maintain back of our lines of defense a society that is democratic in substance as well as in form. These great objectives constitute a vast area of agreement compared to the areas in which we may differ.

The objectives on which we are agreed cannot be attained, however, without inconvenience, without cost, without sacrifice. Armament for the Nation is a net burden on our national economic life. One of our gravest internal problems is to adjust the burden of our national defense so that it will not gall or divide our society. We must adjust its cost as between today and tomorrow—that is, as between taxation and borrowing. We must adjust its burden as between labor and capital, and we must adjust its requirements so that opportunity for youth in peacetime pursuits will not be endangered by their service for national defense. On any of these things we are likely to think differently, for they will bear differently upon our interests.

Unity—an intelligent and realizable unity—comes through a recognition that common agreement on certain high principles transcends minor differences over method. It does not imply the singleness of viewpoint which could be achieved only by regimentation. It does not even imply an end of criticism. But it does mean that we bear our differences as we bear the infirmities of our friends and keep our sense of proportion between the large things we have in common as against the smaller things where our interests, our temperaments, or our experiences divide us.