

honoring Centella Maiese for her dedication to her community. As wife of Winnow Township's Mayor Dominic Maiese, Centella has maintained an active presence through both the church and club, to the benefit of many others. Certainly, an outstanding woman such as this deserves recognition. As such, I would like to join her family and friends on June 30 in honoring her. May Centella continue to succeed in all her endeavors. ●

### THE ART OF GOVERNMENT

## HON. TOM HAGEDORN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 28, 1978

Mr. HAGEDORN. Mr. Speaker, while it is the multi-billion-dollar expenditures that do them the most damage, it is frequently the petty indignities heaped upon taxpayers by many public officials that most infuriate them. A recent example is the case of the 257 "unlocated" works of art that have been loaned out by the National Collection of Fine Arts to various executive offices.

According to a report by Dom Bonafede in the National Journal, at least 257 original works of art, purchased with tax dollars for the enjoyment of the public, and loaned primarily to Presidential aides, are likely never to be recovered. While no total value has been placed on these works, it is worth noting that only the highest quality art work is ever accepted or purchased by the collection in the first place.

This bipartisan thievery, and there is no other name for it in my opinion, typifies the lack of respect, manifested in so many other ways, that too many public officials have for taxpayer dollars. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the complete list of these missing paintings. While I doubt it, I would hope that some of their current "possessors" would be shamed into returning their stolen property.

The list follows:

#### THE TREASURE HUNT FOR 257 WORKS OF ART

(The following are the "unlocated" works of art, by artist and the year and agency to which they were loaned:)

W. H. Holmes, "A Md. Meadow, Watt's Branch, Near Rockville," 1/25/46, President Truman.  
Houdon, "Thomas Jefferson," 12/3/46, White House.  
Houdon, "George Washington," 12/3/46, White House.  
A. P. Barney, "Village Street," 9/18/53, OMB.  
A. P. Barney, "Bar Harbor," 9/18/53, OMB.  
Hal Denton, "The Right Honorable Winston Churchill," 9/26/57, OMB.  
Sidney L. Smith, "The Hon. Theodore Roosevelt," 9/26/57, OMB.  
R. P. Seymour, "Tree Study," 2/1/61, OMB.  
R. P. Seymour, "The Rough Camp," 2/1/61, OMB.  
W. A. Sherwood, "Pêcheurs de Crevettes," 2/1/61, OMB.  
A. Thayer, "Male Wood Duck," 8/8/62, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (defunct).  
H. L. Doolittle, "From the High Sierras," 3/1/63, OMB.

F. P. Dodge, "A Ravine," 3/1/63, OMB.  
F. P. Dodge, "Old Bridge, Jackson Park," 3/1/63, OMB.  
Gustaf Dalstrom, "Cloudy Day," 3/1/63, OMB.  
Beatrice S. Levy, "Rain in the Hills," 3/1/63, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Hampstead Heath, London," 3/1/63, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Cabin in the Wilderness," 3/1/63, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Venice Fisherman," 3/1/63, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Mill in Delft," 3/1/63, OMB.  
Dahlgreen, "Evening Shadows," 3/1/63, OMB.  
Dahlgreen, "Morning Shadows," 3/1/63, OMB.  
Dahlgreen, "Winter Shadows," 3/1/63, OMB.  
Dahlgreen, "Snowbound Creek," 3/1/63, OMB.  
Dahlgreen, "The Rail Fence," 3/1/63, OMB.  
J. H. Euston, "Pines along the Shore," 7/17/63, OMB.  
J. H. Euston, "Spens in the Snow," 7/17/63, OMB.  
J. H. Euston, "Verdugo Woodland," 7/17/63, OMB.  
J. H. Euston, "San Gabriel Divide," 7/17/63, OMB.  
Tallmadge, "Poplar Trees on the Dunes," 7/17/63, OMB.  
R. Thompson, "Afternoon," 7/17/63, OMB.  
Thompson, "The Watcher," 7/17/63, OMB.  
Zella de Milhau, "Sand Dunes, Southampton, Long Island, N.Y.," 7/17/63, OMB.  
Hurley, "Kentucky Backyard," 7/17/63, OMB.  
H. M. Hobbs, "Tower, Belgian Village, A Century of Progress," 7/17/63, OMB.  
H. M. Hobbs, "The Cottage," 7/17/63, OMB.  
H. M. Hobbs, "Church in the Belgian Village," 7/17/63, OMB.  
E. T. Hurley, "City Towers," 7/17/63, OMB.  
H. M. Hobbs, "Chimney Pots of Old Brest," 7/17/63, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Mountain Ash," 7/17/63, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "May Cherries," 7/17/63, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Castor Bean," 7/17/63, OMB.  
F. Leslie Thompson, "Autumn Days," 7/17/63, OMB.  
R. W. Wolceske, "Winter's Mirror," 7/17/63, OMB.  
A. Hutty, "Guardian Oaks," 7/17/63, OMB.  
H. Winslow, "Wood Monsters," 7/17/63, OMB.  
C. F. Gaertner, "Gravel, Fish and Soya Beans," 8/23/63, OMB.  
W. H. Holmes, "Study of a Bridge," 1/18/65, White House.  
W. H. Holmes, "Maryland Dirt Rd.," 1/18/65, White House.  
A. S. Pennoyer, "Top of the Ridge," 3/29/65, OMB.  
P. C. Kirk, "Rue Petit, St. Michelle, Montreal," 3/29/65, OMB.  
P. C. Kirk, "Industry," 3/29/65, OMB.  
F. C. Kirk, "Harbor at Rockport," 3/29/65, OMB.  
Philip Kappel, "Crossed Trails," 8/30/65, OMB.  
Gerard K. Geerlings, "Black Magic," 8/30/65, OMB.  
G. K. Geerlings, "Inland Islands," 8/30/65, OMB.  
L. O. Griffith, "The County Seat, Brown County," 8/30/65, OMB.  
Philip Kappel, "A Marine Pathway," 8/30/65, OMB.  
Gene Kloss, "Taos Indian Gift Dance," 8/30/65, OMB.  
Philip Kappel, "Lobsterman at Dawn," 8/30/65, OMB.  
Henri de Krulif, "Gander Realm," 8/30/65, OMB.

Charles B. King, "Notre Dame," 8/30/65, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Spider Lake, Wisconsin," 8/30/65, OMB.  
Henri de Krulif, "Dragon Mesquite," 8/30/65, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Palazzo Minelli, Venice," 8/30/65, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Thames Shipping," 8/30/65, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Volendam," 8/30/65, OMB.  
B. E. Jacques, "Boats on Delft Canal," 8/30/65, OMB.  
M. Hardie, "Low Tide," 8/30/65, OMB.  
E. T. Hurley, "Memories of the Fair," 8/30/65, OMB.  
K. Holmes, "Venice," 8/30/65, OMB.  
Hobbs, "Notre Dame, Paris," 8/30/65, OMB.  
Haberer, "Hill Top," 8/30/65, OMB.  
A. Hutty, "Northern Pines," 8/30/65, OMB.  
J. E. Allen, "Connectors," 8/30/65, OMB.  
George C. Aid, "Les Deux Ponts, San Remo," 8/30/65, OMB.  
George C. Aid, "La Maison de la Blanchisseuse," 8/30/65, OMB.  
Charles B. Keeler, "Old Houses, Place Terra au Duc, Quimper," 8/30/65, OMB.  
C. F. Sahlín, "Salascos, Ecuador," 9/29/65, OMB.  
C. F. Sahlín, "Araucanions-Chile," 9/29/65, OMB.  
C. F. Sahlín, "Santiago de Atitlan-Guatemala," 9/29/65, OMB.  
C. F. Sahlín, "Shaleko Dancers," 9/29/65, OMB.  
E. Kelly, "Abstraction," 10/20/65, White House.  
John Sloan, "Hondo Reservoir," 12/10/65, White House.  
F. W. Stokes, "Poi-du-neh," 3/66, OMB.  
F. W. Stokes, "Gh-Lee-Eskimo Boy," 3/66, OMB.  
F. W. Stokes, "Ung-Meh-Duk-Toe, Eskimo Man," 3/66, OMB.  
F. W. Stokes, "Ko-Lo-Ting-wah, Eskimo Man," 3/66, OMB.  
F. W. Stokes, "Meh-soh-neh, Young Eskimo Boy," 3/66, OMB.  
F. W. Stokes, "Au-ring-ah-doh, wife of O-to-ne-ah, Eskimo Woman," 3/66, OMB.  
C. Gilbert, "Arch of Titus," 3/66, OMB.  
C. Gilbert, "Pont du Gard, France," 3/66, OMB.  
C. Gilbert, "Bridge at Moret, France," 3/66, OMB.  
C. Gilbert, "Baths of Caracalla, Rome," 3/66, OMB.  
C. Gilbert, "Santa Maria della Salute," 3/66, OMB.  
C. Gilbert, "Porta San Paulo, Rome," 3/66, OMB.  
Ernest C. Peixotto, "Quaker Meeting House," 3/66, OMB.  
Ernest C. Peixotto, "Park Overlooking Brooklyn," 3/66, OMB.  
Ernest C. Peixotto, "Lake Scene," 3/66, OMB.  
Ernest C. Peixotto, "Philadelphia, Independence Hall, Chestnut St.," 3/66, OMB.  
M. Citron, "Horses," 6/67, Office of Economic Opportunity.  
Walter Bohl, "Irish Setter," 6/67, Special Representative for Trade Negotiations (STR).  
Roland Clark, "Sundown," 6/67, STR.  
A. Gattl, "Untitled, (Officers Reading Map)," 6/67, STR.  
C. Gilbert, "Carcassonne," 6/67, STR.  
C. Gilbert, "Church at Segovia," 6/67, STR.  
C. Gilbert, "Compton Castle," 6/67, STR.  
C. Gilbert, "Laon Cathedral," 6/67, STR.  
C. Gilbert, "On the Canal, Bruges," 6/67, STR.  
C. Gilbert, "Tower at San Francisco Romano," 6/67, STR.  
Delancey Gill, "Landscape," 6/67, STR.  
Gordon Grant, "Hauling the Nets," 6/67, STR.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/12/14 : CIA-RDP92-00041R000100170027-0

- B. Jacques, "Luneland," 6/67, STR.
- F. Jacques, "Winterberries," 6/67, STR.
- J. C. Young, "Tranquillity," 6/67, STR.
- Charles Culver, "Pelican with Gull on His Head," 7/67, OMB
- L. Macouillard, "Looking Past San Francisco, Calif.," 11/67, White House.
- David Hayes, "Untitled," no date, White House.
- Charles Culver, "Kingbirds at Nest with Eggs," no date, Camp David.
- F. Palmer, "Catskill Mountains," no date, Council of Economic Advisers.
- G. Antreasian, "New Mexico II," no date, CIA.
- J. Ross, "Farm," no date, CIA.
- G. Antreasian, "Shield," 10/27/77, CIA.
- N. Azuma, "Calm" no date, CIA.
- Bill Moss, "Oyster Shell Mounds, Crystal Fla.," 1/69, White House.
- James Rosenquist, no name, 1/69, White House.
- D. Thompson, "New Orleans," 2/69, White House.
- G. Catalano, "The Canal," 2/69, White House helicopters.
- L. Sturges, "Spring," 2/69, White House helicopters.
- R. Crosman, "Cook Tower, Rouen," 2/69, White House helicopters.
- G. E. Burr, "Winter Evening," 2/69, White House helicopters.
- E. T. Thompson, "Acadian Fishing Village," 2/69, White House helicopters.
- John Bellamy, "E Pluribus Unum," 2/69, White House.
- Rex Brandt, "Surf Boarders, La Jolla, Calif.," no date, OMB.
- Edward Reep, "Panorama of Farmers Market, L.A.," no date, OMB.
- James Twitty, "Old North Road," no date, White House.
- Richard Brough, "Houseboating on Rainy Lake," no date, OMB.
- H. G. Wegner, "Ghost Town of Fossil, Wyoming," no date, OMB.
- E. Fulwider, "Harpers Ferry, W. Va.," no date, OMB.
- R. Brough, "Winter Landscape near Soosaa, Miss.," no date, OMB.
- Dwight Shepler, "Cabin on Mt. Adams, New Hampshire," no date, OMB.
- Unknown, "Twin Frame Houses," 3/69, White House.
- Unknown, "J. Jacob Astor's Former Residence," no date, White House.
- N. Smith, "Tippecanoe County Court House," no date, White House.
- G. O'Connell, "Madison Series No. 2," 2/69, President's Commission on White House Fellowships.
- S. Moy, "Refuge," no date, President's Commission on White House Fellowships.
- Sonia Gechtloff, "Drawing D," no date, OMB.
- R. L. Crawford, "Scene near Beaufort, N.C.," 4/69, White House.
- K. Appel, "Wild Horserider," 4/69, White House.
- J. B. A. Guillemet, "Landscape," 5/69, White House.
- L. M. Desire-Lucas, "Village Scene," 5/69, White House.
- C. Leich, "New England Farm," 6/69, President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization (defunct).
- G. Cornelle, "La Soleil Rouge," 5/69, White House.
- W. H. Holmes, "A Storm Beaten Coast," 6/69, White House.
- Oldenburg, "Sclator Obelisk," 7/69, White House.
- P. R. Denby, "Valley Near Cades Cove, Tenn.," 7/69, White House.
- A. Warhol, "Flowers," 9/69, White House.
- T. Stamos, "Abstraction," 9/69, White House.
- Anonymous, "The Park," 10/69, White House.
- C. Hunt, "The Falls of Niagara," 10/69, White House.
- R. Havell, "Panoramic View of N.Y. from the East River," 10/69, White House.
- W. Auerbach-Levy, "Quai Grande Augustine," 10/69, White House.
- J. H. Moser, "Untitled" 12/69, Office of Former Presidents.
- Currier & Ives, "The Bewildered Hunter," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "Indian Town," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "The Trout Pool," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "Blue Fishing," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "Wood Ducks," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "Ruffed Grouse," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "The Washington Columns," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "The Rocky Mountains," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "Looking Down the Yosemite," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "Silver Creek, Calif.," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "On the Coast of Calif.," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "The Home of the Deer," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "Peytona and Fashion," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "Going to the Trot," 1/70, Camp David.
- Currier & Ives, "The Celebrated Four," 1/70, Camp David.
- K. Inukai, "Force Field," 3/70, White House.
- F. C. Fiquet, "General Lafayette," 3/70, White House.
- F. C. Fiquet, "George Washington," 3/70, White House.
- Frank Skinner, "A Picardy Orchard," 5/70, White House helicopters.
- Paul Manship, "Patriotism," 6/70, White House.
- J. Hnizdovsky, "The Cat," no date, White House.
- B. Jacques, "Sumac," 7/70, OMB.
- B. Jacques, "Dandelion in Grass," 7/70, OMB.
- W. Drewes, "Arizona Evening," 7/70, OMB.
- W. Drewes, "Canyon Entrance," 7/70, OMB.
- W. Drewes, "Summer Bouquet," 7/70, OMB.
- W. Drewes, "Cherries," 7/70, OMB.
- W. Drewes, "March Forest," 7/70, OMB.
- Charles Culver, "Elk," no date, Camp David.
- W. Warder, "Sandia Mountains," no date, Camp David.
- F. Petrie, "Stevensburg Bridge," no date, Camp David.
- F. Petrie, "Gloucester Boat," no date, Camp David.
- F. Petrie, "Garrett Mountain," no date, Camp David.
- R. Thompson, "Deer Family," no date, Camp David.
- B. Jacques, "Madonna Lilies," no date, Camp David.
- B. Jacques, "Anemones," no date, Camp David.
- B. Jacques, "Magnolia Blossoms," no date, Camp David.
- K. Matsubara, "A Young Couple," no date, Camp David.
- C. Heil, "Young Blue Jay," no date, Camp David.
- J. Allen, "Wood Ibis," no date, Camp David.
- K. Marek, "Flight to the Moon," no date, Camp David.
- P. Giddens, "Port of Calvi, Corsica," no date, White House.
- Gernand, "Flowers," no date, White House.
- C. F. Sahlin, "Macumbe Ceremony," 7/70, OMB.
- C. F. Sahlin, "Mayas of Yucatan," 7/70, OMB.
- W. H. Holmes, "Landscape," no date, Camp David.
- W. H. Holmes, "On the Coast of Calif.," 8/71, Camp David.
- R. Wilvers, "Country Church, Kettle Moraine Area, Wis.," 12/71, President's Commission on White House Fellowships.
- David Glines, "Winter Triptych," 12/71, President's Commission on White House Fellowships.
- Mitchell Jamieson, "Untitled," 1/72, White House.
- W. H. Holmes, "Maryland Wheat Fields," 5/72, President Nixon.
- Charles Culver, "Bucks," 6/72, Camp David.
- A. Philbrick, "Sloop at Anchor," 6/72, Camp David.
- Paul Smith, "Pirates Alley," 6/72, Camp David.
- E. Y. Soderberg, "Leaping Ahead," 6/72, Camp David.
- E. Fulwider, "Highway to Lewis & Clark . . .," 6/72, Camp David.
- Ivan Summers, "Old Senate House, Kingston," 6/72, Camp David.
- Ted Kautsky, "Tidewater Creek, Oregon," 6/72, Vice President Agnew.
- Unknown, "A Scouting Party," no date, Camp David.
- Unknown, "The Advance of the Calvary Skirmish Line," no date, Camp David.
- Unknown, "A New Map of Va. & Md. & Improved Pars . . .," no date, Camp David.
- Unknown (after C. G. Bush), "The Ceremonies of Dedication of the Nat'l Cemetery . . .," no date, Camp David.
- Unknown, "Pictorial Map of the Seat of War, Showing Artist . . .," no date, Camp David.
- Unknown (After E. Forbes), "Battle of Antietam," no date, Camp David.
- Unknown (after E. Forbes), "Invasion of Md., 1864, Driving off Cattle," no date, Camp David.
- Unknown (after A. R. Waud), "Reminiscences of the Md. Campaign," no date, Camp David.
- Unknown (after C. E. Bonwill), "General Buford's Engagement . . .," no date, Camp David.
- Unknown (after E. Forbes), "The War in Md.," 8/72, Camp David.
- Unknown (signed J. K. Naot), "The Rebel Army Crossing . . .," 8/72, Camp David.
- Unknown, "Grand Review of Gen. Thomas' Brigade in Western Md. . . .," 8/72, Camp David.
- Unknown, "View of Md. Heights," 8/72, Camp David.
- Unknown, "View on the James River Canal," 8/72, Camp David.
- Unknown, (after Theodore R. Davis), four sketches, 8/72, Camp David.
- Unknown, (after Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson), "A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Va.," 8/72, Camp David.
- J. Dalrymple, "Map of N.J., Md., Pa., Va.," 8/72, Camp David.
- Kurz & Allison, "Battle between the Monitor & The Merrimac," 8/72, Camp David.
- D'Arcangelo, "Landscape II," 5/73, White House.
- Sam Francis, "List Poster," 10/73, White House.
- Cleve Gray, "Untitled," 10/74, White House.
- George Story, "Abraham Lincoln," 1/75, White House.
- Charles Henry, "Landscape," 12/74, President's Commission on White House Fellowships.
- Sir Aston Webb, "Locksmith's Shop," 12/74, President's Commission on White House Fellowships.
- I. Kerr, "Dogs & Sled . . .," 12/74, President's Commission on White House Fellowships.
- L. Ochtman, "A Morning in Summer," 3/75, Vice President Rockefeller.
- Arthur T. Hill, "After a Storm, Amangansett," 3/75, Vice President Rockefeller.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—*Admissions of Remarks*

June 29, 1978

Branville Smith, "Grey Day," 10/75, resident Rockefeller.  
 Mrs. Chapman, "Garden at the Tull-Paris," 6/75, White House-Vice President-Rockefeller.  
 George Catlin, "Wife of Bear Catcher," White House.  
 (repart. "Water," 9/67, CIA.  
 P. Robins, "Old Shoreham Cottage," MA.  
 Huever, "Old Houses in Bavaria," 9/67, n.  
 MacKinnon, "Chelsea," no date, no n.  
 Rosenfield, "Ill., Small Town on the River," 2/69, OMB.  
 Sample, "An American Road in Win- /69, OMB. ●

he left it because he liked being at his friend's house; he hated to leave, and he left a bit of himself—his umbrella—behind.

I am summoned to a meeting I don't want to attend. I say "I'll be glad to come." But when I go, I forgot to bring papers I need for the meeting. Did I really "forget" them? Didn't I really leave them because I'm telling myself something about boring meetings? I am fighting, but haven't admitted it.

Freud told about a patient of his whose wife had given him a book. Patient and wife weren't getting along. The patient lost the new book before he had a chance to read it. He looked everywhere; he could not find the book.

Six months later, when the patient and his wife were getting along better, the patient found the book, in an obvious place in his desk.

That's the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life." Freud's conclusion was that ordinary accidents and incidents of absentmindedness are not accidents at all.

There is also justice in everyday life, which is to cases in courts what Freud's lost umbrella was to psychoanalysis.

## ORDINARY JUSTICE OF EVERY DAY LIFE

Ordinary justice is what we people give one to another because we hope to be able to live together. This justice is a quiet, everyday thing. Our access to justice is quiet and ordinary, too—as quiet and ordinary as the psychopathology of everyday life.

Contracts are an example. Law students study complex cases of disputed contracts. Hollywood even makes movies about law students studying contract disputes. The courts in one Indiana county may decide a hundred lawsuits this month and which involve contracts. But today, in the same county, tens of thousands of contracts will be performed without dispute—everything from two neighbors who agree to share the cost of repairing common driveway to a term loan agreement to finance a new factory at the edge of town.

For every lawsuit over a will which is tried in our courts, hundreds of wills are opened, read, and quietly carried out.

For every criminal case which goes to trial, hundreds of violations and the law are resolved or avoided by police officers, public officials, and such ingenious institutions as the night prosecutor's office in St. Joseph County.

All of this happens because most of us are willing to give justice to one another. We are willing, even, to give more than justice; we are willing to pay a little extra as an investment in order and mutual confidence and a peaceful community.

And so, if we are wise enough, we don't demand all our rights. The mortgage company takes a late payment. The man next door throws my son's ball back over the fence. The police officer takes more abuse than he should have to take from a drunk or a cocky teenager.

That is the justice of everyday life, and everyday life is our main access to justice. Everyday justice is not an accident, anymore than the psychopathology of everyday life is an accident.

## JUSTICE IS A VIRTUE

The justice of everyday life depends on good will, but the good will on which everyday justice depends is not good will at large. It is not a matter of my extending kindness when I feel like being kind. The good will on which justice depends is more disciplined than that. This good will has been built on habit—the habit of justice under law. That's what we mean when we say justice is a virtue. That it is a habit. Virtues are good habits.

One reason tens of thousands of contracts are being performed today, without dispute, is that we expect one another to keep promises. And every year hundreds of lawyers

and other citizens work those rules over, not to create lawsuits, but to prevent lawsuits. Lawyers and legislators in Indiana have been revising the rules on probate of wills, almost continuously, since 1953—not so there will be more wills in court, but so that there will be fewer wills in court.

For most people, justice is not a matter of going to court. It is a matter of habit. It is a matter, first, of a personal good habit. Justice is also a social good habit; the social good habit is what we call government under law.

Justice is not a gift of the government. If it is a gift at all, it is a gift we give one another. Before justice is anything else, it is our willingness to work things out together. And then it is our willingness to work out rules for one another to follow. This willingness to work out the rules is what we mean by "justice under law." Our access to justice is an assurance that most of us, most of the time, will keep our promises, will follow what our relatives say in their wills, and will give decent respect to police officers.

## JUSTICE AND THE LAW

Law comes into this at the point at which we begin to expect things from one another. Law is the conversation we have when we try to work out those expectations. If my neighbor and I cannot agree on who should fix the driveway, we are going to have to turn somewhere for a settlement of our disagreement. What we turn to is the experience of the community on fixing driveways. This includes our own experience, and our own attempt to make sense of our experience.

This is not a turning away from the virtue of justice, but it is turning away from reliance solely on good will. Good will is not necessarily a habit; it is not as dependable as a habit. But justice is a habit; it is more dependable than good will. The virtue of justice is involved when my neighbor and I disagree on repairing the driveway because the experience of the community on fixing driveways backs up to an idea about what a just person, a virtuous person, should do in the circumstances. In this way, law backs up to a challenge to our better selves. When it is any good at all, law is a challenge to our better selves.

When my neighbor and I turn to the experience of the community, we are likely to end up consulting what a virtuous person should do, whether we realize it or not. That's what happens when people turn to the law. Law is what we have decided together to expect of one another. As my colleague and friend, Professor Stanley Hauerwas says, law is the space God gives us to work things out for ourselves.

Of course, force is involved. Part of the idea of law is that force will be used, if necessary, to enforce the rules we have decided to have. Justice under law is a noble idea, but it is also a sad truth. We have found out that we cannot get along with good will alone. We have to work out rules. And we have to enforce the rules.

But government under law means that the rules come before the force. The rules we have worked out together come first; then the force, if force is necessary—and it is usually not necessary. For every broken law there are a million instances of law obeyed. The justice in everyday life, dispenses, for the most part, with any need for force.

It is as important as anything can be not to confuse justice with force. Force comes from the government, but justice does not come from the government. Justice is the gift we give one another as we go about living under the law, and as we go about making the law fit our lives. Our truthfulness in doing this is where justice comes from.

Justice is not the result of power. It is not the result of force. The idea that governments provide goodness—that power provides justice—is where tyranny begins.

## JUSTICE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

## HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

## THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 28, 1978

BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I had privilege on May 1, 1978 of having the Law Day address for the St. Joseph County Bar Association in South Ind., in the district I am honored to represent in Congress.

My address on this occasion was decided by Thomas L. Shaffer, professor of law at the University of Notre Dame and former dean of the Notre Dame Law School.

Professor Shaffer addressed himself on this occasion to the meaning of justice. I think that his remarks on this occasion will be read by every Member of the House of Representatives and Senate with great interest and, indeed, benefit. I insert at this point in the Record the text of Professor Shaffer's remarks.

## JUSTICE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

The problem with the idea of justice is that it is too important. It is, like the ideas of patriotism and love of neighbor, functionally inaccessible, because we respect it too much.

A scholar is not free to criticize the idea of justice, but he may be free to break it down and look at it in some of its simpler forms. The idea might in that way become more accessible.

Breaking the idea of justice down into a simpler form is somewhat like what Sigmund Freud did to the idea of psychological health in his book "The Psychopathology of Everyday Life."

Freud was the founder of modern medical psychology. He spent his life laboring to cure people who were disabled by manias and depressions. Some of them were paralyzed. Some couldn't talk or sleep or eat. Freud used his own life to find the causes of these disabilities. He invented psychoanalysis as a way to help his patients to the discovery of the causes.

Freud's career was among abnormal people. He noticed this, and noticed that his work led him to ignore the oddities, curious events, and froufrou which make ordinary life uninteresting and interesting.

In his "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" he talks about the ordinary and the normal in the way our minds work. It's a nice book, as good as any on psychology go, because it uncovers the ripples in the routine:

Freud left his umbrella at a friend's house, and tried to figure out why, and realized that