TUI MOTU
InterIslands

CELEBRATING 20 YEARS *1997–2017*

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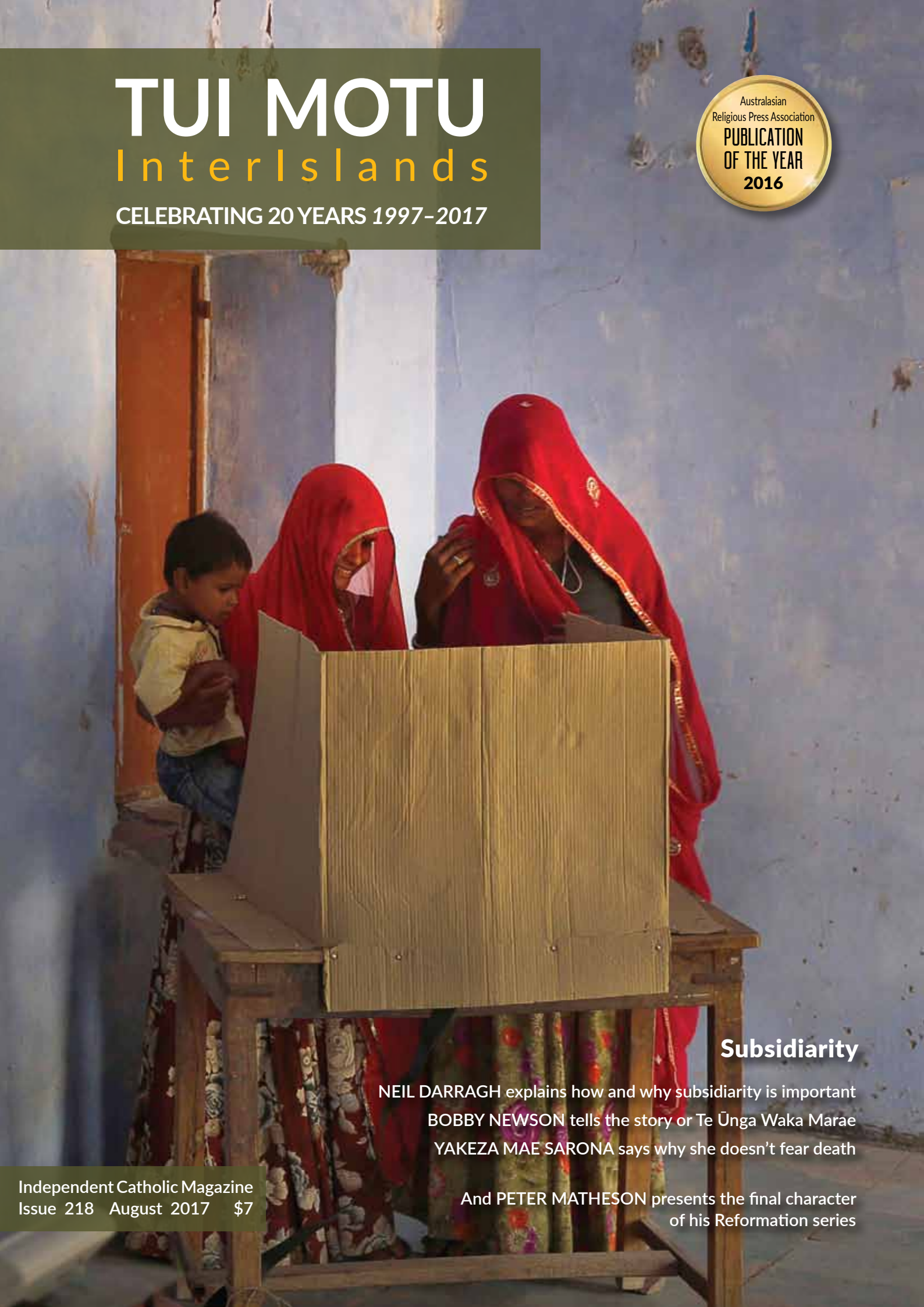

Subsidiarity

NEIL DARRAGH explains how and why subsidiarity is important

BOBBY NEWSON tells the story or Te Ūnga Waka Marae

YAKEZA MAE SARONA says why she doesn't fear death

And PETER MATHESON presents the final character of his Reformation series

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Cover photograph:

Indian women cast their vote at a village near Sawai Madhopur, India, 2014.

AAP/AP Images ©

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EDITORIAL

Making Decisions Responsibly

It was while trawling the web for the cover photo that I discovered that the most recent general election in India was the largest ever held. With India's huge population — bigger than the EU and US combined — it took enormous efforts to ensure all adults, even those in the most rural areas, were able to vote. Every one of the 863,500,000 women and men held that right. Such is universal suffrage in a democracy — a right that we in New Zealand will be exercising next month.

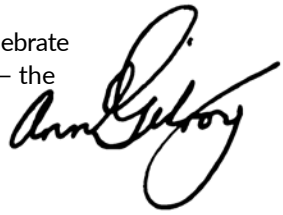
It's a happy synergy that our focus on the social justice principle of subsidiarity in this issue aligns with our preparation for the general elections. Casting our vote is a basic exercise of subsidiarity, of deciding who we think will be the best candidate and party for all people and the environment of our country. And viewed in this way we're challenged to prepare well, letting the principles of social justice rub up against our choices, as the recently published New Zealand Bishops' Statement encourages. We'll need to weigh up for ourselves who will be bold enough to deal with issues like mental health, education, health and welfare, young families, homelessness, debt, immigration and care of Aotearoa, all with an eye to sustaining their gains into the future. That is, who will make an option to stop the inroads of poverty and excess in our country? Who is listening to and encouraging young people? Who is clear about where they will crop spending or increase taxes in order to achieve these social gains?

The discussion of subsidiarity in this issue — consulting those directly affected by decisions and allowing them to make their decisions — is not just about voting. It emphasises how the practice of subsidiarity upholds human dignity, encourages participation in society and remembers the common good. As Neil Darragh and John Dew infer, subsidiarity is an essential ingredient in the stew of a healthy society so that if omitted the flavour is unbalanced. It's an important principle for the individual institutions of society, too, including the Church. Bobby Newson, Emma Dawson and Michele Madigan show opposing positions of subsidiarity in action — contributing to a fuller life or oppression. And Yakeza's extraordinary deathbed letter is alive with faith and gratitude for all who cared for her. This is just a taste of what you will find in this 218th issue.

Our gratitude pours on all who have contributed to this magazine by sharing their writing, art, craft, reflection, research, passion and faith. Enjoy feasting on their words and reading their pictures.

Next month's issue, September, will celebrate the 20th birthday of *Tui Motu* magazine — the seed has germinated and is blooming!

As is our custom, the last words are of blessing. ■



ACT BOLDLY TOGETHER FOR CLIMATE CHANGE

Facing a challenge as large and multifaceted as climate change makes the monster under the bed we feared as children look like a friendly creature. Climate change is upon us, yet often seen as distant, immeasurable and with no one perpetrator. Pope Francis highlighted the urgency of acting and I see my role as putting the wisdom of *Laudato Si'* into practical action. My response to the cry of the poor is to take part boldly in the climate justice movement.

Working with others is crucial. We need to work together to challenge systems that allow coal, oil and gas to continue to be burned unsustainably. And by building relationships with others who also want systemic change, we increase our capacity to create change — we can work for longer and achieve more impressive goals.

We need to change the way we work. Our current economic and cultural paradigms teach us to try to change the world individually, one by one, through processes like consumer choices or a single vote. These are good moves but not bold enough. They limit change because they do not challenge the power dynamics upholding the systems. By working as a collective we can demand the large-scale change needed at this time of urgent and grave ecological crisis. Working as one is more effective than working alone.

We need to build solidarity with others of like purpose. Starting from a place of solidarity is most effective for climate change action. And we can build partners in solidarity by asking what values we share, which gives us a place of commonality. We all hold some intrinsic values in common, such as the value of friendship, forgiveness, peace and creativity. By concentrating on our common values it is easier to find common purpose and agreement about common action.

I think that we need to be strategic in our action. We must challenge unjust systems — ecological, political or personal — with grace towards those who are not yet ready to "get on board". From experience we know that social justice movements take place on grand time scales and over that time the majority of the population shifts to empathise with the core beliefs of the movement. We just have to think of women's suffrage and the overthrow of apartheid. As Naomi Klein said: "Let's treat each other as if we plan to work side by side in struggle for many, many years to come. Because the task before us will demand nothing less."

Sharing personal stories helps in building a strong team. When I meet new people interested in taking climate action, I ask them to reflect on the moment they first began to care about a particular issue. By sharing these personal stories we connect with one another's values and build the relationships needed for sustaining our long-term efforts.

All too often activists burn out, exhausted by their work. So activists need to care for themselves and be supported within healthy communities, nourished by faith and sustained from a place of love. Sometimes we can feel totally overwhelmed by the action needed. But as Shoshana Meira-Friedman, Jewish rabbi, shared: "Being in service necessitates a very difficult letting go of outcome, and faith. Not blind faith, but faith that us showing up matters."

It is a powerful thing to shift the attitudes and values held by the base of the population. That shift is incremental as people move from a position of individual action, to wanting to join in collective endeavours for change, to working from compassion and understanding of our world. This is the change we are seeking — people shifting one step towards the final goal.

So I now invite all Catholics to a collective action. Let's ask our New Zealand Catholic Bishops to develop an ethical investments policy collectively that rules out investing Church resources in coal, oil and gas exploration and extraction. Our collective action will help to "turn off the monetary tap" of harmful fossil fuel projects, as Pope Francis described. We can ask that the money is then reinvested in social programmes such as the retraining of workers.

The climate change movement needs our service urgently. We are the beneficiaries of others' service. Now it is our turn to act together. As Andrea Gibson wrote:

We are all as small
As a single breath
But tied to the rest
We are all the life of the world
The pulse that turns rocks to pearls. ■

Charlie Montague is an Otago University student and climate campaigner with 350.org and the Global Catholic Climate Movement.

SUBSIDIARITY *balances other* SOCIAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES

NEIL DARRAGH explains subsidiarity as a principle of social justice and describes how it works together with other principles in making a just society.

The principle of subsidiarity advocates devolving decision-making in society to the lowest practical level. This creates a presumption for the value of lower-level decision-making on public issues but allows for higher-level intervention if there is a good reason.

More proactively, the principle of subsidiarity calls on larger governing bodies such as the state to support smaller, less powerful social organisations in making their own decisions about their own and public well-being.

The general aim of the principle of subsidiarity is to ensure some degree of independence of a lower authority in society from a higher authority such as central government. It rules out intervention from the higher authority if an issue can be dealt with effectively by a lower body. Subsidiarity is concerned fundamentally with participation and democracy in society.

The opposite of subsidiarity is a condition of overriding state control where a central government regulates almost all aspects of life, leaving little room for freedom or spontaneous organisation. Historically, subsidiarity became an important principle in Catholic social thought from the late 19th century onwards, as part of an effort to counter the rise of both extreme inequalities in society and of state socialism.

At the centre of the principle of subsidiarity is the idea that trust and compassion in society is necessary for both the common good and the upholding of the dignity of individual persons. The belief here is that trust and compassion at all levels of society are the source of social integration and this, rather than coercive regulation, is more likely to result in social and economic organisation that meets genuine human requirements.

Subsidiarity in Public Debate

Subsidiarity is an important principle in Catholic social thought but it does not belong just to the Catholic Church. It plays an important role in international law especially in confederations such as the European Union where it serves to restrain the power of centralised regulation and protect the sovereignty of the member states.

In New Zealand it serves to support public decision-making at the local level, but allows intervention by central government when necessary. It operates, for example, in such debates as where the responsibility should lie for the management of resources or actively preventing fresh water pollution. The principle of subsidiarity does not solve such disputes but it gives support to local civic responsibility and requires justification for central government intervention. And in 2009, when New Zealand introduced an "anti-smacking" law, subsidiarity featured in debate around where to draw the line between the rights of the family and the need for government legislation to prevent violence towards children.

Grounded in Social Justice

In Catholic social thought, the principle of subsidiarity is normally grounded in social justice. In the wider political debate, other grounds for it have also been put forward: that it protects individual liberty, it promotes economic or bureaucratic efficiency, it is a basic principle of democracy and self-determination, it promotes political

accountability downwards, and it promotes respect for social and cultural diversity.

Builds Civil Society

The crucial thrust of the principle of subsidiarity is that it calls for decision-making to be located towards the grass-roots level of the people who are most affected by those decisions. It is concerned with the building up of civil society, made up of the social, economic, cultural, sporting, recreational, professional, business and political associations that are expressions of the relationships among people. Its political orientation is to oppose collectivism or centralised power whether in the form of dictatorship, state socialism, non-constitutional monarchy, or military rule. In a more general way, it resists the top-down exercise of power such as that in line-management and hierarchical systems of organisation where decisions are made from the top.

At a lower level even than the organisations that make up civil society, this principle supports decision-making, where possible, at the level of the individual person. In healthcare, for example, it is concerned not just with the dignity of the individual person but also with personal "agency". That is, it is concerned that even the very vulnerable or dependent person retains as much decision-making power as possible; that they have a voice in their own care and do not become simply passive recipients of other people's decisions.

A Matrix of Social Justice Principles

Because of its emphasis on grassroots decision-making and restraints on the power of centralised government, the principle of subsidiarity is the social justice principle most favoured by the "neo-liberal" end of the political spectrum. There, priority is given to the individual as a self-governing entity endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty and property. But this priority isolates the notion of subsidiarity. Like all the principles of social justice, subsidiary cannot operate on its own. It sits within a matrix of social justice principles where one principle balances another.

The principles of Catholic social thought are principles extracted from a number of official Catholic documents, mainly papal encyclicals, and can be listed in somewhat different ways. Caritas New Zealand lists these principles as: Human dignity (made in God's image), Subsidiarity (empowering communities), Solidarity (walking together), Preferential option for the poor and vulnerable (protecting those in need), Working for the common good (the good of each and all), Participation (everyone with a part to play), and Stewardship (care for the Earth as our common home). So far this year, issues of *Tui Motu* magazine have been focused on solidarity, respecting the dignity of the human person, the common good, stewardship (care for our common home), participation and an option for the poor.

Subsidiarity is concerned that even the very vulnerable or dependent person retains as much decision-making power as possible; that they have a voice in their own care and do not become simply passive recipients of other people's decisions.

Interrelationship of Principles

These principles are all interrelated (and sometimes overlapping). Subsidiarity and solidarity, in particular, are linked and mutually reinforcing. An interdependence of both of these is necessary for bringing about the common good on the one hand and the dignity of all human beings on the other.

If left isolated without the related principles of solidarity and the common good, subsidiarity could be taken to support the kind of individualism where a person is supposed to be self-sufficient and self-promoting, seeking their own "excellence" and serially inventing and reinventing their own personal identities. Together, subsidiarity and solidarity advocate the idea that we are all gifted persons willing to serve the common good at whatever level and in whatever way we can and that we do this in solidarity with others, especially those most in need.

Subsidiarity in the Church

The very odd thing about the principle of solidarity is that the Catholic Church officially advocates it for the wider society, but not for itself. Except for a brief period following the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) when it was promoted in the form of "participation", and in spite of its implementation in a variety of forms in other churches, the principle of subsidiarity has not been applied to the Catholic Church's own internal organisation. ■

Illustration by Lilly Johnson ©

Neil Darragh is a pastor, writer, and theologian. He is a priest of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland with a long-term interest in the impact of the Christian Gospel in New Zealand society.

Kororia ki te Atua.
Maunga tonga ki te whenua.
Whakaaro pai ki te tangata.

The Story of

Te Ūnga Waka Marae

BOBBY NEWSON **remembers the contribution Te Ūnga Waka is making to the community life of Māori Catholics in Auckland.**

Wiki Hotere (R) greeting Jack Farrell, Chairperson of Auckland Pastoral Council (L) 1970s. [*NZ Catholic* archives]

I am from Mitimiti and I work and live in Auckland. "Home is where your heart is."

Mitimiti is my home. I lived with my grandparents in Mitimiti, learning about and experiencing Māori Catholic life from a young child until I left for secondary school in Auckland. Then St Peter's Māori College became my new home, where I learnt life as a student, educated by the Marist Brothers and guided by the Mill Hill Fathers.

St Peter's Māori College is now called Hato Petera. It is ironical that as I write this article on subsidiarity, Hato Petera is struggling for its existence.

The most significant events in my life at Hato Petera were the ordination of Pa Henare Tate in 1962, the first Maori diocesan priest who was from Motuti in the Hokianga, and the opening of Te Ūnga Waka Marae in 1966 (see *TM* May 2017 p3). As a senior student I had the privilege of leading the *kapa haka* group which joined with Te Roopū Rangimārie at the official opening of Te Ūnga Waka Marae.

Te Ūnga Waka Established

The Marae was opened as a community centre for Māori Catholics in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland by the Governor General, Bernard Ferguson and Dame Whina Cooper in 1966. As I look back, I can see its influence in the development of Māori Catholic in Tāmaki Makaurau and of Māori in general in the city.

Thanks to the hard work and generosity of many organisations, including the Māori Women's Welfare League, a disused, burnt-out bakery on the corner of Clyde Street and Manukau Road in Epsom was purchased and transformed into the Marae.

A variety of fundraising efforts helped with the purchase: Queen Carnivals, socials, raffles, housie and card games, bring and buys. Thanks to Dame Whina Cooper's persuasive influence in working with the Bishop of Auckland at the time, a major commitment by the Catholic Diocese of Auckland ensured its existence.

Fundraising brought different groups together. The main city Māori hub was the Māori Community Centre on Fanshawe St. This was the place to be for talent quests, dancing and socialising — it was referred to as the Māori university! The resident group, *Maranga*, was led by Anne Tia and Pita Awatere and members were mostly of the Ratana faith. Along with the Anglican community, *Tātai Hono* on Auckland's Khyber Pass, led by the Rev Kingi Ihaka, they were friends of Te Ūnga Waka. The ecumenical spirit of working together helped establish the new community centre of Te Ūnga Waka and over the years since it has hosted many significant *hui*, functions and events (including the wedding of Kiri Te Kanawa).

Meaning of the Name

The naming of Te Ūnga Waka was very significant. Whina Cooper, who had the historical knowledge, named it for the landing place in the Hokianga of the Ngātokimatawhaorua *waka*/canoe under the guidance of Nukutawhiti. Te Ūnga Waka remains a special place in the Hokianga to this day. The name of the Marae links northern Catholic Māori to

Tāmaki Makaurau and literally means that Te Ūnga Waka is the landing place for all canoes.

Leaders of Te Ūnga Waka

The *Rūnanga*/Council for Te Ūnga Waka was established with esteemed Māori elders and leaders. In the 70s and 80s Te Ūnga Waka sailed into new waters and as well as running the Marae many leaders took on roles in the Church establishing the Auckland Pastoral Council.

The Mill Hill Fathers were appointed as the *pirihi*/priests in 1966. Pa Matiu was the first and Pa Mikaere Ryan is our parish priest today. We acknowledge and pay our respects to the many *pirihi* and leaders who have fulfilled these roles in the community over the years.

Centre for Young Māori

Pa Henare Tate was appointed as assistant priest in the early 70s and was influential in establishing the Youth Club. We had six netball teams and two rugby teams. Netball practice took place in the main hall and we played at the Catholic Courts in Khyber Pass Road. "Go Waka!" was the battle cry supporting our teams on the netball court and rugby field. Our "A" team often fought for top honours in the Auckland Association competition and a number of players were selected to represent the Auckland Netball Association. Sunday sports became a common activity after Mass.

Culture, *karakia*/prayer and sports were the core values of our Youth Club. The events of the years are recorded in photos and on the walls of Te Ūnga Waka and continue to tell the stories.

While our young men were learning apprenticeships in Auckland under the Māori Affairs Trade Training Schemes, they were accommodated in hostels close to Te Ūnga Waka. These young men often participated in our social events, especially in the Sunday evening Talent Quest, which was followed by music and dancing. Midnight was the hostels' closing time and so near that time there was a great dashing out the door and up the road to their respective hostels. And many stars emanated from these talent quests: Erana Clarke, Butch Ruka and The Hi-Marks, and The Yandall Sisters, to name just a few.

The culture group *Te Roopū Rangimārie*, founded by Miria Hotere and *kuia* and *kaumātua*, was made up of many family members of our community and performed at many significant events, including Kiri Te Kanawa's wedding and the commemoration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

> *The concept of* tino rangatiratanga*/self determination is not about ownership but more about Māori having the authority and the ability to make decisions over their lives and property. It is related to the principle of subsidiarity.*

Christ the Māori

A highlight was the sacred musical, *Christ the Māori*, written and choreographed by Pa Henare Tate. It portrayed the life of Christ as a Māori, from his birth to his death and resurrection in *haka*, *waiata*, *poi*, *mihi* and *tangi* scenes. Members of Te Rangimārie cultural group and Te Ūnga Waka community were selected for the various roles. Initially Pa Henare narrated the script in English and Māori, then later I became the narrator. We performed *Christ the Māori* for 11 years at venues throughout Aotearoa, from Kaitaia to Bluff. Many of the *waiata* from *Christ the Māori* are still sung today at *tangihanga* and other events.

Participation in Political Protests

The 70s and 80s were turbulent times for Tāmaki Makaurau and Te Ūnga Waka. Events such as the 1977-78 Bastion Point eviction of the Ngāti Whātua people from their land intensified public debate and the Catholic Church brought its stance on Māori Land issues to the fore. Pa Michael Shirres OP took an active role in supporting the peaceful protest of the occupation of Takaparawhau/Bastion Point.

Māori land issues were prominent through this time. The 1981 Springbok Rugby Tour of Aotearoa saw a very divided country — the Government supported the Tour but a great number of people opposed it because of the apartheid regime in South Africa. The opposition was not about rugby but about racial discrimination. Māori land issues and racial discrimination were constant political headlines as Māori struggled to gain recognition of their culture, language and land.

Te Ūnga Waka supported the 1975 *Hīkoi*/Māori Land March led by 79-year-old Whina Cooper in a 1,000-km walk to Wellington to protest the sale of Māori land and the control of land still in Māori hands. Members joined the *hīkoi* at Hato Petera and walked with them over the Harbour Bridge to Te Ūnga Waka.

Concern Now

The concept of *tino rangatiratanga*/self determination is not about ownership but more about Māori having the authority and the ability to make decisions over their lives and property. It is related to the principle of subsidiarity. Subsidiarity is quashed when *tino rangatiratanga* is usurped by a "higher" authority and a grave injustice is done to the people.

Now Te Ūnga Waka and Hato Petera are struggling again in the context of *tino rangatiratanga*. We feel that subsidiarity has been breached and this has impacted and affected the lives of many Māori Catholic within our community. As a result we are marginalised in being effective in our own Catholic faith. We acknowledge the passing of Dr Pa Henare Tate on 1 April 2017. His legacy of teachings and writing on Māori spirituality continues to enhance our spirituality and strengthen our faith. ■

Bobby Newson is Te Rarawa Iwi of Mitimiti Hokianga and Manager of Iwi Relationship and Human Remains Repatriation at Tamaki Paenga Hira/Auckland War Memorial Museum.

Looks After Us Like Children

MICHELE MADIGAN outlines the Australian Federal Government's policies for Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory and agrees with Djiniyini Gondarra that the Government "just look after us like a little child".

I'm a South Australian and on 21 June 2007 I was staying with the Lochivar Josephites in New South Wales more than 1,000 kms from home. As I knew only one person in the community I'd resolved to tread quietly. However, on the evening news the Prime Minister of the time, John Howard, and his Minister for Families and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, Mal Brough, announced solemnly that things were so bad in the Aboriginal communities of the Northern Territory that the Government had to "intervene". Forgetting my good intentions as a guest I reacted to this shocking news by flinging my alarm clock, which happened to be in my lap, in the direction of the TV.

To those of us who had been following the Federal Government's attempts to take land from the Traditional Owners of the Northern Territory (NT), this announcement of the "Northern Territory National Emergency Response" (referred to as "the Intervention") was a blatant tactic to gain control.

Land Lease or No Facilities

In 2010, the documentary *Our Generation* (see YouTube or *TM* website) provided the "back story" to the situation. Several months before the announcement, Minister Brough had visited the Yolgnu people of northeast Arnhem Land. One of the Galiwin'ku community leaders was Rev Djiniyini Gondarra of the Uniting Church, whom I knew to be a brilliant theologian. Brough, a former army man, walked through rapturous applause to sit with the Yolgnu community leaders. Among other long overdue needs, he promised the leaders the drastically required housing.

But then came the crunch. To gain these facilities, the leaders had to sign 99-year leases of their land to the Federal Government. They were shocked. No deal. The 1976 Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act had been won only through great hardship. Some people had sat on small pockets of land enduring adversities for up to 15 years, just waiting for their day in court. Brough walked away from the meeting empty-handed.

And payback came just months after the meeting with "the Intervention" announcement. The Prime Minister righteously said that the reason was the shocking "Little Children are Sacred" report which dealt with child abuse in the NT Aboriginal communities. There is no denying that child abuse is a terrible thing and as a member of the Catholic Church, I have some idea of its shameful and widespread damage in Australia.

No Consultation with People

However, the first of the report's many recommendations was that consultation with community leaders was paramount in coming to the way forward. This recommendation was ignored then and still is to this day.

The Federal Government completely overrode the NT Government. The Australian Army was sent into communities. Children were to undergo invasive medical examinations. Huge billboards were placed at the entrance to each community forbidding alcohol, drugs and pornography to be brought into the community. The income of those on Social Security was to be "managed" by the government. Further, Aboriginal Community Councils were abolished and replaced by fly-in/fly-out Community Managers answerable only to the Government. Five-year leases of community land to the government were made compulsory and housing areas came under governmental jurisdiction.

It must be startling for Aotearoa New Zealand readers to discover that this whole shameful exercise is now in its shameful *tenth* year. It is an example of how successive Australian Governments have completely disregarded subsidiarity for the First Nations peoples of Australia. Today "the Intervention" continues almost unnoticed by most Australians.

There are many stories of the impact of "the Intervention". When the Army came into communities, many of the women had flashbacks to the stark memories of the Stolen Generations years, and in fear ran off with their children. Because of protests by medical professionals, the intrusive medical examinations of children were stopped, and rightly deemed to constitute abuse themselves.

When the blue Community Entrance billboards went up, children and many adults were asking what "pornography" meant. I was in the NT capital, Darwin, on the first anniversary of "the Intervention" and people were still astounded at the gross discrimination. There were many shops stocking pornography in central Darwin — shops run by white people for whom *selling* pornography was (somehow) not an offence. Throughout the Territory and further, Aboriginal men felt the shame of being generally viewed as perpetrators.

Intervention Roll-Out

The government's "income management" meant that thousands of Aboriginal people were given a BasicsCard which functioned like an EFTPOS card but only at approved stores and businesses. Half the user's income was "quarantined" — accessed only via the BasicsCard which denied purchases of alcohol, drugs, tobacco and pornography. In practice, the Cards often malfunctioned and initially could be used only at the big stores. This meant that people had to travel huge distances at great cost to buy basic food and family requirements. Community adults and children were often stranded in the larger towns with nowhere safe to stay. The implementation cost taxpayers an average $6,000 per card.

Over the years during which Communities have been denied funding for basic necessities like housing, enormous pressure has been placed on Aboriginal communities to hand over their lands to the Government on 99-year leases.

Labor Fails the People

Perhaps the greatest shame of all, however, followed the 2007 Federal election. Both Prime Minister Howard and Minister Brough lost their seats and Labor won the election with predictably massive majorities in NT Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal voters confidently expected that the Intervention would be withdrawn. Instead successive Labor Prime Ministers, Rudd and Gillard, made only minor changes and then in 2012 actually extended the rebadged "the Intervention" for a further 10 years.

In separate legislations, the permit system into Aboriginal Lands was weakened, the nine remaining Aboriginal bilingual schools disallowed and the long-term Aboriginal Community Employment Scheme defunded. There is no space here to cite further areas of oppression, nor the regular denouncements by visiting, almost incredulous, United Nations officials. Djiniyini Gondarra OAM and Utopia Community's Rosalie Kunoth-Monks OAM have been among the Intervention's leading heroic opponents — nationally and internationally.

Kaurna/Narungga woman, Georgina Williams had explained to me back in 1978 how Aboriginal people are the first on the receiving end of governmental oppressive practices. When these policies are seen to "work", they are then extended to other poor Australians. In 2012 the BasicsCard was introduced to five other areas of Australia — most with high Aboriginal populations but because of the Racial Discrimination Act (restored in a weakened form), the BasicsCard policies must also include non-Aboriginal Australians.

Shameful Policies Extended

In 2016, "Welfare" recipients in Ceduna, South Australia and East Kimberley, Western Australia (both areas with large Aboriginal populations) were placed under the "Cashless Card", the brainchild of mining billionaire Andrew Forrest. Under the "Cashless Card", 80 per cent of the user's income is quarantined and certain expenses are debited directly. Indue, a for-profit organisation, operates these grey cards at the astounding cost to taxpayers of $10,000 per recipient.

Michele Harris and the advocacy group "Concerned Australians" have published several books documenting "the Intervention's" continuing oppression. Even now, 10 years on, James Gaykamangu's dignified image and powerful words are burned into my brain: "And now you have set up this Intervention amongst Australian Indigenous people. And we Indigenous people say we should be living together, one country, one Prime Minister, and seeing each other and treating each other equal. But nothing happens like that. You are dividing the nation in two . . . You should be shame for yourself for that."

And where are we in the Australian Catholic Church in all this? With the notable exception of St Vincent de Paul Society's John Falzon — not very visible.

But after so many years of being ignored and oppressed within their own country, First Nations peoples in Australia are looking further afield to their international friends (like the Kiwis) as they now call for a Treaty. ■

Photograph by Hilary Tyler.

Michele Madigan RSJ has had the privilege of being involved with Aboriginal/First Nations peoples in South Australia since 1978.

Grass Roots DECISIONS in TIMOR-LESTE

EMMA DAWSON shares how the staff of Mary MacKillop International in Timor-Leste are developing educational opportunities for teachers and parents to support their children.

After decades of occupation and violence, the small half-island nation of Timor-Leste is slowly finding peace. During the time of Indonesian occupation, approximately 200,000 Timorese lost their lives, one quarter of the population at the time, and almost all the country's infrastructure was destroyed. When Indonesia violently withdrew from the country in 1999 after a United Nations-sponsored referendum, up to 95 per cent of schools were destroyed and the majority of the country's qualified Indonesian teachers evacuated the country, leaving very few trained teachers.

While Timor-Leste has made significant gains since becoming a sovereign nation in 2002, many challenges still remain, particularly in the education sector. The Timorese government, alongside various local and international NGOs, community-based organisations, and thousands of untrained and volunteer teachers saw the need and began the onerous process of rebuilding the education system from the ground up. The call for quality education was also heeded by the Church in Timor-Leste, who invited the Sisters of St Joseph from Australia some 20 years ago to work with the Timorese people in developing education resources in the local Tetun language. This eventually led to the establishment of Mary MacKillop International (MMI) in Timor-Leste, formerly known as the Mary MacKillop East Timor Mission, and the development of a teacher-training programme. The local Tetun language was re-engaged in the nation-building and many of the books and resources developed by MMI in Tetun are now part of the national education curriculum.

Starting at Grass Roots

Education is much more than learning to read and write — it has the ability to transform lives by giving individuals the opportunity to reach their full potential and contribute positively to society. The transformative impact of education in promoting sustainable and community-led development was acknowledged in Timor-Leste's Strategic Development Plan 2011-2030, which aims to ensure all citizens have access to a "quality education that will allow them to participate in the economic, social and political development of [the] nation." In effect, education is the core of subsidiarity and, as well as being a fundamental human right, education is also a powerful driver of development, helping to reduce poverty, improve health outcomes, and achieve gender equality, peace, and stability.

Today, MMI's dedicated local staff continue to work at the grass roots to empower whole communities by training teachers and parents in the most remote and underserviced regions of the country. The community-led mission that began with the work of the Sisters has now developed into a locally-led NGO with over 30 Timorese staff, including a Timorese country director.

When conducting international development work, it is easy to see people living in poverty as inherently lacking ability; to strip them of human dignity by reducing them to objects of pity and mere recipients of aid. It's also very easy to fall into the trap of making decisions and assumptions about what these individuals and communities need without consulting those who are most affected.

It is harder, longer and slower to walk alongside those we serve, in subsidiarity; to ensure people are not treated as recipients of aid but as active participants in their own lives; to deliver programmes where people are empowered to make decisions that affect them, and enhance the decision-making abilities of the whole community. This path may be more difficult, but the fruits of this kind of work are bountiful, allowing people to participate fully in their society, and actively and positively contribute to the future of their nation. As St Mary MacKillop said, we must focus on "leading others into life."

Teacher Training

Following in Mary MacKillop's footsteps, MMI works with local communities in Timor-Leste to support, promote and develop their capacity in decision-making so they can better respond to their own needs. MMI in Timor-Leste affirms its commitment to subsidiarity by enabling local field-based officers to work alongside teachers in remote districts so they can identify the needs and priorities of their community. These field-based staff deliver culturally relevant training and mentoring to teachers and parents in remote and hard-to-reach areas, travelling out on the back of motorbikes on unsealed dirt roads through treacherous terrain that can easily become washed out during the wet season. They do this so they can access remote mountainous villages where the education needs are greatest. The presence of community-based field officers enables us to receive regular feedback from the community, ensuring our programmes are meeting the needs of those we serve.

MMI's Timorese staff have trained thousands of teachers, approximately 15 per cent of the entire teaching population, on how to deliver the national curriculum using innovation and creativity. This has ensured that tens of thousands of children are receiving quality education in the classroom, providing a positive future for themselves, their family, community and country.

Empowering Parents

As well as working with teachers, MMI engages with parents so they can support their children in the home. Ensuring children have quality education early in life is vital for their long-term development, and it is therefore integral that children are supported in the home as well as at school. In Timor-Leste, particularly in the rural areas, most parents have limited knowledge and skills in literacy and numeracy and the majority had no opportunity for a high school education. So they tend to feel disempowered to play an active role in their child's education. The Timor-Leste Strategic Plan also recognises the parents' vital role in improving the quality of education in Timor-Leste, citing the importance of school management systems involving Parents Associations. This approach ensures that parents can play an active role in decision making in their community.

Maria Pereira, a young mother from the remote community of Bairo Wekiar on the southern coast of Timor-Leste, recently attended MMI's Parents' Education training. Maria, along with hundreds of other parents in her community, wanted to be able to help her children at home, but didn't know how as she's had no opportunity for an education herself. Maria was delighted to participate in the 10-week Parents' Education Program delivered by local Timorese trainers.

For Maria, the programme gave her a way to participate: "Most of the parents in our rural area have no basic education so through this programme we can understand and learn some basic knowledge about how to treat our children and teach them after and before school. I am happy because I can learn how to read, write, sing school songs, count numbers, do art and craft. Then, after the training, I go and teach those lessons to my children at home."

With her new knowledge and confidence, Maria can now support her children in their own education. And through the programme she became connected with other parents and schools in her local community. She says she has more confidence to make decisions that affect her, her family and her community, and therefore positively contribute to her country's development.

Subsidiarity Supports Development

As Timor-Leste continues to work towards achieving long-term sustainable development, it is essential that subsidiarity and participation are kept at the core of all development approaches. At Mary MacKillop International, we make it our mission to ensure that decisions are made by the people closest and most affected by the issues and concerns of the community. The ongoing engagement with teachers and parents in rural and remote areas helps build subsidiarity, and will ultimately empower local communities to continue rebuilding this beautiful, young country. ■

Emma Dawson, is MMI's International Programs Coordinator and collaborated with the MMI Sydney team for this article. She spent over two years living and working in Timor-Leste on a range of community development programmes before joining MMI.

OUR CONNECTED WORLD

MICHAEL FITZSIMONS asks **Cardinal John Dew about practising subsidiarity and hears that it is informed by an appreciation of the common good.**

"The principle of subsidiarity says that if something can be done by someone locally, rather than by the institution, it should be done at that level. It's an important principle because it gives people the ability to make decisions themselves and be involved in decision-making, rather than having decisions imposed on them. It directly affects people's lives and the things they're involved in.

"Subsidiarity came through in the encyclical by Pope Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*. This was in the early 1930s when it was seen that the best way for people to develop was to be involved in decision-making themselves, if they had the means to do that, rather than just being told what to do. Anyone who's told what to do will soon rebel because they won't feel they're making responsible decisions for themselves.

"The Church has been vocal about the principle not being just something for the Church, it's for the political sphere too and throughout society — people should be involved wherever they can be in making decisions that affect them and their communities, whether it's to do with health and education, or the way cities are built, or roading and infrastructure, whatever it is, because they are the ones affected by the decisions.

"In the last few years as we've reorganised the parishes, the people themselves have to make decisions about the use of buildings and parish facilities. I was really aware that if I just said that those four parishes will now become one, and you need to do away with this church and that church, it wouldn't have worked. You have to leave it to the people themselves to work it out because they know the local needs best. And of course when they make the decision they feel like they own it.

"Some people are ready and quite excited about the possibilities [of making the decision themselves], but when there's change there's often a lot of resistance. Often people don't see the bigger picture because they're so focused on their own community. People have to appreciate the common good and the idea that we have a responsibility for one another. It's not just about what I want. That's the beauty of Pope Francis's encyclical *Laudato Si'* — over and over again he's talking about how all of creation is connected, people are all connected. When we have that worldview, we make decisions that support the common good and not just an individual's choice, or something that could be selfish."

Is the upcoming Archdiocesan Synod an example of the principle of subsidiarity in action?

"I think that's true. Pope Francis has been emphasising that synodality should be the way of the Church. He sees it as coming from Vatican Council II and that it shouldn't just be at the universal level but at the level of local churches.

"I think a great example of that is our 1998 Synod, when there were three major issues to be voted on. One was the development of lay pastoral leaders, one was the age of confirmation and another was whether or not the Church in Wellington would accept ordained deacons as permanent deacons. Cardinal Williams went with

Michael Fitzsimons is a professional writer and Director of FitzBeck Creative. He lives in Worser Bay, Wellington and particularly enjoys walking long distances and wine-tasting.

the vote of the people, which was not necessarily what his own views were.

What are the issues you want people to engage with at the upcoming Archdiocesan Synod?

"We're currently at the consultation phase [of the upcoming Archdiocesan Synod], the feedback is pouring in at the moment. Only 350 people are able to attend the synod due to the size of the facilities that we use, but I want to hear from thousands of people. I want them to help set the agenda.

"The theme of the Synod is "Go, you are sent", emphasising the fact that we all have a mission. Again, it's the application of subsidiarity, we all need to find our own level of mission. We all have a mission, not just the ordained leaders, or the lay pastoral leaders."

Have you ever been hindered in applying subsidiarity in the Archdiocese? Are there obstacles that get in the way?

"We had a thorough consultation process around the issue of amalgamating parishes. There were quite a few people who said: 'Why don't you just tell us? Just make up your mind and tell us.' And I'd say: 'No, that's not going to work because not everybody just wants to be told.'

"Sometimes there is a lack of awareness of the common good, that as a diocese we must try and do as much as we can together. Each parish doesn't exist separately. Recently I heard about a parish which had to vacate its church for earthquake strengthening. The local Anglican Church changed their service time on a Sunday morning to accommodate the Catholic Mass. But the reaction of the neighbouring Catholic parish was: 'They needn't think they're coming here and taking the best seats.' That's the kind of attitude that hinders us."

"Clericalism" is also identified as an impediment to subsidiarity. Where are your thoughts on that?

"Absolutely. Again, Pope Francis is so clear that this is one of the dangers in the Church today. If the priest holds all the authority, or thinks he does, and makes the decisions himself, then obviously subsidiarity is not being applied. The situation is improving but you still get it here and there. I remind priests when I have to that it is not their parish. Some of the families in the parish will have roots that go back a hundred years. The priest will be gone in a few years."

What about the challenge of subsidiarity for overseas-trained priests, who are formed in a different cultural context and have different ways of operating?

"It is a big challenge. We have an orientation for overseas priests when they come here called *Landing the Waka*. That's a beginning but it needs to be ongoing because they come from a different culture. Some of them are fantastic. Others have to be reminded that's not the way we do things here. We work hard to ensure that whoever works here is open to people making their own decisions."

We have an election coming up. How does subsidiarity apply in that context, what should people be thinking about?

"We need to be thinking about our communities, not just ourselves. If we look at the society around us, where are the unjust structures, where are people not getting a fair deal? That might be in terms of available healthcare, housing resources, child poverty. We have to be involved in these things and be prepared to speak out. When we vote we need to think: 'Who is going to ensure that this is the kind of society where people are treated fairly, are not discriminated against, have the housing and healthcare they need? Who is prepared to act on homelessness?' These issues are everyone's problem.

"I often quote Pope Benedict on the Eucharist: 'Unless this Eucharist passes over into concrete acts of love, it's intrinsically fragmented' (*Deus Caritas Est* par 14). If people could just see that Eucharist is supposed to pass over into concrete acts of love in the family, in our communities, otherwise it's a fragmented thing." ■

Photo: Cardinal John washing feet on Holy Thursday. [John Murphy]

. . . continued from page 31

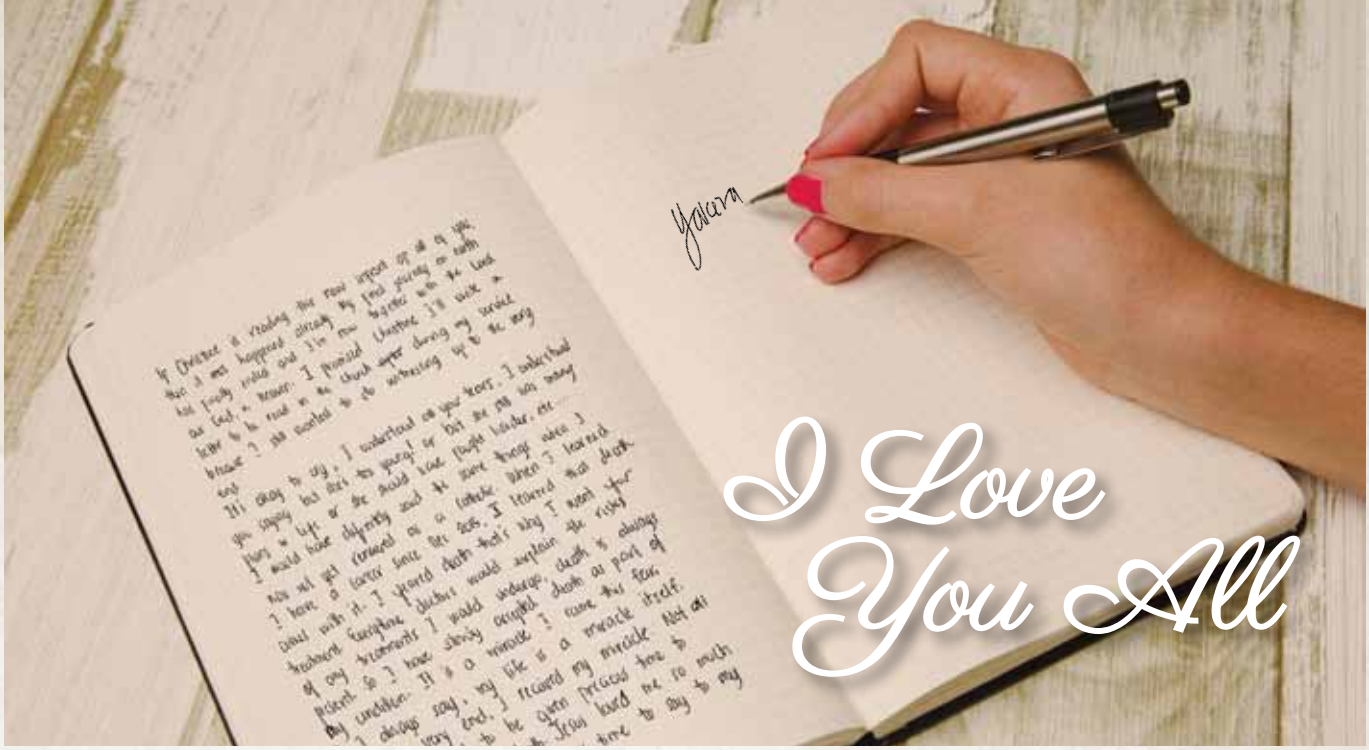
DEBILITATING DEBT

I entirely agree with the relevant articles of both Susan Smith and Helen Caughley in last month's issue (*TM* July 2017). However, there is something missing in both articles: the macro economics of international finance and the sham that is the modern banking system.

What has happened to the leadership the Catholic Church expressed on this issue for nearly 1,500 years when it outlawed usury? It was considered a mortal sin, at the level of murder. Usury and debt-based finance is a cancer in modern society that is sucking the life force out of communities and nations. Visit any capital and marvel at the architectural wonders of banks and financial institutions — the cathedrals of modern society.

The NZ government public debt has quadrupled over the past seven years to stand now at approx NZ$120 billion. The interest on this debt creams off a major slice of our tax take, preventing lots of creative investments. That this borrowing from international central banks represents a creation of money from nothing rather than an actual loan should disgust all citizens. This is what drives our downhill spiral and compromises our true sovereignty. No major political party is addressing this issue — only the NZ Democratic Party for Social Credit keeps the issue front and centre of its manifesto. Catholics need to remember the validity of the doctrine on usury and vote accordingly.

Dr Bernard Conlon, Murupara
(abridged)



YAKEZA MAE SARONA, Mimi to her friends, died aged 30 and left this message to be read at her funeral.

If Christine is reading this now, then it has happened already. My final journey on earth has finally ended and I'm now together with our God in heaven. I promised Christine I'll write a letter to be read in the church during my service because I still wanted to do witnessing up to the very end.

It's okay to cry. I understand all your tears, I understand you saying "but she's too young!" or "but she still has many plans in life" or "she should have fought harder". I would have definitely said the same things when I was not yet renewed as a Catholic.

When I learned I have a cancer since December 2015, I learned that death comes with it. I feared death, that's why I went for treatment. Every time doctors would explain the risks of any treatments I would undergo, death is always present. So I have slowly accepted death as part of my condition. It is a miracle I came this far. As I always say, my life is a miracle itself. Up to the very end, I received my miracle. Not all are privileged to be given precious time to prepare for their deaths. Jesus loves me so much to grant me that precious time to say to my loved ones that I love them with all my heart and to reconcile and say sorry to people I have wronged; to be given extra time and enough strength to serve God and to understand my obligations as Catholic.

I remember it was busy for me last Holy Week. It was my first time to join *Bisita Iglesia*, Seven Last Words, Veneration of Cross, etc. I tried slight fasting for that week. I omitted meat in my diet for a week. It was [a] very fulfilling experience and I have that prompting that I have to do it. After that week, my body slowly deteriorated. All of you have sent comforting messages and I'm very grateful. I am so confused when people say: "Keep on fighting!", "Hold on!", "Hope for a miracle!" There's no need to keep on fighting coz there's no more fight. LOL!

I saw Jesus comforting me, dawn of the day I received the news from the doctor. Since then, every 4am Jesus would wake me and comfort me. Jesus assured me not to worry and that he is always beside me. I asked: "Jesus, promise me that when the time comes, it's your hand I will hold, and take me to Your Father's kingdom in heaven." And he smiled at me tenderly. I saw Mama Mary as well comforting me like a mother. And I prayed every night: "Jesus please comfort my family."

My Miracles

To all people present here, to my loved ones who are not here and to my Kapatiran Prayer Fellowship (KPF) family, please don't let this event waver your faith. Believe me, I received my miracle. Miracles are not just physical healing. I received a far greater miracle which is spiritual healing. I have not explained it to everyone but I had a vision before the time I had the chemo and I was really ill. I told some of you that I went to heaven and I insisted of God the Father that I wanted to stay there forever and he told me to come back to earth for I still had a mission. I was thinking I might be a preacher or a missionary. I realise now that I was meant to come back because of that spiritual healing Jesus promised me during that vision.

I went through the transplant procedure miraculously so well. I was so positive the whole time because Jesus had promised healing. When the relapse occurred I asked: "But where's the promised healing?" And then Jesus let me realise that it's not physical healing but my spiritual healing, a very precious gift above. Thank you Lord! Halleluiah.

To My Family

Mama, Pop, Auntie, Kim, Tata and the whole clan. You know how blessed I feel that I have two families. If I haven't told you that I love you all — it's because I am that way. I do not say much but I do show how I care. That's why I'm a worrier. I was born to worry for everyone. If I'm silent, it means I respect you and love you. I always hate confrontation. I don't like arguing and most especially gossiping. In your own time, in your own free will, I wish you would all reconcile and leave the past behind. I want

you all to understand the life I chose for myself; the life of self-denial for our Lord Jesus. I wish I had more time to explain to you what kind of life that is but you can ask my KPF family. It's fulfilling and that's what we're meant to do. This is me knocking on my families' hearts and asking them to accept Jesus. Don't grieve too much as it saddens me. Remember that today should be a day of celebration as I have joined our Lord Jesus in heaven. Please pray for me always and I will be praying in heaven for all of you.

While I was still in Kuwait, I have prayed to the Lord to grant me New Zealand. I promised him I will serve him with all my life when I got to New Zealand. And it was given to me. New Zealand is my dream place. It was not an easy journey. There were lots of drama and action. Then arriving in New Zealand more challenges came. When you think about it, it's very exhausting. But even so, I wouldn't change a thing. When I compare it to Jesus' passion, mine is nothing. I am weak but because it is no longer I but Christ in me, and I managed to surpass all the challenges.

When people say to me: "Don't give up!", "Keep on fighting", "Wait for God's miracle" . . . I feel sad and it's not comforting to me. I fought so hard and people very close to me can testify that I never gave up on Jesus and his miracles. I'm in a lot of pain and I'm so tired but I don't show it. What's there to fight when it's already the end of my journey? It's Jesus calling me to come to him . . . who am I to refuse? It is my privilege to be with him finally in heaven! I'm actually excited to go.

To My KPF Family

You were meant to find me. Thank you for everything you have done for me and my family. Thank you for all spiritual teachings and for inspiring me always. I am humbled by your selflessness. You taught me that if you really want to serve God there are no excuses. It can be done. How do you juggle family, career, kids and serving the Lord? It really inspires me. Thank you for welcoming me in the Community and treating me like family.

To My Singles KPF Family

First, to our Prayer Group head, Cristina. Sis Tina, thank you *po* for making me feel comfortable and making sure that my family are comfortable too. Thank you *po* for understanding when I'm feeling unwell. Sometimes I feel embarrassed because I can't help around the house. Thank you *po* for guiding me and enlightening me when I felt confused. Thank you *po* for driving me around. You're like a big sister to me.

To sis Miezy . . . I can't help but laugh when it comes to you Miezy because I want to tease you all the time. Remember when we were eating in the Majestic Restaurant and you said you don't want to look at me inside the coffin and I said you have to look at me? I will do peek-a-boo when you look at me! And you were so terrified we laughed at you. I'm just joking. If you don't want to look, it's okay. But if I wear sunglasses, will you look? LOL . . . just kidding! Thank you Miezy for babysitting me. Although your mum needs you more, you chose to stay with me. With that I'm forever grateful. Thank you for making me laugh, for cooking for me, for staying late at night just to watch over me.

To sis Bheng, thank you for coming over to me the first time in the hospital with sis Gen. Thank you for giving me my first Catholic Bible. Thank you for your continuous prayers for me.

To my dearest sis Aggie, I always pray for you. Sis Aggie, death is not something to be afraid of. Don't worry about the future, God will provide always. Just continue to be positive. If you encounter something bad, turn it into a blessing. Never forget that God loves you so much and if you ever need help, it's okay to ask.

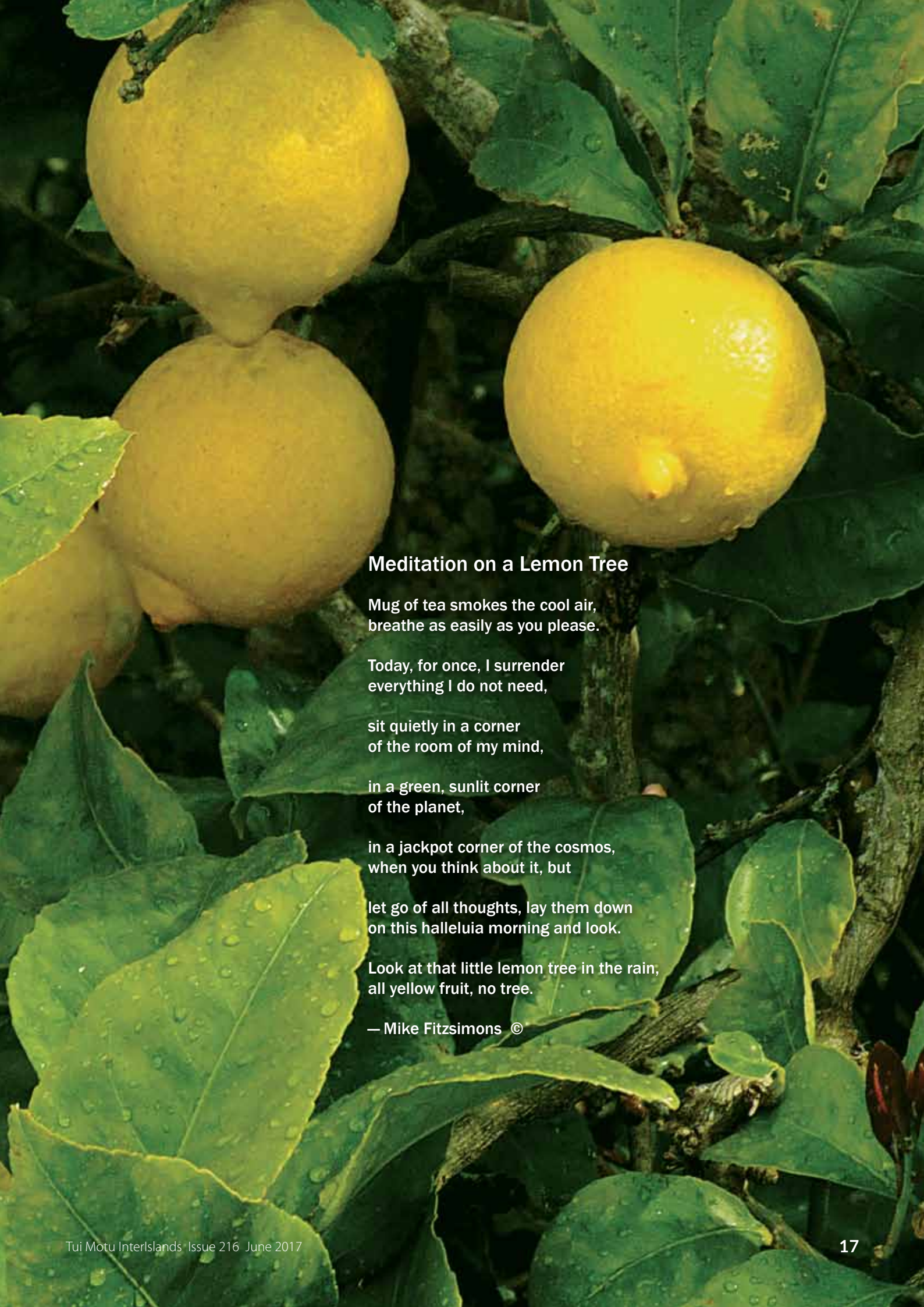
Christine or Tintin (pop's accent) . . . where should I start? Our relationship is one that is unexpected but extraordinary. I did not expect that we would be friends because you are so loud, full of life, *kitikiti* [hyperactive], Ms Know-It-All, *di gyud palupig!* [wouldn't give in]! But despite our differences I came to love you. You taught me so many things and made me realise how so behind I am in serving the Lord. I envy your dedication to him. That's why I was striving so hard to get well, so I could join you.

For our *tampuhan* [times when we move away or give the other the silent treatment because of hurt feelings] I'm so sorry for hurting you. Remember the time when I was in isolation? I was emotionally upset because you won't give me any food from outside the hospital. That was really funny! Your dedication to help me really amazed me. For those times you have to stay with me even before and after work, then cook for me and stayed late at night to watch over me. At these times I would wish *na* [that] I would be hospitalised so you can rest at home. For all the big help you have given me, I can never repay you on this world. So I told you I will beg God to make me a warrior beside St Michael so I can fight with him whenever you have tauntings and harassments. I will be there fighting with you Christine. This is our journey together. If you ever have difficulty with patients, just remember that I am that patient and me saying: "Christine, it's so hard to be a patient." You know of my sufferings and how I fought so hard. I'm so sorry for scaring you a lot whenever I had infections. I can't thank you enough. I love you forever and you are my sister for life. You are a big comfort to my family.

I will still attend our PG meetings, KPF events, singles *gala* [strolls]. I will be laughing with you, singing songs of praises and praying with you. Even now while you are reading this, I am among the crowd laughing and teasing you and Miezy . . . That's all I wanted to say. Thank you for being a part of my journey. Thank you all for helping me and my family. I can't repay your goodness but I'll be praying for you. Please keep me in your prayers as well. I won't say goodbye . . . but see you later in heaven! I love you all.

Yakeza Mae S. Sarona
01-05-2017

Yakeza Sarona, 30, a nurse at Wellington Regional Hospital, died of Acute Myeloid Leukaemia 6 June 2017. She was active in her Prayer Group and Youth Ministry.



Meditation on a Lemon Tree

Mug of tea smokes the cool air,
breathe as easily as you please.

Today, for once, I surrender
everything I do not need,

sit quietly in a corner
of the room of my mind,

in a green, sunlit corner
of the planet,

in a jackpot corner of the cosmos,
when you think about it, but

let go of all thoughts, lay them down
on this halleluia morning and look.

Look at that little lemon tree in the rain,
all yellow fruit, no tree.

— Mike Fitzsimons ©

GREG COYLE discusses different concepts of fairness which will challenge us as we prepare for our General Election.

It is election year and so we will hear a lot from politicians about economic and social progress and challenges, in their efforts to harvest votes. I am sure that, as usual, rival parties will disagree with one another at every opportunity. However, a value which underpins us as a nation is the idea of fairness and "a fair go".

Fairness concerns how resources are distributed within a country, community, family or to an individual.

Fairness is a value shown in pragmatic moral, social and political beliefs. But with so many opposing opinions about fairness out there, election campaigns can become confusing and conflicting. We have to decide which conversations about fairness resonate with our particular values and beliefs.

Biblical Example of Fairness

In the Gospel parable of the workers in the vineyard (Mt 20:1–7), the vineyard owner pays workers the same wage whether they worked a whole day or for just one hour. The parable provides a fascinating theological challenge to our understanding of fairness.

At first glance it is easy to spot unfairness in the relative rates of pay for hours worked. It is understandable that the workers who have worked the whole day under trying conditions might feel aggrieved when workers who have worked for only an hour receive the same pay. However, perhaps in this parable Jesus is saying that when he considers what is fair and unfair he takes into consideration both the work and the life journey each worker has travelled. When Jesus says fairness is paying them all the same, there are measures of mercy and grace in the wages not a measure of injustice.

Here, the vineyard owner combines two principles: he keeps his word to pay the promised daily wage, but he also has a heart for the poor and downtrodden.

He shows more concern for the workers than the work.

Such a view of justice as fairness is counter cultural. But this is Jesus' way: he shows justice when he rescues the woman caught in adultery from stoning, associates with Samaritans, tax collectors and outcasts, missions the Samaritan woman at the well, and heals the sick and sinners. He was also pretty tough on people who were unfair to the outcast, poor and vulnerable and promised severe punishments for those who were indifferent to their plight.

Example of Social Fairness

There are ways of thinking about fairness other than through a theological narrative. Justice theories attempt to explore fairness and how it impacts on our lives. New Zealand has a particular and somewhat unique history in this regard. Based on our social and political past, New Zealanders had a sense of a fair society. The Social Security Act 1938 is often seen as the political and legislative foundation for social welfare in New Zealand.

This social reform of the 30s was based on the principle of a "fair go for all". The legislation placed New Zealand's concern for the least well off on a fairness platform, which underlies our evaluation of how subsequent governments have acted.

Since the neo-liberal economic policy reforms of the 1980s fairness to others has taken a backseat to the idea of economic efficiency. Despite our economy being significantly larger and more prosperous than in the 1930s, it seems that our government thinks that fairness is now an unreachable and unnecessary goal.

The altruistic goals of the 1930s have given way to the individualistic view: "What is in my best interests?"

Concepts of Fairness

Any description of justice concerns the moral authority of law. Thomas Aquinas believed justice to be a divine attribute directing women and men to act under divine direction — as God would act.

Aristotle described the formal criterion of justice (which still wins wide acceptance today) that we should treat equals equally and treat unequals unequally, in proportion to that inequality. This means that where inequality exists it needs to be addressed by taking from the advantaged and giving to the disadvantaged.

Across the wide range of substantial ethical theories and principles of justice as fairness, no one theory commands universal acceptance. However, in New Zealand (and possibly Australia as well) a "fair go" and "Do to others as you would have them do to you" (Lk 6:31) are maxims which might come close to a general acceptance.

Contemporary Ideas of Social Justice

John Rawls, American moral and political philosopher, in *A Theory of Justice* and Amartya Sen, Indian economist and philosopher, in *The*

Idea of Justice together present a contemporary far-reaching example of what is essential for an understanding of justice as fairness. While theirs are not the only descriptions, and despite their many critics, Rawls and Sen have provided a substantial framework within which to consider fairness.

Their definition of fairness contends that, in liberal democratic societies, each person should have an equal right to the most extensive liberty compatible with a similar liberty of others. Where social and economic conditions are to be unequal, they should be arranged to ensure the greatest benefit for the least advantaged. Rawls and Sen add that decisions about distributions of goods and services should be made in a manner that is open, accountable and without secrecy.

Rawls proposes a useful test for fairness. Would a social outcome, for example, adequate housing for all in New Zealanders be considered fair by the most advantaged person in society if, at an instant, that person became the most disadvantaged and required social housing for themselves? In applying this test we are urged to avoid bias, remove vested interests and set aside our personal priorities and prejudices. This approach is aligned to the Gospel command: "Do to others as you would have them do to you", which is found in almost every ethical tradition.

Sen goes further, arguing that fairness must take account of people's capability to access enjoyment of the things they have good reason to value. Institutional rules, as important as they are, must be assessed in the broader context of fairness and how the lives of the people involved are ultimately affected.

Ethical Principles Align

The principles of Catholic Social Teaching are complex when they need to be addressed to ever-changing societies. However, they do deepen understandings of both the work of God and ethical principles. Understandably many (not all) of the principles align with Rawls's and Sen's description of justice as fairness.

The principle of the dignity of every person, which ensures that every human person is worthy of respect as a member of the human family aligns with Rawls's concern for the rights of the least advantaged. This safeguards the right of each person to political, legal, social and economic equality.

Under the Catholic principle of participation all people have a right and a duty to participate in society, seeking the well-being of all, especially the poor and vulnerable.

Sen shows particular concern for the capacity of each person to enjoy unfettered rights, but not at the expense of others.

The Catholic tradition also highlights that the physical needs of the poor and vulnerable are a primary priority. The good of society as a whole requires it.

Rawls and Sen also say that it is important that the poor need to be given priority when distributing social and economic resources.

Both Rawls and Sen promote the family as the basic structure for ensuring fair distribution of the resources to each member of the family and, collectively, communities. Unhealthy working conditions, unreasonable hours and poor wages offend against the principles of fairness and undermine the stability of the family structure and the common good.

Think of the difference to families and the well-being of society that instituting policies such as the living wage and the health and safety of workers would make, compared to superprofits now going banks, corporations and wealthy individuals. How do they stack up using Rawls's test of fairness?

Weighing up for the Elections

The common good embraces respect for, protection and enhancement of the environment. We consider this in the New Zealand context where a balance of economic benefits is juxtaposed with damage to our land, air and rivers. Sen also condemns abuses of our environment because the regulatory and commercial powers to protect the environment are failing ordinary people, lessening their capacity to enjoy the things they have good reason to value, like swimming in a river in summer.

In this election I will be applying the Rawls and Sen tests of justice as fairness to the policies and programmes being proposed by politicians. Specifically, I will be asking: "Would the most advantaged person in society accept this policy as fair, if at an instant, that person became the most disadvantaged and had to rely on the policy for their own survival?" ■

Greg Coyle is a member of St Mary of the Angels Parish in Wellington. He is Principal Advisor for The Salvation Army Social Programme.

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The Peasants' War by Constantine Émile Meunier.

THOMAS MÜNTZER
and the Radical Reformation 1489-1525

Priest, preacher, mystic, and a leader in the Peasants' War, Thomas Müntzer (1489-1525) is perhaps the single most controversial figure in the entire Reformation. He died young, having been captured, tortured and executed after the bloody battle of Frankenhausen in 1525; thousands of artisans, peasants and miners were mown down by the princely army.

Young Thomas studied in various universities in Germany, was ordained priest, associated himself with the reformation movement, moved around to some 50 different towns in the exciting but stressful early years of the Reformation, and wrote a rather beautiful Eucharistic liturgy for his parishioners in the little town of Allstedt. Finally, he was swept into the uprising of peasants and artisans in 1524-5. This Peasants' War was the greatest social upheaval in Europe before the French Revolution.

For a long time, communist East Germany hailed Müntzer as a heroic battler for the rights of the common people, a sort of founding father of their state communism. Meanwhile most Lutherans, following Martin Luther himself, were appalled, regarding him as a wild dreamer, a blood-thirsty radical who had brought the Gospel into utter disrepute by politicising it.

In June of this year a scholarly edition of his writings was finally launched in Leipzig, following two other weighty volumes devoted to his letters and the background of his life. It has taken us nearly 500 years to approach his life and his thought in this measured and fair way. My privilege has been to translate his fascinating letters and writings into English, with the help of two marvellous colleagues, Tom Scott and Siegfried Bräuer. His German is notoriously difficult, and it took me some 10 years, on and off, to complete the task.

Why spend so much time and effort on this one individual? Well, as we have seen before, the Reformation was not a one-man band. Erasmus, Contarini, the woman reformer Argula, all had their special insights, as well as the more

famous Martin Luther. So it's important, simply in order to illustrate this variety, to give a hearing to this controversial Christian, even if Luther saw him as Satanic! But there's more to it than that. He really gets under my skin. I love his language. I admire his courage. Perhaps we could best describe him as spelling out some of the *revolutionary* implications of the Christian Gospel.

He had a passion for ordinary people, the "clumsy, gnarled people", mostly illiterate, who were his parishioners. So he tried to talk their language, wrote hymns and prayers for them. He thought too many academics lived in ivory towers: "We talk big about the truth, write great tomes littered with blots, but spend our days in empty quarrels and in worrying about material things." Ouch!

He thought, too, that those in power were ruthless tyrants and enlisted religion to convince ordinary folk to obey them. "Our lords are violent, they flay and fleece the poor farm-worker, tradesman and everyone alive, but as soon as any of the latter commits some petty theft, our lords act the hangman. If saying that makes me an inciter to insurrection that's just too bad." Society simply had to change, he believed. "The old remedies won't fit any more." He saw the discontent of the peasants as part of a great cosmic, apocalyptic struggle between good and evil.

At heart, though, he was a pastor. Yes, like the early Christians he seems to have believed that property should be held in common. But first must come the change in heart. We cannot set out to change the world until we ourselves are changed.

So he taught his people a popular mysticism based on his reading of the medieval mystics, especially Tauler and Suso. Each of us must allow the Holy Spirit to purge us in the depths, in the abyss of our heart. He used homely images like the fish diving down into the dark depths of the pool and then rising up again. This led him to an exciting new way of viewing Scripture. We can't just appropriate the words of the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles. We can't parrot them like some magic formula. "Scripture must come to pass in every person." What I think he meant by that is

First must come the change in heart. We cannot set out to change the world until we ourselves are changed.

that we all have to find our own way of experiencing what Abraham, or Jeremiah or Paul experienced of the trials and exaltations of the Spirit before we throw their words around. Müntzer was an interpreter of dreams. He talked the language of visions. We are all called, he argued, to share in the suffering of Christ. Too much easy preaching of mere words, of grace, of the "sweet Christ" and we will "eat ourselves sick of honey."

Today, as we struggle to do justice to Scripture, I find this approach very timely. Likewise, as we seek to understand how poverty is linked to a disordered understanding of creation, Müntzer's warnings hit home.

There is a puritan dimension to Müntzer's thought which many of us will find alien. And his dualistic division of the world into the godly and the wicked, his legitimation of violence to overthrow unjust structures, needs a long, hard, critical look. We can't swallow him whole! Indeed none of these Reformation figures should be put on a pedestal. Provided we listen carefully to their concerns, we can be discriminating in what we accept and what we reject.

I know of countless Catholic scholars working on Luther, but not a single one studying Müntzer. Let's hope that changes. He is a rough diamond all right. But let me close with a verse from one of his Eucharistic hymns, for in the end of the day it is the trail of language, stretching from then to now, their time to ours, which is the greatest gift left by our forebears in the faith:

Take then the body of the Lord
And as the Spirit strikes a chord
Within our hearts true God we know,
And godly love begins to glow.
On his vine,
His Spirit mine
His body given as the sign. ■

Peter Matheson is a peace activist, a Church Historian, Emeritus Professor of Knox Theological College, Dunedin and author of many books.

An Ecological Reading of Matthew's Gospel

Matthew 16:13-20 Now when Jesus came into the district of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, "Who do people say that the Human One is?" 14 And they said, "Some say John the Baptist, but others Elijah, and still others Jeremiah or one of the prophets." 15 He said to them, "But who do you say that I am?" 16 Simon Peter answered, "You are the Messiah, the Son of the living God." 17 And Jesus answered him, "Blessed are you, Simon son of Jonah! For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father in heaven. 18 And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not prevail against it. 19 I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven." 20 Then he sternly ordered the disciples not to tell anyone that he was the Messiah.

As readers, we come to the Gospel text and read it, paying attention to the human and the holy and their interrelationship. But as ecological readers, we bring a new lens. As well as attending to the holy and the human we also take note of the *habitat*. Habitat is the rich interrelationship of the other-than-human and the human as these are woven together in the gospel story. As we read habitat (which includes the human) and the holy in the gospel text, we'll find we become more attentive to them in our world. We're then caught up in the spiralling process of meaning-making. This attentiveness is essential for the ecological conversion to which Pope Francis is calling us. And his call, in its turn, echoes that of John the Baptist and Jesus in Matthew's gospel: "Repent" (Mt 3:2; 4:17) — change your way of seeing, your way of being in this world.

Habitat Holds a Key

This article focuses on Matthew 16:13-16 and like so many of the discrete segments of the Gospel narrative, begins with a reference to time and to place, grounding the Gospel in habitat. The participle "coming" in Mt 16:13 locates the story in the present time of the gospel narrative and also directs the reader's gaze to a particular place — Caesarea Philippi. The attentive ecological reader will notice that Jesus does not go into the Roman city of Caesarea Philippi but only into the region.

The city was symbolic of the Roman Empire and had an array of religious traditions with temples to Pan, Zeus and Augustus to name but three. It symbolised the *basileia*/empire of Rome and its structures of power against which Jesus was preaching an alternative: a *basileia*/an empire of the heavens or of the skies (See Mt 3:2; 4:17: "Repent for the *basileia* of the heavens/skies is near at hand"). This *basileia* was to be a new community in which human and material resources were to be shared and people were to live in right relationship with those resources, with one another and with God.

Jesus' foray into the "region" rather than the city of Caesarea Philippi would have brought him and his disciples into the area from which the Jordan River rose. It was and is a place of springs bubbling up with fresh life-giving and life-sustaining water, a very different place from the built-up environment of the city of Caesarea Philippi. It is a place where habitat, human and holy play intimately with one another and provide an opening for Jesus' conversation with those accompanying him on his journey of preaching, teaching and healing (Mt 4:23; 9:35).

The Questions

At the level of the narrative, Jesus' questioning of his disciples is poignant in light of all the time he has spent with them and the crowds. They have accompanied or encountered him preaching, teaching and healing — but now, Jesus steps back from that activity momentarily, and begins an intimate conversation with those named disciples.

He asks them: "Who do the *anthrōpoi*/the human ones say the Son of Humanity/the Human One/*uion tou anthrōpou* is? Who is this who has entered into the Earth community as *anthrōpos*/human one among all Earth's beings?"8

The disciples, who have been with Jesus throughout his ministry and have heard the crowd's claims, answer: "He is a prophet" and some even identify him with John the Baptist, Elijah or Jeremiah. And they are right, Jesus has shown himself to be in the line of Israel's prophets, critiquing what is not of God, not of the *basileia* of the heavens and calling for a *metanoia*, a change in their way of being in the Earth community.

Elaine Wainwright RSM is a biblical scholar and the Executive Director of Mission and Ministry for the Mercy Sisters in Australia and Papua New Guinea.

The Jordan River

Continuing this intimate exchange, Jesus then asks his close followers how they name him; he who is human one and prophet. Peter responds on their behalf: "You are the *Messiah*/the anointed one, the one who reveals to us the living God.

Peter's proclamation is an affirmation of who Jesus is in relation to God and the entire Earth community. He has been acclaimed by God following his baptism, his going down into the waters of creation, the waters of planet Earth and its becoming: "This is the one in whom I am revealed, the beloved in whom I am well pleased" (Mt 3:17). Jesus has also been affirmed by the gospel narrator in Mt 1:23 as the one who is *Emmanuel*/God with us. We have read these affirmations in terms of the human and the holy. Our invitation now is to read and hear Peter's words echoing from a profound interrelationship of habitat (including the human) and the holy, to open the text in new ways.

Opening New Insights

Our reading from the perspective that links God, God's anointed one, and the Earth community in a right ordering, is not confined to contemporary meaning-making and ecological reading. We read in Psalm 72 the psalmist praying for the justice and the right ordering that will characterise the era of God's anointed, in language and images that could be those of contemporary prophets and psalmists of ecological justice. By way of example:

May the mountains yield prosperity for the people,
and the hills, in righteousness.
May he [the Messiah] defend the cause of the poor of
the people,
give deliverance to the needy,
and crush the oppressor . . .
May he be like rain that falls on the mown grass,
like showers that water the earth.
In his days may righteousness flourish
and peace abound, until the moon is no more . . .
For he delivers the needy when they call,
the poor and those who have no helper.
He has pity on the weak and the needy,
and saves the lives of the needy.
From oppression and violence he redeems their life;
and precious is their blood in his sight (Ps 72:3–14).

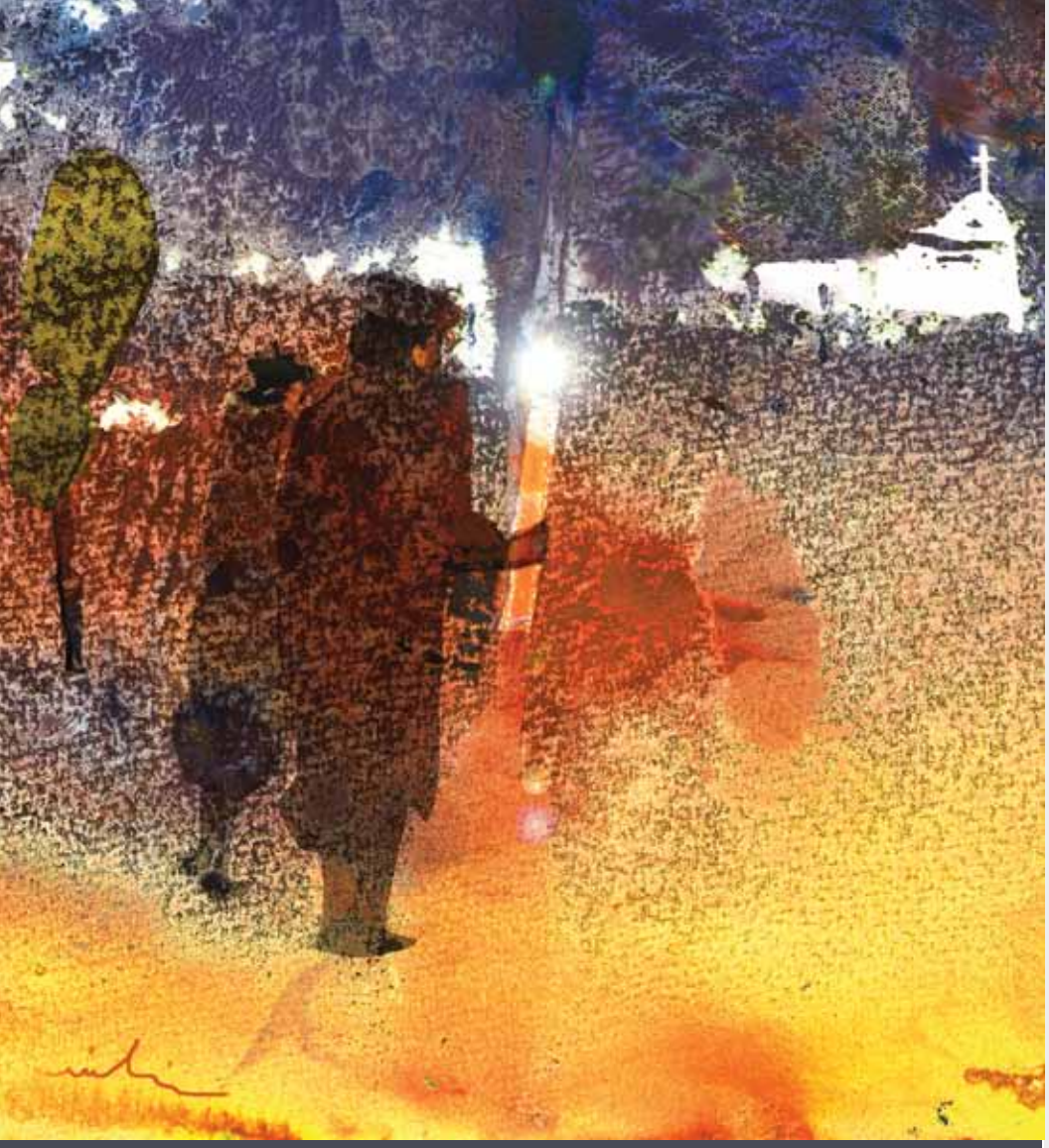
This is the righteousness, the right ordering that Jesus preaches and enacts in the Matthean Gospel. Jesus' baptism by John "fulfills all righteousness" (Mt 3:15) which is a key characteristic of the *basileia* that he preaches, particularly in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33). It is all of this and more that is caught up in Peter's affirmation: "You are the *Messiah*/anointed one, the one born of the living God."

Hearing the Questions Today

We could argue that it is in the very interaction of the human community around Jesus (his disciples) in the habitat in and through which they have journeyed (the place of springs of living water) that Peter has come to his recognition of Jesus' unique and intimate relationship with divinity.

It is in such places and among such people today that we will come to a new recognition of Jesus for our time, a time of profound ecological crises.

We are invited to answer the question: Who do we say that Jesus is and what will this ask of us? ■



Come After Me

KATHLEEN RUSHTON explains the use of the lectionaries and interprets what is involved in following Jesus in Matthew 16:21-28.

In his inspiring little book, *A Handbook of Spiritual Ecumenism*, Cardinal Walter Kasper writes: "It is significant that Jesus did not primarily express his desire for unity in a teaching or in a commandment but in a prayer to his Father" (Jn 17:21). A fundamental source for prayer and a bond of unity for all Christians are the Scriptures. Later he continues: "It is first of all in the liturgy of the Church that Sacred Scripture is venerated, read and explained." There readings, which have been "cut" from a larger book, are proclaimed from a lectionary which is a collection of readings arranged in an orderly sequence by a particular faith community for use in its public worship.

Two Lectionaries

Readers will notice below that this reflection for Sunday 3 September is found in two lectionaries. Further, we see a variation in each "cutting" from the Gospel according to Matthew. My experience of working ecumenically is leading me, where possible, to shape my work on the Sunday Gospels to both the Roman Lectionary of Catholics and the Revised Common Lectionary of many Christian denominations. Let me explain. My passion for writing in these pages on the Sunday Gospels is because it is in the Sunday liturgy that most Christians hear the Word of God.

The revision of the lectionary mandated by the Second Vatican Council in 1963 has proved to be a great gift to all Christians. The Latin edition, the *Ordo Lectionem Missae* of 1969, was a ground-breaking revision of the medieval *Roman Lectionary*. For the first time ever, the Sunday lectionary embraced a three-year cycle with each year dedicated to a particular synoptic gospel — Matthew, Mark, or Luke. Readings from John permeate the sacred liturgical seasons especially at the end of Lent and most of Easter. *The Revised Common Lectionary*, first published in 1992, derives from *The Common Lectionary* of 1983. Both are based on the 1969 *Ordo Lectionem Missae*.

"Ordinary" and "After"

In the main, the gospel readings of the Roman and the Revised Common Lectionaries are similar. While there is no liturgical calendar common to all Christian Churches and communities, all traditions follow a common sequence for the principal Christian feasts such as Christmas, Epiphany, Easter and Pentecost. The *Roman Lectionary* refers to the season which follows Pentecost as "Ordinary Time", while the *Revised Common Lectionary* names this time as "Sundays after Pentecost." "Ordinary" and "after" could be thought to mean unimportant or insignificant. Far from it!

After the seasons of the great feasts there is a shift and a change of pace. The prayers and gospel readings have us accompanying Jesus in his public ministry. The Church selects from his healings,

Painting: ***Worship*** by Miki de Goodaboom © www.goodaboom.com

actions and teachings to remind, affirm, console and challenge us in our living of the Gospel. We hear Jesus tell us to pray, to trust in his care of us, to forgive, to accept others with generosity, to seek peace, to be healed and serve others as instruments of healing, to be humble. Ordinary Time and After are anything but "ordinary" and "after". This season is extraordinary, essential and fundamental to guiding us on our daily following of Jesus today. The principal Christian feasts are grounded in this season which is about our today. Pope Francis reminds us: "Today does not repeat itself: this is life … How is my 'today'?" Let us consider Matthew 16:21-28.

The Galilean Ministry of Jesus

Throughout his early ministry in Galilee, Jesus teaches, heals and reconciles (Mt 4:12-10:42). While some believe in him, for most Jesus is not the Messiah they were expecting so he experiences hostility and rejection (Mt 11:1-16:12). We enter the section of Matthew where a new direction unfolds as Jesus journeys to Jerusalem (Mt 16:13-20:34). In Matthew 16:21, we are told explicitly: "Jesus began to show his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem" and in the first of three times he tells them that there at the hands of the elders, chief priests and scribes, he will undergo great suffering, be killed and be raised on the third day (Mt 17:22-23; 20:17-19).

Peter objects strongly. He rebukes Jesus with the very same word Jesus used to rebuke the waves (Mt 8:26). Jesus calls Peter not only "Satan" but "a stumbling block" (*skandalon*), a cause of sin. Peter is distracting Jesus from God's purposes in a way which parallels Satan's earlier temptations (Mt 4:1-11). Peter, "the rock" (Mt 16:18) who falters when faced with this stumbling block, contrasts with the Peter who after his confession of faith Jesus declared: "Blessed are you" (Mt 16:17).

To become my followers means literally "to come after me" or "to get behind me". The present tense here indicates a continuous state of existence, a continuous way of being as when one goes behind Jesus walking in his tracks. This phrase, "to come after me/get behind me", is very close to the one found in Jesus' authoritative call of the disciples (Mt 4:18-22). They responded immediately, at considerable social and economic cost, to the call to be part of building an alternative community in the imperial world around them.

Jesus' Scandalous Call

We need to be clear that denial of self is not just giving up certain things or blotting out joy and fulfilment in life. It is a choice to lose oneself entirely in Jesus, to live his way, to be part of his mission and take on his identity as one's very own. Each follower will confront certain suffering because of the choice to follow/get behind a Messiah such as Jesus.

Loyalty to Jesus meant not just division in the family or household but social conflict. To take up their cross suggests an array of factors dulled by centuries of spiritualised Christian piety about "the cross" which is divorced from the social and political reality of the world of Jesus. As used by Rome, crucifixion was a cruel means of execution imposed on conquered peoples, foreigners, criminals and slaves. It divided citizen from non-citizen, and those accepted socially from the socially rejected and excluded. Crucifixion in public places served to discourage non-compliant behaviour. This is the very real background to Jesus' scandalous call to risk all, even to death.

Jesus' call is to choose a way of marginalisation, to be one with people who are nobodies (like slaves) and be regarded as one cursed. It is to identify with those who resist the control of the empire, who challenge or threaten its interests and with those who contest its vision of reality. To identify with the cross is not to glorify or sentimentalise this violent symbol but to reframe and subvert its meaning as Jesus does. Whenever his suffering and death is spoken of it is not in a duo but always a trio, a threesome – his suffering, his death *and* his resurrection. His death and resurrection in the four Gospels and all New Testament writings are found in such close proximity that it has been suggested that this unity be shown by hyphenating his death-resurrection.

As I accompany Jesus in his ministry how do his words remind, affirm, console and challenge me in my answering his call to come after me/to get behind me? "How is my 'today'?" ■

Matthew 16:21–28 3 September:
Matthew 16:21-27 22nd Sunday Ordinary Time (Roman Lectionary). Matthew 16:21-28 13th Sunday after Pentecost (Revised Common Lectionary)

Kathleen Rushton RSM lives in *Otautahi* Christchurch where, in the sight of the Southern Alps and the hills, she continues to delight in learning and writing about Scripture.

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Fashion
and Buying Ethically

Everywhere I look, there seems to be a rise in consciousness of our impact on the world. We are taking practical steps to reduce our environmental impact and making more ethical choices around the things that we buy. Fashion is no different, and in the last few years there has been a growing concern with the conditions in which our clothes are produced and the human rights impact of our consumption.

International outrage was sparked when, in 2012, Pakistani factory fires hit global headlines and became a symbol for the deadly impact of unjust working conditions and human rights abuses within the garment sector. Caused by the unsafe storage of chemicals, the fires were devastating, killing 257 people and seriously injuring over 600. The number of casualties was so great because of overcrowding, unsafe buildings and a lack of fire protection. It was also revealed that the workers in these factories received only between $52 and $104 per month for their labour.

It can seem daunting to try to address these global issues as an individual, and it is easy to fall into thinking: "But I'm only one person, what can I really do?" But taking action as an individual is crucial, especially if we think about the fact that as consumers we are the end point in the fashion production line. We are in a powerful position to put pressure on companies to be transparent about their working practices, and to condemn human rights abuses such as child labour, forced labour and unsafe working conditions.

Baptist World Aid Australia has been proactive in making ethical consumption accessible by producing a series of industry reports as part of their "Behind the Barcode" project. The Ethical Fashion Report that was released earlier this year details the employment practices of over 400 brands, and grades them on the strength of the systems they have in place to protect workers in their supply chain from exploitation, forced labour and child labour. This report is an incredibly helpful tool for understanding some of the ethical issues around the fashion industry. It also allows consumers to make ethical choices and have the ability to advocate for fairer working conditions — to vote for a fairer world with their wallets.

The research on brands provides consumers with a handy guide by ranking brands according to four criteria about their company labour practices: what policies the company has in place, how well they know the ethics of their supply chain, how the supply chain is audited, and their efforts toward worker empowerment such as fair wages and safe working conditions. For example, Adidas gets an overall score of A-, whereas Nike gets a C+ grade. Icebreaker scores D- and Kathmandu does much better with B+. This ranking system is pure gold for someone on a Saturday afternoon shopping for new sports shoes and who wants to make an informed choice and support a brand that is making a conscious effort to create better conditions for their workers.

In terms of activism and taking a stance on unjust practices, some have questioned whether boycotting specific brands is the most useful approach. The Asia-Pacific region is home to 40 million garment workers, so the argument could be made that rather than refusing to buy a brand, it is better to put public pressure on that brand to change their practices and commit to transparency. Both methods have their place and are useful in negotiating change. Ultimately, large companies are at the mercy of the market and two of the biggest catalysts for change are falling sales and public criticism.

It is encouraging to see changes being made through this new dialogue. Baptist World Aid has published annual reports on the garment industry annually since 2013, and over those four years there have been some improvements to the industry, with 42 per cent of companies investing in a fair wage now, compared to just 11 per cent in 2013. This growth is incredibly heartening, and while there is obviously still a long way to go it provides real evidence that, as consumers, we all have the ability to shape the world for the common good. ■

Louise Carr-Neil, an Auckland native living in Hamilton, is passionate about gender equality and human rights. In her spare time she enjoys running and vegetarian cooking.

SHAMEFUL TO THE FINAL ACT

The Athenian historian Thucydides wrote: "The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must." It's a poignant interpretation of power and it would seem to be the guiding principle behind Australia's policy on the offshore detention of refugees.

It uncomfortably parallels the Australian Director of Amnesty International's description of offshore detention as a "deliberately cruel and inhumane system that is intended to make desperate and vulnerable people suffer". How did Australia, a country that models itself on the idea of "a fair go", end up making an immigration policy based on persecuting the persecuted? The answer — by getting Papua New Guinea and Nauru to do our dirty work.

The situation looked to be coming to an end when it was announced in February that one of Australia's two off-shore centres, located on PNG's Manus Island, would close this year. Less than a month later, PNG's Chief Justice said the centre had been closed. It all seemed too good to be true. Sadly, it was.

The centre's 821 men are still being held there. The "closure" was in name only – detainees were allowed to leave the compound during the day and the centre was reclassified as part of the adjacent naval base. With conditions unchanged, I doubt the 821 refugees who still call this prison home would have agreed with the PNG judge.

Run intermittently since 2001 by both major Australian political parties, it is a centre that refuses to die, it's last "closure" lasting just four years. In a decade and a half, it has produced riots, hunger strikes, self-harm, mental illness, sexual abuse and a body count. And yet it endures. International condemnation from the likes of the UN Human Rights Commission be damned.

And public opinion seems to count for little. While polls have contributed to Australia's revolving door of Prime Ministers, they apparently don't hold any weight on controversial policies. Polls showing that two in three Australians oppose offshore processing cannot sway politicians.

Indeed, although the Australian Government is responsible for putting asylum seekers in detention, any sense of liability ends there — there is no responsibility taken for detainees or for their welfare while detained. On the one hand, the Government insists PNG runs the centre, while on the other it bars Australian journalists from reporting on it and until recently had banned doctors from speaking out about it. This lack of accountability by successive Australian Governments is the crux of the problem.

The good news is that the PNG Supreme Court's ruling that the centre is illegal should finally force our Government's hand. The bad news is that those who are determined to be legitimate refugees (reported to be 80 per cent) will never be settled in Australia despite their years of waiting. They will be given the choice instead — to settle in PNG, try to find another country that will accept them, or be forced to return home with the other non-refugees.

There may be a fourth option. Under an agreement with the US Government, the Australian Government looks as if it may perform a trade, exchanging some of our refugees for their Central American ones.

The US, having long struggled with their own Central American refugees must be pleased with the chance to expel a small proportion to the other side of the Pacific Ocean, from where it will be difficult to return. Australia presumably has the same hope for the detainees of Manus Island.

To swap a few hundred refugees rather than simply settle them in Australia is an absurd length to go to in order to save political face. However, given the complex history and political stubbornness around Manus Island, the only thing that is truly certain is that Australia will never truly accept responsibility for what happened there.

In an interesting turn of events, the Australian Government agreed to pay $70 million in compensation to almost 2,000 people held at Manus Island between 2012 and 2016. This news came just days before the case was to be heard by the Victorian Supreme Court. The terms of the compensation package were clear; the Commonwealth was not admitting liability, insisting it was the PNG authorities that oversaw the imprisonment of detainees.

The agreement will prevent this case going through the courts and any information about the conditions detainees endured from reaching the public. The payment will be little consolation to those who spent years rotting inside a detention centre. Ultimately, our refugees are unlikely to have their ordeal ever acknowledged by the Australian Government that was responsible. They have suffered much, for little ends, at the hands of a country that was rich and powerful enough to have simply settled them in the first place. Hopefully, this is truly the final act of this shameful Greek tragedy. ■

Jack Derwin is the assistant reporter to a foreign correspondent in the Sydney Bureau of the Japanese newspaper *The Asahi Shimbun*.

The New Zealand Project

By Max Harris
Published by Bridget Williams Books, 2017
Reviewed by Simon Randall

BOOK

The children of the 1980s and 1990s are coming of age and over the last few years have started to find their voice across a range of social and cultural disciplines. *The New Zealand Project* makes a worthy contribution to progress in the political sphere from one of this generation. The book is not an academic text but a relatable and almost intimate insight into Harris's perspectives and values as an individual. And although the author's academic background as an Oxbridge fellow shines in his crisp, matter-of-fact style, Harris provides an accessible, engaging read for all.

Recent events show that the generation which grew up in the aftermath of the radical neoliberal economic and social reforms of Rogernomics and its successors has a different worldview from earlier generations. Harris explores the impacts of these reforms on his generation and the deficits which they now see in the contemporary political system.

The main idea of the book is that in current New Zealand politics today there is a disconnection between values and decision-making. There is the strong implication that things would be much improved if values were once more the main driver of decision-making. Harris fleshes out this point by developing a credible list of values and applies these to the key issues now facing the nation. He concludes with his "New Zealand Project", an assessment of the challenges we face as a nation and suggestions for how by implementing values we could move forward.

This book is an ambitious undertaking. What I like most is its style — it does not present definitive answers but takes readers through the author's thought process as he grapples with doing politics differently. It challenges and encourages readers to examine the situation for themselves and come to their own conclusions. Given its relevance, timeliness and accessibility, I recommend *The New Zealand Project* widely, particularly for those with their own values-driven projects who might be seeking inspiration. It is certainly worthwhile pre-election reading. ■

Windows on a Women's World:

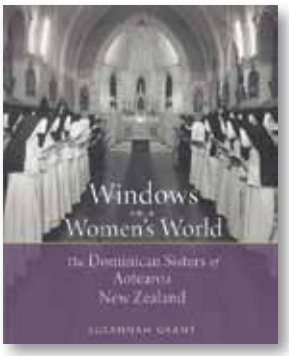
The Dominican Sisters of Aotearoa New Zealand

by Susannah Grant
Published by Otago University Press, 2017
Reviewed by Jenny Collins

BOOK

In a series of linked stories, photos and artworks this beautifully produced book opens a number of "windows" into the religious and teaching lives of the Dominican Sisters of Aotearoa New Zealand. Author Susannah Grant presents a sympathetic account of congregational life from the early years until the present time. The narrative is not primarily an account of struggles endured and difficulties overcome (although it includes plenty of both); nor is it a history of the congregation as such. Rather, stories are framed around a typically Dominican theme, the search for truth, and the legacy of the Dominican Congregation in changing times.

A historical overview sketches early struggles: shortages of teaching sisters, isolation from their Irish home and culture and worries about lack of money. From beginnings teaching the children of the Irish working-class poor and daughters of aspiring middle-class settlers in Dunedin the Congregation expanded, establishing primary and secondary schools in Invercargill, Oamaru and Auckland and a school for the deaf in Feilding. Chapters detail the process of becoming a Dominican Sister, life under the strict rules of enclosure and changes in religious life in the years up to Vatican Council II. The narrative does not flinch as it explores personal and congregational struggles in the tumultuous years that followed. It acknowledges the challenges of religious life today — the diminishing numbers of sisters living diverse ministries in small groups and independently, and the possibility that the Congregation may come to an end.



This story is written for the Dominican Sisters, for their former pupils and for those who recognise the significance of their role in education and elsewhere. It is an important book for Catholics who may have forgotten our own history and the way we have benefited from the relatively free education provided by women such as the Dominican Sisters, an education that helped pupils improve their life chances and become participating citizens in New Zealand society.

The book does not quite live up to its claim to include wider social and political perspectives and the focus on exploring the Sisters' legacy has resulted in some repetition across chapters. Judicious use of historical scholarship — for example, on the work of teaching sisters in Ireland and New Zealand — would have added depth to the historical context. But this is a relatively small fault in an otherwise excellent contribution to the history of a unique group of Sisters. ■

Rosalie Blum

Directed by Julien Rappeneau
Reviewed by Paul Sorrell

FILM

This quirky, unassuming film deals with loneliness, isolation, being worn down by the daily grind and what can happen when we take the risky step of breaking out of our bubble. *Rosalie Blum* treads a fine line between playing the situation for laughs and showing us characters whose hopes, fears and dilemmas mirror our own.

Vincent Machot (played by Kyan Khojandi) is a 30-something hairdresser who lives alone in an apartment building in a French provincial town, one floor below his dominating mother. His flamboyant, womanising cousin Laurent is a constant reminder of his own miserable record in the romance stakes. Vincent's all-too predictable life shifts gear when he meets Rosalie Blum (Noémie Lvovsky) — a shy, ordinary person like himself — in a chance encounter. Quickly becoming obsessed, he follows her home and then trails her around town as she attends choir practice or visits her favourite bar. The plot takes an unexpected twist when Vincent spies her visiting the town jail . . .

Discovering that she's being followed, Rosalie ups the *ante* and puts her niece Aude (Alice Isaaz) on the job of smoking out the hapless Vincent. Aude and her two grungy girlfriends make an hilarious detective trio, hamming it up in delightful fashion. From this point in the story, Aude — a disaffected, unemployed young woman with a colourful if chaotic domestic life — develops as a character in her own right alongside her aunt. The complexities of their shared family history are gradually revealed, including the fact that Rosalie has a son, Thomas, whom she hasn't seen since he was a child and with whom she is yearning to make contact.

A cleverly constructed film, *Rosalie Blum* makes use of flashbacks to clarify some of the more mysterious aspects of the narrative, but always remains warm at heart. This movie is about making breakthrough in human relationships — the small actions required to change people's lives, such as Rosalie's efforts to encourage Aude to sign up for art school. Crucially, Rosalie's cat-and-mouse game with Vincent emboldens her to take the chance of her life and muster the courage to reach out to her son.

Showing a light yet thoughtful touch, director Rappeneau's debut film is fine fare to fill in a wet winter afternoon. ■

Catholic Women's Movement

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CROSSCURRENTS

Jim Elliston

Finders Keepers?

Who owns our water? The government says no one does. Many people follow John Locke's theory (1689) that, though the Earth is common to all, if someone works to improve its natural state then that part becomes theirs.

In a recent Radio New Zealand interview, Auckland University Distinguished Professor, Dame Anne Salmond, commented on the OECD's report concerning New Zealand's environmental performance, and made suggestions on how the fresh water crisis might be tackled. She recommends that rather than ownership we regard our relationship to water as one of trusteeship. Under trusteeship, entrepreneurs who export water would not be able to privatise our natural resource for their own advantage. Her idea is well worth exploring.

Civic Change

I found the TV series *What's Next*, which focuses on looming disruptive changes affecting our lives, thought provoking. And Paul Thomas's recent *Listener* article outlining the demise of the old rugby culture and resulting improvements, reminded me of the enormous attitudinal changes that have occurred during my lifetime. Some were triggered by major crises, but many arose through a sort of osmosis — small shifts percolating throughout the country.

The New Zealand Rugby Union's insistence in 1981 on its right to invite the South African Springboks to tour split our nation, resulting in widespread demonstrations and worse. This was because a significant number of New Zealanders regarded the tour as a sign of our approval of South Africa's oppressive apartheid policy, so were against it going ahead. As a result rugby's status diminished appreciably and took years to recover.

We are born completely dependent on others; eventually we become relatively independent. Although we naturally wish to assert our independence, we are still subject to the restrictions arising from being members of a community. Both obdurate resistance and strident advocacy can result in undesirable consequences.

Religious Change

The history of Christianity is one of almost constant turbulence with cultural, political and social factors contributing at various times. In the Catholic Church shifts have occurred in the interpretation of the Gospel message. Some have affected the understanding of the nature of priesthood.

Although some central aspects have endured, others have varied. For example, the association of power and the priesthood is currently diminishing because of the recognition a Christ-like leader needs to attract followers. For priests to listen and accompany is quite different from teaching and directing. The change initially caused considerable angst among many clergy and some laity.

Change Agent

Pope Francis's approach is twofold. He endeavours to preach the Gospel so that all people in the world can hear it and he hopes to effect institutional changes aimed at giving all sections of the Church a voice. This latter is meeting widespread resistance because it is undermining the centralised power base that until recently had global support. The traditionalists in the debate fear the creation of a rival power base. The push for the ordination of women should be viewed within this context.

Since 1966, when Paul VI appointed Australian Rosemary Goldie as number three in the management structure of a Curial department, other women, at least as qualified as many ordained men, have also been appointed to such roles. Misogyny accounts for some of the resistance, but not all because nearly two millennia of tradition cannot be dismissed by papal fiat.

Whether such change in official teaching is possible can be answered only through thorough, universal examination. Deliberate provocative actions, such as demonstrations in St Peter's Square, or criticising Pope Francis for not issuing a decree, reinforces the powerful opposition to the idea in much of the Church. ■

TUI MOTU InterIslands
The Independent Catholic Magazine Limited

Tui Motu – InterIslands is an independent, Catholic, monthly magazine. It invites its readers to question, challenge and contribute to its discussion of spiritual, social and ecological issues in the light of gospel values, and in the interests of a more just and peaceful society. Inter-church and inter-faith dialogue is welcomed.

The name *Tui Motu* was given by Pa Henare Tate. It literally means "stitching the islands together...", bringing the different races and peoples and faiths together to create one Pacific people of God. Divergence of opinion is expected and will normally be published, although that does not necessarily imply editorial commitment to the viewpoint expressed.

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We welcome letters of comment, discussion, response, affirmation or argument of up to 200 words. The editor reserves the right to abridge longer letters, while keeping the meaning.

We do not publish anonymous letters except in exceptional circumstances.

JUSTICE FOR PALESTINIANS

I am very unhappy about "In Search of the 'Ultimate' Peace Deal" (*TM* June 2017:3). Nowhere does the word justice appear. There is no sense of urgency regarding the fate of Palestinians. So-called "negotiations" have been going on more than 20 years. Calling for more "negotiations" is giving the Israelis a green light to continue killing Palestinians, arresting Palestinians *en masse*, stealing their land and resources. The people of Gaza are facing extermination. Please read the heartfelt desperate plea from Palestinian Christians on the World Council of Churches website. I feel very strongly about the plight of the Palestinian people because I have been to Israel and the West Bank. I've met Palestinian Christians, Muslims, secular and a few Israel human rights activists too. The West, including western Churches, should stop looking the other way.

Lois Griffiths, Christchurch

ISSUES ARE INTERCONNECTED

I agree with the three correspondents (*TM* May, June 2017) who complain that Louise Carr-Neil (*TM* March 2017: 26) seems to leave open the possibility that she regards abortion as acceptable, but indignation has prevented their reading her article properly. She makes valid points, namely that the Trump administration's effort to reduce induced abortions is partly self-defeating and has murderous side-effects.

There can be no justification for sabotaging programmes for malaria, HIV and tuberculosis — all major killers. The policy reduces the number of abortions at the cost of directly increasing the number of amateur abortions which are the leading cause of maternal death around the world. By halting family planning advice it must actually increase the rate at which some women are driven to seek illicit "help". Victoria Raw (*TM* May 2017) correctly emphasises the need for supporting pregnant women and alleviating poverty to reduce abortions, but the Trump policy takes no steps in those directions.

Like Clare McClean (*TM* July 2017) she stresses that no abortion is "safe". It is a grotesque weakness of Catholics arguing against abortion to label the procedure as dangerous to the mother, even when done under controlled conditions. Alas, full-term pregnancy is more dangerous to the life of the mother, even in our country. Maternal mortality is commoner in the United States than here with about 800 tragedies per year. Nearly a fifth of pregnancies end by induced abortion there, yet nobody is suggesting that abortions kill as many as 200 women every year.

The title *More Than A Single Issue* escaped your correspondents, one of whom even asserted it was about a single issue. Abortion is a huge issue but must not be the sole criterion for our decisions about voting in the near elections. Our bishops in their statement *Step out and Vote* combine all pro-life matters as but one of 10 named issues from a longer list they discussed. The sad fact is that tighter legal restrictions on abortion in NZ would need a political consensus that has zero chance of arriving soon, would not be aided by promoting a fringe party with other, abhorrent views, and would need to be preceded by major social changes including a sheeting home of male duties in relationships. We as Catholics are almost excluded from such a debate because the magisterium still lumps abortion and workable family planning together as evils, when the fact is that the latter is a major weapon against the former.

Laurie Williams, Auckland

AGENDA FOR OUR POLITICIANS

Thank you again for your excellent articles. I appreciate the book-reviews and particularly the article by Louise Carr-Neil, titled *The Sun of Peace Finally Shines*. I wish that our politicians would take a leaf of Norway's way of government: an exemplary approach to human rights, outstanding access to healthcare and education with a socialist approach to politics and equality. I, too, have been curious for a long time about the Scandinavian governments, particularly that of Norway.

Gerard van den Bemd, Auckland

Letters to the Editor continue on page 13

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Looking **OUT** *and* **IN**

Two little girls in colourful tights, their hair tied high in bouncing bunches gave me a quick hug and walk into Room Three.

"You can go now Mum. Bye."

I remember walking back up Barbadoes Street, in central Christchurch, eyes swimming and brimming over as my five-year-old girls launched themselves into the absorbing world of schooling at Christchurch East School.

A couple of years later, we had moved as a family to North India. The English Medium School with strict uniforms and classmates all struggling with the absurdly inconsistent but wonderful world of written English was not a great way forward for our two who were already avid readers. So after a couple of months there, we launched into home-schooling for several years. I loved the opportunity to share learning with my children — particularly our units on the agricultural cycles of Himachal Pradesh, when we spent time with our neighbours picking peas, watching winnowing and trying our hand at milking cows. Our sojourn in Delhi for several months in 2010 was a great opportunity to focus on Mughal India and some hilarious play performances, visits to the intricate architecture of the Red Fort and discussions about global inequalities.

Our twins flourished and continued to read prolifically and when we moved to another North Indian town, they dived into the learning opportunities of Woodstock, a 160-year-old international school. The last seven years in Mussoorie included a class trip to Lucknow to study the Indian independence movement versus the British Raj, many hikes in the Indian Himalaya, learning computer code, editing the school newspaper, the marvels of chemistry labs and diving into the beauty of English literature.

A fortnight ago, Shar, elegant in a turquoise and black sari and Shanti, in a hand-embroidered green sari, walked across the stage to receive their high-school graduation certificates. They have learned lots, worked hard, struggled with calculus, shone in many areas, and now after 13 years at school, are poised for the next season of tertiary study in New Zealand. Both their grandmothers from New Zealand joined us to celebrate. My heart felt full and happy. And 13 years after I waved them off at Christchurch East School my eyes were swimming again. Once more I hugged them close, then I let them go again. I watch the unfurling *koru* of each child's life with surprise, wonder, occasional consternation — but most of all gratefulness. ■

Kaaren Mathias is a mother of four young people, is married to Jeph and has spent the last 11 years living and working in India.

Blessing

Nudge us to step up
Look around
Weigh the options
And decide fairly
for the common good
Spirit, communion of Love

From the *Tui Motu* team