

**PARLIAMENT OF VICTORIA**

**PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES  
(HANSARD)**

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**

**FIFTY-FIFTH PARLIAMENT**

**FIRST SESSION**

**19 April 2005**

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### FIFTY-FIFTH PARLIAMENT — FIRST SESSION

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**Tuesday, 19 April 2005**

**The SPEAKER (Hon. Judy Maddigan) took the chair at 2.04 p.m. and read the prayer.**

**CONDOLENCES**

**Neil Malcolm McInnes**

**The SPEAKER** — I advise the house of the death of Neil Malcolm McInnes, member of the Legislative Assembly for the electoral district of Gippsland South from 1973 to 1982.

I ask members to rise in their places as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

**Honourable members stood in their places.**

**The SPEAKER** — I shall convey a message of sympathy from the house to the relatives of the late Neil Malcolm McInnes.

**Reverend Dr John Davis McCaughey, AC**

**Mr THWAITES** (Acting Premier) — I move:

That this house expresses its sincere sorrow at the death of the Reverend Dr John Davis McCaughey, AC, and places on record its acknowledgment of the valuable services rendered by him to the Parliament and to the people of Victoria as Governor of Victoria from 1986 to 1992.

The house is saddened by the passing of Dr Davis McCaughey at his Melbourne home on Friday, 25 March, aged 90. Dr McCaughey made an outstanding contribution to the community and to life in Victoria. He was a man of great faith, education and vision who will be remembered by many as a selfless contributor to public life in Victoria and a great leader who went about his business in a quiet and unassuming way but who was not afraid to speak up for those who had no voice.

John Davis McCaughey was born in Belfast in Northern Ireland on 12 July 1914. He was educated at Campbell College, Belfast, Pembroke College, Cambridge, New College, Edinburgh, and the Presbyterian College, Belfast. Dr McCaughey studied theology and was ordained as a minister in the Presbyterian Church in Belfast in 1942. He completed his wartime service with the YMCA from 1942 to 1945 and was the study secretary of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain in Ireland from 1946 to 1952. In 1946 he also became the secretary of the British Council of Churches with special responsibility for issues relating to atomic energy.

Having married Jean Henderson in 1940, Dr McCaughey moved his young family to Australia in 1953 to be professor of New Testament studies in the theological hall at Ormond College at the University of Melbourne. He held this position until 1964. In 1959 he was appointed the master of Ormond College — a position he held with great distinction for more than 20 years. During this time Dr McCaughey was responsible for the theological development and education of hundreds of future ministers in Victoria and Tasmania.

He was also a strong advocate of ecumenical cooperation. One good example of this was when the Jesuits moved their theological college from Pymble in New South Wales to Melbourne. Dr McCaughey offered the Jesuits accommodation and the use of the library and lecture facilities at Ormond College. This gesture was much appreciated and it ultimately led to the development of the united faculty of theology.

Dr McCaughey held various appointments with the World Council of Churches, and he was deeply committed to education and to learning. He served three times on the council of the University of Melbourne and was deputy chancellor from 1978 to 1979 and from 1982 to 1985. He was also involved in the establishment of La Trobe University. Despite these commitments Dr McCaughey found time over the years to write several leading publications, including *Victoria's Colonial Governors — 1839–1900*, which is an extremely valuable piece of research. I understand he completed it in his spare time — if he had any — at Government House.

He also wrote a publication entitled *The Basis of Union*, which had an enormous impact on community and religious life in Australia. This work eventually led to the unification of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches in Australia. Not surprisingly Dr McCaughey was chosen as the foundation president of the first assembly of the Uniting Church in Australia in 1977.

Dr McCaughey's accomplishments continued over the following years. In 1986, at the age of 71, he was chosen by former Labor Premier John Cain to be the Governor of Victoria. Over the next six years Dr McCaughey approached this eminent role with his usual passion, commitment and sharp intellect. The rigour of his academic approach provided significant insights and was the basis for reform in many areas of the public and private sectors.

Many Victorians will also remember Dr McCaughey as being totally unaffected by the trappings of office. He

replaced the traditional Rolls Royce with a Ford; he dispensed with military aides; and he opened Government House to the public. Throughout his life he maintained the highest degree of humility.

Dr McCaughey turned his attention equally to ethics and morality and good governance, and to the need for an altered tax system to aid the welfare of the disadvantaged members of our community. His time as Governor was marked by modesty, compassion, wisdom, intellectual strength and unity. These personal qualities have been remarked on by virtually everyone whose views have been sought since his death. These are also qualities he shared with his greatest partner in life, his wife of some 65 years, Jean McCaughey, who survives him.

In an article in the *Sun* in December 1985, a few months before he was sworn in as Governor, Dr McCaughey provided the following comment on his new position:

All I can say is that we have been extraordinarily happy in 33 years living in Victoria. We owe a great deal to this state and we would like — if it is possible — to say thank you by doing the best job we can.

And he did. On behalf of the Victorian government I offer sincere condolences to the McCaughey family, many of whom are here today — to his wife, Jean; their children, Patrick, James, John, Mary and Brigid; and their 11 grandchildren and 3 great-grandchildren.

**Mr DOYLE** (Leader of the Opposition) — It is with great pleasure that I join the condolence motion for the Reverend Dr John Davis McCaughey, AC.

It is true to say that over 50 years Dr Davis McCaughey enriched this city and enriched this state. He was a religious leader, he was an intellectual leader and he was a community leader, but he was a leader who never lost the common touch. He treated everyone he met, in whatever station they found him, with the same interest and respect.

Dr McCaughey was born in Belfast on 12 July 1914 into a prominent Ulster Presbyterian family. He was educated at Campbell College in Belfast and then at Cambridge University before studying theology in Edinburgh and Belfast. As the Acting Premier pointed out, he married Jean in 1940; and as he also said, we are delighted to have many members of the McCaughey family with us today to hear due honour paid to the patriarch of the McCaughey clan.

In 1942 he was ordained as a Presbyterian minister, but interestingly he was never in charge of a parish. One

suspects that if that had been his lifelong work, he would have done it equally as well as the other great tasks he undertook.

He worked with the YMCA during the war. In 1946 he became secretary to the British Council of Churches on atomic energy as well as being the study secretary of the Student Christian Movement.

Jean, Davis and their family arrived in Australia in 1953 when Davis was appointed professor of New Testament studies in the theological hall attached to Ormond College at the University of Melbourne. They moved here with the intention of staying for one year, but something about the family must have embraced Victoria, or maybe something about Victoria embraced the family. Some 52 years later they were still here and giving great service to this state. As we know, Davis was appointed the fifth master of Ormond College in 1959, a position he held with great distinction for 20 years.

If I could quote from the Ormond College tribute to its own master:

Davis often said that he and Jean counted their time at Ormond as one of the most exciting periods in their life, and it is probably true to say that it was, reciprocally, one of the most exciting periods in the life of the college.

Davis transformed Ormond College from a college of 150 men in residence to a community double that size with women admitted to full residential membership. He made it also accessible to students from a very wide range of backgrounds. He was the university's deputy vice-chancellor in 1978 and 1979 and helped to launch the fledgling La Trobe University. It has been noted that during that time, as always, his style was one of simplicity, commonsense and humour, underpinned by a strong sense of ethics and morality.

As a churchman he has been described as a reformist in every aspect of his life. There had over many years been a kind of peripatetic movement to try to get some ecumenical union, but it was Davis McCaughey who revived that movement for union between the Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches and was instrumental in the founding of the Uniting Church in Australia in 1977. It was then a natural movement for him to be elected the inaugural president of the church's national assembly. I might say that that movement did give an institution at which I worked — that is, Scotch College — some difficulties in later years, but that was none of Davis's doing. It was perhaps more the remaining Presbyterian Church and its gymnastics with Scotch College. Sue Gormann, the Moderator of the Uniting Church in Victoria and

Tasmania, said that Davis McCaughey's vision of unity had fundamentally changed the shape of the church in Australia.

Davis McCaughey was appointed Governor in 1986 and served until 1992. As we often find when a Governor is appointed, we do not get a Governor, we get a team, and that is certainly what we got in the case of the McCaugheys. Let us not underestimate the fact that he took over at a time of turmoil in succeeding Sir Brian Murray — perhaps not a glorious chapter in our gubernatorial history — but with typical aplomb Davis McCaughey handled a difficult situation in the most modest and sensible of ways.

It is interesting that his appointment was witnessed on the steps of Parliament House by a large crowd. It had previously been a very private, almost an elitist, ceremony — an affair for selected guests. This appointment was a public ceremony, and Premier John Cain said at the time, 'Dr McCaughey brings an approach we have never had before'. As the Acting Premier noted, during the six years Davis McCaughey was Governor he removed much of the pomp and ceremony that had been associated with the vice-regal position. It is iconic that Davis got rid of the Rolls Royce and replaced it with a Ford, but we should also remember that he was the Governor who opened up Government House to the people of Victoria.

He also visited China and Japan, and we should not underestimate his prescience in understanding the importance of those nations to our country and to our region. He was certainly not afraid to speak his mind, and he made an enormous contribution to political and community life in Victoria. With typical dry understatement Davis McCaughey described his job as Governor as unfailingly interesting.

Davis McCaughey, aged 90, passed away at his North Melbourne home surrounded by his family on Good Friday, 25 March. He is survived by Jean, by Patrick, James, John, Mary and Brigid, and by 11 grandchildren and 3 great-grandchildren.

I was honoured to join more than 1300 mourners at his memorial service at St Michael's Uniting Church. It is fitting that, just as he was welcomed by the people, the People's Governor was farewelled by the people. It was also typical that members of the congregation were asked not to give flowers but to donate to charities devoted to the welfare of asylum seekers and to further education in East Timor.

Reverend Professor Harry Wardlaw, who gave the eulogy, said Davis McCaughey's quest in life was to see the truth. He spoke of his:

... amazing personal qualities — his unfailing courtesy, the warmth of his hospitality, his ready wit and the ability to coin the apt phrase.

Close friend and former student, Professor Stuart Macintyre, dean of Melbourne University's faculty of arts, said:

He occupied positions of importance but his influence was probably greater than his official positions.

He had a love of the arts; he was passionate about literature; he was committed to Aboriginal reconciliation and to cultural diversity. He vehemently opposed war in all its forms. He supported in many ways the struggle against poverty.

As I reflected on how I might sum up such a rich life of contribution to our state, one word kept returning to me in all the roles that Davis McCaughey played, and that was 'service'. He was a great man of service to this state, and he will be well remembered.

**Mr RYAN** (Leader of The Nationals) — I too rise to support the motion of condolence which has been moved by the Acting Premier. The Reverend Dr Davis McCaughey passed away on Friday, 25 March. He was 90 years of age. He spent his last hours in a way to which I suppose many of us aspire, in that he was surrounded by his wife of 65 years, Jean, and his children and his grandchildren. I pause to say that Mrs McCaughey is a groundbreaking researcher in her own right, and an advocate on poverty and homelessness.

Having been born in Belfast in 1914 and then having been ordained in that same city in 1942, Dr McCaughey came to Australia in 1953 to take up his role as professor of New Testament studies for the Theological Hall at Ormond College at Melbourne University. He was master of Ormond College from 1959 to 1979. He later served as the deputy chancellor of the University of Melbourne between 1978 and 1979. He was a member of the council of La Trobe University, having been heavily involved in the foundation of La Trobe in the mid-1960s.

He was a key architect in bringing together the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches to form the Uniting Church in Australia, and for this role he is widely regarded as a visionary in the ecumenical movement of Australia. He was the primary author of *The Basis of Union*, which was the foundational theological document that led to the

formation of the new denomination. In addition to his key role in the formation of the Uniting Church in Australia, he was, not surprisingly, the president of the first assembly of the church between 1977 and 1979.

The current moderator of the Uniting Church in Victoria and Tasmania is the Reverend Sue Gormann. She recently remarked that:

Dr McCaughey shared a vision of unity and hope with the people of Victoria inspired by a love of God lived out in the service of humanity through learning, understanding and compassion ... The Victorian and Australian community owes a debt of gratitude to Davis McCaughey, a man of learning, spiritual insight and vision.

The current president of the National Assembly of the Uniting Church, Dr Dean Drayton, has said of Dr McCaughey that he had a lasting influence on the shape of spiritual and social consciousness in Australia. He said:

He provided much of the vision, wisdom and intellectual strength behind the union of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches [and served Victoria with] compassion and distinction.

Dr McCaughey was, as has been remarked, renowned as the man who stripped much of the pomp and ceremony from Government House. He was of course the Governor from 1986 to 1992. To this day, Speaker, I wonder what happened to the Roller!

He spoke out on many issues, such as the need for a redistribution of income through the tax system. He took office in 1986 at a time of tumult after the resignation of the previous Governor, Sir Brian Murray. He was appointed by the Premier of the day, John Cain, who recently said that Dr McCaughey was a great healing force after what was a very difficult period. Mr Cain said:

Davis made the job what it should be. He opened Government House up to the public, he didn't see it as being the sanctuary of the privileged and elite. He was unassuming, down-to-earth, unfailingly courteous to everybody and unaffected by the trappings of the office.

Amongst his many talents he was an internationally respected author of numerous academic works, monographs and theological works. In his later years he co-wrote a book about the lives of Victoria's governors, titled, as the Acting Premier has said, *Victoria's Colonial Governors — 1839–1900*, and published in 1994.

In the years following his resignation as Governor in 1992 he continued to follow state politics, speaking out occasionally when he felt the people of Australia were being disadvantaged by the decisions or actions of

governments of all political persuasions. He made a contribution to an absolute multitude of community causes.

He is survived by his wife, Jean, and their children and grandchildren. There is no question that Victoria is richer for the great contribution of service which this remarkable man made to this state. Vale, Davis McCaughey!

**Ms PIKE** (Minister for Health) — I welcome this opportunity to contribute to the condolence motion and to honour the life of the late Reverend Dr Davis McCaughey. In doing so I am pleased to acknowledge his wife, Jean, and members of his family who are with us here today.

I first became aware of Dr Davis McCaughey in 1977, when I was a member of a Methodist Church youth group. At the time Dr McCaughey was the inaugural president of the new church which I was going to belong to, the Uniting Church in Australia, which, as we have heard, was formed through the coming together of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches. It was only later when I worked for the Uniting Church in Victoria that I really began to fully appreciate what an enormous task Dr McCaughey and others had dedicated themselves to, because in fact he had worked tirelessly for many, many years to bring about that union. There were many long and tortuous negotiations and many, many hours of meetings. Knowing a little of church politics, I believe the ultimate union was greatly facilitated by his vision and, as has been said many times before, his legendary powers of persuasion and his capacity to sit down and engage in dialogue often with people from very different perspectives from his own.

As we have heard, Dr McCaughey was one of the authors, and in fact the most significant author, of *The Basis of Union*, the document which formed the basis of the establishment of Australia's third-largest denomination. But *The Basis of Union* also set the Uniting Church on its path of active social engagement through its large network of social services. It also articulated a vision of a church known for its active stand on human rights issues. *The Basis of Union* also committed the church to the equal participation of women and men, and it was Dr McCaughey's vision that women should be ordained and should take an active role in the leadership of the church.

Davis had a vision of a church that would be fearless in its challenge to the world and its examination of itself. From his reformed tradition, he believed the Christian faith was not just about individual salvation but actually freed

people to engage in making the world a better place for all people. His desire was also that the church be uniting, not united, and that spoke of his lifelong commitment to reconciliation and community building, a quest he was engaged in throughout his whole life. Dr McCaughey continued his commitment to unity both here and internationally from early days, as we have heard, working with the British Council of Churches and later, of course, with the World Council of Churches. He also co-chaired the Uniting Church–Catholic discussions and dialogue and was especially committed to Christian–Jewish relations.

We have heard how, as Governor of Victoria, he and his wife, Jean, used Government House and the office as a means of bringing people together. He always spoke warmly to citizens from all walks of life and sought out opportunities for social outreach and to use the office in a way that was effective for those kinds of opportunities. In prayers for his life at the memorial service at St Michael’s Uniting Church thanks were given for his capacity to bring people together of different skills, expertise and political views to enable them to work together for the common good.

He had a long involvement in so many areas of public life — in medical ethics and in the promotion of reconciliation and justice for Aboriginal people. He was a strong advocate for multiculturalism, and as the Leader of the Opposition has also reminded us, he rejected violence and war as a means of resolving conflict. Especially with Jean, with whom he shared a lifelong commitment and relationship, he worked to support the struggle against poverty and more recently against the ill treatment of asylum seekers.

Finally thanks was given for Dr Davis McCaughey’s lifelong commitment to truth, his scholarly integrity and rigour and also his imagination, his love of beauty, his sense of humour and his love of a good story. The story of the Reverend Dr Davis McCaughey’s life is an inspiration to us all.

**Mr HONEYWOOD** (Warrandyte) — I first met the late Reverend Dr Davis McCaughey in his capacity as the Governor of our state when I was elected to this place in 1988. My enduring memory of him will be of a man with sparkling eyes, amazing intellect and a superb mastery of the English language mixed with an unforgettable Irish lilt. My wife, Jennifer, knew Davis and his wife, Jean, much better than I did. She was both a student and resident tutor at Ormond College over a number of years that coincided with Dr McCaughey’s being master of Ormond. When Jean and Davis went on holidays or travelled, my wife would sometimes house-sit for them in their lodge. She fondly remembers

the instigation of the pleasant Sunday afternoons, when they would invite students who were interested in activities other than football to the master’s lodge, a major innovation in college life at the time.

It is to Davis’s contribution to theology and higher education that I would like to briefly pay tribute. It is very rare in a person’s own lifetime to have a biography written about them. It is an even rarer honour when peers and colleagues publish a volume of papers, speeches and reflections that that person has contributed to their community’s advancement. This volume, titled *Fresh Words and Deeds — The McCaughey Papers*, was published only last year to coincide with Davis’s 90th birthday. According to the current master of Ormond, Professor Hugh Collins, the title is borrowed from *The Basis of Union*, on which the Uniting Church in Australia was founded in 1977.

That foundational statement linked the concept of ‘fresh words and deeds’ to the inheritance of literary, historical and scientific inquiry and of the faithful and scholarly interpretation of scripture that are the hallmarks of an informed faith. While *The Basis of Union*, on which the Uniting Church was founded, was the work of more than one individual, no-one played a greater role in its conception, its shape, its style and its vision than Davis McCaughey.

The various major papers, shorter papers and sermons printed in this volume would pleasantly surprise many by their early anticipation of a movement for change in theological studies and their impatience with a clinical approach to studying the Bible. Davis McCaughey relished the importance of critical scholarship.

It could not have been easy for Davis, on the eve of his 40th birthday in 1953, to migrate to a new land, Australia, but fortified by his faith and his wife and family’s support, he went on to make a truly remarkable contribution to his adopted country and to this state’s public life.

As the College of Cardinals meets in Rome today to elect a new spiritual leader and Pope of the Roman Catholic Church, and as the Uniting Church in Australia finds itself at a critical time in its development, you could not think of a more appropriate epitaph for such a reformer as the call for ‘fresh words and deeds’. I extend my sympathy to Jean and Davis’s strongly supportive family.

**Ms NEVILLE** (Bellarine) — I rise in support of the condolence motion for the Reverend Dr John Davis McCaughey, and I am pleased to be able to contribute to acknowledging his contribution to our community. A

few weeks before his death Davis signed an open letter, with other signatories, to the Australian government, calling on it to ensure that our East Timorese neighbours have a just share of oil and gas revenue. This is one of the many issues that Davis fought for and took a real interest in during his life — issues of justice, equity, humanity and decency were fundamental to the jobs he undertook and in the messages he sought to share with us all.

In the contributions to the debate today we have heard about a man who over many decades worked for political and social reform. That involvement included paving the way for women to be part of Ormond College. It included his stance and actions in relation to the Vietnam War and subsequent wars. It included his commitment to the reform of the tax system to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth. It included his work and desire for reconciliation with indigenous Australians and for more humane treatment of refugees. It was with this sense of justice and community that he embraced the role of Governor.

At the time of his appointment as Governor I was not living in Victoria. It was only much later that I received real insight into the contribution he made and the role he played. At the time he took up the role of Governor, as many members have mentioned, there was a period of instability surrounding the office. His focus, as it was in so much of his life, was reconciliation. Looking back at some of the commentary following his appointment, it is clear that a significant choice had been made. History has proven that to be true. At the time of his appointment Bishop Grant, who was the Anglican dean of Melbourne, clearly articulated the qualities of the person who was later to be known as the People's Governor:

He has such broad sympathies and interests. He is both a reconciler and a strong person with firm opinions which are backed by sound research and sound argument. He has been involved in ... progressive causes for most of his life. Davis McCaughey represents all the best and progressive forces in the Victorian community.

In his gracious and modest way Davis set about the task of becoming the People's Governor. In conjunction with Jean, his wife and partner of 65 years, he set about the process of healing the rifts in the Victorian community. They dispensed with much of the pomp and ceremony and made themselves available to the community.

It was not until just over 10 years ago that I had the privilege of getting to know Jean and Davis professionally and personally. It was then that I was given a real insight into the depth of feeling Victorians

had for Davis and Jean McCaughey. True to form Davis and Jean had real concerns about the reforms being undertaken by the then Kennett government — concerns about the impact they would have on our community, our democracy and the more vulnerable in our society. Travelling through Victoria in rural, regional and metropolitan communities with Jean I saw first hand how respected and loved they were and how strongly Victorians felt about the role they had played whilst in Government House and how Victorians had felt very much part of that institution. Just as Davis and Jean had opened their house and hearts to Victorians, so too had Victorians opened their hearts to them.

This is what is so extraordinary about Davis, the depth of feeling those who have come into contact with him have towards him. Every person who has had contact with Davis talks about how much they felt that they were treated with interest and respect. Friends describe him as loyal, as a mentor and as someone who has had a lasting impact and influence on their life. Whether it was during his time at Ormond College, in his work with the church or in his role as Governor, he had an enormous capacity to really engage with people.

Conversations with Davis and Jean were always about challenging you, making you think and question and making you strive to be better and for a better society. There is a quote I heard Davis refer to a number of times:

Think until you have a pain in your head.

What a great way to live our lives — to think, to challenge and to stand up for what is important, and to take the community with us in the process. For more than 50 years Davis McCaughey did this and in the process made the community a better place.

His death does not represent the end of that contribution. We look at his family and extended family and we see in them the desires and aspirations of Davis and Jean. The tradition lives on. The children and grandchildren of Davis and Jean continue to contribute whether in the arts or in humanitarian issues here and overseas. It is in the actions and activities of the broader McCaughey family that we see what a good and great man Davis McCaughey was. I have learnt an enormous amount from Davis and Jean, and I would like to acknowledge that contribution.

In an interview with Jean McCaughey just after Davis took on the role of Governor, she talked about the role she imagined they would play, and she said, 'I hope we will be of some service to the whole community. That may be very ambitious'. That was not so ambitious; in

fact that and much more was realised. Davis unquestionably has been of enormous service to this community. I pass on my sincere condolences to Jean and the whole family.

**Mr WYNNE** (Richmond) — I rise to join my colleagues in paying my respects to the life of Dr Davis McCaughey. I had the pleasure of knowing the McCaughey family, and on a number of occasions during the time I served with Winsome McCaughey on the council of the City of Melbourne I joined the McCaughey family at functions at Government House in Melbourne.

At any time that one had the opportunity to go to Government House one always had a sense that one was welcome there, that Government House was a place for the people, a place of service and one in which all members of the community should be welcomed. This came at a time when Dr McCaughey assumed the role of Governor in difficult circumstances, as has already been indicated in previous contributions. It is certainly a hallmark of Dr and Mrs McCaughey's time at Government House that it was a period of tranquillity, with a sense that the proper place of Government House was very much recognised by the community of Victoria.

As my colleagues have already indicated, Dr McCaughey stood up for human rights and social justice as an academic and a theologian. He was interested in reconciliation and particularly interested in democracy, poverty and issues of social justice. As the member for Melbourne indicated in her address, he was very much fuelled by the sense that the Uniting Church was about service and reaching out to the community.

On a number of occasions over the last decade I saw Dr and Mrs McCaughey in their little white Peugeot going about their business in the inner city of Melbourne. One was always struck by their wonderful sense of humility and of their being a part of the community in going about their quite remarkable lives of service and support. Dr and Mrs McCaughey were prepared to speak out, often on quite contentious issues in which they saw injustice and felt the need to speak out and speak up for the underdog. One could always be assured of that strong voice of reason and compassion that is so much the hallmark of both of them.

There is no sense of coincidence that the family home is only a short distance from two of Melbourne's most significant shelters for the homeless: a shelter for women in Flemington Road at the back of the

McCaughey's home, and the Oznam House night shelter, which is just up the road.

So in a very real sense the McCaughey family has been a great part of inner Melbourne. That contribution continues in a most distinguished way through all the members of the McCaughey family, including the extended family.

I would like to extend my sincere condolences to Jean McCaughey and, most particularly, to Mary and Winsome.

**Mr STENSCHOLT** (Burwood) — I join others to briefly honour the life and achievements of Dr Davis McCaughey, pastor, academic, preacher and Governor. He was a man of great humility, wisdom, scholarship and faith. He was not swayed by the trappings of power, sucked dry by pomp and circumstance or seduced by false snobbery or out-of-date precedent. He maintained a sense of balance — a homeliness — while promoting unity, reasoned debate and inclusiveness.

He brought dignity and openness to the role of Governor; indeed he made the highest office in our state accessible. He did this without rancour and with humour and morality. We have heard stories about how he changed the role of Governor — and indeed he changed the Rolls — to include all parts of the Victorian community. For example, he made sure the guest list reflected all Victorians rather than the ersatz establishment.

He also had a very dynamic view of society and of human nature. He rejected selfishness and gave priority to the elimination of poverty. Not for him pessimistic views on youth or trends in society; rather he sought to promote and enhance the good and create new and positive structures.

My own brief interaction with Dr McCaughey was on the theological level. When I was a theological student enrolled in the bachelor of divinity course run from Ormond College I attended several lectures of his, and he probably marked some of my New Testament papers. His reputation as a scholar and teacher was very high. He believed in searching for the truth. Indeed he was the epitome of the scholarly dictum of St Anselm — 'fides querens intellectum', or 'faith seeking understanding'. He also played a major role in the establishment of the Uniting Church in Australia, the union of the Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches. As has already been mentioned he was the prime author of *The Basis of Union*, the theological document that underpinned the formation of the new Uniting Church.

Dr McCaughey brought all these many qualities to the office of Governor. I understand that Evan Walker, a minister in the Cain government, was one of those who suggested his nomination to then Premier John Cain.

Dr McCaughey was a marvellous Victorian, an excellent Governor and a wonderful man. I quote from a tribute to him as a person by Rachel Faggetter, the first woman deputy at Ormond College — and one tribute among many:

He treated everybody, whoever they were, with exquisite courtesy. He thought the best of everyone and therefore got the best from everyone.

I particularly join with members of the Uniting Church in my electorate in honouring Dr Davis McCaughey and in extending to his wife, Jean, and all the McCaughey family our deep condolences along with our heartfelt thanks for his contribution as a Victorian, a minister and a wonderful, thoughtful human being.

**Ms CAMPBELL** (Pascoe Vale) — I rise to join the condolence motion for Dr Davis McCaughey, not as a person who knows any member of the McCaughey family personally but as an MP who has witnessed from a distance and with great admiration his contribution, and that of his family, over many decades.

When I first became aware of Dr McCaughey what struck me about him was his inclusion of people at Government House. There are many within my electorate who refer to their visits to Government House with great affection. It is heartening to know that a tradition that was embraced by Dr McCaughey and his extended family was appreciated. I am sure they have heard that said to them by so many people.

It was not just the infrastructure of Government House that citizens of this state were encouraged to enjoy but also the hospitality and functions. I am sure many of us have heard people comment that when they visited Government House and the McCaugheys greeted them they knew that they were personally welcome. It is a tradition that has been extended well beyond their six years in that wonderful building.

Members here have spoken about the team approach of Davis and Jean, and I would also say the team approach of their children and grandchildren. The McCaughey team first became known to me in the 1970s when I was spending a significant period of my life working very hard to ensure that women's rights were understood, embraced and allowed to be fulfilled here in Victoria. The results of decades of work by people like the McCaugheys is now coming to fruition. We in the women's movement needed not only female

advocates but also strong men to be there with us, and Dr McCaughey was one of those great people.

I also want to mention briefly the importance of his work to Uniting Church members in my electorate, be they from the Uniting Church in Kent Road, Pascoe Vale, or from the Uniting Church in Cumberland Road, Pascoe Vale South, or from the Uniting Church in Wheatsheaf Road, Glenroy. The members of those congregations recognise all these decades later what a difficult unification and birth the church experienced. As has already been outlined very carefully and extensively here today, it was the work of Dr McCaughey that enabled that to occur.

What was truly sensational outside of those formal structures was his inspiration to others to live their faith and to lead by example, be it at Ormond College, in the church or during his time as Governor. It does not matter what one's faith is if it is a faith that is authentic, inspires others to become active and enables the human person to flourish, and he was a person who encouraged people of all faiths and those of no faith to become involved.

He also encouraged people of all ages. As I listened to the contributions to the debate here today what struck me was how often we come across people who say, 'I am too young to get involved' or 'I have got too many children to become involved' or 'I have got a wife' — or a husband — 'and I can't get to meetings' or 'The grandchildren need me'. There is always an excuse — they are too young or too old — but when you listen to the range of his contributions over the years you realise that he truly lived the motto 'Just do it', although I am sure he would not have necessarily embraced the corporatisation of that motto!

On behalf of my constituents and my family I express our sorrow to his wife, Jean, their 5 children, their 11 grandchildren and their 3 great-grandchildren. Family bonds remain; family bonds will not be broken by death. The children and grandchildren continue to inspire so many other people. I extend my condolences to the family.

**Mr HUDSON** (Bentleigh) — It is a great honour to speak on the condolence motion for Dr Davis McCaughey. A number of people have spoken of his achievements as a theologian, an educator and a Governor. All of those achievements are incredibly significant, but equally important are the wonderful personal qualities that he brought to his conduct both in public and in his personal life. Davis was one of those people who generate an enormous amount of warmth. He came across not only as someone who was

genuinely interested in the great ethical and theological questions that we face as human beings but also as someone who was intensely interested in every person he met. It was this quality that drew people to him.

He had a great moral fibre and a steely resolve, but he was also soft, gentle, calm and measured. Although he was in a better position than many to make judgments about what was right and wrong, he never came across as a judgmental person. It was not hard to feel at ease in his company even though he thought more deeply about many of the important issues in life than most of us.

He was a man of great contemplation, and he could help you think more deeply about the things that mattered without any sense of being exposed for not knowing as much as he did. Despite his superior intellect, he never made people feel inferior to him. On the contrary, he took an active interest in what you thought and were doing. He was also someone who, despite his considerable achievements, showed a complete absence of arrogance of ego in his manner and everything he did — something which is rare in public life.

I remember when I was first invited as the director of the Victorian Council of Social Service to Government House for lunch with Davis and Jean McCaughey. Other people such as Fr Peter Norden were also invited. I was very nervous about it, because so often these occasions are constructed around form. I was not sure of the protocols and even nervous about using the right utensil at the right time. But I realised when I arrived there that these were not the main things which preoccupied the McCaugheys at all. Of course, the meal and the setting were exquisite, but what interested them the most were the issues confronting disadvantaged people in the community and what could be done to address them. They wanted to talk about these issues and to discuss them. Everyone around the table was treated as an equal contributor to that discussion.

This demonstrates that the major changes made to the office of Governor during the time that Davis and Jean McCaughey occupied Government house were not cosmetic. Yes, of course they dispensed with the uniformed aides-de-camp, the Rolls Royce and first-class travel and they opened up Government House to the people. Yes, Davis and Jean ended the practice of holding separate gatherings on the occasion of the Queen's garden party — one for ordinary people and one for the elite of society. They made everyone feel that they were entitled to be there as equals or, as one commentator remarked:

He reconciled the untouchables with the mandarins and all drank from the same teapot.

It was his overriding belief in our common humanity that marked out Davis McCaughey as a true leader in the community.

Davis McCaughey also had a strong belief in the potential of young people and their capacity to make a contribution to a better world. The extent to which he nurtured them is evident not only in the rich contributions made by his own children to the theatre, art, music and teaching, but in the messages he gave to young people when they came to functions in their honour at Government House. At the Apprentice of the Year awards, for example, he not only spoke intently to the parents about the importance of their teenagers' achievements, he made those young people feel that their achievements were fundamental to the society in which they lived.

To many people, Davis McCaughey was a wonderful mentor and a wise counsel. I would grant that there are many people in both government and the community at very high levels, who have sought his advice over many years. Yet whilst Davis was a great intellectual, he also had the capacity to communicate at all levels, including with young people.

Of course, it is not possible to talk about Davis McCaughey without talking about Jean McCaughey. They were a great partnership who enriched not only each other but all those who knew them. They were two extraordinarily courteous people who exuded respect, humility and calm along with their concern for social justice. Jean has been a pioneer in the field of social welfare. At the Brotherhood of St Laurence as a young graduate, I remember well reading *Who Cares?*, a pioneering study of community networks and assistance in Geelong. That work was done when, as the then director of the Brotherhood of St Laurence, David Scott, rather colourfully described it, 'We devoted more money to studying pigs than people'.

Jean is passionate about community wellbeing and addressing social justice and disadvantage. Her involvement as a patron in the People Together project when people were deeply concerned about what was happening to our sense of community and democracy was a very public statement that she shared those concerns. In so many ways Jean has given practical expression to the views and ideas that together Davis and she thought about so deeply. Their marriage of 65 years is enduring and the strength of that relationship has been an inspiration to all those who have been lucky enough to have contact with them. It is a union

which I believe will continue to live on in our memories and our hearts.

It is also a measure of the contribution that Davis made to our community, for whilst he died at the age of 90, he did not seem that old to me. If someone had told me he was 75, I would have believed them, and I believe many other people saw him in that way as well. Even though he was severely injured in 1999, he still struck you as someone who had so much more to give — right up until the time of his death. Indeed the way he dealt with his own terrible suffering that he went through as a result of that accident in itself was instructive to everyone about how you deal with adversity and then, of course, ultimately with death.

Davis McCaughey is no longer with us but the values and the ideas that he so passionately believed in live on not, only through his wife Jean and his family but through those he has inspired to strive for a more civil society and a more just community. Vale, Davis McCaughey!

**Ms McTAGGART** (Evelyn) — I am honoured to contribute to the condolence motion for the Reverend Dr Davis McCaughey, who passed away on 25 March this year, aged 90. A fellow countryman of mine, he left Northern Ireland in 1953 for an appointment as the professor of New Testament studies at the Theological Hall at Ormond College at the University of Melbourne. Dr McCaughey was regarded as a visionary in the ecumenical movement in Australia. He was an architect in the unification of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist churches to form the Uniting Church in 1977.

Dr McCaughey will be remembered as a man committed to enriching the lives of everyday Victorians. He was appointed to the position of Governor of Victoria by Premier John Cain in 1986 and served in that position until 1992. As many members have said, his contribution in opening up Government House to all Victorians certainly showed that he was a very practical man who did not abide pomp and ceremony. This was probably due to his Irish background as well. It was this, along with a strong sense of community, that endeared him to religious, political and community leaders. Former Premier Joan Kirner said:

He was one of the few people who could bring common good and a broad sense of morality to life.

Davis McCaughey and his wife, Jean, openly expressed their concerns about the rights of ordinary people, particularly human rights issues involving Aboriginal people, East Timorese and asylum seekers.

Dr McCaughey will be remembered as a man of compassion and distinction, and on behalf of the constituents of Evelyn I pass on my sincere condolences to his wife, Jean, to whom he was married for some 65 years, and their 5 children, 11 grandchildren and 3 great-grandchildren.

**Ms MUNT** (Mordialloc) — I rise today to pay tribute to the life of the Reverend Dr John Davis McCaughey, AC, who passed away on 25 March this year at the age of 90, surrounded by his family, after a life of service and intellectual vigour.

Dr McCaughey was a theologian, the master of Ormond College from 1959 to 1979 and the architect and a visionary of the Uniting Church, being its inaugural president in 1977. He was also state Governor from 1986 to 1992, when he opened up Government House to all Victorians. This different attitude to Government House is perhaps best illustrated by his approach to garden parties to mark a visit by the Queen. He ended the practice of two separate gatherings — one for sick people and pensioners and the other for the elite. The McCaugheys reconciled the untouchables with the mandarins, and all drank from the same teapot! He was a Governor of the people and was much loved. He even won over Bruce Ruxton, who said on the subject of his appointment:

It could have been worse. It could have been Mrs Coxsedge or Mr Hartley.

Davis McCaughey was a great Governor who championed social justice. Personally he has been described as a Governor, theologian, academic, man of conscience and champion of social justice. What better description of anyone could there be when they pass on! He was also a man who treated everyone, whoever they were, with exquisite courtesy. He thought the best of everyone and therefore got the best from everyone.

He was also a beautiful writer. I have been reading some of his writings today, and I would like to read from one that I think shows how beautifully he wrote. This is to mark the passing of Mr Bill Dalton, when Dr McCaughey wrote:

There are many things that I would have said to him but which I now say to you, for they are around those things which must not be allowed to be forgotten — and will not be, for the good Lord gave us Bill as a gift, an ecumenical gift to those whom he called to the task of theological education in this part of his vineyard. We would never have had the UFT or its library when we did, with all that flowed from that, if it had not been for Bill. But most importantly we would never have been the men and women working together if it had not been for him helping us to understand each other and work together. Some of us had the added joy of seeing him, and being helped along the way, in Rome at the Biblicum, and we

remember the warmth of his welcome back in Kew — where on more than one occasion we became part of Bill's extended family. Would that we could have been so in the end. Perhaps we really shall, for he bound us together in allegiance to his Lord and our Lord, and that bond will never be broken.

Certainly that could also be said of Dr McCaughey. What a wonderful generosity of spirit it shows to write so beautifully of someone on the event of their passing.

He was also a wonderful family man. Dr Davis and Jean built a loving family of 5 children, 11 grandchildren and 3 great-grandchildren, and as I read through this, many of those children and grandchildren are, if not all, continuing to serve our community in the manner of their parents. What a great legacy that is for the people of Victoria.

I extend my respectful condolences to his family as well as my congratulations on his wonderful life and legacy.

**Mr CRUTCHFIELD** (South Barwon) — I rise to speak on the condolence motion for Dr Davis McCaughey. My sympathies go to his wife, Jean, his children, Patrick, Victoria, James, John, Mary and Brigid, his 11 grandchildren and his 3 great-grandchildren.

Whilst my contribution here will be brief and is by no means meant to encapsulate all that he has done — I do not think any of us here could do that in the short period we have to speak in this place — I hope it gives an indelible impression of what a wonderful and rich contribution Dr McCaughey made to this community. He was a theologian, the master of Ormond College from 1959 to 1979, the inaugural president of the Uniting Church in Australia and the state Governor from 1986 to 1992. A number of members have brought forward quotes that they have read to the house. I want to put forward a number of quotes which give quite a powerful impression of Dr McCaughey. In the *Herald Sun* Professor Stuart Macintyre from the University of Melbourne and the Reverend Kim Cain from the Uniting Church said this about his governorship:

... Dr McCaughey won respect for his warmth, dignity and scrupulous integrity.

He brought a human and typically understated personal quality to the position. He opened the doors of Government House to the public for the first time, inviting all Victorians to share the tranquillity and grandeur of the Governor's residence.

In the *Age* a headline stated 'Modesty has been hallmark of McCaughey governorship'. That was back in 1991.

In the *Sydney Morning Herald* Philip Jones wrote this about his governorship:

The only significant opposition to McCaughey's appointment as Governor in 1986 came from the extreme right and the extreme left. Yet McCaughey, the great conciliator, soon had the most diverse elements of society eating out of his hand.

The *Weekend Australian* said of Dr McCaughey that he was a 'champion of social justice':

In his last public stand he added his name this month to the Timor Sea justice campaign, urging the Australian government to reach a fair and equitable settlement with East Timor over the Timor Sea gas.

In *Insights* magazine — I note the Leader of The Nationals has mentioned this quote, but I will précis it — the moderator of the Uniting Church in Victoria and Tasmania, Sue Gormann, said:

Victoria and the Australian community owes a debt of gratitude to Davis McCaughey, a man of learning, spiritual insight and vision.

And lastly I quote from an Ormond College press release, although I do not share Dr McCaughey's affections for Ormond, because I was a Queens boy and they beat us at football — and I note the Minister for Agriculture was also a Queens boy. The press release says:

Davis McCaughey was truly the architect of the modern college.

...

Davis McCaughey's interest in his students' welfare was unflinching; the warmth of his concern for others was unmistakable; his capacity to recall names is indeed legendary.

These quotes tell a powerful story of an inspirational man whose actions are reflected not only in the regard in which he was held during his life but in the many moving reflections and recollections we have heard here today. He has achieved what each of us here aims to achieve — to positively affect the present and to inspire those in the future by our actions to create a better society to live in. We are all better off for the work he did and inadvertently continues to do. May he rest in peace.

**Mr LIM** (Clayton) — I rise to add my words of condolence to those of my fellow members in this chamber in order to mourn the death but particularly to celebrate the life of this very special former Victorian Governor, Dr Davis McCaughey.

Dr McCaughey was one of those people who was part of public life in Victoria for so long, from the 1950s until his death last month at the age of 90, that you

thought he would go on forever, rather like Archbishop Daniel Mannix. He had none of the ferocity we associate with Archbishop Mannix, however, but was rather one of those gentle giants of public life. A gentlemanly, kind, modest and considerate man, he nevertheless had an immense influence on the life of all Australians, more especially so on those of us who are privileged to live in Victoria.

He was state Governor from 1986 to 1992, but he was also a much-respected theologian and academic. He was the inaugural president of the Uniting Church in Australia. He was master of Ormond College for some 22 years — from 1957 to 1979 — deputy chancellor of Melbourne University in the late 1970s and one of those who were instrumental in founding La Trobe University in the 1960s.

Dr McCaughey was a key operator in bringing together the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches to form the Uniting Church in Australia, and he also worked to overcome the barrier between Christians and Jews. As a great humanist he was committed to Aboriginal reconciliation and to cultural diversity. He was opposed to war, supported the struggle against poverty and also expressed his concern about the treatment of asylum seekers in this country. It is in this area of his work that he demonstrated an enormous capacity for compassion and a spirit of generosity. As someone who represents an electorate that is home to a large refugee and asylum seeker community, this spoke volumes to me and touched me profoundly. Many of my constituents did not know him personally, but they know of his deeds and his work and they respect him enormously.

He had an unfailing courtesy and was warm hearted and witty. He had a well-known love of the arts, and his particular passion was literature. Dr McCaughey made an immense contribution to public life in Victoria over his long life and was an inspiration to us all.

I sincerely convey my condolences on behalf of my electorate to his wife, Jean, and to his children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

**The SPEAKER** — In concluding today's debate, on behalf of all the members of the Legislative Assembly may I express our condolences to Jean and the family of the Reverend Dr John Davis McCaughey.

The tributes from members have clearly demonstrated the great contribution that Dr McCaughey made to the development of Victoria. It was a contribution made with dignity, humility and generosity of spirit. His contribution to the establishment of the Uniting Church

showed a great capacity to work with people of very differing views and bring them to consensus. Possibly his sense of humour, also referred to today, assisted him in this regard.

He came to the office of Governor with a high reputation which increased during his period as Governor. He opened the office of Governor to the people of Victoria, and this action has been very much appreciated by many Victorians since. Dr McCaughey has left many important legacies for the people of Victoria, for which we thank him and for which we remember him.

**Motion agreed to in silence, honourable members showing unanimous agreement by standing in their places.**

### Pope John Paul II

**Mr THWAITES** (Acting Premier) — I move:

That this house expresses its sincere sorrow at the death of Pope John Paul II and extends its deep sympathy to all members of the Catholic community on the loss of their spiritual leader.

The house is saddened by the passing of Pope John Paul II at the Vatican on Saturday, 2 April, after a lengthy illness. Throughout his 84 years this influential religious figure had a profound effect on the lives of millions of people worldwide. He was not only the leader of 1 billion Roman Catholics, he was also a great humanitarian, a defender of freedom and human rights, and a man of peace.

Born Karol Wojtyla in Poland on 18 May 1920, Pope John Paul II's early life was clouded by suffering. He lost his parents and a brother and a sister prior to his 21st birthday. He also witnessed the horrors of Nazism following the German occupation of Poland. These events formed the foundation for his lifelong compassion and support for oppressed people around the world.

Karol Wojtyla entered the seminary during the German occupation and was ordained a priest in 1946. He became a bishop in 1958 and was made a cardinal in 1967. On 16 October 1978, aged 58, he made history by becoming the first ever Slavic pope, the first non-Italian pope in 455 years and the youngest pope of the 20th century.

Throughout his papacy Pope John Paul II campaigned tirelessly for harmony between faiths and for world peace. He reached out to other religions and was the first of his line to enter a synagogue and a mosque. He forged an historic reconciliation between Christians and

Jews. Far from being solely a religious figure, his influence extended into international politics. He is credited as being one of the key figures in the fall of Eastern European communism and then in the reuniting of a divided Europe after that fall.

Pope John Paul II was a complex man and his beliefs were not universally appreciated. Most notoriously in 1981 he survived an assassination attempt by a Turkish communist gunman, but such was the depth of his compassion he later visited his attacker in prison and forgave him.

Pope John Paul II was one of the most charismatic leaders of his time. During the third longest papacy in the history of the Catholic church he grew the world's Catholic communion from 750 million members to more than 1 billion. He was also the most widely travelled pope in history. His 104 visits took him to 129 countries — the equivalent of 30 trips around the circumference of the earth — and nearly 18 million people attended his Vatican audiences in Italy. As such he has been seen by more people in more cultural settings than anyone else in history.

His extensive travels brought him to Australia three times and twice to Victoria. He first visited Australia in 1973 when he was cardinal of Cracow to attend the 40th International Eucharistic Congress in Melbourne. During this time he met with the Polish community of Australia in Canberra, Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Brisbane and Geelong. In 1986, as Pope, he visited every state and territory in Australia, attended 38 functions and travelled more than 11 000 kilometres in six and a half days. Many Victorians will remember the ecumenical service he held at the Melbourne Cricket Ground on 27 November that year. Many members of the Polish community took part in the celebration at the MCG the following day. The Pope's third and last visit to Australia came in 1995 when he flew to Sydney to beatify the Venerable Mary MacKillop setting her on her path to become the first Australian saint.

John Paul II became known as the Pilgrim Pope and travelled all over the world, but unfortunately in his later years, as a result of Parkinson's disease and his frailty, he was unable to travel in that way. Increasingly he had to delegate but he did not step down from his position, and he fought his disease with great courage, determination and dignity.

The extent of the Pope's influence and inspiration was clearly seen in the extraordinary pilgrimage that took place after his death. In the five days preceding his funeral an estimated 5 million people filed past his

body. Up to 2 million people attended his farewell gathering in St Peter's Square and around giant screens in the neighbouring area. A further 1 million people came together in Cracow for a candlelit evening mass in his honour.

Pope John Paul II made an enormous contribution to the community and to religious life here in Australia and right around the world. He will be remembered for that contribution. He will also be remembered for his charisma, sense of enjoyment, strength of leadership and unwavering commitment to the value of human life. On behalf of the Victorian government I offer condolences to the Catholic community on the death of Pope John Paul II.

**Mr DOYLE** (Leader of the Opposition) — Even though we recognise that we mourn today the death of the world's best known and arguably the world's pre-eminent citizen, His Holiness John Paul II, the outpouring of love, grief and honour that accompanied the Pope's passing has amazed us all. The hundreds of thousands, then millions, then tens of millions, then hundreds of millions of people who followed the Pope's final decline, death and funeral either through personal pilgrimage or through media coverage is unprecedented certainly in my memory.

I would also very much like to welcome His Grace Archbishop Denis Hart to our gallery for this honouring of the life and contribution and mission of His Holiness John Paul II.

Pope John Paul II was called the People's Pope. He was called a champion of peace. He was often simply called the Holy Father. Pope John Paul II was called many different names, but all reflected his message of peace, dedication and compassion. The passing of Pope John Paul II has changed the face of the world. It has touched the hearts of people of all faiths and nationalities, not least of course the 1 billion Catholics whom John Paul II led throughout the world.

Following an unusually lengthy conclave in August 1978 the first non-Italian pope in more than 450 years appeared at the window of the Vatican and greeted a crowd that waited in anticipation in St Peter's Square. The Polish cardinal, Karol Wojtyła — nicknamed Lolek, which is the affectionate diminutive of Karol — became Pope John Paul II, and at 58 years of age, as the Acting Premier pointed out, was a very young choice for the role of the head of the world's Roman Catholic Church.

A worldwide flood of grief followed John Paul's death on Saturday, 2 April, at the end of a remarkable 26-year

pontificate. As I said, he left behind a world that he changed profoundly.

He was born in the small town of Wadowice, near Cracow in Poland, on 18 May 1920. As the Acting Premier has said, Karol Wojtyła's early life was shadowed by loss and suffering — his sister died before he was born, and he tragically lost both his mother and older brother before he was 12. His father, a devout Catholic and retired army officer, raised Karol not just with a strong sense of discipline but also with a strong sense of religion. His father also died before his son's 21st birthday.

Karol Wojtyła was a passionate academic with interests in philosophy, theology and drama. He was a brilliant student of languages and literature with a great talent for poetry and the theatre. Throughout his life he was a keen athlete; he particularly enjoyed mountain climbing, a love he continued until illness near the end of his papacy brought his climbing to an end.

Despite his impressive academic credentials, after the Nazi occupation of Poland in World War II Karol Wojtyła was forced to work as a stonecutter and later at a chemical plant to avoid deportation and imprisonment. It was during this time of horror endured by his country that he felt a calling from God, and he began studying at an underground seminary in Cracow. One can only imagine the difficulties of studying in such circumstances. After being ordained a priest he rose rapidly through the church hierarchy. His swift ascension was a reflection of the extent of his contributions during a particularly dangerous period for the Catholic Church in Eastern Europe.

The pontificate of Pope John Paul II will be synonymous with a lifelong fight for peace, human rights and unity. His unmatched ability to move political mountains includes a contribution to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the fall of communism in Europe, the breakdown of the Soviet Union and many peace talks between Israel and other Middle Eastern nations.

Almost immediately after he was elected, Pope John Paul II began travelling, meeting the millions of people he would come into contact with throughout 26 remarkable years. These people always included world and religious leaders, but they also included ordinary people — the common man, the common woman. This earned him the reputation of being the most accessible pope in history. He had time for everyone and was particularly talented at reaching out to youth, who greeted him in their millions wherever he went.

During his pontificate Pope John Paul II visited, as the Acting Premier said, 129 countries. I must say, one of my abiding images of those journeys abroad is his giving his signature greeting and blessing of the land he was visiting by — as I recall — disembarking from the plane and kissing the ground after stepping off the steps. I think he has also caused a word to enter our language. I do not think that before Pope John Paul II we had need for the word 'Popemobile', but given the requirement for security as well as visibility and because of his popularity, it has now passed into our language.

I think a moment of particular affection for Australians is captured in a memorable picture reproduced in many of our papers in the last weeks. It is an image of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła reaching down to feed a kangaroo at Healesville Sanctuary during his visit in 1973.

In June 1979 His Holiness John Paul II visited his homeland, Poland, for the first time as Pope. He had no official invitation, and there was no official welcome from the Soviet communist regime. He gave a historic homily in Warsaw's Victory Square before a crowd of 3 million people. He inspired the Poles to rise up against communist oppression. 'There can be no just Europe without the independence of Poland marked on its map', the Pope told them. Over the course of the nine-day pilgrimage the Pope altered the psychological landscape of his homeland, instilling a sense of dignity and courage. His theme, repeated over and over again at every stop, was the solidarity of the Polish people. He particularly used the word 'Solidarnosc', or 'Solidarity'. Fourteen months after the papal visit those ideas bore fruit. The Solidarity movement was established in 1980 by Lech Walesa. It toppled communism in Poland in 1989, leading to the first democratic elections.

It was perhaps, though, those views that added fuel to anger at the church, and in May 1981 the Pope barely escaped an assassination attempt in St Peter's Square in Rome. Shot in the abdomen, the Pope miraculously survived and remarkably he later publicly forgave his attacker, his would-be assassin, even visiting him in jail.

The Pope's political influence also played a large part in Mikhail Gorbachev's embracing of perestroika, triggering events and policies which arguably caused that eventual breakdown of the Soviet Union, as well as the fall of the Berlin Wall and even the unification of Germany in 1989.

Pope John Paul II also managed to return Christmas — in a remarkable achievement — to communist Cuba. He visited there in 1998 and somehow managed to convince Fidel Castro to allow Catholics to celebrate the birth of Jesus. Throughout his papacy Pope John Paul II continued to lobby world and religious leaders to maintain peace, particularly in war-torn areas, and the Balkans and Palestine come to mind.

It might seem a small thing, but I believe he gained perhaps lost respect for the church by acknowledging atrocities in medieval times such as the witch-hunts and the Crusades and, of more recent history, by condemning the Holocaust. He always spoke out fearlessly against brutalities done to any nation or religion.

He had a unique ability to reconcile religious differences and saw many bridges built between Christians and the Jewish and Muslim faiths and their communities. Another abiding image of John Paul II was, I think, an important statement of tolerance and respect when he visited Jerusalem and wept, quite publicly, before the Wailing Wall.

In the days following the Pope's death we have all read about, seen film of and heard commentary on much of his life. I read, I must say with interest, about the belief of some commentators that Pope John Paul II's papal stance was based on strictly conservative religious views. One paper that I read described it as 'the Vatican's hard stance on contraception, homosexuality, abortion and divorce'. To be honest I am not sure what to make of that interpretation. I am not sure what other stance a pope can have on abortion, for instance, except the accepted Roman Catholic doctrinal stance. I would guess — and I hope this is not an impertinence — that His Holiness did not consider the faith over which he held stewardship as a smorgasbord of beliefs, principles and doctrines from which believers could pick and choose.

But just as he embodied the life beliefs of the Roman Catholic church, so he also embodied the more difficult areas of belief about illness, infirmity, dying and death. Towards the end of his life John Paul II was affected by several health problems, including cancer and an ongoing battle against Parkinson's disease, in perhaps the most public way we have seen involving such a pre-eminent world figure.

Personally I will carry the TV image of a mortally ill Pope John Paul at the window of his Vatican apartments, able to do no more than give the sketchiest of hand movements to the faithful below, showing

obvious signs of a combination of frustration and resignation.

We are privileged to celebrate the life's work of a remarkable pope. May I also say that I am proud that Cardinal George Pell has taken his place in the conclave to choose a worthy successor to His Holiness John Paul II. May he rest in peace. Niech spoczywa w pokoju.

**Mr RYAN** (Leader of The Nationals) — I rise to support the condolence motion moved by the Acting Premier to honour the passing of Pope John Paul II. I do so in my role as a parliamentarian in this place. I also do so as but one of the 1 billion Catholics led by this remarkable man during the time of his papacy.

Pope John Paul II was born Karol Jozef Wojtyla in May 1920 in Wadowice, near Cracow, in Poland. He was born into a poor family, and by the time he was 21 years of age he had seen the passing of his parents, a brother and a sister. He was educated at a boys school, where he studied German, Latin and Greek. In 1938 he became a student of theatre and poetry at the University of Cracow, but he had to undertake manual labour in a stone quarry and a chemical plant when the Nazis invaded Poland at the beginning of World War II. He was a keen sportsman, enjoying soccer, skiing, kayaking and swimming. He was a very keen mountain climber, and indeed it might be said that he spent the balance of his life scaling lofty heights.

He was fluent in eight languages. In 1994 *Time* magazine declared him Man of the Year. His priesthood was born of struggle, studying in secret for the priesthood in the underground seminary of Cracow during World War II. He received his doctorate of philosophy from the Pontifical University of St Thomas Aquinas — the Angelicum — in Rome. During a brief time as a parish priest he studied for a second doctorate at the Catholic University of Lublin, where he was assigned to teach ethics in 1954.

He was ordained in November 1946 by the Archbishop of Cracow. He was elected titular bishop of Ombi, an auxiliary of Cracow, on 4 July 1958, and was consecrated on 28 September 1958. He became Archbishop of Cracow on 13 January 1964 under Pope Paul VI's pontificate. He became a cardinal on 26 June 1967.

Nineteen seventy-eight will long be remembered as the year of the three popes. Pope Paul VI died on 6 August 1978. This was followed on 26 August by the election of the Smiling Pope, John Paul I, who reigned for just 33 days before he died in his sleep of a heart attack on

28 September. A few weeks later, on 16 October 1978, the white smoke coming from the chimney of the Sistine Chapel announced the election by the College of the Cardinals of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, Archbishop of Cracow, Poland, as the 264th and first non-Italian pope since Adrian VI, who reigned from 1522 to 1523. He took the name John Paul II and was installed on 22 October 1978.

At his first mass as the Pope he said:

We who are called to hold the supreme office in the church must manifest this fidelity with all our might, and for this reason we must be a shining example both in our thinking and in our actions.

There is little doubt that he lived up to these expectations.

As has been remarked, he was the most travelled pope in history. In the course of his pontificate he visited 129 countries and travelled more than a billion kilometres — or about 28 times around the earth. I think I may have been generous in my assessment of those kilometres! He visited Australia once as a cardinal for a Eucharistic congress in Melbourne, and of course he came to Australia twice during his pontificate.

He was a prolific teacher, writing 14 encyclicals, 15 apostolic exhortations, 11 apostolic constitutions and 45 apostolic letters. In addition he wrote hundreds of other letters and messages, together with five books. He received over 17.6 million people at more than 1000 general audiences during his 20-year pontificate. He was the third-longest serving pontiff in the history of the church, his pontificate lasting for 26 years, 5 months and those final 17 days.

He had many extraordinary personal traits. He was a champion of the dignity of the human person, and in particular the more vulnerable in society. He sought to build a culture of life through his defence of human life in all conditions and at all stages, particularly the unborn, the disabled, the elderly and the poor. He took a strong stance against using the unborn for stem cell research and human cloning, and he was a notable defender of the dignity of women. He was a formidable statesman. He personally intervened in the Falklands War and in the territorial dispute between Chile and Argentina. He played a significant role in the fall of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. He maintained a considerable rapport with young people, something self-evident in the television images we now see from Rome. He launched World Youth Day in 1984. Over 2 million people attended that event in 2000, and 800 000 attended in Toronto in 2002.

During his life he survived three assassination attempts. On 13 May 1981 he was shot in St Peter's Square by a Turkish national, Mehmet Ali Agca. The Pope attributed his survival to the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose feast day as Our Lady of Fatima it was. He later visited his would-be assassin in prison and forgave him. On 12 May 1982 in Fatima, Portugal, where the Pope had gone to give thanks for his survival a year earlier, a priest attempted to stab him with a knife but was stopped a few feet away. At least one other attempt is known about, when Muslim terrorists intended to blow up his plane. Again he survived that endeavour.

In his latter years his health deteriorated. As has been observed by the Leader of the Opposition, many have been the images we have all witnessed over the years of this extraordinarily courageous man at the window of his own quarters, endeavouring as well as he could to greet those in the square beneath him. There have been tributes from many parts of society on the passing of His Holiness. Cardinal George Pell said:

He has been a genuine man of the spirit, a true priest. His example and teaching have encouraged orthodox Catholics everywhere to persevere. I personally can vouch for that. He has inspired thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, into the priesthood and religious life . . . Even in the West he has steadied the ship. If many were still resolved to be irresolute, solid only for drift, there has been no doubt about where he is heading. He has never lacked courage, and courage is contagious. History will know him as John Paul the Great. He has earned that distinction.

The Archbishop of Melbourne, Archbishop Denis Hart, who is with us here today, has said of the passing of His Holiness:

He became Pope in the midst of the spiritual vacuum which existed in the mid 1970s, and set about delivering the authentic teachings of the council. He continued to enrich the spiritual life of the church for his 26-year pontificate, emphasising prayer, doctrine, sacramental and moral life. He was a champion of the family, and a crusader for the poor and oppressed.

The Dalai Lama said:

In spite of increasing age and declining physical health, his relentless efforts to visit different parts of the world and meet the people who lived there to promote harmony and spiritual values, exemplified not only his deep concern but also the courage he brought to fulfilling it.

By any standard this was an absolutely remarkable man. I believe he was probably the most influential individual of the 20th century. There were those of that era who started wars and there were those who stopped them. There were people who invented all sorts of things in all sorts of ways and did wonderful things for mankind. There were statesmen and women of all nations, but this man stood above them all. He was a

champion of the oppressed and the poor. He gave hope, and is there is any greater gift that can be given than hope? Even in his last days he gave hope to those who were with him and who were assembled outside his window.

He stood astride the world in a way that has never before been seen in the time of man, save for, of course, his first predecessor. As a man of faith and of human dignity he was unsurpassed. His ecumenical initiatives are renowned. One cannot help but feel, in a sense, for his successor. As we meet here today the cardinals are in Rome electing the late pope's replacement. It is true, as is so often said, that it will be difficult to fill his shoes, and you cannot help but feel a passing moment of sorrow for whoever it is that has the task put upon him, because truly there has been a huge vacuum left, not only in the church but in mankind at large. I feel sure that those of us who pray in time to come will pray to this man and not for him, because sainthood surely awaits him. Vale, His Holiness.

**Ms CAMPBELL** (Pascoe Vale) — It is with many emotions that I rise to speak on this condolence motion for Pope John Paul II. Recently in Melbourne Victorians farewelled this great world leader and spiritual leader of 1.1 billion Catholics. At St Patrick's Cathedral a solemn mass was held on 7 April at which thousands of Victorians — the Premier and I were amongst them — were able to pray for the repose of the soul of Pope John Paul II. That was the second of the gatherings here in Melbourne. I noticed the Leader of the Opposition was present at the first gathering the evening before, on 6 April, where prayers were held for Pope John Paul II.

When we entered the cathedral we felt a sense of unity and calmness, deep sadness but immense respect, heartfelt admiration and in fact joy that we had lived in a time when we were able to not only read about this great man but experience him. No doubt every person attending both those memorial celebrations, be it the mass or the prayers the evening before, had a range of personal thoughts. Some were there as members of the Catholic faith; they were farewelling their spiritual leader.

Leaders of other faiths were farewelling the leader of the Catholic Church, and leaders of various governments were farewelling a world leader who had addressed poverty, totalitarianism, the dignity of the human person and respect for human life at all times and in all its forms. There may have been people there who acknowledged Pope John Paul II as a true champion of our indigenous people and recognised his work during his visits to Australia, particularly his 1986

visit when he paid particular attention to our indigenous community. There were theologians, academics, young people — who saw him as their mentor — and many people who were active participants in the ecumenical movement.

The huge photo of John Paul II that was displayed at the front of the cathedral when I attended had two very simple red floral contributions. One of them, I would say, was picked from somebody's garden; the other was a very simple bunch of flowers that had been purchased presumably for a very small amount of money. They were left in front of that beautiful photo. To me that signified the warmth and love that so many people who would classify themselves as very humble Catholics felt when they came into the cathedral. That photo displayed a man deep in prayer — meditating and serene — with a face that embodied the unity of the body and spirit about which he so often wrote. He was in deep prayer but the human person shone through in his facial expression.

The mass itself was testimony to the man. I had the privilege of sitting in the front row so I was able to see the range of people who came up for communion. Some had come straight from work. There were tradesmen in their work gear, with their heavy boots on — they had obviously come straight from work. I thought it was very appropriate that they had come, recognising the dignity of their work, to the funeral of the man who was the champion of Solidarity. There were people who had come from warehouses — you could see which distribution house they were from because of the company logo on their work shirts. There were people dressed in their finery. There were uni students who had come with their runners and backpacks. There were business people with their laptop computers slung over their shoulders. The cathedral was packed — a couple of people commented that they had never seen the cathedral so packed — and people milled around outside.

The Pope's profound life and the extensive nature of his many contributions have been well documented in the media and outlined by the leaders of the government, the opposition and The Nationals. It needs to be put on the record again not only that the Pope had 26 inspirational years that included 104 visits outside Italy, 14 encyclicals, 15 exhortations, 11 apostolic constitutions, 45 letters and 5 books but that the laity of the Catholic Church began to recognise and deeply appreciate the content of those documents only quite late in his pontificate. No doubt the priests in their formation and the bishops, archbishops and cardinals had read his works and understood and appreciated them very early in his pontificate, but for those of us

who were introduced to many of the encyclicals only in the last few years the depth of his understanding of the human person is absolutely profound.

I want to briefly mention in my contribution to this condolence motion that I think that within the Catholic faith and perhaps beyond he will be recognised in time to come as John Paul the Great. But in academia he will be recognised for the wonderful depth of his intellect and understanding of personalism. He talked about the human person as a unity of body and spirit, or body and soul. History will record him as the great mind that developed personalism in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. I want to refer particularly to what he stated in *The Human Person and Natural Law*, where he defined the human person as ‘an individual substance of a rational nature’ and said that natural law is the participation of the eternal law in a rational creature.

He made the point that human experience is already always a kind of understanding. Many people dispute human experience and consider it an invalid contribution to rational argument. John Paul II did not see it that way. He saw human experience as vital to our understanding of human nature and the human person.

He spoke and wrote extensively on the human heart. He had very much a Hebrew-like understanding of the central aspect of heart, in terms of the central thinking principle, the centre of emotion, the site of the human mind, attitude, intellect, will, courage and the directive faculty of decisions. It is the physical representation or sign of the subjectivity or interiority of the person, encompassing concepts such as freedom, will, intellect, emotions and passions.

You cannot do justice to this great man in a condolence motion. I encourage people who have an interest in understanding why we should come to the conclusions we do as lawmakers to spend a bit of time understanding why he developed extensively the personalist philosophy. It enabled him to move on to speak about marriage, respect for life and human work because he understood the human person. Quite often people find it fashionable to mock the Catholic Church or the pope, but if they were to read his work on conjugal charity or agape in total selfless love, where marriage in its fullness can be totally experienced in today’s context, I think they would find it quite profound and in fact revolutionary.

I want to conclude my contribution on the subject of marriage not by talking just about the importance of the family or children or the indissolubility of marriage,

about which the Pope spoke so extensively, but by saying that when I looked at his photograph in the cathedral I realised that what for me was profound about John Paul II was that he raised the commandments, which many people had learnt in their childhood, to a much higher level, because he emphasised the beatitudes. He talked so much about the anthropology of forgiveness and its importance to the human heart, and that is crucial when we debate and consider marriage. It is also absolutely essential for us in our everyday lives.

To conclude I will say a little of his contribution — as probably people would expect from this side of the house — on the dignity of human work and his efforts with Lech Walesa and Solidarity in the Gdansk shipyards. Three of John Paul II’s social encyclicals, *Laborum Exercens*, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* and *Centesimus Annus* — and that may not be the correct pronunciation for those who are Latin scholars — were written against a political backdrop of increasing poverty and a widening global gap between the rich and the poor, the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the practically unchallenged widespread ascendancy of capitalism and globalisation. In those encyclicals he argued for the authentic and thus sustained development of the human person requiring solidarity between people and communities, and in fact between nations. That, he believed, would enable the common good to be delivered.

I wish to place on record that I join with others who believe this great pope will be referred to as John Paul the Great in years to come. May he rest in peace. I could not agree more with the Leader of The Nationals: I too believe many people will be praying to him in the not-too-distant future as St John Paul. I know for a fact that there are many people praying to him now.

**Dr NAPHTHINE** (South-West Coast) — I rise to join this debate and to support the motion to recognise the life of the late Pope, His Holiness John Paul II, and to acknowledge his significant contribution to the world both as leader of the Catholic Church and community from 1978 to 2005 and as a world leader in his own right and a strong and effective voice on many important issues including human rights, compassion, freedom and peace. Other speakers have referred to his significant contribution to the fall of communism throughout Eastern Europe and across the world.

He has been aptly described by others and by people in the media as the People’s Pope. He was the most widely travelled pope and probably one of the most widely travelled people in the world, having visited 129 countries. He made many of those visits despite a

number of assassination attempts, including one in which he was shot. It was a very serious attempt on his life. Often in his latter years, despite his increasing frailty and illness, the Pope continued his travels to take his papacy and leadership to the world. He made more public appearances and had more direct contact with people throughout the world than any previous pope. With public appearances he opened up what had for various reasons been the secrecy of the papacy and the Vatican. This more public demonstration of what the papacy stood for presented to the world the great signature of John Paul II.

He was also a pope who was media aware — probably a pope of his time who recognised that the old traditions of the papacy were no longer relevant. He brought the papacy into the modern world. He was also a pope of great faith and great principles. Some people, and some members of my extended family who are Catholics, may have described the Pope as a conservative in many areas. Some of my aunts who are nuns may have had great arguments about some of his decisions and issues, but one thing that can be said about him is that he was not a populist pope, but a pope who was true to his beliefs and his understanding and his genuine consideration of the true teachings of the church. He was a person who was not seeking to popularise the church, although he did popularise it through his actual and fundamental belief in what the church stood for rather than trying to bend it into what seemed popular. In his own way he made the church much more popular, meaningful and relevant to many people across the world. That was so because he stood for faith and principles and a true understanding of the beliefs of the Catholic Church.

He was a pope who recognised and improved the dialogue and understanding of all faiths, in particular, as has been mentioned by other speakers, the Jewish and Muslim faiths. But he also did a lot of work with the other Christian churches to bring about a greater understanding and cooperation between them. I think he will go down in history as the pope who opened up the Catholic Church to other churches and faiths across the world.

In conclusion, the Pope was a man who lived his faith and conducted his life and his period as Pope with great humility and dignity. The lasting legacy of the Pope will be the way that he was humble and dignified in his own suffering and death. That personified a pope who understood what his own teachings were about, who lived his teachings and who really convinced the people of the world that he was a fundamentally strong and good person and a great leader, both as a leader of the

Catholic Church and as a world leader. He will be sadly missed, but his legacy will live on for decades to come.

**Mr STENSHOLT** (Burwood) — I rise to join others in this house to briefly celebrate the contribution of Pope John Paul II in his life and to honour his spirit, which continues among us. I appreciate the fact that the Archbishop of Melbourne is in the gallery listening to the debate. Pope John Paul II's influence is profound. He rewrote the rules for being a pope. He was the first non-Italian pope in 455 years. He saw the fall of European communism and became the Pilgrim Pope, travelling to all parts of the world bearing witness to his faith. He visited 129 countries in 104 trips outside Italy. He was not afraid to use these trips or his pulpit to put out strong messages — denouncing poverty in Africa, the Iraq war in recent years or the arms race when he visited Hiroshima, the site of the devastating impact of the atom bomb. What is extraordinary is that in death his impact is as strong as it was when he was alive. He stopped the world when he died. Presidents, kings and queens attended his funeral, and we saw three United States presidents kneeling in St Peter's Cathedral, where he lay in state. Christians and non-Christians were deeply affected by the man who lived his faith and his suffering.

In preparing this speech I was directed to thoughts of one commentator, highlighting these qualities of the Pope: his moral integrity, consistency and stubborn tenacity; his openness to the world and other faiths; and his sheer, raw faith. John Paul II was a man of tenacious and moral consistency — not for him the selectivity that might characterise others. He was also open to all. He apologised to Judaism. He was the first pope since St Peter to pray in a synagogue and the first pope to pray in a mosque. He often spoke to enormous crowds of young people. He sought to make his appeal universal. Finally, he was a man of deep and obvious faith — indeed, raw faith. This is an essential part of the spirit he leaves behind.

I join with Catholics and non-Catholics alike in my electorate in celebrating the life and achievements of Pope John Paul II, one of the exceptional figures of our time — a man who endured personal hardship and suffering, and a man who brought energy and activity to his work. He saw himself very much as the conscience of the world and a modern-day apostle both of his faith and of freedom.

**Mr MULDER** (Polwarth) — It is with a sense of pride that I join the condolence motion for Pope John Paul II. In doing so I recognise that I am one of many Catholics who serve in this Parliament, and possibly we were not aware of exactly how many there were until

we were invited to be guests of His Grace the Archbishop. The number of Catholic MPs was so great that they could not all be accommodated that evening.

The world has lost a great leader. The Catholic community has lost its mentor and teacher, a man who proved to be an extraordinary faith leader, possessing a great sense of compassion, humility, understanding and humour. He also enjoyed his sport and the great outdoors. In my lifetime I have never seen such an outpouring of grief throughout the world as was shown for Pope John Paul II. Catholics expected that there would be a service. We expected that there would be a funeral procession, and we expected that world leaders would join us in recognising the great role that Pope John Paul II had played, but nothing prepared us for what was to come.

Without doubt the world as a whole gathered and recognised the magnificent contribution that Pope John Paul II had made. As our cardinals gather to select a successor to Pope John Paul II we can only imagine the difficulty the cardinals of the time faced prior to the selection of Pope John Paul II in that they had to break with tradition to elect the first non-Italian pope in 455 years. The stringent process of selection saw Pope John Paul II overcome his non-Italian background, and his humility, leadership and unmoving faith saw him selected to lead the Catholic communities throughout the world. One can only say what a great choice he was and what an incredible role he has played.

Pope John Paul II worked to pull down the barriers that existed between the various religious groups throughout the world, and his never-ending visits to all points of the globe saw him deliver his message of faith and hope. Even when ill health set in Pope John Paul II rose above his illness, promoted world peace and attacked poverty throughout Third World countries. Throughout his term as pope he made in all over 100 visits to other countries. The footage of Pope John Paul II in deep discussion and prayer with the man who attempted to take his life highlighted his deep sense of forgiveness and understanding. I believe at the time he was praying both with and for that particular person.

Listening to a sermon in my church in Colac one Sunday I heard a visiting priest comment, 'This church is like an anvil; it has worn out many hammers over the decades'. Pope John Paul II, the head of the Catholic Church, was himself an anvil as he led the church and its followers through years of extensive social change and contentious issues, never moving from the teachings of the church and placing his trust in the faith he taught throughout the world. In his first speech after becoming Pope he stated, 'We must keep watch over

the purity of the doctrine', and he did. I both grieve and celebrate his passing. Pope John Paul II was well and truly ready to meet his God.

**Mr MERLINO** (Monbulk) — Today we celebrate and pay tribute to one of the greatest figures of the 20th century and one of the greatest popes of all time. There are two words that come to mind when I think about Pope John Paul II: freedom and dignity.

Karol Wojtyla was born on 18 May, 1920, in Poland, the third child of Emilia and Karol. Suffering and loss were to be constants in Karol's early life. His sister died in infancy, his mother died in 1927 of heart and kidney failure, his brother Edmund, a doctor, died in 1932, and his father died in 1941. Nazi occupation had forced the closure of Jagiellonian University, which he was attending, and he was made to work in a quarry and a chemical factory to avoid deportation. It was during those war years that he began studying for the priesthood in an underground seminary.

Karol was also an actor, a poet and a playwright. His studies were not the only activity that Karol was involved in under the noses of the Nazi occupiers. He was a founding member of the Rhapsodic Theatre group and performed in many underground plays, a pursuit punishable by death.

In November 1946 Karol was ordained a priest. His rise through the church in the now Stalinist Poland was rapid. In 1958 he was named Auxiliary Bishop of Cracow, in 1964 he was named Archbishop of Cracow, and in 1967 he was named Cardinal of Cracow. After the sudden death of Pope John Paul I, on 16 October, 1978, Cardinal Wojtyla became the first non-Italian to become a pope in over 450 years, and at 58 he was one of the youngest.

Pope John Paul II brought humour, energy and youthfulness to the papacy. The Pope took travel to an unprecedented level, and he held audiences in Rome for nearly 17 million people from across the globe. Social justice was at the core of Pope John Paul II's teachings. *Rerum Novarum*, or New Things, is an enduring social justice blueprint for the modern church. This encyclical of Pope Leo XIII is so fundamental that it has the rare honour of being commemorated and celebrated every decade. The dignity of human work and the railing against workers being treated as mere economic commodities is at the heart of *Rerum Novarum*, and it affirms the freedom and dignity of all working men and women. Pope John Paul II in particular highlighted and built on the wisdom of *Rerum Novarum*.

I would like to share with the house quotes from *Centesimus Annus*, Pope John Paul II's 1991 celebration of the 100th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. He said:

*Rerum Novarum* is opposed to state control of the means of production, which would reduce every citizen to being a 'cog' in the state machine. It is no less forceful in criticising a concept of the state which excludes the economic sector from the state's range of interest and action.

Therefore it is a critique both of communism and rampant capitalism. The pure materialism of the consumer society, like communism equally, excludes spiritual values. He said capitalism:

... agrees with Marxism, in the sense that it reduces man to the sphere of economics and the satisfaction of material needs.

Pope John Paul II reaffirmed a just and free society as:

... an abundance of work opportunities, a solid system of social security and professional training, the freedom to join trade unions and the effective action of unions, the assistance provided in cases of unemployment, the opportunities for democratic participation in the life of society — all these are meant to deliver work from the mere condition of 'a commodity' and to guarantee its dignity.

Dignity and freedom — hardly the thoughts of an arch-conservative, as some would have him depicted.

Pope John Paul's unwavering pursuit of social justice and human rights was most famously exhibited in his homeland of Poland. Through his experiences of the totalitarianism of both Nazism and Stalinism the Pope understood that such regimes are not defeated through direct uprisings to defeat the state. Rebellions in East Germany in 1953, Poland and Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 were ruthlessly put down by the Soviets.

Pope John Paul II said that the defeat of communism was accomplished almost everywhere by means of peaceful protest, using only the weapons of truth and justice. His affirmation of peaceful protest led to a search for forms of protest and for political solutions that are more respectful of the dignity of the person. In Poland this search for solutions led to the formation of the free trade union, Solidarnosc.

In 1979 His Holiness famously returned to Poland, and through his words he inspired a nation and signified the beginning of the end of atheistic communism in Eastern Europe. He said in his homily, made in Warsaw:

The exclusion of Christ from the history of man is an act against man. Without Christ it is impossible to understand the history of Poland, especially the history of the people who have passed or are passing through this land.

His rallying cry was that of freedom and liberation. The millions in Warsaw and around the world understood his message and acted. The unravelling had begun, and by 1989 the Berlin Wall had fallen. This was not achieved through anger and a violent struggle, but rather by a peaceful yet irresistible demand for individual freedom and respect.

In later years gone were the heady days of a youthful pope visiting the nations of the world at breakneck speed. In his place we saw the Pope crippled with illness and pain, struggling to communicate to his flock. I, like many, wondered why he did not quit and take a rest and whether he was too old and feeble. Finally I came to understand. His Holiness was not embarrassing or undignified; his long struggle to continue as his body was failing was the very essence of human dignity. His lifelong message was of the value and dignity of the human person. The Pope challenged what he called the culture of death which places a start date and an end date on life. The Pope used his own dying body to teach us all that all life at all times is precious and meaningful. I pray that the cardinals choose a worthy successor to this great spiritual leader. Rest in peace.

**Mr PERTON** (Doncaster) — In this condolence debate we pay tribute to one of the most significant 20th century men. His work and his death in this century should inspire all of us to serve, no matter what our age or physical capacity.

If we think back to our younger days in the 1970s or 1980s, we remember the Cold War. We all grew up in a time when we knew we could die in a nuclear holocaust in which the two major superpowers faced off against each other. Communism was such a strong force. We all thought it was something that at that time could never be defeated and that those who lived within the Soviet Union and its satellite states could never be set free. Many of my thoughts in relation to this pope came through my grandmother, who in 1987, on her walking frame, went to the first rally of Sajudis in Lithuania. At that time, already well into her 80s and infirm, she said, 'I will outlive communism'. In our conversations it was quite clear that she had great confidence that the work of the Pope, both in his leadership of the Catholic Church and as the inspiration of the people of Lithuania, who are overwhelmingly Catholic, and the Poles, would mean that this would take place. She outlived communism — we all outlived Soviet communism — and the Pope had a central role in that.

The historian Timothy Garton Ash wrote in an article just after the Pope's death:

No-one can ever prove conclusively that he was a primary cause of the end of communism. However, the major figures

on all sides — not just the Polish Solidarity leader, Lech Walesa, but also Solidarity's arch opponent, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, not just former American President George Bush but also former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev — now agree that he was.

In his typical modest way Pope John Paul, according to an article in the *Telegraph*, called Gorbachev 'a providential man'. But when speaking of his own role in the collapse of the Soviet empire he said:

The tree was already rotten. I simply gave it a good shake and the apples fell.

Pope John Paul lived his life according to the famous saying of the 19th century Polish poet Cyprian Norwid:

A man is born on this planet to give testimony to the truth.

As bishop, cardinal and then Pope, John Paul II urged his countrymen and everyone else in the world to live in truth. As the previous speaker, the member for Monbulk, said, the Pope spoke of human dignity, the right to religious freedom and a revolution of the spirit. That has already been well analysed by other speakers, and I shall not repeat those comments — including those of the member for Pascoe Vale, who referred to the Pope's encyclicals.

John Paul's pilgrimage to Poland in 1979 was a seminal moment in all our lives. I do not know whether we realised it at the time; I doubt that the Pope himself understood it until it actually took place. But in the midst of what was one of the most Stalinist regimes in Europe, as the member for Monbulk said, a million people bravely lined the route from the airport to the hotel and the millions gathered to listen to him. Again as the historian Ash said:

Without the Pope, no Solidarity. Without Solidarity, no Gorbachev. Without Gorbachev, no fall of communism.

But the Pope, in the simplicity of his message in something like a dozen sermons during his first trip to Poland, said this to his people:

You are not who you say you are. Let me remind you who you are.

He reminded the Poles of their authentic history and culture, and he created, in words of others, a revolution of consciousness which 14 months later produced the non-violent Solidarity resistance movement. By restoring to his Polish people a form of freedom and a fearlessness that communism could not reach, John Paul set in motion the human dynamics that eventually led to the great events of 1989 — freedom for the Poles and the collapse of the Berlin Wall. All was not peaceful. I still recall that in Lithuania many people died defending democracy against the continued efforts

of the Soviet government right through to 1992 to hold on to power against this great human tide. In essence, as the member for Monbulk said, it was a movement of freedom, a movement of conscience and a movement that a rotten system could not withstand.

Perhaps the most significant statement the Pope made after the fall of communism was this:

The claim to build a world without God has been shown to be an illusion.

Communism as a system, in the opinion of John Paul II, fell as a consequence of its own injustice and abuses. All he did was to repeat the content of Christianity — its religious and moral message and its defence of the human being — insisting that this was the principle to be followed. Christianity itself became the determining factor in the fall of communism. Some 200 million people obtained their freedom as a result of this man's fearless mission. As the Leader of the Opposition said, he attributed his being spared from the assassination attempt on his life very early in his papacy to the intervention of the Virgin Mary, and his inspired life from then until the time we saw him give his blessing to the people at Easter ought to be an inspiration to us all.

We have the opportunity to serve too. We are here to serve not just the Victorian people but the people of the world, and through his example and his conscience — and as the words each member has spoken today have indicated — he is an inspiration to us. Let us dedicate ourselves to working as hard and as well as he did. We will never reach those heights, but let us be inspired by his endeavours.

**Ms BEARD (Kilsyth)** — It is a great privilege to join the condolence motion for Pope John Paul II. On 16 October 1978 the Polish Cardinal, Karol Wojtyła, Archbishop of Cracow, surprised the world by being elected as the first non-Italian pope in 455 years. At the age of 58 he was to be the 264th pope as Pope John Paul II. As we have heard, he was born in Poland on 18 May 1920 to working-class parents. His mother died when he was nine and his father died when he was 21. On 1 November 1946 he was ordained a priest and he was appointed cardinal in June 1967.

Australian Catholics had a great affection for Pope John Paul II who, as a cardinal, made his first visit to Melbourne in February 1973 to attend the 40th International Eucharistic Congress which 120 000 people attended at the Melbourne Cricket Ground — the third highest attendance ever recorded there — for that great occasion.

Pope John Paul II reached out to youth, as was illustrated by the establishment in 1984 of the World Youth Day event which was held every four years. That event became pivotal for young people wanting to share their commitment to their faith and it was moving to see so many young people among the mourners in St Peter's Square following the Pope's death.

In 1986, during a visit to Alice Springs, Pope John Paul II met with members of the Aboriginal community. He acknowledged his great respect for their culture when in his address he said to them:

You are part of Australia and Australia is part of you. And the church herself in Australia will not be fully the church that Jesus wants her to be until you have made your contribution to her life and until that contribution has been joyfully received by others.

During that same visit in 1986, the Pope attended St Patrick's Cathedral and, as evidenced by others who have mentioned his great love of sport, visited the Melbourne Cricket Ground and Flemington racecourse.

Following his death, over 3 million pilgrims visited Rome, with 250 000 — including people from all countries and religions — participating in the funeral rite on 8 April. Very obvious were the many red-and-white flags of his beloved homeland, Poland.

Pope John Paul II's love of peace was demonstrated most recently in his opposition to the invasion of Iraq, whilst his care for the underprivileged was legendary.

With the Catholic community of the electorate of Kilsyth, which celebrates as one of its own parish priests Fr Andrew Jekot, of Polish descent, I mourn the death of the People's Pope, John Paul II.

**Mr MAUGHAN (Rodney)** — I rise to pay my respects to Pope John Paul II, the 264th pope of the Catholic Church. As a non-Catholic, I have enormous admiration and respect for the contribution that this outstanding individual made to the advancement of mankind. He was, as other speakers have said, a truly remarkable man — a man who throughout his life stood for his principles and his faith and in so doing gave hope and inspiration to hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. He was, as other people have also already indicated, the most photographed figure of his time — a man seen by more people than anyone else in the whole world. He was a brilliant academic, a poet, a playwright, a writer, a thinker, a philosopher of world stature, a highly skilled politician and a very significant theologian.

He grew up under Nazism and communism and saw first hand the worst of those totalitarian ideologies. He

reached out to other religions across the world. He was the first pope to visit Rome's ancient synagogue and reach out to heal relations between Christians and Jews. He reached out to members of other religions as well — members of the Islamic religion, Hindus, followers of the Dalai Lama, and lots of other people of different faiths throughout the world. He was truly a person who was reaching out for an ecumenical solution to many of the world's problems.

As other speakers have indicated, he played a very significant role in the downfall of communism in Europe. The member for Doncaster in his contribution referred to his family connections with Lithuania. I remember being with the member for Doncaster in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, where we attended a Roman Catholic cathedral on a Sunday morning. The last of the Russians were still moving out of Lithuania at that time and the thing that is still very prominent in my mind is the enthusiasm of the packed church of people singing and responding to their religion which the Russians had tried to belt out of them for the previous 50 years. They were able to practise their religion and they were so joyous about being able to do so, having that freedom. That faith was kept alive in part by the Pope, who gave them that hope and inspiration to keep fighting and to keep their religion alive. I treasure the memory of that time in Vilnius with the member for Doncaster.

The Pope travelled extensively, visiting 129 different countries and carrying his message to millions of people throughout the world. I think we have all been inspired to some degree or other by that contribution. He certainly inspired many people, because the statistics show that he increased the adherence to the Roman Catholic Church from 750 million people to about 1 billion people today.

He had a remarkable gift for languages — he was fluent in eight different languages — and he pursued what he called the evangelisation of culture. That in effect in its own quiet but very persuasive way changed governments. He was critical of socialism, communism and capitalism, arguing that all of them neglect social responsibility and inhibit individual freedom and development. We should all take note of that and try to get the best of the various systems of government that are available.

I think one of the best tributes to Pope John Paul II was made by Billy Graham, who called Pope John Paul 'the moral conscience of the west'. I agree with that entirely — he was the moral conscience of the west. A few years ago he wrote:

... when the moment of our definitive 'passage' comes, grant that we may face it with serenity, without regret for what we shall leave behind.

He was certainly true to those sentiments right to the end — dying, as the reports say, with a great deal of serenity. He was a man, as others have observed, of great humility and great dignity. He was greatly respected and much loved, as was evidenced by the millions of people who stood vigil during the last days of his illness, paid tribute to him as he lay in state, and attended the funeral service and the thousands of memorial services that have been held all around the world.

I believe that the thing that comes out of the condolence motion today is that it is truly encouraging and inspiring that in this place, where there is so often conflict, difference of opinion and lack of respect one for another, we can all come together on this occasion, speaker after speaker, and show our respect for an individual who, whether we acknowledge it or not, has in some way influenced each and every one of us along the way. I join with other members of the house in paying my very sincere respects to Pope John Paul II and support this motion of condolence before the house.

**Mr LANGUILLER** (Derrimut) — I join the debate on the condolence motion in respect of Pope John Paul II. I celebrate his life and contribution, and I do so as someone who was deeply influenced by Salesians and Jesuits when I was growing up in Uruguay, South America, and later in Australia when I became involved with many men and women of that great church with which I have had the privilege of being associated for many years, with all its rights and all its wrongs. I say this with respect, and I appreciate the fact that the Archbishop of Melbourne is with us today.

Pope John Paul II proved to be one of the most energetic and conscientious men ever to occupy the papacy. He visited more than 120 countries, delivered more than 2000 public addresses and issued a plethora of encyclicals and apostolic letters. At times he used the world as a pulpit — in Africa to decry hunger; in Hiroshima, Japan, to denounce the arms race; and in Calcutta, India, to praise the generosity of Mother Teresa. In 1981 he released his encyclical *Laborum Exercens* on human work, which criticised the abuses of a rigid capitalism that values profit over the wellbeing of workers but said that Marx's class struggle was not the answer. He complemented this by publishing *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* on social concerns. This warned about the widening gap between rich and poor countries and condemned the transfer of the East-West conflict to the Third World. Pope John

Paul II was increasingly worried about poverty and the widening gap between the rich and the poor.

His 1991 encyclical *Centesimus Annus* — the 100th year — called for a reform of the free market system in the wake of the collapse of communism. It denounced the massive poverty in the Third World and consumerism in the Western World. John Paul II was a man of his time, acutely aware of the issues that most shaped the world. He was a constant critic of war and an advocate of disarmament. His aides successfully headed off a shooting war between Chile and Argentine in 1978 — the one example of direct papal mediation.

He was also a tireless defender of human rights, and first among them religious rights. During a trip to Cuba in 1998 he appealed for a wider church role in society. He used persuasion and not aggression and succeeded in achieving positive reforms for the people of Cuba. He stood up publicly for Catholics in places like China, Vietnam and Sudan.

Pope John Paul II's ecumenical and interreligious legacy was built largely on his personal gestures. In 1983, on the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, he became the first pontiff to visit a Lutheran church. Visiting a mosque in Damascus, Syria, in 2001, he became the first pontiff to enter a Muslim place of worship. As a Pole from a town once full of Jews he felt a special obligation to respect them and was the first pope to push a folded prayer note between the stones of the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. Healing the ancient breach with Judaism became one of the most important projects of his pontificate, as did rooting out anti-Semitic themes from Christian educational materials; visiting synagogues; lifting up the Holocaust as a permanent point of moral reckoning; and affirming the right of Jews to be at home in Israel, which he formally recognised in 1994. He continually promoted the idea of interreligious cooperation.

I quote from an article on the [caribbeannetnews.com](http://caribbeannetnews.com) web site which reports Fidel Castro as having written in the condolence book:

Rest in peace, tireless fighter for friendship between peoples, enemy of war and friend of the poor ... We suffer from your departure and desire with all fervour that your example endures,

Historian Timothy Garton Ash, in an article printed in the *Age* on 5 April 2005, wrote:

John Paul II was a consistent spokesman for the half of humankind who live on less than \$2 a day. This is also the part of the world where most Catholics are now to be found. ('Man does not live by bread alone' — especially when he

has none.) He preached, tirelessly and consistently, every person's right to a minimum of human dignity.

'I speak' he said, 'in the name of those who have no voice'. It was by no means only in communist-ruled Eastern Europe that he spoke up for freedom ...

The article continues by quoting a newspaper headline, 'Pope takes issue with Stroessner on freedom'. It goes on to say:

It records him reading the Paraguayan military dictator a fierce lesson about the importance of human rights and free speech.

... He consistently admonished Third World dictators and Western capitalists about the need for social justice.

The web site gardenroute.com quotes Nelson Mandela as saying:

The world is undoubtedly a better place for the legacy and the teachings of Pope John Paul II ...

It goes on to quote him as also saying:

We know that millions more people of all persuasions and backgrounds join us in this shared sense of loss and bereavement.

At the same time we celebrate the life of one of the great spiritual leaders of our time; one who gave moral direction and guidance in an age in which scientific and technological progress was not always matched by equal progress in compassion and universal caring.

The article reports Nelson Mandela as saying that the pontiff had been a consistent voice in articulating the need for moral regeneration and caring for the poor and the marginalised.

I was highly privileged to have met His Holiness Pope John Paul II in the Vatican, and I was inspired by his wisdom, compassion, humility and deep spirituality.

**Mr CLARK** (Box Hill) — I am honoured to have the opportunity to pay tribute to the life and achievements of Pope John Paul II. None of us can ever fully form judgments about the life of another, particularly the life of a public figure seen at a distance. However, as far as mortals can ever judge such matters, Pope John Paul II has led an exemplary life of inspiration and remarkable achievement. We have been privileged to live in the same era as he has lived and through television and his travels to have seen him more closely than most past generations have ever been able to see the leading figures of their times.

What we have seen has been loved and admired by millions around the world, by people of goodwill of all religions and of none. We have seen his compassion and care for all humanity, coupled with firm and

consistent upholding of principles about the fundamentals of the human person and how people should relate to one another and to God. We have seen warmth, we have seen idealism, and we have seen a man leading a life that firmly and consistently set forth a living example of what he stood for.

Few others in the world have attracted millions of young people to attend World Youth Day. Few others have won the genuine praise and admiration of figures as diverse as Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. Few others have had their funerals attended by so many or by such a diversity of world leaders taking their places as members of the congregation going back for many rows.

Leaders from all walks of life who have had dealings with the Pope seem universally and instinctively to have recognised the goodness in him. He may have been firm with them, he may have opposed much of what they stood for, but he always acted constructively and with good intent, as well as with warmth and good humour. At the same time Pope John Paul II has been able to bring hope, understanding and a way forward for millions who thought themselves hopelessly enmeshed by cultural, social or political systems they felt powerless to change.

The Pope's appeal to so many people in so many ways has produced remarkable results. His role in the transformation of Eastern Europe has been universally recognised. Less recognised has been his role in Latin America in promoting peace and preaching against violence, whether by dictatorial regimes or by revolutionary movements. He has also played an unceasing and often successful role in the promotion of religious understanding and harmony around the world.

Pope John Paul II has not achieved these results and others just through being a man of goodwill, energy and ability. He has had to display remarkable strength of character and personal and moral resolve. He publicly reproved the recalcitrant conduct of a priest who took office in a revolutionary government. He stood firm on the altar in the face of demonstrators disrupting an open-air mass and demanded and received 'silenzio'. To their faces he has told people around the world to mend their ways.

Alongside all of this the Pope has built on Christian traditions and teachings to develop and persuasively argue a philosophy of the human person and of the relationships of human beings to God and to each other which has attracted widespread admiration from people of all backgrounds and religions. The Pope set out this philosophy in a series of encyclicals which I believe

form a legacy that will endure for centuries, including *Centesimus Annus* (or *The Hundredth Year*); *Evangelium Vitae* (or *The Gospel of Life*); and *Veritatis Splendor* (or *The Splendour of Truth*), to name but three.

At the core of the social, economic and political aspects of this philosophy is the integrity and worth of every individual under God. From this flow powerful conclusions for political, economic and social policy. The Pope was forceful and clear in identifying the failings of socialism of the Eastern European kind. As he said in *Centesimus Annus*:

... the fundamental error of socialism is anthropological in nature. Socialism considers the individual person simply as an element, a molecule within the social organism, so that the good of the individual is completely subordinated to the functioning of the socioeconomic mechanism. Socialism likewise maintains that the good of the individual can be realised without reference to his free choice, to the unique and exclusive responsibility which he exercises in the face of good or evil. Man is thus reduced to a series of social relationships, and the concept of the person as the autonomous subject of moral decision disappears, the very subject whose decisions build the social order.

The Pope, in place of that philosophy, went on to enunciate a vision of the social nature of humans that is often now described by the term ‘civil society’ and said:

... the social nature of man is not completely fulfilled in the state but is realised in various intermediary groups, beginning with the family and including economic, social, political and cultural groups which stem from human nature itself and have their own autonomy, always with a view to the common good.

However, the Pope was equally clear in pointing out that capitalism could abuse and exploit if misused — if it sought to treat other people as commodities or as objects to be exploited. Rather, the Pope articulated the virtues of an open, inclusive free enterprise system that enables people to cooperate in productive work for the benefit of all within a just society and a truly ordered moral culture.

Pope John Paul II’s philosophy also flowed through to matters of life and death. He was unswerving in condemning abortion, infanticide and euthanasia and in opposing capital punishment and striving to avert war. In relation to abortion and euthanasia, the Pope said in *Evangelium Vitae*, in terms that send a clear and unambiguous message to us as legislators:

... not only is the fact of the destruction of so many human lives still to be born or in their final stage extremely grave and disturbing, but no less grave and disturbing is the fact that conscience itself, darkened as it were by such widespread conditioning, is finding it increasingly difficult to distinguish

between good and evil in what concerns the basic value of human life.

...

Precisely in an age when the inviolable rights of the person are solemnly proclaimed and the value of life is publicly affirmed, the very right to life is being denied or trampled upon, especially at the more significant moments of existence: the moment of birth and the moment of death.

...

To claim the right to abortion, infanticide and euthanasia, and to recognise that right in law, means to attribute to human freedom a perverse and evil significance: that of an absolute power over others and against others. This is the death of true freedom ...

Pope John Paul II’s warning against the culture of death regrettably remains unfinished business that others must carry forward. However, through his life, his example and his teaching Pope John Paul II has been a shining inspiration of hope at the end of a century previously marked by unparalleled bloodshed and despair, and he has shown us a path forward for the century ahead. May he be in eternal happiness with God.

**Mr SEITZ (Keilor)** — I rise to join other members in expressing my appreciation of having lived during the reign of Pope John Paul II. All of us here have a better life because of this man, who did a lot of work for humanity. He was a remarkable person. Only once in a lifetime does such a person come along and have control of a big organisation such as the Catholic Church. Without using force, without intimidating people, Pope John Paul II coerced leaders throughout the world to create a better life for all of us — most importantly, preventing wars. Probably a lot of that vision had to do with experiences of what he and his extended family endured in his youth during the Second World War.

He was committed to propagating peace everywhere. With his gentle persuasion and personal demonstration of going around the world and talking to people and winning their minds, hearts and souls he was able to convince some very headstrong and powerful political leaders of countries who were intent on destroying each other. He did this without trying to change their religion and beliefs but rather by conveying his view that we are all on this earth as equals and should have a better society to live in than what he faced during his formative years, which must have left a big mark on him. I know it had a big influence on my life. I was only a youngster when I was a war refugee.

I went through the horrors of the Second World War, and having seen how that situation has affected me and

my commitment to life, I think it would have made this man a stronger person. I think the cardinals who chose him as pope took a significant step in a direction that the world did not perceive at the time he was appointed to that position — that he would reach such heights and gain such respect within the whole world and would be able to convince people and leaders to live peacefully with each other. One will never know how many conflicts have been prevented just by John Paul II having been in the papacy, carrying out his mission as he saw it in his life and as I saw it from all his preachings, his teaching and his writings that I have read.

I think the Catholic Church has been the better for his being pope. It has a long-lasting legacy from John Paul II in terms of its development and, in the eyes of the rest of the world, its mixing, associating with and being tolerant of other religions and religious organisations, which is also very important. That can be seen by the mere fact of having interfaith meetings, such as the collective that I and my colleagues in this house organised for the breaking of the fast of Ramadan with the Muslim community. We had all the religious leaders here together at that time. These are all legacies that have been left by John Paul II and his preaching. I believe that whoever is selected to take his position now will have a big job ahead of him trying to fill his shoes. John Paul II has set a high mark and goals for the papacy, and I wish the person who is selected to replace him all success. I also wish for the community and the people that the new pope will follow in those directions so that we have peace on earth.

**Mr DIXON** (Nepean) — It is a privilege to join in this condolence motion for His Holiness John Paul II. The Catholic Church has lost a true leader — a man of faith, a man of example, a man of strength and a man of unwavering belief in the value of human life. The world has lost one of its great leaders as well. You would be hard pressed to find a world leader who has captivated the attention of the media for so long over such a sustained period, not only throughout his life but especially in the events surrounding his death. World leaders and representatives of probably most countries of the world were seen at his funeral. One of the images that will always remain in my mind was the shot of the Jewish, Iranian and Afghani leaders talking together at the funeral. I think that was a perfect example of the unifying life of Pope John Paul II.

Whether it was Fidel Castro or Ronald Reagan, men such as those came to him, and he went to them. He was not afraid to talk to them and tell them what he thought about the way in which they were leading their countries and what was best for the people under their

rule. What was it about him that attracted world leaders and people from all over the world of all cultures and faiths? I think it boiled down to his message of freedom and his love of peace. That was something I think everyone identified with, and it resonated with people around the world, no matter what their cultural beliefs or their political systems were. He gave that message so forcefully over 25 years; he was consistent and he was strong in giving that message. That consistency of leadership and strength of conviction shone through to all people throughout the world.

His love of and attitude towards young people have been mentioned on a few occasions today. Whether he was scooping up an unsuspecting toddler somewhere or talking to young people, he was just so gentle about it. He was like, as they say, the good shepherd, and he had a magnetism for very young children. I remember when he visited Melbourne he went to one of the Catholic primary schools over in the western suburbs, and he had those children enthralled and rapt. We have seen him with teenagers and young people at youth rallies throughout the world. I saw a documentary where he had his walking stick out and was swinging it around, Charlie Chaplin-style, much to the amusement of his secretary.

He took great strength from young people and I think young people took great strength from him. It is incredible too, though, when you think about young people, that in most cases the Pope's teachings, thoughts and what he said were probably at odds with what they believed and practised. But as I said, I think there was an incredible two-way acceptance between the Pope and young people around the world: there was a respect and a great love between them all.

There are some things we can learn from his final years and days. One thing is the acceptance of physical pain. He accepted it and he got on with the job he was called and wanted to do. The dignity of his final days and of his death are a lesson for all of us and something that is indelibly imprinted in my mind.

I think his funeral was probably very symbolic of his life. There, amid the grandeur of St Peter's Basilica and St Peter's Square and surrounded by the church hierarchy, he lay in a simple wooden coffin on the ground. That was a final reminder of his message of faith, service and humility. May he rest in peace.

**Ms GREEN** (Yan Yean) — I offer my condolences today on behalf of the people of the electorate of Yan Yean upon the death of Pope John Paul II. We four Green girls grew up in our family home under the gaze of Pope Paul VI from the framed papal blessing of our

mother and father's marriage. We looked on with great curiosity when in 1978 there could be a new pope who was not Italian — like our own background. When the conclave of cardinals chose a young Polish cardinal that few in the West had ever heard of it was telling that the Kremlin knew who he was. Then KGB boss, Yuri Andropov, remarked, 'There could be trouble ahead' — a perceptive call in the late 1970s about the limited future that Marxist dictatorships would have.

John Paul II's support for the Solidarity movement of dock workers in Poland coincided with my own growing understanding and revelation that in fact the religion I had been raised in and the politics I believed in coincided. My eyes were opened by that wonderful encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on that revolutionary and humanitarian doctrine, *Rerum Novarum*. John Paul II epitomised *Rerum Novarum*, as he was not only the first non-Italian in 450 years but the first manual worker to become pope since the early days of the church. Although as a woman in the church I often found some of the other parts of the church's doctrine and John Paul's leadership at the time quite difficult, I think the lasting thing for me was that connection to *Rerum Novarum* and the right of workers to organise and him standing up for the oppressed. I think his pontificate was a true symbol of the 20th century. Like many in my community, I mourn his passing.

**Mr DELAHUNTY** (Lowan) — I also rise as a proud Catholic to speak on the condolence motion for Pope John Paul II, the 264th pope and the youngest pope of the 20th century, who died on 2 April at 84 years of age. The date of 2 April is a special day for our family. Not only was it the day of the death of the Pope but it was also the date of the wedding of my youngest son, so it was a special day in that regard. It will not be forgotten.

As we know, Pope John Paul II was the third-longest serving pope in history, having given 26 years service not only to the Catholic church but also to the wider world community. Pope John Paul II had a profound effect not only on me and the other 1 billion Catholics in the world but also on many others. He was a great leader. He was not only a shepherd of the Catholic flock but also a great shepherd throughout the world. As has been spoken of by many people in this house today, he had a gentle influence not only on church leaders but also on leaders right across the world. It is important to mention that today we have in our presence Archbishop Denis Hart, who is the leader of the Catholic Church here in Melbourne and across Victoria. I welcome him to the chamber.

As we know, Pope John Paul II was widely travelled. In his 104 visits to 129 countries he visited Melbourne three times. One of those was on 23 November in 1986, when he visited all the states over six and a half days. I was proud to be able to attend the special service that was held at the Flemington racecourse. I know another service was held for the Polish community at the Melbourne Cricket Ground the following day. The service will have a lasting effect on me. It was attended by many thousands of people not only from across Victoria but also from Tasmania.

He was a people's pope — right from day one he established himself as a people's pope. He pushed for peace and compassion and he showed enormous leadership, not only in the church through difficult times but in world leadership in relation to peace. I think we owe a great deal of thanks to him and his leadership of the world leaders who have come through in the last 26 years and who have been influenced by John Paul II.

I believe he changed the face of the world. During those visits to 129 countries and also at Vatican City he had discussions with other religious leaders and members of other faiths. We have seen an enormous change. I remember as a young Catholic not being allowed to go to services in other churches. Now I see in my own community church leaders working together to help our communities.

I was profoundly impressed when I read about the meeting at the Telstra Dome a couple of months ago, on 20 March, that I was not able to attend. Governor-General Michael Jeffery said he believed the strong spiritual base was missing and faith was essential for true happiness. That demonstrates the influence that John Paul II had on the world. Governor-General Michael Jeffery also said that he blamed the lack of faith in God for the social problems of family breakdown, drugs and violence. We have seen in the last couple of weeks the enormous influence of Pope John Paul II not only in his life experiences but also in his passing. We recollect here today the tremendous contributions and many achievements of John Paul II.

As I said, I believe he changed the face of the world. He visited 129 countries. He had many meetings in the Vatican and many meetings with other church leaders. He was respected by many. He reconciled the differences within the Catholic Church, he reconciled the problems with other religions, and he reconciled many countries in their deliberations in relation to world peace. He was respected not only by the church and church leaders but also by the leaders of countries

and organisations right throughout the world. He was a great leader and, as I said, he was a great humanitarian.

It has been highlighted that he was also a sportsman. He was a bushwalker and a mountain climber. I think his achievement as leader of the Catholic Church has been one of the biggest mountains he climbed. It is probably equivalent to climbing Mount Everest or better. Health problems later in life, be it cancer or Parkinson's disease, made his job much more difficult. One of the earlier speakers highlighted the profound effect on him, as on me, of the last vision of the Pope at the window of his residence in Vatican City, where he was unable to speak but through his emotion we saw the pain and suffering he was going through.

The problems we believe he had in life did not stop his work as a humanitarian. With all these problems he was a champion of the people. He was a champion of the world. He was there at the fall of communism, particularly in Poland. As I said, he was respected by all. He was a remarkable man and he led a remarkable life. We all read about and saw the celebration of his life at Vatican City, which was attended by many world leaders. There were celebrations also in Poland and in churches throughout the world. Last week while I was overseas with a parliamentary delegation I had the opportunity to visit churches in Brussels, Geneva and France. In every church I visited there was a photo of Pope John Paul II in a special alcove for people to have silent prayer there with him.

At this stage I pray for the cardinals in their selection of the next pope, the 265th. John Paul II was a remarkable man. He was a great humanitarian. He was not only a great church leader but also a world leader. Like many, I believe he will be recognised as a saint. Vale, John Paul II.

**Mr LIM** (Clayton) — I join other honourable members in the house in honouring the life and work of Karol Jozef Wojtyla, who is better known to the world as Pope John Paul II. Many members have asked me why a Buddhist like me would want to speak on a condolence motion for the Pope. I have a very compelling reason to do so, and I will come back to that later.

Like most members I never had the privilege of meeting Pope John Paul II, just as I have never met the President of the United States, the Queen or the Dalai Lama. When you do not know someone personally you do not normally feel sadness and a sense of loss at their death, but there was something very special about Pope John Paul II that connected with all of us — witness the scenes of public grief in St Peter's Square in Rome. Just

as there are politicians and then there are statesmen, so there are leaders of religions and then there are great religious leaders. Pope John Paul II certainly falls into this latter category, but there is more to it than that. Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama, put his finger on it in his tribute to the late pontiff when he called Pope John Paul II a great leader of humanity.

There are, and have been, other spiritual leaders who might be similarly classified as great leaders of humanity — South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu; the evangelist Billy Graham; Mahatma Gandhi; Martin Luther King, Jr; the Vietnamese Buddhist leader, Thich Nhat Hanh; and of course the Dalai Lama himself. These are all people who have inspired us, who have stirred us to take stock of our earthly existence. Modern secular life, especially in the West, tends to downplay the spiritual side of life. Modern secular governments such as ours do not wish to become involved in the religious life of the people — and quite rightly so — but we all have spiritual needs, and in the absence of strong positive spiritual leadership there is a danger that people will follow false and evil prophets such as Jim Jones, 900 of whose followers died in the largest mass murder-suicide in American history in 1978.

It is the mark of great leaders of humanity such as the late Pope that even those who do not subscribe to their religious views still honour, respect and love these men. It is comforting and inspiring that there exist such world leaders as the Pope who draw their support not from the military or any other power base but from the human heart. As someone who grew up in a war-ravaged country in which there was no trust in our own government, I can testify how important such figures are in inspiring hope in the hearts and minds of the people.

There is so much more that could be said about the late Pope. Though a spiritual man, he was someone who did not distance himself from the world. He had been an officer in the Polish army and a schoolteacher, and he had also worked as a labourer in a quarry. As a young man he enjoyed playing soccer, and for a time it was his ambition to study literature and become a professional actor.

His role in the overthrow of communism in Eastern Europe was a pivotal one. Without the support of the Polish Pope it is doubtful that Lech Walesa and his Solidarity trade union movement could have achieved a bloodless overthrow of communism in the Pope's native land, and it is because of this connection that I feel so compelled to rise today to make a contribution. The fall of communism in Europe, the fall of the Soviet regime in Poland in particular, through the work of the

late Pope, led to the Vietnamese government loosening its grip on Cambodia, which brought about the first ever democratic election in Cambodia spearheaded by Australian Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans, who brought about peace and stability in Cambodia for the first time.

Two days ago marked the 30th anniversary of the terrible genocidal regime of the Khmer Rouge, Pol Pot and the killing fields, which we tend to forget. We can never take this for granted. I attribute this positive development to the late Pope.

The Pope is dead; long live the new pope, whoever it may be. But while the institution of the papacy will go on in a continuous tradition into the future, none of us will easily forget Karol Jozef Wojtyla. He was not just the leader of the world's Roman Catholics but a man who inspired us all.

**Mr THOMPSON** (Sandringham) — I would like to define the life of Pope John Paul II in the context of his friendship and influence over the lives of two people who were prepared to put their hands up when few other people would. One was Lech Walesa, whose role is well defined by history; the other is a lesser known character on the world stage, but one who had enormous influence on the development of history in Poland — Fr Jerzy Popieluszko, who was a priest at the Warsaw steelworks. I quote from an article that was in the *Readers Digest*:

To many workers the first impression was one of disappointment. An unimposing presence with a soft voice, Jerzy did not meet their expectations. However, as he spoke the voice became the most powerful they had ever heard. He said openly what they really felt but could not say.

He advocated the dignity of human labour and a number of other causes that were well received by the Polish work force during the time of Solidarity. He was proud of Solidarity's record of non-violence. He told crowds:

You conquer people with your open heart, not with a closed fist.

He also said at a time when the secret police in Poland were endeavouring to silence the critics of communism that you conquer oppression by conquering fear.

In 1983 when the authorities stepped up their campaign of intimidation and even the primate of Poland publicly ordered priests not to deal in politics, Pope John Paul II sent Fr Jerzy Popieluszko a special message:

Tell him I am with him with all my heart.

He also gave advice to the primate of Poland:

Defend Fr Popieluszko or they'll start finding weapons in the desk of every second bishop.

Fr Popieluszko supported 11 top Solidarity leaders and advocated the view that when people support the mechanisms of evil, they become responsible for their own slavery. Unfortunately Popieluszko's battered corpse was pulled from a reservoir on the River Vistula, tortured beyond recognition. The medical doctor who examined him said he had never come across a person whose internal organs were so battered and mutilated. A group of priests who tried to identify the body were not able to recognise their friend.

The Pope, who had been in regular contact with Walesa, who was uncertain about whether to receive his Nobel prize for peace because of concerns about what would happen to his own security and family, reacted with great shock to the news about Popieluszko. On his funeral day it was reported that Warsaw came to a standstill — 10 000 steelworkers marched past the headquarters of the secret police chanting 'We forgive'. Half a million people filled the streets. John Paul II was a friend of Jerzy Popieluszko and Lech Walesa at a time that changed the course of history in the 20th century.

**Ms GILLET** (Tarnait) — I wish to add my voice to those of other members on this condolence motion on the death of Pope John Paul II and his birth into everlasting life. The death of this pope has had a great impact on the Catholic Church and its bureaucracy and congregation because of the length of this papacy — some 26 years, which is over half of my life. This is a time of sadness and reflection for many Catholics. It is a time of awesome responsibility for the cardinals who make up the constituency who are now in the process of electing our new pope.

Pope John Paul II was clearly a product of his background, his times and his experiences. His achievements and contributions to the church have been thoroughly enunciated by other members in this place who have outlined their views. I have to confess that I regard myself as a progressive Catholic, so I have been a bit disappointed with the direction and actions of the Vatican at times over the last 26 years.

I can remember as a high school student discovering that the church had vast financial resources and enormous artistic, architectural and other treasures. I was astonished that the world suffered great poverty then as it does now. Surely, I said to poor Mother Therese, who was our much-veged religion teacher, the church could use those resources to free poor and sick people. I thought I had come up with a solution to

world peace, as you do when you are 14 years old. I still do not think Mother Therese, God bless her, gave me an explanation. I suspect she might have agreed with my contention. This is the sort of reform that I still believe is capable of happening inside the Catholic Church. To be a bit cheeky, I might suggest that if we ever got another female pope, she might actually look at some internal reform.

To me being a Catholic is about love and compassion for all, but especially those who are sick, poor, hurt or broken. Love is about liberation. I am sure John Paul II would have agreed with this principle. My thoughts and prayers are with those who will elect a pope for a new, difficult millennium where poverty, sickness and war are still with us and when 21st-century problems will arise. Members know that medical technologies exist which can be implanted into human beings to enhance various physical and intellectual abilities. Questions will arise about how many of these devices can be implanted into a human before they can no longer be considered human.

I wish the cardinals well and trust that God's will be done. My sincere condolences on the passing of John Paul II.

**The SPEAKER** — The importance of the contribution of John Paul II through his work and stewardship of the Catholic Church has been illustrated by the large number of members who have spoken. Pope John Paul II's influence not only related to the Catholic Church but extended throughout the whole community. The length of his office, his extensive travels and his compassion, serenity and spirituality made him a very popular pope. His willingness to engage with other Christian churches as well as embracing other faiths has been significant in furthering understanding and tolerance throughout the world.

Today we, the members of the Legislative Assembly of the Victorian Parliament, pay our respects to Pope John Paul II through the Archbishop of Melbourne and the Catholic Church in Victoria. John Paul II demonstrated during his life that he was a loyal and trusty servant of the Catholic Church.

**Motion agreed to in silence, honourable members showing unanimous agreement by standing in their places.**

## ADJOURNMENT

**Mr THWAITES** (Acting Premier) — I move:

That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Reverend Dr John Davis McCaughey, AC, and Pope John Paul II, the house now adjourn until tomorrow.

**Motion agreed to.**

**House adjourned 5.19 p.m.**

