



Formanden Kaare Rübner Jørgensen orienterer

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### 1. Norge: Kirken dømt til at betale tilskud tilbage

Norge har i årene siden 2000 haft en temmelig stor indvandring, også af katolikker. Uanset om de tilmelder sig det lokale sogn eller ej, er de kirkeretsligt betragtet per automatik medlemmer af den katolske kirke i Norge. Mange har imidlertid undladt at lade sig registrere, hvorfor bispedømmet Oslo i 2010 fik den smarte idé at gå telefonbøgerne igennem og registrere alle, der havde et katolsk-klingende navn. Denne trafik fortsatte, indtil pressen begyndte at skrive om klager fra folk, der ikke var katolikker. Det var i 2014. Da staten og kommunerne yder kirken et tilskud per registreret medlem, begyndte de civile myndigheder at undersøge sagen.



Resultatet blev, at Oslos katolske biskop Bernt Eidsvig og hans økonomichef blev politianmeldt for bedrageri, og at Kulturdepartementet krævede 50 mill. norske kroner tilbagebetalt til staten. Biskoppen indrømmede og beklagede de ulovlige medlemsregistreringer, men mente ikke at have begået noget strafbart. Og for at slippe for tilbagebetaling lagde bispedømmet sag an mod staten.



I januar kom afgørelsen. Tingsretten i Oslo dømte bispedømmet til at betale 40 mill. tilbage til staten, mens straffesagen mod biskoppen blev henlagt på grund af bevisets stilling. Om hans økonomichef vil blive straffet, foreligger der ingen oplysninger om.

Men dermed er sagen dog ikke tilendebragt, for også kommunerne har ydet støtte til de lokale sogne. Oslo kommune kræver derfor nu 10 mill. tilbagebetalt og andre kommuner forventes at følge efter. Så ifølge aviserne kan tilbagebetalingskravet nemt komme op på 100 mill. kroner. (Aftenposten 24.01.17)

## 2. Kardinal Burke og pave Frans

Raymond Leo Burke var en af pave Johannes Paul II's og pave Benedikt XVI's "darlings": biskop som 46-årig i LaCrosse (Wisconsin) 1994 og ærkebiskop i St. Louis (Missouri) ni år senere. I 2008 blev han kaldt til Rom for at blive medlem af flere kongregationer og i 2010 gjort til kardinal. I årene efter 2013 har pave Frans frataget ham den ene post efter den anden, så han til sidst blot var den apostoliske stols kontaktperson til Malteserordenen. Men også denne post blev frataget ham i sidste måned.



Kardinal Burke var og er en af de mest konservative kirkeledere: abort er udtryk for en "dødens kultur", politikere der går ind for kvinders ret til selv at bestemme, om de vil have en abort eller ej, bør ekskommunikeres, homoseksuelle ægteskaber fordømmes, piger forbydes at være ministranter ("afskrækker drenge fra at blive det, hvorved antallet af præstestuderende falder"). Desuden støtter han genindførelsen af den tridentinske, latinske messe ("en reform af reformen"), og sådan kunne man blive ved. Senest har han kritiseret pave Frans' encyklika "Amoris laetitia", der tillader kommunion til gengifte under visse omstændigheder, og antydte, at paven med denne tilladelse kunne betragtes som kætter.

Nu har Burke imidlertid også lagt sig politisk ud med pave Frans. Thi hvor Frans har udtalt, at en præsident, der vil bygge en mur for at holde fattige ude, ikke er kristen, har Burke entydigt bakket præsident Trump op. Og hvor Frans har rakt hånden ud til dialog religionerne imellem og er en varm



tilhænger af EU, ser Burke islam og indvandringen af muslimer som den helt store fare for kristendommen.

Forleden kunne italienske medier fortælle, at Burke i sin lejlighed i Vatikanet havde haft en halvanden time lang samtale Matteo Salvini, der er leder af det separatistiske og nationalistiske parti Lega Nord og en af pave Frans meget højtstående kritikere i Italien. At en amerikansk kardinal mødes med lederen af et politisk parti i Italien, er ganske usædvanligt, men Salvini har nu også prist Donald Trump i høje vendinger. Ligesom han i øvrigt har lovprist Benito Mussolini.

Det er derfor, som om de mest rabiante, fremmedfjendske kredse i kirken er ved at alliere sig med deres ligesindede i den politiske verden for at underminere ikke kun pave Frans' opfordring til at tage imod mennesker, der er flygtet fra krig, terror og fattigdom, men også Den europæiske Union. En union præsident Trump ikke har lagt skjul på, at han vil arbejde aktivt for at få opløst, så Europa igen kan bestå af suveræne nationalstater.

*(The Guardian, 5. februar 2017)*

### 3. New York Times om forholdet mellem præs. Trump og pave Frans

#### Steve Bannon \*) Carries Battles to Another Influential Hub: The Vatican

ROME — When Stephen K. Bannon was still heading Breitbart News, he went to the Vatican [in 2014] to cover the canonization of John Paul II and make some friends. High on his list of people to meet was an archconservative American cardinal, Raymond Burke, who had openly clashed with Pope Francis.

In one of the cardinal's antechambers, amid religious statues and book-lined walls, Cardinal Burke and Mr. Bannon — who is now President Trump's anti-establishment eminence — bonded over their shared worldview. They saw Islam as threatening to overrun a prostrate West weakened by the erosion of traditional Christian values, and viewed themselves as unjustly ostracized by out-of-touch political elites.

While Mr. Trump, a twice-divorced president who has boasted of groping women, may seem an unlikely ally of traditionalists in the Vatican, many of them regard his election and the ascendance of Mr. Bannon as potentially game-changing breakthroughs

Just as Mr. Bannon has connected with far-right parties threatening to topple governments throughout Western Europe, he has also made common cause with elements in the Roman Catholic Church who oppose the direc-



tion Francis is taking them. Many share Mr. Bannon's suspicion of Pope Francis as a dangerously misguided, and probably socialist, pontiff.

Until now, Francis has marginalized or demoted the traditionalists, notably Cardinal Burke, carrying out an inclusive agenda on migration, climate change and poverty that has made the pope a figure of unmatched global popularity, especially among liberals. Yet in a newly turbulent world, Francis is suddenly a lonelier figure. Where once Francis had a powerful ally in the White House in Barack Obama, now there is Mr. Trump and Mr. Bannon, this new president's ideological guru.

For many of the pope's ideological opponents in and around the Vatican, who are fearful of a pontiff they consider outwardly avuncular but internally a ruthless wielder of absolute political power, this angry moment in history is an opportunity to derail what they see as a disastrous papal agenda. And in Mr. Trump, and more directly in Mr. Bannon, some self-described "Rad Trads" — or radical traditionalists — see an alternate leader who will stand up for traditional Christian values and against Muslim interlopers.

"There are huge areas where we and the pope do overlap, and as a loyal Catholic, I don't want to spend my life fighting against the pope on issues where I won't change his mind," Mr. Harnwell said over a lunch of cannelloni. "Far more valuable for me would be spend time working constructively with Steve Bannon."

He made it clear he was speaking for himself, not for the Institute for Human Dignity, a conservative Catholic group that he founded, and insisted that he shared the pope's goals of ensuring peace and ending poverty, just not his ideas on how to achieve it.

Mr. Bannon publicly articulated his worldview in remarks a few months after his meeting with Cardinal Burke, at a Vatican conference organized by Mr. Harnwell's institute.

Speaking via video feed from Los Angeles, Mr. Bannon, a Catholic, held forth against rampant secularization, the existential threat of Islam, and a capitalism that had drifted from the moral foundations of Christianity.

That talk has garnered much attention, and approval by conservatives, for its explicit expression of Mr. Bannon's vision. Less widely known are his efforts to cultivate strategic alliances with those in Rome who share his interpretation of a right-wing "church militant" theology.

Mr. Bannon's visage, speeches and endorsement of Mr. Harnwell as "the smartest guy in Rome" are featured heavily on the website of Mr. Harnwell's foundation. Mr. Trump's senior adviser has maintained email contact with Cardinal Burke, according to Mr. Harnwell, who dropped by the cardinal's residence after lunch. And another person with knowledge of Mr. Bannon's current outreach said the White House official is personally calling his con-



tacts in Rome for thoughts on who should be the Trump administration's ambassador to the Holy See.

During Mr. Bannon's April 2014 trip he courted Edward Pentin, a leading conservative Vatican reporter, as a potential correspondent in Rome for Breitbart, the website that is popular with the alt-right, a far-right movement that has attracted white supremacists.

"He really seemed to get the battles the church needs to fight," said Mr. Pentin, the author of "The Rigging of a Vatican Synod?" a book asserting that Pope Francis and his supporters railroaded opponents. Chief among those battles, Mr. Pentin said, was Mr. Bannon's focus on countering a "cultural Marxism" that had seeped into the church.

Since that visit and the meeting with Cardinal Burke — an experience that Daniel Fluette, the head of production for Breitbart, described as "incredibly powerful" for Mr. Bannon — Mr. Trump's ideological strategist has maintained a focus on Rome.

A former priest, Mr. Williams said that he used to have arguments with Mr. Bannon about whether the pope subscribed to a hard-left brand of liberation theology, with Mr. Bannon calling the pope a "socialist/communist." Mr. Williams said he usually defended the pope, but that recent statements by Francis convinced him "Steve turned out to be right. That happens more often than not."

Mr. Bannon's private thoughts about the pope have at times surfaced in public. On May 23, Mr. Bannon and Mr. Williams spoke about Pope Francis on the radio program Breitbart News Daily. Discussing a Breitbart article about the new mayor of London titled "Pope Hails Election of Sadiq Khan, Celebrates Mass Muslim Migration Into Europe," Mr. Bannon suggested that the pope "seems almost to be putting the responsibility on the working men and women of Italy and Europe et cetera, that they have to go out of their way to accommodate" migration. Was the pope a global elitist, Mr. Bannon asked, "two or three steps removed from this?"

Many critics of Francis express similar views, but they are often scared to express it for fear of retribution from the pope, who, they say, has eyes and ears all over the Vatican. Instead, the pope's critics anonymously papered Rome over the weekend with posters of a grumpy-looking Francis above complaints about his removing and ignoring clerics and cardinals. "Where's your mercy?" it asked.

Cardinal Burke — who has said that the pope's exhortation, which opened the door for divorced Catholics remarried outside the church to receive communion, might require "a formal act of correction" — has been unusually outspoken in his criticism of Francis.



Cardinal Burke has become a champion to conservatives in the United States. Under Mr. Bannon, Breitbart News urged its Rome correspondent to write sympathetically about him. And at a meeting before last month's anti-abortion March for Life rally in Washington, Cardinal Burke received the Law of Life Achievement, or Nail award, a framed replica of the nail used to hold the feet of Christ to the cross. According to John-Henry Westen, the editor of Life Site News, who announced the award, the prize is awarded to Christians "who have received a stab in the back."

Despite Mr. Bannon's inroads in Rome, Cardinal Burke and other traditionalists are not ascendant in the Vatican. The Rev. Antonio Spadaro, a Jesuit priest who edits the Vatican-approved journal *La Civiltà Cattolica* and who is close to the pope, dismissed their criticism as the stuff of a noisy but small "echo chamber." He also played down the effect of Mr. Trump's ascent on the standing of Francis' opponents in the Vatican, saying it was only on a "level of image" and "propaganda."

The pope will maintain his direction and not be distracted by fights against those trying to undercut him, Father Spadaro said. "He moves forward, and he moves ahead very fast." He added that Mr. Trump's ban on immigrants from certain Muslim countries was "opposite" to the pontiff's vision for how to foster unity and peace. The pope, Father Spadaro said, is doing everything he can to avoid the clash of civilizations that both fundamentalist Muslims and Christians want.

Indeed, the pope does not seem to be slowing down. Days after the election of Mr. Trump, in St. Peter's Basilica, the Vatican officially elevated new cardinals selected by Pope Francis who reflected the pope's emphasis on an inclusive church — far from the worldview of Mr. Bannon and Cardinal Burke. "It's not that he is just bringing new people in that think maybe like him," Cardinal Blase Cupich, the influential new cardinal of Chicago, said after the ceremony. "He is transforming the church in making us rethink how we have done things before."

That transformation was evident later in the evening, when the old conservative guard [of cardinals] came to pay their respects to the new cardinals. João Braz de Aviz, a powerful cardinal close to the pope, walked around in simple cleric clothes, the equivalent of civilian dress among all the flowing cassocks. Asked whether the ascent of Mr. Trump would embolden Mr. Bannon's allies in the Vatican to intensify their opposition and force the pope to take a more orthodox line, he shrugged.

"The doctrine is secure," he said, adding that the mission of the church was more to safeguard the poor. It was also, he reminded his traditionalist colleagues, to serve St. Peter, whose authority is passed down through the popes. "And today, Francis is Peter."



(Jason Horowitz New York Times, 7. februar 2017)

\*) **Stephen Kevin (Steve) Bannon** er en amerikansk forretningsmand og den nytiltrådte præsident Donald Trump's specielle rådgiver. Hans familie har irsk-katolske rødder og tilhørte arbejderklassen. Den var pro-demokratisk og pro-Kennedy, men Steve Bannon selv tilsluttede sig som ung republikanerne i misnøje med præsident Jimmy Carter. Ronald Reagan er hans politiske ideal.

Gift og fraskilt tre gange og far til tvillinger, der blev født tre dage efter brylluppet med hans anden kone, kan han vist næppe siges at leve i overensstemmelse med kirkens regler på det familiære område.

Indtil præsidentvalget i november var han tilknyttet af Breitbart News, en ultrakonservativ nyhedskanal i USA.

\*\*) **Benjamin Harnwell**: amerikansk katolsk journalist, tilknyttet Breitbart News og en af kardinal Burke's rådgivere. Grundlægger af Dignitatis Humanae Institute, en NGO-gruppe, der med base i Rom fokuserer på det enkelte menneskes værdighed.

#### 4. Australien: Omfanget af sexovergreb kortlagt

I 2013 nedsatte den australske regering en Royal Commission into Institutional Response to Child Sexual Response. Siden da har den indsamlet informationer fra mere end 4.000 institutioner, vidnesbyrd fra de dømte og deres ansvarlige ledere.

Forleden offentliggjorde kommissionen en rapport. Det fremgår heraf, at 37% af overgrebene relaterer sig til den katolske kirke. Inden for de sidste 35 år er der tale om 4.444 børn med en gennemsnitsalder for drenge på 11.5, for piger 10.5 år. Det helt store flertal af ofre var drenge.

Går man tilbage til 1950, som kommissionen gør, er 1.900 af skadevolderne blevet identificeret, mens 500 er forblevet ukendte. 32% af dem var ordensbrødre, 30% præster, 27% lægfolk og 5% ordenssøstre. I alt regner man med, at 7% af Australiens præster skulle have misbrugt børn seksuelt. Tallene varierer dog fra bispedømme til bispedømme, i enkelte kommer det helt op på 15%. Størst var antallet af overgreb inden for de ordener, der drev eller driver skoler. Således menes 40% af dem, der var knyttet til St. John of God Brothers, at have misbrugt børn. For Christian Brothers 22%, Marian Brothers 20%, den Salesianske gren af Don Bosco's orden 17% og i et benediktinsk kommunitet i New Norcia 20%.

På kommissionens anmodning om at få udleveret, hvad der dér skulle foreligge af informationer i Vatikanet, var svaret: "Den hellige Stol mener ikke, det er muligt, ej heller rimeligt at levere de ønskede informationer". Nogenlunde samme svar kom fra de katolske bispedømmer og ordener i Australien, hvorfor kommunionens redegørelse primært bygger på oplysninger, givet af ofrene og præster i fængsel. Dens konklusion er klar og genkendes fra andre lande:

"Børn blev ignoreret eller hvad der var værre straffet [hvis de ville fortælle om, hvad der var overgået dem]. Anmeldelser blev ikke undersøgt. Præster og



ordensfolk blev forflyttet til andre sogne og klostre, uden at disse blev underrettet om deres fortid. Anmeldelser blev ikke altid arkiveret, og hvis de blev, senere destrueret. Sagerne blev holdt hemmelige, og der dækkedes over skadepolderne”.

Nu begynder så den sidste fase i kommissionens arbejde. Det vil være en høring, der fokuserer på kulturelle årsager til overgrebene. Den vil se på emner som skriftemålet, cølibatet, hvordan præster og ordensfolk rekrutteres, trænes og instrueres, kirkens struktur og styrelse for at få et svar på, hvorfor misbrug af børn var så udbredt i katolske institutioner. Kirken er, så vidt man kan forstå, indstillet på at følge kommissionens anbefalinger, men siger også, at der er grænser for, hvilke ændringer den kan foretage uden accept fra Rom. Den vil dog modsætte sig, at den lovmæssige anmeldelsesforpligtelse udvides til også at omfatte, hvad en præst måtte høre i skriftestolen.

Ærkebiskopperne af Sydney, Adelaine, Melbourne, Canberra-Goulburn, Perth og Brisbane er indkaldt for at aflægge vidnesbyrd. Man kan forvente, advarede ærkebiskoppen af Brisbane forleden, ”nogle grimme stunder, der uundgåeligt vil chokere”. *(The Guardian, 5. og 6. februar 2017)*

## 5. Kristina Keneally: Hvor længe kan jeg leve med modsætningen mellem min tro og den katolske kirke?



**Kristina Keneally** er en australsk politiker, tidl. formand for partiet Labour og premierminister i delstaten New South Wales. I denne artikel udtrykker hun, hvad mange sikkert tænker.

A Facebook reminder from 2008 popped up in my husband’s newsfeed last week. It was a photo from World Youth Day in Sydney. He sent me the link with a note, “Hard to believe that this was just eight years ago.” Just eight years ago, Australia’s Cardinal George Pell walked the streets of Sydney unencumbered, basking in the glow of World Youth Day and the adulation of its 250,000 young attendees. The royal commission into institutional responses to sexual abuse hadn’t taken place. The Irish government hadn’t yet released its official report into sexual abuse in the Catholic church in that





country. No one had seen the movie Spotlight. Most people assumed the isolated reports of clerical sexual abuse of children were just that – isolated.

Eight years later, and another round of World Youth Day celebrations has just finished, held this time in Poland. Around 2.5 million young people from across the globe attended. Pope Francis used the five-day celebration to speak to young Catholics about issues as diverse as terrorism, poverty, and technology. He also spoke about faith and God's call to them. He was – as you might expect for such a popular pope – very well received.

Then Francis left World Youth Day, got on a plane home and spent his time on the flight talking to journalists about police investigations into allegations of child sexual abuse against Pell.

This juxtaposition is jarring, to say the least. At its best, the Catholic church can ignite passion and compassion in its young believers. It can inspire young adult Catholics to great acts of social justice and service to their fellow human beings. By preaching and practicing the gospel, the Catholic church can fire up its youth to practical action on poverty, inequality, injustice, homelessness, the environment and welcoming refugees. Faith-filled young Catholics at every World Youth Day turnout in throngs – sometimes in the millions – filled with love of God and happiness to be alive.

Sydney witnessed this first-hand when World Youth Day came to this cynical town in 2008. From the moment the first pilgrims landed at Kingsford-Smith airport they charmed the city with their faith, generosity and joy. At its worst though, the Catholic church is diabolical to young people. Across the world the church has presided over the grotesque phenomenon of clerical sexual abuse of children, and compounded its sins with weak, pathetic decisions by priests and bishops to hide these crimes. By ignoring the gospels, the Catholic church had visited horrors on thousands of young people. Depression, self-harm, mental breakdown, and suicide are but some of the terrible impacts affecting abused Catholics.

Australia has witnessed this first-hand through the testimony at the royal commission into institutional responses to sexual abuse. Five thousand submissions relating to the Catholic church were made to the commission. Their stories are harrowing. Their testimony is raw. Among the most riveting days at the royal commission are the days Cardinal George Pell has testified about what he knew or didn't know about allegations of child sexual abuse, and what he did or didn't do to investigate and prevent abuse. And now we have allegations of sexual abuse of children in the 1970s, levelled directly



against Pell, aired in detail last week on the ABC. [den største tv-station i Australien].

Victorian police [dvs. politiet i delstaten Victoria] confirm that they are investigating and, at this stage, have not interviewed Pell. Pell has issued a statement categorically denying the allegations. Pope Francis has said the cardinal shouldn't be tried in the media, and that police investigations should take their course. He also said there was "doubt" about these allegations.

For the rest of us in Australia, including the people who have made the complaints, all we can do is wait for the police to make a call about whether there is doubt, or proof. Meanwhile, I wish I could explain this juxtaposition to my children. I wish I could explain it to myself.

How does an institution that can do so much good for the world also be responsible for such evil? How can a church that can gather young people on such a joyful celebration like World Youth Day also prompt the terrifying testimony we hear from survivors of child sexual abuse? How long can I keep cognitive dissonance going between my relatively positive experience of faith in Jesus Christ, and the mounting evidence that the institution that has transmitted and supported that faith is tragically flawed? And how do I raise my kids in the Catholic faith, helping them to grasp the good in the gospel despite the bad in the church that transmits it? If the emptying pews at Australian parishes, and the swelling numbers of children enrolled in Australian Catholic schools are anything to go by, I'm not alone in asking these questions.

In days past, Australian Catholics might have looked to our cardinal for guidance. The sad reality is today all we can do is look to the Victorian police to see if the cardinal is about to be charged. How much has changed. In just eight years. (*The Guardian*, 3. August 2016)

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