

PREM 19/3987

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October 1980

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PREM 19/3987

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Silent copy to Stephen Wall
with the Message

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Secretary for Appointments

11 December 1992

Dear Archbishop,

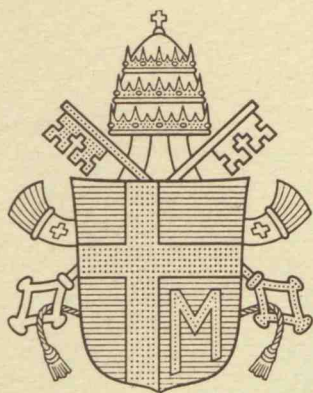
I write on behalf of the Prime Minister to thank you for your letter of 9 December which arrived yesterday after the Prime Minister had departed for a meeting of the European Council in Edinburgh.

The Message from His Holiness The Pope for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace on 1 January 1993, which you indicate is today being published in Rome, will be laid before Mr Major as soon as possible.

I know that the Prime Minister will be glad to receive the Message and grateful for your kind seasonal greetings which he will want to reciprocate.

Yours sincerely,
Robin Catford

His Excellency The Apostolic Pro-Nuncio



MESSAGE
OF HIS HOLINESS
POPE JOHN PAUL II
FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE
WORLD DAY OF PEACE

1 JANUARY 1993

“IF YOU WANT PEACE,
REACH OUT TO THE POOR”

“If you want peace...”

1. **W**hat person of good will does not long for peace? Today, peace is universally recognized as one of the highest values to be sought and defended. And yet, as the spectre of a deadly war between opposing ideological blocs fades away, grave local conflicts continue to engulf various parts of the world. In particular, everyone is aware of the *situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, where hostilities are daily claiming new victims, especially among the defenceless civil population, and causing enormous destruction to property and territory. Nothing seems able to halt the senseless violence of arms: neither the joint efforts to promote an effective truce, nor the humanitarian activity of the International Organizations, nor the chorus of appeals for peace which rise from the lands stained by the blood of battle. Sadly, the aberrant logic of war is prevailing over the repeated and authoritative calls for peace.

Our world also shows increasing evidence of *another grave threat to peace*: many individuals and indeed whole peoples are living today *in conditions of*

extreme poverty. The gap between rich and poor has become more marked, even in the most economically developed nations. *This is a problem which the conscience of humanity cannot ignore,* since the conditions in which a great number of people are living are an insult to their innate dignity and as a result are a threat to the authentic and harmonious progress of the world community.

The gravity of this situation is being felt in many countries of the world: in Europe as well as in Africa, Asia and America. In various regions the social and economic challenges which believers and all people of good will have to face are many. Poverty and destitution, social differences and injustices, some of them even legalized, fratricidal conflicts and oppressive regimes—all of these appeal to the conscience of whole peoples in every part of the world.

The recent Conference of Latin American Bishops, held in Santo Domingo in October, carefully examined the situation in Latin America, and while urgently calling on Christians to undertake *the task of the new evangelization* earnestly invited the faithful and all those committed to justice and righteousness *to serve the cause of man,* without failing to take into account any of his deepest needs. The Bishops spoke of the great mission which must draw together the efforts of everyone: defence of the dignity of the person, commitment to a fair distribution of resources, the harmonious and united promotion of a society in which everyone feels welcomed and loved. It is apparent to all that these are *the indispensable premises for building true peace.*

To say "peace" is really to speak of much more than the simple absence of war. It is to postulate a

condition of authentic respect for the dignity and rights of every human being, a condition enabling him to achieve complete fulfilment. The exploitation of the weak and the existence of distressing pockets of poverty and social inequality constitute so many delays and obstacles to the establishment of stable conditions for an authentic peace.

Poverty and peace: at the beginning of the New Year, I would like to invite everyone to reflect together on the many different links between these two realities.

In particular, I would like to call attention to the threat to peace posed by poverty, especially when it becomes destitution. There are millions of men, women and children suffering every day from hunger, insecurity and emargination. These situations constitute a grave affront to human dignity and contribute to social instability.

The inhuman choice of war

2. At the present time, there exists yet another situation which is a source of poverty and destitution: the situation caused by war between nations and by conflicts within a given country. In the face of the tragedies which have caused and are still causing bloodshed, especially for ethnic reasons, in various regions of the world, I feel the duty to recall what I said in my Message for the 1981 World Day of Peace, the theme of which was: "To serve peace, respect freedom". At that time, I emphasized that the indispensable premise for building true peace is respect for the freedom and rights of other individuals and groups. Peace is obtained by promoting free peoples in a world

of freedom. The appeal I made then is still valid today: "Respect for the freedom of peoples and nations is an integral part of peace. Wars continue to break out and destruction has fallen upon peoples and whole cultures because the sovereignty of a people or a nation was not respected. Every continent has seen and suffered from wars and struggles caused by one nation's attempts to limit another's autonomy" (No. 8).

I went on to say: "Without a willingness to respect the freedom of every people, nation and culture, and without a world-wide consensus on this subject, it will be difficult to create the conditions for peace.... This presupposes a conscious public commitment on the part of each nation and its government to renounce claims and designs injurious to other nations. In other words, it presupposes a refusal to accept any doctrine of national or cultural supremacy" (*ibid.*, 9).

The consequences deriving from such a commitment are easy to see, also with regard to economic relations between States. To reject all temptations to secure economic dominance over other nations means to renounce a policy inspired by the prevailing criterion of profit, and to replace it with a policy guided by the criterion of solidarity towards all and especially towards the poorest.

Poverty as a source of conflict

3. The number of people living in conditions of extreme poverty is enormous. I am thinking, for example, of the tragic situations *in certain countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America*. There exist vast groups, often whole sectors of the population, which

find themselves on the margins of civil life within their own countries. Among them is a growing number of children who in order to survive can rely on nobody except themselves. Such a situation is not only an affront to human dignity but also represents *a clear threat to peace*. A State, whatever its political organization or economic system, remains fragile and unstable if it does not give constant attention to its weakest members and if it fails to do everything possible to ensure that at least their primary needs are satisfied.

The poorest countries' *right to development* imposes upon the developed countries a clear duty to come to their aid. The Second Vatican Council said in this regard: "Everyone has the right to have a part of the earth's goods that is sufficient for each and his or her dependents.... We are obliged to support the poor, and not just from our surplus" (Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, 69). The Church's admonition is clear, and it is a faithful echo of the voice of Christ: earthly goods are meant for the whole human family and cannot be reserved for the exclusive benefit of a few (cf. Encyclical Letter *Centesimus Annus*, 31 and 37).

In the interest of the individual—and thus of peace—it is therefore urgently necessary to introduce into the mechanisms of the economy the necessary correctives which will enable those mechanisms to ensure a more just and equitable distribution of goods. By itself the rules of the market are not sufficient to accomplish this; society must accept its own responsibilities (cf. *ibid.*, 48). It must do so by increasing its efforts, which are often already considerable, to eliminate the causes of poverty and their tragic consequences. No country by itself can succeed in such an undertaking. For this very reason it is necessary to

work together, with that solidarity demanded by a world which has become ever more interdependent. To allow situations of extreme poverty to persist is to create social conditions ever more exposed to the threat of violence and conflict.

All individuals and social groups have a right to live in conditions which enable them to provide for personal and family needs and to share in the life and progress of the local community. When this right is not recognized, it easily happens that the people concerned feel that they are victims of a structure which does not welcome them, and they react strongly. This is especially the case with young people, who, being deprived of adequate education and employment opportunities, are most exposed to the risk of being marginalized and exploited. Everybody is aware of the world-wide problem of unemployment, especially among the young, with the consequent impoverishment of an ever greater number of individuals and whole families. Moreover, unemployment is often the tragic result of the destruction of the economic infrastructure of a country affected by war or internal conflicts.

Here I would like to mention briefly a number of particularly disturbing problems which beset the poor and hence threaten peace.

First of all, there is the problem of *foreign debt*, which for some countries, and within them for the less well-off social strata, continues to be an intolerable burden, despite efforts made to lighten it by the international community, governments and financial institutions. Is it not the poorest groups in these countries which often have to bear the major burden of repayment? Such an unjust situation can open the door

to growing resentment, to a sense of frustration and even desperation. In many cases the governments themselves share the widespread discomfort of their people, and this influences relations with other States. Perhaps the time has come *to re-examine the problem of foreign debt and to give it the priority which it deserves*. The conditions for total or partial repayment need to be reviewed, with an effort to find definitive solutions capable of fully absorbing the burdensome social consequences of adjustment programmes. Furthermore it will be necessary to act on the causes of indebtedness, by making the granting of aid conditional upon concrete commitments on the part of governments to reduce excessive or unnecessary expenditures—here one thinks particularly of expenditures on arms—and to guarantee that subsidies do in fact reach the needy.

Another grave problem is *drugs*. Sadly and tragically, everyone knows of their connection with violence and crime. Similarly, everyone knows that in some parts of the world, because of pressure from drug traffickers, it is precisely the very poor who cultivate the plants for drug-production. The lavish profits promised—which in fact represent only a tiny part of the profits deriving from this cultivation—are a temptation difficult to resist by those who gain a markedly insufficient income from the production of traditional crops. The first thing to be done in order to help growers to overcome this situation is therefore to offer them adequate means to escape from their poverty.

A further problem stems from the situations of grave economic difficulty in some countries. These situations encourage *mass migrations* to more fortunate countries, in which there then arise tensions which

disturb the social order. In order to respond to such reactions of xenophobic violence, it is not enough simply to have recourse to provisional emergency measures. Rather, what is needed is to tackle the causes, by promoting through new forms of international solidarity the progress and development of the countries from which the migrant movements originate.

Destitution therefore is a hidden but real threat to peace. By impairing human dignity, it constitutes a serious attack on the value of life and strikes at the heart of the peaceful development of society.

Poverty as a result of conflict

4. In recent years we have witnessed on almost every continent local wars and internal conflicts of savage intensity. Ethnic, tribal and racial violence has destroyed human lives, divided communities that previously lived together in peace and left in its wake anguish and feelings of hatred. Recourse to violence, in fact, aggravates existing tensions and creates new ones. *Nothing is resolved by war; on the contrary, everything is placed in jeopardy by war.* The results of this scourge are the suffering and death of innumerable individuals, the disintegration of human relations and the irreparable loss of an immense artistic and environmental patrimony. War worsens the sufferings of the poor; indeed, it creates new poor by destroying means of subsistence, homes and property, and by eating away at the very fabric of the social environment. Young people see their hopes for the future shattered and too often, as victims, they become irresponsible agents of conflict. Women, children, the el-

derly, the sick and the wounded are forced to flee and become refugees who have no possessions beyond what they can carry with them. Helpless and defenceless, they seek refuge in other countries or regions often as poor and turbulent as their own.

While acknowledging that the international and humanitarian organizations are doing much to alleviate the tragic fate of the victims of violence, I feel it is my duty *to urge all people of good will to intensify their efforts.* In some instances, in fact, the future of refugees depends entirely on the generosity of people who take them in—people who are as poor, if not poorer, than they are. It is only through the concern and cooperation of the international community that satisfactory solutions will be found.

After so many unnecessary massacres, it is in the final analysis of fundamental importance to recognize, once and for all, that *war never helps the human community*, that violence destroys and never builds up, that the wounds it causes remain long unhealed, and that as a result of conflicts the already grim condition of the poor deteriorates still further, and new forms of poverty appear. The disturbing spectacle of tragedies caused by war is before the eyes of world public opinion. May the distressing pictures quite recently transmitted by the media at least serve as an effective warning to all—individuals, societies and States—and remind everyone that money ought not to be used for war, nor for destroying and killing, but for defending the dignity of man, for improving his life and for building a truly open, free and harmonious society.

A spirit of poverty as a source of peace

5. In today's industrialized countries people are dominated by the frenzied race for possessing material goods. The consumer society makes the gap separating rich from poor even more obvious, and the uncontrolled search for a comfortable life risks blinding people to the needs of others. In order to promote the social, cultural, spiritual and also economic welfare of all members of society, it is therefore absolutely essential to stem the unrestrained consumption of earthly goods and to control the creation of artificial needs. *Moderation and simplicity ought to become the criteria of our daily lives.* The quantity of goods consumed by a tiny fraction of the world population produces a demand greater than available resources. A reduction of this demand constitutes a first step in alleviating poverty, provided that it is accompanied by effective measures to guarantee a fair distribution of the world's wealth.

In this regard, the Gospel invites believers not to accumulate the goods of this passing world: "Do not lay up for yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and rust consume and where thieves break in and steal, but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven" (*Mt 6:19-20*). This is a duty intrinsic to the Christian vocation, no less than the duty of working to overcome poverty; and it is also a very effective means for succeeding in this task.

Evangelical poverty is very different from socio-economic poverty. While the latter has harsh and often tragic characteristics, since it is experienced as a form of coercion, evangelical poverty is chosen freely by the person who intends in this way to respond to

Christ's admonition: "Whoever of you does not renounce all that he has cannot be my disciple" (*Lk 14:33*).

Such evangelical poverty is the source of peace, since through it the individual can establish a proper relationship *with God, with others and with creation.* The life of the person who puts himself in this situation thus witnesses to humanity's absolute dependence on God who loves all creatures, and material goods come to be recognized for what they are: *a gift of God for the good of all.*

Evangelical poverty is something that transforms those who accept it. They cannot remain indifferent when faced with the suffering of the poor; indeed, they feel impelled to share actively with God his preferential love for them (cf. Encyclical Letter *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, 42). Those who are poor in the Gospel sense are ready to sacrifice their resources and their own selves so that others may live. Their one desire is to live in peace with everyone, offering to others the gift of Jesus' peace (cf. *Jn 14:27*).

The Divine Master has taught us by his life and words the demanding features of this poverty which leads us to true freedom. He "who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant" (*Phil 2:6-7*). He was born in poverty; as a child he was forced to go into exile with his family in order to escape the cruelty of Herod; he lived as one who had "nowhere to lay his head" (*Mt 8:20*). He was denigrated as a "glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners" (*Mt 11:19*) and suffered the death reserved for criminals. He called the poor blessed and assured them that the Kingdom

of God belonged to them (cf. *Lk* 6:20). He reminded the rich that the snare of wealth stifles God's word (cf. *Mt* 13:22), and that it is difficult for them to enter the Kingdom of God (cf. *Mk* 10:25).

Christ's example, no less than his words, is normative for Christians. We know that, at the Last Judgment, we shall all be judged, without distinction, on our practical love of our brothers and sisters. Indeed, it will be in the practical love they have shown that, on that day, many will discover that they have in fact met Christ, although without having known him before in an explicit way (cf. *Mt* 25:35-37).

"If you want peace, reach out to the poor!" May rich and poor recognize that they are brothers and sisters; may they share what they have with one another as children of the one God who loves everyone, who wills the good of everyone, and who offers to everyone the gift of peace!

From the Vatican, 8 December 1992.

Joannes Paulus PP II



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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

10 December 1991

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you most warmly for sending him a copy of His Holiness' Annual Message for the World Day of Peace. He will of course study this most carefully on his return from Maastricht.

Mr. Major has asked me to convey to you his warm greetings and best wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

(DOMINIC MORRIS)

Archbishop Luigi Barbarito

R



APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE

PLEASE QUOTE REF. NO. 8096

54 PARKSIDE
LONDON, SW19 5NF

TELEPHONE: 081-946 1410

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9 December, 1991

Mr
Mr
Your Prime Minister,

rejo
reap
I am happy to enclose a copy of Pope John Paul's Annual Message for the World Day of Peace, to be celebrated on January 1st, 1992. The theme is "Believers United in Building Peace". The Pope asks that the spirit of the Assisi meeting of leaders of world religions be rekindled. While calling for prayer, he underlines the need for ecumenical dialogue and for the friendly relations necessary for the construction of peace through justice. He calls on the leaders of nations to uphold respect for the religious conscience of every man and woman and to prevent all forms of war and conflict.

I take this opportunity of conveying to you my warmest personal greetings for the season.

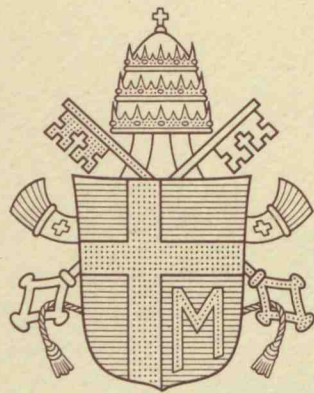
With kind regards and every good wish,

Sincerely yours

Luigi Barbarito
Archbishop Luigi Barbarito,
Apostolic Pro-Nuncio.

The Rt Hon John Major, MP,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
LONDON
SW1A 1AA

RM



MESSAGE
OF HIS HOLINESS
POPE JOHN PAUL II
FOR THE
25TH WORLD DAY OF PEACE

1 JANUARY 1992

BELIEVERS UNITED IN BUILDING PEACE

1. **A**s is now customary, on 1 January next the annual World Day of Peace will be celebrated. Twenty-five years will have passed since this celebration was begun, and it is entirely natural that on this anniversary I should recall with undimmed admiration and gratitude the beloved figure of my venerable predecessor Paul VI, whose keen pastoral and pedagogical insight led him to invite all "true friends of peace" to join together in order to reflect on this "primary good" of humanity.

But it is likewise natural, a quarter of a century later, to look back at this period as a whole, in order to determine if the cause of peace in the world has actually made progress or not, and if the tragic events of recent months—some of which are regrettably still going on—have marked a substantial setback, revealing how real is the danger that human reason can allow itself to be dominated by destructive self-interest or inveterate hatred. At the same time, the progressive rise of new democracies has given back hope to entire peoples, inspired confidence in more fruitful interna-

tional dialogue and made possible a long-awaited era of peace.

Against this background of light and shadows, this yearly Message is not meant to offer either a progress report or a judgment, but only a new, fraternal invitation to consider present human events, in order to raise them to an *ethical and religious vision*, a vision which believers should be the first to live by. Precisely because of their faith, believers are called—as individuals and as a body—to be messengers and artisans of peace. Like others and even more than others, they are called to seek with humility and perseverance appropriate responses to the yearnings for security and freedom, solidarity and sharing, which are common to everyone in this world, which as it were has become smaller. A commitment to peace of course concerns every person of good will, and this is the reason why the various Messages have been addressed to all the members of the human family. Yet, *this is a duty which is especially incumbent upon all who profess faith in God* and even more so *upon Christians*, who have as their guide and master the “Prince of Peace” (*Is 9 : 5*).

The Moral and Religious Nature of Peace

2. The longing for peace is deeply rooted in human nature and is found in the different religions. It expresses itself in the desire for order and tranquillity, in an attitude of readiness to help others, in cooperation and sharing based on mutual respect. These values, which originate in the natural law and are pro-

pounded by the world's religions, require, if they are to develop, the support of everyone—politicians, leaders of international organizations, businessmen and workers, associations and private citizens. What we are speaking of is a precise duty incumbent on everyone, and more so if one is a believer: bearing witness to peace and working and praying for peace are a normal part of good religious behaviour.

This also explains why in the sacred books of the different religions references to peace occupy a prominent place in the context of man's life and his relationship with God. For example, we Christians believe that Jesus Christ, the Son of the One who has “plans for welfare and not for evil” (*Jer 29 : 11*) is “our peace” (*Eph 2 : 14*); for our Jewish brothers and sisters, the word “shalom” expresses both a wish and blessing in a situation in which man is in harmony with himself, with nature and with God; and for the followers of Islam the term “salam” is so important that it constitutes one of the glorious divine names. It can be said that a religious life, if it is lived authentically, cannot fail to bring forth fruits of peace and brotherhood, for it is in the nature of religion to foster an ever closer bond with the Godhead and to promote an increasingly fraternal relationship among people.

Rekindling the “Spirit of Assisi”

3. Convinced of this agreement about this value, five years ago I wrote to the leaders of the Christian Churches and the major world religions in order to in-

vite them to a *special meeting of prayer for peace*, which was held in Assisi. The memory of that significant event has led me to return to and suggest once more *the theme of the solidarity of believers* in the same cause.

At Assisi the spiritual leaders of the major religions from the different continents gathered together: the meeting was a concrete witness to the universal dimension of peace, and confirmed that peace is not only the result of skilful political and diplomatic negotiations or a compromise between economic interests, but depends in a fundamental way upon the One who knows human hearts and guides and directs the steps of all mankind. As people concerned for the future of humanity, we fasted together, meaning thereby to express our compassion and solidarity with the millions and millions who are victims of hunger throughout the world. As believers concerned with the events of human history, we went on pilgrimage together, meditating silently on our common origin and our common destiny, our limitations and our responsibilities, and on the prayers and expectations of all our many brothers and sisters who look to us for help in their needs.

What we did on that occasion by praying and demonstrating our firm commitment to peace on earth, we must continue to do now. We must foster the genuine "spirit of Assisi" not only out of a duty to be consistent and faithful, but also in order to offer a reason for hope to future generations. In the town of Saint Francis, the Poor Man of Assisi, we began *a common journey which must now continue*, obviously without

excluding the search for other ways and new means for a solid peace, built on spiritual foundations.

The Power of Prayer

4. But before having recourse to human resources, I wish to reaffirm the need for intense, humble, confident and persevering prayer, if the world is finally to become a dwelling-place of peace. Prayer is *par excellence* the power needed to implore that peace and obtain it. It gives courage and support to all who love this good and desire to promote it in accordance with their own possibilities and in the various situations in which they live. Prayer not only opens us up to a meeting with the Most High but also disposes us to a meeting with our neighbour, helping us to establish with everyone, without discrimination, relationships of respect, understanding, esteem and love.

Religious sentiment and a prayerful spirit not only help us to grow inwardly; they also enlighten us about the true meaning of our presence in the world. It can also be said that the religious dimension encourages us to make an even more committed contribution to the building of a well-ordered society in which peace reigns.

Prayer is the bond which most effectively unites us: it is through prayer that believers meet one another at a level where inequalities, misunderstandings, bitterness and hostility are overcome, namely before God, the Lord and Father of all. Prayer, as the authentic expression of a right relationship with God and with others, is already a positive contribution to peace.

Ecumenical Dialogue and Inter-religious Relations

5. Prayer cannot remain isolated and needs to be accompanied by other concrete actions. Each religion has its own outlook regarding the actions to be accomplished and the paths to be followed in order to attain peace. The Catholic Church, while clearly affirming her own identity, her own doctrine and her saving mission for all humanity, "rejects nothing of those things which are true and holy" in other religions; "she regards with respect those ways of acting and living and those precepts and teachings which, though often at variance with what she holds and expounds, frequently reflect a ray of that truth which enlightens everyone" (*Nostra Aetate*, 2).

Without ignoring differences or playing them down, the Church is convinced that, in promoting peace, there are certain elements or aspects which can be profitably developed and put into practice with the followers of other faiths and confessions. Inter-religious contacts and, in a unique way, ecumenical dialogue lead to this. Thanks to these forms of encounter and exchange the various religions have been able to attain a clearer awareness of their considerable responsibilities with regard to the true good of humanity as a whole. Today they all seem to be more firmly determined not to allow themselves to be used by particularistic interests or for political aims, and they are tending to assume a more conscious and decisive attitude in the shaping of social and cultural realities in the community of peoples. This enables them to be an active force in the process of development and thus to

offer a sure hope to humanity. In a number of instances, it has become evident that their activity would have proved more effective had it been carried out jointly and in a coordinated manner. Such a way of working among believers can have a decisive effect in fostering peace among peoples and overcoming the still existing divisions between "zones" and "worlds".

The Path to be Travelled

6. There is still a long way to go to reach this goal of active cooperation in the cause of peace: there is the path of mutual knowledge, assisted today by the development of the means of social communication and facilitated by the beginning of a frank and wider dialogue; there is the path of generous forgiveness, fraternal reconciliation, and collaboration in areas which though limited or secondary are nonetheless directed to the same cause; finally, there is the path of daily coexistence, sharing efforts and sacrifices in order to reach the same goal. Perhaps it is on this path that individual believers, people who profess a religion, even more than their leaders, must face the hard work and at the same time have the satisfaction of building peace together.

Inter-religious contacts, together with ecumenical dialogue, now seem to be obligatory paths, in order to ensure that the many painful wounds inflicted over the course of centuries will not be repeated, and indeed that any such wounds still remaining will soon be healed. Believers must work for peace, above all by the personal example of their own right interior attitude, which shows outwardly in consistent action and behaviour. Serenity, balance, self-control, and acts of

understanding, forgiveness and generosity have a peace-making influence on people's surroundings and on the religious and civil community.

It is for this reason that on the next World Day of Peace I invite all believers to make a serious *examination of conscience*, in order to be better disposed to listen to the voice of the "God of peace" (cf. *1 Cor 14 : 33*) and to devote themselves to this great undertaking with renewed trust. I am convinced that they—and, I hope, all people of good will—will respond to this renewed appeal of mine, which I make with an insistence which matches the seriousness of the moment.

Building Peace in Justice Together

7. The prayer of believers and their joint action for peace must face the problems and legitimate aspirations of individuals and peoples.

Peace is a fundamental good which involves respecting and promoting essential human values: the right to life at every stage of its development; the right to be respected, regardless of race, sex or religious convictions; the right to the material goods necessary for life; the right to work and to a fair distribution of its fruits for a well-ordered and harmonious coexistence. As individuals, as believers and even more as Christians, we must feel the commitment to living these *values of justice*, which are crowned by the *supreme law of love*: "You shall love your neighbour as yourself" (*Mt 22 : 39*).

Once more I wish to emphasize that rigorous respect for religious freedom, and for the corresponding

right to it, is the source and foundation of peaceful coexistence. I look forward to the time when it will be a commitment which is not merely affirmed but really put into practice both by political and religious leaders, and by believers themselves: it is on the basis of the recognition of this right that the transcendent dimension of the human person assumes importance.

It would be a mistake if religions or groups of their followers, in the interpretation and practice of their respective beliefs, were to fall into forms of fundamentalism and fanaticism, justifying struggles and conflicts with others by adducing religious motives. If there exists a struggle worthy of man, it is the struggle against his own disordered passions, against every kind of selfishness, against attempts to oppress others, against every type of hatred and violence: in short, against everything that is the exact opposite of peace and reconciliation.

Necessary Support from World Leaders

8. Finally, I call upon the Leaders of the Nations and of the international community always to show *the greatest respect for the religious conscience of every man and woman* and for the special contribution of religion to the progress of civilization and to the development of peoples. They should not succumb to the temptation of exploiting religion as a means of power, particularly when it is a matter of opposing an adversary by military means.

Civil and political authorities ought to accord the various religions respect and juridical guarantees—at

the national and international levels—ensuring that their contribution to peace is not rejected, or relegated to the private sphere, or ignored altogether.

Again I call upon public authorities to strive with vigilant responsibility to prevent war and conflict, to work for the triumph of justice and right, and at the same time to support development which benefits everyone, and primarily those oppressed by poverty, hunger and suffering. The progress already made in the reduction of arms is worthy of praise. The economic and financial resources hitherto devoted to the production and sale of so many instruments of death can be used from now on for man and not against him! I am certain that millions of men and women throughout the world, who have no way of making their voices heard, share my positive judgment.

A Special Word for Christians

9. At this point I cannot fail to address a particular invitation *to all Christians*. Our common faith in Christ the Lord obliges us to bear a united witness to “the gospel of peace” (*Eph 6 : 15*). It falls to us, first of all, to be open to other believers so as to undertake together with them, courageously and perseveringly, the immense work of building that peace which the world desires but which in the end it does not know how to achieve. “Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you”, Christ has said to us (*Jn 14 : 27*). This divine promise fills us with the hope, indeed the certainty of divine hope, that peace is possible, because noth-

ing is impossible with God (cf. *Lk 1 : 37*). For true peace is always God’s gift, and for us Christians it is a precious gift of the Risen Lord (*Jn 20 : 19, 26*).

Dear Brothers and Sisters of the Catholic Church, we must respond to the great challenges of the contemporary world by joining forces with all those who share with us certain basic values, beginning with religious and moral ones. And among these challenges still to be faced is that of peace. To build peace together with other believers is already to live in the spirit of the Gospel Beatitude: “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God” (*Mt 5 : 9*).

From the Vatican, 8 December 1991.

Joannes Paulus PP II

VATICAN: Vels

Oct 80



APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE

54 PARKSIDE
LONDON, SW19 5NF

TELEPHONE: 01-946 1410

Ref: 7026

11 January 1991

R12

Dear Prime Minister, ⁽²⁾

I have pleasure in forwarding two letters from the Secretariat of State in which Archbishop Sodano acknowledges receipt, and thanks you for, your letter of well-wishing on his appointment and also your letter of seasonal greetings.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking you and Mrs Major for your kind hospitality and warm welcome last night at dinner. It was a memorable and enjoyable occasion and a privilege to have been invited.

With kind regards and every good wish,

Sincerely yours

Luigi Barbarito
Archbishop Luigi Barbarito,
Apostolic Pro-Nuncio.

The Rt. Hon. John Major,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing St,
LONDON SW1A 2AA



SECRETARIAT OF STATE

No. 274.000/G.N.

FROM THE VATICAN. 19 December 1990

Dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to thank you for your message of good wishes on the occasion of my appointment as Pro-Secretary of State. I am grateful for the kind sentiments which you expressed and for your support as I undertake this new responsibility.

During this Holy Season, I wish to assure you and your fellow citizens of a remembrance in my prayers. It is my ardent hope that during the coming year the divine gift of peace may take ever deeper root in people's hearts and that tranquillity and concord may be ever more secure in the whole human family.

With every good wish, I am

Yours sincerely,

+ *Angelo Sodano*

+Angelo Sodano
Pro-Secretary of State

The Rt. Hon. John Major
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1A 2AA

C.M. FABRIANO



25/1

APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE

54 PARKSIDE
LONDON, SW19 5NF

TELEPHONE: ~~XXXXXXX~~

081/946/ 1410

Our Ref: N.6987

cc: FCO
CSP
6/1

Dear Prime Minister,

I have pleasure in forwarding the enclosed letter from Cardinal Casaroli.

In acquitting myself of this duty I take the opportunity to renew my best wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Archbishop Luigi Barbarito
Apostolic Pro-Nuncio.

The Rt Hon. John Major, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
London.

Al Cardinale Agostino Casaroli

December 18, 1990

Dear Prime Minister,

I wish to thank you for your kind message of good wishes on the occasion of my retirement as Secretary of State. I am very appreciative of the gracious sentiments which you expressed and assure you of my own good wishes in your new responsibilities.

Yours sincerely,

+ R. Card. Casaroli

The Rt. Hon. John Major, P.M.
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1A 2AA



ECL

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

cc FCO

THE PRIME MINISTER

6 December 1990

Your Excellency,

I send you my warmest good wishes on your retirement as Secretary of State. On behalf of the Holy See, you have made an outstanding contribution to the dramatic changes in Central and Eastern Europe and to the successful work of the CSCE, culminating in the recent signature of the Paris Charter. Your patience and dedication have been an inspiration to the countries of Europe.

*Your Faithfully,
John Paul II*

His Eminence Cardinal Agostino Casaroli

VLS



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

CC FCO

THE PRIME MINISTER

6 December 1990

Your Excellency,

I send you my warmest congratulations on your appointment as Pro-Secretary of State. I welcome the good relationship between the United Kingdom and the Holy See and look forward to working with you to strengthen it.

*Your sincerely,
John Major*

His Excellency Archbishop Angelo Sodano



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 December 1990

Dear Charles,

Holy See: Messages to New Pro-Secretary of State and
his predecessor

Cardinal Casaroli retired on 1 December as Secretary of State, the Vatican equivalent of Prime Minister. His successor is Archbishop Sodano, who has been the Foreign Minister equivalent. Archbishop Sodano will be titled Pro-Secretary of State until his appointment as a Cardinal early next year.

Cardinal Casaroli, aged 76, had been Secretary of State since 1979. During that time, he worked tirelessly, particularly on Eastern European problems.

The Prime Minister might wish to send messages to both men. I enclose drafts.

Jans.
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

From: Prime Minister

To: His Excellency Archbishop Angelo Sodano
Pro-Secretary of State, Vatican City

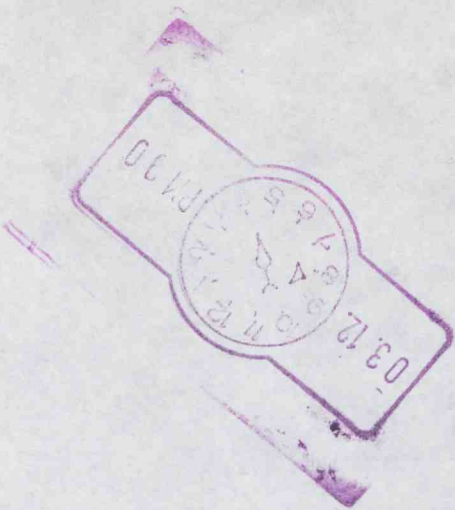
I send you my warmest congratulations on your appointment as Pro-Secretary of State. I welcome the good relationship between the United Kingdom and the Holy See and look forward to working with you to strengthen it.

CV

From: Prime Minister

To: His Eminence Cardinal Agostino Casaroli,
Vatican City

I send you my warmest good wishes on your retirement as Secretary of State. On behalf of the Holy See, you have made an outstanding contribution to the dramatic changes in Central and Eastern Europe and to the successful work of the CSCE, culminating in the recent signature of the Paris Charter. Your patience and dedication have been an inspiration to the countries of Europe.





APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE

N°5691

54 PARKSIDE
LONDON, SW19 5NF

TELEPHONE: 01-946 1410

5th January 1990

Your Prime Minister,

I have the honour to forward to you the enclosed letter from His Eminence Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State, by which he acknowledges the kind message of greetings sent to His Holiness Pope John Paul II by you and your husband.

With my own kind regards and good wishes,

Respectfully yours
Luigi Barbarito
Archbishop Luigi Barbarito
Apostolic Pro-Nuncio

The Rt. Hon. Margaret THATCHER, P.M.
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street
LONDON, SW1A 2AA

(Encl.)



SECRETARIAT OF STATE

No. 252.000/G.N.

R6/1 ps- CF7

FROM THE VATICAN,

23rd December 1989

not
Prime Minister
OOD
7/i

Dear Prime Minister,

His Holiness Pope John Paul II wishes me to thank you and your husband for the message of greetings sent to him for Christmas and the New Year. Your courteous sentiments of peace and friendship at this holy season express the deepest yearnings of the human heart and the noble ideals for which men and women of good will everywhere are called to work through wise and concerted efforts.

His Holiness prays for an outpouring of divine blessings upon you and your dear ones throughout the coming year.

Thanking you for the greetings kindly addressed to myself and with sentiments of esteem, I am

Yours sincerely,

A. Card. Casaroli
Secretary of State

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, P.M.
10 Downing Street
London, S.W.1

C.M. FABRIANO

MON 17
9F
enclosure -
NIT 7



like
to

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

5 December 1989

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you most warmly for sending her a copy of His Holiness' Annual Message for the World Day of Peace. She will of course study this most carefully.

Mrs. Thatcher has asked me to convey to you her warm greetings and best wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

C.D. POWELL

Archbishop Luigi Barbarito

2



APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE

54 PARKSIDE
LONDON, SW19 5NF

TELEPHONE: 01-946 1410

Ref:5560

1st December, 1989

Dear Prime Minister,

I have the honour of forwarding to you, at the request of the Secretariat of State of His Holiness, a copy of Pope John Paul II's Annual Message for the World Day of Peace to be celebrated on January 1st, 1990.

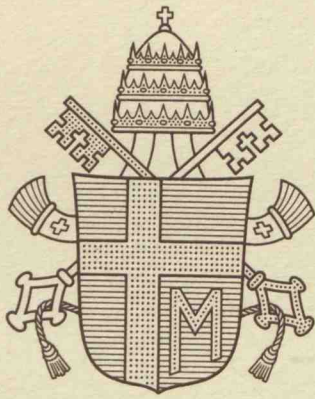
The theme this year is: "Peace with God the Creator, Peace with all Creation". The Pope stresses that ethical values are particularly relevant to the ecological question and help to develop a peaceful society. Growing ecological awareness ought to be encouraged and rendered effective through pursuing concrete programmes and initiatives, a task to which all men and women are summoned.

I take this opportunity of conveying to you my warm personal greetings and best wishes for the season,

Sincerely yours
Luigi Barbarito
Archbishop Luigi Barbarito,
Apostolic Pro-Nuncio.

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
LONDON
SW1A 1AA

Encl.



MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS
POPE JOHN PAUL II

FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE
WORLD DAY OF PEACE

1 JANUARY 1990

PEACE WITH GOD THE CREATOR,
PEACE WITH ALL OF CREATION

Introduction

1. **I**N OUR DAY, there is a growing awareness that world peace is threatened not only by the arms race, regional conflicts and continued injustices among peoples and nations, but also by a lack of *due respect for nature*, by the plundering of natural resources and by an progressive decline in the quality of life. The sense of precariousness and insecurity that such a situation engenders is a seedbed for collective selfishness, disregard for others and dishonesty.

Faced with the widespread destruction of the environment, people everywhere are coming to understand that we cannot continue to use the goods of the earth as we have in the past. The public in general as well as political leaders are concerned about this problem, and experts from a wide range of disciplines are studying its causes. Moreover, a new ecological awareness is beginning to emerge which, rather than being downplayed, ought to be encouraged to develop into concrete programmes and initiatives.

2. Many ethical values, fundamental to the development of a *peaceful society*, are particularly relevant to the ecological question. The fact that many challenges facing the

world today are interdependent confirms the need for carefully coordinated solutions based on a morally coherent world view.

For Christians, such a world view is grounded in religious convictions drawn from Revelation. That is why I should like to begin this Message with a reflection on the biblical account of creation. I would hope that even those who do not share these same beliefs will find in these pages a common ground for reflection and action.

I. "And God saw that it was good"

3. In the Book of Genesis, where we find God's first self-revelation to humanity (*Gen* 1-3), there is a recurring refrain: "And God saw that it was good". After creating the heavens, the sea, the earth and all it contains, God created man and woman. At this point the refrain changes markedly: "And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good (*Gen* 1:31). God entrusted the whole of creation to the man and woman, and only then—as we read—could he rest "from all his work" (*Gen* 2:3).

Adam and Eve's call to share in the unfolding of God's plan of creation brought into play those abilities and gifts which distinguish the human being from all other creatures. At the same time, their call established a fixed relationship between mankind and the rest of creation. Made in the image and likeness of God, Adam and Eve were to have exercised their dominion over the earth (*Gen* 1:28) with wisdom and love. Instead, they destroyed the existing harmony *by deliberately going against the Creator's plan*, that is, by choosing to sin. This resulted not only in man's alienation from himself, in death and fratricide, but also in the earth's "rebellion" against him (cf. *Gen* 3:17-19; 4:12). All of creation became subject to futility, waiting in a mysterious way to be set free and to obtain a glorious liberty together with all the children of God (cf. *Rom* 8:20-21).

4. Christians believe that the Death and Resurrection of Christ accomplished the work of reconciling humanity to the Father, who "was pleased ... through (Christ) to reconcile to himself *all things*, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of his cross" (*Col* 1:19-20). Creation was thus made new (cf. *Rev* 21:5). Once subjected to the bondage of sin and decay (cf. *Rom* 8:21), it has now received new life while "we wait for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells" (*2 Pt* 3:13). Thus, the Father "has made known to us in all wisdom and insight the mystery ... which he set forth in Christ as a plan for the fulness of time, to unite *all things* in him, all things in heaven and things on earth" (*Eph* 1:9-10).

5. These biblical considerations help us to understand better *the relationship between human activity and the whole of creation*. When man turns his back on the Creator's plan, he provokes a disorder which has inevitable repercussions on the rest of the created order. If man is not at peace with God, then earth itself cannot be at peace: "Therefore the land mourns and all who dwell in it languish, and also the beasts of the field and the birds of the air and even the fish of the sea are taken away" (*Hos* 4:3).

The profound sense that the earth is "suffering" is also shared by those who do not profess our faith in God. Indeed, the increasing devastation of the world of nature is apparent to all. It results from the behaviour of people who show a callous disregard for the hidden, yet perceivable requirements of the order and harmony which govern nature itself.

People are asking anxiously if it is still possible to remedy the damage which has been done. Clearly, an adequate solution cannot be found merely in a better management or a more rational use of the earth's resources, as important as these may be. Rather, we must go to the source of the

problem and face in its entirety that profound moral crisis of which the destruction of the environment is only one troubling aspect.

II. *The ecological crisis: a moral problem*

6. Certain elements of today's ecological crisis reveal its moral character. First among these is the *indiscriminate application* of advances in science and technology. Many recent discoveries have brought undeniable benefits to humanity. Indeed, they demonstrate the nobility of the human vocation to participate *responsibly* in God's creative action in the world. Unfortunately, it is now clear that the application of these discoveries in the fields of industry and agriculture have produced harmful long-term effects. This has led to the painful realization that *we cannot interfere in one area of the ecosystem without paying due attention both to the consequences of such interference in other areas and to the well-being of future generations.*

The gradual depletion of the ozone layer and the related "greenhouse effect" has now reached crisis proportions as a consequence of industrial growth, massive urban concentrations and vastly increased energy needs. Industrial waste, the burning of fossil fuels, unrestricted deforestation, the use of certain types of herbicides, coolants and propellants: all of these are known to harm the atmosphere and environment. The resulting meteorological and atmospheric changes range from damage to health to the possible future submersion of low-lying lands.

While in some cases the damage already done may well be irreversible, in many other cases it can still be halted. It is necessary, however, that the entire human community—individuals, States and international bodies—take seriously the responsibility that is theirs.

7. The most profound and serious indication of the moral implications underlying the ecological problem is the lack of *respect for life* evident in many of the patterns of environmental pollution. Often, the interests of production prevail over concern for the dignity of workers, while economic interests take priority over the good of individuals and even entire peoples. In these cases, pollution or environmental destruction is the result of an unnatural and reductionist vision which at times leads to a genuine contempt for man.

On another level, delicate ecological balances are upset by the uncontrolled destruction of animal and plant life or by a reckless exploitation of natural resources. It should be pointed out that all of this, even if carried out in the name of progress and well-being, is ultimately to mankind's disadvantage.

Finally, we can only look with deep concern at the enormous possibilities of biological research. We are not yet in a position to assess the biological disturbance that could result from indiscriminate genetic manipulation and from the unscrupulous development of new forms of plant and animal life, to say nothing of unacceptable experimentation regarding the origins of human life itself. It is evident to all that in any area as delicate as this, indifference to fundamental ethical norms, or their rejection, would lead mankind to the very threshold of self-destruction.

Respect for life, and above all for the dignity of the human person, is the ultimate guiding norm for any sound economic, industrial or scientific progress.

The complexity of the ecological question is evident to all. There are, however, certain underlying principles, which, while respecting the legitimate autonomy and the specific competence of those involved, can direct research towards adequate and lasting solutions. These principles are essential to the building of a peaceful society; *no peace-*

ful society can afford to neglect either respect for life or the fact that there is an integrity to creation.

III. In search of a solution

8. Theology, philosophy and science all speak of a harmonious universe, of a "cosmos" endowed with its own integrity, its own internal, dynamic balance. *This order must be respected.* The human race is called to explore this order, to examine it with due care and to make use of it while safeguarding its integrity.

On the other hand, the earth is ultimately *a common heritage, the fruits of which are for the benefit of all.* In the words of the Second Vatican Council, "God destined the earth and all it contains for the use of every individual and all peoples" (*Gaudium et Spes*, 69). This has direct consequences for the problem at hand. It is manifestly unjust that a privileged few should continue to accumulate excess goods, squandering available resources, while masses of people are living in conditions of misery at the very lowest level of subsistence. Today, the dramatic threat of ecological breakdown is teaching us the extent to which greed and selfishness—both individual and collective—are contrary to the order of creation, an order which is characterized by mutual interdependence.

9. The concepts of an ordered universe and a common heritage both point to the necessity of a *more internationally coordinated approach to the management of the earth's goods.* In many cases the effects of ecological problems transcend the borders of individual States; hence their solution cannot be found solely on the national level. Recently there have been some promising steps towards such international action, yet the existing mechanisms and bodies are clearly not adequate for the development of a comprehensive plan of action. Political

obstacles, forms of exaggerated nationalism and economic interests—to mention only a few factors—impede international cooperation and long-term effective action.

The need for joint action on the international level *does not lessen the responsibility of each individual State.* Not only should each State join with others in implementing internationally accepted standards, but it should also make or facilitate necessary socio-economic adjustments within its own borders, giving special attention to the most vulnerable sectors of society. The State should also actively endeavour within its own territory to prevent destruction of the atmosphere and biosphere, by carefully monitoring, among other things, the impact of new technological or scientific advances. The State also has the responsibility of ensuring that its citizens are not exposed to dangerous pollutants or toxic wastes. *The right to a safe environment* is ever more insistently presented today as a right that must be included in an updated Charter of Human Rights.

IV. The urgent need for a new solidarity

10. The ecological crisis reveals the *urgent moral need for a new solidarity,* especially in relations between the developing nations and those that are highly industrialized. States must increasingly share responsibility, in complementary ways, for the promotion of a natural and social environment that is both peaceful and healthy. The newly industrialized States cannot, for example, be asked to apply restrictive environmental standards to their emerging industries unless the industrialized States first apply them within their own boundaries. At the same time, countries in the process of industrialization are not morally free to repeat the errors made in the past by others, and recklessly continue to damage the environment through industrial pollutants, radical deforestation or unlimited exploitation

of non-renewable resources. In this context, there is urgent need to find a solution to the treatment and disposal of toxic wastes.

No plan or organization, however, will be able to effect the necessary changes unless world leaders are truly convinced of the absolute need for this new solidarity, which is demanded of them by the ecological crisis and which is essential for peace. *This need presents new opportunities for strengthening cooperative and peaceful relations among States.*

11. It must also be said that the proper ecological balance will not be found without *directly addressing the structural forms of poverty* that exist throughout the world. Rural poverty and unjust land distribution in many countries, for example, have led to subsistence farming and to the exhaustion of the soil. Once their land yields no more, many farmers move on to clear new land, thus accelerating uncontrolled deforestation, or they settle in urban centres which lack the infrastructure to receive them. Likewise, some heavily indebted countries are destroying their natural heritage, at the price of irreparable ecological imbalances, in order to develop new products for export. In the face of such situations it would be wrong to assign responsibility to the poor alone for the negative environmental consequences of their actions. Rather, the poor, to whom the earth is entrusted no less than to others, must be enabled to find a way out of their poverty. This will require a courageous reform of structures, as well as new ways of relating among peoples and States.

12. But there is another dangerous menace which threatens us, namely *war*. Unfortunately, modern science already has the capacity to change the environment for hostile purposes. Alterations of this kind over the long term could have unforeseeable and still more serious consequences.

Despite the international agreements which prohibit chemical, bacteriological and biological warfare, the fact is that laboratory research continues to develop new offensive weapons capable of altering the balance of nature.

Today, any form of war on a global scale would lead to incalculable ecological damage. But even local or regional wars, however limited, not only destroy human life and social structures, but also damage the land, ruining crops and vegetation as well as poisoning the soil and water. The survivors of war are forced to begin a new life in very difficult environmental conditions, which in turn create situations of extreme social unrest, with further negative consequences for the environment.

13. Modern society will find no solution to the ecological problem unless it *takes a serious look at its life style*. In many parts of the world society is given to instant gratification and consumerism while remaining indifferent to the damage which these cause. As I have already stated, the seriousness of the ecological issue lays bare the depth of man's moral crisis. If an appreciation of the value of the human person and of human life is lacking, we will also lose interest in others and in the earth itself. Simplicity, moderation and discipline, as well as a spirit of sacrifice, must become a part of everyday life, lest all suffer the negative consequences of the careless habits of a few.

An education in ecological responsibility is urgent: responsibility for oneself, for others, and for the earth. This education cannot be rooted in mere sentiment or empty wishes. Its purpose cannot be ideological or political. It must not be based on a rejection of the modern world or a vague desire to return to some "paradise lost". Instead, a true education in responsibility entails a genuine conversion in ways of thought and behaviour. Churches and religious bodies, non-governmental and governmental organizations, indeed all members of society, have a precise

role to play in such education. The first educator, however, is the family, where the child learns to respect his neighbour and to love nature.

14. *Finally, the aesthetic value of creation cannot be overlooked.* Our very contact with nature has a deep restorative power; contemplation of its magnificence imparts peace and serenity. The Bible speaks again and again of the goodness and beauty of creation, which is called to glorify God (cf. *Gen* 1:4ff; *Ps* 8:2; 104:1ff; *Wis* 13:3-5; *Sir* 39:16, 33; 43:1, 9). More difficult perhaps, but no less profound, is the contemplation of the works of human ingenuity. Even cities can have a beauty all their own, one that ought to motivate people to care for their surroundings. Good urban planning is an important part of environmental protection, and respect for the natural contours of the land is an indispensable prerequisite for ecologically sound development. The relationship between a good aesthetic education and the maintenance of a healthy environment cannot be overlooked.

V. *The ecological crisis: a common responsibility*

15. Today the ecological crisis has assumed such proportions as to be *the responsibility of everyone*. As I have pointed out, its various aspects demonstrate the need for concerted efforts aimed at establishing the duties and obligations that belong to individuals, peoples, States and the international community. This not only goes hand in hand with efforts to build true peace, but also confirms and reinforces those efforts in a concrete way. When the ecological crisis is set within the broader context of *the search for peace* within society, we can understand better the importance of giving attention to what the earth and its atmo-

sphere are telling us: namely, that there is an order in the universe which must be respected, and that the human person, endowed with the capability of choosing freely, has a grave responsibility to preserve this order for the well-being of future generations. I wish to repeat that *the ecological crisis is a moral issue*.

Even men and women without any particular religious conviction, but with an acute sense of their responsibilities for the common good, recognize their obligation to contribute to the restoration of a healthy environment. All the more should men and women who believe in God the Creator, and who are thus convinced that there is a well-defined unity and order in the world, feel called to address the problem. Christians, in particular, realize that their responsibility within creation and their duty towards nature and the Creator are an essential part of their faith. As a result, they are conscious of a vast field of ecumenical and interreligious cooperation opening up before them.

16. At the conclusion of this Message, I should like to address directly my brothers and sisters in the Catholic Church, in order to remind them of their serious obligation to care for all of creation. The commitment of believers to a healthy environment for everyone stems directly from their belief in God the Creator, from their recognition of the effects of original and personal sin, and from the certainty of having been redeemed by Christ. Respect for life and for the dignity of the human person extends also to the rest of creation, which is called to join man in praising God (cf. *Ps* 148:96).

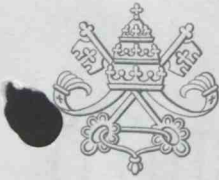
In 1979, I proclaimed Saint Francis of Assisi as the heavenly Patron of those who promote ecology (cf. Apostolic Letter *Inter Sanctos*: AAS 71 [1979], 1509f.). He offers Christians an example of genuine and deep respect for the integrity of creation. As a friend of the poor who was loved by God's creatures, Saint Francis invited all of creation

—animals, plants, natural forces, even Brother Sun and Sister Moon—to give honour and praise to the Lord. The poor man of Assisi gives us striking witness that when we are at peace with God we are better able to devote ourselves to building up that peace with all creation which is inseparable from peace among all peoples.

It is my hope that the inspiration of Saint Francis will help us to keep ever alive a sense of “fraternity” with all those good and beautiful things which Almighty God has created. And may he remind us of our serious obligation to respect and watch over them with care, in light of that greater and higher fraternity that exists within the human family.

From the Vatican, 8 December 1989.

Joannes Paulus II



Rice Minister
C.D.P.
12/xii

④

54 PARKSIDE
LONDON, SW19 5NF

TELEPHONE: 01-946 1410

APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE

Ref: N. 4024

9th December 1988

Dear Prime Minister,

MB

R10

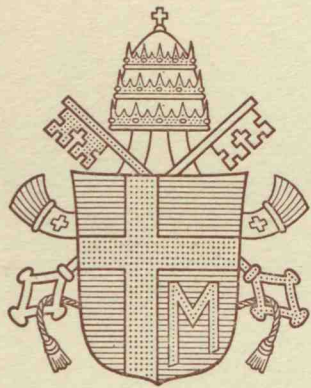
I have the honour to forward to you, at the request of the Secretariat of State of His Holiness Pope John Paul II, the enclosed copy of his annual Message for the World Day of Peace, to be celebrated on January 1st.

The theme is "To Build Peace, Respect Minorities" and while calling for respect for minorities the Message strongly condemns every use of violence by terrorist groups who claim the right to speak on behalf of the minorities. A passionate claim to end the killing of innocent people and to halt bloody reprisals so that the rights of the minorities may be truly evaluated forms a major part of the text. The Holy Father concludes his appeal by recommending reconciliation according to justice and the elimination of any form of discrimination which so often is the basis of resentment on the part of minorities.

I take this opportunity to renew to you and to your family my kind regards and all good wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

Sincerely yours
Luigi Barbarito
Archbishop Luigi Barbarito,
Apostolic Pro-Nuncio.

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing St,
LONDON SW1A 2AA.



MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS
POPE JOHN PAUL II
FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE
WORLD DAY OF PEACE

1 JANUARY 1989

TO BUILD PEACE,
RESPECT MINORITIES

Introduction

1. “**F**rom the 19th century a certain political trend has spread and taken hold in all parts of the world according to which people of the same extraction wish to be independent and to set themselves up as a nation apart. But since, for various reasons, this cannot always be achieved, it follows that ethnic minorities are often included within the national borders of a different ethnic group, and this leads to quite complex problems” (Encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, III).

With these words, twenty-five years ago, my venerable predecessor Pope John XXIII pointed to one of the most delicate questions affecting contemporary society, a question which, with the passing of time, has become even more pressing since it is related to the organization of social and civil life within each country, as well as to the life of the international community.

It is for this reason that, in choosing a specific theme for the World Day of Peace, I think it appropriate to present for general reflection the problem of minorities. For we are all aware that, as the Second Vatican Council affirms, “peace is not merely the absence of war, nor can it be reduced solely to the maintenance of a balance of power between enemies” (*Gaudium et Spes*, 78).

Rather, peace is a dynamic process which must take account of the many conditions and factors that can either favour it or disturb it.

It is clear that at this time of increased international *détente* resulting from agreements and mediations which allow us to look forward to solutions in favour of peoples who have been the victims of bloody conflicts, the question of minorities is assuming a notable importance. Consequently, it constitutes a matter for careful reflection on the part of political and religious leaders and all men and women of good will.

2. As communities which take their origin from separate cultural traditions, racial and ethnic stock, religious beliefs, or historical experiences, minority groups exist in almost all societies today. Some go very far back in time, others are of recent origin. The situations in which they live are so diverse that it is almost impossible to draw up a complete picture of them. On the one hand there are groups, even very small ones, which are able to preserve and affirm their own identity and are well integrated within the societies to which they belong. In some cases, such minority groups even succeed in imposing their control on the majority in public life. On the other hand one sees minorities which exert no influence and do not fully enjoy their rights, but rather find themselves in situations of suffering and distress. This can lead them either to passive resignation or to unrest and even rebellion. Yet, neither passivity nor violence represents the proper path for creating conditions of true peace.

Some minority groups share another experience: that of separation or exclusion. While it is true that at times a group may deliberately choose to remain apart in order to protect its own way of life, it is more often true that

minorities are confronted by barriers that keep them apart from the rest of society. While in such a context the minority group tends to become closed within itself, the majority group may foster a feeling of rejection towards this group as a whole or towards its individual members. When this happens, the latter are no longer in a position actively and creatively to contribute to building a peace based on the acceptance of legitimate differences.

Fundamental principles

3. In a nation made up of various groups of people there are two general principles which can never be abrogated and which constitute the basis of all social organization.

The first of these principles is the inalienable dignity of every human person, irrespective of racial, ethnic, cultural or national origin, or religious belief. Individuals do not exist for themselves alone, but achieve their full identity in relation to others. The same can be said about groups of people. They indeed have a right to a collective identity that must be safeguarded, in accordance with the dignity of each member. Such a right remains intact even in cases in which the group, or one of its members, acts against the common good. In such situations, the alleged abuse must be addressed by the competent authorities, without the whole group being condemned, since that would be against justice. At the same time, the members of minority groups have the duty to treat others with the same respect and sense of dignity.

The second principle concerns the fundamental unity of the human race, which takes its origin from the one God, the Creator, who, in the language of Sacred Scripture, "made from one every nation of men to live on all

the face of the earth" (*Acts 17:26*). The unity of the human family requires that the whole of humanity, beyond its ethnic, national, cultural and religious differences, should form a community that is free of discrimination between peoples and that strives for reciprocal solidarity. Unity also requires that differences between the members of the human family should be used to strengthen unity, rather than serve as a cause of division.

The obligation to accept and defend diversity belongs not only to the State and to the groups themselves. Every individual, as a member of the one human family, ought to understand and respect the value of human diversity and direct it to the common good. A mind that is open and desirous of knowing better the cultural heritage of the minority groups with which it comes into contact will help to eliminate attitudes of prejudice which hinder healthy social relations. This is a process which has to be continuously fostered, since such attitudes tend to reappear time and again under new forms.

Peace within the one human family requires a constructive development of what distinguishes us as individuals and peoples, and of what constitutes our identity. Furthermore, on the part of all social groups, whether constituted as States or not, peace requires a readiness to contribute to the building of a peaceful world. The micro-community and the macro-community are bound by reciprocal rights and duties, the observance of which serves to consolidate peace.

Rights and duties of minorities

4. One of the objectives of a State ruled by law is that all its citizens may enjoy the same dignity and the same equality before the law. Nonetheless, the existence of

minorities as identifiable groups within a State raises the question of their specific rights and duties.

Many of these rights and duties have to do precisely with the relationship of minority groups to the State. In some cases, these rights have been codified and minorities enjoy specific legal protection. But not infrequently, even where the State guarantees such protection, minorities can suffer discrimination and exclusion. In these cases, the State itself has an obligation to promote and foster the rights of the minority groups, since peace and internal security can only be guaranteed through respect for the rights of all those for whom the State has responsibility.

5. The first right of minorities is the right to exist. This right can be ignored in many ways, including such extreme cases as its denial through overt or indirect forms of genocide. The right to life as such is inalienable, and the State which perpetrates or tolerates acts aimed at endangering the lives of its citizens belonging to minority groups violates the fundamental law governing the social order.

6. The right to exist can be undermined also in more subtle ways. Certain peoples, especially those identified as native or indigenous, have always maintained a special relationship to their land, a relationship connected with the group's very identity as a people having their own tribal, cultural and religious traditions. When such indigenous peoples are deprived of their land they lose a vital element of their way of life and actually run the risk of disappearing as a people.

7. Another right which must be safeguarded is the right of minorities to preserve and develop their own culture. It is not unheard of that minority groups are

threatened with cultural extinction. In some places, in fact, laws have been enacted which do not recognize their right to use their own language. At times people are forced to change their family and place names. Some minorities see their artistic and literary expressions ignored, with their festivals and celebrations given no place in public life. All this can lead to the loss of a notable cultural heritage. Closely connected with this right is the right to have contact with groups having a common cultural and historical heritage but living in the territory of another State.

8. Here I will make only a brief mention of the right to religious freedom, since this was the theme of my Message for last year's World Day of Peace. This right applies to all religious communities, as well as to individuals, and includes the free manifestation of religious beliefs, both individually and collectively. Consequently, religious minorities must be able to worship as a community, according to their own rites. They must also be in a position to provide religious education through appropriate teaching programmes and to utilize the necessary means to this end.

Moreover, it is very important that the State should effectively ensure and promote the observance of religious freedom, especially when, alongside the great majority who follow one religion, there exist one or more minority groups of another faith.

Finally, religious minorities must be guaranteed a legitimate freedom of exchange and contacts with other communities, both within and outside their own national borders.

9. Today, fundamental human rights are enshrined in many international and national declarations. However

essential these juridical instruments may be, they are still not enough to overcome deep-seated attitudes of prejudice and distrust, or to eliminate ways of thinking which lead to actions directed against minority groups. The translation of law into behaviour constitutes a long and slow process, especially with a view to eradicating such attitudes. This does not make the process any less urgent. Not only the State, but also each individual has the obligation to do everything possible to achieve this goal. The State, though, can play an important role by favouring the promotion of cultural initiatives and exchanges which aid mutual understanding, as well as educational programmes which help to train young people to respect others and reject all prejudices, many of which stem from ignorance. Parents too have a great responsibility, since children learn much from observation and tend to adopt their parents' attitudes towards other peoples and groups.

There is no doubt that the development of a culture based on respect for others is essential to the building of a peaceful society. But unfortunately the evidence today is that the effective exercise of this respect meets with considerable difficulties.

In practice, the State must be alert to prevent new forms of discrimination, as for example in access to housing or employment. In this respect the policies of public authorities are often laudably complemented by the generous initiatives of voluntary groups, religious organizations and people of good will, working to lower tensions and promote greater social justice by helping so many brothers and sisters to find work and decent housing.

10. Delicate problems arise when a minority group puts forward claims which have particular political

implications. A group may sometimes be seeking independence or at least greater political autonomy.

I wish to restate that, in such delicate circumstances, dialogue and negotiation are the obligatory path to peace. The willingness of parties involved to meet and talk to one another is the indispensable condition for reaching an equitable solution to the complex problems that can seriously obstruct peace. And a refusal to enter into dialogue can open the door to violence.

In some situations of conflict, terrorist groups unduly arrogate to themselves the exclusive right to speak in the name of a minority, depriving it of the possibility of freely and openly choosing its own representatives and of seeking a solution without intimidation. In addition, the members of such minority communities too often suffer from the acts of violence wrongfully committed in their name.

May those who follow the inhuman path of terrorism hear my voice: to strike blindly, kill innocent people or carry out bloody reprisals does not help a just evaluation of the claims advanced by the minorities for whom they claim to act! (cf. *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, 24).

11. Every right carries with it corresponding duties. Members of minority groups also have their own duties towards society and the State in which they live: in the first place, the duty to cooperate, like all citizens, for the common good. Minorities, in fact, must offer their own specific contribution to the building of a peaceful world that will reflect the rich diversity of all its inhabitants.

Secondly, a minority group has the duty to promote the freedom and dignity of each one of its members and to respect the decisions of each one, even if someone were to decide to adopt the majority culture.

In situations of real injustice it may be the duty of groups which have emigrated to other countries to demand respect for the legitimate rights of the members of their group who remain oppressed in their place of origin and who cannot themselves make their voice heard. In such cases great prudence and enlightened discernment must be exercised, especially when it is difficult to have objective information about the changing conditions of life of the people involved.

All members of minority groups, wherever they may be, must conscientiously judge the correctness of their claims in the light of historical developments and present reality. Not to do so would involve the risk of remaining prisoners of the past without prospects for the future.

Building peace

12. In the above reflections one can perceive the outline of a just and peaceful society, to the achievement of which all have a responsibility to contribute with every possible effort. Building this society requires a wholehearted commitment to eliminate not only evident discrimination but also all barriers that divide groups. Reconciliation according to justice and with respect for the legitimate aspirations of all sectors of the community must be the rule. Above all and in all, the patient effort to build a peaceful society finds strength and fulfilment in the love that embraces all peoples. Such a love can be expressed in countless concrete ways of serving the rich diversity of the human race, which is one in origin and destiny.

The increased awareness which is found today at every level regarding the situation of minority groups constitutes for our own times a hopeful sign for the

coming generations and for the aspirations of minority groups themselves. Indeed, in a sense, respect for minorities is to be considered the touchstone of social harmony and the index of the civic maturity attained by a country and its institutions. In a truly democratic society, to guarantee the participation of minorities in political life is a sign of a highly developed civilization, and it brings honour upon those nations in which all citizens are guaranteed a share in national life in a climate of true freedom.

13. Finally, I wish to address a special appeal to my brothers and sisters in Christ. Whatever our origin and wherever we live, all of us know through faith that in Christ "we all have access in one Spirit to the Father" for we have become "members of the household of God" (*Eph* 2:18, 19). As members of the one family of God we can tolerate no division or discrimination in our midst. When the Father sent his Son into the world he entrusted him with a mission of universal salvation. Jesus came that "all may have life and have it abundantly" (*Jn* 10:10). No person, no group is excluded from this mission of unifying love which has now been entrusted to us. We too must pray as Jesus did on the very eve of his death, with the simple and sublime words: "Father may they be one in us, as you are in me and I am in you" (*Jn* 17:21).

This prayer must be our life's work, our witness, since as Christians we acknowledge that we have a common Father who makes no distinction of persons and "loves the sojourner, giving him food and clothing" (*Dt* 10:18).

14. When the Church speaks of discrimination in general or, as in this Message, of the particular discrimi-

ination that affects minority groups, she addresses her own members first of all, whatever their position or responsibility in society. Just as there can be no place for discrimination within the Church, so no Christian can knowingly foster or support structures and attitudes that unjustly divide individuals or groups. This same teaching must be applied to those who have recourse to violence or support it.

15. In closing, I would like to express my spiritual closeness to those members of minority groups who are suffering. I know their moments of pain and their reasons for legitimate pride. My prayer is that their trials may soon cease and that all may be secure in the enjoyment of their rights. I in turn ask for prayers, that the peace we seek may be an ever more genuine peace, built on the "cornerstone" which is Christ himself (cf. *Eph* 2:20-22).

May God bless everyone with the gift of his peace and his love!

From the Vatican, 8 December 1988.

Joannes Paulus II

From: D J M Dain
Western European Department

Date: 4 November 1987

cc: PS
Sir J Fretwell
Mr Ratford
Miss Pestell
News Department
Protocol Department
Research Department
PS/No 10

PS/Mrs Chalker

BEATIFICATION OF 85 BRITISH CATHOLICS

1. The Minister and copy recipients will wish to be aware that on 22 November the Pope will beatify (one step short of sainthood) 85 Catholics executed in England and Wales in the 16th and 17th centuries. The candidates, all male, were priests and laymen who adhered to their faith in defiance of the prohibition existing against it. The position of Catholics in that period was complicated by the existence of a Papal Bull or decree, "Regnans in Excelsis" (1570) which declared Queen Elizabeth I excommunicated and deposed, and released her subjects from allegiance to the Crown. It also excommunicated anyone who did not act in accordance with it.

2. The beatification of 40 English martyrs in 1970 ruffled some feathers in Anglican circles. Ecumenism was in its infancy. The exaltation of Catholics executed by a Protestant monarch, while omitting any balancing reference to Protestants (including an Archbishop of Canterbury) executed by a Catholic monarch, was considered by some to be unnecessary and offensive. 1970 was also, as it happened, the 400th anniversary of "Regnans in Excelsis".

3. Matters have improved since then. Diplomatic relations with the Holy See have been upgraded and are untroubled. Church relations too are better. Joint 'ecumenical' statements will be issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster in connection with the beatification, referring to both Catholic and Protestant martyrs. Dr Runcie's statement will express the hope that the ceremony would "prompt all Christians ... to pursue the path of reconciliation and reunion with greater understanding and effectiveness. Nonetheless, some delicacy still exists, especially since "Regnans in Excelsis" has never formally been revoked.

4. We propose that British representation at the ceremony, as in 1970, will be by the Ambassador to the Holy See. No invitation has been extended to (or sought by) the Royal Family or Ministers. The Duke of Norfolk, as the senior British Catholic layman, will attend in a private capacity. The Bishop of Birmingham will represent the Archbishop of Canterbury at Cardinal Hume's invitation and is a joint Chairman of the Anglican - Roman Catholic Independent Commission (ARCIC) HM Ambassador will host a reception for British VIPS.



5. So far, there has been little, if any, publicity for the event, and no advance comment. In answer to enquiries, News Department will draw on para 4, but without commenting on whether invitations were sought by British Ministers of the Royal Family.

6. Protocol Department may wish to draw this submission to the attention of Buckingham Palace.

D J M Dain

cc: PG ②



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 January 1987

Prime Minister

no

Dear Charles,

Its most unlikely. CDP 29/1

Possible Papal Visit to the Falklands

The Prime Minister may wish to be aware that there is an outside possibility of the Pope paying a short visit to the Falkland Islands in April. The proposal appears to be the idea of the newly-appointed Prefect Apostolic in Stanley, Msgr. Agreiter, who earlier this month asked the Governor whether the Pope might stop over for a few hours during his forthcoming tour of Uruguay, Chile and Argentina. The Governor gave a very cautious welcome to the idea. Mr Lane, our Ambassador to the Holy See, has since pointed out that time is too short for there to be any serious possibility of the Pope's visiting the Falklands but recommended that, in the unlikely event of an approach by the Holy See, we should be encouraging.

Provided he had no ambitions to promote negotiations on sovereignty, we believe a visit by the Pope would be in our interests. It would amount to implicit recognition of Britain's right to administer the Falklands and confer a seal of approval on that administration. The visit would of course require sensitive and detailed preparation but the Islanders, once they understood the advantages to be gained from a Papal visit, could be expected to acquiesce.

The problems are really for the Argentines. They would oppose the visit for all the reasons we would welcome it. It is indeed difficult to believe that the Pope would risk alienating Argentine and Latin American opinion in general by taking action that favoured the British position on the Falkland Islands. But even though a visit to the Falkland Islands is most unlikely, that should not prevent us from making clear to the Vatican that we for our part are willing.

/Accordingly

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Accordingly, we are instructing Mr Lane to make enquiries of the Vatican about the likelihood of a visit, making clear that we will be very ready to help with the necessary arrangements.

Yours ever

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'R N Culshaw', with a flourish at the end.

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing St

CONFIDENTIAL

sp uc

17 December 1986

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for sending her a copy of His Holiness the Pope's Message for the XXth World Day of Peace.

(CHARLES POWELL)

His Excellency the Most Reverend
Monsigneur Luigi Barbarito

BM'



APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE

R16/12

54 PARKSIDE
LONDON, SW19 5NF

TELEPHONE: 01-946 1410

Ref: N.0926

13th December 1986

Your Prime Minister,

I have the honour to forward to you, at the request of His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, the enclosed copy of the Holy Father's Message for the XXth World Day of Peace, to be observed on 1st January next.

The theme chosen, DEVELOPMENT AND SOLIDARITY: THE KEYS TO PEACE, urges us to a common effort, made in the light of our experience both positive and negative, for the integral development of the human person, as well as for the economic, cultural and spiritual development of all nations and societies.

This Message was published in Rome on Thursday, 11th December, and so is no longer under embargo.

With thanks for your kind attention and with all good wishes,

Sincerely yours
Luigi Barbarito

Archbishop Luigi Barbarito,
Apostolic Pro-Nuncio.

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
LONDON SW1A 1AA.

Encl.



MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS
POPE JOHN PAUL II

FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE
WORLD DAY OF PEACE

1 JANUARY 1987

DEVELOPMENT AND SOLIDARITY:
TWO KEYS TO PEACE

1. *An Appeal to All ...*

My predecessor Pope Paul VI issued an appeal to all people of good will to celebrate a World Day of Peace on the first day of each civil year, as both a hope and promise that peace “would dominate the development of events to come” (AAS 59, 1967, p. 1098). Twenty years later, I repeat this appeal, addressing myself to every member of the human family. I invite you to join with me in reflecting on peace and in celebrating peace. To celebrate peace in the midst of difficulties—such as those of today—is to *proclaim our trust* in humanity.

Because of this trust, I address my appeal to everyone, confident that together we can learn to celebrate peace as the universal desire of all peoples everywhere. All of us who share that desire can thus become one in our thoughts and in our efforts to make peace a goal that can be attained by all for all.

The theme I have chosen for this year’s Message takes its inspiration from that deep truth about humanity: *we are one human family*. By simply being born into this world, we are of one inheritance and one stock with every other human being. This oneness expresses itself in all the richness and diversity of the human family: in different races, cultures, languages and histories. And we are called to recognize the *basic*

solidarity of the human family as the fundamental condition of our life together on this earth.

1987 also marks the twentieth anniversary of the publication of *Populorum Progressio*. This celebrated Encyclical of Paul VI was a solemn appeal for concerted action in favour of the integral development of peoples (cf. *Populorum Progressio*, 5). Paul VI's phrase—"Development is the new name for peace" (*ibid.*, 76, 87)—specifies one of the keys in our search for peace. Can true peace exist when men, women and children cannot live in full human dignity? Can there be a lasting peace in a world ruled by relations—social, economic and political—that favour one group or nation at the expense of another? Can genuine peace be established without an effective recognition of that wonderful truth that we are all equal in dignity, equal because we have been formed in the image of God who is our Father?

2. ... to Reflect on Solidarity ...

This Message for the Twentieth World Day of Peace is closely linked to the Message I addressed to the world last year on the theme *North-South, East-West: Only One Peace*. In that Message, I said: "... the unity of the human family has very real repercussions for our life and for our commitment to peace ... It means that we commit ourselves to a *new solidarity*, the solidarity of the human family ... a *new relationship*, the *social solidarity of all*" (No. 4).

To recognize the social solidarity of the human family brings with it the responsibility to build on what makes us one. This means promoting effectively and without exception the equal dignity of all as human

beings endowed with certain fundamental and inalienable human rights. This touches all aspects of our individual life, as well as our life in the family, in the community in which we live, and in the world. Once we truly grasp that we are *brothers and sisters in a common humanity*, then we can shape our attitudes towards life in the light of the solidarity which makes us one. This is especially true in all that relates to the basic universal project: *peace*.

In the lifetime of all of us, there have been moments and events that have bound us together in a conscious recognition of the oneness of humanity. From the time that we were first able to see pictures of the world from space, a perceptible change has taken place in our understanding of our planet and of its immense beauty and fragility. Helped by the accomplishments of space exploration, we found that the expression "the common heritage of all mankind" has taken on a new meaning from that date. The more we share in the artistic and cultural riches of one another, the more we discover our common humanity. Young people especially have deepened their sense of oneness through regional and worldwide sports events and similar activities, deepening their bonds of brotherhood and sisterhood.

3. ... as Put into Practice ...

At the same time, how often in recent years have we had occasion to reach out as brothers and sisters to help those struck by natural disaster or subjected to war and famine. We are witnessing a growing collective desire—across political, geographical or ideological boundaries—to help the less fortunate members of the

human family. The suffering, still so tragic and protracted, of our brothers and sisters in Sub-Saharan Africa is giving rise to forms and concrete expressions of this solidarity of human beings everywhere. Two of the reasons why I was pleased in 1986 to confer the Pope John XXIII International Peace Prize on the Catholic Office for Emergency Relief and Refugees (COERR) of Thailand were first, to be able to call the attention of the world to the continuing plight of those who are forced from their homelands; and secondly to highlight the spirit of cooperation and collaboration that so many groups—Catholic and otherwise—have displayed in responding to the need of these sorely tried homeless people. Yes, the human spirit can and does respond with great generosity to the suffering of others. In these responses we can find a growing realization of the social solidarity that proclaims in word and deed that we are one, that we must recognize that oneness, and that it is an essential element for the common good of all individuals and nations.

These examples illustrate that we can and do cooperate in many ways, and that we can and do work together to advance the common good. However, we must do more. We need to adopt a basic attitude towards humanity and the relationships we have with every person and every group in the world. Here we can begin to see how the commitment to the solidarity of the whole human family is a key to peace. Projects that foster the good of humanity or good will among peoples are one step in the realization of solidarity. The bond of sympathy and charity that compels us to help those who suffer brings our oneness to the fore in another way. But the underlying challenge to all of us is to adopt an

attitude of social solidarity with the whole human family and to face all social and political situations with this attitude.

Thus, for example, the United Nations Organization has designated 1987 as the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. By so doing it is calling attention to a matter of great concern, and supporting an attitude of solidarity—human, political and economic—towards millions of families deprived of the environment essential for proper family life.

4. ... and as Obstructed

Examples unfortunately abound of obstacles to solidarity, of political and ideological positions which do in fact affect the achievement of solidarity. These are positions or policies that ignore or deny the fundamental equality and dignity of the human person. Among these, I am thinking in particular of:

— *a xenophobia* that closes nations in on themselves or which leads governments to enact discriminatory laws against people in their own countries;

— *the closing of borders* in an arbitrary and unjustifiable way so that people are effectively deprived of the ability to move and to better their lot, to be reunited with their loved ones, or simply to visit their family or reach out in care and understanding to others;

— *ideologies* that preach hatred or distrust, systems that set up artificial barriers. Racial hatred, religious intolerance, class divisions are all too present in many societies, both openly and covertly. When political leaders erect such divisions into internal systems or into

policies regarding relationships with other nations, then these prejudices strike at the core of human dignity. They become a powerful source of counteractions that further foster division, enmity, repression and warfare. Another evil, which in this past year brought so much suffering to people and havoc to society, is terrorism.

To all of these, *effective solidarity* offers an antidote. For if the essential note of solidarity is to be found in the radical equality of all men and women, then any and every policy that contradicts the basic dignity and human rights of any person or group of persons is a policy that is to be rejected. On the contrary, policies and programmes that build open and honest relationships among peoples, that forge just alliances, that unite people in honourable cooperation, are to be fostered. Such initiatives do not ignore the real linguistic, racial, religious, social or cultural differences among peoples; nor do they deny the great difficulties in overcoming long-standing divisions and injustice. But they do give pride of place to the elements that unite, however small they may appear to be.

This spirit of solidarity is a spirit that is open to dialogue. It finds its roots in truth, and needs truth to develop. It is a spirit that seeks to build up rather than to destroy, to unite rather than to divide. Since solidarity is universal in its aspiration, it can take many forms. Regional agreements to promote the common good and encourage bilateral negotiations can serve to lessen tensions. The sharing of technology or information to avert disasters or to improve the quality of life of people in a particular area will contribute to solidarity and facilitate further measures on a wider level.

5. To Reflect on Development ...

Perhaps in no other sector of human endeavour is there greater need of social solidarity than *in the area of development*. Much of what Paul VI said twenty years ago in his now celebrated Encyclical is especially applicable today. He saw with great clarity that the social question had become worldwide (cf. *Populorum Progressio*, 3). He was among the first to call attention to the fact that economic progress in itself is insufficient, that it demands social progress (cf. *ibid.*, 35). Above all, he insisted that development must be integral, that is, the development of every person and of the whole person (cf. *ibid.*, 14-21). This was, for him, a complete humanism: the fully-rounded development of the person in all his or her dimensions and open to the Absolute, which "gives human life its true meaning" (*ibid.*, 42). Such a humanism is the common goal that must be sought for everyone. "There can be no progress towards the complete development of man", he said, "without the simultaneous development of all humanity in the spirit of solidarity" (*ibid.*, 43).

Now, twenty years later, I wish to pay tribute to this teaching of Paul VI. In the changed circumstances of today, these profound insights, especially regarding the importance of a spirit of solidarity for development, are still valid and shed great light on new challenges.

6. ... and its Applications Today

When we reflect on commitment to solidarity in the field of development, the first and most basic truth is that *development is a question of people*. People are the

subjects of true development, and the *aim* of true development is people. The integral development of people is the goal and measure of all development projects. That all people are at the centre of development is a consequence of the oneness of the human family; and this is irrespective of any technological or scientific discoveries that the future may hold. People must be the focus of all that is done to improve the conditions of life. People must be active agents, not passive recipients, in any true development process.

Another principle of development as it relates to solidarity is the need to *promote values that truly benefit individuals and society*. It is not enough to reach out and help those in need. We must help them to discover the values which enable them to build a new life and to take their rightful place in society with dignity and justice. All people have the right to pursue and attain what is good and true. All have the right to choose those things that enhance life, and life in society is by no means morally neutral. Social choices have consequences that either promote or debase the true good of the person in society.

In the field of development, and especially of development assistance, programmes have been offered which claim to be "value free" but which in fact are countervalues to life. When one considers government programmes or aid packages that virtually force communities or countries to accept contraception programmes and abortion schemes as the price of economic growth, then one has to say clearly and forcefully that these offers violate the solidarity of the human family because they deny the values of human dignity and human freedom.

What is true of personal development through the choice of values that enhance life applies also to the development of society. Whatever impedes true freedom militates against the development of society and of social institutions. Exploitation, threats, forced subjection, denials of opportunities by one sector of society to another are unacceptable and contradict the very notion of human solidarity. Such activities, both within a society and among nations, may unfortunately seem successful for a while. However, the longer such conditions exist, the more likely they are to be the cause of still further repression and increasing violence. The seeds of destruction are already sown in institutionalized injustice. To deny the means of achieving development to any sector of a given society or to any nation can only lead to insecurity and social unrest. It breeds hatred and division and destroys the hope for peace.

The solidarity that fosters integral development is that which *protects and defends the legitimate freedom of every person and the rightful security of every nation*. Without this freedom and security, the very conditions for development are missing. Not only individuals but also nations must be able to share in the choices which affect them. The freedom that nations must have to ensure their growth and development as equal partners in the family of nations is dependent on reciprocal respect among them. Seeking economic, military or political superiority at the expense of the rights of other nations places in jeopardy any prospects for *true development or true peace*.

7. *Solidarity and Development:
Two Keys to Peace*

For these reasons, I have proposed that we reflect this year on *solidarity* and *development* as *keys to peace*. Each of these realities has its own specific meaning. Both are necessary for the goals we seek. *Solidarity is ethical* in nature because it involves an *affirmation of value* about humanity. For this reason, its implications for human life on this planet and for international relations are also ethical: our common bonds of humanity demand that we live in harmony and that we promote what is good for one another. These ethical implications are the reason why *solidarity is a basic key to peace*.

In this same light, *development* takes on its full meaning. It is no longer a question merely of improving certain situations or economic conditions. Development ultimately becomes a question of *peace*, because it helps to achieve what is good for others and for the human community as a whole.

In the context of true solidarity, there is no danger of exploitation or the misuse of development programmes for the benefit of the few. Rather, development thus becomes a process involving different members of the same human family and enriching them all. As solidarity gives us the ethical basis to act upon, development becomes the offer that brother makes to brother, so that both can live more fully in all the diversity and complementarity that are the hallmarks of human civilization. Out of this dynamic comes the harmonious "tranquillity of order" which is true peace. Yes, solidarity and development are two keys to peace.

8. *Some Modern Problems ...*

Many of the problems that face the world in this beginning of 1987 are indeed complex, and seem almost insoluble. Yet, if we believe in the oneness of the human family, if we insist that peace is possible, our common reflection on solidarity and development as keys to peace can shed much light on these critical issues.

Certainly the continuing problem of the *external debt* of many of the developing countries could be looked at with new eyes if everyone concerned would consciously include these ethical considerations in the evaluations made and the solutions proposed. Many aspects of this issue—protectionism, prices of raw materials, priorities in investment, respect for obligations contracted as well as consideration of the internal condition of the debtor countries—would benefit from seeking *in solidarity* those solutions that promote stable development.

With reference to *science and technology*, new and powerful divisions are appearing between the technological haves and have-nots. Such inequalities do not promote peace and harmonious development, but rather compound already existing situations of inequality. If people are the subject of development and the goal to which it tends, a more open sharing of applicable technological advances with less technologically advanced countries becomes an ethical imperative of solidarity, as does a refusal to make of such countries the testing area for doubtful experiments or a dumping ground for questionable products. International agencies and various States are making notable efforts in these fields. Such efforts are an important contribution to peace.

Recent contributions on the relationship between *disarmament and development*—two of the most crucial problems facing the world today—point to the fact that current East-West tensions and North-South inequalities *present serious threats to world peace*. It is becoming increasingly clear that a peaceful world, one in which the security of peoples and of States is ensured, calls for active solidarity in efforts for both development and disarmament. All States are inevitably affected by the poverty of other States; all States inevitably suffer from the lack of results in disarmament negotiations. Nor can we forget the so-called local wars that take a heavy toll of human life. All States have responsibility for world peace and this peace cannot be ensured until a security based on arms is gradually replaced with a *security based on the solidarity of the human family*. Once again, I appeal for further efforts to reduce arms to the minimum necessary for legitimate defence, and for increased measures to aid the developing countries to become self-reliant. Only thus can the community of States live in true solidarity.

There is yet another threat to peace, one that throughout the world saps the very roots of every society: *the breakdown of the family*. The family is the basic cell of society. The family is the first place where development occurs or does not occur. If it is healthy and wholesome, then the possibilities for the integral development of the whole of society are great. Too often, however, this is not the case.

In too many societies, the family has become a secondary element. It is relativized by various forms of interference and it often fails to find in the State the protection and support that it needs. Not infrequently it is de-

prived of the just means to which it has a right so that it can grow and provide an atmosphere where its members can flourish. The phenomena of broken families, of family members forced to separate for survival, or unable even to find shelter to begin or to maintain themselves as families, are all signs of moral underdevelopment and of a society that has confused its values. A basic measure of the health of a people or nation is the importance it gives to conditions for the development of families. Conditions that are beneficial to families promote the harmony of the society and nation, and this in turn fosters peace at home and in the world.

Today we see the frightening spectre of young children who are abandoned or forced into the marketplace. We find children and young people in shanty towns and in large impersonal cities where they find meagre sustenance and little or no hope for the future. The breakdown of the family structure, the dispersal of its members, especially the very young, and the consequent ills visited upon them—drug abuse, alcoholism, transient and meaningless sexual relations, exploitation by others—all are countersigns to the development of the whole person that is fostered through the social solidarity of the human family. To look into the eyes of another person and to see the hopes and anxieties of a brother or sister is to discover the meaning of solidarity.

9. ... that Challenge Us All

Peace is at stake: civil peace within nations and world peace among States (cf. *Populorum Progressio*, 55). Paul VI saw this clearly twenty years ago. He saw

the intrinsic connection between the demands of justice in the world and the possibility of peace for the world. It is no mere coincidence that the very year of the publication of *Populorum Progressio* also marked the institution of the annual World Day of Peace, an initiative which I was glad to continue.

Paul VI already expressed the heart of this year's reflection on solidarity and development as keys to peace when he stated: "Peace cannot be limited to a mere absence of war, the result of an ever precarious balance of forces. No, peace is something that is built up day after day in pursuit of an order intended by God, which implies a more perfect form of justice among people" (*ibid.*, 76).

10. *The Commitment of Believers and Especially Christians*

All of us who believe in God are convinced that this harmonious order for which all peoples long cannot come about solely through human efforts, indispensable though they be. This peace—personal peace and peace for others—must at the same time be sought in prayer and meditation. In saying this, I have before my eyes and in my heart the deep experience of the recent World Day of Prayer for Peace in Assisi. Religious leaders and representatives of the Christian Churches and Ecclesial Communities and the World Religions gave living expression to solidarity in prayer and meditation for peace. It was a visible commitment on the part of every participant—and of the many others who joined with us in spirit—to seek peace, to be peacemakers, to do everything possible, in the deep solidarity of the

spirit—to work for a society in which justice will flourish and peace abound (cf. *Ps* 72:7).

The Just Ruler whose description the Psalmist sets before us is one who deals out justice to the poor and suffering. "He has pity on the weak and the needy, and saves the lives of the needy. From oppression and violence he redeems their life ..." (vv. 13-14). These words are before our eyes today as we pray that the longing for peace which marked the meeting in Assisi may be the moving force for all believers and in a special way for Christians.

For Christians can discern in these inspired words of the Psalms the figure of our Lord Jesus Christ, the One who brought his peace to the world, the One who healed the wounded and afflicted, announced good news to the poor and set at liberty those who were oppressed (cf. *Lk* 4:18). Jesus Christ is the One whom we call "our peace", and who "has broken down the dividing wall of hostility" (*Eph* 2:14), in order to *make peace*. Yes. Precisely this wish to make peace, seen at the Assisi meeting, also encourages us to give some thought to the manner of celebrating this World Day in the future.

We too are called to be like Christ, to be peacemakers through reconciliation, to be cooperators with him in the task of bringing peace to this earth by furthering the cause of justice for all peoples and nations. And we must never forget those words of his which summarize every perfect expression of human solidarity: "Treat others the way you would have them treat you" (*Mt* 7:12). When this commandment is broken, Christians should realize that they are causing a division and committing a sin. This sin has serious effects on the com-

munity of believers and on the whole of society. It offends God himself, who is the creator of life and the one who keeps it in being.

The grace and wisdom that Jesus shows even from the time of his hidden life in Nazareth with Mary and Joseph (cf. *Lk* 2:51f) is a model for our own relations with one another in the family, in our nations, in the world. The service of others through word and deed that marks the public life of Jesus is a reminder to us that the solidarity of the human family has been radically deepened. It has been given a transcendent aim that ennobles all our human efforts for justice and peace. Finally, the ultimate act of solidarity that the world has known—the death of Jesus Christ on the Cross for all—opens up to us Christians the way we are to follow. If our work for peace is to be fully effective, it must share in the transforming power of Christ, whose death gives life to all people born into this world, and whose triumph over death is the final guarantee that the justice which solidarity and development require will lead to lasting peace.

May the acceptance that Christians give to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord direct all their efforts. May their prayers sustain them in their commitment to the cause of peace through the development of peoples in the spirit of social solidarity.

11. *Final Appeal*

And so together we begin another year: 1987. May it be a year in which humanity finally puts aside the divisions of the past, a year in which people seek peace with all their heart. My hope is that this Message may be

an occasion for each one to deepen his or her commitment to the oneness of the human family in solidarity. May it be a spur encouraging us all to seek the true good of all our brothers and sisters in an integral development that fosters all values of the human person in society.

At the beginning of this Message I explained that the theme of solidarity impelled me to address this to everyone, to every man and woman in this world. I now repeat this call to every one of you, but I wish to make a special appeal in the following way:

— to all of you, Government leaders and those responsible for international agencies: in order to ensure peace I appeal to you to redouble your efforts for the integral development of individuals and nations;

— to all of you who participated in the World Day of Prayer for Peace in Assisi or who were joined spiritually with us at that time: I appeal to you that we may bear witness together to peace in the world;

— to all of you who travel or who are involved in cultural exchanges: I appeal to you to be conscious instruments of greater mutual understanding, respect and esteem;

— to you, my younger brothers and sisters, the youth of the world: I appeal to you to use every means to forge new bonds of peace in fraternal solidarity with young people everywhere.

And dare I hope to be heard by those who practise violence and terrorism? Those of you who will at least listen to my voice, I beg you again, as I have in the past, to turn away from the violent pursuit of your goals—even if the goals themselves are just. I beg you to

turn away from killing and harming the innocent. I beg you to stop undermining the very fabric of society. The way of violence cannot obtain true justice for you or for anyone else. If you want, you can still change. You can profess your own humanity and recognize human solidarity.

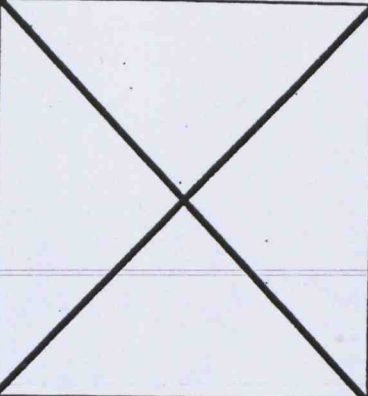
I appeal to all of you, wherever you are, whatever you are doing, to see the face of a brother or sister in every human being. What unites us is so much more than what separates and divides us: it is our common humanity.

Peace is always a gift of God, yet it depends on us too. And the keys to peace are within our grasp. It is up to us to use them to unlock all the doors!

From the Vatican, 8 December 1986.

Joannes Paulus PP. II

A The National Archives

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
VIENNA.

12 September, 1983

PERSONAL

Prime Minister

A.J.C. - ^{14.}/₉

A J Coles Esq
No 10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

ms

Dear John,

PAPAL VISIT TO AUSTRIA

I had a couple of minutes conversation with the Pope at the reception he gave here last night for the Diplomatic Corps. In the course of our talk His Holiness asked me to convey his warmest good wishes to the Prime Minister and to say how much he admired her and her achievements: "a great woman".

He spoke with similar warmth of Her Majesty The Queen and made the same request. I have written accordingly to Philip Moore.

Yours ever

Richard.

(M O'D B Alexander)

=



Mgr Bruno Heim at work in his study on a new heraldic design.

Heralding a bit of fun at St James's

By Our Religious Affairs Correspondent

The new Apostolic Pronuncio to the Court of St James's is to be, as everybody expected, the Most Rev Bruno Heim. He has been representing the Holy See's interests in London since 1973, officially, that is. Unofficially he has been conducting himself in the manner shown in our picture. He is one of the world's leading experts on the art of heraldry.

"Heraldry should also be fun", is one of his *bon mots*. He once drew a unicorn standing on its head, a variation within the precise rules of this esoteric art form, and every now and again one of his heraldic lions turns up with a wicked grin on its face.

What you can do and what you cannot do belong to the mysteries of the craft, as every coat of arms must have the essential elements correctly presented. Within those limits, however, the artist is free to be witty, ironic, and as stylish as he likes. And it helps to be a diplomat living in London, the best place in the world, Mgr Heim says, to pursue such an interest.

It is a perfect coincidence of person, job and place. His position as the Pope's man in Britain inevitably brings to his

dinner table an enormous range of the great and the famous, royalty, aristocracy, statesmen, prelates — we caught him in the act of adding tiny touches to the arms of Lord Ramsey of Canterbury — and he invites his guests to provide him with a copy of whatever heraldic emblem the family possesses.

The finished Heim version is then offered for signature, and he has an extraordinary collection of arms and signatures.

Lord Carrington, Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, the Duke of Norfolk, Prince and Princess Michael of Kent, obscure counts from obscure parts of Europe... even humble armless politicians such as Mrs Margaret Thatcher have come under his pencil and brush. (For her he drew a slightly unheraldic sword smashing the hammer and sickle to smithereens.)

He designed the present Pope's coat of arms, and had some artistic scruples when the Pope insisted on the letter "M" in one of the quarters, as it was not quite in the best traditions of heraldry. The Pope is of course Polish, and "M", equally of course therefore, stands for Mary.

In theory he represents the Pope, not the Vatican, not even the Roman Catholic Church, and not the Pope in all aspects of the papacy either.

The Holy See is a strange, almost metaphysical international entity, and its claim to be represented in the courts of world diplomacy may have something to do with the fact that the Holy See started it, back in the Middle Ages, when papal legates first travelled to the four corners of the Christian world. It is a tradition almost as old as heraldry, therefore.

And as the Holy See nowadays disclaims any vested interest in political matters of any kind, the diplomacy practised by Mgr Heim is the purest form of the art. His brief is merely to listen, to report, and when asked, to explain. There is nothing in the rule book about drawing the coat of arms of the person being listened to, or building mutual friendships with smiling lions rampant.

The new Pronuncio is due to be received by the Queen to present his letters of credence next week.



Mgr Bruno Heim at work in his study on a new heraldic design.

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PRIME MINISTER

original in Vatican.
Pope's Visit, Pt 2

2

The Pope's Visit and UK/Vatican Relations

The Pope will be here at the end of May. Last month's announcement of the upgrading of our diplomatic relations with the Vatican has triggered off some of the disquiet about the visit which has been lying not far below the surface. This has taken a number of forms; the leaders of the Free Churches wrote to the Foreign Secretary to protest about the decision (and the lack of consultation with them), arguing that what was described as a pastoral visit was beginning to take on political proportions. There were some Questions in the House, and there have been quite a number of letters of protest to you and the Foreign Secretary from individuals and from the various Protestant societies. Given the Government's stance that the upgrading was a diplomatic step, without constitutional and ecclesiastical implications, we have been asking the FCO to handle all of these. I am, however, submitting separately a letter to you from Mr Michael Morris MP, who says that several of his constituents have protested to him about the visit.

Lord Carrington has assured the Free Church leaders that the upgrading was an exclusively diplomatic matter, which the Government do not regard as having any religious significance at all. He said that his consultations had been confined to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Moderator of the Church of Scotland in recognition of the special position of the two established Churches.

You may have seen that the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Hume, both obviously worried by the way things have been going, have

/been speaking

been speaking this week to try to allay some of the anxiety and to improve the atmosphere for the visit.

Much of this protest was to be expected. It has to be acknowledged that the Government's attempt to disassociate the upgrading from the visit did not wholly succeed. Some of the protesters, however, have simply been using the upgrading as a pretext for their dislike, often bigoted, of the Papacy. The ecumenical side of the visit does not look very promising, with the Free Churches restless and feeling threatened. Enthusiasm in the Church of England is limited to the Anglo-Catholic wing, although the Archbishop of Canterbury told me this week that he is reasonably happy with the agreed arrangements for the Pope's visit to Canterbury on Saturday 29 May. He said that he would be writing to invite you to Canterbury for the service - Mr Whitmore doubts whether you should go, but you may think that one senior Minister ought to be there for the Government.

I think this would be unwise

I am not well placed to judge how far the Catholics are looking forward to the visit. Quite a lot of them seem to have reservations, but no doubt they will turn out in force and affection when the time comes.

Mr Coles and I do not think there is any scope or need for the Government to change its stance towards the visit; the need to balance courtesy and warmth with caution not to be too forthcoming has not changed. Hopefully, the immediate flurry of protest caused by the upgrading will soon die down; and one can only hope that the

/Pope and

Pope and his officials will be sensitive about his visit to a country which, for them, has a very unusual Church history both past and present.

CVP

Prime Minister.

It is precisely because of the need to maintain the balance which Mr. Pakenham talks of in his last paragraph above that I have reservations about your going to Canterbury for the service there. You will of course be attending the reception at Archbishop's House later the same day and, in effect, having an audience with the Pope on that occasion. I am inclined to think that that is enough, given that the visit is a pastoral one.

John
19 Feb 82

19 February 1982

EXTRACT FROM THE TIMES, 25 JANUARY 1982



Small change for Pope's man

Mgr Bruno Heim, whose appointment in London has been raised from the non-diplomatic rank of Apostolic Delegate to the ambassadorial status of Pro-Nuncio, said yesterday: "This new appointment will not really make any difference to my life. I will be paid exactly the same amount, I will be doing the same job and attending the same functions. The only thing that changes is the title".

The Swiss-born Archbishop, who is 70 and, as Apostolic Delegate, has been the Pope's personal representative in London for eight years, said of his time in Britain: "I have enjoyed it very much here; in fact I have asked the Pope to leave me here and forget about me. Britain is a beautiful country

Of the diplomatic relationship between Britain and the Vatican, he said: "First and foremost, I am a priest rather than a diplomat. We have no military and commercial interests.



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Of the diplomatic relationship between Britain and the Vatican, he said: "First and foremost, I am a priest rather than a diplomat. We have no military and commercial interests.

Could Mr. Peterson
phase be kept
in touch with any
developments?

J.
12/11.

cc GVP (2)



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

January!
15 February 1982

Prime Minister

M. H.

Dear John,

UK Relations with the Holy See

Thank you for your letter of 11 January. In the light of the other favourable responses to the proposal to proceed with the upgrading of our relations, an announcement to this effect will be made at 1100 tomorrow, Saturday 16 January by an FCO spokesman on our side and Vatican Radio on the other. The Pope will himself break the news more privately at his annual New Year reception for the Diplomatic Corps tomorrow morning.

We are informing Buckingham Palace. We have also informed Lambeth Palace. The Archbishop of Canterbury had hoped that the announcement would be made while he was out of the country. He returns tonight: but his advisers have not queried the proposal to make the announcement tomorrow.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Halliday (Home Office), Stephen Boys-Smith (Northern Ireland Office) and Muir Russell (Scottish Office).

Yours ever,
Jia

(B J P Fall)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing St



NEW ST. ANDREWS HOUSE
ST. JAMES CENTRE
EDINBURGH EH1 3SX

CC CVP (2)

MF

Prime Minister

A.J.C. 13/7

CONFIDENTIAL

Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

p-a.

UK RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE

VM 14/1

Thank you for sending me a copy of your minute of 7 January to the Prime Minister about the need for early announcement of the upgrading of UK relations with the Holy See.

For my part, I agree that the sooner the decision is announced the better, since I think that it should precede the Pope's visit by as long as possible. The present Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (Dr Doig) has been notified in confidence of the impending announcement: his view is that even now it will be linked in people's minds with the Pope's visit, but he appreciates the difficulties of delaying the announcement further.

I am copying this minute to the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

G.Y.

12 January 1982

SCOTTISH OFFICE

13 JAN 1982

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Vatican
of CVP. (2)

Prime Minister

A.S.C. 12/1

Prime Minister

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UK RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary copied to me his minute of 7 January to you, which proposed that an announcement of the upgrading of diplomatic relations with the Holy See should be made before the Archbishop of Canterbury returns to the country on 16 January.

I have already given careful consideration to reactions in Northern Ireland. I am satisfied that the proposal is right in principle, and that the timing proposed is satisfactory - there are no advantages in delay and significant disadvantages in bringing the announcement closer to the Pope's visit.

I am sending a copy of this minute to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Home Secretary, Secretary of State for Scotland and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Handwritten signature

JP

J P

(Signed on behalf of the Secretary of State in his absence)

12 January 1982



12 JAN 1982





FILE

Vatican RM

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 January, 1981

UK Relations with the Holy See

The Prime Minister has seen the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's minute of 7 January. Subject to the views of the Home Secretary and the Secretaries of State for Northern Ireland and Scotland, she is content that Lord Carrington should proceed as he proposes but would wish Her Majesty The Queen to be informed a day or so before any announcement is made. May I take it that you will be in touch with the Palace.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Halliday (Home Office), Stephen Boys-Smith (Northern Ireland Office) and Muir Russell (Scottish Office).

A. J. COLES

B Fall, Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL



A. J. C. II
L.A.

PRIME MINISTER

UK RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE

TPM
The Foreign & Commonwealth Secretary sent me a copy of his minute of 7 January. I have no objection to an announcement of our decision to upgrade UK relations with the Holy See being made without further delay. I understand that the Foreign & Commonwealth Office are ensuring that The Queen's Private Secretary is aware of the timing of the announcement.

I am copying this minute to the Foreign & Commonwealth Secretary and to the Secretaries of State for Northern Ireland and for Scotland.

Wolw.

10 January 1982



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171 JAN 1982



PM/82/1

PRIME MINISTER

Agree, subject to view of
Home Secretary and Sol J for Northern
Ireland?

Yes - but please
let the Queen know a day or
so before.

A.S.C. 8/1

UK Relations with the Holy See

mt.

1. When Cabinet approved last October my recommendation that UK relations with the Holy See be upgraded it was agreed that I should consult you and certain of our colleagues to consider any last minute factors that might affect the timing of the announcement of the decision.
2. The Vatican was told on 7 December of HMG's wish to upgrade relations. We expected a reply in time to permit upgrading to be announced on or about 1 January, but despite pressing for an early decision we now understand that the Vatican reply is unlikely to be delivered before next week. There is, however, little doubt that the reply will be favourable.
3. The Archbishop of Canterbury initially reacted favourably to the proposal. However, when I notified him formally of the Cabinet decision, Dr Runcie expressed some concern over the timing. He said that there were some, inside and outside the Anglican community, who would be reluctant to make what they would regard as a concession to the Vatican until after certain problems which had arisen over the Pope's visit to this country had been ironed out and it had successfully taken place. (The difficulties over the Papal visit have now been largely overcome.) However, in discussion with me, Dr Runcie accepted that it would be difficult to delay action until after the Pope's visit and that matters might already have reached a point which made an early announcement necessary. Shortly after, he told us that he did not want to raise serious obstacles and

/that



that an announcement would present him with fewer problems if it were made during his current absence on a tour of the Far East. The Archbishop's people have told us that he does not now feel the need to make any comment about the upgrading when it happens, although he is likely to have to answer a question on the subject at the General Synod in February. He would answer on the lines that the upgrading was welcome in principle and that any slight qualification he might feel about the timing had no implications for his relationship with the Apostolic Delegate.

4. Dr Runcie returns from his Far East trip on 16 January. This leaves us very little time in which to arrange an announcement of the decision to upgrade before his return. On the assumption that we receive an affirmative reply from the Vatican, I should like to go ahead and make the announcement during the course of next week. The present moment is as good as any for doing this. Should we fail to grasp the nettle on this occasion, the upgrading will be increasingly linked to the Pope's visit, which is what we had hoped to avoid.

5. I very much hope, therefore, that you, and the Home Secretary and the Secretaries of State for Northern Ireland and Scotland to whom I am copying this minute, can agree to an announcement being made without further delay.

(CARRINGTON)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

7 January 1982

JAN 1982

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Vatran

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican

When Bishop Hook was here yesterday talking with Mr Whitmore and myself, we raised the subject of the Pope's visit. Bishop Hook said that the planning for this was proving pretty sticky as far as the Church of England was concerned, with Roman Catholic officials from Rome making difficulties about the visit to Canterbury - whereas Cardinal Hume was being extremely helpful. Mr Whitmore said that this was exactly the Government's experience with regard to the secular side of this visit.

Bishop Hook said that Lambeth were getting quite a lot of letters of complaint about the visit, although most of these so far seemed to be part of an organised lobby rather than spontaneous. But it was surprising how quickly anti-Papal feeling could be aroused, and things would not be made any easier by certain developments envisaged for January (by which he of course meant the up-grading of the Vatican's representative in this country). Bishop Hook seemed to regard this as inevitable, and spoke more in sorrow than in anger.

CYP.

11 December 1981

E.R.

ML Pyke

CVP. 9/12.

Thank you.

I must say I find the Home Office's representation of what are said to be the misgivings of the Archbishop and his advisers pretty vague and unconvincing. I agree with X's view.

MR WHITMORE

Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican

JWJ

9xii. 81.

You may be interested to see this exchange of letters between the FCO and the Home Office about the timing of an announcement of the up-grading of diplomats which the Cabinet agreed at the end of October.

I see from the file that our Minister at the Vatican has been instructed (telegram 4 December) to discuss this with the Vatican, and to say that an announcement in the New Year is envisaged.

The Home Office letter says that this timing is now considered inopportune by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Given the Cabinet decision, I doubt if the Foreign Secretary will be deflected from pressing for a January announcement, especially now that we have committed ourselves on the substance to the Vatican, and the Government will have to live with whatever level of dismay the announcement will cause to the Archbishop and to the Church of England. On that, I doubt whether the ordinary Anglican in the pew could care tuppence about the level of diplomatic representation between us and the Vatican. I suspect that the Church of England reservations described in the Home Office letter are more in the minds of some of the Archbishop's advisers than in his own, and derive from a feeling that it is always a mistake when dealing with the Roman Church to give the Vatican a substantial "concession" and get (as some Anglicans would see it) nothing in return.

x | It might be politic for the Foreign Secretary to have a personal word with the Archbishop again, but I would have thought that No.10 could leave the FCO and the Home Office to sort this out.

CVP

Colin Peterson Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1

COVERING

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With the Compliments

of

Mr G I de Deney

General Department
Home Office
Queen Anne's Gate
LONDON SW1H 9AT

Tel: 213 4006



CONFIDENTIAL

HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

8 December 1981

E A J Fergusson Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Government Offices
Great George Street
LONDON
SW1A 2AH

Dear Fergusson,

Following your letter of 4 November about the level of our relations with the Vatican, I wrote to Derek Pattinson at the General Synod and I have now received a reply. He has consulted Bishop Hook, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Chief of Staff, who in turn has consulted the Archbishop. The Archbishop's view is that to announce this decision early in the New Year as you were proposing would be inopportune. In reaching this conclusion I understand that the Archbishop and his advisers have in mind not only the difficult situation in Northern Ireland but also the continuing uncertainties about the arrangements for the Papal visit. They have recent evidence of unease about the visit and its implications which goes a good deal wider than those who are normally associated with the Protestant societies.

Derek Pattinson tells me that he has not taken his consultations any wider at this stage having regard to the need for confidentiality.

You will no doubt wish to take this view into account in considering the timing of any announcement. May I take it that, in the light of Derek Pattinson's response, you will also be in touch with Sir Philip Moore about the timing.

In view of his interest I am copying this letter and your earlier one to me to Colin Peterson at No 10.

Yours sincerely

Geoffrey de DENEY

(G I de DENEY)

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FM F C O 041627Z DEC 81

TO PRIORITY HOLY SEE

TELEGRAM NUMBER 16 OF 4 DEC

UK/HOLY SEE RELATIONS

1. IT HAS BEEN DECIDED THAT, SUBJECT TO THE VATICAN'S AGREEMENT (SEE BELOW) OUR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE SHOULD BE UP-GRADED. PLEASE CONVEY TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE AN INVITATION FROM HMG TO THE VATICAN TO PROMOTE THEIR DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE IN LONDON TO THE AMBASSADORIAL STATUS OF A PAPAL PRO-NUNCIO, TOGETHER WITH A PROPOSAL THAT HER MAJESTY'S LEGATION TO THE HOLY SEE BE SIMULTANEOUSLY RAISED TO THE STATUS OF AN EMBASSY. YOU SHOULD SAY THAT HMG BELIEVE THAT THE PRESENT LEVEL OF RELATIONS HAS BECOME AN ANOMALY AND HOPE THAT THE VATICAN WILL AGREE THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO RECTIFY IT.
2. YOU SHOULD GO ON TO SAY THAT, IF THESE PROPOSALS ARE AGREED, THE PRO-NUNCIO'S DIPLOMATIC RESPONSIBILITIES MUST COVER THE WHOLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, IE INCLUDING NORTHERN IRELAND. THERE CAN BE NO EXEPTIONS TO THIS RULE, WHICH APPLIES TO ALL AMBASSADORS ACCREDITED TO THE COURT OF ST JAMES'S, BUT WE NATURALLY ACCEPT THAT ALLOCATION OF PASTORAL/ECCLESIASTICAL RESPONSIBILITIES IS AN INTERNAL MATTER FOR THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.
3. PLEASE SEEK AN EARLY RESPONSE. YOU SHOULD SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT ENVISAGES MAKING AN ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT 1 JANUARY 1982 BUT THAT, SINCE THE PRIME MINISTER WISHES TO CONSIDER THE TIMING AGAIN NEARER THE TURN OF THE YEAR, YOUR APPROACH SHOULD BE TREATED AS CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE TIME BEING. YOU SHOULD ADD THAT ONCE THE VATICAN'S RESPONSE TO YOUR APPROACH HAS BEEN RECEIVED WE SHALL BE ASKING YOU TO CLEAR WITH THEM THE TERMS OF A PRESS RELEASE.
4. WE ASSUME THAT THE FIRST PRO-NUNCIO IS LIKELY TO BE ARCHBISHOP HEIM. IN DUE COURSE AND IF A POSITIVE DECISION IS TAKEN YOU MAY WISH TO INTIMATE THAT A SECOND SET OF FORMAL PUBLISHED SPEECHES WOULD SEEM SUPERFLUOUS WHEN YOU PRESENT YOUR NEW CREDENTIALS AS AMBASSADOR.

CARRINGTON
STANDARD
WED
RID

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PS/HOME SECRETARY.
PS/S/S SCOTTISH OFFICE.
LORD CHANCELLOR'S DEPT

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COPIES SENT TO
No. 10 DOWNING STREET

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File AH
ce CO
Vatican

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

16 November 1981

Dear Sir,

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN

When the Cabinet agreed at its meeting on 28 October that full diplomatic relations should be established with the Vatican, the Prime Minister said that she would raise the matter with The Queen at an Audience.

This is to let you know that Mrs Thatcher has now spoken to Her Majesty and the way is therefore clear for you to take the other steps that have to be completed before the Government's decision is made public. The Prime Minister told The Queen that Ministers would review the timing of the announcement just before the planned date of around the turn of the year.

✓ I am sending a copy of this letter to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,

John White.

Brian Fall Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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AH



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 November 1981

G I de Deney Esq
 General Department
 Home Office
 50 Queen Anne's Gate
 LONDON SW1H 9AT

Dear de Deney,

RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN

1. Following the Cabinet decision taken on 29 October that full diplomatic relations with the Vatican should be established on the basis proposed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, I understand that you have discussed further with Nicky Gordon Lennox and David Gladstone the problem posed by the continued opposition by the General Synod of the Church of England to an early move to up-grade our relations with the Vatican. I am now writing in the hope that we can agree on a way to resolve this problem.
2. As you know, Lord Carrington told the Archbishop of Canterbury about our plans before putting in his paper to Cabinet. Since the Archbishop raised no objection - nor did he ask for time to consult his own advisers or the General Synod - we saw no reason to expect opposition to our proposals from the Church of England. Perhaps you could explain whether the General Synod can maintain an objection in the face of the Archbishop's (informal) approval to our proposals: it is surely rather like the Secretary to the Cabinet continuing to voice misgivings after the Prime Minister has laid down the policy to be followed by the Cabinet? Nevertheless, it is obviously in our interest to avoid sowing doubt in the mind of Mr Pattinson or the other members of the Synod, and thus perhaps indirectly contributing to a worsening of relations between the Churches.
3. In the circumstances, I imagine that you may wish to have a further word with Mr Pattinson, telling him more formally of Lord Carrington's proposals (I leave it to you whether you think it wise to tell him of the Cabinet decision) and see if you can persuade him that an up-grading of diplomatic relations will not in fact have an adverse effect

*No, it is not!
 AH*

/on



on moves towards closer contact between the Churches. You could say that the Archbishop of Canterbury knows of the proposals and has raised no objection and that we wish to proceed reasonably fast in the hope of ensuring that any public opinion backlash has died down well before the Pope visits this country next June.

4. In the light of the Cabinet's decision I assume that Ministers may wish to press ahead even if Mr Pattinson maintains his objection in principle to an early move, but his reactions will obviously influence our immediate planning and I should therefore be grateful for early news of how he responds to your approach.

5. I should be happy to have a word about this, if you thought it helpful.

Yours ever,
E A J Fergusson.

E A J Fergusson

RELATIONS
WITH THE
VATICAN

CC(81)34th 29.10.81 Item 4

4. The Cabinet considered a memorandum by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary (C(81) 52) on relations with the Vatican.

Vatican
THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY said that in his view the time had now come for the Vatican to be invited to promote their diplomatic representative in London to the Ambassadorial status of a Papal Pro-Nuncio and for Her Majesty's Legation to the Holy See at the same time to be raised to the status of an Embassy. The present level of relations had become an anomaly. Most other states already had full diplomatic relations with the Holy See. The Apostolic Delegate in London, Archbishop Heim, had taken a consistently helpful attitude towards Northern Ireland. He proposed that an announcement should be made around the turn of the year, well before the Pope's visit to the United Kingdom. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, who had already been discreetly sounded, had reacted positively. The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland supported the proposal, as had his predecessor who had been consulted while still holding that office.

In discussion the following points were made -

- a. It would be necessary to ensure that the position of The Queen, as Supreme Governor of the Church of England, was fully safeguarded. She was aware informally of the proposal and was understood to be content.
- b. The Vatican representative in London would be a Pro-Nuncio and would not, as in Roman Catholic countries, be ex-officio Dean of the Diplomatic Corps.
- c. There was some doubt about the attitude of the Synod of the Church of England, and opinion among the Archbishop of Canterbury's advisers appeared to be divided.

- d. Although the Moderator of the Church of Scotland had reacted favourably, there were likely to be objections from the Scottish free churches.
- e. Some Protestants might argue that full diplomatic relations with the Vatican were inconsistent with the Act of Settlement 1701, although there were no good legal grounds for this view.
- f. The announcement should not be made near the time of the Prime Minister's meeting with the Taoiseach, nor during the marching season in Northern Ireland.

THE PRIME MINISTER, summing up the discussion, said that the Cabinet agreed that full diplomatic relations with the Vatican should be established and that an announcement should be planned for around the turn of the year. The timing should be considered again just before the announcement was due to be made. She would raise the matter with The Queen at an Audience.

The Cabinet -

1. Agreed that full diplomatic relations with the Vatican should be established on the basis proposed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary.
2. Invited the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to plan for an announcement about 1 January 1982, but to consider the timing again, in consultation with the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, shortly before the announcement was due to be made.
3. Invited the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary in due course formally to notify the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Moderator of the Church of Scotland; to inform the other Churches; and to negotiate the terms of the announcement, and any necessary questions relating to jurisdiction, with the Vatican.

INDUSTRIAL
AFFAIRS

British
Leyland

Previous
Reference:
CC(81) 33rd
Conclusions,
Minute 2

5. THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDUSTRY said that the Board of British Leyland (BL) had met on Tuesday 27 October, and there had been further meetings with the unions concerned on 28 October. The talks had been broken off. The Board of BL had, however, decided that there should be no written ultimatum to the workforce that week; and they were not committed to any particular timing, should industrial action be taken as threatened on 2 November. The Board would not take decisions until Thursday 5 November; and he himself would be in contact with the Chairman on Tuesday 3 November. The Chairman had appeared on television the previous evening. While there had been no substantive change in his position, his attitude had been conciliatory: he had made it clear that his letter to the workforce in the previous week had not been intended to be provocative, and he had pointed out that the offer which had led to the strike threat had already been modified. His proposal that there should be a ballot of the workforce had been rejected by the unions. But the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) were now involved. The area in which there might be scope for some reconciliation of the opposing points of view was in relation to the bonus scheme.

In discussion there was general agreement that the Government should continue to make it clear that it was not intervening in the dispute, though the Secretary of State for Industry remained in contact with the Board; and that ACAS were now involved. In the present delicate situation it would be preferable to avoid having to make any kind of statement in the House of Commons; even though the Government could stick to the line proposed, some Government backbenchers representing constituencies in the West Midlands might give an impression which would make the dispute more difficult to resolve satisfactorily.

THE PRIME MINISTER, summing up a brief discussion, said that the Government position should continue to be that it was not intervening in a matter which was for the Board of BL, and it noted that ACAS were now involved. If (as seemed likely) the matter was raised in Prime Minister's Questions that afternoon, she would stick to that line, without suggesting that there was no contact between the Board of BL and the Department of Industry.

The Cabinet -

Took note.

Cabinet Office

29 October 1981



CONFIDENTIAL

Vatican

PRIME MINISTERUnited Kingdom Relations with the Vatican
(C(81) 52)Background

You have already discussed with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary the proposal in his paper that the United Kingdom's diplomatic relations with the Vatican should be upgraded and that this should be announced around the turn of the year; and you have agreed with him that it should be referred to the Cabinet.

2. In days of yore, full Ambassadors were relatively rare, and confined to a few major diplomatic missions; most missions were legations. Since the Second World War this class distinction has been almost completely eliminated, almost all missions are embassies, and the Vatican is almost unique in having a legation. The reason for not upgrading the mission to the Vatican has been the wish not unnecessarily to provoke extreme Protestant reactions, in Great Britain as well as in Northern Ireland. The case for upgrading is essentially that uniquely second class status is anomalous for contemporary British relations with the Vatican. It seems unlikely that there would now be objections from Protestant opinion in Great Britain sufficiently strong to outweigh that case. The case against is largely that there may be accusations of "selling out to Rome" from some Northern Irish Protestants; Dr. Paisley originally came to notice for demonstrating outside Westminster Abbey against the first Roman Catholic to preach there since the Reformation. But the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland is content with the present proposal, as Lord Carrington's private secretary reported in his letter to Mr. Rickett of 28th September. Indeed the present situation in Northern Ireland underlines our need to have the best possible relations with the Vatican.

3. The Government decided two years ago to receive the Apostolic Delegate here as a diplomatic agent; and in the light of public reactions to this half-measure to consider further the question of full diplomatic status.

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Public reactions, both to this and to The Queen's call on the Pope a year ago, were favourable. When Lord Carrington proposed full diplomatic status last October, you agreed in principle but favoured delay (Mr. Alexander's letter to Mr. Walden of 5th November, 1980).

4. When this was last considered, there had recently been a flurry about the possibility that the Prince of Wales might want to marry a Roman Catholic, and I suggested to ~~the Prime Minister~~ ^{you} that a decision to upgrade the mission to the Vatican should wait until the Prince of Wales had announced his intention of marrying an eligible Anglican (or other kind of non-Papist). His subsequent marriage, to an Anglican, has removed that argument for caution. The forthcoming visit by the Pope to this country argues in favour of taking and announcing a decision a reasonable time in advance of the visit.

5. The present paper's point about pastoral responsibilities (paragraph 3) is not as clear as it might be. Such responsibilities are exercised by Nuncios in the sense that they advise the Vatican on the appointment of local Roman Catholic bishops. Normally each Nuncio's pastoral area (for this purpose) is the same as his diplomatic area. But advice on bishops in Northern Ireland has long rested with the Vatican representative in Dublin, whose pastoral area follows the local Catholic hierarchy in covering the whole of Ireland (hence the somewhat elliptical reference in the paper to the Archbishop of Armagh's Primacy of All Ireland). This is clearly an internal matter of the Roman Catholic Church's organisation and does not affect inter-state relations. As the paper indicates, we shall of course have to insist that the London Nuncio's diplomatic area covers the whole United Kingdom.

6. The London Nuncio will technically be a Pro-Nuncio: i.e. he will not, as in Roman Catholic countries, be ex officio Dean of the Diplomatic Corps. Lord Hailsham may need reassuring on this point.

HANDLING

7. You should invite the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to introduce his paper; the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland should be asked to comment. Subject to their views, and the general feeling, the Cabinet might be guided to agree that relations with the Vatican should be upgraded as proposed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and that an announcement should be made about the turn of the year.

28th October 1981

RIA

Vatican

9 October 1981

UK relations with the Vatican

Thank you for your letter to Mike Pattison of 28 September. The Prime Minister is content for you to prepare the paper for Cabinet setting out the case for upgrading our relations with the Vatican and the steps to be taken before an announcement can be made.

WILLIAM RICKETT

Francis Richards, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

r

cc Press

Prime Minister

Content for Lord Carrington to proceed as at X? MA 28/ix.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH



yes not

28 September 1981

Dear Mike,

UK Relations with The Vatican

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary recently discussed with the Prime Minister the desirability of upgrading our relations with the Vatican. It was agreed in principle that, subject to the views of the Northern Ireland Secretary, we should so proceed.

The Northern Ireland Secretary has now minuted Lord Carrington to the effect that he is content with the proposals subject to certain provisos on timing. I enclose a copy of his minute.

X | If the Prime Minister is content, we shall prepare a paper for circulation in Cabinet setting out the case for upgrading and the steps to be taken before an announcement can be made: if Cabinet agrees, The Queen and Church leaders will have to be informed before discussions are opened with the Vatican. We hope that it will be possible to make an announcement by the end of the year.

Yours ever,

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

Mike Pattison Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

CONFIDENTIAL

WED

Mr. Vereker
Mr. Osborne



PS
PS/LPS
PS/PUS
Mr Bullard
Mr Ferguson
R(D)
News Dept

Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary

[Signature]
21/5

UK RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN

Thank you for your minute of 9 September about the timing of an announcement of the changes agreed upon last year.

2. Complaints from some more extreme Protestants in Northern Ireland are inevitable, and should not stand in the way of the announcement. But the support for Protestant complaints would widen if the announcement were seen, however implausibly, as a bargaining-counter for something else. If the hunger strike ended just before the announcement was due, I hope we could consider the case for deferring it (we cannot provide for the possibility that the hunger strike might end just after the announcement); and we ought to avoid any risk of an apparent connection with the Anglo-Irish summit on 6 November. I doubt if we can avoid the announcement being seen as related in some way to the Pope's visit, but I see no harm in that either in relation to Northern Ireland or more generally.

3. Subject to these points, I am content with your proposals. Any added influence at the Vatican which this may give to Archbishop Heim could only be helpful, because I understand he has consistently supported our line over the hunger strike.

[Signature]
PP

18th J P
September 1981

(Signed on behalf of the Secretary of State in his absence)

CONFIDENTIAL



1981





Mr Cardé
Mr Osborne

226/32

D A S Gladstone Esq
WED
FCO

Handwritten initials
8/6

BRITISH LEGATION
TO THE HOLY SEE.
ROME.

Misk Clapline
cc. *Si Osborne* *JS*
15/6

3 June 1981

cc Mr Ferguson

PCD

Information kept for Mr. Tyrer

Dear David,

1) cc. Mr. Peterson No. 10
2) Mr. Gordon Mr. Turner
to see 2/15/6

The Pope's Health

1. As a follow up to my letter of 21 May about the attack on the Pope I thought you might like to have a note on his convalescence. The Vatican continue to issue medical bulletins from time to time. But since his doctors declared the Pope to be out of danger on 23 May the general level of anxiety about his health has fallen. On 24 and 31 May the Vatican released a recorded message from the Pope at the midday Angelus. The press thought that his voice sounded stronger this week than last.

2. Nevertheless it has become clear that the rate of the Pope's convalescence is slower than the earlier, highly optimistic, bulletins from the hospital had led people to expect. The Pope's own surgeon, Professor Crucitti has publicly criticised 'well-meaning but unqualified' statements about the Pope's health released from the Gemelli hospital and from Vatican sources. He said that the Pope's recovery was constant but added that the second relatively minor operation which the Pope must undergo would carry certain risks. This operation is to be performed in about three weeks, in the Gemelli hospital not the Vatican Infirmary, as was at one time suggested.

3. It has now been announced that the Pope will not go to Lourdes nor will he take part in next week's celebrations to mark the 1600th Anniversary of the First Council of Constantinople

/ and



-2-

and the 1550th Anniversary of the Council of Ephesus. Even the Spanish visit is in some doubt.

4. The Pope's convalescence is expected to last at least 60 days. Although he remains nominally in charge of the Vatican Cardinal Casaroli is in fact largely acting in his place. Casaroli attended the funeral of Cardinal Wyszynski last week, about which I have written to you separately. The importance of the office of Secretary of State has been underlined by the events of the past three weeks.

Yours ever,

Mark

Mark Heath

②
VATCAN

Rennie Minister

PH

Ans

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ETAT
THE RIGHT HON MARGARET THATCHER
PRIME MINISTER
10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1

HIS HOLINESS POPE JOHN PAUL II HAS DIRECTED ME TO THANK YOU IN HIS NAME FOR THE KIND MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY AND ~~GOOD~~ WISHES WHICH HE DEEPLY APPRECIATE
CARDINAL CASAROLI SECRETARY OF STATE

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TO FLASH HOLY SEE

TELEGRAM NUMBER 8 OF 13 MAY

AND TO ROUTINE ROME

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE OR OTHER APPROPRIATE RECIPIENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

BEGINS. LIKE ALL MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN I WAS SHOCKED BY THE NEWS OF THE ATTACK ON HIS HOLINESS THIS AFTERNOON. I JOIN THE MILLIONS AROUND THE WORLD WHO ARE EXPRESSING THEIR HORROR AND PERVENTLY HOPING FOR HIS SPEEDY RECOVERY. MARGARET THATCHER ENDS.

CARRINGTON

STANDARD
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NEWS D

COPIES SENT TO
No. 10 DOWNING STREET

1
UNCLASSIFIED

Wednesday 13 May

POPE SHOT

VATICAN CITY. WEDNESDAY—POPE JOHN PAUL WAS HIT BY BULLETS SHOT FROM THE CROWD DURING HIS WEEKLY GENERAL AUDIENCE TODAY AND RUSHED BY AMBULANCE TO A ROME HOSPITAL, VATICAN RADIO SAID.

THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE WORD ON THE PONTIFF'S CONDITION.

THE RADIO SAID THAT THE JEEP ON WHICH THE POPE WAS RIDING DROVE OFF AT BREAKNECK SPEED AS HE FELL INTO THE ARMS OF HIS SECRETARY. BLOOD COULD BE SEEN FLOWING NEAR THE POPE'S NECK, WITNESSES IN THE SQUARE SAID. VATICAN SECURITY GUARDS ARRESTED ONE MAN WHO HAD A PISTOL, THE WITNESS SAID.

A FEW MINUTES AFTER THE SHOOTING THE LOUDSPEAKER WHICH BROADCASTS OVER ST. PETER'S SQUARE ANNOUNCED THAT THE POPE HAD BEEN INJURED.

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1650

URGENT

VATICAN CITY-UNKNOWN ASSAILANTS SHOT AT POPE JOHN PAUL II EE

S

URGENT

VATICAN CITY-UNKNOWN ASSAILANTS SHOT AT POPE JOHN PAUL II AS
HE ENTERED ST. PETER'S SQUARE FOR A GENERAL AUDIENCE TODAY.

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1636

URGENT

VATICAN RADIO SAID POPE HAD BEEN HIT AND THAT THE JEEP ON WHICH
HE WAS RIDING DROVE OFF AT BREAKNECK SPEED. POPE FELL INTO THE
ARMS OF HIS SECRETARY.

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1636



Holy See: Annual Review 1980

Summary

1. An eventful year. For us the outstanding events were the State Visit and that of the Prime Minister. (Paragraph 1)
2. For the Vatican there were problems of order and discipline: the cases of Dr Kung and Monsignor Schillebeeckx. The Church withdrew approval from one and a Synod of Bishops cautioned the other. (Paragraph 2)
3. Another very active year for the Pope. His visits to Africa, France, Brazil and Germany. The Church's attitude towards political and social problems in the third world. A successful public relations exercise in Germany. (Paragraphs 3 - 4)
4. Other preoccupations of the Vatican: freedom of worship, CSCE review, the Middle East, the status of Jerusalem, Iran and Iraq, Poland. Disappointing outcome of the Fifth Synod of Bishops. (Paragraphs 5 - 6)
5. Distinguished visitors to the Pope during the year: changes in the list of Cardinals and of Bishops. (Paragraphs 7 - 8)
6. Prospects for 1981: a period of consolidation and preparation for the Pope's visit to Britain in 1982. (Paragraphs 9 - 10)



BRITISH LEGATION
TO THE HOLY SEE.
ROME.

014/1

20 January 1981

The Rt Hon The Lord Carrington KCMG MC
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

My Lord,

Holy See: Annual Review 1980

1. The second full year of the reign of Pope John Paul II saw no slackening in the formidable pace which he has set for himself. For the Vatican 1980 has been eventful and sometimes turbulent. For us the outstanding event was the State Visit of Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness Prince Philip in October, followed a month later, by a visit from the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher.

2. The year began in an atmosphere of some uncertainty. To what extent could the Vatican permit innovative theological speculation without imposing limits on the speculators. In particular could it allow the Swiss theologian Dr Küng to continue to expound his controversial views without corrective comment from Rome: to what extent should they attempt to damp down the ferment of ideas in Belgium and the Netherlands, as exemplified by those of Monsignor Schillebeeckx;

/ and

and what view should they take of those priests who favour revolution, particularly in the third world? The year brought some clarification of the Church's position on these questions. Dr Kung is no longer regarded as an orthodox exponent of Catholic teaching. A specially convened Synod of Bishops from the Netherlands acknowledged the need to keep the debate within certain limits. The violent death of Archbishop Romero in San Salvador underlined the commitment of the Church to social justice. During his visits to Africa in May and to Brazil in July the Pope made it clear that the Church's sympathies lay with the favelados and the underprivileged and that it was for the civil power to take concrete measures to resolve social problems. As if to confound his liberal critics he declared that he was as much opposed to the materialism of capitalism as he was to that of Marxism.

3. The record of the Pope's activities during the year is formidable. He held 172 special and 62 general audiences; gave 50 Angelus messages and some 100 discourses and homilies; he issued 1 Encyclical (Dives in Misericordia) and 4 Apostolic letters. He paid pastoral visits to six countries in Africa in May, to France in June, Brazil in July

/ and



-2-

and to the Federal German Republic in November. He met the then recently enthroned Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Runcie, in Accra in May; he travelled extensively in Italy in the Spring and Autumn; and visited the Avellino area, devastated by earthquake two days previously, in November.

4. The year brought a new and more political dimension to the Pope's visits. Before he left for Brazil, a country where the Church had traditionally held a subordinate place in the establishment, but where industrial and agricultural revolutions are now gathering force, there was speculation whether his pastoral message might cause the government embarrassment. Would the Pope support those bishops who had shown themselves critical of the government's handling of social issues? In the event, he spoke trenchantly on these matters and made clear his full support for the bishops without, so far as could be seen, endangering relations with the civil power. In Germany, in November, he faced different circumstances, in some respects nearer to those that he will meet in Britain next year. In the Federal Republic the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans each form a minority of the population of roughly equal size. In such circumstances the omens for a successful visit

/ worsened

worsened when the Catholic bishops issued a statement shortly before the Pope's arrival which was gratuitously offensive to the Lutherans. Despite this, and the torrential rain, large crowds gathered to greet the Pope, whose magnetism and ecumenical approach quickly helped to transform an atmosphere of hesitation to one of acclaim.

5. On the world political scene the year was active and difficult for the Vatican. For them a main preoccupation is the provision and protection of freedom of worship. Thus their representative attended the CSCE review meeting in Madrid where he reaffirmed the importance which the Vatican attaches to the principle of detente enshrined in the Helsinki agreements. They followed events in the Middle East with anxiety. On Jerusalem they addressed a formal note to governments in June, setting out their views on the need for an international régime to protect the holy places. In Iran they were concerned about the war and about the treatment of Catholics by the Government. They were particularly concerned about the Salesians and invited Archbishop Hilarion Capucci to act as intermediary for them. He acted with some success, as he did over the repatriation of the bodies of the United States troops killed in April. But

/ his



his efforts on behalf of the United States hostages, and of the 3 Anglican missionaries were less successful. Second only to the turmoil in a number of Latin American countries, developments in Poland will have been of particular and personal concern to the Pope. On these the Vatican has adopted a consistently cautious line, in full support of Cardinal Wyszynski and the Polish bishops, the object of which has been to preserve life and to maintain stability, without provoking intervention. The Vatican's prestige was engaged, throughout the year, in the Beagle Channel mediation. There were signs, at the end of it, of a successful outcome.

6. The major ecclesiastical event of the year was the Fifth General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops which met throughout October. The subject of the meeting was the Church and the family. To those who hoped for some modification of the Church's stance on birth control, as set out in Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, the preliminary results of the Synod were disappointing. Work is however, still in progress, and final results are not expected until later.

7. Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness Prince Philip paid a highly successful

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State Visit on 17 October. The impact on the Vatican, and on the Pope himself, was palpable. The Visit remained a topic of conversation beyond the end of the year. With a visit by the Prime Minister only six weeks later, in the course of which Mrs Thatcher spent some 40 minutes with the Pope, it was evident to all that our relations with the Vatican had reached a high point. There were one or two disappointments. The Vatican found no role for the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Heim, who had come out specially from London for the Visit. Nor was the moment judged appropriate to announce a change in his present status to the equivalent of Minister or Ambassador. Other Heads of State who visited the Pope during the year included the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, President Kiprianou of Cyprus, President Nyerere of Tanzania, King Hassan of Morocco, President Eanes of Portugal, President Carter, King Hussein of Jordan and President Mijatovic of Yugoslavia. Of these, only Luxembourg, Portugal and Yugoslavia paid state or official visits.

8. The deaths of Cardinals Pignedoli, in June, and Vagnozzi, in December, reduced the number of Cardinals to 126. Cardinal Pignedoli was a friend of the Anglican Church and a supporter of the ecumenical movement. Cardinal Vagnozzi was in charge of the finances of the Vatican. During the year the Pope consecrated 131 Archbishops and Bishops but no Cardinals.



-4-

9. If 1980 was an eventful year for the Vatican, the prospects for 1981 are no less so. For us, however, we reached an apogee in 1980. In the coming year I foresee a period of consolidation, our consultations with the Vatican on Northern Ireland will remain of primary importance and we shall need to give careful thought to the preparations for the Pope's visit to Britain next year.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Brasilia, Dublin, Rome, Warsaw and Washington.

I am, my Lord
Yours faithfully

Mark Heath



Vatican

10 DOWNING STREET

BF 15.1.87

(see previous letter)

to Caroline

Mr Alexander

we postponed
this meeting. Do
you want it
set up again?
E.

I have agreed with Mr Richards
(FCC) that they will take the
initiative when they want will

15/1 to do so. ~~of it~~
Miss Stephens
N.H. J. Hunt 15/1

CONFIDENTIAL

MS



10 DOWNING STREET

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From the Private Secretary

5 November 1980

BP 17.12.80

U.K. Relations with the Vatican

The Prime Minister has seen the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's minute to her of 27 October on this subject. She has also seen the Northern Ireland Secretary's minute of 4 November.

The Prime Minister does not disagree with the argument in the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's minute. However, she is concerned about the impact of the decision and about the timing. She thinks it will be important to take the matter slowly. She would like to discuss the whole problem with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary at a convenient moment.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Home Secretary, the Lord President, the Secretaries of State for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Sir Robert Armstrong.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

G. G. H. Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

JS



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Prime Minister.

More caution on the timing

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Amh 4/11

PRIME MINISTER

UK RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs invited my comments on his minute to you of 27 October.

2. I am content that the Vatican should be invited to promote their representative in London to Pro-Nuncio in 1981 and that we should simultaneously raise HM Legation to the Holy See to the status of a full Embassy. I would not object to an announcement in the first half of 1981 as envisaged. Most of the population of Northern Ireland will take little notice of such development; those who wish to object will do so whenever the announcement is made, as will those of a like mind, in Great Britain. As the moment approaches, however, there may be arguments for and against a given date, and Peter Carrington and I will keep in touch about that.

3. As the Foreign Secretary says, it will have to be made clear without doubt that the Pro-Nuncio's diplomatic responsibilities cover the whole of the United Kingdom. The Roman Catholic Primate of All Ireland, Cardinal O Fiaich, is reported as having said in Rome earlier this month that the Catholic Church in Ireland would wish to ensure that the status and jurisdictional powers of the Papal Nuncio in Dublin were not altered if there were to be a Pro-Nuncio in London. But it appears from his remarks that the Cardinal was concerned with pastoral, rather than diplomatic, responsibilities, notably the appointment of Bishops in Northern Ireland. Allocation of pastoral responsibilities is naturally an internal matter for the Roman Catholic Church.

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- 2 -

4. I am copying this minute to the Home Secretary, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Lord President of the Council, the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Secretary of State for Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Sir Robert Armstrong.

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4 November 1980

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-4 NOV 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

MR. ALEXANDER

United Kingdom Relations with the Vatican

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 do for very show so this.
 The effect of hearing - relations in
 Ambassador to Northern Ireland
 I have no serious
 with this note
 in this
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 that the
 had not really
 very fully
 of importance
 30/10*

Prime Minister

①

After, subject to the views of
 colleagues - further consideration of the
 timing, the Foreign & Commonwealth
 Secretary

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary sent a minute on this subject to the Prime Minister on 27th October suggesting, provided that The Queen agrees, that the Vatican should be invited to promote their representative in London to the ambassadorial status of a Papal Pro-Nuncio during 1981, and that we should simultaneously raise HM Legation to the Holy See to the status of a full Embassy: in other words, that we should establish full diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

2. This proposal is a logical development from the decision last November to receive the Apostolic Delegate in London as a diplomatic agent, and The Queen's recent call on the Pope during her State Visit to the Vatican. The general reaction to both these events has been favourable. Furthermore, Pope John Paul II has won people's respect and admiration here, and touched their imaginations; his activities attract wide interest, and he is likely to be warmly received on his pastoral visit to this country planned for 1982.

3. I agree with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary that the arguments in favour of establishing full diplomatic relations with the Vatican outweigh those in favour of maintaining the status quo. But I think that there is a question of timing which the Prime Minister may like to consider. Even if the Lord Chancellor confirms the legal advice that the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement do not raise a constitutional obstacle to establishing full diplomatic relations with the Vatican, the move - when it comes - will reawaken interest in the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement and in particular in the provision which excludes anyone who professes the Popish religion or marries a Papist from succession to the Crown. That interest will be less keen if the implementation of a decision to establish full diplomatic relations with the Vatican can be postponed until the Prince of Wales has announced his intention of marrying an eligible Anglican (or other non-Roman Catholic) girl.



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4. Subject to the views of Cabinet colleagues and particularly those of the Secretaries of State for the Home Department and Northern Ireland, and subject to the point in paragraph 3 above on the timing of implementation, the Prime Minister is recommended to agree to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's proposal.

RA

(Robert Armstrong)

30th October 1980

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30 OCT 1950

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PM/80/75

THE PRIME MINISTER

UK Relations with the Vatican

1. Over the years, there has been correspondence about the proposal to elevate the Apostolic Delegation in London into a diplomatic mission. Hitherto, Conservative and Labour administrations have both taken the view that for domestic political reasons action should be postponed. However, when Ministers of the present Government agreed in November last year that the Apostolic Delegate in London should be received as a diplomatic agent, they also agreed that we should consider, in the light of the public reaction to this first step, whether we should propose to the Vatican authorities the establishment of full diplomatic relations.
2. The decision to give Archbishop Heim diplomatic status gave rise to only two articles in the British press (both in The Times), neither critical. The press in Northern Ireland displayed greater interest but no hostility. Fifty-five letters critical of the decision have been received by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the great majority from extremist Protestant organisations and some of the others showing signs of orchestration. There were two questions in Parliament (one from Enoch Powell) but no lobbying campaign there. Thus, with the exception of those organisations which were bound by their nature to protest, public interest in this question appears so far to have been slight. Press reactions to The Queen's call on the Pope during Her recent State Visit to the Vatican have, however, been favourable. And interest in all matters involving the Vatican will, undoubtedly now be sharpened both by The Queen's visit and by the news of the Pope's pastoral visit to Britain in the summer of 1982.

Who are these?

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CONFIDENTIAL



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3. In my view there is a sound political case for establishing full diplomatic relations with the Vatican:

- (a) the present level of relations is an anomaly. Both sides can live with this anomaly, but it is based on historical considerations which have lost their force. There are no good reasons for perpetuating it and no constitutional reason why it should not be removed. The Pope's visit to this country in 1982 will inevitably give rise to public discussion of all aspects of our relations with the Holy See, including this one. It would be sensible to have resolved this issue before he comes.
- (b) The majority of States (95 in all) have full diplomatic relations with the Holy See. This list includes all our Community partners (except the Danes) and the Australians and the Canadians.
- (c) There is keen interest in the UK in the activities of the first non-Italian Pope since the Reformation. Pope John Paul has influence in areas where important British interests are at stake, eg Ireland, Eastern Europe, Argentina/Chile and the Middle East (especially the Lebanon).
- (d) The Vatican have consistently avoided being drawn into unhelpful comment on Northern Ireland, for example over the dirty protest at the Maze Prison; and there is good reason to believe that the Apostolic Delegate in London has played a useful role in countering unhelpful pressures from the Papal Nuncio in Dublin. Improving our channels of communication with the Vatican will be to our advantage in the Northern Ireland context.
- (e) The maintenance of a barrier to full diplomatic relations with the Vatican is anachronistic in the light of the growing ecumenical mood between the Churches in Britain.

I had a message from the Pope.
We have had positive unhelpful attitudes from the Irish Embassy.

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CONFIDENTIAL



4. Such political consequences as may flow from a decision to upgrade relations are likely to concern Northern Ireland in the main. Humphrey Atkins has said that while there might be protests there from Protestant bigots, his view is that we should not be deterred by bigotry if it is concluded that upgrading diplomatic relations is the right course. But he may now wish to comment further on the proposal from the point of view of timing. Given the continuing discussions over constitutional developments which are likely over the months ahead, we should time any announcement concerning a change in our relations with the Vatican with care.

5. We would, of course, have to make it crystal clear through the form of his credentials that the Pro-Nuncio's diplomatic responsibilities covered Northern Ireland as well as Great Britain. His pastoral responsibilities, on the other hand, would probably not include Northern Ireland; the Roman Catholic Archdiocese (like that of the Church of Ireland) covers both the North and the South and we would expect the Vatican to leave the Papal Nuncio in Dublin with pastoral responsibility for the whole of Ireland. This need not concern HMG.

6. There are also the reactions of the Churches in Britain to be taken into account. We have taken discreet soundings of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, both of whom have said that they personally would welcome the proposed step. Likewise Cardinal Hume tells us that he would be glad to see the change made, if the Government are willing to do so. Before proceeding to an announcement, we would do everything possible to ensure that we also carry with us the other Churches (Methodist, Presbyterian, etc) which might be expected to have reservations. Such consultations would inevitably carry with them the risk of premature publicity for the proposed change; but I believe that with careful management the risk can be minimized. And indeed some press speculation could be useful at that stage in preparing public opinion for the announcement.

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7. I attach a minute prepared by my Legal Advisers on the Constitutional implications of the proposed step. You will see that, subject to the Lord Chancellor's views, their advice is that the Bill of Rights does not raise a Constitutional obstacle to what is proposed now.

8. Taking all these considerations into account, I consider that the arguments in favour of change outweigh those in favour of maintaining the status quo. I therefore propose that, provided The Queen agrees, we should invite the Vatican to promote their representative in London to the ambassadorial status of a Papal Pro-Nuncio during 1981 and that we should simultaneously raise HM Legation to the Holy See to the status of a full Embassy. If Cabinet agree, I would further see advantage in discussing these proposals with the Vatican authorities early next year to see whether it might be possible to make an announcement in the first half of 1981. I do not propose however that you yourself should raise the issue during your call on the Pope in November since if the approach leaked it might be seen as part of a coordinated plan and assume an importance both politically and in the religious world which it does not have. The right time to deal with the issue, subject as I have said to Humphrey Atkins' views, seems to me to be during the interval between your call on the Pope in November and the Pope's visit to Britain in 1982.

9. I am copying this minute to the Home Secretary, The Lord President of the Council, Secretary of State for Scotland, Secretary of State for Wales, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Sir Robert Armstrong.

*[Approved by Lord Carrington
& signed on his behalf]
R.H. Lyne*

pp (CARRINGTON)



The Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement

It has been suggested by opponents of closer diplomatic relations with the Vatican that to accept the Apostolic Delegate as a diplomatic agent and a fortiori to enter into normal diplomatic relations or for The Queen to pay a call on the Pope would be unconstitutional. This suggestion arises from the provision in the Bill of Rights 1688 (repeated in almost identical terms in the Act of Settlement 1700) that 'every person and persons that is or are or shall be reconciled to or shall hold communion with the see or church of Rome or shall profess the popish religion or shall marry a papist shall be excluded ...' from the Crown. We have responded by stating that the Bill of Rights did not forbid diplomatic relations with the Holy See as a temporal State. It was acknowledgement of the religious or spiritual claims of the Pope that was made inconsistent with being King or Queen. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office Legal Adviser has considered the point and has expressed confidence that the Bill of Rights does not raise a constitutional obstacle to what is now proposed.

27 OCT 1980



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