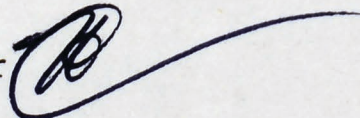




THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
From: Alexander M. Haig, Jr. 
Subject: Your Visit to Italy and the Vatican

Your stay in Rome will be brief, but it will encompass visits to two distinct and sovereign states. The fact of separate sovereignties is a sensitive point for both your Vatican and Italian hosts. The flavor and substance of your discussions will also be quite different at each stop.

A. The Vatican

I. SETTING

Pope John Paul II has great respect and admiration for the United States and for your leadership. As a Pole who has spent most of his life under a Communist system he has no illusions about Communism or the Soviet role in Eastern Europe and throughout the world. His undoubted moral force derives not only from his office, but also from his personal warmth, his courage, and his charismatic bearing.

John Paul is of course primarily a spiritual leader and only secondarily a head of state. He will welcome the chance to talk informally about the broader implications of social, economic, and humanitarian issues. Your meeting will be most successful if you speak to him from the heart.

II. ISSUES

1. Formal issues include Poland, Nuclear Arms Control, Central America, and the Middle East.

2. Informal issues include the problems of youth, drugs, terrorism, poverty and unemployment, race, changing values.

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RDS-3 5/14/02

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BY CK NARA, DATE 8/29/02

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B. Italy

I. SETTING

President Pertini is eager to renew your friendship and return the hospitality you gave him in Washington this March. He insisted on hosting the lunch in Rome. Prime Minister Spadolini will be with you at both summits and will have accompanied you on the trip from Versailles. A separate meeting with Spadolini is essential, since he and not Pertini heads the Italian government. Spadolini needs your visit to bolster his image. His position is tenuous, however, and his government could collapse soon after the summits.

The political pot will be bubbling at the time of your visit. Government coalition partners are in keen competition. A government crisis is likely by mid-June and national elections may be called in the autumn.

The Communist Party is in opposition but in time will take advantage of the situation to seek eventual entry into the national government. Just prior to your visit the Communists will have organized massive peace demonstrations in an effort to stop deployment of cruise missiles in Sicily. The party will be careful, however, to avoid incidents which could give it an image as irresponsible.

II. ISSUES

East-West issues will be important. As you know, Italy has been helpful on most of the critical East-West questions. Italy is prepared to restrict credits to the Soviet Union on the condition that Germany and France do so as well. The Italians needed your START initiative to help maintain the commitment on cruise missile deployment. Other issues include Latin America, the Middle East, terrorism and Libya. Italy looks with favor on the Caribbean Basin Initiative but the government is deeply divided on Central America and the Falklands. Although sporadic incidents occur, the government continues its effective campaign to eliminate the terrorist plague.

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DECLASSIFIED IN PART #56

NLS 797-058/S
O/S, NARA, Date 8/29/02THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON~~SECRET~~May 22, 1982
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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

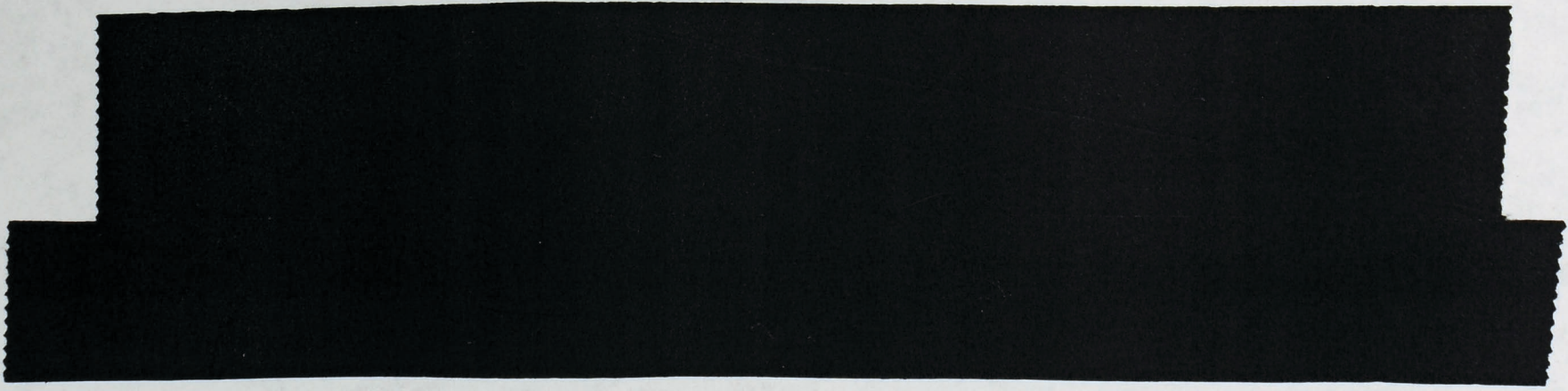
SUBJECT: Your Audience with Pope John Paul II,
June 7, 1982

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOMI. SETTING

Although the United States and the Holy See do not maintain formal diplomatic relations, we nevertheless consult very closely on a wide range of issues. Our respective policies and views are more often than not similar.

John Paul II personally holds the U.S. in very high esteem. In a recent talk to American visitors he described Americans as a people "intent on responding generously and repeatedly to the needs of those who are afflicted by suffering" and "intent on transforming international crises into an exercise of fraternal love and concern." He deeply distrusts the Soviets and understands the need for firmness in dealing with them. But he is often critical of the West's shortcomings, especially what he regards as wastefulness and materialism.

The Pope has twice visited the United States -- in 1979 to Washington, New York, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia; and in 1981 very briefly to Guam and Anchorage, Alaska. You had lunch with the Vatican's second-ranking official, Secretary of State Cardinal Casaroli, at the White House last December.

II. ISSUES1. Poland

- o WE SHARE COMMON GOALS IN POLAND.
- o SANCTIONS WILL PROVE EFFECTIVE IN THE END.

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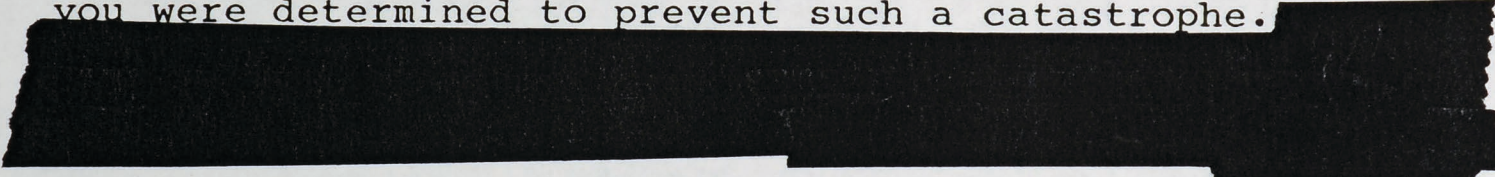
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o WE FEEL DEEPLY THE SUFFERING OF THE POLISH PEOPLE; OUR HUMANITARIAN AID WILL CONTINUE.

o WHAT FURTHER STEPS DOES VATICAN BELIEVE WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD TAKE?

2. Nuclear Arms Control

John Paul II is extremely worried about the nuclear arms race. In nearly identical letters to you and Brezhnev in November, 1981, he appealed for substantial progress in the Geneva INF negotiations as a step toward eventual elimination of all nuclear weapons. At his request, you also received at the White House a delegation of American scientists representing the Pontifical Academy of Sciences. They presented to you a Vatican-sponsored study on the effects of nuclear war. On January 11 you wrote the Pope, saying that you shared his horror at the disastrous consequences of any nuclear conflict and that you were determined to prevent such a catastrophe.



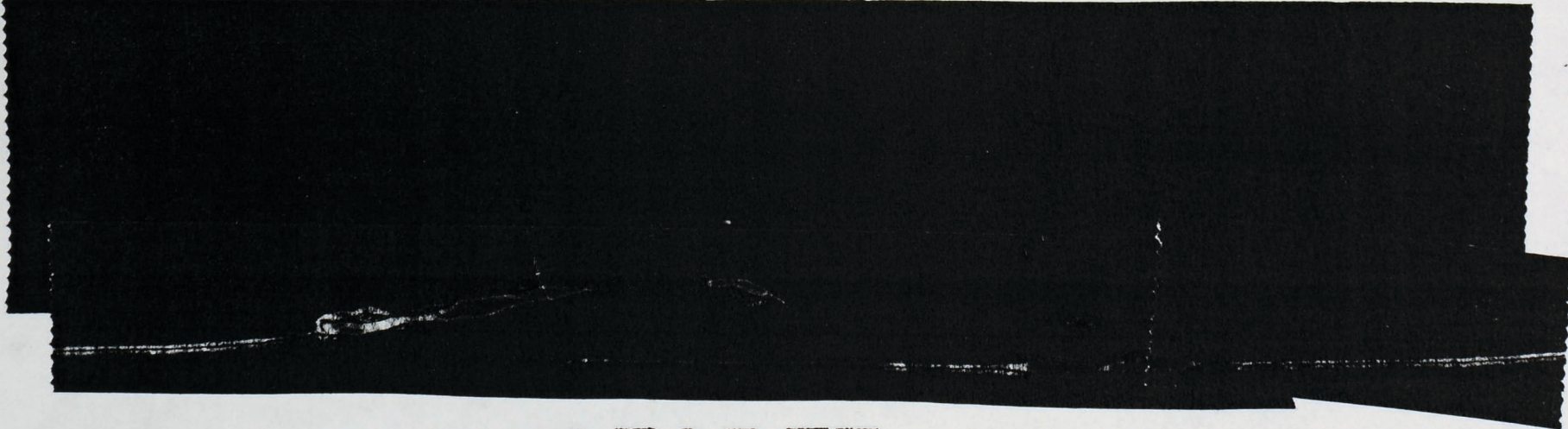
o I WAS VERY MOVED BY YOUR LETTER OF NOVEMBER 25 ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF NUCLEAR WAR.

o WE MUST STRIVE AS NEVER BEFORE TO PREVENT WHAT YOU HAVE CALLED, WITHOUT EXAGGERATION, "THE LAST GREAT EPI-DEMIC OF OUR CIVILIZATION."

o OUR PROPOSAL FOR ELIMINATION OF ALL INTER-MEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES IS A FAR-REACHING STEP.

o IN OUR FIRST PHASE OF START NEGOTIATIONS WE WILL SEEK TO REDUCE BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS BY AT LEAST ONE THIRD AND ALSO TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF MISSILES THEMSELVES: A STEP WE BELIEVE MARKS A NEW ERA IN ARMS NEGOTIATIONS.

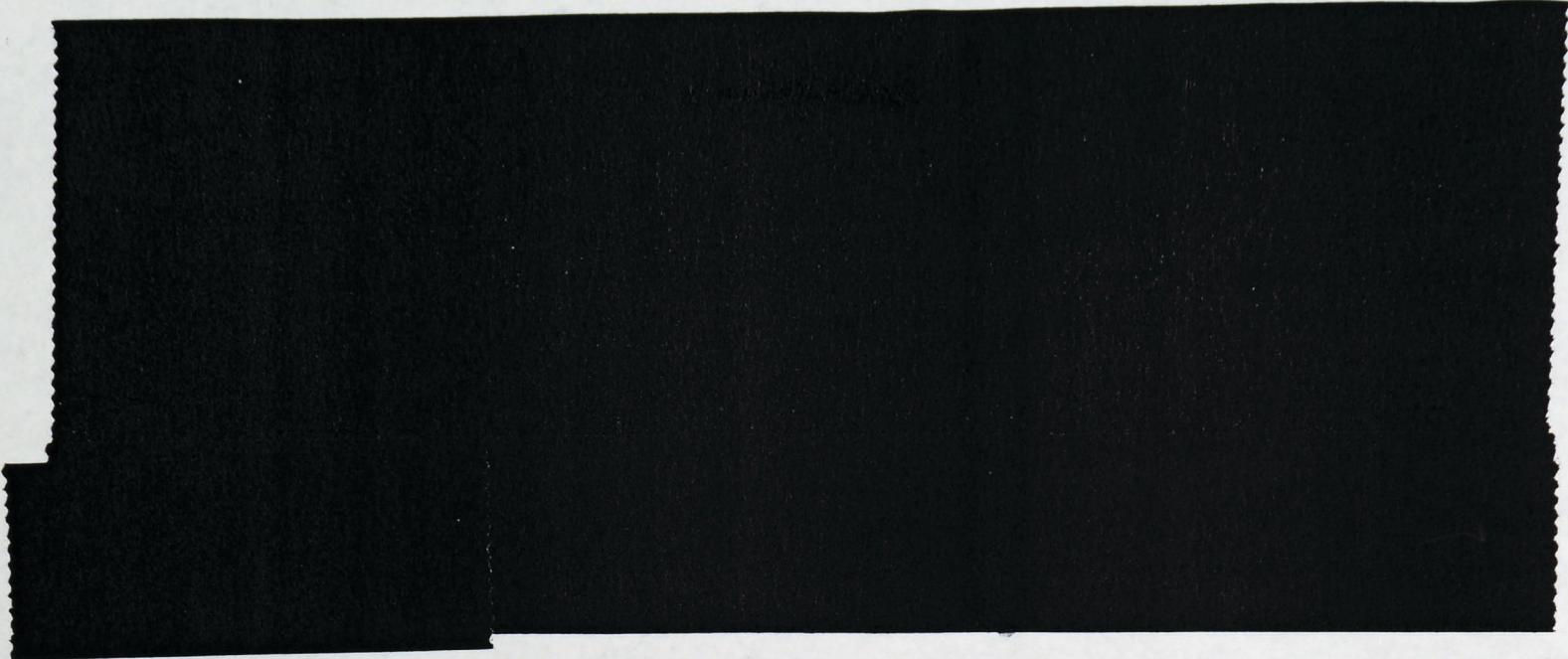
3. Latin America



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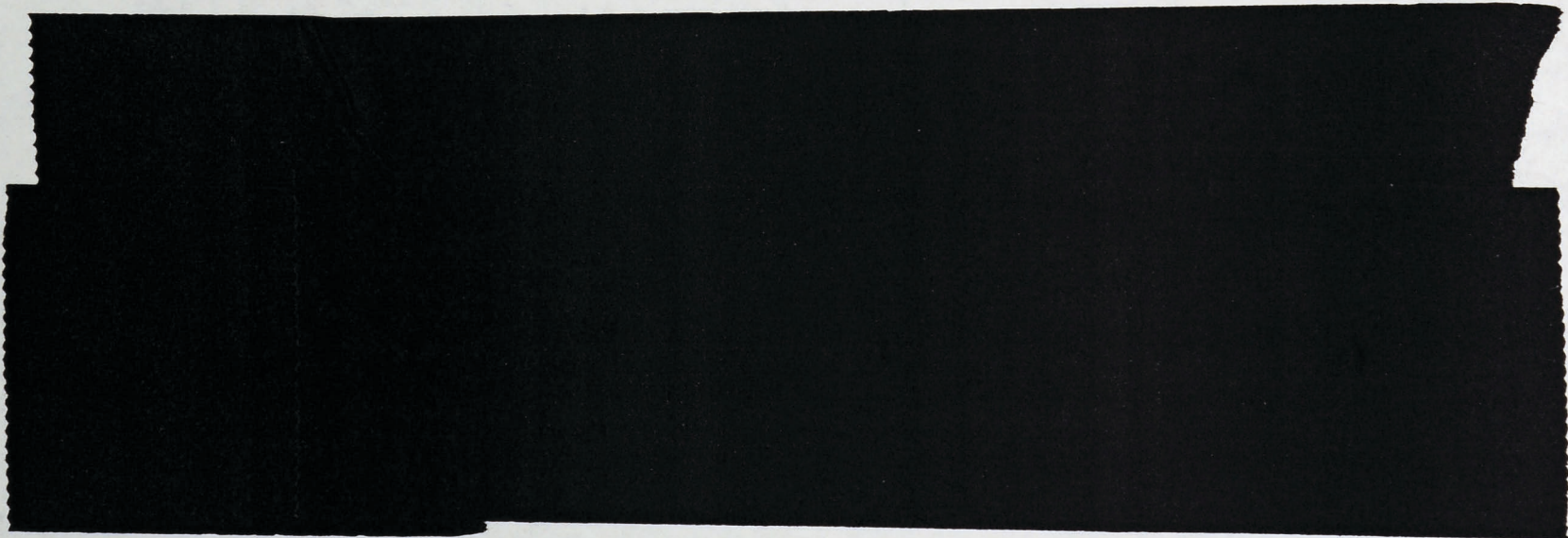


○ U.S. APPRECIATES THE VATICAN'S ROLE IN MEDIATING THE BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE.

○ WE PLAN TO REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH YOU IN THE ONGOING FALKLANDS CRISIS.

○ WE WILL PERSEVERE IN OUR EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE DEMOCRACY AND END VIOLENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

4. Middle East



○ WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS REMAINS THE ONLY VIABLE APPROACH TO A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT.

○ BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL HAVE RECOMMITTED THEMSELVES TO THE VIGOROUS PURSUIT OF NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD AN AGREEMENT ON FULL AUTONOMY FOR THE PALESTINIANS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. WE WILL CONTINUE TO BE ACTIVELY ENGAGED AS A FULL PARTNER IN THAT PROCESS.

○ WE WILL PERSEVERE IN OUR STRONG EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN LEBANON.

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AUDIENCE WITH POPE JOHN PAUL II

- POLAND. WE SHARE COMMON GOALS, FEEL DEEPLY SUFFERING OF POLISH PEOPLE, INTEND TO CONTINUE HUMANITARIAN AID
- WHAT FURTHER STEPS DOES VATICAN BELIEVE WEST SHOULD TAKE?
- LATIN AMERICA. WE APPRECIATE YOUR MEDIATION ROLE IN BEAGLE CHANNEL
- GRATEFUL FOR YOUR APRIL 17 LETTER ON EFFORTS TO RESOLVE FALKLANDS CRISIS; REGRET OUR EFFORTS DID NOT SUCCEED BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO PUSH FOR NEGOTIATED SOLUTION

AUDIENCE WITH POPE JOHN PAUL II

2

- CENTRAL AMERICA. ELECTION OUTCOME IN EL SALVADOR HEARTENING; WILL CONTINUE STRONG EFFORT TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY AND END VIOLENCE
- ARMS CONTROL. OUT START/INF INITIATIVES SERIOUS AND FAR-REACHING; WILL BE MAJOR SUBJECT AT NATO SUMMIT, WHERE WE EXPECT STRONG ALLIED SUPPORT
- MIDDLE EAST. CAMP DAVID ONLY VIABLE PEACE PROCESS; WE COMMITTED TO SUCCESS OF AUTONOMY TALKS

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BACKGROUND PAPER: THE VATICAN AND POLAND

I. ESSENTIAL FACTORS

- o Polish regime recognizes it needs Church to maintain social peace.
- o Primate Archbishop Glemp in April launched proposals to heal divisions.
- o Some in Polish hierarchy think Glemp line too conciliatory.
- o Possibility of Papal visit to Poland later this year apparently still open.

II. U.S. AND VATICAN POSITIONS

1. U.S. Position:

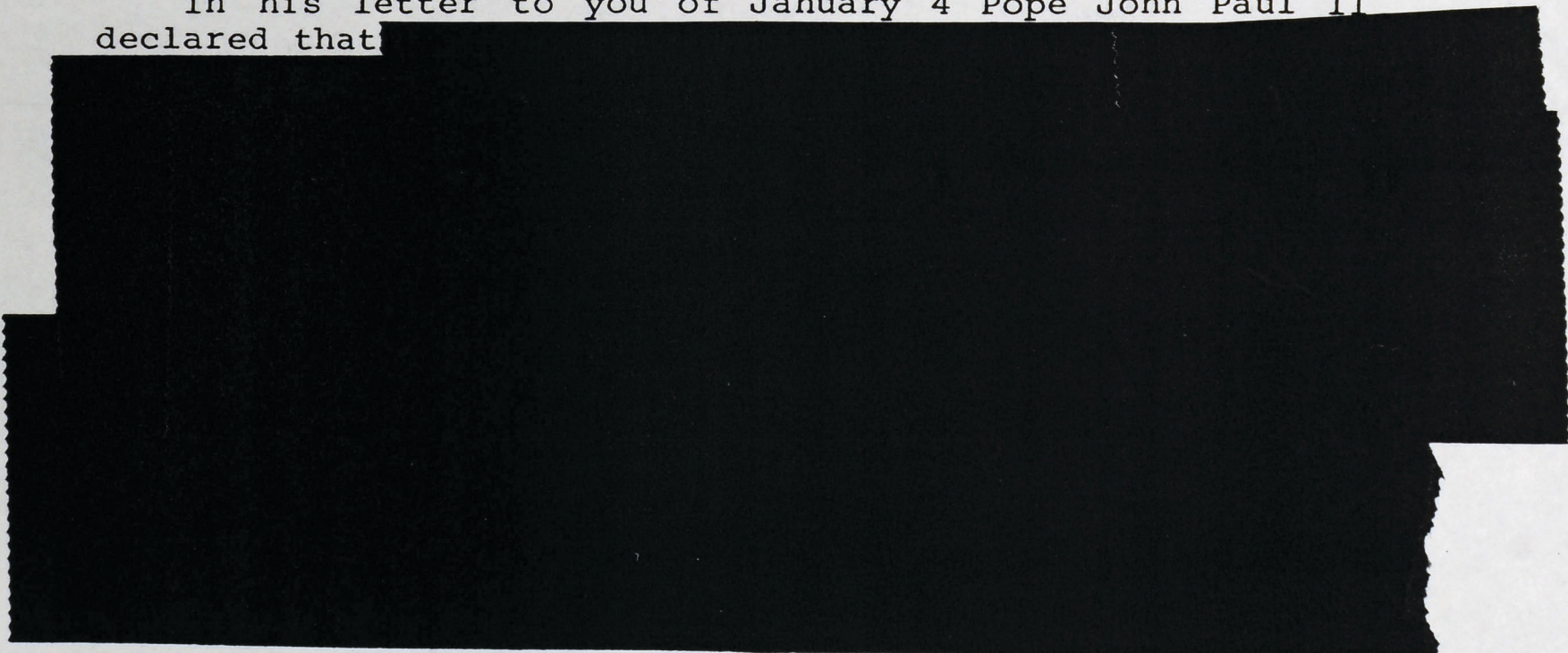
- o There must be end to martial law, freedom for prisoners, resumption of dialogue between government and Solidarity.

2. Vatican Position:

- o Pope must operate on moral, not political, plane.
- o Church in Poland can mediate but not negotiate.
- o Pope fully agrees with three U.S. goals.
- o Pope is dubious about sanctions; Polish Church, particularly Glemp, opposes them.
- o U.S. humanitarian assistance is deeply appreciated.

III. DISCUSSION

In his letter to you of January 4 Pope John Paul II declared that



May 12, 1982

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RDS 1,3 5/12/02

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By CS, NARA, Date 8/29/02

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BACKGROUND PAPER: THE VATICAN AND NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

I. ESSENTIAL FACTORS

- o Pope believes that nuclear arms race has spun out of control.
- o He wrote to you and Brezhnev last November vividly expressing his fears and urging progress at the Geneva INF talks.
- o Current Vatican stress is on "anti-nuclear" rather than "anti-war" theme.

II. U.S. AND VATICAN POSITIONS

1. U.S. Position:


- o Opposed to all war, conventional as well as nuclear.
- o We have proposed complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces.
- o In our first phase of START negotiations the U.S. will seek to reduce ballistic missile weapons by at least one third and also to reduce the number of missiles themselves.

2. Vatican Position:

- o This generation has moral obligation to eliminate the specter of nuclear war.
- o Duty falls most heavily on those world leaders whose role can be decisive.
- o There should be an immediate reduction of nuclear weapons through specific accords, with a view to eventual elimination.

III. DISCUSSION

We understand that the Vatican has urged the American Catholic bishops to give particular attention to the nuclear issue. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops plans to issue a statement in the fall that may modify traditional Church teaching, which holds that possession of nuclear weapons as a deterrent is a morally "tolerable" position. The Pope himself is concerned that actual use of nuclear weaponry has come to be thought of as a realistic option.



May 12, 1982

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NLS, F97-05815 #58 RDS 1,3 5/12/02

By CS, NARA, Date 8/29/02

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BACKGROUND PAPER: CHURCH ROLE IN LATIN AMERICAN
POLITICAL ISSUES

I. ESSENTIAL FACTORS

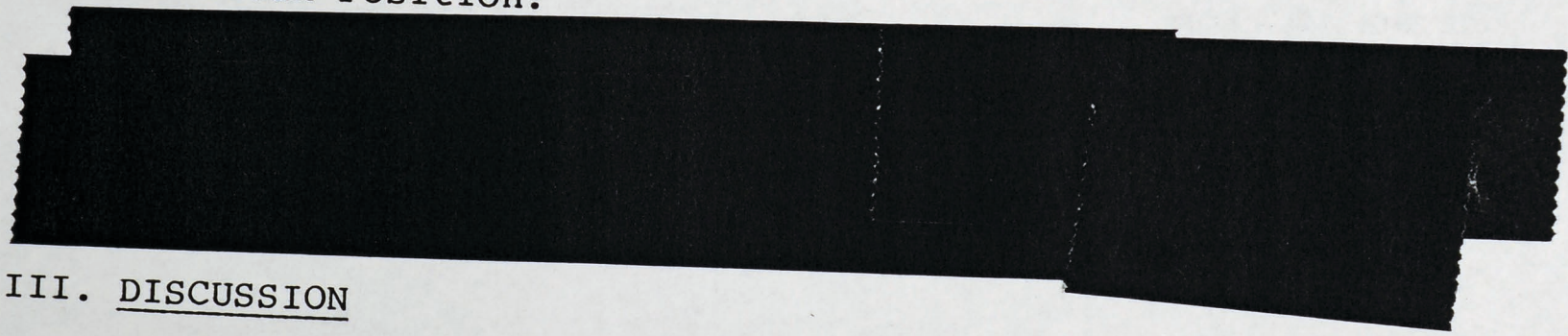
- Communists, particularly in Central America, exploit Church concern for poor to enhance their legitimacy.
- Church sees threat from totalitarian left, also opposes rightist abuses.
- But Church deeply divided.
- Papal mediation in Chile-Argentina Beagle Channel dispute frozen by Falklands crisis.

II. U.S. AND VATICAN POSITIONS

1. U.S. Position:

- Prevent new Communist gains in Central America.
- Work with Church to strengthen center, encourage democracy, social justice, end violence.
- Neutral on Beagle, grateful for Papal role.
- Welcome any avenue to peace in South Atlantic.

2. Vatican Position:



III. DISCUSSION

Two visits to Latin America--Mexico (1979) and Brazil (1980)--involved the Pope personally in debate over whether Church advocacy for the poor meant support for radical politics. Vatican concerns and Nicaragua's example have contributed to a shift toward the center within the Central American Church. But the hierarchy is still unable to control those Church workers who sympathize with and sometimes actively support revolutionaries. Greater convergence of views between Catholic Bishops in El Salvador and U.S. is not shared by U.S. Catholic Church, still highly critical of U.S. Central American policies.

May 11, 1982

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RDS-3 5/11/02

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By C/S, NARA, Date 8/29/02