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THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Pope Paul VI



I. PURPOSE

Your call on Pope Paul comes on the 12th anniversary of the death of Pope John XXIII. It is at a time when the Holy See is particularly concerned with events in Indochina, the plight of the refugees, and the situation in the Middle East, especially Jerusalem. The Pope will seek your views on the future in Indochina, the likelihood of continued U.S. assistance to the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, and your assessment of Arab-Israeli relations in the light of your meeting with Sadat. If time permits the Pope may ask about your discussions with the Spanish, the future of Portugal, the progress of the negotiations concerning Cyprus, the status of US-Soviet relations and the outlook for CSCE.

Your purpose in this meeting will be:

- to express our admiration for the Pope's efforts in assisting and urging others to assist the refugees and our hope that the Vatican will continue such efforts;
- to reassure the Pope of our continued commitment to help the refugees from Indochina build a new life;
- to confirm our interest in cooperating with the Arabs and the Israelis in finding just and equitable solutions to the problems of the area;

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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

State Dept Guidelines

By Wb NARA, Date 8/23/2010

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- to underline our willingness to assist the parties in the Cyprus dispute in negotiations toward an equitable solution;
- to describe the current status of US-Soviet relations.



## II. BACKGROUND AND STRATEGY

### A. Background

Under international law the Vatican is a sovereign state competent to accredit and receive diplomatic representatives. Since his appointment in June 1970 as the President's special envoy to the Vatican, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge has visited the Holy See 17 times to consult with Vatican officials on current major problems, particularly of a humanitarian nature. The Pope has been most appreciative of this channel of communication.

Secretary Kissinger last met with Pope Paul November 5, 1974, during the Secretary's visit to Rome for the World Food Conference. Issues discussed included the Middle East, particularly a Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) request for a Papal audience (held on November 16) and an assessment of Israeli attitudes; the condition of South Vietnam at the time; and the situations in Cyprus, India and between the United States and the Soviet Union.

#### 1. General

##### a. Pope John XXIII

June 3 is the 12th anniversary of the death of Pope John XXIII. Pope John was credited with bringing a "fresh wind" through the Catholic Church with such actions as the 1962 convening of the second Vatican Council to promote Christian unity and the beginning of an improvement in Vatican relations with East Europe and the Soviet Union. Pope Paul was elected to succeed Pope John on June 23, 1963.

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### b. Canonization of Mother Seton

In December, 1974, Pope Paul announced that Elizabeth Bayley Seton would be canonized on September 14, 1975, as the first American-born saint of the Roman Catholic Church. On the occasion of the announcement a statement issued in your name cited the event as a milestone in America's diverse spiritual history and congratulated the Sisters of Charity, the religious order Mother Seton founded, on the joyous occasion. The American Catholic Church will undoubtedly be represented at the canonization ceremony. Ambassador Lodge, as your special envoy to the Vatican, will attend the ceremony.

### 2. Vietnam and the Refugees

The Vatican has a deep interest in Vietnam, particularly the humanitarian problems and the future of its bishops and clergy. Pope Paul wrote you immediately after the fall of Danang urging that the United States make every effort to evacuate the refugees there. You replied in early May that you shared his concern for the plight of the Vietnam refugees and requested him to urge all nations to aid the refugees in beginning a new life. The Vatican has advised the bishops in Vietnam to remain at their posts and is apparently leaving it up to the local Catholic hierarchy to work out on its own, without Vatican pressure, its future relations with the new political authorities. There is one archbishop in Hanoi who leads about one million adherents in North Vietnam; the Church there is totally subject to state control.

### 3. The Middle East

In the past several years the Pope has actively encouraged increased dialogue among Christians, Moslems and Jews, hoping that this dialogue will eventually help lead to reconciliation among the three religions and to peace in the Middle East. Vatican officials have been pessimistic about the current chances of a Middle East peace and list Israeli intransigence as a major obstacle to a settlement. They hope that the United States could encourage Tel Aviv to be more flexible in the negotiations.

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The Vatican sees Jerusalem as the most difficult problem of the Middle East and believes it can play an active role in its resolution at the appropriate time. The Holy See prefers a Jerusalem protected by an international statute with equality of rights for the three religions emotionally committed to the city. The Vatican also believes that a just and equitable settlement of the Palestinian refugee population is essential.



#### 4. Spain

Since Roman Catholicism is the official religion of Spain, there are deep, historical and emotional ties between the Vatican and Madrid. Nevertheless, the Spanish Catholic Church has put some distance between itself and the Franco regime over the past few years and the Pope has obliquely criticized the restrictions on freedom in Spain. The Pope will be deeply interested in your meeting with Spanish leaders and your comments on the direction Spain will take after Franco.

#### 5. Portugal

The Vatican "foreign minister," Archbishop Casaroli, recently stated that the stability of Spain and Portugal are essential for the preservation of NATO, Western values and Christianity. Vatican officials are concerned that the Portuguese Communist Party and its sympathizers will continue to try to undermine the democratic parties.

#### 6. Cyprus

During his November meeting with Secretary Kissinger, Pope Paul expressed his concern about pacification efforts and the plight of the refugees on Cyprus. The Vatican has called on all parties to discuss the restoration of peace on the island. The Pope will be most interested in your views on the Cyprus situation in light of your NATO summit meetings with Greek and Turkish leaders.

#### 7. East-West Relations

The Holy See has made a concerted effort over the past few years to improve its relations





with East Europe, particularly Poland and Hungary. In November, the Pope told Secretary Kissinger that the idea of a balance between the Soviet Union and the United States interested him and that he hoped for better relations between the two countries.

### 8. CSCE

The Holy See is a participant in the CSCE, and is particularly interested in peaceful relations in Europe, disarmament and the limitation of nuclear weaponry. The Vatican believes that CSCE should end well rather than quickly.

### 9. Italian Domestic Situation/ Italian Communist Party

The Vatican in recent years has relaxed its former rigid hostility toward the Italian Communist Party and is slowly developing a modus vivendi with it. On the other hand Church leaders informed Ambassador Volpe that they probably made a mistake in shifting their anti-communist policy. The Pope remarked to him that the situation in Portugal had opened the eyes of many Italians to the real danger of communism. The U. S. is totally opposed to the entry of the Italian Communists into the national government.

## III. TALKING POINTS

### A. Vietnam Aftermath

- The U. S. undertook its obligations in Indochina with honorable intent; we endured major sacrifices and sought no territorial, economic or political advantage. The impact of recent events has, nevertheless, disquieted some of our friends.
- The essentials of American foreign policy remain; problems are solved by facing them; America will continue to do this;
- I intend to continue the major initiatives which we have taken to promote greater stability in global political relationships and to cope with the structural problems facing the world economy.

## B. Indochina Refugees

- The Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees arriving in the United States have suffered deeply; they deserve our help and hospitality; America will continue to provide this aid;
- Both Church and non-Church organizations have taken a major role in assisting the refugees who are coming to the United States; the U. S. Catholic Conference has been one of the key organizations in this regard.
- I intend to continue to bring our concern, which is humanitarian, to the attention of the world community;
- I would be most grateful for the continued support of the Holy Father in this humanitarian work.

## C. Arab-Israeli Relations

- The most significant development in the area has been the new willingness to work for a political rather than a military solution to the Arab-Israeli issue;
- We were deeply disappointed by the suspension of negotiations, since we believe step-by-step diplomacy is the most practical way to arrive at settlement;
- We intend to persevere in our efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement and are now reassessing the situation.

## D. Jerusalem

- The ultimate status of Jerusalem must be determined in the context of a final settlement between the involved parties; we continue to support the concept of a unified city with no restrictions and open access for persons of all faiths and nationalities;





- Both Jews and Arabs should have roles in the civic and economic life of the city.



E. Spain

- We must look to the future by helping Spain adopt a moderate, stable course;
- In this endeavor we have sought the assistance of our NATO allies and the members of the European Communities;
- We believe it is in the direct interest of the European nations to help Spain prepare for the post-Franco period;
- The Catholic Church's traditional strength in the country has made it a strong voice for moderation and liberty and can give the Church a key role in the days ahead.

F. Portugal

- We are encouraged by the outcome of the April 25 elections;
- Nonetheless, a fundamental problem remains - the Armed Forces Movement ruling the country does not accept the democratic process;
- There is evidence that the Soviet Union has put a significant amount of funds into Portugal; we would hope the West European democratic forces would do the same;
- We continue to be concerned with the presence of Communists in the Cabinet;
- I would welcome the Pope's views on internal developments in Portugal and his suggestions as to how to encourage the political moderates in Lisbon.

G. Cyprus

- We are pleased that the intercommunal talks on a Cyprus settlement reconvened in Vienna on a positive note;
- the U. S. will support these talks and encourage the parties to reach a negotiated settlement;
- Greece and Turkey have taken the first steps in establishing a direct high-level dialogue. We are encouraging this process.

H. East-West Relations

- Our efforts to improve relations with the USSR remain on course.
- We expect further progress this year in limiting strategic arms deployments and hope that in time remedial legislation will permit a further expansion of commercial relations with the Soviet Union;
- But we will continue to resist any effort by Moscow to exploit recent international problems to its advantage and have publicly told the Kremlin not to fish in troubled waters.

I. Italian Domestic Situation

- We are encouraged by the success of Italy's economic austerity program and its resolve and skill in continuing to meet the challenges of its economy;
- The United States remains opposed to the entry of the Italian Communist Party into national government;
- We will continue to work closely with the Government of Italy and Italian democratic forces.

J. CSCE

- In principle, we are prepared to attend





a stage III heads-of-government meeting in Helsinki later this summer;

- We will continue to work closely with our West European friends to obtain realistic results on the remaining key issues.
- Western leaders should work to reduce euphoria in their countries on the significance of CSCE and to reaffirm the need for strong Western defenses.

K. Lodge Mission to the Vatican

- Ambassador Lodge has my fullest confidence and I have asked him to serve as my personal representative to you in the same manner as he served my predecessor;
- I wish to take this opportunity to thank Your Holiness and your staff for your cooperation and concern toward Ambassador Lodge.
- I appreciate the value of this relationship in our mutual search for peace and the alleviation of human suffering;
- I look forward to further cooperation.