

2198

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# 10 DOWNING STREET

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FILE TITLE:

MEETINGS WITH THE ARCHBISHOP  
OF CANTERBURY.

SERIES

PRIME MINISTER  
MEETINGS.

PART:

1

PART BEGINS:

2 MAY 1997

PART ENDS:

7 JUNE 2001

CAB ONE:

LABOUR  
ADMINISTRATION

~~Part done~~

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PART

CLOSED

DATE CLOSED

7 JUNE 2001



Series : PRIME MINISTER MEETINGS

File Title : Archbishop of Canterbury

Part : 1

Date	From	To	Subject	Class	Secret
27/01/1998	APPTS		(M) - record	C	0
19/10/1998		PM	Archbishop of Canterbury - Sorry to ancel meeting	U	0
23/10/1998	PM		to Archbishop of Canterbury - Sorry we had to cancel	U	0
25/01/2000	APPTS	PM	Meeting with Archbishop of Canterbury:26 January	U	0
29/09/2000	H/APPTS	PM	Meeting with the Archbishop of Canterbury, 2nd October	C	0
14/02/2001	H/APPTS	PM	Archbishop of Canterbury	U	0



From: W E Chapman  
Date: 14 February 2001

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Jonathan Powell  
David North

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

You are seeing George Carey tomorrow for one of your six monthly meetings, at Lambeth. He has just returned from two weeks in Nigeria, so may be pretty exhausted. Nonetheless he has agreed to bring forward this meeting from its planned date, for you to discuss the family and marriage a.s.a.p; you might thank him for that.

Family and Marriage: so far the Church has differed from your view that it is not for the Government to proselytise on marriage; Jack Straw recently argued this to the House of Bishops, who remained unconvinced. The Church thinks that, given marriage's perceived social benefits, the Government should give it more explicit, vocal support.

We've asked the Home Office to flesh out your idea of a Foundation to promote Marriage and the Family, set up and run by Faith groups, which the Government could help support. So far, they've only come up with reasons not to fund such a body and to be cautious in offering other forms of support.

Notwithstanding this, tomorrow you could float the idea, asking the Archbishop how practical he thinks it would be and what it might consist of. He may want time to reflect—I've not alerted Lambeth to the specific proposal for fear it might leak while he was abroad. If he's positive you could suggest a small joint working party to think it through further. Emphasise this is for the long term (there may be suspicions that this is just pre-Election) and that this is a very private conversation.

Presentationally, the Faiths should be seen to approach you for support of a foundation, not the other way round.

Lords Reform: The Archbishop may want an up date on progress and on the number of Bishops in the reformed House. Wakeham recommended reducing specifically Anglican representation from 26 Bishops to 16 (not necessarily all Bishops). Ministers so far have said they think 16 about right; the Archbishop



would like more.

VAT on Church Repairs: The Church is disappointed at the European Commission's unhelpful reaction and some think the Chancellor could have been more up front about the Commission's likely views. There are 3 key points to make: the Commission are likely to consider this in their review of reduced rates in 2003; meanwhile the Government will keep up the pressure; and HMT are considering how to compensate for some of the VAT (for the Archbishop's private information this might be adding to an existing Joint Grant Scheme, or providing a grant which mirrors the VAT burden more closely than current arrangements).

Race and Immigration: You may want to ask if the Churches would make another approach to all three main parties before the election (you'll recall meeting a group last Autumn). The Church is unlikely to want to repeat the exercise exactly. The Archbishop may say that pressure from local Churches on constituency MPs is the best next step. But might there be scope for some national statement from the main Church leaders in the run up to the election?

Nigeria: The Archbishop may raise his concerns over Christian/Moslem relations and the impact of Sharia law in some states, and over Nigeria's debt. He may also look for confirmation that the Government values the Church of England's links with Anglican Churches in countries with historic ties to the UK. A note from the FCO is attached. On debt, the Nigerians must commit themselves to economic reform.

World Faiths and Development Dialogue: you might mention your support for moving the WFDD to London (the Aga Khan told you about this initiative, currently housed in the World Bank but looking for an independent existence). The Archbishop has played a key role in the WFDD but despite that it has not got very far. You could ask how you and he could work together to reinvigorate it.

Education: The Archbishop may warmly welcome your statement on Monday - Government/Church relations on schools are both warm and realistic.

William.



**NIGERIA: CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 15 FEBRUARY**

**Points to Make**

Sharia

- We are in close touch with Christian and Muslim religious and political leaders in Northern Nigeria. Have expressed concern over Sharia punishments.
- We understand the fears of the Christian community.
- Federal Government cannot act until constitutional question is resolved.\* Only Nigerian courts can do this.
- President Obasanjo is in a difficult position. He has to find a way forward which will not increase ethnic and religious tensions.

Debt

- Nigeria's debt has built up through mismanagement and corruption. Real economic reform urgently needed. We are in the forefront of support for Nigeria. We have a two-stage strategy:
  - i) a generous debt rescheduling while Nigeria completes an IMF programme and builds a track record of economic reform. Then
  - ii) If a debt sustainability analysis proved it necessary, we would consider partial debt cancellation.

Sudan

- Important to encourage grass roots/people-to-people peace work: south/south, north/north and south/north.

\* ie whether States individually can actually introduce Sharia. A test case is before the courts.



**From: W E Chapman**  
**Date: 29 September 2000**

**PRIME MINISTER**

**Cc Jeremy Heywood**

**MEETING WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 2ND OCTOBER**

The Archbishop is coming here at 3:30 on Monday for one of his six monthly meetings with you. You may wish to start by apologising for the two postponements of this meeting (the last time because Concorde was grounded and you had to leave early on a scheduled flight to New York). You could also welcome the prospect of meeting a Bishops' Delegation on 4<sup>th</sup> October (the Archbishop will not be part of it) to discuss Asylum.

The Archbishop wishes to raise several issues, as follows.

House of Lords Reform. The Archbishop may: argue for 20 Bishops in the new House compared to Wakeham's recommendation of 16 [there are currently 26; the proposed cut has handed a weapon to church opponents of Establishment]; ask you to agree that, when Bishops retire, they should also lose their seats in the Lords; ask for a Church place on the Joint Committee which will consider handling.

You should make no commitment on numbers (which will be reduced to make room for other denominations and faiths); reopening debate on the issue could reopen the whole case for any formal representation of the C of E. There should be no difficulty with Bishops retiring when they resign their Sees. I am in touch with the usual channels over Joint Committee membership but please don't hold out much hope (Margaret Jay has already told the Archbishop there is little likelihood of a place.)

VAT on repair of Church Buildings: The Archbishop wants this burden lifted or extra Government aid to off-set it. He has met the Chancellor, who is sympathetic and is considering possible ways of helping.

You should also express sympathy without going into detail, as the search for options is at an early stage. European agreements prevent a zero or reduced rate; the zero rate for **new** churches is a creative use of housing relief.

EU employment directive. The Church is concerned that the directive may compel Churches to employ people who don't subscribe to their beliefs and principles in, for example, church schools. (Some in the Churches are embarrassed at being seen



to argue against the human rights of individuals in this way but say those rights need to be balanced against the freedom of conscience and religion.)

You can assure the Archbishop that you want faith organisations to be able to recruit from their adherents and maintain their distinctive ethos (for which UK law already provides). We are pressing this in discussions in Europe. [Although negotiations are meant to be confidential the Archbishop may have seen a leaked copy of the UK amendments, designed to strengthen religious rights.] European Ministers meet on 17<sup>th</sup> October when they hope to reach final agreement.

Some fundamentalist Christians are alarmist about the directive and the Government attitude; it would be helpful if more informed religious voices could publicly distance themselves from them.

Schools: The Archbishop may update you on the Church's review of Church Schools, which published an interim statement in July. Main recommendation so far is to expand Church secondary provision, with an extra 100 C of E secondary schools in the medium term. (Currently 1 in 5 maintained schools is C of E; only some 200 are secondary schools). Estelle Morris has twice met Lord Dearing, who heads the review, with a further meeting planned.

You should acknowledge the valuable contribution of church schools and say we would be sympathetic to more (provided growth responded to parental demand and did not increase surplus places). The Government has agreed to give dioceses priority access to loans, in order to help the church meet its contribution to the initial cost of new voluntary aided schools in deprived areas. (A background note on the system is attached.)

Dearing will next consider admissions issues. Important to maintain religious ethos but church schools shouldn't become rigidly exclusive.

You might also express appreciation of the C of E's support for City Academies. The Bishop of Liverpool is playing a leading role in the partnership to develop a city academy for Liverpool, announced on 15<sup>th</sup> September. Negotiations with the church are also going on in relation to academies in Haringey and Salford.

Section 28: The Archbishop may ask how you'll proceed. You may want to emphasise that you're still committed to repeal and are considering the options.

*William*

W E CHAPMAN



### Background Note

The cost of the Church of England of providing new schools depends on the type of school proposed. Site and buildings for a **new voluntary controlled school**, and ongoing capital costs, would normally be met by the local education authority (LEA). For a **new voluntary aided school**, the promoters must provide the site and buildings (except playing fields), but they are eligible for grant-aid from DfEE of up to 85% of the costs. Opening a new VA school involves commitment to fund 15% of the initial costs, and 15% of the ongoing maintenance costs. The governors can seek a loan from the Department to help with their initial costs. Such requests are considered in the light of funding available, taking account of whether the governors can fulfil their longer-term obligations.

Except for City Academies, decisions on whether or not to establish new schools are taken at local level, by the School Organisation Committee. If they can't agree, the decision goes to the Schools Adjudicator. The Committees include representatives of interested parties, including the Churches.



Prime Minister

**From:** William E Chapman

**Date:** 25 January 2000

**cc:** Pat McFadden  
Kate Garvey

### MEETING WITH ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: 26 JANUARY

This is one of your regular half yearly meetings with the Archbishop, this time at Lambeth. Forty five minutes have been allocated.

The Archbishop will probably raise:

The Wakeham Report: Wakeham recommended sixteen Anglican Bishops for the new chamber plus five representatives of other Christian denominations from England and five representing Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, as well as five members of other faiths. Officially, the Church has welcomed the wider faith representation, but has reserved judgement on the number of Bishops. The Archbishop is probably realist enough to accept that sixteen is better than might have been expected but many in the church will not share this view. Those in favour of disestablishment will say that the reduction strengthens their case; and the smaller number will find it more difficult to continue to make a substantial contribution to the reformed House. The Church is looking for further discussions on this with Government.

Establishment and the Act of Settlement: The church recognises the element of discrimination in the Act of Settlement and the Oaths but is concerned that any changes could unravel the whole constitutional settlement. They are also very concerned to maintain the relationship with the Monarchy. The Archbishop will appreciate your line that there are no current plans to amend the Act but he may want to explore the second half of your formula, that you have not said that the law should never be changed. You might ask



where the church has got to in its thinking on how it sees Establishment evolving and which parts of the settlement it sees as essential. The Archbishop may ask for a dialogue with officials at some point.

Northern Ireland: The Archbishop is visiting Northern Ireland on and around St Patrick's day for ecumenical engagements, and may seek your up to date assessment of the position. He wrote congratulating Peter Mandelson on his appointment and may be hoping to establish links with him. John Sawers suggests that you point the Archbishop in Peter Mandelson's direction to discuss what more if anything the churches might do.

Churches' Follow up to the Millennium: The Archbishop may outline how the Churches will carry forward their Millennium activity.

Royal Family: The Archbishop may want to raise an unspecified issue – most probably, The Prince of Wales and Mrs Parker Bowles. The Church published a document on “Further Marriage In Church After Divorce” today, effectively making remarriage in church easier; despite some press comment, this is not prompted by the Prince's special circumstances.

Section 28: The Archbishop is taking a more balanced view than Cardinal Winning emphasising that it is guidance for schools that is important, rather than Section 28 per se. His concern is that there should be guidance on a sound moral framework for teachers with “Homosexual relationships [not placed] on an equal footing with marriage”. (James Jones weighed in with a Telegraph article yesterday inclining to the more conservative end of the spectrum, and the Bishop of Oxford today with a more liberal article in the Independent). You may want to emphasise your commitment to repeal but also to good guidance, which will be consulted on, and your desire for a more rational and considered debate.

William



## ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

**Recommendation 107:** The reformed second chamber should continue to include people capable of articulating a range of philosophical, moral and spiritual viewpoints, both religious and secular.

**Recommendation 108:** The Church of England should continue to be explicitly represented in the second chamber, but the concept of religious representation should be broadened.

**Recommendation 109:** The Appointments Commission should ensure there are at least five members of the second chamber selected to be broadly representative of the non-Christian faith communities.

**Recommendation 110:** The total number of places for members formally representing the various Christian denominations throughout the united Kingdom should be 26. Twenty one should go to members representing the Christian denominations in England and five should go to members representing the Christian denominations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

**Recommendations 111:** Of the 21 places available for members of Christian denominations in England 16 should be assigned to representatives of the Church of England and five to members of other Christian denominations in England.

**Recommendations 112 and 113:** The Appointments Commission should appoint individuals to the five places available for members of Christian denominations in England other than the Church of England; and <sup>to the</sup> five places available for members of Christian denominations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, but it should consult extensively with the relevant ecumenical instruments.

**Recommendation 114:** Representation should be adjusted to reflect demographic changes and changes in adherence to particular beliefs.

**Recommendation 115:** The Church of England should review the options for providing formal Church of England representation. Their detailed recommendations should be made to the Government in time for incorporation into the necessary legislation.





10 DOWNING STREET  
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THE PRIME MINISTER

23 October 1998

Dear George,

Thank you for your letter of 19 October. I too am sorry that we had to cancel our scheduled meeting but I have asked Kate Garvey to telephone Mary Eaton to re-arrange a date as soon as possible.

With best wishes,

Yours ever  
Tony

The Most Reverend and Right Honourable The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury

AJ



Lambeth Palace London SE1 7JU

19 October 1998

Dear Tony

GR  
From PM  
Can you say  
yes, absolutely.  
KG will speak

I was sorry that our meeting scheduled for this morning could not go ahead although I well understand the need for such adjustments, especially where Northern Ireland is concerned.

to May  
Eaton  
 asap to  
fix.  
KG 22/10

In the circumstances, may I suggest that we move swiftly to consider alternative arrangements? May I invite you here to Lambeth Palace early in the New Year? As you know, the customary arrangement of meetings, summer and winter, was disrupted in the light of the Lambeth Conference. It would be good to get back on track as soon as possible.

May I emphasise how highly I value such contacts and the opportunities they afford to exchange views and concerns.

Yours ever

George

The Rt Hon Tony Blair MP  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 2AA



SUBJECT  
MASTER

Filed on:

Cc: John Holmes  
Angus Lapsley

1. cc: Pat McEadden  
ten Metengir

2. jll.

## NOTE FOR THE RECORD

### Prime Minister's discussions with Archbishop of Canterbury: 27<sup>th</sup> January

Angus  
28/1

Among the items touched on by the Prime Minister and the Archbishop were the following:

**Welfare Reform:** a brief discussion with little to differentiate the views. The Archbishop's main point was that, as the debate goes forward, people need reassuring that the very poor will continue to be properly looked after, while changes are made to reduce the risk of others receiving benefit unnecessarily or fraudulently: the Prime Minister agreed;

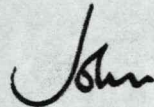
**Northern Ireland:** the Archbishop expressed his admiration for the work of Mo Mowlam. He pointed out that the churches are a significant force in N Ireland and that the mainland churches share their desire for peace. He himself keeps in close touch with Archbishop Robin Eames and, with other church leaders in GB, would be ready to help the peace process if at any time it was thought that their offices might be useful. (He did not refer to the role that Bishop David Sheppard and Archbishop Warlock played a few years ago - probably he did not know of it). The Prime Minister thanked the Archbishop and said that if such help were to be drawn in it would have to be at the right "strategic moment";

**House of Lords Reform:** The Archbishop said that, within the present healthy state of Church/State relations, he was supportive of efforts to reform the House of Lords. There was a need to bring in fresh blood and specifically to increase the membership of representatives of other churches and some other faiths. The Archbishop argued that, since 92% of the country's population are technically Christians, the representatives of the Christian faith should preponderate in the religious area and his implication was that the Bishops should continue to preponderate among the Christian religious leaders. The Church of England was ready to engage in dialogue with the Government about the best way forward in this area. In response the Prime Minister said that he had no intention of using the reform of the House of Lords as a vehicle for disestablishing the Church of England: for one thing he did not believe that it was worth all the legislative effort that would be involved. He agreed that the presence of the Church of England should be maintained in a reformed House of Lords, but wanted also to involve representatives of other churches and other faiths. He invited the Archbishop to think about how this might be achieved and to feed in his ideas.



(The Archbishop has already lined up a session with the Lord Chancellor when House of Lords reform will be one of the main topics).

**The Family:** the Archbishop mentioned the letter that he and other church leaders had written to Gordon Brown on 24<sup>th</sup> November about the need for taxation policies to underpin the institution of the family and in particular marriage as an institution. He mentioned that he is due to see Jack Straw to discuss a range of family issues.



**John Holroyd**  
27<sup>th</sup> January 1998



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