



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Holy See  
UNAIDS

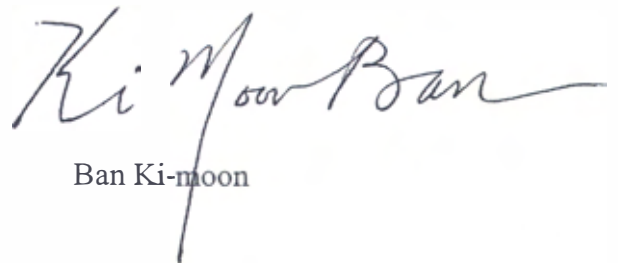
19 September 2007

Excellency,

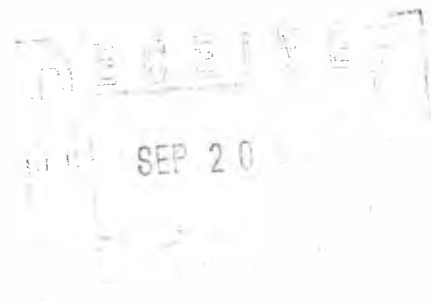
It was a pleasure to meet with you on 12 September, and I wish to thank you for our fruitful discussions. I was delighted to learn that His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI will visit New York in April 2008, and I very much look forward to the opportunity to meet with him.

With regard to your letter dated 10 September, I wish to assure you that the United Nations continues to fully support the status of the Holy See as a Permanent Observer State, reaffirmed by General Assembly resolution 58/314. The article by Dr. Nafis Sadik, my Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Asia and the Pacific, published in the *Conscience* magazine, was written in her personal capacity and was in no way intended to express any disrespect by the United Nations, or its Secretariat, for the status of the Holy See as decided upon by the General Assembly. In this regard, your concerns, and mine have been drawn to her attention.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Ban Ki-moon

His Excellency  
Archbishop Celestino Migliore  
Apostolic Nuncio  
Permanent Observer of the Holy See  
to the United Nations  
New York



27-11230

UNITED NATIONS



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POSTAL ADDRESS - ADRESSE POSTALE : UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
CABINET DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL

19 September 2007

REFERENCE:

Dear Dr. Sadik,

As I mentioned to you last week, Archbishop Celestino Migliore, Permanent Observer of the Holy See, has conveyed to the Secretary-General his "deep concern" over a recent article published in the spring edition of *Conscience* magazine under your name.

In Archbishop Migliore's interpretation, the article "misrepresented" the approach of the Holy See and the Roman Catholic Church to women issues and HIV/AIDS and, moreover, "indirectly called into question" the legal status of the Holy See as a Permanent Observer State. The Secretary-General has asked me to convey these concerns to you.

During our brief conversation, you had denied that any article was written by you of this nature. However, you mentioned to me your earlier comments relating to the initiatives of Frances Kissling, President of Catholics for a Free Choice.

In the light of the comments by the Holy See on the *Conscience* article, I write to convey the Secretary-General's request for a clarification of the situation. In particular, the Secretary-General is disturbed at comments that may appear to question decisions of the General Assembly or the legal status of a Member State.

I hope and trust that you will take necessary action in this sensitive matter.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Vijay Nambiar', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Vijay Nambiar  
Chef de Cabinet

Dr. Nafis Sadik  
Special Envoy of the Secretary-General  
for HIV/AIDS in Asia and the Pacific  
New York



To: Mr. Nambiar,

Please find attached, for your approval and signature a letter from you to Dr. Nafis Sadik and a letter from the Secretary-General to Archbishop Migliore, Permanent Observer of the Holy See.

We have taken an approach to convey the Holy See's concerns to Dr. Sadik through a letter from you (building on your earlier conversation with her) rather than a telephone call, while keeping the letter *to from the SG to* Archbishop Migliore general and positively-toned.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'N. Haysom', followed by a horizontal line.

Nicholas Haysom  
18 September 2007

cc: Mr. Kim Won-soo

27-11230

\* \* \* COMMUNICATION RESULT REPORT ( SEP. 20. 2007 5:30PM ) \* \* \*

FAX HEADER: EOSG 3853

TRANSMITTED/STORED : SEP. 20. 2007 5:29PM  
FILE MODE OPTION

ADDRESS

RESULT

PAGE

52 MEMORY TX

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E-3) NO ANSWERE-2) BUSY  
E-4) NO FACSIMILE CONNECTION

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Apostolic Nuncio  
Permanent Observer of the Holy See  
to the United Nations  
New York

\* \* \* COMMUNICATION RESULT REPORT ( SEP. 20. 2007 5:37PM ) \* \* \*

FAX HEADER: EOSG 3853

TRANSMITTED/STORED : SEP. 20. 2007 5:37PM  
FILE MODE OPTION

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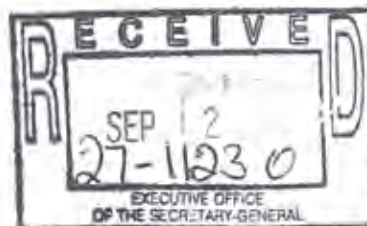
  
Vijay Nambiar  
Chef de Cabinet

Dr. Nafis Sadik  
Special Envoy of the Secretary-General  
for HIV/AIDS in Asia and the Pacific  
New York

Handwritten: Marked by ATELAR/LLP May 12 12 SEP 2007



Handwritten: ACTION NH COPY 1/1



PERMANENT OBSERVER MISSION  
OF THE HOLY SEE  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
N. 3677/07

25 East 39<sup>th</sup> Street, New York, NY 10016-0903  
Phone (212) 370-7885 Fax (212) 370-9622  
e-mail: office@holyseemission.org

New York, 10 September 2007

Mr. Secretary-General,

I am writing to express deep concern over a recent article by Ms. Nafis Sadik, your Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Asia and in the Pacific, published in the spring edition of *Conscience* magazine (see enclosure).

I regret to say that Ms. Sadik not only makes inaccurate and unfounded statements very critical of a UN Observer State, namely the Holy See, but indirectly criticizes the General Assembly's adoption of resolution 58/314 (Participation of the Holy See in the work of the United Nations), even applauding the campaign for the rejection of the same.

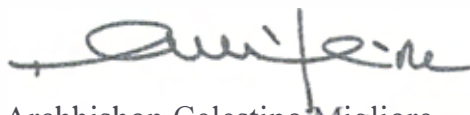
Ms. Sadik grossly misrepresents and denigrates the Holy See's and the Roman Catholic Church's approach to women's issues and HIV/AIDS, misleading the reader and ignoring the Church's enormous contribution in these areas. In doing so, she dismisses through ideological bias and disqualifies on subjective grounds a dedicated and effective player in the fight against HIV/AIDS. This seems to show a lack of the goodwill and spirit of collaboration required of a UN official able to address effectively the concerns of people living with HIV/AIDS.

Moreover, I am gravely concerned by Ms. Sadik's disregard for the above-mentioned GA resolution 58/314. As Your Excellency knows, on 1 July 2004, the GA decided by acclamation to establish formally in this resolution the rights and privileges that the Holy See has enjoyed in practice since it became a Permanent Observer State in the UN in 1964. I believe that for a UN official to indirectly call into question a GA resolution in this way, and to hail the forces that oppose it, is to show an inadmissible disrespect for the institution of the General Assembly, for its resolutions and decisions, and thus for the Member States.

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His Excellency  
Mr. Ban Ki-moon  
Secretary-General  
United Nations Organization  
New York  
(with enclosure)

While thanking you in advance for the attention you will kindly give to this matter, I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary-General, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'C. Migliore', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Archbishop Celestino Migliore  
Apostolic Nuncio, Permanent Observer



# CATHOLICS FOR A FREE CHOICE

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## For Frances, It's Personal

**Not only does Frances Kissling think the unthinkable, she says it loud and clear.**

By Nafis Sadik  
Spring 2007

One of the bitter disappointments of the papacy of John Paul II was that the Roman Catholic Church abdicated its responsibility toward women, and in particular toward women's sexual and reproductive health and rights. For a quarter of a century, the church resolutely opposed all moves toward women's empowerment and gender equality, on the international stage and at the national level.

In richer countries, women have to some extent been able to avoid the worst effects of doctrines expounded in encyclicals such as *Humanae Vitae*, which banned all forms of contraception, and the extension of the doctrine to the use of condoms for HIV/AIDS prevention. Eight Catholic women out of 10 in the United States, for example, continue to use contraception despite the ban. Others simply leave the church.

In many poorer countries, however, the church has been more influential. Poor women are still without modern reproductive health services. Some countries have enacted punitive laws against women who have abortions. Others have had to abandon policies to educate girls and women about their human right to sexual health, or what they can do to protect themselves from unwanted pregnancy and HIV/AIDS.

The impact on individual lives has been catastrophic, keeping maternal mortality high and families larger than women would have wanted. Mothers love all their children, but love does not provide food, clothing, shelter or education. Motherly love cannot make up for the tragedy of a schoolgirl's unwanted pregnancy, or for a child bride's fistula. Repressive laws do not prevent abortion; they simply drive it underground and make it more dangerous for women. Ignorance about sexuality does not prevent teenage sex; it simply prevents teenagers making informed decisions about sex. Campaigning against condoms does not encourage men to be more sexually responsible; it merely condemns powerless women to die a lingering death from AIDS.

Until 1978, it was relatively easy for organizations interested in women's sexual and reproductive health and rights to work with the church. We collaborated on programs to counsel engaged couples about family life; we worked together on maternal and child health projects. We agreed that we had a common purpose to save lives, improve health, attack poverty and promote development, and we agreed to disagree about contraceptive technology.

With the passing of Pope Paul VI, everything became much harder. The cordial working atmosphere vanished almost overnight and has never returned. Instead, we found distrust, covert opposition and open hostility, not only to contraception but to all aspects of women's empowerment and gender equality.

For me, as a scientist and medical professional committed to saving and improving the lives of women, the church's policy has been hard to understand. For an international civil servant trying to promote consensus among nations on broad issues of population and development, it has been frustrating, to say the least.

I was very happy to find in Frances Kissling an ally who not only shared my passion for sexual and reproductive health and rights but had a passion of her own, for her church and its mission. I understood quite early in our acquaintance that for her, the church's failure was a personal matter. After the hope of Vatican II, the opening offered by the papacy of Paul VI, the sudden closing of the church's mind to any ideas of women's empowerment or equality was a bitter blow. How could a woman with a mind of her own live in a church that rejected the ideas that gave meaning to her existence?

"In the highly charged atmosphere in Cairo, Frances' energy, diplomacy and humor were like oil on what could have been very troubled waters. The final consensus owes a lot to her."

Many women have faced this dilemma over the last 30 years, but very few have responded as Frances did: with a lifelong determination to resist and, if possible, to change the reactionary wave that has swept over the church. She has been extraordinarily influential, using her intellect, humor and broad humanity to excellent effect. She has made it clear that her stand is less doctrinal than humanitarian. Her concern is for ordinary women and men trying their best to conduct lives of Christian dignity in difficult circumstances.

Two examples of her contribution immediately come to mind. The first occurred at the International Conference on Population and



Development in 1994. The conference was an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. When I joined the United Nations in 1970, population was so controversial that it was barely possible to speak the words "family planning" aloud at an international meeting. The World Population Plan of Action, adopted in 1974, contained only three references to women in the whole of its voluminous text. In 1994, after 20 years' work, we saw the possibility of global consensus on sexual and reproductive health and rights, women's empowerment and gender equality, and the relationship of those goals to social and economic development, all in a context of national sovereignty and international responsibility.

As 179 countries met in Cairo, the success of the conference was balanced on a knife-edge. A great deal, maybe the whole deal, depended on how countries interpreted concepts such as reproductive health and gender equality. To reduce the possibility of misunderstanding, the secretariat ensured that carefully translated draft texts were available in all the official languages—only to discover that unauthorized translations were circulating that put some key concepts in a prejudicial light by, for example, interpreting "sexual health" in such a way as to imply a right to promiscuity. Powerful forces were clearly working against the mood of consensus that so many were trying so hard to build.

In this highly charged atmosphere, Frances' energy, diplomacy and humor were like oil on what could have been very troubled waters. She has many friends in many places, and she ensured that they all knew what the stakes were, and responded accordingly. The final consensus—one that has lasted and become stronger in the intervening years—owes a lot to her, and to the many other NGO leaders who brought the voices of ordinary people to the conference floor.

The second example is The "See Change" Campaign at the United Nations. The campaign showed all the audacity, intelligence, organization and wit for which Frances is renowned. The campaign pointed out, among other things, that the Holy See was the only religious organization represented at the

United Nations at the level of an observer mission; and that it was rather ironic for a state whose citizens were about 1,000 single, celibate males not only to participate in shaping international approaches to issues intimately concerned with sexual and reproductive health, but also to do so

on an equal basis with, say, India. On that occasion, as on so many others, Frances and her dedicated staff were not only thinking the unthinkable, but saying it loud and clear. Along with many others who wish the United Nations well, I am most grateful to her.

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NOTE TO THE CHEF DE CABINET

**Article by Nafis Sadik, UN Special Envoy on HIV/AIDS**

Included with this note is an article written by Nafis Sadik on the former President of Catholics for a Free Choice, Frances Kissling.

Although it appeared in a liberal Catholic magazine a few weeks ago, it is now starting to get some attention.

In the article, Ms. Sadik is fairly direct in her criticism of the policies of the Catholic Church and the late Pope John Paul II in regards to reproductive health. As you will read, in the last paragraph she clearly states her support for a campaign, led by Ms. Kissling, aimed at stripping the Holy See's observer status at the UN.

Another Catholic publication, a conservative one, has published an article (also attached) very critical of Ms. Sadik writing. They are planning to write a second piece based on our reaction and whether or not the United Nations, and the Secretary-General supports her views.

We've forward the article to Peter Piot at UNAIDS, as that agency manages the Secretary-General's Special Envoys on HIV/AIDS, to get some initial guidance. I will share it with you before it is used.

Stéphane Dujarric  
Office of the Secretary-General  
06 September, 2007

CC: Meyer, Montas



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## For Frances, It's Personal

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## Current Friday Fax:

**Top UN Official Praises Efforts to Throw the Vatican Out of the UN**

September 6, 2007  
Volume 10, Number 38

A *frustration*

**By Samantha Singson**

(NEW YORK — C-FAM) A top advisor to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon made what can only be seen as a major diplomatic blunder in an article published recently. In the article Nafis Sadik, the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS, praised the campaign to have the Vatican stripped of its UN Observer status and effectively kicked out of the UN General Assembly. The comment will likely have serious repercussions for Sadik, long a controversial and polarizing figure in the UN system.

The article ran in *Conscience Magazine* which is published by the pro-abortion group "Catholics" for a Free Choice (CFFC), a group dedicated, in the words of its past president Frances Kissling, to "overthrowing" the Catholic Church. In the article Sadik praised Kissling as "an ally" who shares Sadik's "passion for sexual and reproductive health and rights."

Sadik also praised CFFC's "See Change" campaign which was meant to drive the Holy See out of the UN. Over several years Kissling managed to get a few hundred mostly pro-abortion non-governmental organizations to endorse the removal of the Holy See's Observer status, a status that allows the Vatican to negotiate UN documents. Sadik said the campaign "showed all the audacity, intelligence, organization and wit for which Frances [Kissling] is renowned."

While the campaign is ongoing it has largely died, and instead of succeeding fomented a global wave of support for the Holy See at the UN. A campaign in support of the Holy See was launched and 4,200 groups from all over the world endorsed the Holy See at the UN [this campaign was run by C-FAM, publisher of the Friday Fax]. The US Congress passed a nearly unanimous resolution praising the Holy See at the UN. Not a single Member State of the UN endorsed throwing the Catholic Church out of the UN. And finally, a few years ago, the UN General Assembly upgraded the status of the Holy See. So it is perhaps odd that Sadik should choose this late date to praise the "See Change" campaign.

Close observers of the UN would, however, say Sadik's undiplomatic praise of an attack on a sovereign state and well regarded member of the UN community, fits with her long tenure at the UN. It was during her time running the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) that UNFPA was charged by British and American investigators with complicity in the forced abortion program in China, actions for which UNFPA's funding from the US was withdrawn and never regained. It was under her watch that UNFPA was shown also to be complicit in forced sterilizations in Peru. Sadik has long shown a tin ear when it comes to politics having once given UNFPA's top award to the director of the coercive Chinese program. And during the negotiations for the Cairo+5 Conference in 1999 she angered a group of Muslim Ambassadors when she excoriated them for working too closely with Christian NGOs.

It is not known what action the Secretary General will take. The Friday Fax repeatedly called the Secretary General's office for a comment. The Friday Fax also called the press office of UNPFA to see if the current head of UNFPA agrees with Sadik. No answer was given.

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