





CATHOLICS FOR A FREE CHOICE



BAD  
FAITH  
AT THE  
UN

DRAWING BACK THE CURTAIN ON THE  
CATHOLIC FAMILY AND HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTE





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*“And then we broke every single rule of UN lobbying, which forbids—wait you’re going to love this—which forbids leafleting. You can’t go onto the floor of the conference and leaflet...But this thing was so explosive, we spread out across the floor and like an Old Testament plague, handed it [a leaflet] to every single person on the conference room floor, every single delegate. And a bunch of our people were thrown off and that was worth it, because something like pandemonium ensued.”*

—Austin Ruse, President, Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute  
Speech to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, March 2000

*“How do you become a lobbyist? You just send me an email and you come to my office and in fifteen minutes you’re going to be a lobbyist. Seriously, it’s pretty much that easy...You just come. I mean all I did was rent an office and get a phone and a computer and put a sign on the door and that was it. Wholly unqualified I am.”*

—Austin Ruse, President, Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute  
Speech to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, March 2000

*“Hillary [Clinton] is the ‘conquering queen’ at the United Nations...I was standing on the floor of the UN a couple of months ago, when she was thinking about running, and I was talking to a priest from the Holy See delegation and—I shouldn’t tell you this but he offered me guaranteed absolution if I just took her out—and not on a date.”*

—Austin Ruse, President, Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute  
Speech to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, March 2000

This publication has been fact checked and is accurate as of March 1, 2001.

When using as a citation, please credit “Bad Faith at the UN: Drawing Back the Curtain on the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute,” Frances Kissling and Jon O’Brien, Catholics for a Free Choice, 2001.”

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Production: David Nolan  
Transcription: Ebony Barley

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## BAD FAITH AT THE UN: DRAWING BACK THE CURTAIN ON THE CATHOLIC FAMILY AND HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTE

*And then we broke every single rule of UN lobbying, which forbids—wait you’re going to love this—which forbids leafleting. You can’t go onto the floor of the conference and leaflet... But this thing was so explosive, we spread out across the floor and like an Old Testament plague, handed it [a leaflet] to every single person on the conference room floor, every single delegate. And a bunch of our people were thrown off and that was worth it, because something like pandemonium ensued.<sup>1</sup>*

—Austin Ruse, President, Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute  
Speech to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation\*

### WILL THE REAL CATHOLIC FAMILY AND HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTE PLEASE STAND UP?

The short history of the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute (CAFHRI) is so full of half-truths and hidden facts that it brings to mind the popular American TV show *To Tell The Truth*. That show presented three individuals who all claimed to be the same person. Only one was real, but the two imposters lied to a panel about who they were and what they did. The panel then voted for whom they thought was real and the announcer asked the real person to “please stand up.”

CAFHRI presents so many fronts that one wants to demand that the real CAFHRI stand up and reveal its true identity. Major contradictions between what the group says it is and what it actually does include the following:

- CAFHRI claims to an independent entity, but evidence illustrates that it was established by Human Life International and Human Life International-Canada to represent their interests in the United Nations after HLI was denied UN accreditation. (See section entitled “What is CAFHRI’s relationship with HLI?” for additional details.)
- CAFHRI has applied for special non-governmental organization (NGO) status so it can lobby UN delegates, but it ignores the basic requirement that such an NGO support the work of the UN. Its leader admits to only a “veneer of support” for the UN and boasts of actions that “defy every UN rule on lobbying.”<sup>2</sup>
- CAFHRI claims to be an NGO that “encourages discussion and assists in strategy sessions for groups concerned with human rights and family issues,” but it is a one-issue, anti-reproductive rights

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\*The Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation was founded in 1958 by Phyllis Schlafly’s late husband John Fred Schlafly and his sister Eleanor as a militant anti-communism organization. It has a long history of ties to far-right organizations (See “A New Rite: Conservative Catholic Organizations and their Allies,” *Catholics for a Free Choice*, 1994.)

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organization that boasts of “taking over” meetings and subverting negotiations at the UN, while doing nothing constructive to promote or protect the human rights agenda defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other UN documents.<sup>3</sup>

- CAFHRI seeks to attend international UN conferences but its spokespeople and fundraising literature routinely disparage and denigrate the UN and its work.<sup>4</sup>
- CAFHRI states part of its mission is “to provide for internship training on human rights and family issues,” but it recruits young people and sends them to disrupt pro-UN youth coalitions.<sup>5</sup>

The true story behind the creation and growth of CAFHRI has farcical moments that it would leave one laughing except for the deceitful and destructive nature of this relatively tiny organization and the more powerful groups behind it. Their willingness to disrupt UN negotiations on life-and-death issues and their anti-UN rhetoric (see page 18) should be cause for concern to all those involved in UN activities. If CAFHRI is left unchallenged, it could cause even greater damage at and to the UN.

So who and what exactly is the real Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute and why should one care? An examination of corporate and courtroom documents on CAFHRI, independent studies and public speeches and actions of CAFHRI reveals contradictions between its stated mission and real life practices. We asked a series of questions and conducted research to find the answers that are provided in this paper.

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## CAFHRI AND HLI

*I was walking through the halls of Human Life International and it just crossed my mind that this would be the kind of place that I would like to work...and a few months later a young lady appeared at the church, and after mass a bunch of us go out to breakfast and she was with us. And I said, "What are you doing here?" She said, "Well, I'm here representing Human Life International and we're looking for somebody to open up a UN lobbying office."*<sup>6</sup>

—Austin Ruse

### IS CAFHRI TRULY INDEPENDENT OR A SURROGATE FOR HUMAN LIFE INTERNATIONAL?

To understand who controls CAFHRI and why, one needs to first know something of the history of Human Life International (HLI), which claims to be the world's largest pro-life organization, and Human Life International-Canada (HLIC). (An earlier report from CFFC can provide a detailed examination of HLI's history and practices.)

Created in Washington, DC, in 1981, Human Life International is located on 85 acres in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and claims to have 60 chapters in the US and branches and affiliates in 89 countries. Current reports set its assets at \$12 million with a reported annual income in 1998 of \$7.4 million. After a protracted internal struggle for control that saw the resignation of HLI founder Father Paul Marx and accusations of financial impropriety by his successor, Father Richard Welsh, HLI is now led by Father Thomas Euteneuer.<sup>7</sup>

HLI has continuously courted controversy through extremist actions and statements, such as displaying fetuses in jars at anti-choice demonstrations and publicly accusing Jews of controlling the abortion-rights movement.<sup>8</sup> An HLI spokesperson was quoted as calling sniper attacks on doctors who perform abortions "a superb tactic."<sup>9</sup> HLI works very closely with the Vatican and is called upon to participate in Vatican-sponsored conferences on reproduction and sexuality and supposedly has the blessing of the present pope, who has said that HLI is doing the most important work on earth.<sup>10</sup>

What HLI does not have is a form of accreditation at the UN called "ECOSOC status." The UN can grant an NGO a consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) that allows that NGO access to the UN building and to specific meetings that focus on economic and social matters. With the increasing involvement of civil society in international social policies that are debated at the UN, "ECOSOC status" has become vital if an NGO is to be present and participate with credibility in meetings at the UN.

HLI had tried and failed to gain this UN accreditation several years before it established CAFHRI. HLI first requested accreditation for consultative status with ECOSOC in 1990. The NGO Committee of the



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Council recommended that the group be added to its list in January 1991.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, in May 1991, the Economic and Social Council refused to endorse this recommendation and sent the request to be examined during the 1993 session of the NGO Committee.<sup>12</sup> In May 1993, HLI's request was rejected.<sup>13</sup>

Press reports on HLI's bid for UN recognition include the following:

Of all the organizations seeking formal status with the United Nations, only one—Human Life International—was flatly rejected by the committee (Inter Press Service, April 2, 1993).

HLI's application for official recognition from the UN was denied for "attacks on Islam," its stance "against the purposes of the United Nations," their "aggressive language" and the "issue of tolerance" (Front Lines Research, April 1995).

HLI's oldest and largest branch office is Human Life International-Canada (HLIC), run by well-known anti-choice activist Theresa Bell. After Theresa Bell became executive director in November 1992, HLIC reportedly grew significantly in numbers and in influence. However, formal complaints were filed with the Minister of Revenue charging that HLIC was in violation of Canadian tax law because it undertook political activity. In a letter dated July 16, 1993, Revenue Canada announced its intention to revoke HLIC's registration as a charitable organization unless HLIC ceased to be "political." HLIC denied that it was involved in political activity, but after an investigation its charity status was revoked in May 1994. HLIC appealed the decision in a case that went on until January of 1999, when the Canadian Supreme Court refused to hear its appeal.<sup>14</sup>

With HLI denied UN accreditation and HLIC stripped of its charity status, it appears that these groups decided to seek valuable ECOSOC status through a new organization. CAFHRI was born.

#### WHAT IS CAFHRI'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HLI?

CAFHRI is a legally separate entity from HLI and HLIC. It was formally incorporated on August 11, 1997, in Suffolk County, NY. The three directors/incorporators named on the certification of incorporation were Seth Perlman, Clifford Perlman and Jane Burke-Robertson.<sup>15</sup> Clifford Perlman served as CAFHRI's attorney and is a partner with his brother Seth Perlman in Perlman & Perlman, a New York-based law firm that specializes in non-profits and non-profit incorporation.

The stated purposes of the corporation were:

- To encourage discussions and assist in strategy sessions for organizations concerned with human rights and family issues;
- To research and disseminate information on related activities;
- To compile and maintain a global listing of organizations with similar objectives;
- To act as a liaison and network referral service on behalf of similar organizations worldwide;
- To help coordinate strategy and briefing sessions both during and between major UN conferences and sessions;

- To provide for internship training on human rights and family issues; and
- To do any other act or thing incidental to or connected with the foregoing purposes or in advancement thereof, but not for the pecuniary profit or financial gain of its members, directors, or officers.

Ann Noonan was hired as the first director of CAFHRI by Theresa Bell of HLIC as demonstrated by a letter Bell wrote Noonan dated July 30, 1997, outlining an employment offer on behalf of CAFHRI.<sup>16</sup> At that time, Noonan was an affiliate representative of the World Christian Life Community, an organization with ECOSOC status.<sup>17</sup> Three of the duties listed in Noonan’s job description show direct ties between the new organization and HLI and HLIC (presumably referred to as “Ottawa”):

- **“REPORTS DIRECTLY TO HLI CANADA UN LIAISON (CHRISTEN MACEACHERN)”;**
- **“COORDINATE WITH HLI CANADA, MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECTS”;**
- **“MAINTAIN EXPENSE/REVENUE (BASIC BOOKKEEPING), BANKING WEEKLY REPORT/UPDATE TO HLI CANADA”<sup>18</sup>**

Minutes from the first meeting of CAFHRI on August 18, 1997, also show how much HLI and HLIC were involved with CAFHRI and that UN accreditation was a priority:

- **“WEEKLY REPORTS TO OTTAWA ARE PRIMARILY ANN’S RESPONSIBILITY;”**
- **“CAHFRI IS ITS OWN SEPARATE LEGAL IDENTITY—US CORPORATION. 3 DIRECTORS (STEVE MOSHER, THERESA BELL, LAWYER\*);”**
- **“STATUS OF UN ACCREDITATION—APPLICATION IS IN PROCESS OF BEING LIKELY HEAR [SIC] IN SEPT OR OCT;”**
- **MEDIA RELEASES ARE TO BE “CLEARED THROUGH OTTAWA;”**
- **ANN AND AUSTIN HAD CHECK SIGNING AUTHORITY, BUT CHECKS OF OVER \$500 HAD TO BE “CLEARED BY OTTAWA;”**
- **THE PAY PERIOD FOR EMPLOYEES WAS BIWEEKLY, AND WAS TO “COINCIDE WITH HLI;”**
- **DUPLICATE COPIES WERE TO BE KEPT OF UN LITERATURE—“ONE FOR NY AND ONE FOR OTTAWA.”<sup>19</sup>**

CAFHRI, however, did not want it known that its employees were reporting to and controlled by HLI or HLIC. An internal organizational chart for CAFHRI, which only saw the light of day as an exhibit in a court action (see page 11), described the organization as “a program of Human Life International Canada.”

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*\*Steve Mosher is the president and founder of the Population Research Institute (PRI). PRI was created as a program of HLI in 1989 to counter mainstream scientific research regarding global efforts to combine population planning, reproductive rights and social development. PRI was separately incorporated in 1996. Theresa Bell is the head of HLIC. “Lawyer” presumably refers to CAFHRI lawyer Clifford Perlman, who was one of the three founding directors of CAFHRI. Perlman resigned as a director in December 1997.*

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On the chart (opposite page), a horizontal line is drawn just above Ann Noonan's name and title with the word "Visible" written below the line, implying that the names above the line are the "invisible" leadership structure of CAFHRI.

Two items in those same minutes from that first meeting of CAFHRI on August 18, 1997 also show how the true relationship between CAFHRI and HLIC was to be kept a secret:

"5. ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

- a. Titles
- b. Visible (day to day)/Invisible (behind the scenes)
- c. Report directly to "Ottawa Bureau." NY office is classified as "Head Office"<sup>20</sup>

"STATUS OF CAHFRI & ACCREDITATION

**Funding—Not public knowledge that HLI is funding office. Use discretion. Initially state that we are supported by multitudes of individuals/organizations. Don't hide the fact that HLI is funder—just don't volunteer that fact to uncertain/non-friendly persons.**"<sup>21</sup>

WHAT IS CAFHRI'S CONNECTION TO  
THE HOLY SEE'S UN MISSION?

Ann Noonan's job description shows that a key part of CAFHRI's mission is to work closely with the Holy See delegation at the UN. However, the public was not to know about CAFHRI's work in this area.

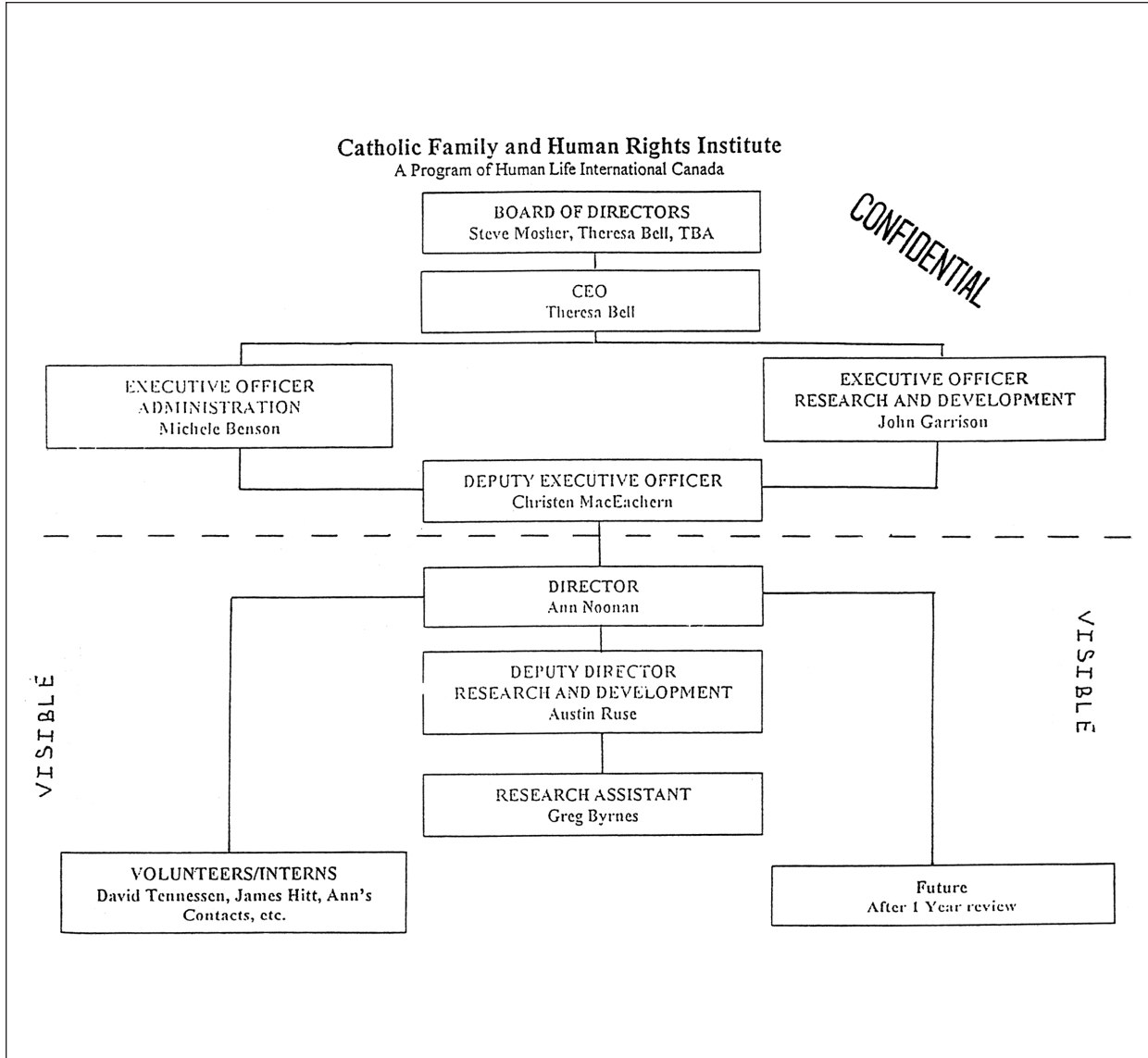
"Though not publicized, one of CAFHRI's major mandates will be to act as a real resource and information office to the Holy See delegation. Their requests would take top priority and provision of information CAFHRI may have would be freely provided."<sup>22</sup>

The minutes from that first meeting also show the connection to the Holy See:

**"Holy See Requests Take priority. Be discrete [sic] about Holy See Connection."**<sup>23</sup>

Even before she was officially hired, Noonan was clear about wanting to establish this Holy See connection. In a letter to Theresa Bell dated July 30, 1997, to negotiate terms of her employment, Noonan stated:

"I hope that there will be an opportunity for me to meet with members of the Holy See delegation as soon as possible to get a clearer sense of what type of research they will need, and please know that any requests they would make would most certainly be the priority."<sup>24</sup>



Reproduction of actual CAFHRI organizational chart from documents filed in Noonan lawsuit (see pages 12–13). Christen MacEachern, Michele Benson, John Garrison and Theresa Bell were all employees of HLIC. MacEachern was HLIC’s UN liaison.

WAS CAFHRI SET UP TO OBTAIN  
UN ACCREDITATION REFUSED TO HLI?

The records show that the central reason Ann Noonan was hired to head CAFHRI was to obtain UN accreditation for the organization. But who was the accreditation really for? In a deposition dated February 2, 1998, Noonan states that in June 1997, she was approached by Theresa Bell, executive director of HLIC. HLIC had no affiliate status at the UN and was interested in establishing a new office in New York with the goal of its becoming accredited. Remember that in May of 1993, HLI's effort to gain UN accreditation was rejected and that at the time HLIC's charity status was in jeopardy.

Theresa Bell and Ann Noonan discussed the possibility of Noonan working as a director and to obtain affiliate status for a new organization. Two months later, Noonan was hired as the first director of the newly incorporated CAFHRI. Theresa Bell was not named to the initial board of directors that appeared on the papers of incorporation, but clearly she was involved in the new organization as she appeared on CAFHRI's organizational chart in the "invisible" section (see above) as the CEO of HLIC. After CAFHRI was legally incorporated, it appears that Bell became a director, as in its 990 tax form for 1998, CAFHRI lists Bell, Austin Ruse, Steve Mosher and Marla Degaetano as directors.<sup>25</sup>

Joining Noonan at CAFHRI as Deputy Director Research & Development was Austin Ruse. The only other staff member was a research assistant.

*How do you become a lobbyist? You just send me an email and you come to my office and in fifteen minutes you're going to be a lobbyist. Seriously, it's pretty much that easy... You just come. I mean all I did was rent an office and get a phone and a computer and put a sign on the door and that was it. Wholly unqualified I am.*<sup>26</sup>

—Austin Ruse

WHO REALLY RUNS CAFHRI?

Ann Noonan did not last long as the first head of CAFHRI. Theresa Bell fired her less than two months after she started and Austin Ruse, the deputy director, replaced her. Noonan claimed her problems arose when Ruse began harassing her and alleged that "Ruse, a male deputy director of the defendant's CAFHRI's office, displayed an open hostility toward younger female superiors, including plaintiff, working at defendant's CAFHRI's office."<sup>27</sup> She sought assistance from HLIC but was told to handle the problem herself.

Noonan was fired by Bell on October 3, 1997 and immediately locked out of the CAFHRI offices. The following week, with the assistance of a police escort, Noonan was able to enter the office and retrieve most of her belongings. She alleges memos and letters that detailed the terms of her contract were missing.<sup>28</sup>

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On October 30, 1997, Noonan filed suit in the Supreme Court of New York, New York County, against CAFHRI, Theresa Bell, and Austin Ruse for “breach of a one year employment contract, tortious interference with contract, employment discrimination, and violation of civil rights law.” Noonan alleged that Bell “willfully and maliciously and without just cause or provocation and by false reports and statements concerning the plaintiff’s work at the defendant’s CAFHRI office, caused plaintiff’s discharge from her position as Director on October 3, 1997.”<sup>29</sup>

Some of the supporting documents in Noonan’s suit confirm that CAFHRI, HLI and HLIC were working with a common purpose. CAFHRI’s first official address was, and still is, 866 United Nations Plaza—an address from which HLIC also operated according to materials in the legal complaint filed by Noonan. Noonan asserts in her complaint that HLIC “regularly transacted business within the State of New York, derived a substantial revenue from services rendered within the state of New York, and operated from an office located at United Nations Plaza”—even though the group was apparently not registered to do business in New York. Noonan also stated in the complaint that CAFHRI hired her to “set up defendant’s office and obtain certification for CAFHRI as a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) affiliated with the United Nations ECOSOC and Department of Public Information and (that) would use her best efforts, her current accreditation as an affiliate representative of an United Nations ECOSOC NGO for a term of up to one year.”<sup>30</sup>

CAFHRI was represented in the Noonan lawsuit by Clifford Perlman who also happened to be one of the original incorporators of CAFHRI. In an affidavit, Perlman stated:

...I was a member of the board [of CAFHRI] only from the date of incorporation (on or about August 11, 1997) until December 23, 1997, when I resigned that position. I was named a director on the original certificate of incorporation because it is a corporate formality that three directors be named on the Certificate of Incorporation. I only served as a director until new directors could be elected.

I did not take any active role in running the organization during my brief tenure on the Board of Directors of CAFHRI. I took no part in the everyday operations of CAFHRI and did not supervise any employee’s work as director. I have never been to CAFHRI’s offices.

**... Upon information and belief, the everyday operations of CAFHRI fell on Austin Ruse and Theresa Bell.**<sup>31</sup>

From the evidence above, it is evident that Bell was involved in running CAFHRI from the very beginning. After firing Noonan in 1997, Austin Ruse became the president of CAFHRI. He continues in that position today.

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## WHO IS AUSTIN RUSE?

Ruse's full name is David Austin Ruse, II. Ruse is a life-long bachelor. He was born in 1956 and apparently raised as a Methodist and converted to Catholicism. He grew up in St. Charles, Missouri, and graduated from high school there in 1974. Ruse attended the University of Missouri where he participated in demonstrations against the Vietnam war and was elected vice president in student government. A former classmate recalls Ruse as interested in Jewish mysticism and Trappist writings and an ardent David Bowie fan. He graduated with a BA in journalism/political science.

Ruse then moved to Washington, DC, in search of a job in government. He ended up at the *Atlantic Monthly* with a job in sales. He then moved to New York and worked for *Forbes* in the business department for several years. Ruse notes that he then "left [his] career in magazine publishing in order to do something more meaningful. What I had in mind was to become a professional Catholic."<sup>32</sup> He became a freelance writer with articles published in conservative Catholic periodicals such as the *National Catholic Register*, the *Wanderer*, the *Catholic World Report*. In 1996, Ruse met someone who would lead him in a new direction. Ruse describes that person: "the firebrand of St. Agnes is a young priest from New Jersey, Fr. John Perricone, whose pure orthodoxy keeps the Tridentine Mass at St. Agnes jammed to the rafters."<sup>33</sup>

Perricone is the founder of ChristiFidelis, an organization of Catholic lay people oriented to the Latin Mass and other expressions of "authentic" Catholicism that claims to have more than 1,000 members. He is also editor-in-chief of its newsletter, *Excelsis*, and hired Ruse to become its editor. Perricone spoke at HLI's 1999 international conference in Toronto. Although he mainly concerns himself with issues related to theology, according to HLI Chairman Fr. Mathew Habiger, Perricone has also spoken at the UN about abortion, in association with CAFHRI.<sup>34</sup>

Ruse spent several years editing Perricone's newsletter. In a "Note from the Editor" in the July/August, 1998, issue of *Excelsis*, Ruse wrote:

It has been a wonderful two years editing and writing for *Excelsis*. . . Alas, it has come time for me to move on. Last summer I was lucky to be chosen to assist in the founding of a new Catholic initiative at the United Nations called the Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute. We are the only full-time pro-family lobbying group at the United Nations. We cover all the major world conferences, as well as the day to day meetings at UN headquarters. Needless to say, I find less and less time to contribute as Editor of *Excelsis*.<sup>35</sup>

The New York City Catholic church of St. Agnes where Ruse claims Fr. Perricone is so popular is also an important networking center because of its 30-year tradition of housing members of the Holy See's Mission to the United Nations. Msgr. Eugene Clark, head of the church of St. Agnes, is also a fervent supporter of traditional Catholicism, as well as a member of the board of the Human Life Foundation, an anti-choice group, head of the New York chapter of the Friends of the Vatican Museum and vice president of the board of directors of the Homeland Foundation, a New York-based organization that provides financial support to "institutions and projects that foster the Roman Catholic faith, and especially those that strengthen the unity of the Catholic community in the United States and the Holy See." Also living at St. Agnes are Msgr. Carl Marucci, the personal secretary to Archbishop Renato Martino, the apostolic nuncio, permanent observer of the Holy See to the United Nations—effectively the Vatican's ambassador to the UN—and Msgr. James Reinhart, another attaché to the Holy See's UN Mission.<sup>36</sup>



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## WHO FUNDS CAFHRI?

A summary of CAFHRI's 990 tax form for 1998 shows the only source of income for the organizations was "contributions" that totaled \$133,725. The total of expenses for Program Services (\$64,247) and Administration (\$45,065) totaled \$109,312. The net gain for the year was \$24,413. This represents an increase of \$24,413 over the previous year of 1997, when CAFHRI ended the fiscal year with \$0.<sup>37</sup>

An exhibit in the Noonan case shows what appears to be a copy of the operating budget for CAFHRI for 1997. The exhibit, dated August 13, 1997, by Theresa Bell, indicates yearly expenses of \$89,034 and revenues of \$60,225. One interesting source of funds is what is called the Miraculous Medal Appeal that grossed \$90,000 and netted \$45,000. A footnote to that figure says:

**"\$90,000 was raised for the purpose of retaining 25% for HLIC in-house UN research."**<sup>38</sup>

Another item called a *Request Summary* stated:

**After capital outlay of 19,564, net revenue from HLI Canada is remaining is \$40,661. This amount will cover operational expenses for approximately 22 weeks until mid February 1998. It is hoped that HLI US could cover monthly expenses for the balance of the year—until mid-September 1998.** This would amount to approximately \$51,940. It should be noted that many of the projected operational expenses are estimates. There will be regular quarterly reviews undertaken, especially in the first year of operations.<sup>39</sup>

If the above-mentioned reports are accurate, it is clear that significant funding for CAFHRI in 1997 and 1998 came directly from HLIC, with expressed hope for funds from HLI. More recently, Austin Ruse has claimed that CAFHRI receives financial support from a number of organizations, including HLI, the Homeland Foundation, and Brigham Young University Law School. The vice-president of the board of directors of the Homeland Foundation is Msgr. Eugene Clark, head of the New York City Catholic Church of St. Agnes (see page 14).

An August 7, 1998, HLI fundraising letter that went out from then-President Father Richard Welch, noted:

**"...even though the UN has officially blocked us from being present—we've set up an 'alternative' method of watching what goes on there and informing the world. I'm talking about the office we set up (with your help) right near the UN a little less than a year ago. I can't reveal the office's name, because it still flies under feminist radar!...And it's like a 'spy satellite' that watches every move the UN makes related to the life issues...meticulously examines every important document that the myriad of UN agencies and commissions spew forth."**<sup>40</sup>

Welch then goes on in the letter to call it "our office" several times: "Our UN office had two staffers lobbying directly with UN delegates in Rome..." and to directly solicit funding: "This office is extremely short of funds right now. The money we raised the last time I wrote to you have been used up by all the activities I've described above...So now I must turn to you once again and plead for your generosity to help fund this office."<sup>41</sup>





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## CAFHRI AT THE UN

*We attended all of the women's meetings and essentially took them over. Memos were going back from the conference in New York to governments in the European Union that radical fundamentalists had taken over the meeting [Beijing +5 at the UN], and that was us.<sup>42</sup>*

—Austin Ruse

### IS CAFHRI UNDERMINING THE WORK OF THE UN?

The United Nations is a place where all voices are meant to be heard. In fact, the UN bends over backwards to allow space and time for everyone to speak at international meetings and conferences. In recent years, the UN has been even more open to involvement by non-governmental organizations. ECOSOC status and its attendant access is one acknowledgement by the UN of the important role that NGOs play in providing services and in articulating the needs of disadvantaged people, especially in developing countries. That freedom to address issues on an international stage has allowed NGO representatives to educate UN missions on a range of issues, especially women's empowerment, education, and the importance of sexual and reproductive health and rights.

The inclusive environment at the UN also makes it possible for one voice to drown out other voices that are not as loud or as insistent or simply more tolerant. The freedom to speak at the UN can be abused. One of the abusers of this freedom at the UN is CAFHRI.

### DOES CAFHRI MEET THE REQUIREMENTS FOR ECOSOC STATUS?

CAFHRI, which currently does not have consultative status at the UN, has requested ECOSOC status at the UN according to the ECOSOC Office of Nongovernmental Organizations.<sup>43</sup> That status carries with it a requirement that the NGO support the mandate of the UN. At the same time that CAFHRI claims it can adhere to such a requirement, it is telling its supporters and potential contributors how successful it is at breaking UN lobbying rules and disrupting NGO meetings, as illustrated in the quotes below.

The contrast between what the UN rightfully expects of NGO behavior and what CAFHRI's actions and rhetoric produce could not be greater.

The ECOSOC "Arrangements for Consultation with Non-governmental Organizations" states:

"The organization shall undertake to support the work of the United Nations and to promote knowledge of its principles and activities, in accordance with its own aims and purposes and the nature and scope of its competence and activities."

ECOSOC Resolution 1996/31

Compare the language of that ECOSOC resolution with statements made Austin Ruse, as president of CAFHRI, about the UN:

“And then we broke every single rule of UN lobbying.... And a bunch of our people were thrown off and that was worth it, because something like pandemonium ensued.”<sup>44</sup>

“...to participate in the UN in the way that I do, you must at least have a veneer of supporting the UN.... They try assiduously to keep us out and they use almost any means necessary, and one of them is speaking out against the UN.”<sup>45</sup>

In a recent fundraising letter for CAFHRI, Father Frank A. Pavone, national director of Priests for Life, an anti-abortion organization that represents only about 11% of US priests, writes:

“Each week, the Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute rips away the U.N.’s curtain of secrecy by publishing its enormously influential report, the ‘Friday Fax.’”

P.P.S. If you would like to receive a FREE subscription to C-FAM’s\* “Friday Fax”—the enormously influential publication that holds the U.N.’s dirty laundry out for all to see—just mark the box on the enclosed Reply Memo.”<sup>46</sup>

One can question just how influential CAFHRI’s “Friday Fax” actually is—Ruse claims some 10,000 people receive it—but there is no doubt that it contains anti-UN propaganda: “UN documents are written by the radicals and all pro-family delegates and NGOs can do is limit the damage.”<sup>47</sup>

Other examples of anti-UN propaganda from CAFHRI:

“Should the US get out of the UN? That’s a question I always steer clear of, principally because to participate in the UN in the way that I do you must at least have a veneer of supporting the UN.”

(Austin Ruse, Speech to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, Anaheim, CA, March 2000)

“They [UN conference resolutions] are a club used to beat small nations. Small nations are told by big ones if they don’t conform to these standards, they risk losing aid money.” (Austin Ruse, *New York Post*, March 16, 2000)

“It was there [at the Child Summit] that radicals attempted to separate children from their parents and from the Churches. You should know that the idea of motherhood and fatherhood are hated among some at UN conferences. Some of them hate strong religious faith, too.” (CAFHRI lobbying alert, Sept. 16, 2000)

“Some years ago the radical feminists managed to get the UN to pass something called the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). To date CEDAW has been ratified by more than 150 countries. What a terrible pity. CEDAW is nothing more than radical feminism writ large and dangerous. It calls for the kind of radical leveling that offends most sensible people. Governments have been pressured and conned into supporting it.” (Friday Fax, May 4, 2000)

“Pro-lifer lobbyists have also been roughed up by UN bureaucrats and by staff members of pro-abortion NGOs.” (Friday Fax, Dec. 15, 2000)

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\*CAFHRI now refers to itself as C-FAM.

*We have so much fun, we sit in the corner of that conference room and cackle, we're having so much fun. The other side sits there looking so glum. And the thing about it is, it's like working in a shooting gallery where all of the targets are a thousand feet high and they're all around you and it does not matter where you shoot you hit something really good.*<sup>48</sup>

—Austin Ruse

#### HOW DOES CAFHRI CONDUCT ITSELF AT THE UN?

During preparatory committees for international conferences and the review of progress since the conferences, many NGOs are present to lobby delegates on a particular point of view. CAFHRI, however, uses tactics that offend other NGOs and that disrespect UN rules of procedures, as outlined below.

In the regulations for ECOSOC status, Part VII, Suspension and Withdrawal Of Consultative Status, states:

55. Organizations granted consultative status by the Council and those on the Roster shall conform at all times to the principles governing the establishment and nature of their consultative relations with the Council...

57. The consultative status of non-governmental organizations with the Economic and Social Council and the listing of those on the Roster shall be suspended up to three years or withdrawn in the following cases:

If an organization, either directly or through its affiliates or representatives acting on its behalf, clearly abuses its status by engaging in a pattern of acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations including unsubstantiated or politically motivated acts against Member States of the United Nations incompatible with those purposes and principles.\*

A university study of right-wing anti-feminist groups put CAFHRI at the center of many disruptive tactics at the UN.

The mobilization of right-wing anti-feminist groups has been orchestrated by Austin Ruse of the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute. Last December, Ruse sent an email message inviting pro-life and pro-family militants from different religions and denominations to participate in Beijing +5 in order to fight the Beijing Platform for Action and the supposed “radical feminists” who had adopted it. In this message, Austin Ruse engages in disinformation, describing the Beijing Platform for Action as “one of the most radical and dangerous documents you can imagine.”<sup>49</sup>

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\*CFFC's See Change campaign does not violate this rule as it does not attack a member state of the UN. The campaign is merely calling for a review of the Holy See's special status as a Non-member State Permanent Observer. While it recognizes the value of the Holy See's participation in the UN, CFFC feels the Holy See could be more effective as an NGO, the status held by the world's other religions.

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### *Over-registration at UN conferences*

Only about a dozen anti-reproductive rights organizations hold ECOSOC accreditation, but they often manage to take advantage of the lack of clear guidelines at the UN regarding registration at conferences to pack meetings. At the last meeting of the Commission on the Status of Women, seven of these groups (R.E.A.L. Women of Canada, Campaign Life Coalition/Life Ethics Association, the International Right to Life Federation, the National Right to Life Committee, Couple to Couple International, the Society for Protection of Unborn Children, The World Organisation of the Ovulation Method Billings) managed to have over 350 individuals accredited, including over 100 men. R.E.A.L. Women of Canada registered 60 representatives, thirty of them Franciscan Friars of the Renewal, an order established in New York in 1987 with the blessing of Archbishop John Cardinal O'Connor.<sup>50</sup>

Anti-reproductive rights groups were also present in force at the March 2000 preparatory meeting for Beijing +5, including Alliance for Life, the American Life League, Concerned Women for America, the Eagle Forum, Family Life International, Human Life International-Switzerland, and the National Institute of Womanhood. CAFHRI, which was not accredited, was able to gain accreditation for its members working through anti-feminist groups that had ECOSOC status.<sup>51</sup> Austin Ruse of CAFHRI also worked to recruit participants at this meeting.

In the months leading up to the convening of the PrepCom, Austin Ruse, Director of the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute (C-FAM) sent out a call to action. In his rallying cry, Ruse summoned hundreds of “pro-family and pro-life advocates” to come to the UN to fight against “the Beijing Platform for Action...one of the most radical and dangerous documents you can imagine.” His call took on biblical proportions as Ruse promised his people: “You will work alongside Catholics, Evangelicals, Jews, Muslims and Mormons...We are the children of Abraham arising to fight for faith and family.”<sup>52</sup>

### *Intimidation Tactics*

At the same preparatory meeting, CAFHRI would work with groups of 10 to 20 representatives and send them to an open caucus, e.g. the Youth Coalition for ICPD, to fill seats and keep others out of the space. They would then refuse to introduce themselves or state their affiliation. They also reportedly would copy participant’s contact information from their badges without authorization or attempt to photograph participants—a tactic that some at the meeting found intimidating.<sup>53</sup> One participant who was photographed later reported that a speaking engagement was cancelled when a photograph of him and CFFC President Frances Kissling was circulated on the Web.

Several NGO representatives experienced physical intimidation by religious groups recruited by Ruse. For example, without her permission, the Franciscan Friars of the Renewal encircled a woman and prayed aloud.<sup>54</sup> A group of young people copied this deplorable practice on Friday, March 10, when they prayed out loud while encircling a woman who was sitting near the newspaper stand located beside the UN cafeteria.<sup>55</sup>

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At the same time, CAFHRI spread disinformation about other NGOs. In one issue of *Vivant!*, the special publication that CAFHRI produced during the Cairo +5 PrepCom, a Catholics for a Free Choice staff member was accused of physically accosting a representative of the Couple-to-Couple League.<sup>56</sup>

Intimidation tactics caused other NGOs to ask for a system of protection against harassment be set up at the United Nations and that NGOs sending representatives who become responsible for such behavior should be sanctioned:

We want to have our work at the UN be as effective as possible. An atmosphere in which people are afraid to speak openly at meetings, are observed or attacked outside meetings can easily undermine the international forums for the advancement of women we have worked so hard to make happen.<sup>57</sup>

Ruse actively recruits such people who are willing to go the UN and use prayer as an intimidation tactic by touting its effectiveness on UN delegates:

And anyone of you can come with me to the UN and do exactly the same thing. I invite you now.... For instance there were the praying ladies, ladies who go to these conferences only to pray. You could see them walking around or sitting or staring off into space. And you might see their lips moving imperceptibly. They were praying mostly for one thing, to banish fear from the room. It is a fearful thing to stand up to the feminist international...So these ladies prayed for one thing, to banish fear from the room and from the hearts of those diplomats.<sup>58</sup>

*This time we took over what's known as the Youth Caucus...We had probably sixty kids and they went in and took the meeting over.*<sup>59</sup>

—Austin Ruse

#### HOW DOES CAFHRI RECRUIT AND WORK WITH YOUTH AT THE UN?

CAFHRI has been instrumental in recruiting and training youth to attend UN conferences for the sole purpose of blocking constructive youth participation. Diana Kilargian, an employee of CAFHRI, is a co-founder and one of the most visible players in a group called the World Youth Alliance, which claims it is the only “pro-life/pro-family” youth organization working full time at the international level and sends groups of young adults to UN conferences. A young Canadian delegate to a Youth Caucus at the UN reported that during the final two weeks of the 44th Commission on the Status of Women at the UN, about forty young people from right-wing anti-feminist groups participated in the Youth Caucus under the banner of the World Youth Alliance. Their presence prevented constructive discussion from taking place.<sup>60</sup>

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A statement from the Youth Caucus facilitators of the women’s conference also raised questions about CAFHRI’s presence at the meeting:

We are concerned about the misrepresentation of the Youth Caucus as well as the misquoting of statements made by members of the Youth Caucus during the past week as was published in *Vivant*. Further, we are disturbed by reports from Youth Caucus members of stalking incidents both within and outside of UN grounds as well as harassing phone calls.”<sup>61</sup>

DOES CAFHRI ADDRESS HUMAN RIGHTS IN  
ACCORD WITH UN CONFERENCES?

What makes Ruse’s rhetoric problematic is that CAFHRI is attempting to gain ECOSOC status by claiming it is engaged in serious human rights work at the UN. In fact, its language and actions are in opposition to the spirit and work of the UN, as required in ECOSOC principles, which state that “The aims and purposes of the organization shall be in conformity with the spirit, purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”

What is CAFHRI’s true agenda? Over the last four years, CAFHRI has consistently shown itself to care little about the issue of human rights, but to be involved solely in single-issue opposition to safe and legal abortion and family planning.

As part of the new development paradigm created at the UN International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994, delegates there reaffirmed the emerging global consensus that people’s lives, not markets or production, should be the central concern of all development policies. Women’s human rights were supported as a principal goal of that conference. At the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, governments agreed on a Platform for Action that calls on states to promote and protect the human rights of women through the full implementation of all human rights instruments, especially the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

In his speeches, Ruse attacks CEDAW in a manner that illustrates either his utter ignorance or his purposeful misrepresentation of how the UN, through CEDAW, addresses the human rights of women:

Thus we have CEDAW directing the government of Krygestan [sic] to legalize prostitution. The CEDAW committee has ordered the government of China to legalize prostitution even though the Convention expressly forbids the trafficking and prostitution of women. More over, and most egregiously, the Committee has ordered the government of Libya to reinterpret the Koran so that it falls within Committee guidelines.<sup>62</sup>

While it may be hard to take Ruse seriously when he makes such outrageous allegations, it is troubling that he is unaware or chooses to ignore the fact that CEDAW cannot “order” or “direct” countries to do anything. Members of these committees are nominated by their countries and elected by states parties to the conventions concerned. Ruse ignores the mechanism set up by human rights treaties and conventions for the membership and operation of their committees. He uses his system of selective quotation from national reports to conclude that they are working against the wishes and interests of member states. He could not be more wrong.

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In the case of China, Aida Gonzalez of Mexico, the chair of the CEDAW Committee, did not “order” China to legalize prostitution. She noted that while prostitution was illegal in China, many women were nevertheless forced into it by economic circumstances, and in order to take care of these women, as well as to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS, she recommended the “decriminalization” of prostitution.<sup>63</sup>

CAFHRI does not “encourage discussions” about human rights at the UN but actively works to stop discussions: “Conservative strategists focus largely on blocking international consensus on issues that they oppose. According to Austin Ruse, since the UN works primarily by consensus, “a dozen states can stop anything.”<sup>64</sup>

At Beijing +5, the pro-family bloc led by CAFHRI and HLIC was much more successful in breaking down the negotiating process than in promoting any positive view of human rights for women. Many delegates described the Beijing +5 negotiations as one of the most negative in recent memory, due in large part to anti-reproductive rights group activity.





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## CAFHRI AND UNITED STATES POLITICS

*Hillary [Clinton] is the “conquering queen” at the United Nations...I was standing on the floor of the UN a couple of months ago, when she was thinking about running, and I was talking to a priest from the Holy See delegation and—I shouldn’t tell you this but he offered me guaranteed absolution if I just took her out —and not on a date.<sup>65</sup>*

—Austin Ruse

### IS CAFHRI ACTIVE WITH THE US CONGRESS?

Congressional lobbyist records do not indicate that CAFHRI or any of its individual staff members have formally registered to lobby Congress. However, like other 501(c)(3) organizations, CAFHRI is allowed to engage in a limited amount of political lobbying. References in the press, court materials, and Ruse’s speeches show that CAFHRI has fact lobbied Congress about its work at the UN.

There was reference in the Noonan case to CAFHRI’s coordination with Congress. In an email from Christen MacEachern of HLIC to Ann Noonan dated September 16, 1997, MacEachern wrote: “Happy to hear that work the Congressman [sic] Smith is underway.”<sup>66</sup>

In minutes from a CAFHRI staff meetings dated October 1, 1997, under the word “prioritize” in the text shown below, a short line was drawn to the name “Chris Smith”—most likely a reference to anti-choice Rep. Chris Smith (R-NJ).

“SECTION II: Profile/evaluation/prioritize current projects and activities—itemize/prioritize current lobbying, outreach, networking, service—Ann, Austin.”<sup>67</sup>

Ruse bragged to the World Congress of Families II, an international gathering sponsored by anti-reproductive rights groups in 2000, about CAFHRI’s direct lobbying of US congresspeople, asking them to put pressure on UN diplomats to adopt right-wing rhetoric:

So, we decided to get the US Congress involved [in CAFHRI’s attempt at Cairo +5 to insert language to have parents’ rights take precedent over adolescents’ need for information and services]. ...we have established strong ties with the US House Representatives and with the Senate. So, with two days remaining in the conference we drafted a letter to every Ambassador at the UN that condemned the US position saying it did not reflect the wishes of the American Congress nor of the American people. Without 24 hours we got 34 American Congressmen to sign the letter.... We must know that a late night call to a Member of the German Parliament, or the French Parliament, or the American Congress can change the course of a whole UN conference.<sup>68</sup>



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## CONCLUSION

### DOES CAFHRI MATTER?

There is a great deal about CAFHRI and its presence at the UN that is cause for concern. At the same time, in terms of real affect on UN documents, on the conceptual and values framework of the world's countries regarding sexual and reproductive health, CAFHRI (and its chief clients—the Holy See mission to the UN and HLI) has had little effect. CAFHRI sets up straw battles with the UN, its agencies and NGOs, and then claims straw victories. Only those who are not at the UN believe these grim fairy tales.

The fact is that over the last decade of major UN conferences solid progress has been made on sexual and reproductive health and rights. While there is a long way to go until international policy fully accepts that the right to decide on the number and spacing of children—exercised in good conscience and good faith—includes the right to choose abortion, the opportunities for reasoned civil discourse on these matters within the UN are enormous and enriching. Moreover, while CAFHRI has been able to bring into the UN ever-larger numbers of conservative NGOs and individuals, the number of countries willing to identify with CAFHRI's views and those of the Holy See grows smaller with every meeting. There is no doubt that both CAFHRI and the Holy See are embarrassed by their overwhelming abandonment by the “Catholic” countries of Latin America and Europe.

But CAFHRI is a disturbing phenomenon. Its values and the way in which it promotes them have a negative impact on international policy discourse, especially the efforts of NGOs and governments to work more closely for the development and implementation of public policies on social issues. Perhaps most disturbing is the warlike mindset that permeates CAFHRI's thinking and actions. It is of course very shocking that such a mindset should exist within the Holy See delegation, where, according to Ruse, a priest member of the delegation suggested to him that he should “take out” Hillary Rodham Clinton. It is hard to believe that a member of the Catholic clergy would even joke about such things, but why would Austin Ruse lie about such things? This is the second time conservatives at the UN have suggested that murdering opponents would be a good idea. At the Cairo +5 PrepCom in March of 1999, Maria Ferrari, a Canadian woman with ECOSOC credentials who at the time represented the Children's Fund of Canada, reportedly equated Catholics for a Free Choice President Frances Kissling with Salman Rushdie and said a contract should be put out on her.<sup>69</sup>

Suggestions of this kind emerge when groups or individuals see value conflicts in absolutist terms; when they believe God is on their side. The values and ideas of the “other”—who is demonized—need to be crushed. Note how frequently and passionately Austin Ruse talks about this conflict in terms of war and attacks and battles:

My friends, we are in a war...this war is being fought exclusively in quiet and carpeted room at international fora in Rome, Istanbul, Cairo, Beijing, and Rio. I believe one day these place names should be recognized as battlefields just like Bunker Hill, Normandy and Khe San for they are the sites of major battles in this war...

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...In the summer of 361 B.C., a Theban general gathered an army of 60,000 freemen, yeoman farmers, a democratic army of citizens...Their victory came almost all at once and their victory rocked the ancient world.<sup>70</sup>

Long under attack by her enemies, the family seems now to be disintegrating all around us....I will focus on one institution with which I am most familiar, the United Nations, an institution that is increasingly at the forefront of the attack on the family.<sup>71</sup>

It was a windowless office where UN negotiators held something called informals...It is the room where the battles are won and lost.<sup>72</sup>

This kind of thinking is not going to solve anything. What is essential, if the UN is going to succeed in crafting ethically sound international policy on sexual and reproductive health and rights, is the facilitation of respectful listening and the ability to negotiate differences. That is not possible if an atmosphere of a “Holy War” is created. And creating such an atmosphere is CAFHRI’s goal.

The UN is an instrument of peace, not war. It is an institution dedicated to discourse, not demonizing. As frustrating as the process of negotiating documents is, the process encourages governments and civil society to go deeply into their differences and come to principled compromises. Such processes help people and policies grow in wisdom. CAFHRI clearly does not share this vision of the UN.

Religious groups have been active in the UN from its founding. For the most part they have participated in good faith and they have contributed much. They have respected the plural, secular and tolerant nature of the UN. It would be unfortunate if CAFHRI, which this report makes clear acts in bad faith, were allowed to continue its efforts to create a Holy War in the international institution most identified with peace.

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## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Austin Ruse, “A Pro-Family Movement at the UN?” CFFC transcript of speech, Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, March 2000.
- <sup>2</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>3</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>4</sup> CAFHRI fundraising letter, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>5</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>6</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>7</sup> Caryle Murphy, “Family Values Feud; Catholic Nonprofit Embroiled in Leadership Dispute,” *Washington Post*, April 8, 2000.
- <sup>8</sup> Msgr. George Higgins, “Forays into Anti-Semitism,” *Catholic New York*, March 9, 1995.
- <sup>9</sup> Frederick Clarkson, “A Heavy Agenda for the Antiabortion Underground,” *Sacramento Bee*, August 8, 1999.
- <sup>10</sup> *The Irish Times*, August 3, 1999.
- <sup>11</sup> UN Document, E/1991/20, p. 12.
- <sup>12</sup> UN Document, A/46/3, p. 126, par. 63 and decision 1991/216.
- <sup>13</sup> UN Document E/1993/63, p.15.
- <sup>14</sup> Theresa Bell, “HLI’s first daughter loses charity status,” [www.hli.org](http://www.hli.org).
- <sup>15</sup> CAFHRI New York state certificate of incorporation, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>16</sup> Letter of Bell to Noonan dated July 22, 1997, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>17</sup> Noonan deposition dated Feb. 2, 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>18</sup> Noonan job description, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>19</sup> Minutes from CAFHRI meeting August 18, 1997, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>20</sup> Minutes from CAFHRI meeting August 18, 1997, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>21</sup> Minutes from CAFHRI meeting August 18, 1997, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>22</sup> Noonan job description, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>23</sup> Minutes from CAFHRI meeting August 18, 1997, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>24</sup> Letter of Noonan to Bell, July 30, 1997, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>25</sup> CAFHRI 990 for 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>26</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>27</sup> Noonan complaint filed in Supreme Court of New York, Jan. 21, 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>28</sup> Noonan complaint filed in Supreme Court of New York, Jan. 21, 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>29</sup> Noonan complaint filed in Supreme Court of New York, Jan. 21, 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>30</sup> Noonan complaint filed in Supreme Court of New York, Jan. 21, 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>31</sup> Affidavit from Clifford Perlman dated Feb. 17, 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>32</sup> Austin Ruse “Note from the Editor,” *Excelsis*, July/August 1998.
- <sup>33</sup> Austin Ruse, “Note from the Editor,” *Excelsis*, July/August 1998.
- <sup>34</sup> Al Ross, “The Global Assault on Reproductive Rights,” Institute of Democracy Studies, May 2000.

- <sup>35</sup> Austin Ruse, "Note from the Editor," *Excelsis*, July/August 1998.
- <sup>36</sup> Al Ross, "The Global Assault on Reproductive Rights," Institute of Democracy Studies, May 2000.
- <sup>37</sup> CAFHRI 990 for 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>38</sup> Exhibit 6, Noonan lawsuit, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>39</sup> CAFHRI Request Summary, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>40</sup> HLI fundraising letter dated August 7, 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>41</sup> HLI fundraising letter dated August 7, 1998, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>42</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>43</sup> Private communication with UN office of Nongovernmental Organizations, Feb. 27, 2001.
- <sup>44</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>45</sup> Mindszenty Foundation speech, March 2000.
- <sup>46</sup> CAFHRI fundraising letter, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>47</sup> *Friday Fax*, June 9, 2000, Vol. 3, Special Edition.
- <sup>48</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>49</sup> Anick Druelle, "Right-Wing Anti-Feminist Groups at the United Nations," Insitut de recherches et d'études féministes, Université du Québec a Montréal. May 2000, p. 6.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, p. 4.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- <sup>52</sup> "For Faith and Family: Christian Right Advocacy at the United Nations," Political Research Associates, Summer/Fall 2000, Volume IX, No. 2/3, p. 4
- <sup>53</sup> Anick Druelle, "Right-Wing Anti-Feminist Groups at the United Nations," Insitut de recherches et d'études féministes, Université du Québec a Montréal. May 2000, pp. 11-14.
- <sup>54</sup> Jennifer Butler, "The Religious Right at the Beijing +5 PrepCom," article published on the Global Policy Forum website: [www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/99deb/beij5.htm](http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/99deb/beij5.htm), p. 8.
- <sup>55</sup> *WomenAction*, March 14, 2000, No. 11.
- <sup>56</sup> "Pro-family rep allegedly accosted at seminar," *Vivant!*, March 26, 1999.
- <sup>57</sup> Anick Druelle, "Right-Wing Anti-Feminist Groups at the United Nations," Insitut de recherches et d'études féministes, Université du Québec a Montréal. May 2000, p. 13.
- <sup>58</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>59</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>60</sup> Anick Druelle, "Right-Wing Anti-Feminist Groups at the United Nations," Insitut de recherches et d'études féministes, Université du Québec a Montréal. May 2000, p 11.
- <sup>61</sup> Anick Druelle, "Right-Wing Anti-Feminist Groups at the United Nations," Insitut de recherches et d'études féministes, Université du Québec a Montréal. May 2000, p. 12.
- <sup>62</sup> Austin Ruse, "Toward a Permanent United Nations Pro-Family Bloc," World Congress of Families II Conference, Geneva, November 14-17, 1999.
- <sup>63</sup> Women's Anti-Discrimination Committee press release, Feb. 1, 1999.

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- <sup>64</sup> “For Faith and Family: Christian Right Advocacy at the United Nations,” Political Research Associates, Summer/Fall 2000, Volume IX, No. 2/3, p. 10.
- <sup>65</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.
- <sup>66</sup> Email from Christen MacEachern to Ann Noonan, Sept. 16 1997, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>67</sup> Minutes from CAFHRI meeting Oct. 1, 1997, on file with CFFC.
- <sup>68</sup> Austin Ruse, “Toward a Permanent United Nations Pro-Family Bloc,” World Congress of Families II Conference, Geneva, November 14–17, 1999, p. 3.
- <sup>69</sup> Private correspondence between Erin McGinn and Frances Kissling, July 29, 1999. Nicole Schwab, “Issues of Legitimacy Emerging,” *The Earth Times*, March 25, 1999.
- <sup>70</sup> Austin Ruse, “The UN’s Assault on Faith, Family and Country,” Dublin, Ireland, Sept. 18, 2000.
- <sup>71</sup> Austin Ruse, “Toward a Permanent United Nations Pro-Family Bloc,” World Congress of Families II Conference, Geneva, November 14–17, 1999.
- <sup>72</sup> Mindszenty Foundation Speech, March 2000.



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## APPENDICES

- Minutes from first CAFHRI meeting August 18, 1997
- Ann Noonan job description
- Minutes from CAFHRI meeting October 1, 1997





## **CATHOLICS FOR A FREE CHOICE**

*A Social Justice Organization*

Catholics for a Free Choice, an independent not-for-profit organization, is engaged in research, policy analysis, education, and advocacy on issues of gender equality and reproductive health. Working in the Catholic social justice tradition, CFFC is a member of Catholic Organizations for Renewal and the Women-Church Convergence, both based in the United States. CFFC holds ECOSOC accreditation to the United Nations.



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