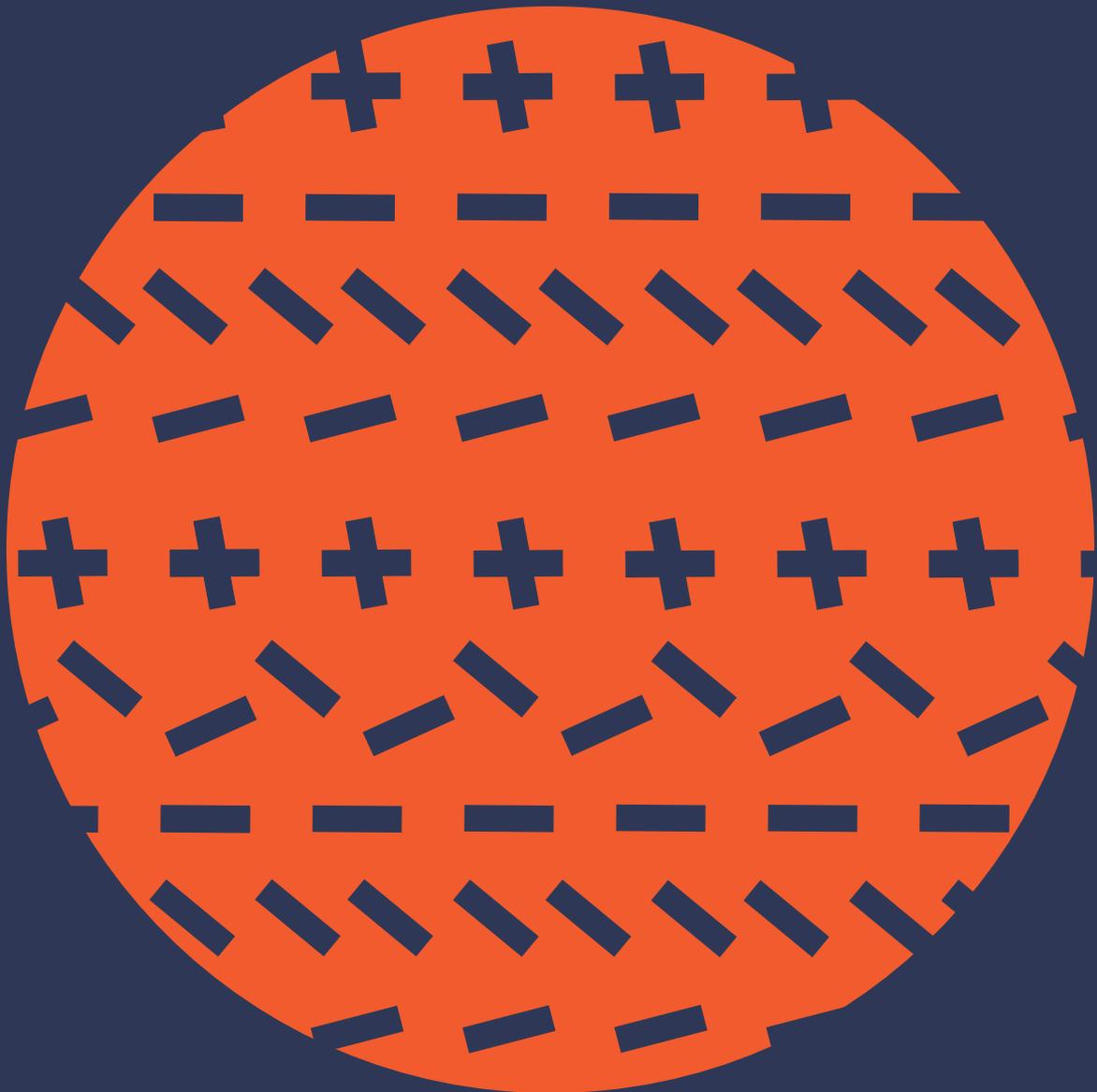


# **THE POLITICAL NETWORK FOR VALUES:**

**Global Far-Right at the United Nations**



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# Abbreviations and Acronyms

<b>ADF</b>	Alliance Defending Freedom
<b>C-Fam</b>	Center for Family and Human Rights
<b>CFR</b>	Center for Fundamental Rights
<b>CPAC</b>	Conservative Political Action Conference
<b>CRC</b>	Convention on the Rights of the Child
<b>CSOs</b>	Civil society organizations
<b>FWI</b>	Family Watch International
<b>GCD</b>	Geneva Consensus Declaration
<b>GCHR</b>	Global Center for Human Rights
<b>ICCPR</b>	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
<b>ICESR</b>	International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights
<b>ICPD</b>	International Conference on Population and Development
<b>IOF</b>	International Organization for the Family
<b>MEP</b>	Member of the European Parliament
<b>MP</b>	Member of parliament
<b>NCSE</b>	National Center on Sexual Exploitation
<b>NGO</b>	Nongovernmental organization
<b>NOM</b>	National Organization for Marriage
<b>OAS</b>	Organization of American States
<b>PAN</b>	Partido de Acción Nacional
<b>PNfV</b>	Political Network for Values
<b>RAEP</b>	Red de Acción Ética Política
<b>SDGs</b>	Sustainable Development Goals
<b>SPLC</b>	Southern Poverty Law Center
<b>UDHR</b>	Universal Declaration for Human Rights
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>WCF</b>	World Congress of Families

# Executive Summary

On November 17, 2023, the United Nations' New York City headquarters hosted a gathering of the Political Network for Values (PNfV), a major organizing nexus for the global far-right. Founded almost a decade ago, the benignly named PNfV has largely flown under the radar. In this time, the group has blossomed into a key networking hub and training ground for far-right activists and political leaders seeking to depreciate multilateral human rights systems and diminish or extinguish minority rights—including at the United Nations itself.

The government of Guatemala is the sponsor of the fifth “Transatlantic Summit,” entitled, “Affirming universal human rights: Uniting cultures for life, family and fundamental freedoms.” PNfV’s apparent concern for rights and freedom is undermined by the makeup of its leadership and supporters, drawn from the extremist political and religious right-wing, who promote policies and narratives that seek to elevate their rights as nationalist religious conservatives over the rights of others.

To advance their goals, PNfV brings together an impressive roster of senior government officials, legislators, and well-connected civil society leaders to organize against the human rights they contend are incompatible with their values. In addition to developing and promoting regressive policies in state and national legislatures around the world, and undermining human rights standards at the UN, the PNfV network is also securing the longevity of this movement by training the next generation of youth leaders.

This meeting comes at a time of global anxiety, particularly over efforts to weaken multilateral spaces like the UN, the European Union, and the Organization of American States. Because it is easy to overlook an under-advertised meeting, this report will illuminate PNfV’s far-right ambitions, its finances, its growing global reach, and its ability to adopt a mainstream appearance—a goal advanced by holding a meeting seemingly under the UN’s auspices.

The November 2023 meeting raises several red flags about the organizers’ threats to democracy and human rights. These include:

## **Sponsorship by the government of Guatemala:**

Following the August 2023 Guatemalan presidential elections, the outgoing administration of President Alejandro Giammattei, and some of Guatemala’s governmental institutions, took steps that signal their unwillingness to ensure a smooth transition of power to the new president in January 2024. The US State Department has issued two statements reiterating its [“grave” concern](#) about the transition process. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has also [publicized its concerns](#), pointing to “actions by judicial authorities” to undermine the electoral process. These statements have had little perceivable impact on the Guatemalan government, which [suspended the president-elect’s political party](#) on November 2, creating yet another barrier to a smooth transition of power. Given the concerns of both the UN and the US government, further scrutiny should be placed on this meeting and its participants.

## PNfV leaders, sponsors, speakers, and members:

### 1. Have links to or are part of hate and extremist groups.

- One-third of the summit's 12 sponsoring organizations are designated anti-LGBTQI hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center. They include [Family Watch International](#), the [Center for Family and Human Rights](#), [Alliance Defending Freedom](#), and the [International Organization for the Family](#), which operates the World Congress of Families.
- [The Heritage Foundation](#), a summit co-sponsor, is a right-wing agenda-setting US think tank closely aligned with the Republican Party. It [platforms Islamophobes](#), it is virulently anti-immigrant and anti-refugee, it [promotes anti-trans rhetoric and policies](#), and it is at the [forefront of a plan](#) to install loyalist attorneys to keep former US President Donald Trump in power should he become president again in 2024.
- Another co-sponsor, the [Center for Fundamental Rights](#), is a right-wing think tank with [close ties to the Hungarian government](#), that serves as the Hungarian organizer of the Conservative Political Action Conference in Europe. They have platformed Trump and Zsolt Bayer, a Hungarian activist who has [called Jewish people “stinking excrement” and Roma people “animals.”](#)
- Joining the summit as a speaker is a member of [Moms for Liberty](#), a Southern Poverty Law Center-designated “anti-government extremist” organization for their work “to [fuel right-wing hysteria](#) and to make the world a less comfortable or safe place for certain students—primarily those who are Black, LGBTQ or who come from LGBTQ families.” One of its local chapters was recently forced to apologize for favorably quoting Adolf Hitler in its newsletter.

### 2. Have supported dictatorships.

- Some PNfV leaders and supporters have declared affinity for brutal historical dictatorships, which furthers societal trauma and raises red flags, particularly when such support comes from individuals who have held office or are running for higher office.
- The current president of PNfV is Chilean lawyer José Antonio Kast, founder of the far-right [Republican Party](#). Kast hails from one of Chile's most [powerful families](#) and is the son of [German immigrants with Nazi connections](#) who arrived in Chile after World War II. Members of the Kast family have been [named](#) as having direct responsibility for crimes committed during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Kast has openly defended the legacy of dictator Augusto Pinochet; during his 2017 presidential campaign, he declared, “My name is José Antonio Kast, and I do proudly defend the work of the military government.” He also claimed, “[if he \[Pinochet\] were alive he would vote for me.](#)”
- PNfV ally and past conference speaker Santiago Abascal, founder of the right-wing Vox political party in Spain, has publicly pledged his allegiance to former Spanish dictator Francisco Franco. Abascal has insisted that “[life was better under Franco](#)” and that there is a place in the Vox party for “[others who defend Franco's work.](#)”
- Jamie Mayor Oreja, PNfV's Honorary President and a former Spanish politician, has expressed similarly warm feelings for life under the Franco regime. His comment in 2007, “[Why should I condemn Francoism if there were many families who lived it normally and naturally?](#)” created a scandal in Spain.

### 3. Have personal and financial links to far-right Mexican and Spanish organizations.

- PNfV is registered in the United States as a non-profit corporation but does not have 501(c)(3) status, and therefore does not disclose financial information, operating more opaquely than most NGOs.
- The roots of PNfV originate in Catholic, paramilitary, and messianic extremism, represented by organizations such as El Yunque and Opus Dei. While PNfV has no formal relationship with El Yunque, several of PNfV's key leadership figures, including its Executive Director and General Secretary, have been [named as members by credible sources](#).
- PNfV is an initiative of ultra-conservative leaders in Spain, including members of the Spanish nongovernmental foundation [Fundación Valores y Sociedad](#), to expand lobbying and fundraising activities in the United States and other countries through collaboration with like-minded international allies.
- The network is [mainly funded by its co-sponsoring organizations](#), which in turn are beneficiaries of several US Christian and ultra-conservative private foundations and donor-advised funds.
- PNfV also receives funds from governments hosting its summits (for example, [the Government of Hungary](#)) and government-affiliated civil society organizations.
- PNfV is largely an ultra-conservative Ibero-American effort to influence European and worldwide politics, collaborating closely with far-right US funders and think tanks.

### 4. Have been held liable for hate speech and/or promoted hate speech.

- Rodrigo Iván Cortés holds executive roles on PNfV's Board of Directors and Advisory Board and with the US-incorporated PNfV. In 2023, Cortés [was convicted of gender-based violence](#) by a Mexican court for his [social media posts](#) against a trans congresswoman. Cortés is being represented by [Alliance Defending Freedom](#).
- Conference speaker Nicolás Ferreira is a Brazilian congressman and self-described "[Christian conservative and defender of the family](#)." Ferreira is [close to former Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro](#) and aligned with his ultra-conservative political views against feminism and LGBTQ+ rights. In April 2023, [Ferreira was fined](#) for a 2020 case where he harassed and misgendered a trans federal deputy. There are several other penal and administrative investigations pending against Ferreira for his anti-trans remarks, including [posting a video harassing a transgender adolescent](#); producing offensive videos and false information attacking the Ministry of Human Rights; and [issuing transphobic remarks](#) on the floor of parliament on March 8, International Women's Day.

- Eduardo Verástegui, another conference speaker is a Mexican actor and Catholic conservative activist who recently announced his aspiration to run as an independent candidate in the 2024 presidential elections in Mexico. Verástegui served on [Trump’s White House Advisory Commission on Hispanic Prosperity](#) and is close to leaders of the international far-right. In October 2023, during his campaign to collect signatures in support of his candidacy, Verástegui published a video of himself [shooting a rifle](#) with the message, “Look what we are going to do to the terrorists of Agenda 2030, climate change and gender ideology.”

In June 2019, UN Secretary-General António Guterres launched the [UN Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech](#) to address a “disturbing groundswell of xenophobia, racism, and intolerance.” The project committed the UN to monitoring and addressing the root causes of hate speech and to building the skills of UN staff to respond. Reinforcing the mandate in March 2023, Guterres [issued a call](#) “to stamp out the poison of Islamophobia.”

How is it, then, that in November 2023, the UN will host purveyors of hate—and hate speech—in its headquarters in New York?

Freedom of expression, movement, and assembly are rights that must be available to all, including PNfV. However, given the UN’s clear mandate to address hate speech, the UN and its member states must demonstrate accountability when anti-rights networks like PNfV, who are violating this mandate, engage in this space. PNfV and its partners have dedicated themselves to subverting the UN system and eroding the human rights of historically marginalized populations, including LGBTQ+ populations, women, girls, and young people. When they take their regressive agenda to the UN, they must be prepared to account for their positions and actions.

The global human rights community must critically examine PNfV’s role as a far-right organizer and pay serious attention to the ideologies and actions of its members, sponsors, and strategic partners. This includes interrogating their extremist ties and holding them to the light. This report spotlights the genesis of PNfV, its leadership, funding, and what happens after their [summits conclude](#). PNfV’s tagline—“How far can we get?”—telegraphs the group’s ambition. Given their ability to breach the halls of the UN, despite how their work violates the mandate and spirit of this ostensibly august body, now is the time to understand what drives this shadowy group.

# Methodology

The objective of this report is to provide detailed background information on the non-profit organization Political Network for Values (PNfV), including its origin, funding, and financial information.

Ipas conducted research on PNfV's advocacy activities using open-source, publicly available data, gray literature, and social media monitoring. Recent historical and background research was conducted using PNfV publications, local reporting, congressional archives, social media, academic articles, published books, reports from civil society organizations (CSOs), and organizational websites.

Research on organizational financing and history was conducted by [Empower](#), using both paid and free public sources of information. Empower consulted the following sources of public information to identify organizational funders and obtain official documentation of organizational filings and activities, as well as property holdings and political activities.<sup>1</sup> This includes:

- Company registration and annual filing documents from the Corporations Division of Massachusetts in the United States and the Madrid Property and Business Registry in Spain;
- Filings by foundations and CSOs in the US, Spain, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Mexico;
- PNfV draft working documents and affiliated organizations' bank accounts disclosed by WikiLeaks in its "The Intolerance Network" release;
- US Internal Revenue Service Form 990 filings, accessed through both the government website and civil society platforms such as the ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer database and GuideStar;
- Political campaign contribution filings from the US Federal Elections Commission and state filing data accessible on [OpenSecrets.org](#);
- Audit reports and donations made to European political parties from data accessible on the European Parliament website;
- County Clerk and Assessor records in various jurisdictions;
- Filings with the US Securities and Exchange Commission.

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1. These records are on file with Ipas and Empower and are available upon request.

# Background

## A New York Homecoming

The Political Network for Values (PNfV) first launched on December 5, 2014, at the United Nations headquarters in New York City. The inaugural Transatlantic Summit was hosted by the missions of Hungary, Qatar, Belarus, and the Holy See. It was moderated by Brian Brown, then-president and co-founder of the National Organization for Marriage (NOM), a Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC)-designated [anti-LGBTQ+ hate group](#) that was at the forefront of fighting against marriage equality in the United States. Brown is currently president of the International Organization for the Family (IOF), a PNfV co-sponsor and [the parent organization](#) for the World Congress of Families (WCF).<sup>2</sup>

The [2014 PNfV UN launch](#) was oriented around “strengthening the family for sustainable development.” Brown laid out the future ambitions of the network, which included promoting the family as a standalone goal in UN documents, including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Unlike the UN, which takes a broad view of the family, PNfV and its member organizations promote a narrow, hetero-centric definition that cleaves to conservative religious standards unaligned with how families today are configured and how they live their lives.

The innovation of this first meeting was the creation of a formal channel for conservative nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and their parliamentary counterparts to network, allowing them to share strategies, and promote their replication transnationally. A booklet with proposed model legislation was distributed at the 2014 meeting and included projects from extremist right-wing political parties. The far-right Vox party in Spain proposed a policy to support the family through a “program for the recovery of values, articulated around four main themes: family, life, birth and education.” The proposal’s goal was “zero abortion” and the creation of a “National Plan of Birth, a return to previous legislation on divorce.”<sup>3</sup> It also included, oddly, a proposal entitling parents to expand their votes by voting on behalf of their children.<sup>4</sup>



PNfV's [launch at the United Nations](#) in 2014.

2. Founded in 1997, WCF also convenes, on a semi-regular basis, right-wing movements and leaders at conferences headlined by leading extremists. Past headliners have included Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and Giorgia Meloni and Matteo Salvini, respectively the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Italy.

3. Divorce was illegal in Spain under the dictatorship of Francisco Franco, who repealed the divorce law in 1938; following Franco's death in 1975, divorce was finally legalized in 1981.

4. Notes on file with Ipas.

The first Transatlantic Summit concluded with a “[Decalogue of Commitments for Human Dignity and the Common Good](#),” which sets out a series of priorities that highlight their anti-abortion, “traditional family” ethos. It still serves as the network’s guiding principle. Many of the participants at this first meeting continue their involvement with PNfV, while others have moved on to seek higher office, like Santiago Abascal, the far-right Vox leader who ran for president of Spain in 2023.

## Structure

PNfV has [three main governing bodies](#): the Board of Directors, the Advisory Board, and the Committee of Experts. The Board of Directors reflects its Ibero-American leadership; the Advisory Board shows PNfV’s ties to European political leaders and members of parliament (MPs) as well as a growing network of politicians worldwide; and the Committee of Experts is mainly comprised of prominent US evangelical, Catholic, and ultra-conservative civil society leaders and academics.

PNfV is a [nimble group](#), convening in-person gatherings of politically well-connected “senior government officials, legislators, leaders of political and citizens’ organizations and intellectuals,” in order to “share success stories and best practices, and [jointly build agendas in favor fundamental values](#).” While still maintaining its original interest in UN processes and national and local-level policies, PNfV has also positioned itself as a convener on divisive thematic issues.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, PNfV [hosted webinars](#) on topics that inflamed panic around the idea that national and international governance is at risk of collapse. While this sentiment was felt across the political spectrum during the pandemic, PNfV placed the responsibility of government failures squarely on the so-called “[trans agenda](#)” and “[gender ideology](#),” while raising the alarm that democratic institutions were at risk in [Colombia](#), [Chile](#), and [Peru](#).<sup>5</sup> The secondary purpose of the webinars, according to Lola Velarde—PNfV’s executive director—was to intensify communication among its members and to both consolidate and expand the platform and their members’ “[involvement in international initiatives](#).”

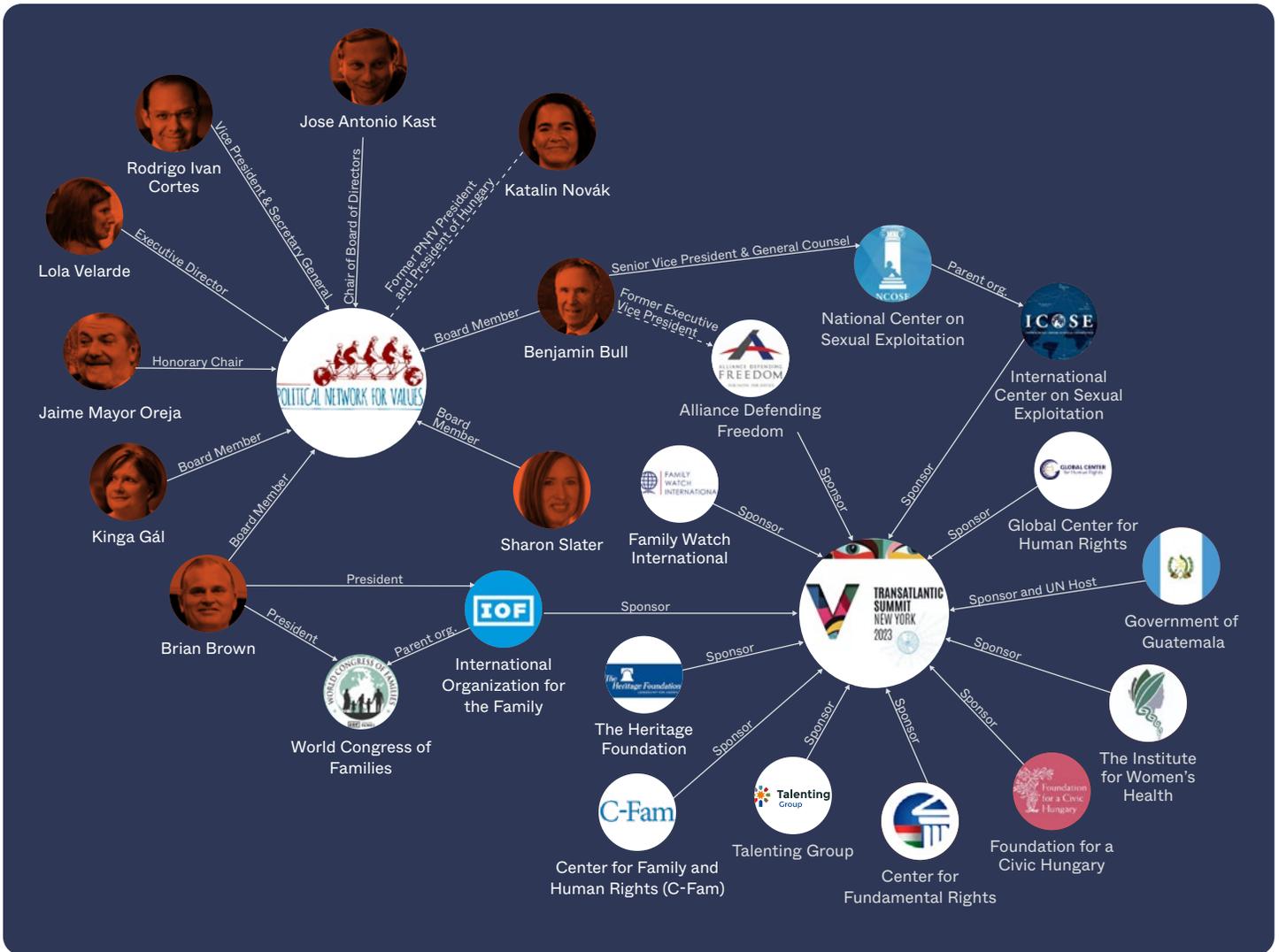
## Leadership

In 2014, Spaniards Jaime Mayor Oreja and Lola Velarde, along with Mexican former politician and Catholic civil society leader Rodrigo Iván Cortés, co-founded the PNfV. Mayor Oreja is a Spanish politician who co-founded the Popular Party. He was a deputy in congress, a minister of the interior, a candidate for Lendakari (President of the Basque Country), and a Popular Party Member of the European Parliament (MEP) from 2004 to 2014, among other positions. Currently, he is president of the European ultra-conservative organization One of Us.<sup>6</sup>

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5. “[Gender ideology](#)” is a pejorative term used by the global far-right to insinuate that LGBTQ+ and SRHR are part of a conspiracy to undermine religious values.

6. Mayor Oreja’s brother, José María, is former president of a Spanish construction company owned by Mexican magnate Carlos Slim, Fomento de Construcciones y Contratas, [a corporation that directly financed the Popular Party](#).



Interlocks between the PNfV hierarchy and the co-sponsors of the Transatlantic Summit V in November 2023. See Annex I for more information on the individual PNfV board members and Annex II for details on the event's co-sponsors.

Now executive director of PNfV, [Velarde was previously](#) president of the Instituto de Política Familiar's [European Network between 2004-13](#). During this period, [she attended meetings at the Vatican](#) where she met with former Italian MP [Luca Volonté](#).<sup>7</sup> Volonté was also involved in the Spanish anti-abortion group CitizenGO and in executive bodies of PNfV. Currently, Velarde is the development director of the Fundación Europea Sociedad y Educación. She is also a [member of the Board of Trustees](#) of Mayor Oreja's Fundación Valores y Sociedad.<sup>8</sup>

José Antonio Kast, who joined the network in 2015, [became its president in March 2022](#). Kast also chairs the PNfV Advisory Council and serves as chairman of the Board of Directors. Kast took over the

7. [Volonté was found guilty of corruption by an Italian court](#) for receiving money from the Azerbaijan government to influence the European Parliament on human rights violations in the country.

8. In 2019, Velarde's husband, Juan Dios Dávila, as a member and candidate of the far-right party Vox, took part in elections to choose new representatives for the Provincial Electoral Board of Gipuzkoa and was [elected president of Vox](#) before the Provincial Electoral Board. He is also a legal representative of Santander Consumer Finance.

presidency from Katalin Novák, the former Hungarian Family Minister, who left her position with PNfV when Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán selected her as his nominee for president. Novák won the position in a parliamentary vote in March 2022.

Kast brings significant far-right baggage and political power to his two PNfV roles. He hails from one of Chile's richest and most powerful families and is the son of German immigrants with Nazi connections who arrived in Chile after World War II. Members of the Kast family have been named as having direct responsibility for crimes committed during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet.<sup>9</sup>

A Catholic lawyer and Chilean politician who has twice run for president, Kast founded the far-right Republican Party and gained international notoriety for his presidential aspirations and his [alliances with far-right leaders](#).<sup>10</sup> Kast models his ultraconservative and neoliberal positions after former presidents Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro, [with whom he has political relationships](#). Kast has been capitalizing on his PNfV connections and recent domestic political victories to strengthen his relations with other anti-rights leaders as he prepares for his third presidential run.<sup>11</sup>

Sitting at the top of the PNfV structure with Kast is Rodrigo Iván Cortés, who serves as vice president of the Board of Directors and secretary general of the Advisory Council, in tandem with Kast. A Mexican lawyer and former parliamentarian, Cortés is the founder and president of the [National Front for the Family](#), an organization that opposes reproductive rights, sex education, and LGBTQ+ rights. As a parliamentarian, Cortés introduced and supported [initiatives](#) that targeted these issues, issues that he continues to attack from his current position in civil society. In February 2023, the Superior Chamber of the Electoral Tribunal sanctioned Cortés and another congressman for gender-based violence against the trans Congresswoman Salma Luévano. Luévano has been a constant target of Cortés' transphobic violence.<sup>12</sup> [Alliance Defending Freedom \(ADF\)](#), a leading US-based Christian anti-LGBTQ+ legal organization, and one of PNfV's original and current sponsors, is [defending Cortés legal case](#) on the grounds of freedom of religion and freedom of speech.

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9. See Annex I on the PNfV Board of Directors for more detail on Kast's background and family.

10. Kast ran unsuccessfully for president of Chile in 2017 and 2021.

11. In May 2023, Kast's Republican Party won 23 of 50 seats in the Constitutional Council that is tasked with drafting the country's new constitution to replace the 1980 Pinochet Constitution. This gives the Republican Party not only a majority but also veto power. Kast's party now has an opening to insert far-right ideology into the Chilean constitution.

12. In Mexico, gender-based political violence includes harassment and hate speech and is classified as a crime.

## Board of Directors and Advisory Board

PNfV's Board of Directors reflects its key donors from its founding in 2014 through to the present (see section on finances below). Besides Kast, currently the political public face of PNfV worldwide, and Kinga Gál, a Hungarian Member of the European Parliament (MEP) close to former PNfV president Novák, all other board members are leaders from the CSOs that constitute PNfV's network.

**Table 1 – PNfV Board of Directors (2023)**

Name	Country	Role Outside PNfV	Role at PNfV
José Antonio Kast	Chile	Founder of the Republican Party and presidential candidate	Chair
Rodrigo Iván Cortés	Mexico	President of the National Front for the Family	Vice Chair
Lola Velarde	Spain	Board Member of Fundación Valores y Sociedad and Development; Director of Fundación Europea Sociedad y Educación	Executive Director
Jaime Mayor Oreja	Spain	Board Member of Fundación Valores y Sociedad, Former MEP, and Former Minister of Home Affairs for the Popular Party	Honorary Chair
Sharon Slater	United States	President of Family Watch International (FWI)	N/A
Benjamin Bull	United States	General Counsel of the National Center on Sexual Exploitation (NCSE)	N/A
Kinga Gál	Hungary	MEP	N/A
Brian Brown	United States	President of the IOF, WCF, and NOM	N/A

Meanwhile, the PNfV Advisory Board is made up overwhelmingly of ultra-conservative Catholic politicians hailing from seven European countries, nine Latin American countries, and the United States, as well as a politician from Kenya. The Advisory Board reflects the global electoral and political dimension of PNfV.

**Table 2 – PNfV’s Advisory Board (2023)**

Name	Country	Role Outside PNfV	Role at PNfV
José Antonio Kast	Chile	Chilean Republican Party leader	Chair
Rodrigo Iván Cortés	Mexico	Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN) former member and President of the National Front for the Family	Secretary General
María del Rosario Guerra	Colombia	Senator	Vice President
Jaime Mayor Oreja	Spain	Former MEP and former Minister of the Interior	Honorary President
Amy Sinclair	United States	Iowa State Senator	N/A
Pelegrín Castillo	Dominican Republic	Former Minister of Energy and Mines	N/A
Rodrigo Goñi	Uruguay	Member of Parliament	N/A
Angela Gandra	Brazil	Former Minister of the Family	N/A
Chrisantus Wamalwa	Kenya	Member of Parliament	N/A
Javier Puente	Spain	Member of the Senate	N/A
Mariano Gervan	Argentina	Senate Pro-Secretary	N/A
Isabel María Salazar	Ecuador	Former Vice-President of the Justice and Peace Commission of Ecuador	N/A
José Rodrigo Valladares	Guatemala	Former Member of Parliament	N/A
Enikő Györi	Hungary	Member of European Parliament	N/A
Anna Zaborská	Slovakia	Member of Parliament	N/A
Truls Olufsen-Mehus	Norway	Christian Democratic Party	N/A
Piotr Uscinski	Poland	Member of the Sejm	N/A
Stjepo Bartulica	Croatia	Homeland Movement	N/A
Rónán Mullen	Ireland	Senator and former delegate to the Council of Europe	N/A

## Committee of Experts

Finally, the Committee of Experts is the strategy-building body of PNfV and is made up of ultra-conservative, Catholic activists, “thinkers,” and lobbyists from nine different countries. With a clear US majority, it shows how that country’s conservative and Catholic political actors are not only financing the anti-rights political agenda worldwide but also defining its strategy. The Committee of Experts has significant overlap with speakers at PNfV’s summits, including the New York 2023 convening.

**Table 3 – PNfV Committee of Experts (2023)**

Name	Country	Role Outside PNfV
Alfonso Aguilar	United States	President of Latino Partnership for Conservative Principles
Carlos Beltramo	Spain	Director for Europe, Population Research Institute
Neydy Casillas	Mexico/US	Vice-President for International Affairs, Global Center for Human Rights
Stefano Gennarini	United States	Director of the Center for Family and Human Rights (C-Fam)
Jacqueline Halbig von Schleppenback	United States	Founder and Partner, Sovereign Global Solutions
Elyssa Koren	United States	Director United Nations Advocacy, ADF International
Sophia Kuby	Belgium	Director European Union Advocacy, ADF International
Andrés Felipe López	Colombia	Expert, International Law, Professor at University of La Sabana
Theresa Okafor	Nigeria	Director, Foundation for African Cultural Heritage
Carlos Polo	Perú	Director LATAM, Population Research Institute
Javier Fiz Pérez	Spain	Vice-President, Itinerari Previdenziali
Travis S. Weber	United States	Vice-President for Policy and Government Affairs, Director of the Center for Religious Liberty
Jesús Mañaga	Colombia	Director of the citizen platform “Unidos por la Vida”
Diego Hernández	Mexico/Brazil	Director of the digital newspaper D’VOX
Rubén Navarro	Mexico	Founder and President, Center for International Development

# Global and Regional Far-Right Connections

PNfV's general and administrative staff is recruited through universities, mainly Latin American private Catholic schools. This is the case for the organization's US-based clerk, [Luisa Fernanda Mayorga Bedoya](#), who studied at an Opus Dei university. PNfV communication director for Ibero-America [Diego de Jesús Hernández](#) and Global Responsibility chair [Bernardo von Raesfeld](#), studied at Mexican universities with ties to the Catholic secret society [El Yunque](#). (See financial section below for more information on Global Responsibility and its link to PNfV.)

## El Yunque

The secretive paramilitary group El Yunque originated in Mexico in the 1950s. Though PNfV has no formal relationship with El Yunque, and it is, needless to say, difficult to verify membership in a secret society, [several key PNfV leaders and affiliates have been identified by credible](#) sources as members. Spanish historian Santiago Mata, an authority on the subject, has written that PNfV Executive Director Lola Velarde and her husband, as well as PNfV General Secretary and Vice Chair [Rodrigo Iván Cortés](#), are members of El Yunque. Other [PNfV leaders and affiliates were named as members](#) by a witness testifying at a 2014 trial involving Spanish organization HazteOir.org as part of evidence that was considered to be “essentially true” by the court.

At least two other Spanish civil society leaders affiliated with PNfV are [also reportedly part of El Yunque](#): Ignacio Arsuaga of CitizenGO and Eduardo Hertfelder of the Institute for Family Policies. Arsuaga is PNfV's Europe representative,<sup>13</sup> and [Hertfelder employed Velarde](#) from 2004 to 2016 before she joined the Fundación Europea Sociedad y Educación.<sup>14</sup> Both CitizenGO and the Institute for Family Policies have co-sponsored PNfV initiatives, and though Arsuaga has not [publicly](#) held any executive role at PNfV, [documents released by WikiLeaks](#) show that he initially intended to sit on the organization's board of directors and that he participated in its 2014 and 2022 summits.

The clandestine and paramilitary nature of El Yunque is the [basis of a lawsuit](#) that was



On May 20, 2022, Kast (left) [posted to X \(formerly Twitter\)](#) a [photo](#) with Santiago Abascal (right), which reads “With the future President of the Government of Spain, the great @Santi\_ABASCAL”.

13. See PNfV's US filing documents, available here.

14. Lola Velarde acknowledges Eduardo Hertfelder in [her book](#).

presented by a group of Catholic priests against El Yunque during the 2014 trial. The lawsuit identifies five CSOs as fronts for the far-right organization and its directors as prominent leaders of El Yunque, including Arsuaga. El Yunque leadership is documented in detail in a study commissioned by the Spanish Episcopal Conference and prepared by Spanish philosophy professor Fernando López Luengos, also a former member of HazteOir, in which he [describes the paramilitary and messianic nature of the secret organization](#), its origin in the Mexican State of Puebla, and its presence in Spain.<sup>15</sup>

## Homing in on Latin America

Given these transnational ties, it is no surprise that PNfV has a particular interest in Latin America. The [Second Transatlantic Summit](#), held in Washington D.C., in 2015, focused on the region and brought together parliamentarians from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Trinidad and Tobago. The largest delegation by far was from Mexico, with 38 members of congress from both the state and federal levels in attendance. It is unclear who paid for their travel.

The 2015 summit focused on demagoguing the inter-American human rights system and the work of the Organization of American States (OAS), which is the regional body for standard-setting and accountability on these issues. Speaking at the summit, Alfonso Aguilar,<sup>16</sup> then president of the American Principles Project, a US right-wing group, made the case for pressuring the US to stop funding the OAS, forecasting a movement that would gain ground in the ensuing years.<sup>17</sup> Four years after Aguilar made his case for defunding the OAS, on March 26, 2019, Trump's then-Secretary of State Mike Pompeo reduced funding for the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Commission of Women.<sup>18</sup>

Also speaking at the 2015 summit was Mayor Oreja, who made the case for increased trans-Atlantic cooperation. Mayor Oreja made a similar proposal in 2014 at the first PNfV summit at the UN. He said that the way to defeat those who want to impose a “post-Christian society” based on “relativism” is for conservatives to develop transnational cooperation and dialogue through a core coordinating triangle between the US, Latin America, and Europe.<sup>19</sup> His proposals reflect the behind-the-scenes geographic and thematic interests of PNfV's donors and leadership.

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15. HazteOir denounced former member López Luengos for [crimes against honor](#).

16. Aguilar has [extensive, right-wing credentials](#). He is currently president of the Latino Partnership for Conservative Principles and was previously president of the International Human Rights Group and a board member of ADF International. Aguilar also [served on Catholics for Trump's advisory board](#) and believed George W. Bush's immigration policies to be too liberal.

17. Attempts to weaken the OAS have evolved on several fronts. In 2017, on the sidelines of the OAS General Assembly, and under ADF sponsorship, the Hemispheric Congress of Parliamentarians, chaired by Kast, [was held in Mexico](#) and established a [continental network](#). They published the “Declaration of Mexico,” which laid out their position in defense of issues related to life, family, and religious freedom, and which attacked the OAS for violating country sovereignty by imposing an “ideological agenda.” US Senator Mike Lee, originally scheduled to attend in person, instead participated via [online message](#).

18. In 2016 US Republican Senators Marco Rubio and Mike Lee began agitating for defunding various human rights bodies within the OAS system. By 2017, Senator Ted Cruz joined the fray, and in 2018, Aguilar made an appearance before the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, where he demanded that the United States stop funding the OAS. See Kane, Gillian; Moragas, Mirta, and Stallone, Kiran, “Framejacking Rights Discourse to Undermine Latin American Multilateral Human Rights Institution,” *The Right Against Rights in Latin America*, Oxford University Press, 2023.

19. Notes on file with Ipas.

## Key Government Allies

Since its launch in 2014, PNfV has always relied on the support of certain UN member states (Belarus, Hungary, and Qatar, for example), and the political leadership of well-placed allies to advance their agenda. This has variously included members of the European parliament, the executive branch in Hungary, and the Colombian congress.

On the European side, Hungary—through current President Novák—has played a central role in catalyzing the network’s momentum. Novák attended the first summit in New York City in her capacity as Minister of State for Family and Youth Affairs. She then quickly moved through the PNfV ranks, sitting on the advisory board before becoming PNfV’s vice president, eventually taking on the presidency from 2019-2022. While balancing all these roles, Novák was a key organizer and/or participant in several influential anti-rights convenings including the [Hungarian Demographic Forums](#),<sup>20</sup> the [One of Us forums](#), and the [World Congress of Families](#).<sup>21</sup> Most recently, Novák connected with the richest man in the world, Elon Musk, to amplify their fear-mongering about a global demographic crisis.<sup>22</sup> (For more information on anti-gender mobilization in Hungary, [please see this comprehensive report](#) by the think tank Political Capital, which also notes that PNfV opened a Hungarian subdivision in 2020, the Political Network for Values Hungarian Association.)

## A Close Alliance with Guatemala

PNfV’s most recent booster is Guatemala, which has been a steadfast partner not only to PNfV but also to other like-minded networks of anti-gender allies. Under the administration of President Alejandro Giammattei (January 2020 to January 2024), Guatemala has made a hard right turn on social issues, which explains its affinity for PNfV and its willingness to stand as the only UN member state to sponsor the 2023 summit in New York.

While Guatemala has ratified several international human rights instruments, the Giammattei administration has implemented many policies and government programs that contravene



PNfV’s executive director Lola Velarde (right) met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guatemala Mario Búcaro (left), as posted on the [group’s Facebook account](#) on October 27, 2023.

20. The 2019 and 2021 Budapest Demographic Summits [hosted an impressive line of far-right political leaders](#) including Aleksandar Vučić, President of Serbia; former US Vice President Mike Pence; Eric Zemmour, extreme right French presidential candidate; and Marion Maréchal Le Pen.

21. In Novák’s new role as president of Hungary, she has fostered close relationships with the extreme wing of the US Republican party and their donors. In March 2023, following a presentation at the UN where she raised the alarm that “the traditional family, the very foundation of Judeo-Christian life and culture, is under attack,” Novák [flew straight from the UN to Florida](#). There, she met with US presidential aspirant Governor Ron DeSantis and [Thomas Péterffy](#), a billionaire Republican donor, to discuss the importance of protecting family values. In mid-September 2023, Novák hosted the [Budapest Demographic Summit](#), after which she traveled to the UN to give a keynote speech at the UN General Assembly. She then traveled to Texas to meet Twitter (now X) owner Elon Musk, where [they discussed](#) the global demographic “crisis.”

22. Musk uses the social media platform he owns, X (formerly Twitter), to post about “population collapse due to low birth rates,” which he portrays as an existential threat to civilization. “Demographics” functions here as code for “great replacement” theories and paranoia about “woke” agendas on sexuality and gender.

these human rights frameworks and standards. These policies disproportionately affect women, girls, adolescents, LGBTQ+ populations, and other vulnerable populations. Examples include:

- In November 2020, President Giammattei [vetoed and repealed](#) a ministerial authorization that enabled an international sexual and reproductive health organization to set up an office in Guatemala. Through an [official communiqué](#), the president said that his government would not tolerate any movement “that goes against the values with which I was raised” and that he would not endorse “the creation, registration or implementation of any organization that goes against life.” With this first action, Giammattei established the personal anti-abortion stance that he would later institutionalize throughout his administration.
- On July 25, 2021, Giammattei presented the [Protection of Life and the Institutionality of the Family](#) policy, which restricts access to abortion in cases permitted by law, restricts sex education in schools for the prevention of unplanned pregnancy and sexual abuse, and denies recognition of same-sex unions.
- On October 12, 2021, [President Giammattei](#) signed the [Geneva Consensus Declaration](#) (GCD), a non-binding anti-abortion manifesto organized by the Trump administration to promote a recalibration of foreign policies oriented against women’s human rights and [sexual and reproductive health](#).
- From March 7 to 11, 2022, the government of Guatemala sponsored a series of activities aimed to establish Guatemala as the [“Pro-Life Capital of Ibero-America.”](#)
- In 2022, [Guatemala hosted a panel](#) at the UN’s Commission on the Status of Women, which featured staff from the Institute for Women’s Health, C-Fam, and the Global Center for Human Rights (GCHR), all three of whom are co-sponsors of the 2023 PNfV summit.

In an August 2023 runoff election, progressive opposition candidate Bernardo Arévalo, an anti-corruption activist, won the Guatemalan presidency in a landslide. There are serious concerns from the international community about Giammattei’s commitment to overseeing a peaceful transition of power. Immediately after the election, [the US State Department](#) issued a statement expressing concern about the willingness of Guatemala’s governmental institutions to protect the country’s democracy, calling out “efforts by the Public Ministry and other actors to suspend the President-elect’s political party and intimidate election authorities.” Two months later, in October 2023, the [State Department issued a second statement](#) reiterating its “grave” concern about the transition process. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights also [publicized its concerns in October](#), noting “actions by judicial authorities” to undermine the electoral process and which are incompatible “with international human rights law, as well as with the Guatemalan Constitution and national legislation.” The [Inter-American Commission on Human Rights](#) also weighed in, urging the Guatemalan state to respect the outcomes of the election and “cease the actions” of the public prosecutor’s office that were jeopardizing the constitutional order. Finally, a 2023 report by [Human Rights Watch](#) extensively details Giammattei’s impact on deepening “democratic backsliding in Guatemala.”

Given the concerns of the UN, the OAS, and the US government, which is [“actively taking steps to impose visa restrictions on individuals who undermine Guatemala’s democracy,”](#) further scrutiny should be placed on this meeting and its participants. Nonetheless, these statements have had little perceivable impact on the Guatemalan government, which [suspended the president-elect’s political party](#) on November 2, 2023, creating yet another barrier to a smooth transition of power.

# Targeting the Future: Youth Trainings

Since its inception, PNfV has invested in building youth capacity as future advocates and leaders. Alliance Defending Freedom organized a youth advocacy training session on the sidelines of the network's first gathering in New York City.<sup>23</sup> [Trainings targeting young people have remained a feature](#) of subsequent summits, and most end with the launch of a youth declaration, which is often recycled in other spaces like the OAS.<sup>24</sup>



PNfV [advertised its 2023 six-month youth course on Facebook](#), with the post *"If you love these three pillars of social order and want to promote them in politics, book your Saturdays from April to August."*

PNfV's [most recent project](#) was "Political Leadership in Times of Change," a six-month online course held in 2023 to provide tools, resources, and connections for youth with the socio-political and cultural commitment to the "defense of life, family and freedom."<sup>25</sup> The course targeted different youth cohorts including activists, students, influencers, and members of right-wing religious communities and ultraconservative sectors.

Participants in the 2023 course were offered a training day in the Croatian parliament, an internship with the Republican Party in Chile, an internship in the European Parliament in Brussels, and participation in the New York Transatlantic Summit in November 2023.

The most practical benefit of the youth trainings is the privileged access to the extensive PNfV network of elected officials, politicians, and entrepreneurs.

Ana Bolio and David Ibáñez, youth representatives at the PNfV Global Summit in 2022 in Budapest, moderated the 2023 course, which also involved trainings hosted by political leaders including José Antonio Kast, Rodrigo Iván Cortés, Jaime Mayor Oreja, Lola Velarde, and [Angela Gandra](#), the former Brazilian National Secretary of the Family at the Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights under the Bolsonaro administration. Other presenters included [Grégor Puppinc](#), Director of the European Center for Law and Justice, and [Carlos Polo](#), the Political Research Institute's director for Latin America.<sup>26</sup>

23. Notes on file with Ipas.

24. During the 2019 Transatlantic Summit in Colombia, PNfV released its [first youth declaration, based on the organization's "decatalogue."](#) The declaration was formally [presented the following year at the 49th General Assembly of the OAS](#), supported by [34,000 signatures](#), and shared with the [Secretary General of the OAS](#), ambassadors of 15 countries, and civil organizations. In 2021, organizers reached 48,000 signatures during an [anniversary campaign](#). The subsequent 2022 youth declaration emphasized conservative youth's responsibility to defend the network's values within their societies.

25. The course website is no longer online but is [partially archived](#) and includes the course's program. Notes on file with Ipas.

26. Other session hosts include US State Senator Amy Sinclair; Valerie Huber of the Institute for Women's Health; Francisco José Contreras, member of the Spanish parliament; Congressman Cristián Araya, a young co-founder of the Republican movement in Chile; Árpád Mészáros, vice president of the Maria Koop Institute; Lorinc Nacsá, a member of the Hungarian parliament; Margarita de la Piza, Spanish member of the European Parliament; and Paola Holguín, member of the Colombian senate. Notes on file with Ipas.

Participants studied the “successful” country cases of Poland and Hungary, advocacy initiatives like the Geneva Consensus Declaration, and the ruling to overturn Roe v. Wade in the United States as models for future implementation of “family-centered” public policies. They also studied how to use demographic data to promote birth rates and disseminate conservative values. While the training was designed to develop participants’ political education and international networking, it is important to note the equal focus on promoting civil society advocacy in multilateral spaces and the strengthening of a common theoretical and political ground.

# Transatlantic Summit V New York 2023

Nine years after first launching at the UN to discuss how to strengthen the family, PNfV returned in November 2023 with a broader mandate: “Affirming universal human rights; uniting cultures for life, family, and fundamental freedoms.” The fundamental freedoms prioritized by PNfV—the right to life, the family, freedom of religion, the right of parents to choose their children’s education—are manipulated to advance their political agenda against abortion, for a government in service of religion, and for parental rights that do not extend to parents with whom they disagree.

The Holy See, one of the co-hosts of the 2014 summit, opened the [2023 summit](#) with a morning mass at a Catholic church near the United Nations, led by the Apostolic Nuncio and Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations.

## Selection of Speakers

Confirmed speakers at the summit raise serious concerns about their commitment to genuine affirmation of universal human rights, with many bringing a troubling history of actively working against the basic rights of women, transgender people, migrants, and LGBTQ+ communities.

In addition to Kast and Iván Cortés, the following is a sample of some of the civil society speakers within PNfV’s network who have been outspoken against human rights, as well as political leaders with problematic track records when it comes to protecting and advancing human rights. They reflect the growing range of actors orbiting PNfV and the organization’s global reach.<sup>27</sup>



*PNfV’s Facebook post advertising the 2023 Summit, using the UN human rights logo, “Human Rights 75.”*

27. A full list of speakers is available in Annex II.



PNfV's [Facebook advertising confirmed speaker Uju Kennedy-Ohanenye for the 2023 Summit.](#)

**Uju Kennedy-Ohanenye** is the Nigerian Minister of Women's Affairs and a former presidential aspirant. She has repeatedly blocked progress made by women's rights organizations in Nigeria; two months after being sworn into her first political position in August 2023, Kennedy-Ohanenye [threatened to sue the UN; threatened university students](#) with imprisonment if they continued a sexual harassment case against a professor; and at an investment summit, laid out a plan for children to have [fewer school days to allow them to work in factories](#). Because of these and other regressive actions taken during her short tenure as minister, members of civil society and the [former chairman of the National Human Rights Commission](#) have called for her removal, highlighting her lack of understanding of her mandate covering global bodies like the UN and other Nigerian ministries.



Figure SEQ Figure \\* ARABIC 3 On September 6, 2022, Nikolás Ferreira [posted his "first election advertisement" on Facebook](#) in a video endorsing Jair Bolsonaro for a second term.

**Nicolás Ferreira** is a Brazilian congressman and self-described "[Christian conservative and defender of the family.](#)" Ferreira is [close to former Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro](#) and aligned to his ultra-conservative political views against "gender ideology," feminism, and LGBTQ+ rights. Ferreira was recently charged and fined for the civil offense of "moral harm." In April 2023, [Ferreira was fined 80,000 reais \(approximately US \\$16,000\)](#) for the civil offense of "moral harm," stemming from a 2020 case where Ferreira harassed and misgendered a federal deputy. There are currently several penal and administrative investigations and processes pending against Ferreira for his anti-trans remarks and harassing behavior, including:

- In June 2022, Ferreira posted a video of a transgender adolescent in a women's bathroom that included his critical commentary. [The public prosecutor in the state of Minas Gerais](#) issued a complaint to the state's court of justice, which accepted it; Ferreira is now under investigation for his social media posts.
- Ferreira is also currently being investigated for producing offensive videos and false information attacking the Ministry of Human Rights' decision to permit unisex bathrooms in Brazil. [The Federal Attorney General's Office issued a statement](#) confirming that Ferreira disseminated "deliberately false" information and ordered the National Prosecutor's Office for Citizen's Rights "to analyze the case and take all appropriate extrajudicial and, eventually, judicial measures."
- On March 20th, 2023, the Minister of the Federal Supreme Court requested the suspension of Ferreira's social media accounts following his transphobic remarks on the floor of parliament on March 8, International Women's Day. Wearing a blonde wig in a show of mockery and disrespect, Ferreira [said that he "felt" like "Congresswoman Nikole,](#)" and that trans women were usurping cisgender women. Ferreira [denied the accusations](#), claiming he was defending the rights of women in sports.



On December 20, 2022, [Eduardo Verástegui](#) posted on YouTube his [CPAC Mexico address](#), which was introduced by Trump.

**Eduardo Verástegui** is a former model, actor and film producer, and Catholic conservative activist who recently announced his aspiration to be an independent candidate in the 2024 presidential elections in Mexico. Verástegui has [lived in the United States since 2002](#), where he strengthened his alliances with the Republican Party during the Trump administration. In 2020 [Trump invited Verástegui](#) to be a member of the White House Advisory Commission on Hispanic Prosperity and since then Verástegui has vigorously [defended Trump and his policies](#). Verástegui has been a speaker at various Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) meetings in the [United States](#), [Hungary](#) and [Japan](#), in addition to being the organizer and host of [CPAC Mexico in 2022](#). Verástegui is known for his affinity and alliances with other leaders of the international far-right, including Brazil's [Jair and Eduardo Bolsonaro](#), Chile's [José Antonio Kast](#), Argentina's [Javier Milei](#), Guatemala's [Alejandro Giammattei](#), Hungary's [Katalin Novák](#), Spain's [Santiago Abascal](#), and Ignacio Arsuaga, among others. In October 2023, during his campaign to collect signatures in support of his candidacy, Verástegui published a video of himself [shooting a rifle](#) with the message, "Look what we are going to do to the terrorists of Agenda 2030, climate change and gender ideology."



PNFV's [Facebook advertising confirmed speaker Austin Ruse](#) for the 2023 Summit.

**Austin Ruse** is a [Catholic convert who joined C-Fam](#), a right-wing NGO dedicated to preventing the UN from promoting and protecting women's rights and LGBTQ+ rights, as one of its first employees in 1997; he became its president in 2000. Ruse is a bombast who has been frequently criticized for his caustic comments, many of which border on hate speech. In 2000, Ruse implied [he wanted to kill Hillary Clinton](#): in conversation about a possible Clinton presidential run, he said, "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." [In 2014 Ruse said](#) that "hard left, human-hating people that run modern universities... should all be taken out and shot." In his now-deleted Twitter account, Ruse frequently misgendered individuals, mocked people with disabilities, supported the January 6, 2021 insurrection at the US Capitol, and stated that the Proud Boys are "not an extremist group nor or [sic] they even remotely white nationalist."<sup>28</sup>

28. Screenshots on file with Ipas.



PNfV's [Facebook advertising confirmed speaker Valerie Huber](#) for the 2023 Summit.

**Valerie Huber** is the architect of the [Geneva Consensus Declaration](#) and Trump’s former special representative for Global Women’s Health at the US Department of Health and Human Services.<sup>29</sup> Huber’s vision for the GCD is that it become a major coalition force on the world stage—a bloc of like-minded nations, acting within a common framework to change international dynamics, that subverts existing international human rights law and the United Nations. She has [called statements](#) by the UN and the World Health Organization on sexual and reproductive health and rights examples of “ideology masquerading as expertise.” She regularly and deliberately reaffirms disinformation that the UN promotes “extreme ideology” and claims it infringes upon “the sovereign right of nations to determine their own laws.” Her rhetoric aims to discredit human rights-respecting systems to promote a conservative agenda through the resuscitation of the GCD. Before joining the Trump administration, Huber was a [leading figure in the US abstinence-only movement](#). In 2022, she founded— and now leads—the [Institute for Women’s Health](#). In that capacity, she has continued to rally the GCD signatories, paying particular attention to [Guatemala](#).

29. The GCD is a non-binding resolution that encourages countries to ban abortion and restrict the definition of family. The United States initially [co-sponsored the GCD](#) in October 2020, though President Biden endorsement in January 2021, While the GCD carries no legal weight, it is a symbolic carryover from the Trump-Pence administration’s anti-rights agenda to roll back SRHR domestically and in foreign policy. As of November 2023, the GCD secretariat role now lies with the government of Hungary and has 36 country signatories.

## The New York 75 Commitment

In advance of the summit, PNfV has circulated their “[New York 75 Commitment to Universal Human Rights](#),”<sup>30</sup> which will be signed by political representatives and civil society leaders and shared at the close of the event. This document aims to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which in addition to its historic significance, coming on the heels of World War II,<sup>31</sup> is also, for supporters of the [Sustainable Development Goals](#), the “[bedrock for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development](#).” PNfV’s event takes place two months after the September [SDG Summit](#), which marked the mid-point for the 2030 Agenda in the lead-up to the [Summit of the Future](#).

The [2030 Agenda](#) is a critical mechanism to strengthen multilateralism and accelerate efforts to achieve the SDGs. Rather than supporting the 2030 Agenda, PNfV seeks to undermine it, viewing it as a barrier to their ambitions—as they stated about the SDGs in their first meeting at the UN in 2014.

In its draft New York 75 Commitment, PNfV deliberately misconstrues the original intention of UDHR and other UN documents that reinforce “understanding, tolerance and friendship.”<sup>32</sup> The focus is on manipulating terms like “family,” which has no set definition in UN documents, to reinforce hetero-centric values and to cleave to the organization’s own worldviews.<sup>33</sup> The perceived threat seems to be visceral. As noted above, one PNfV summit speaker, Eduardo Verástegui, published a video of himself just one month before the event, [shooting a rifle](#) and threatening that this is “what we are going to do to the terrorists of Agenda 2030, climate change and gender ideology.”



On October 9, 2023, PNfV summit speaker Eduardo Verástegui [posted a video on X](#) of himself shooting a rifle, threatening that this is “what we are going to do to the terrorists of Agenda 2030, climate change and gender ideology.”

30. The Commitment references and cites the UN Charter; the UDHR; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; and the Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference on Population and Development.

31. The UN Charter, signed June 26, 1945, established the institution of the United Nations. Two years later, on December 10, 1948, the UDHR sought to enshrine a common understanding global human rights standards.

32. PNfV cites both UDHR article 26 and ICESCR article 13, which both refer to “understanding, tolerance and friendship.”

33. See Annex III for the full letter.

# The Network's Finances

Over the last decade, Europe has experienced a shift to the right in the political agenda of many countries, with far-right parties gaining popular support and seats in parliaments and national governments. Spain has seen particularly rapid growth, which materialized in large part through the online platform HazteOir, the NGO CitizenGO, and the political party Vox.

PNfV is primarily funded by US and Mexican civil society organizations. The main organizations that co-sponsor PNfV initiatives are, in turn, funded by donor-advised funds and foundations that advance an ultra-Catholic, conservative, and anti-rights agenda.<sup>34</sup> PNfV is not only a beneficiary of right-wing philanthropy but also a donor itself. Additionally, some key PNfV's partners and co-sponsors of the fifth Transatlantic Summit have deep pockets and receive substantial support, including from US-based private foundations and donor-advised funds.

[Based on the analysis of PNfV US filings](#) and organizational documents released by Wikileaks, PNfV is a lobbying and fundraising project spearheaded by the Spanish organization Fundación Valores y Sociedad, built with Mexican allies that share ties to El Yunque. It is also a fundraising mechanism to solicit money from US and Latin American donors to complement funding from the Spanish actors behind such initiatives.

PNfV's starting budget appears to have been rather limited, based on available public data. The organization's 2016 financial summary, [disclosed by WikiLeaks](#), shows that all funding came from CSOs during its first two years of operation. Its budget was approximating US\$68,000 in 2014, when the first Transnational Summit took place at the UN headquarters in New York.<sup>35</sup> It grew modestly, reaching under \$72,000 in 2015. The budget was then projected to grow from over \$120,000 in 2016 to over \$320,000 in 2020, but these records are not publicly accessible. The organization's 2016 Transnational Summit in Brussels at the European Parliament had an estimated budget of 110,550 EUR, to be partly funded by European Parliament parties (34% of the summit's total projected costs) with the remainder covered by co-sponsoring organizations for the summit.

## Links to CitizenGO

The first PNfV summit in 2014 was organized exactly one year after the founding of CitizenGO in July 2013. PNfV incorporation documents filed with the State of Massachusetts show that CitizenGO founder and president Ignacio Arsuaga, who does not appear publicly as a leader of PNfV, was in fact a founding officer and has served as its Europe representative ever since. PNfV can be understood, in large part, as an effort to expand the fundraising and advocacy network of groups like CitizenGO in the United States and Latin America through collaboration with ideological allies. Notably, [CitizenGO's Board of Trustees](#) includes two members of PNfV executive bodies, Arsuaga and Brian Brown of WCF and IOF. CitizenGO and

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34. For more information on these funders of the US-based anti-rights movement that works alongside PNfV, see Annex II on the Transatlantic Summit sponsors.

35. The largest PNfV donor in 2014 was the RAEP/Red Familia organization in Mexico, which gave \$21,173. Brian Brown's NOM, ADF, and CitizenGO supported PNfV with \$10,000 each. C-Fam, which also is sponsoring the fifth Transatlantic Summit, gave \$5,000. The Institute for Family Policy, Lola Velarde's former employer, contributed over \$3,500. Global Responsibility, FWI, Family & Life, and Brown's WCF each donated \$2,000.

## The Intolerance Network

Over 17,000 documents from HazteOir and CitizenGO, Spanish right-wing campaigning organizations. Their links to Spain's far-right political party Vox and the Mexican sect El Yunque are well documented. These documents include HazteOir founding CitizenGO in 2013 to expand their reach, as well as their organizing of the 2012 World Congress of Families, an influential American far-right platform. [Read the press release here.](#)



HazteOir are, since 2016, [part of the same legal entity](#), known as the CitizenGO Group. HazteOir, CitizenGO, and Vox [share the same leaders and funding](#).

Wikileaks' [The Intolerance Network](#)

HazteOir in 2017—is an organization with millions of contributors and campaigners but a [relative lack of major donors](#). Its total income was 1,460,000 EUR in 2016: that year, CitizenGO's goal was to establish a presence at the UN, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and Organization of American States (OAS), as well as an endorsement or possibly funding from some of them.<sup>36</sup> CitizenGO has been supported by [a US political fundraiser](#) and a tech consultant linked to the Trump campaign, as well as the Republican Party and the Tea Party movement.<sup>37</sup>

CitizenGO Group—the new name of CitizenGO after it absorbed

## Government and Other Funding

PNfV received indirect public funding from the [Hungarian government](#) in 2019, as seen in [official documents signed by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán](#). The documents mention a donation made by the government to an unnamed Hungarian conservative organization for the expressed purpose of supporting PNfV with nearly \$450,000.

Regarding Mexican funding, the 2014, 2015, and 2019 PNfV summits were co-sponsored by organizations related to PNfV vice president Rodrigo Iván Cortés Jiménez. Cortés is the leader of the Mexican civil society association Red de Acción Ética Política (RAEP), where religious groups promote legislative proposals against same-sex marriage, abortion, and addiction treatment services.

Other [PNfV fundraising collaborators include](#) the Jewish Institute for Global Awareness, a new initiative undertaken by the co-founders of Jews Offering New Alternatives to Homosexuality (JONAH), businessmen and homophobic political leaders Arthur Goldberg and Elaine Berk. The Jewish Institute for Global Awareness offers its crowdfunding platform, called Funding Morality, to some projects, including Jonathan Wedger's initiative against child "sexploitation," scholarships for pro-life medical students, and [funding for a PNfV youth program](#).

In addition to its own activities, PNfV allocates a small portion of its resources to another organization. The [network donated 10,000 EUR to the European Christian Political Movement](#) in 2017—a conservative political party fostering Christian politics in Europe. It was established in Lakitelek, Hungary, in 2000, and has a registered office in The Hague. As of December 31, 2017, its board was comprised mainly of Slovakian politicians. On April 27 and 28, 2017, the party hosted PNfV's second Transatlantic Summit at the European Parliament in Brussels.

36. According to the Spanish press following the WikiLeaks release about the Spanish organizations, the Vox party shares the same fundraising apparatus in Spain as CitizenGO. Because of that, political adversaries and Catalan independence campaigners [submitted questions to the European Parliament](#) concerning the party's funding and public disclosure of its financial documents and donors.

37. The [Spanish press](#) also analyzed how the far-right agenda in Europe is [funded by Russian oligarchs](#).

## Operating in Both the United States and Spain

The US-incorporated non-profit Political Network for Values, Inc., was registered in Massachusetts on June 17, 2016. Although PNfV is a US-incorporated organization, 46% of the participants in its initiatives are Ibero-American, with Mexican politicians and civil society leaders constituting 18% of the total number of participants and Spanish nationals 10%. These percentages, plus the composition of the organization's three governing bodies previously mentioned, offer insight into the Ibero-American origin of PNfV.

PNfV's US business filings partially reflect the composition of the organization as stated on its website. Mayor Oreja and Velarde have prominent administrative and coordination roles, and Mayor Oreja appears as president and CEO, despite appearing only in an honorary board role on PNfV's website. One prominent member of the Board of Directors has no role in the US corporation: chair José Antonio Kast. Further, PNfV board member Kinga Gál, a Hungarian MEP, has no documented role in the US corporation either.

As Political Network for Values, Inc., the organization has [filed six annual reports](#) (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021) in the United States, a Certificate of Change of Principal Office (from Massachusetts to Texas), and a Certificate of Change of Directors. As stated in Massachusetts filings, its officers and directors are as follows:

**Table 4 – PNfV, Inc., Officers and Directors (2023)**

Name	Country	Role Outside PNfV	Role at PNfV
Rodrigo Iván Cortés	Mexico	President of the National Front for the Family	Vice-President
Lola Velarde	Spain	Board Member of Fundación Valores y Sociedad and Development; Director of Fundación Europea Sociedad y Educación	Treasurer & Director
Jaime Mayor Oreja	Spain	Board Member of Fundación Valores y Sociedad, Former MEP, and Former Minister of Home Affairs for the Popular Party	President & CEO
Sharon Slater	United States	President of Family Watch International (FWI)	US Representative
Benjamin Bull	United States	General Counsel of the National Center on Sexual Exploitation (NCSE)	US Representative
Brian Brown	United States	President of the IOF, WCF, and NOM	US Representative
Ignacio Arsuaga	Spain	HazteOir Founder, President of CitizenGO	Europe Representative
Luisa Fernanda Mayorga Bedoya	Spain	Physiotherapist, Instituto Panameño de Educación Familiar	Clerk

PNfV was first incorporated in Massachusetts at an address then shared with [Global Responsibility, Inc.](#), a 501(c)(3) organization [incorporated there in 2010 by Mexican engineer Bernardo von Raesfeld Porras](#).<sup>38</sup> Global Responsibility fosters “collective civic participation” for [Catholic Mexican interests in the United States](#). Von Raesfeld Porras was proposed to be part of the PNfV steering committee, as PNfV draft working documents published by WikiLeaks show.

Global Responsibility, Inc., donated \$2,000 to PNfV in 2014 and \$10,000 USD in 2015, the only years for which such records were obtained. Global Responsibility’s public tax filings mention “Political Network for Values II Transatlantic Summit” as a “service accomplishment” made from 2018 to 2022, without specifying any donation amount.

PNfV’s US clerk, [Luisa Fernanda Mayorga Bedoya](#), studied at the University of La Sabana, an [Opus Dei educational center in Colombia](#).<sup>39</sup> On June 14, 2015, Mayorga Bedoya took part in a [meeting of CSOs](#) at the [OAS](#), representing the [Panama Institute for Family Politics](#). Mayorga Bedoya [appears to reside at the house in Frisco, Texas](#), where [PNfV’s head office is currently registered](#) since PNfV moved there from Brighton, Massachusetts in 2022.<sup>40</sup>

Meanwhile, Fundación Valores y Sociedad, [incorporated in Spain](#) in 2012 and based in Madrid, is the entity responsible for [PNfV’s data management](#). Fundación Valores y Sociedad, whose leadership overlaps considerably with PNfV, including Velarde, also hosts the network’s office in a [residential apartment in Madrid](#). Another address, which appears in the 2012 articles of incorporation of the Fundación Valores y Sociedad, [corresponds to a property owned](#) by a Mexican citizen, María de Fátima Cabañas López, who was deputy director at Telmex—whose [majority owner](#) is Mexican magnate Carlos Slim, one of the richest men in the world—when she acquired the property in 1995. Slim’s son, Patricio Slim, is a [major donor to the anti-abortion movement in Mexico](#).

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38. Bernardo is brother of Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN) politician Rafael von Raesfeld Porras, who serves as a state congressman in the LVIII Legislature of the Congress of the State of Puebla, Mexico.

39. This is the same university where 2014 and 2015 PNfV summits speaker Andrés Felipe López is a law professor.

40. PNfV’s [new address](#) is the same as a property owned since 2006 by two Colombian citizens, Rafael Pachón and Pahola Caicedo. The same address is shared by a foreign company, Cavalia LLC, owned by Cesar A Caicedo.

# Conclusion

It has been nine years since the Political Network for Values launched in New York City in 2014. In that time, the organization has grown its tightly networked global group of anti-rights allies. Its 2023 summit returns the group to the UN headquarters and showcases its progress: increasing the reach of far-right extreme actors into the highest level of political and institutional leadership, while cultivating the next generation of anti-rights decision-makers.

In addition to developing and promoting regressive policies in state and national legislatures around the world, the PNfV network directly attacks multilateralism and the UN sustainable development agenda. PNfV and its partners have dedicated themselves to subverting the UN system and human rights standards; they promote initiatives that bypass the UN, like the Geneva Consensus Declaration; and they platform individuals and organizations who want to deny human rights to historically marginalized groups, including women, girls, LGBTQ+ populations, and young people.

PNfV is a key group to watch because it operates mostly under the radar and manages to gain entry to elite political spaces. For example, former PNfV president Katalin Novák ascended from its ranks to the presidency of Hungary. There are other political aspirants within its top brass, including PNfV president José Antonio Kast, who will likely run for president of Chile in 2025; and Eduardo Verástegui, the PNfV 2023 speaker who has announced his intention to run for the presidency of Mexico. Meanwhile, Uju Kennedy-Ohanenye, another speaker at the 2023 summit, was a candidate for president of Nigeria the same year; and one of PNfV's earliest supporters, Santiago Abascal, president of rightwing Vox party, came in third place in the 2023 Spanish presidential elections. With upcoming elections in Chile, México, and the United States, the network is functioning as a meeting and testing ground for political hopefuls.

PNfV has always had an eye to the future: in 2023, the group's six-month effort to build a cadre of anti-gender youth activists and pair them with opportunities to work alongside parliamentarians and other political stakeholders demonstrates its long-term commitment to political viability. These parallel operations lay the foundation for further expansion of its populist goals.

The global rights-promoting community must follow and question PNfV's actions as a far-right convener; its efforts to dismantle universal human rights; and the aspirations and connections of its members, sponsors, and strategic partners. This includes interrogating their extremist ties that threaten democratic norms and holding them to the light. Freedom of expression, movement, and assembly is a right that must be available to all, including PNfV. However, if they engage in spaces like the United Nations—when they have broadcast their dedication to subverting it—then they must be prepared to answer for their anti-rights rhetoric, positions, and actions.

# Annex I: Political Network for Values' Board of Directors



## **José Antonio Kast, Chair of the Board of Directors and Chair of the Advisory Council**

Official German government [documents](#) show that José Antonio Kast's father, Michael Kast, joined Adolf Hitler's Nazi party in 1942 and served as a combat soldier. There is no evidence that Kast Sr. committed war crimes; however, records show that he joined the Waffen-SS, a military branch of the SS. [Waffen-SS](#) units played an active role in the Holocaust and were involved in most of the military campaigns during World War II. Waffen-SS members were responsible for war crimes, including mass shootings and participation in concentration camps. José Antonio Kast has [repeatedly denied](#) his father's Nazi background.

Faced with the imminent defeat of the Nazi army in 1945, Michael Kast was fighting for the German army in Italy when he was captured by the US Army. He managed to escape and returned to Germany, where he married Olga Rist and had two children, Michael and [Barbara](#). Kast Sr. [moved his family to Chile](#) in 1950, setting themselves up in Paine, near Santiago in central Chile. The Kast couple had a total of 10 children (José Antonio Kast is the youngest), set up a meat and sausage business, and quickly established themselves as an influential family in the social, economic, and political life of Chile.

Michael Kast and some of his sons have been singled out for their [direct involvement](#) in the crimes of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship after the 1973 coup d'état that overthrew President Salvador Allende. According to [investigations](#), Michael Kast provided food and other material resources to the civilian and military commandos responsible for the torture and disappearance of workers in the commune of Paine. One of his sons, [Christian Kast, is accused of involvement](#) in activities related to the torture and disappearance of workers in Paine by Pinochet's military commandos in 1973. [Miguel Kast](#), the eldest son, born in Germany, was one of the economists known as the [Chicago Boys](#), who led the neoliberal economic policies during the dictatorship. Miguel Kast also served as minister of the national planning office and president of the central bank. [Several investigations](#) show that the Kast family grew their political and economic power by capitalizing on their relationship with the Pinochet regime.

[Relatives](#) of the tortured and disappeared workers in Paine have publicly accused José Antonio Kast of lying and minimizing his family's role during the Pinochet dictatorship. Kast has openly expressed his admiration for Pinochet's legacy, saying that ["if he \[Pinochet\] were alive he would vote for me,"](#) During his first presidential campaign in 2017, in allusion to the dictatorship he [said](#), "My name is José Antonio Kast, and I do proudly defend the work of the military government."

With a fortune of [hundreds of million dollars](#), the Kast family is one of the richest and most powerful families in Chile. After Kast Sr. established his meat company, Cecinas Bavaria, the family continued [growing their wealth](#) through various national companies, as well as real estate and other investments in Chile, the United States, and Panama. José Antonio Kast and his brother Christian Kast are the owners and administrators of this fortune. The assets of the Kast family have long been the subject of [criticism and controversy](#) related to their opacity, especially as concerns their businesses registered abroad.

José Antonio Kast's inherited wealth has facilitated his political career. Rather than hiding behind his fortune, he has used it to claim it shields him from political influence and that this political independence allows him ["the freedom of not having to go knocking on anyone's door"](#) to finance his activities. One of the main sources of funding for Kast's Republican Party is the [business sector](#), including agricultural and gas companies accused of affecting natural resources, as well as the [Chilean Rifle Association](#) and a wide number of individuals identified as [defenders of the Pinochet dictatorship](#). In 2019, Kast created his think tank Republican Ideas, an entity that between 2022 and 2023 was the [second-highest recipient](#) of money for "consultancies with the Deputies

Chamber.” Beyond Kast’s statements, we did not identify conclusive evidence showing that he uses his fortune to fund the Republican Party. However, the growth and extensive activity of this party confirms the financial independence that Kast speaks often references.

Kast’s wife, Chilean lawyer [María Pia Adriasola](#) met while both were studying law at the Catholic University of Chile. Adriasola and Kast are members of the [Schönstatt movement](#), a German Catholic organization that has long been the subject of controversy over sexual abuse and cover-up by some of its members. Adriasola and Kast have nine children and share the same [ideological and political positions](#) against abortion, gender equality, contraceptives, sex education and LGBTQ+ rights. Adriasola has [said](#), “If believing that marriage is between a man and a woman, and that it is in that family the best place where a child can grow up. If that’s being far-right, that’s what I am.” Adriasola supports the elimination of the Ministry of Women and Gender Equity and has proposed replacing it with a [Ministry of the Family](#). Like her husband, Adriasola is a fan of Pinochet, and she has noted in her capacity as a lawyer that she believes the political constitution of the Pinochet era to be a “[very good constitution](#).”

Adriasola is the founder and president of Fundación Cuide Chile, an organization launched in 2018 that operates as the advocacy arm of Kast’s Republican Party. Three Cuide Chile members ran for office in the 2021 parliamentary elections for the Republican Party, but none were elected. Cuide Chile’s [statute](#) outlines its commitments to “the strengthening and care of the family as the fundamental nucleus of society” and “the promotion and defense of the essential right to life from conception to natural death.”

An [investigation by openDemocracy](#) revealed that Cuide Chile has intervened in at least 14 parliamentary commissions to oppose legislation on sex education, LGBTQ+ rights, gender-based discrimination, and they [opposed efforts to include parity](#) during the 2022 constituent process. The openDemocracy investigation also raised significant questions and concerns around Cuide Chile’s financing. Since its founding in 2018, the organization has not delivered annual reports or financial balances required under Chilean legislation. Cuide Chile has also failed to declare its donations to the Chilean federal tax agency.



**Rodrigo Iván Cortés Jiménez, General Secretary Advisory Board, and Vice-President of the Board of Directors**

Cortés brings a troubling history to his dual roles at PNfV. [In 2023, Cortés was sanctioned](#) by the Specialized Chamber of the Electoral Tribunal of the Judicial Branch of the Federation, which determined that Cortés’ organization Frente Nacional por la Familia committed “political and gender-based violence against women” for its social media posts against the trans congresswoman Salma Luévano. Luévano has been a constant target of Cortés and other political representatives and transphobic organizations. The ruling concluded, “the expressions were offensive and discriminatory by rejecting gender identity and degrading the performance of the federal deputy, which constituted digital, symbolic, psychological and sexual violence against her.” [Alliance Defending Freedom](#) (ADF), the US-based Christian legal advocacy organization, is representing [Cortés’](#) and [other](#) similar [cases](#) under claims of freedom of religion and expression. During the OAS General Assembly in 2023, Cortés gave a [speech](#) claiming he was the victim of censorship and religious persecution in Mexico for simply expressing his ideas. PNfV has stood by and defended Cortés during this period and Jaime Mayor Oreja, founder and honorary president of PNfV, issued a [public statement](#) of support.



**Lola Velarde, Executive Director**

Former [leader](#) of Spain’s Institute for Family Policies, Velarde has [attacked](#) those “masquerading as liberal” who are attempting to “subvert traditional Western values.” In Hungary in May 2022, Velarde spoke at PNfV’s fourth Transatlantic Summit where she laid out members’ top three priorities: laws on life, family and freedom; youth promotion; and more funding, joint action, and expansion of the network. Velarde is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the Fundación Valores y Sociedad, which is chaired by Jaime Mayor Oreja, and she was the [president of the European Network of the Institute for Family Policy](#).



**Jaime Mayor Oreja, Honorary Chair**

An ultraconservative Spanish politician, Oreja is a member of the People’s Party, a former MEP, and a former Minister of Home Affairs. He founded the Fundación Valores y Sociedad in 2011 and is the president of the [anti-abortion One of Us Federation](#), which he presents as an initiative against “gender ideology,” “in defense of life,” and against same-sex marriage. Oreja has stated that he seeks to [return Europe to its Christian values, which have been dynamited.](#)



**Sharon Slater**

Founder and president of Family Watch International (FWI), an SPLC-designated anti-LGBTQ+ hate group which has sponsored websites and campaigns opposing comprehensive sexuality education, reproductive freedom, human rights, and LGBTQ+ rights. Slater is active at the United Nations and has close relationships with anti-gender actors in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, and beyond. Slater peddles pseudo-science and conspiracy theories, including that comprehensive sexuality education poses a threat to the family and that the UN is forcing sexual orientation and gender identity on children, as well as other anti-LGBTQ+ disinformation. (For more information on Slater and FWI history and involvement in the anti-LGBTQ+ bill that was passed in Uganda in May 2023, [please see this Ipas report](#). For information on her attempts to disrupt a transnational trade agreement, [please see this Ipas report](#).)



**Benjamin Bull**

General Counsel of the National Center on Sexual Exploitation since 2017, Bull was the [former chief counsel and executive director](#) of SLPC-designated hate group ADF International and [developed its litigation strategy](#). He is hostile to SRHR, abortion rights, and has supported national policies against LGBTQ+ rights. Bull has said the Indian Supreme Court’s recriminalization of LGBTQ+ sex [was the right choice](#) to “protect society at large rather than give in to a vocal minority of homosexual advocates.”



**Kinga Gál**

Member of the European Parliament since 2004, Gál was also the vice-president of the conservative European People’s Party and is a member of Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Fidesz party. She has [called efforts of the European Parliament to liberalize immigration](#) a “wish to dissolve the Europe we all know and love,” and repeats talking points about “liberal media” spreading “fake news in abundance.” Gál has called for the “value of the family” to “re-emerge”.



**Brian Brown**

President of IOF, which hosts the WCF convenings. The WCF is an SPLC designated anti-LGBTQ+ hate group. Brown also runs the National Organization for Marriage, which has been fighting against marriage equality in the United States since 2007. Brown is a well-known provocateur on issues related to LGBTQ+ rights and gender more broadly; for a detailed list of some of Brown's egregious statements and actions, please see [these summaries from GLAAD](#) and [the SPLC](#).

# Annex II: Transatlantic Summit V New York 2023

## Sponsors

**ADF International** – an [SPLC designated hate group](#) and the global arm of Alliance Defending Freedom, one of the most influential Christian legal groups in the United States and Europe in terms of impact, [budget](#), caseload, network of lawyers and [connections](#) to members of the political far-right. It operates on a global scale that includes advocacy at the UN and in Brussels. ADF participates in litigation, leading the case that resulted in [overturning Roe v. Wade](#), and has supported the defense of PNFV leaders such as Rodrigo Ivan Cortes in Mexico, who was found guilty of [gender-based political violence by a Mexican court](#). ADF’s budget was \$61 million USD in 2019, mostly raised from contributions through DAFs, such as the National Christian Charitable Foundation (NCCF). [ADF took in nearly \\$50 million](#) from the NCCF between 2015 and 2017, amounting to over one-third of its annual contributions.

**Center for Family and Human Rights** – a US-based, right-wing Catholic political advocacy coalition promoting anti-gender at the United Nations. Led by Austin Ruse, C-Fam is closely linked to the Heritage Foundation, FWI, and IOF. Ruse is not only anti-abortion but openly homophobic and anti-trans. He has [voiced support for Russia’s anti-LGBTQ+ propaganda law](#) and promoted [transphobe Matt Walsh’s “documentary” at the UN](#). C-Fam revels in perpetuating the victimhood image of far-right groups at the hands of liberals. Hardly a victim, C-Fam has unique access to major players at the UN, including the Holy See and Russia, and [unrivalled access to UN negotiations](#). C-Fam worked closely with the Trump administration at the UN. Ruse frequently engages in doublespeak: he lauds the support of Muslim countries against abortion in UN spaces [while accusing secular European countries](#) of failing to prevent “the new Muslim invasion.” C-Fam revenues were \$1.68 million in 2021.<sup>41</sup>

**Center for Fundamental Rights** – a right-wing think tank with [close ties to the Hungarian government](#) that serves as the Hungarian organizer of the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Europe. They have platformed Trump and Zsolt Bayer, a Hungarian activist who [has called Jewish people “stinking excrement”](#) and Roma people “animals.” Its main activities include organizing in Hungary and participating in international far-right political gatherings. The Center is supported by Hungarian public funds: the Hungarian investigative journalism website Átlátszó documented how the Center for Fundamental Rights (CFR) received nearly 1 billion HUF (approximately \$3.3 million) in grants from the Prime Minister’s Cabinet Office in 2021. This money was channeled through a [secretive grant-making foundation](#), Batthyány Lajos Alapítvány. CFR hosted [CPAC Hungary in 2022](#). At [CPAC Mexico 2022](#), Vajk Farkas, director for CFR’s international relations, emphasized that the current Hungarian government, headed by Viktor Orbán and Katalin Novák, demonstrates that the conservative Hungarian model is successful and should be a [source of inspiration for Latin America](#).

41. C-FAM, 2019-2022 990 Forms.

**Global Center for Human Rights** – a non-governmental organization [based in Washington, DC](#) led by Vicente Segu, Sebastian Schuff, and Neydy Casillas.<sup>42</sup> Casillas is a member of the [PNfV Committee of Experts](#). GCHR has been coordinating and leading the Latin American opposition in multilateral spaces since it made its public debut in 2022. They have a particular focus on the Inter-American human rights system. Led by well-established [ultraconservative couple](#) Schuff and Casillas, the group has most recently focused their work on an abortion case being heard at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. In December 2022, with the support of IOF and over 90 extremist groups, GCHR launched 2 websites, [NoNextRoe](#) and [Beatriz Case](#), to advance their work at the Inter-American Court. Casillas is a former staff member of ADF International and [Concerned Women for America](#). GCHR was a co-sponsor with IOF and the Madrid-based CitizenGO of the 2022 World Congress of Families in Mexico City.

**Heritage Foundation** – a conservative think tank, pushing an anti-abortion, anti-rights agenda, that is both a donor to other organizations and a beneficiary, as well as a key player in Republican politics. Its president, Kevin Roberts, has praised Viktor Orbán’s Hungary as a “beacon” of Christianity. The [organization has attacked](#) “gender” and “sexual and reproductive health” at the United Nations and has partnered with C-Fam and others to promote anti-trans rhetoric, while also [platforming Islamophobes](#).

**Family Watch International** – led by Sharon Slater and another [SPLC designated hate group](#), FWI is a US-based Mormon NGO and de facto affiliate of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, funded by some of the Church’s wealthiest members. FWI lobbies at the United Nations and with countries around the world against gender equality, LGBTQ+ rights, abortion, and comprehensive sexuality education, among other progressive issues. FWI has most recently been in the news for its [involvement in the extreme anti-homosexuality law in Uganda](#). FWI works closely with Austin Ruse of C-Fam and Brian Brown of IOF and WCF. Slater sits on PNfV’s Board of Directors.

**Foundation for a Civic Hungary** – founded by Hungarian populist, right-wing party Fidesz in 2003, the Foundation for a Civic Hungary promotes “Christian values” through an apprenticeship program, awards, trainings, research, and events. Fidesz is Viktor Orbán’s political party and as such, the foundation’s sponsorship of the PNfV event indicates that the Hungarian governing party is supporting the event as well.

**Institute for Women’s Health** – founded in 2022 by Valerie Huber. Huber is the architect of the international anti-gender Geneva Consensus Declaration, a non-binding resolution that encourages countries to ban abortion and restrict the definition of the family under the guise of “protecting women and girls.” IWH claims to be a research center that promotes conservative values and perspectives and received \$668,608 in contributions in 2021.

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42. IRS records are not readily accessible for the GCHR.

**International Centre on Sexual Exploitation** – a Washington, D.C.-based religious, conservative, anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQ+, and anti-pornography organization. The international subsidiary of the National Center on Sexual Exploitation, its senior legal counsel is Benjamin Bull, who has been a founder, director, or chief counsel of several anti-abortion, anti-gender CSOs based in the United States and Europe, including with Alliance Defending Freedom. In 2021, NCSE received contributions totaling \$5.09 million.

**International Organization for the Family** – a US-based, [SPLC-designated hate group](#) led by Brian Brown that is the parent organization of the World Congress of Families. In the United States, Brown also leads the [anti-LGBTQ+ domestic group](#) National Organization for Marriage, and is an outspoken supporter of the ultra-nationalist Levan Vasadze and his anti-LGBTQ+ activism in the Republic of Georgia, among his other work leading the WCF and its most recent gathering in Mexico City in 2022. IOF's revenues for 2021 were \$916,000.<sup>43</sup>

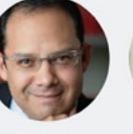
**Talenting Group** – a Dutch communications group, working in international cooperation based on biblical principles, that has previously partnered with PNfV and supports media outlets like the Christian anti-comprehensive sexuality education website CNE News.

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43. IOF, 2019-2022 990 Forms.

## Confirmed Speakers

The following list was [last accessed](#) November 8, 2023. Several speakers have been removed, including members of parliament Salvador Caiata of Italy, Paul Katana of Kenya, and Balazs Hidveghi, Member of the European Parliament from Hungary.<sup>44</sup> Of the 39 confirmed speakers, 22 are from civil society, 8 are government officials, and a further 9 are MPs. Several civil society representatives are former government officials and presidential aspirants.

 <b>Jose Antonio Kast</b> Chair of the Political Network for Values, Chile	 <b>Mario Bucaro</b> Minister for Foreign Affairs Guatemala	 <b>Ito Bisonó</b> Minister for Industry and Commerce, Dominican Republic	 <b>Honourable Uju Kennedy-Ohanenye</b> Minister for Women Affairs Nigeria	 <b>Erwin Ronquillo</b> Minister for Children, Ecuador	 <b>Hafid El-Hachimi</b> Hafid El-Hachimi, Senior Human Rights Officer at OIC-IPHRC, Saudi Arabia Morocco	 <b>Kinga Gál</b> Member of the European Parliament, Hungary	 <b>Mátyás Kaply</b> Deputy Director for Strategy, Office of the President of Hungary, Hungary
 <b>Raúl Latorre</b> President of the Chamber of Deputies, Paraguay	 <b>Germán Blanco</b> Senator, Colombia	 <b>Margarita de la Pisa</b> Member of the European Parliament, Spain	 <b>Stephen Bartulica</b> Member of Parliament, Croatia	 <b>Kerri Seekins-Crowe</b> Member of the Montana House of Representatives United States	 <b>Nikolás Ferreira</b> Member of Parliament, Brazil	 <b>Päivi Räsänen</b> Member of Parliament, Finland	 <b>Ashems Songwe</b> Member of Parliament, Malawi
 <b>Santiago Santurio</b> Member of Parliament, Argentina	 <b>Lucy Akello</b> Member of Parliament, Uganda	 <b>Lila Rose</b> President Live Action, United States	 <b>Eduardo Verastegui</b> Producer of "Sound of Freedom" and founder of "Viva Mexico", Mexico	 <b>Rafael López Aliaga</b> Mayor of Lima, Peru	 <b>Brett Schaefer</b> Investigador Senior en Asuntos Regulatorios Internacionales, Heritage Foundation, United States	 <b>Jay Richards</b> Senior Research Fellow at Heritage Foundation United States	 <b>Jan Figel</b> Former EU Special Envoy for Freedom of Religion or Belief, Slovakia
 <b>Angela Vidal Gandra</b> Former State Secretary for the Family, Brazil	 <b>Valerie Huber</b> Promoter of the Geneva Consensus Declaration and Former Special Representative for Global Women's Health, United States	 <b>Sharon Slater</b> President of Family Watch International, United States	 <b>Neydy Casillas</b> Global Center for Human Rights, United States	 <b>Rachana Chhin</b> Legal Counsel, UN of ADF International, United States	 <b>Ádám Kavacsánszki</b> President of the Foundation for a Civic Hungary, Hungary	 <b>Haley McNamara</b> International Center on Sexual Exploitation (ICOSE), United States	 <b>Mariam Ibraheem</b> Director of Global Director of Global Mobilization and co-founder of Tahrir Alriisa Foundation (TAF), Sudan
 <b>Dawn Hawkins</b> Chief executive officer - International Centre on Sexual Exploitation, United States	 <b>Catalina Stubbe</b> National Director of Outreach at Moms for Liberty, United States	 <b>Peter Torcsi</b> Director for operations, Center for Fundamental Rights, Hungary	 <b>Rodrigo Iván Cortés</b> Chair of the "Frente Nacional por la Familia", Mexico	 <b>Márton Veisz</b> Director of Foreign Affairs, Foundation for a Civic Hungary, Hungary	 <b>Austin Ruse</b> Chair of C-Fam, United States	 <b>Bernardo García Larrain</b> Coordinator Casablanca Declaration for Universal Abolition of Surrogacy, France	

44. See [archived versions](#) of the program and participants list.

## Program

Last accessed [November 8, 2023](#)

The Political Network for Values is a transcontinental coalition of political leaders committed to the defense of human rights, particularly those referred to protecting life, family and fundamental freedoms. The Network provides a space to meet, exchange ideas, and reflect on different political experiences.

The Network and its allied organizations, in co-sponsorship with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guatemala, will host representatives from Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas at its 5th Transatlantic Summit held on the occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at the United Nations' Headquarters in New York. The Summit will unite leaders from different cultures in celebrating human rights and reminding the world of the urgent need to commit to their defense.

## Affirming universal human rights *Uniting cultures for life, family, and fundamental freedoms*

### Preliminary Program

New York - November 17, 2023

- 08:00 Holy Mass  
[Church of the Holy Family, 315 East 47th Street]
- H.E. Archbishop Gabriele Caccia**, Apostolic Nuncio and Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations
- 08:30 Access and Registration  
[United Nations Headquarters, Visitor's entrance at 46th Street and First Avenue]  
[Conference Room 4] Light breakfast will be available.
- 09:30 **Welcoming words**  
**Minister Mario Búcaro**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Guatemala (tbc)  
**José Antonio Kast**, Chair of the Political Network for Values, Chile
- Introductory comment:**  
**Brett Schaefer**, Senior Research Fellow at Heritage Foundation, US  
**Ádám Kavacsánszki**, President of the Foundation for a Civic Hungary, Hungary
- 10:00 **The validity of the UDHR 75 years later**  
**Chair: Jay Richards**, Senior Research Fellow at Heritage Foundation, US  
**Minister Ito Bisonó**, Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Dominican Republic  
**Minister Uju Kennedy-Ohanenye**, Ministry of Women Affairs, Nigeria  
**Minister Erwin Ronquillo**, Ministry of Childhood, Ecuador  
**Rafael López Aliaga**, Mayor of Lima, Peru

- 11:00 **Emerging threats on human rights**  
 Chair: **Márton Veisz**, Director of Foreign Affairs of the Foundation for a Civic Hungary  
**Sharon Slater**, President of Family Watch International, US  
**Neydy Casillas**, Vicepresident for International Affairs of the Global Center for Human Rights, Mexico  
**Valerie Huber**, Founder of the Institute for Woman’s Health, US  
**Ashems Songwe**, Member of Parliament, Malawi
- Comment:**  
**Stephen Bartulica**, Member of Parliament, Croatia  
**Angela Vidal Gandra**, Former State Secretary for the Family, Brazil
- 12:00 **The NY75 Commitment to Universal Human Rights**  
**Lila Rose**, Founder and President of Live Action, US  
**Nikolas Ferreira**, Member of Parliament, Brazil  
 Reading of the NY75Commitment by young leaders worldwide.
- 12:30 Networking Lunch
- 14:15 **Affirming human dignity (Preamble); the right to life (Art.3) and the family as the natural and fundamental unit of society (Art.16)**  
 Chair: **Austin Ruse**, President of C-Fam  
**Raúl Latorre**, President of the Chamber of Deputies, Paraguay  
**Margarita de la Pisa**, Member of the European Parliament, Spain  
**Santiago Santurio**, Member of Parliament, Argentina  
**Hafid El-Hachimi**, Acting Director of the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Morocco.
- Comment:**  
**Germán Blanco**, Member of Senate, Colombia  
**Stefano Genarini**, Vice president for legal studies of C-Fam, US
- 15:15 **Affirming freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion, and expression (Art. 18 & 19)**  
 Chair: **Rachana Chhin**, Legal counsel ADF International, US  
**Kerri Seekins-Crowe**, Member of the Montana House of Representatives, US  
**Rodrigo Iván Cortés**, FNF, Mexico  
**Emilie Kao**, Senior Counsel & Vicepresident of Alliance Defending Freedom, US  
**Mariam Ibraheem**, Director of Global Mobilization and co-funder of Tahrir Alnisa Foundation (TAF), Sudan

**Comment:**

**Jan Figel**, Former EU Special Envoy for Freedom of Religion or Belief, Slovakia  
**Päivi Räsänen**, Member of Parliament, Finland

16:15      Networking Coffee Break

16:45      **Affirming the right of parents to choose their children’s education (Art. 26), and the rights of both childhood and motherhood (Art. 25)**

**Chair: Dawn Hawkins**, International Center on Sexual Exploitation (ICOSE)  
**Eduardo Verastegui**, producer of “Sound of Freedom” and founder of Viva Mexico  
**Catalina Stubbe**, National Director of Outreach at Moms for Liberty, US  
**Peter Torcsi**, Director for operations, Center for Fundamental Rights, Hungary  
**Haley McNamara**, International Center on Sexual Exploitation (ICOSE)

**Comment:**

**Bernard García Larraín**, Coordinator Casablanca Declaration for Universal Abolition of Surrogacy, France.  
**Lucy Akello**, Member of Parliament, Uganda

18:00      **Closure**  
**José Antonio Kast**, Chair of the Political Network for Values

# Annex III: The New York 75 Commitment to Universal Human Rights

We, ministers and high representatives of Governments, political, and civic leaders gathered at the United Nations headquarters on the occasion of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

RECOGNIZING that international cooperation in the pursuit of peace, development, and human rights and full respect of the sovereign equality of states is codified in the founding principles of the U.N. Charter,

ALARMED by efforts to undermine and distort the principles and rights enshrined in the UDHR and other binding international instruments,

AFFIRMING that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is the foundation for all universally recognized international human rights,

## **PARTICULARLY REAFFIRM THAT**

Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world (UDHR Preamble).

Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person (UDHR 3).

The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State (UDHR 16), and motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance (UDHR 25).

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, either alone or in community with others and in public or private (UDHR 18), and everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, including freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (UDHR 19).

Everyone has the right to education, and parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be provided to their children (UDHR 26).

## **AND THEREFORE COMMIT OURSELVES AND CALL UPON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

To establish an environment conducive to family formation and stability for men and women to fully realize their fundamental human right to marry and found a family (UDHR 16, 23, 25).

To protect children, both before and after birth (UDHR 3, Cf. CRC Preamble).

To respect the liberty of parents and legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions (UDHR 26, Cf. ICCPR 18, Cf. ICESCR 13).

To full respect the various religious and ethical values, cultural backgrounds, and philosophical convictions of the peoples of the world, and the sovereignty of states in matters that are within their domestic jurisdiction (Cf. UN Charter Article II, UDHR 18, 19, Cf. ICPD 1.11).

To foster a Global Alliance for the universally agreed human rights and fundamental freedoms enshrined in the UDHR.

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