



STRATEGIC SUBVERSION

The Geneva Consensus Declaration
as a Pull for Geopolitical Leverage in
Africa

Executive Summary



Justice for Prosperity

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Introduction

The Geneva Consensus Declaration (GCD) is an international political statement used to promote a conservative agenda opposing abortion and women's rights under the guise of protecting life, family, and national sovereignty. The GCD presents itself as a virtuous sign-on manifesto on life, sovereignty, and family values, but behind the clever rhetoric and messaging lies a highly orchestrated campaign – one that systematically exploits Africa's economic vulnerabilities and political landscapes.

At the heart of this campaign is a powerful network of ultra-conservative – and, very often, religiously-based – actors. In a particular twist of irony, two of the most powerful organizations in this vast network are led by women: Sharon Slater's Family Watch International and Valerie Huber's Institute for Women's Health. Over the past few years, small, U.S.-based nonprofits have spun expansive, global webs of foreign influence, economic coercion, and ideological pressure. Their goal? To make Africa the epicenter of a surging movement to obstruct or dismantle sexual and reproductive health and rights, LGBTIQ+ rights, and access comprehensive sexual education.

While this report examines how the GCD is used as a lever to draw African states into broader anti-rights networks, the strategies uncovered by JfP are globally relevant and affect a wide range of marginalised groups, including LGBTIQ+ communities, migrants, and SRHR defenders. This Executive Summary outlines the core findings; the full report offers a deeper investigation and is available upon request.

Why Africa? The Strategic Battleground

African countries aren't just supporting the GCD – they are helping to shape its trajectory.

- Out of 39 global signatories to the GCD, **20 are African** – over **half** of all participants.
- **37% of all African countries** have signed on, many without a right-wing political agenda.
- Unlike Poland, Colombia, Brazil, or even the U.S. (which has oscillated under different administrations), **not a single African signatory has rescinded its support.**

But it may come as a surprise that though the GCD is largely associated with far-right politics, **only 7 of the 20 African signatories had right-leaning governments at the time of signature.** The rest were led by centrist, leftist, monarchic, or military regimes. Acceptance of the GCD may be less about ideology, and more about the sign-on bonuses.

The GCD Playbook in Africa: Coercion, Incentivization, and Network Pressure

JfP's investigations show that GCD adoption in Africa wasn't organic – it was engineered by forces far outside of the continent.

Coercion: Foreign aid and diplomacy, especially from the United States (and others like Hungary and some Gulf states), were used to pressure countries into signing the GCD.

- JfP's investigation uncovered that American diplomats targeted vulnerable, aid-dependent states: Sudan, South Sudan, Libya.
- Countries like Nigeria, Somalia, Ethiopia, Malawi, and Rwanda were specifically targeted because of their aid dependence, ties with conservative nations/networks, active anti-SRHR groups, and conservative stances.

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Incentivization: Weaker nations were exploited into signing the declaration or implementing Protego with promises of foreign aid, debt relief, and removal from terror lists.

- Politically unstable, economically challenged or aid-dependent countries (like Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, DRC, Rwanda) were particularly susceptible.
- Sudan’s GCD signature coincided with US terror list removal and increased aid/trade, implying a quid pro quo.
- There is evidence to suggest that, at the UN, there was diplomatic vote-swapping and/or offering of aid in exchange for signing the GCD.

Networked Pressure: The GCD lobby utilizes pre-existing conservative and religious networks (often linked to US evangelical groups) and local collaborators in Africa.

- US officials (Pompeo, Azar) framed the GCD as defending “the unborn” and “the family”.
- Gulf states have financed conservative religious and educational initiatives in Africa and formed anti-SRHR alliances in multilateral forums, such as the Qatar co-founded “Group of Friends of the Family” at the UN.
- GCD signatories, especially Uganda, actively form blocs within international organizations (UN, WHO) to oppose SRHR language and promote GCD-aligned policies through coordinated voting. The Protego initiative utilizes government resources to implement GCD policies, allowing the IWH to advance its agenda without significant direct spending.
- Even with changing US administrations, the GCD network persists due to state and non-state support from other nations (Hungary, Brazil, Gulf states) and organizations (IWH).

A few more **examples of soft power:**

- **Vote buying in action:** Uganda, Sudan, and Somalia received aid, debt relief, or diplomatic cover after signing the GCD.
- **Strategic courting:** Kenya and Nigeria were lured with VIP visits and inclusion in faith-based development programs.
- **Backdoor funding:** IWH uses private funds and embeds its “Protego” agenda into national budgets—successfully done in Uganda.
- **Perks of alignment:** GCD signatories gain access to exclusive meetings, technical support, and appeal to conservative donors.

But there is a tragic twist amid all these unseemly negotiations. In chasing short-term gains and foreign approval, African leaders are endorsing policies that restrict access to desperately needed family planning services. On a continent already grappling with an exploding population and strained resources, this isn’t just shortsighted — it’s dangerous.

Africa’s Role in Advancing the GCD Agenda

Africa is the strongest regional bloc within the GCD, both in number and in activity. Uganda and Egypt serve as regional champions:

- **Uganda** has institutionalized GCD-aligned programming through an MoU between First Lady Janet Museveni and Valerie Huber of the Institute for Women’s Health (IWH). This agreement has embedded anti-SRHR curricula into Uganda’s national education policy
- **Egypt**, under President el-Sisi, aligns ideologically with the GCD through a repressive stance on LGBTIQ+ rights and reproductive freedoms.

A network of actors – including local officials, Western religious-right organizations, and former ministers implicated in corruption scandals – is working to entrench these ideologies. Events such as Uganda’s African Inter-Parliamentary Conferences on Family Values illustrate the confluence of domestic and international anti-rights forces.

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The Powerbrokers: Sharon Slater's FWI and Valerie Huber's IWH

Findings from Slater's Most Recent FWI Meeting: JfP recently conducted covert surveillance at a high-level FWI meeting attended by senior UN officials. The focus? Undermining sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR) across Africa.

- FWI boasted of sharing an anti-CSE (comprehensive sexuality education) guide with the Trump White House, claiming it's the "number one tool to stop abortion."
- In a session on "Family Protection" in Sub-Saharan Africa, FWI lauded Egypt for championing "pro-family" resolutions at the UN. Malawi's UN ambassador detailed the country's conservative policies, including laws criminalizing homosexuality.
- Slater praised Malawi's resistance to what she called "deceptive" CSE efforts and warned African governments about aligning with UNESCO's sexuality education guidelines.
- FWI urged nations to withdraw from international commitments like the Eastern and Southern African (ESA) CSE pact, framing them as threats to sovereignty.
- Ambassadors from Gabon, Nigeria, and the DRC advocated for stronger social systems – while insisting that African culture and family values must guide the future.

The convening made it clear that FWI's endgame is a coordinated rollback of SRHR under the banner of "family values".

Huber and her IWH Hub: The FWI meeting also featured a stunning announcement: Valerie Huber would be "back in her previous position, to get more countries to join" the GCD. From 2017-2021, Huber served the Trump Administration as the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Officer of Global Affairs (October 2019-January 2021) and the Special Representative for Global Women's Health. Her number one goal would be to recruit more countries to sign the GCD – a pact that requires opposition to abortion access.

Huber, a key contributor to Project 2025 – a far-right policy blueprint led by the Heritage Foundation – has helped shape its call for embedding the GCD into U.S. foreign policy. The manifesto advocates for halting U.S. support for abortion-related programs abroad and **leveraging faith-based alliances** to influence international agencies, signaling a dramatic expansion of Huber's anti-SRHR agenda on the global stage.

Once on the political fringe, Huber's IWH now appears to be emerging as a central hub for the coordination of state anti-SRHR policies, including at the UN.

The Ghost in the Machine: Religious Influences

The power of religious leaders and organizations in the spread of the GCD is too often overlooked – even examinations of Slater and Huber. Both of their missions are in no small part influenced by their own profoundly conservative religious viewpoints. Slater is a Mormon and Huber is a Roman Catholic. Both subscribe to extremely rigid interpretations of their faith traditions' hardline opposition to women's equality, same-sex relations, gender identities, access to abortion, and CSE. But they are certainly not alone. JfP's investigations have found that individual religious actors and faith-based NGOs overwhelmingly dominate the vast web of connections behind the global anti-SRHR and anti-LGTBIQ+ movements.

Key US and Europe-based groups are either of Evangelical and Catholic origins or are explicitly connected to these religious organizations today: Family Watch International (FWI); Human Life International (HLI); Heartbeat International; the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF); the Fellowship Foundation; Focus on the Family; Population Research Institute (PRI); and the Family Research Council (FRC).

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Some of the modi operandi of these groups include:

- Providing grants, training, and other resources to African partners;
- Influencing legislation, promoting “pro-family” policies, and opposing SRHR initiatives;
- Supporting litigation to restrict abortion access and challenge pro-SRHR laws;
- Recruiting and training local activists, disseminating propaganda, and organizing anti-SRHR campaigns;
- Connecting African leaders with conservative figures and organizations in the United States and globally.

And they have successfully partnered with African faith-based organizations, too, including the Kenya Christian Professionals Forum (KCPF); African Christian Professionals Forum (ACPF); CitizenGO Africa; and Culture of Life Africa. Various national “pro-life” coalitions act as cultural mediators and work to fulfil the global anti-SRHR lobby’s agenda on-the-ground in Africa.

But It’s Not Just Christians

Gulf states, **especially Saudi Arabia**, have become significant actors in shaping African domestic and international stances through coordinated diplomatic engagement, religious outreach, and substantial financial investments. They provide political and financial backing to conservative movements that oppose comprehensive sexuality education (CSE), reproductive rights, and LGBTIQ+ inclusion.

JfP’s key findings reveal that:

- **The Islamic Development Bank** – closely tied to Saudi Arabia – has emerged as a key financier, providing Sharia-compliant funding that reinforces conservative norms.
- **\$295 million lifeline to Uganda:** After Western donors pulled out over Uganda’s anti-LGBTIQ+ law, Saudi Arabia’s Islamic Development Bank stepped in with a massive \$295M loan—shoring up the regime and signaling where its allegiances lie.
- **\$150 million in Sharia-compliant financing:** In May 2024, Saudi-backed entities signed letters of intent to inject \$150M into Uganda’s Development Bank and Afreximbank, ensuring funds flow within ultra-conservative, religious frameworks.
- **Strategic aid diplomacy:** From mosque construction in Nigeria to Ramadan donations in Uganda, Saudi Arabia uses humanitarian and cultural aid to cement alliances and deepen its ideological footprint across the continent.
- **Religious education initiatives**, largely driven by Wahhabi and Salafi ideologies, have been heavily funded in regions such as the Sahel. These programs promote traditional gender roles and hinder progress toward gender equality and reproductive autonomy.
- **“UN Group of Friends of the Family”:** through their participation in the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Gulf countries amplify anti-rights agendas in multilateral spaces.

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The Dark Christian Money Playbook

JfP's analysis zooms in on a triad of influence: the **IWH**, **The Gathering**, and the **National Christian Foundation (NCF)**. These entities play a significant role in shaping global conservative agendas, particularly on SRHR, LGBTIQ+ issues, and religiously motivated policy advocacy. They represent a well-coordinated funding architecture for advancing conservative Christian political agendas through strategic philanthropy, opaque financial practices, and high-level policy influence across national borders.

The Financial Underpinnings of the IWH:

- Explosive growth: IWH's revenue grew 346% between 2021 and 2023, reaching \$1.15M – all from private donations.
- Obscured funding: IWH redacts donor names in filings; lacks annual reports; heavily relies on Donor Advised Funds (DAFs).
- NCF gave IWH \$707K in 2023, making up 61% of its annual revenue – an unusually large single-source contribution.
- Other key funders: The Signatry (\$429K) and 1792 Exchange (\$362K), all connected to Christian-right funding circuits.

IWH's alignment with The Gathering – an exclusive network of conservative philanthropists – and shared funding channels indicate it is part of a coordinated global advocacy effort:

- The Gathering hosts an exclusive annual event for wealthy conservative and evangelical philanthropists, serving as a strategic axis for advancing a specific ideological agenda; attendees include influential families like the DeVos, Coors, and Green families.
- The event promotes "family values" and a global vision aligned with a particularly hardline form of Christianity, often influencing both domestic and international policy.
- The Gathering played a role in supporting the 2013 Hobby Lobby Supreme Court case, which secured religious exemptions for corporations from ACA contraception mandates.

But at the center of this entire network is the **National Christian Foundation**, one of the largest and most opaque donor-advised fund managers in the U.S., distributing billions to organizations aligned with conservative Christian values:

- **Behind-the-scenes power broker:** The NCF quietly controls billions in conservative Christian philanthropy, acting as a financial engine for America's religious right — with ties to mega-donors like the DeVos, Green, and Cathy families.
- **Dark money central:** NCF enables anonymous donations to controversial causes, funneling millions to groups opposing LGBTQ+ rights, reproductive freedom, and Islam – including organizations labeled as hate groups by the SPLC.
- **Global culture war export:** Far from just a U.S. player, NCF bankrolls anti-LGBTQ+ and anti-abortion movements in Africa and Eastern Europe, backing laws criminalizing homosexuality and restricting sex education abroad.
- **Force behind abortion bans:** NCF has quietly become the biggest financial backer of America's most extreme anti-abortion laws, funding groups responsible for Alabama's near-total ban and infamous "heartbeat" bills.
- **Project 2025's hidden wallet:** NCF fuels right-wing policy blueprints like Project 2025 and election-denial efforts, distributing millions to conservative legal groups and advocacy networks pushing voter restrictions and radical government overhauls.
- **The quiet superpower:** Blending religious zeal with financial savvy, NCF acts as the nexus for Christian nationalist influence – empowering a web of think tanks, law firms, and political campaigns while keeping donor identities safely hidden.

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Who Next? Africa's Growing Vulnerability to the Geneva Consensus Declaration's Anti-Rights Agenda

The surging influence of the GCD across the African continent is the result of a sophisticated and coordinated campaign to entrench anti-SRHR and anti-LGBTIQ+ under the guise of protecting and promoting life, family values, and family sovereignty – and it shows no signs of slowing down. JfP's investigation into the modus operandi of key anti-rights actors demonstrates how countries who are not yet signatories – particularly those with authoritarian governance structures or strong religious influences – are being actively targeted for recruitment.

Based on observable trends – namely recent conferences – we can infer that Kenya, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone have been positioned as strategic opportunities to expand GCD alignments.

There is also concern about the targeting of the **World Health Organization**. In May 2025, Sharon Slater gave a speech in Nairobi framing the WHO's **Pandemic Treaty** and **International Health Regulations (IHR)** as threats to African families. She claimed these instruments contain provisions that make comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) and elements of abortion rights mandatory, urging delegates to pressure their governments to opt out before key deadlines. She suggested that the WHO is a central actor in advancing an imposed, anti-family agenda.

Conclusion: Africa Wasn't Just Targeted. It Was Strategically Chosen

In the global battle over reproductive and LGBTIQ+ rights, **Africa has become the frontline** – not because it was ideologically aligned, but because it was **politically malleable and economically dependent**. The Geneva Consensus Declaration is a power play – and in this global political moment, even more nations are vulnerable to external agendas like those pushed by Valerie Huber.

But the flexibility of the African landscape offers a strategic opening for progressive, pro-rights movements: activists can craft persuasive messaging to help governments rethink their commitments to the Geneva Consensus Declaration (GCD). Key talking points include:

- **Highlight the harm:** Underscore the short- and long-term consequences of GCD alignment on sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), including reduced access to essential services and worsened public health outcomes.
- **Call out broken promises:** Emphasize the lack of follow-through on aid pledges tied to the GCD, particularly after October 2020 — when Trump-era promises fizzled amid budget overhauls and aid cuts by the U.S. State Department and USAID.
- **Expose the money vacuum:** Reveal that key promoters of the GCD, such as Valerie Huber's Institute for Women's Health, offer **no actual financial support** for implementing initiatives like the Protego program — leaving governments to bear the cost alone.

This report on the GCD in Africa offers a revealing case study of the subversive tactics JfP tracks globally. With tactics like discourse manipulation, infiltration of multilateral spaces, and opaque funding streams, the GCD lobby's rapid expansion across Africa exposes just how vulnerable states and democratic norms are to anti-rights networks. While this report is centered on sexual and reproductive health and rights SRHR, its implications extend far beyond these issues – raising broader, urgent questions about democratic erosion and regional security. By zooming in on this campaign, this report connects JfP's global threat analysis to its tangible, on-the-ground consequences.



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