

WHAT IS THE GENEVA CONSENSUS DECLARATION?

While framed as a measure to protect women's rights and health, the **Geneva Consensus Declaration** (GCD) is actually a non-binding international agreement spearheaded by the United States during Trump's first term that seeks to remove abortion and LGBTQ+ rights from a growing consensus that they are key human rights. Signed onto by 41 countries, the GCD also seeks to enshrine the traditional family unit, attack the gains made on marriage for LGBTQ+ people and further the repressive Christian nationalist agenda of the White House and many far-right movements globally.

WHY THE GDC MATTERS

The Geneva Consensus Declaration matters because it represents a broader effort to undermine international human rights protections under the banner of sovereignty and family values.

- The GCD seeks to build opposition to the growing international legal consensus that recognizes abortion access and reproductive healthcare as essential human rights, while also resisting expanding protections for LGBTQ+ communities, including marriage and adoption.
- The declaration promotes a "traditional family" model centered on heterosexual marriage, reinforcing efforts to marginalize LGBTQ+ families and relationships.
- The GCD aligns closely with the agenda of far-right organizations such as **The Heritage Foundation**, whose policy blueprint, Project 2025, outlines plans to reshape U.S. governance and foreign policy around Christian nationalist principles.
- The declaration extends U.S.-based ideological battles over abortion and LGBTQ+ rights into global policy making and aid.



- In some signatory countries, policies linked to the declaration's principles have coincided with heightened monitoring of pregnancies, contraceptive use, and reproductive healthcare decisions. In others, it has been a condition of American aid.
- With the U.S. now serving as Secretariat, the country is the primary coordinator of this international network, replacing Hungary as the movement's institutional leader.

HOW THE DECLARATION ATTACKS LGBTQ+ & WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The language of the Geneva Consensus Declaration presents itself as protective, but in reality, it reinterprets international law to undermine existing rights protections. The Geneva Consensus Declaration is supported by a coalition of governments that often restrict human rights, particularly those of women and the LGBTQ+ community.

More than half of the original signatories are authoritarian regimes, according to **Freedom House**. They include: Bahrain, Belarus, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eswatini, Guinea, Haiti, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Sudan, Sudan, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, and Zambia.

Several other signatories have similarly been assessed as partly free, including Georgia, Guatemala, Hungary (which may change with the new government), Mauritania, and others.

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HUNGARY'S RETREAT AND THE U.S. TAKEOVER

Hungary assumed the Secretariat of the Geneva Consensus Declaration in November 2022 after Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro lost reelection. Within days of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva taking office in January 2023, Brazil withdrew from the declaration. Following Orbán's defeat in 2026, newly elected Prime Minister Péter Magyar announced plans to dismantle the state-funded network that promoted Hungary's anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQ+, and "family values" agenda internationally, including no longer acting as secretariat for the GCD.

THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES EXPANDING THE GCD

The declaration was first promoted by then-U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and crafted during Trump's first administration by Valerie Huber, then the U.S. Special Representative for Global Women's Health. Although the Biden administration withdrew from the declaration in 2021 and pledged instead to promote the human rights of women and girls through multilateral institutions, former Trump officials continued advancing the initiative outside government.

Valerie Huber founded the Institute for Women's Health (IWH), which has partnered with governments including Uganda, Burundi, and Guatemala to implement the Protego program, expanding the declaration's agenda through education and public health initiatives. Following Trump's return to office, the United States rejoined the declaration in January 2025. By assuming the Secretariat in 2026, the United States has now become the central coordinator of the initiative's international activities.



THE GCD UNDERMINES HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTIONS

The UN Working Group on Discrimination against Women and Girls has described the GCD as an example of the **"harmful mobilization"** of states seeking to undermine globally recognized human rights. The Geneva Consensus Declaration may be presented as a defence of sovereignty, women, and families, but it seeks to normalize the rollback of reproductive freedom and LGBTQ+ protections by reframing them as matters of domestic governance rather than universal human rights. Its alignment with initiatives like Project 2025 demonstrates that these efforts extend beyond symbolic diplomacy. It reflects a coordinated political strategy to reshape international institutions, redirect foreign policy, and export regressive social policies globally. The Geneva Consensus Declaration is not simply a policy statement, it is part of a larger struggle over who defines human rights, which freedoms are protected, and whether decades of progress for women and the LGBTQ+ community can be reversed.

WHY THIS MATTERS

Serving as Secretariat gives a country responsibility for coordinating the declaration's activities, organizing meetings, maintaining relationships with member states, and promoting the declaration. The transfer of the secretariat from Hungary to the U.S. signals that leadership of the global anti-rights coalition has shifted from Orbán's government to the Trump administration. It also demonstrates that the GCD has become an important vehicle for exporting anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ+ policies worldwide.

Read our investigations for more information:

- **Project 2025 Goes Global**
- **The U.S. Replaces Hungary as the Secretariat of the Geneva Consensus Declaration**
- **Faith as a Weapon: Inside America's Theocratic Vanguard**

