



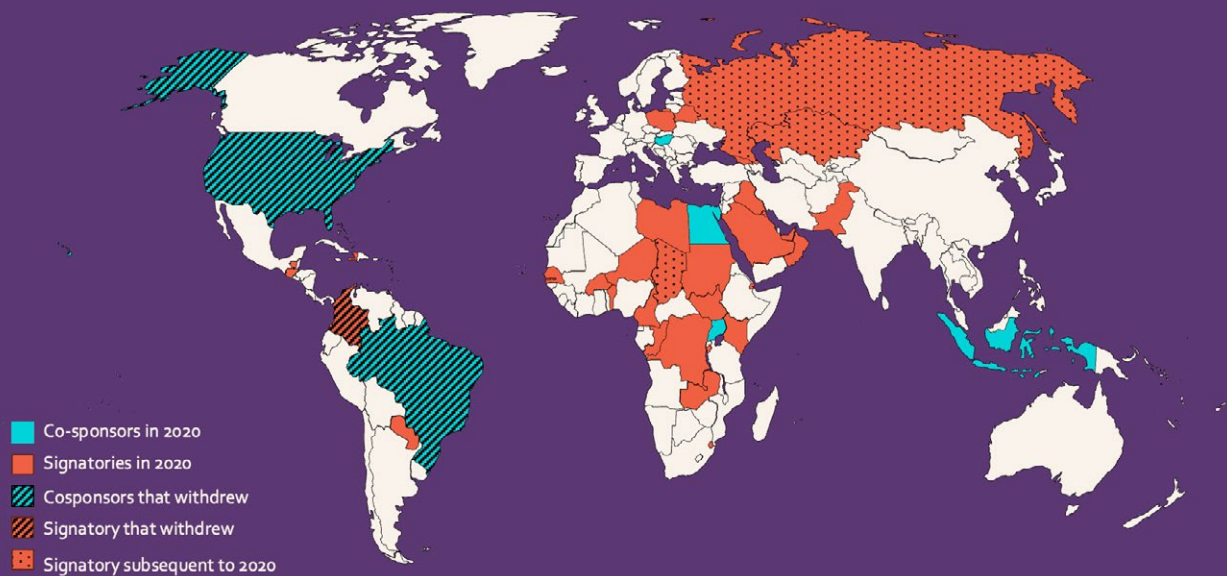
# Beyond the Global Gag Rule

A Feminist, Global South-led Analysis  
of Anti-rights and Anti-gender Action  
from the United States

## Introduction

This document presents an analysis of three components of the anti-rights and anti-gender projects – the Geneva Consensus Declaration, Women’s Optimal Health Framework (WOHF), and Project 2025 – coordinated by people and organizations from the United States and reads them as a continuum of efforts to erode the right to bodily autonomy of women, girls, and gender-diverse people both within and outside the United States. Together, these frameworks aim to institutionalize anti-rights views on reproductive rights, healthcare, and social policies, domestically and globally, rejecting gender and sexual rights.

The Geneva Consensus Declaration on Promoting Women’s Health and Strengthening the Family (GCD) is an anti-rights document that seeks to undermine sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), specifically by denying the right to safe abortion. The document, signed by 32 countries in 2020, has the purported aim of “supporting the dignity of all human beings and protecting life from the moment of conception throughout the lifespan.”<sup>1</sup> In the declaration, the signatories “Reaffirm that there is no international right to abortion, nor any international obligation on the part of states to finance or facilitate abortion,”<sup>2</sup> using the language used by international treaties and consensus documents, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Beijing Declaration Platform for Action (1995), International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action (1994), and the Declaration on the Rights of the Child (1959). The GCD was the brainchild of the first Trump administration and was drafted and launched by Valerie Huber<sup>3</sup>, in her role as the former United States Special Representative for Global Women’s Health and was championed by then Secretary of State Mike Pompeo.



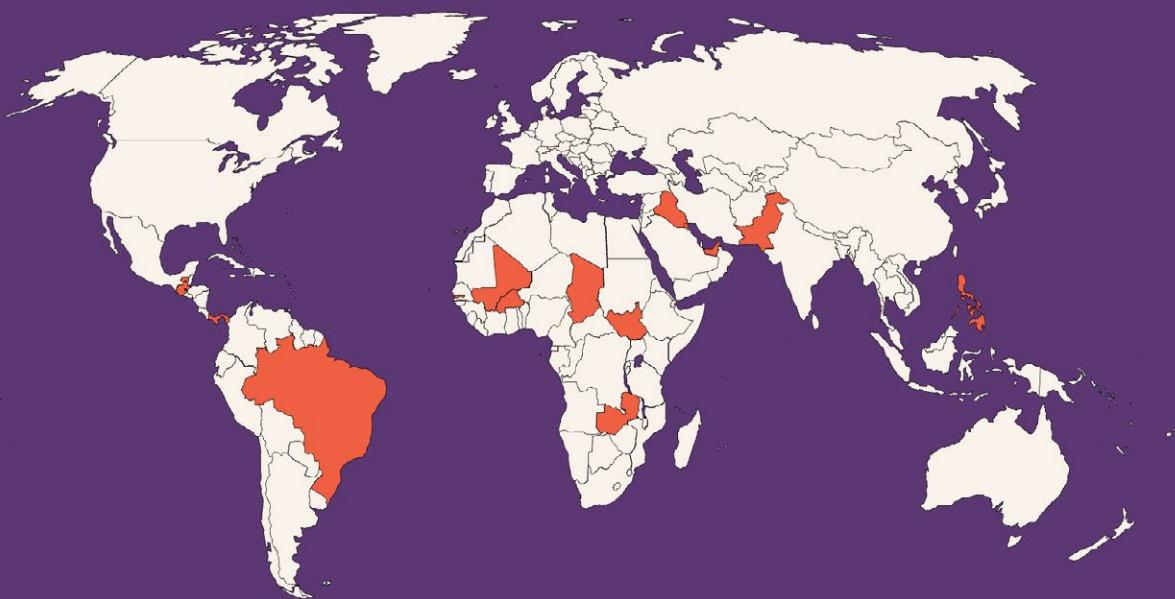
The Geneva Consensus Declaration – Signatories (2020 – 2024)

**Figure 1:** Signatories of the Geneva Consensus Declaration (2020–2024)

**Source:** Author’s compilation.

Despite Trump’s subsequent electoral loss in 2020 and the United States’ withdrawal from the GCD after President Biden took office in January 2021, the GCD continued to be championed by conservatives. With President Trump’s re-election to office, U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio has confirmed that the United States will rejoin the GCD.<sup>4</sup>

During President Biden’s administration, Huber went on to found the Institute for Women’s Health (IWH), where she developed the WOHF. Ostensibly designed to promote “high-impact, low-cost, evidence-based”<sup>5</sup> health interventions through the Protego program, the WOHF aims primarily to operationalize the GCD by providing a structured framework for action that is, in fact, based neither on evidence nor on rights. The WOHF has been operationalized through partnerships between the IWH and national governments in the Global South, and several countries have embraced this framework between 2020 and 2025<sup>6</sup>. With the return of a Republican administration, it is expected that this process of expansion will receive a boost via institutional support from like-minded senators.



The Women’s Operative Health Framework (2020 – 2024)

**Figure 2:** Countries Approached to Sign on to The Women’s Operative Health Framework (2020–2024)

**Source:** Author’s compilation.

As these projects gained momentum, in 2023 the Heritage Foundation – a conservative think-tank in the United States – produced *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise* (also known as Project 2025), a document that is meant to serve as a policy blueprint for the next Republican administration, “emphasizing white, Christian ethno-nationalist ideals.”<sup>7</sup> Drafted by several former Trump administration officials, including Huber, the document is anti-democratic and centers on anti-LGBTQI+, anti-immigrant, anti-DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion), and anti-SRHR rhetoric. In addition, the document proposes a strategy for utilizing U.S. foreign assistance and foreign policy to restore the centrality of family to American life and “returning America to glory and leadership on the global stage.”<sup>8</sup>

	The Geneva Consensus Declaration	The Women's Optimal Health Framework	Project 2025: Mandate for Leadership
WHAT IS IT?	An international document signed in 2020 to "support the dignity of all human beings and protect life from the moment of conception throughout the lifespan."	The program framework that looks to operationalise the GCD by offering "high-impact, low-cost, effective interventions to support improved personal and population health"	Policy blueprint developed for the next Republican administration based broadly on the idea of White, Christian ethno-nationalism.
DEVELOPED BY?	Valerie Huber, in her capacity as U.S. Special Representative for Global Women's Health & Senior Advisor, HHS.	The Institute for Women's Health, a policy think-tank, led by Valerie Huber as CEO/President.	The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think-tank, with inputs from senior administrators in the Trump I administration.
USED HOW AND WHERE?	Inter country document/framework with signatory "states"	Operationalised in the Global South as bilateral partnerships between the IWH and international governments	Operationalised both domestically through HHS reform, but also globally through USAID reform to align with the WOHF standards.

**Figure 3: Overview of the Three Major Components of Anti-Rights and Anti-Gender Project**

**Source:** Author's compilation.

The following section discusses how these three documents and projects draw on interlinked ideas, emphasizing similar values and advocating for a distinct vision of national formation not only at home but also abroad. The implications of these projects warrant careful consideration. Providing \$12.3 billion in global health funding and \$9 billion to SRHR in 2024 alone,<sup>9</sup> the United States is the single largest funder of global health programs. Its contributions set benchmarks worldwide and influence global health outcomes. Second, these fiscal consequences are further magnified by the fact that domestic policy trajectories and decisions within the United States have immense normative ramifications for policy and movements in the Global South, especially for marginalized communities.<sup>10</sup> Third, U.S. action could act as a guiding principle for conservative actors in other Global North governments, leading to the prioritization of ideological approaches over evidence-based policymaking and human rights-led funding commitments to global health outcomes.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, while it is unclear how much of Project 2025 will be implemented by the second Trump administration, two things are worth considering. Firstly, these projects have been designed to work in tandem with larger anti-rights movements within and outside the United States, often championed by the same actors, such as The Heritage Foundation, or people, such as Pompeo and Huber. Secondly, despite a Democratic administration being in office between 2020 and 2025, anti-rights groups have only gained momentum, with governments in the Global South signing the GCD and looking to operationalize the Protego program. With popular public figures in the United States endorsing these viewpoints,<sup>12,13</sup> these projects have taken on a public life beyond anti-rights groups or the presidential manifesto. With President Trump's promise to "return to the Golden Age of America,"<sup>14</sup> it is critical to situate these proposals within a larger conservative call to action emanating from the United States, which piggybacks on institutional support but also works in its absence. Such a stance will have widespread implications for global health outcomes as well as intersecting issues, such as climate change, economic justice, and vaccine justice.

## SRHR in Jeopardy

The central theme that runs through these three documents is that “The redefinition of sex to cover gender identity and sexual orientation and pregnancy to cover abortion should be reversed in all programs.”<sup>15</sup> To this end, the three projects espouse the following core principles.

### A. Eroding Access to Safe and Legal Abortion

During President Trump’s first term, extreme anti-democratic and anti-abortion groups flourished within the United States, often with key representatives of the government, at home and abroad, taking anti-abortion stances. Significant policy decisions – including the reimposition of the Mexico City Policy or Global Gag Rule (GGR) and the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* – opened the floodgates for a wave of anti-abortion sentiment and action both in the United States and globally. It is unlikely that Trump’s second term will be different in its staunch opposition to the provision of safe and legal abortion, with a reiteration of the idea that abortion is not healthcare and that U.S. taxpayer dollars should no longer be used to support the provision of these services or the “global abortion industry”<sup>16</sup> in other countries.

In his first term, President Trump expanded the GGR to make it applicable to aid used to fund any health service, not just family planning. A similar push is expected this time, and it may be taken further still – in the form of the Protecting Life in Foreign Assistance Act (PLFA). This policy will introduce cross-cutting gags designed to prevent “pro-abortion groups”<sup>17</sup> from accessing funding for interventions outside the scope of global health assistance, such as women-focused and economic assistance programs. Unlike the 2017 avatar of the GGR, which was operationalized through Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance (PLGHA), the PLFA proposes four critical expansions. First, U.S.-based international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) – such as Planned Parenthood International, MSI Reproductive Choices, Population Services International, Pathfinder, PATH, the Population Council, EngenderHealth, and WomanCare Global International – that “perform and promote abortions overseas”<sup>18</sup> are explicitly named as targets for funding cuts. Second, the GGR now covers funding to multilateral agencies and funding bodies such as the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the World Health Organization (WHO), ensuring that these technical bodies and service organizations can no longer advocate for or provide abortion services. Third, the PLFA includes within its ambit all foreign assistance, including humanitarian aid, which had previously not been covered by the GGR. Finally, the expanded GGR will also apply to bilateral aid offered by the United States to national governments.

Even though exceptions are acknowledged – for instance, “miscarriage management and ectopic pregnancies”<sup>19</sup> are recognized as events wherein care is permissible – it is unclear how these exceptions will be handled in practice.

While the repercussions of the new GGR are likely to be immense, the three projects also advocate for further restrictions on healthcare practices and funding for procedures perceived to harm pregnant individuals. As outlined in Project 2025, treatments such as chemotherapy that “incidentally result in the death of a child”<sup>20</sup> should be closely monitored. Moreover, medical research that “uses human embryonic stem cells and involves the destruction of human life”<sup>21</sup> is explicitly rejected, with calls to deny funding and support for such practices.

### B. Reclaiming “Femininity” and “Masculinity” for Social Stability

While the anti-rights position on abortion is informed by the idea that access to safe abortion is part of a larger “woke agenda”<sup>22</sup> that is being forced on the Global South in violation of inalienable human rights and national sovereignty, it is further supported by their commitment to narrowly defined, binary gender roles and norms. They believe that women and their well-being are allegedly being threatened by the larger “gender radicalism”<sup>23</sup> of the Left. One of their core complaints is that “gender” and “sex” are words that have been stripped of meaning and that this has significantly hindered the state’s ability to protect the rights of its citizens.

This ideology is made explicit in a constant call to “reclaim femininity.” Project 2025 asserts that “previous administrations have erased what females are and what femininity is through ‘gender’ policies and practices”<sup>24</sup> that make it impossible for women to thrive. The core belief here is that women’s roles in society are to be defined primarily by their ability to reproduce and care for children and families, relegating decisions. Decisions related to work and economic contribution to the mid-life years, once the essential tasks of childbearing and childcare are over.

The reclamation of femininity is complemented by the idea that masculinity must be protected and revalued. A key tenet of Project 2025 is the promotion of masculinity and the role of men in fostering social stability. Policies and programs proposed by Project 2025 and the WOHF emphasize strengthening marriage as an institution, restoring broken homes, and prioritizing fatherhood in messaging and welfare programs. The framework also advocates for curricula that celebrate the roles of fathers and acknowledge their financial hardships, further positioning traditional gender roles as foundational to societal well-being. With regard to healthcare, the three documents emphasize systems that “protect and support the mother and the forming child”<sup>25</sup> as well as the promotion of fertility-based and family-first information and counselling.

These tightly held gender norms also influence other aspects of domestic policy. For instance, these documents propose that welfare entitlements for low-income families comprising families led by single mothers, unwed partnerships, or non-heterosexual couples be reduced in addition to recommending changes to adoption rules and norms. Such cuts are likely to impact women from marginalized communities the most, impeding their ability to cover their cost of living, including care provision, while simultaneously impinging on their ability to participate in the workforce to their fullest capacity.<sup>26</sup>

### C. Cisgender, Heterosexual Nuclear Families in Focus

All three projects strongly emphasize the idea of “rescuing” the “family” and challenging the “woke ideologies”<sup>27</sup> that they believe have corrupted the concept of who and what constitutes a family. The “stable nuclear family”<sup>28</sup> constituting specifically “one man, one woman, and children”<sup>29</sup> is perceived as the ideal unit, with each playing their prescribed roles in society. We see a clear articulation of this in Project 2025 – “men and women are biological realities that are crucial to the advancement of life sciences and medical care and that married men and women are the ideal, natural family structure”<sup>30</sup> – and a reiteration in the WOHF in the overwhelming emphasis on family formation and stable families across the board.

In this view, the role of the family extends beyond the reclamation of the social structure, and it is positioned as the foundation for societal well-being and key to national development. The WOHF states, “If a nation seeks to strengthen the health of its citizens and communities, it is wise to promote healthy families.”<sup>31</sup> This view underscores that “healthy mothers, fathers, and extended family”<sup>32</sup> contribute to social health and decision-making.

### D. Centring “Biology”

The increased focus on family and the need to reclaim “women” and “women’s inherent reproductive roles” is also predicated on advocating for the retention of “biological dualities” over “gender radicalism” in all aspects of government policy and practice.<sup>33</sup> The three frameworks reject the use of the words “gender” and “sex” to refer to diverse gender identities and sexual orientations, instead endorsing a binary, essentialist understanding of sex and gender. We see echoes of this in one of the first executive orders (EO) signed by the second Trump administration, where he commits to “defend women’s rights and protect freedom of conscience by using clear and accurate language and policies that recognize women are biologically female, and men are biologically male.”<sup>34</sup>

Proposals in Project 2025 that build on this idea of duality range from measures to end the collection of gender identity data in health records to eliminating access to federally funded gender-affirming healthcare domestically and globally and eroding access to aid services for LGBTQIA+ people globally. Additionally, proposed funding will be directed to research that highlights the supposed harms of gender-affirming interventions such as “the short-term and long-term negative effects of cross-sex interventions, including ‘affirmation’; puberty blockers; cross-sex hormones and surgeries; and the likelihood of desistance if young people are given counseling that does not include medical or social interventions.”<sup>35</sup>

## E. The End of Comprehensive Sexuality Education as We Know It

The WOHF, in particular, reiterates the need for new curricula and models of comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) in order to inculcate conservative ideas and values in new generations of adolescents and young people. Two new education frameworks have been proposed: (1) the Three Generation Strategy for Adolescent Health, which is part of the WOHF, which is meant to be deployed outside of the United States and (2) the Healthy Marriage and Relationship Education framework, alluded to in Project 2025, which is meant to be deployed within the United States. At the heart of both frameworks are two ideas. First, contemporary CSE modules are too focused on sexual risk and individuals instead of information emphasizing the “benefits of healthy marriages”<sup>36</sup> and prioritizing “communication, conflict resolution, financial literacy, sharing responsibilities, and future parenting”.<sup>37</sup> Second, they “promote sex, promote prostitution, or provide a funnel effect for abortion facilities and school field trips to clinics.”<sup>38</sup> Anti-rights actors therefore claim that there is a need for a new model of education that emphasizes risk avoidance through abstinence-based messaging and prioritizes marriage and family formation. Accordingly, the documents advocate for parental and community control over educational content to counter the woke agenda and “abolish evidence-based curricula,”<sup>39</sup> which are perceived as promoting liberal values. In tandem, these models of education advocate for youth development initiatives based on faith that prioritize cultural, family, and faith traditions, alongside vocational skills, to promote “optimal adolescent health” and counter “distorted sexual expectations.”<sup>40</sup>

## Global Structural Implications

The conservative premise is that reclaiming the United States’ glory and establishing its leadership “...will require that bold steps are taken on Day One to undo the gross misuse of foreign aid by the current Administration to promote a radical ideology that is politically divisive at home and harms our global standing.”<sup>41</sup> Indeed, President Trump signed a number of EOs on his first day in office that are designed only to undo the impacts of the previous administration.

### A. The Weakening of Multilateralism

These frameworks call for a strategic shift in U.S. foreign aid, linking assistance to measurable self-reliance and alignment with U.S. geopolitical interests. Project 2025 lays out the three pillars of this approach.

First, there will be an immediate funding freeze across all treaties and agreements. The new government plans to conduct a comprehensive cost-benefit analysis of U.S. participation in international organizations, such as the WHO, and of continuing its commitments under treaties such as the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD PoA) and the Paris Agreement. A “tough love approach”<sup>42</sup> will guide decisions on reinstating funding, which will be conditional on these organizations refraining from promoting “radical social policies as human rights priorities.”<sup>43</sup> We saw this go into effect on 20 January 2025 through an EO signed by President Trump on his first day in office.<sup>44</sup>

Second, a new political appointee will oversee cross-agency accountability efforts, ensuring that the United Nations (UN), WHO, and other international organizations meet stricter financial and programmatic accountability standards.<sup>45</sup> This includes requiring the removal of language promoting abortion from UN documents, policy statements, and technical literature.

Third, the government has pledged to withdraw from international institutions that are deemed to act against U.S. interests, including, for instance, those that continue championing access to safe and legal abortion. In cases of perceived non-compliance, appropriate steps will be taken, including the option of full withdrawal.<sup>46</sup>

Furthermore, U.S. diplomatic and global leadership efforts will now be focused on building parallel, like-minded coalitions, such as the Geneva Consensus Group, and advancing “life-affirming efforts”<sup>47</sup> on the global stage.

## B. Boosting Capital-led Neo-imperialism

Aligned with the promise of withdrawing from existing treaties and multilateral spaces in pursuit of more strategic use of U.S. aid and support is a shift from assistance to growth. This renewed focus on growth is substantiated by three strategies. First, foreign aid should be tied to demonstrable “self-reliance measures,”<sup>48</sup> requiring recipient countries to earn American aid support. For instance, in Africa, this could be demonstrated through “good governance and pro-free-market economic policies”<sup>49</sup> that enable American trade, whereas in Latin America, this includes promoting deregulation and countering socialist policies.<sup>50</sup>

Second, all bilateral aid should be assessed through the lens of U.S. national interests – both economic and political – thus delinking foreign assistance from the achievement of human rights and linking it instead to American advancements. For instance, Project 2025 proposes that countries whose policies resist China’s debt diplomacy and that further U.S. economic goals, such as LAC’s *América Crece* Latin America and Africa’s Growth and Opportunity Act, should be rewarded.<sup>51</sup>

Third, the role of private capital from the United States and the opportunities that it can create is emphasized since private capital investment is “the greatest enabler of job creation and sustainable economic growth throughout the developing world.”<sup>52</sup> To this end, the documents suggest measures such as capital funds, debt innovation bonds (DIBs), and other “innovative tools” to solve persistent development challenges for global good and open new markets for U.S. capital “to compete to solve issues with the aid industrial complex.”<sup>53</sup>

This approach rests entirely on the idea that U.S. long-term interests are better served by a free market-based, private growth-focused strategy rather than a rights-based, assistance-first strategy that perpetuates the very challenges it looks to address.<sup>54</sup>

## C. Weaponizing the Localization Agenda

To address the perceived inefficiencies of the existing models of overseas development aid, Project 2025 suggests redirecting funds to local partners to counter the “aid industrial complex that promotes abortion, gender radicalism, climate extremism, and other woke ideas.”<sup>55</sup> To enable this, it proposes two parallel tracks of action. First, the derecognition of existing partners that receive U.S. federal funds globally. Project 2025 argues, for instance, that a minimum percentage of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) portfolio must be allocated to new, underutilized, and local partners. Further, it calls for changes in compliance mandates and a redefinition of acceptable overhead costs. While the exact proportion of this funding is yet to be announced, it is expected that a majority of existing funding will be redirected away from current partners to new local organizations to “aggressively ramp down” partnerships with “wasteful, costly, and politicized UN agencies, international NGOs, and Beltway contractors.”<sup>56</sup> Notably, this is something that rights-based advocates have been supporting over the last decade, leading to the design of the New Partnership Initiative (NPI). However, the NPI itself has been used as a tool within the conservative project.

The second strategy proposed to further the localization goals is to foreground faith-based groups as the best way to provide localized aid in a manner that is culturally sensitive, locally relevant, and removed from the clutches of the “woke agenda.” Arguing that faith-based organizations are already present and acting as first responders in a number of communities globally, both the WOHF and Project 2025 defend the need to empower and elevate these groups to scale the work they do and the values they espouse<sup>57</sup>, enabling them to not just bring material improvements to people’s lives but also to build the spiritual resilience of communities.<sup>58</sup> Going forward, it is expected that USAID staff will receive training on the intersection of religious freedom and development.<sup>59</sup>



## D. Recolonization of Global Health Action

Despite rallying behind the right of sovereignty for nations when it comes to the provision of abortion services, Project 2025 recommends that the U.S. government maintain its authority to ensure that global health initiatives align with its national interests. As part of this approach, the frameworks propose that the United States be “a vocal surrogate for those in countries where rights are being suppressed in the name of public health.”<sup>60</sup> Citing COVID-19 as an example, Project 2025 argues that the WHO-mandated approach of compulsory masking and lockdowns had a significant detrimental impact on the U.S. economy. Going forward, the United States should retain the right to challenge and intervene in such approaches to global health should a new pandemic break out. Notably, these interventions will remain focused on U.S. national economic interest, thus holding global public health outcomes hostage to U.S. economic growth.

## E. Redefinition of Aid

The final tool in the strategic shifts described to safeguard U.S. interests is the complete redefinition of what is aid and who deserves it. In addition to the renewed focus on growth over aid, by redirecting efforts towards short-term support, with a clear, fixed exit strategy, Project 2025 proposes reduced global funding for marginalized communities overall. Additionally, humanitarian aid, in particular, should be offered less in cases of chronic man-made crises, diverting resources primarily toward addressing natural disasters such as hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes, which are seen as more immediate and identifiable events. This new approach will be accompanied by significant cuts to the international disaster assistance (IDA) budgets, particularly for countries deemed geopolitically sensitive.

In parallel, along with the NPI, there should be a shift in funding away from “large, costly, and often inefficient U.N. agencies and INGOs that have long been the recipients of significant U.S. aid.”<sup>61</sup> The plan is to redirect resources to local faith-based organizations, which are seen as more agile, community-oriented, and capable of effectively responding to crises without the overhead costs and bureaucracy of larger institutions.

## F. Challenge to Science: Increase in Disinformation and Misinformation

While the structural efforts mentioned thus far reference institutional impacts and changes, the actions proposed will also have a significant impact on science, the idea of evidence, and rational temper. Indeed, several of the proposed efforts are in direct contravention of existing evidence standards and rights-based approaches to healthcare. To address this gap, there will likely be an increased push for “ethical, life-affirming, good science,” creating a parallel stream of “evidence”<sup>62</sup> that forms the bedrock of the conservative project. For instance, Project 2025 promises funding for “research” that “explores the harms, both mental and physical, that abortion has wrought on women and girls” and “the short-term and long-term negative effects of cross-sex interventions, including ‘affirmation’, puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones and surgeries”<sup>63</sup> among other issues. Additionally, they claim that the United States must demand mandatory representation in technical bodies and regulation-setting organizations to ensure the “proper execution of American resources and the preservation of our values,”<sup>64</sup> including ensuring that technical material does not include abortion care.

While these quotes pertain specifically to SRHR, it is not difficult to imagine how similar strategies will play out to support climate denialism, anti-vaccine rhetoric, and other policy positions of the Trump administration.

Further, such fearmongering around the science of abortion care has significant spillover effects on the access to, and provision of, other kinds of healthcare. For instance, increased vaccine hysteria has been observed vis-à-vis “aborted foetal cells” being used as the base for vaccines, linked not just to COVID-19 vaccines but also chickenpox, hepatitis, and MMR vaccines, with requests to allow exemptions for people who are “of faith and conscience”<sup>65</sup> from taking them, both domestically and through U.S. government funds. Combined with the increased funding flows to faith-based groups that challenge vaccine science, the impacts approach is likely to be catastrophic, leaving marginalized communities across the Global South increasingly vulnerable to easily preventable illnesses.

## Conclusion

Addressing the challenges posed by anti-rights groups requires a multipronged approach that integrates proactive defensive mechanisms, collaborative advocacy, and people-powered movements. There is an urgent need to demonstrate a vibrant resistance to anti-rights ideologies and actions and for civil society to hold the line and ensure that further rollbacks to rights and justice are prevented.

Civil society must prioritize monitoring and accountability to ensure transparency, challenge harmful decisions, and offer feedback on policy decisions. One approach is to evaluate how the commitments outlined in these agendas are being implemented by different agencies. To this end, tools such as the SRHR Index<sup>66</sup> – which assesses the U.S. government’s global health policies and funding that impact SRHR – are critical to promoting accountability and sharing feedback. For instance, 2018 – the second year of Trump’s first administration – was the second consecutive year of declining scores across different U.S. executive departments and agencies. A second approach could be tracking appointments and positions within governments and international agencies through tools such as the Repro Red Flags: Agency Watch,<sup>67</sup> which shares research on new appointees, their anti-rights backgrounds, and the key functions of the agencies they will oversee.

**Engaging with rights-based allies in legislative bodies** is another vital strategy. Civil society organizations (CSOs) should work with pro-rights members of Congress and other legislatures to block anti-rights policies, even when chances of success are slim; maintaining momentum and demonstrating resolve is key.

Civil society must **engage national governments** in the Global North as well as the Global South. For the former, the focus should be on challenging existing power imbalances, taking on a vocal and visible role, and using their influence to push for fairer systems. At the same time, CSOs could support governments in the Global South by helping them better understand the implications of these global dynamics and buoying their capacity to resist. This dual approach ensures a coordinated response that addresses both ends of the power spectrum.

In addition to these defensive mechanisms, civil society must invest in movements that bridge different issues and geographies, recognizing that challenges such as health inequities, climate change, and social justice are interconnected. Strengthening global ties between movements will foster solidarity and create more resilient coalitions that are capable of driving change.

From conversations with Fòs Feminista Alliance partners and other allies, we remain committed to the idea that this moment requires deep, feminist, evidence-based collaboration between civil society actors within and outside the United States and at all levels of advocacy – from the grassroots to the highest levels of political engagement. We recognize that a multi-pronged approach that spans legal interventions, academic and scientific debate, and political intervention is critical to the movement’s continued ability to hold the line and push back against oppressive, anti-rights tactics beyond a focus on countering the GGR and its impacts.

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