

A large iceberg floats on a dark blue sea under a cloudy sky. The tip of the iceberg is visible above the water, while the submerged part is covered with various Euro banknotes (100, 200, 500, and 1000 Euro) and US dollar bills (100 and 200 dollars).

# TIP OF THE ICEBERG

Religious Extremist Funders  
against Human Rights for Sexuality  
and Reproductive Health in Europe  
2009 - 2018

ISBN: 978 2 93102920 6

**Tip of the Iceberg:**

*Religious Extremist Funders  
against Human Rights for Sexuality  
and Reproductive Health in Europe  
2009 - 2018*

*Written by Neil Datta, Secretary of the European Parliamentary Forum  
for Sexual and Reproductive Rights.*

*Brussels, June 2021*

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EPF is a network of members of parliaments from across Europe who are committed to protecting the sexual and reproductive health of the world's most vulnerable people, both at home and overseas.

We believe that women should always have the right to decide upon the number of children they wish to have, and should never be denied the education or other means to achieve this that they are entitled to.

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**Tip of the Iceberg is the first attempt understand the anti-gender mobilisation in Europe through the perspective of their funding base. This report assembles financial data covering a ten year period of over 50 anti-gender actors operating in Europe. It then takes a deeper look at how religious extremists generate this funding to roll back human rights in sexuality and reproduction.**

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#### ABSTRACT

While sexual and reproductive health and rights have always been contested, a yet unanswered question, and indispensable in understanding the emergence of any new social movement, is how is the anti-gender movement financed? This report attempts to fill the gap in understanding a key component of anti-gender activism by painting a picture of the funding system which supports the religious extremists' efforts to roll back human rights in Europe. In Part 1: Tip of the iceberg, this report identifies USD707.2 million in anti-gender funding over the 2009–2018 period originating from a restricted group of 54 organisations, namely non-governmental organisations (NGOs), foundations, religious organisations, and political parties. There are three principal geographic origins for these organisations, namely the United States, the Russian Federation and Europe (excluding Russia). In Part 2: Beneath the iceberg, this report takes a closer look at the original source of anti-gender funding in Europe. It details four resource mobilisation mechanisms: grass-roots fundraising; support from socio-economic elites; public funding; and religious actors. The report concludes with two illustrative case studies explaining how religious extremists collaborate across borders to generate new anti-gender initiatives and explores the overlapping normative, economic and political motivations which drive various actors towards anti-gender activism.

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# PREFACE

When it comes to opposing feminism, women's self-determination and access to sexual and reproductive rights, alliances between religious extremists seem to be close-knit. Across all religious and geographical boundaries, money flows to those who still claim to fight against the spectre of 'gender ideology'; against those who have fought for women to decide freely about their bodies and their offspring and who stand for comprehensive sexuality education to empower all people to act independently and responsibly to protect their own health and their partners', as well as their well-being and dignity.

The wealth of these traditionalists is used to denigrate and thwart their progressive opponents, to finance communications and advocacy efforts as well as litigation aiming to intimidate those who have an enlightened approach to sexuality and the human body. Via a string of legal and publicity stunts, these extremists tirelessly strive to impose a worldview which has no place in this millennium.

And yet, the enemies of free choice are achieving the opposite of what they intended: with ever greater vigour, we progressives are joining forces to guarantee people their right to sexual and reproductive self-determination. We are taking to the streets in unprecedented numbers and creating new broad alliances to not only uphold but expand on our long-fought-for rights.

As parliamentarians, we are revising laws to make it possible for all couples to form legal partnerships based on mutual love, including marriage. Laws that enable safe abortions and that provide barrier-free access to modern and affordable contraceptives for all - choice is our primary objective.

We also stand for violence-free parenting as well as for the right of all women to skilled care for a safe pregnancy and birth - in Europe as well as in the rest of the world. That is why we are also successfully fighting for more financial resources for people in the global South, because everyone, everywhere has the human right to sexual and reproductive self-determination.

Even if we cannot count on the deep, old and covert pockets of our religious extremist opponents, we continue to strive for a world where all women can live free from violence and enjoy the required legal and social policy frameworks that make this possible.

We are certain that in the end, it will not be money that determines the battle for people's hearts and minds. It will be the well-being of each individual that is decisive, and people will choose the path of enlightenment, self-determination and the joy of life rather than an otherworldly existence devoid of any emancipation. We are open to cooperation with all like-minded, progressive, people-loving and feminist forces that want a life in freedom, self-determination and dignity for all people.



*Hon. Petra Bayr, MP (Austria)*

President, European Parliamentary Forum  
for Sexual and Reproductive Rights

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACLJ	American Center for Law and Justice
ADF International	Alliance Defending Freedom International
AfD	Alternative für Deutschland
BGEA	Billy Graham Evangelistic Association
COMECE	Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Union
CU	Christen Unie
CZiR	Centrum Wspierania Inicjatyw dla Życia i Rodziny (Foundation Centre for Life and Family Support)
DHI	Dignitatis Humanae Institute
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECI	European Citizens' Initiative
ECLJ	European Centre for Law and Justice
EPP	European Peoples' Party
EU	European Union
FvD	Forum voor Democratie
HLI	Human Life International
ITI	International Theological Institute
KIPR	Konfederacja Pozarządowych Rzeczypospolite – Confederation of Non- Governmental Initiatives of the Republic
LGBTQI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning and intersex
LMPT	La Manif Pour Tous
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIW	Narodowego Instytutu Wolności – National Freedom Institute
Ordo Iuris	Instytut na rzecz Kultury Prawnej Ordo Iuris (Institute for Legal Culture Ordo Iuris)
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
PNV	Political Network for Values
SCLJ	Slavic Center for Law and Justice
SGP	Staatkundige Gereformeerde Partij
SRHR	Sexual and reproductive health and rights
TFP	Tradition, Family and Property
UDC	Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di Centro
WCF	World Congress of Families
WYA	World Youth Alliance

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**“Power remains strong when it remains in the dark; exposed to the sunlight it begins to evaporate.”**

*(Samuel P. Huntington, American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony)*

This report contains three sections: the first on anti-gender funding actors present in Europe; and the second on the various channels that anti-gender actors use to generate funding and through which it circulates; while the third provides illustrative examples and case studies of how anti-gender actors generate and spend funding in Europe. The subject matter does not lend itself to exhaustive analysis; therefore, the findings included in the report serve as an illustration of the funding landscape in which anti-gender actors operate. As the title suggests, the data presented herein are but the tip of the iceberg.

In Part 1: Tip of the iceberg, this report identifies USD707.2 million in anti-gender funding over the 2009–2018 period originating from a restricted group of 54 organisations, namely non-governmental organisations (NGOs), foundations, religious organisations, and political parties. There are three principal geographic origins for these organisations, namely the United States, the Russian Federation and Europe (excluding Russia). Specifically:

- USD81.3 million originates from 10 actors in the United States, either NGOs or conservative think tanks from the US Christian Right. These 10 actors, in turn, benefit from funding from a series of conservative US foundations which are themselves the product of US conservative billionaires who have close connections with the US Republican Party and the US alt- and far-right;
- the Russian Federation accounts for USD188.2 million, which all originates from organisations (foundations, think tanks, media) associated with two Russian oligarchs, namely Vladimir Yakunin and Konstantin Malofeev. In addition, these oligarchs are associated with ‘laundromats’ which channelled dark funding to far-right political parties in the run-up to recent elections in Europe. Finally, at least four Russian government agencies operating internationally account for additional, yet unspecified, financial support to anti-gender mobilisations globally; and
- funding from Europe constitutes the largest share of anti-gender funding in Europe, standing at USD437.7 million. This report identifies nearly twenty private foundations engaged in specific anti-gender mobilisation in Europe. In addition, new transnational NGO alliances have emerged over the past decade: a pan-European anti-abortion federation; a European model for anti-LGBTQI campaigning; a European-level Christian political party; an ultra-conservative social media platform; and a set of inter-related pseudo-Catholic, far-right actors. Other organisations include religious institutions and pan-European fascist parties.

In Part 2: Beneath the iceberg, this report takes a closer look at the original source of anti-gender funding in Europe. It details four resource mobilisation mechanisms: grass-roots fundraising; support from socio-economic elites; public funding; and religious actors.

- Religious extremists have developed mechanisms for generating income from the public. There are two models: the first is based on petitions and Catholic paraphernalia of the Tradition, Family and Property network, with a new centre emerging in Krakow, Poland; while the second mobilised social media focusing on the ‘active citizen’ to propel religious extremists into the centre of the political debate through new alt- and far-right political parties in Germany and Spain.
- There are two categories of European socio-economic elites which feature prominently in European anti-gender mobilisations: high-net-worth individuals from the private sector and clerical-aristocratic networks. The high-net-worth individuals have played pivotal roles in the emergence of new political parties that have become leaders in anti-gender contestation in several countries. Separately, members of aristocratic families feature prominently in anti-gender and far-right events and leadership positions. This report identifies 60 socio-economic elites from over 20 countries who contributed to anti-gender mobilisations in Europe.
- Religious extremists have tapped into public funding. There are several channels for public funding: the first consists of ‘services’ provided to public authorities which result in misleading women about their pregnancy options and the conservative socialisation of children and young people. Public funding to support anti-gender Christian political activism also features prominently, as does support for friendly conservative civil society which supports illiberal governments, while some States have initiated anti-gender soft diplomacy. Some anti-gender funders such as religious actors and clerical-aristocratic networks depend on institutionalised state support mechanisms for their income.
- Religious networks also play formal and informal roles in anti-gender mobilisation, ranging from in-kind support to serving as platforms for resource mobilisation. Religious networks are organised according to religious creed, with distinct Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox networks in Europe. Actors within these religious networks coordinate to strive towards a new conservative, illiberal and anti-democratic ecumenism.

In Part 3: How the pieces of the puzzle fit together, this report provides two cases studies which clarify how religious extremist actors from different parts of the world cooperate across borders to launch new anti-gender initiatives in Europe. It concludes by looking at the wider normative, economic, and political agendas of anti-gender actors and funders.

# INTRODUCTION

## “Nervi belli pecunia infinita.”

(The sinews of war are infinite money. – Marcus Tullius Cicero)

In 2018, the EPF report *Restoring the Natural Order* introduced the world to the secretive workings of a network going by the name of Agenda Europe that was coordinating a set of radical policy initiatives to roll back human rights in sexuality and reproductive health. Working around a common manifesto, Agenda Europe members have launched over 15 policy initiatives to roll back human rights on abortion, contraception, divorce, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning and intersex (LGBTQI) rights and gender since 2013. In 2020, EPF released a second report, entitled *Modern Day Crusaders*, which shone the light on a transnational religious extremist network with roots in Catholic fascism called Tradition, Family and Property (TFP). With origins in Latin America, TFP is now a European actor, with its Polish members serving as the new centre of gravity for this extremist movement and being behind some of the most visible anti-gender initiatives in Poland, including attempts to ban abortion, so-called “LGBT-Free Zones”, an attempt to withdraw from the Istanbul Convention and criminalisation of sexuality education.

While sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) have always been contested, its opposition was long considered a natural reaction to social progress in so-called ‘traditional’ societies, a peculiarity of the polarised political system in the United States or a local eccentricity contained within a few historically ‘conservative’ European countries. The recent emergence of the anti-gender movement in Europe was initially underestimated, many assuming it to be the well-known religious lobby, until it started to mobilise popular support, influence policies, and shape the political landscape. Since then, many human rights actors have been forced to pay greater

attention to the emergence of a new movement targeting a range of seemingly unrelated issues ranging from the well-known targets of abortion and LGBTQI rights to encompass challenging aspirations for gender equality, among others. A yet unanswered question, and indispensable in understanding the emergence of any new social movement, is how is the anti-gender movement financed?

As interest in the funding question has grown among investigative journalists and activists, a steady trickle of information on the European anti-gender funders has emerged. This information is often context-specific and confined to national and linguistic siloes. To date, very few attempts have been made to assemble the existing information and compare it across national borders or issue areas. The absence of transnational analysis leaves human rights defenders unable to understand one of the key strengths of the anti-gender movement, namely the funding which must have contributed to its growth. This report attempts to fill this gap by painting a picture of the funding system which supports the anti-gender actors’ efforts to roll back human rights in Europe. The report is divided into three parts: the first looks at the religious extremists active in Europe and their funding for anti-gender initiatives; the second looks at how these actors generate funds in Europe to meet anti-gender objectives; and the third provides illustrative examples and case studies of how anti-gender actors generate and spend funding in Europe.

► EPF reports “*Restoring the Natural Order*” (2018) and “*Modern Day Crusaders*” (2020) can be downloaded at [www.epfweb.org](http://www.epfweb.org).



# METHODOLOGY

There are five methodological questions to address at the start of the report: the definition of anti-gender actors; the selection of actors; the identification of funding allies; the primary sources used; and desk research of existing literature.

First, this report defines anti-gender actors as those civil society actors encompassing non-governmental organisations (NGOs), political parties, think tanks and foundations which have engaged in activism against SRHR, LGBTQI, children's rights and 'gender', and advocated against human rights protections based on sex, gender, or sexual orientation. They form the backbone of anti-gender contestation that Kuhar and Paternotte described in *Anti-gender mobilisations in Europe* [1].

The report narrows the selection to those actors that feature as sponsors or funders of well-documented anti-gender initiatives and events, such as Agenda Europe summits [2], the World Congress of Families (WCF) [3], the Political Network for Values (PNfV) [4], European Citizens' Initiatives (ECIs) 'One of Us' and 'Mum, Dad & Kids', or are members of transnational networks such as Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) [5]. The selection further includes political actors that have taken on the leadership in anti-gender campaigning in some countries such as alt- and far-right parties and their financial supporters and allies. The total sample reaches 117 anti-gender organisations active in Europe, of which 96 are in the European Union (EU), 6 in the Russian Federation and 10 in the United States.

Third, the report adopts a snowballing methodology to identify additional actors with a funding role in anti-gender mobilisation. Specifically, the report looks at the selected actors' governance composition (executive committees, management boards, donor lists), as well as other public and verifiable associations with individuals and other actors, to identify possible funding allies. In addition, this report looks at academic and activist literature to understand the origin of funding flows to the anti-gender funding actor identified.

Fourth, this report draws on primary sources, specifically the selected organisations' financial reports for the 10-year period 2009–2018, which covers two mandates of the EU Institutions. Financial data exist for only 54 of the sample of 117 organisations, thus leaving a sizeable data gap. The data are

available from online government databases or, in some cases, provided on the organisations' websites. Annex 6 provides the original sources used and other technical data related to exchange rates. In rare cases, this report turned to secondary information such as national media to obtain the required financial data when otherwise unavailable. Another primary source is original documentation from anti-gender actors.

Finally, the report turns to national media and academic and activist literature regarding associations of the selected anti-gender actors with possible funding allies. While this information is already in the public domain, it is usually only well-known at a national level. This report brings added value by assembling the existing information on the selected actors and their funding allies to paint a broader, transnational picture of the funding landscape for anti-gender mobilisation in Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Roman Kuhar and David Paternotte (eds), *Anti-gender Campaigns in Europe: Mobilising against Equality*, London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Neil Datta, *Restoring the Natural Order*, Brussels: EPF, 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Gillian Kane and Cole Parke, *Pernicious work of World Congress of Families fuels anti-LGBTQI sentiment*, The Guardian, 19 November 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/nov/19/world-congress-of-families-anti-lgbtq-sentiment>.

<sup>4</sup> Aleksandra Eriksson, *EP chief faces questions after homophobic 'summit'*, EU Observer, 28 April 2017, <https://euobserver.com/lgbti/137725>.

<sup>5</sup> Neil Datta, *Modern Day Crusaders*, EPF, 2019.

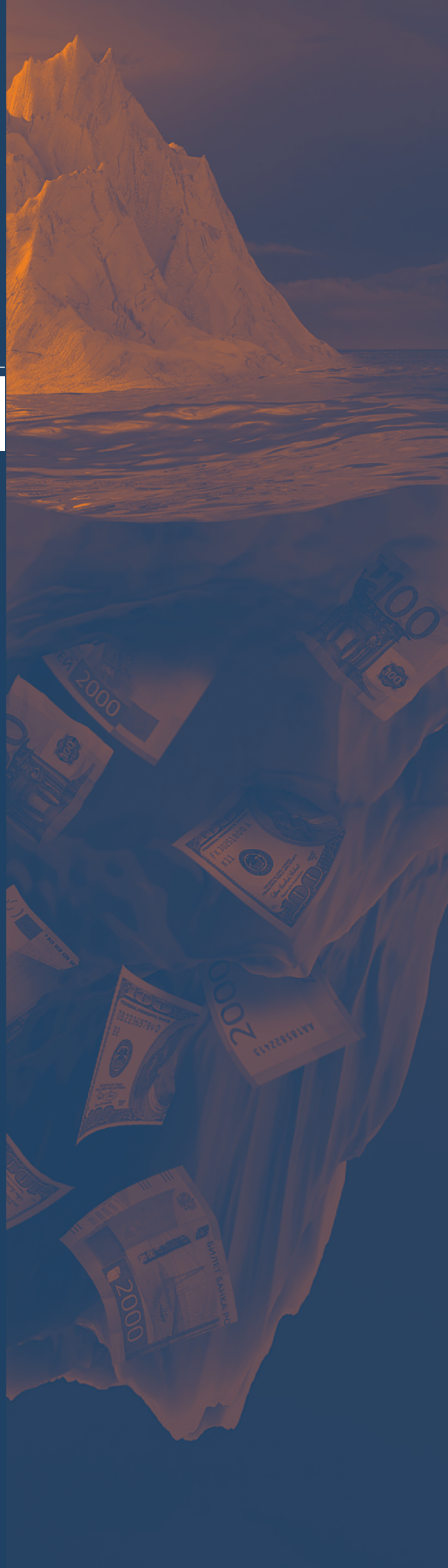




# PART 1

## TIP OF THE ICEBERG: ANTI-GENDER ACTORS IN EUROPE

The first part of this report looks at the 54 anti-gender funding actors active in Europe. These actors include the sponsors of Agenda Europe summits, the WCF, PNfV, the ECIs 'One of Us' and 'Mum, Dad & Kids' and members of TFP. The anti-gender actors have three main geographic points of origin: the United States, the Russian Federation and the EU. Together, they account for USD707.2 million spent over 2009-2018.

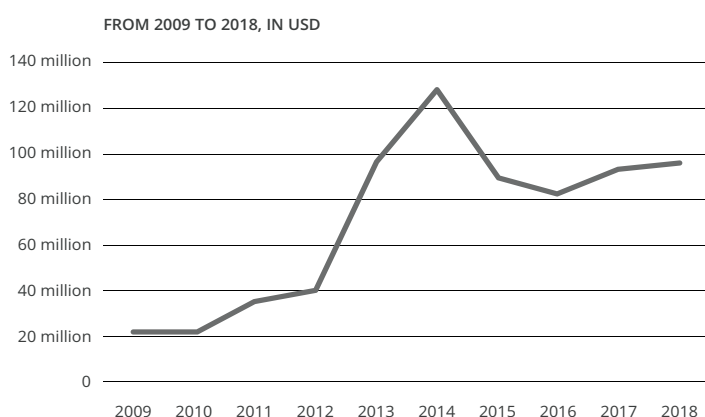


## OVERVIEW OF ANTI-GENDER FUNDING IN EUROPE

Anti-gender actors in Europe account for USD707.2 million over the 2009-2018 period. Annual anti-gender spending in Europe has increased by a factor of four starting from USD22.2 million in 2009 to reach USD96 million in 2018.

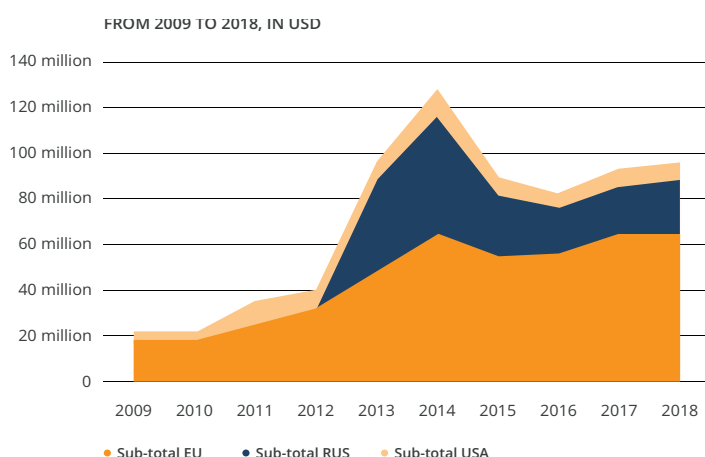
The decrease in 2014 is attributable to two factors: first, the largest US Christian Right actor in Europe ceased providing financial data in 2014 owing to a change in legal status; second, Russian actors significantly decreased their spending in Europe due to Western sanctions starting the same year.

### OVERALL ANTI-GENDER FUNDING IN EUROPE



These anti-gender actors have three main geographic points of origin: the United States, the Russian Federation and the EU. Funding from the USA accounts for 11.5% of the total, that from the Russian Federation accounts for 26.6% while the funding from the EU represents the lion's share at 61.9%.

### TOTAL ANTI-GENDER FUNDING IN EUROPE ACCORDING TO REGION OF ORIGIN



### ANTI-GENDER SPENDING IN EUROPE ACCORDING TO REGION OF ORIGIN FROM 2009 TO 2018

Region	% of total	Amount in USD
USA	11.5%	81.3 million
Russian Federation	26.6%	188.2 million
EU	61.9%	437.7 million
<b>Sub-total</b>	100%	<b>707.2 million</b>

The following are the main religious extremist actors according to their financial weight in anti-gender activism in Europe over the 2009-2018 period, in descending order.

### ANTI-GENDER FUNDERS IN EUROPE ACCORDING TO CUMULATIVE SPENDING FROM 2009 TO 2018

Organisation	Region	Amount in USD
Fondation Jérôme Lejeune	EU	120,167,509.00
Tradition, Family, Property network	EU	113,439,158.52
Istoki Endowment Fund (Yakunin)	RUS	90,625,052.64
Fundacja Lux Veritatis	EU	82,925,703.60
St Basil the Great, et al (Malofeev)	RUS	77,289,901.40
Hazte Oir/CitizenGO	EU	32,768,539.77
"One of Us" Federation and members	EU	31,528,995.24
Billy Graham Evangelistic Association	USA	23,795,079.00
ADF International	USA	23,301,836.00
LMPT and Mum, Dad & Kids, et al	EU	23,064,905.24
Dialogue of Civilizations (Yakunin)	RUS	18,764,216.42
ACLJ: ECLJ, SCLJ & Oxford	USA	15,706,917.00
COMECE	EU	12,377,133.06
ECPM & SALLUX	EU	8,237,435.40
EU Fascist Political Parties (APF, CLF, EANM)	EU	6,106,196.76
The Federalist Society	USA	5,914,444.00
Fundacio Provida Catalunya	EU	4,063,092.92
Human Life International	USA	4,037,908.00
Cato Institute	USA	2,979,007.00
Fondazione Novae Terrae	EU	2,644,290.00
Acton Institute	USA	2,278,391.00
St Andrew the First Called (Yakunin)	RUS	1,554,129.00
World Youth Alliance Europe	USA	1,413,476.73
Heritage Foundation	USA	1,047,561.00
The Leadership Institute	USA	804,940.00
Transatlantic Christian Council	EU	376,967.09
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>707,212,785.80</b>

Part 1 of this report will explore the religious extremist funders from each region in ascending order starting with the United States.

## 1

# DARK MONEY FROM THE US CHRISTIAN RIGHT

**“If Europe confirms this approach of making social-sexual identity prevail over the biological one, it would also be difficult for the United States to keep clear laws on marriage.”** <sup>[6]</sup>

The US Christian Right has long been suspected of funding anti-gender activism in Europe, and much of the information on funding for anti-gender mobilisation in Europe has focused on US financial support. There is also growing evidence that financial flows are larger than anticipated and have increased over the past decade. The most recent overview of such US funding in Europe dates from October 2020, when openDemocracy revealed that 12 US Christian Right organisations had together spent at least USD280 million globally in 2008–2017<sup>[7]</sup> This report takes a closer look at 10 key US anti-gender actors which together account for USD81.3 million specifically in Europe in 2009–2018.

US anti-gender actors operate at two levels to influence European societies. At one level, advocacy NGOs, ultra-conservative think tanks and religious organisations are visibly active in Europe and export the decades of experience of the US Christian Right on a range of issues such as fundraising and political mobilisation to grass-roots organisations to Europe. While the advocacy NGOs will bring expertise to like-minded organisations in Europe, the think tanks act as centres of knowledge production which are then exported to Europe and beyond. At another level, further upstream and not visible in Europe, are their financial backers: the US billionaires and their private foundations that bankroll the US Christian Right.

## 1.1 US CHRISTIAN RIGHT NGOS, THINK TANKS AND RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

Ten US Christian Right organisations account for the lion's share of US anti-gender activism in Europe. These are the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ), the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty (Acton Institute), the Alliance Defending Freedom International (ADF International), the Billy



● Franklin Graham, BGEA speaks to attendees at a stop in Lincoln, Neb. during his Decision America tour in 2016.

Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA), the Cato Institute, the Heritage Foundation, Human Life International (HLI), the Federalist Society, the Leadership Institute, and the World Youth Alliance Europe (WYA).

First, the BGEA (<https://billygraham.org/>), a Protestant religious organisation, is the biggest US Christian Right spender in Europe. Founded in 1950 and currently headquartered in Charlotte, North Carolina, it conducts mass prayer rallies for evangelical Protestants around the world called ‘crusades’, having organised “400 crusades in 185 countries and territories on six continents”. At these crusades, the head of the BGEA, Franklin Graham (the son of Billy Graham) “regularly rants against Muslims, LGBTQI people” <sup>[8]</sup>, resulting in several hate speech-related lawsuits in the UK <sup>[9]</sup>. Franklin Graham believes that instead of racism, the real crisis facing the United States is “that LGBTQI people are emerging from their closets, daring to demand rights and recognition; that women are asserting their bodily autonomy and demanding safe,



affordable reproductive healthcare; and that Islam simply exists” [10]. Most recently, in 2016, the BGEA was courting the Russian Orthodox Church and President Putin in an attempt to forge an alternative, global conservative alliance to address the persecution of Christians [11].

The two US advocacy organisations which stand out are the ACLJ and ADF International. The ACLJ (<https://aclj.org/>) was established in Virginia in 1994 as a specialised legal NGO. It is active in Europe via the Strasbourg-based European Centre for Law and Justice (ECLJ) (<https://eclj.org>) and the Moscow-based Slavic Center for Law and Justice (SCLJ) (<http://www.sclj.ru/>), which the ACLJ established in the mid-1990s. Generating an annual average of USD15 million, the ACLJ is styled as the conservative counterweight to the progressive American Civil Liberties Union, and channels USD1.2 million annually to the ECLJ. The ACLJ is well connected politically and came to global prominence in 2016 when US President Donald Trump appointed its Chief Counsel Jay Sekulow as his lawyer, who defended the President during the 2020 impeachment hearings. The SCLJ is headed by Vladimir Ryakhovsky, who is close to President Putin, serving on the Presidential Council for the Development of Civil Society and Human Rights [12]. In Europe, the ECLJ, headed by Grégor Puppinc, has been active in anti-gender advocacy at national and European levels as well as around the Council of Europe and United Nations bodies in Geneva, including in the homophobic La Manif Pour Tous (LMPT) demonstrations in France in 2013, serving as legal focal point for the anti-abortion ECI ‘One of Us’ and playing a leading role in Agenda Europe summits.

Most recently, the ECLJ mounted a campaign to undermine the credibility of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) – and, specifically, its judges – claiming that they are the instruments of George Soros and, therefore, inherently biased [13]. Mark Ellis, the Executive Director of the International Bar Association, commented that the “ECLJ’s partisan, political bias leads it to distort the realities of civil society organisations and, in keeping with the agendas pursued by autocratic governments, attempt to undermine the Court and the international community at



● Grégor Puppinc, Director of the European Centre for Law and Justice (ECLJ).



● Sophia Kuby, Director of Strategic Relations & Training for ADF International.

large. The group’s report is also sadly another example of the vilification of George Soros, who personifies the liberal values of civil society, freedom and democratic governance – values that are anathema to autocrats” [14].

ADF International (<https://adfinternational.org/>) is a new arrival in Europe, present since 2014. It is the global outreach of the US organisation ADF, which was established in 1993 in Scottsdale, Arizona and generates annual revenues of around USD55 million. ADF has significantly increased its spending in Europe – from USD657,000 in 2011 to USD4.36 million in 2018 – making it the second largest US Christian Right spender in Europe. ADF International has brought its US experience “to redefine religious freedom and insert its anti-LGBTQ, anti-choice agenda into every element of government and society” [15] to Europe by co-sponsoring Agenda Europe’s annual summits, engaging in litigation at national and European levels and entering into a media partnership with the EU-focused website EurActive, which published 10 ADF International opinion pieces from 2017 onward [16]. ADF International has 5 offices in Europe with at least 15 lawyers [17], including Sophia Kuby, Director of Strategic Relations & Training for ADF International and daughter of Gabriele Kuby, one of the most prominent anti-gender authors, who is popular in European far-right circles [18]. In the United States, ADF stands alongside the Aryan



● Jay Sekulow, the ACLJ at President Trump’s first impeachment hearing, 2020.



## US CHRISTIAN RIGHT ACTORS IN EUROPE

US Anti-Gender Actors	Presence in Europe	Total spend from 2008 to 2019
Billy Graham Evangelistic Association	Office in United Kingdom, Prayer 'crusades' across Europe	USD23.8 million*
ADF International	Offices in Brussels, Geneva, London, Strasbourg, Vienna,	USD23.3 million
ACLJ: ECLJ, SCLJ & Oxford	Offices in London, Moscow, and Strasbourg	USD15.7 million
The Federalist Society	Via European partners	USD5.9 million
Human Life International	Office in Rome, Via European partners	USD4 million
Cato Institute	Via European partners	USD3 million
Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty	Office in Rome	USD2.3 million
World Youth Alliance	Office in Brussels	USD1.4 million
Heritage Foundation	Via European partners	USD1 million
The Leadership Institute	Via European partners and workshops in Europe	USD0.8 million
<b>Sub-total USA</b>		<b>USD81.3 million</b>

\* Funding data for the BGEA only covers 2009-2014 as in 2014 it registered as a religious organisation and was no longer required to submit financial information according to US law.

Brotherhood, the Ku Klux Klan and the Proud Boys as a designated 'hate group' for its positions against LGBTQI rights [19], and the Council of Europe rejected ADF International for Participatory Status in 2018 as it does not "respect and defend the values and principles of the Council of Europe" [20].

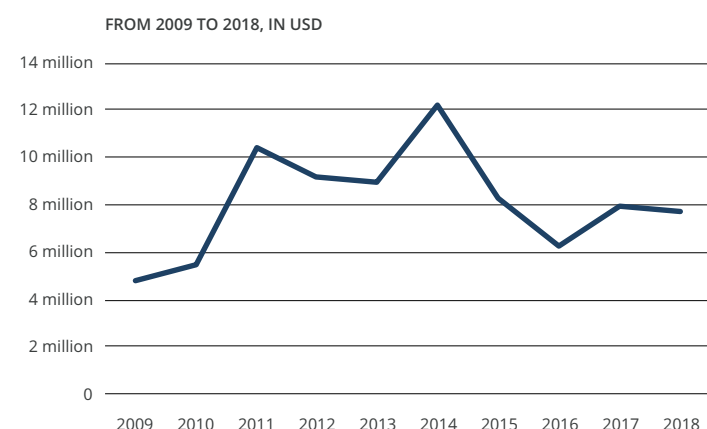
Both ADF International and the ECLJ specialise in legal advocacy and thus fill a specific niche in the European anti-gender landscape, that of 'SRR lawfare' [21]. Sexual and reproductive rights (SRR) lawfare builds on the US Christian Right's experience of attempting to provoke a desired change through the courts or other quasi-adjudicatory mechanisms. It is for this reason that the offices of ADF International and the ECLJ are located in Europe's hubs for international human rights institutions: Brussels (the EU), Geneva (United Nations), Strasbourg (Council of Europe, ECHR, European Parliament) and Vienna (United Nations, Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe). Van de Eynde notes that the increase in conservative activism

around the European courts is largely attributable to these two US organisations [22]. Together, ADF International and the ECLJ spent USD39 million in 2009–2018 and have been involved in over 35 cases before the ECHR to undermine human rights within the European legal order. Why the ECHR grants such US groups with well-established anti-human rights track records permission to submit legal briefs to it remains a mystery.

Other US Christian Right advocacy organisations active in Europe include the Leadership Institute (<https://www.leadershipinstitute.org/>), established in Arlington, Virginia in 1987 and known in the US for training Tea Party activists [23]. In Europe, the Leadership Institute organises training for ultra-conservative and far-right audiences [24] such as the Spanish Hazte Oir and members of TFP (see Chapter 3), helping them professionalise ultra-conservative fundraising operations in Europe. The Acton Institute (<https://www.acton.org/>) is a conservative US think tank established in 1990 in Grand Rapids, Michigan dedicated to religious-inspired individual and economic freedom. From its office in Rome, the Acton Institute co-sponsors of the Agenda Europe summits and, according to Greenpeace, in its pursuit of economic freedom also intends "to counter evangelical Christians who have publicly expressed the need to address climate change with urgency" [25].

Human Life International (HLI) (<https://www.hli.org/>), established in the Washington, DC area of Virginia in 1996 with offices in Rome since 1998, describes itself as "the world's largest global pro-life apostolate, with an active network in nearly 100 countries" [26]. A creation of far-right Catholic priests, HLI has staff members who stated that "homosexuals reproduce by molesting children" [27]. It supports far-right, anti-abortion actors in Europe by "distributing books, films, audio, photographs, and other materials to expose the 'dangers' of contraception and abortion" [28]. The World Youth

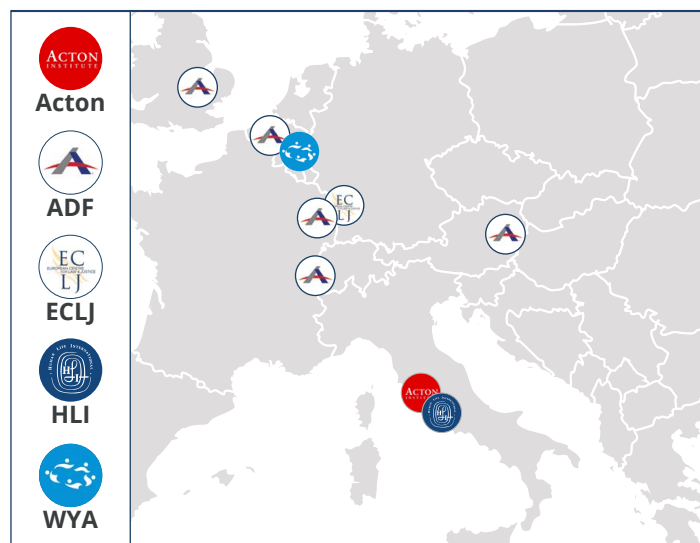
## TOTAL US CHRISTIAN RIGHT FUNDING IN EUROPE



Alliance (WYA) (<https://www.wya.net/>) is an NGO founded in 2002 in New York with regional chapters for Europe, Africa, Asia/Oceania, the Middle East, Latin America and North America and an EU representation office in Brussels. Despite its name, there are few young people in its governing body, which instead comprises global Catholic elites [29]. WYA specialises in offering a socially conservative voice on youth, in which sexuality is conspicuously absent from young people's transition to adulthood. One of the WYA's flagship projects is Fertility Education and Medical Management (FEMM) [30], a fertility tracking app which has the dubious honour of being "the first ideologically aligned fertility app", featuring "claims from medical advisers who are not licensed to practice in the US" [31].

In addition to the advocacy NGOs, three powerful US ultra-conservative think tanks established in the 1970s and 1980s in Washington, DC are active in Europe. These are the Cato Institute (<https://www.cato.org/>), the Federalist Society (<https://fedsoc.org/>) and the Heritage Foundation (<https://www.heritage.org/>). These think tanks produce extensive material against abortion rights, LGBTQI rights (arguing that the protection of LGBTQI persons goes against religious freedom) and against publicly funded common goods such as health care and education (thus, they oppose 'Obamacare' and promote privatised education). The Heritage Foundation specifically boasts that "out of the over 8,000 think tanks that exist worldwide, The Heritage Foundation has consistently been ranked No. 1 in the world for our impact on public policy" [32]. The Federalist Society organises events and publishes material against abortion rights – for example, *The*

## US CHRISTIAN RIGHT IN EUROPE



● ADF has offices in London, Brussels, Strasbourg, Geneva and Vienna; ECLJ has offices in Strasbourg; Acton and HLI have offices in Rome; WYA-Europe has an office in Brussels.

*Feminist Case against Abortion*, and supports the existence of biased 'crisis pregnancy centres' based on freedom of speech. It engages in Europe through the Agenda Europe network and "organized and participated in high-level conferences in Central and Eastern Europe for members of the Federalist Society's European Judicial Network".<sup>1</sup> Overall, the three think tanks call for limited government and thus see developments in Europe as a cautionary counter-model.

## US CHRISTIAN RIGHT 'MEGA-DONORS' FOOTPRINT IN EUROPE

US Christian Right 'Mega-donor' and their net worth	US Anti-Gender Private Foundation	Total ten year spend	Anti-gender activism in Europe
Anonymous (a collection of donor advised funds)	Donors Trust (Donors Capital Fund)	USD400 million	Acton Institute, Cato Institute, Federalist Society, Heritage Foundation,
Anonymous (a collection of donor advised funds)	National Christian Foundation	USD1.57 billion	ADF
Charles Koch (USD50 billion)	Charles Koch Foundation	USD575 million	Acton Institute, Federalist Society
DeVos Family (USD5.4 billion)	Four DeVos Foundations	USD691 million	Acton Institute, Federalist Society
Knights of Columbus (USD185 million)	Chiaroscuro Foundation	USD44 million	Acton Institute, HLI, WYA
Prince Family (USD5.1 billion)	Prince Foundation	USD49.8 million	Acton Institute, ADF, Leadership Institute
Templeton Family (USD13 billion)	Templeton Foundation	USD1.6 billion	Acton Institute

<sup>1</sup> The Federalist Society staff members who are members of Agenda Europe are James Kelly and Paul Zimmerman. See <https://fedsoc.org/staff/james-kelly-iii> and <https://fedsoc.org/contributors/paul-zimmerman> and a list of Agenda Europe members 2016.

Taken all together, the 10 US Christian Right organisations and foundations have channelled over USD81.3 million to Europe over a 10-year period, with an average spend increasing from USD4.7 million in 2009 to USD7.7 million in 2018.

## 1.2 US CHRISTIAN RIGHT FOUNDATIONS AND MEGA-DONORS

While the NGOs, think tanks and religious organisations are the visible face of the US anti-gender activism in Europe, they themselves depend on benefactors further upstream, namely conservative Christian foundations and their billionaire backers. The importance of these US Christian foundations and their billionaire backers first came to attention in Europe when a multinational team of journalists looked at the European anti-gender actors and how much they declared in funding for lobbying the EU Institutions. The team further looked at the original benefactors in the United States and identified a series of influential conservative foundations associated with US billionaires who were principal funders of the US Christian Right [33].

While there are many conservative foundations which fund the US Christian Right movement, there are at least seven which leave a footprint in Europe: the DeVos family foundations, the Charles Koch Foundation, the Chiaroscuro Foundation, the National Christian Foundation, the Donors Trust, the Prince Foundation, and the Templeton Foundation. These influential conservative US foundations are associated with ‘mega-donors’ such as US billionaires the Koch brothers, the DeVos family and the Prince family, as well as other economic elites and religious movements.

For example, the DeVos family, the 88th richest family in the United States [34], included Betsy DeVos as Secretary for Education in the Trump administration [35]. The DeVos family has created several foundations which fund a “Christian Right cultural and social agenda”, including by using “their money and influence to contribute to a conservative infrastructure, including think tanks, astroturf organisations and policy advocacy groups” [36]. Best

known for aiming to privatise education, undermining unions, and their stance against LGBTQI equality, the DeVos family foundations support a series of anti-gender organisations.<sup>2</sup> Betsy DeVos is the daughter of billionaires Edgar and Elsa Prince Broekhuizen, who established the Prince Foundation, which has funded many anti-gender organisations,<sup>3</sup> and Elsa Prince Broekhuizen has served on their boards.<sup>4</sup> These DeVos and Prince-funded organisations are now active in Europe through US Christian Right NGOs and think tanks.

The Koch brothers, with an estimated net worth of USD50 billion each, are credited with having fostered the growth of hard-right politics in the United States [37]. Indeed, “Charles Koch has been committed to radically changing American society into a libertarian paradise, free from taxes and regulations, in which the wealthiest oligarchs, like himself, can destroy the environment, exploit workers, and reap astonishing profits” [38]. In addition, the Koch brothers fund a number of other organisations “that have argued against reproductive rights in amicus briefs at the [US] Supreme Court” [39]. While the mega-donors and their foundations rarely fund activities in Europe directly, some European groups have set up US shell entities so that US funding can reach European shores. One such example is the British alt-right media outfit Spiked! Online, which is leading the transphobic and ‘alt-feminist’ discourse in the UK [40], which established Spiked! US to allow for the Koch foundations to fund it directly [41].



► Betsy DeVos, US Secretary for Education 2016–2020.

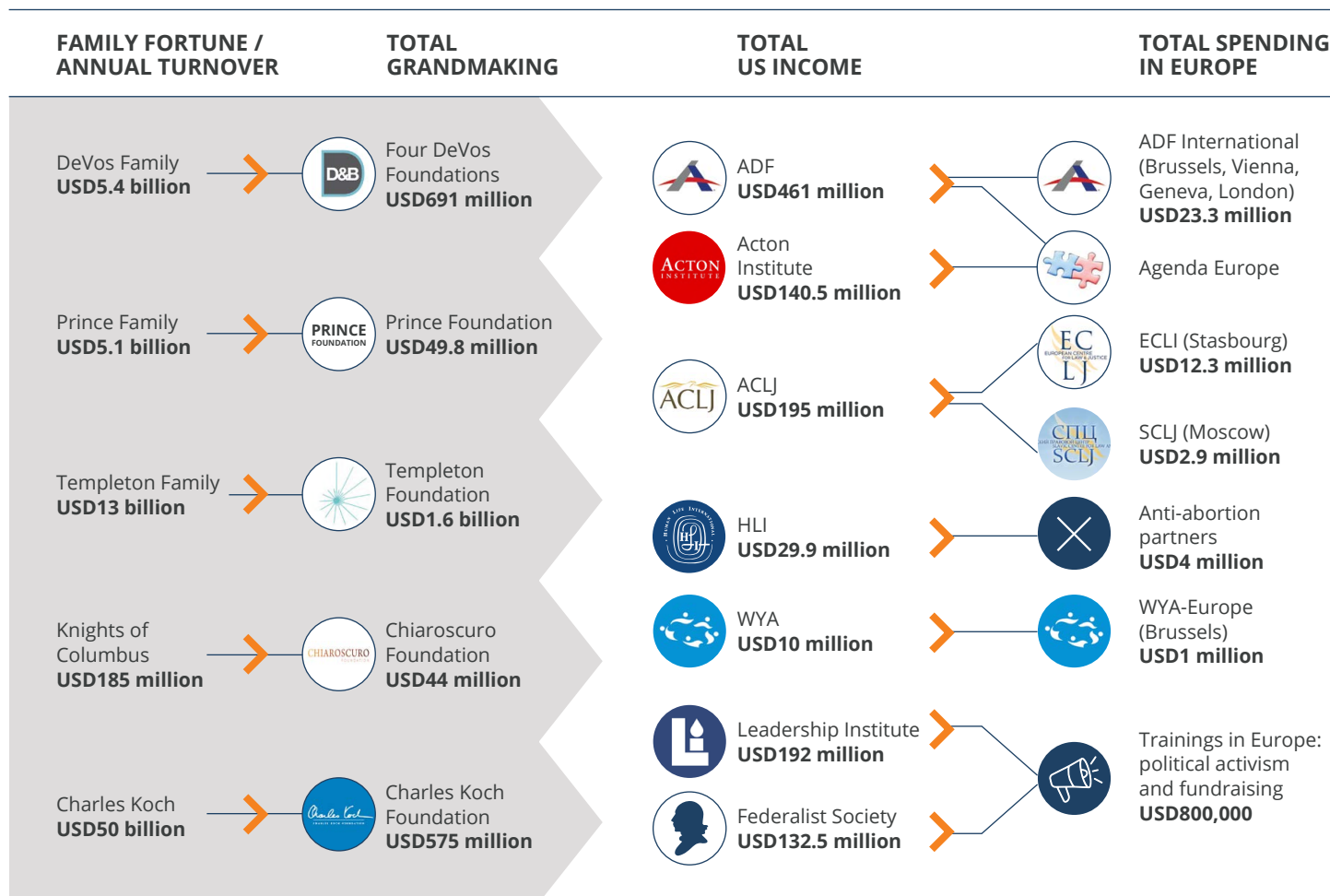
Source: Flickr / © Gage Skidmore

<sup>2</sup> These include ADF, the Acton Institute, the National Organization for Marriage and conservative think tanks such as the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Foundation.

<sup>3</sup> These include ADF, the Family Research Council (both considered ‘hate groups’; see <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/family-research-council>), Focus on Family (see <https://www.hrc.org/resources/10-things-you-should-know-about-focus-on-the-family>), the Leadership Institute and the Acton Institute.

<sup>4</sup> Elsa Prince Broekhuizen served on the Boards of the following anti-gender organisations: Family Research Council, Focus on Family and the Acton Institute. See Jeff Smith, Funding the Religious and Political Far Right: The Edgar & Elsa Prince Foundation, Grand Rapids Institute for Information Democracy (GRIID), 17 March 2019, <https://griid.org/2019/03/17/funding-the-religious-and-political-far-right-the-edgar-elsa-prince-foundation/>.

## SELECTED US CHRISTIAN FUNDING FLOWS TO EUROPE FROM 2009 TO 2018



The Chiaroscuro Foundation (<https://www.chiaroscurofnd.org/>), established in 2007 in New York as the funding arm of the Catholic lay movement the Knights of Columbus [42], counts the WYA as its largest grantee, receiving over USD2.4 million between 2009 and 2018. The Chiaroscuro Foundation's other grantees include the Center for Family and Human Rights (C-Fam), which lobbies at the United Nations against human rights, abortion rights and LGBTQI rights and whose president stated, "the hard-left, human-hating people that run modern universities should be taken out and shot" [43], as well as the Howard Center (which organises the WCF) and the Acton Institute. Sean Fieler, the Chair of the Chiaroscuro Foundation, which *Business Insider* ranked as the 11th most influential political donor in 2015 [44] "has personally contributed nearly USD18 million to political candidates and causes that align with his anti-choice, anti-LGBT, and pro-theocracy views"

[45]. Fieler is also involved in a range of hard-right and ultra-conservative entities [46] and "created a pass-through entity for funding extreme Catholic and Christian groups, and has laid the foundation for a policy center that appears intended to influence the Republican Party to bring ultra-conservative views to the center of its policies" [47].

Freedom for All Americans (FAA) provides a detailed overview [48] of ADF's extensive funding relationships with US Christian Right donors, including from the National Christian Foundation, one of the largest anonymous conservative donor-advised funds<sup>5</sup> in the United States, as well as the Templeton Foundation. The Donors Trust (formerly Donors Capital Fund), another donor-advised fund, funds "more than 1000 conservative and libertarian groups" [49], including those active in Europe such as the Acton Institute, the Cato Institute,

<sup>5</sup> A donor-advised fund is a charitable giving vehicle administered by a public charity created to manage charitable donations on behalf of organisations, families or individuals. To participate in a donor-advised fund, a donating individual or organisation opens an account in the fund and deposits cash, securities or other financial instruments. They surrender ownership of anything they put in the fund, but retain advisory privileges over how their account is invested, and how it distributes money to charities. See the US Internal Revenue Service's definition of a donor-advised fund at <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/charitable-organizations/donor-advised-funds>.



and the Heritage Foundation. Such donor-advised funds “are favorite funding vehicles of Republican billionaire families such as the DeVoses, Kochs, and Mercers” [50], as they provide anonymity, as well as a tax break allowing them to support their conservative, anti-gender, and libertarian causes, recently expanding to White Nationalism [51].

In 2020, a group of US Democratic Senators published a scathing report [52] on the legal situation facing the Affordable Care Act (also known as ‘ObamaCare’) and reproductive rights in the United States, detailing how “a network of wealthy donors has funded a flotilla of organisations to make their case in the courts and has spent millions to support nominations of judges friendly to their agenda” [53]. Their efforts have resulted in the significant erosion of access to health care – and, specifically, reproductive health – in the United States. Among these wealthy donors are the same families that have funded US anti-gender actors active in Europe, including the Koch brothers and the DeVos and Prince families.

## SNAPSHOT OF US CHRISTIAN RIGHT FUNDING IN EUROPE

- Funding from US Christian Right actors active in Europe has nearly doubled from USD4.7 million to USD7.7 million annually to reach a 10-year total of USD81.3 million.
- US Christian Right funding in Europe comes from US NGOs and think tanks funded by US foundations which are themselves the creation of US right-wing billionaires. The number of actors has increased from 8 to 10.
- ADF International and the ECLJ have built up a Christian Right legal infrastructure in Europe, with offices in all the continent’s human rights decision-making hubs serving as a launch pad to engage in over 35 cases before European courts to undermine human rights since 2013.
- Methodologically, the figures for the United States are accurate and complete; they are all available on the database of the US Internal Revenue Service (IRS).

<sup>6</sup> Grégor Puppink, European Centre for Law and Justice, 25 July 2012, <https://www.wnd.com/2012/07/transgender-marriage-up-next/>.

<sup>7</sup> Claire Provost and Nandini Archer, Revealed: USD280m ‘dark money’ spent by US Christian Right groups globally, Open Democracy, 27 October 2020, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/trump-us-christian-spending-global-revealed/>.

<sup>8</sup> Cole Parke, Political Research Associates, Franklin Graham: Falwell Prodigy, Putin Lover, and Trump Fan, 7 January 2016, <https://www.politicalresearch.org/2016/01/07/franklin-graham-falwell-prodigy-putin-lover-and-trump-fan>.

<sup>9</sup> Claire Provost and Nandini Archer, US Christian anti-LGBTQI ‘hate group’ spent more than USD20m in Europe, Open Democracy, 27 October 2020, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/us-christian-anti-lgbt-20m-europe/>.

<sup>10</sup> Cole Parke, Political Research Associates, Franklin Graham: Falwell Prodigy, Putin Lover, and Trump Fan, 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Tatev Hovhannisyan, Revealed: Trump’s top lawyer funds Putin-linked religious lobbyists in Russia, Open Democracy, 30 October 2020, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/revealed-trump-lawyer-funds-putin-linked-religious-lobbyists-russia/>.

<sup>13</sup> Grégor Puppink and Delphine Loiseau, NGOs and the Judges of the ECHR 2009 – 2019, ECLJ, 2020, <https://static.eclj.org/pdf/ECLJ+Report%2C+NGOs+and+the+Judges+of+the+ECHR%2C+2009+-+2019%2C+February+2020.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> Mark Ellis, The Populist Assault on the Rule of Law, Civil Society and George Soros, Jurist, 8 April 2020, <https://www.jurist.org/commentary/2020/04/mark-ellis-populist-assault-on-the-rule-of-law/>.

<sup>15</sup> Political Research Associates, Profile on the Right: Alliance Defending Freedom, 7 April 2017, <https://www.politicalresearch.org/2017/02/07/profile-on-the-right-alliance-defending-freedom>.

<sup>16</sup> See [https://www.euractiv.com/content\\_providers/adf-international/](https://www.euractiv.com/content_providers/adf-international/).

<sup>17</sup> See <https://adfinternational.org/advocacy-team-and-advisory-council/>.

<sup>18</sup> Ute Leimgruber, Hostility toward Gender in Catholic and Political Right-Wing Movements, Religions, 2020, 11(6): 301, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11060301>.

<sup>19</sup> See <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/groups>.

<sup>20</sup> Communication to the Committee of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, Implementation of Committee of Ministers’ Resolution (2016)3 on participatory status for international non-governmental organisations with the Council of Europe, SG/Inf(2018)22, 29 June 2018.

<sup>21</sup> A. Yamin, N. Datta and X. Andion, Behind the Drama: the roles of transnational actors in legal mobilization over sexual and reproductive rights, Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law, 2018, 19(3), Georgetown University Law Center, <https://go.gale.com/ps/anonymouse?id=GALE%7CA547694185&sid=googleScholar&v=2.1&it=r&linkaccess=abs&issn=15256146&p=AONE&sw=w>.

<sup>22</sup> Laura Van de Eynde, An Empirical Look at the Amicus Curiae Practice of Human Rights NGOs Before the European Court of Human Rights, Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights, 2013, 31: 271.



- <sup>23</sup> Leadership Institute, Leadership Institute and Tea Party Patriots to Launch Online Activist Training July 4th, 2 July 2010, <https://www.leadership-institute.org/news/?NR=3433>.
- <sup>24</sup> Adam Ramsay and Joni Hess, Undercover with the US conservatives who trained Mike Pence, Open Democracy, 31 October 2020, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/undercover-us-conservatives-who-trained-mike-pence/>.
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- <sup>26</sup> See <https://www.hli.org/about-us/our-mission/>.
- <sup>27</sup> Political Research Associates, Profile on the Right: Human Life International (HLI), 8 May 2018, <https://www.politicalresearch.org/2018/05/08/profile-on-the-right-human-life-international-hli>.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup> See the composition of the WYA's Board at <https://www.wya.net/about-wya/leadership/>.
- <sup>30</sup> See the WYA's article 'Dear Sisters, Take Control of your Health!' at <https://www.wya.net/op-ed/dear-sisters-take-control-of-your-health/>.
- <sup>31</sup> Jessica Glenza, Revealed: women's fertility app is funded by anti-abortion campaigners, The Guardian, 30 May 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/30/revealed-womens-fertility-app-is-funded-by-anti-abortion-campaigners>.
- <sup>32</sup> The Heritage Foundation, About Heritage, <https://www.heritage.org/about-heritage/mission>.
- <sup>33</sup> Blaž Zgaga (Nacional) and Michael Bird, with contributions by Manuel Rico and Ángel Munárriz (Infolibre), as well as Roeland Termote and Stijn Cools (De Standaard), Groups linked to Pro-Life cause, Catholic Church in EU allocate €2.1 to €3.1m annually to lobby EU, 9 July 2019, <https://www.nacional.hr/groups-linked-to-pro-life-cause-catholic-church-in-eu-allocate-e2-1-to-e3-1m-annually-to-lobby-eu/>.
- <sup>34</sup> Forbes, 2018 billionaires net worth, #351 Richard DeVos & family, <https://www.forbes.com/profile/richard-devos/#4bd4b2c1ff44>.
- <sup>35</sup> Chase Peterson-Withorn, Inside Betsy DeVos' Billions: Just How Rich Is The Education Secretary?, Forbes, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/chasewithorn/2019/07/24/inside-betsy-devos-billions-just-how-rich-is-the-education-secretary/#59434f6d3b0e>.
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- <sup>39</sup> Democratic Policy and Communications Committee, What's at stake: health care and reproductive rights: How the Right-wing Capture of Our Courts Threatens Health Care and Reproductive Rights for Millions of Americans Captured Courts, September 2020, <https://www.democrats.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/FINAL%20DPCC%20Captured%20Courts%20Health%20Care%20and%20Reproductive%20Rights%20Report.pdf>.
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- <sup>41</sup> George Monbiot, How US billionaires are fuelling the hard-right cause in Britain, The Guardian, 7 December 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/dec/07/us-billionaires-hard-right-britain-spiked-magazine-charles-david-koch-foundation>.
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- <sup>43</sup> Julian Borger and Liz Ford, Revealed: the fringe rightwing group changing the UN agenda on abortion rights, The Guardian, 16 May 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/may/16/cfam-rightwing-white-house-anti-abortion-un>.
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- <sup>46</sup> See profile on Sean Fieler on LittleSis at [https://littlesis.org/person/69447-Sean\\_M\\_Fieler](https://littlesis.org/person/69447-Sean_M_Fieler).
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- <sup>51</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>52</sup> Democratic Policy and Communications Committee, 2020.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid.

## 2

# A RAIN OF ROUBLES FROM THE EAST <sup>[54]</sup>

**“Russia benefits when, in countries with a certain social consensus, more citizens start doubting the system – on abortion, the family, the freedom to choose education or home-schooling, the supposed power of the gay lobby – as all become possible weapons of division.” <sup>[55]</sup>**

Russia has emerged as a major power centre in global anti-gender mobilisation, with corresponding Russian financial backing for a range of anti-gender actors across the world. As Marlène LaRuelle explains, over the past decade Russia has positioned itself as the global champion of Christian values, and with that comes a defence of Christian teachings on sexuality and reproduction <sup>[56]</sup>. This new role as an Orthodox Christian Champion serves several simultaneous purposes, namely as a shield to deflect human rights criticism from the West (or what are perceived as Western-dominated institutions), and to offer

❖ **Vladimir Yakunin, the Russian ‘anti-Soros’ (seated left). “Yakunin’s ambition is to become the Anti-Soros, the organiser of anti-liberal politics on a global scale. He creates a communicative environment linking various directions of anti-globalism, Christian conservatism, anti-liberalism and anti-Americanism.”**



Source: Wikipedia / © Rhodes Forum 2014

itself as an authentic alternative to a perceived hegemonic West which has turned its back on its Christian heritage. Anti-gender discourses thus play an important role in Russia’s domestic policymaking and political legitimisation, as well as in its international geopolitical positioning. Adopting anti-gender positions also opens the possibility for new alliances with like-minded actors beyond Russia’s borders or those with similar axes to grind with the West. Russian anti-gender financial support takes three routes: private Russian actors taking up the anti-gender cause; dark money channelled to political actors through ‘laundromats’; and State-funded government agencies. While it not possible to quantify the volume of dark funding from Russian laundromats or state agencies, Russian oligarch funding accounted for USD188.2 million in 2009–2018.

## 2.1 RUSSIAN ORTHODOX OLIGARCHS’ INFLUENCE FACTORIES

Private actors aligned out of personal conviction, patriotism, and commercial interests with the political ambitions of the Kremlin have been the primary channel of Russian influence and funding into the global anti-gender movement. Described as a ‘parallel State’, Russian authorities highlight the “legal boundary between an official government project and a private effort whatever the connection between two” <sup>[57]</sup>. Two such private actors are oligarchs Vladimir Yakunin and Konstantin Malofeev, who stand out for their leadership in the global anti-gender landscape. Both magnates were at one point close to the Kremlin and supporters of Russia’s

emergence as a global defender of Christian values, albeit with different approaches. They are connected in Russia through the Patriarchal Commission for the Family, the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood (see Chapter 7.3) and globally through the WCF. Both oligarchs feature on the list of Russian citizens sanctioned by Western powers for their role in the annexation of Crimea and rebellion in eastern Ukraine. Both have established a series of foundations, think tanks and media outlets which act as ‘influence factories’. Their ideological inspirations are what distinguish them, with Vladimir Yakunin inspired by Samuel Huntington’s *Clash of Civilizations* (1996) [58], while Konstantin Malofeev turns to Alexandre Dugin’s Eurasian school of thinking [59].

The first oligarch, Vladimir Yakunin, is best known for his role as the former head of Russian Railways, with an estimated net worth up to USD1 billion and close to Vladimir Putin to the point where he was considered a potential successor [60]. Vladimir Yakunin “is beyond any doubt one of those who contributed to the conservative turn of Putin” [61]. To achieve his conservative objectives, Yakunin’s influence factory comprises the Istoki Endowment Fund, two foundations (the St. Andrew the First-Called Foundation and the Centre for National Glory) and a think tank, the Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute, and maintains extensive relations with academic institutions and business circles.

The Istoki Endowment Fund (<https://istoki-foundation.org/en/>), established in 2013 in Moscow, aims to “strengthen spiritual grounds of the Russian society, moral education based on Orthodoxy” [62]. As such, Istoki benefits from Yakunin’s initial

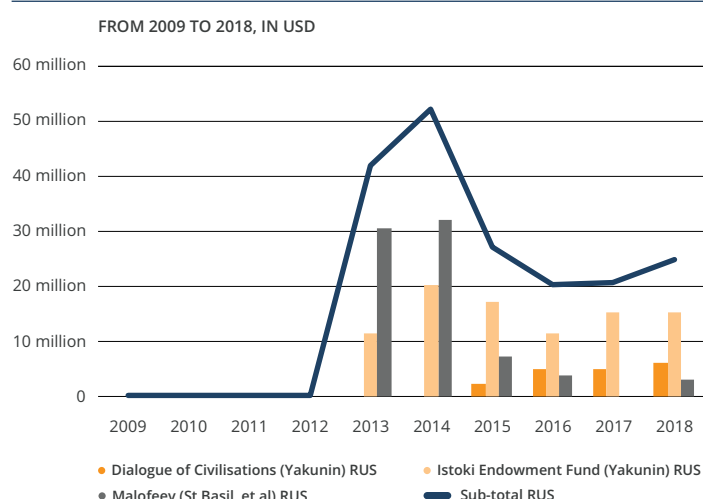
capital, supplemented by donations from the Russian private sector [63] reaching over USD15 million in 2018. With this funding, Yakunin then funds the work of the two foundations, including the ‘Sanctity of Motherhood’ programme run by his wife, Natalia Yakunina. This programme provided €200,000 for anti-abortion conferences and biased abortion counselling in Russia and Eastern Europe in 2015 and 2016 [64]. Natalia Yakunina is a frequent VIP speaker at the WCF [65], which “enables Yakunin to enter in a dialogue with pro-family conservative organisations and alliances in Europe” [66].

Yakunin’s Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute (<https://doc-research.org/>), established in 2015 and headquartered in Berlin, organises an annual international forum on the Greek island of Rhodes designed to promote the idea of respective ‘civilisations’ as the founding pillars of the global order, themselves based on cultural and religious roots, in the case of Russia serving as the core State of the ‘Orthodox civilisation’. These annual meetings serve to provide legitimacy to the Russian Orthodox Christian conservative worldview. Regularly attracting several international anti-gender actors to the Rhodes forum [67], “one thing that seems to unite a good chunk of the participants, however, is a belief that those problems can all somehow be blamed on US and EU policies. By coincidence or not, that fits neatly with the Kremlin narrative” [68].

A high point in Russia’s leadership in the international anti-gender movement was meant to take place in 2014 when the WCF was planned to gather in Moscow, inside the Kremlin Palace [69]. However, the international sanctions imposed on Russia in 2014 forced the WCF organisers to rebrand the standard WCF [70] as the ‘Large Families and the Future of Humanity Forum’ [71] but maintain the same dates, location, speakers and participants. Shaltai-Boltai, a Russian version of wiki-leaks, leaked documents related to the conference’s organisation [72] which revealed Yakunin’s St. Andrew the First-Called Foundation to be a major funder of the event through its sponsorship of numerous participants, including Western anti-gender leaders. This was a first proof of financial links between Russian and Western anti-gender actors ranging from civil society organisations to parliamentarians and ministers.<sup>6</sup>

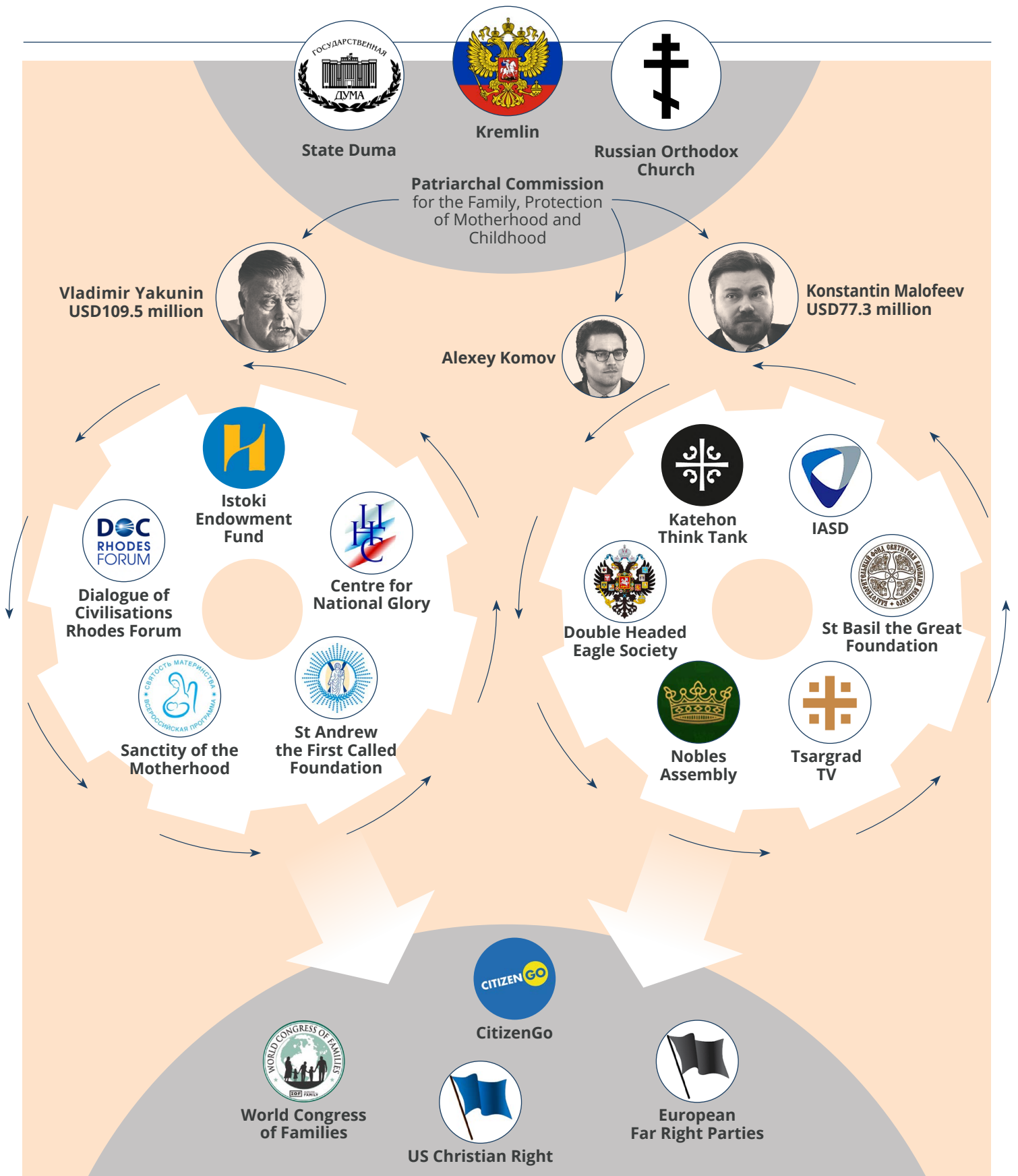
Overall, Yakunin presents the respectable, soft-power version of the Kremlin’s geopolitical diplomacy wherein gender plays a central role in defining ‘traditional civilisations’ versus Western civilisation. Through these entities, “Vladimir Yakunin has belonged to a small group of people who have selected European politicians, businessmen, experts, and journalists, considered to be eligible for co-operation with the Kremlin” [73].

## RUSSIAN ANTI-GENDER OLIGARCH FUNDING IN EUROPE



<sup>6</sup> The participants listed as being sponsored by the St. Andrew the First-Called Foundation include: Ministers: Katalin Novák, Minister of State for Family Affairs of Hungary; Parliaments: Aymeric Chauprade, MEP, France; Maria Kollia-Tsaroucha, Vice-speaker, Greek Parliament; from civil society: Marije Zivkovic, Family Center, Croatia; Fabrice Sorlin, WCF Representative, France; Patrick Buckley, Ireland, European Life Network and UN Representative of the UK Society for the Protection of Unborn Children (SPUC); Antonio Brandi, Pro Vita Onlus, Italy; Ewa Kowalewska, Human Life International, Poland; Ignacio Arsuaga, HazteOir.org and CitizenGO, Spain; Benjamin Harris-Quinney, The Bow Group, UK; and Alex van Vuuren, Stichting Schreeuw om Leven, the Netherlands.

## RUSSIAN OLIGARCHS' INFLUENCE FACTORIES





The other oligarch is Konstantin Malofeev, founder of Marshall Capital investment firm, with an estimated wealth of USD225 million, who plays the hard-power role in supporting the Kremlin's outreach. Malofeev established several entities which have become key players in the anti-gender landscape, including the St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation, the think tank Katehon and Tsargrad TV, an online Christian Orthodox news portal modelled on the US Fox News Channel [74]. Tsargrad TV "zombifies Russian viewers, spreading religious obscurantism, xenophobia, and hatred of democracy and human rights" [75] and gained international attention when it ran a homophobic advert offering a one-way ticket out of Russia to anyone who "can provide a medical certificate proving that they are sodomites or have other forms of perversion" [76].

As one of the largest private charity foundations in Russia [77], the St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation (<http://fondsvv.ru/>), established in Moscow in 2007, devotes much of its resources to lobbying to remove abortion from health insurance, banning medical abortion (described as 'baby-kaput pills'), forcing women to listen to the heartbeat of their foetus if considering an abortion, and developing a network of crisis pregnancy centres [78], among other religious and patriotic activities. Another area of the foundation's work is to support the National Aid Center to Lost and Injured Children, which includes partnering with the leader of Russia's Chechen Republic, Ramzan Khadyrov, who is alleged to have organised 'LGBTQI purges' in 2019 [79].

The think tank Katehon (<https://katehon.com/>), established in 2016, features the works of far-right authors [80] and is also "considered one of the instruments for Russian interference in the West" [81], appearing regularly in EU monitoring of Russia-linked disinformation efforts [82], while the US State Department describes Katehon as "a proliferator of virulent anti-Western disinformation and propaganda" [83]. Most recently, in November 2020, Malofeev announced the creation of a new public movement, also called Tsargrad. The Tsargrad public movement, which Malofeev claims already has almost a million members, would act as a watchdog on Russian politics and plans to survey "all candidates of the political parties regarding their adherence to 'traditional family, religious, and cultural values of the Russian people'" in the run-up to the 2021 parliamentary elections [84].

Malofeev is active internationally to the point that "US intelligence services consider him as Putin's right arm for operations of political interference in Europe" [85]. One example includes a secret meeting Malofeev convened in Vienna in 2014 which gathered European far-right political leaders<sup>7</sup> and several social and economic elites<sup>8</sup> to commemorate the 200th

◆ **Konstantin Malofeev, the far-right Russian oligarch. "Now Christian Russia can help liberate the West from the new liberal anti-Christian totalitarianism of political correctness, gender ideology, mass-media censorship and neo-Marxist dogma." – Konstantin Malofeev, 2013 WCF in Sydney, Australia.**



anniversary of the 'Holy Alliance' between the Tsar of Russia and the Austrian and Prussian Emperors to remake Europe after Napoleon's defeat in 1815 [86]. A star speaker at the event was far-right ideologue Alexander Dugin, who "advocates the idea of Eurasianism, according to which Russia should unite the peoples of the Eurasian continent into a new empire directed against the West and liberalism" [87].

In addition, Malofeev is reputed to be a funder of the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS) [88], as well as President of the Double-Headed Eagle Society, a Russian monarchist society, which are both qualified as "Russia-based institutions that served to mask intelligence operations" [89]. When Bulgarian authorities discovered in 2019 that a Bulgarian parliamentarian was involved "with accepting payments for transferring Bulgarian state secrets" to these two organisations to sway the country towards more pro-Russian policies, they banned Malofeev from Bulgaria for 10 years [90].

Banned from Europe and much of the West, Malofeev has pivoted towards Africa as the Chair of the newly created International Agency for Sovereign Development (IASD) [91]. In this capacity, Malofeev will lead Russia's African outreach efforts following the 2019 Russia–Africa summit [92] which brought together political and economic leaders from Russia and over 40 African countries and addressed 'traditional values' among possible areas of partnership [93]. Russia has already been active in Africa, using

<sup>7</sup> Far-right politicians included Marion Maréchal Le Pen and Aymeric Chauprade of the French Front National, and Hans-Christian Strache of Austria's FPÖ. See <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/europa/treffen-der-rechten-in-wien-eurasische-internationale-12972620.html>.

<sup>8</sup> These included Fiat heiress Margherita Agnelli de Pahlen, her spouse Count Serge de Pahlen, Prince Zurab Chavchavadze and Prince Sixtus Henry of Bourbon-Parma. See <https://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/ausland/europa/gipfeltreffen-mit-putins-fuenfter-kolonne/story/30542701>.





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❖ On the left Allan C. Carlson founder and long-time International Secretary of the World Congress of Families, on the right: Alexey Komov, St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation, External Relations Officer of the Russian Orthodox Church, WCF Board Member.

anti-gender narratives to prop up challenged dictators. Such was the case of Sudan's now deposed President Bashir, who, when confronted with protests in 2018–2019, received advice from the Kremlin with a "Russian plan [which] involved spreading disinformation on social media, increasing the price of credible newspapers, and smearing protestors as 'anti-Islam', 'pro-Israel', 'pro-LGBT', 'looters'" [94]. Offering a mix of Soviet nostalgia, anti-Western sentiment and appeals to 'sovereignty', the objective of Malofeev's IASD is to forge business partnerships between Russia and African nations which bypass Western sanctions [95].

Another means of outreach for Malofeev's influence has been through interactions with anti-gender NGOs and far-right political parties in the Western world. Malofeev delegates this international outreach to Alexey Komov, who works for the St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation and is equally the external relations focal point for the Russian Orthodox Church (see Chapter 7). Outside Russia, Komov serves as the Russian representative to the WCF [96] and sits on the Board of CitizenGO [97]. He is a regular speaker among Europe's anti-gender movements and far-right political parties [98].

## 2.2 'LAUNDROMATS' TO SUPPORT FAR-RIGHT AND ANTI-GENDER ALLIES

The connections both oligarchs made with like-minded partners in Western Europe soon translated into practical financial support using what the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP) describes as 'laundromats', namely

"an all-purpose financial vehicle set up, typically by a bank or other financial services company, to help clients launder money, hide ownership, evade taxes or currency restrictions, embezzle or move money offshore" [99]. While such 'laundromats' served to channel money from Russia and other former Soviet Union countries to like-minded partners in Europe for an array of purposes, examples from France and Italy showcase how they contributed to anti-gender and far-right political parties in Europe.

Italy's *L'Espresso* exposed in 2018 how one such laundromat served to fuel the anti-gender movement beyond Russia's borders. A telling example is the *Fondazione Novae Terrae* (see Chapter 3) "that functions as a revolving door: it collects over one hundred thousand euros a month from the Russia-Azerbaijani offshore and redistributes them between Italy, Spain, Great Britain, the United States, Poland, Hungary, funding right-wing religious organisations and campaigns against abortion, divorce or gay marriage" [100]. Between 2012 and 2015, the *Fondazione Novae Terrae* benefited from €2.39 million from the Russian-Azerbaijani laundromat for favours at the Council of Europe and used it to support a homophobic European Citizens' Initiative (see Chapter 3.2) [101], as well as anti-gender organisations such as the Steven Bannon-linked *Dignitatis Humanae Institute* (DHI)<sup>9</sup>, the Irish *Iona Institute* and *CitizenGO* in Spain [102].

In France, *Mediapart* discovered how two French MEPs with the far-right *Rassemblement National* (RN) – one who attended the 2014 re-branded WCF in Moscow and another reputedly close to *Opus Dei* – negotiated loans worth €11 million where Konstantin Malofeev "played a role in unblocking the Russian loan obtained by Jean-Marie Le Pen, which financed the European election campaign (of 2014)" [103]. In return, the RN expressed its gratitude, as "pro-Russian lobbying [in the



Source: Wikipedia / © Vernon Sullivan

❖ Aymeric Chauprade, former French *Rassemblement National* MEP who participated in Moscow's Large Family Forum and negotiated a Russian loan with Malofeev in 2014.

<sup>9</sup> Luca Volontè was Chairman of the DHI at the time his foundation channelled illicit funding to it, see <http://www.dignitashumanae.com/index.php/italian-mp-luca-volonte-appointed-as-new-chairman-of-dhi/>.

European Parliament] intensified in the months preceding and immediately after the signing of the Russian loans” [104]. Yakunin for his part is reported to have made a secret contribution to Estonia’s Centre Party in 2011 and “has been expanding his transnational influence network in Berlin, Brussels and New York” [105].

More often, Russian financial connections with Western political parties are covert, as shown in *Il Libro Nero della Lega* [106], which details the extensive financial ties between power centres in the Kremlin and the Italian far-right party La Lega (which was in the government coalition in 2018–2019 and whose leader, Matteo Salvini, spoke at the 2019 WCF in Verona). It reveals how in 2018 La Lega negotiated complex financial arrangements with Russian actors close to the Kremlin on an oil deal involving Russian state oil company Rosneft selling discounted oil to Italian State-owned oil company Eni. The amount equivalent to the discount would then be provided to La Lega as a kickback. In short, “thanks to this deal with the Russians, the League would receive at least €250,000 a month for a year, that is €3 million in all, and will use this money for the [2019] European election campaign” [107].

Russian funding of far-right, populist political parties with an explicitly disruptive agenda in Western countries is well documented [108]. Marlène Laruelle described this approach as ‘bed-fellowing’ with the European far-right [109], whereas Anton

Shekhovtsov explains in *Tango Noir* how this approach is useful from Russia’s perspective, as many far-right politicians then take pro-Russian positions on a range of issues [110].

## 2.3 RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The Russian government has also created new public foundations to promote Russian values across the world and, given the government’s conservative ideological turn, also then contribute directly and indirectly to Russian-backed anti-gender soft diplomacy. These agencies include:

- the Alexander Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund [111] (which encourages a favourable climate for Russian public, political and business interests);
- Rossotrudnichestvo [112] (the Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States Affairs, Compatriots Living Abroad, and International Humanitarian Cooperation); and
- the Russkiy Mir Foundation [113] (which aims to reconnect members of the Russian community abroad with their homeland).

### RUSSIAN ANTI-GENDER ACTORS SPENDING IN EUROPE FROM 2009 TO 2018

Actors	Total ten year spend
<b>Oligarch Funding</b>	
Dialogue of Civilizations (Yakunin)	USD18.8 million
Istoki Endowment Fund (Yakunin)	USD90.6 million
Saint Andrew the First Called Foundation (Yakunin)	USD1.6 million
Saint Basil the Great Charitable Foundation (Malofeev)	USD77.3 million
<b>‘Laudromats’</b>	
Fondazione Novae Terrae (2012-2015)	€2.4 million
Rassemblement National (2014)	€11 million
La Lega (2018 - 2019)	€3 million
<b>Public Foundations</b>	
Alexander Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund	Unknown
International Agency for Sovereign Development (IASD)	Unknown
Rossotrudnichestvo	Unknown
Russkiy Mir Foundation	Unknown
<b>Sub-total (Russian Oligarch funding)</b>	<b>USD188.2 million</b>

## RUSSIAN ANTI-GENDER INFLUENCE IN EUROPE



**Vladimir Yakunin**

Funding to:

- **CitizenGO** in Madrid
- **DOC** in Berlin
- **Sanctity of Motherhood** in Serbia and Belarus
- **WCF** in Tbilisi, Chisinau, Budapest and Verona



**Konstantin Malofeev**

Funding to:

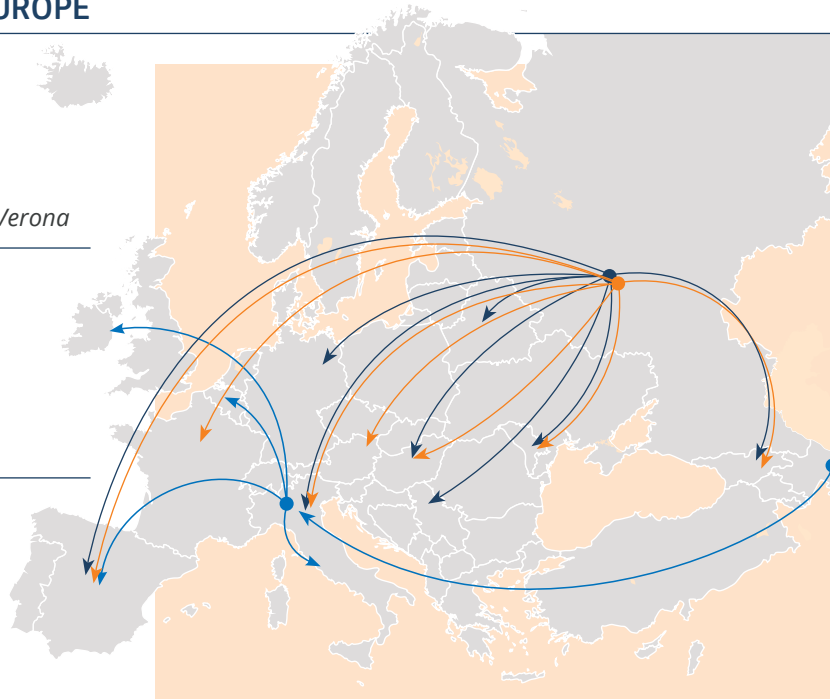
- **CitizenGO** in Madrid
- **La Manif Pour Tous** in Paris
- **Rassemblement National** in Paris
- **Vienna meeting** in Vienna
- **WCF** in Tbilisi, Chisinau, Budapest and Verona



**Luca Volontè**

€2.39 million from Russian-Azerbaijani laundromat to **Fondazione Novae Terrae** in Milan, funding:

- **Citizen GO** in Madrid
- **Dignitatis Humanae** in Rome
- **Iona Institute** in Dublin
- **Mum, Dad & Kids** in Brussels



Kateryna Smaglyi described these public foundations as “Moscow’s ideological subversion agencies” [114], while the German Marshall Fund asserts that these three agencies “provided at least USD1.5 million to more than 40 pro-Russian NGOs in the Baltic countries” [115]. The European People’s Party-affiliated Marten’s Centre outlined how several anti-gender funders hold important board functions on the Gorchakov Fund (Vladimir Yakunin) and Russkyi Mir (Vladimir Yakunin and Metropolitan Hilarion of the Russian Orthodox Church) [116].

## 2.4 PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS ON ANTI-GENDER FUNDING FROM RUSSIA

While much of Russian funding for anti-gender initiatives remains opaque, there is information on Yakunin’s and Malofeev’s influence factories which already secures Russia second place as a source of anti-gender funding totalling USD188.2 million between 2009 and 2018. Several trends emerge over the past decade of Russian anti-gender funding: first, the 2014 international sanctions on Russia have had a considerable impact, precipitating a noticeable decrease in funding resulting from a combination of limitations placed on Russian actors’ international activities, loss of reputation and travel restrictions, as well as a devaluation of the rouble. Another trend has been to engage with far-right political parties across the continent, specifically seeking to influence elections in Western Europe, namely the EU elections of 2014 and 2019, as well as national elections in France and Italy,

where Russian-funded far-right political parties used anti-gender narratives to polarise electorates. However, the German Marshall Fund has counted 115 cases of malign financial activity of political interference, of which the majority are Russian [117].

### SNAPSHOT OF RUSSIAN ANTI-GENDER FUNDING IN EUROPE

- Russian anti-gender funding appears suddenly in 2013 and quickly reaches over USD24 million annually, outpacing US Christian Right funding, reaching a 10-year total of USD188.2 million.
- Russian anti-gender funding in Europe comes from entities linked to two Russian oligarchs (Vladimir Yakunin and Konstantin Malofeev), dark-money laundromats and State-funded agencies.
- Anti-gender funding dovetails Russian geopolitical interests and objectives in Europe by supporting anti-EU, anti-liberal and anti-human rights actors and agendas. Narratives of sovereignty can resonate well with actors on the right to far-right, while decolonisation and Soviet nostalgia can be seductive to the far-left.
- Methodologically, the data for Russian funding are mixed. Financial data for the oligarchs’ entities are relatively complete and originate from Russian tax authorities. The data on laundromats are not transparent, and there are no financial data on the state agencies.

- <sup>54</sup> Taken from Paolo Biondani and Francesca Sironi, Pioggia di rubli ai cattoleghisti, *L'Espresso*, 16 November 2018, <https://espresso.repubblica.it/plus/articoli/2018/11/15/news/pioggia-di-rubli-ai-cattoleghisti-1.328658>.
- <sup>55</sup> Jordi Pérez Colomé, La conexión rusa de Hazte Oír – Los límites de las amistades internacionales de la organización conservadora son difíciles de delimitar, *El País*, 5 September 2017, [https://elpais.com/politica/2017/08/03/actualidad/1501774274\\_152047.html](https://elpais.com/politica/2017/08/03/actualidad/1501774274_152047.html).
- <sup>56</sup> Marlene Laruelle, Conservatism as the Kremlin's New Toolkit: an Ideology at the Lowest Cost, *Russian Analytical Digest* 138, 8 November 2013.
- <sup>57</sup> Maxim Trudolyubov, Vladimir Putin's Parallel State, *The Wilson Center*, 21 February 2018, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/vladimir-putins-parallel-state>.
- <sup>58</sup> Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, London: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- <sup>59</sup> Marlene Laruelle, Alexander Dugin and Eurasianism, in *Key Thinkers of the Radical Right: Behind the New Threat to Liberal Democracy*, edited by Mark Sedgwick, Oxford Scholarship Online, 2019.
- <sup>60</sup> Morozov, 2019.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>62</sup> Istoki Foundation, About the fund, <https://istoki-foundation.org/en/about-the-fund/>.
- <sup>63</sup> See the private-sector supporters at <https://istoki-foundation.org/en/we-thank-for-support/>.
- <sup>64</sup> 'Sanctity of Motherhood' programme (Программа «Святость материнства»); see <http://www.st-andrew-foundation.org/programmes/sanctity-of-motherhood-programme/> and <http://sm.cnsr.ru/>; and Endowment for St. Andrew the First-Called Foundation 2014–2016, Public Report 2014–2014, <http://www.st-andrew-foundation.org/english-documents-reports/>.
- <sup>65</sup> See Natalia Yakunina delivering the opening speech at WCF 2012 at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_J0vnTNtWZ4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_J0vnTNtWZ4); and *Mother Jones in 2014* at <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2014/02/world-congress-families-us-evangelical-russia-family-tree/>.
- <sup>66</sup> Morozov, 2019.
- <sup>67</sup> See Princess Gloria von Thurn und Taxis on the Supervisory Board of the Dialogue of Civilizations, and its annual reports for 2016 and 2017 at <https://doc-research.org/about-us/>; Christine de Marcellus de Vollmer of the Alliance for the Family as an expert for the Dialogue of Civilizations at <https://doc-research.org/author/christine-de-vollmer/>; and WCF organisers' 'Leadership Memo' to the 2017 Dialogue of Civilizations Rhodes Forum at <https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-leadership-memo-rhodes-forum-african-abortion/>.
- <sup>68</sup> Neil Buckley, Rhodes gathering blames the world's woes on the west, *Financial Times*, 5 October 2016, <https://www.ft.com/content/fc49d136-896d-11e6-8aa5-f79f5696c731>.
- <sup>69</sup> PRNewswire–US Newswire, Press Conference to Discuss World Congress of Families VIII, in Moscow, Russia, 4 February 2014, <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/press-conference-to-discuss-world-congress-of-families-viii-in-moscow-russia-september-10-12-2014-243490211.html>.
- <sup>70</sup> D. Feder, Planning for World Congress of Families VIII Suspended, *The Howard Center for Family, Religion, & Society*, Christian Newswire, 25 March 2014, <http://www.christiannewswire.com/news/372773850.html>.
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- <sup>72</sup> J. Lester Feder and Susie Armitage, Emails Show 'Pro-Family' Activists Feeding Contacts To Russian Nationalists, *BuzzFeed*, 8 December 2014, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeder/emails-show-pro-family-activists-feeding-contacts-to-russian#.mcz7Wx22zP>.
- <sup>73</sup> Morozov, 2019.
- <sup>74</sup> Thomas A. Fine, Tsargrad TV: The Fox News of Russia, *Medium*, <https://medium.com/@thomasafine/tsargrad-tv-the-fox-news-of-russia-5048c14fbd7>.
- <sup>75</sup> Yaroslav Lebedev, Moscow Dispatch: The Rise of Right-Wing Radicalism in Russia, *Covert Action Magazine*, 2 April 2020, <https://covertactionmagazine.com/2020/04/02/moscow-dispatch-the-rise-of-right-wing-radicalism-in-russia/>.
- <sup>76</sup> BBC, Russian TV offers gay people one-way tickets to leave, 30 June 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-40456443>.
- <sup>77</sup> Joshua Keating, God's Oligarch, *Slate*, 20 October 2014, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2014/10/konstantin-malofeev-one-of-vladimir-putins-favorite-businessmen-wants-to-start-an-orthodox-christian-fox-news-and-return-russia-to-its-glorious-czarist-past.html>.
- <sup>78</sup> Фонд святителя Василия Великого, Защита материнства, <http://fondsvv.ru/activity/article/zasita-materinstva>.
- <sup>79</sup> See the 2019 brochure of the National Aid Center to Lost and Injured Children, featuring Elena Milskeya of the St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation with Ramzan Khadyrov, Chechen Republic leader ([https://findchild.ru/files/uploads/1/kPSj32JWRM5XHlmgCdYzhZC\\_3l0jzsu.pdf](https://findchild.ru/files/uploads/1/kPSj32JWRM5XHlmgCdYzhZC_3l0jzsu.pdf)); and for LGBTQI 'purges', see <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/14/chechnya-two-dead-and-dozens-held-in-lgbt-purge-reports>.
- <sup>80</sup> Javier Galán and José Manuel Abad Liñán, La propaganda rusa crea webs para la ultraderecha española, *El País*, 1 January 2018, [https://elpais.com/politica/2017/12/29/actualidad/1514571739\\_505859.html](https://elpais.com/politica/2017/12/29/actualidad/1514571739_505859.html).
- <sup>81</sup> Paolo Mastrolilli and Gianluca Paolucci, A sanctioned Russian oligarch among Salvini's contacts, *La Stampa*, 12 July 2019, <https://www.lastampa.it/esteri/la-stampa-in-english/2019/07/12/news/a-sanctioned-russian-oligarch-among-salvini-s-contacts-1.36981458>.
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- <sup>104</sup> Agathe Duparc, La vraie histoire du financement russe de Le Pen, MediaPart, 2 May 2017.
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# 3

## HOME-GROWN RELIGIOUS EXTREMIST FUNDERS

While the impact of US Christian Right and Russian oligarchs in Europe is significant, funding from European anti-gender organisations such as foundations and NGOs provides an even greater contribution to the anti-gender movement. Understanding the European contribution to anti-gender mobilisations entails overcoming several challenges. First, there is no EU-wide requirement for financial transparency comparable to the United States or even the Russian Federation. The result is a fragmentation into national and linguistic siloes of the data which do exist. However, pooling together the extant information reveals that the major European funders are private foundations, NGOs, and similar structures such as political parties. Together, these European organisations account for USD437.7 million in anti-gender spending between 2009 and 2018.

### 3.1 EUROPEAN ANTI-GENDER FOUNDATIONS

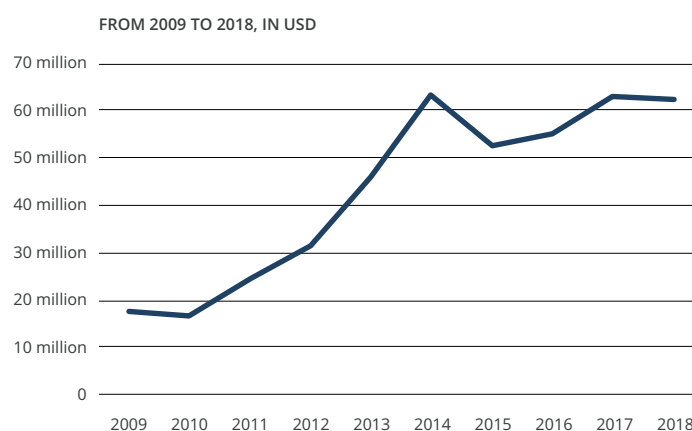
Europe has several home-grown conservative foundations that support religious extremists. Unlike the US foundations which bankroll the Christian Right movement, European foundations “do the dirty work of the Church’ through numerous activities, such as collecting online signatures, marches, forums, events in Parliament or creating media” [118]. Looking at the sponsors of anti-gender initiatives such as the ECIs, PNfV and the WCF provides an illustrative sample of the European anti-gender funders. The largest are Catholic foundations from France, Italy, Germany, Spain and Poland.

The ‘One of Us’ ECI organisers declared funding from three sources: the Italian Fondazione Vita Nova and the Spanish Fundación Valores y Sociedad and Fundacio Provida de Catalunya [119]. The Fondazione Vita Nova describes itself as “a work of the Italian Movement for Life” [120] founded in 1985 by the late Italian politician Carlo Casini. A Spanish former politician, Jaime Mayor Oreja, presides over the Fundación Valores y Sociedad, which he established in 2011, and raises funds “through his good relations with different foundations

and companies, with which he has been signing collaboration agreements worth 267.000 euros in the past five years” [121]. A heavyweight of Spain’s conservative Popular Party, Mayor Oreja sparked outrage when he refused to condemn the Franco dictatorship, stating: “Why should I condemn Francoism if there were many families who lived it normally and naturally?” [122]. Established in Barcelona in 1987, the Fundacio Provida Catalunya supports anti-abortion organisations in Catalonia and receives funding from public authorities in Catalonia and the private sector.

Another actor in One of Us is the Jérôme Lejeune Foundation (<https://www.fondationlejeune.org/>). It was created in 1995 to honour the French scientist Jérôme Lejeune, who is credited with the discovery [123] of the gene for Down’s Syndrome<sup>10</sup>. The foundation raises funds from the French public, totalling USD120.2 million in 2009–2018, making it one of the largest private foundations in France. The Lejeune Foundation’s anti-gender activism includes litigation, communication, and public campaigns in France and beyond [124]. Most recently, the foundation has taken on the leadership in administering the One of Us Federation as it transitioned to an NGO in 2014 [125]. Both the Fundación Valores y Sociedad and the Lejeune Foundation also co-sponsor the PNfV annual meetings [126]. From France,

#### TOTAL EUROPEAN ANTI-GENDER FUNDING



<sup>10</sup> Jérôme Lejeune’s claim to the discovery of the gene for Trisomy 21 is disputed as he would have co-discovered the gene along with paediatrician Marthe Gautier who was then omitted in future scientific references. Regarding controversy over Lejeune’s discovery, see <https://www.franceculture.fr/emissions/une-histoire-particuliere-un-recit-documentaire-en-deux-parties/trisomie-une-aventure-scientifique-controversee-22-trisomie-une-aventure-scientifique-controversee>



Source: Wikipedia / © HazteOír.org

❶ **Jaime Mayor Oreja, Spanish politician, founder of Fundacion Valores y Sociedad, President of One of Us Federation, “Why should I condemn Francoism if there were many families who lived it normally and naturally?”**

the Lejeune Foundation has since expanded to Argentina, Spain, and the USA and in January 2021, the Vatican had advanced the process of beatification of Jérôme Lejeune [127].

In Germany, the Stiftung Ja zum Leben (<https://ja-zum-leben.de/>) – Foundation Yes to Life – became one of the main promoters of the One of Us Federation in Germany. The Stiftung Ja zum Leben states “as a donor-funded foundation, we help pregnant women in emergencies so that they can say YES to their child and look to the future with strength. We support pregnancy counselling centres that fund themselves without government support because they do not provide advice for unpunished abortions. We support children with disabilities and support projects in the field of life protection and family support” [128]. The late Johanna, Countess of Westphalia (see Chapter 5.2) founded the foundation in 1988; today it funds initiatives in Germany and Austria which undermine women’s human rights and LGBTQI rights,<sup>11</sup> as well as ADF International and the WYA.

Another German foundation is Count Albrecht von Brandenstein-Zeppelin’s European Family Foundation (<http://european-family-foundation.de/>), a “community of donors for the family” [129] which funds activities to promote a traditional understanding of the family, such as Demo für Alle (see Chapter 3.2). The other co-founder of the European Family Foundation is Hubert Liebherr, the heir to the Liebherr fortune estimated at €7.8 billion [130]. A third private German foundation is the Stiftung für Familienwerte (<https://www.stiftung-familienwerte.de/>).

de/) – the Foundation for Family Values – established in 2008 in Trier, which also supported Demo für Alle. The foundation’s management includes several aristocrats and economic elites<sup>12</sup>, including Hedwig von Beverfoerde, who was also the main Demo für Alle organiser and funds a range of anti-gender initiatives.<sup>13</sup>

Among the most influential European foundations is Poland’s Fundacja Lux Veritatis (<https://luxveritatis.pl/>) led by Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk, the leader of the Redemptorists, a Catholic movement. Established in Warsaw in 1998, Lux Veritatis has grown to become a veritable power broker in Poland, with all aspirant right-wing politicians vying for media space on its radio station, Radio Maryja, and its television channel, TV TRWAM – known collectively as the ‘Rydzyk empire’ [131]. Investigative journalists estimate that the empire’s income totalled at least USD82.9 million in 2009–2018 [132]. Rydzyk’s entities oppose feminism, LGBTQI rights and immigration, and decry the ‘islamisation of Europe’. The Rydzyk media also specifically opposed Poland’s EU membership in 2004, argued in favour of the reintroduction of the death penalty, provided platforms to Holocaust deniers and promoted gay conversion therapy. The ‘Rydzyk empire’ has encountered controversy – for example, the US Anti-Defamation League considers Radio Maryja ‘anti-Semitic’ [133].

Another Polish foundation is the Fundacja Rodziny Witaszków (the Witaszków Family Foundation) which has supported a Polish NGO’s anti-abortion campaigns described as “deceitful,

❷ **Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk, the leader of the Redemptorists in Poland and founder of Fundacja Lux Veritatis, Radio Maryja and TV TRWAM.**



Source: Wikipedia / © Piotr Drabik

<sup>11</sup> These include funding Christen Demokraten für das Leben (see Chapter 5.2), the WYA’s Femm App, and anti-abortion coalitions such as the Bundesverband für Lebensrecht, Ärzte für das Leben, Jugend für das Leben and Pro-Life Europe, as well as homophobic initiatives such as Demo für Alle and FamilienAllianz (see Chapter 3.2). See <https://ja-zum-leben.de/projekte-2/>.

<sup>12</sup> These include Hedwig von Beverfoerde, Friedrich Graf zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld, Ludwig Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Bolko von Reinersdorff and Dr. Tilman Rüsche (of the Siemens family).

<sup>13</sup> These include funding the anti-feminist organisation Frauen 2000Plus, TeenStar (a Catholic-inspired sexuality education programme), Institut für Natürliche Empfängnisregelung (an organisation promoting the rhythm method of contraception), Verantwortung für die Familie e.V. (a pro-family organisation) and Zukunft-Europa e.V. (an anti-gender publishing house). See <https://www.stiftung-familienwerte.de/partner>.



drastic posters in front of hospitals and on busy streets in city centres” as well as religious extremist political candidates [134] and is close to TFP-affiliated organisations in Poland.<sup>14</sup> A new Polish foundation has recently emerged, the Fundacja Nasze Dzieci (<https://fundacjakornice.pl/>) – Foundation ‘Our Children’ – aiming to “support motherhood and protect the life of the unborn from the moment of conception” [135]. This foundation paid for the anti-abortion and anti-divorce billboard campaigns across Poland in early 2021 [136].

A noteworthy foundation is Italian politician Luca Volontè's Novae Terrae Foundation (see Chapter 2), headquartered in Milan. The Novae Terrae Foundation adheres to natural law and decries the invention of new rights, stating: “These ‘new human rights’ include the so called ‘right to abortion’, ‘sweet death’, same-sex couples’ ‘right to marry’, the value of ‘State’s secularity’ turning into intolerant ‘secularism’ towards those who publicly express their religious faith” [137]. The peculiarity of the Novae Terrae Foundations rests in its fundraising model based on selling political influence to human rights abusers. Two reports [138] reveal how the

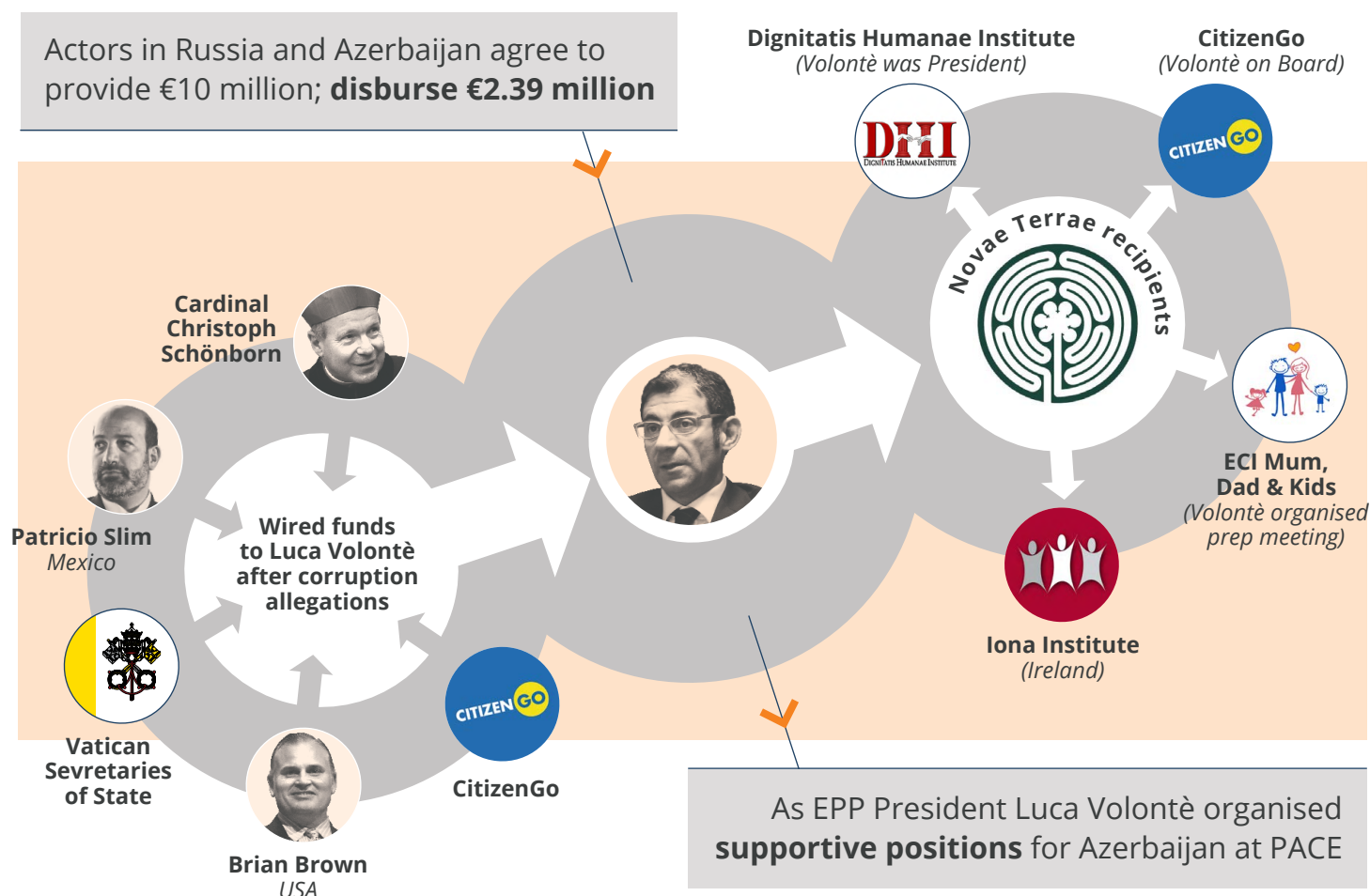


Source: Flickr / © European People's Party

● **Luca Volontè, former Italian politician and founder of Fondazione Novae Terrae, banned for life from the Council of Europe and sentenced to four years in prison for corruption.**

foundation benefitted from a Russo-Azerbaijani ‘laundromat’ which channelled €2.39 million to the foundation in return for undermining reports on Azerbaijan’s record of human rights abuses at the Council of Europe [139].

## FONDAZIONE NOVAE TERRAE’S ANTI-GENDER LAUNDROMAT (2012 – 2016)



<sup>14</sup> The vice president of the Witaszków Family foundation, Paweł Kwaśniak, is also the former director of the TFP-affiliated Center of Life and Family (see Chapters 3.2 and 6.2). See <https://rejestr.io/krs/374263/fundacja-rodziny-witaszkow>



However, the laundromat stopped working when news of its existence hit the Italian media in 2016. Its beleaguered founder, Luca Volontè, needed help and wrote to Ignacio Arsuaga of CitizenGO (see Chapter 3.2), seeking financial assistance, adding, “I’ll reveal to you that I have sent a similar request for financial support to our friends Brian, Vincente and Alexey” [140].<sup>15</sup>

Volontè’s friends were loyal and apparently undisturbed by the looming corruption allegations as L’Espresso revealed that Arsuaga wired €20,000, Antonio Brandi of Italy’s ProVita €5,700, Cardinal Schönborn of Austria €15,000, and Patricio Slim €66,000, while Brian Brown and Vatican Secretaries of State also provided undisclosed financial support [141]. Subsequently, the Council of Europe launched an investigation into Luca Volontè and “found on the basis of the evidence before it that there are substantial grounds to believe that Mr Volontè engaged in activity of a corruptive nature” and that consequently

“shall be deprived of the right to access the Council of Europe and the Parliamentary Assembly premises for life” [142]. Finally, the Italian courts sentenced Volontè to four years in prison in January 2021 [143].

Another European foundation under Russian influence is the Fundatia Din Suflet (‘From the Soul’) of Moldova’s former First Lady, Galina Dodon. Moldovan journalists revealed in 2019 that the foundation’s anonymous donors included a 2017 donation of €70,000 from Igor Chaika, the son of the Prosecutor General of the Russian Federation [144]. In September 2018, the Fundatia Din Suflet appeared as a main sponsor of the WCF in Chisinau under the patronage of the Moldovan President Igor Dodon [145]

The following table provides an illustrative overview of Europe’s anti-gender foundations. There are other European foundations active in anti-gender funding which are covered in different chapters.

## OVERVIEW OF EUROPEAN ANTI-GENDER FOUNDATIONS

Foundations	Headquarters	Financial weight from 2009 to 2018	Anti-gender activism
Barankovics István Foundation (See Chapter 6.3)	Hungary	Undisclosed	Hungarian, state-sponsored anti-gender narratives
European Family Foundation	Germany	Undisclosed	‘Pro-family’ initiatives, including Demo für Alle
Fondation Jérôme Lejeune	France	USD120.2 million	One of Us, PNfV, all anti-gender issues
Fondazione Novae Terrae	Italy	USD2.6 million	Anti-gender, Mum, Dad & Kids, CitizenGO, DHI, Iona Institute
Fondazione Vita Nova	Italy	Undisclosed	One of Us, crisis pregnancy counselling
Fundacio Provida Catalunya	Catalonia	USD4 million	One of Us, anti-abortion lobbying
Fundacion Francisco Franco (See Chapter 5.1)	Spain	Undisclosed	Helps fundraise for VOX
Fundacion Valores y Sociedad	Spain	Undisclosed	One of Us, PNfV
Fundacja Nasze Dzieci	Poland	Undisclosed	Anti-abortion and anti-divorce posters
Fundacja Lux Veritatis	Poland	USD83 million	Ultra-conservative religious political activism
Fundacja Rodziny Witaszków	Poland	Undisclosed	Anti-abortion NGOs and anti-gender political candidates
Fundatia Din Suflet	Moldova	Undisclosed	WCF in Chisinau 2018
Hintze Family Foundation (See Chapter 5.1)	United Kingdom	USD35.5 million	Supports the International Theological Institute
Stiftung Ja zum Leben	Germany	Undisclosed	Anti-abortion in Germany, ADF International, WYA, One of Us
Stiftung für Familienwerte	Germany	Undisclosed	‘Pro-family’ initiatives, including Demo für Alle
Turnauer Stiftung (See Chapter 5.1)	Austria	Undisclosed	Representative associated with Agenda Europe

<sup>15</sup> Luca Volontè is referring to Brian Brown of the US National Organization for Marriage, who is also on the Boards of the WCF and CitizenGO, Vincente Segu of Incluyendo Mexico, which has a financial relationship with Patricio Slim, and Alexey Komov, who works at Malofeev’s St. Basil the Great Foundation.

## 3.2 EUROPEAN ANTI-GENDER NGO NETWORKS

Several European anti-gender NGOs act as funders through their transnational engagement and their sponsorship of anti-gender initiatives. There are five models whereby civil society actors organise transnationally to access funding or maximise their fundraising potential: anti-abortion activism; anti-LGBTQI campaigning; Christian political networking; ultra-conservative social media mobilisation; and pseudo-Catholic, far-right franchising. Each model has spread to several European countries and has met with varying levels of funding and political success. There are other non-state actors active in anti-gender activism which are covered under different chapters, namely the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Union (COMECE) (see Chapter 7), the Transatlantic Christian Council (see Chapters 5 and 7) and EU-level fascist parties (see Chapter 6).

### ANTI-ABORTION ACTIVISM: ONE OF US FEDERATION

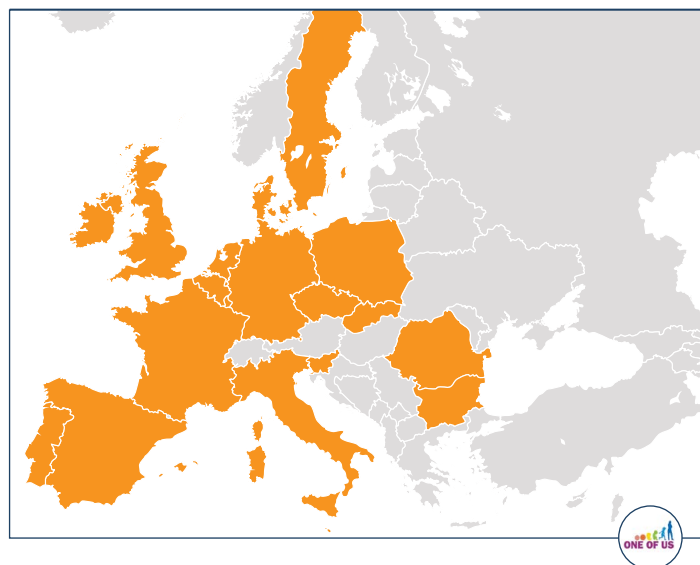
Among the earliest anti-gender organisations were the anti-abortion organisations, which followed a similar development pattern in several countries, namely France, Italy, and Slovakia. The model consists of Catholic politicians creating Christian political parties with one hand and anti-abortion NGOs with the other. The politicians were Christine Boutin [146] in France, the late Carlo Casini in Italy, and Anna Zaborska in Slovakia. Each had personal connections to the Holy See/Vatican,<sup>16</sup> and each played crucial roles in their respective Christian parties: Boutin founded the Parti Chrétien démocrate (PCD); Casini was a prominent member



Source: Wikipedia / © Foto-AG Gymnasium Melle

● **Anna Zaborska, Slovak Parliament, European Parliament, KDH, Forum Zivota, European Institute for Bioethics.**

### ONE OF US EUROPEAN FEDERATION NATIONAL MEMBERS



of the Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e Democratici di Centro (UDC);<sup>17</sup> and Zaborska held leadership positions in the Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie (KDH).<sup>18</sup> Each of these political parties in turn was affiliated with the European People's Party. Each politician played leadership roles in the anti-abortion NGOs: Boutin founded the Alliance Vita ([www.alliancevita.org](http://www.alliancevita.org)), the largest French anti-abortion NGO; Casini founded the Movimento per la Vita ([www.mpv.org](http://www.mpv.org)); and Zaborska held leadership roles in the Forum Zivota ([www.forumzivota.sk](http://www.forumzivota.sk)). Each of these anti-abortion NGOs then engaged in lobbying against abortion rights, as well as running crisis pregnancy centres or anti-abortion helplines (see Chapter 6).

While Anna Zaborska remains active in the Slovak Parliament and presented a bill to restrict abortion in 2020 [147], the political parties (PDC, UDC and KDH) have all faded in recent years, and those formerly involved have migrated to the European Christian Political Movement (ECPM) [148]. Thus, national anti-abortion NGOs under the leadership of the Movimento per la Vita shifted focus to European level and concerted their efforts to create the One of Us Federation in 2014 to become the "most representative and global Pro-life movement" [149] out of the ashes of the failed eponymous ECI (see Case Study 1). The strength of the One of Us Federation rests in its 40 members, which include the main national anti-abortion organisations and some of the largest and wealthiest transnational anti-gender

<sup>16</sup> Boutin was an adviser to the Pontifical Academy for the Family; Casini was a member of the Pontifical Academy for Life; and Zaborska's father was a former Ambassador to the Vatican.

<sup>17</sup> Other UDC-affiliated Italian politicians also played important roles in anti-gender mobilisation, including Luca Volontè (see Chapters 2 and 3.1) and Rocco Buttiglione, who was rejected as EU Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs in 2004 because his religious views were deemed incompatible with the duties of a Commissioner to uphold human rights and later became Honorary President of the Bannon-linked Dignitatis Humanae Institute.

<sup>18</sup> Other KDH-affiliated Slovak politicians who played anti-gender roles are Jan Figel, who as Special Envoy for the promotion of freedom of religion or belief outside the European Union was the subject of criticism from MEPs for association with religious extremist groups, and former MEP Miroslav Mikolášik, who is involved in anti-abortion organisations in Slovakia.

actors [150]. The combined financial weight of the One of Us Federation, including its national NGO members, was USD31.5 million in 2009–2018.<sup>19</sup>

As the author of Agenda Europe's manifesto *Restoring the Natural Order* contemplates "In the aftermath of the European Citizens' Initiative ONE OF US, there is now a momentum towards a European Federation of pro-life organisations. This is a new and very positive development. There could be similar federations to specifically deal with other issues set out in this paper, such as marriage and family, religious freedom, etc." [151]. This would then translate into a similar effort to limit LGBTQI rights.

### ANTI-LGBTQI CAMPAIGNING: FROM LMPT TO MUM, DAD & KIDS

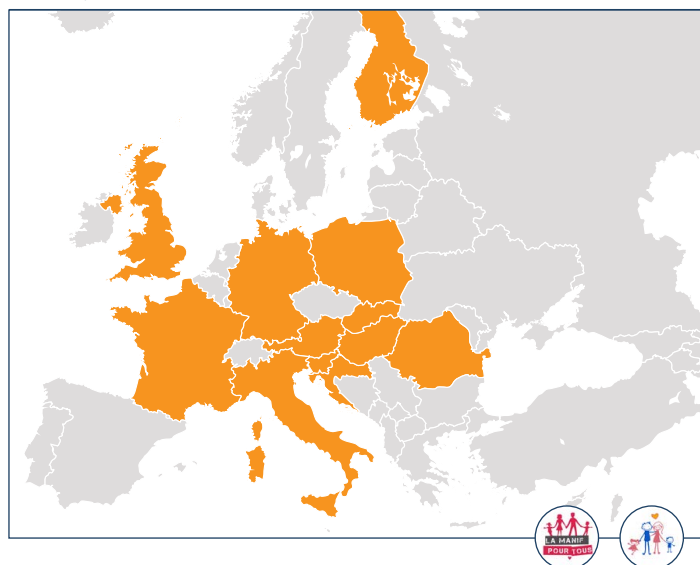
The modern European anti-LGBTQI campaign movement emerged in France in 2012 in reaction to the government's plans to introduce equal marriage rights for same-sex couples. A mass movement coalesced into La Manif Pour Tous ('The Demonstration for Everyone') – LMPT – and organised rallies, marches, and other forms of protests in 2013. While LMPT was unsuccessful in stopping equal marriage, it did manage to internationalise in three ways: first, local variations appeared in several countries, such as Germany with Demo für Alle; Familien Allianz in Austria; U ime Obitelji ('In the Name of the Parents') in Croatia; Aito avioliitto ('Genuine Marriage') in Finland; La Manif Pour Tous-Italia in Italy; Alianca za Rodinu ('Alliance for the Family') in Slovakia; and Coalitie pentru Familie ('Coalition for the Family') in Romania [152]. Second, in Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia and Romania, actors generated public initiatives between 2013 and 2018, seeking to limit LGBTQI rights, in many cases resulting in referenda placing constitutional limits on the definition of marriage. Third, based on the success of the French inspired homophobic demonstrations and the citizens'



Source: Wikipedia / © Foto-AG Gymnasium Melle

◆ Ignacio Arsuaga, Ludovine de la Rochère, Luca Volontè,  
March for Marriage, Washington D.C., 2014.

### LA MANIF POUR TOUS/ MUM, DAD & KIDS ACROSS EUROPE



initiatives in Central Europe, a sub-set of anti-LGBTQI actors coalesced to launch an ECI which would come to be called 'Mum, Dad & Kids' under the leadership on Edit Frivaldsky of the Hungarian Dignity Centre [153] (see also Chapter 6.3).

The homophobic wave unleashed by LMPT provided fundraising opportunities in France and across Europe. In just a year of existence, LMPT registered as an NGO headquartered in Paris and declared revenue of USD5.6 million in France in 2013. Mediapart [154] explains how this funding originated from institutional partners such as the Lejeune Foundation and Alliance Vita, as well as other Catholic NGOs.<sup>20</sup> Other benefactors included wealthy individuals such as Claude Bébear and Henri de Castries of the AXA insurance group (see Chapter 5). In addition, Paul Moreira's 2018 Arte documentary features an interview in which "Konstantin Malofeev tells how he financially supported certain movements like the La Manif pour Tous" [155]. LMPT cultivated links with Russia, including with Alexey Komov (see Chapter 2) [156], and by sending a delegation with Alliance Vita and the ECLJ to Moscow to meet with the Russian Orthodox Church [157].

Beyond France, Demo für Alle lists the European Family Foundation as a partner [158], and Alianca za Rodinu drafted a project proposal costing at €330,340 to mobilise for the 2015 referendum to ban equal marriage. While it is unknown whether this fundraising effort was successful, Slovak media calculated Alianca za Rodinu's referendum advertising spending at €110,000 [159]. In Croatia, the newly created U ime Obitelji has generated over USD800,000 [160] to become a permanent fixture on the Croatian religious extremist

<sup>19</sup> Includes income for the One of Us Federation itself as an NGO and the seven national organisations for which data are available: Alliance Vita (France), Forum Zivota (Slovakia), Schreeuw om Leven (the Netherlands), Foro Familia (Spain), Red Madre (Spain) and Federacji Ruchów Obrony Życia (Poland). Does not include One of Us federations that are foundations or US-affiliated organisations such as the Lejeune Foundation and the ECLJ.

<sup>20</sup> Such as Familles de France (<http://www.familles-de-france.org/>) and Les Associations familiales catholiques (AFC) (<https://www.afc-france.org/>).

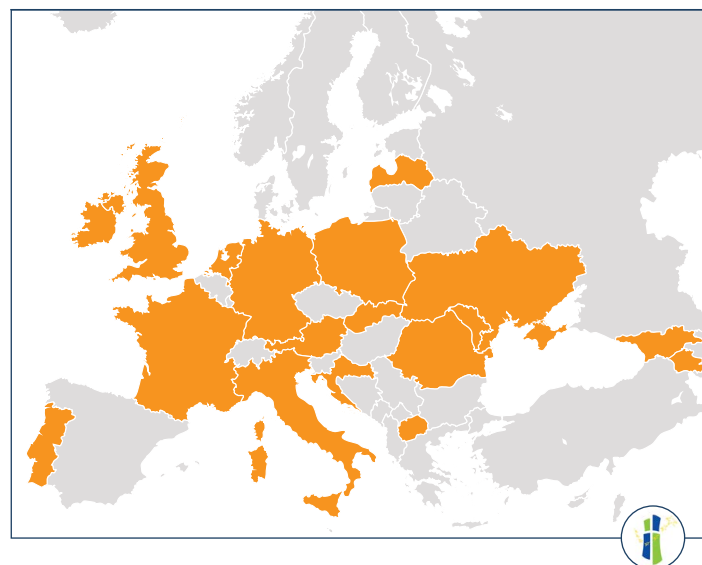


landscape since the marriage referendum of 2013. The culmination of the anti-LGBTQI mobilisation was the launch in late 2015 of a new ECI entitled 'Mum, Dad & Kids' [161], which aimed to restrict the use of the word 'marriage' in EU law to heterosexual couples. The Russo-Azerbaijani financed Fondazione Novae Terrae (see Chapter 3.1) funded the initial meetings to organise around this ECI and for which it had earmarked over €120,000 [162]. Altogether, the organisations which joined 'Mum, Dad & Kids' and campaigned in respective national homophobic initiatives generated over USD23 million.<sup>21</sup> However, despite the fundraising success, except in Croatia, the anti-LGBTQI movement did not meet its objectives in other countries, while the ECI 'Mum, Dad & Kids' failed to secure the requisite number of signatures.

### EU-FUNDED CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ATM: THE EUROPEAN CHRISTIAN POLITICAL MOVEMENT

While the European Christian Political Movement (ECPM) describes itself as "the only European political party that aims to reflect and work on Christian-democratic politics in Europe from an explicitly Christian-social point of view" [163], it is a hybrid entity combining Christian political actors and religious extremist actors. Based in Amersfoort in the Netherlands, the ECPM is a creation of two small Dutch, Protestant political parties and, together with its foundation, is funded through an annual grant from the European Parliament totalling USD8.2 million over the period 2010–2018 [164] (see Chapter 6). The ECPM barely meets the minimum criteria to qualify as a European political party and does not behave as any other political party (i.e. common campaigning, forming a political group) but uses its EU funding to advance anti-gender positions inside EU Institutions by partnering with religious extremists.

### ECPM-AFFILIATED PARTY MEMBERS IN EUROPE 2021



For example, the ECPM has hosted events against abortion<sup>22</sup> and altruistic surrogacy [165] and in support of 'reintegrative therapy'<sup>23</sup> (a rebranded version of gay conversion therapy). Specifically, the ECPM's President hosted an event on same-sex attraction at which "[r]eintegrative therapy training outside its founders' offices in USA was done for the first time ever" in Bratislava in May 2019.<sup>24</sup> The ECPM uses its EU grant to provide an entry for anti-gender actors into EU policymaking by republishing their work, such as the ECLJ's Law and Prevention of Abortion in Europe [166] or the ECPM's Family Policies Report written with the Federation of Catholic Family Associations in Europe (FAFCE) [167]. The ECPM sponsors several religious



Source: Wikipedia / © Foto-AG Gymnasium Melle



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<sup>21</sup> The USD23 million figure comes from the incomes of Mum, Dad & Kids ECI members for which there are financial data, which include: LMPT (France), U Ime Obiteli (Croatia), Coalitie pentru Familie (Romania) and CARE (Christian, Action, Research, Education) (UK).

<sup>22</sup> Preventing abortion in Europe; legal framework and social policies, event organised by the ECLJ and COMECE and advertised on SALLUX on 22 June 2017, <https://sallux.eu/events/Preventing-Abortion-EU.html>; and National March for Life in Poland, 24 March 2019, <https://ecpm.info/events/national-march-for-life.html>.

<sup>23</sup> For the inclusion of 'reintegrative therapy' as a form of gay conversion therapy, see [https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/SexualOrientation/IESOGI/CSOsKZ/REPORT\\_-\\_Conversion\\_Therapy\\_in\\_Canada\\_Nov\\_2019.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/SexualOrientation/IESOGI/CSOsKZ/REPORT_-_Conversion_Therapy_in_Canada_Nov_2019.pdf).

<sup>24</sup> ECPM event on Same-sex Attraction in Bratislava, 29 April 2019, <https://ecpm.info/events/same-sex-attraction.html> (removed in February 2021).



extremist gatherings, including Agenda Europe summits, the European Advocacy Academy [168] and the PNfV [169]. Overall, it functions as an EU-funded extremist ATM by supporting 17 anti-gender events and publishing 9 anti-gender publications and statements since 2017 [170].

### ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE SOCIAL MEDIA MOBILISATION: HAZTE OIR AND CITIZENGO

Ignacio Arsuaga established Hazte Oir ('Make Yourself Heard') in 2001 in Madrid, since when it has acted as a watchdog on social and political developments in Spain through its online presence. Hazte Oir has become one of the most important organisations on the far-right of the political spectrum and internationally as "the ultra-conservative lobby that gained fame for the bus against transgender children" [171] which circulated first in Spain, and later in cities around the world. Hazte Oir prides itself on not relying on public funding and instead appeals directly to the public for individual donations and financial support from its partners. The conservative Popular Party granted it 'public utility status' in 2013 (which confers fiscal advantages to its donors, thus increasing its fundraising appeal), which the Socialist government revoked in 2019, following the outcry surrounding the transphobic bus [172]. Hazte Oir has close links with the far-right VOX political party (see Chapter 4).

Hazte Oir is active under its own name and has created multiple, differently branded offshoots to focus on specific areas. For example, Derecho a Vivir (<https://derechoavivir.org/>) focuses on anti-abortion advocacy, while Mas Libres (<https://maslibres.org/>) focuses on religious freedom. Two offshoots are particularly noteworthy: one is Actual (<https://www.actual.com/>), a far-right news portal which serves as a bridge for religious extremist actors and right-wing media and its global social mobilisation platform CitizenGO ([www.citizenngo.org](http://www.citizenngo.org)). Modelled on Avaaz, CitizenGO serves as an ultra-conservative social mobilisation platform by offering a "community of active



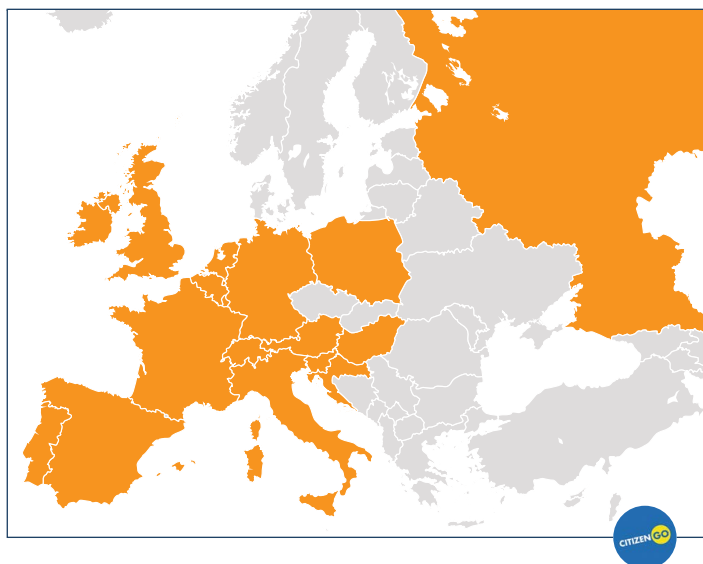
● Ignacio Arsuaga, founder of Hazte Oir and CitizenGO.

citizens who work together, using online petitions and action alerts as a resource, to defend and promote life, family, and liberty" [173] (see Case Study 2). Hazte Oir and CitizenGO have together generated revenue of USD32.8 million since 2009, making it the fourth largest anti-gender funder in Europe. CitizenGO's fundraising success has allowed it to open offices in 15 countries [174], including in Africa, Latin America, and Oceania, with dedicated staff advancing an extremist agenda. For example, CitizenGO Kenya led smear campaigns in 2018 which led to the temporary closure of family planning clinics in several African countries [175], while in Europe it has co-sponsored Agenda Europe summits, the WCF and the PNfV.

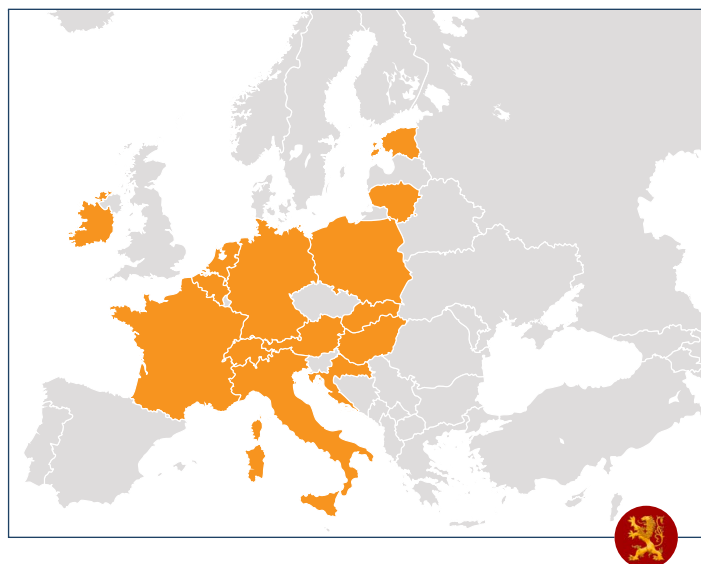
### PSEUDO-CATHOLIC, FAR-RIGHT MOBILISATION: TFP

The TFP [176] network generated at least USD113.4 million between 2009 and 2018, making it one of the largest anti-gender actors in Europe. TFP organisations such as Ordo Iuris in Poland are behind some of the most reactionary and highest-profile recent anti-gender initiatives, including the 2016 bill to ban abortion [177], the 'Stop Paedophilia law' which criminalises sexuality education [178], and the 'LGBT-free zones' [179] which

### CITIZENGO'S LINGUISTIC COVERAGE IN EUROPE 2021



### TFP-AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS IN EUROPE 2021



## OVERVIEW OF EUROPEAN ANTI-GENDER NGO FUNDERS

NGOs	Headquarters	Financial weight from 2009 to 2018	Anti-gender activism
One of Us Federation and members (Catholic anti-abortion activism)	Belgium	USD31.5 million	Anti-abortion at EU and national levels
Mum, Dad & Kids and members (Anti-LGBTQI campaigning)	France	USD23 million	Anti-LGBTQI campaigning across EU
ECPM (Christian political activism)	Netherlands	USD8.2 million	Anti-abortion, LGBT, VAW, Agenda Europe, PNfV
Hazte Oir and CitizenGO (Ultra-conservative social media mobilisation)	Spain	USD32.8 million	Agenda Europe, PNfV, One of Us
TFP (Pseudo-Catholic, far-right mobilisation)	France and Poland	USD113.4 million	Far-right Catholic activism, Agenda Europe

## FUNDERS AND ACTORS INVOLVED IN SELECTED TRANS-NATIONAL ANTI-GENDER ACTIVITIES/EVENTS

Actors	WCF	PNfV	Agenda Europe	Int'l / EU Advocacy	One of Us	Mum, Dad & Kids / LMPT
<b>US anti-gender actors</b>						
ADF International	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
ECLJ	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
The Federalist Society			✓			
Acton Institute			✓			
World Youth Alliance			✓	✓		
<b>Russian anti-gender actors</b>						
Istoki Endowment Fund	✓					
St. Andrew the First Called Fdn.	✓					
St. Basil the Great Charitable Fdn.	✓		✓	✓		✓
<b>European anti-gender actors</b>						
ECPM		✓	✓	✓	✓	
European Family Foundation						✓
Fondation Jérôme Lejeune		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fondazione Novae Terrae	✓		✓	✓		✓
Fondazione Vita Nova					✓	
Fundacio Provida Catalunya					✓	
Fundacion Valores y Sociedad		✓		✓	✓	
Fundatia "Din Suflet"	✓					
Hazte Oir/CitizenGO	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
La Manif Pour Tous	✓		✓			✓
One of Us Federation	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Stiftung Ja zum Leben	✓				✓	✓
Stiftung für Familienwerte						✓
Tradition, Family and Property	✓		✓	✓		✓

have been condemned by the European Parliament [180], while the President of Ordo Iuris, Jerzy Kwaśniewski, asserted: “It is a world standard to punish women for abortion” [181].

Initially headquartered in a château in France, the older TFP members in France, Germany, Italy, and Austria regrouped as the *Fédération Pro-Europa Christiana* and developed a mass mailing system in the 1970s, which has allowed them to live comfortably and invest in real estate (see Chapter 4). However, a newer generation emerging in Poland, as reported by the Reporters’ Foundation, has split from its French genitors [182] and is now taking on the leadership in the TFP franchise. The Polish TFP expanded its fundraising significantly and “through Krakow, Poland, a network of organisations in Central Europe has been established and fuelled with hundreds of thousands of euros in individual donations. Following the launch of ultra conservative entities in Lithuania, Estonia, Slovakia, Croatia, and Hungary, the Polish group has implemented its fundraising model in these countries” [183]. The same investigative journalists further unearthed the extensive global financial transfers of the Polish TFP-affiliated organisations to support affiliates in Australia, Canada, and South Africa, as well as the TFP headquarters in Brazil [184].

## TRANSNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Religious extremists from the three regions meet regularly in various fora where they jointly strategise, coordinate and network. These fora include the secretive Agenda Europe summits held annually since 2013, the transatlantic summits and other events of the PNfV since 2014 and the global and regional gatherings of the WCF since the 1990s. The Agenda Europe meetings allowed religious extremists to coordinate the launch of two ECIs and other activities [185], while the PNfV’s bring together political leaders from Europe and the Americas along with civil society actors to discuss joint priorities. The WCF is the largest such gathering, with participants from across

the whole world, the majority coming from the US Christian Right, European religious and political extremists, and Russian actors. These fora provide venues where religious extremists coalesce into various configurations to advance common anti-gender objectives.

## SNAPSHOT OF EUROPEAN ANTI-GENDER ACTORS

- Funding from within the EU for anti-gender mobilisation has increased dramatically from USD17.5 million to USD63.8 million annually to reach a 10-year total of USD437.7 million for 2009–2018.
- European anti-gender funding originates from private foundations, civil society actors, political parties, and religious actors. The number of European anti-gender actors has increased over the past decade as a result of the emergence of new actors: CitizenGO, the ECPM, the One of Us Federation and homophobic activism through LMPT and the Mum, Dad & Kids ECI among others.
- European anti-gender actors have innovated to generate funds: astroturfing, tapping into public funding and transnational networking are responsible for the anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQI activism since 2013.
- Methodologically, the data for European actors are the most inconsistent, with significant data gaps leading to an underestimation. The data gaps are the result of an absence of financial transparency requirements, such as US or Russian equivalents, at Member State and EU level. There are financial data for only 36 European anti-gender actors.



Member of Austrian Parliament, Ms Gudrun Veronika Kugler speaking at the Agenda Europe Summit in Warsaw.

Agenda Europe has been co-sponsored by : Acton Institute, ADF International, Citizen GO, ECPM and Ordo Iuris with the support of the International Theological Institute of Vienna

- <sup>118</sup> Álvaro Merino, Gisella Rojas and Josefina Martí, La segunda vida de Mayor Oreja: llevar a Europa y América Latina el ultracatolicismo español, *El Diario*, 2 October 2019, [https://www.eldiario.es/internacional/aventura-europea-ultracatolicismo-espanol\\_1\\_1346509.html](https://www.eldiario.es/internacional/aventura-europea-ultracatolicismo-espanol_1_1346509.html).
- <sup>119</sup> See <http://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/public/initiatives/successful/details/2012/000005>; Fondazione Vita Nova (<http://www.fondazionevitanova.it/>); Fundacion Valores y Sociedad (<https://www.valoresysociedad.org/>) and Fundacio Provida de Catalunya (<https://www.fundacioprovida.org/>).
- <sup>120</sup> Fondazione Vita Nova, Chi siamo, <http://www.fondazionevitanova.it/chi-siamo/vita-nova/>.
- <sup>121</sup> Álvaro Merino, Gisella Rojas and Josefina Martí, La segunda vida de Mayor Oreja, 2019.
- <sup>122</sup> Carlos E. Cué and Anabel Díez, Mayor Oreja se niega a condenar el franquismo y Acebes evita desautorizarle, *El País*, 16 October 2007, [https://elpais.com/diario/2007/10/16/espana/1192485613\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/2007/10/16/espana/1192485613_850215.html).
- <sup>123</sup> See <https://www.fondationlejeune.org/la-fondation/jerome-lejeune/>.
- <sup>124</sup> See <https://www.fondationlejeune.org/defense-vie-humaine/>.
- <sup>125</sup> See <http://www.undenous.fr/mentions-legales>, where the Lejeune Foundation is listed as the owner of the One of Us Federation website.
- <sup>126</sup> See the PNfV's programmes for 2018 and 2014 meetings at <https://politicalnetworkforvalues.org/en/what-we-do/transatlantic-summit/>.
- <sup>127</sup> See <https://www.fondationlejeune.org/jerome-lejeune-franchit-une-etape-decisive-dans-son-proces-de-beatification/>.
- <sup>128</sup> Stiftung Ja zum Leben, Unsere Mission, <https://ja-zum-leben.de/startseite/ueber-uns/unsere-mission/>.
- <sup>129</sup> European Family Foundation, <http://european-family-foundation.de/>.
- <sup>130</sup> Luca Giannini, Das sind die reichsten Aargauer des Jahres 2019 – Hayek, Liebherr und Blocher gehören dazu, *Aargauer Zeitung*, 29 November 2019, <https://www.aargauerzeitung.ch/aargau/kanton-aargau/das-sind-die-reichsten-aargauer-des-jahres-2019-hayek-liebherr-und-blocher-gehoren-dazu-ld.1399095>.
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- <sup>132</sup> Mateusz Ratajczak, Finanse Fundacji Lux Veritatis. Maybacha w garażu nie ma, jest przyczepa i 3 mln zł zysku, *Money.pl*, 11 July 2019, <https://www.money.pl/gospodarka/finanse-fundacji-lux-veritatis-maybacha-w-garazu-nie-ma-jest-przyczepa-i-3-mln-zl-zysku-6401383685531265a.html>; and *Newsweek Polska*, Fundacja ojca Rydzyka zarabia miliony. A duchowny nie ustaje w prośbach o datki, 9 July 2019, <https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/lux-veritatis-ile-zarobila-fundacja-ojca-rydzyka/2g273j0>.
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- <sup>138</sup> European Stability Initiative, Caviar Diplomacy, Berlin, 24 May 2012, [http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document\\_ID=131](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document_ID=131); and European Stability Initiative, The European Swamp (Caviar Diplomacy Part 2), Berlin, 17 December 2016, [http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document\\_ID=181](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document_ID=181).
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- <sup>140</sup> Letter from Luca Volontè to Ignacio Arsuaga.
- <sup>141</sup> Paolo Biondani and Francesca Sironi, Esclusivo: così la Russia inonda di soldi il congresso di Verona, *L'Espresso*, 28 March 2019, <https://espresso.repubblica.it/piu/articoli/2019/03/21/news/congresso-verona-famiglia-finanziamenti-russia-1.332923>; and Paolo Biondani and Francesca Sironi, Pioggia di rubli ai cattolighisti, 2018.
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- <sup>149</sup> One of Us Federation, About us, <https://oneofus.eu/about-us/organization/>.
- <sup>150</sup> One of Us Federation, Members, <https://oneofus.eu/about-us/members/>.



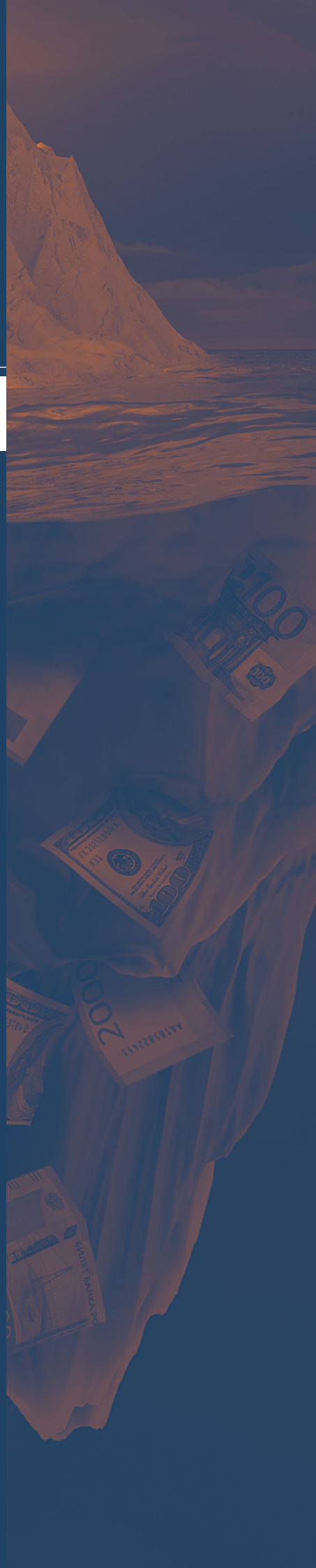
- <sup>151</sup> Restoring the Natural Order, 2014
- <sup>152</sup> See Demo für Alle (<https://demofueralle.de/>); Familien Allianz (<http://familienallianz.net/>); U ime Obitelji (<https://uimeobitelji.net/>); La Manif Pour Tous-Italia (<http://www.lamanifpourtous.it/>); Aito avioliitto (<https://aitoavioliitto.fi/>); Alianca za Rodinu (<https://www.alianciazarodinu.sk/>) and Coalitie pentru Familie as an initiative of ProVita Bucharest (<https://asociatiaprovita.ro/>).
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- <sup>163</sup> ECPM, About, <https://ecpm.info/about-ecpm.html>.
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- <sup>169</sup> ECPM, II Transatlantic Summit. Personhood, Family, Society: Global challenges, Global responses, 27 April 2017, <https://ecpm.info/events/ii-transatlantic-summit-personhood-family-society-global-challenges-global-responses.html>.
- <sup>170</sup> ECPM annual yearbooks 2017–2019.
- <sup>171</sup> Danilo Albin, El lobby ultra que dirige Hazte Oír recibió más de 17 millones de euros en donaciones desde 2013, Público, 17 September 2020, <https://www.publico.es/sociedad/lobby-ultra-dirige-hazte-oir-recibio-17-millones-euros-donaciones-2013.html>.
- <sup>172</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>173</sup> CitizenGO, About us, <https://www.citizenngo.org/en-row/about-us>.
- <sup>174</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>175</sup> BBC, Kenya bans Marie Stopes from offering abortion services, 18 November 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-46254630>.
- <sup>176</sup> See Neil Datta, Modern Day Crusaders, Political Perspectives, 2019.
- <sup>177</sup> Ordo Iuris, Civic Legislation Initiative: Equal legal protection for children before and after birth, 2016, <https://en.ordoiuris.pl/life-protection/civic-legislation-initiative-equal-legal-protection-children-and-after-birth>.
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- <sup>179</sup> Ordo Iuris, Samorządowa Karta Praw Rodzin, <https://ordoiuris.pl/samorzadowa-karta-praw-rodzin>.
- <sup>180</sup> European Parliament, Parliament strongly condemns “LGBTI-free zones” in Poland, 18 December 2019, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20191212IPR68923/parliament-strongly-condemns-lgbti-free-zones-in-poland>
- <sup>181</sup> TOKFM.pl, ‘Światowym standardem jest karanie kobiet za aborcję’. Szef Ordo Iuris protestów się nie boi: Przetrywamy dłużej niż którakolwiek z partii, 4 November 2016, <https://www.tokfm.pl/Tokfm/1,130517,20932712,swiatowym-standardem-jest-karanie-kobiet-za-aborcje-szef.html>.
- <sup>182</sup> Julia Dauksza, Anna Gielewska, Konrad Szczygieł (Reporters’ Foundation, Poland), Juliana Dal Piva (Brazil) and Audrey Lebel (France), Salve Maria, or Millions Made in Poland, VSquare, 28 December 2020, <https://vsquare.org/salve-maria-or-millions-made-in-poland/>.
- <sup>183</sup> Julia Dauksza, Anna Gielewska, Konrad Szczygieł (Reporters’ Foundation, Poland), Juliana Dal Piva (Brazil) and Audrey Lebel (France), The Golden Lion Roars from Cracow, VSquare, 30 December 2020, <https://vsquare.org/the-golden-lion-roars-from-cracow/>.
- <sup>184</sup> Juliana Dal Piva, Julia Dauksza, Anna Gielewska, Konrad Szczygiel and Audrey Lebel, Os milhões enviados da Polônia a conservadores da TFP no Brasil e no mundo, Notícias, 28 December 2020, <https://noticias.uol.com.br/internacional/ultimas-noticias/2020/12/28/os-milhoes-enviados-da-polonia-para-radicaais-da-tfp-no-brasil-e-pelo-mundo.htm>.
- <sup>185</sup> See Neil Datta, Restoring the Natural Order, 2018.



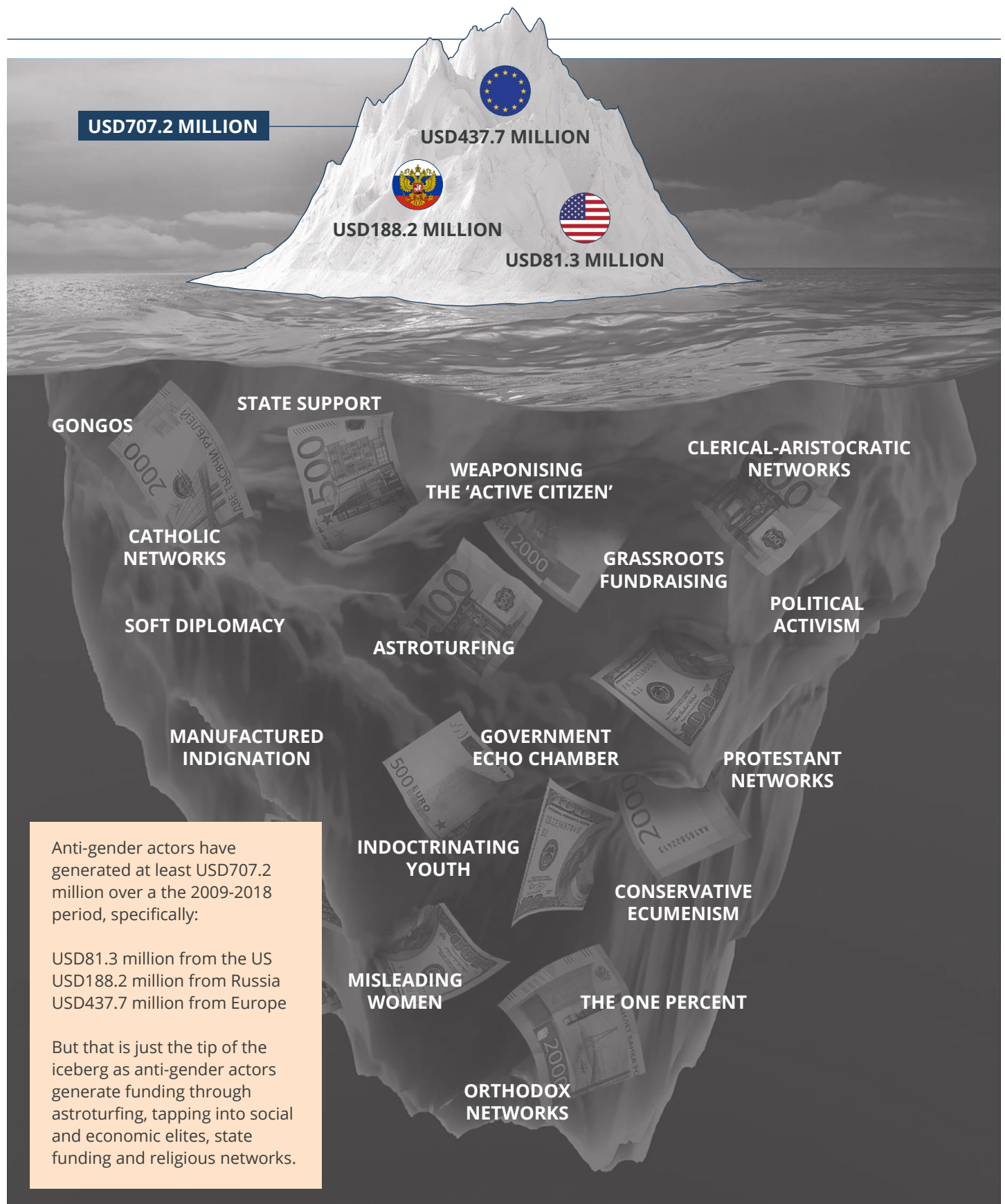
# PART 2

## **BENEATH THE ICEBERG: EUROPEAN ANTI-GENDER FUNDRAISING CHANNELS**

The second part of this report looks at the main channels through which religious extremists generate funding, and how it circulates. There are four such channels: astroturfing; tapping into social and economic elites; state funding; and connections via religious networks.



## EUROPEAN ANTI-GENDER FUNDRAISING CHANNELS





## 4

# ASTROTURFING: FROM FUNDRAISING TO BUILDING FAR-RIGHT POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Many anti-gender organisations attribute their funding to the grassroots support they claim to have. Such a claim serves to legitimise the cause by pointing to popular support while serving as cover for the larger donations from the wealthy benefactors mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, individual donations from the public constitute a proportion of income for some anti-gender organisations, and several devote specific energy to fundraising in this manner by developing fundraising tools and techniques targeting the wider public and organising workshops on grass-roots fundraising. Thus, grass-roots fundraising does constitute an important part of the anti-gender funding landscape, as in the case of the Lejeune Foundation.<sup>25</sup> Two grass-roots fundraising models in Europe particularly stand out: the first involves a petition and mass mailing operation, while the second involves organising ‘active citizens’. They have both developed astroturfing<sup>26</sup> models combining fundraising with extremist mobilisation.

## 4.1 MANUFACTURED INDIGNATION AND CATHOLIC KITSCH TO BUILD AN EMPIRE

TFP has developed a sophisticated fundraising mechanism which France’s inter-ministerial mission to monitor and counter cult-like tendencies (MIVILUDES) first described in France in 2006 [186]. In 2020, the Reporters’ Foundation [187] detailed how TFP has further expanded this fundraising machine in Poland and Eastern Europe. The fundraising model provides TFP with financial autonomy and the opportunity to re-invest in expanding the franchise.

The TFP fundraising system is based on generating extensive databases of potential donors and pushing Catholic-themed gadgets through mass mailing. To generate the databases, TFP members create petitions on a range of social issues, usually

politicising issues to generate social indignation. TFP members are like a chameleon, with several co-existing within the same country but bearing different names, focus and branding, giving the impression of separate, unrelated organisations. However, these TFP organisations share the same leadership [188]. This allows TFP affiliates to run several campaigns simultaneously – for example, one on abortion, another on pornography and a third on traditional Catholic rituals. The signatories to the petitions thus provide the first dataset of supporters, which can be moved to become potential donors.

The second step includes targeting the signatories with requests for financial support and mass mailing unsolicited, low-cost Catholic-themed paraphernalia such as rosaries or ‘miraculous’ medals, or TFP literature. This enables TFP to start generating un-taxed revenue. Then TFP organisations exchange datasets so that each may target the signatories of the others’ petitions. Therefore, a person who signed one petition may feature on the recipient list of several TFP organisations, each one requesting support for its specific cause. In the end, the potential donors believe that they are supporting several, unrelated organisations rather than the same TFP network.

The TFP network has used this fundraising model since its origins in Brazil in the 1960s. However, the US Christian Right conservative fundraiser, Bruce Eberle [189], who pioneered the system with a direct fundraising manual [190], serves as the inspiration for its modern version. Eberle boasts the benefits of his model that “... unlike if you spend money on advertising, the recipients of your mail pay” [191]. Eberle, a visiting professor at the Leadership Institute [192], teamed up with European TFP affiliates and Hazte Oir to organise a series of fundraising workshops in Europe [193].

Thanks to its fundraising efforts, the TFP network reached second place among anti-gender funders, with revenue of over USD113.4 million in 2009–2018. Specifically, the Fédération Pro-Europa Christiana consolidates the funds generated by its

<sup>25</sup> Crowdfunding accounts for 60% of the Lejeune Foundation’s annual income. See its annual reports.

<sup>26</sup> Merriam-Webster defines astroturfing as an “organized activity that is intended to create a false impression of a widespread, spontaneously arising, grassroots movement in support of or in opposition to something (such as a political policy) but that is in reality initiated and controlled by a concealed group or organization (such as a corporation)”.

Source: <https://www.tfp.org/tfp-books/>

However, such success drew attention from public authorities. In 2006, MIVILUDES described the TFP model as raising warning bells for possible illegal and ‘cult-like’ behaviour [198]. Particularly problematic for the French authorities was the opacity of the objectives of the solicited contributions and the sharing of private donor information. However, TFP affiliates deflect such criticism by pointing to the fine print in their materials which state that donations contribute to the overall objectives of the organisation and the network.

## 4.2 WEAPONISING THE ‘ACTIVE CITIZEN’

Source: <https://www.piotrskarga.pl>

In 2013, building on TFP’s petition-based model, religious extremists in Germany and Spain created mechanisms to channel social media activism to meet anti-gender objectives and transform participants into political actors. These were the social media platform CitizenGO in Spain and the Zivile Koalition/Die Freier Welt [199] in Germany. From Germany, the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) politician Beatrix von Storch, and from Spain, the founder of Hazte Oir/CitizenGO, Ignacio Arsuaga, built civil society and social media empires which channelled active citizens to support far-right political parties. The slogan for both initiatives was to engage the ‘active citizen’.<sup>29</sup>

### Examples of TFP online store and TFP marketing campaign.

national members, reaching USD22.3 million. The remainder comes from Polish TFP members,<sup>27</sup> which employ the same strategies on a larger scale, operating a direct mailing centre from Krakow which “consists of three modern warehouses filled [with] endless rows of shelves with cardboard boxes full of devotional items” [194]. Thus, the Polish TFP organisations have become among the largest Polish civil society actors, having generated €49 million in revenue since 2014 [195]. With such wealth, the Polish TFP organisations have not only invested in real estate and luxury cars [196] but have expanded by creating tentacles to reach Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania, Slovakia, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Each TFP tentacle is expected to generate income through the same model in its own country,<sup>28</sup> with the Dutch TFP organisation Stirezo unveiling a new mass mailing centre in Veenendaal in May 2021. [197]

## GERMANY

Starting in Germany, Beatrix von Storch and her husband Sven planted the seed for a social media empire in 2005 when, together with several other aristocrats [200], they created the Zivile Koalition as an online protest platform. It went relatively unnoticed until the financial crisis of 2008, at which point the von Storchs expand with a series of inter-related social media initiatives aiming to exert political pressure,<sup>30</sup> as well as an alternative media entity, Die Freier Welt (The Free World), and a range of anti-gender platforms [201]. All of these served to “bombard parliamentarians with e-mails in addition to Euro criticism, mainly with ‘family protection’ appeals” [202].

Thus, the von Storch entities grew to serve as the nexus of interrelated platforms, websites, and initiatives [203] covering a range of diverse issues from a pro-business/

<sup>27</sup> These include the Piotr Skarga Institute, the Piotr Skarga Foundation, Ordo Iuris, Centrum Wspierania Inicjatyw dla Życia i Rodziny (CZiR) and the Cegielski Institute (Poland), Vigilare and Ordo Iuris Hrvatska (Croatia), Slovakia Christiana (Slovakia), Sihtasutus Perekonna ja Traditsiooni Kaitseks (Estonia) and VšĮ Krikščioniškosios Kultūros Institutas (Lithuania).

<sup>28</sup> These include Vigilare and Ordo Iuris Hrvatska (Croatia), VšĮ Krikščioniškosios Kultūros Institutas (Lithuania), Stichting Civitas Christiana (the Netherlands), Slovakia Christiana (Slovakia) and Helvetia Christiana (Switzerland). See also Julia Dauksza, Anna Gielewska, Konrad Szczygieł (Reporters’ Foundation, Poland), Sarunas Cerniauskas, Migle Kranceviciute, Liucija Lenkauskaitė (Siena.lt, Lithuania), Lukas Diko, Tomas Madlenak (Investigative Center of Jan Kuciak/ICJK, Slovakia), Masenjka Bacic (Croatia), Oliver Kund, Holger Roonemaa (Estonia), Márton Sarkadi Nagy (Atlatzo, Hungary). Contributed to the story: Dennis Mijnheer (the Netherlands), Michael Nikbakhsh (Austria), The Golden Lion Roars from Cracow, VSquare, 30 December 2020, <https://vsquare.org/the-golden-lion-roars-from-cracow/>.

<sup>29</sup> Die Freie Welt is “für den aktiven Bürger!” (“for the active citizen!”), and CitizenGO describes itself as “a community of active citizens”.

<sup>30</sup> AbgeordnetenCheck (‘MP Check’) and EU Check (now defunct).



Source: Wikipedia / © blu-news.org

property agenda, anti-leftist issues, anti-gender, anti-Islam and anti-immigration [204]. As *Die Taz* reports, these served as ‘data leeches’ where users who register for one website would have their personal data shared with the others to be contacted for donations [205]. In this manner, the von Storches generated “the largest and most concise collection of contacts from the German right-wing scene” with 100,000 official active users, but estimated to be 10 times larger [206].

By 2013, Beatrix von Storch came to serve as the de facto leader of the Christian fundamentalist faction making up roughly a third of the AfD, helping her secure an electorally winnable position for the 2014 European Parliament elections [207]. The von Storch data empire played a decisive role in AfD’s electoral success in 2017, when 92 AfD candidates entered the German Parliament. As Whetherall explains, “These platforms are not only used to cover the political interests of the von Storches and the arch-reactionary aristocratic cast they are representing, but also to reflect the political positions of the AfD without making the connection to the party immediately apparent” [208]. Following such an electoral success, the AfD qualified for €200 million in state funding up to 2022, allowing it to create 400–500 staff positions and a political foundation. According to *Die Taz*, many individuals from the far-right, neo-fascist and identitarian movements filled the new staff positions [209].

## SPAIN

Turning to Spain, CitizenGO launched in 2013 as a project of Hazte Oir and now boasts over 15 million active citizens across the world active in 12 languages. As *El País* noted, with so many followers, “If everyone voted for the same political party in Spain, they would be the fifth force of Congress” [210]. CitizenGO franchised its model across Europe and Latin America by proposing cooperation agreements with other socially conservative actors, where it “will offer related organisations, completely free of charge, the most advanced technological tools so that they can influence decision-makers (politicians, businessmen, media) and increase their social base (and

therefore their mobilisation capacity) by sharing with them the personal data of active citizens who join the campaigns” [211].

As Pérez Colomé explains: “Hazte Oir uses one of the most sophisticated and expensive marketing tools in the world: Marketo. It allows each user to write according to their activity and isolate groups of thousands of people according to their interests – education, abortion, gays – their tendency to donate – their desire to support petitions... Marketo automates ‘itineraries’ so that those people receive more tailored messages... It’s the goldmining of marketing” [212]. This approach allowed CitizenGO and Hazte Oir to generate USD32.7 million between 2009 and 2018.

Arsuaga then focused on influencing Spain’s political landscape through the far-right political party VOX. Several media have highlighted the extensive links between Hazte Oir and VOX and how recently elected VOX politicians once held positions in anti-gender organisations [213]. Although separate legal entities, VOX serves as the political expression of the anti-gender ideas which Hazte Oir and CitizenGO championed as civil society actors. Gathering only 0.2% of the votes in 2015, VOX grew to reach 6% of votes in the May 2019 EU elections and over 15% in the November 2019 elections, electing 4 MEPs and over 50 members to the Congress of Deputies.

In April 2019, openDemocracy revealed how maintaining distinct legal entities between CitizenGO and VOX served a strategic purpose, as Arsuaga “described plans to run attack ads against VOX’s political opponents and talked about how to get around campaign finance laws” [214]. Arsuaga explained how contributions to CitizenGO would be legal, yet indirect, support for VOX. However, his ambitions extended beyond Spain, as he “revealed that CitizenGO also has ‘a lot of contact’ with the Fidesz and Lega far-right parties in Hungary and Italy, along with ‘some contact’ with the far-right AfD in Germany” [215]. In short, Arsuaga boasted that CitizenGO could serve as a covert funding conduit for many alt- and far-right political parties ahead of the 2019 European elections.

## ASÍ ESTÁN RESPONDIENDO LOS PARTIDOS POLÍTICOS A TUS INTERESES

**SI**

**A MEDIAS**

**NO**

### Partidos con representación parlamentaria

	 PP	 PSOE	 Cs	 PODEMOS	 VOX
Vida	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓
Familia	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓
Libertad económica	✓	✗	...	✗	✓
Libertad de educación	...	✗	...	✗	✓
Libertad religiosa	✓	✗	...	✗	✓
Regeneración política	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓
Unidad nacional	✓	...	✓	✗	✓
Organización Territorial	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓

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● An example of how Citizen GO generates indirect support for VOX is their campaign “Vota Valores” which regularly scores the VOX party with higher marks than other political parties.



## SNAPSHOT ON ASTROTURFING

- The TFP, CitizenGO and AfD astroturfing initiatives share common features: they create multiple facades to appeal to different demographics and then exchange personal data to maximise fundraising potential; and they manufacture social indignation to channel their targets towards alt- and far-right political parties.
- Civil society astroturfing initiatives have transitioned from applying political pressure combined with fundraising to become political actors and infiltrate alt- and far-right political parties.
- Separate astroturfing structures provide alt- and far-right parties with additional avenues for resource generation, often falling within grey areas of campaign finance laws.
- Anti-gender astroturfing has propelled religious extremists to significant political representation in the parliaments of Germany and Spain and the ability to apply political pressure on the PiS government in Poland. Polish religious extremists affiliated with TFP have expanded their astroturfing operations to another six European countries.

- <sup>186</sup> Mission interministérielle de vigilance et de lutte contre les dérives sectaires (MIVILUDES), Rapport au Premier ministre 2006 – L'approche économique des mouvements à caractère sectaire, Buchelay: UNADFI, 2006, [http://www.unadfi.org/system/files/articles/rapport\\_miviludes\\_2006\\_-\\_TFP.pdf](http://www.unadfi.org/system/files/articles/rapport_miviludes_2006_-_TFP.pdf).
- <sup>187</sup> Julia Dauksza, Anna Gielewska, Konrad Szczygieł (Reporters' Foundation, Poland), Juliana Dal Piva (Brazil) and Audrey Lebel (France), *Salve Maria, or Millions made in Poland*.
- <sup>188</sup> Neil Datta, *Modern Day Crusaders*, 2019.
- <sup>189</sup> Eberle Associates, About us, <https://www.eberleassociates.com/about-us/>.
- <sup>190</sup> Bruce Eberle, *Political direct mail fund raising*, Kaleidoscope Pub., rev. edition, 1 January 1996; and Bruce Eberle, *Conservative Direct Mail Fund*, Eberle Associates, December 2012 (first published October 1982).
- <sup>191</sup> Alex Altman and Michael Scherer, *Conservatives Inc.*, Time, 13 March 2014, <https://time.com/23001/conservatives-inc/>.
- <sup>192</sup> Bruce Eberle at the Leadership Institute, <https://leadershipinstitute.org/training/contact.cfm?FacultyID=21910>. See Neil Datta, *Modern Day Crusaders*, 2019, for the relationship between the Leadership Institute and TFP.
- <sup>193</sup> Adam Ramsay and Joni Hess, *Undercover with the US conservatives who trained Mike Pence*, 2020.
- <sup>194</sup> Konrad Szczygieł, *The Golden Boys of Fatima*, VSquare, 20 November 2020, <https://vsquare.org/the-golden-boys-of-fatima/>.
- <sup>195</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>196</sup> Julia Dauksza, Anna Gielewska, Konrad Szczygieł (Reporters' Foundation, Poland), Juliana Dal Piva (Brazil) and Audrey Lebel (France), *Salve Maria, or Millions made in Poland*.
- <sup>197</sup> See : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ruxkXEKeeyY>
- <sup>198</sup> MIVILUDES, Rapport au Premier ministre 2006 – L'approche économique des mouvements à caractère sectaire, 2006.
- <sup>199</sup> See Die Freie Welt, <https://www.freiewelt.net/>.
- <sup>200</sup> Hendrik Ankenbrand, *Christliche Alternative für Deutschland*, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 10 March 2014, <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/afd-kritisiert-rechte-von-schwulen-und-muslimen-12837646-p2.html>.
- <sup>201</sup> See Familien Schutz ('Family Protection') (<https://www.familien-schutz.de/>); Demo für Alle ('Demonstration for all') (<https://demofueralle.blog/>); Entscheidung fürs Leben ('Decision for Life') (<http://entscheidung-fuers-leben.de/>); and Marsch für das Leben (March for Life) (<https://www.bundesverband-lebensrecht.de/marsch-fuer-das-leben/>).
- <sup>202</sup> Hendrik Ankenbrand, *Christliche Alternative für Deutschland*, 2014.
- <sup>203</sup> Kattacha's Blog, *Das Daten-Imperium der Beatrix von Storch*, 10 April 2016, <http://kattascha.de/?p=2212>.
- <sup>204</sup> L. Whetherall, *Beatrix von Storch, Freedom of Information Archive Research (FOIA)*, 28 October 2019, <https://www.foiaresearch.net/person/beatrix-von-storch>.
- <sup>205</sup> Michael Gruber, *Von Storchs Datenimperium, Eine Netzaktivistin durchwühlte das Darknet der von Storchs. Jetzt ermittelt Berlins Datenschutzbeauftragte. Es geht um rechte Propaganda*, Die Taz, 18 June 2016, <http://www.taz.de/Netzwerk-der-AfD-Vize-Chefin/15313894/>.
- <sup>206</sup> L. Whetherall, *Beatrix von Storch*, 2019.
- <sup>207</sup> Andreas Kemper, *Klerikal-aristokratische Vernetzung in der 'Alternative für Deutschland' (AfD)*, Humanistischer Pressdienst, 4 February 2015, <https://hpd.de/artikel/11143>.
- <sup>208</sup> L. Whetherall, *Beatrix von Storch*, 2019.
- <sup>209</sup> Die Taz, *Hydra im Bundestag, Die AfD gibt sich national-konservativ. Doch bei ihren Mitarbeitern sind Rechtsextreme und Neu-Rechte gern gesehen*, 23 November 2018, <https://taz.de/Die-AfD-Fraktion-und-ihre-Mitarbeiter/15550036/>.
- <sup>210</sup> Jordi Pérez Colomé, *La conexión rusa de Hazte Oír*, 2017.
- <sup>211</sup> CAPA TV, *Una Propuesta preparada para D. Patrick Slim por Ignacio Arsuaga*, HazteOír.org, 4 de septiembre de 2013, provided by Arte Television for 'IVG: les croisés contrattaquent', March 2018.
- <sup>212</sup> Jordi Pérez Colomé, *La conexión rusa de Hazte Oír*, 2017.
- <sup>213</sup> Laura Galaup and Jesús Bastante, *Vox mete en política y en las instituciones a miembros de Hazte Oír y el lobby ultracatólico que le ayudó en sus inicios*, El Diario, 9 December 2019, [https://www.eldiario.es/politica/Vox-Hazte\\_Oir-Ignacio\\_Arsuaga-Santiago\\_Abascal\\_0\\_970453512.html](https://www.eldiario.es/politica/Vox-Hazte_Oir-Ignacio_Arsuaga-Santiago_Abascal_0_970453512.html).
- <sup>214</sup> Adam Ramsay and Claire Provost, *Revealed: the Trump-linked 'Super PAC' working behind the scenes to drive Europe's voters to the far-right*, Open Democracy, 25 April 2019, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/revealed-the-trump-linked-super-pac-working-behind-the-scenes-to-drive-europes-voters-to-the-far-right/>.
- <sup>215</sup> Ibid.



## 5

## EUROPEAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ELITES

It is increasingly apparent that religious extremists cultivate support among Europe's social and economic elite, who then fund anti-gender activities. Jane Mayer's *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right* (2016), which describes how a small number of billionaires fuelled the rise of the US Christian Right, provides a template for a similar ecosystem among Europe's wealthiest individuals. The trail leads in two directions: one follows wealthy private individuals, and the other follows Europe's 'old money'.

### 5.1 THE 'ONE PERCENT'S' REACTIONARY ACTIVISM

To understand the European economic elites who back anti-gender initiatives and related alt- and far-right political parties, the perspective must shift to the national level. Across Europe, recent investigations have revealed how national economic elites and the corporate sector – in short, the 'One Percent'<sup>31</sup> – have played an important role in supporting the rise of the anti-gender movement and new alt- and far-right political parties.

French investigative journalists were among the first to explore corporate funding for religious and socially conservative engagement. Marc Baudriller described in 2011 the existence of Catholic networks among France's socio-economic elites in *Les Réseaux Cathos: leur pouvoir, leur valeurs, leur nouvelle influence* [216]. Thus, when facing the perceived threat of equal marriage in 2012, the organisers of LMPT knew that they could rely on the support of Claude Bébéar, the founder of the insurance giant AXA and reputedly close to Opus Dei, as well as other economic elites close to the Catholic Church [217] to fund their campaigns and mass demonstrations. Through these networks, LMPT collected USD5.6 million in 2013 [218] (see Chapter 3.2).

From Italy, openDemocracy revealed in 2019 how shoemaker and prosecco magnate Mario Moretti Polegato and dairy product mogul Roberto Brazzale were among the corporate sponsors of the 2019 WCF in Verona [219]. Brazzale, who has a history of homophobic and misogynist positions [220], featured as

a speaker at the WCF. Another WCF backer is Levan Vesadze, a conservative oligarch from Georgia, who hosted the 2016 WCF in Tbilisi [221] and heads the Demographic Renaissance Foundation of Georgia [222]. With an estimated wealth ranging from USD35–500 million [223], Vesadze has become a prominent political figure in Georgia for his conservative, traditionalist views and support for anti-gender issues. In 2019, he came under investigation when he attempted to create anti-LGBTQI vigilante squads for the Tbilisi Pride parade [224] and in May 2021, Vesadze announced that he was entering Georgian politics by creating a new political movement under the slogan "Georgia above all" [225].

Spanish media [226] report how Hazte Oir maintained a close relationship with several of Spain's wealthiest families. These include the late David Álvarez Díez, founder of the Eulen Group<sup>32</sup> with an estimated worth of USD450 million, whom Arsuaga recognised for his support with a 'Hazte Oir Award' in 2012 [227]. Another Spanish entrepreneur who received the Hazte Oir Award in 2015 was José Luis Bonet of the sparkling wine Freixenet [228]. Others include Esther Koplowitz, a Spanish construction billionaire, and the late Isidoro Alvarez, the former CEO of El Corte Inglés, a high-end Spanish department store chain. Hazte Oir also courted Juan Miguel Villar Mir, the patriarch of Spain's fifth wealthiest family involved in construction and banking, who was the pro-Franco Minister of Economy and Finance during the country's transition to democracy.

Other backers of Hazte Oir come from further afield in Mexico. Luis Pablo Beauregard of *El País* details how Patricio Slim, of the world's fourth wealthiest family, with a personal wealth of USD5.5 billion, supports the anti-gender movement in Mexico and globally. Patricio Slim supported anti-abortion causes in Mexico through Incluyendo Mexico [229] (whose head participated in Agenda Europe meetings) [230] and Red Familia [231] (a co-sponsor of the PNfV) [232] and made donations to Hazte Oir [233] and to the Fondazione Novae Terrae [234].

From Austria, the Turnauer family, with an industrial empire and family fortune estimated at over €1 billion [235] earning it the 37th spot among the wealthiest Austrian families, was recently revealed to have made large donations to foundations linked

<sup>31</sup> Defined as "the richest one percent of people, who are said to have most of the money, property, and power in society" (Cambridge Dictionary, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/one-percent>).

<sup>32</sup> The Eulen Group specialises in cleaning, security, and support services; it had sales of over €1.5 billion in 2016. See <http://www.eulen.ae/en/content/specialists-your-service>.



◆ **Levan Vesadze, Georgian oligarch, host of the 2016 WCF in Tbilisi.**



◆ **Santiago Abascal, politician and the leader of the Spanish far-right party Vox.**

to Austria's far-right Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) [236]. The Turnauer family is also close to monarchist circles, as well as the von Habsburg family (see Chapter 3.2) and Cardinal Schönborn (see Chapter 7) [237], and a representative of the Turnauer Stiftung (Turnauer Foundation) features on the list of Agenda Europe participants.

However, there are billionaires who channel their interest in anti-gender causes through far-right initiatives. One example is the heiress of Italian car manufacturer Fiat, Margherita Agnelli, and her husband, Count Serge de Pahlen. Both were participants in Malofeev's secretive meeting of far-right leaders in Vienna [238] and Count de Pahlen sits on the board of the St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation [239]. In other countries, local economic elites channelled their financial support through alt- and far-right or hyper-free-market-oriented political parties, as is the case of AfD in Germany, Fidesz in Hungary, Chega in Portugal, the Forum voor Democratie (FvD) – Forum for Democracy – in the Netherlands and VOX in Spain.

German and Swiss media revealed that the London-based German property owner Henning Conle and the Swiss-based German billionaire August von Finck Jr, owner of the Mövenpick restaurant and hotel chain, were donors to AfD in 2018 [240]. The von Finck family started accumulating its wealth in the late 19th century, and “during the Nazi regime, Finck benefited from the ‘aryanisation’ of Jewish property” [241]; his fortune is now worth USD8.7 billion. Other AfD financial supporters include Hans-Olaf Henkel [242], former head of the Federation of German Industry and later AfD MEP, and Christian Krawinkel, a Berlin-based asset manager, who donated €100,000 in 2020 [243].

In Hungary, a coterie of oligarchs has emerged over the past decade to support the Fidesz party and Prime Minister Orban

and “much of the new Fidesz-linked business elite has achieved its success primarily through state contracts, about 60 per cent of which are funded by the EU” [244]. These oligarchs include Lőrinc Mészáros reputed to be Hungary's wealthiest man with a fortune estimated at USD1.3 billion as well as Lajos Simicska (media), Istvan Garancsi (sports, construction, touring) and Istvan Tiborcz (real estate and hospitality), who are collectively known as the “MGTS+ group” (referring to the first letters of their surnames) of crony businessmen close to the Fidesz party. In 2020, the Budapest based Corruption Research Center Budapest (CRCB) released a report demonstrating that the “corruption risk in Hungarian public procurement reached its highest level since 2005: by April 30, 41% of the contracts were awarded without any competition. The MGTS+ group won 74 public procurements this year worth USD84 million, 68% without any competition. Their wins represented 27% of the net value of all government contracts” [245]. The MGTS+ are all personally close to the Prime Minister and his family and, owing their fortunes to the Prime Minister, they have then taken up roles in advancing State-sponsored anti-gender narratives through the media channels they control [246] (see also Chapter 6.3).

In Spain, *El Publico* revealed in 2019 that the Francisco Franco Foundation (a foundation in honour of Spain's former dictator) raised funds from Spain's entrepreneur class for VOX [247]. José Maria Irujo of *El Pais* outlines how VOX owes its origins to donations made from an unlikely source: a right-wing, former terrorist émigré Iranian community, the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI) [248]. *El Pais* explains how, in addition to covering the salaries of VOX party leaders, including that of Santiago Abascal, “the ultra-nationalist party received €971,890.56 between December 2013 and April 2014. The money funded the 2014 European election campaign as well as various party expenses” [249]. The NCRI raised the funds by despatching “35 collectors around the world: money was obtained from around a thousand supporters in cities and neighbourhoods of around 15 countries, including Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Canada and the United States. Most of these contributions were anonymous” [250].

From Portugal, Miguel Carvalho of VISÃO revealed in 2020 that the proposals of the growing far-right and economically libertarian Chega (‘Enough’) political party and its charismatic leader, André Ventura, “to generate wealth and reduce



◆ **André Ventura, leader of Chega.**

the state's weight" [251] and to combat 'Cultural Marxism' attracted various families of the country's economic elites. João Maria Bravo, the head of a NATO-certified weapons and ammunition manufacturer, was an early supporter of Ventura, stating: "it is important to support Chega and to mobilize other entrepreneurs around Ventura so that he can win the elections and get to be Prime Minister. In terms of financial aid – and of course the party will need it." The Portuguese entrepreneurs who expressed support for Chega include Paulo Mirpari (airlines), Carlos Bardot (industrial paint), Joao Maria Bravo (weapons and ammunition), Francisco Sa Nogueira (tourism) and Miguel Felix de Costa (industrial lubricants and real estate), as well as wealthy Portuguese émigrés in the United States such as Caesar DePaço (pharmaceuticals and nutrition) [252].

From the Netherlands, Dennis l'Ami and Jeroen Wines of Follow the Money [253] detailed in 2020 how an informal group of Dutch lawyers and business-owners coalesced to create the FvD of Thierry Baudet in 2016. For this, they received help from an organisation associated with Agenda Europe, the Transatlantic Christian Council (TCC) (<https://www.tccouncil.org/>), and the informal networks of economic elites within the Dutch Reformed Church (see Chapter 7). Early Baudet supporters included Jan Louis Burggraaf, a merger and acquisitions lawyer and one of the 200 most influential Dutch people according to De Volkskrant, and the TCC's founder, Henk Jan Van Schothorst, both members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

Pete Hoekstra, the Trump-appointed US Ambassador to the Netherlands, also of the Dutch Reformed Church in the US, close to the DeVos family (see Chapters 1 and 7) and a friend of van Schothorst, became a key FvD ally [254]. This friendship materialised with a fundraising event to benefit the FvD in October 2020 which the TCC organised in the grounds of the US embassy. This provoked an indignant reaction from Dutch politicians, who accused the US Ambassador of "interference in our elections" [255]. Such fundraising events served as the platform for Burggraaf and Van Schothorst to recruit support for the FvD. Soon, other entrepreneurs

supported the FvD, such as Cor Verkade, with a real estate portfolio worth €350 million, Henk Otten (a banker), Rob Roolan (Internet entrepreneur), Michiel Visser (a merger and acquisitions lawyer), Maarten Ruijs (a partner in a Hong Kong-based private equity fund), Nick Galea (a Cyprus-based software entrepreneur), Erik de Vlioger (real estate) and Michael van de Kuit (real estate). The FvD's support base expanded beyond Dutch Reformed Church networks and included Jan van den Broeck, who operates Netbabes, an adult content website [256].

From the United Kingdom, it is billionaire backers of the Conservative Party who are associated with supporting religious extremist causes. An example is Sir Michael Hintze, an Australian-British billionaire with an estimated net worth of USD2.9 billion and manager of CQS, the UK's third largest hedge fund [257], who appears as a funder of anti-gender organisations. Hintze is a prominent financial backer of the UK Conservative Party [258] and the Australian Liberal Party [259], and UK Prime Minister David Cameron awarded Hintze a knighthood in 2013 and invited him to join the Leaders' Group [260] (an elite group of the Conservative Party's top financial backers) [261] for his generous support. Hintze is a trustee of the Institute of Economic Affairs, a UK right-wing free market think tank with close links to similar organisations in the United States [262]. Hintze gave financial support to the pro-Brexit campaign [263] and a climate change-denying think tank [264], and features as a funder of the ECPM.<sup>33</sup> His adviser, Michael Hylton, attended the Agenda Europe meeting in London in 2013 [265]. Sir Michael Hintze is also on the board of the Instituto per il Opere di Religione (the Vatican Bank) [266] and has created the Hintze Family Charitable Foundation which aims "to advance religion and for the benefit of the general public" [267] and has provided several multi-annual grants to the Vienna-based International Theological Institute [268] which helped organise the first meeting of Agenda Europe [269].

Sian Norris [270] also points to George Farmer and his father Lord Michael Farmer - who has been referred to as the "bankroller of the British religious right" – as large donors to the UK Conservative Party and specifically to like-minded



Thierry Baudet, leader of the FvD.

Source: © Mieke Meessen



Sir Michael Hintze, a British-Australian businessman, philanthropist and Conservative Party donor.

© Wikipedia/Acton Institute

<sup>33</sup> The ECPM annual financial report for 2014 refers to a €10,000 donation from Sir Michael Hintze.



candidates who share anti-abortion and homophobic views and headed the UK outposts of US far-right think tanks such as Turning Point. Another UK funder is Sir Timothy Hoare and his family who are the owners of one of the UK's oldest private banks, C Hoare & Co Bank, established in 1672. While the late father, Sir Timothy Hoare was a generous donor to the UK Conservative Party, his son Charles worked at CARE, a religious extremist organisation involved in the homophobic ECI 'Mum, Dad & Kids' (see Chapter 3.2).

From Poland, in addition to Fr. Rydzyk (see Chapter 3.1), other anti-gender billionaires include the late Jan Kobyłański, a Polish-Latin American businessman and founder of the Unia Stowarzyszeń i Organizacji Polskich w Ameryce Łacińskiej (USOPAŁ) – the Union of Polish Associations and Organisations in Latin America – who is famous for his anti-Semitic statements and supported several far-right and ultra-conservative causes, including Radio Maryja [271]. More recently, the person behind the Fundacja Nasze Dzieci, which launched a billboard campaign against abortion and divorce (see Chapter 3.1), is Mateusz Kłosek, the multimillionaire head of window manufacturer Eko Okna [272]. Behind the Witaszków Family Foundation stands Paweł Witaszek, the former vice-president of Nałęczów Zdrój, the producer of 'Cisowianka' brand mineral water which is among the most popular in Poland and neighbouring countries generating almost €80 million in revenues [273]. Paweł Witaszek is also the founder of PZW Investments Limited Liability Company [274] which announced its partnership with Ordo Iuris in creating a TFP-inspired university in Poland in May 2021 [275].

Additional examples of corporate support to anti-gender mobilisation include the funders of the Spanish anti-abortion organisation Red Madre ('Mothers' Network'), such as Carrefour (supermarket chain), Bankia (banking) and La Caixa (banking and insurance), which, together with other corporate funders, account for approximately a third of its income [276]. The Istoki Endowment Fund and Dialogue of Civilisations Research Institute count on corporate sponsorship from Russian telecoms operators, transport companies, and companies involved in metallurgy and banking [277]. Major events can serve as opportunities to raise funds, as the Human Rights Campaign 2015 reports: "In Russia, WCF events have been sponsored by major companies, including some of the country's largest financial service companies, private equity firms, manufacturers and restaurant chains" [278]. In some countries, corporate philanthropy to anti-gender causes is formalised – for

example, with the Bund der Katholischer Unternehmer (BKU) (<https://www.bku.de/>) – Federation of Catholic Entrepreneurs – in Germany and in Poland with the Towarzystwo Biznesowe (<https://towarzystwabiznesowe.pl/>) – Business association – whose leadership includes several anti-gender personalities.<sup>34</sup>

## 5.2 EUROPE'S OLD ORDER: CLERICAL-ARISTOCRATIC NETWORKS

*"Die Ungleichheit zu hassen bedeutet,  
Gott zu hassen."*

*("Those who hate inequality also hate God.")* [279]

There is a group of people specific to Europe, many of whom could be assumed to be affluent,<sup>35</sup> who regularly feature as supporters of anti-gender initiatives: aristocrats. Andreas Kemper describes 'clerical-aristocratic networks' as key players in Germany's anti-gender mobilisation initiatives [280], and the same would hold true across most of Europe. Clerical-aristocratic networks bring together people with aristocratic pedigrees who organise their anti-gender activism around a set of specific religious views.

There are several extensive clerical-aristocratic networks that span German-speaking countries. The most prominent centres on the former Austrian imperial family of the von



Source: © Eduard von Habsburg Twitter profile picture

● **Eduard von Habsburg, Hungarian Ambassador to the Vatican and speaker at WCF 2019.**

<sup>34</sup> For example, Count Albrecht Brandenstein-Zepelin and Mechthild Löhre of the Bundesverband Lebensrecht both held governance functions in bodies of the BKU and Paweł Witaszek who is a prominent member of the Towarzystwo Biznesowe, which has cooperated with Ordo Iuris,

<sup>35</sup> See «Commission d'information et de liaison des associations de noblesse d'Europe» (CILANE) which regroups the nobility associations across Europe. While the aristocracy lost their privileges and official use of their titles in the aftermath of the two World Wars and the Soviet period, in some countries "The nobility – we call it the "historical nobility" – is still active in Germany and represented by the German Nobility Associations." In several countries, aristocratic families were able to maintain much of their wealth, including real estate, even after the abolition of monarchical systems. In some countries, aristocratic families were able to reclaim possessions lost over the World Wars and the Soviet period. See <https://cilane.eu/>



Habsburg-Lothrigens. Various members of the Habsburg family have been active in the WCF,<sup>36</sup> the Steve Bannon-linked DHI<sup>37</sup> and the Agenda Europe network. For example, the younger generation, represented by Archduke Imre, married Kathleen Walker, who used to work at the American Life League, and both feature as participants in Agenda Europe meetings [281]. The most successful is Edouard von Habsburg, currently serving as Hungarian Ambassador to the Holy See, who was a speaker at the 2019 WCF in Verona. The net worth of the family is said to be between USD63 million and USD207 million [282].

Another aristocratic network includes the descendants of Kaiser Wilhelm II, Germany's last Emperor [283], such as Paul, Duke of Oldenburg, who heads the Fédération Pro-Europa Christiana, the TFP umbrella group. His wife, Pilar (née Maria del Pilar Méndez de Vigoy Löwenstein-Werthem-Rosenberg) is related to both German nobility on her mother's side (the Princely house of Löwenstein in Bavaria) and Spanish nobility on her father's side (the powerful Méndez de Vigo clan) [284]. His cousin, Beatrix von Storch, formerly Duchess of Oldenburg, has been an AfD parliamentarian since 2014. In the 20th century, several von Oldenburgs, Löwensteins and Méndez de Vigos played prominent roles in Germany's Third Reich and General Franco's dictatorship in Spain [285].

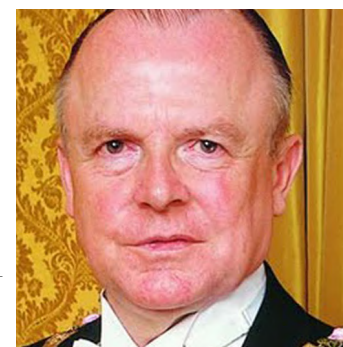
The most far-reaching clerical-aristocratic network is centred on the Stiftung Ja zum Leben (see Chapter 3.1). Founded by the late Johanna, Countess of Westphalia, six aristocrats are members of the foundation's Board [286], many of whom are involved in several additional anti-gender organisations. These include the late Karl, Count of Ballestrem, who also served on the WYA Board and "successfully founded a Foerderverein [support association] which will raise consistent financial support from private individuals in order to facilitate the ongoing work on the World Youth Alliance" [287]. His wife, Consuelo, Countess of Ballestrem, also served on the WYA Board [288]. The late Johanna, Countess of Westphalia also founded the Christendemokraten für das Leben (<https://cdl-online.net/>) – Christian Democrats for Life – within Germany's Christian Democratic Union, where Sophia Kuby, of ADF International (see Chapter 1), currently serves as Vice-Chair [289]. The family of Ja zum Leben's founder, the von Westphalen/von Hohenbergs (who are related to the von Habsburg-Lothringens), have continued the tradition, with successive generations respectively taking up the management of Ja Zum Leben,<sup>38</sup> working for ADF international<sup>39</sup> and serving

on the WYA Board [290]. The Stiftung für Familienwerte also counts several aristocrats on its governance bodies,<sup>40</sup> including Hedwig, Freifrau von Beverfoerde, leader of Demo für Alle, who took CitizenGO's anti-trans bus to Germany [291] and is involved several von Storch initiatives [292]. Andreas Kemper explains how these aristocratic families are all related to each other through several generations of inter-marriage [293].

Other aristocrats are part of a wider, yet related network, such as Prince Nikolaus of Liechtenstein (the brother of the crown prince of Liechtenstein), whose family's net worth is estimated at USD5 billion [294]. For example, Prince Nikolaus and Princess Margareta of Liechtenstein are listed as patrons of the WYA [295], and Prince Nikolaus serves on the Advisory Council of ADF [296] and on the Honour Committee of the European Bioethics Committee [297] and spoke at the parliamentary prayer breakfast organised by the ECPM in Kiev in 2016 (see Chapter 7) [298]. Albrecht, Count of Brandenstein-Zepplin, who established the European Family Foundation, considers that "woman is superior to the man... because her intuitive perception is considerably more pronounced" and advises women to "[l]et your husband guide you, respect his male honour" [299]. The von Brandenstein-Zepplin family, which is involved in a range of Catholic philanthropy, features among Germany's wealthiest 500 families, with a net worth of €250 million according to Manager Magazin. Other aristocrats from German-speaking countries who play important roles in anti-gender activism include Cardinal Schönborn of Austria (see Chapter 7) as well as Jakob Cornides von Krempach.<sup>41</sup>



◆ Viscount Philippe de Villiers.



◆ Prince Luiz de Orleans e Bragança.

<sup>36</sup> Archduchess Christiana von Habsburg-Lothringen was a speaker at the 2017 WCF in Budapest.

<sup>37</sup> The patriarch, the late Otto von Habsburg, a long-time German parliamentarian, is posthumously listed as Patron of the DHI. See <http://www.dignitathumanae.com/index.php/about-us/about-the-institute/>.

<sup>38</sup> See Elisabeth Hohenburg and her husband, Duke Nikolaus Hohenberg, on the Board of Ja zum Leben at <https://ja-zum-leben.de/startseite/ueber-uns/unsere-stiftungsleitung/>.

<sup>39</sup> Johanna Hohenberg, the granddaughter of the late Johanna, Countess of Westphalia, is Communications Officer at ADF International. See <https://www.lightworkers.com/anti-christian-violence-in-india/>.

<sup>40</sup> These are Hedwig von Beverfoerde; Friedrich, Count of Eulenburg-Hertefeld; Ludwig, Count of Yorck von Wartenburg; Bolko von Reinersdorff; and Dr. Tilman Rüsck (of Siemens). See <https://www.stiftung-familienwerte.de/stiftung>.

<sup>41</sup> Jakob Cornides von Krempach, currently an official in the European Commission's Directorate General for Trade, is of a minor Austrian aristocratic family. He is also a legal adviser for Ordo Iuris (see <https://en.ordoiuris.pl/dr-jakob-cornides>), author of several anti-gender reports published by C-FAM (see [https://c-fam.org/white\\_paper/natural-and-un-natural-law/](https://c-fam.org/white_paper/natural-and-un-natural-law/)), the author of Agenda Europe's manifesto Restoring the Natural Order and the administrator behind the now inactive Agenda Europe blog (see <https://agendaueurope.wordpress.com/>).



◆ **Princess Gloria von Thurn und Taxes.**



◆ **Louis Alphonse, Duke of Anjou.**

Source: Wikipedia/Grain de sel

Aristocrats have traditionally formed an important constituent of the WCF since the 1990s.<sup>42</sup> In addition to Edouard von Habsburg, Princess Gloria von Thurn und Taxis and Prince Louis Alphonse de Bourbon were both VIP speakers at the 2019 WCF. Princess Gloria, whose family's wealth is estimated at €550 million, has extensive links to a range of anti-gender actors, including by serving on the Board of Ja zum Leben [300] and the Advisory Group of Yakunin's Dialogue of Civilizations [301], and maintains a friendship with far-right ideologue Steve Bannon [302]. Prince Louis Alphonse de Bourbon, the great-grandson of the Spanish dictator General Franco and claimant to both the French and Spanish thrones [303], was also in discussions with the VOX party in 2019 about a possible entry into Spanish politics [304]. Another claimant to the Spanish throne is the Carlist [305] contender, Prince Sixtus Henry of Bourbon-Parma, who was present at Malofeev's Vienna gathering in 2014 (see Chapter 2).

From France, Count Henri de Castries, former CEO of AXA and close to François Fillion, the Republican Party Presidential candidate of 2016, is reputedly "monstrously right-wing on social issues, on school. He is one of the funders of La Manif Pour Tous" [306]. Other French aristocratic supporters of LMPT include Grégor Puppink [307] of the ECLJ (see Chapter

1) and Ludovine de la Rochère, the President of LMPT. Viscount Philippe De Villiers, a nationalist politician from the 1990s, enjoys a wealth of €146 million from his real estate investments, the best known being a French history-themed amusement park [308]. De Villiers, who has made donations to the Jérôme Lejeune Foundation [309], announced plans in 2014 to engage in a joint venture with Malofeev to build a similar Orthodox-themed amusement park in Russian-occupied Crimea [310].

In addition, the Russian émigré nobility,<sup>43</sup> which "maintain a tight-knit community across Europe sustained by galas and black-tie reunions" [311] and hold sway in the Russian-speaking space, also appear in the anti-gender landscape. One example is Prince Zurab Chavchavadze (of Georgian aristocracy), a Board member of the St. Basil the Great Foundation [312] and the far-right think tank Katehon [313], who is related by marriage to a senior Russian aristocrat, Prince Dmitriy Mikhailovich Shakhovskoy.<sup>44</sup> Prince Chavchavadze also runs Malofeev's school in Moscow, which is "meant to function as 'an Orthodox Eton', which will prepare the new elite for a future Russian monarchy" [314]. Indeed, Malofeev has attempted to establish a monarchist political party to support Vladimir Putin as a new Tsar and even offered to replace the State Duma with a "Nobles' Assembly" which he has funded since 2015 [315].

TFP is the very definition of a clerical-aristocratic network, as it is a pseudo-Catholic religious movement composed of aristocrats with the stated aim of restoring the nobility to power, as detailed in *The Nobility and Analogous Traditional Elites* [316]. Notable TFP aristocrats are the Brazilian imperial family of Orléans-Bragança [317] and the Coda Nunziante of Naples,<sup>45</sup> in addition to Paul von Oldenburg (mentioned above). Members of the Orléans-Bragança family are active in the TFP network [318] and still aspire for a return of their imperial power [319]. The great-grandson of Brazil's last emperor, Luiz Philippe of Orléans-Braganza, was elected to the Brazilian Parliament in 2018 in the Social Liberal Party of President Bolsonaro [320].

<sup>42</sup> The following were regular WCF VIP invitees from the 1990s onwards: Max Czernin (noble family from Bohemia); Graf Maximilian Meran and family (Austria); Graf Lodron (noble family from Trentino); Graf Goess (Austrian noble family); Marquise Immacolata Solaro del Borgo (Italian noble family); Madame Sybille Le Hodey (Belgian high bourgeoisie); Irina Prinzessin zu Sayn-Wittgenstein (German princely family); Contesse Armand de Malherbe (French noble family); Madame Elizabeth de Sejournet (Belgian aristocracy); Michaela Freifrau von Heereman (German noble family); Beatrice de Chateaufieux (French noble family); and Anne d'Hambure (French noble family).

<sup>43</sup> Russian émigré nobility fled the territory of Imperial Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and many settled in France and Western Europe. See David Edwards, *The White Émigré Epic*, Russian Life, 1 November 2018, <https://www.russianlife.com/magazine/nov-dec-2018/the-white-emigre-epic/>.

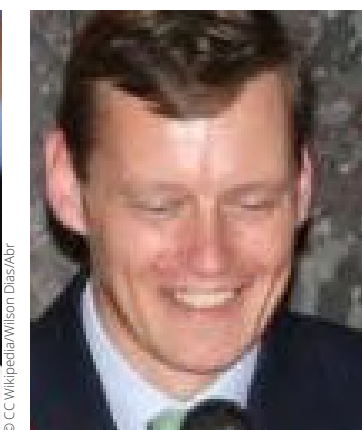
<sup>44</sup> Prince Zurab Chavchavadze's daughter is married to Prince Dmitriy Mikhailovich Shakhovskoy's son. The Shakhovskoy family is among the oldest aristocratic pedigrees of Russian nobility "whose family traces its roots to the medieval Rurik dynasty" (Gregory Feifer, *Why Russia's Former Nobility Is Supporting the Kremlin*, 2015).

<sup>45</sup> The late Luigi Coda Nunziante, the Marquis of Naples, the representative of an old Italian aristocratic family, was active in the far-right Movimento Sociale italiano and created several anti-gender organisations in Italy, including La Famiglia Domani and the Marcia per la Vita Italia. He is described as a friend of TFP and created Nobility and Tradition. His activism in anti-gender causes has been taken over by his daughter, Virginia Coda Nunziante, since his passing in 2015. See <http://www.correspondanceeuropeenne.eu/2015/07/31/in-memoriam-le-marquis-luigi-coda-nunziante-1930-2015/>.

An example of the aristocrats active in the TFP network are the signatories of the 'Declaration of Fidelity to the Church's Unchangeable Teaching on Marriage and to Her Uninterrupted Discipline',<sup>46</sup> issued as a warning to the Vatican's consideration of more liberal thinking on marriage and family in 2016. A new generation of millennial aristocrats are enthusiastic TFP supporters, as exemplified by 28-year-old Alexander Tschugguel, of an Austrian baronial family, who became briefly famous for unceremoniously jettisoning a statue of an Incan goddess into the Tiber River in Rome while a Vatican synod was taking place in autumn 2019 [321].

Finally, the royal family of Qatar has also championed anti-gender philanthropy. Her Highness Sheikha Moza Bint Nasser, "the most glamorous of the former [Qatari] Emir's multiple wives" [322], established the Doha International Family Institute (<https://www.difi.org.qa/>) – DIFI – in 2006 as part of the Qatar Foundation. The DIFI aims to promote awareness of family issues in the Arab world and beyond and is based on the "Doha Declaration on the Family which reaffirms the commitments of the international community to strengthen the family as the natural and fundamental group unit of society and encourages governments, international organisations and members of civil society to take action to promote and support the family" [323]. In 2016, Brian Whitaker exposed how the Qatar royal family funded a range of anti-gender initiatives at global level and across Europe and the Middle East through the DIFI, executed in partnership with US Christian and Mormon actors between 2008 and 2012 [324].

The clerical-aristocratic networks play multiple roles in the fundraising landscape: offering prestige, funding and legitimacy for a worldview based on inherited inequality sanctified by



❶ Sheikha Moza Bint Nasser. ❷ Duke Paul of Oldenburg.

religious teachings. Andreas Kemper explains the motivation for aristocratic families to engage in anti-gender activism: "The link between this 'pro-life' movement and its aristocratic supporters is the inheritance. The family should be 'holy' because family promises family inheritance. Not only in the sense of private property, but also in the sense of a 'higher' pedigree. Since this holiness of difference is transmitted embryonically, a contempt of this embryonic process would also be a contempt of the holy class difference. The 'protection of life' in this sense is the 'protection of nobility'" [325]. However, according to Martin Gak, the attraction between European aristocracy and religious extremist strategists is mutual, because "as opposed to the US, where Bannon used the Republican Party to buttress the accession to power of a Tea Party candidate, Europe lacks a significant political nationalist-religious right that can be mobilized in line with populist agendas. Arguably, this is precisely the function of Bannon's circle of European aristocrats" [326].

## SNAPSHOT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC ELITES

- European social and economic elites form an important part of the anti-gender and related alt- and far-right funding landscape. There at least 60 such elites in two categories: high-net-worth individuals and corporations, commonly known as the 'One Percent', and clerical-aristocratic networks.
- High-net-worth individuals and corporations have funded anti-gender initiatives and helped fuel the rise of the alt- and far-right parties across Europe which embrace religious extremism combined with economic hyper-libertarianism.
- Clerical-aristocratic networks have established private foundations which support anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQI mobilisations and, in some cases, play leadership roles in anti-gender organisations and events.
- The benefactors of the 21<sup>st</sup> century anti-gender movement include the modern apologists for Spanish Francoism and Germany's Third Reich, the contemporary claimants to the defunct thrones of Austria, Brazil, France, Germany and Spain, and advocates for an entirely new Tsarist order in Russia.

<sup>46</sup> Aristocratic signatories include: Count Giorgio Piccolomini (Italy); Countess Felicitas Piccolomini (Italy); H.I.R.H. Prince Dom Luiz of Orleans-Braganza, Head of the Imperial House of Brazil; H.H. Duke Paul of Oldenburg (Germany); H.H. Duchess Pilar of Oldenburg (Germany); Prince Carlo Massimo (Italy); Princess Elisa Massimo (Italy); H.I.R.H. Prince Dom Bertrand of Orleans-Braganza (Brazil); Archduchess Alejandra of Habsburg (Mrs. Hector Riesle Contreras) (Austria, Chile); Mathias von Gersdorff, writer and lecturer (Germany); Marchioness Gabriella Spalletti Trivelli Coda Nunziante (Italy); Virginia Coda Nunziante, President of Famiglia Domani (Italy); Tatiana Osorio de Moscoso, Duchess of Montemar (Spain); H.S.H. Princess Benigna Reuss (Spain); Marquise Maria Negrotto Cambiaso (Italy); Luisa of the Princess Colonna di Paliano (Italy); and Countess Lucrezia Piccolomini Adami (Italy). See <https://www.filialappeal.org/seemore/>.



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## 6

# STATE SUPPORT TO ANTI-GENDER ORGANISATIONS

Religious extremists have tapped into arguably the most promising source of funding in Europe: state funding. While many anti-gender organisations may benefit from support from public authorities for their general operations,<sup>47</sup> and from that engage in anti-gender activism, or from favours from political allies,<sup>48</sup> state funding for anti-gender objectives has focused on five main areas: funding to mislead women; funding to indoctrinate young people; serving as a government echo chamber; funding for political activism; and anti-gender soft diplomacy. Moreover, some anti-gender actors benefit from institutionalised state subsidy mechanisms.

## 6.1 MISLEADING WOMEN

A long-standing objective of anti-gender organisations has been to impede access to abortion, as articulated at the PNfV summit in 2017 [327], following a threefold strategy to prevent, restrict and prohibit abortion. While the efforts to restrict and prohibit are well documented [328], less well known are the attempts to prevent abortion. Rather than focusing on the reasons why women consider terminating their pregnancies, namely by preventing unwanted pregnancies in the first place, anti-gender actors have concentrated on misleading pregnant women about their legal health options. Thus, several religious extremist actors have specialised in accessing public funding to establish 'crisis pregnancy centres', which aim to deter women from accessing legal abortion services. In early 2020, openDemocracy revealed how a network of crisis pregnancy counselling centres was operating around the world, including in Europe, many working from the same manual created by the US anti-abortion organisation Heartbeat International [329].

In Europe, several public bodies provide funding for crisis pregnancy centres. In Spain, an *El Periodico* investigation in 2019 revealed that public authorities had provided €1.8 million to five

anti-abortion organisations over 2014–2018 [330], the largest recipient being Red Madre ('Mothers' Network') (<https://www.redmadre.es/>), which operates a network of crisis pregnancy centres. The Spanish central government provided the lion's share of €975,000, while the remainder came from regional autonomous communities. Similarly, in July 2020 the Maltese government announced it would support the Life Network of Malta (<https://lifenetwork.eu/>) with a grant of €130,000 for its work to prevent abortion through biased counselling [331]. In Slovakia, the Forum Zivota (see Chapter 3.1) has tapped into the European Social Fund and the European Regional Development Fund for its crisis pregnancy centres.<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, the Slovak Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family provides state subsidies to anti-abortion organisations such as Ano Pre Zivot, Forum Zivota and Alexis [332] which operate crisis pregnancy counselling centres.

In the Netherlands, a new organisation, SIRIZ (<https://www.siriz.nl/>), arising from the Dutch anti-abortion movement in 2013, has benefited from public funding for crisis pregnancy counselling. Starting with a grant of €700,000 in 2013, this reached €1.7 million in 2018, allowing it to expand to 13 locations across the country. Another major SIRIZ funder is its parent organisation, the Vereniging ter Bescherming van het Ongeboren Kind (VBOK) – the Association for the Protection of the Unborn Child – which provided SIRIZ with annual grants ranging from €670,000 to €1.1 million between 2015 and 2017 [333].

The most extensive network of crisis pregnancy centres is in Italy, where the Movimento per la Vita started the practice in 1975 (immediately after the legalisation of abortion) and grew to reach over 350 *centri di aiuto alla vita* ('centres for help to life') [334] across the country, sometimes located inside public hospitals [335]. While the Movimento per la Vita does not disclose financial information, the location of these centres inside public health facilities suggests that they benefit from support from the central government or regional authorities.

<sup>47</sup> For example, the French NGOs Familles de France and Les Associations familiales catholiques (AFC) received general operating support from municipal and other local authorities. See Timothée de Rauglaudre, *Qui finance La Manif pour tous?*, 2020.

<sup>48</sup> In Slovenia in February 2021, the anti-gender organisation the Iskreni Institute was awarded a €130,000 public tender financed by European funds for projects aimed at mitigating the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on vulnerable groups. The Minister who awarded the contract had previously been associated with the organisation. See [https://www.mladina.si/204389/zavod-iskreni-na-javnem-razpisu-prejel-130-000-evrov/?fbclid=IwAR3nD-wNa6oy79Gyb\\_4fqeMKgA-vTuwn8MHY-AnLAza9khF1kfIMTTRoR-A](https://www.mladina.si/204389/zavod-iskreni-na-javnem-razpisu-prejel-130-000-evrov/?fbclid=IwAR3nD-wNa6oy79Gyb_4fqeMKgA-vTuwn8MHY-AnLAza9khF1kfIMTTRoR-A).

<sup>49</sup> See Centrum Femina (<https://centrumfemina.sk/>) and Alexis (<https://www.alexisporadna.sk/>), both creations of Forum Zivota, which benefit from EU funding.



Source: Hungarian Government poster

### ● The Hungarian government's EU-funded anti-abortion billboard campaign, 2011.

However, in Hungary crisis pregnancy counselling goes beyond the private initiatives of religious extremists that receive government funding and has become state policy. In 2011 the Hungarian government used €416,000 from the EU employment and social solidarity programme PROGRESS to fund an anti-abortion billboard campaign which depicted a foetus with the caption 'I understand that you are not yet ready for me, but give me up to the adoption agency. LET ME LIVE!'. The EC withdrew its funding from the campaign following heavy criticism [336]. More recently, Katalin Novak, Minister for Family Affairs of the Fidesz government, stated in November 2020 that Church- and foundation-run organisations would help women considering abortion make their decision, remarking that "it is perhaps partly thanks to that that the number of abortions has gone down by 30% over the past ten years" [337]

## 6.2 INDOCTRINATING YOUNG PEOPLE

Religious extremists have tapped into public funding for youth outreach, thus socialising children and young people onto regressive agendas while depriving them of the benefits of comprehensive sexuality education. One example is the WYA's 'Human Dignity Curriculum' [338] a secularised version of Catholic social dogma, which it sells to public authorities as school material.<sup>50</sup> The WYA claims that public authorities in Croatia, Malta and the Philippines have incorporated this tool into their national education programmes [339]. In addition to its connections with US Christian Right fundraisers (see Chapter 1) and European aristocracy (see Chapter 3), the WYA has tapped into EU funding by promoting its 'Human Dignity Defenders' [340] training. Since 2010 the WYA has received an annual operating grant and additional projects totalling USD380,000 through the EU's ERASMUS programme (which encourages cross-border youth exchanges). For example, the WYA-Europe's EU funding means it can operate an internship programme to socialise African youth, who then campaign against comprehensive sexuality education efforts in their countries [341]. Curiously, the European Commission states that no WYA project has been successful in meeting its objectives [342].

Another example comes from Ukraine, where public authorities provided financial support in 2019 for 'national-patriotic education' to two Ukrainian civil society groups (National Corps and C-14) that feature in a 2019 US State Department report as "nationalist hate groups" [343]. Both groups have been implicated in violent acts, including "attacks on members of Ukraine's Roma minority, LGBT, feminist activists and journalists" [344]. The funding allocated would have allowed both hate groups to significantly expand their outreach among Ukraine's young people.

The most impressive effort to both reach the largest number of children and generate revenue comes from Poland, with the 'family-friendly school certificates' (*Certyfikat Szkoła Przyjazna Rodzinie*) [345] that schools may apply and pay for. These certificates are an initiative of the Centrum Wspierania Inicjatyw dla Życia i Rodziny (CZiR) – the Foundation Centre for Life and Family Support – itself a TFP-affiliated organisation. While the certificate is officially free, the interested institution must sign an agreement and then undertake training which includes a commitment to prohibit "promoting premature sexual initiation, questioning the biological and cultural stability of the gender roles of women and men and proclaiming the separation of social or cultural sex from the biological sex" [346]. CZiR generates revenue from the training modules, which cost between PLN300

<sup>50</sup> The full Human Dignity Curriculum costs US\$3,000 to purchase for 10 or more students. See <https://www.wya.net/programs/human-dignity-curriculum/>.



Source: © <https://szkola-muzyczna.org/>

### ❖ 'Family-friendly school certificates' (Certyfikat Szkoła Przyjazna Rodzinie).

(€69) and PLN,1000 (€227). CZiR reports that there were 918 educational facilities in Poland participating in its 'family-friendly school' programme as of September 2020 [347].

## 6.3 SERVING AS A GOVERNMENT ECHO CHAMBER

Some anti-gender actors have become useful allies for illiberal governments and have consequently been rewarded with public funding to echo official propaganda. The best examples come from Poland, with the Fundacja Lux Veritatis and the TFP-affiliated Ordo Iuris, and Hungary with several entities within the orbit of Prime Minister Orbán and the Fidesz party.

In Poland, the two main mechanisms for the State to support domestic civil society are the Narodowego Instytutu Wolności (NIW) [348] – the National Freedom Institute – and the Konfederacja Pozarządowych Rzeczypospolite (KIPR) [349] – the Confederation of Non-Governmental Initiatives of the Republic. Ordo Iuris and related TFP-satellite organisations have secured key positions within both the NIW and KIPR. In May 2021, Oko Press reported how Tymoteusz Zych, the Deputy head of Ordo Iuris, had served on the board of the NIW since 2018 which in turn had awarded public contracts totalling several million Euros to TFP-related entities where Zych and other Ordo Iuris affiliated persons served on the governance bodies [350].

Ordo is the fund manager of KIPR which serves as an alternative forum of Polish NGOs focusing on "Patriotism, Community, Sovereignty, Freedom, Civil Society and Family" [351]. The Polish government is thus able to channel funds directly to friendly NGOs and away from women's groups, human rights defenders

or LGBTQI organisations [352]. In May 2021, Paweł Kwaśniak, the former head of TFP-affiliated CZiR had been named Director of KIPR and stated "(w)e must ensure that conservative values such as family and patriotism are the foundation of public authorities and a natural point of reference for as much of society as possible." [353] While Ordo Iuris itself claims not to benefit from government funding, as the KIPR fund manager it can direct funding to like-minded organisations, including its satellite organisations. The Norwegian government (which provides funding to Poland as part of Norway's membership of the European Economic Area) found this approach to funding civil society problematic and negotiated a mechanism to bypass KIPR in 2017 [354]. In October 2020, Norway completely froze its funding to Poland over concerns about the country's adherence to European values [355].

The Fundacja Lux Veritatis and the 'Rydzik empire' of Fr. Rydzik go beyond serving as a government echo chamber to become a veritable PiS Party-aligned megaphone. Perhaps the closest parallel would be to imagine a US televangelist also being the owner of the Fox News Channel. Rydzik built his empire by securing government grants from nearly all Polish state functions and donations from the public and by selling commercial space. Indeed, Lux Veritatis has secured contracts and grants from over 10 Polish government ministries and agencies totalling over €47 million,<sup>51</sup> and right-wing politicians continue to form Rydzik's most loyal customer base for his valuable airtime.

While Ordo Iuris, related TFP organisations and the entities within the 'Rydzik empire' maintain their independence to exert pressure on their respective governments and societies, in some countries illiberal governments have pushed civil society



CC YouTube/Ordo Iuris

### ❖ Ordo Iuris president and vice-president, Jerzy Kwaśniewski and Tymoteusz Zych.

<sup>51</sup> These include from the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the Ministry of Development and Finance, the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Policy. See <http://www.dlugwdziecznosci.pl/#one>.

into non-existence and then resorted to create ‘government-organised NGOs’ – i.e. GONGOs. Andrea Peto and Weronika Grzebalska explain how “the goal of illiberal regimes in Central Europe is to transform post-communist infrastructure to benefit the new ruling elite and its voter base”, which requires “replacing previous civil society and human rights organisations with pro-government NGOs, which support the state’s agenda”. Funding is a key element in this transformation, as “the NGO sector is transformed by the distribution of EU and state funding to groups that share the governments’ ideology, leaving progressive organisations reliant on increasingly scarce foreign donations and largely unable to influence domestic policy” [356].

Hungary provides a model of the transformation of the NGO landscape towards State-sponsored, anti-gender, ultra-conservatism. Márton Sarkadi Nagy of Átlátszó reporting in VSquare [357] explains how a new generation of ultra-conservative, anti-gender GONGOs have emerged in Hungary since 2013, thanks to direct and dark funding from the Prime Minister Viktor Orban. Specifically, the Prime Minister’s Cabinet Office provided the Hungarian Centre for Fundamental Rights which “announced the creation of a new international network of conservative forces to support a national conservative awakening of Europe” in collaboration with Ordo Iuris with €2.53 million in grants through various covert subsidiaries over 2018–2020. Other Hungarian government funded ultra-conservative actors include the TFP-affiliated Magyar Alapítvány a Keresztény Civilizációért (MAKC) - Hungarian Foundation for Christian Civilization - headed by “former neo-Nazi Péter Szász, [who] now makes regular appearances in Fidesz-friendly media outlets”; the Barankovics István Foundation, the political foundation of the Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (KDNP – Christian Democratic People’s Party), a small Christian party allied to Fidesz. Another beneficiary is the Human Dignity Centre which served as the main representative of the failed Mum, Dad & Kids ECI [358] of 2015 (see Chapter 3.2) and whose leadership has been involved in both CitizenGO and the KDNP<sup>52</sup> [359]. Finally, in 2020, the Hungarian Government announced that it had provided €140,000 to the PNfV [360], that the next PNfV Trans-Atlantic Summit would take place in the Hungarian Parliament in November 2021 and that the PNfV had opened an office in Budapest [361].

## 6.4 FUNDING POLITICAL ACTIVISM

Several religious extremists have targeted public funding to bankroll their political activism. This strategy entails transforming into political parties with a view to tap into public funding and the other fiscal advantages available to political parties. There are several stages to this process,

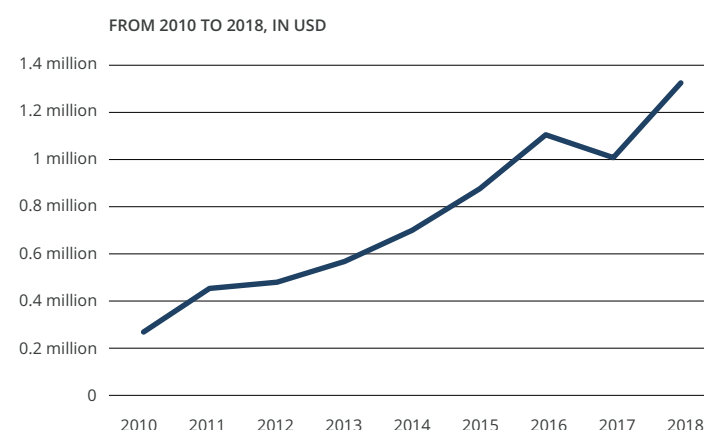


● ECMP billboard campaigning against ratification of the Istanbul Convention, paid for with EU funds, Croatia, 2018.

the first of which entails registering as a political party. The French authorities recognised LMPT (see Chapter 3.2) as a political party in 2015 [362], and the far-right Catholic group Civitas the following year [363]. However, neither presented candidates in the 2017 French Presidential or legislative elections, and the President of LMPT clarified that its new status was to allow its donors a tax deduction [364].

The next step requires finding like-minded political actors in other countries to apply for the EU funding available for European political parties.<sup>53</sup> The ECMP (see Chapter 3.2) achieved European political party status in 2010 when it gathered the requisite number of allied politicians across

## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT FUNDING TO ECMP & SALLUX



<sup>52</sup> Edit Frivaldszky who heads the Human Dignity Centre, also led Hungarian operations for CitizenGO and her husband is a former politician from the KDNP party, see Márton Sarkadi Nagy, How Orbán’s Government Funds Ultra-Conservative NGO’s Agenda, 7 May 2021, VSquare, <https://vsquare.org/how-orbans-government-funds-ultra-conservative-ngos-agenda/?fbclid=IwAR1oB0UfE6kFTT8ZBHoniBknL7f3BtPdSVi5KEBcdpi4XjbVKS5mPDxnSh4>

<sup>53</sup> The European Parliament may provide funding to European-level political parties. See <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/contracts-and-grants/en/political-parties-and-foundations/authority> and Regulation (EU, Euratom) No. 1141/2014 of 22 October 2014, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32014R1141>.

Europe.<sup>54</sup> This recognition meant that the ECPM qualified for European Parliament co-funding to cover basic operations and establish a youth section and political foundation.<sup>55</sup> Starting with €209,500 of co-funding in 2010 and growing to €703,529 in 2018, “this funding entitles the ECPM to grow into an even larger forum for Christian-democratic parties and politicians” [365]. In total, the European Parliament provided over USD8.2 million [366] over the period 2010–2018 to the ECPM and its political foundation, accounting for 82% of its resources [367]. Thus, the ECPM’s anti-gender activism (see Chapter 3) is itself overwhelmingly funded from EU coffers. The ECPM’s own resources amounted to €1.15 million over the same period and originated from anti-gender actors.<sup>56</sup>

The model for tapping into the co-funding on offer for European political parties proved tempting, and other actors emulated the ECPM. Three interrelated far-right, fascist political parties all qualified for EU funding totalling €4.7 million between 2012 and 2017 [368]. The Coalition for Life and Family (CLF) [369] (a creation of Civitas, mentioned earlier), the European Alliance of National Movements (EANM)<sup>57</sup> and the Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF)<sup>58</sup> all shared the same anti-gender verbatim position in their party statutes: “we seek to instil in to our peoples and our youth a respect for life from beginning to end” [370]. However, the European Parliament undertook a significant reform of its funding procedures and adopted stricter measures, and its financial support to the EANM, the APF and the CLF ceased in 2017 [371]. The parties have since disbanded.

## 6.5 ANTI-GENDER SOFT DIPLOMACY

A recent development has been for States to take up the anti-gender cause and to deploy state resources to pursue anti-gender objectives. A common form is for a government to extend its patronage to a specific anti-gender event. Recent examples include public authorities hosting the WCF in Verona (2019) [372] and in Budapest (2017), and the Hungarian government convening the Demographic Summit (2019), which featured prominent anti-gender actors [373]. Most recently, the Foundation for a Civic Hungary [374], the political foundation of Hungary’s ruling Fidesz party, co-sponsored

the PNfV’s Transatlantic Summit in Colombia in 2019 [375]. Another example is the Russian Federation’s soft diplomacy in the area of women’s rights with the creation in 2015 of the Eurasian Women’s Forum (<https://eawf.ru/en/>) with the aim of establishing Russia as “the world leader in the promotion of women’s agenda”, and Poland’s hosting of the ‘Ministerial to Advance Freedom of Religion or Belief’ in November 2020, a platform where religious freedom is promoted over other human rights – in particular, sexual and reproductive rights and LGBTQI rights [376].

In addition to the Russian Federation, which has established its own ideologically motivated public agencies (see Chapter 2), some States have created dedicated government agencies devoted to supporting anti-gender objectives. For example, the Hungary Helps agency which “encompasses the full range of humanitarian and international development activities of the Hungarian government” [377] provided HUF11 billion (USD36.2 million) from 2017 to 2020 to support religious organisations and institutions around the world.<sup>59</sup>

## 6.6 STATE SUPPORT FOR ANTI-GENDER FUNDERS

Looking further upstream, public funding also plays an important role in providing the financial backbone for some anti-gender funders, particularly religious actors (see Chapter 7) and some socio-economic elites (see Chapter 5). In many countries there are formal mechanisms for the State to provide financial support to Church authorities. Of note is the mechanism for state subsidy of the Catholic Church enshrined in international treaties signed between nation States and the Vatican known as concordats. There are over 200 concordats, the majority being concluded in the 20th century [378]. Concordats have the status of an international treaty and govern a range of issues, including the rights and prerogatives of the Catholic Church in a country, its role in the provision of public services such as health and education, and state tax exemption and funding of the Church. In relation to funding, they “allow the Church to extend its privileges, including massive state subsidies, even as, in many countries, its membership is decreasing — and it also locks these payments in” [379].

<sup>54</sup> To see how this was done, read the blog by Leo van Doesburg, the ECPM focal point in Eastern Europe, at <http://leovandoesburg.blogspot.com/>.

<sup>55</sup> European Christian Political Youth Movement (ECPYM) and SALLUX, formerly the European Christian Political Foundation (ECPF).

<sup>56</sup> These other donors included the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty, Care for Europe, the ECLJ, the Iona Institute, ProVita Bucharest and Sir Michael Hintze. Extracted from the ECPM and ECPF/SALLUX audited annual reports.

<sup>57</sup> The EANM was a short-lived far-right European political party created in 2009 and dissolved in 2017. Its members included politicians from France’s Front National, the UK’s British National Party, Hungary’s Jobbik and Italy’s Fiamma Tricolore, among others. It also included Hungarian MEP Bela Kovacs, who has since been accused of spying for Russia, in leadership positions. See <https://web.archive.org/web/20150418044023/http://oemn.info/en/>.

<sup>58</sup> The APF was a short-lived far-right European political party created in 2015 and dissolved in 2017. Its members included politicians from Italy’s Forza Nuova, the UK’s British National Party, Greece’s Golden Dawn and Romania’s Noua Dreaptă, among others.

<sup>59</sup> For projects funded in 2020, see <http://hungaryhelps.gov.hu/en/>.



An unexpected source of public funding are agricultural subsidies from the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The CAP has long been the EU's biggest budget item, accounting for €57.98 billion in 2019 [380] and including millions of individual recipients. The CAP is, therefore, both extremely complex and lacks transparency regarding its beneficiaries. However, FarmSubsidy.org, a civil society initiative, has compiled the millions of CAP recipients between 2000 and 2013 into a searchable database. The database reveals that several of the social and economic elites active in anti-gender mobilisation are recipients of generous EU farm subsidies – specifically, the families from a landed aristocracy background which, over the generations, have amassed extensive real estate (see

Chapter 5). Between 2007 and 2013, the Liechtenstein family received EU farm subsidies totalling over €12 million, the von Thurn und Taxis €1.6 million, the von Oldenburgs €694,000, the von Westphalens €1.9 million, the von Habsburgs over €600,000, and the de Villiers over €667,000. Others such as the Bourbon/Borbon, von Beverfoerde, Eulenburg-Hertefeld, von Reinersdorff, Rüscher von Siemens and Tschugguel families all received EU subsidies of a lesser value [381]. Aristocratic families are not the only anti-gender actors with sizeable agricultural estates which benefit from EU largess. Daniel Flis of OkoPress reports that Archbishop Andrzej Dzięga's archdiocese in Poland has received PLN2.4 million (appx USD600,000) annually from EU CAP subsidies. [382]

## SNAPSHOT OF STATE SUPPORT

- Religious extremists have secured public funding focusing on five areas: misleading women, indoctrinating young people, political activism, serving as a government echo chamber and soft diplomacy.
- Religious extremists use taxpayers' money to mislead women about their pregnancy through crisis pregnancy centres and indoctrinate children through biased 'human dignity' and 'patriotic' education, depriving them of vital health and civic information.
- Religious extremists have secured funding from EU Institutions to engage and sustain anti-gender political activism through the ECPM, an EU-level Christian political party, and three now-defunct EU fascist parties.
- Illiberal governments have rewarded religious extremist actors with public funding, which serves to further reinforce State-sponsored anti-gender propaganda.
- The governments of Hungary, Poland and the Russian Federation and some public bodies in Italy have supported and/or funded anti-gender soft diplomacy.
- Anti-gender funders, while decrying the state funding which progressive actors receive, themselves benefit from institutionalised state subsidy mechanisms. These are concordats that fund Catholic Churches in most European countries, while several socio-economic elites benefit from EU Common Agricultural Policy subsidies.

<sup>327</sup> PNfV, Board of Directors: agenda and documentation for the board meeting on January 21st, 2016

<sup>328</sup> Alexandra Brzozowski and Raffaella Margaryan, Abortion rights: An open wound in many European countries, Euractiv, 19 November 2020, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/abortion-rights-an-open-wound-in-many-european-countries/>.

<sup>329</sup> Claire Provost and Nandini Archer, Exclusive: Trump-linked religious 'extremists' target women with disinformation worldwide, 2020.

<sup>330</sup> Marta Borraz and Raúl Sánchez, Cinco de los colectivos antiabortistas más activos recibieron casi dos millones de euros de dinero público de 2014 a 2018, El Diario, 19 January 2019, [https://m.eldiario.es/sociedad/organizaciones-antiabortistas-activas-recibieron-millones\\_0\\_858114943.html](https://m.eldiario.es/sociedad/organizaciones-antiabortistas-activas-recibieron-millones_0_858114943.html).

<sup>331</sup> Karl Azzopardi, Minister 'impressed' by abortion rate grants €130,000 to pro-life shelter, Malta Today, 3 July 2020, [https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/103332/minister\\_impressed\\_by\\_abortion\\_rate\\_grants\\_130000\\_to\\_prolife\\_shelter#.XwLeLOXiuUI](https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/103332/minister_impressed_by_abortion_rate_grants_130000_to_prolife_shelter#.XwLeLOXiuUI); and Matthew Vella, Government financing anti-human rights agenda by funding pro-life shelter, activists say, Malta Today, 6 July 2020, [https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/103386/government\\_financing\\_antihuman\\_rights\\_agenda\\_by\\_funding\\_prolife\\_shelter\\_activists\\_say#.XwLbv-XiuUk](https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/103386/government_financing_antihuman_rights_agenda_by_funding_prolife_shelter_activists_say#.XwLbv-XiuUk).

<sup>332</sup> Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, List of recipients for 2020, <https://www.employment.gov.sk/sk/ministerstvo/poskytovanie-dotacii/archiv/2020/schvalene-dotacie-2020.html>.

<sup>333</sup> Evert de Vos, Imme Widdershoven and Quinten Wyns, 'Ongewenst zwanger? Chat nu!', De Groene Amsterdammer, 12 September 2018, <https://www.groene.nl/artikel/ongewenst-zwanger-chat-nu>.

<sup>334</sup> Movimento per la vita, VITA CAV 2016: Dossier sull'attività dei Centri di Aiuto alla Vita nel 2016, <http://www.mpv.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Dossier-2016-TESTO-per-sito.pdf>.

<sup>335</sup> Claire Provost and Nandini Archer, Exclusive: Trump-linked religious 'extremists' target women with disinformation worldwide, 2020.

<sup>336</sup> EurActive, EU funds used for Hungarian anti-abortion campaign, 17 June 2011, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/eu-funds-used-for-hungarian-anti-abortion-campaign/>.

<sup>337</sup> The Budapest Times, Government has no plans to change abortion law, 17 November 2020, <https://www.budapesttimes.hu/hungary/government-has-no-plans-to-change-abortion-laws/>.

<sup>338</sup> WYA, Human Dignity Curriculum, <https://www.wya.net/programs/human-dignity-curriculum/>.



- <sup>339</sup> WYA, Human Dignity Curriculum.
- <sup>340</sup> ERASMUS database, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/key-figures\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/key-figures_en). See project 2019-3-FR02-KA105-016871.
- <sup>341</sup> See <https://www.wya.net/get-involved/internship/#Schedules-1>.
- <sup>342</sup> ERASMUS database, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/key-figures\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/key-figures_en).
- <sup>343</sup> Oleksiy Kuzmenko and Michael Colborne, Ukrainian Far-Right Extremists Receive State Funds to Teach 'Patriotism', Bellingcat, 16 July 2019, <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2019/07/16/ukrainian-far-right-extremists-receive-state-funds-to-teach-patriotism/>.
- <sup>344</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>345</sup> „Szkoła Przyjazna Rodzinie”, Certyfikat „Szkoła Przyjazna Rodzinie”, <https://szkola-przyjaznarodzinie.pl/strona-glowna/certyfikat/>.
- <sup>346</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>347</sup> „Szkoła Przyjazna Rodzinie”, Lista placówek, <https://szkola-przyjaznarodzinie.pl/lista-placowek/>.
- <sup>348</sup> Narodowego Instytutu Wolności (NIW), <https://niw.gov.pl/>
- <sup>349</sup> Konfederacja Inicjatyw Pozarządowych Rzeczypospolitej (KIPR), <https://konfederacjaipr.pl/>.
- <sup>350</sup> Bianka Mikołajewska, Miliony z NIW dla fundacji związanych z wiceszefem Ordo Iuris. A w tle coraz silniejsze powiązania, *Oko Press*, 20 May 2021, <https://oko.press/dotacje-niw-fundacje-zych-ordo-iuris/>
- <sup>351</sup> KIPR, About Us: <https://konfederacjaipr.pl/about-us/>.
- <sup>352</sup> Paweł Marczewski, Freedom to Exclude: Conservative CSOs in Law and Justice Poland, Carnegie Europe, October 2018.
- <sup>353</sup> Aktywusz, Poznajmy Nowego Prezesa KIPRu – Wywiad z Pawłem Kwaśniakiem, 10 May 2021, [https://aktywusz.pl/poznajmy-nowego-prezesa-kipru-wywiad-z-pawlem-kwasniakiem/?fbclid=IwAR1M6OEg2UPHjMFOGWkblGcnGUD80itjA-DXXOuYhjQTLQ\\_cal03gZblBzg](https://aktywusz.pl/poznajmy-nowego-prezesa-kipru-wywiad-z-pawlem-kwasniakiem/?fbclid=IwAR1M6OEg2UPHjMFOGWkblGcnGUD80itjA-DXXOuYhjQTLQ_cal03gZblBzg)
- <sup>354</sup> Aleksandra Eriksson, Norway and Poland reach deal on €809m aid scheme, *EU Observer*, 18 October 2017, <https://euobserver.com/nordic/139490>.
- <sup>355</sup> Charlie Duxbury, As EU debates rule of law, Norway's already making offenders pay, *Politico*, 9 October 2020, <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-rule-of-law-norway-makes-offenders-pay/>.
- <sup>356</sup> Andrea Peto and Weronika Grzebalska, How Hungary and Poland have silenced women and stifled human rights, *The Conversation*, 14 October 2016, <https://theconversation.com/how-hungary-and-poland-have-silenced-women-and-stifled-human-rights-66743>.
- <sup>357</sup> Márton Sarkadi Nagy, How Orbán's Government Funds Ultra-Conservative NGO's Agenda, 7 May 2021, *VSquare*, <https://vsquare.org/how-orbans-government-funds-ultra-conservative-ngos-agenda/?fbclid=IwAR1oB0UfE6kfTT8ZBHonlBknL7f3BtPdSVi5KEBcdpi4XjbVKS5mPDxnSh4>
- <sup>358</sup> See [https://europa.eu/citizens-initiative/initiatives/details/2015/000006\\_en](https://europa.eu/citizens-initiative/initiatives/details/2015/000006_en)
- <sup>359</sup> Op.Cit.
- <sup>360</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>361</sup> See <https://politicalnetworkforvalues.org/en/>
- <sup>362</sup> JORF n°0096 du 24 avril 2015, texte n° 64, Décisions du 13 avril 2015 portant agrément d'associations de financement d'un parti ou d'une organisation politique, <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000030516253&dateTexte&categorieLien=id>.
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- <sup>364</sup> *Le Monde* and AFP, La Manif pour tous devient un parti politique, 24 April 2015, [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/04/24/la-manif-pour-tous-devient-un-parti-politique\\_4622223\\_3224.html#DLedkd24RqK66RG.99](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/04/24/la-manif-pour-tous-devient-un-parti-politique_4622223_3224.html#DLedkd24RqK66RG.99).
- <sup>365</sup> ECPM, Our origins, <https://ecpm.info/our-origins.html>.
- <sup>366</sup> Extracted from the ECPM and ECPF/SALLUX audited annual reports.
- <sup>367</sup> Extracted from the ECPM audited annual reports.
- <sup>368</sup> See European Parliament grant amounts at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/contracts-and-grants/en/20150201PVL00101/Political-parties-and-foundations>.
- <sup>369</sup> Coalition for Life and Family, <http://www.civitas-institut.com/2017/01/16/naissance-de-coalition-vie-famille/>.
- <sup>370</sup> See the Statutes of the CLF, the EANM and the APF.
- <sup>371</sup> See <http://www.appf.europa.eu/appf/en/parties-and-foundations/removed-from-the-register.html>.
- <sup>372</sup> See <https://www.wcfverona.org/en/> and <https://www.wcfverona.org/en/sponsors/>.
- <sup>373</sup> Neil Datta, There's a new weapon in the war on women in Europe. It's called 'demography', *Open Democracy*, 30 September 2019, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/theres-a-new-weapon-in-the-war-on-women-in-europe-its-called-demography/>.
- <sup>374</sup> European Network of Political Foundations/Foundation for a Civic Hungary, <https://www.martenscentre.eu/network/foundation-for-a-civic-hungary/>.
- <sup>375</sup> PNfV, Transatlantic Summit III, Bogota 2019, <https://politicalnetworkforvalues.org/en/what-we-do/transatlantic-summit/transatlantic-summit-iii-colombia-2019/>.
- <sup>376</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Poland, Ministerial to Advance Freedom of Religion or Belief 2020, <https://www.gov.pl/web/diplomacy/FORB2020>.
- <sup>377</sup> Hungary Helps Agency, <http://hungaryhelps.gov.hu/en/>.
- <sup>378</sup> Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Numero degli accordi vigenti con la Santa Sede, [https://www.iuscangreg.it/accordi\\_numeri.php?lang=IT](https://www.iuscangreg.it/accordi_numeri.php?lang=IT).
- <sup>379</sup> *Concordat Watch*, What are Concordats?, [http://www.concordatwatch.eu/showtopic.php?org\\_id=871&kb\\_header\\_id=822](http://www.concordatwatch.eu/showtopic.php?org_id=871&kb_header_id=822).
- <sup>380</sup> See [https://ec.europa.eu/info/food-farming-fisheries/key-policies/common-agricultural-policy/cap-glance\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/food-farming-fisheries/key-policies/common-agricultural-policy/cap-glance_en).
- <sup>381</sup> See the database at *FarmSubsidy.Org*
- <sup>382</sup> Daniel Flis, Kościół dostaje z dopłat unijnych 17 mln zł rocznie. Najwięcej gospodarstwa abp. Dzięki, *Oko Press*, 17 May 2021, [https://oko.press/kosciol-doplaty-unijne-dziega?utm\\_medium=Social&utm\\_source=Twitter&fbclid=IwAR3sZ1dkSdTC\\_alrx1c9inyj6JgA52DMs0H\\_OYeH-7AEpm1tEV3BU8jpaE#Echobox=1621269135](https://oko.press/kosciol-doplaty-unijne-dziega?utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Twitter&fbclid=IwAR3sZ1dkSdTC_alrx1c9inyj6JgA52DMs0H_OYeH-7AEpm1tEV3BU8jpaE#Echobox=1621269135)

## 7

## RELIGIOUS ACTORS AND NETWORKS

**“... within this wide context, the Italian Pro-Life Movement has organised an event in the Paul VI Hall in Vatican City. Groups involved include the Neocatechumenal Way, Communion and Liberation, the Focolare Movement, Catholic Action, the Forum of Family Associations, the Pope John XXIII Community and the Renewal in the Holy Spirit.”** <sup>[383]</sup>

*(Statement of the Pontifical Council for the Laity on the launch of the ‘One of Us’ ECI, 2013)*

Religious actors play a vital role in the anti-gender landscape through their extensive, transnational networks and their capacity to mobilise their adherents and sympathisers. However, it was unclear whether they played a financial role in anti-gender mobilisations. Closer scrutiny suggests that there is indeed a financial role, although more subtle than bankrolling anti-gender initiatives. Gianluca Sgueo identifies several types of religious actors engaged in lobbying at EU level <sup>[384]</sup>; when narrowed down to anti-gender activism, the religious actors most engaged are official representation of Churches, religious orders and political parties based on religious values. The religious actors engaged in anti-gender activism in Europe are all Christian in origin and organise according to their primary faith affiliation, namely: Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox. To date, non-Christian communities have not played any significant role, although anti-gender views may be widespread among some of these communities. A first limitation in discussing their possible financial involvement must consider the inherent opacity of the financial state of these actors resulting from both their special treatment in many national legislations and their decentralised nature.

### 7.1 THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND RELATED ENTITIES

The first religious institution is the Catholic Church and the many movements, currents, and communities within Catholicism. There are three main routes for Catholic actors to engage in anti-gender activism: through formal engagement; through Catholic religious communities; and through the personal engagement of Vatican officials.

The most important formal engagement of the Catholic Church is through its representation to the EU by the Commission of the Bishops’ Conferences of the European Union (COMECE) <sup>[385]</sup>, comprising members of the national Catholic Bishops’ Conferences of EU Member States. The COMECE’s work is that of a classic EU special interest group charged with communicating the social teachings of the Catholic Church and how they apply to EU policy areas – for example, by addressing a letter to the President of the European Parliament on the eve of the European Parliament’s debate on abortion and rule of law in Poland in February 2021, stating: “We would like to take this opportunity to emphasise once again that the Catholic Church, which seeks to support women in life situations arising from difficult or unwanted pregnancies, calls for the protection and care of all unborn life” <sup>[386]</sup>. However, the COMECE benefits from privileged access to EU decision-makers through the dialogue with Churches, religious associations or communities, philosophical and non-confessional organisations which is provided by article 17 of the EU Treaties <sup>[387]</sup>.



Cardinal Raymond Leo Burke.



Cardinal Christoph Schönborn.

The COMECE spent USD12.3 million over the 2009–2018 period on lobbying the EU. The COMECE in turn collaborates with several anti-gender organisations in its advocacy. For example, the COMECE hosts the Federation of Catholic Family Associations in Europe (FAFCE) in its Brussels offices.<sup>60</sup> At the Council of Europe, where the Holy See has Observer status, the US-funded ECLJ (see Chapter 1) regularly forms part of the Holy See's formal delegations to the Council's working committees.<sup>61</sup>

There are several Catholic religious communities which advance anti-gender objectives and equally have financial weight. These include *Comunione e liberazione* [388], a wealthy Italian lay movement whose “business arm, *Compagnia delle Opere*, numbers 34,000 companies, which in 2012 had a combined turnover of €70 billion” [389], where Luca Volontè of the *Novae Terrae Foundation* (see Chapters 2 and 3.1) once held a leadership position.<sup>62</sup> Another is the *Knights of Columbus* [390], a Catholic lay community of 2 million men who are vocal opponents of abortion, contraception and LGBTIQ rights [391]. The *Knights of Columbus* established a donor-advised fund, the *Chiaroscuro Fund*, which funded several anti-gender organisations (see Chapter 1). The *Legionaries of Christ* [392], a congregation of priests and seminarians founded by the controversial Fr. Marcial Maciel [393], focuses on “ministering to the wealthy and powerful in the belief that by evangelising society's leaders, the beneficial impact on society is multiplied” [394]. Thus, Fr. Maciel became a successful fundraiser, contributing to the *Legionaries'* significant wealth, which “at its peak had resources of USD33 billion” [395]. Affluent anti-gender personalities associated with the *Legionaries* include the Slim family of Mexico [396] and the von Habsburgs (see Chapter 5).<sup>63</sup> *Opus Dei* [397], a Catholic lay order with an estimated worth of €2.8 billion [398], “pursues the Vatican's agenda through the presence of its members in secular governments, and institutions and through a vast array of academic, medical, and grassroots pursuits” [399]. *Opus Dei* has played historically significant roles in France

and Spain [400], and the founders of the *Lejeune Foundation*, *Fundacion Valores y Sociedad* and the *Movimento per la Vita* (see Chapter 3) were all reputedly close to *Opus Dei* [401].

In Poland, the organisations of the Redemptorist priest Tadeusz Rydzyk (see Chapter 3) were long at the forefront of anti-gender activism, leading the Catholic Church to issue formal warnings about Fr. Rydzyk's attempts to influence Polish political discussions [402]. Because the Redemptorists are considered religious entities, they are exempted from paying taxes or disclosing financial information [403]. TFP organisations are not formally associated with the Catholic Church but are instead registered as independent NGOs. TFP is close to conservative elements of the Catholic Church; it exerts conservative influence on the Church and at times is in open conflict with it. Describing themselves as Catholic lay organisations, the practices of TFP members have led some formal bodies to describe TFP as ‘pseudo-Catholic’ and in some cases brand it a cult [404].

Just as Fr. Rydzyk established anti-gender organisations within the fold of a Catholic religious community, several Vatican officials play direct roles in anti-gender initiatives. For example, on the WYA Board is the French banker<sup>64</sup> who is President of the *Institute for Works of Religion* (the Vatican Bank), which managed client assets of up to €5.8 billion [405]. Other anti-gender funders on the Vatican Bank's governance include Sir Michael Hintze (see Chapter 5.1) and Cardinal Schönborn<sup>65</sup> [406]. The *Bannon-linked Dignitatis Humanae Institute* has an advisory board comprising no fewer than 10 Cardinals, with Cardinal Raymond Leo Burke, one of the most reactionary clerics, at times in open conflict with Pope Francis [407], as its President. Another example is *CitizenGO*, where the representative of the Holy See to the *Organization of American States* serves on *CitizenGO's* Board.<sup>66</sup>

The Agenda Europe network offers an example of intense Catholic Church involvement in anti-gender mobilisation. To start, the two conveners maintained close relationships with

<sup>60</sup> The FAFCE is located in the COMECE building at 19 Square de Meeus, 1050 Brussels. See <http://www.comece.eu/site/en/contact> and <https://www.fafce.org/contact/>.

<sup>61</sup> See the minutes of the Council of Europe Steering Committee for Human Rights (CDDH), Committee of Experts on the System of the European Convention on Human Rights, Strasbourg, 31 March 2017, DH-SYSC-II (2017), where the Holy See is represented by Grégor Puppink of the ECLJ, at <https://rm.coe.int/steering-committee-for-human-rights-cddh-committee-of-experts-on-the-s/16807145c6>.

<sup>62</sup> For a reference to Volontè's role in *Communione e Liberazione*, see *Scandinavian Human Rights Lawyers, Scandinavian Human Dignity Award 2011*, <https://humanrightslawyers.eu/scandinavian-human-dignity-award/scandinavian-human-dignity-award-2011/>; and *European Stability Initiative, The European Swamp (Caviar Diplomacy Part 2)*, 2016.

<sup>63</sup> Paul von Hapsburg is a priest in the *Legionaries of Christ*. See <https://www.regnumchristi.org/rcstatutes/en/fr-paul-habsburg-l-c/>.

<sup>64</sup> Jean-Baptiste Douville de Franssu is a French financier who was appointed by Pope Francis to the Council for the Economy for the administrative and financial structures and activities of the dicasteries of the Roman Curia (the institutions linked to the Holy See, and the Vatican City State) and was nominated in 2014 to serve as the President of the *Istituto per le Opere di Religione* – i.e. the Vatican Bank. See <http://www.ior.va/content/ior/en/governance/jean-baptiste-douville-de-franssu.html>; and WYA, Leadership, Board Members, <https://www.wya.net/about-wya/leadership/#Monier>.

<sup>65</sup> Cardinal Schönborn is the former Chair of the Austrian Bishops' Conference, a member of the aristocratic Princely house of Schönborn and financial supporter of the *Novae Terrae Foundation* of the corrupt Luca Volontè (see Chapter 2 and 3.1).

<sup>66</sup> Gualberto García Jones, who is the Holy See's legal representative to the *Organisation of American States*, is a member of the *CitizenGO* Board of Trustees, see <https://www.citizenngo.org/en/about-us>



Cardinal Schönborn and the Holy See's Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York, who thanked the International Theological Institute in Vienna (a Catholic university established by Pope Jean Paul II), while their 2014 summit took place in a venue offered by the Bishop of Munich [408] Moreover, the Agenda Europe network counts two high-ranking Vatican Secretaries of State and the Holy See's representatives to the EU, the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe as members.<sup>67</sup> In short, the Agenda Europe network forms a bridge between European and US religious extremist actors, with Vatican officials located in all of Europe's human rights decision-making centres.

## 7.2 PROTESTANT NETWORKS

Protestant communities in the Americas have been primary drivers of anti-gender campaigns and form a major component within the US Christian Right. In European countries with a Protestant history, the main Protestant Church has evolved to accept many of the social innovations that traditionalists contest [409]. However, small traditionalist Protestant communities in Europe have persisted, and these have been active in anti-gender mobilisation. The result is that Protestant anti-gender activities stem from private actors from faith communities rather than from Church hierarchies. One example is the 2017 Nashville Statement [410], developed by a group of US evangelicals as a call to arms for traditionalist Protestants around the world to “oppose all forms of sexuality and gender expressions outside heterosexual marriage” [411].

There are two centres of Protestant anti-gender activism that influence Europe: one is based in the Netherlands around the Dutch Reformed Church, and the other is in the US state of Michigan, where a community of the Dutch Reformed Church is located. Specifically, the two Dutch actors are political parties – the Christen Unie and the Staatkundige Gereformeerde Partij (SGP) – which are political expressions of the Dutch Reformed Church electorate. The US centre comprises the billionaire DeVos, Prince and Scaife families and their foundations (see Chapter 1).

The link between these two centres is a little-known organisation, the Transatlantic Christian Council (TCC), registered in both the Netherlands and the United States and founded in 2013 by a former SGP adviser, Henk Jan van Schothorst, and a former US diplomat in Europe, Todd Huizinga. The TCC is well embedded within anti-gender networks as a member of Agenda Europe; it “holds strategic discussions with Family Watch International and Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF)” [412] and played a pivotal role in the creation of the new Dutch far-right political party FvD (see Chapter 5.1). Indeed, some members of the Dutch Reformed community felt that “to prevent people from being



Benjamin Harnwell, Director of the Dignitatis Humanae Institute, with Steve Bannon.

driven into the arms of the pagan D66 [a Dutch liberal party], a pagan brother or sister party of the SGP had to be created” [413]. The TCC’s van Schothorst stepped in to help create a new ‘pagan’ sister political party to the SGP which would become the FvD, whose leader, Thierry Baudet, describes it as ‘culturally Christian’ [414].

The Christen Unie, for its part, followed a different route, that of creating the ECPM (see Chapters 3 and 6). The ECPM brings together Christian political parties and actors from a range of traditionalist Protestant, Orthodox and conservative Catholic currents. A significant group are the minority Protestant communities of Eastern Europe.<sup>68</sup> The ECPM has also drawn personalities from some of the largest Protestant communities – for example, David Fieldsend, affiliated with the Anglican Church in Brussels [415], has also been head of the ECPM’s political foundation since 2011. However, the ECPM displays a pattern of attracting extremist elements – for example, Benjamin Harnwell, the founder of the Bannon-linked DHI, served on the ECPM’s Board from 2012 to 2016; the AfD politician Beatrix von Storch (see Chapters 4.2 and 5.2) was a member of the ECPM until forced to leave in 2016; and Bogdan Stanciu [416], founder of the Romania ProVita Bucharest, which remains affiliated with the ECPM and its foundation, is also the founder of Noua Dreaptă [417], a Romanian fascist political party which was itself a member of the short-lived Alliance for Peace and Freedom, an EU fascist party (see Chapter 6.4).

Noteworthy is the ECPM’s strategy to socialise politicians by “co-hosting Prayer Breakfasts throughout Europe with the aim to improve relations between Christian MP’s and to form

<sup>67</sup> These are Florian Kolffhaus, Secretary of State Vatican, and Miroslaw Wachowsky, Secretary of State Vatican, who feature on the 2016 Agenda Europe membership list.

<sup>68</sup> Examples include Moldovan MP Valeriu Ghileti, also a representative of Moldova’s Baptist community, and Pavlo Unguryan, an MP from Ukraine who is also leader of Ukrainian’s Protestant minority, who are both active ECPM members.



cross-party alliances on Christian values” [418]. While not an invention of the ECPM,<sup>69</sup> it is ECPM staff and parliamentarians who started the custom in Finland, Latvia, Moldova, Romania, Slovakia, and Ukraine.<sup>70</sup> These parliamentary prayer breakfasts, while superficially apolitical and multi-confessional, include speakers who echo extremist positions. One example is the 2013 European Parliament prayer breakfast which featured the prominent French homophobic activist and socialite Frigide Barjot of LMPT, who “gave utterance once more to the truth that Christianity is not against gay people but in favour of the laws given to us by God, such as marriage between man and woman” [419]. The 2016 Ukrainian prayer breakfast included anti-gender speakers such as Prince Nikolaus of Liechtenstein (see Chapter 5.2) and a representative of ADF International (see Chapter 1) [420].

## 7.3 ORTHODOX NETWORKS AND OTHER EASTERN CHURCHES

An important new arrival in anti-gender mobilisation are Orthodox Christian actors,<sup>71</sup> primarily the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). A common feature of most Orthodox Churches is their close links with the political authorities in their respective countries. Indeed, in nearly all historically Orthodox countries, the national Orthodox Churches have become symbols of newfound national identity; in return, political elites have bestowed special privileges on them, including funding, following the decades of Communist neglect. While a similar process has taken place in many traditionally Orthodox-majority countries, the best example comes from the Russian Federation, where “the organisations controlled by the Moscow Patriarchate or close to the Russian Orthodox Church received at least 63 presidential grants worth 256 million roubles (USD3.6 million) between 2013 and 2015” [421].

In addition to state support, the ROC has relied on private benefactors, specifically Vladimir Yakunin and Konstatin Malofeev. Both oligarchs have close connections with the ROC through their membership of the Patriarchal Commission for the Family, the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood [422], and they are important benefactors of the Church through their foundations. Malofeev’s foundation boasts that it “has implemented dozens of church-social programs, family initiatives aimed at protecting motherhood and childhood, measures to restore temples and monasteries, educational and educational projects” [423]. Alexey Komov, as a member of

staff of Malofeev’s foundation, is also the external relations focal point for the ROC.<sup>72</sup>

The positions of most Orthodox Churches tend to be conservative on issues of sexual and reproductive rights. For example, in the ROC’s *Foundations of the Social Conceptions of the Russian Orthodox Church* (2000), it formally condemns homosexuality and rejects abortion and prophylactics containing abortifacients [424]. In many Orthodox-majority countries, the Church has increasingly engaged in anti-gender mobilisation – for example, the Bulgarian and Moldovan Orthodox Church opposed the Istanbul Convention [425]; the Georgian and Romanian Orthodox Churches opposed LGBTQI equality [426]; and the ROC called for a ban on abortion to boost population growth [427]. The Christian Orthodox community has also created its own structures for cooperation, such as the Interparliamentary Assembly on Orthodoxy (<https://eiao.org>), which Russian anti-gender actors use as a forum for recruitment and socialisation.<sup>73</sup>

However, while Orthodox Churches have developed close relationships with the secular authorities in their respective countries and mutually legitimise each other, they do not always see eye to eye. In some cases, the conservative positions of the Churches are problematic, as “[n]or does the state – given its budget deficits – welcome the Patriarch’s proposal to combat abortions by increasing outlays for large families and orphanages. The LGBTQI rhetoric is also problematic: it may be popular at home but accrues unmistakable soft-power costs abroad” [428].

### CONCLUSIONS: FORGING A NEW CONSERVATIVE ECUMENISM

First developed by Vatican thinkers [429], the anti-gender toolkit proved attractive to other conservative Christian denominations. Rallying around the anti-gender project offered religious actors of different, at times competing or historically hostile, denominations an opportunity to come together and defend perceived common values. For many, it offered an opportunity to create a new, alternative form of ecumenism from the one offered by the World Congress of Churches, which some actors – for example, the Holy See and the ROC – saw as having become too progressive [430].

An early example of such an ecumenical initiative is the 2009 Manhattan Declaration [431], spearheaded by US Catholic thinkers and supported by many Protestant and Orthodox actors in the US, which focused on life, marriage, and religious freedom. Examples of such ecumenical tendencies come from the historic

<sup>69</sup> The concept of parliamentary prayer breakfasts was pioneered in the United States by Norwegian Methodist preacher Abraham Vereide in 1953.

<sup>70</sup> Organised by the following ECPM-affiliated MPs: MP Peter Östman (2015), with MP Inge Bite in Latvia (2010), in Moldova with MP Valeriu Ghiltechi (2012), ECPM staff member Leo van Doesburg in Romania (2005), in Slovakia with MP Branislav Skripek (2017), and in Ukraine with MP Pavlo Unguryan (2011). See the ECPM’s yearbooks from 2009 to 2019.

<sup>71</sup> While the Armenian Apostolic Church is not an Orthodox Church, its involvement in anti-gender campaigns follows the same pattern as Orthodox Churches.

<sup>72</sup> See his biography at <https://ghex.world/about/ghex-board/>.

<sup>73</sup> For example, the participants list of the 2014 ‘Large Families and the Future of Humanity Forum’ mentioned that the IAO was used to recruit participants.

meeting of Pope Francis and Patriarch Kirill in Havana, Cuba, in 2016, when they agreed in a joint statement that “transformation of some countries into secularized societies... constitutes a grave threat to religious freedom” and that “the family is based on marriage, an act of freely given and faithful love between a man and a woman”, while recognising that “[m]illions are denied the very right to be born into the world” [432].

At a practical level, the emergence of the secretive Agenda Europe as an advocacy strategising platform across Christian denominations, the parliamentary prayer breakfasts and the existence of the ECPM offer examples of attempts to forge an Ecumenism 2.0 that focuses on “coalescing around the fight for ‘traditional values’ and is broadly anti-secularist and anti-liberal” [433].

## SNAPSHOT OF RELIGIOUS ACTORS AND NETWORKS

- Official representations of Churches, religious movements and religious political parties are the main religious actors engaged in anti-gender activism. These religious actors emanate from the main Christian denominations in Europe: Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox.
- Catholic anti-gender actors include the Church’s official representation to the EU, the COMECE, which itself collaborates closely with anti-gender civil society organisations.
- Catholic movements and communities play an important role in anti-gender mobilisation thanks to their extensive networks.
- Vatican officials play crucial roles in anti-gender civil society organisations and networks, often featuring on their governance bodies.
- The Protestant anti-gender actors emanate from the Dutch Reformed Church, minority Protestant communities in Eastern Europe and US Protestant actors in Europe.
- Two small Christian political parties in the Netherlands play a central role in anti-gender mobilisation. One contributed to the rise of a Dutch alt-right political party, and the other a European-level Christian political party which socialises politicians onto regressive agendas through parliamentary prayer breakfasts.
- Christian Orthodox anti-gender activism is characterised by its alignment with national political elites and oligarchs. National Orthodox Churches have recently become vocal anti-gender protagonists actively engaged in public discourses aiming to limit human rights.

<sup>383</sup> Pontifical Council for the Laity, Pro-life movements in Europe. An important initiative, <http://www.laici.va/content/laici/en/media/notizie/movimenti-per-la-vita.html>.

<sup>384</sup> Gianluca Sgueo, Religious Lobbying in the European Union – an overview, Medium, 4 May 2017, <https://medium.com/@GianlucaSgueo/religious-lobbying-in-the-european-union-an-overview-e8f9b06f7a7e>.

<sup>385</sup> COMECE, <http://www.comece.eu/site/en/home>.

<sup>386</sup> Letter from the Standing Committee of COMECE to President Sassoli, European Parliament, 22 February 2021.

<sup>387</sup> See <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/at-your-service/en/be-heard/religious-and-non-confessional-dialogue>

<sup>388</sup> Communion and Liberation, <https://english.clonline.org/>.

<sup>389</sup> Hannah Roberts, Italian Catholic lobby takes annual ‘selfie’ in Rimini, Politico, 26 August 2020, <https://www.politico.eu/article/gods-lobby-takes-a-selfie-at-italian-beach-retreat/>.

<sup>390</sup> Knights of Columbus, <https://www.kofc.org/en//index.html>.

<sup>391</sup> Catholics for Choice, The Knights of Columbus: Crusaders for Discrimination, Opposition Notes, an investigative Series on Those Who Oppose Women’s Rights and Reproductive Health, 2013, <https://www.catholicsforchoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/2013OppositionNotesKnightsOfColumbus.pdf>.

<sup>392</sup> Legionaries of Christ, <https://legionariesofchrist.org/>.

<sup>393</sup> Jason Berry, Legion of Christ’s deception, unearthed in new documents, indicates wider cover-up, National Catholic Reporter, 18 February 2013, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/accountability/legion-christs-deception-unearthed-new-documents-indicates-wider-cover>.

<sup>394</sup> Wall Street Journal, With Elite Backing, A Catholic Order Has Pull in Mexico, 23 January 2006, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB113798852937353361>.

<sup>395</sup> The Atlantic, The Vatican’s Watergate: Follow The Money, 8 April 2010, <https://www.theatlantic.com/daily-dish/archive/2010/04/the-vaticans-watergate-follow-the-money/188415/>.

<sup>396</sup> Wall Street Journal, With Elite Backing, A Catholic Order Has Pull in Mexico, 2006.

<sup>397</sup> Opus Dei, <https://opusdei.org/en/>.

<sup>398</sup> John Cooney, Opus Dei sitting on fortune, Independent.ie, 6 May 2006, <https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/opus-dei-sitting-on-fortune-26383298.html>.

<sup>399</sup> Gordon Urquhart, Conservative Catholic Influence in Europe an Investigative Series, Opus Dei: The Pope’s Right Arm in Europe, Catholics for a Free Choice, 1995, [https://www.catholicsforchoice.org/issues\\_publications/conservative-catholic-influence-in-europe-an-investigative-series/](https://www.catholicsforchoice.org/issues_publications/conservative-catholic-influence-in-europe-an-investigative-series/).

- <sup>400</sup> Normand François, La troublante ascension de l'Opus Dei, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, September 1995, <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1995/09/NORMAND/6667>.
- <sup>401</sup> See Andrés Guerra, 'Outing' religioso: cada ministro en su iglesia, *Vanitatis*, 26 February 2015, [https://www.vanitatis.elconfidencial.com/noticias/2015-02-26/outing-religioso-cada-ministro-en-su-iglesia\\_718321/](https://www.vanitatis.elconfidencial.com/noticias/2015-02-26/outing-religioso-cada-ministro-en-su-iglesia_718321/); and Urquhart, *Conservative Catholic Influence in Europe an Investigative Series*, 1995.
- <sup>402</sup> Slawek Szefts, Vatican orders Radio Maryja to 'drop the politics', *Polish Radio*, 5 January 2007, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070927004543/http://www.polskieradio.pl/zagranica/dokument.aspx?iid=35159>.
- <sup>403</sup> BBC, Controversial Polish Catholics enter TV, 13 February 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2758795.stm>.
- <sup>404</sup> See Neil Datta, *Modern Day Crusaders*, 2019.
- <sup>405</sup> CBS News, Vatican Bank: 'Impossible to launder money' now, 12 May 2016, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/vatican-bank-its-impossible-to-launder-money-now/>.
- <sup>406</sup> See <http://www.ior.va/content/ior/en/governance.html>
- <sup>407</sup> Claire Giangravè, Gathering of conservative heavyweights seeks to shape 'Catholic moment', *CRUX: Taking the Catholic Pulse*, 7 June 2019, <https://cruxnow.com/interviews/2019/06/gathering-of-conservative-heavyweights-seeks-to-shape-catholic-moment/>.
- <sup>408</sup> See Neil Datta, *Restoring the Natural Order*, 2018.
- <sup>409</sup> Pew Research Center, Where major religious groups stand on abortion, 21 June 2016, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/21/where-major-religious-groups-stand-on-abortion/>; and Church of England, Response to open letter on abortion, 29 November 2019, <https://www.churchofengland.org/news-and-media/news-and-statements/response-open-letter-abortion>.
- <sup>410</sup> Council for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, Nashville Statement, 2017, <https://cbmw.org/nashville-statement/>.
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## DANGEROUS LIAISONS: THE CHRISTIAN ANTI-GENDER FUNDERS' SHADY CONNECTIONS – FINANCIAL IRREGULARITIES, EXTREMISM, CRIMINAL ACTIVITY, AND OTHER LEGAL AND ETHICAL GREY AREAS

Many anti-gender funders, who invoke Christian beliefs to justify their anti-human rights activism, are equally engaged in morally, ethically and, at times, legally dubious activities. They have been formally sanctioned by public authorities, courts and human rights defenders. These grey areas cover a range of categories, such as financial irregularities, positions which harm human rights, and maintaining close connections with extremist, at times violent, actors or malign geopolitical forces, as follows:

### ANTI-HUMAN RIGHTS POSITIONS

- ADF supports 'gay conversion therapy', which resulted in the Southern Poverty Law Center designating ADF a "hate group".
- The founder of the ACLJ and the ECLJ, the US televangelist Rev. Pat Robertson, is known for inflammatory statements, including: "The feminist agenda is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians" [434].
- The ECPM used EU funding to organise a 'gay conversion therapy' session in Bratislava in May 2019 under the guise of 'reintegrative therapy'.
- Ordo Iuris in Poland drafted the local government charter on family rights which the EU condemned as 'LGBT-free zones'.
- The ACLJ was designated an 'anti-Muslim' organisation by the Council on American Islamic Relations.
- Fr. Rydzyk's Radio Marija was designated 'anti-Semitic' by the US Anti-Defamation League following its many anti-Semitic statements, including providing a platform to Holocaust deniers.

### FINANCIAL IRREGULARITIES

- Luca Volontè was convicted in January 2021 for bribery, specifically involving a Russo-Azerbaijani laundromat to fund the Novae Terrae Foundation.
- Ignacio Arsuaga has revealed that CitizenGO serves as a dark money channel for alt- and far-right parties in Spain and across Europe.
- The Spanish VOX party was initially funded by an Iranian former terrorist group for its 2014 European election campaign.
- European far-right parties the French Rassemblement National and the Italian La Lega sought Russian dark money channelled through 'laundromats' to fund their EU election campaigns in 2014 and 2019.
- Konstantin Malofeev's wealth is shrouded in mystery and is reported to have originated in part from a crypto-currency theft [435].
- Vladimir Yakunin is alleged to have accumulated part of his wealth from theft from Russian Railways, as revealed in the Panama Papers [436].
- Jay Sekulow is suspected of using the ACLJ's fundraising outreach for personal enrichment [437].
- AfD was fined by the German Parliament in 2020 for accepting illegal donations [438].
- In 2018, Jaime Mayor Oreja became embroiled in the 'Gürtel' corruption scandal concerning Spain's Popular Party, illegal financing, and influence peddling [439].



## EXTREMIST AND VIOLENT CONNECTIONS

- Konstatin Malofeev is alleged to have funded and armed the rebels and militias of eastern Ukraine in 2014.
- AfD has become the subject of scrutiny by Germany's intelligence agency, the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (BfV), over its links with extremist movements that pose a threat to democracy [442].
- Levan Vesadze came under investigation by the Georgian Ministry of the Interior when he announced his intention to create anti-LGBT militias in preparation for Tbilisi Pride in 2019.
- Ignacio Arsuaga of Hazte Oir/CitizenGO is associated with a secret, paramilitary ultra-Catholic movement from Mexico called El Yunque. When Arsuaga challenged the Spanish media which made these allegations, the Spanish court ruled against Arsuaga, with the judge declaring them to be "essentially true".
- TFP and its founder, Plinio Correa de Oliveira, were formally denounced for their cult-like and esoteric character by the Brazilian Conference of Catholic Bishops in 1985, which warned all Catholics about the dangers of TFP.
- TFP was branded a religious para-military group by the Canadian Refugee Board in 1998 [443].
- The ECPM has included several extremists among its governance and membership – for example:
  - Ben Harnwell, the founder and President of the DHI, whom Steve Bannon has personally praised, served on the ECPM Board from 2012 to 2016.
  - AfD Parliamentarian Beatrix von Storch was a member of the ECPM until 2016, when she was threatened with expulsion.
  - A long-standing member of the ECPM, Bogdan Stanciu of Pro-Vita Bucharest, is also the founder of a far-right political party, Noua Dreaptă, which is the modern expression of Romanian Legionary fascism [444].

## SANCTIONS BY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES, COURTS, AND PRIVATE-SECTOR ACTORS

- Luca Volontè was banned for life from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 2018 and sentenced to four years in prison in 2021 for political corruption involving the illicit financing of his foundation.
- Konstatin Malofeev is under sanctions from the EU and the United States for his involvement in the annexation of Crimea and funding armed rebels in eastern Ukraine. As such, Malofeev is also under investigation in Ukraine. He has also been banned from Bulgaria for 10 years for a case involving political corruption and espionage.
- Vladimir Yakunin is under sanctions from the United States and Australia for his alleged involvement in the 2014 annexation of Crimea.
- ADF International was rejected for Participatory Status at the Council of Europe in 2018 because it does not adhere to the values of human rights and democracy.
- Ignacio Arsuaga's Hazte Oir lost public utility status in Spain after transphobic statements were displayed on a Hazte Oir promotional bus circulating in Spanish cities.
- The French authorities have labelled TFP a dangerous 'cult-like' and 'pseudo-Catholic' movement in several reports from the French National Assembly and the body charged with monitoring sect-like movements.
- The Belgian public body charged with monitoring harmful cult-like movements has monitored TFP and Ordo Iuris stating in 2021 that Ordo Iuris' activities could "lead to causing harm to LGBT persons and their families, single-parent families as well as to victims of domestic violence." [440]
- Ordo Iuris had the lease for its Brussels offices revoked on two separate occasions in 2020 and 2021. [441]
- CitizenGO was banned from the financial transfer service TransferWise in March 2021.

## HOW MUCH DO ANTI-GENDER CAMPAIGNS COST?

### €340,330 FOR A HOMOPHOBIC REFERENDUM IN SLOVAKIA



The Slovak Alianca za Rodinu drafted a proposal for €340,330 to mobilise for the 2015 national referendum on a constitutional definition of marriage, claiming: “We want to strengthen ‘border’ through Europe which could stand against the gender ideology and degradation of family and marriage”, referring to recent similar initiatives in Poland, Hungary, and Croatia. In appealing to potential donors, Alianca za Rodinu stated, “We hope that you will help us to stop destruction of family and marriage in Europe” [445].

### €110,650 FOR A TRANSATLANTIC SUMMIT OF RELIGIOUS EXTREMISTS IN BRUSSELS 2016

The budget for the PNfV transatlantic summit which met in Brussels in 2016 was €110,650, of which €37,700 was expected to be covered by political groups in the European Parliament, namely the European People’s Party, while PNfV partners such as NOM, ADF, CitizenGO, Red Familia, Family Watch International and the Population Research Institute would cover the remainder. The PNfV Board discussed fundraising targets to grow the annual budget to USD322,850 by 2020 [446].

### €600,000 TO SET UP AN ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE ASTROTURFING SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORM

The initial budget to launch CitizenGO in 2013 was calculated at €600,000 (USD793,000), which would be made possible thanks to “generous entrepreneurs and citizens’ support”, (see Case Study 2), and income from small online donations [447]. Since its launch in 2013, CitizenGO has generated over USD10 million.

### USD5.4 MILLION TO SET UP THE LEGAL INFRASTRUCTURE OF A US ‘HATE GROUP’ IN EUROPE

ADF presented its strategy for internationalising its work together with Incluyendo Mexico in 2013. The ambitious strategy included opening offices in all major hubs of international decision-making on human rights, including Vienna, Brussels, Strasbourg, New York, Paris, Mexico City, Geneva and Washington, DC, with an estimated annual cost of running each office of between USD505,000 and USD845,000. The total cost of the strategy was USD5.4 million per year. While it is uncertain whether ADF reached its goal, its spending in Europe increased from USD657,000 in 2011 to USD4.36 million in 2018.

### €700,000 FOR A HOMOPHOBIC MASS DEMONSTRATION IN PARIS

The large-scale demonstration by LMPT that gathered several hundreds of thousands of people in the streets of Paris in January 2013 cost between €400,000 and €700,000, according to the organisers [448].



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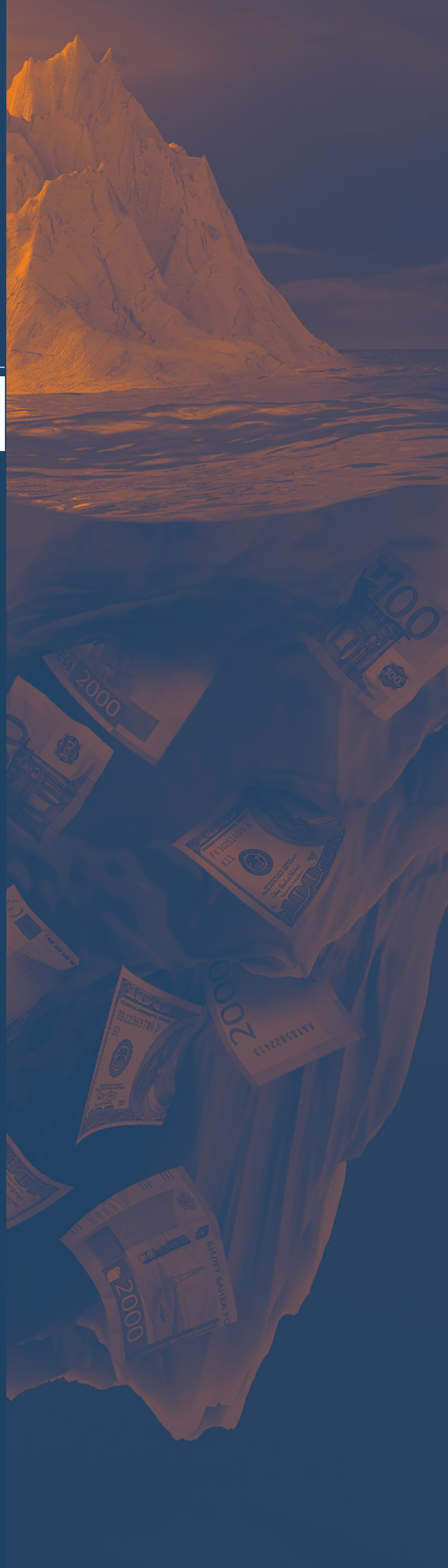




# PART 3

## HOW THE PIECES OF THE PUZZLE FIT TOGETHER

The third part of this report looks at how religious extremists cooperate across border through two case studies. It concludes by exploring the wider normative, economic and political ambitions of anti-gender actors.



## 8

## CONCLUSIONS

**“Every act of creation is first an act of destruction.”***(Pablo Picasso)*

Anti-gender funders from the US, Russia, and Europe, while primarily active in their respective geographies, interact with each other in transnational settings such as the WCF and PNfV. And Europe is not merely a passive recipient of US or Russian social conservatism, as European anti-gender actors, now well established, are internationalising in turn, becoming proactive actors globally in spreading religious extremism, and playing global leadership roles in the anti-gender world. The picture that emerges is of a transnational community of like-minded religious extremists and related alt- and far-rights actors making strategic funding decisions across international borders.

**8.1 TWO CASE STUDIES**

To better understand their interactions, there are two recent initiatives which, when looked at step by step, help shed light on the interrelationships between anti-gender actors and funders that give rise to anti-gender initiatives. The first is ‘One of Us’, spanning the period from 2012 to the present, and the other is the development of CitizenGO from its beginnings as a business plan in 2013 to the global social media platform it is today.

**CASE STUDY 1: ‘ONE OF US’ – FROM CITIZENS’ INITIATIVE TO PAN-EUROPEAN FEDERATION**

‘One of Us’ started in 2012 as an ECI aiming to ensure that no EU funding would be used to fund EU activities involving the destruction of the human embryo. The first step to start the ECI was when three European foundations (Fondazione Vita Nova, Fundacion Valores y Sociedad and Fundacio Provida Catalunya) provided the initial funding totalling €159,219 [449]. Two European People’s Party MEPs, the late Carlo Casini and Jaime Mayor Oreja, controlled two of these foundations. Thus, wielding their influence on their foundations, Casini and Mayor Oreja with one hand bankrolled an initiative aimed at shaping EU policies and, with the other, expressed political support as leading politicians to what they described as an independent expression of popular will. ‘One of Us’ organisers then relied

on Catholic support, as the Church of the Fathers of the Holy Sacrament [450], located 500 metres from the European Parliament, served as its headquarters, and the Vatican City offered the setting for its launch in 2012 [451].

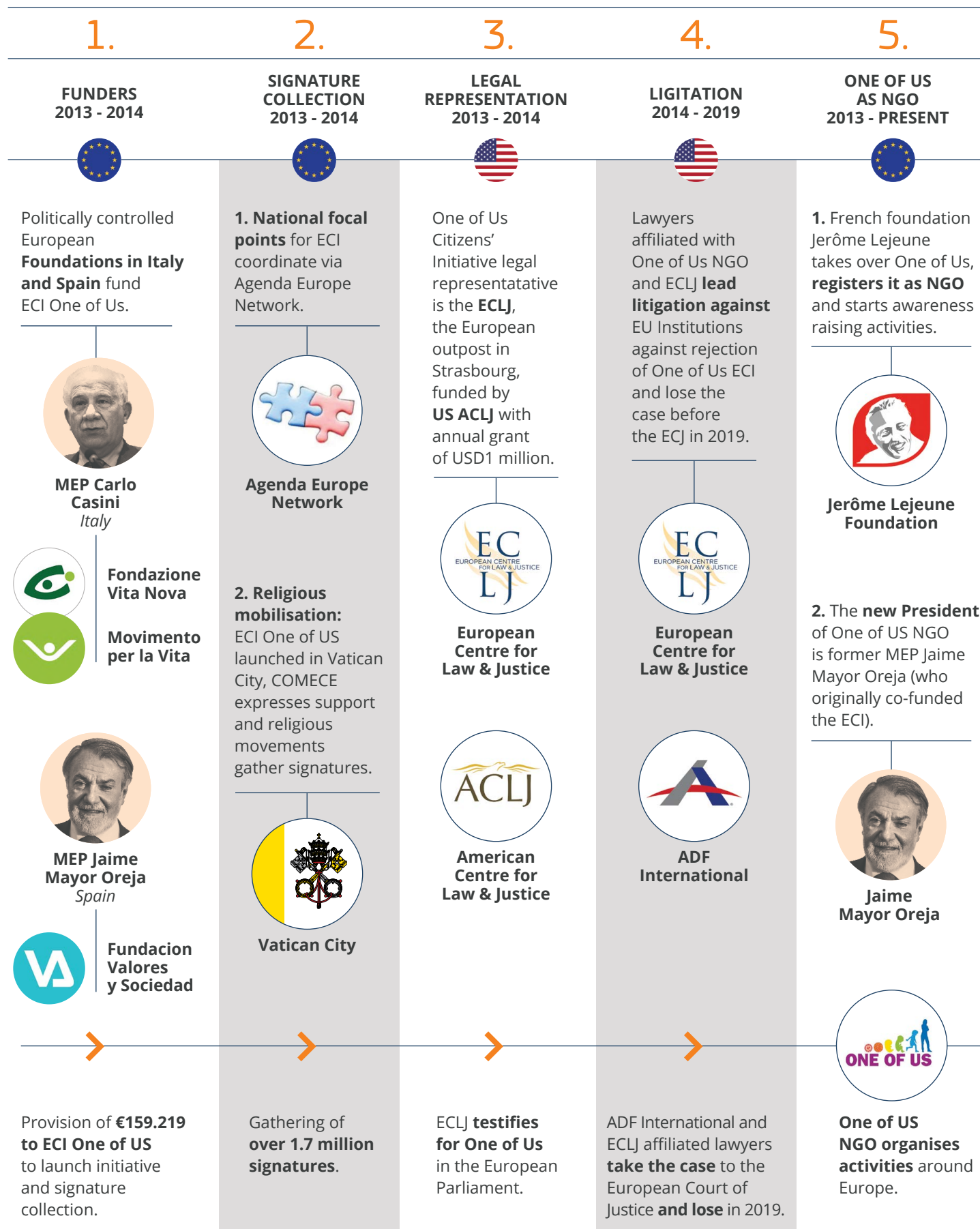
The next step entailed gearing up to comply with European Commission requirements and setting up the technological infrastructure to collect the requisite signatures of 1 million EU citizens. The ECLJ served as the legal focal point, and Agenda Europe provided the platform through which members coordinated the national focal points for signature collection. Next, religious institutions such as the COMECE, Orthodox Churches, local parishes and religious communities expressed political support for the initiative, encouraging their members to sign. In this manner, the ECI collected over 1.7 million signatures of EU citizens between 2012 and 2014, thus qualifying as a successful ECI and earning the right to hold a parliamentary hearing and receive a formal response from the European Commission. The European Parliament hearing took place on 10 April 2014 [452], with the ECLJ speaking on behalf of the ‘One of Us’ ECI.

Disappointment followed, as the European Commission issued its 19-page rejection in May 2014, stating that “a funding ban would constrain the Union’s ability to deliver on the objectives set out in the MDGs [Millennium Development Goals], particularly on maternal health, and the ICPD [International Conference on Population and Development], which were recently reconfirmed at both international and EU levels” [453]. In reaction, the ECI organisers adopted a two-pronged strategy: mounting a legal challenge to the Commission’s rejection and organising as a permanent pressure group by transforming into an NGO. Lawyers affiliated with the ECLJ and ADF International<sup>74</sup> led the legal challenge. However, the court found in favour of the defendants in 2018 and later rejected the appeal in December 2019, finding that “since that argument is based on a misreading of the judgment”,<sup>75</sup> the ‘One of Us’ ECI organisers should bear the legal costs of the appeal [454].

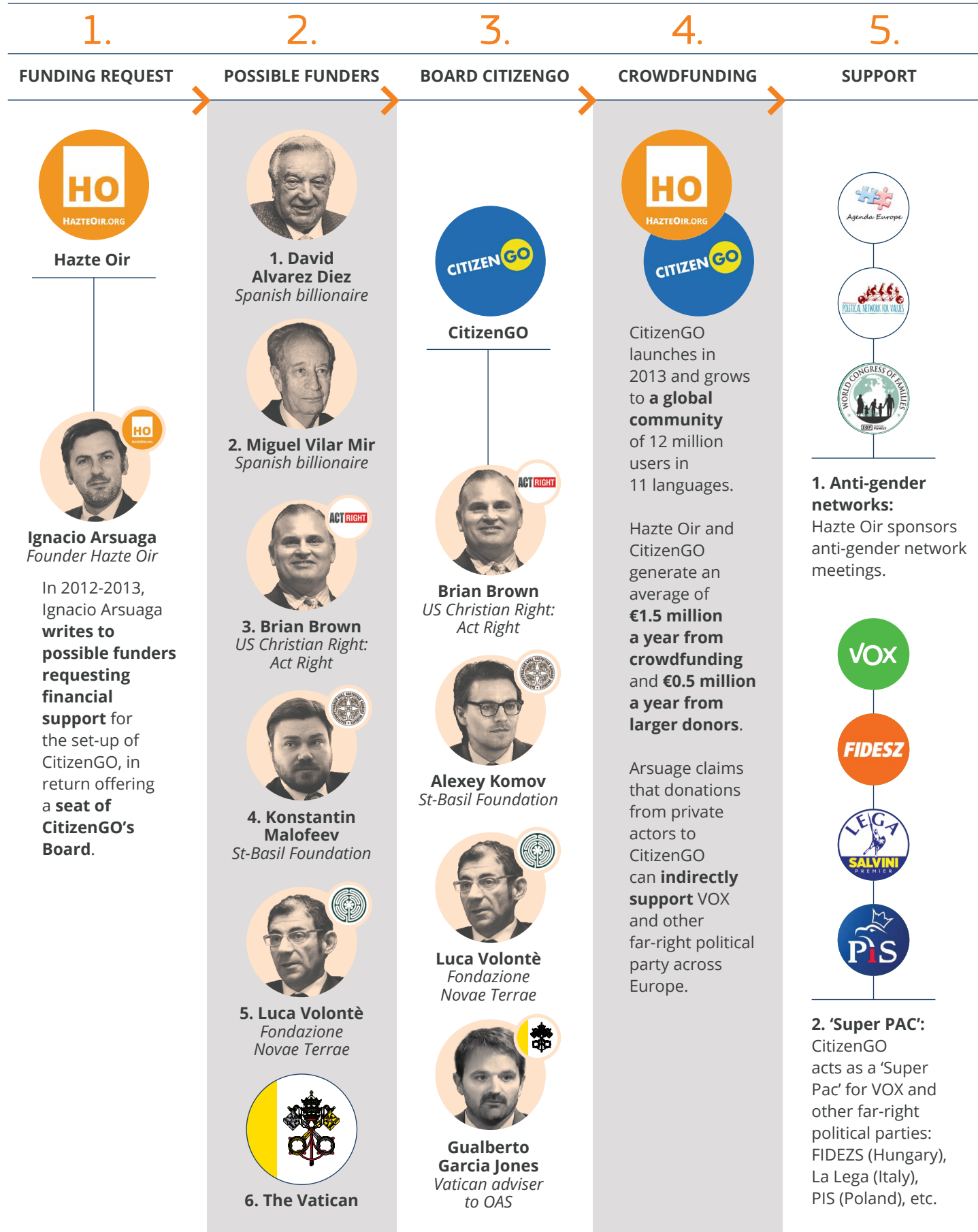
<sup>74</sup> The One of Us legal team included C. de La Hougue (affiliated with the ECLJ) and P. Diamond, a barrister (who has partnered with ADF International). See <http://curia.europa.eu/juris/document/document.jsf?docid=201469&doclang=EN>.

<sup>75</sup> The judgment referred to is *Brüstle vs Greenpeace*, in which the One of Us ECI organisers erroneously asserted that life began at the moment of conception and, therefore, required protection under EU law. See <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A62010CJ0034>.

## ONE OF US CASE STUDY FROM 2013 TO PRESENT IN 5 STEPS



## CITIZENGO ASTROTURFING CASE STUDY





With the legal avenues exhausted, the ECI organisers registered the initiative as the ‘One of Us Federation’, and the leadership transferred to French and Spanish foundations. The Lejeune Foundation took over running the One of Us Federation, while Jaime Mayor Oreja, the President of Fundacion Valores y Sociedad, became its president. To this day the One of Us Federation continues to advocate for “a culture of life in Europe” [455] and has since organised ‘marches for life’ [456] and meetings in Paris and Budapest [457], and spoken at international gatherings, such as the Hungarian Prime Minister’s Demographic Summit of October 2019 [458].

## CASE STUDY 2: CITIZENGO’S SOCIAL MOBILISATION PLATFORM

While CitizenGO may now be a global social mobiliser, it is a new arrival with humble origins. In 2018, the French television channel Arte revealed [459] how this was achieved: a classic fundraising drive targeting possible donors. Ignacio Arsuaga devised the original concept of CitizenGO as “an online tool for active citizens to be able to defend family and life and effectively influence national governments and parliaments and international institutions, from the grassroots” [460] and approached possible donors with a business plan, promising that “CitizenGO will produce a social benefit that we trust will impact human history. Abortionists, the homosexual lobby, radical secularists, and champions of relativism will find themselves behind CitizenGO’s containment wall. The platform will not only denounce their manoeuvres against freedom, but will also mobilize public opinion in nations around the world and will be able to influence the decisions of politicians and businessmen” [461].

Arsuaga’s targeted donors included Russian oligarchs, Spanish and Mexican billionaires, US Christian Right actors, a corrupt Italian politician, and Vatican officials. Arsuaga offered each donor a seat on CitizenGO’s Board of Directors in return for financial support. Arte documents point to Arsuaga’s success with fundraising.

For example, a contract with US organisation ActRight [462] states that “ActRight will support CitizenGO (member of ActRight Global) with an annual amount of 50k US Dollars, via a direct contribution” and, further, that “Brian Brown will seat (sic) on CitizenGO board of trustees” [463]. In another contract “‘Novae Terrae’ Foundation undertakes to provide a fixed annual amount of 12.000,00 €, renewable from year to year” [464]. While CitizenGO does not provide information on its institutional funders and claims to be “wholly financed through small online donations made by thousands of citizens throughout the world” [465], its Board composition tells a different story. Board members include Alexey Komov of Malofeev’s St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation, Brian Brown of Act Right, Luca Volontè of the Novae Terrae Foundation, and Gualberto Garcia Jones, the Human Rights Advisor for the Permanent Observer Mission of the Holy See to the Organization of American States [466] – suggesting that Arsuaga sold many of his targeted donors on his concept.

## 8.2 THE BIGGER PICTURE

While contestation around SRHR and anti-gender activism have come to be commonly referred to as ‘backlash’, David Paternotte observes that such a perspective generates at least three limitations. The first limitation of ‘backlash’ thinking is that it “excessively isolates gender and sexuality from the rest of society”; the second, that it “may prevent progressive actors from building long-needed solidarities and coalitions across issues” and third that it “excessively drives ... practitioners into the study of what is under attack and does not allow them to see ... a wider project, which strives to establish a new political – less liberal and less democratic – order” [467]. In short, Paternotte issues a challenge to look at not just what is being destroyed (ie. the anti-gender targets), but, equally, what is being created in its wake.

Understanding the anti-gender funding landscape in Europe leads to the conclusion that there is not one, centralised objective to the movement and its funders – ie. that the phenomenon cannot be summed up as ‘backlash’ to progressive advances- but rather that several, overlapping, decentralised and mutually reinforcing projects fuel anti-gender mobilisation. Understanding the multiplicity of objectives then opens the door to better understanding the phenomenon, and therefore how to counter it, as well as the possibility to forge new alliances. Anti-gender objectives constitute a normative project in their own right and equally constitute a component of related political and economic projects. These overlapping projects fall into three broad categories: a theocratic project, a hyper-capitalist economic project and an illiberal political project.

The **theocratic project** has normative aims which seek to align secular legislation with Christian religious ideals. The theocratic project offers a view of human sexuality which is reduced to the purpose of reproduction, denying the legitimacy that love, sensuality and pleasure may play in relationships. As such, it opposes individual choice in the form of human rights in sexuality and reproduction, as these should serve a higher, divinely prescribed purpose as outlined in specific religious doctrines. There are multiple inspirations for this theocratic project, including Agenda Europe’s manifesto, *Restoring the Natural Order*, and the many writings of the TFP founder such as *Revolution and Counter Revolution* which in turn are often the personal interpretations of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. Other examples include the conservative Protestants’ Nashville Declaration and the ecumenical Manhattan Declaration, the joint statement between Pope Francis and Patriarch Kirill, and the legal argumentation of US Christian Right legal actors and think tanks. While these provide the foundations for the increasing lawfare in European courts and the policy initiatives restricting human rights in sexuality and reproduction, the full project is more ambitious.

The involvement of actors with a well-articulated **corporate and pro-wealth agenda** suggests that economic motives are at least as important as the theocratic project for some

actors. There are several variants of the economic agenda, one espousing economic de-regulation while another is an economic regression towards kleptocracy, both variants converging towards a form of oligarchy [468]. They share a view of hyper-capitalism, with wealthy actors such as high-net-worth individuals, corporations and aristocracy being liberated from the shackles of an overbearing State to further enrich themselves to the detriment of social cohesion and environmental, consumer and social protections. It is for this reason that there is often an overlap between the elites who back anti-gender activism with support for climate change denial and opposition to social rights and empowerment of the disenfranchised [469]. The pro-wealth project attracts social and economic elites across Europe to support the emergent alt- and far-right political parties, much as their US counterparts were attracted to the Christian Right, as Jane Mayer described in *Dark Money*. Moreover, the hyper-capitalist project, which values wealth, and economic success, is itself grounded in the doctrine of several religious communities active in anti-gender mobilisations. In a European context, the apparently exotic appearance of archaic, but wealthy, dynastic families make sense; as Andreas Kemper explains, “the current capitalist phase leads to processes of ‘re-feudalization’, whoever has rich ancestors becomes rich. This distribution of wealth promotes justification ideologies such as ‘familialism’. Anti-feminism and classicism go hand in hand here” [470].

Third, the anti-gender movement also represents an attempt at a **political project** – and, in some cases, a **geopolitical project**. Anti-gender actors have made several attempts to enter the political sphere, which have met with varying degrees of success. The first attempts were the establishment of Christian micro-parties by leaders of national anti-abortion movements which then infiltrated the mainstream centre-right parties. The next attempt came with the ECPM, which has jumped on the EU gravy train, thus ensuring its sustainability, expanded to new horizons in Eastern Europe and socialised political elites onto regressive positions through prayer breakfasts.

The newest manifestation of the political project is the strategic use of anti-gender positions among the emergent alt- and far-right political parties. Whereas earlier political projects were the fruit of a specific political ideology, as Anne Applebaum describes, the emergent alt- and far-right parties’ use of anti-gender narratives share more in common with putting together a modern boy-band whereby “they do market research, they pick the kinds of faces that match, and then they market the band by advertising it to the most favourable demographic. New political parties can now operate like that: you can bundle together issues, repackage them and then market them, using the same kind of targeted messaging.” [471] Combining anti-gender with hyper-capitalist platforms while flirting with neo-fascism has allowed a new generation of alt- and far-right political parties to make inroads first in Germany and Spain and soon across Europe. Older far-right political movements in France and Italy are experimenting with the anti-gender toolkit in the hopes that it will provide electoral rewards. In doing so, they have aligned themselves

with foreign, malign forces such as Russian state interests and oligarchs which share the same normative and illiberal political aims, albeit with the purpose of serving Moscow’s geopolitical interests moulded by such thinkers as Alexander Dugin. It is perhaps no wonder that the religious extremists’ political project, unmoored from liberal democratic foundations, should find enthusiastic allies from the detritus of Europe’s illiberal past, such as early 20th century monarchists and the fascists of the 1930s and 1940s.

Beyond the motivations to take on anti-gender positions, the actors share common approaches to advance their respective objectives. In addition to the prevalence of dark, private funding, there is also the attempt to tap into, or siphon, public funding towards the same objectives and actors. There are also shared techniques used for multiple objectives, such as illicit use of personal data for fundraising objectives (see Chapter 4), religious extremist objectives [472] as well as political objectives [473].

Thus, the religious extremists’ USD707 million to fuel anti-gender activism in Europe, representing a four-fold increase over a decade, is but the tip of the iceberg in terms of all the funding likely flowing into such a regressive agenda. However, the real tip of the iceberg is the much wider overlapping political and economic projects accompanying the religious extremist normative project which undermines human rights while eroding the foundations of regulated market economies and liberal, pluralist democracy.

- <sup>450</sup> Eglise des Pères du Saint Sacrement (Church of the Fathers of the Holy Sacrament) is located at 205 Chaussée de Wavre, 1050 Brussels. See <https://www.catho-bruxelles.be/locations/la-viale-europe-eglise-des-peres-du-saint-sacrement/>.
- <sup>451</sup> See <http://www.laici.va/content/laici/en/media/notizie/movimenti-per-la-vita.html>.
- <sup>452</sup> European Parliament, 'One of Us' Citizens' Initiative – Public Hearing, 10 April 2014, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/fr/-one-of-us-citizens-initiative-public-he/product-details/20140402CHE82153>.
- <sup>453</sup> One of Us ECI, <https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regdoc/rep/1/2014/EN/1-2014-355-EN-F1-1.Pdf>.
- <sup>454</sup> See Judgment of the Court (Grand Chamber) in Case C-418/18 P, 19 December 2019, Appeal – Institutional law – Citizens' initiative 'One of us' – Communication from the European Commission setting out its conclusions and the reasons for not taking the action requested in the citizens' initiative, <http://curia.europa.eu/juris/document/document.jsf?jsessionid=8174D2FD869BD5E13236A27D1934A8CA?text=&docid=221805&pageIndex=0&doclang=EN&mode=lst&dir=&occ=first&part=1&cid=6516957>.
- <sup>455</sup> One of Us Federation, About us, <https://oneofus.eu/about-us/history/>.
- <sup>456</sup> One of Us Federation, News, <https://oneofus.eu/news-articles/march-for-life/>.
- <sup>457</sup> See One of Us Federation, One of Us Forum, <https://oneofus.eu/activities/one-of-us-forum/>; and Fundacion Valores y Sociedad, Seminario Plataforma Cultural One of Us «Por una Europa fiel a la dignidad humana», <https://www.valoresysociedad.org/seminario-plataforma-cultural-one-of-us-por-una-europa-fiel-a-la-dignidad-humana/>.
- <sup>458</sup> Neil Datta, There's a new weapon in the war on women in Europe, 2019.
- <sup>459</sup> See Andrea Rawlings and Alexandra Jousset, IVG: Les Croisés contreataquent, CAPA TV, Arte Television, March 2018, <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x6ic7g3>.
- <sup>460</sup> Cover letter to Mons. Ettore Balestrero, the Apostolic Nuncio to Colombia, introducing CitizenGO, 6 March 2013.
- <sup>461</sup> CAPA TV, Una Propuesta preparada para D.Patrick Slim por Ignacio Arsuaga, 2018.
- <sup>462</sup> See <https://actright.com/>.
- <sup>463</sup> Partnership agreement between CitizenGO and ActRight, 19 October 2013.
- <sup>464</sup> Contract between CitizenGO and Fondazione Novae Terrae of 13 February 2014.
- <sup>465</sup> CitizenGO, About us, <https://www.citizengo.org/en-row/about-us>.
- <sup>466</sup> Adam Ramsay and Claire Provost, Revealed: the Trump-linked 'Super PAC' working behind the scenes to drive Europe's voters to the far-right, 2019.
- <sup>467</sup> David Paternotte, Backlash: A misleading narrative, LSE Engenderings, 30 March 2020, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/2020/03/30/backlash-a-misleading-narrative/>.
- <sup>468</sup> Michael Carpeter, The Europe Whole And Free: Europe's Struggle Against Illiberal Oligarchy 21 October 2020, The Polish Institute of International Affairs, [https://pism.pl/publications/The\\_Europe\\_Whole\\_And\\_Free\\_Europes\\_Struggle\\_Against\\_Illiberal\\_Oligarchy](https://pism.pl/publications/The_Europe_Whole_And_Free_Europes_Struggle_Against_Illiberal_Oligarchy).
- <sup>469</sup> See: <https://www.desmog.com/> and Stella Schaller and Alexander Carius Convenient Truths. Mapping climate agendas of right-wing populist parties in Europe, Adelphi. 2019, <https://www.adelphi.de/en/publication/convenient-truths>.
- <sup>470</sup> Andreas Kemper, Der antifeministische Familienclan des „Adels“, 2019.
- <sup>471</sup> Anne Applebaum, Want to build a far-right movement? Spain's Vox party shows how. The Washington Post, 2 May 2019.
- <sup>472</sup> See: PrivacyInternational, A Documentation of Data Exploitation in Sexual and Reproductive Rights, April 2020, <https://privacyinternational.org/long-read/3669/documentation-data-exploitation-sexual-and-reproductive-rights>.
- <sup>473</sup> The Cambridge Analytica Files, The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/series/cambridge-analytica-files>.

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 1

(PART 1)

### ANTI-GENDER TRANSNATIONAL FORA, NETWORKS AND ORGANISATIONS

1. **Agenda Europe** is a loose network of over 300 organisations and individuals from more than 30 European countries closely connected to the Catholic hierarchy. It involves transnational and national anti-gender NGOs, conservative academics, officials inside European and national administrations, and a significant number of US Christian Right actors who draw inspiration from a common policy document entitled Restoring the Natural Order – an agenda for Europe. Agenda Europe has held annual members-only meetings since 2013, where they have strategised over 15 policy and legislative initiatives across Europe, including recent anti-LGBT citizens' initiatives, abortion restrictions, mobilisations against the Istanbul Convention and litigation.
2. The **Chiaroscuro Foundation** (also known as the Chiaroscuro Fund) was established in 2007 in New York as a donor-advised fund of the Knights of Columbus. It has funded the World Youth Alliance, C-FAM, the Howard Center and the Acton Institute. See <https://www.chiaroscurofnd.org/>.
3. **DeVos family foundations:** The DeVos family is the 88th wealthiest family in the USA, with a combined wealth estimated at USD5.4 billion. Richard and Helen DeVos are members of a branch of the Dutch Reformed Church in the USA and created a first foundation in 1970 and later separate foundations for each of their children and their spouses. Based in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the DeVos family foundations are major financial supporters of the US Republican Party, as well as a range of conservative causes such as anti-gender organisations and conservative think tanks. For more on their connections with far-right and anti-gender causes, consult the DeVos Family Reader<sup>76</sup> of the Grand Rapids Institute for Information Democracy. See <https://www.dbdvfoundation.org/>, <https://dpdevosfoundation.org/> and <https://dmdevosfoundation.org/>.
4. **Fondazione Vita Nova and Movimento per la Vita:** Fondazione Vita Nova is an Italian foundation linked to the Movimento per la Vita. Both the Movimento per la Vita and the Fondazione Vita Nova were founded by the late Italian politician Carlo Casini and raise funds from the public in Italy. While neither organisation provides any public financial data, the Fondazione Vita Nova made a financial contribution to the 'One of Us' ECI. See <http://www.fondazionevitanova.it/> and <http://www.mpv.org/>.
5. **Fundacion Valores y Sociedad** was established in 2011 by retired Spanish politician Jaime Mayor Oreja, who has been its President since then. It provided financial support to the 'One of Us' ECI in 2014 and has since organised events advancing the aims of the One of Us Federation and the PNfV. See <https://www.valoresysociedad.org/>.
6. The **Fundacja Lux Veritatis**, established in 1998 and headquartered in Warsaw and Torun, is the foundation of Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk of the Redemptorists Catholic congregation. Rydzyk is also the founder of several traditionalist Catholic media, including Radio Maryja, the newspaper Nasz Dziennik and the private television channel TV TRWAM. See <https://luxveritatis.pl/>, <https://www.radiomaryja.pl/>, <https://naszdzienik.pl/> and <https://tv-trwam.pl/>.
7. **Hazte Oir/CitizenGO:** Hazte Oir is a Spanish anti-gender NGO founded in 2001 which serves as a conservative watchdog on Spanish political life. CitizenGO is the global arm of Hazte Oir, founded in 2013. CitizenGO is a social media, petitions-based platform for ultra-conservative causes and operates in over 10 languages across Europe, the Americas, Africa, and Oceania. Both are headquartered in Madrid, Spain, and headed by Ignacio Arsuaga. See <https://www.citizengo.org/>.
8. **The Istoki Endowment Fund** was established by Vladimir Yakunin in 2013 and had an asset value of over USD15 million in 2018. With this funding, Yakunin funds the work of the foundations, the St. Andrew the First-Called and the Centre for National Glory, to meet their religious and patriotic objectives. See Фонда целевого капитала «Истоки» (Istoki Endowment Fund) <http://istoki-foundation.org/ru/> and <https://istoki-foundation.org/en/>.
9. **Koch Family Foundations:** Charles and David Koch are brothers who hold right-wing libertarian views and have a combined wealth of over USD100 billion. They created a series of foundations starting in the 1970s which have supported libertarian and ultra-conservative think tanks and universities. Areas of funding include political advocacy, climate change scepticism, deregulation and anti-SRHR. See <https://www.charleskochfoundation.org/>.
10. The **Jérôme Lejeune Foundation** was created in honour of the French scientist Jérôme Lejeune in 1995 and is funded through donations from the French public. The funds are used to meet the foundation's three objectives:

<sup>76</sup> See <https://griid.org/reports/devos-family-reader-14/>



# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 1

(PART 2)

### ANTI-GENDER TRANSNATIONAL FORA, NETWORKS AND ORGANISATIONS

medical research on genetic disorders; support to people and families with genetic diseases; and defending human dignity, which is considered as meaning that life begins at conception. See <https://www.fondationlejeune.org/>.

**11.** The **Novae Terrae Foundation**, established in 2013 in Milan by Italian politician Luca Volontè, adheres to 'natural law'. The foundation has been active in anti-gender activism – for example, when it funded a strategy meeting in March 2015 leading to a homophobic ECI 'Mum, Dad & Kids'. Volontè's fundraising model was based on selling political influence to human rights abusers at the Council of Europe. See <https://www.novaeterrae.eu/>.

**12.** The **Patriarchal Commission for the Family, the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood** is a structure under the auspices of the Russian Orthodox Church which serves as a nexus for the main actors in Russian society to advance a traditional values agenda. Convened by Russian Orthodox Archpriest Maxim Smirnov, the members include Natalia Yakunina (spouse of Vladimir Yakunin), Konstatin Malofeev, Alexey Komov and representatives of the Kremlin, the State Duma and academia. See <http://pk-semya.ru/>.

**13.** The **Political Network for Values** focuses on bringing together parliamentarians, ministers and other politicians with anti-gender civil society actors. Focusing on the Americas and Europe, it holds regular transatlantic strategising sessions on areas of common interest, including how to restrict, prevent and eventually ban abortion and to halt the expansion of same-sex marriage. See <https://politicalnetworkforvalues.org>.

**14.** The **Prince Foundation**, based in Holland, Michigan, was created in 1979 by the late auto-parts manufacturer and billionaire Edgar Prince and his wife Elsa Prince Broekhuizen. The average annual turnover of the Prince Foundation between 2008 and 2019 was just over USD4.5 million, reaching a total of USD49.7 million. The main grantees were conservative, religious, and anti-gender organisations where Elsa Prince Broekhuizen served on their boards. The DeVos children include Erik Prince, the founder of the private military company Blackwater, and Betsy DeVos, US Secretary for Education in the Trump administration (see DeVos family foundations). Like the DeVos family, the Princes are members of the Dutch Reformed Church in the USA. The Prince Foundation does not have a website.

**15. St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation:** Established in 2007 by Russian oligarch Konstatin Malofeev, the foundation supports religious, patriotic, and anti-gender activities. Board members include Prince Zurab Chavchavadze, who runs the foundation's gymnasium (secondary school), and Count Serge de Pahlen (the spouse of Fiat heiress Margharita Agnelli). Alexey Komov is responsible for the foundation's international relations. See Фонд святителя Василия Великого: <http://fondsvv.ru/>.

**16. Tradition, Family and Property (TFP)** is an international clerical-aristocratic network with the key characteristics of being a (pseudo)-Catholic religious movement with a membership comprising mainly European and Latin American aristocrats and large landowners with the stated aim of restoring the aristocracy to political power. There are over 40 organisations spanning 20 countries in Europe and the Americas under a variety of names belonging to the TFP network, including dedicated anti-gender organisations working against abortion, homosexuality, contraception, and divorce.

**17.** The **World Congress of Families (WCF)**, originally an initiative of Russian and US civil society actors,<sup>77</sup> now gathers European far-right and populist actors, Russian personalities, US Christian Right leaders, and anti-gender Christian actors who tend to be critical of the Vatican. WCF organisers have made Europe a priority target and have consequently held their most recent conferences in Verona, Italy (2019), Chisinau, Moldova (2018), Budapest, Hungary (2017) and Tbilisi, Georgia (2016), often with state support.

**18.** The **World Youth Alliance (WYA)** is an NGO founded in 2002 in New York with regional chapters across the world and an EU representation office in Brussels. It claims to serve as the voice of young people on Catholic dogma on sexuality in decision-making settings. Its governance includes Prince Niklaus of Liechtenstein and H.E. Christoph Cardinal Schönborn as Patrons, Italian politician Rocco Buttiglione as Adviser, and Jean-Baptiste de Franssu (of the Vatican Bank) and Elisabeth Hohenberg (German aristocratic family) on its Board of Directors. Among its primary donors are the Chiaroscuro Foundation and the European Commission. See <https://www.wya.net/>.

<sup>77</sup> See <https://playingthegendecard.wordpress.com/2019/03/09/world-congress-of-families-le-radici-ideologiche/>

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 2

(PART 1)

### RELIGIOUS ACTORS INVOLVED IN ANTI-GENDER ACTIVISM



**Ignacio Arsuaga**

**Ignacio Arsuaga** is the President and founder of Hazte Oir and the global social mobilisation platform CitizenGO and a Board Member of the WCF. Arsuaga also has extensive links with the far-right Spanish political party VOX and has participated in and co-sponsored several Agenda Europe summits, meetings of the PNfV and the WCF.



**Brian Brown**

**Brian Brown** has been involved in numerous US and global anti-SRR organisations,<sup>78</sup> namely as President of the US-based National Organization for Marriage and a Board Member of CitizenGO.



**Benjamin Harnwell**

**Benjamin Harnwell** is the founder and President of the Dignitatis Humanae Institute based in Trisulti, Italy. He worked as the parliamentary staff of UK Conservative MEP Nirj Deva, and together they founded the Dignitatis Human Institute in 2008, initially based in the European Parliament. Ben Harnwell served on the board of ECPM from 2012 to 2016 and has been praised by far-right American strategist Steven Bannon as being “the smartest guy in Rome”.



**Jerzy Kwaśniewski**

**Jerzy Kwaśniewski** is the President of the TFP-affiliated Ordo Iuris Institute for Legal Culture based in Warsaw, Poland.



**Alexey Komov**

**Alexey Komov** is the focal point for international projects at Malofeev's St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation. In addition, he serves as External Relations Representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, President of the Analytical Centre 'Family Policy in the Russian Federation', member of the Patriarchal Committee on the Family, Motherhood and Childhood, and Board Member of CitizenGO and the WCF. Komov is a frequent speaker at various far-right political party gatherings in Europe.<sup>79</sup>



**Jaime Mayor Oreja**

**Jaime Mayor Oreja** is a former Spanish politician with the centre-right Partido Popular. Mayor Oreja was first elected member of the Congress of Deputies from the Basque Country in 1979 and became Interior Minister from 1996 to 2001. He was elected to the European Parliament in 2004 and supported the 'One of Us' ECI. He established the Fundacion Valores y Sociedad in 2011, and has been its President since retiring from politics in 2014. He has also been active in the PNfV and became President of the One of Us Federation.



**Konstantin Malofeev**

**Konstantin Malofeev**, founder of the Marshall Capital investment firm with an estimated wealth of USD225 million, established the St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation, the think tank Katehon and the online television channel Tsargrad TV. Malofeev is the President of the Double-Headed Eagle Society, a monarchist group, heads the International Agency for Sovereign Development (IASD) and is reported to have funded the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS). He features on the list of EU-sanctioned individuals, is under criminal investigation by Ukraine for his alleged support to Ukrainian separatists and is banned from Bulgaria. Malofeev faces unresolved cases of financial fraud.<sup>80</sup> He is suspected of having funded CitizenGO, and his employee, Alexey Komov, current sits on CitizenGO's Board.

<sup>78</sup> See <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2016/06/02/brian-brown-named-president-anti-lgbt-world-congress-families> and <https://www.politicalresearch.org/2013/10/28/profiles-on-the-right-brian-brown/>.

<sup>79</sup> See <http://alexeykomov.ru/ob-avtore-3> and <http://www.worldcongressoffamilies.org/directors.php>.

<sup>80</sup> See <https://thebell.io/en/russia-s-orthodox-tycoon-is-bankrolling-a-monarchist-movement-but-where-does-he-get-his-money/>.

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 2

(PART 2)

### RELIGIOUS ACTORS INVOLVED IN ANTI-GENDER ACTIVISM



**Grégor Puppinck**

**Grégor Puppinck**, Director-General of the ECLJ, served as legal focal point for the 'One of Us' ECI and was active in the homophobic initiatives of La Manif Pour Tous in France in 2013.



**Luca Volontè**

**Luca Volontè** is an Italian politician for the Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di Centro (UDC) and was an Italian delegate to the PACE, where he was elected Chair of the EPP. Volontè is the founder of the Novae Terrae Foundation. He is also active in the Catholic movement Communion and Liberation.<sup>81</sup> Volontè was also President of the Dignitatis Humanae Institute, which planned to open a monastery in Trisulti to train a future generation of far-right leaders.<sup>82</sup> He was investigated by the Council of Europe and Italian prosecutors for having received bribes from Azerbaijan-linked actors in return for favourable votes at the PACE. In January 2021, he was sentenced to four years in prison.<sup>83</sup>



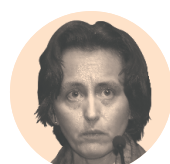
**Leo van Doesburg**

**Leo van Doesburg** is the Director for European Affairs for the ECPM and active in the Dutch Christen Unie party. Initially based in Timisoara, Romania, van Doesburg assembled politicians from across Eastern Europe to form the ECPM and qualify for EU funding. He is currently active at European Institutions in Brussels and Strasbourg.



**Paul, Herzog von Oldenburg**

**Paul, Herzog von Oldenburg** is the head of the Brussels representative office of TFP to the EU Institutions, the Fédération Pro Europa Christiana. As such, he also serves on the Boards of several other TFP-affiliated organisations across Europe and is active in a wider range of TFP-related campaigning. He is a descendant of Germany's last Kaiser and cousin to Beatrix von Storch.



**Beatrix von Storch**

**Beatrix von Storch**, née Beatrix, Herzogin von Oldenburg (Duchess of Oldenburg), is a parliamentarian affiliated with the far-right AfD political party, first elected to the European Parliament in 2014 and later to the German Bundestag. She is the descendant of Germany's last Kaiser and cousin to Paul von Oldenburg.



**Vladimir Yakunin**

**Vladimir Yakunin** is a Russian oligarch worth between USD600 million and USD1 billion<sup>84</sup> who made his wealth as the head of the State-run Russian Railways Company and later served as a Senator. Yakunin created several entities active on anti-gender causes, including the Istoki Endowment Fund, the St. Andrew the First-Called Foundation, the Centre for National Glory and the Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute. He is on the Board of two Russian government agencies, the Gorchakov Fund and Russkyi Mir. Yakunin featured on the list of individuals under sanctions from Australia and the USA for Russia's actions in Ukraine.

<sup>81</sup> See <http://humanrightslawyers.eu/scandinavian-human-dignity-award/scandinavian-human-dignity-award-2011>. *The Scandinavian Human Dignity Award is an initiative of Swedish anti-choice organisations.*

<sup>82</sup> See <https://www.economist.com/europe/2019/05/23/steve-bannons-monastic-academy-denies-monkey-business>.

<sup>83</sup> See <https://www.occrp.org/en/daily/13628-italian-court-sentences-former-council-of-europe-mp-for-bribery>.

<sup>84</sup> See <https://therussianreader.com/tag/net-worth/> and <https://themoscowtimes.com/articles/moscow-tops-new-york-for-billionaires-5543>.

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 3

(PART 1)

### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ELITES

Country	Name	Net worth/sector <sup>85</sup>	Anti-gender activism
Austria	Alexandre Tschugguel	Austrian baronial family	TFP
Austria	Turnauer family	€1 billion, manufacturing (37th wealthiest in Austria)	Agenda Europe, FPÖ donor
Austria/ Hungary	von Habsburg-Lothringen family	USD63–207 million, real estate, Imperial family of Austrian-Hungary	WCF, DHI, Agenda Europe
Brazil/Portugal	Orléans-Bragança family	Imperial family of Brazil	TFP
France	Viscount Philippe De Villiers	€146 million, real estate, theme park	Lejeune Foundation, K. Malofeev, various
France	Claude Bébear	USD106 million, AXA insurance and banking	La Manif Pour Tous
France	Count Henri de Castries	€43 million, AXA insurance and banking	La Manif Pour Tous
Georgia/ Russia	Prince Zurab Chavchavadze	Georgian aristocratic family	K. Malofeev, St. Basil the Great Foundation, Katehon
Germany	Princess Gloria von Thurn und Taxis	€550 million (224th wealthiest family in Germany)	WCF, Ja zum Leben, DOC, Steve Bannon
Germany	von Oldenburg Paul, Herzog, and Beatrix von Storch (Duchess of Oldenburg)	Imperial family of Germany	TFP, AfD
Germany	Henning Conle	€830 million, real estate	AfD
Germany	Friedrich, Count of Eulenburg-Hertefeld	German aristocratic family	Stiftung für Familienwerte
Germany	Ludwig, Count of Yorck von Wartenburg	German aristocratic family	Stiftung für Familienwerte
Germany	Dr. Tilman Rüsck (von Siemens)	€6 billion for the extended Siemens family, manufacturing, infrastructure and transport	Stiftung für Familienwerte
Germany	Bolko von Reinersdorff	German aristocratic family	Stiftung für Familienwerte
Germany	Hedwig, Freifrau von Beverfoerde	German aristocratic family	Stiftung für Familienwerte, Demo für Alle, AfD
Germany	Christian Krawinkel	Asset manager	€100,000 donation to AfD
Germany	Count Albrecht von Brandenstein-Zeppelin	€250 million, manufacturing/engineering (493rd wealthiest family in Germany)	European Family Foundation
Germany/ Switzerland	Hubert Liebherr	€7.8 billion, construction, manufacturing (11th wealthiest family in Germany)	European Family Foundation
Germany/ Switzerland	August von Finck, Jr.	USD8.7 billion, banking and hospitality (20th wealthiest family in Germany)	AfD political party
Germany	(Count/Prince) Von Westphalen/von Hohenberg family	Austrian/German aristocratic family	Ja zum Leben, ADF, WYA
Germany	Count Von Ballestrem and family	German aristocratic family	Ja zum Leben, WYA
Georgia	Levan Vesadze	USD35–500 million, Prometheus Capital Partners, private equity	WCF, various

<sup>85</sup> Net worth of German nationals listed is taken from Management Magazine, which produces an annual list of the 500 wealthiest Germans. See 'Die 500 reichsten Deutschen' at <https://www.manager-magazin.de/>.



# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 3

(PART 2)

### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ELITES

Country	Name	Net worth/sector <sup>85</sup>	Anti-gender activism
Hungary	Lőrinc Mészáros	USD1.3 billion, media, hotel industry, agriculture, construction (wealthiest family in Hungary)	Fidesz
Hungary	Lajos Simicska	USD300 million, media	Fidesz
Hungary	Istvan Garancsi	USD100 million, sports, touring association	Fidesz
Hungary	Istvan Tiborcz	USD120 million, real estate, Orban's son-in-law (32nd wealthiest person in Hungary)	Fidesz
Italy	(Marquis) Coda Nunzianta and family	Italian aristocratic family	TFP, March for Life Italy, various
Italy	Margherita Agnelli and Count Serge de Pahlen	€2 billion, car manufacturing	K. Malofeev, St. Basil the Great Foundation
Italy	Roberto Brazzale	€160 million, oldest Italian dairy family since 1784	WCF, various
Italy	Mario Moretti Polegato	USD1.6 billion, Geox shoes and Villa Sandi prosecco since 1622 (13th wealthiest family in Italy)	WCF
Liechtenstein	Prince Nikolaus of Liechtenstein	€5 billion	WYA-Europe, ADF
Mexico	Patricio Slim	USD5.5 billion, telecommunications (the Slim family is the 4th wealthiest in the world)	Hazte Oir/CitizenGO, Novae Terrae, Red Familia, Incluyendo Mexico
Netherlands	Jan Louis Burggraaf	Merger and acquisitions lawyer	Donated €25,000 to FvD
Netherlands	Cor Verkade	Real estate	FvD donor
Netherlands	Henk Otten	Banker	FvD donor
Netherlands	Rob Rookan	Internet entrepreneur	FvD donor
Netherlands	Michiel Visser	Merger and acquisitions lawyer	FvD donor
Netherlands	Maarten Ruijs	Manager private equity fund	Donated €280,000 to FvD
Netherlands	Nick Galea	Software entrepreneur	Donated €50,000 to FvD
Netherlands	Erik de Vlieger	Real estate	FvD donor
Netherlands	Michael van de Kuit	Real estate	FvD donor
Netherlands	Jan van den Broeck	Adult content websites	FvD donor
Poland	Mateusz Kłosek	Eko Okna window manufacturing (Among 100 wealthiest Polish families)	Fundacja Nasze Dzieci
Poland	Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk	Religious organisation and media outlets	Rydzyk entities

<sup>85</sup> Net worth of German nationals listed is taken from Management Magazine, which produces an annual list of the 500 wealthiest Germans. See 'Die 500 reichsten Deutschen' at <https://www.manager-magazin.de/>.

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 3

(PART 3)

### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ELITES

Country	Name	Net worth/sector <sup>85</sup>	Anti-gender activism
Poland	Jan Kobyłański	Various businesses	Rydzik entities
Poland	Paweł Witaszek	Witaszek Family Foundation, PZW Investments	Anti-abortion NGO, Religious extremist political candidates, TFP-affiliated university
Portugal	João Maria Bravo	Sodarca Group Aviation, defence, tourism	Chega donor
Portugal	Carlos Bardot	Industrial paint	Chega donor
Portugal	Paulo Mirpuri	Airlines	Chega donor
Portugal	Miguel Felix de Costa	Industrial lubricants and real estate	Chega donor
Portugal	Francisco Sá Nogueira	Tourism	Chega donor
Portugal/USA	Caesar DePaço	USD33 million, pharmaceuticals, nutrition	Chega donor
Spain	David Álvarez Díez	USD450 million, Eulen group - services	Hazte Oir/CitizenGO
Spain	Juan Miguel Villar Mir, 1st Marquess of Villar Mir	USD3.2 billion, Obrascón Huarte Lain construction, Santander bank (5th wealthiest family in Spain)	Hazte Oir/CitizenGO
Spain	José Luis Bonet	Freixenet sparkling wine	Hazte Oir/CitizenGO
Spain	Isidoro Alvarez	El Corte Ingles Department stores, USD1.4 billion, retail	Hazte Oir/CitizenGO
Spain	Esther Koplowitz, 7th Marchioness of Casa Peñalver	USD1 billion, Fomento de Construcciones y Contratas, construction (8th wealthiest family in Spain)	Hazte Oir/CitizenGO
Spain/France	Prince Louis Alphonse de Bourbon	Married daughter of Victor Vargas, wealthiest Venezuelan with family fortune of USD1.3 billion	WCF, VOX
Spain/Italy	Prince Sixtus Henry of Bourbon-Parma	Spanish aristocratic family	K. Malofeev
Spain/ international	National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI)	Iranian émigré community	€1 million to VOX
Qatar	Qatar royal family	USD335 billion	Doha Institute for the Family
Russia	Konstatin Malofeev	USD225 million, Prometheus Investment	St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation, WCF
Russia	Vladimir Yakunin	USD1 billion, Russian Railways	Istoki Endowment Fund, WCF
UK	Sir Michael Hintze	USD2.9 billion, CQS hedge fund manager	ECPM, Agenda Europe
UK	Lord Michael Farmer & family	USD2 billion, metal trading and investment	Religious extremist political candidates
UK	Sir Timothy Hoare	UK£ 400 million, C Hoare & Co Bank est. in 1672	Religious extremist political candidates

<sup>85</sup> Net worth of German nationals listed is taken from Management Magazine, which produces an annual list of the 500 wealthiest Germans. See 'Die 500 reichsten Deutschen' at <https://www.manager-magazin.de/>.

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 4

(PART 1)

### SAMPLE OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Country	Source	Beneficiary	Year	Funding	Purpose
France	Local authorities	NGOs active in anti-LGBT campaigning	Since 2013	<b>Varies</b>	General support
EU	EU Common Agricultural Policy	Aristocratic families: Liechtenstein, von Thurn und Taxis, von Oldenburg, von Westphalen, von Habsburg, de Villiers, Bourbon/Borbon, von Beverfoerde, Eulenburg-Hertefeld, von Reinersdorff, Rüsck von Siemens, Tschugguel	Annual	<b>Varies</b>	Maintenance of agricultural/forest properties in the EU
EU	European Commission ERASMUS+ Programme	WYA-Europe	Annually since 2010	<b>Annual grants and projects totalling USD380,000</b>	Transnational youth exchange; 'human dignity' training
EU	European Parliament	European Christian Political Movement (ECPM)	Annual grant since 2010	<b>Total: USD8.2 million</b>	Operational costs for an anti-gender political party
EU	European Parliament	Fascist political parties: Coalition for Life and Family (CLF); European Alliance of National Movements (EANM); Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF)	2012–2017	<b>Total: €4.7 million</b>	Operational costs of far-right political parties
EU	EU employment and social solidarity programme PROGRESS	Hungarian government	2011	<b>€416,000</b>	Anti-abortion billboard campaign
EU	European Social Fund and European Regional Development Fund	Forum Zivota (Slovakia)	2018	<i>Unknown</i>	To operate CPCs: Centrum Femina and Alexis
Hungary	Hungarian government	WCF, Budapest	2017, on-going	<i>Unknown</i>	Support to hold WCF 2017 in Budapest and for hosting an international summit on demography
Hungary	Hungarian government and Fidesz party political foundation	PNfV	2019, 2021	<b>Various</b>	Sponsor of PNfV summit and opening PNfV office in Budapest
Hungary	'Hungary Helps'	Various religious entities around the world	2020	<b>Total: HUF4.6 billion (€12.9 million)</b>	Humanitarian and development work of religious entities
Italy	Local and regional authorities	Centri di aiuto alla vita of the Movimento per la Vita	Since 1975	<i>Unknown</i>	Crisis pregnancy counselling
Italy	Italian government and local authorities: Italian Ministry for Family and Disability; the Autonomous Region of Venice-Friuli; the Region of Veneto; the Province of Verona; the Commune of Verona	WCF, Verona	2019	<i>Unknown</i>	Support to hold WCF 2019 in Verona
Malta	Government of Malta	Life Network Malta	2020	<b>€130,000</b>	Biased abortion counselling
Netherlands	Government of the Netherlands	SIRIZ	Since 2013	<b>Annual grant ranging from €700,000 to €1.7 million</b>	To set up and operate a network of crisis pregnancy centres
Poland	Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Justice; Ministry of Science and Higher Education; Ministry of Development and Finance; Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy; Ministry of Health; Ministry of Defence; Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Policy	Fondacja Lux Veritatis	Several years	<b>€47 million in multiple contracts</b>	Various religious, socially conservative activities

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 4

(PART 2)

### SAMPLE OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Country	Source	Beneficiary	Year	Funding	Purpose
Poland	Polish government: National Freedom Institute; Ministry of Culture – Polish Centre for Culture	KIPR: TFP-affiliated Ordo Iuris as manager	2020	€219,000 €12,000	Funding government-friendly conservative civil society
Poland	Polish Ministry of Justice	Municipality of Tuchow and other LGBT-free signatory cities which lost EU funding	2020	PLN250,000 (€60,000)	Offset loss of EU funding for signing homophobic charter
Poland	Ministry of Justice 'Justice Fund'	Ultra-conservative/far-right Polish entities, including Lux Veritatis	2020	PLN13.3 million (€3.2 million)	Various projects, including: 'counteracting crimes related to violation of the freedom of conscience committed under the influence of LGBT ideology'
Poland	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Poland	Ministerial Meeting to Advance Freedom of Religion or Belief	2021	Unknown	International ministerial meeting
Poland	Polish National Freedom Institute	Cegielski Analysis Centre (TFP-affiliated)	2020	€224,000	For basic support
Poland	Over 900 local schools	CZiR (TFP-affiliated)	Since 2017	Unknown	'Family-friendly school certificates' (Certyfikat 'Szkoła Przyjazna Rodzinie')
Slovakia	Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family	Forum Zivota, Alexis and Ano Pre Zivot	Annual	Varies – between €2,000 and €20,000 per year	For basic support
Slovenia	Ministry of Labour (allocating EU funds)	Iskreni Institute	2021	€130,000	European funds for projects aiming to mitigate the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on vulnerable groups
Spain	Federal and regional governments	Red Madre	2014–2018	€1.19 million	Biased abortion counselling
Spain	Federal and regional governments	Several anti-gender organisations across the country: Fundación Madrina, Foro Español de la Familia, Adevida, Federación Provida	Several years	Unknown	Support for a range of anti-gender organisations, including providing core support
Russia	Government of the Russian Federation	Russian government agencies: Alexander Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund; Rossotrudnichestvo; Russkiy Mir Foundation	Several years	Total: Unknown (USD1.5 million in Baltic countries)	Promoting Russian interests abroad, including pro-Russian NGOs
Russia	Government of the Russian Federation	Eurasian Women's Forum	Since 2015	Unknown	Regular summits on 'women's agenda'
Ukraine	Ministry of Youth and Sport, Ukraine	Far-right groups: National Corp and C-14	2018–2019	UAH845,000 (USD35,000); UAH450,000 (USD15,000)	National-patriotic education aimed at young people, including youth camps
Various: Croatia, Malta, The Philippines	National public authorities in charge of primary and secondary education	WYA	Several years	Unknown	Human dignity school curriculum
Most countries	National governments	Catholic Church via 'concordats'	On-going	Various	Maintenance of Catholic Church



# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 5

(PART 1)

### RELIGIOUS ACTORS

Religious institutions, movements, and actors	Affiliation	Role in anti-gender mobilisation
<b>Catholic</b>		
Vatican: COMECE	<b>Catholic</b>	COMECE is the largest Catholic lobbyist at the EU; partners with anti-gender organisations.
Vatican: Permanent Missions of the Holy See/Vatican	<b>Catholic</b>	The Holy See Permanent Representation to the Council of Europe accredits ECLJ as part of its delegation as a Holy See representative.
Vatican: Terrence McKeegan, Legal Advisor for the Permanent Observer Mission of the Holy See to the United Nations in New York	<b>Catholic</b>	Co-convener of first Agenda Europe meeting in London in 2013
Vatican: Gualberto Garcia Jones, Human Rights Advisor for the Permanent Observer Mission of the Holy See to the Organization of American States	<b>Catholic</b>	Board Member of CitizenGO
Vatican: Florian Kolffhaus and Miroslaw Wachowsky, both Secretary of State for the Vatican	<b>Catholic</b>	Members of the Agenda Europe Google group
Vatican: Institute for Works of Religion – i.e. the Vatican Bank	<b>Catholic</b>	Jean-Baptiste Douville de Franssu, President of the Institute for Works of Religion, is on the WYA Board of Director; anti-gender funding actors such as Cardinal Schönborn and Sir Michael Hintze on Vatican Bank board.
Vatican: Pontifical Academy of the Laity	<b>Catholic</b>	The late Carlo Casini, as a member of the Pontifical Academy for the Laity, led efforts for the 'One of Us' ECI, funded by the Vita Nova Foundation which he created.
Vatican: H.E. Cardinal Renato Martino and H.E. Cardinal Christoph Schönborn	<b>Catholic</b>	Patrons of the WYA; Cardinal Christoph Schönborn provided funding to Novae Terrae Foundation and has financial links with Gudrun Kugler, the Agenda Europe co-convener.
Vatican: H.E. Cardinal Raymond Leo Burke	<b>Catholic</b>	Cardinal Raymond Leo Burke is President of the Dignitatis Humanae Institute Advisory Board, which comprises 10 Cardinals. Steven Bannon features as the DHI Patron. Cardinal Raymond Leo Burke is associated with several TFP entities and events (i.e. TradFest).
Human Life International	<b>Catholic</b>	An anti-gender organisation founded by and comprising far-right Catholic priests in the USA
Communion and Liberation	<b>Catholic</b>	Luca Volontè, former head of Communion and Liberation, established Novae Terrae Foundation.
Opus Dei	<b>Catholic</b>	Founders of Lejeune, Valores y Sociedad and Vita Nova foundations, and Claude Bébear of AXA are all reputedly close to Opus Dei.
Knights of Columbus	<b>Catholic</b>	A donor-advised fund of the Knights of Columbus funds the anti-gender WYA.
Legionaries of Christ	<b>Catholic</b>	Members include socio-economic elites active in anti-gender actions (Slim and von Habsburg).
Redemptorists	<b>Catholic</b>	Fr. Rudzyk entities: Fundacja Lux Veritatis, TV TWARM, Radio Maryja, Nasz Dziennik
Tradition, Family and Property	<b>Pseudo-Catholic</b>	Established over 30 anti-gender organisations across Europe and Latin America; links with most conservative elements in Catholic Church

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 5

(PART 2)

### RELIGIOUS ACTORS

Religious institutions, movements, and actors	Affiliation	Role in anti-gender mobilisation
<b>Protestant</b>		
Acton Institute	<b>Calvinist/ ecumenical</b>	Co-sponsor of Agenda Europe summits
Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA)	<b>Protestant</b>	International speaking tours where religious extremist positions are expressed to large crowds
European Christian Political Movement (ECPM)	<b>Calvinist/ ecumenical</b>	Co-sponsor of Agenda Europe summits and PNfV, and has organised numerous anti-gender and religious extremist activities
DeVos family foundations	<b>Calvinist</b>	Funding of anti-gender causes and US organisations which are active internationally, including in Europe
Prince Foundation	<b>Calvinist</b>	Funding of anti-gender causes; founder on Boards of several US anti-gender organisations
<b>Orthodox</b>		
St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation	<b>Russian Orthodox</b>	Bishop Tikhon of the Russian Orthodox Church is on the Board of St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation. Funds anti-gender activities in Russia; likely funded CitizenGO.
St. Andrew the First-Called Foundation	<b>Russian Orthodox</b>	Archbishop Michael of Geneva and Western Europe is on the Board of St. Andrew the First-Called Foundation. Funded participants at the 2014 WCF/Large Family Forum in Moscow; funds the Sanctity of Motherhood project and other anti-gender activities in Russia.
Alexey Komov	<b>Russian Orthodox</b>	External relations representative of the Russian Orthodox Church; responsible for international projects of the St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation; Board member CitizenGO and WCF
Patriarchal Commission for the Family, the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood	<b>Russian Orthodox</b>	Coordinates Russian anti-gender actors and initiatives. Natalia Yakunina and Konstatin Malofeev are members.

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 6

(PART 1)

### FINANCIAL DATA SOURCES

Europe	Country	Source of information
CitizenGO	EU	CitizenGO financial statements: <a href="https://www.citizengo.org/en/financial-statements">https://www.citizengo.org/en/financial-statements</a>
COMECE	EU	COMECE annual reports: <a href="http://www.comece.eu/site/en/ourwork/annualreports">http://www.comece.eu/site/en/ourwork/annualreports</a>
ECPM and SALLUX	EU	EP Authority on Political Parties: <a href="https://www.europarl.europa.eu/contracts-and-grants/en/political-parties-and-foundations/audit-reports-and-donations">https://www.europarl.europa.eu/contracts-and-grants/en/political-parties-and-foundations/audit-reports-and-donations</a>
EU fascist political parties	EU	EP Authority on Political Parties: <a href="https://www.europarl.europa.eu/contracts-and-grants/en/political-parties-and-foundations/european-political-parties">https://www.europarl.europa.eu/contracts-and-grants/en/political-parties-and-foundations/european-political-parties</a> : - Alliance Européenne de Mouvements Nationaux (AENM) and its foundation Identité et Traditions Européennes (IT) - Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF) and its foundation Terra Nostra - Coalition pour la Vie et la Famille (CVF) and its foundation Pegasus
European Centre for Law and Justice (ECLJ)	EU	No information available from the Journal Officiel of the French government: <a href="https://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/associations/">https://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/associations/</a> ; see ACLJ.
One of Us Federation/ Fédération Un de Nous	EU	One of Us Federation/Fédération Un de Nous: registered in Belgium with the following numéro d'entreprise: 0564.729.644. For annual accounts for 2014–2018, see Banque Nationale de Belgique: <a href="https://www.nbb.be/fr/centrale-des-bilans/consulter/application-consult/lapplication">https://www.nbb.be/fr/centrale-des-bilans/consulter/application-consult/lapplication</a> . One of Us Federation national members : France: Alliance Vita: Only limited information for 2015–2018 in the Journal Officiel of the French government: <a href="https://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/associations/">https://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/associations/</a> . Registered in Belgium with the following numéro d'entreprise: 0555.822.767, but no annual accounts published. The Netherlands: Schreeuw om Leven annual financial reports since 2012: <a href="https://www.schreeuwomleven.nl/doneren/anbi/">https://www.schreeuwomleven.nl/doneren/anbi/</a> Poland: Polskie Stowarzyszenie Obrońców Życia Człowieka (Polish Association of Defenders of Human Life) annual financial reports: <a href="https://pro-life.pl/sprawozdania-roczne-polskiego-stowarzyszenia-obroncow-zycia-czlowieka/">https://pro-life.pl/sprawozdania-roczne-polskiego-stowarzyszenia-obroncow-zycia-czlowieka/</a> Slovakia: Forum Zivota annual financial reports: <a href="http://www.forumzivota.sk/vyroczna-sprava/">http://www.forumzivota.sk/vyroczna-sprava/</a> Spain: Foro Familia: <a href="https://www.forofamilia.org/nosotros/memorias/">https://www.forofamilia.org/nosotros/memorias/</a> Red Madre: <a href="https://www.redmadre.es/conocenos/quienes-somos/memoria-y-cuentas-anales#.YDE-dzGSkRk">https://www.redmadre.es/conocenos/quienes-somos/memoria-y-cuentas-anales#.YDE-dzGSkRk</a>
Fondation Jérôme Lejeune	EU	Annual letter of the Fondation Jérôme Lejeune: <a href="https://www.fondationlejeune.org/la-fondation/qui-sommes-nous/lettre-de-la-fondation/">https://www.fondationlejeune.org/la-fondation/qui-sommes-nous/lettre-de-la-fondation/</a> Registered in the USA: IRS 990 forms available for 2012–2018 by searching ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer for Tax-Exempt Organizations: <a href="https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/">https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/</a> Registered in Belgium with the following numéro d'entreprise: 0555.906.802, but no annual accounts published.
Fondazione Novae Terrae	EU	Funds received by the foundation are detailed in the report from the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP): <a href="https://www.occrp.org/en/azerbaijanilaundromat/profiles/novae-terrae-foundation">https://www.occrp.org/en/azerbaijanilaundromat/profiles/novae-terrae-foundation</a> .
Fundacio Provida Catalunya	EU	Financial information for 2015–2018 is available in annual reports at <a href="https://www.fundacioprovida.org/cat/transparencia/">https://www.fundacioprovida.org/cat/transparencia/</a> .
Fundacja Lux Veritatis	EU	The finances of the Lux Veritatis Foundation are not available to the public. However, reputable investigative journalists were able to reconstruct the financial picture of the foundation based on other available material. They can be found at <a href="https://www.money.pl/gospodarka/finanse-fundacji-lux-veritatis-maybacha-w-ga-razu-nie-ma-jest-przyczepa-i-3-mln-zl-zysku-6401383685531265a.html">https://www.money.pl/gospodarka/finanse-fundacji-lux-veritatis-maybacha-w-ga-razu-nie-ma-jest-przyczepa-i-3-mln-zl-zysku-6401383685531265a.html</a> and <a href="https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/lux-veritatis-ile-zarobila-fundacja-ojca-rydzyka/2g273j0">https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/lux-veritatis-ile-zarobila-fundacja-ojca-rydzyka/2g273j0</a> .
Hazte Oir	EU	Hazte Oir annual reports: <a href="http://hazteoir.org/sala-de-prensa/memorias-ho">http://hazteoir.org/sala-de-prensa/memorias-ho</a>
Mum, Dad & Kids	EU	Members of the 'Mum, Dad & Kids' ECI: La Manif Pour Tous: Only limited information from 2013 from the Journal Officiel of the French government: <a href="https://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/associations/">https://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/associations/</a> ProVita Bucurest annual reports: <a href="https://asociatiaprovita.ro/activitati/rapoarte-activitate/">https://asociatiaprovita.ro/activitati/rapoarte-activitate/</a> . U Ime Obitelji (In the Name of the Family) annual reports: <a href="https://uimeobitelji.net/financijska-izvjesca/">https://uimeobitelji.net/financijska-izvjesca/</a> CARE (Christian, Action, Research Education): annual reports downloaded
Tradition, Family and Property	EU	Croatia: Vigilare (NGO and foundation) annual accounts downloaded Estonia: Sihtasutus Perekonna ja Traditsiooni Kaitseks annual accounts: <a href="https://ariregister.rik.ee/index/arve?id=2182599">https://ariregister.rik.ee/index/arve?id=2182599</a> France: Droit de naître, Avenir de la culture and Fédération Pro Europa Christiana annual accounts are available in the Journal Officiel of the French government: <a href="https://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/associations/">https://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/associations/</a> . Lithuania: VšĮ Krikščioniškosios Kultūros Institutas annual reports: <a href="https://kki.lt/metines-veiklos-ataskaitos/">https://kki.lt/metines-veiklos-ataskaitos/</a> Netherlands: Stichting Civitas Christiana annual reports: <a href="https://civitaschristiana.nl/anbi/">https://civitaschristiana.nl/anbi/</a> Poland: - Ordo Iuris annual reports: <a href="https://ordoiuris.pl/dokumenty">https://ordoiuris.pl/dokumenty</a> - Cegielski Analysis Center annual accounts: <a href="https://osrodekkanaliz.pl/sprawozdania/">https://osrodekkanaliz.pl/sprawozdania/</a> - Piotr Skarga Institute and Piotr Skarga Foundation: based on court documents: <a href="https://vsquare.org/the-golden-boys-of-fatima/">https://vsquare.org/the-golden-boys-of-fatima/</a> Slovakia: Slovakia Christiana annual reports since 2016: <a href="https://finstat.sk/50468332/zavierka">https://finstat.sk/50468332/zavierka</a>

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 6

(PART 2)

### FINANCIAL DATA SOURCES

Europe	Country	Source of information
Transatlantic Christian Council	EU and USA	Annual reports since 2013: <a href="https://www.tccouncil.org/about-us/organizational-info/annual-reports">https://www.tccouncil.org/about-us/organizational-info/annual-reports</a> In addition, for 2018, IRS 990 forms are available by searching ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer for Tax-Exempt Organizations: <a href="https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/">https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/</a> .
World Youth Alliance Europe	EU	See World Youth Alliance USA. Registered in Belgium with the following numéro d'entreprise: 0477.357.982, but no annual accounts published.
Russian Federation	Country	Source of information
Dialogue of Civilizations	Russian Federation	Dialogue of Civilizations annual reports: <a href="https://doc-research.org/about-us/">https://doc-research.org/about-us/</a>
Istoki Endowment Fund	Russian Federation	Istoki Endowment Fund annual reports: <a href="https://istoki-foundation.org/en/reports/">https://istoki-foundation.org/en/reports/</a>
St. Andrew the First-Called Foundation and Endowment Fund	Russian Federation	Public reports for 2014–2016: <a href="http://www.st-andrew-foundation.org/english-documents-reports/">http://www.st-andrew-foundation.org/english-documents-reports/</a>
St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation, Nobles Assembly and Safe Internet League	Russian Federation	Analysis of Konstatin Malofeev's organisations: <a href="https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/11/25/russias-orthodox-tycoon-is-bankrolling-a-monarchist-movement-but-where-does-he-get-his-money-a68301">https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/11/25/russias-orthodox-tycoon-is-bankrolling-a-monarchist-movement-but-where-does-he-get-his-money-a68301</a> and <a href="https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1ZbgfIs7fd3X49tPr19U4_vPW4Fa6rikS7ok_mEE28iQ/edit?usp=sharing">https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1ZbgfIs7fd3X49tPr19U4_vPW4Fa6rikS7ok_mEE28iQ/edit?usp=sharing</a>
USA	Country	Source of information
Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Freedom; American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ); Cato Institute; The Heritage Foundation; Human Life International; The Federalist Society; The Leadership Institute	USA	IRS 990 forms available by searching ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer for Tax-Exempt Organizations: <a href="https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/">https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/</a>
ADF International	USA	IRS 990 forms available by searching ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer for Tax-Exempt Organizations: <a href="https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/">https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/</a> See ADF Belgium, registered in Belgium with the following numéro d'entreprise: 0505.941.805.
Spiked Inc. USA	USA	A US legal entity of the UK Spiked! Online; IRS 990 forms available by searching ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer for Tax-Exempt Organizations: <a href="https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/">https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/</a>
Billy Graham Evangelistic Association	USA	IRS 990 forms up to 2014 available by searching ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer for Tax-Exempt Organizations: <a href="https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/">https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/</a> ; in 2015 it was reclassified as an association of Churches and no longer filed IRS 990 forms (see <a href="https://www.thenonprofittimes.com/npt_articles/irs-reclassifies-billy-grahams-organization/">https://www.thenonprofittimes.com/npt_articles/irs-reclassifies-billy-grahams-organization/</a> ).
World Youth Alliance Europe	USA/EU	Registered in USA as WYA Foundation Inc. IRS 990 forms available by searching ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer for Tax-Exempt Organizations: <a href="https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/">https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/</a> Registered in Belgium with the following numéro d'entreprise: 0477.357.982, but does not provide annual accounts to authorities. See Banque Nationale de Belgique: <a href="https://www.nbb.be/fr/centrale-des-bilans/consulter/application-consult/lapplication">https://www.nbb.be/fr/centrale-des-bilans/consulter/application-consult/lapplication</a> . EU-funded WYA projects can be found on the ERASMUS database: <a href="https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/key-figures_en">https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/key-figures_en</a> .

#### Partial or no financial data available:

Foundations: European Family Foundation; Fondazione Vita Nova; Fundacion Valores y Sociedad; Fundatia Din Sufflet; Fundacia Nasze Dzieci; Movimento per la Vita; Stiftung Ja zum Leben; Stiftung für Familienwerte  
NGOs: ; Financial data on 7 of the 51 members of the One of Us Federation ; Financial data on 4 of the 12 NGOs involved in anti-LGBT activism and the Mum, Dad & Kids ECI; Financial data on 13 of the 23 organisations affiliated with TFP in Europe;

No financial data for Dignitatis Humanae Institute or European Dignity Watch

Exchange rates used taken from [www.oanda.org](http://www.oanda.org).



## ANNEXES

TIP OF THE ICEBERG  
Religious Extremist Funders against Human Rights for Sexuality and Reproductive Health in Europe 2009 – 2018

## ANTI-GENDER SPENDING IN EUROPE FROM 2009 TO 2018 IN USD

Europe	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	10 years
COMECE	1,585,009.20	1,254,600.00	1,487,200.00	1,401,200.00	1,495,000.00	0.00	1,237,150.00	1,320,077.49	1,205,475.04	1,391,421.33	12,377,133.06
ECPM & SALLUX	0.00	373,393.38	560,845.56	689,505.96	703,521.44	908,995.10	1,193,890.96	1,205,452.80	1,117,801.08	1,484,029.12	8,237,435.40
EU Fascist Political Parties	0.00	0.00	0.00	358,689.84	785,922.80	915,855.28	613,551.19	1,357,284.69	2,074,892.96	0.00	6,106,196.76
Federation "One of Us" & Members	1,065,459.57	1,194,689.67	1,931,683.34	1,880,946.85	2,274,053.75	2,856,143.02	4,967,208.95	4,424,962.33	5,461,283.02	5,472,564.75	31,528,995.24
Fondation Jérôme Lejeune	10,280,310.00	10,066,320.00	10,968,295.00	12,344,666.00	13,977,154.00	15,312,010.00	10,941,795.00	11,687,710.00	12,430,609.00	12,158,640.00	120,167,509.00
Fondazione Novae Terrae	0.00	0.00	0.00	881,430.00	881,430.00	881,430.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2,644,290.00
Fundació Provida Catalunya	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1,019,496.43	712,388.77	793,774.22	773,888.46	763,545.03	4,063,092.92
Hazte Oír / CitizenGO	1,140,410.61	1,018,212.25	2,033,741.24	1,937,794.30	2,469,281.22	4,532,062.93	4,115,399.12	4,862,613.06	5,570,117.04	5,088,908.00	32,768,539.77
Mum, Dad & Kids, et al	0.00	0.00	76,739.00	69,688.00	5,734,378.00	3,843,181.55	3,414,385.35	3,490,681.38	3,072,768.00	3,363,083.96	23,064,905.24
Fundaja Lux Veritatis	943,290.00	592,860.00	2,153,580.00	6,702,200.00	12,612,600.00	15,993,600.00	11,155,060.00	9,532,680.00	10,435,353.60	12,804,480.00	82,925,703.60
Tradition, Family, Property	2,483,018.46	2,226,195.45	5,386,778.31	5,072,606.10	5,121,770.41	17,338,585.29	15,541,468.98	16,708,092.27	22,408,960.23	21,151,683.02	113,439,158.52
Transatlantic Christian Council	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	13,000.00	58,960.08	25,550.69	0.00	123,425.12	156,031.20	376,967.09
<b>Sub-total EU</b>	<b>17,497,497.84</b>	<b>16,726,270.76</b>	<b>24,598,862.45</b>	<b>31,338,727.05</b>	<b>46,055,111.62</b>	<b>63,601,359.60</b>	<b>53,892,298.31</b>	<b>55,383,328.25</b>	<b>64,551,148.43</b>	<b>63,678,355.21</b>	<b>437,699,926.61</b>
<b>Russian Federation</b>											
Dialogue of Civilizations (Yakunin)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2,345,685.45	4,976,718.30	5,233,316.48	6,208,496.19	18,764,216.42
St Andrew the First Called (Yakunin)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	518,043.00	518,043.00	518,043.00	0.00	0.00	1,554,129.00
Istoki Endowment Fund (Yakunin)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11,429,600.00	20,164,320.00	17,119,000.00	11,332,366.56	15,377,100.48	15,202,665.60	90,625,052.64
St Basil the Great Charitable Fdn, et al (Malofeev)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	30,557,726.40	31,938,480.00	7,468,501.00	4,074,570.00	0.00	3,250,624.00	77,289,901.40
<b>Sub-total RUS</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>41,987,326.40</b>	<b>52,620,843.00</b>	<b>27,451,229.45</b>	<b>20,901,697.86</b>	<b>20,610,416.96</b>	<b>24,661,785.79</b>	<b>188,233,299.46</b>
<b>United States</b>											
ACUJ (ECLJ, SCUJ & Oxford)	1,435,920.00	1,836,898.00	1,667,961.00	1,419,870.00	1,424,232.00	1,820,457.00	1,747,447.00	1,526,027.00	1,484,612.00	1,343,493.00	15,706,917.00
Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty	143,765.00	181,741.00	207,783.00	197,852.00	183,361.00	248,280.00	181,134.00	215,903.00	237,431.00	481,141.00	2,278,391.00
ADF International	352,256.00	327,602.00	774,749.00	966,716.00	908,005.00	2,797,820.00	4,925,811.00	3,036,164.00	4,850,883.00	4,361,830.00	23,301,836.00
Billy Graham Evangelistic Association	1,738,700.00	1,988,713.00	5,957,097.00	4,611,851.00	4,199,674.00	5,299,044.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	23,795,079.00
Cato Institute	387,000.00	361,800.00	296,500.00	295,000.00	323,334.00	380,000.00	235,000.00	329,417.00	156,300.00	214,656.00	2,979,007.00
Heritage Foundation	0.00	78,320.00	105,807.00	108,666.00	136,807.00	148,151.00	74,234.00	66,729.00	163,853.00	164,994.00	1,047,561.00
Human Life International	571,509.00	539,322.00	563,592.00	531,546.00	595,947.00	485,231.00	161,464.00	279,602.00	309,695.00	0.00	4,037,908.00
The Federalist Society	0.00	0.00	732,000.00	796,108.00	899,922.00	871,030.00	797,692.00	560,876.00	565,387.00	691,429.00	5,914,444.00
The Leadership Institute	47,897.00	44,779.00	69,093.00	108,398.00	120,562.00	63,438.00	6,863.00	123,351.00	95,775.00	124,784.00	804,940.00
World Youth Alliance	65,708.00	126,017.00	79,510.00	159,608.00	166,516.00	149,919.96	184,039.14	77,732.00	117,152.76	287,273.87	1,413,476.73
<b>Sub-total USA</b>	<b>4,742,755.00</b>	<b>5,485,192.00</b>	<b>10,454,092.00</b>	<b>9,195,615.00</b>	<b>8,958,360.00</b>	<b>12,263,370.96</b>	<b>8,313,684.14</b>	<b>6,215,801.00</b>	<b>7,981,088.76</b>	<b>7,669,600.87</b>	<b>81,279,559.73</b>
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>22,240,252.84</b>	<b>22,211,462.76</b>	<b>35,052,954.45</b>	<b>40,534,342.05</b>	<b>97,000,798.02</b>	<b>128,485,573.56</b>	<b>89,657,211.90</b>	<b>82,500,827.11</b>	<b>93,142,654.15</b>	<b>96,009,741.87</b>	<b>707,212,785.80</b>

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