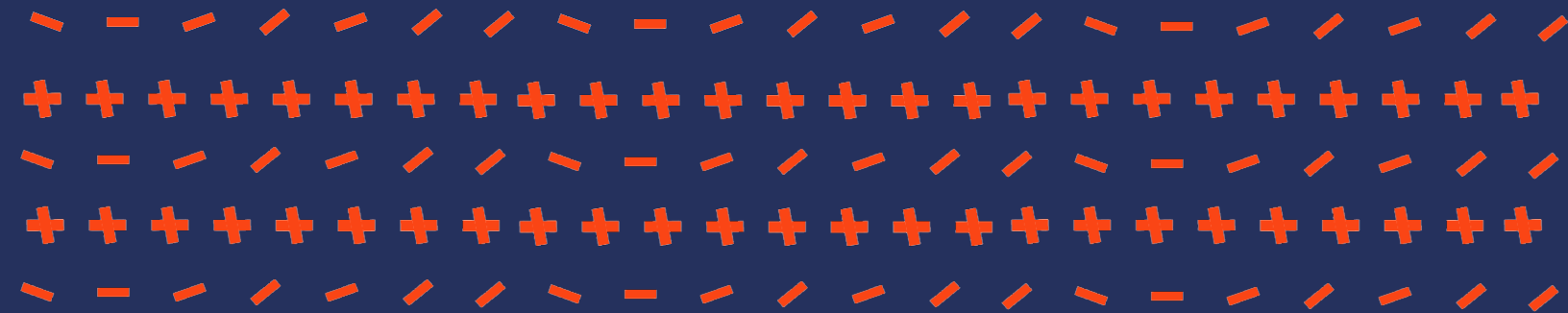


The Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group

The Evangelical Architecture Supporting Anti-Gender Initiatives at the United Nations



Ipas



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Abbreviations

ADF	Alliance Defending Freedom
C-Fam	Center for Human Rights and the Family
CIVF	Congreso Iberoamericano por la Vida y la Familia (Ibero-American Congress for Life and the Family)
CNP	Council for National Policy
CPD	Commission on Population and Development
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DAF	Donor-advised fund
EU	European Union
FRC	Family Research Council
FWI	Family Watch International
GCD	Geneva Consensus Declaration
GoFF	Group of the Friends of the Family
HHS	US Department of Health and Human Services
HRC	UN Human Rights Council
IWH	Institute for Women's Health
NCCF	National Christian Charitable Foundation
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
OAS	Organization of American States
PNfV	Political Network for Values
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Executive Summary

In September 2026, a unique gathering of US evangelicals, Christian Zionists, Catholic right-wing groups, Latin American parliamentarians, and members of the Trump administration, took place on the sidelines of the [81st United Nations \(UN\) General Assembly](#) in New York City. Hosted by the US evangelical group Well Versed, the [two-day “United Nations Summit”](#) was co-convened with the Institute for Women’s Health (IWH) and the Congreso Iberoamericano por la Vida y la Familia (Ibero-American Congress for Life and the Family, CIVF).

The Summit’s stated objective for the first day was to host “A strategic gathering encouraging nations to defend life, marriage, and the foundational family.” The underlying goal, however, was to bring together supportive anti-gender civil society groups and their political and UN counterparts to create a Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group as a coordinated negotiating mechanism for UN member states.

The UN meeting took place against the backdrop of the US government [officially assuming secretariat responsibility](#) for the [Geneva Consensus Declaration](#) (GCD). The GCD is a non-binding manifesto created in 2020 at the end of the first Trump administration and designed as a normative framework to advance an anti-abortion agenda. At time of publication in October 2026, 47 countries have endorsed the document, including from August-October 2026, Algeria, Argentina, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Mauritania, and Honduras.

Not only is the GCD rapidly adding new country members, but they are also cultivating civil society support. On September 2, 2026, the [“Civil Society for the GCD”](#) was launched online with, at time of this writing, nearly 120 organizations representing 35 countries. The [coalition is led by](#) Lisa Correnti, Executive Vice President of the US anti-gender UN advocacy group, the Center for Family and Human Rights (C-Fam).

This report shows how the UN anti-gender agenda is not being driven by UN member states, with the exception of the United States, but rather by UN lobby groups. In addition to IWH and CIVF; the Family Research Council (FRC), Christian Council International, and C-Fam are also active in this space.

Ipas research found that the Well Versed UN Summit was the culmination of at least six years of planning. The idea for the group first percolated with CIVF, who then recruited veteran anti-gender actors to join the initiative. This report details that evolution, and the connective tissue between the UN Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group organizers, GCD civil society partners and UN member states, and provides evidence of their financial backers.

Financially undergirding the three main groups behind the proposed Core Group is a philanthropic block of US evangelicals and its pass-through vehicles. Ipas research partner Empower mapped the funding links between the Core Group’s key promoters, revealing a network of US evangelicals allied with key members of the Catholic and the US political far right. The most important source of funding comes from a small group of evangelical donor-advised fund sponsors; the National Christian Charitable Foundation (NCCF), WaterStone, and The Signatry. These have links to other anti-gender groups, including FRC and the legal group Alliance Defending Freedom, and other donors and funds, including those connected to the Catholic [anti-abortion Knights of Columbus Foundation](#).

According to its organizers, the Core Group will serve several functions, including acting as an accountability mechanism to ensure country mission positions are aligned with capital priorities. They have proposed that national lawmakers play a role in the oversight of and accountability for their respective ambassadors who will be active in the Core Group.¹ As IWH president [Valerie Huber noted at the UN Summit](#), “A nation may hold a clear position in its capital and still lose ground because its delegation in New York, its mission in Geneva, and its ministry at home are working from different instructions. The diplomacy pillar [the Core Group] closes that gap.”

The timing could not be better for this UN anti-gender initiative given the high-level of US government and civil society support. In order to make the UN Core Group a reality, however, organizers must still move through several administrative hurdles before becoming an official part of the UN ecosystem.

To ensure the viability of this proposed project, [participants closed the Well Versed September 2026 meeting with agreed next steps](#). They include: setting up a convening committee; designing a system for government coordination; drawing up a letter of accession for interested states; and outlining the diplomatic process needed to establish official recognition as a Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group at the UN. According to [their reports](#), the “agreement is ‘a major step’ and the start of a phase that could redefine the presence of the pro-life movement on the international stage.”

This major step onto the international stage should not be mistaken for a genuine attempt to participate in global governance. Indeed, this intervention is solidly focused on ensuring that countries whose policies and practices don’t align with international human rights law can evade accountability. National sovereignty and the family are the entry points for dismantling an already weak multilateral system. This is the ultimate goal of the Pro-Life Core Group.

The combined efforts of these various initiatives—the Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group, the turbocharged GCD engagement, and the Civil Society for the GCD—will have adverse impacts on the UN’s work on gender, sexual and reproductive health and rights, and LGBTQI+ rights and protections. This report aims to shed light on these actors, their activities, and their financial resources. We close with recommendations for partners committed to countering these initiatives and advancing universal human rights at the UN.

¹ Meeting notes on file with Ipas, March 2026.

Background: The Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group

During the summer of 2026, *The Washington Stand*, the media outlet of the Family Research Council (FRC),² [an evangelical Christian anti-LGBTQI+ hate group](#), ran several articles³ detailing [how a](#) “pro-life and pro-family faction of the international community is seeking to create a Core Group to help protect the right to life, as well as the institutions of family and marriage, within international bodies like the United Nations.” The reporting pulled from [an article in the *Evangélico Digital*](#), also a media project of the FRC, that was penned by Aarón Lara, president of the [Congreso Iberoamericano por la Vida y la Familia](#) (Ibero-American Congress for Life and the Family, CIVF). The need for creating this Core Group, Lara outlined in his article, is to keep the organization’s anti-gender issues a priority at the United Nations (UN), build consensus, advance commitments, and act as counterweight to the UN LGBTI Core Group.⁴

What is a core group? UN core groups are informal, cross-regional, diplomatic mechanisms for UN member states. These voluntary alliances are formed by interested countries and typically focus on a single thematic agenda or issue—like the [LGBTI Core Group](#) or the [Sudan Core Group](#). Countries work through such coalitions to pool resources, draft joint statements, coordinate negotiation strategies, and sponsor resolutions. To create a core group, a sponsoring country is needed with the backing of at least two additional member states.

Several important details outlined in an August [Washington Stand](#) article telegraph how the Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group will likely be developed. The author claims that the Core Group will be led by the United States with support from Global South countries, specifically, Latin American countries that make up Trump’s [Shield of the Americas](#).⁵ The Core Group project also had early support from Valerie Huber, President of the Institute for Women’s Health (IWH). Huber, the self-proclaimed architect of the Geneva Consensus Declaration (GCD), [said she would like GCD signatory](#) countries to join the Core Group. The GCD is a non-binding manifesto, created in 2020 by the first Trump administration, and designed as a normative framework to advance a global anti-abortion agenda.

This opening gesture from Huber comes at a time when the GCD is rapidly expanding its membership under US government leadership. [There are currently 47 countries who have endorsed the document](#); from August to October 2026, seven new countries signed, Algeria, Argentina, Colombia, the

² The FRC was created in the [1980s by the late Christian psychologist James Dobson](#), founder of Focus on the Family and its lobbying arm, Family Policy Alliance. Dobson and his organizations had deep ties to prominent conservative think tanks and legal organizations like the Heritage Foundation and Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF).

³ See *The Washington Stand* articles: “[A Pro-Life and Pro-Family ‘Core Group’ Could Represent Millions at the UN](#),” August 11, 2026; “[Valerie Huber: ‘A Nation That Arrives at a Negotiation Alone is Outmatched’](#),” August 24, 2026; and “[Pro-Life and Pro-Family Alliance Gains Momentum at UN Assembly](#),” September 28, 2026.

⁴ The United States, which was a longtime member of the UN LGBTI Core Group, withdrew its participation in March 2025, as part of President Trump’s early [anti-gender initiatives](#) in his second presidential term.

⁵ The “Shield of the Americas” countries include Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guyana, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, and Trinidad and Tobago. In March 2026, these 12 countries were invited by President Trump to join the initiative that [supposedly aims](#) to combat drug trafficking and strengthen hemispheric security. In practice, it functions as a mechanism for political and ideological alignment, as President Trump invited only countries governed by political leaders aligned with his agenda.

Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Mauritania, and Honduras. In September 2026, [the GCD celebrated its sixth anniversary in Washington](#), DC. In attendance were new GCD signatories, Trump administration staff, and Republican congresspeople. The GCD also gained the backing of a new project [led by the Center for Family and Human Rights \(C-Fam\)](#). In September 2026, the [Civil Society for the GCD](#) was launched to create awareness about the document and to “support UN member states that have signed the Declaration in promoting its principles in their national policies and in the work of the UN system”

The Core Group has evolved in tandem with growing support for the Geneva Consensus Declaration. And, while the idea for a UN Core Group was first publicly aired in March 2026,⁶ in the Dominican Republic [during a conference](#) hosted by the CIVF’s Lara, Ipas research found that the anti-gender core group initiative has been in development since at least 2020—coinciding with the launch and rise of the GCD.

The Well Versed “UN Summit” 2026

To advance [Aarón Lara’s vision for a Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group](#), the evangelical ministry Well Versed hosted a [two-day summit](#) in New York City, from September 17-18, 2026, on the sidelines of the [81st United Nations General Assembly](#).⁷ Well Versed was joined by co-conveners CIVF and IWH. The stated objective on the first day was to host “A strategic gathering encouraging nations to defend life, marriage, and the foundational family.” The Summit received [media coverage](#) through FRC’s outlets, while the anti-gender advocacy group C-Fam [provided UN logistical support](#).

In addition to [Well Versed](#), CIVF and IWH, the event also included the support of [Turning Point USA Faith](#), [Wall Builders](#), US conservative media personality Glenn Beck’s [Mercury One](#), and [Living Stones Foundations](#). It is notable that these additional cosponsors do not have a history of UN advocacy. Nonetheless, these groups are part of an overlapping network of US-based Christian conservative organizations that combine religious ministry, political mobilization, and advocacy for socially conservative policy positions. They emphasize “traditional family”, opposition to abortion, and promote religious freedom and national sovereignty.

According to Jim Garlow, the CEO of Well Versed, 150 leaders representing 15 countries were invited to the [“United Nations Summit: A consequential gathering of faith, policy, and prayer.”](#) Twenty-nine of those participating were deputies and senators from Latin America, who came at the invitation of Lara. Across the two days, the summit featured five [main themes](#): 1) countering the “move to approve an international right to abortion”; 2) supporting traditional, biblical marriage against sexual orientation and gender identity “being pushed in every nation”; 3) valuing individual rights, including medical and religious freedom; 4) promoting national sovereignty and opposing globalism; and 5) combating antisemitism. The summit, according to organizers, was intended not as a conference, but as a strategy session.

⁶ Meeting notes on file with Ipas, March 2026.

⁷ See Annex 1 for the full two-day agenda and speakers.

The focus on combating antisemitism stands out on this list as it is not usually a feature of anti-gender work at the United Nations. However, this focus makes sense when examining how Garlow’s strongly pro-Israel work aligns with the world view of Christian Zionists.⁸ While Christian Zionists don’t usually stake out public positions on gender, their views on this topic squarely align with conservative evangelicals.

The first day of the summit was focused on understanding how the UN works and the value of the Geneva Consensus Declaration. Latin America was held up as model for how to advance the “pro-life” agenda, and parliamentarians from Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Uruguay gave statements on why it is important to advance a Core Group at the UN. There was a call to create an “intentional working legislative group for the family,” based on the Peru experience, led by the Peruvian Senator Milagros Aguayo. Aguayo is a conservative evangelical who has said that a woman should subject herself to a man’s authority within the family.

In addition to Lara’s Latin American connections and a strong showing by US evangelicals, the event featured high-profile US officials. Bethany Kozma, Director of the Office of Global Affairs at the US Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), and Deputy Secretary of the US State Department Christopher Landau gave virtual presentations, as did former US Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom Sam Brownback. Given the evangelical focus on Israel, there was also a presentation by Ellie Cohan, a senior policy advisor to the US mission to the UN.



⁸ Christian Zionist support the modern state of Israel, and Jewish people’s connection to the land, on religious grounds. Daniel G. Hummel, *Covenant Brothers: Evangelicals, Jews, and U.S.-Israeli Relations* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

While the ambition to create a Core Group was formally introduced at the Well Versed meeting, it still has several administrative hurdles to clear before it becomes an official part of the UN ecosystem. [Participants closed with agreements for next steps](#) to ensure its viability: setting up a convening committee; designing a system for government coordination; drawing up a letter of accession for interested states; and outlining the diplomatic steps needed to establish official recognition as a Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group at the UN. According to their reports, the “agreement is “a major step” and the start of a phase that could redefine the presence of the pro-life movement on the international stage.”

Evangelical Actors Behind the “UN Summit”

Well Versed and CIVF have not traditionally been active in anti-gender advocacy at the United Nations. However, both organizations have connections to anti-gender networks in multilateral forums, including the UN and the Inter-American system, and to US evangelical funding, the Trump White House, and broader US Republican circles.

Well Versed

Jim Garlow of Well Versed is an American evangelical pastor who was previously the senior pastor of the California-based megachurch, Skyline Church, for twenty-three years. Under the first Trump administration, Garlow was a member of Trump’s [National Faith Advisory Board](#), and he is associated with [Alliance Defending Freedom’s](#) “[pulpit freedom](#)” movement and the Christian [New Apostolic Reformation](#) movement.⁹

[In September 2026 remarks](#), Garlow noted that he first started working with [Stefano Gennarini](#) of C-Fam in 2017, [the same year](#) Garlow left Skyline and formed Well Versed. Well Versed is a ministry aimed at government leaders and much of that work is centered on the UN.¹⁰ When it was first founded, Well Versed’s UN outreach [was led by former Congresswoman Michele Bachmann](#), who ran it until COVID shut down the UN building in 2019. According to Garlow, when the UN ministry was active, it held weekly faith meetings with 92-member state representatives.

In May 2016, [Garlow was a speaker](#) at a high-level pro-family event organized by the [Group of the Friends of the Family \(GoFF\)](#), a coalition of 25 UN member states including Nicaragua, Egypt, and the Russian Federation. Alongside Well Versed, GoFF’s civil society partners include veteran UN advocacy groups C-Fam, Family Watch International, and FRC. GoFF has been intermittently active since it was first launched in 2015, mainly issuing “pro-family” statements during the Commission on Population and Development and the Commission for Social Development, [most recently in 2025](#). The group behaves less like a UN core group and more like a narrative and coalition-building presence—though it does provide useful infrastructure and precedent for the creation of a UN core group.

⁹ The [New Apostolic Reformation](#) is a loose global movement within neo-charismatic Christianity that emphasizes governance by modern-day apostles and prophets, supernatural signs, and the belief that Christians are called to take “dominion” over seven key societal institutions (or “mountains”)—government, business, education, religion, arts and entertainment, family, and media.

¹⁰ It is classified as a church by the US Internal Revenue Services.

As part of its advocacy, Well Versed operates “faith diplomacy” outreach to heads of state. [According to its website](#), Garlow and his wife Rosemary have met with twelve heads of state including Donald Trump; King Abdullah II of Jordan; Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and President Isaac Herzog; former president Jair Bolsonaro of Brazil; President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi of Egypt. The website lists each meeting organizer; five of the Latin American and Kurdish meetings were arranged by [Mario Bramnick](#), Garlow's co-founder of the [World Prayer Network](#) and president of the evangelical [Latino Coalition for Israel](#). Further demonstrating the ties among these actors, Bramnick is a [former member of the advisory board](#) of Latinos for Trump.

Congreso Iberoamericano por la Vida y la Familia

While Well Versed brings the US evangelical convening power and diplomatic clout, the real visionary for the Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group appears to be CIVF and Aarón Lara. Lara is a Mexican journalist and anti-rights activist who has a long history working in Latin America against abortion rights and same-sex marriage.¹¹ In 2017, he founded CIVF, which is primarily active at the Organization of American States. This network now includes members from across Latin America and Spain, and it is distinctly evangelical in its membership.

Garlow and Lara were together in March 2026 where they informally launched the Core Group in at CIVF's 10th international congress in the Dominican Republic.¹² During that congress, Lara announced that because of Trump's political influence, the proposed Core Group would be headed by the United States. It would include at least five ambassadors from Latin American: Paraguay, Argentina, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, and Honduras. Lara added that they have a two-year timeframe to advance this initiative, and he noted that Jim Garlow was a key US leader for this work.¹³

Lara also proposed that national lawmakers play an active role in the oversight of and accountability for their respective ambassadors who will be active in the Core Group. In October 2026, [C-Fam made a similar appeal](#) to the Italian government, taking its minister of culture to task for funding an LGBTQI+

¹¹ In 2016, [Lara filed a citizens' initiative](#) to include a right to life into Article 4 of the Mexican Constitution. By 2018, he had held two roles on the national executive of the Encuentro Social party (PES, in Spanish), a party whose [2014 accounts](#) record [two payments](#) of 80,000 MXN (approximately \$4,435 USD) to Concertación, one of the civil associations [Lara chairs](#) and [registers](#) under his own contact details.

¹² Lara introduced the Core Group on a March 12, 2026, panel titled “The Core Group and foreign policy accountability to the legislative branch.” The event was moderated by the anti-abortion evangelical Uruguayan congressperson Gerardo Amarilla and included congressional deputies Alejandra Burgos, Walter Ghione, and Álvaro Dastugue, respectively from Honduras, Argentina, and Uruguay. The Mexican pastor [Gilberto Rocha](#) of the Calacoaya Christian Center, opened the discussion by framing the work as a spiritual, legal, and juridical battle against the imposition of gender ideology, not just in national congresses and parliaments, but in multilateral spaces like the UN and the Organization of American States.

¹³ At the March 2026 meeting in the Dominican Republic, Deputy Alejandra Burgos confirmed that Honduras was open to approving the UN Core Group. Meanwhile, the Uruguayan representative, Álvaro Dastugue, suggested it would be a good strategy to coordinate a meeting of legislators from the National Party and allied parties with Uruguay's Foreign Ministry to present the initiative. We did not find evidence that this meeting took place and given that the current Uruguayan government does not lean hard right, it is unlikely Dastugue's proposal moved forward. He also mentioned the possibility of extending an invitation to Chile, following the 2026 election of José Antonio Kast to the presidency. The Argentine evangelical pastor and provincial deputy from Santa Fe Province, Walter Ghione, said the possibility that Argentina would join the Core Group was very favorable. In August 2026, [Argentina formally joined the GCD](#).

initiative and demanding that Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni’s government “do some in-house cleaning...and pull out of the LGBT core group while they are it.” Earlier, in September 2026, [Valerie Huber also made the case](#) when arguing for the establishment of a UN Pro-Life Core Group:

“A nation may hold a clear position in its capital and still lose ground because its delegation in New York, its mission in Geneva, and its ministry at home are working from different instructions. The diplomacy pillar [the Core Group] closes that gap, creating one consistent set of positions and instructions across every mission of the nation, so that a country speaks with a single voice wherever it is represented.”

CIVF is based in Mexico and opened its US office in 2021 in Washington, DC. The organization’s [2025 tax records](#) show very little income with a budget of under US\$50,000 and with a “substantial part of its support from a governmental unit.” Since it first launched, CIVF US appears to have lost almost half of its operating funds.¹⁴

According to [Evangelical Focus](#), the same year CIVF launched in the US, it also “applied to become a Pro-Life Core Group at the United Nations,” although Ipas did not find evidence that this took place. Nonetheless, this means the core group project has been in the works for at least five years, if not longer. At CIVF’s fourth Iberoamerican Congress for Life and Family, which took place in Lima, Peru in March 2020, one of the official goals of the meeting was to establish a core group for life and family.¹⁵

Figure 1: A cross-border network converged in September 2026

Founding, coalition-building and linked events connect CIVF, Well Versed, and IWH across Peru, the Dominican Republic and the United States and the Geneva Consensus Declaration and the proposed UN anti-gender core group initiatives.



Source: Ipas, 2026.

¹⁴ CIVF launched with a budget of \$82,000 USD.

¹⁵ Event notes from the Fourth Iberoamerican Congress for Life and Family on file with Ipas.

The Core Group alongside the GCD

The proposed Core Group is well-positioned to succeed. With the United States providing full-throated support for anti-gender work at the UN, they can also count on the wider network of UN member states provided by the GCD, and a formal body of civil society support. There are also several upcoming opportunities where these constituencies can flex their muscles including the election of the next Secretary General at the end of 2026, and in the lead up and during the 2027 the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), the Commission on Population and Development (CPD) and the Human Rights Council (HRC) in Geneva.

The Role of Institute for Women's Health

In August and September 2026, in the lead up to the Well Versed UN Summit, there was a flurry of activity around the Geneva Consensus Declaration including the addition of seven new members and the celebration of its six-year anniversary. These parallel activities received both state and civil society support from many of the actors in the same diplomatic, anti-gender ecosystem as the Core Group. Huber and IWH are well-known entities. Huber is the former US Health and Human Services (HHS) official under the first Trump administration who negotiated the GCD in 2020 and self-defines as the [initiative's architect](#).

Through IWH, Huber continues to not only advocate for new GCD signatories, but her organization also developed [Protego](#), a program to operationalization the GCD at the national level.¹⁶ [Guatemala](#), [Uganda](#), and [Burundi](#) have all signed memorandums of understanding with IWH to implement Protego, and more GCD countries are expected to follow suit. At the same time, Huber is tightening her relationship with the Trump White House. In October 2026, [she attended](#) a signing ceremony for a [new White House initiative to “advance women’s health.”](#) Led by [First Lady Melania Trump](#), this project closely mirrors GCD language on caring for “women and girls through every stage of life.”

In addition to promoting the GCD in spaces like the Well Versed UN Summit, Huber continues to have substantial political access. In March 2026, [she met with](#) heads of state and other high-level officials in Chile during President José Antonio Kast's inauguration. [The inauguration](#) was attended by like-minded politicians and civil society, including members of his former organization, Political Network for Values (PNfV), and ally [Global Center for Human Rights](#). PNfV and IWH [held a conference](#) at Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in July 2026 and subsequently [collaborated](#) on the recruitment of new GCD member, the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic's membership in the GCD coincides with the country's chairing of the [71st session of CSW](#), in March 2027.

The GCD with US Leadership

The civil society GCD recruitment led by Huber and IWH is occurring alongside the US government's formal management of the secretariat. In July 2026, the GCD's secretariat was moved to the United States from Hungary following the political transition in the latter in April 2026. A State Department

¹⁶ For more information on IWH and Protego, [see Ipas's report, Protego: Operationalizing the Geneva Consensus Declaration](#).

press release on August 12, 2026, announced the US takeover, noting that a GCD “whole-of-government effort” would be “led jointly by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the U.S. Department of State,” undersigned by Secretary of HHS Robert F. Kennedy and Secretary of State Marco Rubio. The secretariat is now [housed with Huber’s HHS successor in the Office of Global Affairs—Bethany Kozma](#).

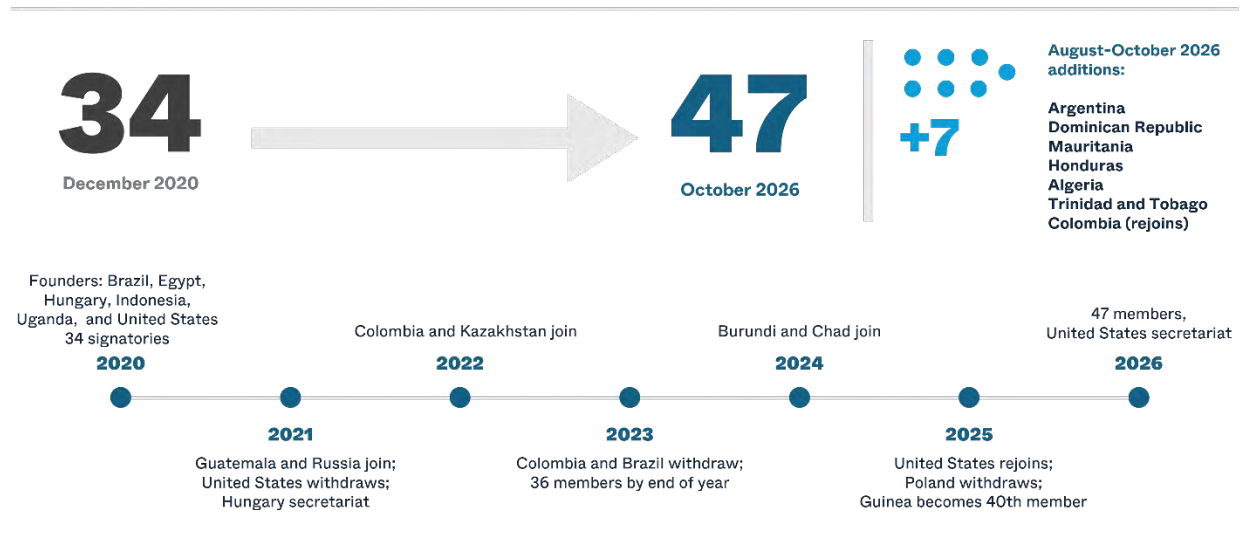
Kozma took up her current role in December 2025 at HSS where [she acts](#) as the agency’s “diplomatic voice”. [According to the Center for Reproductive Rights](#), Kozma has close ties to anti-abortion groups and [anti-LGBTQI+ hate groups](#), including the Family Research Council. Like Huber, Kozma contributed to the [Heritage Foundation’s Project 2025](#) and its plans for the second Trump administration. According to [reporting by NPR](#), Kozma does not have a background in global health, though she does have a long history of working with Republican administrations. She began her career under George W. Bush, and, in 2017 under the first Trump administration, Kozma served in the now-dissolved US Agency for International Development (USAID) where she worked to advance anti-abortion policies.

Kozma has been busy promoting the GCD in global fora and at the country-level. On July 14, the US Mission to Geneva [shared](#) that Kozma and [Jim Merz](#), Chargé d’affaires for the US Mission to the UN and other International Organizations in Geneva, had held a dialogue around the HRC with current and prospective members of the Geneva Consensus Declaration, including signatories Guatemala and Hungary and, at the time, GCD prospects including Argentina, Namibia, and Nigeria. During a visit [to Malta on July 24](#), Kozma met with government officials to discuss “advancing women’s health, supporting strong families, and respecting national sovereignty.”

Two days before the United States reclaimed its secretariat responsibilities, on August 10, [Argentina became the 42nd](#) signatory of the GCD, quickly followed on [September 2 by the Dominican Republic](#). Kozma visited Honduras on August 21, where the [US embassy reported](#) she met with government representatives, [including the Vice President Carlos Flores Guifarro](#), and religious organizations to discuss “shared priorities in public health and social welfare.” The following month, in September, Honduras announced it was joining the GCD.

Figure 2: GCD membership grows to 47

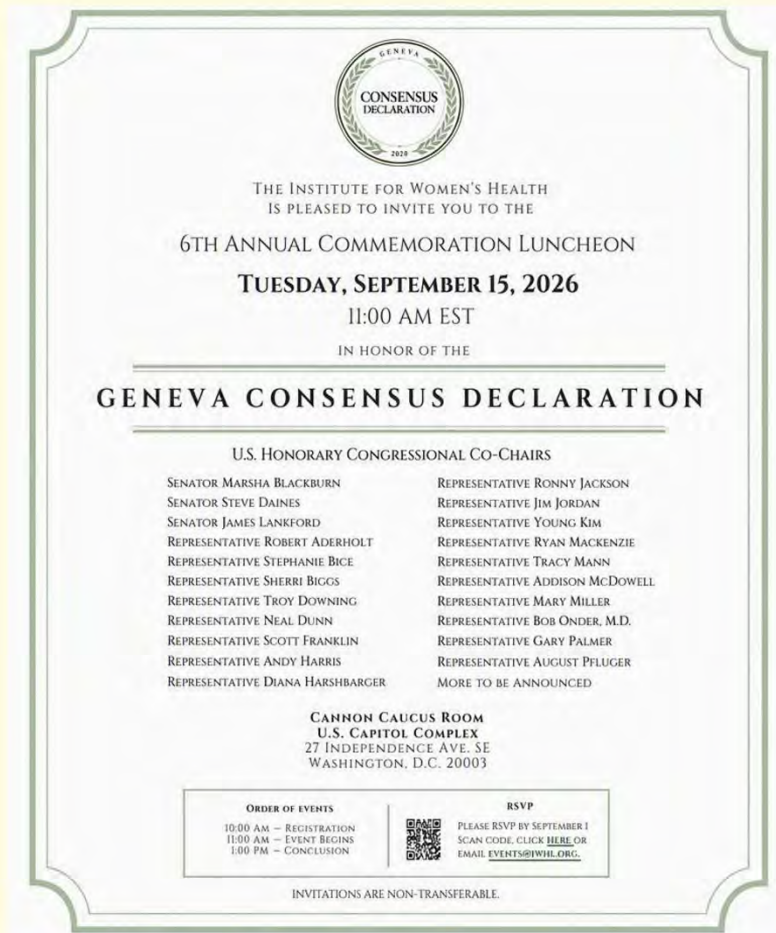
Growth from 34 members, new accessions, and US leadership, as October 2026.



Source: Ipas, 2026.

Also in August, the HHS Office of Global Affairs [reported](#) that Kozma met with the Chilean Minister of Women and Gender Equity and Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs to speak “on supporting mothers and families.” Kozma also had meetings to discuss opportunities to “collaborate on women’s health, protecting life and the family” with ministers of health of [El Salvador](#) and [Bolivia](#).

This rush of activity took place in advance of the GCD’s [six-year anniversary](#) celebration on September 15, 2026, which included a commemorative lunch hosted by Huber’s IWH, in Washington, DC. There, [Mauritania](#) and the [Dominican Republic](#), each represented by their ambassadors to the US, were announced as the newest GCD members. Also, in attendance were [Agustin Caulo](#), Secretary of Worship and Civilization for Argentina; and [Pavel Shidlovsky](#), the Chargé d’Affaires ad interim for the Embassy of the Republic of Belarus in DC. They were joined by civil society partners, some of whom would later in the week join IWH at the Well Versed summit and other UNGA events in New York City. They included PNfV; [Rebecca Oas from C-Fam](#); [Errol Naidoo of the Family Policy Institute](#) (and board member of the African Christian Professionals Forum); [Henk Jan van Schothorst of Christian Council International](#); [Neydy Casillas of Global Center for Human Rights](#); and staff from the [Family Research Council](#). PNfV and IWH had been [collaborating](#) on the recruitment of the Dominican Republic to the GCD.



Invitation to the sixth anniversary of the GCD in Washington, DC, on September 15, 2026. Source: Ipas, 2026.

The US government featured prominently in the IWH-led celebration with Kozma speaking on behalf of HHS and many US Republicans attending in-person including: Representatives [Chris Smith](#), [Robert Aderholt](#), and [Mary Miller](#); Senators [James Lankford](#) and [Steve Daines](#); [Vince Haley](#), Assistant to the President and Director of the Domestic Policy Council; and [Paula White](#) and [Jenny Korn](#) of the [White House Faith Office](#). Senators Daines and Lankford, along with Representatives Smith and Aderholt, are Republican members of the US Congress who have served for several years as honorary co-chairs of the GCD.¹⁷

Civil Society for the GCD

In addition to advocacy with heads of state and high-level diplomats, the GCD is also working to consolidate support from civil society, with a focus on the UN space. Following the Well Versed summit

¹⁷ Marco Rubio, current US Secretary of State and Congressman Jim Banks were also GCD co-chairs [in 2023](#). The members of Congress supporting the GCD have deep ties to congressional groups focusing on religious freedom and anti-abortion advocacy, including the [Congressional Prayer Caucus](#) and the [Values Action Team](#) caucus, which is “dedicated to advancing policy that promotes traditional values.” The FRC has historically served as a [central supporter](#) of the Values Action Team congresspeople.

at UNGA, on September 23rd, C-Fam and [HHS hosted](#) the launch of the “Civil Society for the Geneva Consensus Declaration” at the event “The Geneva Consensus: Declaration on Women’s Health and the Protection of the Family”. In a signing ceremony presided over by Kozma, [Algeria](#) and [Trinidad and Tobago](#) were announced as the latest GCD members, bringing the coalition to a total of 47. [Additional representatives](#) from GCD member countries at the ceremony included Egypt and surprisingly, former GCD Secretariat Hungary. [Agustin Caulo](#) of Argentina was again in attendance.

In a show of US commitment to the cause, in addition to [Kozma](#), other [high-level US diplomats](#) attending included Dan Nega, US Representative to the UN Economic and Social Council; Under Secretary for foreign affairs, humanitarian affairs, and religious freedom [Andrew Veprek](#); Riley M. Barnes, Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor; and Andrew Guernsey of the White House.

C-Fam staff were joined by civil society supporters from [Christian Council International](#) and the [Global Center for Human Rights](#)—both of whom [attended the Well Versed](#) and GCD anniversary events and who are [also active](#) in European, Latin American, and African anti-gender spaces, particularly in Geneva and in Brussels at the European Union, the [Organization of American States](#) in Washington DC, and the [African Union](#) in Ethiopia.

Figure 3: Networked ecosystem of anti-gender initiatives

Leadership, aligned civil society, and multilateral organizing—not a single hierarchy—connect the layers of the ecosystem.



Source: Ipas, 2026.

Behind the Curtain: Financial Backing

To better understand the power dynamics behind the three co-conveners that have played a public and active role in promoting the future of a Pro-Life and Pro-Family UN Core Group—Well Versed, the Ibero-American Congress for Life, and the Institute for Women’s Health—it is important to pull back the curtain to see who is funding them. Research into the organizations by Empower has found that behind these three stands the philanthropic wing of US evangelicalism. Funding reaches the three groups through two principal routes: 1) foundations; and 2) donor-advised fund (DAF) sponsors. The most important source of their funding comes from a small group of evangelical DAF sponsors: the [National Christian Charitable Foundation](#) (NCCF), [WaterStone](#) (the operating name of the Christian Community Foundation), and [The Signatry](#) (the operating name of the Servant Foundation and associated with the Signatry Charitable Trust).

A DAF sponsor is a charitable vehicle that holds money on behalf of wealthy donors and makes grants based on their instructions. In the United States, the sponsor is required to publicly report its donations to NGOs with the IRS, but this has the effect of anonymizing the original donor names. Furthermore, due to inconsistent and opaque financial reporting, the funding figures presented here should be read as minimums, not necessarily total amounts. Figures are taken from IRS filings where available but have to be pieced together from multiple filings and rarely account for all revenue. Additionally, some groups are classified by the IRS as religious organizations and are not required to file returns. Most financial flows are captured by the research, but with these limitations.

The DAF sponsors named above channel money, directly and indirectly, to the three organizations supporting the UN Core Group. As seen in Figure 4, the NCCF—the largest evangelical DAF sponsor in the US—is a direct funder to IWH and Well Versed, and has donated to an organization named [Semilla, Inc. which shares an address with CIVF](#).¹⁸ It is also the most opaque: 95% of all donations routed through NCCF come from anonymous donors.¹⁹ Additionally, these DAF sponsors fund intermediary organizations, such as the [Family Research Council](#) and [1792 Exchange](#), which in turn also donate to IWH, Well Versed, and CIVF.²⁰

1792 Exchange is an organization that publishes ratings of US companies designed to oppose "woke" initiatives like DEI (Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion) and ESG (Environmental, Social, and Governance). The largest single grant that Core Group organizer IWH has received to date came from [1792 Exchange](#). In 2022, 1792 donated \$362,000 USD, amounting to 54.1% of IWH's income that year. The entities behind 1792 Exchange are detailed in Tables 1 and 2 of Annex 2. The Family Research Council,

¹⁸ Semilla Inc, a Virginia charity formed in 1986, is run by José L. González, its president and only employee, who is also CIVF's treasurer. Semilla's registered address, 325 Madison Avenue, Cape Charles, Virginia, is a house owned by González and his wife through a company; the Family Research Council sends its funds to CIVF to this address, and Semilla's website collects donations "for the Congreso Iberoamericano" under Semilla's own tax-exempt status, so a gift made through that page is received by Semilla, not by CIVF. Neither body names the other as a related organization on its tax return, and the only named donor that funds both is the Minnie and Bernard Lane Foundation of Altavista, Virginia.

¹⁹ Identifiable contributors include the Maclellan family, The Signatry's South Dakota trust, and Jesse Correll's River Foundation (Figure 6 in Annex 2).

²⁰ The 1792 Exchange is an [right-wing NGO](#) that seeks to tackle "woke capitalism" in the United States. It has direct ties to [Cleta Mitchell](#), an attorney who worked with Donald Trump as he tried to overturn the 2020 presidential election results.

meanwhile, has donated \$40,000 USD to CIVF, (19.6% of funds CIVF has reported raising to date),²¹ and \$8,000 USD to Well Versed. In turn, FRC has received \$29,926,208 USD from NCCF over 12 years and was also funded by some of the same family foundations that fund Well Versed, IWH, and CIVF (see Figure 5 below).

In addition to the anonymous funding channelled through DAF sponsors, foundations run by US evangelicals with industrial and financial family fortunes provide some direct support. For example, The Covenant Foundation, funded by San Antonio businessman James Leininger, is the largest publicly named donor to Well Versed, having provided \$90,500 USD between 2020 and 2024. Two foundations run by the Maclellan family of Chattanooga, Tennessee gave \$70,000 USD to IWH between 2022 and 2024. The Minnie and Bernard Lane Foundation of Altavista, Virginia gave \$14,000 USD to CIVF between 2023 and 2025.

Direct donations from Christian family charities like these account for 37% of Well Versed's known income, 2.1% of IWH's and 6.8% of CIVF's. The DAF sponsors provide most of the remainder, and in larger sums: the NCCF alone gave IWH \$1,333,447 USD between 2022 and 2024, 40.9% of everything IWH has raised. Ten identified entities account for 84.6% of IWH's income, six of them DAF sponsors.²²

Beyond this evangelical funding, IWH also receives money, directly and through 1792 Exchange, from the US Catholic right. This money comes from the [Knights of Columbus Charitable Fund](#), which is chaired by the founder of [Alliance Defending Freedom](#) and funded by many of the same evangelical sponsors backing Well Versed, CIVF, and IWH.²³

The Knights of Columbus are a Catholic fraternal organization [deeply involved in anti-abortion](#) funding and advocacy, and have links to the central far-right agenda funder Leonard Leo.²⁴ And, there are intersections between the Catholic and evangelical sides of this funding network. In 2024, [NCCF gave](#) the [Knights of Columbus Charitable Fund](#) 1,006,520 USD, while The [Signatry](#) gave it \$1,000,000 USD during the year ending March 2024. Those are the same two evangelical sponsors that between them donate to IWH, Well Versed, Semilla, and 1792 Exchange.²⁵

²¹ "FRC, Forms 990, years ending September 2022 to September 2025," and ProPublica, "CIVF, Forms 990, 2022 to 2025," ProPublica.

²² "IWH, Forms 990, 2021 to 2025," ProPublica; "NCCF, Forms 990, 2013 to 2024," ProPublica; "WaterStone, Forms 990, years ending March 2022 to March 2025," ProPublica; "Servant Foundation, Forms 990, years ending March 2022 to March 2025," ProPublica; "The Signatry Charitable Trust, Form 990, 2024," ProPublica; "1792 Exchange Inc, Forms 990, 2021 to 2024," ProPublica; "FRC, Forms 990, years ending September 2022 to September 2025," ProPublica; "Hexagon Foundation, Form 990, 2024," ProPublica; "The Maclellan Foundation Inc, Forms 990, 2021 to 2024," ProPublica; "Hugh and Charlotte Maclellan Charitable Trust, Forms 990-PF, 2021 to 2025," ProPublica; and, "Covenant Foundation, Forms 990-PF, 2020 to 2025" ProPublica.

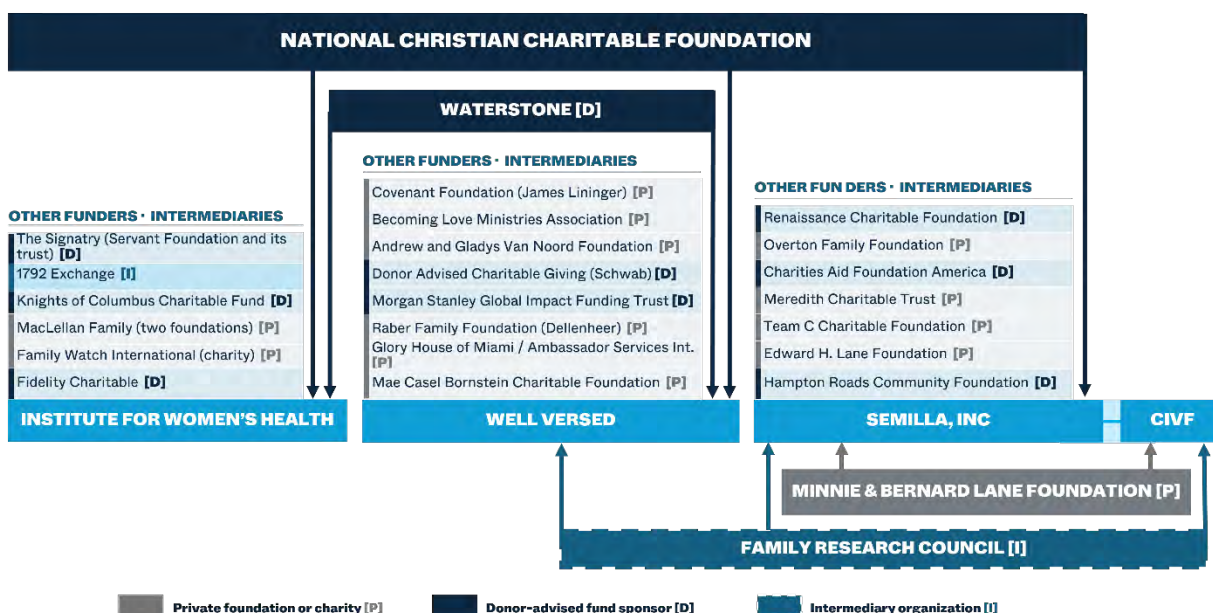
²³ "NCCF, Form 990, 2024," ProPublica.; and "Servant Foundation, Form 990, year ending March 2025," ProPublica.

²⁴ Leo facilitated a [\\$4 million USD donation](#) in 2022 for an endowed chair position at the Catholic University Columbus School of Law in partnership with Knights of Columbus. Leo's vehicles, the 85 Fund and the Marble Freedom Trust, are the largest identified depositors in the Knights of Columbus Charitable Fund, a direct donor of IWH and the fourth-largest donor of 1792 Exchange (see Table 3 in the annex). Leo's vehicles deposited \$53,800,000 USD between 2023 and 2025. relevant to this wider policy context rather than to the direct financing of the main actors described in this report.

²⁵ "NCCF, Form 990, 2024," ProPublica; and "Servant Foundation, Form 990, year ending March 2025," ProPublica.

These key funders, their officers, and their intermediaries form the philanthropic bloc of US evangelicalism. Since at least 2022, the evangelical funders have been allied with key members of the Catholic right, as well as members of the Trump administration representing the evangelical wing of the Republican Party. The political home of this alliance is the [Council for National Policy](#) (CNP), a closed membership organization that brings together the donors, activists, and politicians of the US conservative movement.²⁶ In this way, the [network's relevance extends beyond private funding](#): people connected to IWH, Well Versed, and 1792 Exchange later entered US government roles linked to foreign assistance, budgeting, and security.²⁷

Figure 4: Donors to the main three groups between 2012-2025



Source: Empower, 2026.

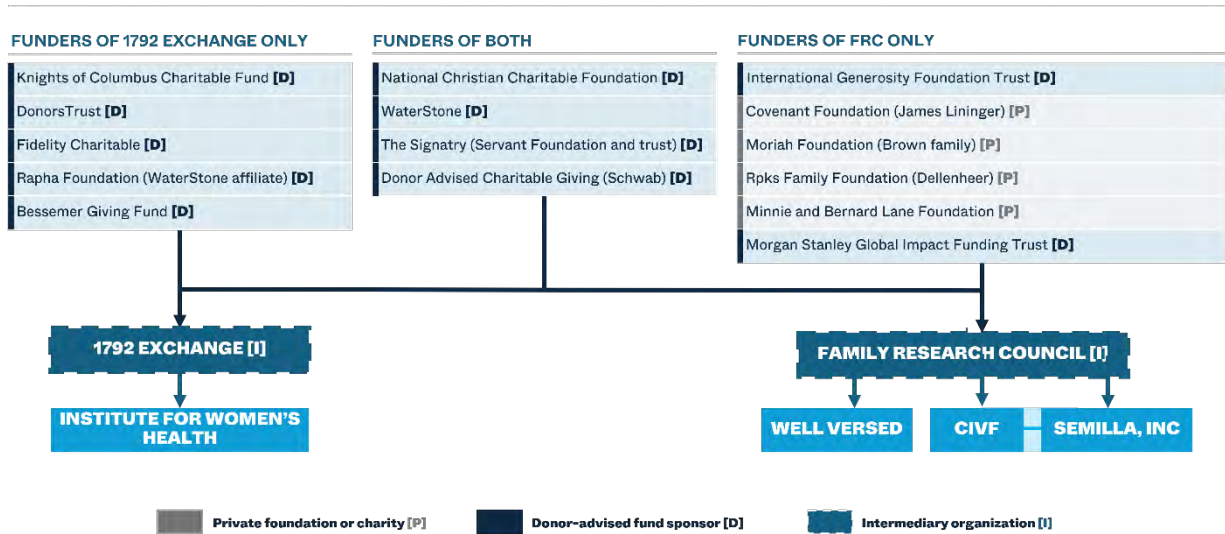
Figure 4, above, shows the donation flows from key DAF sponsors and foundations to the three organizations, while the annex provides the complete donor list and amounts. Although most original donors remain undisclosed, tax filings identify several contributors relevant to this investigation because of their links to the Council for National Policy or related policy institutes (see Table 3 in the Annex). Figure 5, below, in turn, shows the donors to intermediary funders FRC and 1792 Exchange and their relationships to Well Versed, Semilla/CIVF, and the IWH.

²⁶ For more information on CNP, including its links to the groups mentioned, see Table 4 of the annex.

²⁷ See Table 5 in the Annex for more details. Demonstrating the circularity of these networks, two CNP officers, J. Kenneth Blackwell and Cleta Mitchell, were 1792 Exchange's only officers in 2021, the year before its grant to IWH, and members of CNP's board of governors include the MacLellans, IWH's only named family donor. Additionally, WaterStone's [chief executive is a CNP member](#); and the NCCF is itself a [donor to CNP](#). The resulting policy and personnel connections are summarized in Table 5 and detailed in the annex.

Figure 5: Donors to the intermediaries 1792 Exchange and the FRC

Three funding pools show exclusive and overlapping support for the two intermediaries.



Source: Empower, 2026.

These main funders also hold leadership or donor roles in several US conservative policy and training institutes. These overlaps connect the financial network described to the wider political structure documented in the annex and in Tables 3–5. The foundations built with the family fortunes in Table 3 pay these institutes; the institutes supply the people who now hold the federal offices in Table 5; and those offices in the Department of Health and Human Services now run the Geneva Consensus Declaration. This is, in abbreviated form, the political structure behind what culminated in the convenings in Washington, DC, and New York City in 2026.

Conclusion: A Threat to Gender Justice

The six-year planning that went into the development of the Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group reflects the long-time convergence and collaboration of several veteran anti-rights actors and projects. It brings together three strands of organizing to establish permanent diplomatic coordination at the UN: a decade of CIVF's anti-gender activism at the Organization of American States; Jim Garlow's access to right-wing heads of state, and Valerie Huber's GCD anti-abortion framework. We outline four risks partners should consider as this project moves forward:

- **Financial and diplomatic clout:** The United States's control of the GCD secretariat gives the initiative a tremendous level of influence, funding, and diplomatic reach at the UN. According to the *Washington Stand's* reporting and Aarón Lara's remarks in March 2026 in the Dominican Republic, it is very likely that the United States will lead the Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group, indicating the future group can quickly consolidate its power. Further, Aarón Lara and Valerie Huber have both said they want to use the Core Group to reorder multilateral engagement, closing the divide between capital and UN ambassadors and missions by mandating the legislative branch be responsible for both setting the agenda and demanding accountability.
- **Coordinated voting:** A formalized Core Group within the UN could act as an organized bloc in the General Assembly, the HRC, and the CSW, and dilute, block, or impose conditions on language regarding sexual and reproductive health and rights in negotiated resolutions and documents.
- **Narrative capture of sovereignty:** We anticipate the discourse of "sovereign resistance" against "globalism," which we have seen play out in both Africa and Latin American, will reach a more fevered pitch in the coming months at the UN. This discourse complements the GCD framework, which asserts national sovereignty over agreed upon international human rights, reframing sexual and reproductive rights as an external imposition rather than as already recognized human rights standards.
- **Feedback between the multilateral and national levels:** Argentina's endorsement of the GCD in August 2026, this, despite the country's 2021 law allowing legal abortion, illustrates how membership in these non-binding instruments is used to legitimize, at the domestic level, discourses and potential initiatives aimed at rolling back regulations, even when they do not create direct legal obligations.

Recommendations

The Pro-Life and Pro-Family Core Group is not yet a well-established reality, but it is currently poised to give the anti-gender movement massive political, diplomatic, and financial clout at the UN. Actors committed to human rights and multilateralism should:

- 1. Monitor the development of the Core Group and the Members States who may join.**

Rather than treating the Core Group as an established threat, decision makers should follow its evolution, including which States become involved, the multilateral spaces where it seeks to operate, and the issues around which it is able to build common positions.

The most effective response will be one that combines three elements: allied governments willing to build an organized diplomatic counterweight; national organizations capable of safeguarding the legal frameworks already secured, and organizations with multilateral influence to track this network. None of these lines of work is sufficient on its own; the opposition's strength lies precisely in its ability to operate in a coordinated manner across all three levels simultaneously.

In the short term, it is important to raise awareness with member states and partners active at the UN about this new entity and the right-wing organizations behind it. The new Core Group will likely be active not just at the UN in New York during UNDP, CSW and CPD, but also in Geneva at the Human Rights Council. We can anticipate that in these spaces they will seek to influence key sessions and insert restrictive language or block progressive language in negotiations.

- 2. Avoid overstating the Core Group's legitimacy and power.**

In multilateral spaces, it is important to distinguish between an initiative promoted by civil society actors and an intergovernmental coalition that has been effectively established. This distinction can help prevent the use of the term “*UN Pro-Life Core Group*” from creating a perception of institutional recognition or representation beyond what it has.

- 3. Strengthen coordination across silos.**

If positions opposing sexual and reproductive rights become more coordinated, an effective response is to strengthen coordination among supportive States and other relevant actors, anticipate emerging narratives, and uphold existing human rights standards in multilateral discussions. It is also important to look beyond just SRHR and strengthen connections between gender and other thematic areas.

The greatest risk in the establishment of the Core Group is the creation of a permanent negotiating bloc within the UN system, with the capacity to condition frameworks for development cooperation and international assistance, in a feedback loop with the national legislation that its members promote domestically. There is still time for progressive civil society to make an impact and pushback against this emerging threat.

Annex 1: Well Versed Summit Agenda

1

UNITED NATIONS SUMMITS 1 & 2 • NEW YORK CITY

**Summit 1: PRO-LIFE, PRO-TRADITIONAL MARRIAGE & FAMILY.
Summit 2: PRO-INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, PRO-NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY,
PRO-ISRAEL/COMBATTING ANTISEMITISM**

September 17–18, 2016

Program subject to adjustment based on speaker availability and special guest participation. At the time of this printing, some government personnel are still confirming either their attendance, or their times available. There will be times in the program when we will need to break into the normal flow, to allow government personnel to speak.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1:00 PM

UNITED NATIONS SUMMIT 1: THE FAMILY

Welcome, Opening, Introduction, Program Orientation:
Dr. Jim Garlow, CEO, Well Versed

Opening Prayer:
Rosemary Schindler Garlow, Co-Founder, Well Versed

LAYING THE FOUNDATION

How the United Nations Functions:
Stefano Gennarini, Vice President for Legal Studies, Center for Family and Human Rights (C-Fam)

A Global Overview: Abortion, Marriage & National Sovereignty:
Rebecca Oas, Director of Research, Center for Family and Human Rights (C-Fam)

The Significance of the Geneva Consensus Declaration:
Valerie Huber, President & CEO, Institute for Women's Health

Update on the Geneva Consensus Declaration:
Bethany Kozma, Director of Global Affairs, Office of Global Affairs, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services *Video Presentation*

UNDERSTANDING A MODEL

What We Can Learn from Latin American Victories:
Aarón Lara, Presidente, Congreso Iberoamericano por la Vida y la Familia, Mexico

The Importance of a Pro-Life, Pro-Family Core Group at the United Nations:

Deputy Alejandra Burgos, Honduras

Deputy Álvaro Dastugue, Uruguay

Deputy Idenia Doné, Dominican Republic

The Necessity for an Intentional Working Legislative Group for the Family - The Peru Experience:

Senator Milagros Aguayo, Peru

The Legislative Branch's Oversight Role Regarding Diplomacy in Multilateral Arenas:

Aaron Lara, Moderator

Deputy Mirna López, Dominican Republic

Deputy Ronald Portillo, Guatemala

Deputy Alexia Rivas, El Salvador

SPECIAL PRESENTATIONS

U.S. Constitution Day, September 17, 1787 - The Pro-Life 5th and 14th Amendments:

Attorney Allen Parker, The Justice Foundation, Texas

Applying Biblical Truth to Government:

Rev. John Witherspoon (1723–1794), One of America's Founding Fathers

Portrayed by Rich Swingle, New York City

UNITED NATIONS ORIENTATION

The United Nations Resource Book, Prayer Walk Orientation: Dr. Jim Garlow

UN Prayer Walk & External Tour: Jim Garlow & Stefano Gennarini. *Participants will gather at the Raoul Wallenberg Memorial before beginning the Prayer Walk and external tour*

Dinner - On Your Own 5:30-6:45 PM - a variety of dining options available nearby

EVENING SESSION 6:45-8:00 PM

BY VIDEO:

-Christopher Landau, Deputy Secretary of State

-Sam Brownback, Former U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom

-Lucas Miles, Senior Director, TPUSA Faith

-Anna Derbyshire, Understanding the Seriousness of the Election of the UN Secretary-General

IN PERSON:

-Denise Mountenay, Abortion and the UN

-Barbara Ann Jeter, October 31 Washington, DC Prayer Event

INTERNATIONAL GATHERING FOR PRAYER & REPENTANCE 8:00

An evening of worship and corporate prayers of repentance for the nations.

Prayer Leadership: We encourage all to pray for their nation. **9:00 PM — CONCLUSION**

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 8:30 AM

UNITED NATIONS SUMMIT 2: THE NATIONS & THE WORLD

Welcome and Orientation: Dr. Jim Garlow

Opening Prayer: Rachel-Ruth Lotz Wright, Author/Speaker, North Carolina

Devotions: The Biblical Case for Marriage — Genesis 1 & 2: Dr. Jim Garlow

THE INTERNATIONAL PRO-LIFE & PRO-FAMILY TASK FORCE

A Call to International Cooperation:

Aaron Lara, A Vision for Forming an International Pro-Life/Family Task Force

GLOBAL TRENDS WE ARE DEALING WITH

Understanding the Global Increase in Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism:

Dr. Michael Jenkins, Chairman, The Washington Times Foundation, Washington, DC

Exposing Antisemitism: A History of the Suffering of the Jewish People: Dr. Jim Garlow

Why We Must Stand with Israel: Rosemary Schindler Garlow, CEO, Schindler's Ark

Israel & the United Nations

Ellie Cohanin, Senior Policy Advisor, U.S. Mission to the United Nations and former Ambassador to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism (confirmation pending)

The Haym Salomon Presentation: The Jew Who Funded the American Revolution

Note: Additional Israeli Mission representation may participate.

QUICK REPORTS: International Voices & Perspectives

Impacting Today's Youth & Young Adults with the Truth:

Nick Hall, The Pulse, Minnesota

Victories in Armenia:

Stepan Sargyson, Former Governor; Founder, Armenian Prayer Breakfast, Armenia

Facing Vicious Adversaries:

Artur Pawlowski, Pastor & Nathaniel Pawlowski, Law Student, Canada

Dealing with the European Union:

Henk Jan van Schothorst, Christian Council International, Netherlands

How to Push Back Against Persecution of Christians by Islam:

Judd Saul, Equipping the Persecuted, Nigeria

How to Quickly Organize Your Church for Biblically Grounded Governmental Action:

Dran Reese, Salt and Light Council, California

How to Strategically and Governmentally Organize Your City, and State for Biblical Values and Governmental Action:

Jesse Leon Rogers, City Elders, Oklahoma

Getting Rid of Wokeness on the University Campus:

Wayne Lewis, President, Houghton College, New York

Dealing with Antisemitism on the College Campus:

Bill Barker, President, Southern Wesleyan University, South Carolina

The Strategy for Standing Alone Against Fake News:Tom Basile, Newsmax Anchor and Analyst, New York City. *Video Presentation***LUNCH BREAK— On Your Own 1:00-2:00pm***Attendees are invited to enjoy the lunch break at their convenience. Lunch will be on your own, with a variety of dining options available nearby. Please return promptly by 2:00pm.***CLOSING SESSION 2:00pm****What We Can All Learn from the Political Action in Latin America****The Massive Pendulum Swing from Left to Right in Latin America:**

Deputy Álvaro Dastugue, Uruguay

Training a New Generation of Christian Politicians: The CCPL (Christian Center for Public Life) Experience:

Germán Chica, CCPL, Washington, DC

The Biblical Foundation for Christian Participation in Politics:

Pastor Guillermo Aguayo, Father's House Church, Peru

CLOSING THOUGHTS**Moving Forward with the International Pro-Life/Family Task Force: Aaron Lara****Key Takeaways: Dr. Jim Garlow***Prayer of Commissioning & Impartation Program will end at 4:00 PM. We request all participants to remain to the end. Thank you for respecting this.*

Annex 2: Financial Details and Connections

Table 1: People behind 1792 Exchange

Person	Role at 1792 Exchange	Other posts
J. Kenneth Blackwell	Director (2021); one of two officers in the year before the IWH grant	Director (2020) and Vice President (2021-2024) of the CNP; senior fellow at FRC
Cleta Mitchell	Principal officer (2020); secretary (2021)	Republic election lawyer on Donald Trump's January 202 call to Georgia's Secretary of State; senior legal fellow at the Conservative Partnership Institute since 2021, where she founded the Election Integrity Network in 2021; CNP board of governors in the September 2020 directory
Paul Fitzpatrick	Executive Directory (2022); president (2023)	20 years at the FRC (1994-2014); Associate Administrator at the Small Business Administration since January 2025
Katharine Sullivan	General Counsel, October 2022 to January 2025, paid 545,000 USD over the period	Chief of Staff at the Office of Management and Budget (2025)
Daniel Cameron	Chief Executive (2024-2025)	Attorney General of Kentucky (2019-2024); Republican candidate for governor (2023)
Douglas Napier	Executive Chairman since 2024	Head of US litigation, then Executive Director of ADF International (2007-2018)
Nathan Estruth	Founder	Former Procter and Gamble vice president; 2018 running mate on the Ohio Republican gubernatorial ticket (endorsed by Kenneth Blackwell)
Brian Morgan	Signed the 2022 return as secretary and treasurer	Principle of MLA Companies, whose Alinea CPAs prepares IWH's returns; IWH kept its books at that address its founding year

Source: Empower, using data from 1792 Exchange and ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer, 2026.²⁸

²⁸ "1792 Exchange Inc. Forms 990, 2021 to 2024," ProPublica; "Constitutional Congress Inc. Form 990-N, 2020," ProPublica; "CNP, Forms 990, 2020 to 2024," ProPublica; "Membership Directory, September 2020," CNP; "Ken Blackwell, Senior Fellow for Human Rights and Constitutional Governance," FRC; "Biography of Cleta Mitchell," Committee on the Judiciary, US House of Representatives, 10 September 2024; "Cleta Mitchell," Conservative Partnership Institute; Jenna Ebersole, "Meadows hires former top Family Research Council aide as chief of staff," LegiStorm, 22 July 2015; "FRC, Form 990, year ending September 2014," ProPublica; "Paul Fitzpatrick," US Small Business Administration; "OGE Form 278e, Katharine T. Sullivan," Office of Government Ethics, January 2025; "Senior Executive Service Performance Review Board Membership, 91 FR 42981," Office of Management and Budget, 13 July 2026; "Daniel Cameron named CEO of 1792 Exchange," WYMT, 3 January 2024; "Daniel Cameron," Ballotpedia; "Doug Napier," Family Policy Alliance; "Leadership," 1792 Exchange; "Program, Nathan Estruth, Founder, 1792 Exchange," International Religious Freedom Summit, 2023; "Mary Taylor Picks 'Political Outsider' Nathan Estruth As Running Mate," WVXU, 10 January 2018; Ken Blackwell, "Finishing the Job - Turning OH Red in '18," Townhall, 4 May 2018; "Our team," MLA Companies; "IWH, Form 990, 2021," ProPublica; and, "Full-text search, preparer EIN 472597633," ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer.

Table 2: Donors to 1792 Exchange (2017-2025)

Funder	Years	Amount (USD)	Share (%)	Funds IWH
WaterStone	2023-2025	4,841,500	29.4	Yes
Servant Foundation (The Signatry)	2022-2024	4,105,00	24.9	Yes
NCCF	2017-2024	3,876,500	23.5	Yes
Knights of Columbus Charitable Funds	2024	1,325,000	8	Yes
The Signatry Charitable Trust	2024	950,200	5.8	Yes
DonorsTrust	2023	250,000	1.5	No
Donor Advised Charitable Giving, formerly Schwab Charitable	2023-2025	140,150	0.9	no
Fidelity Charitable	2024	126,000	0.8	Yes
Bessemer Giving Fund	2024	10,000	0.1	No

Source: Empower, using data from ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer, 2026.²⁹

Table 3 below lists every individual or family who can be identified as a funder behind Well Versed, IWH, and CIVF/Semilla's donor entities. While these may not be the most important donors—given the anonymity of DAF contributions—these identifiable individuals are primarily regional industrial and financial businessmen from the US South and West who pay the conveners small sums directly and transmit larger sums through DAF sponsors (Table 3 and Figure 6). The Maclellans also sit in the CNP (Table 4).

²⁹ "1792 Exchange Inc. Forms 990, 2021 to 2024," ProPublica; "WaterStone, Forms 990, years ending March 2023 to March 2025," ProPublica; "Servant Foundation, Forms 990, years ending March 2022 to March 2024," ProPublica; "NCC, Forms 990, 2017 to 2024," ProPublica; "Knights of Columbus Charitable Fund Inc. Form 990, 2024," ProPublica; "The Signatry Charitable Trust, Form 990, 2024," ProPublica; "DonorsTrust Inc. Form 990, 2023," ProPublica; "Donor Advised Charitable Giving Inc. Forms 990, years ending June 2023 to June 2025," ProPublica; "Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund, Forms 990," ProPublica; and, "The Bessemer Giving Fund, Form 990, 2024," ProPublica.

Table 3: Identifiable individuals and families funding the three main groups

Entity	Fortune	Vehicle	Recipient	Amount (USD)	Share of recipient income
Tim Dunn, Midland TX	CrownQuest Operating, oil	Hexagon Foundation (board appointed by WaterStone)	WaterStone group	\$89,576,935 (2024)	Largest known donor to WaterStone, the DAF sponsor that pays IWH, Well Versed, and 1792 Exchange
Leonard Leo, Washington DC	Barre Seid (Tripp Lite)	85 Fund; Marble Freedom Trust	Knights of Columbus Charitable Fund	\$53,800,000 (2023-24)	21.5% of everything the Knights of Columbus Charitable Fund received in 2020-24; 51.9% of 2024
Bill Hwang, New York	Archegos Capital	Grace and Mercy Foundation	WaterStone; Knights of Columbus Charitable fund	\$19,986,135 (2022-24); \$16,606,069 (2022-23)	6.6% of everything the Knights of Columbus Charitable Fund received in 2020-24
Sean Fieler, New York	Equinox Partners, hedge fund	Chiaroscuro Foundation	Knights of Columbus Charitable fund	\$270,000 (2017-18)	Seeded the fund and chaired it until Alan Sears replaced him in April 2023
Maclellan family, Chattanooga	Provident Life and Accident, insurance	The Maclellan Foundation; Hugh and Charlotte Maclellan Charitable Trust	NCCF; its Clearwater trust; IWH	\$3,235,000 (2023); \$15,804,325 (2024); 70,000 (2022-24)	2.1% of IWH's income; the only traceable human funder of IWH
James Leininger, San Antonio	Kinetic Concepts, hospital beds	Covenant Foundation	Well Versed; FRC; ADF	\$90,500 (2020-24); \$150,000; \$100,000	22% of Well Versed's known income
Lane family, Altavista VA	Lane Company, furniture	Minnie and Bernard Lane Foundation; Edward H. Lane Foundation	Semilla; CIVF; FRC	\$110,250 (2012-25); \$14,000 (2023-25); \$5,000	6.8% of CIVF's income; the only identifiable family paying both CIVF and Semilla
Brown family, Midland TX	N/A	Moriah Foundation (a WaterStone supporting organization)	FRC; America First Policy Institute	\$75,000 (2024); \$225,000 (2024)	N/A
Ronald Deleenheer, Waco TX	Ash Grove Cement, executive	Rpksc Family Foundation	Well Versed; FRC	\$15,000 (2023-24); \$10,00	3.7% of Well Versed's known income

Source: *Empower*, 2026.³⁰

³⁰ ["Hexagon Foundation, Forms 990, 2023 and 2024,"](#) ProPublica; ["WaterStone, Form 990, year ending March 2025,"](#) ProPublica; ["The 85 Fund, Form 990, 2024,"](#) ProPublica; ["Marble Freedom Trust, Forms 990, 2023 to 2025,"](#) ProPublica; ["Knights of](#)

Figure 6: Donors to DAF sponsors; sponsors' grants to each other

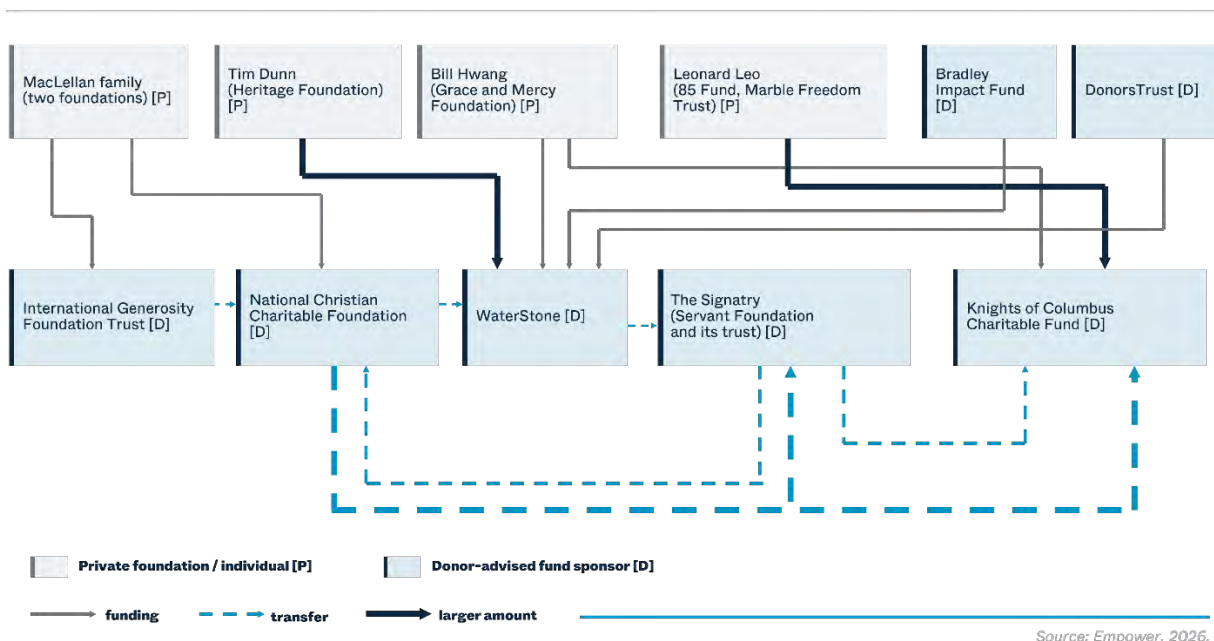


Table 4: Well Versed, IWH, and CIVF/Semilla funders with roles at the Council for National Policy

Person or entity	Role	Role at the Council for National Policy
J. Kenneth Blackwell	Director of 1792 Exchange (2021)	Director, 2020; Vice President (2021-24); Chairman of CNP Action, its lobbying arm
Cleta Mitchell	Founding Secretary of 1792 Exchange (2020-2021)	Board of Governors
Hugh O. Maclellan, Jr	The Maclellan Foundation	Board of Governors
Robert H. Maclellan	The Maclellan Foundation	Board of Governors
Kenneth Harrison	Chief executive of WaterStone, which funds IWH, Well Versed, and 1792 Exchange	Gold Circle member, the premium dues-paying category
NCCF	Largest funder of IWH, Well Versed, Semilla, and 1792 Exchange	Direct grantor: \$469,060 USD to the Council (2013-2024)

Source: Council for National Policy, Empower and ProPublica, 2026.³¹

[Columbus Charitable Fund Inc. Forms 990, 2017 to 2024.](#) ProPublica; ["Grace and Mercy Foundation Inc. Forms 990-PF, 2022 to 2024."](#) ProPublica; ["Chiaroscuro Foundation, Forms 990-PF, 2017 and 2018,"](#) ProPublica; ["Form ADV, CRD 105885,"](#) Equinox Partners LP; ["The Maclellan Foundation Inc. Forms 990, 2022 to 2024,"](#) ProPublica; ["Hugh and Charlotte Maclellan Charitable Trust, Forms 990-PF, 2022 to 2024,"](#) ProPublica; ["Form DEF 14A, March 1997,"](#) Provident Companies Inc; ["Covenant Foundation, Forms 990-PF, 2020 to 2024,"](#) ProPublica; ["Minnie and Bernard Lane Foundation, Forms 990-PF, years ending March 2013 to March 2025,"](#) ProPublica; ["Edward H. Lane Foundation, Form 990-PF, year ending November 2013,"](#) ProPublica; ["Edward Hudson Lane,"](#) American Home Furnishings Hall of Fame; ["The Moriah Foundation Inc. Forms 990, 2022 to 2024,"](#) ProPublica; ["Rpksc Family Foundation, Forms 990-PF, 2023 and 2024,"](#) ProPublica; and, ["Hexagon Foundation, Form 990, 2024,"](#) ProPublica.
³¹ ["Membership Directory, September 2020,"](#) CNP; ["CNP, Forms 990, 2020 to 2024"](#) ProPublica; and, ["NCCF, Forms 990, 2013 to 2024,"](#) ProPublica.

Table 5: Federal and state offices held by the relevant actors and their funders

Entity	Relevant role	Office	Field
Valerie Huber	Founder of IWH	HHS, chief of staff to the Assistant Secretary for Health, then Special Representative for Global Women's Health (2017-21)	Health and foreign assistance
Bethany Kozma	Holds the GCD secretariat at HHS	USAID, deputy chief of staff (2017-21); HHS Office of Global Affairs (since 2025)	Health and foreign assistance
Alma Golden	Chief operating officer of IWH (since 2023)	USAID, Assistant Administrator for Global Health (2019-21)	Health and foreign assistance
William Steiger	Named with Kozma and Golden in the USAID chapter of Project 2025	HHS, director of the Office of Global Health Affairs (2001-09); USAID, chief of staff (2017-21); chief executive of Malaria No More	Health and foreign assistance
Christopher Landau	Listed speaker at the September 2026 meeting	Deputy Secretary of State (since March 2025)	Health and foreign assistance
Matthew A. Kozma	Bethany Kozma's husband	Under Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis, Department of Homeland Security	Security and intelligence
J. Kenneth Blackwell	Director of 1792 Exchange (2021); vice-president of the CNP	Ohio Secretary of State (1999-2007); member of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity (2017)	Security and intelligence
Alan Sears	Chairman of the Knights of Columbus Charitable Fund; founder of ADF	Assistant US Attorney under Attorney General Edwin Meese (1980s)	Justice
Daniel Cameron	Chief executive of 1792 Exchange	Attorney General of Kentucky (2019-24)	Justice
Kurt Alme	NCCF executive vice president for planned giving (2021-25)	US Attorney for Montana (2017-20 and 2025-26); Republican nominee for the Senate (primary won June 2, 2026)	Justice
Katharine Sullivan	General counsel of 1792 Exchange (2022-25)	Chief of Staff, Office of Management and Budget (since 2025)	Budget
Paul Fitzpatrick	President of 1792 Exchange (2022-25)	Associate Administrator, Small Business Administration (since January 2025)	Budget

Source: Empower using official biographies, OGE disclosures, and IRS filings, 2026.³²

³² "Our Leadership," IWH; "Form 278, Valerie Huber," Office of Government Ethics, 2017; "United States assumes the Geneva Consensus Declaration secretariat," HHS; "OGE Form 278e, Bethany Kozma," Office of Government Ethics, 24 February 2025; "The Institute for Women's Health announces appointment of Dr. Alma Golden as chief operating officer," IWH, August 2023; "Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise, chapter on USAID," Project 2025, 2023; "Malaria No More Appoints Dr. William (Bill) Steiger as Chief Executive Officer," Malaria No More, 8 December 2025; "Christopher Landau, Deputy Secretary of State," US Department of State; "Protecting Life in Foreign Assistance, 2 CFR 602," US Department of State, 27 January 2026; "Matthew Kozma," US Department of Homeland Security; "Nomination of Matthew A. Kozma, Congressional Record," US Senate, 31 July 2025; "Ken Blackwell," Ballotpedia; "Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity, members," The White House, 2017; "Alan Sears," ADF; "Daniel Cameron," Ballotpedia; "Candidate record S6MT00295, Kurt Alme," Federal Election Commission; "Republican Kurt Alme and Democrat Alani Bankhead declared Senate primary winners by The Associated Press," Montana Free Press, 2 June 2026; "NCCF, Forms 990, 2021 to 2024," ProPublica; "OGE Form 278e, Katharine T. Sullivan," Office of Government Ethics, January 2025; "Senior Executive Service Performance Review Board Membership, 91 FR 42981," Office of Management and Budget; and, "Paul Fitzpatrick," US Small Business Administration.