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The Reactionary International

In the past, transnational far-right networks were fragmented and marginal. Today, these networks have expanded significantly, as far-right parties have become normalised, and globalisation and the internet have impacted society. Far-right extremist ideas, previously generally confined to certain groups and with little space in the mainstream media, have spread quickly and easily, reaching billions of people in different formats and consequently shifting the Overton window to the far-right in public debates (Marantz, 2020). In the 2020s, the far-right has organised itself globally using the international ties it has forged and a myriad of think tanks, foundations and institutes; these have woven a dense network, promoting a shared agenda and moving vast sums of money. More recently, this network has been further strengthened by the emergence of authoritarian, techno-right figures such as Peter Thiel, Elon Musk, Alex Karp or Marc Andreessen.

This gradual process of internationalisation is the result not only of an awareness of how useful transnational networking can be, but also the conviction of those involved that they are fighting the same battle against common enemies: the left, liberalism, globalism, 'gender ideology' and 'wokeism'. Furthermore, it is worth bearing in mind that, since the 1970s, the extreme right has understood the importance of the cultural battle. It was then that Alain de Benoist – the driving force behind the *Nouvelle Droite*

('New Right') in France – cemented the metapolitical strategy in the neo-fascist world (Bar-On, 2007). At the time, French and European neo-fascist groups were unable to emerge from the marginalisation into which they had fallen after the end of the Second World War: de Benoist proposed to concentrate on the cultural struggle with the aim of gaining cultural hegemony and, therefore, only at a later stage being able to aspire to political hegemony (Griffin, 2000). At the same time, the neo-liberal right wing re-armed itself ideologically against the Keynesian consensus and advances in rights achieved in 1968. Thus, the Heritage Foundation and the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) were created in the United States.

The paper describes how a dense, globally coordinated network has emerged, linking far-right parties, think tanks, Christian fundamentalist groups and techno-authoritarian elites, with the aim of eroding liberal democracy. It's important to emphasise from the outset that, in many cases, the main actors in this network are not at all averse to using terms like democracy or freedom. On the contrary, they seek to appropriate them – think of Viktor Orbán's talk of "illiberal democracy" or Javier Milei's cult of freedom – with the aim of giving these concepts a new authoritarian meaning and presenting their worldview and political projects as something non-extremist and acceptable to millions of citizens (Corcuff, 2020).

What are we talking about?

Obviously, there is no Reactionary International as such, and it is difficult to define the boundaries of these networks. According to a study by the Global Project Against Hate and Extremism, more than 300 events organised between 2000 and 2024 by networks classified as far-right have been held in 35 Western countries. More than 3,000 speakers representing 1,800 organisations have participated in these events, with the most influential and active being those from the United States (Global Project Against Hate and Extremism, 2024). According to this study, which includes both neo-fascist and neo-Nazi circles, as well as those on the radical right and nationalist conservative right, these networks have grown exponentially over the last decade.

Likewise, with the arrival of the far-right in the governments of various countries (including Hungary, Poland, Israel, Italy, the United States, Argentina and Finland), the far-right has exerted greater influence over legislation and public policy. Indeed, this influence is even more marked since the techno-authoritarians of Silicon Valley abandoned their exit strategy and began attempts to directly capture the state. As Francesca Bria (2025b) explained, “The same network that once championed seasteading (the creation of autonomous nations in international waters) to escape state authority now places its members at the highest levels of government. Having failed to build parallel institutions, they have found it more effective to become the infrastructure of the state itself”. After years of financing some of these think tanks, institutes and foundations – as well as some essayists such as Curtis Yarvin and politicians such as U.S. Vice President J.D. Vance – these techno-authoritarians have joined far-right networks.

Communicating vessels and Russian dolls

These far-right networks are marked by a heterogeneity of the actors involved; this applies to think tanks officially linked to far-right parties, as much as to foundations and independent study centres specialising in economic, social, cultural, public policy or defence issues, as well as organisations that mainly lobby and even venture capital funds. Their speakers include political leaders, activists, journalists, influencers, academics, defence and new technology experts, investors and entrepreneurs.

However, the last decade has seen greater collaboration between right-wing sectors that until a few years ago did not share the same spaces. CPAC events, NatCon conferences and Madrid Forum summits are attended by representatives of the mainstream right, as well as far-right politicians, activists and influencers from the identitarian movement, the alt-right, Christian fundamentalist organisations, Silicon Valley entrepreneurs and cryptocurrency investors.

This shows us the progressing radicalisation of traditional right-wing parties and foundations historically linked to neo-liberalism, which, have gradually adopted increasingly authoritarian and anti-democratic positions in the last decade, especially after Donald Trump's first victory and Brexit. Silicon Valley's authoritarian turn is the most visible, worrying and powerful element of this whole process: figures such as Thiel, Musk, Karp and Andreessen, but also Palmer Luckey and David Sacks have been creating their own networks – funded by billions of dollars – which have been inserted into an existing and expanding framework, accelerating a process whose ultimate goal is the destruction of liberal democratic systems. Proof of this are, for example, Musk's increasingly frequent statements against the liberal democratic model, as well as his explicit support for extremist parties such as the AfD in Germany (Robins-Early, 2026; Cuenca & Caro, 2024), as well as Thiel's positions who, following Curtis Yarvin, considers democracy a failed system that should be replaced by a kind of efficiency-driven monarchical city-state (Swisher, 2025; Mulieri, 2025).

Another key feature is the porosity of these networks: many organisations participate in different forums at the same time, and several of their members are on the management team of more than one organisation simultaneously. These networks are akin to communicating vessels – in the sense that any change in level within one vessel inevitably alters the levels in adjacent vessels – and also Russian dolls, because sometimes one entity hides another, and so on.

The dark funding behind these networks

The opaque nature of these networks makes it extremely difficult to obtain reliable and complete information on the amount of money they have and move. It is estimated that, for example, campaigns against reproductive rights, gender and sexual diversity in Europe alone – one of the few areas about which we have studies and which, consequently, can give us an idea of the amount of money that circulates in some of these networks – received \$707.2 million from a total of 54 organisations, including NGOs, foundations, religious organisations and political parties from 2009 to 2018 (EPF for Sexual and Reproductive Rights, 2021). This figure has almost doubled in the five years that followed: between 2019 and 2023, \$1.18 billion was mobilised through nearly 300 organisations, most of them European (EPF for Sexual and Reproductive Rights, 2025).

To give other examples, one of the most active entities is the Heritage Foundation. According to data provided by the entity itself, Heritage receives around \$100 million each year – mainly through donations – and spends about \$90 million, of which 40% goes to executive and employee salaries. By 2023, its total assets had doubled compared with ten years earlier, exceeding \$400 million (ProPublica, n.d.). Likewise, the ‘firepower’ of Silicon Valley's techno-authoritarians, which includes some of the richest men in the world, is unmatched, as well as difficult to quantify exactly.

From the United States to the world

One of the most powerful networks today is the American CPAC, chaired since 2014 by Matt Schlapp. Founded in 1973 by the American Conservative Union, this historic Republican Party summit has Trumpified and internationalised over the last decade. On the one hand, every year, it invites European or Latin American far-right leaders such as Giorgia Meloni, Santiago Abascal, Javier Milei, Nayib Bukele and Jair Bolsonaro to events organised in the United States; they join the ranks of key Trumpist figures who combine politics proper with the techno-authoritarian network, such as Elon Musk and J.D. Vance, who is closely linked to Peter Thiel.

On the other hand, CPAC has created branches in Hungary, Poland, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Australia, Japan and South Korea, in collaboration with local entities such as the Hungarian Center for Fundamental Rights and the Brazilian Liberal Conservative Institute. This allows Trumpist politicians, activists and influencers – such as Steve Bannon, Tucker Carlson, Jack Posobiec, Michael Anton and Mike Gonzalez – to gain a foothold in other countries, strengthening transatlantic ties and circulating their ideas more widely.

Another network that has taken centre stage is the national-conservative one promoted by the Edmund Burke Foundation, created in 2019 by Israeli-American philosopher Yoram Hazony. Author of two seminal books, *The Virtue of Nationalism* (2018) and *Conservatism: A Rediscovery* (2022), and President of the Herzl Institute in Jerusalem, his ideology has been defined as theocratic-political authoritarianism (Quast-Neulinger, 2021). The declaration of principles of the network, which draws on Burke and Roger Scruton, defends nationalism and sovereignty, attacks universalist principles and globalisation, and champions neo-liberal policies, the traditional family and religion (The Edmund Burke Foundation, n.d.). Clearly, some of these concepts and proposals are not far-right in themselves. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this text, the strategy employed by various far-right actors globally in recent years has increasingly been to appropriate concepts that might be considered acceptable within the framework of a liberal democratic political system and reshape them in an authoritarian and, explicitly or potentially, anti-democratic sense. This is the case, for example, of the network woven by Hazony and the very concept of national conservatism, namely the attempt to present the global far-right as simply conservative parties, which would facilitate their acceptance by the public and, possibly, collaboration with conservative democratic forces.

Since 2019, the Burke Foundation has been organising NatCon summits on both sides of the Atlantic, bringing together not only Trumpist politicians such as J.D. Vance and

Marco Rubio, and leaders of the European far-right such as Viktor Orbán, Nigel Farage and Giorgia Meloni, but also leaders of other conservative foundations such as president of Heritage Kevin Roberts, conservative academics such as Frank Furedi – linked to Hungary's far-right Fidesz party –, Paul Gottfried and David Goodheart; the summits also attract politicians from the traditional right in the process of radicalisation, such as Michael Gove, Jacob Rees-Mogg, Suella Braverman and even former British Prime Minister Tony Blair. Since giving a keynote speech at a NatCon meeting in 2019, Peter Thiel has not missed a single event on US soil organised by Hazony's network, to which he donated \$50,000 in 2021 alone.

Also worth mentioning is the Atlas Network, a meta think tank or umbrella organisation founded in 1981 by Antony Fisher, which has been forming a transnational community of neo-liberal and libertarian organisations and foundations. In 2023, it had 589 members in 103 countries, most of them in North America, Europe and Latin America, and a budget of around \$28 million (Atlas Network, 2023). A significant number of the member organisations of the Atlas Network – funded by conservative billionaires, foundations such as those of the Koch brothers or the John Templeton Foundation, and companies with interests in oil, tobacco or the pharmaceutical sector – have adopted more radical and authoritarian positions in recent years, such as Heritage itself, the Cato Institute and the Heartland Institute.¹

The Heritage Foundation

The much-mentioned Heritage Foundation is one of the key players in these and other networks. Created in the early 1970s by Ed Feulner, the foundation has been chaired since 2021 by Kevin Roberts, who is very close to Opus Dei. It produces a comprehensive document with policy recommendations known as *Mandate for Leadership* for each U.S. presidential election. Ronald Reagan implemented more than 60% of Heritage's proposals in the first year of his first term (Holwill, 1981), and Donald Trump around the 50% in the first ten months of his second term (Center for Progressive Reform, 2025), in addition to incorporating dozens of the foundation's employees and advisors into their administrations.

For the 2024 U.S. elections, the Heritage Foundation developed the well-known Project 2025 in collaboration with dozens of other organisations, such as the Claremont Institute, the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) and the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS). It proposes a whole series of anti-democratic and authoritarian measures, such as the mass dismissal of civil servants, the deportation of migrants, the abolition of the Department of Education, censorship measures in education, the banning of abortion, the repeal of policies to tackle climate change, the subju-

¹ For further reading, see Multinationals Observatory (2024)

gation of the federal administration to Trump or the expansion of presidential authority.

The Heritage Foundation's links to Elon Musk are evident, given his involvement in Trump's second administration and the work carried out by the Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE), which has pursued some of Project 2025's proposals to the letter. However, the contacts go far beyond Musk: in recent years, the foundation chaired by Roberts has built bridges with the entire techno-authoritarian network of Silicon Valley.

However, the Heritage Foundation exerts influence not only in Washington, but also globally. According to the University of Pennsylvania's Global Go To Think Tank Index Report, it is one of the most influential think tanks worldwide (McGann, 2021). Its members, starting with Roberts, actively participate and collaborate in summits such as CPAC, Nat-Con, the Political Network for Values (PNfV) and the Madrid Forum created by Vox's Disenso Foundation. In addition, Heritage has forged ties with Christian fundamentalist organisations such as the World Congress of Families (WCF) and the ADF; it has signed collaboration agreements with Hungarian think tanks that were dependent on the former Orbán government, such as the Danube Institute and the Center for Fundamental Rights; Heritage collaborates with other entities such as the Italian Nazione Futura of Brothers of Italy and the Machiavelli Study Center close to the League party, the Polish Ordo Iuris linked to the Law and Justice party, think tank New Direction, the foundation of the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) and the foundation of the Patriots for Europe (Pfe) party.

Heritage's hyperactivity is also visible in its links with numerous private universities, mainly in the United States, but also on other continents, such as the Center for Studies, Training, and Social Analysis (CEU-CEFAS) of the Association of Catholic Propagandists in Spain, the Collegium Intermarium in Poland, the Mathias Corvinus Collegium in Hungary and several universities in Latin America.

The Claremont Institute

The Claremont Institute was founded in 1979 by followers of political philosopher Harry Jaffa, a disciple of Leo Strauss and author of Republican candidate Barry Goldwater's speeches in the 1964 U.S. presidential election. It is currently chaired by Ryan Williams, who supported Trump in the 2016 election. Although it does not have the firepower of Heritage or the authoritarian *tech-right* network, it has become the ideological supplier of Trumpism: in the summer of 2025, it was no coincidence that it presented the Statesmanship Award to Vice President J.D. Vance (Duval, 2025).

Among its members is John Eastman, who in late 2020 developed the legal theory that allowed then-Vice President

Mike Pence to reject the Electoral College votes. On January 6, 2021, Eastman spoke alongside Trump at the rally in front of the White House, just before the storming of the Capitol. Another prominent figure at the Claremont Institute is Michael Anton, former Director of Policy Planning for the Trump administration and one of the authors of Project 2025.

A speechwriter for Rupert Murdoch and Rudy Giuliani, Anton was Deputy Assistant for Strategic Communications at the National Security Council during the first Trump administration and, according to the Global Project Against Hate and Extremism, is among the top ten speakers with the most connections in global far-right networks. In his 2020 book *The Stakes: America at the Point of No Return*, he was one of the proponents of red Caesarism – in reference to the colour of the Republican Party – understood as an authoritarian solution to prevent the collapse of the United States. This theory has been circulating on the American right and has also been adopted by Christian nationalist intellectuals: Stephen Wolfe, author of *The Case for Christian Nationalism* (2022), interprets it in a theocratic sense and speaks of a 'Christian prince' (Wilson, 2023 and Tait, 2025).

The role of Peter Thiel

When the techno-authoritarians of Silicon Valley joined this far-right network a decade or so ago, they initially acted from a distance, financing some foundations or giving some lectures, often trying to hide their relationships, which many considered detrimental to their interests. However, especially since 2017, with Trump in the White House, and even more so since 2021, their involvement has grown to the point where they have become the most powerful sector of the new Reactionary International, thanks to the money at their disposal and a clear political project.

The forerunner was Peter Thiel (2009), who published an article for the Cato Institute stating that freedom and democracy were incompatible. Thiel was the first Silicon Valley entrepreneur to support Trump in 2016. It is also thanks to Thiel that an obscure blogger with the look of a rebellious rocker named Curtis Yarvin – aka Mencius Moldbug – has become a leading thinker of the American far-right (Tait, 2019).

In 2013, Thiel, along with Balaji Srinivasan and Marc Andreessen, author of the *Techno-Optimist Manifesto*, financed TLON, a company launched by Yarvin, which set out to build a kind of digital republic. Riddled with references to pop culture and digital subcultures, Yarvin's ideas can be summed up in one sentence: democracy is a failed system and must be replaced by a new absolute monarchy headed by the CEO of a company. In essence, Yarvin echoes the ideas of paleolibertarian Hans-Hermann Hoppe, author of *Democracy: The God That Failed* (2001). In it, Hoppe not only advocates for a minimal state, but also ar-

gues that universal suffrage has supplanted the natural elite, better represented by a monarchical system, and goes so far as to call for the physical removal of communists and homosexuals. In the background resonate the neo-reactionary ideas of Nick Land, theorist of accelerationism and a leading figure in the 'Dark Enlightenment': a mixture of technophile nihilism that rejects the values of the Enlightenment outright and advocates replacing the state with technocratic corporations based on efficiency and led by supposed natural hierarchies.

Peter Thiel has been the connecting link between these sectors and the great driving force behind these ideas. Yarvin, for example, met Hoppe at Thiel's house, while J.D. Vance read Yarvin thanks to Thiel, the co-founder of PayPal, who financed the current Vice President of the United States with \$15 million in the election campaign that saw him elected to the Senate in 2022 (Mulieri, 2025). Thiel has always had intellectual pretensions. He considers himself a follower of French philosopher and anthropologist René Girard (1923–2015), author of the theory of mimetic rivalry, which Thiel misinterprets, causing anger and astonishment among Girard's disciples. They argue that Thiel cynically distorted Girard's thinking to put some of his ideas – such as the scapegoat mechanism – at the service of a reactionary political agenda. The same criticism is levelled at J.D. Vance (Leslie, 2025; Dunn, 2025). This explains Thiel's obsession with the Apocalypse – a possible future nuclear war or environmental catastrophe – and the Antichrist, to whom he has dedicated a series of lectures. According to him, the Antichrist would be represented by the unification of the world under a global state forged through international organisations, environmentalism or technological barriers – something that would be even worse than the Apocalypse.

Alongside Girard, Thiel's other major influence is the conservative philosopher Leo Strauss, mentor to the neo-cons of the last 50 years, starting with Irving Kristol, but also digital activist of the manosphere Bronze Age Pervert, an intellectual reference point for other members of today's neo-reactionary galaxy. Thiel dedicated an essay to Strauss in 2007, *The Straussian Moment*. Strauss was influenced by the philosopher and jurist Carl Schmitt, one of the main intellectual architects of the Nazi dictatorship: it is no coincidence that Thiel and Anton expressly cite Schmitt. In Thiel's *Weltanschauung*, all of this is linked to a Christian-centric vision in line with the ideas of reactionary and Christian nationalist thinkers such as Patrick Deneen, Adrian Vermeule and Rod Dreher. In an essay in the Catholic magazine *The Lamp*, Vance explained that he converted to Catholicism in 2019 precisely because of the influence of Thiel and Girard (Bullard, 2025).

Techno-authoritarian networks

In addition to their companies, Thiel and the other members of what is known as the PayPal Mafia created their own foundations: Palantir was founded in 2003 by Thiel,

Karp and Joe Lonsdale. Its name, like that of another company operating in the defence and security technology sector, Anduril Industries – created in 2017 by Palmer Luckey and Trae Stephens – refers to J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*. In less than two decades, Palantir has become one of the leading data analysis and defence companies with direct access to the Pentagon. Since 2023, it has had its own foundation, The Palantir Foundation for Defense Policy and International Affairs, chaired by Karp, which organises international summits – The Atlantic and Pacific Forum – and publishes the online magazine *The Republic*. There are also the 'personal' foundations of other techno-oligarchs, such as the Thiel Foundation and the Musk Foundation, which finance scholarships, promote the construction of private universities and make donations.

In addition, since the beginning of the millennium, Silicon Valley entrepreneurs have started various venture capital funds, including: Founders Fund, created by Thiel and others in 2005, which currently has about \$17 billion; 1789 Capital, which has taken off after Donald Trump Jr. joined in 2024; Andreessen Horowitz (a16z); and Joe Lonsdale's 8VC. All of these invest billions of dollars in financing projects related to technology, software, artificial intelligence, defence, security, infrastructure and health (Bria, 2025b).

The relationships that the most ambitious members of Silicon Valley have been creating over the last two decades have gradually become incorporated into far-right networks (Bria, 2025b; Van Rij, 2025; Weigel, 2021). The links with the Claremont Institute are well known, but there are also links with the Hoover Institution, the Cato Institute, the Heritage Foundation and the America First Policy Institute, as well as the Atlas Network and Hazony's NatCon.

Hungary's soft power

Let us now broaden our view and look beyond the United States. In August 2025, Peter Thiel attended the MCC Feszt in the Esztergom, Hungary, alongside former Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, Alternative for Germany (AfD) leader Alice Weidel and Brexit strategist Dominic Cummings. MCC Feszt is an annual event attended by nearly 50,000 people and organised by university and think tank Mathias Corvinus Collegium, which has close links to Orbán's political machine.

During his return in office from 2010 to the lost elections in April 2026, Orbán has turned Budapest into a veritable mecca for the far-right from around the world. On the one hand, Hungary has hosted various summits of the aforementioned networks, such as the World Congress of Families (2017) and the Political Network for Values (2022). Since 2015, the city has held the Budapest Demographic Summit, which brings together a broad spectrum of the right-wing and Christian world around the themes of demography and birth rates, and since 2022, it has hosted the Hungarian editions of CPAC.

On the other hand, Orbán, as the leader of Fidesz, has created a whole series of Government-Organised Non-Governmental Organisations (GONGOs), i.e. NGOs controlled by the government, with the aim of achieving cultural hegemony. One of these is the Center for Fundamental Rights (CDF), headed by Miklós Szánthó. Its main mission is to 'preserve national identity, sovereignty and Judeo-Christian social traditions' and to 'counteract the exaggerated fundamentalisms of human rights and political correctness today' (Center for Fundamental Rights, n.d.). For activities organised in 2024 alone, it received €11 million from the Lajos Batthyány Foundation, which Orbán turned into another GONGO in 2018, distributing millions of euros to entities directly controlled by Fidesz.

One such organisation is the Danube Institute, led by Margaret Thatcher's former advisor John O'Sullivan, who never misses any of these summits. In addition, the Danube Institute jointly organises the Danube Geopolitical Conference with the Heritage Foundation. The Danube Institute, like the CDF, funds scholarships and residencies for foreign academics and journalists with the aim of turning them into propagandists for the Orbán model. In recent years, fellows of these two GONGO's have been Rod Dreher, Christopher Rufo, Michael O'Shea, John Fonte of the Hudson Institute, Ofir Haivry (Hazon's right-hand man in the NatCon network) and other figures linked to the Claremont Institute. In addition, Gladden J. Pappin, an American political scientist who moved to Budapest in 2021, was appointed president of another of these GONGOs, the government-run Hungarian Institute of International Affairs. Pappin, who is very close to Michael Anton, has been one of the links to Peter Thiel, along with Patrick Deneen.

All this highlights Orbán's activism beyond Hungary's borders. Back in 2012, the Hungary Foundation was created in the United States with the aim of influencing U.S. politics and turning Hungary into a model for American conservatives. The Foundation works closely with Heritage, the identitarian CIS, chaired by Mark Krikorian, and the Hudson Institute. Likewise, in 2024, the CDF opened a branch in Madrid with the help of Vox – which received millions of euros in loans from a Hungarian bank close to the former Fidesz government – with the aim of penetrating Latin America. In 2024 and 2025, Szánthó and his deputy in Madrid, Vajk Farkas, travelled to the region (Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Ecuador) on several occasions and organised meetings with the pro-Milei Faro Foundation, chaired by Agustín Laje, the Heritage Foundation, Vox's Disenso Foundation and Brothers of Italy's Nazione Futura.

The crown jewel of the entire network built by Orbán is the Mathias Corvinus Collegium, chaired by Balázs Orbán, until recently the Political Director of the Prime Minister's office. Currently, the MCC has more than 30 locations in Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, Serbia, Vienna and Brussels, and around 7,000 students. To date, it has received more than one billion euros from the Hungarian state. The effort to found universities or schools to train

new troops is not unique to Hungary: beyond the long tradition of American conservatism, it is worth remembering the Collegium Intermarium in Poland, founded in 2021 by Ordo Iuris, closely linked to Law and Justice and the ADF; there is also the Higher Institute of Sociology, Economics and Politics (ISSEP) founded in 2018 by Marion Maréchal Le Pen in Lyon, which also has a branch in Madrid linked to Vox. In early 2025, the MCC and Ordo Iuris produced a report entitled *The Great Reset: Restoring Member State Sovereignty in the European Union*, which proposes, in practice, the dismantling of the European Union (Mathias Corvinus Collegium, 2025). The report was presented uncoincidentally in the United States at the headquarters of the Heritage Foundation.

Orbán's defeat in the April 2026 elections and Peter Magyar's arrival in government in Hungary could, of course, lead to significant changes, particularly with regard to the funding received by many of these institutions and think tanks.

Between Spain and Latin America

Over the last five years, another rising player has been Vox. The Spanish far-right party led by Santiago Abascal has acquired a key strategic role in the political and economic environment of the U.S. Republican Party, thanks mainly to the work of Rafael Bardají and his contacts with the US neo-cons from his time in Spain's People's Party. At the same time, the Disenso Foundation, Vox's think tank led by Jorge Martín Frías and of which Abascal is President for life, has put forward the notion of the Iberosphere. This is a concept that imitates the concept of the Anglosphere and translates into a political and economic strategy to influence Latin America. In October 2020, Disenso launched the Madrid Charter, a programmatic manifesto that led to the creation of the Madrid Forum, which presents itself as a counterweight to the São Paulo Forum and the Puebla Group (Disenso Foundation, 2020). Since 2022, the Madrid Forum has been organising summits in different Latin American countries (Colombia, Peru, Argentina and Paraguay), bringing together hundreds of Latin American and European politicians, academics and businesspeople (Paladini & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2025).

In this way, Abascal's party has become the preferred European partner for much of the Latin American traditional and extreme right, with figures such as Colombians Andrés Pastrana and Álvaro Uribe, Peruvians Francisco Tudela and Keiko Fujimori, leaders of the Mexican PAN, Argentine Javier Milei, the Bolsonaro family in Brazil, Venezuelan María Corina Machado and Chilean José Antonio Kast. One of the clearest examples of this is these leaders' attendance at the Europa Viva meetings, organised in Madrid by Vox together with Patriots for Europe, of which Abascal has been President since 2024. Likewise, Vox, which has stable relations with the Heritage Foundation and CPAC, has become the preferred channel of communication for

the European far-right in Latin America, as demonstrated by the Hungarian case. Once again, it is no coincidence that two Spaniards linked to Vox hold key positions in two GONGOs linked to former Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán: Rodrigo Ballester is the Director of the Centre for European Studies at Mathias Corvinus Collegium, while Jorge González-Gallarza is Senior Coordinator for the Iberosphere at the Center for Fundamental Rights.

Christian fundamentalist networks

Christian fundamentalist networks often manage to transcend the boundaries of the different existing churches, encompassing or at least bringing together Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Protestants and Evangelicals. These networks and the organisations that comprise them may seem secondary in the overview we're offering of the transnational far-right networks. Instead, they are playing an increasingly important role. First, because the ties they have forged with far-right parties and governments are so close that some members of these organisations are executives or representatives of certain far-right parties (see, for example, the Spanish case: Galaup & Bastante, 2019). Second, because they share an emphasis on the cultural battle tied to a particular vision of the world and society – ultraconservative to the point of authoritarianism. To put it colloquially, both feel they are on the same side in an existential battle, not against political adversaries, but against actual enemies that need to be defeated because they represent a threat. These enemies are democratic liberalism, human rights, multilateralism, and the Rule of Law.

Of course, it's worth noting that these organisations use the Christian religion politically, as do far-right parties in many countries: from Salvini to Orbán, from Bolsonaro to Trump. On several occasions, they have harshly criticised the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Catholic Church – to the point of harsh attacks against Pope Francis and Pope Leo XIV – or Protestant pastors who do not share their worldview. This also highlights the dangers of the lobbying efforts of these networks, as they advocate for values that many can share – freedom, life, family, etc. – presenting themselves as Christian organisations, but in reality offering a vision of Christianity that is not only reductive and exclusive, but in some cases even misleading (see, for example, Agasso Jr. & Mastrolilli, 2019).

Here too, Spanish organisations have risen in prominence, becoming global leaders. Among them, HazteOír, is known for organising buses in Spain with messages against transgender people or the feminist movement, which they often refer to as 'feminazis'. Founded in 2001 by Ignacio Arsuaga, HazteOír has links to the secret Mexican paramilitary organisation El Yunque and has been closely associated with Vox since its foundation. In 2013, Arsuaga's organisation

launched its international lobby, CitizenGO, which has promoted campaigns in dozens of countries in defence of the 'natural' family and against abortion, equal marriage and euthanasia, influencing the programmatic and legislative proposals of various far-right parties. Until recently, the CitizenGo board of directors also included Russian oligarch Konstantin Malofeev, President of the St. Basil the Great Foundation, through which he organises forums for the European far-right. Between 2009 and 2018, HazteOír and CitizenGO had revenues of more than €32 million, becoming the fourth largest European funder of anti-gender initiatives (EPF for Sexual and Reproductive Rights, 2021).

One of the most active figures in these forums is Spain's Jaime Mayor Oreja. A former interior minister under José María Aznar and former MEP for the People's Party, Mayor Oreja promoted One of Us, another ultra-Catholic think tank that brings together politicians, academics and activists from Europe and Latin America. He is also Honorary President of the Political Network for Values, which has been organising meetings on both sides of the Atlantic for a decade. The last PNFV Transatlantic Summit was held in February 2026 in Brussels, at the European Parliament. The event was opened by Chilean president José Antonio Kast, who served as president of the network from 2022 to 2024, along with Santiago Abascal and Mateusz Morawiecki, presidents of PöE and ECR, co-organisers of the event, which was sponsored by the Heritage Foundation and the Hungarian Centre for Fundamental Rights, among others.²

Alongside Mayor Oreja at these meetings is Brian Brown, President of the World Congress of Families (WCF). In the words of the Southern Poverty Law Center, the WCF 'serves as an umbrella for a massive network of interconnected organisations that lobby to restrict LGBT rights under the guise of defending the "natural family" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2025). Founded in 1997 by American academic Allan Carlson – President of the ultra-conservative think tank Howard Center for Family, Religion and Society and, during the Reagan era, a member of the National Commission on Children – and Russian intellectuals Anatoly Antonov and Viktor Medkov, this organisation exerts influence across the globe, including in Putin's Russia. Also among its members is HazteOír (Stoeckl, 2019).

The United States is undoubtedly one of the main hubs of these Christian fundamentalist networks. Alongside the WCF, it is worth mentioning the powerful Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF), included by the Southern Poverty Law Center on its list of hate groups. Founded in 1994 by some 30 leaders of American Christian organisations, this legal organisation primarily seeks to reverse certain human rights. According to an article by the Corporate Europe Observatory, its main funders are the National Christian Charitable Foundation (NCCF) and the Servant Foundation, known as Signatry (Corporate Europe Observatory, 2024). In

2 <https://politicalnetworkforvalues.org/en/what-we-do/transatlantic-summit/brussels-2026/>

2022 alone, the NCCF spent \$2.24 billion on its activities and campaigns, funding movements such as Campus Crusade for Christ, which has some 19,000 employees worldwide. The ADF's connections to Trumpists are close: its Chief Executive, Mike Farris, is a personal friend of Trump. Following Biden's victory in the 2020 election, Farris drafted a lawsuit to overturn the election results in five key states. In addition, the ADF has been one of the organisations collaborating on the Heritage Foundation's Project 2025.

Since 2010, the ADF has also established a permanent presence in Europe, where it now has offices in London, Vienna, Geneva, Strasbourg and Brussels. Its Brussels office has an annual budget of €650,000, which it has used to file legal action in European and national courts. The ADF has also invested heavily in networking, organising events – mainly with the European Conservatives and Reformists and the European People's Party – and forging relationships with ultra-conservative associations across the continent, especially in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic (see also: Kirchgaessner, 2025).

A lesson for the democrats

Over the last two decades, the far-right has managed to emerge from the fringes, also through its transnational networks. It is not just a matter of good relations between political leaders such as Trump, Milei, Netanyahu, Meloni, Orbán, Kast and Abascal, but also of a dense network of foundations, institutes and think tanks that have been strengthening ties through international summits held on both sides of the Atlantic. The internet and social media have facilitated this process, but underlying it all has been the conviction that the battle they are all fighting is a global one and that only by working together can they defeat their common enemies.

Viktor Orbán, who has turned Hungary into an autocracy before being ousted from government in the spring of 2026, has been clear about this since his return to power in Budapest in 2010. At the Europa Viva 2025 summit, held in Madrid in September 2025, he made it clear once again: 'international cooperation is the most important task for us today'. Given what we have seen, it is impossible not to agree with him.

In addition to all this, we must add the momentum and firepower brought by the techno-authoritarians of Silicon Valley in recent years, who not only have impressive clout from a financial point of view, but also have a clear project: to destroy liberal democracy and capture the state from within. Their incorporation into these networks is a key element in understanding their successes.

However, all democrats should learn a lesson from all of this: building solid transnational networks must be a priority. So too must we prevent the authoritarian *tech right* from penetrating public institutions. To defend the very

survival of our democracies, it is therefore necessary to create a broad coalition that defends the values that democrats share above all else: the Rule of Law, the separation of powers, pluralism, civil and political liberties, respect for human rights, as well as equality. Time is of the essence. It is important not only to understand this quickly, but also to act quickly.

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