

Advocacy briefing towards European governments in view of the second Trump administration

1. Background

On November 5, 2024, Donald Trump was elected the 47th President of the United States for a second term, beginning on January 20, 2025. Alongside this, the Republican Party secured majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, consolidating its legislative power.

This political shift poses significant threats to sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) both domestically and globally. Trump's policies have signaled in the past a systematic attack on human rights and multilateral systems, bodily autonomy, equality, and the right to health. The potential implementation in his second mandate of Project 2025 risks drastically jeopardizing decades of progress around SRHR, gender equality and racial and social justice.

2. Expected renewed detrimental impact of US conservative policies on SRHR

Over the past 40 years, since when former President Reagan introduced both the Mexico City Policy (also known as the Global Gag Rule)¹ and the Kemp-Kasten Amendment² at the 2nd International Conference on Population in 1984, all Republican administrations used these two tools with the aim of undermining support for sexual and reproductive health and rights worldwide.

During his second mandate, Trump will therefore very likely, at the very minimum, seek renewed implementation of:

- **The expanded Global Gag Rule (GGR):** During his first term, Trump expanded the GGR's scope to cover all global health assistance, affecting funding for HIV/AIDS, maternal and child health, malaria, global health security, family planning and reproductive health. The expectation is that Trump will at least reinstate the GGR in its 2017 form. Given Republican full control of Congress, there is also a real risk that the GGR will be codified into US federal law, making it more challenging to revoke it.
- **The Kemp-Kasten Amendment:** The Kemp-Kasten Amendment has been included in annual appropriations funding bills of the past 40 fiscal years and has been used to withhold funding from UNFPA during all Republican presidencies, including under the first Trump administration. Under the second Trump administration, UNFPA will very likely be

¹ The GGR (or Mexico City Policy) was first introduced in 1984 and poses as a condition for non-US based NGOs receiving US funding the obligation to stop abortion service delivery and advocacy using funds from any source.

² The Kemp-Kasten Amendment was announced by the Reagan administration at the 2nd International Conference on Population in 1984, in conjunction with the "Mexico City Policy" (or GGR), and first enacted in 1985 and aims at withdrawing funding from UNFPA. For more information see [here](#).

subjected again to the Kemp-Kasten Amendment and the US will withdraw all support to the agency, posing it at great risk, as the US is a major core donor.

This will take a dramatic toll on SRHR worldwide. In the past, [research](#) has shown that the GGR drastically **affects the availability and accessibility of a wide range of SRHR services**. It severely undermines the provision of **abortion** information, decreases in coverage of **contraceptive care**, silences SRHR **advocates**, reduces coverage of **community health workers** and imposes regressive **policies**.

The impact on the lives and health of women, girls and marginalised people is devastating. Research from the 2017-2021 GGR period shows reduced **access to contraception** in affected countries by 13%, with a 28% decrease in emergency contraception availability, 11% in long-acting methods, and 6% in short-acting methods³. This led to an [estimated](#) 100,000 maternal and child deaths and 360,000 new HIV infections.

The US is also the single largest donor to international **HIV/AIDS** efforts, funding programs like the [President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief](#) (PEPFAR), credited with saving over 25 million lives since 2003. After a failed attempt to propose substantial cuts to the programme during his first term, with PEPFAR's reauthorization due in 2025, the Trump's Republican majority might now be able to enforce cuts, dismantling key initiatives and halting essential services for millions globally.

3. Further and unprecedented damage if Project 2025⁴ is implemented

Developed by The Heritage Foundation, [Project 2025](#) is a comprehensive, ultra-conservative blueprint for the new US administration. It reflects a Christian nationalist ideology that opposes abortion rights, LGBTQI+ rights, and progressive worldviews. The plan rejects science-based policymaking, promotes disinformation on critical issues such as COVID-19, climate change and public health, poses a serious threat to democratic principles, and advances anti-gender and anti-rights narratives.

Among the various alarming measures included in such document, the following, if implemented, would have a dramatic impact on SRHR worldwide.

- **Restructuring of USAID:** Project 2025 suggests drastic restructuring of USAID, steering away from supporting gender equality, SRHR and human rights initiatives and foreseeing major cuts in funding (at a minimum, it is suggested that USAID should return to the agency's 2019 pre-COVID budget levels). Foreign aid programs would also see major reductions and shifts in humanitarian programming, the rescinding of all climate policies, and withdrawing from climate commitments.

As USAID is the other major reproductive health commodity procurer worldwide together with the UNFPA Supplies Partnership, the expected reform of the agency, together with the withdrawal of all funding from UNFPA according to the Kemp-Kasten Amendment, seriously risk

³ Impact of the Global Gag Rule, the Preclusion Project Data Brief.

⁴ For an in-depth detailed analysis please consult the [report](#) 'Global Impacts of Project 2025: How the blueprint for the next Republican administration may impact US foreign and development policy on SRHR and gender equality', by Malayah Harper, Commissioned by the Swedish Association for Sexuality Education (RFSU), September 2024.

hindering access to lifesaving reproductive health services and endangering the lives of millions, particularly in humanitarian and crisis settings.

- **Unprecedented expansion of the Global Gag Rule:** If Project 2025 is implemented by the upcoming Trump administration, the GGR reach will be further broadened, potentially imposing restrictions on all Foreign Assistance, including:
 - a) US-based **NGOs, UN agencies** (including WHO and UNHCR, among others), and multilateral organizations like GAVI, the **Global Fund** to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM), and the **Global Financing Facility** (GFF);
 - b) all **humanitarian aid**, which was previously exempted from the GGR policy;
 - c) **foreign Governments**⁵.
- **Intensified attacks on the human rights system and multilateralism:** As seen during Trump's previous term, his administration may continue in its attempt to further dismantle and weaken **multilateralism** and the global human rights system. The upcoming Republican administration might pursue **withdrawal from multilateral fora** such as the WHO and the UN Human Rights Council, and place individuals with extreme conservative views into influential UN roles, in order to push in those spaces an ultra-right agenda and disrupt upcoming UN negotiations and processes. In its mission to undermine global consensus on critical SRHR and gender equality issues, Project 2025 advocates for aligning US foreign policy with the **Geneva Consensus Declaration**⁶, which most likely the US will rejoin under the second Trump administration, along with its implementation plan, Protego.

4. Conclusions and C2030E Key Asks

Based on what we know from the first Trump administration, we can expect a range of actions soon after the Trump installation that are known to have negative impacts on health, gender equality and SRHR. These would include the US withdrawal from UNFPA through the Kemp-Kasten Amendment, and a renewed US interest in rejoining the anti-human rights Geneva Consensus Declaration and the Protego Document.

In addition, we can expect that the second Trump administration will implement elements of Project 2025, including an unprecedented expansion of the GGR and a drastic restructuring of USAID leading to dramatic funding cuts, with further grave global impact.

In light of all this, Countdown 2030 Europe strongly calls on European governments to **scale up financial and political support to safeguard and promote SRHR, advance gender equality and uphold human rights**. In particular we urge European governments to:

1. Increase, or at least sustain SRHR funding:

- i. Increase funding for SRHR, and in case not possible, at least sustain it, with a specific focus on supporting marginalised and underserved regions,

⁵ For more information see [here](#).

⁶ The Geneva Consensus Declaration on Promoting Women's Health and Strengthening the Family is an anti-human rights joint statement initially cosponsored by persons claiming to represent the governments of Brazil, Egypt, Hungary, Indonesia, Uganda, and the United States. It was signed by persons from 34 countries on October 22, 2020. The United States rescinded its signature three months afterward; Brazil rescinded its signature in 2023.

communities and people. This is not the moment to further cut on an already severely hit sector, on the contrary, it is time to show that European countries are progressive allies and partners caring for women, girls and marginalised populations worldwide;

- ii. Use and scale up, through allocating additional budgets to them, existing platforms and mechanisms to leverage programmatic alignment and strengthen funding towards SRHR. The Team Europe Initiative on SRHR in sub-Saharan Africa can, for instance, be a suitable mechanism for the EU and its Member States to better align and strengthen each other's SRHR programmes, but also to allocate additional funding to SRHR;
- iii. Increase humanitarian funding for the provision of lifesaving SRHR services in emergency situations.

2. Speak out loud to protect the human rights system and multilateralism:

- i. Step up engagement and commitments to be a strong voice in defence of the human rights system and multilateralism, work actively to hold the line on critical progress made so far to push the agenda forward for SRHR, gender equality and human rights, including in processes like the Commission on Population and Development (CPD), the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF), the Human Rights Council (HRC), and the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA);
- ii. Expand outreach to movable middle countries, including from the Global South, to ensure broadened support for human rights, SRHR and gender equality;
- iii. Work proactively to dismantle the Geneva Consensus Declaration and Protego, including by putting in place strategies to persuade existing signatory country to withdraw as well as prevent new ones from joining.

3. Increase coordination & awareness:

- i. Better coordinate and strategise together amongst like-minded, including with Global South governments, to align efforts to counter anti-rights attacks;
- ii. Prioritise listening to and supporting local actors and partners as critical voices in favour of gender equality, SRHR and human rights and best placed to channel the voice of marginalised and underserved populations;
- iii. Better inform and educate themselves, as well as raise awareness, about Project 2025 and its potential effects to ensure preparedness and rapid action.

Countdown 2030 Europe is the 'go-to' cross-country sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) expert Consortium in Europe seeking to increase European SRHR funding in international cooperation and strengthen political support for sexual and reproductive freedom worldwide. The Consortium is made up of 15 leading European non-governmental organisations and is coordinated by IPPF European Network.