

Notes on the Transnational Neoconservative Offensive, and Brazilian participation in the “Intolerance Network”

Apontamentos sobre a Ofensiva Neoconservadora Transnacional e a participação brasileira na Rede da Intolerância

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Abstract: This article addresses the *neoconservative offensive* driven by transnational links between Far-Right organisations, with emphasis on how their agenda materialised in social policies and the centrality placed on the family. From documentary research, we observed the importance of transnational links – with an emphasis on the transatlantic Political Network for Values (PNfV) – and their repercussions on the national agenda and initiatives implemented in Brazil. Under the Bolsonaro government, with the justification of acting in *defence of life from conception*, and of *fundamental freedoms of conscience and religion* and the so-called *natural family*, and the rights attributed to it, experiences were shared and spread across government actions, in social policy and in various aspects of national life. An important aim of this offensive was the dismantling of public social policies and rights – especially the sexual and reproductive rights of women and LGBTQIA+ people, within the scope of the war against *gender ideology* and *state interventionism* – and the deepening of the neoliberal agenda.


Keywords: *Neoconservative offensive*. New Right. Political Network for Values. Bolsonaro government.

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INTRODUCTION

The reorganisation of conservative and radicalised right-wing groups, which spread across the world at the beginning of the 21st century – and which took dramatic form in Brazil under the Bolsonaro Government – has mobilised intellectuals, and been addressed in various studies.¹ This process, which involves a crusade against the welfare state and any rights seen as *manufactured*, is linked with objectives and dynamics which refer to the sphere of political economy (Almeida, 2020; Chade and Trevisan, 2021; Finguerut, 2008; Galego, 2020; Ramírez, 2021; Pereira, 2020a; 2020b; Teixeira, 2021a; 2021b).

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¹ This process has given rise, according to Galego (2020), to the use of new terminologies and concepts, which have a common emphasis on the process of global reorganisation and political strengthening of the Right, in the context of capital crisis, in which Neoliberalism has advanced hand-in-hand with neoconservatism, towards clearly authoritarian and antidemocratic models.

The theme of this article is the recent *neoconservative offensive*. The article interprets this process, both theoretically and politically, based on the socio-historical determinations of our social formation, which are anchored in the dynamics of dependent capitalism, the heteropatriarchal system, and ethno-racial inequalities, all in the context of deepening crisis. With this analytical goal, and in the light of critical social theory and studies of gender and sexualities, the research from which this article unfolds is focused on the theme of the *neoconservative offensive*. It analyses the strategies adopted by the New Right through one of its organisations, the Political Network for Values (PNfV), which stands out for the significant role it has been playing, both internationally and in Brazil since the Bolsonaro Government.

Taking an historical-dialectic and feminist perspective, the investigation is qualitative, placing the analysis of the PNfV within a complex, contradictory and multidetermined totality, whose dynamics and meaning are associated with the broadest processes of the contemporary reproduction and crisis of capital, in which the so-called New Right emerged (Almeida, 2020; Chade; Trevisan, 2021; Corrêa, 2021a; 2021b; Ramirez, 2020; Pereira, 2020a; 2020b; Teixeira, 2021a; 2021b).

Based in Europe², the Political Network for Values, known by WikiLeaks³ as the *Intolerance Network*, was founded just over two decades ago. The ultra-rightist network brings together politicians and organisations – religious and secular – from around the world. With regular activities, covering different nations, themes, and political subjects, the PNfV has been fulfilling a strategic role in the international organisation of the New Right. The analysis allows us to understand its *modus operandi*, particularly regarding the design of its actions in the transnational sphere (Political Network for Values, 2023a; Teixeira, 2021; Teixeira; Nunes; Oliveira, 2021; WikiLeaks, 2021).

Bibliographic and documentary research was employed, analysing, in the case of the latter, material made available by the PNfV itself on its Internet portal and its YouTube channel (Political Network for Values, 2023a; 2023b)⁴. Before turning our attention to the PNfV, let us first examine the context in which the New Right emerged and in which the *neoconservative offensive* gained momentum, and the dynamics that materialised through diverse organisations and strategies, at global and local levels, as evidenced by the Network of Intolerance.

THE NEOCONSERVATIVE OFFENSIVE AND EMERGENCE OF THE NEW RIGHT

Authors including Almeida (2020), Corrêa and Kalil (2020), Pereira (2020a; 2020b), and Ramírez (2020), date the emergence of the New Right dates to the 1970s. They view it as a reaction to the welfare state, considered, by supporters of neoliberalism and conservatism, as the origin of the economic problems faced at the time.

² The Executive Secretariat is in Madrid, Spain.

³ WikiLeaks, founded in 2006 by Julian Assange, gained worldwide recognition following the release of secret US government documents. Accused of violating the conditions of his bail, Assange has been detained in England since April 2019, awaiting extradition to the United States of America (USA), while a global mobilisation campaign tries to prevent this.

⁴ In addition to the PNfV portal and its YouTube channel, the Politics and Sexuality Observatory (SPW) and the Jamil Chade Column, on the UOL portal, deserve special mention, for their systematic work on the topic.

The interventionist character of the welfare state is, according to this viewpoint, the origin of the crisis. Applying the same logic, ultra-right organisations advocate a return of traditional values and the prevalence of what they term, the *natural differences* between individuals. This triggered a true crusade against rights.

From this perspective, they consider it as, above all, “[...] a moral crisis, caused by the abandonment of the traditional values that have governed society since the beginnings of civilization, carried out in the name of an egalitarianism artificially created by state intervention” (Almeida, 2020; E-book Position 381). So, unlike classical conservatism, New Right neoconservatism is distinguished by its intrinsic link with neoliberalism.

Pereira (2020b) highlights that, despite its plurality and heterogeneity, this New Right has clear precepts related to the defence of traditional values (especially the patriarchal family) and the fight against the welfare state and public spending. In this context, Pereira (2020a) continues,

Neoliberalism constitutes the most recent phase of capitalism which, from crisis to crisis, ended up facilitating, at the end of the 1970s, the triumphant rise of this liberal suborder as one of the consequences of the structural crisis of capital made explicit at that time. [...] and its mixing with what seemed to be its opposite – neoconservatism – became so ingrained that it resulted in the *organic fusion* of both, which received another name – ‘New Right’ – representative of their common and teleological nature (neoliberalism and neoconservatism) (Pereira, 2020b, not paginated, our emphasis).

The inability of “classic neoliberal discourse” to provide the necessary ideological support for the current stage of the capitalist economy and its “brutal political practices of extermination and lowering of living conditions” is key to the turn to neoconservatism, observes Almeida (2020, E-book Position 451). Finguerut highlights (2008, p. 20), in dialogue with the American neoconservative theorist Irving Kristol, that this is why the banners of the New Right include “a stronger state, but with fewer taxes”; a foreign policy of defending patriotism and rejecting “a world government”, which would result in “generalised tyranny”; and the adoption of an internal policy based on “[...] distinguishing friends from enemies”. *Sexual wars* and the spread of *moral panic* take centre stage in this context, as highlighted by Gayle Rubin (1989).

Contemporary conflicts over sexual values and erotic behaviour have much in common with the religious conflicts of past centuries. They acquire immense symbolic weight. Discussions about sexual behaviour are often a means of avoiding social concerns and discharging the social tensions that accompany them. Therefore, sexuality should be treated with special care in times of great social stress. It is precisely in times like these, when we live under the threat of unimaginable destruction, that people become dangerously maddened by sexuality (Rubi, 1989, p. 113-114, our translation).

More recently, the use of social media and the adoption of typical social media language have proven to be central elements of the New Right’s communication strategy and its *wars*. It is about spreading fear and hatred against everyone identified as *enemies* (Corrêa, 2021a; Galego, 2020; Ramirez, 2020). In this scenario, the *meme-ification* of life and politics, through social networks, shows itself to be strategic and central to the “trivialisation of hate,” as highlighted by Solano (2018):

Hate speech is presented, on most occasions, as a meme, an irreverent phrase, a joke that people do not understand as something aggressive, violent, and to be rejected.

Quite the contrary, it is exaggeration and hysteria from the groups that claim to be attacked. The trivialisation of hate. Where many of us see hate speech, they simply see a politically incorrect, crude, folksy way of saying things (Solano, 2018, p. 20).

For Corrêa (2021a, p. 136-ss), *gender ideology* emerges at this juncture, and fulfils an important function as a *ghost*. A kind of *scarecrow*, continuously evoked as threatening, and endangering the family, Christian thought, and humanity itself. It thus constitutes the main justification for sexual wars and anti-gender offensives, whose main targets are the sexual and reproductive rights of women and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and asexual (LGBTQIA+) people.

These *anti-gender crusades* highlighted by Corrêa (2021a), have gained centrality in New Right rhetoric by aligning themselves with the concepts of religious ultraconservatives as, what they call, *fabricated rights* (See Teixeira's analysis, 2021a). In the words of Ramirez (2020),

[...] this is not its only or main objective. The main political aim shared by the various neoconservative religious and neoliberal groups that use the rhetoric of "gender ideology" is to control the state and its institutions through the very electoral mechanisms of formal democracy and, once established within it, impose its own social and economic vision (Ramirez, 2020, p. 11, our emphasis).

Based on this same imperative, the defence of *policies for families* is strategic. Elevated to the status of the main alternative for combating *gender ideology*, the defence of the so-called *natural family* is also linked to a lack of state responsibility; the privatisation of social protection; the strengthening of heteropatriarchalism; and the delegitimisation and erosion of public spaces and participation.

The imperatives of the capitalist order are, therefore, the basis of the *sexual wars* and the processes of *de-democratisation*. According to Christian Laval and Pierre Dardot (2016), neoliberal logic – this *new world reason* that we must take into consideration – demands actions that negate any possibility of the economic order being interfered with by democratic decisions or those originating from the majority.

The move toward conservatism and the rise of the New Right in Brazil are often associated with the coup against Dilma Rousseff and Jair Bolsonaro's election in 2018⁵. Its roots are, however, associated with the deepening of the capitalist crisis, and date back to the 1980s. A period marked, internally, by political openness and disputes fought by conservative and progressive sectors within the normal constitutional process (Corrêa, 2021a; Teixeira, 2021a; Teixeira; Nunes; Oliveira, 2021). The conservative trend had been developing, as Corrêa (2021a) points out, gradually and for a long time, gaining renewed momentum in the 21st century.

Following the defeat of Trump and the election of Biden in the United States of America, and strengthened by Bolsonaro's election, the "Brazuca" New Right and Brazil's global position gained importance within international connections, making the country one of its main

⁵ We will not enter the debate around the processes experienced in Brazil in the decades that preceded Bolsonaro's arrival into power; as this has been done on another occasions (See Teixeira, 2021b). References used in this text, such as the collection organised by Galego (2020), also offer important contributions on the topic.

spokespeople. Corrêa and Pazello, (2022, p. 11) observed that, since Bolsonaro's election Brazil "[...] has become a connecting node of these many currents, whether with regard to connections with North American right-wing personalities and groups, or with regard to European state actors [...]", (Chade; Trevisan, 2021; Corrêa; Pazello, 2022; Political Network for Values, 2023a; Ramirez, 2020; Teixeira, 2021b).

The following analysis of the PNfV and its links takes this context into account, and seeks to identify its agenda, its strategies and the links developed, as well as the Brazil's insertion into this dynamic. We will identify the configuration of these links, and from there demarcate the New Right's *neoconservative offensive* under Bolsonaro, and how this affected the national dynamic.

THE INTOLERANCE NETWORK – NOTES ON THE TRANSNATIONAL NEOCONSERVATIVE OFFENSIVE AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS IN BRAZIL

The actions of the PNfV gained prominence in 2021 following the publication, by WikiLeaks, of a dossier in which they denounced both the organisation of an international "transatlantic" "ultra-right" network, and its central guideline: the promotion of its "values" – "anti-abortion, anti-gender, against sexual education and in favour of the family – that is, pro-life, pro-family and pro-Christian", as set out in an article in the Mexican magazine *Contralínea*⁶ (Ramírez, 2021, not paginated).

Named the *Intolerance Network*, the WikiLeaks statement exposed seventeen thousand internal documents from the Spanish ultra-Catholic organisations HazteOír and CitizenGo, covering the period 2001 to 2017, which, among other topics, detailed the process of forming the PNfV, and its *raison d'être*. When summarising its findings regarding the constitution of the *Intolerance Network*, the document highlights:

[...] its *ultimate goal is to raise large funds and influence policy at the highest level*. [...] Both HazteOír and CitizenGo conduct their campaigns and other work *under the guise of family values*, but it is clear from the set of documents that *their values are rooted in an extremely ultra-conservative Christian context* (WikiLeaks, 2021, our emphasis).

Analysis of the material also identified donors and members of these entities, and the strategies and planning for PNfV actions. The complaints regarding the *Intolerance Network* did not have many repercussions in Brazil. They did, however, trigger a scandal in Spain at the time, exposing nationally prominent people and groups⁷ (Ferrero, 2021; Ramírez, 2021; WikiLeaks, 2021).

In addition to the ultra-Catholic organisations mentioned, other ultra-right groupings – European, American and Latin American – operating in the sphere of civil society and parliaments, were identified in the dossier, and appear prominently in PNfV events (Ferrero, 2021; Political Network for Values, 2020d; 2021c; 2022; 2023a; WikiLeaks, 2021).

⁶ The article was created through a partnership between WikiLeaks and the journalistic portals *Il Fatto Quotidiano* (Italy), *Taz* (Germany), *Público* (Spain) and *Contralínea* (Mexico).

⁷ In addition to showing the relationships of these organisations with the ultra-rightist Spanish party VOX, it revealed the participation of well-known Spanish organisations and figures, among its contributors, such as multimillionaire Isidoro Álvarez – owner of *El Corte Inglés*.

WikiLeaks pointed out that the defence of the family – specifically the *natural family* – and the protection of human life (from conception) are the pillars that serve as a foundation for the gathering of ultra-right organisations from various countries⁸, in the formation and structuring of the PNfV. Around this agenda, they make substantial financial contributions and fulfil a strategic role, mobilising resources of all kinds to make the Network’s actions viable and provide public endorsement⁹ (Political Network for Values, 2020a; Ramírez, 2021; WikiLeaks, 2021).

It is worth noting that it is the *Intolerance Network’s* internet presence that allowed us to analyse its activities. This increased in intensity and gained centrality from 2020 onwards, in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, becoming, thereafter, one of the central strategies for developing the Network’s actions.

Although only placed under the spotlight by WikiLeaks in 2021, the emergence of the PNfV took place more than a decade earlier, and its first public activity was held in 2014, at the headquarters of the United Nations, in New York¹⁰ (Political Network for Values, 2020b; 2020c). The holding of this event, during the activities of the United Nations, and in its facilities, proved to be a characteristic of the PNfV’s activities, and aligns with one of its main objectives: to focus on the *glocal* (global and local) scope, paying special attention to multilateral organisations and in national bodies of power (executive, legislative and judicial).

The PNfV held its *1st Transatlantic Summit*, with the theme *Strengthening the Family for Sustainable Development – How far could we go?* It took this opportunity to make public its members’ *frame of reference*: the *Decalogue of Values*¹¹, anchored in the three basic premises, which unify the ultra-right, grouped around the PNfV (Political Network for Values, 2020a).

Alongside the defence of “the family” as the “basic unit of society”; of “life from conception”; and “freedom of conscience and religion”, the *Decalogue of Values* affirmed marriage “between a man and a woman” and the “primacy of parental authority over the state” with regard to the education of children. (Political Network for Values, 2020a).

It adds to these “principles” the defence of another set of “values,” which include the rejection of abortion and euthanasia – as well as of cloning; genetic manipulation; destruction of human embryos; and surrogacy, and what they call “relativism” of an essentially “ideological” nature. According to the *Decalogue of Values*, this “tyranny of relativism” is based on an ideology that “[...] extends the enumeration of *false and supposed new rights*, which mean the suppression of *duty*, whether towards the elderly, children, or unborn children” (Political Network for Values, 2020a, our emphasis).

⁸ Among them: the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF); International Organisation for the Family (IOF); and National Organisation for Marriage (NOM) in the USA; CitizenGo, Fundação Valores e Sociedade and the Institute of Family Policy (IPF), of the Rede Família in Spain; Network for Political Ethical Action in Mexico; and the Nova Terrae Foundation in Italy. The government of Hungary and some civil institutions in that country, such as Bethen Gábor Alapítvány, joined them, following the report.

⁹ Their logos appear on promotional material for its activities, and through members of the organising committees, speakers and mediators at colloquiums and conferences, or in management positions or providing financial resources.

¹⁰ At its Annual Meeting, celebrated the 20th Anniversary of the International Year of the Family, established by the UN in 1994.

¹¹ The document, available on the Network’s portal, is open for signatures from political representatives only.

It is worth highlighting that the premise supporting the *Decalogue of Values* refers to the illegitimacy of multilateral organisations in relation to nation states and the family, in terms of rights and duties. The document is permeated by two strategies, which are not only present in the initiatives of the *Intolerance Network*, but also in the *neoconservative offensive* led by the New Right, in various countries including Brazil.

The first is about linking actions, simultaneously at the local and global levels – or “glocal”-¹² in the words of Lola Velarde (2020, not paginated). The second is to use existing legal structures to justify initiatives and proposals that align with their convictions, with a strong authoritarian content, and which promote a continued process of de-democratisation, as highlighted by Ramirez (2020). To this end, the occupation by conservative cadres, of national political spaces, in different spheres and instances, and the proposal of new laws and policies are encouraged. In Brazil, this materialised in the occupation of seats on various Councils of rights; in addition to parliaments, legislatures, and the judiciaries in other countries; and with different initiatives within these spaces.

In addition to hosting the ratification of the *Decalogue of Values*, signed at the time by 32 countries led by the USA, Spain and Hungary¹³, the 1st Summit witnessed the meeting of over 200 political leaders from 39 countries, and provided the opportunity for the Network to act together in pursuit of its goals: raising awareness among decision-makers about the essential role of the family; promoting “transatlantic networks” between participants, both nationally and internationally, with a view to sharing “good political practices” and establishing relationships of “continuous cooperation” (Political Network for Values, 2020b; 2020c).

The Transatlantic Summits came to be held at longer intervals, every two or three years, in a system of rotation of countries and continents, sometimes at the United Nations and sometimes in the parliaments of *friendly* governments.¹⁴

They became fundamental spaces for the coordination and launch of offensives aimed at the system of international rights, with special emphasis on removing any mention of what they call *manufactured* rights; the majority linked, in these organisations’ documents, to sexual and reproductive rights.¹⁵

¹² A strategy, it is worth mentioning, adopted by progressive environmental and human rights movements and organisations in the 1990s.

¹³ Although the documents record the presence of Brazil and the USA at this First Summit, the Secretary of the American government is notable, the governments of Brazil and the USA adhered to the Decalogue under the presidencies of Bolsonaro and Trump but disassociated themselves after the inauguration of Lula and Biden.

¹⁴ It is in the political context of the rise of the New Right and strategic geopolitical spaces that leads to the II Summit, to be held at the European Parliament, in Brussels (2017); the III Summit, in 2019, at the Congress of the Republic, of Colombia; and the IV Summit, in 2022, in Budapest, Hungary. The V Summit, scheduled for November 16 and 17, 2023, at the UN headquarters, in New York, coincided with the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with the former Secretary of the Family, Ângela Gandra, and the deputy federal, for Minas Gerais, Nikolas Ferreira, as speakers.

¹⁵ The Geneva Consensus Declaration on Women’s Health and Strengthening the Family, known as the Geneva Consensus, is illustrative of this movement, its central points defend life from conception and the family, as the natural and fundamental cell of society, and reject abortion. Due to be released at the World Summit on Women’s Health, in 2020, it was delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The document, disseminated with the blessing of the Network, was signed virtually, with the accession of Brazil and an explicit statement from its ministers of Foreign Affairs, Ernesto Araújo, and of Women and Human Rights. The main repercussion in Brazil was the passing of Ordinance GM/MS 2,561, of September 23rd, 2020, which, under the pretext of protecting women, created a series of obstacles to conducting abortions as provided for by law.

It is noteworthy that Transatlantic Summits often coincided with events sponsored by multilateral agencies, sometimes linked directly to the UN system. At these in-person events, an initiative aimed at training young leaders¹⁶ was also developed, through a partnership with the US-based conservative organisation, Global Responsibility.¹⁷ In addition to the Transatlantic Summits, the *Intolerance Network's* action strategy, during this period, involved the promotion of another regular activity: the Transatlantic Dialogues.

Held remotely, *online* – between May 2020 and December 2022¹⁸ –, the *Transatlantic Dialogues* enable the participation of hundreds of political representatives, including from Brazil. Of note, in addition to Minister Damares Alves and his Secretary for the Family, Ângela Gandra, was the presence of parliamentarians affiliated with the Republican Party and Liberal Party and lawyers linked to the right-wing Brazilian Conservative Bar Association and the National Association of Evangelical Lawyers (Anajure).¹⁹ The topics covered indicate the interests of its affiliates. Some symposiums deserve mention because of their relevance for understanding of the rise of the New Right, and for the presence of representatives of the Brazilian government.

The *Transatlantic Dialogues* had themes including: A political response to gender ideology; Political advances in the protection of human life: Two successful experiments; The domino effect: The local and global impact of the repeal of Roe vs Wade; and Child (and women) protection policy in light of the Trans agenda (Political Network for Values, 2021b; 2022; 2023).

Under Brazil's Bolsonaro Government, there were numerous initiatives implemented by various government authorities; religious and/or political leaders; and in the judicial sphere, which reveal the national impact of the guidelines and strategies promoted by the *Intolerance Network*.

Over the course of four years, Brazil has been in the news repeatedly for the regressive positions taken by our representatives in the agencies that make up the UN system and other multilateral bodies, such as the Organisation of American States (OAS), especially those resulting from its adherence to pro-life and anti-gender agendas.

Under a fundamentalist and anti-science government, which waged an open war against the World Health Organisation (WHO), the COVID-19 pandemic ravaged the Brazilian

¹⁶ The objective of the action, as explained by the PNfV on its portal, reveals an important strategy of the *neoconservative offensive* of the New Right, which is to offer training and capacity raising to young people on the internal functioning and external management of the international organisation where the Summit is to take place.

¹⁷ In addition to the Summits, the PNfV also promoted other face-to-face actions: in 2015 the 1st Regional Summit of the Americas was held in Washington D.C., and in 2018 and 2022 they took place in Spain and Mexico, respectively. These were Thematic Seminars promoted in conjunction with some of the associated national organisations. Furthermore, members of the Steering Committee participated in events promoted by organisations in different countries.

¹⁸ With a total of 18 meetings, the Dialogues took place frequently, varying over the years – 6 in 2020; 4 in 2021; and 8 in 2022.

¹⁹ The participation of the federal deputy from Paraná, Filipe Barros (PL), linked to the Direita Paraná movement; of Ceará councillor Jorge Pinheiro (PSDB), a former missionary for the Shalom Catholic Community; and the regional president of the Republicans (formerly PRB) and pastor of the Sara Nossa Terra Church, Wilton Melo Acosta, exemplify the Brazilian presence.

population, subjecting Brazil to a tragically enormous loss of life (Chade, 2021a; 2021b; Teixeira, 2021a; Teixeira; Nunes; Oliveira, 2021).

Internally, actions in the legislative sphere, at some lower levels of the judiciary and within Bolsonaro ministries must be mentioned – in particular the ministries of Education; Women and Family; and Health –, changes intended to alter legislation; establish new milestones; and dismantle programmes and policies, in convergence with the agenda and strategies presented by the PNfV.

Proposals to restrict abortion, which is permitted by law; repeated attempts to approve the so-called *statute of the unborn child*; crusades against *gender ideology* and the promotion of the so-called *gay cure*; defunding and dismantling of policies to combat and control the Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS), and to combat violence, are just some of these initiatives which aimed to roll back the rights gained by women and LGBTQIA+ people, imposing an ultraliberal heteropatriarchal and fundamentalist perspective on rights, society, the state and life (Chade, 2021a; 2021b; Chad; Trevisan, 2021 ; Corrêa; Kalil, 2020; Teixeira, 2021a; Trevisan, 2020).

One might imagine these similarities to be a simple convergence resulting from both bodies being on the New Right spectrum, but examination of the material in the documentary research reveals dialogue and Brazilian presence in the actions of the *Intolerance Network*, and the Brazilian leaders linked to them, during the period of the Bolsonaro government.

The *Transatlantic Dialogues* and *Summits* are relevant to the analysis, because in them we see Brazil's insertion internationally and the importance achieved by its representatives in the construction of agendas and strategies. The presence, at the *Intolerance Network* events, of the National Secretary Ângela Gandra, from the Ministry of Family, Women and Human Rights, led by Damara Alves, under the Bolsonaro government, is illustrative of what took place.

Daughter of Ives Gandra Martins, a well-known jurist from São Paulo, frequently associated with the ultra-Catholic Opus Dei, and a constant presence, Ângela Gandra was the lead figure and main voice of the Bolsonaro government at PNfV events.

Let us examine the *Transatlantic Dialogues*. The first was held on March 12, 2021 (Political Network for Values, 2021c). Titled *A political response to gender ideology*, the meeting was attended by the National Secretary of the Family, whose statements, during the event, regarding the actions of the Brazilian government in combating *gender ideology*, had repercussions in Brazil and were reproduced. In an article signed by Chad and Trevisan (2021), the secretary declared:

I wanted to tell you that we are working hard on *public policies against gender ideology*. From the first moment we removed all the booklets we had, in which parents are prepared to help their children, from the age of two, to choose their gender. From the very beginning, at the *Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights*, we removed all material that will not be distributed (Political Network for Values, 2021c).

The second *Transatlantic Dialogue*, titled *10 Years of success in family policy: the case of Hungary*, held on June 18, 2021, also featured Gandra, this time as one of the speakers,²⁰ alongside the Hungarian Balázs Molnár, former undersecretary in the Orbán government. Speaking directly from São Paulo City Hall, her presentation highlighted that it was the “first time that we have a policy for families in Brazil,” as well as a Ministry of Families (Political Network for Values, 2021a).

In her presentation, Gandra said that the Ministry “*has been inspired by the Hungarian experience*,” where she had been able to accompany Minister Novak as an observer. The secretary also emphasised the importance of affirming the family as “the most important cell in society;” and that the Brazilian government was working to ensure that the country “has strong families” (Political Network for Values, 2021a, our emphasis).

The strategies revealed in the themes and debates appear in the records of the *Transatlantic Summits* and *Dialogues*. They also appear when analysing the actions and statements of Brazilian politicians, members of the Bolsonaro administration and other organisations, such as political parties and civil associations, society, and in the coordinated actions of multilateral organisations.

Finally, one of the main actions developed by the *Intolerance Network* together with associated entities, in its glocal action strategy, is also guided by the *Decalogue of Values* and helps us understand the actions of the so-called bible bench and other ultra-rightist groups, which supported the Bolsonaro government.

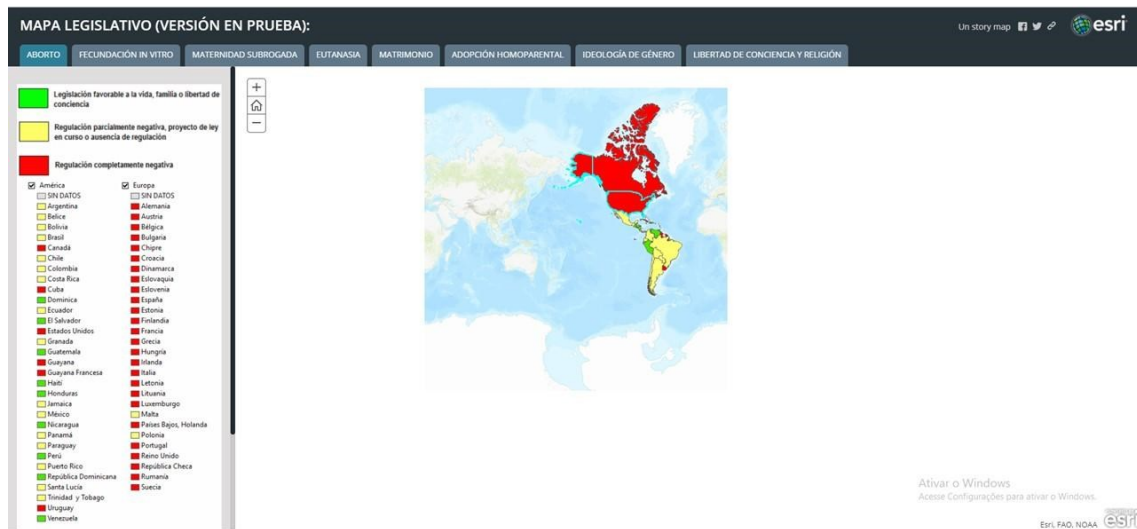
This involves transcontinental monitoring of the position of its “values”, from a legislative point of view (see Map 1 below), which indicates the legislative situation of eight themes, included in the *Decalogue of Values*, namely: (1) abortion; (2) *in vitro* fertilization; (3) surrogacy; (4) euthanasia; (5) homo-parental adoption; (6) gender ideology; (7) freedom of conscience; and (8) religion; it classifies countries according to “legislation favourable to PNfV principles”; “partially negative regulation”; and “completely negative” (green, red and yellow, respectively). The discussion relating to this took place at one of the *Transatlantic Dialogues*, under the title *Overview of values and freedoms in the inter-American human rights system*²¹, which took place on July 18, 2020 (Political Network for Values, 2020a).

The significance of the Legislative Map for monitoring the values for the PNfV, based on everything discussed here, is evident, although the version available noted that it was a “test version.” The strategic nature of the material and this action is clear, more so given the fact that, from all eighteen events, the only video that is *no longer* available on the PNfV channel is, curiously, that of this *Transatlantic Dialogue*. Due to other experiences with data being removed, the map was *printed off* in April 2021, when it was still available on YouTube. Graphic quality can not be guaranteed, but it remains as a record (Political Network for Values, 2021d).

²⁰ It is worth noting that, as explained by the National Family Secretary herself at the time, the presentation was made in English, in honour of the members of the Network.

²¹ The Seminar, whose main speaker was Edgar Stuart Ralón, member of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, also included the participation of the Mexican Rodrigo Iván Cortés (secretary of the PNfV) and Alfonso Aguilar (director of the Human Rights Group and head of the US Citizenship Office in the Bush administration), who was responsible for opening and introducing the speaker.

Map 1 - The Legislative position of topics covered in the Decalogue of Values



Source: Political Network for Values (2021).

CONCLUSION

Together with the reflections raised by the bibliography, the documentary analysis made it possible to contextualise the emergence of the PNfV; get to know the protagonists; the agenda; the allied networks; and their forms of action. The analysis unveiled the central dimensions of the organisation of the *neoconservative offensive* – that is, the transnational actions of the New Right. It also allowed us to observe the insertion of Brazil, under the Bolsonaro government, and the incorporation of its agenda within the country, in which the family and familism constitute a central pillar (Political Network for Values, 2020a; 2020b; 2020c; 2020d; 2021d; 2022 ; 2023a; Teixeira; Nunes; Oliveira, 2021).

Furthermore, and no less important, it is worth highlighting that the extensive material available, as well as the centrality of the Internet and digital platforms as a tool for the PNfV in conducting its activities, amply facilitated the research that formed the basis of this text. They reveal the dynamics and strategies that characterise the New Right and capitalism currently, and which have as one of their pillars, the technological revolution, the use of the Internet, and digital communication (Galego, 2018; Ramirez, 2020).

Finally, the strategies adopted under the Bolsonaro government reveal the intense process of dialogue and agreements established between the PNfV and politicians identified with the extreme right, from all continents. We have demonstrated that these international links guide the “Brazuca” New Right in the building of strategies and the organisation of actions, whether at the executive, legislative, or societal level.

A fundamental element, common to different national contexts, is the association between the traditional agendas of the ultraconservatives and the guidelines of the ultraliberal model. This boosted the process of democratic erosion in Brazil under Bolsonaro, affecting the country’s political dynamics. The results are already being noticed throughout the world

where the New Right has come to power. As we have observed, their effects have persisted in Brazil, even after Bolsonaro's departure.

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