

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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May 29, 2026

To: Members of the Committee on the Judiciary

From: Committee Staff

Re: The Biden-Harris Administration's Funding of Anti-Netanyahu Non-Governmental Organizations, Part II

On March 26, 2025, the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Foreign Affairs sent letters to six U.S. and Israeli non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to request documents related to any grants, cooperative agreements, or other awards received from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) or State Department.¹ On July 17, 2025, the Judiciary Committee issued a memorandum summarizing the key findings of the inquiry as of that date.² Since then, the Committee has continued the inquiry, sending similar letters to three additional NGOs.³ To date, the nine organizations have produced a total of 1,256 documents. This memorandum provides an updated summary of the Committee's key findings.

BACKGROUND

In 2023, Israel experienced widespread protests over the plan of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government to reform the Israeli judicial system.⁴ The Biden-Harris Administration openly opposed the proposed reforms, with former President Joe Biden saying that Israel "cannot continue down this road."⁵ Media reports subsequently revealed that some

¹ See, e.g., Letter from Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs to Eran Schwartz, Chief Executive Officer, Blue White Future (Mar. 26, 2025). The six NGOs included Blue White Future, Movement for Quality Government in Israel, PEF Israel Endowment Funds, Jewish Communal Fund, Middle East Peace Dialogue Network, and Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors.

² Memorandum from Comm. Staff to Members of the H. Comm. on the Judiciary, *The Biden-Harris Administration's Funding of Anti-Netanyahu Non-Governmental Organizations*, (July 17, 2025).

³ See, e.g., Letter from Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs to Mr. Amnon Be'eri-Sulitzeanu and Ms. Shahira Shalaby, Co-Executive Directors, The Abraham Initiatives (June 30, 2025).

⁴ Ruby Mellen et al., *Protests rocked Israel for 29 consecutive weeks. There's more to come.*, WASH. POST (July 24, 2023).

⁵ Brett Samuels, *Biden on Israel's proposed judicial reforms: 'They cannot continue down this road'*, THE HILL (Mar. 28, 2023); Caroline Glick, *How Biden subverts Israeli democracy*, JEWISH NEWS SYNDICATE (Feb. 17, 2023).

U.S. taxpayer money, in the form of grants, had been funneled through various American and Israeli NGOs to fund these protests in part.⁶ The use of federal grants for such purposes risks harming America's relationship with one of its closest allies and undermines core civil liberties in both the United States and Israel. Additionally, the misuse of federal grant funds may, in some cases, amount to a criminal offense under U.S. law.⁷

The Committee's oversight, as detailed in the July 2025 memorandum, has revealed that the Biden-Harris Administration provided grant funds to groups that contributed directly and indirectly to the judicial reform protests that sought to undermine the Israeli government.⁸ In addition, documents obtained during this investigation suggest that the Biden-Harris Administration potentially funded groups with ties to U.S.-designated terrorist organizations.⁹

Documents obtained since July 2025 reveal new information about the Biden-Harris Administration helping to fund protests against the Netanyahu government. In particular, these documents show that two U.S. tax-exempt organizations, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF) and the Tides Network, provided over \$5 million to groups that funded radical anti-Israel protests in the U.S. and Israel, and supported multiple terrorist-linked NGOs.¹⁰ In addition, documents suggest that the Jewish Communal Fund, and its grantees, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA) and PEF Israel Endowment Funds (PEF), may have violated their tax-exempt status by funding groups engaged in radical anti-government campaigns in Israel.¹¹ Another U.S. government grantee, Abraham Initiatives, similarly led anti-government protests in Israel and, according to a 2023 audit, the organization failed to comply with anti-terrorism procedures in a USAID-funded program operated in regions "where [Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO)] activity is prevalent."¹²

SUMMARY OF THE COMMITTEE'S PREVIOUS FINDINGS

The Committee's first memorandum highlighted how Israeli NGO Blue White Future (BWF), the coalition headquarters for the Israeli judicial reform protests, may have been a downstream recipient of U.S. grant funding.¹³ Between 2021 and 2024:

- BWF received \$4 million from the Middle East Peace Dialogue Network (MEPDN) and \$18 million from PEF.¹⁴

⁶ See, e.g., Glick, *supra* note 5; Adam Kredo, *How Taxpayer Funds Are Flowing to a Group Bankrolling Anti-Netanyahu Protests*, WASH. FREE BEACON (Mar. 6, 2023).

⁷ See 18 U.S.C. § 666(a)(1)(A). Additional offenses may apply if an applicant misrepresents its reasons for obtaining a grant. See 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 371, 1001, 1343.

⁸ Memorandum, *supra* note 2.

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ Doc. Production 0000032 from Rockefeller Brothers Fund to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (Nov. 26, 2025).

¹¹ *Id.*; see also MEPDN Donation Report to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (June 9, 2025).

¹² *Responsibility to Identify and Report Potential Diversion of U.S. Humanitarian Aid to Hamas and Other Foreign Terrorist Organizations*, USAID OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL (Nov. 2023).

¹³ Memorandum, *supra* note 2.

¹⁴ See David Isaac, *Foreign funding of judicial-reform protests spurs Knesset legislation*, JEWISH NEWS SYNDICATE (Feb. 18, 2025).

- PEF received \$187,000 from Rockefeller RPA.¹⁵
- Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA) received millions of dollars in grants from the Biden-Harris Administration’s USAID, State Department, and Department of Defense.¹⁶

During this same period, PEF also received \$41.2 million in payments from another U.S.-based nonprofit, the Jewish Communal Fund (JCF),¹⁷ which PEF used to fund groups directing and organizing the protests, including BWF, and the Israeli organization Movement for Quality Government (MQG).¹⁸

MQG, a radical leftist protest group,¹⁹ received approximately \$42,000 in federal grant funds from the Biden-Harris State Department between 2020 and 2022.²⁰ The grants funded a “Civic Activism Training Program” for three Jerusalem high schools, which encouraged students to engage in protesting the Israeli government and become “key activists in the revelers of corruption.”²¹

In addition, the Biden-Harris Administration provided U.S. government funding to terrorist-linked NGOs. Between 2021 and 2025:

- RPA donated \$557,000 to U.S. nonprofit RBF.²²
- RBF donated \$2.6 million to the Tides Network²³ and more than \$370,000 to groups directly involved in the anti-Netanyahu judicial reform protests.²⁴

¹⁵ Doc. Production 000103 from P.E.F. Israel Endowment Funds to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (May 23, 2025).

¹⁶ See Doc. Production 001 from Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (Apr. 30, 2025).

¹⁷ Doc. Production 000032 from P.E.F. Israel Endowment Funds to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (May 23, 2025).

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ Glick, *supra* note 5.

²⁰ Letter from Mr. William P. Barry, Member, Miller & Chevalier Chartered, to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (Apr. 24, 2025).

²¹ *Id.*

²² See, e.g., *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2021*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202232859349300818/full> (last accessed May 6, 2026).

²³ *Rockefeller Brothers Fund*, NGO MONITOR (Feb. 28, 2025), https://ngo-monitor.org/funder/rockefeller_brothers_fund/.

²⁴ See, e.g., *Rockefeller Brothers Fund Inc: Full text of "Full Filing" for fiscal year ending Dec. 2023*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/131760106/202413189349103611/full> (last accessed May 6, 2025); see also *Foundation for Middle East Peace*, INSIDE PHILANTHROPY, <https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/find-a-grant/grants-f/foundation-for-middle-east-peace> (last accessed May 6, 2026).

- The Tides Network donated \$120,000 to the Palestine Children’s Relief Fund (PCRF), a U.S. nonprofit with “zero [funding] transparency”²⁵ that “promotes a narrative of sole Israeli aggression.”²⁶
- Beginning in 2017, RBF donated \$190,000 to Defense for Children International Palestine (DCI-P), an Israel-designated terrorist organization with ties to the U.S.-designated terrorist organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).²⁷
- RBF donated \$100,000 to Alliance for Global Justice (AFGJ),²⁸ an “anti-capitalist” U.S.-based nonprofit that has provided funding to the Samidoun Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network, a “sham charity that serves as an international fundraiser for the PFLP.”²⁹

THE COMMITTEE’S NEW FINDINGS

I. U.S. nonprofit Rockefeller Brothers Fund provided nearly \$4 million to radical, anti-Israel groups, including some with alleged ties to terrorist organizations.

Since 2019, Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF), a U.S.-based tax-exempt entity, provided approximately \$4 million to groups that funded anti-Israel protests in the U.S. and Israel, promoted the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement in Israel, and supported terrorist-linked NGOs.³⁰ From 2021 to 2024, RBF received \$557,000 from its affiliate and partner, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA).³¹ During this same period, RPA received more than \$50 million from USAID and the State Department.³²

RPA has produced documents to the Committee regarding four projects funded by U.S.-taxpayer dollars from 2021 to 2024, as well as the purpose of the funds that it provided to RBF, both of which have no direct relation to Israel.³³ However, as the Committee has explained previously, the fungibility of money—the ability to easily replace one set of funds with another

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ *Treasury Sanctions Sham Charity for Terrorist Ties Following Ways and Means Investigation*, H. COMM. ON WAYS & MEANS (Oct. 16, 2024).

³⁰ RBF Doc. Production 0000032, *supra* note 10.

³¹ *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2021*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202232859349300818/full> (last accessed May 6, 2026); *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2022*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202302569349300030/full> (last accessed May 6, 2026); *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2023*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202433159349300308/full> (last accessed May 6, 2026).

³² RPA Doc. Production 001, *supra* note 16.

³³ Letter from Harry Sandick, Attorney, Patterson Belknap to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (June 5, 2025).

set of funds of equal value³⁴—suggests that RBF donations may have included funding that originated with the U.S. government.³⁵ More broadly, when an NGO receives government funding for a project, the new funding stream allows the entity to use the money previously earmarked for that project on something else that it would have otherwise not been able to fund.³⁶

a. RBF provided funding to extremist anti-Israel group Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) during its 2023 pro-Hamas protests on U.S. college campuses.

From 2019 to 2024, RBF provided \$440,000 to U.S. nonprofit JVP,³⁷ “the largest and most influential anti-Zionist Jewish group in the United States.”³⁸ Following the October 7, 2023, terrorist attack by Hamas in Israel, JVP released a statement blaming “Israeli apartheid and occupation—and United States complicity in that oppression”—as “the source of all this violence.”³⁹ JVP members have often promoted a platform of violence against Israelis, calling for the “eradication of Zionism.”⁴⁰ Previously, in 2017, JVP hosted a convicted Palestinian terrorist, Rasmea Odeh, as a keynote speaker at its annual meeting in Chicago, Illinois.⁴¹ In 1970, an Israeli military court sentenced Odeh to life in prison for her part in two Jerusalem bombings that killed two and wounded several others.⁴² In 1979, she was freed during a prisoner exchange between the U.S. and Israeli-designated foreign terrorist organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).⁴³

In November 2023, Columbia University suspended JVP and its partner extremist anti-Zionist group, the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), from its campus after the groups held an unauthorized event that “proceeded despite warnings and included threatening rhetoric and intimidation.”⁴⁴ JVP has also partnered with the terrorist organization, Samidoun, to fund radical pro-Hamas protests at college campuses across the country.⁴⁵

³⁴ *Fungibility: What It Means and Why It Matters*, INVESTOPEDIA (Mar. 7, 2024), <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/f/fungibility.asp>.

³⁵ Isaac, *supra* note 14.

³⁶ *Fungibility*, *supra* note 34.

³⁷ RBF Doc. Production 0000032, *supra* note 10.

³⁸ *Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP)*, ADL (Sep. 11, 2024).

³⁹ *The Root of Violence is Oppression*, JEWISH VOICE FOR PEACE (Oct. 7, 2023).

⁴⁰ *JVP*, *supra* note 38.

⁴¹ Lea Speyer, ‘Jewish Voice for Peace’ to Host Convicted Palestinian Terrorist at Upcoming National Conference, THE ALGEMEINER (Feb. 6, 2017).

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Statement From Gerald Rosberg, Chair of the Special Committee on Campus Safety*, COLUMBIA NEWS (Nov. 10, 2023).

⁴⁵ *What Is Samidoun, the ‘Charity’ That Supports Anti-Israel Campus Protests and Fundraises for a Terror Group*, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (AJC) (Nov. 5, 2024).

b. RBF grantee Alliance for Global Justice continues to support Samidoun despite its known ties to a terrorist organization.

From 2023 to 2024, RBF provided \$100,000 to the Alliance for Global Justice (AFGJ) for a social and environmental development program in South Bronx, New York.⁴⁶ In October 2025, the House Committee on Ways and Means referred AFGJ to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) for review of its tax-exempt status in light of the group's fiscal support to Samidoun.⁴⁷ Despite the mass withdrawal of support from AFGJ donors and financial institutions after its terrorist sponsorship came to light, AFGJ continued to recruit members to join a "resistance campaign" to stand with Samidoun.⁴⁸

AFGJ is one of multiple U.S.-based tax-exempt organizations that fund radical pro-Palestine protests, which still persist around the country, and call for the U.S. government to sever ties with Israel.⁴⁹ In November 2025, the Committee sent a letter to AFGJ to request documents related to its financial support of organizations connected with domestic terrorist organization Antifa.⁵⁰ AFGJ has not yet produced documents in response to the letter.

c. RBF provided funding to an Israeli-designated terrorist organization and multiple anti-Israel protest groups.

In 2021, the Israel Ministry of Defense designated RBF grantee Defense for Children International Palestine and five other entities as "terror organizations" that are "controlled by senior leaders of the PFLP" and "serve as a central source for the financing of the Organization's activity."⁵¹ Multiple left-wing groups, including an Israeli-based NGO called Breaking the Silence, have contested the terrorist-designations and have continued to support the efforts of these organizations.⁵² Since 2020, RBF has provided nearly \$700,000 to Breaking the Silence for "general support."⁵³ Since 2022, RBF has provided similar donations of approximately \$410,000 to the U.S.-based nonprofit, the Foundation for Middle East Peace (FMEP).⁵⁴ FMEP has provided potentially millions of dollars in funding to groups directly involved in the anti-Israel

⁴⁶ RBF Doc. Production 0000032, *supra* note 10.

⁴⁷ Letter from Rep. Jason Smith, Chairman, H. Comm. on Ways and Means to Hon. Scott Bessent, Acting Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service and Frank Bisignano, Chief Executive Officer, Internal Revenue Service (Oct. 6, 2025).

⁴⁸ *Resistance Campaign Sign-On Statement*, ALLIANCE FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE (AFGJ), <https://afgj.org/resistance-campaign-sign-on> (last accessed May 6, 2026).

⁴⁹ *See Palestinian Students Solidarity Campaign; Organizations Supporting the Campaign*, SAMIDOUN (updated Oct. 10, 2024); *see also* Bill Chappell, *Violence erupts at UCLA as protests over Israel's war in Gaza escalate across the U.S.*, NPR (May 1, 2024).

⁵⁰ Letter from Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Chip Roy, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary, Subcomm. on the Constitution to Mr. James Jordan, President, Alliance for Global Justice (Nov. 6, 2025).

⁵¹ *The Minister of Defense designated six organizations of the "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" as terror organizations*, NATIONAL BUREAU FOR COUNTER TERROR FINANCING OF ISRAEL (Jan. 3, 2022). The five other entities include Union of Palestinian Women's Committees (UPWC), ADDAMEER - Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association, Bisan Center for Research and Development, Al-Haq Organization, and the Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC).

⁵² @BtSIIsrael, X (Oct. 22, 2021), <https://x.com/BtSIIsrael/status/1451559605478244373>.

⁵³ RBF Doc. Production 0000032, *supra* note 10.

⁵⁴ *Id.*

BDS and protest movements, including JVP and U.S.-based, far-left nonprofits, New Israel Fund and Al-Shabaka: MEPN.⁵⁵

d. RBF funded the first anti-government protests in Israel in 2023 through the U.S. tax-exempt organization New Israel Fund (NIF).

Between 2023 and 2024, RBF provided approximately \$70,000 to NIF for its project, “Strengthening Israel’s Democracy.”⁵⁶ The project funded what NIF called “pro-democracy protests around the country,” including through the progressive grassroots movement, Standing Together, which initiated the first judicial reform protests in Israel in 2023.⁵⁷ The RBF grant also funded “the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), NIF’s flagship grantee commonly referred to as Israel’s [American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)], and the Ideational Center for Liberal Democracy (IDEA) to map the threats posed by the government, educate the Israeli public about them, and coordinate response efforts.”⁵⁸ According to reports, approximately ten percent of grants from NIF go to “34 advocacy NGOs active in political campaigns that involve, to different degrees, demonization of Israel, including BDS and lawfare.”⁵⁹

e. RBF grantee MEPN supports six Israeli-designated terrorist organizations.

Since 2019, RBF has provided over \$1 million to Al-Shabaka: MEPN, also known as the Palestinian Policy Network, for “general support” and a “Palestine project.”⁶⁰ Al-Shabaka is a U.S.-based think tank composed of “over 200 analysts around the world,” including Salem Barahmeh, a former member of the U.S.-designated terrorist group, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and Omar Barghouti, “a founding member” of the BDS Israel movement.⁶¹ In 2021, Al-Shabaka condemned Israel’s terrorist-designations of six organizations and pledged its continuous support to their causes.⁶²

f. The Tides Center used over \$1 million from RBF to fund anti-American organizations that supported radical protests across the U.S.

Since 2019, RBF has provided \$8 million to the Tides Center, an entity of the Tides Network, for various left-wing social justice movements in the U.S., including \$515,000 for the Palestine Legal project and \$550,000 for Adalah Justice Project (AJP).⁶³ Following the October 7, 2023, terrorist attack by Hamas in Israel, Palestine Legal released a statement expressing its “firm and unequivocal solidarity with the Palestinian people in their struggle for self-determination and freedom” in “what is one of the most significant acts of Palestinian

⁵⁵ *Foundation for Middle East Peace (FMEP)*, NGO MONITOR (Mar. 17, 2025).

⁵⁶ RBF Doc. Production 0000032, *supra* note 10.

⁵⁷ *Emergency Action Plan, Fighting for the Future of Israel’s Democracy*, NEW ISRAEL FUND (2023); Michael Starr, *Who is funding Israel’s judicial reform protests?*, THE JERUSALEM POST (Aug. 11, 2023).

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ *New Israel Fund*, NGO MONITOR (Nov. 19, 2025).

⁶⁰ RBF Doc. Production 0000032, *supra* note 10.

⁶¹ *Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network*, INFLUENCE WATCH (last accessed May 6, 2026).

⁶² @yarahawari, X (Oct. 25, 2021), <https://x.com/yarahawari/status/1452588173515710464>.

⁶³ RBF Doc. Production 0000032, *supra* note 10.

resistance.”⁶⁴ The group continued to blame U.S. “complicity in Israel’s decades-long military occupation” for the recent violence.⁶⁵

During the series of radical anti-Israel protests on U.S. college campuses in 2024, AJP released a statement standing in “firm solidarity” with Students for Justice in Palestine and for holding “their complicit universities accountable for aiding and abetting Israeli genocide.”⁶⁶ AJP Executive Director Sandra Tamari justified the October 7 Hamas terrorists, calling them “the oppressed rising up” against Israel.⁶⁷ AJP is a vocal supporter of the BDS movement in Israel, and in February 2024, the tax-exempt group organized a mass protest in the Cannon House Office Building at the U.S. Capitol complex where law enforcement arrested 13 protestors.⁶⁸

II. USAID grantee and tax-exempt organization, the Tides Network, provided over \$1 million to anti-Israel groups, including some with ties to terrorist organizations.

Between 2016 and 2022, the U.S.-based nonprofit, the Tides Network, received \$30 million from USAID for a civil development program in regions of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific, titled “Civil Society Innovation Initiative Fiscal Agent (CSII).”⁶⁹ On the USAID program application, the Tides Center certified that it had not provided and would not provide “material support or resources” to any individual or entity associated with committing terrorist acts in any context within the past ten years.⁷⁰ Documents produced to the Committee, however, show that the Tides Network has provided significant funding to anti-Israel groups with ties to terrorist organizations.

From 2022 to 2023, the Tides Foundation, an entity within the Tides Network, provided \$120,000 to the Palestine Children’s Relief Fund (PCRF), a zero-transparency, U.S.-based nonprofit that has multiple alleged connections to terrorist groups.⁷¹ The PCRF’s 2022 annual report details a pediatric cancer unit in the Al-Rantisi Specialized Hospital for Children in Gaza that was opened by the PCRF and its partner, the Gaza Ministry of Health, in 2019.⁷² Hamas has operated the Gaza Ministry of Health since the terrorist group seized the Gaza Strip in 2007, and it has often skewed the number of reported casualties in the region and misreported events to blame Hamas-caused casualties on Israeli forces.⁷³ Since 2021, the PCRF pediatric cancer unit

⁶⁴ *Palestine Legal Stands Firmly with the Palestine Movement, Condemns Rising Anti-Palestinian Attacks*, PALESTINE LEGAL (Oct. 10, 2023).

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ @AdalahJusticeProject, FACEBOOK (April 20, 2024), <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=446217624594661&set=a.175022271714199>.

⁶⁷ Joseph Simonson and Andrew Kerr, *This 'Grassroots' Anti-Israel Group Is Actually Part of a Left-Wing Dark Money Behemoth*, FREE BEACON (Oct. 27, 2023).

⁶⁸ Ellie Silverman, *Protesters arrested on Capitol Hill demanding Gaza cease-fire, immigrant protections*, WASH. POST (Feb. 15, 2024).

⁶⁹ Doc. Production 001 from Tides Network to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (July 14, 2025).

⁷⁰ Doc. Production 062 from Tides Network to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (July 14, 2025).

⁷¹ *Palestine Children’s Relief Fund (PCRF)*, NGO MONITOR (Feb. 18, 2025).

⁷² PCRF Annual Report 2022, PCRF (last accessed Dec. 8, 2025).

⁷³ *5 Things to Know About the Hamas-Run Gaza Health Ministry*, FOUNDATION FOR DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACIES (Nov. 2, 2023).

has been funded in part by the Islamic Relief Palestine (IRPAL).⁷⁴ IRPAL is the local arm of Islamic Relief Worldwide (IRW), a U.S.-based nonprofit.⁷⁵ In 2014, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon banned IRW from operating in Israel and declared that it had been funneling funds to Hamas.⁷⁶ In 2020, the U.S. State Department condemned IRW for its antisemitic activities.⁷⁷

In November 2023, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) revealed video footage of weapons and explosives stored in the basement of the Al-Rantisi hospital, claiming the weapons were used by Hamas in the October 7 terrorist attack.⁷⁸ IDF also found a room where it believes hostages from the attack were taken.⁷⁹ Separately, in November 2023, PCRf's chapter in Tampa, Florida, hosted Hatem Fariz, an alleged Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) member⁸⁰ who served nearly four years in federal prison for providing financial support and resources to the terrorist group.⁸¹ The PIJ is "responsible for hundreds of deaths in suicide bombings and other attacks"⁸² and is "the second-largest militant group in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank after Hamas."⁸³

In addition, since 2019, the Tides Center, another entity of the Tides Network, has provided \$1.065 million of RBF-funded grants to radical anti-Israel protest groups, AJP and Palestine Legal.⁸⁴ AJP has referred to the six Israeli-designated terrorist organizations in 2021 as "groups we wholeheartedly work with,"⁸⁵ including the PFLP-connected Defense for Children International Palestine.⁸⁶

⁷⁴ PCRf Annual Report 2022, *supra* note 72.

⁷⁵ *Islamic Relief Palestine*, DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ROADMAP PORTAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST (DARPE) (last accessed May 6, 2026).

⁷⁶ *Id*; *Israel bans Islamic Relief Worldwide from West Bank due to Hamas ties*, THE JERUSALEM POST (June 19, 2014).

⁷⁷ *Islamic Relief Worldwide*, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE: THE OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL ENVOY TO MONITOR AND COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM (Dec. 30, 2020).

⁷⁸ Matthew Rosenberg & Nadav Gavrielov, *Israel Shows Videos of Gaza Hospital Basement It Says Was Used by Hamas*, N.Y. TIMES (Nov. 14, 2023).

⁷⁹ *Id*.

⁸⁰ @PCRf-Tampa, FACEBOOK (Nov. 19, 2023), <https://www.facebook.com/pcrftampa/posts/thank-you-to-everyone-who-came-to-our-event-for-gaza-last-week-we-were-able-to-r/727305492765322/>; *Members of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad Arrested, Charged with Racketeering and Conspiracy to Provide Support to Terrorists*, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (Feb. 20, 2003).

⁸¹ *Scholar's cohort given jail term in terror case*, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS (July 26, 2006).

⁸² *Id*.

⁸³ *Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ), Counter Terrorism Guide*, OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE (updated Feb. 2025).

⁸⁴ RBF Doc. Production 0000032, *supra* note 10.

⁸⁵ @AdalahJustice, X (Oct. 22, 2021), <https://x.com/AdalahJustice/status/1451534909743505408>.

⁸⁶ *Rockefeller Brothers Fund*, *supra* note 23.

III. U.S. nonprofits, the Jewish Communal Fund, and its grantees, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors and PEF Israel Endowment Funds, may be violating section 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status by funding radical anti-Israel groups.

The tax-exempt Jewish Communal Fund (JCF) is the “largest Jewish donor advised fund in the nation, managing more than \$3.5 billion in charitable assets for over 5,000 funds.”⁸⁷ JCF provides a significant amount of funding to prominent left-wing organizations, including over \$41.2 million to the two main funders of the judicial reform protests in Israel, BWF and PEF.⁸⁸

PEF used money from JCF to fund multiple groups directing the Israeli anti-government protests, including:

- \$525,000 for the largest Israeli grassroots movement, Women Wage Peace;⁸⁹
- \$30,000 for Standing Together, the group that initiated the first judicial reform protests in Israel;⁹⁰
- \$110,000 to Sikkuy-Aufoq, an organization that referred to the Netanyahu government as a “crisis of constitutional, democratic, societal, and human rights” and pledged to collaborate with NGOs to join anti-judicial reform protest initiatives;⁹¹ and
- \$462,000 to Darkenu, a self-proclaimed “non-partisan civil society movement” that organized a protest outside of Israeli Justice Minister Yari Levin’s home on January 6, 2023, after he announced plans for judicial reform.⁹²

In addition, JCF provided more than \$900,000 in donor advised funds (DAFs) to MEPDN, including \$235,000 earmarked for BWF and \$275,000 for “Ken LaShalom,” a project of MEPDN’s Israeli affiliate, “Have You Seen the Horizon Lately” (HYSHL).⁹³ HYSHL has directly participated in the anti-judicial reform protests, calling the Israeli government’s plans for judicial overhaul “a regime coup.”⁹⁴

⁸⁷ *Jewish Communal Fund Announces New Board Members and FY 2026 Officer Appointments*, JEWISH COMMUNAL FUND (JCF) (Aug. 28, 2025).

⁸⁸ PEF Doc. Production 000032, *supra* note 17; MEPDN Donation Report, *supra* note 11.

⁸⁹ Jewish Communal Fund Grants to P.E.F. Israel Endowment Funds from Jewish Communal Fund to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (July 22, 2025); *See, also Women, equality, peace and democracy: Women Wage Peace protest against the Judicial overhaul*, WOMEN WAGE PEACE (March 26, 2023).

⁹⁰ *Id.*; *see also* Jewish Communal Fund Grants; Starr, *supra* note 57; *Emergency Action Plan*, *supra* note 57.

⁹¹ *Preparing for the New Reality of Israel Risk Assessment and Mitigation Plan*, SIKKUY-AUFOQ FOR A SHARED AND EQUAL SOCIETY (July 2023); *see also A Historic Demonstration of Jews and Arabs Against Racism*, SIKKUY-AUFOQ FOR A SHARED AND EQUAL SOCIETY (2023).

⁹² Starr, *supra* note 57; *see also With 400,000 active supporters, Darkenu is the largest non-partisan civil society movement in Israel*, DARKENU. <https://darkenu.org.il/en/>.

⁹³ *See* Jewish Communal Fund Grants, *supra* note 89; *Donate*, HAVE YOU SEEN THE HORIZON LATELY?, <https://horizonlately.co.il/en/donate/> (last accessed Nov. 5, 2025).

⁹⁴ *Partners in State, Partners in Protest: The Judicial Overhaul*, HAVE YOU SEEN THE HORIZON LATELY?, <https://horizonlately.co.il/en/partners-in-state-partners-in-protest-the-judicial-overhaul/> (last accessed May 6, 2026).

In 2024, JCF provided a grant of \$125,000 to Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA) for the “In Our Name” campaign,⁹⁵ a pro-Palestine fundraising platform sponsored by the progressive Action Network.⁹⁶ The \$2.8 million In Our Name campaign will reportedly provide “about seventy-five percent of the funds” to directly support pro-Palestine grassroots movements in Gaza and the West Bank and “twenty-five percent” to support U.S.-led movements.⁹⁷ The campaign also provides support to the “Rise Together Fund (RTF),”⁹⁸ which allows Palestine Legal to provide legal representation to anti-Israel, pro-Palestine individuals who participated in the series of radical protests on college campuses in 2024.⁹⁹ Palestine Legal has filed several “amicus briefs in key legal cases impacting advocates for Palestine in the U.S., including the lawsuit on behalf of Mahmoud Khalil and Columbia students.”¹⁰⁰

In 2024, RPA provided a grant of \$180,000 to PEF for the Bereshit (Genesis) Initiative,¹⁰¹ an Israeli nonprofit which has funded a major media campaign to destabilize the Israeli government by protesting a recent draft conscription law.¹⁰² The Bereshit Initiative has similarly partnered with Kaplan Force extremists,¹⁰³ previously referred to as “Black Flags,” the “exclusive producer and sponsor of Israel’s central protests in Kaplan Tel Aviv,” which reportedly led the first anti-government protests in Israel in 2023, along with Standing Together and MQG.¹⁰⁴

Entities that have tax-exempt status under the Internal Revenue Code are not authorized to “participate in or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements) any political campaign on behalf of (or in opposition to) any candidate for public office.”¹⁰⁵ The IRS has explained that U.S. tax laws prohibiting involvement in “political activity on behalf of or in opposition to a candidate for elective public office (electioneering) exist in a foreign context as well.”¹⁰⁶ As such, “an organization that attempts to influence and advocates changes in the laws of a foreign country does not qualify for exemption from Federal income tax under section 501(c)(3) of the [Internal Revenue] Code.”¹⁰⁷ Based on the information provided to the Committee, it appears that JCF, RPA, and PEF’s fiscal sponsorship of anti-Israel groups and protests against Prime Minister Netanyahu’s government may constitute a violation of the Internal Revenue Code.

⁹⁵ RPA Production 003 from Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (Nov. 21, 2025).

⁹⁶ *In Our Name Campaign*, ACTION NETWORK, <https://actionnetwork.org/groups/in-our-name-campaign> (last accessed May 6, 2026).

⁹⁷ Yonat Shimron, *As some Jewish philanthropists withdraw funding, others are standing up for Palestinian causes*, RELIGION NEWS SERVICE (Feb. 26, 2025).

⁹⁸ *Donor Spotlight: In Our Name*, PROTEUS FUND (Sep. 24, 2025).

⁹⁹ *Grantee Spotlight: Palestine Legal*, PROTEUS FUND (Sep. 29, 2025).

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

¹⁰¹ RPA Production 003, *supra* note 95.

¹⁰² Yishai Friedman, *The connection between Kaplan’s protest and publications in the religious press against the conscription law*, CHANNEL 14 (Dec. 9, 2025), <https://www.c14.co.il/article/1395417>.

¹⁰³ *Id.*

¹⁰⁴ Starr, *supra* note 60.

¹⁰⁵ 26 U.S.C. § 501(c)(3).

¹⁰⁶ James F. Bloom et al., *Foreign Activities of Domestic Charities and Foreign Charities*, in EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION PROGRAM FOR FISCAL YEAR 1992 (1991).

¹⁰⁷ Rev. Rul. 73-440, 1973-2 C.B. 177.

IV. Israeli nonprofit, Movement for Quality Government, has failed to cooperate with the Committee’s inquiry concerning its funding of anti-Israeli-government NGOs.

Since MQG previously provided information to the Committee regarding its Biden-Harris State Department-funded “Civic Activism Training Program,”¹⁰⁸ it has not addressed further requests to clarify its role in potentially funneling U.S. taxpayer money through various NGOs. Specifically, MQG has declined to produce additional documents that may reveal whether it received funds from, or provided funds to, PEF, JCF, BWF, and other related organizations involved in the anti-government protests.¹⁰⁹ The Israeli organization claims that the Committee’s requests are “not relevant to MQG.”¹¹⁰ However, the Committee has obtained information suggesting that JCF provided \$115,000 to PEF that was earmarked for MQG.¹¹¹ Similarly, documents suggest that PEF provided \$93,000 to JCF, which included \$3,000 designated for MQG.¹¹² Due to MQG’s obstruction of the Committee’s investigation, it remains unclear how MQG—a U.S. tax-exempt organization—used these funds, including if MQG used the funds for political activities.

V. According to a 2023 audit, Israeli nonprofit and U.S. government grantee Abraham Initiatives failed to comply with anti-terrorism procedures.

The Abraham Initiatives is an Israeli NGO that “advances social inclusion and equal rights for Israel’s Palestinian citizens.”¹¹³ From 2018 to 2021, the Abraham Initiatives used \$1 million in USAID funds for a “Shared Learning Program in West Bank and Gaza” that reportedly served to “build peaceful relations and trust between Arab and Jewish youth and educators by providing a platform of joint school study and regular in-person interactions.”¹¹⁴ In May 2023, the USAID Office of Inspector General’s (USAID OIG) closeout audit of the “Shared Learning” program identified “two material instances of noncompliance” with anti-terrorism reporting procedures during the period of January 1, 2021 to September 27, 2021.¹¹⁵

A few months later, in November 2023, the USAID OIG issued a situational alert identifying approximately \$100 million in USAID-funded assistance to Gaza and the West Bank as being at “high risk” for misuse and diversion to foreign terrorists organizations (FTOs) including, but not limited to, Hamas.¹¹⁶ The USAID OIG identified multiple deliberate efforts

¹⁰⁸ Letter from Mr. William P. Barry, *supra* note 20.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs to Dr. Eliad Shraga, Chairman, Movement for Quality Government in Israel (Mar. 26, 2025).

¹¹⁰ Letter from William P. Barry, Counsel for MQG, to Committee staff (Oct. 3, 2025).

¹¹¹ Jewish Communal Fund Grants, *supra* note 89.

¹¹² Fund 1 PEF to JCF from Jewish Communal Fund to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (July 17, 2025)

¹¹³ *Mission and Values*, THE ABRAHAM INITIATIVES, <https://abrahaminitiatives.org/about-us/mission-statment/> (last accessed Apr. 20, 2026).

¹¹⁴ The Abraham Initiatives Congressional Response Enclosures to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (Mar. 27, 2026) [hereinafter “Abraham Initiatives March 27 Document Production”].

¹¹⁵ Memorandum from the Office of Inspector General, U.S. Agency for International Development, to Amy Tohill-Stull, USAID/West Bank and Gaza, Mission Director (May 11, 2023).

¹¹⁶ *Responsibility to Identify and Report Potential Diversion of U.S. Humanitarian Aid*, *supra* note 12.

“to divert humanitarian assistance” in regions [in Gaza and the West Bank] where FTO activity is prevalent.”¹¹⁷ The alert stated that risks to USAID programs may include “insufficient supporting documentation when NGOs conduct transactions with unlicensed, unregulated, and/or informal money transfer agents.”¹¹⁸ Additionally, on July 25, 2024, the USAID OIG released an advisory notice regarding the “challenges and vulnerabilities that exist” within USAID’s monitoring capabilities to prevent funding to FTOs, including unchecked self-reporting standards and weak personnel vetting.¹¹⁹ The USAID OIG warned that these challenges persisted after the Biden-Harris Administration’s “Israel Security Supplemental Appropriations Act,” granted “\$1 billion for additional humanitarian aid in Gaza.”¹²⁰ The Abraham Initiatives’ USAID-funded “Shared Learning” project operated in the same region where the USAID OIG reported concerns that U.S. taxpayer-funds were being diverted to terrorist organizations.¹²¹

In addition to the USAID-funded “Shared Learning” project, the Abraham Initiatives organized a series of anti-government protests in 2023 and “led the effort to oppose the judicial overhaul.”¹²² Leaders from the NGO “spoke at rallies throughout the country” and “worked with the protest organizers [behind the scenes] on improving their outreach to Arab communities in Israel.”¹²³ The Abraham Initiatives partnered with Israeli NGO “Have You Seen the Horizon Lately” (HYSHL) to urge the Arab community to join the anti-Israeli-government protest movement.¹²⁴ HYSHL created propaganda to support the protests and used social media groups to update people “on all things related to the protest movement against the regime coup.”¹²⁵

The Abraham Initiatives received multiple federal grants before and during this period. In addition to the \$1 million USAID grant for the “Shared Learning Program,”¹²⁶ the Abraham Initiatives received approximately \$1.05 million in grants from the U.S. Department of State and USAID from 2018 to 2021 for the “Safe Communities Project”¹²⁷ to “work on policing reform focusing [on] improving perceptions and relationships between Israeli police and Arab society.”¹²⁸ Abraham Initiatives’ noncompliance with anti-terrorism reporting procedures and its use of funds for anti-government campaigns in Israel are concerning when considering that approximately \$2.05 million in U.S. taxpayer funds have been provided to the organization.¹²⁹

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

¹¹⁸ *Id.*

¹¹⁹ *Assessment of USAID’s Oversight Policies to Prevent the Diversion of Assistance to Hamas and Other Terrorist Organizations*, USAID OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL (July 25, 2024).

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ Abraham Initiatives March 27 Document Production, *supra* note 114.

¹²² See The Abraham Initiatives Congressional Response Enclosures to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (Sep. 17, 2025) [hereinafter “Abraham Initiatives September 17 Document Production”]; *Abraham Initiatives Annual Report 2023*, THE ABRAHAM INITIATIVES, <https://abrahaminitiatives.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/2023-Annual-Report.pdf>, at 6.

¹²³ *Id.*

¹²⁴ *Partners in State, Partners in Protest: The Judicial Overhaul*, HAVE YOU SEEN THE HORIZON LATELY?, <https://horizonlately.co.il/en/partners-in-state-partners-in-protest-the-judicial-overhaul/> (last accessed Apr. 21, 2026).

¹²⁵ *Id.*

¹²⁶ Abraham Initiatives March 27 Document Production, *supra* note 114.

¹²⁷ *Id.*

¹²⁸ *Id.*

¹²⁹ *Id.*

CONCLUSION

The Committee's additional oversight revealed a continued pattern of the Biden-Harris Administration's neglect and misuse of taxpayer dollars through USAID, the State Department, and other federal agencies that were used to directly and indirectly fund the efforts of anti-Netanyahu organizations and terrorist groups. There is also evidence that U.S. nonprofits may be violating 501(c)(3) provisions of U.S. law by funding radical anti-Israel groups and protests against the Israeli government. The Committee's oversight will continue.

For more information about the Committee's investigation of the Biden-Harris Administration's use of U.S. taxpayer funds to undermine Israel's democratically elected government, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906.

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