

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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July 17, 2025

To: Members of the Committee on the Judiciary

From: Committee Staff

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

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 The six NGOs were 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. To date, the organizations have produced 380 total documents. This memorandum provides an update on the inquiry and a summary of the Committee's key findings to date.

BACKGROUND

In 2023, Israel experienced widespread protests over the plan of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government to reform the Israeli judicial system.² The Biden-Harris Administration openly opposed the proposed reforms, with former President Joe Biden saying that Israel "cannot continue down this road."³ Media reports subsequently revealed that some U.S. taxpayer money, in the form of grants, had been funneled through various American and Israeli NGOs to fund these protests in part.⁴ The use of federal grants for such purposes risks harming America's relationship with one of its closest allies and undermines core civil liberties

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).

² Ruby Mellen et al., *Protests rocked Israel for 29 consecutive weeks. There's more to come.*, WASH. POST (July 24, 2023).

³ 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).

⁴ See, e.g., Glick, *supra* note 4; Adam Kredo, *How Taxpayer Funds Are Flowing to a Group Bankrolling Anti-Netanyahu Protests*, WASH. FREE BEACON (Mar. 6, 2023).

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.⁵

The Committee’s oversight 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. In addition, documents obtained during this investigation suggest that the Biden-Harris Administration potentially funded groups with ties to U.S.-designated terrorist organizations.

I. Israeli NGO Blue White Future received funds from NGOs—including some U.S. grant recipients—and funded the coalition headquarters for the anti-Netanyahu judicial reform protest.

The Israeli NGO Blue White Future (BWF) was founded in 2009 to advocate for a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine.⁶ Under the leadership of tech entrepreneur Orni Petruschka, former director of the Shin Bet (Israel’s internal security service) and Labor Party politician Ami Ayalon,⁷ and Gilead Sher, a former Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Ehud Barak,⁸ BWF quickly developed into a radical anti-Netanyahu organization.⁹ One BWF-funded protest group, Kaplan Force, referred to Prime Minister Netanyahu’s democratically-elected government as a “dictatorship,” and threatened that it was “moving from defense to attack.”¹⁰ In July 2023, Petruschka, Ayalon, and Sher coauthored an article urging the Biden-Harris Administration to decline to meet with Prime Minister Netanyahu so that Netanyahu may “learn the consequences” of pursuing the path of judicial reform.¹¹

The Committee’s oversight shows that BWF, a key player in the anti-Netanyahu protests, may have been a downstream recipient of U.S. grant funding. According to public reports, BWF “funded and ran the headquarters for the coalition of groups opposing judicial reform.”¹² In 2023, BWF received approximately \$4 million from the Middle East Peace Dialogue Network (MEPDN) and \$18 million from PEF Israel Endowment Funds (PEF).¹³ PEF received \$187,000 between 2021 and 2024 from Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA),¹⁴ a direct recipient of

⁵ 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.

⁶ Akiva Bigman, *Legal Questions Raised About NGO Funding Judicial Reform Protests*, JEWISH PRESS (Aug. 28, 2023).

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ *Id.*; Gilead Sher, BAKER INST. FOR PUB. POL’Y, <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/expert/gilead-sher> (last accessed June 24, 2025).

⁹ Barry Shaw, *Who is funding the Tel Aviv protests? And is it legal?*, ISR. NAT’L NEWS (Sept. 13, 2023), <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/news/376940>.

¹⁰ *Id.*

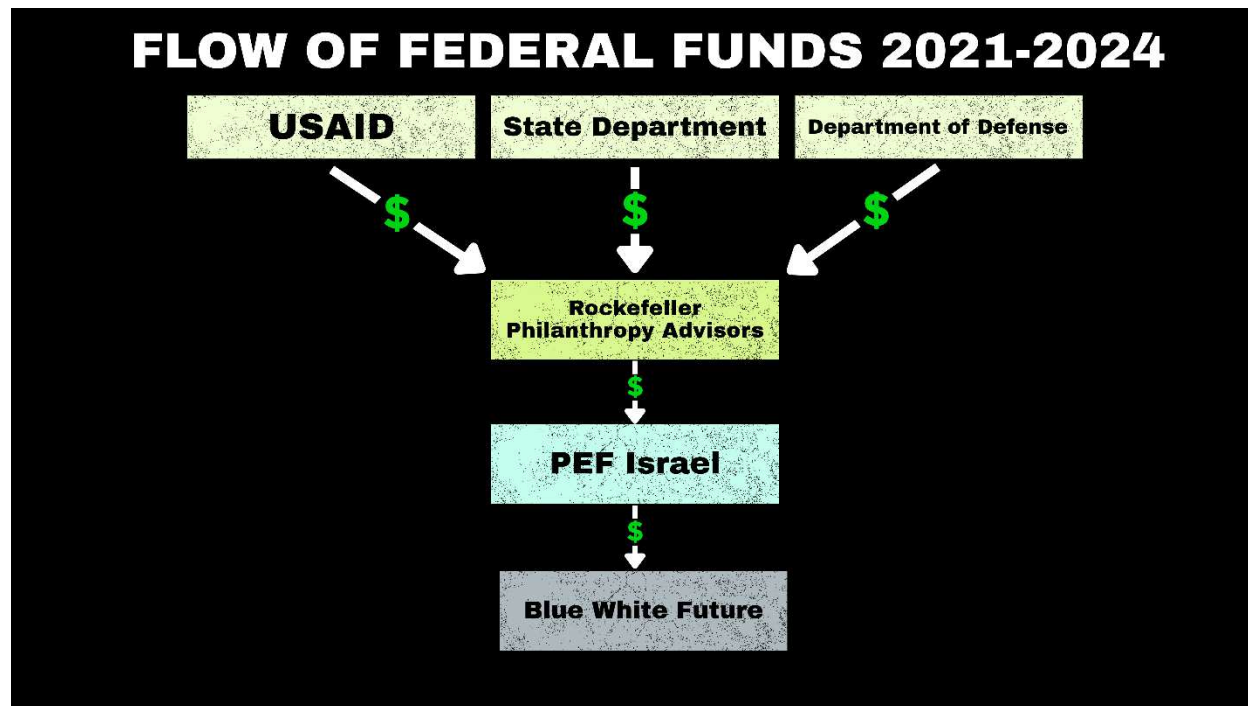
¹¹ Ami Ayalon, Gilead Sher, and Orni Petruschka, *Israel’s democracy movement is ready for a fight — and we need your help*, THE HILL (July 28, 2023).

¹² See David Isaac, *Foreign funding of judicial-reform protests spurs Knesset legislation*, JEWISH NEWS SYNDICATE (Feb. 18, 2025).

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ 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).

millions of dollars in grants from the Biden-Harris Administration’s USAID, State Department, and Department of Defense.¹⁵ The graphic below depicts the flow of federal funds to BWF.



Under Israeli law, BWF’s direct involvement in the protests and plots against Prime Minister Netanyahu’s government “may constitute a violation of the law and the conditions of the Registrar of Associations in Israel” by “operating outside of its stated goals” as a nonprofit organization.¹⁶

II. The Biden-Harris Administration provided \$42,000 to an Israeli NGO, Movement for Quality Government, to conduct “Civic Activism Training” in Israeli high schools.

One of the main organizers of the anti-Netanyahu judicial reform protests, the Movement for Quality Government in Israel (MQG), is a radical leftist organization in Israel that has engaged in lawfare against the Netanyahu government and called for “insurgency, civil war, and violence” at its rallies.¹⁷ MQG describes itself as a “leading public petitioner to the Israeli Supreme Court, enjoying unprecedented legal success.”¹⁸ MQG began petitioning the Israeli Supreme Court the day after Prime Minister Netanyahu was sworn into office, to prevent Aryeh Deri, a leader of the Shas party and judicial reform advocate, from serving as a cabinet minister

¹⁵ 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).

¹⁶ Bigman, *supra* note 6.

¹⁷ Glick, *supra* note 3.

¹⁸ Letter from 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 (June 4, 2025).

in the Netanyahu government.¹⁹ This was in spite of the fact that 400,000 Israelis voted for the Shas party, led by Deri, in the 2022 legislative elections.²⁰ The Israeli Supreme Court ultimately granted MQG’s petition, barring Deri from office.²¹ Reports suggest that there was “no legal basis” for MQG’s petition, and the Israeli Supreme Court was operating with a “conflict of interest,” as Deri’s appointment would have led to judicial reforms, including a limitation on the power of the Supreme Court.²²

Days later, in January 2023, MQG submitted a petition to unseat Prime Minister Netanyahu.²³ Justice Minister Yariv Levin described MQG’s “effort to oust the prime minister in contravention of the law” and “trampling on the democratic election.”²⁴

The Biden-Harris Administration funded MQG’s politically motivated efforts to undermine the Israeli government by instilling distrust in Israeli youth. Between 2020 and 2022, the Biden-Harris State Department provided approximately \$42,000 in federal grant funds to MQG to fund a “Civic Activism Training Program” for 11th and 12th graders at three Jerusalem high schools.²⁵ According to MQG’s U.S.-based attorney, MQG used this program to purportedly “put some order in the flow of information received by Israeli youth.”²⁶ The curriculum focused on three key issues: MQG and its activities, encouraging students to engage in protesting, and MQG’s policies of protecting whistleblowers and “cherish[ing] them as key activists in the revelers of corruption.”²⁷

MQG’s curriculum is controversial in Israel. In response to growing concern about the teaching of secular, anti-Zionist curriculum in Jewish schools, Roni Sassover, an Israeli mother and attorney, founded the “Parents’ Forum for Tradition” to encourage parents to speak out against the programs.²⁸ Sassover described the MQG program as a “disguised effort to subvert Israeli democracy,” which “strives to replace Judaism with post-Zionist curricula.”²⁹ Caroline Glick, an International Affairs Adviser to Prime Minister Netanyahu, explained that “similar to Critical Race Theory curricula in the United States, which indoctrinates American schoolchildren to believe their country was born in the sin of racism and has no moral claim to justice, groups like MQG advance ‘democracy’ as a means of gutting Israel’s Jewish character and indoctrinating Israeli children to believe that there is something inherently wrong with Jewish nationalism and national self-determination.”³⁰ Glick added that “though the State Department’s funding is small, the point of the funding is not the amount involved, but the message it sends.”³¹

¹⁹ Glick, *supra* note 3.

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.*

²² *Id.*

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ Letter from 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).

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ Judith Segaloff, *Are Israel's school programs funded by hidden agendas?*, THE JERUSALEM POST (March 31, 2022).

²⁹ Glick, *supra* note 3.

³⁰ *Id.*

³¹ *Id.*

III. U.S. nonprofit PEF Israel Endowment Funds provided over \$884 million to groups involved in anti-democracy protests in Israel.

Between 2021 and 2024, PEF, a U.S.-based tax-exempt entity, provided more than \$884 million to over 1,000 Israeli organizations, including groups involved in the judicial reform protests.³²

According to public media reports, in 2023, PEF donated approximately \$18 million to Blue White Future.³³ The fungibility of money—the ability to easily replace one set of funds with another set of funds of equal value³⁴—suggests that PEF donations may have included funding that originated with the U.S. government.³⁵ More broadly, when an NGO receives government funding for a project, it can use the money previously earmarked for that project on something else which it would have otherwise not been able to fund.³⁶ From 2021 to 2024, PEF received \$187,000 from Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA).³⁷ During this same period, PEF also received \$41.2 million in payments from another U.S.-based nonprofit, the Jewish Communal Fund (JCF).³⁸ Documents produced to the Committee show that PEF used this money to fund groups directing and organizing the protests, including Blue White Future, MQG, Physicians for Human Rights Israel, Darkenu, and more.³⁹ PEF donated to JCF as well, providing \$743,000 from donor-advised funds (DAFs) to DAFs held at JCF from 2021 to 2024,⁴⁰ which JCF may have used to fund groups involved in the protests.⁴¹ DAFs are accounts maintained by charities composed of private donations from individuals who may recommend how the funds are spent or to which groups the funds are transferred.⁴² The organization operating the DAF may take into consideration the donor’s recommendation but retains the sole

³² See *Charities*, P.E.F. ISRAEL ENDOWMENT FUNDS, INC., <https://pefisrael.org/charities/> (last accessed June 27, 2025); *PEF Israel Endowment Funds Inc.*, INSTRUMENTL, <https://www.instrumentl.com/990-report/p-e-f-israel-endowment-funds-inc-ed3a3fe9-8dc5-4db6-9b0b-1e9a66a4b71e> (last accessed June 27, 2025).

³³ Isaac, *supra* note 12.

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 12.

³⁶ *Fungibility*, *supra* note 34.

³⁷ Isaac, *supra* note 12.

³⁸ 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).

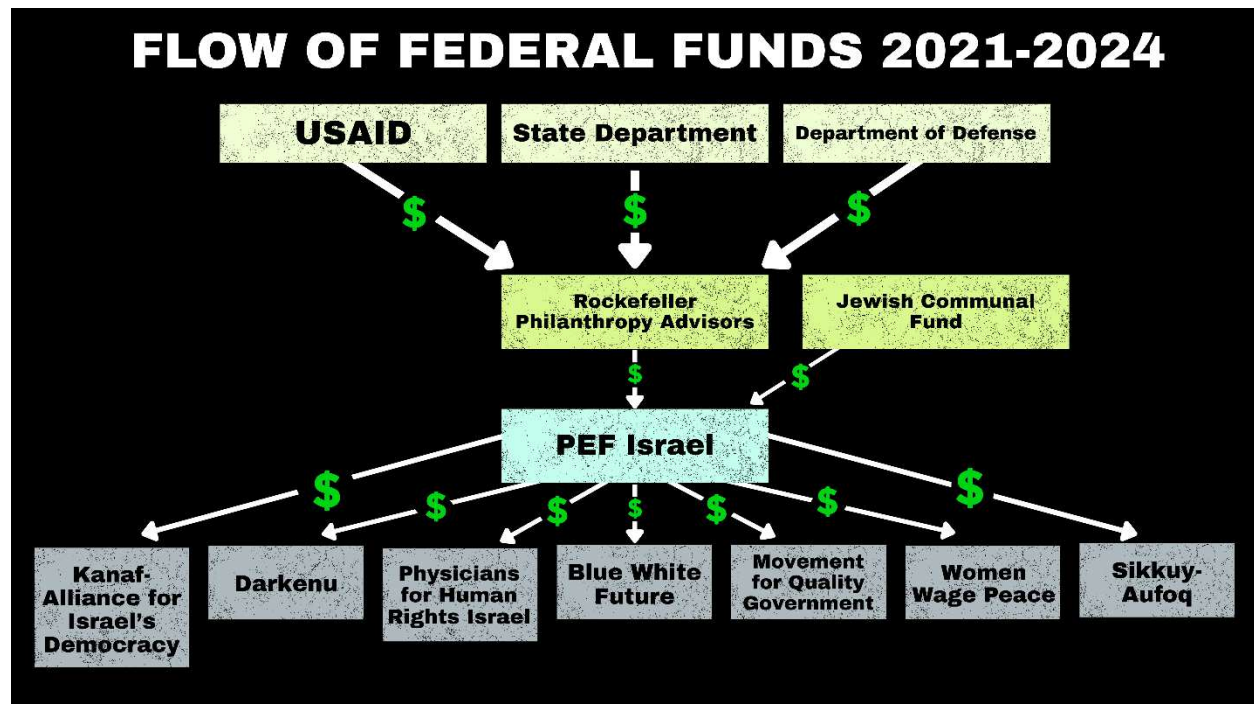
³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ Jewish Communal Fund Congressional Response Enclosures to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (May 23, 2025) [hereinafter “JCF May 23 Document Production”].

⁴¹ Jewish Communal Fund Giving Report 2021, at 24; Jewish Communal Fund Giving Report 2022, at 27; Jewish Communal Fund Giving Report 2023, at 24; Jewish Communal Fund Giving Report 2024, at 33.

⁴² *Donor-advised Funds*, INTERNAL REVENUE SERV., <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/charitable-organizations/donor-advised-funds> (last accessed June 20, 2025).

legal right to determine the ultimate use of the funds.⁴³ The below graphic depicts the likely flow of federal funds into and out of PEF.



PEF’s direct involvement in the protests against Prime Minister Netanyahu’s government may constitute a violation of its status as a § 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization that is 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.”⁴⁴ The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) has explained that 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.”⁴⁵ The IRS restrictions against lobbying for tax-exempt organizations also exists in the foreign context, making clear that “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.”⁴⁶

IV. U.S. nonprofit Jewish Communal Fund (JCF) provided over \$42.8 million to the anti-Netanyahu protest headquarters in Israel and the protests’ two main funders.

JCF is a U.S.-based nonprofit that “provides over \$520 million in annual giving” to Jewish organizations and provides funding to prominent left-wing organizations like the

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ 26 U.S.C. § 501(c)(3).

⁴⁵ 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).

⁴⁶ Rev. Rul. 73-440, 1973-2 C.B. 177.

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Barack Obama Foundation, and the Voter Participation Center,⁴⁷ as well as many of the organizations involved in the Israeli judicial reform protests.⁴⁸ In its response to the Committee, JCF stated that it “does not believe” it has received any funding directly from USAID, the State Department, or any other federal source.⁴⁹ However, between 2021 and 2024, JCF received two contributions totaling \$743,000 from DAFs held at PEF,⁵⁰ including funds designated for MQG.⁵¹ PEF is partly funded by RPA,⁵² a direct recipient of U.S. government grants.⁵³

Information obtained by the Committee suggests that JCF provided over \$42.8 million to groups that provided funding to BWF, a key organizer of the anti-Netanyahu judicial reform protests.⁵⁴ Between 2021 and 2024, JCF provided over \$41.2 million to PEF, including \$4.2 million for Blue White Future.⁵⁵ During the same period, JCF donated \$1.67 million to the Middle East Peace Dialogue Network (MEPDN).⁵⁶ In 2023, MEPDN reportedly donated \$4 million to Blue White Future to fund the anti-judicial reform protests.⁵⁷ The below graphic depicts the flow of funds through JCF.

⁴⁷ *Jewish Communal Fund*, INFLUENCE WATCH, <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/jewish-communal-fund/> (last accessed June 27, 2025).

⁴⁸ Letter from Rachel Schnoll, Chief Executive Officer, Jewish Communal Fund to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (May 23, 2025) [hereinafter “JCF May 23 Letter”].

⁴⁹ Letter from Rachel Schnoll, Chief Executive Officer, Jewish Communal Fund, to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (Apr. 16, 2025) [hereinafter “JCF April 16 Letter”].

⁵⁰ JCF May 23 Document Production, *supra* note 40.

⁵¹ Jewish Communal Fund Congressional Response Enclosures to Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs (July 17, 2025) [hereinafter “JCF July 17 Document Production”].

⁵² PEF Doc. Production 000103, *supra* note 14.

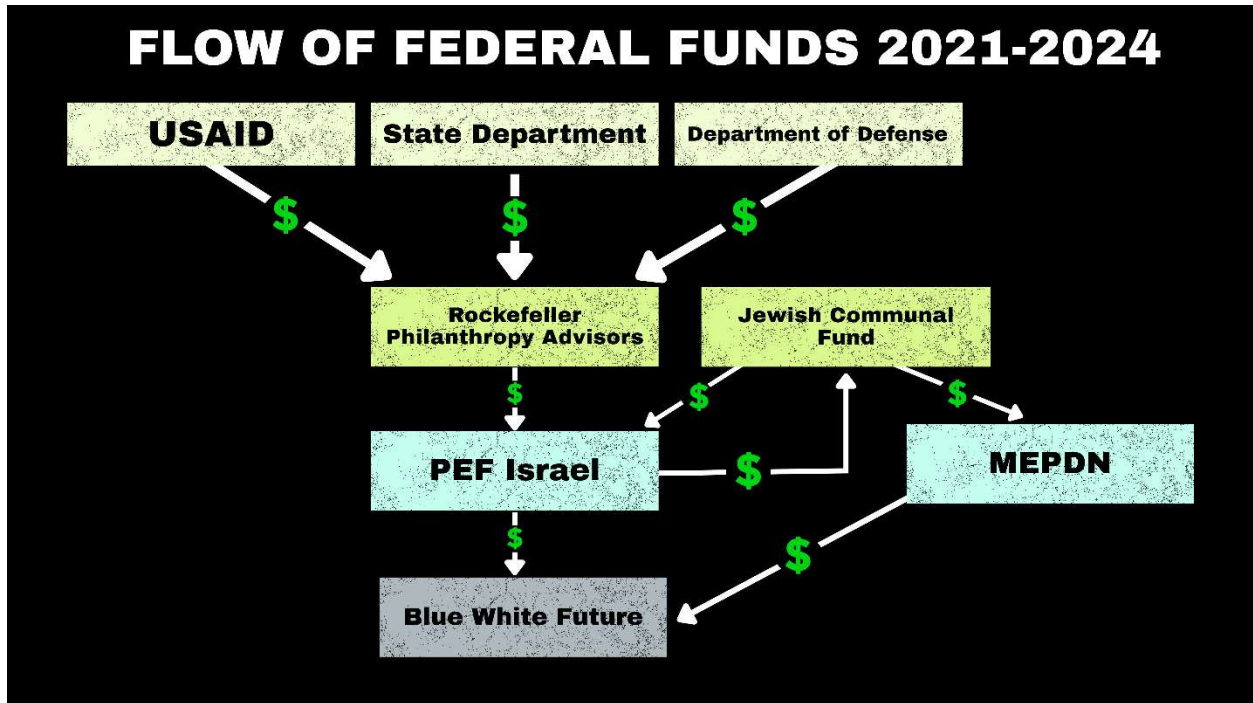
⁵³ RPA Doc. Production 001, *supra* note 15.

⁵⁴ PEF Doc. Production 000032, *supra* note 38; 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).

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ Gidon Dokow and Makor Rishon, *Major exposé reveals the money machine behind Israel's 2023 protests*, ISR. HAYOM (Feb. 17, 2025).



JCF has informed the Committee that it has made additional grants to “some of the organizations” identified by the Committee,⁵⁸ and is continuing to supply these documents.⁵⁹ The Committee will continue to seek JCF’s compliance with this oversight.

V. U.S. nonprofit Middle East Peace Dialogue Network (MEPDN) may be violating 501(c)(3) provisions of U.S. law by funding anti-democracy protests in Israel.

MEPDN is a U.S.-based nonprofit that “provide[s] fiscal sponsorship support to Israeli and Palestinian NGOs lacking an American Friends presence” in order to promote a two-state solution to the conflict in the Middle East.⁶⁰ MEPDN is one of the largest donors to Blue White Future, next to PEF.⁶¹ Between 2021 and 2025, MEPDN received \$870,500 from JCF’s donor-advised funds.⁶² Including funds received from JCF, MEPDN sent approximately \$4.28 million from DAFs to Blue White Future between 2021 and 2025.⁶³

In addition to BWF, MEPDN donated to other groups involved in the protests, including providing \$324,000 to “Ken LaShalom,”⁶⁴ a project of MEPDN’s Israeli affiliate, “Have You Seen the Horizon Lately” (HYSHL).⁶⁵ HYSHL is an Israeli nonprofit “aimed at advancing

⁵⁸ JCF May 23 Letter, *supra* note 48; JCF April 16 Letter, *supra* note 49.

⁵⁹ JCF July 17 Document Production, *supra* note 51.

⁶⁰ *What We Do*, MEPDN, <https://mepdn.org/> (last accessed June 27, 2025).

⁶¹ *See Isaac*, *supra* note 12.

⁶² MEPDN Donation Report, *supra* note 54.

⁶³ *Id.*

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ *Donate*, HAVE YOU SEEN THE HORIZON LATELY?, <https://horizonlately.co.il/en/donate/> (last accessed June 23, 2025).

Jewish-Arab partnership and at reinforcing the legitimacy of the Arab community.”⁶⁶ It has directly participated in the anti-judicial reform protests, calling the Israeli government’s plans for judicial overhaul “a regime coup.”⁶⁷ In 2023, HYSHL partnered with “Qadaya,” an initiative of an Israeli nonprofit, the Arab Center for Alternative Planning, to launch its “Dead Class Citizens” campaign.⁶⁸ The campaign, which aimed to highlight the so-called “governmental neglect” of the Arab community in Israel, included a march of thousands in Tel Aviv.⁶⁹ In a separate program, HYSHL partnered with another Israeli NGO, Abraham Initiatives, to urge the Arab community to join the protest movement.⁷⁰ HYSHL also 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, including details on upcoming protest events, relevant legislation and political appointments, etc.”⁷¹

MEPDN’s direct involvement in and funding of the protests against Prime Minister Netanyahu’s government may constitute a violation of its status as a tax-exempt organization that is 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.”⁷² The IRS is clear that 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.”⁷³ Similarly, the restrictions that prohibit tax-exempt organizations from lobbying also apply to foreign conduct, with the IRS explaining that “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.”⁷⁴

VI. Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors likely provided portions of its \$20 million in federal grants from the Biden-Harris Administration to groups funding Israeli protests.

RPA is a U.S.-based nonprofit that received \$20 million in grants from USAID between 2021 and 2024 to “ensure the viability of public interest media in low and middle-income countries,”⁷⁵ and \$31.3 million from the State Department for refugee sponsorship and admissions programs in the U.S.⁷⁶ During this period, RPA donated \$557,000 to its affiliate and

⁶⁶ *Who We Are*, HAVE YOU SEEN THE HORIZON LATELY?, <https://horizonlately.co.il/en/horizon/> (last accessed June 23, 2025).

⁶⁷ *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 June 23, 2025).

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ *Id.*

⁷² 26 U.S.C. § 501(c)(3).

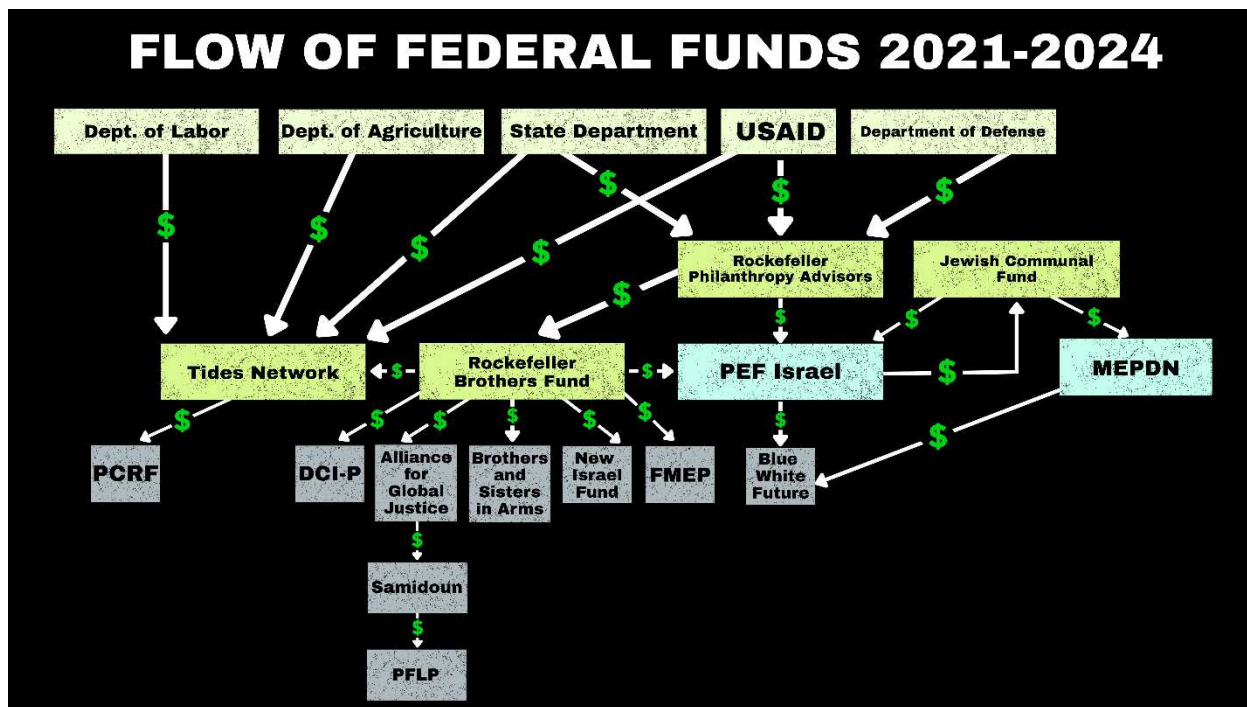
⁷³ Bloom et al., *supra* note 45.

⁷⁴ IRS Rev. Rul. 73-440, 1973-2 C.B. 177.

⁷⁵ *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors*, USA SPENDING <https://www.usaspending.gov/search?hash=ef6750eb94a8d8531f1326d029ff9b0c> (last accessed June 23, 2025).

⁷⁶ *Id.*

partner, Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF).⁷⁷ In 2023, RBF donated more than \$370,000 to groups directly involved in the anti-Netanyahu judicial reform protests, including the Foundation for Middle East Peace (FMEP),⁷⁸ New Israel Fund (NIF),⁷⁹ and “Brothers and Sisters in Arms,”⁸⁰ an Israeli group formed to lead the movement against Prime Minister Netanyahu’s government and judicial reform.⁸¹ During the Biden-Harris Administration, RPA also gave \$187,000 to PEF, one of the largest donors to Blue White Future.⁸² The below graphic depicts the flow of funds through RPA.



RPA has produced documents to the Committee regarding four projects funded by U.S.-taxpayer dollars from 2021 to 2024 that have no relation to Israel.⁸³ RPA has not responded to

⁷⁷ *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2021*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202232859349300818/full> (last accessed June 23, 2025); *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2022*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202302569349300030/full> (last accessed June 23, 2025); *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2023*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202433159349300308/full> (last accessed June 23, 2025).

⁷⁸ 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 Apr. 5, 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 30, 2025).

⁷⁹ *Foundation for Middle East Peace*, *supra* note 78; David Isaac, *New Israel Fund reveals string of donations to anti-reform protest groups*, JEWISH NEWS SYNDICATE (Apr. 4, 2023).

⁸⁰ *Verbal Report for 2023, Brothers and Sisters of Israel*, ISRAELI CORPS. AUTH. (July 25, 2024).

⁸¹ *'Brothers in Arms' spearheads protests calling for early elections*, JEWISH NEWS SYNDICATE (March 20, 2024).

⁸² PEF Doc. Production 000103, *supra* note 14.

⁸³ 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).

the Committee’s requests regarding funds donated to or received from the organizations listed in the March 26 letter from the Committees.⁸⁴ The Committee will continue to seek RPA’s compliance with these requests.

VII. In addition to funding anti-democracy protests, the Biden-Harris Administration provided U.S. government funding to terrorist-linked NGOs.

The Committee’s investigation has uncovered information that suggests that U.S. taxpayer dollars under the Biden-Harris Administration made their way to NGOs closely connected to terrorist organizations. According to Gregg Roman, Executive Director of the Middle East Forum, “[t]his is a problem that began under the Obama administration and was exacerbated under the Biden administration.”⁸⁵ Notably, the Middle East Forum “uncovered evidence of \$164 million in approved grants, \$122 million of which ended up supporting radical or terror-tied organizations.”⁸⁶ Some examples include:

- Since 2016, the Bayader Association for Environment and Development, an NGO based in Gaza, has received at least \$900,000 in U.S. government funding despite “openly collaborat[ing] with Hamas officials, including holding joint events with Hamas leaders.”⁸⁷ Most recently, USAID issued a grant to Bayader on October 1, 2023, just six days before the Hamas terrorist attacks against the Israeli people.⁸⁸ In February 2023, at an event organized by Bayader, its “staff embraced senior Hamas officials, including Abdul Salam Haniyeh, the son of the late Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh, one of the men responsible for the October 7 pogrom.”⁸⁹ These ties are not new.⁹⁰ For instance, in 2021, Bayader’s annual report “notes ‘coordination’ and ‘meetings’ with Hamas’s Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Works, Ministry of Social Affairs and Ministry of Agriculture.”⁹¹
- Additionally, USAID is one of the “biggest contributors” to the American Near East Refugee Agency (ANERA), an American NGO operating in Palestine.⁹² In 2017, the Israel Law Center reported that money funneled through ANERA to Palestine was “used to support Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) kindergartens that actively indoctrinate children in hatred and killing of Israeli civilians, as well as other PIJ and Hamas organizations, thus enabling them to finance terrorist activity, which is forbidden by U.S. law.”⁹³ Numerous senior ANERA officials have openly called for violence against Jewish

⁸⁴ Cf. Letter from Rep. Jim Jordan, Chairman, H. Comm. on the Judiciary and Rep. Brian Mast, Chairman, H. Comm. on Foreign Affairs, to A. Nicole Campbell & Walter Sweet, Interim Co-CEOs, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (Mar. 26, 2025).

⁸⁵ *America Last: How Foreign Aid Undermined U.S. Interests Around the World: Hearing Before the H. Comm. on Oversight & Gov’t Reform*, 119th Cong. (Feb. 26, 2025) (written testimony of Gregg Roman, Exec. Dir. Middle East Forum).

⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁷ Gregg Roman, *How American Aid Has Subsidized Terror*, MIDDLE EAST FORUM (Mar. 14, 2025).

⁸⁸ Sam Westrop, *Terror Finance at the State Department and USAID*, MIDDLE EAST FORUM (Feb. 1, 2025).

⁸⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁰ *Id.*

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ *Id.*

individuals and celebrated the October 7 attacks.⁹⁴ Criticism of U.S. funding for ANERA, given its close links to and support for Hamas, dates back decades.⁹⁵

- USAID also funded the Unlimited Friends Association (UFA), another Gaza-based NGO that provides financial support to the families of “martyrs” killed while carrying out terrorist attacks in Israel.⁹⁶ UFA openly espouses violent antisemitic rhetoric.⁹⁷ For instance, in April 2021, UFA director Jomaa Khadoura posted on Facebook calling for God to “cleanse Al-Aqsa from the impurity of the Jews.”⁹⁸ In 2013, UFA posted a similar message on its own Facebook page, calling on God to “drive away the anguish of the heroic prisoners in the Nazi Zionist jails and to free Al-Aqsa Al-Sharif from the filth of the most dirty Jews.”⁹⁹

The Committees have found several additional instances in which U.S. taxpayer money provided by the Biden-Harris Administration to NGOs wound up with terrorist-connected groups. For example, between 2021 and 2024, the Biden-Harris Administration awarded more than \$55 million to Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA) through USAID, the State Department, and the Department of Defense.¹⁰⁰ During this period, RPA donated \$557,000 to its affiliate and partner, Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF).¹⁰¹ The previous graphic depicts the flow of funds through RPA.

Between 2020 and 2025, RBF donated \$2.6 million to the Tides Network.¹⁰² From 2021 to 2024, the Tides Network also received more than \$10.4 million in U.S. government grants and nearly \$6 million for a contract for “expansion of apprenticeship programs” in the U.S.¹⁰³ From 2022 to 2023, the Tides Network donated \$120,000 to the Palestine Children’s Relief Fund

⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁵ *Id.* (citing *School linked to Hamas gets U.S. cash*, WASH. TIMES (Mar. 4, 2007)).

⁹⁶ *Id.*

⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁹⁸ *Id.*

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ RPA Doc. Production 001, *supra* note 15.

¹⁰¹ *Supra* note 77; *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2020*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202143139349300424/full> (last accessed June 24, 2025); *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2019*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202023189349308117/full> (last accessed June 24, 2025); *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2018*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/201912609349301216/full> (last accessed June 24, 2025); *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2017*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/201832549349301403/IRS990ScheduleI> (last accessed June 24, 2025); *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2016*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/201722619349300647/full> (last accessed June 24, 2025); *Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Inc 2015*, PROPUBLICA, <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/201612819349301506/IRS990ScheduleI> (last accessed June 24, 2025).

¹⁰² *Rockefeller Brothers Fund*, NGO MONITOR (Feb. 28, 2025), https://ngo-monitor.org/funder/rockefeller_brothers_fund/.

¹⁰³ *The Tides Center and Tides Foundation*, USA SPENDING, <https://www.usaspending.gov/search?hash=5ed0d0dcd8a4b178b99b7d1f16c5be21> (last accessed June 25, 2025).

(PCRF),¹⁰⁴ a U.S.-based nonprofit that does not report any funding or donor information, “reflecting a complete lack of transparency and accountability.”¹⁰⁵ PCRF “promotes a narrative of sole Israeli aggression and minimizes the role of Palestinian violence” and “systematically erases Palestinian terror attacks against Israeli civilians.”¹⁰⁶ The PCRF runs a pediatric cancer unit in Al-Rantisi Specialized Hospital for Children in northern Gaza.¹⁰⁷ In November 2023, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) revealed video footage of weapons and explosives stored in the basement of the medical center, claiming the weapons were used by Hamas in the October 7 attack.¹⁰⁸ IDF also found a room where it believes hostages from the attack were taken.¹⁰⁹ This evidence and U.S. intelligence supports Israel’s claim that Hamas operated “within and beneath hospitals [through tunnels]” in Gaza.¹¹⁰

From 2017 to 2022, RBF donated \$190,000 to Defense for Children International Palestine (DCI-P), designated by the Israeli Defense Ministry as a terrorist organization in 2021.¹¹¹ DCI-P’s board and staff is made up of “numerous individuals with alleged ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a terrorist organization designated as such by the US, EU, Canada, and Israel.”¹¹² The PFLP is responsible for a number of terrorist attacks including “suicide bombings, shootings, and assassinations, among other terrorist activities targeting civilians, and was the first Palestinian organization to hijack airplanes in the 1960s and 1970s.”¹¹³ In 2022, RBF donated \$100,000 to Alliance for Global Justice,¹¹⁴ an “anti-capitalist” U.S.-based nonprofit that was investigated by the House Committee on Ways and Means in October 2024 for its fiscal sponsorship of “the Samidoun Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network (Samidoun).¹¹⁵ The U.S. Treasury Department subsequently designated the Canadian-based Samidoun as “a sham charity that serves as an international fundraiser for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terrorist organization.”¹¹⁶

Samidoun has funded anti-Israel protests on college campuses across the U.S., including the pro-Hamas protests after the October 7 terrorist attack.¹¹⁷ Reports describe how members of Samidoun “celebrated the Hamas terror attack on Oct[ober] 7 and distributed candy to passersby

¹⁰⁴ *Palestine Children’s Relief Fund (PCRF)*, NGO MONITOR (Feb. 18, 2025), https://ngo-monitor.org/ngos/palestine_children_s_relief_fund_ohio/.

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*

¹⁰⁷ *Id.*

¹⁰⁸ Matthew Rosenberg & Nadav Gavrielov, *Israel Shows Videos of Gaza Hospital Basement It Says Was Used by Hamas*, N.Y. TIMES (Nov. 14, 2023).

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*

¹¹⁰ Michael D. Shear, *U.S. Says Hamas Operates Out of Gaza Hospitals, Endorsing Israel’s Allegations*, N.Y. TIMES (Nov. 14, 2023).

¹¹¹ *Rockefeller Brothers Fund*, *supra* note 102.

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ *NGO Links to Terror Groups*, NGO MONITOR, <https://ngo-monitor.org/key-issues/ngo-links-to-terror-groups/what-is-the-pflp/> (last accessed June 24, 2025).

¹¹⁴ *Rockefeller Brothers Fund*, *supra* note 102.

¹¹⁵ *Treasury Sanctions Sham Charity for Terrorist Ties Following Ways and Means Investigation*, H. COMM. ON WAYS & MEANS (Oct. 16, 2024), <https://waysandmeans.house.gov/2024/10/16/treasury-sanctions-sham-charity-for-terrorist-ties-following-ways-and-means-investigation/>.

¹¹⁶ *Id.*

¹¹⁷ *What Is Samidoun, the ‘Charity’ That Supports Anti-Israel Campus Protests and Fundraises for a Terror Group*, AM. JEWISH COMM. (Nov. 5, 2024).

in Berlin.”¹¹⁸ Samidoun activists held a “Resistance 101” training course for students at Columbia University in March 2024, days before the series of radical anti-Israel protests began.¹¹⁹

CONCLUSION

Oversight conducted by the Committee reflects the Biden-Harris Administration’s neglect and misuse of taxpayer dollars through USAID, the State Department, and other federal agencies, which were used to directly and indirectly fund the efforts of anti-Netanyahu organizations and terrorist groups. The Committee’s investigation is ongoing and is expanding to include additional American and Israeli NGOs that may be involved in funneling U.S. government funds with the purpose of undermining the Israeli government or for the support or fiscal sponsorship of terrorist groups.

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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¹¹⁸ Bojan Pancevski, *Germany Cracks Down on Hamas and Other Palestinian Extremist Groups*, WALL ST. J. (Nov. 21, 2023).

¹¹⁹ Tawnell D. Hobbs et al., *Activist Groups Trained Students for Months Before Campus Protests*, WALL ST. J. (May 3, 2024).