ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225–6906 judiciary.house.gov

November 6, 2025

Mr. James Jordan President Alliance for Global Justice 225 E 26th St., Suite 1 Tucson, AZ 85713

Dear Mr. Jordan:

On September 22, 2025, President Donald Trump signed an order designating Antifa as a domestic terrorist organization. For years, Antifa terrorists have fomented and engaged in violence, ranging from nationwide riots to targeted attacks against those with whom they disagree, including conservatives, liberals, libertarians, lournalists, law enforcement officers, pregnancy resource centers, Christian individuals, Jewish individuals, and more. Antifa's leftwing extremist violence cannot be justified. Accordingly, we write to request information about the Alliance for Global Justice's (AFGJ) financial support for organizations connected with Antifa.

¹ Designating Antifa as a Domestic Terrorist Organization, 90 Fed. Reg. 46317 (Sept. 22, 2025).

² See President Trump Isn't Backing Down from Crushing Radical Left Violence, WHITE HOUSE (Sept. 22, 2025), https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/2025/09/president-trump-isnt-backing-down-from-crushing-radical-left-violence/ (listing examples of Antifa's violent conduct).

³ Andrew Mark Miller, *Antifa agitators smash windows of Portland Democratic Party headquarters, attack police officer, and flip over car*, WASH. EXAM'R (Jan. 21, 2021).

⁴ Fredrik Segerfeldt, Antifa Has Backed Its Message With Violence for Decades in Europe, REASON (Sept. 8, 2017).

⁵ Kristine Parks & Cortney O'Brien, Seattle journalists attacked by agitators call out far-left media for covering up violence at protests, FOX NEWS (June 20, 2025); Lee Brown, Author Andy Ngo, who exposed Antifa, says he was beaten by 'masked mob', N.Y. POST (June 3, 2021).

⁶ Debra Heine, Ten Antifa Goons Charged With Attempted Murder After 4th of July Ambush on Texas ICE Facility, Am. GREATNESS (July 8, 2025).

⁷ Press Release, Off. of the Att'y Gen. of Fla., Action Against Antifa and Jane's Revenge (Mar. 30, 2023), https://www.myfloridalegal.com/newsrelease/action-against-antifa-and-janes-revenge.

⁸ FBI investigates after Antifa protesters assault Christian worshippers in Seattle, Standing for Freedom Ctr. (May 29, 2025).

⁹ Zoe Strimpel, Calling yourself anti-racist or anti-fascist is no excuse for thuggery, THE TELEGRAPH (June 6, 2020) ("It is a notable irony that where there's Antifa there is anti-Semitism.").

Mr. James Jordan November 6, 2025 Page 2

According to public reporting, AFGJ "acts as fiscal sponsor for Antifa groups." A fiscal sponsorship is an arrangement in which a tax-exempt organization (the fiscal sponsor) receives and expends funds on behalf of a non-exempt organization or project "while retaining discretion and control over those funds." Under this arrangement, AFGJ allows sponsored projects to use its tax-exempt status to receive tax-deductible contributions and provides administrative services in exchange for a fee. However, "AFGJ cannot just serve as a pass-through to distribute funding on behalf of its fiscally sponsored projects, but instead must exercise oversight and control over the projects." Consequently, "AFGJ is directly responsible for the activities conducted by its projects. . . . as well as the use of funds raised on behalf of" those projects. 14

Among the projects sponsored by AFGJ is Refuse Fascism, an Antifa-aligned organization created by members of the Revolutionary Communist Party with the goal of procuring "the wholesale impeachment of [President] Donald Trump and the ousting of everyone involved with his administration." Refuse Fascism "has been present at many Antifa radicalleft demonstrations," many of which involved violence. Accordingly, numerous reports have identified Refuse Fascism as an "Antifa group." In addition to acting as Refuse Fascism's fiscal sponsor, AFGJ has also donated at least \$50,000 to Refuse Fascism.

¹⁰ Ken McIntyre & Kevin Mooney, Far-Left Antifa Agitators on the Rise in the Age of Trump, DAILY SIGNAL (Aug. 17, 2017) (quoting Matthew Vadum, Senior Vice President, Cap. Rsch. Ctr.); see also PAUL GOTTFRIED, ANTIFASCISM: THE COURSE OF A CRUSADE 24-25 (2021) ("A major sponsor of Antifa has been the Alliance for Global Justice[.]"); Data Republican (@DataRepublican), X (Sept. 18, 2025), https://x.com/DataRepublican/status/1968741041923637567 ("Alliance for Global Justice is basically one giant RICO-like structure for antifa.").

¹¹ Joan MacLeod Heminway, Choice of Entity: The Fiscal Sponsorship Alternative to Nonprofit Incorporation, 23 TENN. J. Bus. L. 526, 530 n.13 (2022).

¹² See Pub. Couns. L. Ctr., Fiscal Sponsorship: An Alternative to Forming a Nonprofit 501(c)(3) Corporation 1-2 (2021).

¹³ Fueling Chaos: Tracing the Flow of Tax-Exempt Dollars to Antisemitism: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Oversight of the H. Comm. on Ways & Means, 117th Cong. (2024) (written testimony of Oren Segal, Vice President, Ctr. on Extremism, Anti-Defamation League).

¹⁴ *Id.*; see also Jonathan Spack, *How Fiscal Sponsorship Nurtures Nonprofits*, 16 CMTYS. & BANKING 22, 23 (2005) ("[F]iscal sponsors are legally responsible for all of the activities of the groups they house.").

¹⁵ Blake Montgomery, Here's Everything You Need To Know About The Antifa Network That's Trying To Solidify A Nazi-Punching Movement, BUZZFEED NEWS (Sept. 7, 2017).

¹⁶ Refuse Fascism, INFLUENCE WATCH, https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/refuse-fascism/ (last visited Sept. 26, 2025).

¹⁷ See Debra Heine, Anti-Trump Communist Group 'Refuse Fascism' to Stage Protest in D.C. Saturday Ahead of Grand Military Parade, AM. GREATNESS (June 13, 2025) (stating that Refuse Fascism has "a history of staging violent riots against President Trump"); Refuse Fascism (RF), DISCOVER THE NETWORKS, https://www.discoverthe networks.org/organizations/refuse-fascism-rf (last visited Sept. 26, 2025) ("In February 2017, [Refuse Fascism] played a major role in staging a loud, violent riot that forced . . . Milo Yiannopoulos to cancel a speech which he was scheduled to deliver at UC Berkeley.").

¹⁸ See Soeren Kern, A Brief History of Antifa: Part II, GATESTONE INST. (June 23, 2020) (listing "national Antifa groups, including . . . 'Refuse Fascism'"); Thomas Latschan, Donald Trump's designated bogeyman: Who is the Antifa?, DW (Sept. 23, 2025) ("Today, some of the most well-known [Antifa] groups in the US include Rose City Antifa . . . [and] Refuse Fascism[.]"); Matthew Vadum, Antifa: The Network of Violent Revolutionaries Behind Much of Today's Rioting, EPOCH TIMES (June 3, 2020) (describing Refuse Fascism as "an unincorporated Antifa group").

¹⁹ Antifa: A Communist & Anarchist Movement That Explicitly Endorses Violence, DISCOVER THE NETWORKS, https://www.discoverthenetworks.org/organizations/antifa/ (last visited Sept. 29, 2025); Dinesh D'Souza, The 'Anti-Fascist' Fascist, DAILY CALLER (July 31, 2017).

Antifa is not the only terrorist group sponsored by AFGJ.²⁰ Of particular concern, AFGJ is the fiscal sponsor for Samidoun,²¹ which the Treasury Department describes as "a sham charity that serves as an international fundraiser for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terrorist organization."²² In October 2024, the United States sanctioned Samidoun as a "front organization" for PFLP, while Canada listed Samidoun as a "terrorist entity."²³ Israel previously designated Samidoun as a terrorist organization in 2021, and Germany banned Samidoun shortly after the October 7, 2023 Hamas-led terrorist attack in Israel.²⁴ In 2023, AFGJ lost the ability to accept credit card donations after four major payment processors removed AFGJ from their platforms due to its support for a terrorist organization.²⁵ Major leftwing donors including the Ford Foundation, New Venture Fund, and Windward Fund, among others, similarly cut off funding for AFGJ due to its terror ties.²⁶ In addition to Samidoun, AFGJ also sponsors "other pro-terrorism and anti-American groups including United National Antiwar Coalition, Popular Resistance, [and] the Arizona Palestine Solidarity Alliance[.]"²⁷

AFGJ has previously complained—without a hint of irony²⁸—that criticism of its financial support for terrorists threatens its freedom of speech.²⁹ Of course, AFGJ is wrong; providing material support for terrorists is not protected by the First Amendment.³⁰ Moreover, according to one free speech scholar, "Antifa was expressly founded as a movement at war with free speech," and it considers violence to be a necessary tool for waging its "war."³¹

²⁰ See Alliance for Global Justice, NGO MONITOR (Aug. 18, 2024), https://ngo-monitor.org/funder/alliance-for-global-justice/.

²¹ Ctr. on Extremism, *Samidoun: What You Need to Know*, ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (July 17, 2024), https://www.adl.org/resources/article/samidoun-what-you-need-know.

²² Press Release, U.S. Dep't of the Treasury, United States and Canada Target Key International Fundraiser for Foreign Terrorist Organization PFLP (Oct. 15, 2024), https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy2646.

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ Ctr. on Extremism, *supra* note 21.

²⁵ Gabe Kaminsky, Terror-tied charity faces uncertain future as liberal donors and payment processors jump ship, WASH. EXAM'R (Nov. 13, 2023).

²⁶ Id.

 $^{^{27}}$ Ryan Mauro & Scott Walter, Open Society, Closed Eyes: The \$80 Million Soros Pipeline to Extremism, Cap. Rsch. Ctr., at 24 (2025).

²⁸ See Valerie Richardson, Antifa protest of Ben Shapiro looms at Berkeley, WASH. TIMES (Sept. 13, 2017) ("As for the repeated efforts to shut down conservative speakers, 'That's part of the give and take of public debate. It doesn't have anything to do with the First Amendment, which only provides protection of us from our government,' [AFGJ's national coordinator] said."); see also Jesse Singal, There Have Been So Many Bad Lefty Free-Speech Takes Lately, N.Y. MAG. (Nov. 12, 2017) (explaining the "astounding" "level of wrongness" of an identical claim); cf. Richardson, supra note 28 (describing Refuse Fascism as "part of the antifa assault on the First Amendment").

²⁹ See Press Release, All. for Glob. Just., Virtual Press Conference: AFGJ Speaks Out Against Attacks on Free Speech (Sept. 6, 2023), https://afgj.org/alliance-for-global-justice-press-release-09-06-2023.

³⁰ See Holy Land Found. for Relief & Dev. v. Ashcroft, 333 F.3d 156, 165 (D.C. Cir. 2003) ("[T]he law is established that there is no constitutional right to fund terrorism."); United States v. Lindh, 212 F. Supp. 2d 541, 570 (E.D. Va. 2002) ("The First Amendment's guarantee of associational freedom is no license to supply terrorist organizations with resources or material support in any form Those who choose to furnish such material support to terrorists cannot hide or shield their conduct behind the First Amendment.").

³¹ Jonathan Turley, *The Right to Rage: Free Speech and Rage Rhetoric in American Political Discourse*, GEO. J. L. & PUB. POL'Y 481, 493 (2023).

Congress has an important interest in protecting Americans from political violence. As part of the Committee's oversight, we respectfully request that you provide the following documents and information:

- 1. All documents and communications referring or relating to Refuse Fascism or Antifa, including local Antifa groups, ³² from January 1, 2017 to the present;
- 2. All documents and communications referring or relating to any grants, donations, or other financial contributions AFGJ provided to Refuse Fascism from January 1, 2017 to the present; and
- 3. All documents and communications referring or relating to AFGJ's fiscal sponsorship of Refuse Fascism from January 1, 2017 to the present;
- 4. All documents and communications referring or relating to AFGJ's awareness of any act of violence or other criminal activity conducted by individuals associated with organizations to which AFGJ provides material support; and
- 5. All documents and communications referring or relating to AFGJ's efforts, if any, to ensure its grant recipients or sponsored projects or organizations are not engaging in or promoting political violence.

Please produce all documents and information as soon as possible but no later than 5:00 p.m. on November 20, 2025.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your professional and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

The Supreme Court has recognized that Congress has a "broad and indispensable" power to conduct oversight, which "encompasses inquiries into the administration of existing laws, studies of proposed laws, and surveys in our social, economic or political system for the purpose of enabling Congress to remedy them." Pursuant to the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee on the Judiciary is authorized to conduct oversight of matters concerning criminal law to inform potential legislative reforms. 34

³² See Hate Map, NEW TOLERANCE CAMPAIGN, https://newtolerance.org/hatemap/ (last visited Sept. 26, 2025) (listing some of the local Antifa groups).

³³ Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP, 591 U.S. 848, 862 (2020) (internal quotation marks omitted).

³⁴ Rules of the House of Representatives, 119th Cong., R. X (2025).

Mr. James Jordan November 6, 2025 Page 5

Chairman

If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

ChipRoy

Chairman

Subcommittee on the Constitution and

Limited Government

The Honorable Jamie Raskin, Ranking Member cc:

> The Honorable Mary Gay Scanlon, Ranking Member, Subcommittee on the Constitution and Limited Government